

The Hay Archive of Coptic Spells on Leather: A Multi-disciplinary Approach to the Materiality of Magical Practice

Edited by Elisabeth R. O'Connell

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With contributions by
Michael Zellmann-Rohrer,
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Chapter 5
Catalogue: Hay 1–7

Michael Zellmann-Rohrer

Formulary on a tall, thin opisthographic tanned leather sheet with 26 recipes for invocations of angelic powers, short iatromagical recipes combining pharmacology with inscription of ritual signs and a multi-purpose prayer with a list of various applications. The collection opens with three invocations, each followed by instructions for a ritual offering including aromatic substances, in which the first editor, Angelicus Kropp, saw a mixture of Gnostic and later Christian elements (*AKZ* III, 226–7 §385), and which also contains a traditional Egyptian motif (see 12–19 with the commentary). Explicit specification of the purpose is lacking, as each section launches directly into the invocation. The aim will have been at least a general appeal for the attention of supernatural beings, which are urged to come to, or descend upon, the offerings, to provide revelation and assistance to the user. The end of this section is explicitly marked with a closing phrase (58). Three short medical recipes follow (58–60), one prescribing magical signs to cure headache, the other two pharmacological approaches to disorders of the legs and eyes, which close out the front of the sheet. The collection continues on the back, opening with four short recipes for healing and protection prescribing ritual invocations or inscriptions (61–73). Then the format shifts to give a short prayer invoking a single divinity (74–6), which is applied over 14 directions for primarily aggressive aims (76–98), some of which add, or substitute, a list of holy names, those of the 24 heavenly presbyters of Revelation. Another prayer follows (99–104), probably an addendum to the opening one, then a complex composite of divine names, magical words and drawings (105–44), including a reference to ‘women’, in context perhaps as beneficiaries of amuletic protection. The collection closes with another aggressive procedure (145–54), an invocation to bind the sexual potency of a man with a woman.

The sheet was cut from the left flank of a calf or young bovine in line with the backbone of the animal with the top of the manuscript orientated towards the head. A possible flaying scar, pockets of residual hair and deterioration suggest that the leather was poorly prepared prior to vegetal tanning. The text begins in a single column on the grain side of the sheet and continues in the same orientation on the flesh side, after flipping along the long edge. There the disposition in a single column continues until a more complex arrangement is introduced, to fit text around some ritual drawings. On the front, a blank space approximately one third of the total height is left at the bottom. In the absence of any major flaws in the leather there, the copyist may have planned a later expansion of a thematic grouping of content (iatromagical recipes) in this space, or wished to leave a portion of un-inscribed leather as a sort of guard-sheet to protect the rest when rolled up. Bands of dark staining and horizontal cracks indicate rolling along the horizontal, from top to bottom with the grain side inwards, leaving a blank portion of the flesh side facing out.

The hand (Copyist 1a: see Chapter 6), resembling that of **Hay 2** but not enough to be assigned with certainty to the same copyist (Copyist 1b), is a practised Coptic majuscule, unimodular in the typology of Orsini (2008). A form of **Μ** with three strokes stands out against the four-stroke form more characteristic of majuscules, and there are also cursive features, such as an alternate form of **Δ** in a single stroke, and **Υ**

alternating between a two- and one-stroke form. Occasional inorganic ligatures, especially of **Ε** with a preceding letter, may suggest the copying of a cursive exemplar by a copyist unfamiliar with formal cursive. Serifs are sometimes added, most often to **Τ**. Magical words are inconsistently overlined, a habit sometimes extended to Coptic words (e.g. **ΠΕΖΙΕΒ**, 6), but syntactic overlining is not used. There is punctuation by single or double slash, and occasionally by colon, at the close of recipes. Horizontal dividing lines running the full width of the column are used variously to mark transitions within and among recipes. Simple crosses mark the beginning and end of the front and back, respectively, as a whole. Abbreviations are confined to the Greek loanwords **ΔΔ** (for which see the note on 9), **ΘΥ** (**Θυσία**), and **ΠΡΕ** and similar (**Πρεσβύτερος**). The copyist has made occasional corrections on and above the line.

The dialect is Sahidic with non-standard orthography. For the first-person verbal prefix **†** is generally used (but cf. **ΤΕΟΟΠΠ**, 38, and **ΤΕΟΠΠ**, 74). There is frequent haplography of consonants and omission of nasals; **Ν** is only occasionally assimilated to **Μ** following **Π**. Ungeminated forms, such as **ΤΟΤ-** for **ΤΟΟΤ-** and **Ο2** for **ΟΟ2**, are common, as is the general conflation of vowels (e.g. **2Ε** for **2Ι** and **2ΑΧΝ** for **2ΙΧΝ**, 95), especially in Greek loanwords (e.g. **ΝΠΑΝΤΩΚΡΑΤΩΡ**, 2; the reflex of **Υ** in **Η**, e.g. **ΝΕΤΝΦΗΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ**, 8 with the note). Simplification of diphthongs appears in **Ε** for **ΕΙ**, such as in the writing of the verbal prefix **ΤΕ-** for **†**. In at least some cases it is also at work in spellings of the near demonstrative, such as **ΠΕΛΠΟΤ** for **ΠΕΙΑΠΟΤ** (41) and **ΝΤΕ2Ε** for **ΝΤΕΙ2Ε** (63); in others, where deixis is possible but not certain, a lengthened spelling of the definite article is equally possible (see the note on 9 below) and has generally been preferred in the translation, with the alternative noted in the commentary. Occasionally a reduced **Ο** for **ΟΥ** is also found (e.g. **ΜΟ2**, 11; **ΟΚΩ**, 61), a feature common in **Hay 3**. There is occasional aphaeresis of **Ε**: **ΡΟΟΥ** (36); **ΤΝ2ΗΤΤΗΥΤΝ** (53). Among non-standard spellings with respect to consonants the occasional confusion of liquids may be noted (**2ΩΛ** for **2ΩΡ**, 13; **†ΠΑΛΑΚΑΛΕ** for **†ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕ**, 76; **ΔΛΚΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ** for **ΕΡΓΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ**, 86 and 88), as well as the frequent interchange of **Κ** and **Ϛ**, producing one writing with **Ϛ** for **Γ** (**ΝϚΒΩΚ**, 17), and an aspiration of **Π** (**ΝΦΙΩΤ**, 45; cf. also **ΦΕΝΕΜ**, 66).

Ed. pr. A.M. Kropp, *AKZ* I, 55–62 text M (cited in the apparatus here as ‘Kropp’), with the assistance of W.E. Crum, who controlled the original; a German translation and notes appeared in *AKZ* II, 40–53, text XIV. Later Crum collated Kropp’s text against a ‘large phot[ograph]’, presumably the result of the same infrared photography applied in his editions of **Hay 2–6**. Notes from this collation are preserved in Crum’s copy of Kropp, *AKZ* I in the Sackler Library, Oxford (cited in the apparatus as ‘Crum’), and the ‘large photograph’ may be one of five infrared images, prints of which are kept among Crum’s papers in the Griffith Institute, Oxford (Crum MSS II.47), which differ in some details from those kept by the British Museum and probably represent a separate attempt at photography. An English translation by D. Frankfurter and M.W. Meyer was included in *ACM* 263–9 no. 127, after autopsy by Frankfurter (textual notes p. 378). In the present edition underlines mark letters seen by Crum and confirmed on one or both sets of archival photographs, or suggested directly by the latter, but now lost.

Hay 1

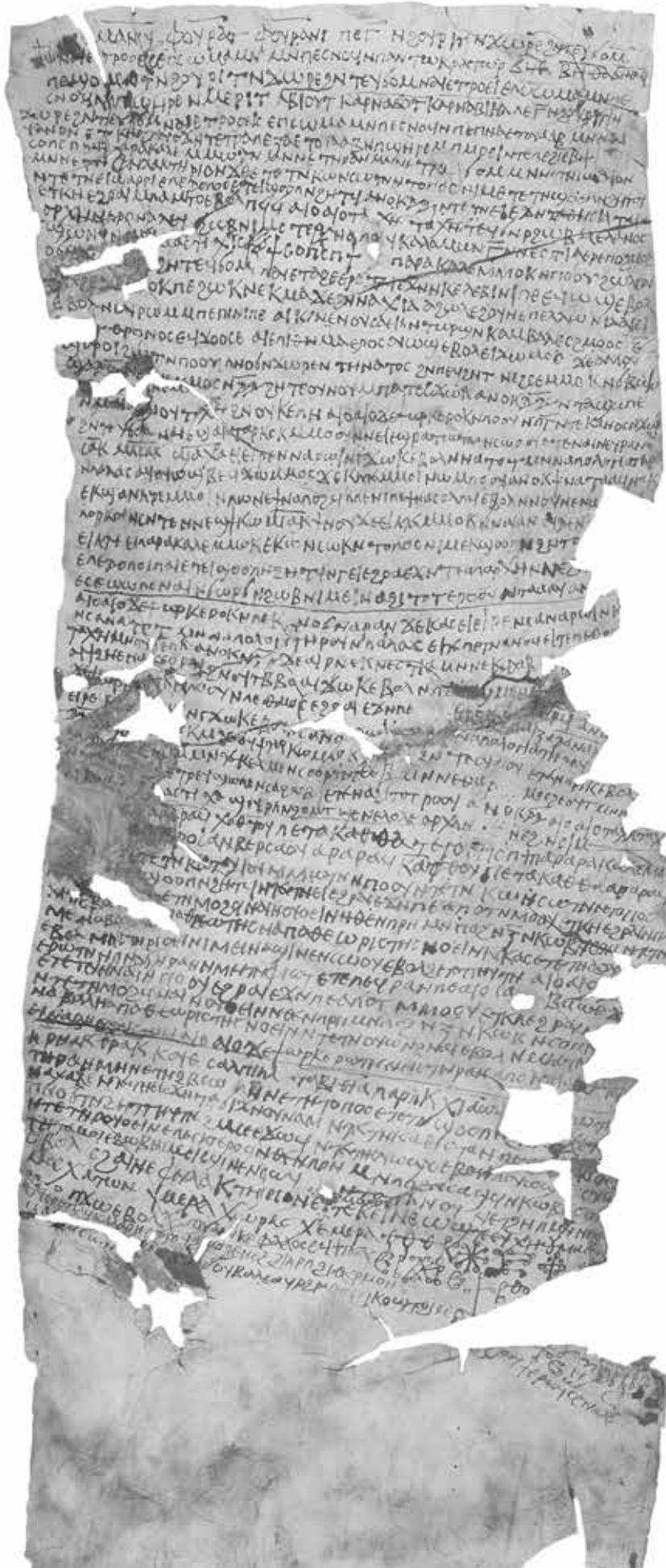


0 10cm

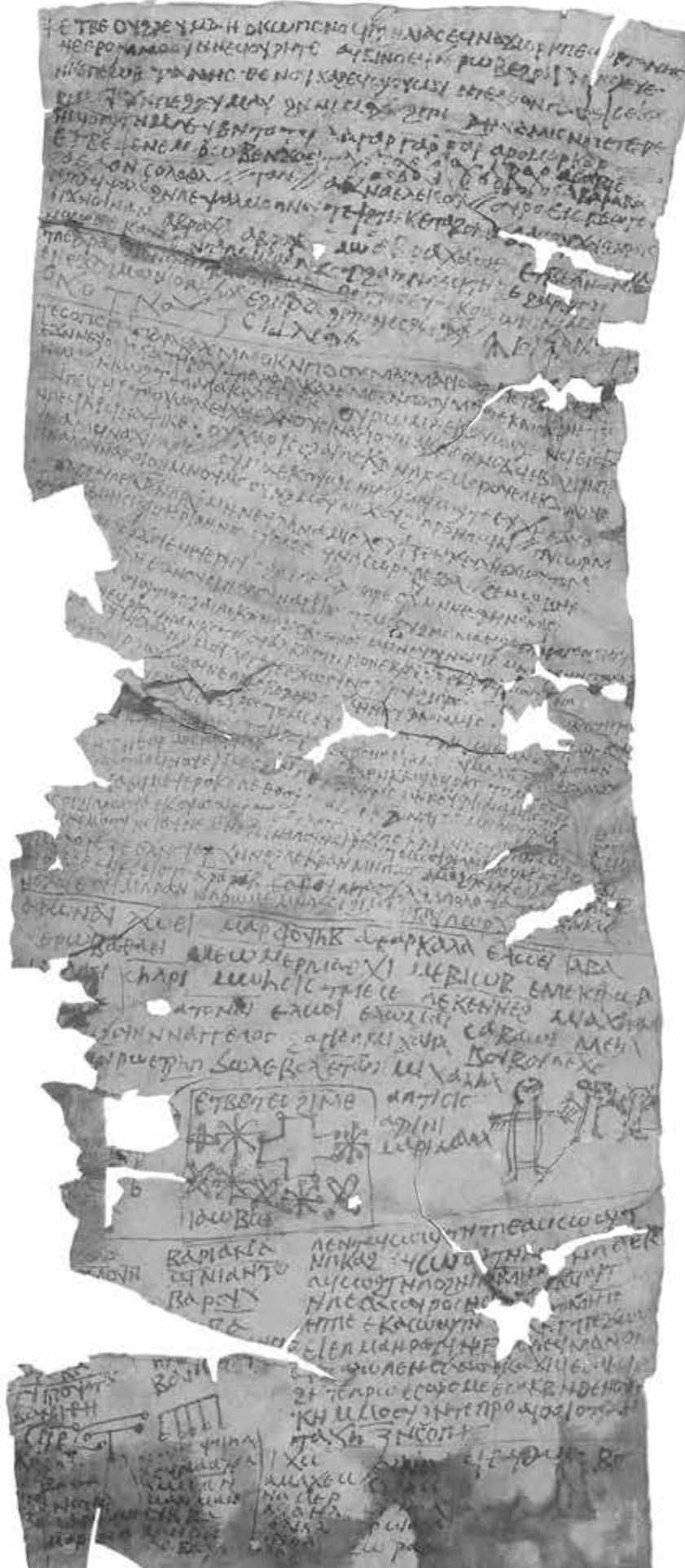
Hay 1



0 10cm



0 10cm



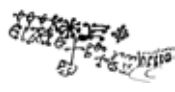
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(front) ‘Amanou, Phourat, Phourani, the three guardians strong in their power,
these ones who watch over the body and the blood of the almighty; Bēth, Bētha, Bēthai,
the three guardians strong in their power, these ones who watch over the body and the
blood of the beloved son; Abiout, Karnabot, Karnabiēl, the three guardians
5 strong in their power, these ones who watch over the body and the blood of the holy spirit and the remnant
that lies on the holy table of the son and the sign of the lamb, I
beg and I entreat you and your names and your powers and your images
and your amulets, that you leave every place where you are
and come to me, to the place where I am, I, NN, and you come upon my offering, this one
10 that lies before me, NN, yes, yes, quickly, quickly.’ Its procedure: black (ink),
finest (?) white wine – every thing – storax and calamus-juice, three (days) fasting, while the moon is full.
Mix these with mastic. ‘I beg, I entreat you today, Horus, the
great one strong in his power, this one who stands upon the iron bars (or, ‘on iron legs’), crying out
as follows, “It is I. Prick up your ears at my needs (?). I flew in to Pellonia, I came out
15 of a door of iron, I found a beautiful woman, red, dark-eyed, sitting
on a lofty throne. I desired her, I cried out, saying, ‘Come to me
myself today, great one, strong and powerful in his heart, rouse yourself and go
to NN, to bring her to NN, now, before she stings – I, NN, that I may be
with her, in quickness, in haste, yes, yes, for I adjure you today by the three decans, strong
20 in their power, these ones by whom I (customarily) adjure you, whom I cannot disobey, whose names are
Sak, Mēsak, Shacha, that I may carry out the (words) of my mouth, and you fulfil the (deeds) of my hand and every speech
of my tongue.’ He answered, saying, ‘What is it that you ask of me today? I will grant it to you.
If you ask me for stone, I will break it; iron, I will cut it; the roots of Amente, I will
pluck them out; the foundations of the prisons – hail to you! –, I cast them down.’ ‘What I ask of you is not these, nor ...:
25 what I ask and entreat of you is that you leave every place where you are and come to me,
to this place where I am, and descend upon the offering of radish-oil,
so that it may serve me as a preparation for everything that I will undertake, that I may do it, I, NN.
Yes, yes, for I adjure you by your great name, that I may do according to the (words) of my mouth, and you fulfil
the (deeds) of my hand and all the speech of my tongue, whether good or bad, in
30 quickness, in haste – I, NN, for I have performed your fasts and your prostrations ...
I have paid tribute (?) to you with purity, I have fulfilled all your service, I, NN, yes, yes,
for I adjure you today by the one who sits upon the throne, this one, Zadanaēl, that I may
do according to the (deeds) of my hand, and you fulfil the (words) of my mouth and all the speech of my tongue, I,
NN, for I adjure you today, I adjure you that at the moment that you turn your gaze upon the

35 ΑΠΑΡΧΗ ΝΕ2 ΝCΙΜ ΜΝ ΤΕΚΕΛΜΕ ΝCΟΟΡΤ Ν2ΕΕΒ ΜΝ ΝΕΘΑΡ vac. ΜΟC 2ΕΟΥΤ ΜΝ ΠΕΖ ρ
 ΝΑΤΩΩΜ ΕΤΡΕΥΩΠΕ ΝCΑ 2ΩΒ ΕΤΕΝΔ2Ι ΤΟΤ ΡΟΟΥ ΔΝΟΚ ΔΔ ΔΙΟ ΔΙΟ ΤΑΧΗ ΤΑΧ[Η]
 ΛΙΒΑΝΩC ΜΑCΤΙΧΕ ΩΟΥΡΗ Ν2ΟΜΤ ΩΕ ΝΕΛΟΛΕ ΔΡΧΗ Ν vac. ΝΕ2 ΝCΙΜ ς

. [c. 5] . ΔΙ ΔΡΑΡΑϣ ΧΑΘΟΥ ΠΕΤΑΚΑΘΘΑ ΤΕCΟCΠCΠ †ΠΑΡΑ {ΡΑ}ΚΑΛΕ ΜΜ-
 ΩΤΗ ΠCΥΡΟC ΔΝΒΕΡCΑΟΥ ΔΡΑΡΑϣ ΚΑΤΘΟΥ ΠΕΤΑΚΑΘΘΑ ΔΡΑΡΑϣ

40 ΧΕ[ΚΑ]C ΕΤΕΤΝΚΑΤΑ2ΙΟΥ ΜΜΩΤΝ ΝΠΟΟΥ ΝΤΕΤΝΚΩ ΝCΩΤΝ ΝΤΟΠΟC
 ΝΙΜ Ε[Τ]ΕΤΝΩΟΠ Ν2ΗΤ4 ΝΤΕΤΝΕΙ Ε2ΡΑΙ ΕΧΝ ΠΕΔΠΟΤ ΝΜΟΟΥ ΕΤΚΗ Ε2ΡΑΙ ΝΠΑ-
 ΜΤΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕΤΝΜΟ24 ΝΑΙ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΘΕ ΝΠΡΗ ΜΝ ΠΟ2 ΝΖ ΝΚΩΒ ΝCΟΟΠ ΝΤΕΤΝ-
 ΜΕ2 ΝΑΒΑΛ 2Η ΠΑΘ2ΕΩΤΗC ΝΑΠΑΘΕΩΡΙCΤΗC ΝΘΕΙΝ ΚCΚΑC ΕΤΕΤΝΔΟΥΩΝ2
 ΕΒΟΛ ΜΗCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΙΝΑΩΙΝΕ ΝCΩΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ 2ΙΤΟΤΤΗΥΤΝ ΔΙΟ ΔΙΟ ΧΕ [†ΩΡΚ]
 45 ΕΡΩΤΝ ΝΠΝΟ6 ΝΡΑΝ ΝΜΗΤ ΝΦΙΩΤ ΕΤΕ ΠΕϢΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΔΙΟ CΔ vac. ΒΔΩΘ Χ[Ε]
 ΕΤΕΤΝΕΙ ΝΑΙ ΝΠΟΟΥ Ε2ΡΑΙ ΕΧΝ ΠΕΔΠΟΤ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΤΚΗ Ε2ΡΑΙ Μ[ΠΑΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ]
 ΝΤΕΤΝΜΟ24 ΝΑΙ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΘΕ ΝΠΡΗ ΜΝ ΠΟ2 ΝΖ ΝΚΩΒ ΝCΟΠ Ν[ΤΕΤΝΜΕ2]
 ΝΑΒΑΛ ΝΑΠΑΘΕΩΡΙCΤΗC ΝΘΕΙΝ ΝΤΕΤΝΟΥΩΝ2 ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΜΗCΤΗ[ΡΙΟΝ Ν]ΙΜ
 ΕΙΝΑΩΙΝΕ ΝCΩ4 ΔΙΟ ΔΙΟ ΧΕ †ΩΡΚ ΕΡΩΤΝ ΝΝΕΤΝΡΑΝ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ Θ[Υ] ΜΔ[C]ΤΕΧΗ

50 ΗΡΝΑΚ ΘΡΑΚ ΚΟΥΘ CΑΛΠΙΝΑ ΤΑΒΙΘΙΑ ΠΑΡΗΚ ΧΙΑΩ †ΩΡΚ [Ε]ΡΩΤΝ [ΝΝΕ-]
 ΤΝΡΑΝ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΝ2ΒCΩ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΝΤΟΠΟC ΕΤΕΤΝΩΟΠ Ν2ΗΤΟΥ ΧΕ ΤΕ[Τ-]
 ΝΑΧΑΛΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΕΙ ΕΧΝ ΤΑΒΙΧ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ ΝΤΕΤΝΚΑΘΙCΤΑ ΝΠΕΤΝΘΡΟΝΟC
 ΠΝΟ6 ΤΝ2ΗΤΤΗΥΤΝ 2ΜCΕ ΕΧΩ4 ΝΤΕΤΝΟΥΩΨC ΕΒΟ ΝΠΟΥΩΨC ΕΟΥ . [c. 2-5]
 ΝΤΕΤΝΡ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΕΡΟ4 ΝΘΕ ΝΠΡΗ ΜΝ ΠΟ2 ΝCΑΩ4 ΝΚΩΒ ΝCΟΠ [ΝΤΕ-]
 55 ΤΝΤΑΜΟΙ Ε2ΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΙΩΙΝΕ ΝCΩ4 vac. ΝΤΟΤΤΗΝΟΥ ΝΕΤ2ΗΠ ΜΝ ΝΕΤ[ΟΥΟΝ2]
 ΕΒΟΛ C2ΑΙ ΝΕΦΗΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ `ΜΟΡΟΥ' ΕΤΕΚΕΙΝΕ ΩΨ ΤΕΕΥΧΗ ΘΥ ΜΑCΤΙ[ΧΗ 2Ι]
 ΜΟCΧΑΤΩΝ vac. ΥΜΕΛΑ ΧΩΡΑC ΧΕΜΕΡΑ 
 ΠΧΩ ΕΒΟΛ ς ΟΥΑΝΚΕΦΑΛΟC ΕϢ† ΤΚΑC
 ΟΥΕΡΕΤΕ ЧКАΛΑ 2ΗCΑΤ ΟΥ2ΜΟ 2Ε ΝΕ2 2Ι ΗΡΠ 2Ι ΘΕΡΜΟΝ

60 ΜΑΡΕϢΩ Ν[ΝΑΙ] ΕΒΟΛ ЧΝΔΛΟ ς ΟΥΒΑΛ ΕΔϢ 2ΡΟCΤΝ 2Ι ΚΩΨΤ 2Ι Μ vac. ΟΟΥ † ΕΡΟΟΥ CΕΝΑΛΟ

back (flesh)

+ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ2ΡΕΥΜΑ Η ΟΚΩ ΠCΝΟ4 ς 2ΗΛΙΑC ΕϢΝΑΧΙΟΡ ΜΠΕΩΡΤΑΝΗC
 ΝΕΕΡΟ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΝΕϢΟΥΡΗΤΕ ΔϢΒΙ ΝΠΕϢΕΡΩΒ Ε2ΡΑΙ ΔϢΩΕΥΕ
 ΝΚΕ ΠΕΩΡΤΑΝΗC ΘΕ ΝΟΥΚΑ2 ΕϢΩΟΥΩΥ ΝΤΕ2Ε ΟΝ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΕΚΔ-

35 ΑΠΑΡΧΗ ΝΝΕ2ΝCΙΜ Crum : [ΝΟΥ]ΝΑΜ Kropp Ν2ΕΕΒ Kropp : Ν2ΕΙΕΒ Crum ΝΕΘΑΡ vac. ΜΟC Crum : ΝΕΘ... ΜΟC Kropp ΠΕ... Crum (first unread letter 2 or 2?): Π. 2.. Kropp 36 ΝΑΤΩΩ[Μ] Crum : [.....] Kropp [Ε]ΤΡΕΥΩΠΕ edd. 37 ΛΙΒΑΝΩC? Crum : Kropp ΜΑCΤΙΧΕ Crum : ΜΑCΤΙΧΗ Kropp 38 [.] edd. ΤΕCΟ[C]ΠCΠ Kropp 38-9 ΜΜ[[ΩΤΝ]ΡΟC edd. 39 ΚΑΤΘΟΥ: Τ corr. from Ο (Θ?): ΚΑΘΘΟΥ, Θ' corr. from Τ, Kropp 40 ΩΤ[.] Crum : [.....] Kropp ΕΝΤΕΤΝΚΑΤΑ2ΙΟΥ edd. ΝΤΟΠΟC [ΝΙΜ] edd. 41 [ΕΤ]ΕΤΝΩΟΠ Crum : [ΕΤΕΤΝ]ΩΟΠ Kropp 42 ΜΤ[Ο ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤ]ΕΤΝΜΟ24 edd. ΝCΟΟΠ Crum : ΝCΟΠ Kropp 43 ΜΕ ΝΑ[ΒΑΛ ΝΑ]ΠΑΘ2ΕΩΤΗC edd. ΚCΚΑC Crum : ΝΚΑC Kropp ΕΤΕΤΝΔΟΥΩ[Ν2] edd. 44 ΜΗCΤΗΡΙΟΝ Crum : ΜΗCΤΗΡΙΟΝ Kropp ΧΕ Crum : Χ[Ε] Kropp 45 [.] edd. 47 ΚΩΒ edd. ΝCΟΠ [ΝΤΕΤΝΜΕ] edd. 48 ΝΜΗCΤ[ΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΙΜ] edd. 49 Θ()ΤΕ Crum : om. Kropp ΜΔ[C]ΤΕΧΗ: ΤΕΧΗ fitted in above the line 50 ΗΡΘΑ ΚΘΡΑΚ Crum : ΗΡΘΑ ΔΘΡΑΚ Kropp [ΕΡ]ΩΤΝ [ΜΝ ΝΕ] Crum : [ΕΡΩΤΝ ΜΝ ΝΕ] Kropp 51 ΧΕΚ[.] Crum : ...[.] Kropp 52 ΝΠΕΤΝΘΡ[Ο]ΝΟC edd. 53 .ΟΥC[.] Crum : .ΟΥ[.] Kropp 54 [Ν-] edd. 55 ΤΕΤΤΑΜΟΙ Kropp : ΤΤΤΑΜΟΙ Crum ΝΤΟΤΤΗΝΟΥ edd. ΝΕΤ[ΟΥΟΝ2] Till ap. Crum : ΝΕΤ[ΟΥΩΝ2] Kropp 56 ΘΥ in monogram ϑ, Crum : Θ Kropp ΜΑCΤΙ[ΧΗ] Crum : ΜΑC...[.] Kropp 57 ΜΑCΧΑΤΩΝ edd. 59 ΚΑΛΔ2 Crum : Kropp ΗCΑ2Τ Crum : ΗCΑΤ Kropp ΟΥ2ΜΟ Kropp : ΟΥ2ΙΜΟ Crum 60 ΜΑΛ...ΕΚϢC ЧΝΔΛΟ Crum : ΜΑΛ...Κ...ΛΤΟ Kropp 2Ι ΜΟΟΥ Kropp : 2ΙΜΕΟΥ or 2Ι .ΟΟΥ Crum 61 ΠCΝΟ4 Crum : ΠCΟ4 Kropp ΝΠΕΩΡΤΑΝΗC edd. 62 ΔΝΙΩΕΥΕ Crum : ΝΝΙΛΕΥΕ Kropp 63 ΝΚΕ Crum : ΝΤΕ Kropp ΠΕΩΡΤΑΝΗC edd. 64 ΒΙ ΜΜΔΥ Crum : ΝΟΥΧ Kropp

35 offering of radish-oil and the pad of lamb's wool and the wild lupine and the seven
 unslaked ..., they may assist the things that I will undertake, I, NN, yes, yes, quickly, quickly.””
 Incense, mastic, bronze brazier, grape wood, finest (?) radish-oil.
 ‘...AI ARARAF CHATHTOU PETAKATHTHA, I beg, I entreat you,
 the Syrian, ANBERSAOU ARARAF KATHTOU PETAKATHTHA ARARAF,
 40 that you deign today to leave every place
 in which you are and descend upon the cup of water that lies before
 me and fill it for me with light like the sun and the moon, sevenfold, and
 fill my eyes with divinity and my vision with light, that you reveal
 every mystery about which I shall inquire of you, yes, yes, for I adjure
 45 you by the great, true name of the father, whose name is Aio Sabaōth, that
 you descend for me today upon the cup of water that lies before me
 and fill it for me with light like the sun and the moon, sevenfold, and fill
 my eyes, my vision, with light, and reveal to me every mystery
 about which I shall inquire, yes, yes, for I adjure you by your names – speech; offering: mastic –
 50 ĒRNAK THRAK KOUTH SALPIĒL TABITHIA PARĒK CHIAŌ. I adjure you by your
 names and your garments and your places, in which you are, that you
 yield and descend upon my right hand and set up your great throne –
 the great one among you sits upon it – and spread out the extent ...
 and shine light on it like the sun and the moon, sevenfold, and
 55 inform me of everything about which I inquire of you, the hidden and the revealed.’
 Write the amulets; bind them to your thumb; utter the prayer. Offering: mastic and (?)
 musk-scented incense. ‘YMELA CHŌRAS CHEMERA.’ (*signs*)
 (*sign*). The end. A headache: (*signs*).
 A leg that is lame (and) in pain (?): salt and oil and wine and hot water,
 60 let him drink them, he will heal. An eye, when it has become clouded: ... and costus and water, apply to them. They will heal.
 (back) For discharge or shedding: (write with) the blood: ‘When Elijah was going to cross the Jordan,
 the river of water, on foot, he raised his staff, it dried up,
 the Jordan, like dry land. So too, Lord, may you
 take away the discharge from NN, by the power of the one in whose hand are

65 ΝΩΩΠΤ ΝΜΠΕΥΕ ΝΤΟΤϢ ΛΑΓΑΡ ΓΑΡΓΑΡ ΔΡΟΜΑΡΚΑΡ ≡
 ΕΤΒΕ ΦΕΝΕΜ ΩΒΒΕ ΝΧΟΕΙΤ ^{ϣϣϣϣϣϣ} `ΔΣΑΒΙΣ' ΣΑΒΑΡΑΒΑ
 ϢΑΕΔΟΝ ΣΟΛΟΕΛ ≡ ΤΑΠΕ ≡ ΑΚΝΑΕΛΕΚΟΥ ≡ ΟΥΡΟΕΙΣ ΓΕΩΓΕ
 ΝΤΑϢΨΑΛΕ ΖΝ ΠΕΨΑΛΜΟ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ † ΖΤΗΚ ΕΤΑΒΟΝΘΕΑ ΔΤΟΥΧΟΙ ΖΝ ΤΕΚ-
 ΒΙΧ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ ΔΒΡΑΧΑ ΔΒΡΑΧ vac. ΔΩ ΔΒΡΑΧΑΩΘ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΝΑ ΝΙΜ
 70 ΝΩΩΝΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΠΕΝΣΑΖ ΠΧΣ ΣΖΑΙ ΖΝ ΠΕϢΤΗΒΕ ΖΑΡΟΤΕΝ
 ΤΠΕΑΡΑΓΜΑ ΝΤΑϢΤΑΔϢ ΕΡΩΝ vac. ΖΙΤΗΣ ΕΤΑΛΚΟ ΨΩΝΙ ΝΙΜ Δ[ΥΩ]
 ΕΝΕΧ ΔΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΖΝ ΔΔΣ ΖΙΤΝ ΝΕΣΖΑΙ ΔΔ ^{ΑΒΙΡΑΚ}
^{ΑΚΟΤΝΑϣϣΩΝΕ}

75 ΤΕΣΟΠΣΠ †ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΝΠΟΟΥ ΜΑΡΜΑΡΙΩΘ ΠΕΤΖΜΦΣ ΕΖΡΑΙ
 ΕΧΝ ΝΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ †ΠΑΡΑ {ΡΑ} ΚΑΛΕ ΜΟΚ ΝΠΟΟΥ ΜΝ ΤΕΚΜΟΡΦΗ ΕΤΩ
 ΝΩΔΖ ΝΚΩΖΤ †ΠΑΛΑΚΑΛΕ ΜΟΚ vac. ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕΚΟΥΨΕ ΝΨΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΖΝ ΠΕϢΝΙ ΤΔΟΥΨ ΤΕΕΥΧΗ ΕΧΝ ΟΥΣΙΝΑΠΟΥ ΝΑΚΡΙΟΝ ΝΟΧϢ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΡΝ ΠΡΟ
 ΝΠΕϢΝΙ ϢΝΑΦΙΚΕ: ΟΥΧΑΡΙΣ ΣΖΑΙ ΠΕΚΔ ΝΠΡΕ ΜΟΡΟΥ ΕΠΕΚΧΝΑΖ ΝΟ-
 ΥΝΑΜ ϢΝΑΧΙ ΧΑΡΙΣ ≡ ΟΥΜΑ ΕΚΟΥΨΕ ΝΨΩΨϢ ΨΨ ΤΕΕΥΧΗ ΕΧΝ ΟΥ-
 80 ΣΙΝΑΠΟΥ ΝΑΚΡΙΟΝ ΜΝ ΟΥΜΟΟΥ ΝΖΜΟΥ ΝΟΧΟΥ ΖΙ ΠΡΟ ΝΠΕϢΝΙ ≡ ΟΥΣΩΡΜ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΣΖΑΙ ΠΕΚΔ ΝΠΡΕΣ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΔΗΝΑΜΙΣ ΛΟΓΙΖΕ ΝΤΕΕΥΧΗ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΤΟΜ-
 ΣΟΥ ΖΔ ΠΕΘΗΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΟΥΤΟΠΟΣ ϢΝΑΣΩΡΜ ΕΒΟΛ ≡ ΖΕΝΨΒΗΡ
 [ΕΚΟΥΨ]ΨΕ ΕΠΟΡΧΟΥ ΕΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΣΖΑΙ ΠΕΚΔ ΝΠΡΕΣΒ' ΜΝ ΝΕΥΔΗΝΑΜΙΣ
 [ΛΟΓΙΖΕ ΝΤΕ]ΕΥΧΗ ΕΧΝ ΟΥΣΙΝΑΠΟΥ ΝΑΓΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΜΣΟΥ ΖΝ ΠΜΑ ΨΩΔΥΠΑΡΑΓΕ ΝΖΗΤϢ
 85 [c. 9] . ΟΥΨΤΩ ΣΖΑΙ ΠΕΚΔ ΝΠΡΕΣΒΕΔΕΡΟΣ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΔΙΝΑΜΙΣ ΜΝ ΠΡΑΝ ΝΠΡΩΜΕ
 [ΟΥΣΗϢΕ ΝΚΑ]Ψ ΕϢΡΗΤ ϢΝΑΝΚΟΤΚ ΟΥΑΛΚΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΚΟΥΨΕ ΕΚΔΑϢ ΜΟΟΥ ΝΑ-
 [c. 2] . . . [.] . Ζ ΝΚΑΛΑ ΝΖΜΟΥ ΛΟΓΙΖΕ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΝΟΥΧΟΥ ΖΙ ΠΡΟ ≡ ΟΥ[Δ]ΛΚΑΣΤΗΡΙΟ[Ν]
 [ΕΚΟΥΨ]ΨΕ ΝΨΡ ΖΩΒ ΣΖΑΙ ΝΠΡΕΣΒΕΔΕΡΟΣ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΔΗΝΑΜΙΣ . [.] . ΚΛΗΣ ΜΝ
 [c. 5] Χ . ΤΑΥ ΕΥΛΙΚ ΝΒΡΡΕ ΤΟΜΣΟΥ ΖΙ ΠΕϢΡΟ ΟΥΜΙΨΕ ΜΝ ΟΥ† ΤΩΝ
 90 [c. 5] . ΖΝΨΗΙ ΖΙ . . . ΨΑΖ ΤΟΜΣΟΥ ΖΙ ΠΡΟ ΝΠΕϢΝΙ: ΟΥΜΕ ΛΩΓΙΖ[Ε] ΖΙΧΝ ΟΥ
 [c. 5] . Η Ζ ΝΘΑΡΜΟΣ ΝΑΓΡΙΟΝ ΜΝ ΟΥΣΗϢΕ ΝΚΑΨ ΕϢΡΗΤ ΤΟΜΣΟΥ ΖΙ [c. 4]
 [c. 5] ΧΝΣ ΤΑΔϢ ΝΟΥΣΙΜΕ ΣΖΑΙ ΠΕΚΔ ΝΠΡΕΣ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΔΗΝΑΜΙΣ ΤΟ[ΜΣΟΥ] ΖΜ Π-
 [c. 5] . . [.] ΟΥΑ ΕϢΜΕΥ ΕΡΟΚ ΕΠΕΘΟΟΥ ΣΖΑΙ ΠΕΚΔ ΝΠΡΕΣ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΔΗΝ[ΑΜΙΣ] ΖΔ ΠΕϢΝΙ
 [c. 3] ΤΟ[ΜΣΟΥ] ΖΙ ΠΡΟ/ ΟΥΑ ΕΚΟΥΨΕ ΕΤΑΚΟϢ ΛΟΓΕΖΕ ΝΠΕΚΔ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΔΗΝΑΜΙΣ
 95 ΖΑΧΝ ΟΥΜΟΟΥ ΝΣΙΔΥΝΕ ΜΝ ΟΥΣΙΝΑΠΟΥ ΝΑΓΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΜΣΟΥ ΖΕ ΠΡΟ ΝΠΕϢΝΙ ΟΥΜΕ Ν
 ΣΙΜΕ ΛΟΓΕΖΕ ΕΧΝ ΟΥΑΡΧΗ ΝΕΖ ΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΜΝ ΠΩΣ ΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΝΤΕΣΒΙΧ ΕΠΩΡΧ
 ΟΥΨΗΡΕ ΕΝΕΣΕΙΟΤΕ ΔΡΑΡΑΒ ΘΑΘΟΥ ΠΕΤΑΣΧΛϢ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΤΟΕΙΣ ΝΚΩ
 ΝΕΧϢ ΕΠΕΙ ΜΠΡΑΝ ΝΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΝ ΤΕΣΣΖΙΜΕ ΨΩΔΥΨΩΡΧ ≡

65 ΝΩΩΠΤ edd. 67 ϢΟΕΔΟΝ Crum: ..ε.ον Kropp ^{ΣΟΛΟ}Λ≡ Crum: ΣΟΛΚΟΛ≡ Kropp 68 ΝΤΑϢΨΑΛΕ Crum: Kropp ΕΤΑΒΟΝΘΕΙΑ Crum
 : ΕΤΑΒΟΘΙΑ Kropp ΔΙΤΟΥΧΟΙ Kropp: ΤΟΥΧΟΙ Crum 70 ΝΩΩΝΕ edd. κ... edd. ΤΑΠΕ ΝΣΑΙΝ ΧΕ Crum: ..ΠΕΝΣΑΙΝ ΧΕ Kropp ΖΑΡΕ..
 edd. 71 ΤΠΕ ΔΡΑ ΠΜΑ ΝΤΑϢΤ Crum: τπ_φλ..... Kropp ΘΕΤ Crum: ..Τ Kropp ΝΣΕΤΑΛΚΟ Crum: ΝΣΕΤΑΛΚΟ Kropp [....] edd.
 72 ΔΔΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΖΝ Crum: ...ΝΩΝΖ ΒΟΛΕ ΖΝ Kropp 74 ΜΑΡΜΑΡΙΩΘ Crum: ΜΑΡΜΑΡΙΩΘ Kropp ΠΕΤΖΜΦΟΣ edd. 76 ΕΒΟΛ
 Crum: ΕΒ|ΟΛ (76-7) Kropp 77 ΖΙΡΝ: Ϣ corr. from Ζ: ΖΙΡΝ Kropp: ΖΙΡΝ Crum 78-9 ΝΟΥΝΑΜ Crum: ΝΟΥΝΑΜ Kropp 79 ΕΚΟΥΨΕ Crum:
 ΕΚΟΥΨΕ Kropp 81 ΕΒΟΛ Crum: ΕΒ|ΟΛ Kropp ΝΤΕΥΧΗ edd. 81-2 ΤΟΜΣΟΥ edd. 82 ΖΙ ΠΕΘΗΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ Crum: ΕΠΕΘΗΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ
 Kropp 83 [ΕΚΟΥΨ]Ψ edd. 85] edd. 86 ΕΚΔΟϢ Crum: ΕΚΒΟϢ Kropp 87 [c. 8] Ζ edd. ΝΟΧΟΥ edd. 88 [ΕΚΟΥΨ]ΨΕ Crum: ΕΚΟΥΨΨΕ
 Kropp Μ[Ν Ν]ΕΥΔΗΝΑΜΙΣ edd. Ν...[Τ]ΚΛΗΣ edd. 89 Τ|ΕΥΧΗ Crum: ...ΕΥΛ ΜΝ Kropp ΝΒΡΡΕ Crum: ΝΠΡΡΕ Kropp [ΖΠΕϢ]ΡΟ edd.
 90 [?]..ΝΨΗΙΖΙΨΛ Crum: Kropp ΛΩΤ...ΝΟΥ edd. 91 Η... ΖΝ edd. ΘΑΡΜΟΣ Crum: ΘΟΥΜΟΣ Kropp ..ΝΟΥΣΗϢ edd.
 92 ...ΧΝΣ Crum: ...κ. Kropp ΝΟΥΣΙΜΕ Crum: ΝΟΥΕΙΜΕ Kropp ΤΟΜ[] edd. 93 [] ΟΥΑ edd. ΖΔ ΠΕϢΝΙ om. edd. 94 ..ΣΟΥ Crum:
 ..ΓΟΥ Kropp ΛΟΓΙΖΕ edd. ΝΕΥΔΗΝΑΜΙΣ edd. 95 ΖΙΧΝ Crum: ΕΧΝ Kropp ΟΥΜΟΟΥ Crum: ΟΥΜΟΥ Kropp ΝΠΕϢΝΙ edd. 96 ΣΙΜΕ
 Crum: ..ΜΕ Kropp ΝΤΕΣΒΙΧ Crum: ΝΤΕΣΒΖ Kropp edd. 97 ΨΩΗΡΕ ΕΝΕΣΕΙΟΤΕ Crum: ΨΟΥ ΝΘΕ ΕΝΕΣΕΙΟΤΕ Kropp ΝΤΑΣΧΛΥ
 Crum: ΠΕΤΑΣΧΛΥ Kropp ΤΡΕ.ΣΝΚΩ Crum: ΤΟΕ . ΟΝΚ≡ Kropp 98 ΝΕΧΟ|ΕΠΕΙ Crum: ΝΕΔ_ΔΛΕΙ Kropp

65 the keys of the heavens, LAGAR GARGAR AROMARKAR.’
 For sleep: (write on) an olive-leaf: (*signs*) ‘ASABIS SABARABA
 SAEDON SOLOEL TAPE AKNAELEKOU.’ Protection: ‘George,
 who hymned in the Psalm, “God, attend to my help,” save me with your
 right hand. ABRACHA ABRACH AŌ ABRACHAŌTH.’ For every spirit
 70 of sickness: ‘As our teacher, the Lord, wrote with his finger against you,
 the procedure (?) that he has given us with which to heal every sickness and (?)
 to cast out demons from NN by the writings of NN.’ (*signs*).
 (*signs*)
 ‘I beg, I entreat you today, Marmariōth, the one who presides
 75 over all the powers, I entreat you today and your form, which is
 a flame of fire. I entreat you.’ A man whom you wish to leave
 his house: recite the prayer over wild mustard, cast it at the door
 of his house. He will flee. Favour: write the 24 presbyters, bind them to your right forearm.
 It will give favour. A place that you wish to be deserted: utter the prayer over
 80 wild mustard and salt-water, cast them at the door of his house. Deranging:
 write the 24 presbyters with their powers, contemplate the prayer over them, bury
 them at the altar of a *topos*. It will derange. Friends
 whom you wish to divide against each other: write the 24 presbyters with their powers,
 contemplate the prayer over wild mustard, bury them in the place where they pass by
 85 ... Laying-low: write the 24 presbyters with their powers and the name of the man
 (on) a sprouted reed-stalk. He will be laid low. A workshop that you wish to make turn: water
 ... seven handfuls of salt. Contemplate (the prayer) over them, cast them at the door. A workshop
 that you wish to be productive: write the presbyters with their powers ...
 ... put them in a new bowl, bury them at its door. Quarrel and dispute:
 90 ... bury them at the door of his house. Love: contemplate over a
 ... or seven wild lupines and a sprouting reed-stalk, bury them at ...
 ... give it to a woman. Write the 24 presbyters with their powers, bury them in
 ... One who thinks ill of you: write the 24 presbyters with their powers in front of his house
 ... bury them at the door. One whom you wish to destroy: contemplate the 24 (presbyters) with their powers
 95 over bath-water and wild mustard, bury them at the door of his house. Love of
 a woman: contemplate your name and hers over fine (?) oil, take her hand. To separate
 a girl from her parents: ‘ARARAB THATHOU PETASDJLPH—’ speech (over) a discarded (?) rag,
 cast it into the house in the name of the man and the woman. They will be divided.

ΑΔΩΝΑΙ ΛΩΕΙ ΜΑΡΦΟΥΗΒ ΑΘΑΡΚΑΛΑ ΕΛΩΕΙ ΙΑΒΑ

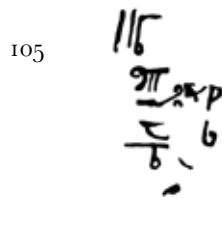
100 ΧΕΡΩΒΑΘΑΕΙ ΜΕΩΜΕΡΜΑΘΧΙ ΜΕΒΙΩΒ ΕΜΕΚΦΩΒ

ΜΑΛΛΑΕΙ ΣΗΛΡΙ ΜΩΗCIC ΤΜΕCΕ ΠΕΚΕΝΝΕΖ ΜΙΑΧΗΑΝΙ

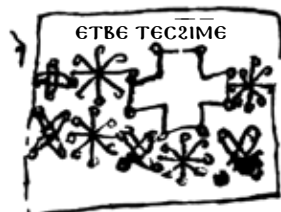
[...] ΟΕΙΕ vac. ΔΤΟΝΑΙ ΕΛΩΕΙ ΕΛΩΜΑC CΑΒΑΩΘ ΜΕΝΑ

[c. 7]. ΕΞΟΥΝ ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΔΑΓΙΟC ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΒΟΥΒΑΥ ΠΕΧC

[c. 9]. ΝΡΩ ΕΤΖΗΠ ΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΑΠ ≠ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ



[c. 5]. ΗΛ



ΙΑΩΒ \ Δ' ΩΘ

ΑΠΤΙCIC

ΑΔΙΝΙ

ΜΑΡΙΜΑΗΛ



(left col.)

110 ΒΟΛΟ
ΜΟΥΝ
ΦΡΕΚΕ
ΤΥΠΟΥΤΑ
ΒΑΝΙΘΗ

(centre col.)

115 ΒΑΡΙΑΝΑ
ΜΙΝΙΑΝΤΟ
ΒΑΡΟΥΧ
ΗΠΑΒΑ
ΒΑΝΕΤΑΝΦ

(lower left col.)

120 .Υ. ΗΛ
.ΒΑΘΗΛ
. . ΝΟΥΗΛ
ΒΑ . . . Ε . . .
ΜΑΡ . ΝΟ

(lower 2nd-left col.)

125 Ν . . . ΟΥΤΗΛ
ΔCΥΝΑΔΑΧΑΛ
ΑΜΜΑΝ
ΜΑΝΜΑΝ
CΥΒΒΑ
130 ΩΝΟΝ
ΔΑΒΑΧΑ

(lower 3rd-left col.)

135 ΙΧΩ
ΔΜΑΧΕΜ
ΝΑΜΕΡ
ΔΝΔΗΛ
ΔΛΙΗΛ
ΔΡΙΗΛ
ΕΛΟΙ

(lower 4th-left col.)

140 CΥΡΗΛ
CΥΛΗΜ
CΥΧΑΗΛ
ΔΡΜΙΑΗΛ
CΩΡΑΗΛ

(lower 5th-left col.)

4Θ4Θ4ΘΒC

(top right col.)

145 ΠΕΝΤΑCΩΨΤ ΝΤΠΕ ΔCΩΨΤ
ΝΠΚΑ2 ΔCΩΨΤ ΝΠΡΗ ΝΠΕΕΒΤ
ΔCΩ2Τ ΝΠΟ2 ΝΠΕΜΝΤ ΔC(Ω)ΨΤ
ΝΠΕΘΕCΔΥΡΟC ΝCΙΟΥ ΝΤΜΗΤΕ
ΝΤΠΕ ΕΚΑCΩΨΤ ΝΔΔ ΝΓΤΡΕ ΧΩ4
150 ΕΙ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΡΑΤ4 ΝΓ[Τ]ΡΕ ΠΕCΜΑ Ν2Ο-
ΟΥΤ ΨΩΠΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΚΑΧ14 ΕCΑΚ4
2Ν ΤΕΠΡΩ ΕCΩΟΜΕ ΕCΑΚΒ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΠ[Η-]
ΚΗ ΜΜΟΟΥ 2Ν ΤΕΠΡΟ ΔΙΟ ΔΙΟ ΤΑΧΗ
ΤΑΧΗ 2 ΝCΟΠ +

100 ΧΕΡΩΒΑΘΑΕΙ Crum : χερωβαθαει Kropf 101 [...]λαει Crum : [...]4 Kropf cηπρι Crum : κηπρι Kropf μιαχηαηι Crum : μιαχηωε Kropf 102 [...]ΟΕΙΕ Crum : [...]1ε Kropf ελωει Crum : ελωαι Kropf 103 []2ΟΥΝ edd. ΒΟΥΒΟΥ edd. 104 []ΝΡΩ Crum : [] ΟΥΡΩ Kropf ΒΩΛ Crum : βωλ Kropf εταπ Crum : εταπ Kropf 107 μαριμαηλ Crum : μαριμαμ Kropf 108 []ΗΛ om. edd. ΙΑΩΒΩΘ edd. 109 [] .Ο edd. 110 []ΛΟΥΝ edd. 111 φρ.κε edd. 117 [c. 5]βα | ηλ edd. 118 βαν . ταλ edd. 120-4 om. edd. 125 . . ΟΥΠΗΛ edd. 126 . . μαχαλ edd. 127 . . ΔΝ . . . edd. 128 . . . ΜΑΝ edd. 129 . . . edd. 130-1 om. edd. 136 . . Ν . . . edd. 137-8 om. edd. 140 edd. 141 . . Χ . . λ edd. 142 . . ΡΜΙ . . . edd. 143 cωρα . . . edd. 144 4Θ4Θ4Θ edd. 146 ηπεεβτ Crum : ηπεεβτ Kropf 147 αψτ Crum : [Δ]ψωψτ Kropf 148 ηπεεcαυροc Crum : ηπεεcαυροc Kropf ηc[. . .]ητμητε edd. 149 η[. . .]λ edd. 151 εcακ4 Crum : εcακ4/ Kropf 152-3 ΝΟΥΠ[Η]ΚΗ Crum : ΝΟΥ[ΠΗ]ΚΗ Kropf

'ADŌNAI LŌEI MARPHOUĒB ATHARKALA ELŌEI IABA
 100 CHERŌBATHAEI MEŌMERMATHCHI MEBIŌB EMEKPHŌB
 MALAEI SĒLRI MŌĒSIS TMESE PEKENNEH MIACHĒANI
 ...OEIE ATONAI ELŌEI ELŌMAS SABAŌTH MEĒL
 ... inside, to the angels, holy, Michaēl, Boubau, Christ
 ... which is hidden, release ETAP MICHAĒĒL.'
 105 For women: (*signs*) 'APTISIS (*signs*)
 (*signs*) ADINI (*signs*)
 (*signs*) MARMAĒL (*signs*)
 ...ĒL IAŌBAŌTH.

BOLO
 110 [.]MOUN
 ŌREKE
 TUPOPSTA
 BANITHĒ

BARIANA
 115 MINIANTO
 BAROUCH
 ĒPABA
 BANETANŌ
 (*signs*)

120 [.]U[.]ĒL
 [.]BATHĒL
 [.]NOUĒL
 BA[...]
 MAR[.]NO

125 N[...]OUTIĒL
 ASUNAACHAL
 AMMAN
 MANMAN
 SUBBA
 130 ŌNON
 DABACHA

ICHŌ
 AMACHEM
 NAMER
 135 ANAĒL
 ALIĒL
 ARIĒL
 ELOI

SURĒL
 140 SULĒM
 SUCHAĒL
 ARMIAĒL
 SŌRAĒL

FTHFTHFTHBS.

145 The one who impeded heaven, impeded
 earth, impeded the sun in the east,
 impeded the moon in the west, impeded
 the store-rooms of stars in the midst
 of heaven, you should impede NN and cause his head
 150 to go to the place of his foot and cause his male member
 to be like an ant that is frozen
 in the winter that is thin and frozen, like a spring
 of water in the winter, yes, yes, quickly,
 quickly.' Seven times.

Commentary

1–12. Invocation of three groups of three divine guardians to attend an offering, followed by instructions for the performance of the offering itself. The phrasing of the first six lines, in which the groups are associated with the three persons of the Christian trinity, is apparently modelled on descriptions of the elements of the eucharist, with an unusual attribution of body and blood to the father and holy spirit, as Kropp recognised (*AKZ* III, 65–7 §§115–16; see further the notes on 5–6 below). There is a parallel (as pointed out by Sebastian Richter) in an invocation for general protection in P.Heid. inv. K 685 (ed. Meyer 1996), p. 13.1–9, of three groups of three guardians, whose names also recall those of the Hay text, as watchers over the body (ΠCΩΜΑ) – but solely the body – of each person of the trinity: ΜΑΝΙΞ ΦΟΥΡΑΤ ΦΟΥΡΑΝΕΙ for the body of the father, ΔΒΙΟΥΘ ΓΑΡΝΑΒΙΟΥΘ ΓΑΡΝΑΒΙΝΑ for the body of Christ, and ΒΗΘ ΒΗΘΑΥ ΒΗΘΑΔΕΙ for the body of the holy spirit. Further on in the same invocation (p. 14.6–10), the collective of nine guardians is adjured ‘by these holy remnants (see 5–6 below with the note) that have been placed upon them’, lacking a referent but probably with some liturgical apparatus understood, such as the ‘holy table’ mentioned in the Hay text, which has fallen out of this later adaptation; the remnants are then identified as ‘the body and the blood of Jesus the son of God in the church of the first-born (understand *ϞΩΡΠ ΜΜΙΣΕ*: cf. the note on **Hay 4**, 26 below) in the heavens’ (ΕΝΕΛΙΨΑΝΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΕΤΑΥΚΩ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΖΙΧΩΟΥ ΠCΩΜΑ ΜΝ ΠΕCΝΟΒ ΝΙC ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΕΝ ΤΕΚΛΗCΙΑ ΝΕΩΗΡΕ ΕΠΜΙCΕ ΖΕΝ ΕΠΗΥΕ). For the stationing of powers expressed with respect to the trinity see further the notes on 1 and 2 below.

The blood of the lamb, as figure of Christ, is mentioned along with iron (perhaps of the nails of the cross, which appears further on in the same invocation of P.Heid. inv. K 685 cited above) and unleavened bread as the agent of the binding of a dog in an amulet attributed to the Egyptian goddess Isis: P.Lond.Copt. Or. 1013A (ed. Erman 1895), 17, *ϞΜΗΡ ΖΜ ΠΠΗΝΙΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΟΕΙΚ ΝΑ΄Τ΄ΙΡ ΜΝ ΠCΝΟϞ ΜΠΕΙΖΙΝΒ*. Blood ‘on the pen of the almighty’, whose further specification is lost, is addressed directly in an invocation in *P.HermitageCopt.* 71 i 3–5, *ϞΕΡΕ ΠΕCΝΟϞ [c. 5] ΕϞ ΖΝ ΠΚΑΛΑΜΑΡΙΟΝ [ΝΠΠΑΝΤΟ]ΚΡΑΤΩΡ*, and a chalice of blood from which the angels have drunk is referenced in the adjuration of P.Heid. inv. K 685 (ed. Meyer 1996), p. 7.23–4 (*ΠΑΠΑΤ ΝΕCΝΟΒ ΠΑΙ ΤΑΝΑΓΓΕϞΟC CΩ ΝΖΗΤϞ*).

The ideal of the eucharist-offering in turn figures the temporal offering of the practitioner, with which the guardians are tempted to descend. This link is reinforced by the parallel phrasing and structure of their descriptions as *ΠΛΙΨΑΝΟΝ ΕΤΚΗ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΕϞΝ ΤΕΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ* (5–6) and *ΤΑΘΗCΙΑ ΤΑΙ ΕΤΚΗ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΜΠΑΜΙΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ* (9–10), respectively.

Ι ΔΜΑΝΟΥ ΦΟΥΡΑΤ ΦΟΥΡΑΝΙ ΠΕΓ ΝΖΟΥΡΙΤ. Α fragmentary invocation in **Hay 3**, 51, gives three names, the last two of which are similar to the present group, which may belong in turn to a composite, together with **Hay 4**, 47–51, including versions of the *ΒΗΘ ΒΗΘΑ ΒΗΘΑΙ* and *ΔΒΙΟΥΤ ΚΑΡΝΑΒΟΤ ΚΑΡΝΑΒΙΝΑ* addressed in the following clauses of the present invocation. There is a similar invocation of three groups of guardians with epithets referring to the three persons of the Christian trinity, there for protection, in

P.Heid. inv. K 685 (see above), and also in P.Berl. inv. P 22185 (ed. *BKU* III 387), 43–52: first *ΜΑΝΙΞ ΦΑΡΕΘ ΦΩΡΑΝΑΥ ΠΩΟΜΕΤ ΝΖΟΥΡΙΤ ΕΤΡΟΕΙC ΕΠΙΩΤ ΠΑΝΤΩΚΡΑΤΩΡ*, second *ΔΒΙΟΥΤ ΔΓΑΡΙΑΒΙΟ ΖΡΑΓΟΥΗΛ ΠΩΟΜΕΤ ΝΖΟΥΡΙΤ ΕΤΡΟΕΙC ΕΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΠΙΩΤ ΠΑΝΤΩΚΡΑΤΩΡ*, and third *ΒΗΘ ΒΗΘΑ ΒΗΘΑΔΕΙ ΠΩΟΜΕΤ ΝΖΟΥΡΙΤ ΕΤΡΟΕΙC ΕΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ*. The three powers invoked in P.Heid. inv. K 686 (ed. Kropp 1966), p. 11, 176–7, are said to be those who watched over Mary while she was pregnant with Christ (*ΠΓ ΝΑΥΝΑΜΙC ΝϞΩΩΡΕ: ΕΤΡΑΕΙC ΡΑC ΤΕ ΝΑΙ ΤΕ ΝΕΡΑΝ: ΓΑΡΜΑΝΙΝΑ ΕΞΙΝΑ ΧΟΥΧΟΥΚΑΚCΑ*). Compare also perhaps P.Berl. inv. P 10587 (ed. Richter and Wurst 1993), ii 6–7, [*ΕΤΑΖΡΑΤΟΥ [Ϟ]ΩΗΡΕ*, and for the guarding of sacred apparatus associated with the trinity, the invocation of seven archangels in P.Berl. inv. 22124 (ed. *BKU* III 392), 7–9, as *ΤΙCΑΩΒΕ ΝΤΗΝΑΜΙC*, followed in a damaged context by a form of the verb *ΖΑΡΕΖ* and reference to ‘the altar’ (*ΠΘΗCΙΑCΤΗΡΙΟ[Ν]*, 10), then the epithet ‘firstborn’ (*ΩΗΡΠ ΜΙCΕ*, 11).

More generally comparable are the various groups of three guardians (*ΦΥΛΑΞ*) introduced in the *First Book of Jeu* 7–32 (the so-called Codex Bruce, ed. Schmidt and Macdermot 1978a, 52–78). In the subsequent narrative of the passage through various treasuries (33–40, ed. pp. 83–92), these same guardians are also associated with ‘places’ (*ΤΟΠΟC*), like those of the Hay manuscript (see 8 below), and they are said to allow passage into a *ΤΟΠΟC* only after the presentation of seals (*CΦΡΑΓΙC*), ciphers (*ΥΗΦΟC*) and names (*ΡΑΝ*). This pairing of places and credentials was taken up in invocations of angelic powers throughout the Coptic magical papyri (see also the notes on 7–9 and 21–2 below); for a consideration of the guardians and their accompanying iconography in other attestations see now Dosoo 2021b, 130–2.

ΝϞΩΡΕ ΖΝ ΤΕΥCΟΜ. The epithet, applied also to the Egyptian god Horus in 12–13 and to three decans in 19–20 below, is paralleled for other divinities in P.Schott-Reinhardt 500/1 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 123), 11, *CΝΑΥ ΕΤΕΝΑΤΟC ΝϞΟΟΡΕ ΖΕΝ ΤΕΥCΟΜ*; P.CtYBR inv. 882 A (ed. S. Emmel, *ACM* Appendix 345 no. 1), 1, *ΔΜΟΥ ΝΑΙ ΠΟΟΥ ΠϞΩΡΕ ΖΝ ΤΕϞCΟΜ*; and perhaps also P.Köln 10235 (see the note on 12–19 below). For the phrase, see Stegemann 1935a, who identifies a Hebraism deriving ultimately from the Coptic version of Psalm 102(103):20. For *ϞΩ(Ω)ΡΕ* on its own applied to decans see also the invocation for erotic magic in P.Leid. inv. F 1964/4.14 (ed. Green 1987 with Green 1988), front, 6.

2 *ΕΤΡΟΕΙC*. For *ΕΤΡΟΕΙC*, with anomalous doubling of *Ο* as also in 5 below and *ΝCΟΟΠ* in 42, probably from uncertainty about the orthographic conventions for gemination of vowels in standard Sahidic; cf. *ΕΤΡΟΕΙ* in 3 below. For the verb in the present context compare P.CtYBR inv. 1800 qua (ed. S. Emmel, *ACM* Appendix 353–5 no. 4), 4, an invocation of an angel *ΠΑΙ ΕΤΡΟΕΙC ΕΤΕCΚΥΝΗ ΕΝΠΙΩΤ*. More generally the verb is found several times in amuletic contexts: e.g. *P.Pintaudi* 65.4, *ΙC ΧC ΡΟΕΙC*, and P.Nahman s.n. (ed. Drescher 1950), 33–5, an adjuration *ϞΕΚΑC ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΑΦΟΡΙ ΜΠΕΪΦΥΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟ[Ν] ΕΤΕΤΝΕΡΟΕΙC ΕΡΟϞ ΖΔΒΟΛ ΜΠΕ[ΘΟΟΥ] ΝΙΜ*; for further imperative forms with this verb addressed to angelic powers: P.Col.Copt. parch. 1–2 (ed. Schiller 1928 with Van der Vliet 1991, 239–41), 23, P.Vind. inv. K 8303 (ed. Stegemann 1934a, 28, 79–82 no. LI),

B, 4–5, and P.Vind. inv. K 11088 (ed. Hevesi 2015), B, 1; and twice among a complex tableau of magical words and signs in P.Heid. inv. K 514 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 136, see the drawing at pp. 390–1). It is also applied to the activity of angelic ministers (ΛΙΤΟΥΡΓΟΣ) in the prayer of Seth, son of Adam, in P.Mich. inv. 593 (ed. Worrell 1930, 251).

ΒΗΘ ΒΗΘΑ ΒΗΘΑΙ. The names are found as the first three of the 24 heavenly presbyters (cf. Revelations 4–5, 11, 19, and the note on 78 below) in P.Lond.Copt. Or. 6796 recto (2, 3) (ed. Kropp, *AKZ*I, text G), 44, **ΒΗΘ ΒΗΘ[Δ] ΒΗΘΑΙ**, with a variant in P.Lond.Copt. Or. 5525 (ed. Kropp, *AKZ*I, text C), 109, **ΒΗΘ ΒΗΘΑΙ ΒΗΘΑ ΒΗΘΑΡΙ**. Subsequently, as here, they appear to circulate independently: **ΒΗΘ ΒΗΘΑ ΒΗΘΑ** in P.Lond.Copt. Or. 6796 (4) (ed. Kropp, *AKZ*I, text J), 54–5, and P.Carlsberg 52 (ed. Lange 1932 with Brashear 1991, 16–62), f. 1v.4–5, where a demon is adjured by **ΙΒΒΘΔΒΔ ΒΗΘΑ ΒΗΘΑΙ ΒΩΘ**; among the ritual signs (*charakteres*) in the form of letters with ringed termini whose inscription is prescribed in a recipe in P.Heid. inv. K 679 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 142), back, 31, the sequence **ΒΗΤ ΒΗΘΑ ΒΗ** can be discerned. They may also be integrated among other groups of holies, such as the nine guardians of paradise (Θ ΝΥΡΗΤΕΛΑΣ ΕΠΑΡΑΤΙΩΣ) in P.Berl. inv. 5535 (ed. Beltz 1984, 85), 1–2, and the twelve divinities associated in groups of three with each of the cardinal directions, in their case west (ΠΕΜΝΤ), in **Hay 4**, 48.

3 **ΕΤΡΟΕΙ**. For **ΕΤΡΟΕΙΣ**: cf. **ΕΤΡΟΕΙΣ** in 2 above and 5 below.

4 **ΔΒΙΟΥΤ ΚΑΡΝΑΒΟΤ ΚΑΡΝΑΒΗΛ**. A similar group of protective powers **ΔΒΙΟΥΤ ΚΑΡΝΑΒΟ ΚΑΡΝΑΒΑ** is assigned to the cardinal direction south, in **Hay 4**, 50.

5 **ΕΤΡΟΕΙΣ**. For the form see 2 n. above.

ΝΠΕΠΝΑ. An unmarked *nomen sacrum* (Greek **πῶνα** for πν(εδμ)α).

5–6 **ΠΛΙΨΑΝΟΝ**. The term, a loanword from Greek λείψανον ‘remnant’ (by extension ‘relic’ sc. of one deceased), is not otherwise known in Coptic liturgical terminology in the sense of the eucharist (Kropp, *AKZ*II, 48) but appears to have that sense in a related co-optation of eucharistic language in a magical invocation in P.Heid. inv. K. 685 (see above). It may also be paralleled in an invocation for erotic magic: an adjuration for supernatural powers to bring the target to the user references ‘the remnants that are [...]’ (**ΝΕΛΙΨΑΝΟΝ ΕΤΕ**), perhaps e.g. **ΕΤΕ[Ν ΤΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ]** as here, ‘that are on the table’) as well as ‘your (s.) amulets’ (**ΝΕΚΦΥ**), in an unpublished formulary on a palimpsest leaf from a biblical codex, *P.Monts.Roca* II 4 + P.McGill MS NO Coptic 2 (for the join and the original biblical text see Jones 2013). An interesting coincidence of λείψανον and ‘the holy table’ is found in the *Spiritual Meadow* of John Moschus (a further fragment published by Mioni 1951, here §12, as an addendum to the PG text): the ‘remnants from the holy table’ (λείψανα τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης) of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, that is, the bread offered and blessed but not used in the *anaphora* (for parallels in the Coptic liturgy: Mikhail 2020, 209–19), are collected by the sacristan and fed to children at a nearby school (on this text see further Duffy 2012; Gross 2020, 154–60), providing in turn an example of a pathway by which such products of the liturgy could reach private hands. In Coptic documentary texts, the term is applied to the remains of the human dead: Förster, *WB* 467–8; for a literary

attestation in a similar sense: Dijkstra and Van der Vliet 2020, 225 (note the spelling **ΛΥ**).

6 **ΤΕΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ**. From Greek **τάπεζα** (cf. Förster, *WB* 816); the qualification **ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ** suggests a component of the same liturgical apparatus as the preceding **ΠΛΙΨΑΝΟΝ** and perhaps the following **ΠΜΟΕΙ**, which could be the altar in general (as in the Greek term: see the previous note) or the paten used to hold the eucharistic bread (Mikhail 2020, 126).

ΠΜΟΕΙ. For **ΜΑΕΙΝ** (Kropp, *AKZ*II, 49, thinks of **ΠΜΟΕΙ(Τ) ΝΤΕ ΠΕΣΙΕΒ**; Frankfurter and Meyer render ‘in the <place>’); the loss of **Ν** can be explained by haplography with the following **ΝΤΕ**, or by a general weakness of the nasal as in the preceding **Μ(Ν)**. The ‘sign’ of the lamb may refer to the marking of the elect in Revelations 14:1, a narrative context to which the divinities **ΒΗΘ ΒΗΘΑ ΒΗΘΑΙ** invoked above may also belong (see the note on 2 above), or (the suggestion of Jacques van der Vliet), in the context of other terminology from the eucharist, to the metaphorical appellation of the offering as the lamb (as **ἀμνός** in Greek: see Lampe 1961, 90a s.v. 4; and e.g. the accompanying prayer in an 8th-century Greek manuscript probably of Egyptian origin, **ὁ προσθεὶς ἕαυτὸν ἀμνὸν ἄμωμον**: Parenti and Velkovska 2000, 71; Mikhail 2020, 316), the sign in that case perhaps specifically a mark in the shape of a cross made in the liturgy of the Coptic church over the offering-loaves (a symbolic ‘baptism of the lamb’, on which see Mikhail 2020, 219, 227–30; denoted in a 17th-century euchologion as ‘rašm al-ḥamal’ (‘signing of the lamb’): Mikhail 2020, 268; similarly a 15th-century liturgy in which the bread is presented to the patriarch ‘li-yumassiḥ wa-yaršumahu’ (‘so that he may anoint and sign it’): Mikhail 2020, 270–1).

6–7 **†ΣΟΠΣ ΔΥ †ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕ**. With **ΔΥ** for **ΔΥΩ**, a rare but attested variant: *P.Bal.* p. 64 §18B. This synonymous pair of Coptic and Greek verbs of entreaty is popular in invocations and may render the pair **δέομαι καὶ παρακαλῶ** of Greek prayers (e.g. [John Chrysostom.] PG 63:926). For an instance particularly concerned with the activation of a ritual material, in this case oil to confer ‘grace’ or favour (**χάρις**), see P.Köln inv. 1471 (ed. *P.KölnLüddeckens* Copt. 3; cf. *P.KölnÄgypt.* I 10), 1–8, **†ΣΟΠΕΣ †ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΙ ΝΜΟΚ ΝΠΟΥΥ ΠΡΕΜ ΝΑΣΑΡΕΤ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΖΕΦΡΕΟΣ**; further e.g. P.Berl. inv. 22185 (ed. *BKU*III 387), 36–7; P.CtYBR inv. 882 A (ed. S. Emmel, *ACM* Appendix 345 no. 1), 4; P.Heid. inv. K 544b (ed. Quecke 1963, 248–54 no. I), 9–10; P.Heid. inv. 1680 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 141), 7; P.Heid. inv. K 683 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 140), 1–2, 23; P.Lond.Copt. Or. 6796 (2, 3) verso (ed. Kropp, *AKZ*I, text H), 29–30; P.MorganLib. inv. M.662B 22 (ed. MacCoull 1979–82, 10–14), 7; P.Vind. inv. K 7091 (ed. Stegemann 1934a, 17–18, 34–5 no. XVII with Till 1935b, 208), 1–2; P.Vind. inv. K 7093 (ed. Stegemann 1934a, 18, 38–40 no. XIX), 3–4; P.Vind. inv. K 8638 (ed. Stegemann 1934a, 22, 52–3 no. XXVIII with Till 1935b, 211), 2–3. For the loanword **παρακαλέω** see further Förster, *WB* 615–17, and in magical contexts, P.Macq. inv. 588 (ed. Dosoo 2018), 12–13 with the commentary.

7–9. The appeal to a series of attributes of the invoked powers (here including the Greek loanwords **φυλακτήριον** and **ζώδιον**) is a common motif in Coptic magical adjurations, possibly with Gnostic origins: see in general Kropp, *AKZ*III, 225 §384 and the note on 1 above. Examples

include an adjuration by amulets, names, powers, *charakteres* and place **ΝΤΑΥΝΤΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ**, in a Coptic amulet against tonsillitis from Antinoopolis, P.Ant. inv. 15.11.13 (ed. Delattre 2014), 17–20; an invocation of the six powers of Death (**ΤΣΟ ΕΝΤΗΝΑΜΙΣ ΕΜΠΜΟΥ**) to sicken and kill an enemy, inscribed in three versions on two bones (ed. Drescher 1948), here bone A, convex side, 23–32, **ΠΩΡΕΚ ΕΡΩΤΕΝ ΕΝΝΕΤΕΝΡΑΝ {ΜΕΝΕΤΕΝΡΑΝ} ΜΕΝ ΝΕΤΕΝΣΟΜ ΜΕΝ ΝΕΤΕΝΤΟΠΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΠΟΥΧΑΙ ΕΜΠΜΟΥ**; an invocation of unnamed powers for erotic magic in P.Berl. inv. 8325 (ed. BKUI 4; Beltz 1983, 74–5), 1–3, **ΤΙΟΡΚ ΕΡ[ΩΤΗΝ ΜΝ ΝΕ]ΤΗΡΑΝ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΝΣΟΜ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΝΦΥΛΑΚΤ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΕΟΟΥ ΕΤ[ΕΤΗ]ΩΟΡΗ Ν[2]ΗΤΟΥ**. For the ζῳδίου in particular see also **Hay 3**, 41, 46, and **Hay 4**, 80.

8 ΝΕΤΝΦΗΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ. For **-ΦΥΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ** (Greek φυλακτήριον): the spelling with **Η** for **Υ** is essentially confined in Coptic to Greek loanwords, as also several other times in this text: *P.Bal.* p. 88 §59.

9–10. The request for divinities to descend upon offerings is common in Coptic magical texts. Here no purpose other than the presence of the invoked powers is specified. Often the presented substances are meant to be activated by the invoked powers' presence and then put to terrestrial use, which is referenced in turn: the most relevant parallel for the nexus of ritual object-presentation and appeals for the descent of divine powers is for some honey in an invocation of the sun (**ΠΡΕ**) to provide illumination (cf. 42–3 below with the notes), P.Köln inv. 20826 (ed. *P.Köln XV* 640), front, 3–4, **ΕΚΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧ(Ν) ΠΕΙΕΧΙΩ ΕΚΕ† ΕΝΖΗΤ ΕΡΟΧ ΜΠΕΔΙ(Μ) ΜΗΤΣΝΟΟΥΣ Ν(Δ)ΕΝΑΜΙ**; other aims include improving one's singing voice in P.CtYBR inv. 1791 fol (first text; ed. S. Emmel, *ACM* Appendix 346–51 no. 2), 49–50, **ΝΕΓΑΖΕΡΑΤ ΖΕΧΕ ΝΠΙΑΠΟΤ ΕΤΚΗ ΕΡΑΙ ΕΜΠΑΜΤΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ**; healing and protection in P.Berl. inv. 8319 (ed. BKUI 9; Beltz 1983, 70–1), **ΕΧΝ ΠΙΑΠΟΤ Π[c. 6]Ε ΖΝ ΤΑΒΙΧ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ**, and P.Berl. inv. 11347 (Beltz 1985, 32–5), recto, 12, **ΕΚΕΤΗΝΝΟΟΥ ΜΠΕΚ[Π]ΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΤΕΧΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΖΙΧΜ ΠΙΝΕΖ ΕΤΖΝ ΤΑΒΙΧ ΕΧΣΦΡΑΓΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΧ ΖΜ ΠΡΑΝ ΜΠΩΤ ΜΝ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ** (the request is then repeated for various other classes of heavenly beings) with a prayer for deities to send a subordinate along similar lines in P.Heid. K 686 (ed. Kropp 1966), p. 4, 61–2, **ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΤΕΝΤΕΝΝΑΥ ΝΑΙ ΜΠΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΩΣ ΜΙΧΑΝ ΖΙΧΝ ΠΙΜΑΥ: ΜΝ ΠΙΝΕΖ ΕΤΚΗ ΜΠΑΜΕΤΑ ΕΒΑΛ** (cf. also, for a cup of wine to make a woman fertile, P.MorganLib. inv. M.662B 22 (ed. MacCoull 1979–82, 10–14), 10 and 22); gaining favour in P.Lond.Copt. Or. 6794 (ed. Kropp, *AKZI*, text E), 16–18, **ΝΤΕΤΝΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΝ ΠΕΙΑΠΟΤ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΚΗ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΜΠΑΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕΤΝΜΑΖΗ ΝΧΑΡΙΣ ΖΙ ΠΝΑ ΕΧΟΥΛΑΒ**; erotic magic, for an ostrakon inscribed with ritual text and designs and covered with honey in P.Köln inv. 1470 (ed. Weber 1975), 3–4, **ΑΜΟΥ ΝΑΪ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΧΝ ΤΙΒΕΛΧΕ ΝΟΜΕ ΕΤΚΗ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΠΑΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΝ ΠΙΣΟΥΤΙΟΥ Ν' ΜΝ ΠΙ'Υ'ΕΒΪΩ ΜΝ ΝΕΦΗΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ**. A reflex of this type of summoning continues in a late and southerly context: an ostrakon from the medieval Nubian site of Gebel Adda, O.Toronto ROM acc. 973.24.813, described by Łajtar 2014 and to be published in full by him, where in 4–7 three triplets of related imperatives, **ἔρχου ἔρχου ἔρχου | κάθησον κάθησον | κάθησον, ἄκουσον ἄκουσον | ἄκουσον** can be read from the photograph ('come, come, come, sit, sit, sit, listen, listen, listen').

For the situating relative clause compare also that applied to some oil, to grant favour (**ΧΑΡΙΣ**), in P.Köln inv. 1471 (ed. *P.KölnLüddeckens* Copt. 3; cf. *P.KölnÄgypt.* I 10), 16–18, **ΠΙΝΕΖ ΕΤΚΗ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΝΠΑΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ**; similarly for a blessing of wine, water and honey to grant a good singing voice, in P.Berl. inv. 8318 (ed. BKUI 8; Beltz 1983, 68–70), 10–11; some water and oil for favour, healing and blessing in P.Lond.Copt. Or. 6796 (2, 3) verso (Kropp, *AKZI*, text H), 89–91; the oil and water over which the prayer of Mary is uttered, P.Lond.Copt. Or. 4714 (1) (ed. *P.Lond.Copt.* I 368), p. 10, 13–21, in **ΩΔΑΝΤΕΚΧΩΚ ΝΑΪ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΑΛΑΣ ΕΤΕ ΠΙΜΟΟΥ ΠΑΪ ΜΝ ΠΙΝΕΖ ΝΑΪ ΕΤΚΗ ΕΡΑΪ ΜΠΑΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΕΩΩΠΕ ΝΤΑΛΣΟ**.

9 ΕΠΕΔΟΠΟΣ. The Greek τόπος (for parallels see 1 n. above) with interchange of dentals (as in this same word in 26 below; cf. *P.Bal.* pp. 130–1 §111) and insertion of **Ε** with respect to the **ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ** that might have been expected (parallels: *P.Bal.* p. 124 §95; **Hay 2**, 1, **ΠΑΠΕΣΕΡΩΒ ΝΠΕΝΙΠΕ** with the note; cf. also 8 above and 25 and 40 below), although the recurrence of the latter in **ΕΠΕΔΟΠΟΙ** in 26 below might suggest instead a reduced form of the near demonstrative ('this place') as in **ΝΤΕΖΕ** in 14 (see the note there).

ΔΔ. An abbreviation of a Greek formula of identification by the mother's name (metronymic), following traditional Egyptian magical practice, specifically (ὁ) δεῖνα (τῆς) δεῖνος 'so-and-so son of her, so-and-so', or (ὁ) δεῖνα (ὄν ἔτεκεν ἢ) δεῖνα 'so-and-so whom she, so-and-so, bore'. On the magical use of the metronym see Curbera 1999, *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5304 ii 4–5 n., and for Coptic the commentary in Zellmann-Rohrer and Love 2022, 116; the form with the relative clause in **ἔτεκεν** renders Demotic **r-ms**: Dieleman 2010.

10 ΜΠΑΜΤΟ. For **ΜΠΑΜΤΟ** (cf. **ΝΠΑΜΤΟ** in 41–2 below): the inserted vowel before **Τ** is anomalous, perhaps related to the proposed etymological relation of this word to **ΜΗΤΕ** (Crum, *CD* 193a); cf. also the parallels for **τ** as reflex of etymological **č** collected in *P.Bal.* p. 56 §3.

ης. The abbreviation, for which cf. e.g. P.Heid. inv. 1682 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 137), 11, takes the place of the commoner **ΔΔ** as in 9 above, of which it is probably a cursive writing.

ΔΙΟ ΔΙΟ ΤΑΧΗ ΤΑΧΗ. A version of the closing tag 'now, now, quickly, quickly', ἦδη ἦδη, **ταχύ ταχύ**, common in the Greek magical papyri and related ritual texts (see Jordan 2006, 166; *P.Oxy.* LXXXVI 5543.10 with the note), in which the second pair has been transliterated directly and the first roughly translated by Coptic **ΔΙΟ**.

ΤΕΧΕΝΡΩΒ. For the term cf. also P.Leid. inv. F 1964/4.14 (ed. Green 1987 with Green 1988), front, 24, preceding instructions and a recipe for an aromatic offering (**ΘΥ**); similarly *ibid.* verso, 1; and P.Heid. inv. K 685 (ed. Meyer 1996), p. 16.8; for the offering in general see the note on 56 below.

11 ΔΡΧΗ ΝΗΡΠ. The Greek ἀρχή has previously been interpreted as a liquid measure in a similar context in *PGM* XXXVI 135 (ἀρχὴ ὄξους), which is not securely attested elsewhere in Greek. The word is better taken as a shortened form of the ἀπαρχή used here in 26 below, originally 'first-fruit offering' but by extension 'finest grade' of something; cf. the item 'first-fruits of oil' in *P.Mag.LL* verso xiv 7. The combination is found in a recipe for a 'procedure' (**ΓΙΝΕΡΩΒ**):

cf. 10 above) to accompany an invocation in P.Heid. inv. K 685 (ed. Meyer 1996), p. 16.8–9, but there as an ingredient along with saffron in a ritual ink (C2ΔΙ ΝΑΣΑΒΡΑΝ ΖΙ ΔΡΧΗ ΔΡΧΗ ΝΕΡ(Π), the reading of Sebastian Richter; ΔΡΧΗ ΝΕΡ ‘virgin oil(?)’, ed.pr.). For ΔΡΧΗ see also P.Heid. inv. K 686 (ed. Kropp 1966), p. 15, 256, 258, a prayer spoken over ΔΡΧΗ ΝΕΖ; P.Vind. inv. K 11088 (ed. Hevesi 2015), B, 3, ΙΑΔΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΑΡΧ ΕΝΗΡΠ; P.Berl. inv. 11919 (ed. Beltz 1984, 100–1), 6–8, ΖΝ ΟΥΑΡΧΗ ΝΗΡΠ ΜΝ ΤΑΡΧΗ ΜΠΝΕΖ. The translation of Beltz ‘im Beginn den Wein und den Anfang des Öls’ for the latter gives poor sense, similarly here the ‘new white wine’ of Frankfurter and Meyer; in *P.Macq.* I 1, p. 15–16, ΔΡΧΗ ΝΕΖ is rendered ‘first (pressing) oil’, sensible for oil but not suitable for wine. For the usual sense of ἀρχή ‘authority’ or ‘beginning’ in Coptic documentary texts see Förster, *WB* 104; the latter sense appears in **Hay 2**, 16–17.

ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ. Understand a placeholder for a default offering-substance (the suggestion of Sebastian Richter), perhaps to be filled in by the user ad libitum and understood essentially as ‘ingredient such-and-such’. Compare ΝΙΜ ‘so-and-so’ as placeholder for personal names (see 64 below with the note), and more generally, κοινά and κοινῶς in the Greek magical papyri and their Coptic derivatives: see e.g. Michigan Ms. 136 (ed. Worrell 1935a, 17–37), p. 8.3, with the commentary in the new edition by Zellmann-Rohrer and Love 2022.

ΣΤΕΡΞ. For ΣΤΟΡΑΣ (Greek στόραξ): on the spelling cf. ΣΤΟΡΞ in **Hay 3**, 39, and for the substance in ritual offerings, the note on ΕΡΕ ΠΟΖ ΜΟΖ below.

ΑΠΟΥΚΑΛΑΜΩΝ. The same form, apparently derived from Greek *ὀποκάλαμος (elsewhere unattested in Greek), is used in the list of ingredients of an offering in P.CtYBR inv. 1791 fol (first text; ed. S. Emmel, *ACM* Appendix 346–51 no. 2), 6–12; and in a medicinal prescription in P.Cair. inv. 45060 (ed. Kropp, *AKZ*I, text K), 53; see also **Hay 3**, 39–40. For the form of the putative Greek noun cf. P.Leid. inv. J 395 (ed. Daniel 1991; cf. *PGM* XIII), p. 9.21, ξύλα κυπαρίσσινα ἢ ἀποβαλσάμινα, possibly by conflation with a construction with adjectival prepositional phrase in ἀπό, as in Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* 1.21.3, of unction after baptism ‘with the juice (derived) from balsam’ (τῷ ὀπῶ τῷ ἀπὸ βαλσάμου).

Γ̄ ΝΝΕΣΤΙΑ. From Greek νηστεία; a similar prescription of fasting comes in P.Köln inv. 1471 (ed. *P.KölnLüddeckens* Copt. 3; cf. *P.KölnÄgypt.* I 10), 39–40, ΝΕΣΤΙΑ ΩΜΟΤΕ (on the context see the following note). The performance of this ritual act (ΝΕΚΝΕΣΤΙΑ ‘your fasts’) will be cited in turn in the invocation below (30) as a reason that the invoked power should obey.

ΕΡΕ ΠΟΖ ΜΟΖ. For ΕΡΕ ΠΟΟΖ ΜΟΥΖ. The spelling ΠΟΖ recurs in 42, 47, 54 and 147 below; for ΜΟΖ cf. ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΦ in 29 below and see further the Introduction and ΝΕΣΜΟΖ in **Hay 2**, 18. The full moon is also specified as the proper time for an offering (ΘΥ(CΙΔ)) in an invocation of ΒΑΡΟΥΧ ΠΝΟΣ ΔΕΝΑΤΩΣ for the muzzling of enemies in P.Heid. inv. K 683 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 140), 17, 20–1; for a multi-purpose ΠΡΑΣΙC in P.Cair. inv. 45060 (Kropp, *AKZ*I, text K), 76; for erotic magic, in P.Leid. inv. F 1964/4.14 (ed. Green 1987 with Green 1988), recto 28–9; and for an invocation spoken over oil, to grant ΧΑΡΙC, in P.Köln inv. 1471 (ed. *P.KölnLüddeckens* Copt. 3; cf. *P.KölnÄgypt.* I 10), 32–43, whose ingredients as here include musk-scented incense, male mastic, storax and

calamus-juice, to be prepared after three days’ fasting. For specification of the full moon in medical recipes see e.g. P.Berl. inv. 8109 (ed. *BKUI* 25; Beltz 1984, 88–91), recto, 18; and for lunar indications in general, Michigan Ms. 136 (ed. Worrell 1935a, 17–37), p. 3.21, with the commentary in the new edition by Zellmann-Rohrer and Love 2022.

12 ΝΙ ΜΝ. Understand ΝΑΙ ΜΝ (the suggestion of Jacques van der Vliet); for the spelling cf. ΔCΔ21 for ΔC2Δ1 in a documentary text from the Theban area, cited in *P.Bal.* p. 62 §15a(E).

12–37. A second invocation, for the activation of some ritual substances to ‘assist the things that [the practitioner] will undertake’, runs uninterrupted in terms of content despite a full-width horizontal dividing line after 27, which should therefore mark a sub-section rather than a new invocation. The narrative motif in 12–19 may be counted as an abbreviated version among reflexes of the cycle of myths concerning an injury to the Egyptian god Horus by a scorpion, or more specifically one of his scorpion-brides, which is lamented, then cured by his mother Isis, or one of the scorpion-brides themselves. This relation was already suspected by Frankfurter and Meyer in the notes to their translation (similarly now also in Blumell and Dosoo 2018), but it can now be adopted with greater assurance based on the reading ΖΩΛ in 12 (i.e. ΖΩΡ: for the spelling see Crum, *CD* 697b s.v. (adding P.Mich. inv. 6131 (ed. Worrell 1941; see now *P.Carlsb.* XI 29), verso, a, 1), the Introduction, and the notes on ΔΖΩΛ in 14 and †ΠΑΛΛΑΚΑΛΕ in 76 below). There are probably particular references to the scorpion theme in lines 15 and 18 (see the notes below).

For the motif in general see the study of Frankfurter 2009 with Frankfurter 2018, 1–2, 56–8, 209–11, the commentary to the most recently edited of the texts (*O.BYU Mag.* 1–3, ed. Blumell and Dosoo 2018), and Van der Vliet 2019a, 344–6; for the older background of narratives on Horus and his scorpion wife, Ritner 1998. As Blumell and Dosoo have suggested, there is probably a reference to Horus entering the land of the dead, in his going in through a door of stone and out through a door of iron, or vice versa. A reflex of the motif’s reference to entry and exit through doors may also be discerned in a fragmentary invocation for general assistance in P.Köln inv. 10235 (ed. Weber 1972), 1–2, ΖΝ ΤΕΓΗΘΟΜ ΠΕΝΤΑ[c. 15–20 Μ]ΠΕΝΙΒΕ ΔΗΒΩΛ ΕΞ[ΟΛ c. 15–20], perhaps to be supplemented before line 1, [ΠΧΩΡΕ] or similar, and continuing ΠΕΝΤΑ[ΓΗΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΝ ΟΥΡΟ Μ]ΠΕΝΙΒΕ ΔΗΒΩΛ ΕΞ[ΟΛ ΖΝ ΟΥΡΟ ΝΩΝΕ]. So too in another version Horus presents himself as having ‘gone in on my head and come out on my foot’ (P.Schmidt 2, ed. Kropp, *AKZ*I, text B, 3–4), that is, entered upside-down and exited upright. This disposition may find parallels in anxieties in traditional Egyptian conceptions of the afterlife about being forced to subsist upside-down, without the proper ritual protections. Parallels in Coptic suggest an older use of the motif in an erotic context, traces of which are preserved in the Hay text too, before the insertion into a more general invocation. In P.Schmidt 2 (ed. Kropp, *AKZ*I, text B), esp. 1–8, it is combined with another characteristic motif of Egyptian erotic magic, the animal simile (see **Hay 3**, 11–13 with the notes; here bitch and dog, sow and boar), and in P.Donadoni (ed. Donadoni 1965–66), Horus, speaking in the first person,

describes his beloved in similar terms as here, **ΔΙΞΕ ΟΥΓ ΔΑΪΕ ΝΑΡΑΥ ΝΚΑΜΨΑΡ** ('di pelle nera', Donadoni, but rather a variant for **ΚΑΜΒΑΛ** 'black-eyed') **ΕΣΜΟΟΣ ΖΕΧΕ ΟΥΨΩΤΕ ΝΩΝΕ ΕΡΕ ΟΥΓΕΣΕΚΙΝ ΖΪΧΩΣ ΕΣΣΩΚ ΜΟΥ ΕΚΑΤΕΣ ΝΖΟ ΜΕΤ ΕΣ[...]**ΡΑΞΕ ΜΠΪΝΙΠΕ**** (1–4).

In addition to the altered purpose, from erotic magic to more general attention-seeking from supernatural powers, the narrative has also been embedded within a Judaeo-Christian frame. This disposition is paralleled in two other invocations. In the first, P.Berl. inv. 5565 (ed. *BKUI* 22; Beltz 1983, 61–3), it follows on from a dialogue between the first-person voice of the user and a demon, who offers other services, rejected in favour of the purpose of the ritual (as here in lines 22–7 below), there to send sleep to the patient (1–4), and a closing invocation turns to the angel who brought sleep to Abimelech, a reference to the apocryphal elaboration of Jeremiah in the so-called *Paraleipomena* of Jeremiah (4th Baruch). In the second, P.Berl. inv. 8313 (ed. *BKUI* 1; Beltz 1983, 65–7), col. ii and verso, it introduces a similar demonological motif: the sick Horus uses 'the demon Agrippas' (**ΔΗΜΟΝ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ**: cf. perhaps the Agrimas called 'first-born of the demons' from the union of Adam and Lilith in Jewish legend, Ginzberg 2003, 1:131) to send for help to Isis, and the recipe is preceded on the same sheet (col. i) by a narrative of Jesus and a pregnant doe, to ease birth.

The career of the motif can be further contextualised in a broader repurposing of traditional Isiac mythology. The name of Horus probably survives into the tradition of Jewish magic attested in the Cairo Genizah, via a different strand of this mythical complex: in a formulary recipe for protection against reptiles, which immediately follows another explicitly targeting scorpions, **ΗWR** recurs repeatedly among magical words to be spoken to the creature (the text is edited by Naveh and Shaked 1993, 169–71, no. 14, p. 2, 9–10, from Cambridge UL T.-S. K 1.58); cf. also the sequence **ΩΡ ΩΡ ΦΩΡ** with which the Greek house-amulet *PGMP* 6a opens. For such reminiscences more generally add a fragmentary reference to Isis and Osiris (**ΗΣΕ ΜΝ ΟΥΣΙΡΕ**) in P.Stras.Copt. 204 fr. L verso (ed. Hevesi 2018), 2; relevant Egyptian and Greek text are also discussed extensively in Zellmann-Rohrer and Love 2022.

ΝΠΟΟΥ. With preservation of **Ν** against assimilation as regularly in this text; cf. however **ΜΠΟΟΥ** in 22 below.

13 **ΠΑΙ ΕΤΑΞΕ ΕΡΑΤΥ ΕΧΝ ΝΚΕΛΕ ΒΙΝΙΠΕ**. The epithet (see also the following note), unparalleled among other versions of the Horus-Isis motif (see the previous note), is perhaps a reflex of that applied to a blacksmith, described as 'Belf the son of Belf (supplement perhaps **ΧΕ**, the suggestion of Love, 'namely') the one with the bronze feet, the one with the iron heels', **ΒΕΛΥ ΠΑ ΒΕΛΥ [. . .] ΔΝΪΘΑΛΛΟΥΘ ΝΟΜΤ ΠΑΝΙΤΙΒΣ ΝΒΕΝΙΠΕ**, whom Thoth instructs Isis to commission to make an iron nail for use in erotic magic, in the bilingual Greek-Coptic codex Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574 (ed. *PGMIV* 108–9; Love 2016, 30–1), f. 2v. A demon **ΖΩΡΑΚΙΑΣ** with a bronze head and legs of iron, **ΠΑΪΔΠΗ ΝΖΑΜΕΤ ΠΑΝΙΑΒΑΖ ΝΒΕΝΙΠΙ**, is invoked in P.Carlsberg 52 (ed. Lange 1932 with Brashear 1991, 16–62), f. 1v.2–3. The 'standing upon' might also have been meant in a metaphorical sense as 'in charge of' (the suggestion of Jacques van der Vliet): compare in particular the rendering of **παρίστημι ἐπί** with **ΔΞΕ ΕΡΑΤ**

ΕΧΝ in the Sahidic version of Numbers 7:2. The iron bars in that case could belong to an infernal prison over which this divine power presides: cf. **ΝΝΕΨΥΨΚΩ** in 24 below.

ΚΕΛΕ ΒΙΝΙΠΕ. For **ΚΑΛΕ ΝΒΕΝΙΠΕ**; the absence of **Ν** is probably a phonetic rather than morphosyntactic development (for the small group of adjectives before which connective **Ν** may be omitted see *P.Bal.* p. 108 §80.d): cf. **ΡΩ ΜΜΠΕΝΙΠΕ** in 15 below.

14 **ΝΤΕΞΕ**. As also in 63 below, for **ΝΤΕΙΞΕ**; parallels for the reduction of (ε)τ, including the present form: *P.Bal.* pp. 77–8 §39 (esp. C).

ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΖΩΚ ΝΕΚΜΑΧΕ ΖΝ ΝΑΧΙΑ. Frankfurter and Meyer render, 'You are the one who prepares your ears in ...' (based on the reading of the first word as **ΝΤΟΚ** in ed.pr.), considering also an emendation of **ΖΝ ΝΑΧΙΑ** to **ΖΝ ΜΑΧΙΑ**, 'in battle'. The best, if not fully satisfactory sense seems to come with punctuating after **ΠΕ**: the god declares his presence, then bids an inferior, perhaps a demon, give ear to a following request. For **ΝΑΧΙΑ**, the interpretation remains uncertain: if Greek, the noun **χρεία** 'need' (the suggestion of Korshi Dosoo; for the loanword and the spelling with omission of /r/ see Förster, *WB* 878–9; cf. also **ΚΑΤΑΖΑΚΤΗΣ** from **καταράκτης** in **Hay 2**, 2) fits the sense better than **μάχη** 'battle' (from which **ΜΑΧΗ** would have been expected); if Coptic, one might think of **ΝΑ-ΔΑΧΙΑ**, cf. **ΖΑΚΟ** 'magician' with Bohairic **ΔΧΩ** and plural **ΔΧΩΟΥΓΙ** (Crum, *CD* 662b). Compare in general the acclamation that Horus 'has come equipped with his magic' to rescue Osiris, in the Roman-period hieratic Book of Glorifying the Spirit (P.Sekowski) trans. Smith 2009, 172 no. 7.2 (col. xii).

ΔΖΩΛ. For **ΔΙΖΩΛ**; on the spelling with **Δ** in place of **ΔΙ** cf. *P.Bal.* p. 62 §15a (including examples of the same verbal prefix, and **ΕΖΡΑ** for **ΕΖΡΑΙ** in 26). The etymological sense of **ΖΩΛ** as 'fly' fits the falcon aspect of the ancient divinity Horus, although the verb can mean more generally 'go' (Crum, *CD* 665b); there is an untranslatable pun on the verb and the god's name as rendered here above, **ΖΩΛ**.

ΠΕΛΛΩΝΙΑ. The toponym is unparalleled in the other known versions of the Horus-Isis motif, and hence perhaps suspect as a corruption of the 'gate of stone' (**ΠΥΛΗ ΝΩΝΕ**: the suggestion of Korshi Dosoo). If indeed a toponym, compare perhaps the **Περώνη** near Alexandria mentioned in Sophronius, *Narratio* 5, and a 6th-century Greek letter on papyrus, *SBXVIII* 13762.6 with Gonis 2014, 201–2, in preference to an otherwise attractive **Ἀπολλωνία**, which is not attested in Egypt; for further possibilities see Blumell and Dosoo 2018, 224–5 n. 60. The only toponym mentioned in other witnesses to the motif, in P. Schmidt 1 (ed. Kropp, *AKZI*, text A), is 'the temple of Habin' (6, **ΠΡΠΕ ΝΖΑΒΙΝ**), that is, Hebenu-Alabastron polis, meeting-place of Horus and Isis; in the version in P. Schmidt 2 (ed. Kropp, *AKZI*, text B), 1–4 (similarly 16–19, 24–5), the location of the seven maidens is situated more generally after the first-person claim to have entered through a door of stone and exited through a door of iron.

15 **ΜΜΠΕΝΙΠΕ**. For **ΜΠΠΕΝΙ-** (the same noun is spelled **ΒΙΝΙΠΕ** in 13 above), with doubling of nasal perhaps because of general uncertainty about the correct placement of this letter: cf. **ΚΕΛΕ ΒΙΝΙΠΕ** in 13 above; **ΝΜΜΑΣ** in 19 below; for the anomalous insertion of **Ε** after the definite article (cf. **ΠΠΕΝΙΠΕ** in 23 below) see the note on **ΕΠΕΔΟΠΟΣ** in 9 above.

ΔΙΚΙΝΕ. For **ΔΙΣΙΝΕ**; for the interchange, characteristic of the Theban area (*P.Bal.* p. 147 §126), cf. also **ΚΕΠΗ** in 19 and **ΝΘΒΩΚ** in 17 below.

ΝΤΩΡΩ. The colour disagrees with the ‘white’ found in other witnesses, and **Τ(ΟΥ)ΩΒΩ** might have stood in an earlier version of the present one (Blumell and Dosoo 2018, 229 n. 77), but red suits well the scorpion on which the description is probably based.

16 **ΔΙΕΠΙΘΗΜΑ**. An early attestation of **ἐπιθυμάω**, a by-form of **ἐπιθυμέω** (cf. *LBG* s.v.), if not a simple conflation of vowels for **ΔΙΕΠΙΘΥΜΕ**.

ΜΟС. For **ΜΜΟС**; for the treatment of the nasal see the note on **ΚΕΛΕ ΒΙΝΙΠΕ** in 13 above; cf. also **ΜΟК** in 75 and 76 below.

16–17 **ΔΜΟΥ ΩΑΡΟΙ**. For the phrase compare **αμου ναυει** (i.e. **ΔΜΟΥ ΝΑ(ΥΕ)Ι**) already found in the (pre-)Old Coptic invocation of Seth in *P.Laur. inv.* 54 (ed. Pintaudi 1977), 11; further e.g. the opening invocation in *P.Macq.* I 1, p. 2.3, **ΔΜΟΥ ΚΕΜΤΟΝ (Μ)ΟΚ ΞΡΔΪ ΖΝ ΠΑΖΗΤ**.

17 **ΝΘΒΩΚ**. For **ΝΓΒΩΚ**; for the interchange cf. **ΔΙΚΙΝΕ** for **ΔΙΣΙΝΕ** in 15 above.

18 **ΝΕΙΝΕ**. Another conjunctive (**ΝΓΕΙΝΕ**) might have been expected following **ΝΘΒΩΚ** (see the previous note), but prepositional **Ν-** could also have been intended to express purpose (in place of **ε-**): cf. *P.Mon.Epiph.* 84.14, **ΕΙΩΔΑΝΧΟΟΥΚ ΝΟΥΖΩΒ**, with Crum, *CD* 216b.

ΜΠΑΤΕСΧΩΚ. The infinitive **ΧΩΚ** is taken here as a shortened form of **ΧΩ(Ω)ΚΕ** ‘sting’ (for the spelling without final **-ε** cf. *P.Bal.* pp. 66–7 §20c), an appropriate action in context: the stinging of Horus by his scorpion wife is a feature of earlier versions of this motif in the Egyptian tradition, see Ritner 1998, 1031–4, and the note on 12–19 above. Tabitchet, among the names of the scorpion-brides in the ancient Egyptian tradition, has been identified elsewhere in the present manuscript in the **ΤΑΒΙΘΙΑ** invoked in line 50 (but see the note there). The form was referred to **ΧΩΚ** by Frankfurter and Meyer (‘before she is finished’), which gives poor sense; in that case the subject might rather have been the preceding **ΤΕΟΥΝΟΥ**, but the transition is abrupt and the expression rather convoluted for one of immediacy or urgency (cf. the following line).

19 **ΝΜΜΑС**. For **ΝΜΑС**; for the otiose **М** cf. **ΜΜΠΕΠΙΝΙΠΕ** in 15 above with the note there.

ΖΝ ΟΥΤΑΧΗ. This construction, probably to be read also in 29–30 below, in place of the bare adverbial **ΤΑΧΗ** (**ταχύ**) as often, probably renders a Greek phrase such as **ἐν τάχει** (for an instance in an invocation in a curse from Graeco-Roman Egypt: *Suppl.Mag.* I 42 A 7).

ΟΥΚΕΠΗ. For **ΟΥΘΕΠΗ** (as in 30 below): cf. **ΔΙΚΙΝΕ** in 15 above with the note.

†ΩΡΚ. For the adoption of the vocabulary of liturgical exorcism in Coptic magic in general see Kropp, *AKZ* III, 180–3 §§315–18; in ancient magic more generally, *P.Oxy.* LXXXVI 5542 and Zellmann-Rohrer 2022.

ΤΕΚΑΝΟС. The decans, once Egyptian celestial divinities with astrological associations taken up in Graeco-Roman astrology (Gundel 1936), entered into demonology as early as the *Testament of Solomon* (recensions AB, 18.4, ed. McCown 1922, 52, **ἐγὼ δεκανὸς ἀ τοῦ ζφδιακοῦ κύκλου, ὃς καλοῦμαι ῥύαξ**) and are relegated to the netherworld as demons in

Coptic hagiography: Behlmer-Loprieno 1984; Walters 1989, 203; cf. also Stegemann 1935b, 394. For their role in Coptic magical texts in general see Kropp *AKZ* III, 29–30 §42, adding *P.Köln inv.* 10235 (ed. Weber 1972), 9.

20 **ΝΝΕΙΕΩΡ ΔΤСΩТМ**. The point is that the powerful names are acknowledged as superior even by the speaking voice, and by extension should be even more so for the addressee. A correction to **ΝΝΕΚΕΩΡ** ‘you cannot’ is possible, perhaps via graphic confusion of **ΙΕ** and **Κ**, but unnecessary.

ΝСΩΟΥ. For **ΝСΩΟΥ**; cf. **ΝΜΜΑΔΥ** in **Hay** 5, 4 with the note.

21 **СΔК МНСΔК ΩΔΧΔ**. A comparable triad of decans, **ΙΑК ΜΕΙΑК СЕМІАК [Π]ΙΩΟМТ ΝΔΥΚΑΝΟС**, is invoked in *P.Lond. Copt. Or.* 6794 (ed. Kropp, *AKZ* I, text E), 46–8, where they are further called **ΝΧΩΡΕ ΖΝ ΤΕΥСОМ ΝΔΙ ΕΤΑΖΕРАТΟΥΕ ΕΧΝ ΠΕΒΛΟБ ΜΠΩΗН ΜΠΩНЗ** (for that epithet here see the note on 1 above), and another decan, **ΠІНОБ ΝΔΥΚΑΝОС ΝΧΩΡΕ ΖН ТЕЧСОМ ЕТЕ ПАІ ПЕ ΔΔΥΕΘЕΔ**, appears elsewhere in that text at 26–7. For the coinage of names terminating in **-ak** see further *P.Macq. inv.* 588 (ed. Dosoo 2018), 1, with the commentary there.

ΕΙΡΙΕ ΝΝΑΡΩΙ ΝΓΧΩК ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΑТОТ. The first-person verb in the first part of the doublet might be suspected as an error for the more symmetrical **ЕК(Ε)ΙΡΙΕ** were it not repeated in 28 below. The pairing of ‘(words) of my mouth’ and ‘(deeds) of my hand(s)’ is widespread in Coptic invocations. Examples are the request for general assistance in *P.Köln* 10235 (ed. Weber 1972), 29–30, **ΧΕΚΑС ЕКЕСΩТМ ЕСА НАРΩІ НГЕІРЕ НСА НАТООТ ΖН ΖΩВ ΝІМ**; similarly *P.Carlsberg* 52 (Lange 1932 with Brashear 1991, 16–62), f. 1v.9–12 and 17–18, *P.Lond.Copt. Or.* 6794 (ed. Kropp, *AKZ* I, text E), 15–16 and 19–20; an invocation probably for favour in *P.Stras.Copt. K* 204 fr. A + 205 fr. D recto (ed. Hevesi 2018), 3–4, **[Н]ΑΡΟІ ΝΓΧΩК ΕΒΟΛ Н[СА Н]ΔТООТ ΝΕΖВНУЕ ТΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΑΖΗ [Т МН Н]ΔΠΟΛΟΓІА (my supplement; [. . .]ΔΠΟΛΟΓІА ed.pr.) ТΗΡΟΥ ПАЛАС [Н]КЕ[ІРЕ НСА НА] ТООТ (my supplement; [. . .]КЕ[] ed.pr.)**, with similar permutations in the related *P.Stras.Copt.* 204 fr. C + J + M verso (ed. *ibid.*), 28–9, *P.Stras.Copt.* 204 fr. E verso (ed. *ibid.*), 2, *P.Stras.Copt.* 205 fr. A + I + K + 204 fr. G verso (ed. *ibid.*), 16, and *P.Stras.Copt.* 205 fr. M verso (ed. *ibid.*), 2. It also figures in the threats to the demon invoked in erotic magic in *P.Berl. inv.* P 8314 (ed. *BKUI* 3), 13–15, **ЕКТЕМСΩТЕМ** (reading of Crum in his copy in the Sackler Library, Oxford; **ЕКТЕМПАР[.] ed.pr.) СА НАРΩІ ЕКЕІРЕ ΖН НАТООТ**, and to the seven archangels invoked perhaps for the same purpose (see the note on 22–7 below) in *P.Mich. inv.* 1190 (ed. Worrell 1935a, 5–13 no. 2), verso, 5–8, **Е†ЕТМСΩТЕМ НСА НАРΩІ НТЕТЕНБΩК ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΟΥΩΩ ΜΠΑΖΗТ ПЕТНМА НТАΨΧН**.

НАТОТ. The mark over the second **Т** seems to be only a blot or chance mark, in preference to the **НАТΟ`Ο`Т** read by previous editors, as the ungeminated **ТОТ** is used consistently throughout: see the Introduction, and cf. **ΕΤΡΟΕΙС** in 2 with the note there.

21–2 **НАΠΟΛΟΓІА ТΗΡΟΥ НПАЛАС**. The term **ΔΠΟΛΟΓІА** is apparently the Greek **ἀπολογία** (‘defence’, LSJ; ‘Antwort’, *LBG*), but the Coptic usage does not agree with the sense otherwise found in Greek, which is itself attested in Coptic (*Apophthegmata patrum* §1, ed. Chaîne 1960, **ΕΜΝΤΓ ΛΑΔΥ**

ἄΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΕΧΩ ΝΑΣ, ‘he having no excuse to make to her’; cf. also Förster, *WB* 84). The word apparently comes to have an almost technical sense in an occult context, of a password given to justify oneself before possibly suspicious or hostile divinities, as seen most clearly here at line 49 where it introduces a list of names; here and elsewhere in the Hay text it approaches simply ‘speech’. Crum (1897, 217 n. 1; cf. also Kropp, *AKZ* III, 138 §241, and the notes on 1 and 7–9 above) refers to Gnostic literature for ‘the phrases ... by the potency of which the supernatural powers could be compelled’: see in particular the *First Book of Jeu* 2.49 (the so-called Codex Bruce, p. 116.15–22; ed. Schmidt and Macdermot 1978a), ΙC ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΧ ΝΝΕCΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΧΕ †ΝΑ† ΝΗΤΝ ΝΤΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΝΝΕΙΤΟΠΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΝΤΑΙ† ΝΗΤΝ ΜΠΕΥΜ(ΥCΤΗ)Ρ(ΙΟΝ) ΜΝ ΝΕΥΒΑΠΤΙCΜΑ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ ΜΝ ΝΕΥCΦΡΑΓΙC ΜΝ ΝΕΥΠΑΡΑΛΗΜΠΤΩΡ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΨΗΦΟC ΜΝ ΝΕΥΡΑΝ ΝΤΕΤΑΛΗΘΙΑ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΕΤΒΕ ΘΕ ΝΕΠΙΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΒΩΚ ΕΝΕΥΤΟΠΟC ΝΤΕΤΝΟΥΩΤΒ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΜΦΟΥΝ ΝΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ †ΝΑΧΩ ΕΡΩΤΝ ΝΝΡΑΝ ΝΝΕΥΑΠΟΧ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΨΗΦΟC; and the *Pistis Sophia* 2.96 (Codex Askew, p. 229.14–15, ed. Schmidt and Macdermot 1978b), of the initiated soul during its ascent, ΜΕC† ΑΠΟΦΑCΙC ΖΝ ΛΑΔΥ ΝΤΟΠΟC ΟΥΔΕ ΜΕC† ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΕC† CΥΜΒΟΛΟΝ. Preisendanz attempted to draw a parallel by reading ἀπ(ολογία) εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν as a sort of docket of the apotropaic invocation *PGMLXXXI*, but it seems more probable to take it, with the first editors (*P.Oxy.* XII 1566), as part of the original documentary text that was recycled for the invocation, a direction for delivery, ἀπ(όδος) εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν.

Further instances of the loanword ἀπολογία, variously transcribed, are P.Heid. inv. K 684 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 122.55–6), p. 3.10–11, of Cyprian’s invocation (ΔΙΤΑΥΑ ΝΝΙΑΠΩΛΩΓΙΑ ΖΡΑΙ), and *ibid.* 61 where it stands at the head of a list of magical names uttered by him; and P.Heid. inv. K 686 (ed. Kropp 1966), p. 8, 131. The abbreviated form ἀπο^ο serves as a rubric to mark divisions within invocations in the so-called Rossi Gnostic Treatise (ed. Kropp, *AKZ* I, text R), e.g. pp. 3.7, 7.20, 10.14, and *passim*, and in a comparable closing position in P.Leid. inv. F 1964/4.14 (ed. Green 1987 with Green 1988), recto, 23, and P.Gieben Copt. 1 (ed. Van der Vliet 2005b; now Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum inv. 16.750), line 10 (abbreviated ΔΑ^ο, not represented in ed.pr. but confirmed on the original), at the end of the invocation but for the closing ΔΙΟ ΔΙΟ ΤΑΧΗ ΤΑΧΗ. In another case, however, it apparently precedes the first ingredients for an aromatic offering, in *P.Köln* XV 641.2; it may thus be related to the use of ΔΙΤΙΟΝ (ἀττιον) in P.Leid. Anastasi 9 (ed. Pleyte and Boeser 1897), p. 3b.27, which seems to be a transitional rubric at a division in a pseudonymous prayer of Gregory, followed by resumption of direct speech, ΔΝΟΚ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟC.

The construction with ΛΑC here is paralleled in P.Heid. inv. K 680 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 141), 14–16, ΧΕΚΑC ΚΕΧΩΚ ΝΑΙ ΕΒΛΑ ΤΑΠΩΛΛΑΓΙΑ ΕΠΑΛΑC; P.Stras. inv. Kopt. 550 (ed. Tibet 2014), 12–14, ΧΩΚ ΝΑΙ ΕΒΛΑ [Ε]ΝΤΑΠΟΛΩΚΙΑ ΕΝΠΑΛΑC.

22–7. The motif of the demon’s offer of various services, which are rejected by the user in favour of the (comparatively easier) task at hand, is paralleled in P.Mich. inv. 4932f (ed. Worrell 1935b, 184–7), verso 1–7, <...> †ΝΑΠΟΡΚΑ ΟΥΠΕΝΙΠΕ †ΝΑΒΟΛΑ † ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΩΡ ΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΜΠΡΤΑΔΑ ΕΤ[ΟΟ]ΤΓ^ϕ

ΝΑΙΜΕΛΟΥΧC ΠΕΤΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΝ ΤΚΡΙCΙC ΑΛΛΑ †ΟΥΩΩ ΕΤΡΕΚΒΩΚ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΕΑΜΝΤΕ ΝΓΠΩΡΚ ΝΜΜΕΕΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΑΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΝ ΜΕΩΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΑΔ; for general assistance from the archangel Michael in P.Berl. inv. P 8322 (ed. *BKUI* 7; cf. Beltz 1983, 72–4), recto, 18–22, [ΠΕ]ΧΑΧ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ [Ε]ΚΕΤΙ ΝΟΥ ΤΙΝΑΔΑΧ ΝΑΚ ΕΚΕΤΙ Ν[ΠΩ]ΝΕ ΤΙΝΑΠΟCΗ ΠΠΕΝΙΠ ΤΙΝΑΔΑΧ ΝΜΟΟΥ ΠΕΧΑΙ [ΝΑΧ ΧΕ] ΕΙΕΤΙ ΝΑΙ ΑΝ ΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΙΚΟΟΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΚ [ΑΛΛΑ] ΕΙΕΤΕ ΝΤ[ΕΚ]CΟΜ ΤΗΡΗC ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΕΝ ΤΑCΑΜ [ΔΥΩ Ε]ΧΕΝ ΠΑC[Ε]ΟΙ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ. There is also an abbreviated form in which the rejection is elided, in P.Berl. inv. P 8314 (ed. *BKUI* 3; Beltz 1984, 91–2), 20–5, a dialogue with the demonic ΤΑΡΤΑΡΟΥΧΟC, also for erotic magic, ΠΕΧΑΧ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΚΑΙΤΕ ΜΠΩΝΕ ΩΔΙΠΟCΗ ΠΕΝΙΠΕ ΩΔΙΑΔΑΒ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΕΡΟ ΠΕΝΙΠΕ ΤΙΝΑΟΥΩΟΥ ΖΝ ΟΥCΕ[ΠΕ] ΩΑΝΤΙΜΟΡ ΜΠΤ ΝΙΜ ΕΞΟΝ ΕΡΟΚ. For the collocation of tasks see also P.Mich. inv. 1190 (ed. Worrell 1935a, 5–13), recto i 4–11, in which the angel ΔΘΡΑΚ is commanded, ΧΕ Ι ΩΑ ΝCΑ ΤΚΕ ΠΝΟΥΝ ΕΚΕΜΟΟΥΤC ΠΖΑΤ ΧΕ ΚΕΜΟΟΥΤC ΠΛΑΙΝ ΧΕ ΚΕΟΥΟΛΠC ΠΕΝΙΠΕ ΕΚΕΔΒΟΛΕΒ ΕΒΟΛ ΠΩΝΕ ΕΚΕΠΟCΗ ΜΟΟΥ ΝΝΘΑΛΛΑC ΕΚΕΤΡΕΥΩΟΟΥΕ ΝΤΟΟΥ ΝΚΤΕΡΕ[ΥΚ]ΙΜ ΜΠΕΤΡΑ ΕΚΕΤΡΕΥΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ (in this context the aim is probably erotic, despite the identification of an aid for birth by ed.pr.); and the unpublished P.Mich. inv. 597 (ll. 7–24) and 602 (ll. 28–32), for erotic magic (the better-preserved version in the latter, to which a reference was kindly provided by Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin, has been provisionally transcribed from a facsimile), a divinity called ΠΕΙΟΥΛ ΠΑΠΟΤ ΠΧΩ ΝΝΟΥΒ ΝΗCΕ ΠΑΠΟΤ ΝΖΑΤ ΝΝΟΥCΙΡΕ is ordered, ΑΜΟΥ ΤΑΒΙΧ ΝΖΒΟΥΡ ΝΤΑΤΑΑΚ ΑΤΟΟΤC ΝΤΑCΙΧ ΝΝΟΥΝΑΜ ΤΑΧΑΔΟΥΚ ΕΠΩΝΕ ΚΝΑΠΟΚC ΠΙΝΙΠΕ ΚΑΒΟΛΑ ΔΒ ΘΑΛΑCΑ ΝΓΠΑΖC ΝΩΩ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΚΑΖ ΠΟΡΚΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΝ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΝΕ ΕΙΧΑΥ ΜΜΟΚ ΑΝ ΑΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΑΡΙCΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΙΧΑΥ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΝ ΠΑΠΟΤ ΝΗΡΠ ΑΔ ΧΕ ΝΤΙΟΥΝΟΥ ΕΡΕ ΑΔ ΖΝ ΤΕΚCΟΜ. There is perhaps a more distant reflex in three versions of the prayer attributed to Mary, in P.Lond.Copt. Or. 6796 (2) (ed. Kropp, *AKZ* I, text G), recto, 23–6, ΠΩΝΕ ΜΑΡΕCΗ [ΩZ] ΠΚΑΚΕ ΜΑΡΕCΠΩZ ΖΑ ΤΑΙΖΗ ΠΚΑZ [ΜΑΡΕC]ΠΩZ ΠΠΕΝΙΠΕ ΜΑΡΕCΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ [ΝΤΕΜΟ]ΝΙΟΝ ΜΑΡΟΥΑΝΑΧΩΡ[Ι ΕΡ]ΟΙ, similarly P.Heid.Kopt. 685 (ed. Meyer 1996), pp. 2.23–3.1; and P.Lond.Copt. Or. 4714 (ed. *P.Lond.Copt.* I 368), p. 4, 9–15, ΠΩΝΕ ΜΑΡΕCΠΩΩΝΕ ΜΑΡΕCΠΩZ ΖΑ ΤΕCΖΗΝ ΜΠΙΜΟΟΥ ΜΝ ΠΕΙΝΕZ ΜΑΡΕΠΕΝΙΠΕ ΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΡΟ ΕΤΩΩΤΜ ΔΥΩ ΕΤΖΗΠ ΜΑΡΟΥΟΝ ΝΑΙ. The motif of softening a request by first presenting a series of more difficult tasks that are not required at present has a background in Egyptian and Greek invocations: see *Suppl.Mag.* II 72.10–11 with the commentary there.

22 ΚΗΤΕ. For ΕΚΗΤΕ by haplography with the preceding ΧΕ (cf. *P.Bal.* pp. 68 §20h, 179–80 §151); for the loanword, repeated in 23–5 below, see **Hay 2**, 4–5 with the note.

ΝΩ. For -ΟΥ; cf. *P.Bal.* p. 87 §56B.

23 ΝΑ[ΜΝΤΕ]. For Amente as an infernal region see **Hay 3**, 6 with the note.

24 ΝCΝΤΕ ΝΝΕΩ†ΚΩ ΜΙΑΚ †ΝΟΥΧΕ. With ΝΝΕΩ†ΚΩ for -ΩΤΕΚΟ, cf. the plural ΩΤΕΚΩΟΥ (Crum, *CD* 595b), and on the spelling with ΕΙ for Ε, *P.Bal.* pp. 71–2 §23. The structure of the preceding, parallel limbs demands a noun (and qualifier) followed by a verb, for which reason †ΝΟΥΧΕ is to be preferred to a division †ΝΟΥ ΧΕ despite the switch from future to present.

ΜΙΑΚ. Taken as the name of a decan by Kropp in his translation (cf. **ΜΗΣΑΚ** in 21 above; and further **ΑΚΖΙΙΙ**, 29–30 §§40, 42), but as Polotsky points out, a variant spelling of **ΜΙΟΚ** better suits the context of dialogue (1937, 129 n. 1); the overlining of non-magical words is found occasionally elsewhere in the manuscript (see the Introduction).

Ν. [c. 5]. Read perhaps **ΝΕ[ΚΟΟΥΕ]** (suggestion of Korshi Dosoo, Edward Love and Markéta Preininger from their preparation of this text for presentation in *Kyprianos*), cf. P.Berl. 8322 (ed. *BKUI* 7; cf. Beltz 1983, 72–4), recto 10–11, **ΧΕ ΕΙΕΤΙ [ΝΑΙ] ΔΝ ΟΥΤΕ {ΟΥΤΕ} ΝΕΚΟΟΥΕ; ΝΝ[ΕΤΜΜΑΥ]** is a poorer fit for the traces.

26 **ΕΠΕΔΟΠΟΙ**. For the spelling with **-ΠΕΔΟ-** see 9 n. above; as there, and in the following **ΤΕΔΠΑΡΧΗ** in this line, there may be a reduced form of the near demonstrative (‘this place’) rather than an anomalous insertion of **Ε** after the definite article. The termination **-ΟΙ** for **-ΟΙΣ** is phonetically unexplained, and a plural **τόποι** (or an oblique case) in a Greek exemplar is unlikely given the following demonstrative **ΠΑΙ**; a graphic error possibly involving a damaged form of lunate **Ϸ** is conceivable.

ΕΖΡΑ. For **ΕΖΡΑΙ**; cf. **ΔΖΩΛ** for **ΔΙΖΩΛ** in 14 above with the note.

ΤΕΔΠΑΡΧΗ. For the initial **ΤΕ-**, which may represent either **Τ-** or **ΤΕΙ-** (‘this offering’), see the previous note and cf. 34–5 below; the noun is a loan from Greek *ἀπαρχή*, etymologically ‘initial’ or ‘first-fruit offering’ – by extension ‘tithe’ or ‘tax’ as a loanword in Coptic documentary texts (Förster, *WB* 73) – and the finest grade of something in post-classical Greek texts (Lampe 1961, 177). For the term see also the note on **ΔΡΧΗ** in 11 above; and for the fuller form, P.Vind. inv. K 192 (ed. Stegemann 1934a, 12–14 no. I, with Till 1935b, 196–200 and Polotsky 1937, 120–7), 14–15, an invocation for erotic magic in which the archangel Michael is asked to descend **ΕΧΜ ΠΕΝΕΞ [ΜΝ ΤΕΙ]ΔΠΑΡΧΗ ΕΤΖΝ ΤΑΒΙΧ ΝΧΣΦΡΑΓΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΧ**; cf. also P.Berl. inv. 8313 (ed. *BKU* I 1), recto i 13, **ΝΧΧΙ ΝΑΧ ΝΟΥΑΡΧΗ ΝΗΡΠ** (rendered ‘Spende’ by Beltz (1983, 65) and ‘offering’ by Meyer and Smith (*ACM*, 96)). Among its various applications, the prayer of Seth, son of Adam, in P.Mich. inv. 593 (ed. Worrell 1930, 248–9), may be recited over **ΟΥΔΠΑΡΧΗ ΝΝΕΞ** and **ΟΥΔΠΑΡΧΗ ΝΗΡΠ**.

27 **ΝΩΡΦ**. The referent is a liquid (the oil in the previous line), but it is not clear that the intended use is ingestion as opposed to anointment or other application: ‘preparation’ has therefore been preferred (sc. as the result of mixing, see Crum, *CD* 831a).

28–9. For the phrasing compare the prayer attributed to Mary in P.Lond.Copt. Or. 4714 (t) (ed. *P.Lond.Copt.* I 368), p. 4, 1–5, **ΝΝΕΤΖΜ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΜΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΪΤΟΪΤΟΥ ΕΪΤΕ ΠΕΘΟΥ ΕΪΤΕ ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΧ**.

28 **ΝΑΡΑΝ**. For **ΝΡΑΝ**, perhaps related to the (relatively rare) expression of post-consonantal, etymological *ē* with **Δ** in the vicinity of **Ν**: *P.Bal.* p. 52 §1; the expected **ΝΡΑΝ** is found in a parallel construction in 45 below.

ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΙΕΙΡΕ ΝΣΑ ΝΑΡΩΙ. Literally ‘that I may do according to the ones of my mouth’; it might be rendered more freely, ‘so I may accomplish what I have said’.

29 **ΝΑΠΟΛΟΓΙ**. For **-ΓΙΑ** as in 21 above.

ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΧ. For **-ΝΟΥΧ**: on the spelling cf. **ΜΟΞ** in 11 above, the Introduction and **ΕΝΔΑΝΟΥΧ** in **Hay 2**, 22.

29–30 **[ΖΝ ΟΥ]ΤΑΧΗ**. The prepositional construction, restored after 19 above (for the loanword see the note there) in preference to the bare adverbial **ΤΑΧΗ** as at the close of the invocation in 36 below, is required by the parallel limb **ΜΝ ΟΥΓΕΠΗ**.

30–1. For the claim of purity compare the request for future users of the prayer of Seth, son of Adam, in P.Mich. inv. 593 (ed. Worrell 1930, 243), **ΕΙΡΕ ΝΑΧ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΓΝΑΔΑΥ ΖΝ ΟΥΤΒΒΟ ΜΝ ΟΥΖΑΓΝΕΙΑ ΝΖΩΒ**, while Seth says of himself, **ΔΙΖΑΓΝΕΥΕ ΜΜΟΪ ΝΖΜΕ ΝΖΟΟΥ**.

30 **ΝΑΔΔ**. The insertion of **Ν** is unexpected: cf. 9 and 18 and 36 above. A conflation with an attributive construction involving **Ν-**, or a false start in a construction **ΝΙΜ ΔΔ** as used in 64 below, seem likelier than a vestige of a personal name in **Ν-** in a personalised exemplar, expunged in the rest of the instances: for the intrusion of a personal name in a formulary, perhaps due to copying from a personalised exemplar, cf. P.Heid. inv. K 685 (ed. Meyer 1996), p. 13.3, 9.

ΝΕΚΝΕΣΤΙΑ. From Greek *νηστεία*, as also in 11 above with the same spelling; the reference is probably to the three days of fasting that were enjoined in the directions for the procedure there.

ΝΕΚΘΑΒΔΙΩ. A variant spelling of **ΘΒΒΙΟ**; by a different word division, Crum discerned **ΘΔΒ** (cf. *CD* 457b), but the sense does not fit the context; the basis of the rendering ‘purifications’ by Frankfurter and Meyer is not stated.

31 **ΔΙ† ΖΝΕ ΝΑΚ ΕΖΡΑΙ**. Previously understood as referring to an offering of incense (compare the invocation for justice against enemies in P.IFAO inv. 451 (ed. Louis 2013), verso, 11, **ΠΜΑ Ε†ΝΑΤΕΚΙ ΜΠΙΛΙΒΑΝΟΣ ΔΜΩ**, ‘the place where I shall melt this incense – come’, and the note on 56 below), but as noted by Dosoo, Love and Preininger, the assumed reduction of **ΖΗΝΕ** to **ΖΝΕ** is unusual, and **† ΖΝΑΥ** is attested for literal payment and **ΧΙ ΖΝΑΥ** probably for offering or tribute (*CD* 693a; cf. *ibid.* 692b for **ΖΝΕ** as an Akhmimic form of **ΖΝΑΥ**). A non-standard version of **ΔΙΡ ΠΕΤΕΖΝΑΚ** ‘I have done what you wish’ is another possibility (suggestion of Jacques van der Vliet).

32 **ΝΠΕΘΜΟ[ΟΙΣ]**. For **ΜΠΕΤΖΜΟΟΣ**; a more standard spelling with respect to the consonants is represented by **ΠΕΤΖΜΩΙΣ** in 74 below.

ΠΕΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΠΑΙ. The first word may stand for **ΠΕ(Θ)ΡΟΝΟΣ** ‘this throne’ with a reduced form of the near demonstrative (see the note on 9 above), but that **ΠΑΙ** is to be construed not as an amplification of this deixis but rather in apposition with the following divine name (see the following note) is reinforced by the lack of any ‘throne’ in the accompanying ritual to which ‘this’ could refer. The sitting upon a throne in 15–16 above is in reference to an entirely different mythical episode, and the setting up of the throne by the invoked deities in 52–3 has not yet been established at this point.

ΖΑΔΑΝΔΗ[Λ]. The angelic name of Satan, for which compare **ΣΑΤΑΝΔΗΛ** in P.Berl. inv. P. 8503 (ed. Beltz 1984, 94–7), 29; see in general Van der Vliet 1995, 406–7, and on the Greek *Σατανανηλ*, Michl 1962, 232–3 no. 205, which is the form found in 2 Enoch (18.4, 31.4–6) for the deceiver of Adam and Eve (cf. also the apocryphal Questions of Bartholomew 4:25–8). Another variant in Old Coptic is **ΠΑΪ ΠΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟΣ ΝΔΔΙΜΩΝ ΠΙΣΑΔΑΝΑΣ**, in Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574 (ed. *PGMIV* 1237–8; Love 2016, 58–9), f. 14r.

32–3 [ΕΙ]ΕΙΡΕ. Restored after 21 above.

34 ΕΤΕΝΑΡΙΚΕ. For ΕΤΕΚΝΑ-: the second person gives better sense in context (the speaker has presumably looked at the offering already), although the form resembles the first person with reduced -ΕΙ- as in ΕΤΕΝΑΖΙ in 36. The spelling, if not simply an anomaly (for loss of κ in particular, cf. ΠΧΩ in 58 below), may be explained by assimilation of κ to the following nasal, followed by simplification of a doubled consonant: cf. ΕΒΟ ΝΠΟΥΩΥC in 53 below with the note there.

34–5 [ΤΕ]ΔΠΑΡΧΗ. Restored following 26; as there, this and each of the following nouns in this line may be prefixed with a reduced version of the near demonstrative (ΤΕΙ-, ΝΕΙ-, ΠΕΙ-: ‘this’, ‘these’) rather than an anomalously inserted ε after the definite article (see the note on 9 above); cf. also ΠΕΛΠΟΤ in 41 and 46.

35 ΝΕΖ ΝCΙΜ. For ΝΝΕΖ ΝCΙΜ; cf. 26 above and 37 below. Kropp, *AKZ* II, 51, compares the use of radish oil (ξύλαιον ῥαφάνινον) to anoint a boy medium in a Greek recipe for lamp-divination, *PGM* II 55 (see now *GEMF* 30). For radish oil and its medicinal uses see also Till 1951, 81 no. 105.f.

ΘΑΡΜΟΣ ΖΕΟΥΤ. The noun is a loanword from Greek θέρμος (Förster, *WB* 337); cf. line 91 below and the Coptic-Arabic glossary ed. Munier 1930, 169.6–7, where ΘΑΡΜΟΣ ΖΟΟΥΤ is glossed with Arabic tirms brī (‘wild tirms’, that is, another transcription of the same θέρμος). For the sense of ΖΟΟΥΤ see Crum, *CD* 739a.

ΠΕΖ ρ. Read from the Griffith Institute photographs (see the Introduction); this portion of the manuscript is now lost. The quantity ‘seven’ seems certain and suits a ritual context (cf. e.g. Ζ ΝΚΛΛΛ ΝΖΜΟΥ in 87 below), but the resolution of the following noun, apparently abbreviated, remains elusive. No substance that could literally be slaked can be found to suit ΔΤΩΩΜ in the following line; perhaps instead a transferred sense ‘raw’, in which case another vegetable such as ΟΡ(ΘΟΣ) (Greek ὄροθος ‘bitter vetch’) might be looked for. The reading ΘΡ is also possible; ΘΡ(ΟΝΟΣ) ‘thrones’ is conceivable if ΔΤΩΩΜ were a rendering of Greek ἄσβεστος, ‘thrones of asbestos-mineral’, but although they would correspond well to the ‘great throne’ mentioned further on in the invocation (52–3), they seem out of place among the other elements of the offering. Is one to imagine miniature thrones set up for the comfort of the attendant spirits?

36 ΖΩΒ ΕΤΕΝΑΖΙ ΤΟΤ ΡΟΥΥ. Understand ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕΙΝΑΖΙ ΤΟ(Ο)Τ ΕΡΟΥΥ, cf. 27 above; for the reduction of -ΕΙ- in a verbal form cf. ΤΕCOCΠCΠ in 38 below with the note.

38–58. A third invocation, followed by instructions for textual amulets and an offering and interrupted once in mid-invocation for a simpler offering of mastic (49). Beyond the general presence and attention of the divine powers, there is a request for illumination, which, if not metaphorical, may have served a divinatory function (see the notes on 41–3 below): Kropp, *AKZ* II, 51, compares recipes for conjuration of divine visions in bowls and flames in *PGM* IV 222–42 and 955–72 and *P.Mag.LL* recto xxii 1–5 (a rubric for which the spell itself has been omitted) and xxviii 1–10; a close parallel in Coptic is P.Stras.Copt. 550 (ed. Tibet 2014).

38 ΤΕCOCΠCΠ. Kropp printed ΤΕCOC[C]ΠCΠ, alleging a supralinear dot in the manuscript as a mark of cancellation, but it proves to be only a hole in the leather. That the copyist intended †COCΠCΠ (ΤΕΙ-) is no less certain, with reduction of

ΕΙ as several times in this text (and in the same verbal form in 74 below); the additional C is probably the result of a metathesis from the last syllable in which the copyist nevertheless maintained the original form of the latter: cf. *P.Bal.* p. 150 §127F(b).

†ΠΑΡΑ{ΡΑ}ΚΑΛΕ. The dittography might have been set off by the magical word ΔΡΑΡΑϣ, once preceding and twice following this form, but it recurs in 75 below.

39 ΠCΥΡΟC. For the Syrian compare perhaps *P.Mag.LL* recto xxi 34, in which some wine to be administered to the target of erotic magic is addressed as ‘Raks, Raparaks, the blood of this wild boar (?) which was brought from the land of Syria into Egypt’ (r’ks r’p’r’ks p-snf n-py-iš hwt a-inwʿf n-p-t n-hr a-kmy); for foreign ethnics in Coptic demonology, Aknator ‘the Ethiopian’ in the unpublished P.Cair. Coptic Museum inv. 4956 (tr. *ACM* no. 119), with Frankfurter 2007b, 456.

40 ΕΤΕΤΝΚΑΤΑΞΙΟΥ. The Greek καταξίω (cf. Förster, *WB* 392) is also used in the invocations in P.Lond.Copt. Or. 5525 (ed. Kropp, *AKZ* I, text C), 8–10, ΩΑΝΤΕΚΚΑΤΑΚΞΙΟΝ ΜΑΚ ΚΙ ΕΖΛΗ ΕΧΕΝ ΠΕΚΖΟΤΙΟΝ, and P.Stras.Copt. 204 fr. C + J + M verso (ed. Hevesi 2018), 17, ΧΕΚΑΔ[C ΕΚΕΚΑ]ΤΑΞΟΥΕ ΜΟΚ ΡΟΥΥ ΝΕΙ ΩΑΡΟ[] (my supplements; [ΚΑ]ΤΑΞΟΥΕ, ΩΑΡΟ[] ed.pr.).

41 ΝΤΕΤΝΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΝ ΠΕΛΠΟΤ. The cup (as in a similar context in 34–5, and in the identical spelling of this word in 46, -ε- may represent a reduced -ΕΙ- of the near demonstrative (‘this cup’) rather than an anomalous insertion after the definite article: cf. also 9 n.) may be more specifically a vessel used in divination, in which a divine apparition is to appear; cf. P.Berl. inv. 8319 (ed. *BKUI* 9; Beltz 1983, 70–1), 4–6, ΧΕΚΑΔC [c. 6] ΝΑΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΝ ΠΑΠΟΤ Π[c. 6] Ε ΖΝΤΑΔΙΧ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ.

42–3. The request for light, or by extension intellectual or spiritual illumination, is unusual; cf. P.Köln inv. 20826 (ed. *P.Köln* XV 640), front, 7–8, an invocation of the sun, ΕΚΕΡ ΟΥΟΥΪΝ ΕΠΑΖΗΤ.

42 ΝCΟΟΠ. For ΝCΟΠ, which is found in the parallel passage in 54 below; for the spelling see the note on ΕΤΡΟΟΕΙC in 2 above.

43 ΠΑΘΕΩΤΗC. Literally ‘that which relates to divinity’, a compound noun from the possessed pronoun ΠΑ- (cf. the following note) and the Greek loanword θεότης.

ΝΑΠΔΕΩΡΙCΤΗC. Apparently formed via the possessed pronoun ΠΑ- (cf. the previous note) from an otherwise unattested Greek *θεωρίστης ‘observer’ (‘my ones relating to an observer’, or ‘my (faculties) of observation’), cf. θεωρητής and θεώρησιC, as also in 48 below; a loan from the cognate θεωρέω ‘observe’ may also appear in the invocation in the divinatory procedure in P.Stras.Copt. 550 (ed. Tibet 2014), as read in the re-edition prepared for *Kyprianos* by Korshi Dosoo, who is thanked for this reference.

ΝΟΥΕΙΝ. For ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ (as in the previous line); the same spelling recurs in the parallel passage in 48 below.

ΚΕΚΑC. For ΧΕΚΑC, cf. the variants ΚΑΔC, ΧΑC and ΚΕ(Ε)C in Akhmimic, Bohairic and Fayumic respectively, listed in Crum, *CD* 764a, perhaps with a metathetic doubling of C as in ΤΕCOCΠCΠ in 38 above, but a graphic copying error, perhaps due to a damaged exemplar (the suggestion of Sebastian Richter), seems likelier.

44. There is a close parallel in phrasing in P.Stras.Copt. 205 fr. A + I + K + 204 fr. G verso (ed. Hevesi 2018), 5, [] ΜΕΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΙΝΑΩΠΙΝΕ ΝΩ[Ϛ] ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΚ; for the request in general compare also the claim of Seth, son of Adam, in his eponymous prayer, P.Mich. inv. 593 (ed. Worrell 1930, 244), ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ (...) ΝΤΑΥΩΩΠ̄ ΝΑΪ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΙΑΡΕΤΗ ΜΝ̄ ΝΙΜΕΣΤΥΡΙΟΝ.

ΜΗΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ. The expected object marker Ν- has fallen out: cf. the unassimilated ΝΜΗΣΤΗ[ΡΙΟΝ] in the parallel passage in 48 below.

45 ΝΠΝΟΘ ΝΡΑΝ ΝΜΗΤ ΝΦΙΩΤ ΕΤΕ ΠΕΦΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΔΙΟ ΣΑΒΑΩΘ. For the appeal to the true name compare P.Berl. inv. 5565 (ed. BKUI 22; Beltz 1983, 61–3), 5, ΠΡΑΝ ΜΜΗΤ ΠΑΠΛΗΥ ΠΕ; P.Berl. inv. P 10587 (ed. Richter and Wurst 1993), i 1–2, an adjuration Μ̄ΠΡΑΝ Μ̄ΜΗΤ ΖΡΑΦΑΗΛ ΔΔ[Ω]ΝΑΙ ΣΑΒΑΩΘ; P.Cair. inv. 45060 (ed. Kropp, AKZI, text K), 15, ΠΡΑΠ ΜΜΗΤ Μ̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΑΝ; and the unpublished P.Mich. inv. 598 (via readings from Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin), verso 24–5 (†ΤΑΡΚΟ ΜΜΩΤ̄Ν̄ Μ̄ΠΡΑΝ ΜΜΗΤ ΝΝΙΩ Μ|ΠΕΤΖΜΟΟΣ ΖΙΧ̄Ν̄ ΠΕΦΘΡΟΝΟΣ) and P.Mich. inv. 602, 17–18 (†ΤΑΡΚΟ ΜΜΩΤ̄Ν̄ | `Μ̄ΠΡΑΝ ΜΜΗΤ ΝΙΩ' ΜΠΕΤΖΜΟΟΣ ΖΙΧ̄Ν̄ ΠΕΦΘΡΟΝΟΣ). The six words ΝΤΑΠΕΪΩΤ̄ ΤΑΟΥΟΥ ΕΧ̄Ν̄ ΤΑΠΕ Μ̄ΠΕΦΩΗΡΕ Μ̄ΜΕΡΙΤ at the crucifixion (cf. 102 below with the note) are said to express ΠΑΡΑΝ Μ̄ΜΗΤ in P.Lond.Copt. Or. 6796 (4) (ed. Kropp, AKZI, text J), 23–5.

ΔΙΟ ΣΑΒΑΩΘ. Stegemann 1934b, 127 emends the first element to ΙΑΩ, but the reading is clear; he was nevertheless correct to relate the pair to a sequence common in Greek and Coptic ritual texts (as in Hay 5, 12), which amounts to a transliteration of the Hebrew name of the supreme deity of the Jewish scriptures (YHWH) and the epithet conventionally rendered ‘of hosts’ in English (šəbā’ōt), which has the reflex κύριος Σαβαωθ in Greek (e.g. Isaiah 6:3). See in general Aune 1996; P.Oxy. LXXXII 5308.6–7 n. and LXXXVI 5545.11 n.; Andrade 2015; Wilkinson 2015, 169–77; Kotansky, Kovács and Prohászka 2015, 139.

Χ[ε]. Or χ[εκας].

49 Θ[Υ] ΜΑ[Ϛ] ΤΕΧΗ. For the abbreviation see the note on 56 below; ΜΑΣΤΕΧΗ (Greek μαστίχη; Förster, WB 506), which appears there also, has been written in part above the line for reasons of space.

50 ΣΑΛΠΙΝΑ ΤΑΒΙΘΙΑ. Frankfurter 1990 relates the latter name via that of the scorpion-wife of Horus, Tabitchet (see the notes on lines 12–19 above), to the Tabitha in the Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah, in a complex synthesis of Egyptian and Jewish traditions. Dosoo, Love and Preininger refer more plausibly to a variant spelling of the divine name ΔΑΥΕΙΘΕ, associated elsewhere with trumpet-playing (see the note on Hay 4, 21), which is evoked in turn by the ΣΑΛΠΙΝΑ directly preceding, an angel-name probably coined from σάλπιγξ ‘trumpet’.

51 ΝΕΤΝΩΒΩ. For the adjuration by garments, possibly related to inscription of holy names on the clothing of divine figures, compare the invocation for favour and victory in PGM XXXV in which an adjuration (ἐξορκίζω) is made ‘by the power of Ιαῶ and the strength of Sabaōth and the garment of Elōe and the might of Adōnai and the crown of Adōnai’ (διὰ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Ιαω καὶ τῆ(ν) ἰσχὺν τοῦ Σαβαωθ καὶ τὸ ἔνδυμα τ(ο)ῦ Ελωε καὶ τὸ κράτος τοῦ

Αδωναι καὶ τὸν στέφανον τοῦ Αδωναι, 19–22); see also the note on Hay 5, 12.

51–2 ΤΕ[Τ]ΝΑΧΑΛΕ. For ΕΤΕΤΝΑ- by haplography with the preceding ΧΕ (cf. 22 above with the note); the infinitive seems best referred to Greek χαλάω ‘release, lower, yield’ (cf. Förster, WB 863). A Coptic verbal form from 60(Ε)ΙΛΕ is conceivable (cf. the Sahidic by-form ΚΟΙΛΕ and the Fayumic ΚΑΛΙ; Crum, CD 807b) but still requires radical phonetic shifts, and the sense ‘sojourn’ is less appropriate in context.

53 ΠΝΟΘ ΤΝΖΗΤΤΗΥΤΝ ΖΜΘΕ ΕΧΩϚ. With ΤΝΖΗΤΤΗΥΤΝ for ΕΤΝΖΗΤΤΗΥΤΝ; for the aphairesis of Ε cf. ΡΟΥΥ in 36 above. The interpretation of this phrase, which might have been introduced by e.g. ΕΤΕΡΕ in literary Sahidic, is owed to Jacques van der Vliet. The image recalls the invocation of ΖΑΔΑΝΑΗΛ in 32 above.

ΖΜΘΕ. For ΖΜΟΟΣ; cf. the Akhmimic and Bohairic spellings ΖΜΕΣ and ΖΕΜΣΙ respectively in Crum, CD 679a.

ΕΒΟ. For ΕΒΟΛ; perhaps simply an anomaly (cf. e.g. ΠΧΩ in 58 below), but a simplification of a double consonant after an earlier assimilation is conceivable: cf. ΕΤΕΝΑΡΙΚΕ in 34 with the note there.

55 ΝΤΟΤΤΗΝΟΥ. For ΝΤΟ(Ο)ΤΤΗΥΤΝ (cf. 53 above), perhaps by conflation with the third plural ΝΤΟ(Ο)ΤΟΥ.

56 ΘΥ. For Greek θυ(σία) (cf. Förster, WB 341; on the abbreviation see below). Closing lists of aromatic substances used in offerings, common in Coptic magical texts, probably belong to an earlier tradition attested in the Graeco-Roman period in the magical papyri and beyond, e.g. the Orphic Hymns, in which the standard opening heading recommends a burnt offering (θυμίαμα) of particular substances to accompany the hymn. See in general Hopfner 1921, 507–9 §803, Brashear 1991, 53–5, Van der Vliet 2019a, 335; offerings of incense and libations continued to be practised along with invocations to summon spirits (‘afārīt) in modern Egypt: Blackman 1927, 229. These offerings may also relate to those attested in Gnostic texts, such as performed by Jesus and the disciples in the Second Book of Jeu 45 (Codex Askew; ed. Schmidt and Macdermot 1978a): wine, olive-wood, juniper (ΑΡΚΕΥΘΙΣ), ΚΑΣΔΑΛΑΝΘΟΣ, nard (ΝΑΡΔΟCΤΑΧΟΣ), anemone (ΚΥΝΟΚΕΦΑΛΛΟΝ); and in preparation for the fire-baptism, ibid. 46, an offering of incense (ΩΟΥΖΗΝΕ), juniper (ΔCΚΗΘΙC), myrrh (ΩΑΛ), frankincense (ΛΙΒΑΝΟΣ), mastic (ΜΑΣΤΙΧΙΝ), nard (ΝΑΡΔΟCΤΑΧΟΣ), terebinth (ΤΕΡΕΒΕΝΘΟΣ) and balsam (CΤΑΚΤΗ), accompanied by an invocation and seal (CΦΡΑΓΙC); a similar ritual for the baptism of the holy spirit (ibid. 47) adds honey (ΕΒΙΩ); another, for removal of the evil of the archons, uses a censer (ΩΟΥΡΗ) and adds cinnamon (ΜΑΛΛΑΒΑΘΡΟΝ), koush (ΚΟΥΩ); cf. the note on ΚΟΥΤ in 60 below), asbestos (ΔΜΙΑΝΤΟΝ) and agate-stone (ibid. 48). The origins of the practice here may be multiply determined, as a comparable offering (θυμίαμα) is prescribed in a monastic context, for the departing soul of a holy man by a stylite colleague who had miraculously foreseen the event: John Moschus, Spiritual Meadow 57 (PG 87c: 2912 A–B).

The monogram-form of the present abbreviation (Ϛ) is used among the prescriptions following the opening invocation in P.Macq. I 1, p. 12.20; and in a formulary for favour, P.Gieben Copt. 1 (ed. Van der Vliet 2005b; now Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum inv. 16.750), 11 (not

represented in ed.pr.; confirmed on the original); compare the writing $\Theta\text{C}\text{I}\text{A}$ in P.Moen III (ed. Satzinger and Sijpesteijn 1988), flesh side, 24; and the more common $\Theta\Upsilon$ in P.Heid. inv. K 684 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 122.264), p. 12.18, P.Heid. inv. K 686 (ed. Kropp 1966), pp. 14–16, 250–71 passim, P.Heid. inv. K 681 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 139), 9; P.Heid. inv. K 682 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 137), 44, *P.Köln* XV 641, 2, P.Vind. inv. K 8303, fr. B.10 (ed. Stegemann 1934a, 28, 79–82 no. LI with Till 1935b, 219), P.Vind. inv. K 11088 (ed. Hevesi 2015), A 3 and B 7; it should also be read in the fragmentary *P.Ryl.Copt.* 109, [] $\text{K}\text{A}\text{P}\text{B}\text{O}\text{N}\text{E}$ $\text{E}\text{N}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{E}\text{N}\text{E}\text{L}\text{O}\text{L}\text{E}$ $\text{T}\text{A}\text{D}\text{B}$ $\text{E}\text{P}\text{K}\text{O}\text{Z}\text{T}$ $\Theta\Upsilon$ $\text{M}\text{A}\text{C}\text{M}\text{O}\Upsilon$ $\text{O}\Upsilon\text{A}\text{A}$ $\text{K}\text{O}\Upsilon\text{O}$ Υ APA $\text{M}\text{E}\text{N}\text{H}\text{E}$ $\text{T}\text{A}\text{Z}\text{C}$ $\text{P}\text{E}\text{K}\text{Z}\text{O}$... EMM [], for which the identification of ed.pr. as a medical recipe is in need of revision. Cf. also P.Macq. inv. 588 (ed. Dosoo 2018), 3.

[21]. For the supplement see 58–9 below.

57 $\text{M}\text{O}\text{C}\text{X}\text{A}\text{T}\text{O}\text{N}$. A Greek loanword assumed by Crum (cf. **Hay 3**, 40) and others (cf. also Förster, *WB* 534) to be a type of wine ('muscat'); for the correct interpretation see Fournet 2008, 159–61 and *LBG* s.v. $\mu\text{o}\sigma\chi\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$. Here the neuter substantive derives from an original collocation with $\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\mu\alpha$.

57–8 *signs*. Preceded by a sequence of letters apparently treated as magical words, but possibly belonging to an earlier stage to more of the offering-recipe that was transliterated rather than translated from Greek (suggestion of Dosoo, Love and Preininger; cf. also **Hay 5**, 36–42), containing perhaps a form of the adjective $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ 'black'. Among the signs the eight-pointed star with circular termini is particularly common, see 105 below and e.g. the recipe for a fever amulet, P.Med.Copt. inv. 254 (ed. Pernigotti 1985, 73–6); the fever amulet P.Moen s.n. [1] (ed. Sijpesteijn 1982a), flesh side 2, 5, 20–1, 23 (in line 7, read $\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}\text{K}$ from the published image in place of $\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}\text{O}\text{K}$, a circular terminus of a sign in the line above having been mistaken by ed.pr. for the second O ; in lines 14–15, and similarly 30, understand $\text{N}\text{E}\text{K}\text{P}\text{A}\text{N}$ $\text{N}\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}\text{M}\text{A}\text{C}\text{I}\text{A}$ as an adjectival phrase 'your names of address'; there is no need to punctuate with ed.pr. after $\text{N}\text{E}\text{K}\text{P}\text{A}\text{N}$ and assume that the scribe neglected to copy out the names, as the signs themselves may have been understood to stand for them); a recipe for an amulet whose indication is lost in *P.Bal.* 61.5; an invocation for the activation of oil to confer favour in P.Köln inv. 1471 (ed. *P.KölnLüddeckens* Copt. 3 with Taf. IV; cf. *P.KölnÄgypt.* I 10); the amulet P.Vind. inv. K 8031 (*PGM* XLVIII), after line 10 (from a facsimile); and the finished product of an aggressive ritual in the form of an ostrakon, O.LACMA inv. MA 80.202.214 (ed. Dieleman 2006); it is associated in turn with the sun in a system of representation of the planets by signs (Mastrocinque 2012, 540). Of the rest, the most common type is what resembles a Coptic (or Greek) letter with ringed termini: in 57, A , E , O , I , K , C , Υ and † (or Ψ) can be distinguished, along with more abstract variants on a similar pattern; in 58, I and C again. This type is represented again in 66 below, and in **Hay 3**, 23, 23a, **Hay 4**, 5–8, **Hay 5**, 5–10, 23, 35, **Hay 6**, 4–5; cf. also **Hay 5**, 49, and **Hay 7**, and in Coptic magic more broadly, e.g. P.Leid. inv. F 1964/4.14 (ed. Green 1987 with Green 1988) and P.Heid. inv. K 679 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 142), back. On the formation of the letter-like signs in general see Gordon 2014 and Dosoo 2018, 24, and on ritual signs in Greek and Coptic texts in general, Zellmann-Rohrer and Love 2022, 109–11.

58 $\text{P}\text{X}\text{O}\Upsilon$ $\text{E}\text{B}\text{O}\text{L}$. For $\text{P}\text{X}\text{O}\text{K}$; on the anomalous termination cf. $\text{E}\text{T}\text{P}\text{O}\text{E}\text{I}$ in 3 above; on the closing tag see in general Richter 2015, 96. Parallels include: P.Cair. inv. 42573 (ed. Chassinat 1955), f. 2r.20 and 2v.10 and 17; P.Carlsberg 52 (ed. Lange 1932 with Brashear 1991, 16–62), f. 2r.22; P.Heid. inv. K 679 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 142), 14 and 23; P.Heid. inv. K 681 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 139), 52; P.Leid. inv. F 1964/4.14 (ed. Green 1987 with Green 1988), front, 30–1; *P.Ryl.Copt.* 102 verso and 104 §4; and the bilingual Greek-Coptic P.Kellis.Copt. (*P.Kellis* V) 35 (with Mirecki, Gardner and Alcock 1997; Love 2016, 273–6), 22; cf. also $\text{T}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ in *PGM* VII 148a.

58–73. An addition of some shorter iatromagical recipes, addressing headache, lameness, clouding of the eyes, bleeding and rheum, insomnia, general protection and sickness attributed to demonic possession, in that order. This disposition is paralleled in P.Berl. inv. 8109 (ed. *BKUI* 25; Beltz 1984, 88–90); Michigan Ms. 136 (ed. Worrell 1935a, 17–37; see now Zellmann-Rohrer and Love 2022); and P.Vind. inv. K 8303 (Stegemann 1934a, 28, 79–82 no. LI with Till 1935b, 219). Compare also P.Mich. inv. 593a (ed. Worrell 1935b, 192–4 no. 7), a single sheet with recipes for a textual amulet against tertian fever ($\text{E}\text{T}\text{B}\text{E}$ $\text{P}\text{O}\Upsilon\text{O}\text{M}\text{T}$ $\text{O}\Upsilon\text{O}\text{M}\text{T}$: Zellmann-Rohrer 2020a, 65; Worrell had thought of a triad of Egyptian deities, but so allusive a mention is improbable in a rubric) to be written on a protocol-sheet ($\text{P}\text{R}\text{O}\Upsilon\text{W}\text{K}\text{O}\text{L}\text{M}\text{A}$), followed by two pharmacological procedures.

58 $\text{O}\Upsilon\text{A}\text{N}\text{K}\text{E}\text{F}\text{A}\text{L}\text{O}\text{C}$ $\text{E}\Upsilon\text{†}$ $\text{T}\text{K}\text{A}\text{C}$. Literally 'a brain (Greek $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\varphi\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$) that is in pain'. The indication may also be recognised in a fragmentary medical recipe in *P.Ryl.Copt.* 107 (b), which recommends a poultice ($\text{O}\Upsilon\text{A}\text{N}\text{K}\text{E}\text{F}\text{O}\text{L}\text{O}\text{C}$ $\text{E}\Upsilon\text{†}$ KAC , with Förster, *WB* 224; 'For a ... that is painful', ed.pr.); the same loanword in a similar spelling ($\text{A}\text{N}\text{'}\text{G}\text{K}\text{E}\text{F}\text{A}\text{L}\text{O}\text{C}$) is found in a medical context in Michigan Ms. 136 (ed. Worrell 1935a, 17–37; see now Zellmann-Rohrer and Love 2022), p. 13.7–8, a prescription for the application of bull's brain; the brain of the beaver is designated with $\text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{E}\text{F}\text{A}\text{R}\text{O}\text{C}$ in the medical papyrus edited in Chassinat 1921, 212, §99.193–4.

59 $\text{O}\Upsilon\text{E}\text{R}\text{E}\text{T}\text{E}$. For $\text{O}\Upsilon\text{O}\Upsilon\text{E}\text{R}\text{H}\text{T}\text{E}$ by simplification of $\text{O}\Upsilon$; cf. the Introduction and *P.Bal.* p. 86 §56A; for the spelling with E in place of H (cf. $\text{O}\Upsilon\text{R}\text{H}\text{T}\text{E}$ in 62 below), *ibid.* p. 75 §34.

$\text{C}\text{H}\text{A}\text{L}\text{A}$ $\text{Z}\text{H}\text{C}\text{A}\text{T}$. For $\text{E}\Upsilon\text{A}\text{L}\text{E}$ (the aphairesis is paralleled elsewhere in the text, see the Introduction, but here is perhaps more particularly the result of haplography), followed by an anomalous qualitative (?) of $\text{Z}\text{I}\text{C}\text{E}$; for the interchange of C and K cf. $\text{A}\text{I}\text{K}\text{I}\text{N}\text{E}$ in 15 above with the note.

2E. For 21, as also in 95 below; cf. *P.Bal.* pp. 77–8 §39.

60 $\text{E}\text{A}\Upsilon\text{P}$ $\text{Z}\text{P}\text{O}\text{C}\text{T}\text{N}$. The form $\text{Z}\text{P}\text{O}\text{C}\text{T}\text{N}$ is an alternative spelling, by one more instance of conflation of liquid consonants, for $\text{Z}\text{L}\text{O}\text{C}\text{T}\text{N}$ (Crum, *CD* 671b), an ailment whose cure is sought in the incantation formulary of T.Brit.Mus. EA 29528 (ed. *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I appendix no. 27 with von Lemm 1911, 50–7, and Kropp, *AKZ* II, 66–7 no. 18), 11 (NXI $\text{C}\text{H}\text{A}\text{L}\text{O}$ $\text{P}\text{E}\text{Z}\text{L}\text{O}\text{C}\text{T}\text{N}$ $\text{C}\text{H}\text{A}\text{B}\text{O}\text{L}$ EB [OL]; Korshi Dosoo is thanked for this reference).

21. Possibly in the etymological sense 'on', of reciting a ritual text over a liquid, but as no such text is given, the transferred sense 'and' is preferred here, with the assumption that either the first ingredient in the list has fallen out, or the first 21 in the sequence is redundant (cf. Greek $\text{k}\acute{\alpha}\iota$... $\text{k}\acute{\alpha}\iota$).

ΚΟΥΤ. Crum records the word at *CD* 131a, ‘plant or mineral’, on the basis of a list of preparations for an altar in the Codex Bruce (cf. the note on 21–2 above), without mention of the Hay text; add now perhaps the ‘white koush’ (ΚΟΥΨ ΝΑΛΗΥ) prescribed for an offering (ΘΥ̅ for ΘΥΣΙΑ) in P.Heid. inv. K 686 (ed. Kropp 1966), p. 15, 257, to counteract poisoning (or drunkenness: ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΑΥ† ΟΥΑΠΑΤ ΝΕΒ), with which the ΚΟΥ ΝΛΕΥΚΟΝ in **Hay 4**, 90 is probably identical, and perhaps **Hay 4**, 78. The form ΚΟΥΤ here is probably to be taken as a variant for ΚΟΥΨΤ ‘costus’, an aromatic thistle-root, on which see recently Richter 2014b, 180.

61–3. The invocation centres on a narrative motif that recounts a variant of the tradition in 2 Kings 2:7–8, where Elijah strikes the water with his rolled cloak, not a staff. There may have been conflation with one of a number of other miracle traditions about staves and water: the staff of Moses at the parting of the Red Sea (Exodus 14:16–22), the casting of a stick of wood into the Jordan by Elijah’s successor Elisha to make an iron axe-head float (2 Kings 6:6–7) and Christ’s parting of the Euphrates with his staff (ῥάβδος) invoked against ῥεῦμα (cf. **ῥεῦμα** here) in a Greek amulet, P.Heid. inv. G 1101 (*Suppl.Mag.* I 32 with commentary, and further Maltomini 1982), some medieval versions of which substitute the Jordan for the Euphrates. The biblical narrative of the drought inflicted and released by Elijah (1 Kings 17–18), for which see **Hay 5**, 34, is co-opted in a later incantation against bleeding in a Byzantine manuscript, Vienna, ÖNB cod. med. gr. 27, f. 123v (ed. *CCAG* VI:88). An apocryphal prayer for protection attributed to Elijah is given in P.Vind. inv. K 8302 (ed. Stegemann 1934a, 26–7, 70–6 no. XLV, with Polotsky 1935, 89–90, and Till 1935b, 215–18), II; the prophet appears also in an uncertain context in the invocation in P.Berl. inv. 15878 (Beltz 1983, 82), I ([ΔΗΟΣ ΕΛΙΑΣ). For recent discussion of another miracle of Christ at the Jordan in an apocryphal gospel, informed by intertestamental elaborations on the Elijah and Elisha narratives, see Zelyck 2016.

61 **ῥεῦμα.** As in 64 below, a loanword from Greek ῥεῦμα; see the previous note and compare P.CtYBR inv. 1800 qua (ed. S. Emmel, *ACM* Appendix 353–5 no. 4), 10, where ΟΥῤΕῤΜΑ is among the afflictions to be visited upon the target of a curse, and the cognate verb ῥευματίζω in the medical recipe P.TT 157-470 2/8-9, ed. Richter 2014b, [ΚΟΛΗ]ΡΙΟΝ ΨΑΥΤΡΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ [ΛΟ ΕΨ]ΨΑΝῤΕῤΜΑΤΙΣΕ. **h.** Greek ῥ.

ΟΚΩ. For ΟΥΚΩ: cf. ΜΟΞ in 11 above with the note.

ΠΣΝΟΨ. The translation of Kropp assumes a construction with the preceding Ο(Υ)ΚΩ (‘Betreffs eines Rheuma oder eines Blutflusses’), which requires either an emendation to ΠΣΝΟΨ or an anomalous spelling with ΚΩ for the prenominal ΚΔ; the expression ΚΩ ΠΣΝΟΨ, or ΚΔ ΠΣΝΟΨ, in turn remains otherwise unattested (cf. Crum, *CD* 348a–b). These difficulties are removed by punctuating before ΠΣΝΟΨ and assuming the ellipse of a verb of writing, as in the rubric in 66 below, ΕΤΒΕ ΦΕΝΕΜ ΒΩΒΕ ΝΧΟΕΙΤ, where the following ritual signs require inscription, not oral delivery (see further the note there). The writing of ritual text with the same blood whose staunching is sought is also prescribed in Byzantine recipes. Compare e.g. from a 14th-century

manuscript, Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2228, f. 28r, ‘To staunch blood: write with a feather in the bleeding blood on the forehead, “When Zacharias the prophet was slain in the temple of the Lord, his blood congealed and turned firm like a stone” (περὶ τοῦ στήσαι αἷμα· γράψον μετὰ πτεροῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἐξερχομένου αἵματος εἰς τὸ μέτωπον· Ζαχαρίας ὁ προφήτης σφαγείς ἐν τῷ ναῷ κυρίου, ἔπηξεν τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐγένετο ἰσχυρὸν ὡσεὶ λίθος; on the Zacharias motif see Barb 1948; Zellmann-Rohrer and Love 2022, 189 n. 415).

61–2 **ΜΠΕΩΡΤΑΝΗΣ ΝΕΕΡΟ.** For **ΜΠΙΟΡΔΑΝΗΣ Ν(Ε)ΙΕΡΟ**, via another pair of simplifications of (ε)Ι: see the Introduction; **ΠΕΩΡΤΑΝΗΣ** recurs in 63 below, and **ΝΕΡΟ** in **Hay 2**, 17.

62 **ΝΝΕΨΟΥΡΗΤΕ.** For **-ΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ**, as common in documentary texts from the Theban area: *P.Bal.* p. 67 §20(d). **ΛΨΒΙ.** For **ΛΨΨΙ**; for the spelling in **ΒΙ**, as also in 63–4 below, in texts from the Theban area: *P.Bal.* pp. 136–7 §120.

ΛΨΨΕΥΕ. For **-ΨΟΟΥΕ**; cf. **ΨΕ(Ο)ΥΕ**, listed as an Akhmimic form in Crum, *CD* 60rb (also Sahidic under Fayumic influence). The qualitative **-ΨΟΥΨ** in the following line is closer to the standard Sahidic (**ΨΟΥΨΟΥΕ**).

63 **ΝΚΕ ΠΕΩΡΤΑΝΗΣ ΘΕ.** For **ΝΣΙ Π(Ε)ΙΟΡΔΑΝΗΣ ΝΘΕ**: for the interchange of κ with σ and ε with ι see the notes on **ΛΙΚΙΝΕ** (15) and **ΖΕ** (69) (cf. Akhmimic **ΝΘΕ**: Crum, *CD* 252a); for the name of the river, 61 above; for the weakness of initial **Ν-**, cf. **ΚΕΛΕ ΒΙΝΙΠΕ** in 13 above, and for parallels for **ΘΕ** in particular: *P.Bal.* p. 109 §80(h).

ΕΨΨΟΥΨ. For **-ΨΟΥΨΟΥΨ.**

ΝΤΕΞΕ. For **ΝΤΕΙΞΕ**: see 14 above with the note.

63–4 **ΕΚΔΒΙ.** For **ΕΚΕΨΙ**: the third future in **ΕΚΔ-** (cf. also **ΕΚΔΨΨ** in 149 below) is found in documentary texts throughout Egypt (*P.Bal.* pp. 154–6 §129); on the spelling in **-ΒΙ**, see the note on **ΛΨΒΙ** in 62 above.

64 **ΝΠΕῤῥΕῤΜΑΨ.** For **-ῤῥΕῤΜΑ** (Greek ῥεῦμα), see 61 above with the note; the final **-Ψ** is unexplained, compare perhaps the occasional substitution of **Δ** for **ΛΨ** (*P.Bal.* p. 65 §17) and **ΣΤΟΜΑΨ** in **Hay 5**, 38 with the note.

ΝΙΜ ΔΔ. Probably a conflation of two placeholder-formulae for personal names (as perhaps also in 30 above; **Hay 2**, 10–11; **Hay 5**, 19): **ΝΙΜ ΠΨΗΡΕ ΝΝΙΜ** (or **ΤΨΕ(Ε)ΡΕ ΝΝΙΜ**), as in **Hay 2**, 5, 14, 25, 26, and **ΔΔ** (on which see 9 above with the note).

64–5 **ΝΠΕΤΕΡΕ ΝΨΨΤ ΝΜΠΕΥΕ ΝΤΟΤΨ.** For the epithet compare the opening invocation in *P.Macq.* I 1, p. 2.9–10, of Sabaoth, **ΕΡΕ ΝΨΨΤ ΝΤΑΥΘΕ ΝΤΟΟ(Τ)Ψ ΕΒΩΔΑΨΤΑΜ ΕΡΕ ΛΑΨ Ψ[. . .]ΟΥΨ**; further on, p. 4.14–16, of Dauithe, **ΠΕ[ΝΤΑΚΜΟΡΚ Μ]ΡΕ ΝΨΨΤ ΝΕΠΗΥΕ ΝΟΥΟΙΝ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΟΟΤΚ**; and for the underworld, a power invoked in an erotic context in an unpublished formulary, P.Mich. inv. 602, 16–17, **ΑΝΔΗΛ ΔΒΙΝΔΘΔΘ ΠΙΤΕ ΠΨΑΨΤ ΝΑΜΕΝΤΕ ΝΤΟΟΤΨ** (read from a facsimile supplied by Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin).

65 **ΝΜΠΕΥΕ.** For **-ΠΗΥΕ**: for the spelling with ε for η cf. *P.Bal.* p. 75 §34.

66 **ΦΕΝΕΜ.** Probably a variant of **ΠΣΙΝΗΒ**, cf. Bohairic 2(1) **ΝΙΜ** (Crum, *CD* 691a). Treatment of insomnia would fit the medical scope of this section better than **ΦΕ ΝΕΜ** (for **ΠΣΕ ΝΙΜ**), attributed to the suggestion of Crum ap. Kropp, *AKZ* II, 52, and the specific means of treatment by inscription of ritual text on olive leaves is paralleled in Byzantine recipes, e.g. an invocation of Ioel, the angel of sleep, in Paris, BnF

cod. gr. 2315, f. 244r, 'For a patient who cannot sleep: write the following on an olive leaf, "Holy Ioel, help the servant of God so-and-so"' (εἰς ἄρρωστον ὄπου ᾿δὲν κοιμᾶται· γράψον ταῦτα εἰς φύλλον ἐλαίας· ἅγιε Ἰωηλ, βοήθησε τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν δεῖνα, ed. Legrand 1881, 11.319–21; for other afflictions see further e.g. *Geoponica* 9.1.5 with Heim 1893, 488 no. 89); for similar use of laurel leaves in Greek texts see *Suppl. Mag.* II 74.1–7 with the note there. There may also be a parallel in Coptic in a ritual recipe added to the almanac P.Vind. inv. K 7027 (ed. Till 1943, 329–34), verso, 1–2, **ΕΤΒΕ ΠΖΙΝΗΒ· ΧΪ [Ο]ΥΓΩΒΕ ΝΤ[Δ]Φ(Ν)Η (ΝΤ[. .]ΦΗ ed.pr.),** followed by an enumeration of magical words, [ΝΡΔ]Ν· ΕΤΕ ΝΔΪ [ΝΕ] ([]Ν ed.pr.), the first being **ΔΖΔΒΟΔΔ**. A relation to Greek ἔνεμα, the suggestion of Frankfurter and Meyer, is improbable.

signs. Formed from letters of the alphabet with the addition of ringed termini (see the note on 57–8 above), here **Υ Κ Χ Ε Υ Λ Β Χ**.

67 **ΤΑΠΕ ∂ ΑΚΝΔΕΛΕΚΟΥ**. It is just possible that syntactic Coptic, now distorted, underlies this sequence, giving something comparable to the instructions for the Byzantine parallels for sleep amulets discussed in the previous note, calling for them (∂ΟΥ) to be placed on or under the patient's 'head' (sc. pillow) with some not yet recognised verbal form in **ΑΚΝΔΕΛΕΚ** (for **ΕΚΝΔ**?).

ΟΥΡΟΕΙΣ. The same rubric is used in P.Köln inv. 1850 (ed. *P.Köln XV* 641), 4–5, **ΟΥΡΟΕΙΣ ΕΟΥΚΟΥΓΙ ΣΑΧΟ ΕΦΡΙΜΕ ΕΦΗΡ ΖΟΤΕ**; and *P.Ryl.Copt.* 102, verso, **ΟΥΡΩΕΙΣ ΖΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ**; cf. also the amulet P.Berl. inv. 22185 (ed. *BKUIII* 387), 1 and 50, with requests for **ΡΟΕΙΣ** for a named bearer, and the invocation P.Köln inv. 10235 (ed. Weber 1972), 35, with **ΡΟΕΙΣ** in a list of effects sought via invocation.

ΓΕΩΓΕ. For **ΓΕΩΡΓΕ**, Greek Γεώργιος (cf. Heuser 1929, 90), via simplification of a consonant cluster as probably in **ΕΤΕΝΔΡΙΚΕ** in 34 above.

68. Following the internal reference to a Psalm (**ΠΕΨΑΛΜΟ**, for **-ΨΑΛΜΟΣ**, the Greek ψαλμός), the opening **ΠΝΟΥΤΕ † ΖΤΗΚ ΕΤΑΒΟΗΘΕΔ** (for **-ΒΟΗΘΕΙΑ**, Greek βοήθεια, via the reduction of **ΕΙ** common in this text) is a citation of the first verse of Psalm 69(70) (cf. Sanzo 2014, 120–1 no. 44; for the context in Coptic Psalters, P.Lond.Copt. Or 5000, f. 75r, ed. Budge 1898 = *Biblia Coptica* sa 31; P.Berl. inv. 3259, f. 58v, ed. Rahlfs 1901 = *Biblia Coptica* sa 35; Michigan Ms. 167, p. 65 from a facsimile, cf. *Biblia Coptica* sa 8). The selection may depend on hagiographical traditions of the prayerful use of this Psalm by St George when brought before the Roman authorities: see the martyrdom ed. Budge 1888, 7 (wrongly attributing the text to Psalm 22:19); and the Greek text ed. Canart 1982 (*BHG* 670g), §5. For other Psalms in Coptic magic, besides the common Ps. 90(91), found in e.g. P.Stras. inv. WG Kopt. 1 (ed. Kreps 2014), 2–18, and a prayer accompanying a ritual for divination about prospects for crops, P.Vind. inv. K 1112 + 9885–9899 (ed. Till 1936), p. F, one finds Ps. 44:2–3(45:1–2) in P.Heid. inv. K 685 (ed. Meyer 1996), p. 16.16–19; Ps. 109 in P.Vind. inv. K 50 (ed. Stegemann 1934a, 25–6, 62–3 no. XLII with Till 1935b, 214); Ps. 118(119):105 in the amulet against reptiles P.CtYBR inv. 1792 (ed. Parássoglou 1974); Ps. (118)119:173 and 175 in the amulet P.Berl. inv. 20982 (Beltz 1985, 35–6); and Ps. 130(131):1–2 in the amulet P.Oxy. inv. 39 5B.125/A (ed. Alcock

1982; read from the plate published there), 27–35. In P.Berl. inv. 8324 (ed. *BKUI* 18; Beltz 1983, 74), some medicinal applications of '70 diapsalmoi and 7 diapsalmoi and three liturgical (?) sequences' (**ΩΒΕ ΝΤΙΑΨΑΛΜΑ ΜΝ ΣΕΩΥΧ ΝΤΙΑΨΑΛΜΑ ΜΝ ΩΑΜΝΤ ΝΩΔΕΙΜ**, 7–8) are given, along with the names of Mary and the archangels. Aside from Psalm 90(91), comparanda are rarer among the Greek magical papyri, e.g. Ps. 21(22) in *PGMP* 5c, but much more common in the medieval and later Greek tradition: Zellmann-Rohrer 2018; a Coptic parallel for the Psalm-treatises discussed there can now be identified in the unpublished P.Duk. inv. 460, the surviving portion of which prescribes Psalms 43–6(44–7) for resolving discord among spouses. That the apotropaic power of individual Psalms was extended to the inscribed Psalter in book form is suggested by its deposition among grave-goods in Christian Egypt (as at Mudil: see Tudor 2011, 51).

68–9 **ΔΤΟΥΧΟΙ ΖΝ ΤΕΚΕΙΧ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ**. An elaboration on the hagiographic episode (see the previous note) with another Psalmic echo, of 59:5(7) or 107:6(7) (**σῶσον τῆ δεξιᾷ σου; ΜΑ ΤΟΥΧΟΪ ΖΝ ΤΕΚΟΥΝΑΜ**), if not a more general modelling on language and themes attested by other Psalms (especially 137:3 in the Greek version; cf. also 13:1, 17:36, 62:9, 97:1, 138:10). The form **ΔΤΟΥΧΟΙ** is apparently an anomalous imperative, for **ΜΑ ΤΟΥΧΟΙ** (as in the Psalms); cf. also **ΜΑ ΤΟΥΧΕ** in Michigan Ms. 136 (ed. Worrell 1935a, 17–37; see now Zellmann-Rohrer and Love 2022), p. 11.7.

69 **ΔΒΡΑΧΔ ΔΒΡΑΧ ΔΩ ΔΒΡΑΧΔΩΘ**. The sequence resembles the elements **αβραβραχα** and **αβραωθ** attested in Greek ritual texts; for etymologies for both, the second of which resembles Hebrew including the well-known Sabaoth even if it has no genuine roots in that language, see Brashear 1995: 3577.

70 **ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΠΕΝΣΔΔ ΠΧΣ ΣΖΔΙ ΖΝ ΠΕΦΤΗΒΕ**. The phrase may allude to the reply of Jesus to the question about the adulteress (John 8:5, the suggestion of Korshi Dosoo), or in view of the reference to the demonic, which this recipe targets, to his claim elsewhere to drive out demons 'by the finger of God' (Luke 11:20). An otherwise unknown apocryphal narrative to explain the origin of an amulet, such as the correspondence of Jesus and Abgar (see recently *P.PalauRib.Copt.* 5), might also be considered.

71–2. As Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin points out, there may be an allusion to gospel descriptions of the healing miracles of Jesus, or references to the same in a broader tradition of Christian prayers for healing referencing the same, based on Matthew 4:23, 9:35, 10:1; see in general De Bruyn 2008; Bélanger Sarrazin 2020.

71 **ΠΠΕΔΡΑΓΜΑ**. Probably from Greek **πραγματεία** (for the application to ritual operations see LSJ 1457b s.v. III.4), or **πράγμα**, closer in form but of the wrong grammatical gender for the definite article, although the masculine pronominal suffix in **ΝΤΑΦΤΑΔΔΦ** could point in this direction. For the loanword cf. **ΠΡΑΞΙΣ** (πράξις) in P.Cair. inv. 45060 (Kropp, *AKZI*, text K), 76; for **πραγματεία** and **πράγμα** in Coptic documentary texts see Förster, *WB* 667 and 666 respectively.

ΩΩΝΙ. For **ΩΩΝΕ**.

72 **ΔΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ**. For **ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ** (Greek δαιμόνιον); for references on combatting hostile demons in magic in the

Graeco-Roman world see recently Zellmann-Rohrer 2022; for an early example among the magical papyri, *P.Oxy.* LXXXVI 5542, and for recent discussion in the context of recipes for healing in a Coptic magical formulary, Michigan Ms. 136 (ed. Worrell 1935a, 17–37), p. 11.1–8 with the commentary in the edition of Zellmann-Rohrer and Love 2022.

ϵ2N. For the compound preposition, which makes no appreciable addition in sense to simple 2N, see Crum, *CD* 685a (citing this text among others).

2ITN NЄC2AI ΔΔ. For NΔΔ? For the loss of N- cf. ΘЄ for NΘЄ in 63 above with the note. Internal reference to ‘writings’ is made in a recipe for a fever-amulet in *P.Med.Copt.* inv. 254 (ed. Pernigotti 1985), 73–6, [] NNC2AI ԿI MΠI2MOM EBOA (preceded perhaps by a reference to the bearer of the amulet; the imperative ԿI would seem to address either a divinity or the amulet itself); and the curse *P.Lond.Copt.* Or. 5986 (ed. *P.Lond.Copt.* I 1224), 1–2, ΠЄTNAΒΩA ΔBAΔ MΠIXAPTHC EΩΩ NЄTCN2 APΔEI ΔYΔEI Δ2PH ΔXΩY THPOY. The specification of the names of both the practitioner and the client is paralleled in the invocation for activation of oil to grant favour (χάρις) in *P.Köln* inv. 1471 (ed. *P.KölnLüddeckens* Copt. 3; cf. *P.KölnÄgypt.* I 10), 16–21, ΠINE2 ETKH E2PAI NPAEMTO EBOA ANOK ΔΔ 2N TEYNOY ETTINA2AΔB N [NI]M ΔΔ ΠΩNΔΔ.

72–3 *signs*. Those in 72 in part from letters (see the note on 57–8 above, here ϩ ϫ), in part from technical symbols: the metrological λ for λίτρα (as also adapted among the magical signs in the Greek formulary *P.Harr.* inv. 303a (ed. Zellmann-Rohrer 2016), front, 3; for technical symbols among magical signs see also Michigan Ms. 136 (ed. Worrell 1935a, 17–37), pp. 2.10–11 and 11.6 with the commentary in the edition of Zellmann-Rohrer and Love 2022) and ϩ for ὄνομα found in earlier Greek magical formularies (e.g. *Suppl. Mag.* II 96 A 23). Those in 73 resemble rather plain letters, O N O T N O Z C I T (inverted) N, then the placeholder ΔΔ (cf. the preceding ΔΔ in 72); at the centre, an inverted technical symbol again from metrology could be recognised, the talent weight ϫ (cf. Michigan Ms. 136 as cited above).

74–98. A single prayer is presented, then prescribed for multiple indications, alongside the names of the 24 heavenly presbyters (see the note on 78 below). The format is paralleled in *P.Cair.* inv. 45060 (ed. Kropp, *AKZ*I, text K), 1–23, in which an invocation with a long list of magical names is then applied in a sequence of 15 prescriptions (24–73), with some similar directions to the Hay text, e.g. the directions ΛOΓEZE (73) and TAYO TEPPOCEYXY NYOMNT NCOP (38–9), and including an instance of speaking the invocation over liquid and casting it in the house of a target (40–5), in this case an official (APXΩN); and *P.Leid.* inv. F 1964/4.14 (ed. Green 1987 with Green 1988), in which an invocation on the front, originally for erotic magic, is apparently re-applied in a series of at least 12 applications along with aromatic offerings and other ritual acts on the back, including favour, discord and reconciliation, with the place-holders EY[×] (εὐχή, *passim*) and Δπ[^] (ἀπολογία, 16). More general parallels are the prayer of Seth, son of Adam, in the main handbook of the so-called ‘Coptic wizard’s hoard’, *P.Mich.* inv. 593 (ed. Worrell 1930); the prayer of the archangel Michael in *P.Heid.* inv. K 686 (ed. Kropp 1966);

and the collection in the codex *P.Macq.* I 1, pp. 12–16 (see the introduction there, pp. 36–41). There are comparanda also in the Jewish tradition, most extensively the *Book of Secrets* (Rebiger and Schäfer 2009) and the *Sword of Moses* (Schäfer 1981, §§598 and following; Harari 2012).

74 TЄCOPCΠ. For †COPCΠ: see 38 above with the note.

MAPMARIΩΘ. The divinity, whose name suggests a Hebraising coinage on the model of Sabaoth (for which see the note on 45 above), is also invoked for aggressive purposes in *P.Heid.* inv. K 681 (ed. *P.Bad.* inv. K 1681), 27; and to drive away enemies in the so-called Rossi Gnostic Treatise (ed. Kropp, *AKZ*I, text R), p. 4.7, where he is called ΠЄTΩOON 2AΘH NAGΓEΛOC MN NAPXHAGΓEΛOC; for the probably related Marmarōth see Kropp, *AKZ*III, 124–5 §206.

ΠЄT2MΩC. For ΠЄT2MOOC: cf. ΠЄMO[OC] in 32; for ω in place of O: *P.Bal.* p. 84 §49.

75 NEZOYCIΔ. Greek ἐξουσία; cf. the invocation of a supreme deity as ‘father of the angels and of every power’ in *P.MMA* acc. 34.1.226 (ed. Zellmann-Rohrer 2017), 3–4, ΠIT NNANΓEΛOC MN EKZYOCIΔ NIM, in that case probably, as possibly also here, in reference to the ἐξουσία of the celestial hierarchy of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (see also the note on 81 below).

MOK. As in the following line, for MMOK: cf. MOC in 16 above.

75–6 TEKMOPPH ETΩ NYAZ NKΩ2T. With ETΩ for ETO: cf. *P.Bal.* p. 82 §44, with several examples involving this verbal form. For the assimilation of divinities to flames compare the invocation of the angels Michael and Gabriel against a female target of erotic magic in *P.Heid.* inv. K 518 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 131), 7–8, TOY2APPAZE MMOC NΘЄ NOYΩAZ NKΩ2T. The loanword μορφή is found also in the invocation in *P.Mil.Vogl.Copt.* 16 (ed. Pernigotti 1979 with Pernigotti 1993), B, I, 3, †Є: (for †EΠIKALLEI NEKMOPFY; and is perhaps to be read in an uncertain context in the invocation in *P.Berl.* inv. 15878 (Beltz 1983, 82), 5).

76 †PALAKALE. For †PARA-: on the interchange of λ and ϩ see *P.Bal.* 125–6 §100; cf. also 2ΩA in 12 above with the note there.

76–7 OYPOME EKOPYOYE N4EI EBOA 2N ΠЄ4HI. For the rubric compare *P.Cair.* inv. 42573 (ed. Chassinat 1955), f. 2r.15–20, OYPONE, involving the deposition of ash, bone, blood and other ingredients at the door of the house (EΠPO MΠЄ4HI); for the door see also the following note.

77 OYCIANAPOY NAKPION. Loanwords from the Greek σίναπι and ἄγριον (cf. Förster, *WB* 729 and 13 respectively; for the spelling in -OY; perhaps the rare interchange of OI with I and I with Y: *P.Bal.* pp. 80 §42, 88 §59A), as also in 80, 84 and 95 below. The burning effect of mustard serves as an analogy in an invocation of an angelic power for the separation of a man and woman in the bilingual Greek-Coptic *P.Kellis.Copt.* (*P.Kellis* V) 35 (with Mirecki, Gardner and Alcock 1997; Love 2016, 273–6), 14, NTAK ΔЄ ΠXΩY MΠOYATEM; and in a Greek recipe for a similar aim, *P.Laur.* inv. III/472 (ed. *Suppl.Mag.* II 95), 16–19, the mustard-seed is itself addressed and divinised as the ‘eye of Aion, the innards of the bull, the ... of Apis’.

77–8. For the door as site of deposition of ritually activated substances in aggressive magic, see above and further e.g. *P.Heid.* inv. K 679 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 142), 16; *P.Macq.*

I 1, p. 13.20–21; and P.Leid. inv. F 1964/4.14 (ed. Green 1987 with Green 1988), back, 5, 8, 20, where it is marked simply by **ΠΡΟ** in the directions, ‘(place at) the door’ (in place of the reading of ed.pr. as an Arabism from *bab* ‘gate’, ‘chapter’). An internal reference to the door as place of deposition in an invocation comes in P.Heid. inv. K 683 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 140), 3–8, where **ΒΑΡΟΥΧ ΠΝΟΣ ΔΕΝΑΤΩΣ** is asked, at the moment of his burial there (**ΝΩΔΙΤΩΜΕΣ ΜΑΚ ΖΙ ΠΡΟ ΕΠΗ**, sc. of the target), to inflict ‘muzzling’ (**ΚΕ† ΝΟΥΚΑΡΩΒ**). Defence against the effects of buried magical objects, though not necessarily at the door, is the focus of a healing prescription in *P.Macq.* I 1, p. 14.22, **ΕΩΩΠΕ ΟΥΖΙΚ ΝΤΩΜΕΣ**.

78 **ΧΝΑΦΙΚΕ**. The infinitive is apparently a loan from the Greek **φεύγω**, more specifically the aorist stem **φουγ-**. Sebastian Richter is thanked for a reference to further instances of the loanword via the same aorist stem in **-ΚΕ** in partially cryptographic writings in four unpublished alchemical manuscripts to be edited by him (cf. Richter 2018 and 2021): P.Bodl.Copt. MS a 2 (P), 54, and P.Bodl.Copt. MS a 3 (P), 58; and two purchased by Chassinat at Luxor and cited in Crum, *CD* (cf. p. xiii) as ‘PChass 1’ and ‘PChass 2’.

ΠΕΚΔ ΝΠΡΕ. The 24 heavenly presbyters (**πρεσβύτεροι**: eventually written out as **ΠΡΕΣΒΕΔΕΡΟΣ** in 85 and 88) of Revelation (esp. 4:4–11), venerated as angelic powers: see also the note on 2 above, and in general Kropp, *AKZ* III, 83–5 §§144–7, 130–2 §§225–6. Lists of their names circulated (see in general Grosjean 1954), the consultation of which is apparently envisioned here. At their greatest degree of complexity these lists were alphabetic, with one presbyter for each letter of the Greek alphabet: see P.Berl. inv. P. 11347 (ed. Beltz 1985, 32–5), recto 15–26, and also P.Heid. inv. K 686 (ed. Kropp 1966), p. 8, 123–8, with an allusion to their creation ‘from alpha to omega’ (**ΕΧΙΝ ΑΛΦΑ ΩΟ Ω**), but partial or non-alphabetic presentations are also found, e.g. P.Vind. inv. K 7090 (ed. Stegemann 1934a, 17, 31–4 no. XVI with Till 1935b, 207–8), a formula for a protective amulet which lists 19 of them, not in order (7–18; they also appear collectively in the Greek portion at 19–32, for which see the notes to **Hay 4**, 52–75); cf. also P.Berl. inv. P 22191a–b (ed. *BKU* III 389), 3; *O.CrumST* 400; and among apotropaic texts in the funerary epigraphy of Christian Nubia, Lajtar and Van der Vliet 2017, 152–3, 182–90 (with detailed commentary). For their invocation in curses, e.g. P.Berl. inv. P 22191a–b (ed. *BKU* III 389), 3; P.Lond.Copt. Or. 6172 (ed. *P.Lond.Copt.* I 1223), 11. Analogous references to apparently common knowledge of lists of supernatural powers is the application of ‘the names on the right side and those on the left side, and the kin of Eremiel’ (**ΝΡΑΝ ΕΤΣΔΥΝΑΜΑ ΜΝΕΤΣΑΒΟΥΡ ΜΝΣΕΚΕΝΙΑ ΝΕΡΕΜΙΗΛ**) and ‘Eremiel and those belonging to him’ (**ΕΡΕΜΙΗΛ ΜΝΕΤΕΝΟΥΒ ΝΕ**) in the prescriptions in *P.Macq.* I 1, p. 13.

79 **ΟΥΜΑ ΕΚΟΥΩΕ ΝΩΩΩ**. For the rubric cf. P.Cair. inv. 42573 (ed. Chassinat 1955), f. iv.20–3, **ΟΥΩΩΒ ΝΗΙ**, involving ‘corpse-liquid’ (**ΠΜΟΟΥ ΝΚΩΣ**), which is to be poured out at the door (**ΠΑΣΤΟΥ Ε ΠΡΟ**); in Greek, the formulary *P.Coles* 12 deploys an invocation, probably combined with a series of magical words associated with the god Seth, to request that sickness and discord be inflicted on some targets and that ‘their place be deserted’ (**ἐρημωθή ὁ τόπος αὐτῶν**, → 7–8).

80–1 **ΟΥΩΩΡΜ ΕΒΟΛ**. Among the ills that the demon Temelouchos is to inflict on the target of the curse in P.Berl. inv. P 10587 (ed. Richter and Wurst 1993), i 24, is ‘a derangement of heart’ (**ΟΥΩΩΡΜ ΝΖΗΤ**).

81 **ΝΕΥΔΗΝΑΜΙΣ**. The reference is probably to an angelic hierarchy with assignment of particular spheres of competence to divinities (see in general *P.Oxy.* LXXXVI 5545.1–2 with the note), in which the presbyters either command subordinate ‘powers’ (Greek **δυνάμεις** (cf. Förster, *WB* 211), as in the celestial hierarchy of Pseudo-Dionysius (cf. 75 above with the note) and found elsewhere in Coptic magic, e.g. P.Heid. inv. K 686 as cited in the note on 1 above), whose names are to be supplied from another source, or hold more abstract ‘power’ that is to be specified along with their names, perhaps the guardianship over eucharistic offerings as enumerated in the first invocation on the front of **Hay 1** (see 1–12 above with the notes).

ΛΟΓΙΖΕ. For the underlying Greek **λογίζω**, by-form of **λογίζομαι**, see *LBG* s.v.; apparently the reference is to silent reading. Frankfurter and Meyer, following Kropp, render ‘pronounce’, but that sense is otherwise unattested for the Greek, for which 79 above suggests that the rendering would have been with **ΩΩ**. The loanword is used also in P.Cair. inv. 45060 (Kropp, *AKZ* I, text K), 73, in construction with **ΕΧΩΩ**, similarly of a **ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΗ** (cf. *ibid.* 50).

82 **ΠΕΘΝΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΟΥΤΟΠΟΣ**. Here **τόπος** may have the specific sense ‘monastery’ (Förster, *WB* 814), but the altar (**θυσιαστήριον**) could also have stood in a shrine or private house (cf. the parallel cited in the note on 79 above). The same term for altar is used in the invocation in P.Berl. inv. 22124 (ed. *BKU* III 392), 10, perhaps as object of the guarding of seven archangels (see the note on 1–12 above); cf. also the transcription **ΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗ[ΡΙΟΝ]** in an uncertain context in the formulary *P.Bal.* 62.6. The ingredients of a healing prescription against sorcery (**ΖΙΚ**) in *P.Macq.* I 1, p. 14.20–1, include ‘altar-water’ (**ΜΟΟΥ (Ν)ΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ**).

82–4. Separation is also pursued in P.Schott-Reinhardt 500/1 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 123), 6–24 (Coptic invocation with Arabic rubric; Coptic terms include **ΠΟΡΧ**); similarly P.Heid. inv. K 1030 (ed. Stegemann 1938, 74–82 no. 1). The parchment P.Louvre inv. E14.250 (ed. Drioton 1946) is an application of a lengthier invocation for this same goal, denoting the result with the same **ΠΟΡΧ** (among other terms). A male-female couple is specified as the target of a recipe in P.Cair. inv. 42573 (ed. Chassinat 1955), f. 2v.11–17, which proceeds via a potion; cf. also the rubric **ΟΥΠΩΡΚ ΕΒΟΛ** in P.Leid. inv. F 1964/4.14 (ed. Green 1987 with Green 1988), back, 16, where a multi-purpose prayer is to be inscribed in blood. The counteraction of such procedures is among the applications of the prayer of Seth, son of Adam, in P.Mich. inv. 593 (ed. Worrell 1930, 247), described in comparable phrasing, **ΕΤΒΕ ΖΟΕΙΝΕ ΕΥΠΟΡΧ ΕΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ**; the prayer is to be read over oil, with which the face of one of the fractious parties is to be anointed.

84 **ΕΩΔΥΠΑΡΑΓΕ**. This sense of **παράγω** as loanword is found in the *Apophthegmata patrum* (ed. Chaîne 1960) §18, in a monk’s prayer ‘to pass this temptation without injury’ (**ΕΠΑΡΑΓΕ ΜΠΠΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ ΔΧΜ ΠΩΛΛΔ**); for similar instructions in a Greek recipe see *PGM* XII 365–75 (*GEMF* 15.414–24), a ‘separation-procedure’ (**διάκοπος**) with Sethian invocation

inscribed on an ostrakon and deposited ‘where they (sc. the targets) are, where they pass by’ (ὅπου εἰσίν, ὅπου ὑποστρέφονται).

85 [c. 9]. At the close of the recipe a specification of its effect is expected, perhaps [ϠΝΑΠΟΡΧΟ]Υ.

ΟΥΩΤΩ. Apparently for **ΩΤΟ**, i.e. **ΧΤΟ**, cf. Crum, *CD* 792a. The term probably renders κατακλιτικόν as a technical term in the Greek magical papyri for an aggressive procedure to ‘lay low’ an enemy, more specifically with sickness (cf. κατακλινής ‘bed-ridden’): *PGM* VII 430; cf. also **ΚΑΤΑΚΛΗΤΙΚΟΝ** as a rubric among the prescriptions in *P.Macq.* I 1, p. 14.10 (that it is more specific than ‘charm’ as rendered by edd.pr. is suggested also by the specification of the target’s door as place of deposition, characteristic of aggressive recipes), and **ΚΑΝΤΑΚΛΗΤΙΚΟΝ** in P.Heid. inv. K 686 (ed. Kropp 1966), p. 9, 139, listed among the sources of ill that the prayer of the archangel Michael is designed to oppose (Kropp refers improbably to a Greek κατακλητικός).

ΝΠΡΕΣΒΕΔΕΡΟΣ. As in 88 below, for **-ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ** (Greek πρεσβύτερος): see the note on 78 above.

86 [ΝΚΑ]Ω **ΕΡΗΤ**. Restored after 91 below. A similar prescription with a reed is perhaps given in P.Fribourg AeT inv. 2006.4 (ed. Müller 2009, 66–8), front, 2, [] **ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΥΚΑΔΩ ΕΡ[ΗΤ?]** (from the photograph; **ΕΚΚΑΔΩΕΡ[** ed.pr.).

ϠΑΝΚΟΤΚ. Literally ‘he will lie down’; the more specific sense ‘be prostrated’ is suggested by **ΩΤΩ** in the rubric in 85 above.

ΑΛΚΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ. For the term see the note on 87 below.

ΕΚΔΑΧ. For **ΕΚΤΟΧ** (cf. the Akhmimic pre-pronominal **ΚΤΑΧ**; Crum, *CD* 127a), the implication, in conjunction with the use of analogously infertile salt, apparently being that the fortunes of a rival workshop should take a turn for the worse, the opposite in turn of the following recipe. A more serious error would be required for **ΕΤΑ(Δ)Χ** ‘to sell it’, the copyist having conflated the construction with the preceding **ΕΚΟΥΩΕ**. Kropp read **ΕΚΕΡΟΧ**, which Crum rightly rejected; the former’s rendering ‘berauben (?)’ would suit the aggressive character of other procedures in this collection, but the phonology (for **ΕΚΟΛΠΧ?**) is difficult even if the reading were accepted.

86–7 **ΜΟΥΟΥ ΝΑ** [c. 2] . . . [.] . . . Possibly **ΝΑ[ΘΕ]ΛΙΚ[Ο]Ν**, for which see **Hay 3**, 24–5 with the note.

87 **Ζ ΝΚΑΔΑ ΝΖΜΟΥ**. Previous translators have rendered ‘chains’ (Frankfurter and Meyer) and ‘Kugeln’ (Kropp, comparing *P.Mag.LL* recto iii 9, which is however a different Egyptian word, tyk). This and other instances in which **ΚΑΔΑ** is applied to dry ingredients in recipes (cf. Crum, *CD* 103b) are probably to be referred instead to a calque on the Greek δεσμός in its sense as synonym of δέσμη ‘handful’ (LSJ 380b s.v. II.b).

ΝΟΥΧΟΥ. For **ΝΟΧΟΥ** (as in 80 above): the spelling is probably related to the more frequent rendering of an expected **ΟΥ** as **Ο**, see the note on **ΜΟΖ** in 11 above.

[Δ]ΑΛΚΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ[Ν]. The noun is a loanword from Greek ἐργαστήριον (cf. Förster, *WB* 294), as also in 86 above. Procedures to bring prosperity to a workshop are found in **Hay 3** (a different transliteration of the same term in 36), and in Greek recipes in *PGM* VIII 53–63 and XII 100–6 (see

now *GEMF* 15.149–55), the latter involving an inscription and incantation over an egg, deposited in turn at the door of an ἐργαστήριον. In the martyrdom of Chamoul, P.Lond. Copt. 5 (*P.Lond.Copt.* I 325 + 328 descr.; ed. Winstedt 1910, 169–88), pp. 108–9, the hagiographer Julius of Aqfahs claims to have buried the relics of saints in just such a place, to derive a blessing from them (ΝΖΟΥΝ ΝΝΑΔΠΟΘΗΚΗ ΜΝ ΝΑΕΡΓΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΥΣΜΟΥ ΩΩΠΕ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ). For workshops in Coptic magic, see the note to **Hay 3**, 26–7. More generally, the prosperity of a house is among the applications of a prayer of the archangel Michael in P.Heid. inv. K 686 (ed. Kropp 1966), p. 15, 266, which involves ritual deposition at the door (ΕΠΡΟ ΕΠΗ).

ΕΚΔΑΧ. For **-ΤΑΔΑΧ**, with an unusual substitution of Δ for Τ in a non-Greek word: cf. *P.Bal.* pp. 130–1 §111 and **ΕΠΕΔΟΠΟΣ** in 9 above with the note.

88 [.] . . . **ΚΛΗΣ**. Just possibly Μ[Ν Ν]ΕΥΚΛΗΣ, i.e. the Greek κλείς ‘key’, perhaps in a metaphorical sense as (here unrecorded) textual or figural tokens; see in general the notes on 1, 7–9, and 21–2 above.

89–90. A broadly comparable aim is pursued in a recipe in P.Cair. inv. 42573 (ed. Chassinat 1955), f. 11.11–16, which proceeds by fumigation of plant leaves around the house of the target in the case of ‘a man whom you want everyone to hate’ (ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΤΕΚΟΥΩΩ ΤΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΜΕΣΤΟΧ); in another, *ibid.* f. 2v.1–2, pig fat and hoopoe blood is to be deposited in the victim’s house for ‘hatred’ (ΟΥΜΔΣΤΕ). A finished product in the same genre, a Coptic invocation on an ostrakon from Antinoopolis of the 6th or 7th century to make a man hated (ΜΕΣΤΕ, ΜΟΣΤΕ) by a woman, is P.Ant. s.n., ed. Bélanger Sarrazin 2017c.

89 **ΤΟΜΣΟΥ ΖΙ ΠΕΦΡΟ**. The doorway of the target is prescribed as the place of deposition of ritual objects in aggressive magic in P.Heid. inv. K 679 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 142), 15–16, of a figure and amulets to be written (C2ΔΙ ΠΙΖ ΜΝ ΝΙΦΥ); P.Heid. inv. K 1030 (ed. Stegemann 1938, 74–82 no. 1), 36–40 (an invocation to be inscribed then dissolved in water) and 55–60 (inscription in menstrual blood on a tablet); in erotic magic, P.CtYBR inv. 1791 fol (second text; ed. S. Emmel, *ACM* Appendix 351–3 no. 3), 3–4. For protective aims see also P.Heid. inv. K 686 (ed. Kropp 1966), p. 16, 270, where an amuletic drawing is to be buried in the vicinity of a herd of cattle, for their protection (C2ΔΙ †ΤΕΝΑΜΙC Ν2Δ Ν2ΔΛΗΤ: ΤΑΜC ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΑΒ).

90 [c. 5] **ΖΝΩΗ**. If the noun **ΩΗ** ‘cistern’ is to be divided out, cf. perhaps P.Cair. inv. 45060 (Kropp, *AKZ* I, text K), 46, in which an amuletic text is to be inscribed and cast **ΕΠΩΗ**, but here the place of deposition is elsewhere, and the connection must be with the ritual ingredients.

ΖΙ . . . ΩΔΖ. Probably the noun **ΩΔΖ** ‘flame’ is present, the burning of some substance providing an analogy for the states of discord mentioned in the title; **ΖΙΤΝ ΟΥΩΔΖ** is conceivable and palaeographically possible except for the **Ο**, which would have to have been extremely compressed or omitted.

91 **ΝΘΑΡΜΟΣ ΝΑΓΡΙΟΝ**. For the legumes and their description see **ΝΘΑΡΜΟΣ ΖΕΟΥΤ** in 35 and **ΟΥCΙΝΑΠΟΥ ΝΑΚΡΙΟΝ** in 77 above with the notes.

ΖΙ [c. 4]. Perhaps **ΖΙ [ΠΕΦΡΟ]** ‘at its door’.

92 **ΧΝC**. If a noun, perhaps to be referred to **ΩΝC** ‘linen’.

ΝΟΥΣΙΜΕ. As also in 96 below (cf. also e.g. **Hay 3**, 2), for -**ΣΙΜΕ**, as commonly in documentary texts: *P.Bal.* p. 128 §108.

93 [c. 5]. [.]. Another instruction to deposit at the target's door, [21 ΠΕ]Ϣ[Ρ][Ο], could be accommodated, but the traces are exiguous.

ΟΥΑ ΕΦΜΕΥ ΕΡΟΚ ΕΠΕΘΟΥ. With ΕΦΜΕΥ for -ΜΕΕΥ: cf. Crum, *CD* 199a, listing ΜΕΕΥ as a rare Sahidic variant. For the phrase compare *P.Würzburg inv.* 42 (ed. Brunsch 1978), 9–10, an invocation to protect a named man and silence a named female enemy of his 'and everyone who thinks ill of him' (ΜΝ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΜΕΥΕ ΕΡΟϢ ΕΠΕΘΟΥ).

94 [c. 3]. Perhaps [ΔΥΩ].

ΖΑΧΝ. The sense requires what would be ΖΙΧΝ in standard Sahidic, which is also written in 91 above (forms of ΕΧΝ appear elsewhere in parallel passages, e.g. 96 below), but the vocalisation is surprising.

95 ΝΣΙΑΥΝΕ. For -**ΣΙΟΥΝ(Ε)**: cf. Crum, *CD* 369b. Given the aim of the recipe, there may be a connection to the role of baths as place of deposition of inscribed instruments of aggressive magic in the Graeco-Roman world: for erotic magic in particular see e.g. *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5305 ii 4–24 (on the connection between baths and magic more generally see recently Zellmann-Rohrer 2022, 87 with further references); compare also **Hay 2**, in which the demonic Mastema washes himself in water and uses it to poison mankind with lust.

2Ε. For 21: see 59 above with the note.

96 ΝΕ2. For ΝΝΕ2, probably by simple haplography: cf. **ΑΡΧΗ ΝΗΡΗ** in 11 above. The oil is probably first to be applied to the user's hand, in an implied intermediate step, so that it comes into contact with the target's in the final step: for this application by contact compare the prescriptions of 'phallus ointments' in the magical papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt (e.g. *GEMF* 16.1131–42 (an Egyptian-language portion of *PGM XIV*)).

96–7. If the procedure is erotic, the point may be that the female target, still living in her parents' home, should be made to abandon it, as in e.g. *P.Heid. inv.* K 518 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 131), 58–9, ΝΚΩ ΝΣ[ΩΣ ΜΠΕΣΙΩΤ] ΜΝ ΤΕΣΜΑΔΥ; on erotic magic in the Graeco-Roman world as a sort of bride-theft see Faraone 1999, 78–95, and for internal reference to severing of familial bonds, e.g. *GEMF* 28.43–5.

97 ΤΟΕΙΣ ΝΚΩ. A rag lying on a rubbish heap figures the impotence wished on the targets of the curses in *P.ChicagoOI inv.* E13767 (ed. Stefanski 1939), 7–8, ΝΤΕΤΕΝΔΑΣ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΤΟΕΙΣ ΖΙΧΝ ΤΚΟΥΠΡΙΑ, and *P.Stras. Copt.* 135 (ed. Crum 1922, 541–2 no. 2), 9–10, ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΤΟΕΙΣ ΝΠΗΛΘΕ ΕΣΝΗΧ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΤΚΟΥΠΡΙΑ (cf. also the note on 145–54 below). A defective writing of ΚΩΣ 'corpse' is also possible (suggestion of Korshi Dosoo, comparing *P.Cair. inv.* 42573 (ed. Chassinat 1955), f. 2r.12, ΟΥΤΑΕΙΣ ΝΖΕΛΛΕΝ of fabric from the (shroud of?) a pagan (not 'grec' as ed.pr.) burial): for the loss of final **ς** in that case cf. **ΕΤΡΟΕΙ** in 3 above. If the rag were discarded more specifically by the target, however, the direction would represent the continuation of the well-known use of *ousia* in the earlier magical tradition (see *Suppl. Mag.* II 71 fr. 10.1 with the note) and might also make sense of the preceding ΠΕΤΑΣΧΛϢ: assuming it has been dislocated from an original position in the closing directions to join the

magical words, perhaps a qualifier of ΤΟΕΙΣ, for ΠΕΝΤΑΣΒΟΟΛϢ 'the one that she has used to cover (herself)' (cf. Bohairic ΧΟΛϢ: Crum, *CD* 809a).

98 ΝΕΧϢ. For ΝΟΧϢ, a rare vocalic interchange: cf. *P.Bal.* p. 81 §43A.

ΕΠΕΙ. For ΕΠΗ, the spelling usually found in this text; cf. *P.Bal.* p. 75 §34.

99–144. An assemblage of ritual text, divine names (many otherwise unattested), signs and figural drawings, which lacks a rubric to specify its purpose but is marked off from the preceding directions by a horizontal dividing line. On the assumption that the block of text from 145 to the end coheres as a separate, syntactic Coptic invocation to inflict impotence (see the note below), which suits also its placement in a single column at top right, the simplest interpretation of the rest is as a single composition, which, according to the sequence ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΣΖΙΜΕ apparently incorporated directly into the design for an amulet (105), has to do with the protection or healing of a woman. This proposal can at least be said not to be contradicted by any internal evidence. It might also be allowed that the sequence from 145 belongs to this unit too, which should then be recognised not as an amulet but as an aggressive procedure to supplant a rival lover (with ΕΤΒΕ in the sense 'for the sake of') by inflicting impotence on him.

99 **ΑΔΩΝΑΙ ΛΩΕΙ**. Derived from the Hebrew epithet of the supreme Jewish deity, Adōnāy Elōhāy ('My lord, my God'); a comparable sequence Αδωναι κύριε ελωαι σαβαωθ is found already in the Greek version of 1 Samuel 1:11. The former is common also in Greek magical texts (*P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5305 ii 12–13 and LXXXVI 5544.9 with the notes); for the latter see the following note and in general the note on **ΛΙΟ ΣΑΒΑΩΘ** in 45 above.

102 **ΑΤΩΝΑΙ ΕΛΩΕΙ ΕΛΩΜΑΣ ΣΑΒΑΩΘ**. For the first two elements see the preceding note; and for **ΣΑΒΑΩΘ**, 45 above with the note. An **ΕΛΩΕΙ ΕΛΗΜΑΣ** comparable to the middle portion is found in e.g. *P.Heid. inv.* 681 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 139), 2; **ΕΛΩΕΙ ΕΛΕΜΑΣ** in *P.Berl. inv.* 22185 (ed. *BKU* III 387), 33. The sequence derives ultimately from the Aramaic Psalm-citation of Christ during the crucifixion (for its use in Coptic magic in general, Kropp, *AKZ* III, 128 §218), rendered in the Greek gospels Ἡλί Ἡλί, λιμὰ σαβαθθανί, as made explicit in the references in *P.Lond. Copt. Or.* 6796 (4) (ed. Kropp, *AKZ* I, text J), 1–4, ΤΕΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΗ ΝΙΣ ΠΕΧΣ ΝΤΑΥΤΑΟΥ[ΟΣ ΖΙΧΝ] ΠΕΣϢ[Ϣ] {[O]Ϣ} ΕΦΩ[Ω] ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΩΜ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΕΛΩΕΙ [ΕΛΩΕΙ ΛΑ]Μ[Α ΣΑΒΑ]ΚΤΑΝΙ ΜΑΡΜΑΡΜΑΡΪ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΪ ΠΕ ΧΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΑΚΚΑΔΤ ΝΣΩΚ, *P.Louvre E.14.250* (ed. Drioton 1946, 30–2), **ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΝΤΑΨΩΛ ΕΡΡΑΪ Ε[ΤΠ]Ε ΛΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕΛΟΪ ΕΪ ΝΛΕΜΑΣ ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΟΟΤ**, and *P.Vind. inv.* K 8302 (ed. Stegemann 1934a, 26–7, 70–6 no. XLV, with Polotsky 1935, 89–90, and Till 1935b, 215–18), I.2–3, **ΛΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΩΜ ΜΜΟΥΣ ΧΕ (Ε)ΛΩΕ ΛΕΜΑΣΣΑΒΑΚΔΑΝΙ**; and by adjurations by Christ's 'three words', glossed in Coptic in turn, in *O.Cair. inv.* 49547 (ed. Girard 1927), 16–19 (ΠΩΩΜΕΤ ΝΖΡΟΥ ΝΤΑΠΩΗΡΕ ΤΩΚΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΧΕΝ ΜΠΕΣΤΑΨΡΟΣ ΧΕ ΕΛΩΪ ΕΛΩΪ ΔΖΛΕΒΑΚΣ: ΑΤΩΝΗ: ΕΤΕ ΠΑΪ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΟΥ ΑΚΑΔΤ ΝΣΩΚ); *P.Nahman s.n.* (ed. Drescher 1950), 30–3 (ΤΕΨΩΜΤΕ ΜΨΩΝΗ ΝΤΑΪΣ ΧΟΥΟΥ ΖΙ ΠΕϢ[Ϣ] ΕΛΩΪ ΕΛΩΪ ΕΛΕΜΑ ΣΑΒΑΚΘΑΝΙ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΪ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΑΚΑΔΤ ΝΣΩΚ), and 'three breaths' taken

at that moment (P.Heid. inv. K 686 (ed. Kropp 1966), p. 12, 201–2, Γ ΝΙΒΙ ΝΤΑΚΤΑΔΥ ΕΝΕΒΙΧ ΕΠΕΚΙΩΤ ΖΙΧΕ Π† ΕΤΕ ΝΔΙ ΝΕ ΕΛΩΕΙ ΕΛΗΜΑΣ ΔΒΑΚΤΑΝΙ ΣΑΒΑΩΘ). For the exegetical motif compare also the invocation for justice *P.Hermitage Copt.* 70.21–2, ΕΛΩΕΙ ΕΛΩΕΙ ΕΤΕ ΠΕΙ ΠΕ ΠΧΑΕΙΣ ΣΑΒΑΩΘ. A lengthy, apocryphal expansion attributed to Judas Iscariot comes in the invocation in T.Vat.Copt. 7 (ed. Pernigotti 1983), in which a pseudo-Hebrew text, probably containing a genuine core, is said to be rendered into Coptic in a much longer version that is in fact unrelated. For various other stages of deformation and re-combination cf. P.Berl. inv. 11347 (ed. Beltz 1985, 32–5), verso 12–13, a command ΖΙΤΝ ΤΩΟΜ ΝΕΛΟΕΙ ΕΛΕΜΑΣ ΣΑΒΩΘ ΔΒΑΚΤΑΝΙ; P.Heid. inv. 684 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 122.168–9), p. 8.11–12, ΕΛΩΕΙ ΕΛΩΕΙ ΕΛΕΜΑΣ ΔΒΑΚΤΑΝΗ; P.Leid. Anastasi 9 (ed. Pleyte and Boeser 1897), 441–79, pp. 1b.9–10, 2b.5–6, ΔΔΩΝΑΙ ΕΛΩΕΙ ΕΛΕΜΑΣ ΣΑΒΑΩΘ; and the so-called Rossi Gnostic Treatise (ed. Kropp, *AKZ*I, text R), p. 9.17–18, ΔΔΩΝΑΙ ΕΛΟΕΙ ΕΛΕΜΑ ΣΑΒΑΚΤΑΝΙ.

103 **ΜΗΝΛ**. Also possible is **ΠΑΞΗΛ**; neither is attested elsewhere, but cf. **ΜΑΙΗΛ** in **Hay 4**, 65.

103 **ΖΑΓΙΟΣ**. A simple acclamation is assumed, as in the liturgical *trishagion* (see **Hay 4**, 17 with the note), but a defective spelling of **ΝΖΑΓΙΟΣ** as a qualifier of the preceding word (‘the holy angels’) is also possible.

104 **ΕΤΖΗΠ**. Perhaps an epithet, in which case cf. P.Moen inv. 107 (ed. Sijpesteijn 1982b), a sequence of angel names followed by [ΝΔ]Ι ΕΤΠΗΖ ΝΖΗ(Τ)Σ ΝΤΑΪΣΑΖΑΥ, ‘(You) who are come (or, who are hidden, by metathesis of **ΖΗΠ** for **ΠΗΖ**?) within what I have written’ (in preference to ed.pr. ‘Give what I have written to the one split in herself’, reading [Τ]1; Korshi Dosoo suggests another possibility for the conclusion, **ΝΖΗΣ(Ε) ΝΤΑΪΣΑΖΑΥ** ‘the favours that I have written’).

105–8. For the star-shaped signs see 57–8 above with the note; for humanoid figures at right, the discussion in Chapter 6, and cf. the note to **Hay 3**, 23. The figures as in the latter might have been intended as an analogical representation of the effect of an aggressive ritual on two human parties via the intervention of a divine one, but there are complications in the details: the three lines of names **ΔΠΤΙΣΙΣ**, **ΔΔΙΝΙ**, **ΜΑΡΙΜΑΝΗΛ** would most naturally label each of the three figures (so, three divine powers would be represented), and the two smaller figures are in an identical orant pose (cf. **Hay 3**, 23; **Hay 5**, 49; for further parallels and literature: Dijkstra 2012, 64–5) and with enlarged ears (or horns?) that lend an animal rather than human aspect.

119 *signs*. In the middle two signs forms of the letters **ς** and **τ** with the addition of ringed termini can be recognised (see 57–8 above with the note); the rest are more abstract shapes, the one at far right being found in a larger version in the formulary *Suppl.Mag.* II 96 A 58 (cf. also D 2).

135 **ΔΝΑΝΗΛ**. For the angel see Michl 1962, 203 no. 15.

141 **ΣΥΧΑΝΗΛ**. For the angel see Michl 1962, 236 no. 233.

144. The first four characters of the sequence may repeat **ϥΘ** as a rendering of Greek **ϥθ’**, an isopsephism for **ἀμήν** ‘amen’ (suggestion of Korshi Dosoo).

145–54. Binding leading to impotence is also sought in a text of the Islamic period, P.Stras.Copt. 135 (ed. Crum 1922, 541–2 no. 2), 6–12, specifically on the flesh (**ΤΣΑΡΚΣ**) of the

target, that he ‘be unable to rise, unable to stiffen, unable to issue seed; may he be as a dead man (...) lying in a grave and as an old rag placed on a dung-heap; he will not be able to couple or take the virginity of’ a named woman (**ΝΝΑΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΝΑΤΩΣ ΕΝΑ† ΣΠΕΡΜΕ ΜΑΡΕΨΩΠΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΡΕΒΜΟΟΥΤ (...)** **ΕΓΝΗΧ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΟΥΤΑΠΟΣ** (from a facsimile, cf. Greek **τάφος; ΖΝ ΟΥΕΤΑΠΟΣ**, ed.pr.) **ΔΥΩ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΤΟΕΙΣ ΝΠΗΛΘΕ ΕΣΝΗΧ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΟΥΚΟΥΠΡΙΕ ΝΝΕΓΗΨ ΚΕΝΟΝΙΑ ΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΓΗΨ ΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΑ**). Similar phrasing, abbreviated to only the corpse simile, is found amid a longer invocation to bind in place the virginity of a woman in the formulary P.Heid. inv. K 682 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 137), 33–42. In P.ChicagoOI 13767 (ed. Stefanski 1939), which invokes similar astral ‘bindings’ (**ΠΜΟΥΡ ΕΤΠΕ ΠΜΟΥΡ ΕΠΚΑΖ ΠΜΟΥΡ ΕΠΑΗΡ ΠΜΟΥΡ ΕΠΣΤΡΕΩΜΑ ΠΜΟΥΡ ΕΤΒΕΓΜΟΥΤΕ ΠΜΟΥΡ ΕΠΡΗ ΠΜΟΥΡ ΕΠΟΟΖ**, 1–2: see also the following note) among others in the service of binding the potency of a man with a woman, the result is described in comparable terms, **ΜΑΡΕ ΠΜΟΥΡ ΕΤΝΜΑΔΥ ΨΩΠΕ ΖΙΧΟ ΠΣΟΜΑ ΝΖΟΟΥΤ ΝΦΑΡΟΥΩ ΜΕΝΤΕΨΣΑΡΞ ΝΤΕΤΝΨΟΟΥΕ ΜΟΣ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΨΕ ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕΤΕΝΔΑΣ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΤΟΕΙΣ ΖΙΧΝ ΤΚΟΥΠΡΙΑ ΝΝΕΠΕΨΣΕΤ ΔΩΣ ΝΝΕΨΤΩΟΥΝ ΝΝΕΨ† ΣΠΕΡΜΑ ΝΝΕΨΚΕΝΟΝΙΑ** (6–8), and further **ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΡΕΨΜΟΟΥΤ ΕΨΚΗ ΖΝ ΟΥΤΑΒΩΣ** (11–12). The treatment of impotence is among the applications of the prayer of Seth, son of Adam, in P.Mich. inv. 593 (ed. Worrell 1930, 246), **ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΑ ΕΜΕΨΚΟΤΚ ΜΝ ΣΖΙΜΕ**.

145–9. The epithets recall the binding of the Sun and Moon by an incantation of venerable, biblical antiquity, that of Joshua, son of Nun (Joshua 10:12–13), as also in the Arabic-Coptic curse Cambridge, UL T.-S. 12207 (ed. Crum 1902 with Moritz 1903), 7–9, **Φ† ΦΗ ΕΤΑΨΜΟΥΡ ΤΦΕ ΑΨΜΟΥΡ ΠΚΑΖΙ ΕΨΕΜΟΥΡ ΦΡΟΨ ΝΕΜ ΦΛΑΣ** (of the target), *ibid.* 14–18, **Φ† ΦΗ ΕΤΑΨΨΩΨΤ ΝΠΡΗ ΞΕΝΠΕΨΜΑ ΝΖΩΤΠ ΑΨΨΩΨΤ ΜΠΠΟΖ ΑΨΨΩΨΤ ΝΝΙΣΙΟΥ ΑΨΨΩΨΤ ΝΝΙΘΗΟΥ [ΞΕΝ]ΘΜΗ† ΝΤΦΕ ΠΟΨ Φ† ΕΚΕΨΨΩΨΤ ΕΚΕΜΟΥΡ ΠΡΟΨ ΝΕΜ ΦΛΑΣ**. The motif is further expanded in the Coptic impotence curse P.ChicagoOI inv. E13767 (ed. Stefanski 1939), 1–2, **ΠΜΟΥΡ ΕΤΠΕ ΠΜΟΥΡ ΕΠΚΑΖ ΠΜΟΥΡ ΕΠΑΗΡ ΠΜΟΥΡ ΕΠΣΤΡΕΩΜΑ ΠΜΟΥΡ ΕΤΒΕΓΜΟΥΤΕ ΠΜΟΥΡ ΕΠΡΗ ΠΜΟΥΡ ΕΠΟΟΖ ΠΜΟΥΡ ΕΝΖΑΛΑΤΕ** (see also the previous note). There may also be Egyptian influence in threats to disturb, or claims of disturbing, the celestial bodies along with the rest of the natural world until a request is fulfilled: compare the ‘slander’ motif in *P.Mag.LL* recto xxi 22–3, where the target of erotic magic is accused of ‘saying to the sun, “Come not forth,” to the moon, “Rise not,” to the fields, “Grow not green,” and to the great trees of the Egyptians, “Flourish not”’ (translation of edd.pr.). In Coptic, there are first-person threats of this kind in P.Lond.Copt. Or. 6794 (ed. Kropp, *AKZ*I, text E), 19–25, **ΤΙΝΑΚΩΤΕ ΜΠΑΣΟ ΕΠΕΙΗΨΤ ΤΑΣΩΨΤ ΜΠΡΗ ΜΠΨ† ΠΟΟΖ ΜΠΕΜΗΝΤ: ΤΙΝΑΤΙ ΜΝ ΝΨΩΩΝΤ ΝΤΠΕ ΤΑΧΟΟΣ ΝΤΠΕ ΧΕ ΑΡΙ ΖΟΜΤ ΜΠΕΡΤΙ ΨΩΤΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΝ ΠΚΑΖ: ΔΥΩ ΠΚΑΖ ΧΕ ΑΡΪ ΠΕΝΙΠΕ ΜΠΕΡΤΙ ΓΑΡΠΟΣ**; P.Berl. inv. 8314 (ed. *BKUI* 3; cf. Beltz 1984, 91–2), 26–31, **ΤΙΝΑΣΩΨΤ ΕΠΡΗ ΖΝ ΠΕΨΖΑΡΜΑ ΠΟΟΖ ΖΝ ΠΕΨΤΡΩΜΟΣ ΠΕΚΛΩΜ ΣΙΟΟΥ ΕΤΖΙΧΝ ΤΑΠΕ ΙΨ**; and P.Berl. inv. 8322 (ed. *BKUI* 7; cf. Beltz 1983, 72–4), recto 13–15, **ΤΪΝΑΣΩΨ[Τ ΝΠΡΗ] ΖΪ ΠΪΗΨΤ ΠΟΟΖ ΖΪ ΠΕΜΗΝΤ ΤΪΪΝΜΟΤ [ΖΙ Τ]ΜΗΤΕ ΝΤΠΕ**. Comparable too are those attributed to Isis in P.Lond.Copt. Or. 1013A (ed. Erman 1895; cf. *P.Lond.Copt.* I 369), 3–7, **ΧΕ ΙΜΟΥΡ ΝΤΠΗ**

ΕΙΜΟΥΡ ΜΠΚΑ2 ΕΙΜΟΥΡ ΜΠ [c. 20] ΟΥ ΝCΩΝΤ ΜΠΚΑ2
 ΕΙΜΟΥΡ ΜΠΡΗ ΜΠ[ΕΙΕ]ΓΤ [c. 20 ΕΙ]ΜΟΥΡ ΜΠΟΟ2 ΜΠΕΙΜΝΤΕ
 ΧΕ ΜΑΙΚΑΔ4 ΕΨΑ (ΕΨΑ [.] ed.pr.) ΕΙΜΟΥΡ Ν [c. 5 ΧΕ ΜΑΙ]
 ΚΑΔC ΔΠΚΑ2 ΕΙΜΟΥΡ ΝΤCΩΨΕ ΜΠΚΑ2 ΧΕ ΜΑΙΚΑC Ε2ΡΑΙ [c.
 15] ΕΙΕΙΡΕ ΝΤΠΗ Ν2ΟΜΝΤ ΕΙΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΚΑ2 ΜΠΕΙΝΕΙΠΕ; and to
 the wounded doe in T.Brit.Mus. EA 29528 (ed. *O.Brit.Mus.*
Copt. I appendix no. 27 with von Lemm 1911, 50–7, and
 Kropp, *AKZ* II, 66–7 no. 18), 5–10, ΠΕΧΑΙ ΧΕ ΠΡΗ ΜΠΡ ΤΨΡΕ
 ΠΟΟ2 ΜΠΡ ΨΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΠΕΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥC ΜΠΡ ΝΟΥΧΕ
 ΜΠΕΚΚΑΨ ΕΠΕΚΜΕΛΑ ΨΑΝΤΕ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ 2Ν ΤΠΕ
 ΝCΤΑΛ60 ΕΠΞΔΔ. A fragmentary instance of the form
 ΔCΩΨΤ possibly with the same application is in P.Stras.
 Copt. 205 fr. L verso (ed. Hevesi 2018), 2. For threats related
 to astral phenomena (see in general Stegemann 1935b, 398–
 403) alongside the desecration of the bodies of Egyptian
 gods themselves, see P.Mil.Vogl.Copt. 16 (ed. Pernigotti 1979
 with Pernigotti 1993), C, I–II, and perhaps also P.Stras.
 Copt. 205 fr. A + I + K + 204 fr. G verso (ed. Hevesi 2018),
 18–19 (render ΠΩΜΤΕΤΕΡ ‘the three gods’ in place of ‘three
 times’, ed.pr.). On threats in general, see Kropp, *AKZ* III,
 139–47 §§243–6. A ‘true name’ given by Isis with power over
 the natural order, drawing the sun westwards and the moon
 eastwards, is given in P.Berl. inv. 8313 (ed. *BKUI* 1) verso
 3–5, ΠΑΡΑΝ ΠΡΕΜΗΤ ΠΕΤΨΑΧΒΙ ΠΡΕ ΕΠΕΜΝΤ ΝΒΙ ΠΟΟ2
 ΕΕΠΗΒΤ ΝΒΒΙ ΠCΟΟΥ ΝCΙΟΥ Ν2ΙΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤ2ΔΡΑΤC ΝΠΡΗ.
 148–9 ΠΕΘΕCΑΥΡΟC ΝCΙΟΥ ΝΤΜΗΤΕ ΝΤΠΕ. The first noun
 is a loanword from Greek θησαυρός. The ‘stars’ are read
 following the suggestion of Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin:
 compare the references to the Pleiades in the midst of the
 heavens in P.Berl. inv. 8322 (ed. *BKUI* 7 with Kropp, *AKZ* II,
 16–18; Beltz 1983, 72–3), recto 14–15 (a threat to bind
 Τ6ΙΝΜΟΤ [21 Τ]ΜΗΤΕ ΝΤΠΕ), P.Berl. inv. 5565 (ed. *BKUI* 22;
 Beltz 1983, 61–3), 8 (of Isis going ΕΤΚΝΜΟΥΤ ΝΤΜΗΤΕ ΝΤΠΕ),
 and Cambridge, UL T.-S. 12207 (ed. Crum 1902 with Moritz
 1903), 14–17 (of God ΦΗ (...) ΔCΨΩΨΤ ΝΝΙCΙΟΥ (...) [ΨΕΝ]
 ΘΜΗ† ΝΤΦΕ); for the contexts of these citations see the

previous note. More general reference to treasure is made in
 P.Naqlun inv. N. 45/95 (ed. Van der Vliet 2000), 3, invoking
 for aggressive magic an angel with treasure in his hand
 (CΕΜΕΩΝ ΠΝΟ6 ΝΑΓΕΛΟC ΠΑΠΨΗΤ ΜΕ ΜΗΤ Ν(ΘΗ)CΑΟΥΡΟΝ
 ΝΤΕΒ6ΙΧ (from the photograph; ΝΤΕC6ΙΧ ed.pr.) ΝΟΥΝΑΜ;
P.Macq. I 1, p. 9.8–9, of Christ who ascended to the
 storehouses of the archons (ΔΒΙ Ε2ΡΑΙ ΕΝΕΥΤΑΜΙΟΝ); and
 T.Vat.Copt. 7 (ed. Pernigotti 1983), 37–8, an invocation to
 ‘show us your hidden treasure’ (ΤCΔΒΟΝ ΕΠΕΚΟΥCΑΥΡΟC
 ΕΤ2ΗΠ) in an apocryphal prayer of Judas.

149 ΕΚΑCΩΨΤ. For ΕΚΕ-: see the note on ΕΚΑΒΙ in 63–4
 above.

149–50. For bodily inversion as a figure for general
 distress, via ancient Egyptian conceptions of unsuccessful
 preparations for the afterlife, see the note on 12–37 above.

151–2. The role of the ant is novel among the common
 animal similes in erotic magic (see in general **Hay 3**, 11–13).
 An ant simile in an incantation in a ritual recipe in a
 Byzantine medical miscellany is therefore worth citing as
 touching on the same broadly venereal sphere: as a means of
 activating material used as a contraceptive, the user is to
 pronounce over grain-corns that have been taken from ants,
 ‘As the ant is deprived of these grains, so too may she, so-
 and-so, the daughter of her, so-and-so, be deprived of her
 womb’s conception’ (ὥσπερ στερεῖται ὁ μύρμηξ τοῦς
 κόκκους τούτους, οὕτως στερηθῆ καὶ ἡ δείνα τῆς δείνος ἡ
 θυγάτηρ τοῦ συλλαβέσθαι τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς, Venice, BNM
 cod. App. gr. V 7, f. 119r); the identification with metronymy is
 a sign of ancient origins (see the note on 9 above).

152 ΕCΑΚC. The qualitative of ΩCΒ, of which the
 alternative form -ΔΚΒ is reflected in the following line:
 Crum, *CD* 540a.

152–3 ΝΟΥΠ[Η]ΚΗ. For -ΠΗΓΗ, the Greek πηγή; for the
 interchange of Γ and Κ, especially common in Greek
 loanwords: *P.Bal.* p. 94 §67.

153 ΤΕΠΡΟ. For -ΠΡΩ, as written in the preceding line.

Formulary on a tall, narrow sheet of tanned leather with a single recipe, an invocation for erotic magic to be used by a man upon a woman. The text invokes a demonic power, ‘Eizax Marax, the one of the iron staff’, among other epithets indicating his control over a Nilotic demesne. The address includes a reported dialogue between a first-person speaking voice and the demon himself, rising out of the sea, in which the demon is adjured by the Christian trinity and the archangel Gabriel, chosen for his role in coupling the biblical Joseph and Mary. A narrative analogue is also drawn from the apocryphal poisoning of the water source in Paradise by the evil angel Mastema. There are no rubrics or instructions, but internal references (20 and following) suggest an invocation accompanying the preparation of a potion, and there is reference to a divinity descending upon an offering (24) that may have originally corresponded to one given as part of the ritual.

The sheep or goat skin sheet was cut from the lower left quarter of the animal, covering the left flank and part of the right, with the bottom of the manuscript oriented towards the head. The skin was poorly dehaired prior to vegetal tanning. The text is written along the horizontal axis in a single column on the grain side only. Small margins have been left at the top and left, and a large margin at bottom, approximately one third of the total height (similarly to **Hay**

1, front). The bands of dark staining and central split show that the manuscript was rolled from the top along the horizontal and folded along the vertical for storage.

The hand (Copyist 1b) is a practised but inelegant Coptic majuscule with some cursive features, in particular ligatures involving ϵ . It is comparable to the hand of **Hay 1** (Copyist 1a), as Crum pointed out, but it remains noticeably clumsier and differs also in the use of punctuation and diacritics (see below), suggesting either a second hand or a significant interval between writings by a single copyist. The three-stroke majuscule λ (used alongside a cursive form in a single stroke) is markedly angular, and there is a distinctive form of β with the top loop compressed nearly to vanishing; μ is consistently in three strokes, γ in two.

The dialect is non-standard Sahidic with various banal phonetic spellings of the same general character as described in **Hay 1**. The reduction of OY to O in $\epsilon\text{N}\lambda\text{N}\text{O}\epsilon$ (22) is a trace of a feature seen more consistently in **Hay 3**. The overline is not used. Punctuation is limited to one internal division by horizontal line running the full width of the column. There is a single scribal correction (5). At the time of the first edition, a fragment with the ends of lines 1–5 had been stuck, or erroneously joined in modern conservation, to **Hay 7**.

Ed.pr. Crum 1934a; tr. D. Frankfurter, in *ACM* 164–6 no. 78 with textual notes, 367.

Hay 2

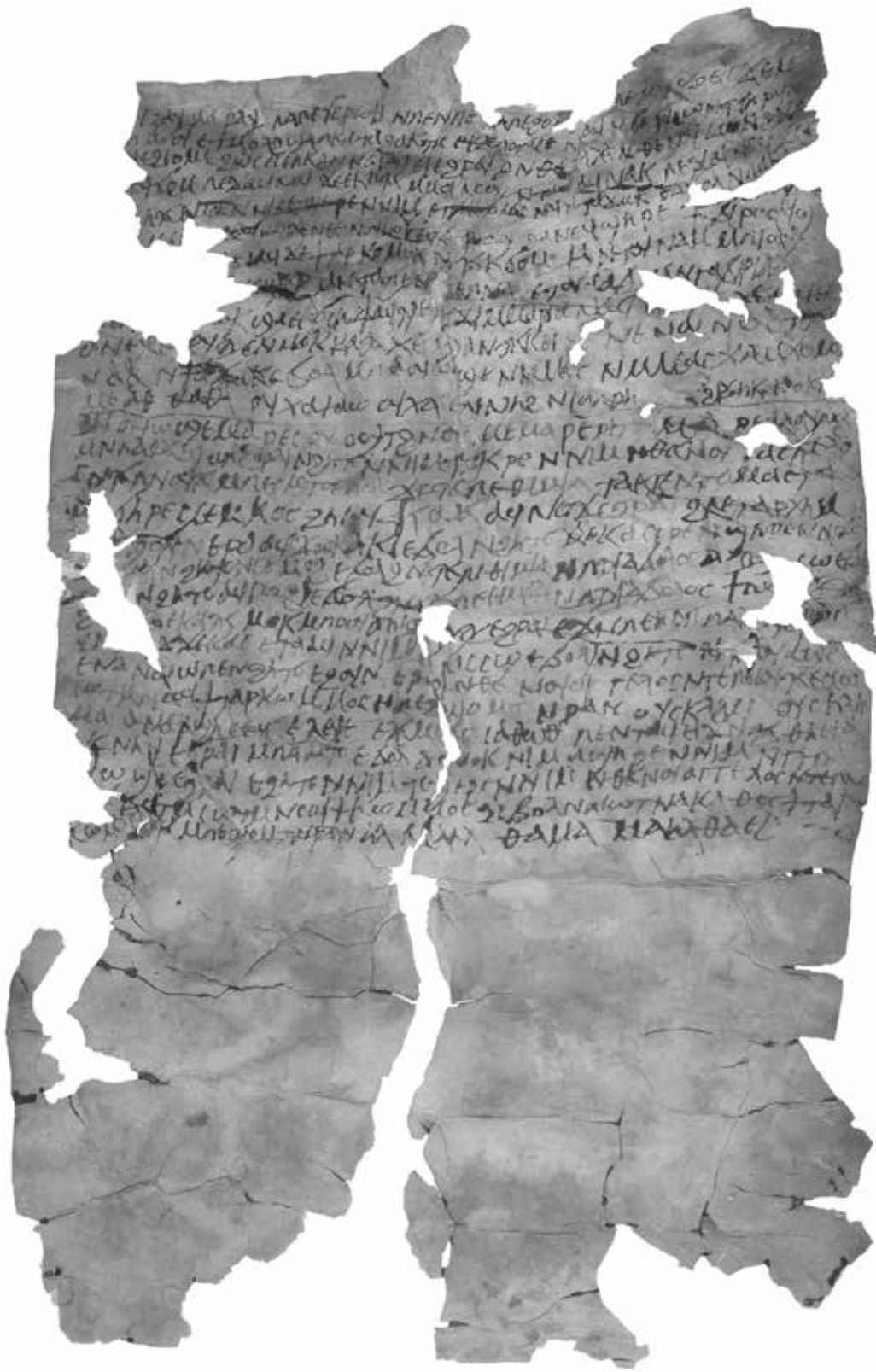


0 10cm

Hay 2



0 10cm



0 10cm

Hay 2



0 10cm

ΕΙΖΑΞ ΜΑΡΑΞ ΠΑΠΕΒΕΡΩΒ ΝΠΕΝΠΕ ΠΑΠΕΞΟ [. . Π]ΔΠΕΜΑ ΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΧΕΜ
 ΠΜΟΟΥ ΕΤΜΟΛΞ ΨΑ ΠΚΑΤΑΞΑΚΤΗΣ ΕΥΞΕΠΟΤΑΞΕ ΝΑΥ ΝΒΕ ΝΩΝΤ ΤΗΡΥ Ν-
 ΝΕΞΙΟΜΑ ΞΩΣ ΕΙΕΝΚ ΞΝ ΝΑΙ ΔΥΕΙ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΞΝ ΘΑΛΛΑ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΞΩΝ ΞΝ Τ-
 ΕΥΘΟΜ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΕΚΩΜ ΜΜΟΙ ΝΣΟΝ ΝΤΑ[Δ]ΔΥ ΝΑΚ ΠΕΧΑΙ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ Ε-
 5 [Ι]ΗΤΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΝΝΙΜ ΤΨΕΡΕ ΝΝΙΜ ΕΤΡΕΚΤΑΔΣ ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΠΑΟΥΩΨ
 [ΝΜ]ΜΑΞ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΨΤ ΕΥΒΙ ΡΟΟΥΨ ΞΑ ΝΕΥΨΗΡΕ †ΒΙ ΡΟΟΥΨ
 [ΞΑΡΟΚ ΠΕΧΑ]! ΝΑΥ ΧΕ †ΤΑΡΚΟ ΜΟΚ ΝΤΕΚΘΟΜ ΜΝ ΤΟΥΝΑΜ ΜΠΩΤ
 [c. 5 Μ]ΠΨΗΡΕ ΜΝ ΤΑΠΕ ΝΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΜΝ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ
 [Π]ΕΝΤ[ΔΥΒ]ΩΚ ΨΑ ΕΙΩΣΗΦ ΔΥΤΡΕΥΧΙ ΜΜΑΡΙΑ ΝΑΥ ΝΞΞΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΚ-
 10 ΔΝΕΧΕ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΜΕΚΚΑΤΕΧΕ ΨΑΝΤΕΚΕΙ vac. ΝΕ ΝΑΙ ΝΔΔ ΤΨΕΡ[Ε]
 ΝΔΔ ΝΤΑΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΑΟΥΩΨΕ ΝΜΜΑΞ ΝΜΜΑΞ ΧΑΜΧΟΜΑ
 ΜΕΔΘ ΘΑΘ ΟΥΧΑΧΑΩ ΟΥΧΑ ΕΛΕΝΗΞ ΝΙΑΠΘΗ vac. ΞΙΧΗΚ ΚΟΚΚ[.]

ΞΝ ΟΥΩΨΕ ΜΑΡΕΣΟΥΨΤ ΞΝ ΟΥΜΕ ΜΑΡΕ(ΣΜΕ)ΡΙΤ ΜΑΡΕ ΠΑΟΥΩΨΕ
 ΜΝ ΠΑΜΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΞΡΑΙ ΝΞΗΤΣ ΝΝΙΜ ΤΨΕΡΕ ΝΝΙΜ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥ vac. ΔΓΓΕΛΟ-
 15 Σ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΕΣΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΤΕΠΕΘΙΜΙΑ ΤΑΙ ΤΕΝΤΑΜΑΞΤΑ-
 ΜΑ ΒΗΡΕΣΣΕ ΜΜΟΞ ΞΝ ΟΥΦΕΑΛΕ ΔΥΝΟΧΣ ΞΡΑΙ ΞΝ ΤΑΡΧΗ Μ-
 ΠΕΥΤΟΟΥ ΝΕΡΟ ΔΥΧΩΚΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΞΗΤΣ ΧΕΚΑΞ ΕΡΕ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ
 ΣΨ [Ε]ΒΟΛ ΝΞΗΤΣ ΝΣΕΜΟΞ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΝ ΤΕΠΙΘΙΜΙΑ ΝΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΞ ΔΔΔ ΣΩ ΕΒ-
 [ΟΛ] ΝΞΗΤΣ ΔΥΜΟΞ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΝ ΤΕΠΕΘΙΜΙΑ ΝΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΞ †ΠΨ[Ξ]Τ Ε-
 20 ΞΡ[ΔΙ †]ΕΠΕΚΑΛΕ ΜΟΚ ΜΠΟΟΥ ΔΝΟΚ ΔΔ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΕΧΝ ΠΕΗΡΠ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ
 ΞΝ Τ[Δ]ΓΙΧ ΧΕΚΑΞ ΕΤΑΔΥ ΝΝΙΜ ΕΝΣΣΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΞΗΤΣ ΝΤΕ ΟΥΩΨΕ
 ΕΝΑΝΟΥ ΨΠΕ ΝΞΗΤΣ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΙ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟΞ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΣΣΩ
 ΣΩΤΜ ΝΣΩΙ †ΤΑΡΚΩ ΜΜΟΞ ΝΠΕΞΨΟΜΤ ΝΡΑΝ ΟΥΣΚΛΗΜ vac. ΟΥΣΚΛΗ-
 ΜΑ ΔΝΑΡΨΗΝΣΕΥ ΕΛΕΙΕ ΕΛΕΜΜΑΞ ΙΑΘΩΘ ΠΕΝΤΑΥΕΙ ΧΝ ΤΕΘΗΣΙΑ
 25 [Ν]ΚΝΗΥ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΜΠΑΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΝΟΚ ΝΙΜ ΠΨΗΡΕ ΝΝΙΜ ΝΓ† ΠΑ-
 [Ο]ΥΩΨΕ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΕΞΗΤΣ ΝΝΙΜ ΤΨΕΡΕ ΝΝΙΜ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟΞ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟ-
 [ΥΤ]Ε ΕΣΕΤΜΣΩΤΜ ΝΣΩΙ †ΚΩ ΜΜΟΞ ΞΙΒΟΛ ΝΠΩΤ ΝΑΚΑΘΟΞ †ΤΑΡ-
 ΚΩ ΜΜΟΞ ΜΠΕΨΟΜΤ ΝΡΑΝ ΗΛΜΑΗΛ ΘΑΜΑΜΑΗΛ ΘΔΞΞ: - - · +

1 [.]ειζυμαραξ Crum παπεξο η[...] Crum πεμ.νχοεις Crum 2 [.]πμεου Crum νβι Crum 2-3 ν[τε] Crum 3 νεξιομε Crum ξωσ
 ειενκον παρ. ει Crum 3-4 νουξω νξαιβ[εε?] | ξντ]εϑομ Crum 4 εκωη Crum νςον Crum ντα[.]αυ Crum 5 [...]ητε Crum
 ετρεκταδς: corr. from ετρεκαδς : ετρεκταδς Crum 7 [πεχα] Crum μητεκβομ Crum 8 [μ]πψηρε: ε from corr. 9 [β]ωκ Crum
 [νςξιμ]ε Crum 10 ννεκκατεχε Crum τψ[ερε] Crum 11 μπαουωψε: α corr. from ε? χαμχομ[.] Crum 12 αννηξ νιαλη Crum
 κοκη[...] Crum 13 μαρεπαου[ωψε] Crum 15-16 τα[ι] ετενταμαςτεμα Crum 16 μμοξ: μ² corr. from η? ξν ου.κακ Crum 17 η[εϑ]
 τοου Crum αχχορακι Crum ερενψηρε ννρω'με' Crum ννρωμε: με fitted in above line 18 [σω ε]βολ Crum 18-19 εβ[ολ] Crum
 19 ξν(τ)επεθιμια Crum †ν[ου.δ]ε Crum 20 ξε[.] ε]πεκαλε Crum ωπ Crum 21 [ταβι]χ Crum ντε Crum 22 ενανο[υϑ] ωπε
 Crum 22-3 εσσω{σω}τμ Crum 23 μμοκ Crum νπεψομτ Crum 24 ελωε ελεμας Crum (ε)χνητεθηςια Crum 26-7 πν[ου]τε
 εσετμςωτμ Crum 28 ιαμαληη Crum

‘Eizax Marax, the one of the iron staff, the one of the ..., the one of the place of lordship from
 the salt water to the cataract, whom all female creatures obey,
 so that I shall be content with them – he came up from the sea like an Aion (?) in
 his power, he said to me, “If you count me as a brother, I will do it for you.” I said to him,
 5 “It is so-and-so daughter of so-and-so that I ask for, for you to give her to me, that I may fulfil my desire
 with her.” He said to me, “Like a father who takes care of his children, I take care
 of you.” I said to him, “I adjure you by your power and the right hand of the father
 and the ... of the son and the head of the holy spirit and Gabriel,
 the one who went to Joseph, caused him to take Mary as his wife, that you not
 10 cease or stop until you bring to me N daughter
 of N, that I may fulfil my desire with her – with her! – CHAMCHOMA
 MEATH THATH OUCHACHAŌ OUCHA ELENĒH NIAPTHĒ HIDJĒK KOKK...
 In desire may she desire me, in love may she love me, may desire for me
 and love for me come down to her, so-and-so daughter of so-and-so, like an angel
 15 of God in her presence. For this is the lust that Mastema
 scraped (?) in a bowl, he cast it into the source of
 the four rivers, he bared himself (?) in it, so that the children of men would
 drink of it and be filled with the lust of the devil. NN has drunk
 of it, he (*sic*) has been filled with the lust of the devil. I bow
 20 down, I invoke you today, I, NN, over this wine, which is
 in my hand, so that, when you (?) give it to so-and-so, and she drinks of it, there may be
 a good desire within her towards me, like an angel of God, when she drinks.
 Listen to me: I adjure her by the three names OUSKLĒM OUSKLĒMA
 ANARSHĒSEPH ELEIE ELEMMA IATHŌTH, the one who has come (down) upon the offering,
 25 that you come down before me, I so-and-so son of so-and-so, and place
 desire for me within her, so-and-so daughter of so-and-so, like an angel of God.
 If she does not listen to me, I excommunicate her from the good father. I adjure
 her by the three names ĒLMAĒL THAMAMAĒL THAEH.””

Commentary

1–3. The dialogue narrative motif, on which see 4–28 below, appears to begin in mid-course with (the end of?) an invocation that is credited with summoning a demon up out of the sea; it is conceivable that this is a truncated version of a longer narrative, in which a first-person speaking voice gave further background on the scenario (as with the god Horus in **Hay 1**, 12–37). On balance the verbal forms and pronouns in 5–15 and 21–8 place an intended application by a male user against a female target beyond doubt, despite the masculine gender in $\lambda\chi\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (19), which, if not a simple error, may represent the grafting in of a formula originally intended for a male target (see the note there). For the use of invocations in erotic magic in general, with expressions of their desired effect, see **Hay 3**, 1–22; and further e.g. P.Heid. inv. 518 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 131), P.Heid. inv. K 683 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 140).

1 $\epsilon\iota\zeta\alpha\varsigma \mu\alpha\rho\alpha\varsigma$. The name is not otherwise attested. Following the sequence $\lambda\iota\zeta \tau\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha\zeta$ among the famous ‘Ephesian letters’ (*Ephesia grammata*, on which see Bernabé 2013 and Edmonds 2013), and the well-known Αβρασαζ , magical words terminating in -x could be coined with some degree of freedom. In Coptic compare $\alpha\rho\alpha\varsigma \beta\alpha\rho\alpha\varsigma \varsigma\alpha\varsigma \theta\alpha\varsigma$, the ‘four powers’ (ΝΑ ΝΕΤΕΝΑΜΙΣ) over whom Salathiel presides, the angel invoked in erotic magic in P.Heid. inv. K 683 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 140), 25.

ΠΑΠΕΒΕΡΩΒ ΝΠΕΝΙΠΕ . For ΠΑΠΕΒΕΡΩΒ : as in the following ΠΑΠΕΩ - and $[\eta]\lambda\pi\epsilon\mu\alpha$, a reduced form of the near demonstrative -ει- would seem out of place; rather an anomalous insertion of ε after the definite article: see **Hay 1**, 9 with the note. The ι in ΝΠΕΝΙΠΕ , read also with an underdot by Crum, is presumably obscured by the same hard crease in the leather that affects ΠΚΑΤΑΖΑΚΤΗΣ in the line below. A demonic power is invoked with a similar epithet in P.Carlsberg 52 (ed. Lange 1932 with Brashear 1991, 16–62), f. 1r.1–2, $\text{ΠΕΙ ΕΛΕ ΠΕΒΖΡΑΒΤΟΣ ΝΒΕΝΙΠΙ ΖΝ ΤΕΒΣΙΧ ΝΟΥΓΙΕΝΗΜ}$. A reference to Satan’s rebellious casting of his staff upon the ground ($\text{ΣΑΤΑΝΑΣ ΠΔΪΑΒΟΛΟΩ ΠΕΝΤΑΒΧΑΖΧ ΝΠΕΧΕΡΩΒ ΕΚΑΖ}$) in P.Berl. inv. 8320 (ed. *BKUI* 2 with Beltz 1983, 71–2), 2 (see further below), accompanies similar instructions to demonic powers to give a drink in the user’s hand to the target in erotic magic. An iron staff is also an attribute of a divine power invoked in a Greek erotic spell of attraction ($\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\eta$), ‘the one who appeared in Pelusium, in Heliopolis holding an iron staff’ (*PGMXXXVI* 107–8, $\delta \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\phi\alpha\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\nu \text{Πηλουσίω}, \acute{\epsilon}\nu \text{Ἡλίου πόλει κατέχων ῥάβδον σιδηρᾶν}$); a Demotic procedure to send a dream to win favour asks Anubis to make use of such a staff (šbt n b nyp) on that mission (P.Louvre E 3229, ed. Johnson 1977, recto iv 18; see now *GEMF* 17.104). Of a more benign aspect is the golden staff of the archangel Michael, who is described as $\text{ΠΔΪ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΕΖΡΑΒΤΟΣ ΝΝΟΒ ΕΖΝΤΕΦΙΧ}$ in the prayer of Mary in P.Lond.Copt. Or. 4714 (1) (ed. *P.Lond.Copt.* I 368), p. 9.15–16, and who is addressed in turn (p. 10.5–11) as recipient of a staff taken from Mastema (cf. the reference to Satan’s staff above), $\text{†ΩΡΚ ΕΡΟΚ ΜΠΑΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΪ ΜΠΕΖΡΑΒΤΟΣ ΖΝ ΤΒΙΧ ΜΜΑΣΤΗΜΑ ΔΥΤΑΧ ΕΤΟΟΤΚ ΔΧΚΩ ΝΖΗΤΚ ΝΟΥΡΑΝ ΝΣΟΕΪΤ}$.

ΠΑΠΕΩ [. . .]. The traces of the unread letter are a single upright with no evidence of any connecting strokes, hence

most likely ι. The reading and division of Crum, ΠΑΠΕΩ Ν[. . .] ‘the one of the ... face’, is just one possibility, and space would require the expected qualification of the ‘face’ introduced by the genitival ν- to be extremely short. If it were accepted, specification of an animal is conceivable, cf. the invocation in P.Carlsberg 52 (ed. Lange 1932 with Brashear 1991, 16–62), f. 1r.17–18, of the lion-faced demon Petbe, $\text{ΠΕΤΕΛΕΤΖΗ ΜΔΒ ΕΝΖΔ ΝΜΟΥΪ}$; that the same demon appears in P.Mil.Vogl.Copt. 16 (ed. Pernigotti 1993), p. 5.5, as ΝΖΔ ΝΣΕΜ ‘with the face of a bull (?)’ (cf. Crum, *CD* 815b s.v.) makes ΠΑΠΕΩ Ν[ΣΜ] tempting here. Further face-epithets include P.Lond.Copt. Or. 5987 (ed. Kropp, *AKZI*, text D), 89–91, $\text{ΠΤΡΕ ΖΗ ΜΜΟΦ Ο ΝΖΔ ΝΜΟΥΪ ΕΡΕ ΠΑΖΟΥ ΜΜΟΦ Ο ΝΖΔ Ν[ΛΔ]Β[Ο]Ϊ ΠΔ†ΜΟΡΦΗ ΝΒΣ ΠΑΠΙΖΟ Ν ΤΡΑΚΩΝ}$, and P.Mich. inv. 4932f (ed. Worrell 1935b, 184–7), recto 13–14, $\text{ΕΡΕ ΖΗ ΜΜΟΦ Ο ΝΖΔ ΝΕΣΟΟΥ ΕΡΕ ΠΑΖΟΥ ΜΜΟΦ Ο ΝΖΔ ΔΡΑΚΩ(Ν)}$. By an alternate division, however, read e.g. ΠΑΠΕΩΪ[Μ] for ΖΟΕΙΜ ‘the one of the wave’ (Crum, *CD* 674a–b), which would suit the following mentions of bodies of water; for reference to waves in Coptic incantations see Van der Vliet 2018, 147–8, 154–7; Zellmann-Rohrer and Love 2022, 200–10.

1–2 $[\eta]\lambda\pi\epsilon\mu\alpha \nu\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \chi\epsilon\mu \pi\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon \epsilon\tau\mu\omicron\lambda\zeta \omega\lambda \pi\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\zeta\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\varsigma$. With $\chi\epsilon\mu$ for $\chi\mu$; on the spelling: *P.Bal.* pp. 52–4 §1A. The divinity is lord of the entirety of the Nile from its first cataract to its outlets at the Mediterranean, the latter suiting also the ‘sea’ mentioned below as site of a demonic apparition. For the relation between the river and the sexual motive of the invocation see the note on 2–3 below.

2 ΠΚΑΤΑΖΑΚΤΗΣ . From Greek καταρράκτης . The word should probably also be read in P.Berl. inv. 8315 (ed. *BKUI* 11; Beltz 1984, 93–4), 5, despite the most recent editor’s division $[\eta]\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha \zeta\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\varsigma$, especially since the context seems to be an incantation to control the bleeding (ΠΕΣΝΟΦ , 3) of a woman (ΤΩΨΕΡΕ , 2), for which the riverine setting and particularly the troubled waters of the cataract provide a suitable analogy. The same loanword is used for the Nile cataract at Aswan in hagiography: see Dijkstra and Van der Vliet 2020, 174 (with an etymologically more correct spelling ΚΑΤΑΖΡΑΚΤΗΣ).

2–3 $\text{ΕΥΖΕΠΟΤΑΣΕ ΝΔΦ ΝΣΕ ΝΣΩΝΤ ΤΗΡΦ ΝΝΕΖΙΟΜΑ}$. With ΝΣΕ for ΝΣΙ (cf. ΝΚΕ in **Hay 1**, 63 with the note) and ΝΝΕΖΙΟΜΑ for ΝΝΣΙΟΜΕ : for the interchange of ε and α in general see *P.Bal.* pp. 68–70 §21; and for the spelling with ε after the definite article, ΠΑΠΕΒΕΡΩΒ in line 1 above. In the Nilotic context over which the invoked deity is said to exercise his power, the secondary meaning of ΠΣΩΝΤ ΝΝΕΣΙΟΜΑ (for - ΣΙΟΜΕ) as ‘menstruation’ (Crum, *CD* 346a) may also be operative, the river’s flow analogising the shedding of menstrual blood, which would resonate in turn with the sexual aims of the invocation. Comparable phrasing for obedience with the loanword ὑποτάσσω (cf. also the note on **Hay 1**, 85) is used for the heavenly powers with respect to the angel ΔΘΡΑΚ in the invocation in P.Mich. inv. 1190 (4) (ed. Worrell 1935a, 5–13), recto i 3–4, $\text{ΠΕΤΕΡΕ ΝΕΚΖΟΥ(Σ)ΙΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΗ ΕΥΖΗΠΟΤΑΣΕ ΝΔΦ}$, perhaps derived in turn from the prophecy in Daniel 7:28, $\text{πάσαι (αἰ) ἐξουσίαι αὐτῷ ὑποταγήσονται καὶ πειθαρχήσουσιν αὐτῷ}$; for the heavenly light to the father in the invocation to gain favour in P.Köln inv. 1470 (ed. Weber 1975), 13, ΖΜ

ΦΗΠΟΤΙΣΜΟΣ ΝΕΠΟΥΡΑΝΙΩΝ ΤΟΥΖΕΠΟΤΕΣΕ ΠΩΤ; for all of creation to Christ, in P.Lond.Copt. Or. 6796 (2, 3) verso (ed. Kropp, *AKZ*I, text H), 15, **ΕΡΕ ΤΕΚΤΙΣΙΣ ΤΗΡΣ ΖΥΠΟΤΑΣΕ ΝΑΨ**; for all beings of the heavens, earth and netherworld to the user in the invocation in P.Lond.Copt. Or. 6796 (2, 3) recto (ed. Kropp, *AKZ*I, text G), 19–20, **ΜΑΡΕ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΖΥΠΟΤΑΣΕ ΝΑΪ ΝΑΤΠΕ ΜΝ̄ ΝΑΠΚΑΣ ΜΝ̄ ΝΕΤΖΑΠΕΧΤ Μ̄ΠΚΑΣ**; similarly, for ‘spirits’ of the air in P.MMA acc. 34.1.226 (ed. Zellmann-Rohrer 2017), 71–2, **ΜΑΡΕΠΝΕΟΥ(Μ)Δ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΩΝΠΑΗΡ ΖΪΠΟΤΑΣΕ ΝΑΪ**; and for the devil’s power to Cyprian in his eponymous prayer, P.Heid. inv. K 684 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 122.24–5), p. 2.3–4, **ΔΒΤΡΕ ΤΕΒΔΑΜ ΤΗΡΗΣ ΖΕΠΩΤΑΣΙ ΝΑΙ**.

3 **ΘΑΛΛΑ**. For **ΘΑΛΛΑΣΣΑ** (Greek *θάλασσα*); see in general Vycichl, *DE* 57b; Förster, *WB* 327. In a southern Egyptian context, the truncated form is possibly a sign of linguistic interference from Old Nubian, where the reflex of this loanword is **ΘΑΛΛΑ** (Browne 1996, 63) by re-analysis of the final **σα** as a native morpheme. A demonic power invoked for erotic magic, with whom a similar motif of dialogue is given as here, might also be said to have come up out of the sea in P.Berl. inv. P 8314 (ed. *BKUI* 3), 5 (reading of Crum, [ΘΑ]λλασα, in his copy in the Sackler Library, Oxford; []λλασα ed.pr.), and in another version of the dialogue motif, possibly also in an erotic context (see the note on **Hay 1**, 22–7), in P.Mich. inv. 1190 (ed. Worrell 1934a, 5–13 no. 2), recto i 8–10, one of the demon’s proposed but rejected offers of service is to dry up the waters of the sea (**ΜΟΟΥ ΝΝΘΑΛΛΑΣ ΕΚΕΤΡΕΥΨΟΟΥΕ**); in unpublished reflections of the same dialogue motif (via readings of Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin), a doe is asked to part the sea (P.Mich. inv. 597 recto, 10, **ΘΑΛΛΑΣΑ ΝΚΠΑΣ**; P.Mich. inv. 602, 30, **ΘΑΛΛΑΣΑ ΝΓΠΑΣ**). For the association of invoked powers with the sea cf. also P.Freer.Copt. inv. F1908.41 (ed. Worrell 1923, 323–4 no. 10), 6–7, a healing invocation of **ΠΗ ΕΤΑΪΝΝ[Δ]Ε ΕΤΧΑΣΙ ΖΙΧΕ ΚΕΝΤΡΟΣ ΝΤ[Ε]ΤΖΑΛΛΑΣΣΑ**; and P.Lond.Copt. Or. 6796 (2, 3) recto (ed. Kropp, *AKZ*I, text G), 65–8, an invocation of Bathouriel, ‘the great father of those of heaven and those of earth’ (**ΠΝΟΣ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΝΝΑΤΠΕ ΜΝ̄ΝΑΠΚΑΣ**), as ‘the one who struck the sea in his power’ (**ΠΕΝΤΑΦΡΩΖΤ ΘΑΛΛΑΣΣΑ Ζ[Ν] ΤΕΦΟΜ**); similarly **ΠΕΝΤΑΦΡΩΖ ΘΑ[ΛΛΑΣ]ΣΑ Ζ̄Ν ΤΕΦΟΜ**, 77–8. There is a further dialogue motif in the first person between Christ and the divinity **σαππαθα**, after the latter is revealed by the splitting of the sea: P.Lond.Copt. Or. 6796 (4) (ed. Kropp, *AKZ*I, text J), 15–16, **ΑΪΠΩΣΤ Μ̄ΠΑΠΟΤ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΘΑΛΛΑΣΣΑ ΔΣΠΩΖ Ζ̄Ν ΤΕΣΜΗΤΕ**.

ΟΥΦΩΝ. The reading is not certain, as a cursive form of **ε** must be assumed that is unusually inorganic even for this hand (the closest parallels are in **τωφερε** in 14 and **ουφεαλε** in 16 below). Crum read tentatively, following on into the next line, **ΝΟΥΒΩ ΝΖΑΙΕ[ΕΣ ΖΝ Τ]ΕΦΟΜ**, but there is neither enough room for five letters in the lacuna nor any trace of the **β** before the break in 3; the ‘shade-tree’ (**βω ΝΖΑΙΒΕΣ**) is otherwise unparalleled in Coptic magic. The Aion (Greek *Αἰών*; for the spelling found here see Förster, *WB* 23) offers a better fit for the context, having received cult at Alexandria as a single deity since Hellenistic times and figuring in Gnostic texts as a plurality of supernatural powers mediating between the supreme deity and the created world (see in general Sasse 1950, Bousset 1979; for Coptic magic,

Kropp, *AKZ*III, 30–3; cf. also the notes on **Hay 1**, 77, and **Hay 4**, 20). The alternative readings **βων** and **ςων** yield nothing preferable even with re-division to include the following 2.

A more remote possibility is **ΟΥΜΟΝ**, assuming an unusually flat **μ** of the three-stroke variety, for **ΟΥΜΑΝΕ**; the spelling with **ο** is unparalleled. Metaphors from shepherding, consistent with the demon’s iron staff (see 1 above), appear in a prayer for the well-being of a new-born in P.Vind. inv. K 70 (ed. Stegemann 1934a, 26, 63–7 no. XLIII with Polotsky 1935, 89, and Till 1935b, 214–15), 9–10, **ΕΚΕΔΠΧ ΕΤΩΕΙΛΙ ΜΠΕΧΣ**; P.Lond.Copt. Or. 6795 (ed. Kropp, *AKZ*I, text F), 23–4, a prayer to have the archangel Raphael sent to the user so that he may gather in fish **ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΩΩΣ ΕΩΔΑΧΩΟΥΖ [ΕΖΟΥΝ] Ν̄ΝΕΦΕΣΟΟΥ ΕΤΕΥΩΔΙΡΕ**.

4–28. For the dialogue form see further **Hay 1**, 12–37 with the notes there, and in general Nagel and Wespi 2015, 241–7. Comparanda include P.Berl. inv. 8322 (ed. *BKUI* 7 with Kropp, *AKZ*II, 16–18; Beltz 1983, 72–3), in which the first-person speaker tells of having descended to Amente to find the power **ΛΟΥΧΜΕ**, who is seated on a ‘throne of fire’ (**ΘΡ]ΟΝΟΣ ΝΚΟΖ[Τ]**), being offered promises of the performance of various difficult feats or ‘whatever you wish’ (**ΕΚΕΤΙ**, 6), and asking for something more specific: **ΠΕΧΔΙ ΝΑΨ ΧΕ ΕΙΕΤΙ [c. 4] Ν ΟΥΤΕ Ο[c. 4] ΕΚΟΟΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΪΤΟΟΤΚ [ΔΛ]ΛΑ ΕΙΕΤΙ Ν[ΤΕΚΒΟΜ] ΤΗΡΒ (...)**, along with similar exchanges with the archangel Michael (16–20) and the powers **ελουχ**, **βελουχ** and **βαρβαρουχ** (24–6). An obscure narrative in an invocation in *O.CrumST* 398 apparently addresses a divinity and claims in the first person to have ‘found the one who created you’ and put further questions to the latter (**ΔΙΒΙΝΕ ΜΠΕΝΤΑΜΙΑΚ ΔΙΣΩΚ ΝΟΥΖΡΟΟΥ ΠΕΧΔΙ ΝΑΨ ΧΕ ΜΑΚΚΟΙ Ν̄ΤΑ[ΕΙ]**). In the unpublished invocation in P.Cair. Coptic Museum inv. 4956 (tr. *ACM* no. 119), fr. 2, 1–23, the particular request is the invoked divinity’s simple presence. The familial relationship through which the pact is expressed is paralleled in the prayer of Cyprian in P.Heid. inv. K 684 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 122.16–20), p. 1.16–20, in which the saint explains his former devotion to the devil as a bond between father and son: **ΔΝΑΚ ΠΕ ΚΕΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΝΑΣ ΕΜΜΑΚΟΣ ΠΕΝΤΑΒΕΡ ΩΒΗΡ ΕΠΕΤΡΑΚΩΝ ΕΠΝΟΥΝ ΔΒΜΟΥ† ΕΡΑΙ ΧΕ ΠΑΩΗΡΕ ΔΙΜΟΥ† ΕΡΑΒ ΧΕ ΠΩΤ**.

A prototype for both the concept and the phrasing was perhaps provided by the offer of Satan to Christ, e.g. Luke 4:7 in the Sahidic version, **Ν̄ΤΟΚ ΔΕ ΕΚΩΑΝΟΥΩΩΤ Μ̄ΠΑΜ̄ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΣΝΑΩΩΠΕ ΝΑΚ ΤΗΡΣ**. Hagiography knows of the pursuit of erotic conquest via written pact with demons: *BHG* 1045 (Wortley 2010, 105 no. 54) and 1317j (Wortley 2010, 105 no. 53).

4 **ΕΚΩΜ**. Apparently for **ΕΚΩΠ**, with assimilation of the labial to the nasal of the following **ΜΜΟΙ**, rather than **ΕΚΩ{Μ}** by dittography (‘be a brother to me’; for the qualitative **ω** for **ο**: *P.Bal.* p. 82 §44).

4–5 **Ε[Ι]ΗΤΕ**. The infinitive is a loanword from the Greek *αἰτέω* (for the spelling **ΗΤΕ** see Förster, *WB* 20), used also in **Hay 1**, 22–5, and **Hay 3**, 15–16; for its presence in ritual invocations compare the request for a divine encounter in *PGM*III 695, *αἰτῶν σύστασ[iv]*; and the description of the effect sought on the target of erotic magic in *PGM*XXXIX 5–6, ‘that she love me and be obedient to me in whatever I

ask of her' (ἵνα με φιλή καὶ ὁ ἐὰν αὐτὴν αἰτῶ ἐπίκοός μοι ᾦν).

5 ΝΙΜ ΤΩΕΡΕ ΝΝΙΜ. For the formula of identification see the note on **Hay 1, 9**.

6 ΕΧΒΙ. For -ЧИ, as again in †БИ in this line; see **Hay 1, 62** with the note.

7 ΜΟΚ. For ΜΟΚ: cf. **Hay 1, 75** with the note.

7–8 ΤΟΥΝΑΜ ΜΠΙΩΤ [c. 5 Μ]ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΝ ΤΑΠΕ ΝΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ. For ΝΠΕΠΝΑ see **Hay 1, 5** with the note. Restore e.g. [ΜΝ ΠΖΗΤ Μ]ΠΩΗΡΕ 'and the heart of the son'; the motif of adjuration by parts of the bodies of members of the Christian trinity (cf. **Hay 1, 1–12** with the notes) is also found in P.CtYBR inv. 1791 fol (first text; ed. S. Emmel, *ACM* Appendix 346–51 no. 2), 54–6, ΤΕΩΡΕΚ ΕΡΟΚ ΝΤΟΥΝΑΜ ΜΠΙΩΤ ΤΙΩΡΕΚ ΕΡΟΚ ΤΑΠΕ ΕΜΠΩΗΡΕ ΤΙΩΡΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΕΜΤΕΒΟ ΕΜΠΕΝΕΥΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ. In the commentary Emmel tentatively refers ΕΜΤΕΒΟ to ΜΠΩ 'by the hair' (of the holy spirit), which might also have stood in the lacuna here in a re-arranged order, attributed to the son. For the 'head' of the holy spirit, preferable in view of the rest of the tricolon to Frankfurter's 'authority', cf. the epithet given to the head of another member of the trinity in P.Fribourg AeT inv. 2006.5 (ed. Müller 2009, 58–65), ii 22–30, ΧΕΡΕ ΒΑΟΒ ΕΡΩΘΕΑ ΕΤΕ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΑΠΕ ΜΠΕΧΣ ΠΕΤΕΡΕ ΧΩΒ ΕΡ ΟΥΟΙΝ ΕΠΙΩΤ. In *P.Ryl. Copt.* 104 §6, an invocation is directed to ΠΧΙΣΕ ΜΠΙΩΤ ΠΟΝΥ ΕΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΝΥΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ.

8 ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ. The narrative of this (arch-)angel mirrors the simile of ΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ in the wish for the outcome in the scenario of use (14–15, 22, 26). Appeal is also made to the association of Gabriel with Mary in an invocation for his help in erotic magic, P.Heid. inv. K 684 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 122.133), p. 6.21 and following, but without mention of Joseph; so too P.Vind. inv. K 192 (ed. Stegemann 1934a, 12–14 no. I, with Till 1935b, 196–200 and Polotsky 1937, 120–7), 14–15; P.Heid. inv. K 518 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 131), 5 (with Michael). The eponymous prayer of Mary in P.Lond. Copt. Or. 4714 (1) (ed. *P.Lond.Copt.* I 368), pp. 5–7, also cites the annunciation, as does an invocation for the dispatch of Gabriel, P.Lond.Copt. Or 5899 (1) (ed. *P.Lond.Copt.* I 1007). The 'good news of the archangel Gabriel' is addressed directly in the curse P.Bodl.Copt. MS c 4 (ed. Crum 1896), 5–6, ΠΩΜΝΟΥΧΕ ΝΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΠΑΡΧΕΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ. In a Greek amulet Christ is invoked as 'the one who came, via Gabriel, into the belly of the virgin Mary': *PGMP* 13 (with Mihálykó 2015), 2–3, ὁ ἔλθων διὰ τοῦ Γαβριηλ ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ τῆς Μαρίας[ς] τῆς παρθένου.

9–10 ΝΝΕΚΑΝΕΧΕ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΜΕΚΚΑΤΕΧΕ ΩΑΝΤΕΚΕΙΝΕ. The infinitives for the first two verbal forms are loanwords from Greek ἀνέχω and κατέχω respectively (Förster, *WB* 56–7, 396–7); ΝΜΕΚΚΑΤΕΧΕ is for ΝΝΕΚΚΑΤΕΧΕ (perhaps by dissimilation; for spellings with Μ in place of Ν in general: *P.Bal.* p. 117 §85). This expression of urgency is paralleled in P.Lond.Copt. Or. 5525 (ed. Kropp, *AKZI* text C), 7–9, ΠΕΛΚΑΤΕΧΙ ΟΥΔΕ ΠΕΛΑΜΕΛΙΑ ΩΑΝΤΕΚΚΑΤΑΚΣΙΠΟΝ ΜΑΚ ΚΙ ΕΞΛΗΙ; P.Berl. inv. 8503 (ed. Beltz 1984, 94–7), 51, ΤΑΧΗ ΤΑΧΗ ΝΑΤΚΑΤΧΕ ΝΑΤΑΜΕΛΙΑΙ; P.Heid. inv. K 684, (ed. *P.Bad.* V 122.89–90), p. 5.1–2, ΝΑΤΚΑΤΗΧΗ ΝΑΤΑΜΕΛΙ, and *ibid.* p. 9.7–9 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 186–8), ΧΕΚΑΔΣ ΕΝΕΚΚΑΤΗΧΙ ΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΕΚΑΜΕΛΙ; P.Heid. inv. K 518 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 131), 16–18, ΝΘΕ ΕΩΑΡΕ ΠΚΩΣΤ ΚΙΜ ΕΡΩΤΜ ΤΑΙ ΖΩΩΤ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΤΑΞΙΝΕ ΝΔΔ

ΕΡΑΤΥ ΝΔΔ ΛΧΝ ΚΑΤΧΕ ΜΜΟΣ. For the loanword κατέχω see also P.Mil.Vogl.Copt. 16 (ed. Pernigotti 1979 with Pernigotti 1993), C, II, 1–2, a claim ΕΙΚΑ[Τ]ΙΧΕ ΝΤΕΘΜ ΝΧΘ as a threat in erotic magic.

10–11 ΔΔ ΤΩΕΡ[Ε] ΝΔΔ. Probably under the influence of the formula ΝΙΜ ΤΩΕΡΕ ΝΝΙΜ used above, an original placeholder has been expanded, redundantly, as ΔΔ itself already contains the filiation formula: see the note on **Hay 1, 9**.

11 ΝΤΑΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΑΟΥΩΥΕ ΝΜΜΑΣ ΝΜΜΑΣ. The phrasing is paralleled in P.Heid. inv. K 518 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 131), 14–15, ΝΣΕΙ ΕΡΑΤΥ ΝΔΔ ΝΧΧΕΚ ΠΕΧΟΥΩΥ ΝΖΗΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΜΜΑΣ; P.Berl. inv. 8325 (ed. *BKUI* 4; Beltz 1983, 74–5), an invocation over foodstuff in the hand of the user, which the powers invoked are to take and feed to the target, ΝΤΑΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΠΑΟΥΩΥ ΤΗΡΥ ΝΕΜΑΣ ΝΣΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΑΟΥΩΥ ΤΗΡΥ (12–14).

13 ΖΝ ΟΥΩΥΕ ΜΑΡΕΣΟΥΩΥΤ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΕ ΜΑΡΕ(ΣΜΕ)ΡΙΤ. The phrasing is closely paralleled in an invocation to gain favour, P.Köln inv. 1470 (ed. Weber 1975), 7, ΖΝ ΝΟΥΩΥΕ ΣΟΥΩΥΤ ΖΝ ΝΟΥΜΗ ΕΥΜΗ ΜΟΙ.

ΖΝ ΟΥΩΥΕ. For ΖΝ ΟΥΟΥΩΥΕ, cf. the parallel limb ΖΝ ΟΥΜΕ; for the simplification of initial ΟΥ (as also in this same word in 21 below) cf. ΟΥΕΡΕΤΕ in **Hay 1, 59** with the note.

14 ΖΡΑΙ. Probably for ΕΖΡΑΙ, as written in 19–20 below, by haplography with the preceding word (or simple aphaeresis, as probably in ΖΡΑΙ in 16 below: cf. ΡΟΥΥ in **Hay 1, 36**); the following reference to an angel suggests that the motion is downward with respect to the target (similarly ΖΡΑΙ in 16 below; cf. Crum, *CD* 700b).

14–15 ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΕΣΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ. The simile, which responds neatly to the narrative example of Gabriel just cited, and is repeated in 22 and 26 below, is used also in an invocation for favour in P.Köln inv. 1470 (ed. Weber 1975), 11, ΣΕΤΙ ΕΩ'Ο' ΝΔΙ ΘΗ ΝΑΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ.

15–18. The poisoning of the water in this manner is mentioned in the apocryphal *Questions of Bartholomew* 4.59 (ed. Bonwetsch 1897, 26.11–16; tr. Kaestli and Cherix 1993, 129; for further witnesses and editions see *CANT* 63, Kaestli 1988, and *P.Worp* 5 with the introduction of Gardner), there by Satan (Σατανᾶς) and his son Salpsas (Σαλψάς), and described by the former, 'I took a bowl in my hand and scraped the sweat from my chest and armpits and washed in the outlets whence the four rivers flow, and Eve drank and contracted lust. For if she had not drunk that water, I could not have deceived her' (ἔλαβον φιάλην ἐν τῇ χειρὶ μου καὶ ἔξυσα τὸν ἰδρώτα τοῦ στήθους μου καὶ τῶν μαλλῶν μου καὶ ἐνιψάμην εἰς τὰς ἐξόδους τῶν ὑδάτων ὅθεν οἱ τέσσαρες ποταμοὶ ρέουσιν, καὶ πιούσα ἡ Εὕα ἔτυχεν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας· εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἔπιεν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκεῖνο, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὴν ἠδυνήθην ἀπατήσαι). A Latin version (ed. Moricca 1921, 513), substitutes fig leaves (*folia ficus*) for the φιάλη; for further apocryphal Coptic texts relating to Bartholomew see Westerhoff 1999; on the *Questions of Bartholomew* and the magical uses of sweat in Coptic texts, Van der Vliet 1991, 225–8). The poisoning episode is apparently mentioned also in the invocation in P.Heid. inv. 518 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 131; with Van der Vliet 1995, 405), 32–4, ΔΚΒΩΚ ΕΖΡΑΙ Ε[ΤΑΡΧΗ Ν]ΝΕΙΕΡΟ (my supplement) ΔΚΜΑΖΟΥ ΜΠΑΘΟΣ ΖΙ ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ [ΖΙ c. 4] ΖΙ ΠΟΝΗΡΙΑ ΖΙ ΜΕ ΖΙ ΟΥΩΥ ΖΙ ΛΙΒΕ.

A more general citation of the Eve episode is made in the invocation of Salathiel for erotic magic in P.Heid. inv. K 683 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 140), 24–34 (reference from Korshi Dosoo) as the one who ‘went to Eve when she was in the hedged (garden) and deceived her mind’ (ΠΕΝΤΑΦΩΚ ΟΥΑΕΥΖΑ ΣΕΝΕΣΟΥΝ ΕΠΧΑΛΛΧΕΛ ΔΒΑΠΑΤΑ ΝΠΕΣΝΟΥΣ). An interesting pendant to this tradition is a Greek recipe for erotic magic (διὰ ἀγάπην) in a 19th-century codex, which involves the ritual preparation and burning of fruit as an analogy for the emotional state to be inflicted on the female target. In adjuring the fruit directly, the user is to identify himself literally as ‘the devil who deceived Eve’ (ὀρκίζω σε, μῆλον, (...) ἐγὼ ὁ διάβολος ποὺ ἐπλάνησε τὴν Εὕαν, ed. Parathomopoulos 2006, 318–19, ff. 489v–90v of the manuscript).

15 ΕΠΕΘΙΜΙΑ. Another transcription of the loanword ἐπιθυμία (επιθεμία; cf. also the note on 18 below) is used by Cyprian in his eponymous prayer to describe his lust for Justina: P.Heid. inv. K 684 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 122.13), p. 1.13; for the affect to be inflicted on the target of the invocation in P.Heid. inv. 518 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 131), 6–7, by the angels Michael and Gabriel, ΤΟΥΜΕΣ ΠΕΣΖΗΤ ΝΟΥΩΩ ΝΙΜ ΝΚΩΖΤ ΖΙ ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΝΙΜ ΖΙ ΠΑΘΟΣ ΝΙΜ ΖΙ ΜΕ ΝΙΜ (and once again in this text, as cited in the preceding note); and as a euphemism for the genitals in erotic magic in P.Heid. inv. K 683 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 140), 31–2, ΤΕΥΤ ΝΤΕΥΕΠΕΘΕΜΙΑ ΝΖΟΥΟΥΤ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΤΕΣΕΠΕΘΕΜΙΑ ΝΣΙΜΕ. The loanwords ἐπιθυμία and φιάλη appear in conjunction in a reference to Gabriel, in the course of his invocation by Cyprian, as ‘filling his bowl with desire and lust’ (ΕΒΜΟΥΖ ΕΤΕΒΦΙΑΛΛΕ ΝΟΥΩΩ ΖΙ ΕΠΙΘΕΜΙΑ: P.Heid. inv. K 684 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 122.75–7), p. 4.9–11).

15–16. Mastema, the agent of the introduction of lust into the world in this version of the apocryphal narrative (see the previous note), figures more generally as chief among demons or evil angels in apocalyptic Judaism. In the Damascus Document it is said that ‘the angel Mastema’ (ml’k hmštmh) is the ceaseless opponent of mankind, who halts his pursuit only once a person swears to return to the Torah of Moses (16.4–5, ed. Rabin 1954, 74–5 with Broshi 1992, 41). His name, literally ‘the angel of hostility’, is apparently a personification: the Manual of Discipline (1QS) attributes the afflictions and suffering of humankind to the activities of the Angel of Darkness (ml’k ḥwšk) and ‘the dominion of his hostility’ (mmšlt mštmw: 3.23, ed. E. Qimron in Charlesworth 1994, 6–51; on this text see further Alexander and Vermes 1998). In Jubilees he is the leader of the ‘impure demons’ or ‘spirits’ descended from the Watchers, and is blamed for the idolatry of Ur of the Chaldeans, the designs of the Egyptians against Moses, and the impetus for the divine testing of Abraham via the sacrifice of Isaac (10.8, 11.5, 17.16, 19.28, 48.2–49.2). A Byzantine version of the Jubilees narrative substitutes ‘the devil’ (ὁ διάβολος; George Syncellus, p. 28.6 Mosshammer; cf. the preceding note). On Mastema in general see Stuckenbruck 2014, 96–8; on his Greek form, Michl 1962, 221 no. 135.

In Coptic magic Mastema is mentioned in an apocryphal prayer of Mary, P.Lond.Copt. Or. 4714 (1) (ed. *P.Lond.Copt.* I 368), p. 10, 5–11, in which Mary adjures the archangel Michael by Christ’s appropriation of his staff: ΜΠΑΩΗΡΕ

ΠΕΝΤΑΦΗ ΜΠΕΣΡΑΒΤΟΣ ΖΝ ΤΒΙΧ ΜΜΑΣΤΗΜΑ ΔΥΤΑΘ ΕΤΟΟΤΚ ΔΥΚΩ ΝΖΗΤΚ ΝΟΥΡΑΝ ΝΣΟΕΪΤ. In aggressive magic, his name is perhaps to be discerned in a curse formula in P.Schott-Reinhardt 500/1 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 123), 54 ΝΕΜΑΣΤΙΜΑ, which occurs in the company of the Hellenic gods Apollo and Zeus (ΔΠΟΛΟΝ, ΣΕΥΣ, 52). More broadly, he continued to figure as an embodiment of evil, as illustrated in a medieval wall-painting from a sacral context at Tebtunis, where ΜΑΣΤΕΜΑ captions a human-headed serpent vanquished by St Sisinnius: Walters 1989, 195 (on the decorative programme see also Zellmann-Rohrer 2019).

16 ΣΗΡΕΣΣΕ. The context requires an action by which a substance could be transferred into a vessel (see the following note). The most likely solution so far found is a loanword from ζυρίζω ‘scrape’, probably the aorist stem (ζυρισ-), which is supported by the close parallel in the *Questions of Bartholomew* (see the note on 15–18 above), ‘I took a bowl (...) and scraped the sweat of my chest and armpits’ (ἔλαβον φιάλην (cf. the following n.) (...) καὶ ἔξυσα τὸν ἰδρώτα τοῦ στήθους μου καὶ τῶν μαλλῶν μου). The spelling here is unusual and not yet precisely paralleled: a multi-stage process of phonetic transformation could be considered, in which ξ (/ks/: cf. among loanwords e.g. ΚΣΕΤΗΣ for ΖΕΣΤΗΣ (ξέστης) in *BKU* III 495.22 with Förster, *WB* 555) was written first κς, then simplified to κ (compare the phenomenon of redundant spellings in -κξ- and -ξσ- for -ξ- in the Greek documentary papyri from Egypt: Gignac 1976, 140–1), then developed as ϰ (/ky/: cf. *P.Bal.* pp. 96–7 §73); spellings involving interchange of a sibilant with ϰ are also attested, rarely with ϰ and ϰς (*P.Bal.* pp. 127 §104E; 148 §127C) and somewhat more commonly with τζ (*P.Bal.* p. 148 §127A). The spelling with ε for Greek ι is paralleled in ΦΕΑΛΕ for φιάλη (see the following note), and that with η for Greek υ is common in loanwords (see e.g. **Hay** 1, 8 with the note); the gemination of ϰ is trivial. Crum referred the form to another Greek loanword κηρύσσω, without citing parallels (cf. ΝΕΥΚΗΡΥΣΣΕ in the Sahidic version of Luke 4:44; ΚΥΡΗΣΣΕ in *Apophthegmata patrum* §69 (ed. Chaîne 1960, 15); Förster, *WB* 412 s.v. κήρυγμα), but it is difficult to see how even an infernal power could ‘proclaim’ the affect of lust (ἐπιθυμία, see the note on 15 above) ‘in a bowl’ (ΖΝ ΟΥΦΕΑΛΕ: see the following note), and the spelling is not without its own difficulties.

ΟΥΦΕΑΛΕ. This loanword, from the same Greek φιάλη (cf. in general Förster, *WB* 849) used in the apocryphal *Questions of Bartholomew* (see the note on 15–18 above), is also applied to the bowl that the angel Gabriel is said to fill with lust (as here in 15 above) in furtherance of a ritual for erotic magic in the Cyprian- incantation in P.Heid. inv. K 684 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 122.75–7), p. 4.9–11, ΕΒΜΟΥΖ ΕΤΕΒΦΙΑΛΛΕ ΝΟΥΩΩ ΖΙ ΕΠΙΘΕΜΙΑ. Satan is described in turn as taking the form of a man carrying many flasks (ληκύνθια), or a tunic with holes, at the mouth of each of which is a flask, with which to offer monks a variety of temptations, in a vision of the Egyptian anchorite Makarios: *Apophthegmata patrum*, alphabetic collection, s.v. Makarios, §3 (PG 65:261, 264; cf. Wortley 2010, 170 no. 425). More generally, compare the description of a ritual implement as ΟΥΦΙΑΛΕ ΝΚΑΜΕ in P.CtYBR inv. 1791 fol (first text; ed. S. Emmel, *ACM* Appendix 346–51 no. 2), 27; a direct address in O.Cair. inv.

49547 (ed. Girard 1927), 30–1, saluting 12 bowls of water, **ΧΕΡΕ ἸΒ ΠΖΙΔΔΕ ΕΤΜΕΣ ΜΟΟΥ**; the golden bowls in the hands of the 24 heavenly presbyters in P.Heid. inv. K 686 (ed. Kropp 1966), p. 8.125, **ΝΕΥΦΙΔΙ ΝΝΟΥΒ**; and in P.Mich. inv. 1190 (ed. Worrell 1935a, 5–13 no. 2), ii 30–2, an invocation of 12 archangels with similar bowls in their hands, **ΕΡΕ ΤΕΥΜ ἸΒ ΜΠΙΔΕ ΜΖΗ ΜΟΟΥ ΖΝΕΥΧΙΘ**, who are then asked to fill the bowls with fire and cast it into the target of erotic magic (cf. the note on **Hay 1**, 22–7; Stegemann 1935b, 405–7, thinks of a relation to the zodiac).

ΖΡΑΙ. Apparently for **ΕΖΡΑΙ**: cf. 14 above with the note.

16–17 **ΖΝ ΤΑΡΧΗ ΜΠΕΓΤΟΥ ΝΕΡΟ**. With the Greek loanword ἀρχή (cf. Förster, *WB* 104), and **ΝΕΡΟ** for **ΝΙΕΡΟ** (see **Hay 1**, 62 on this spelling for **Ν(Ε)ΙΕΡΟ**). The conception of the world's four great rivers issuing forth from a single source in Paradise, and the specific language used here, is based on the account in Genesis 2:10 (ποταμὸς δὲ ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἐδεμ ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον· ἐκεῖθεν ἀφορίζεται εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχάς).

17 **ΧΧΩΚΑΚ**. Frankfurter rendered ‘washed (?)’, from **ΧΩΚΜ**, based on Crum’s **ΧΧΩΟΧΑΚΙ**. Van der Vliet 1995, 405, understood **ΔΥΤΣΟ-** for **ΔΧΧΟ-** at the beginning and suggested emendation to **-ΔΩΚΑΚ**, with **ΟΧΑΚΙ** as ‘a magical name for Eden’, which has yet to be paralleled. A compound ***ΧΩΚ-ΚΑΚ**, i.e. ‘stripped completely naked’ in the water source, is tentatively proposed here instead: the point, which suits a detail in the narrative from the *Questions of Bartholomew* (see the note to 15–18 above) in which Satan washes himself in the waters, would be for him to pollute its contents even further by direct bodily contact, in addition to the transfer of sweat.

ΝΩΗΡΕ ΝΗΡΩΜΕ. A Hebraism, via the Greek version **νῶϊ τῶν ἀνθρώπων**: cf. e.g. the Sahidic version of Psalm 10(11):4.

18 **ΝΣΕΜΟΣ**. As in **ΔΧΜΟΣ** in the following line, for **-ΜΟΥΣ**: cf. **Hay 1**, 11 with the note.

ΖΝ ΤΕΠΙΘΙΜΙΑ ΝΠΔΙΔΒΟΛΟΣ. A comparable conceptual set, ‘all devilish thoughts’, is banned in the invocation in P.Mich. inv. 4932f (ed. Worrell 1935b, 184–7, with Polotsky 1937, 130), verso 6, **ΜΜΕΕΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΔΙΔΒΟΛΟΣ**. For the loanword **ΕΠΙΘΙΜΙΑ** see the note on 15 above.

19 **ΔΧΜΟΣ**. Surely **ΔΣΜΟΣ** was intended in the present context, in view of the consistent use of the feminine gender for the target in 5–15 and 21–8 (see also the note on 1–3 above), but this portion of the formula may have been grafted in from an exemplar originally targeting a man (cf. P.Ashmolean inv. 1981.940, ed. Smither 1939).

19–20 **†ΠΩ[Ζ]Τ ΕΖΡ[ΔΙ]**. For the action in a ritual context compare **Hay 1**, 30, where the speaker claims to have performed ‘prostrations’ (**ΘΑΒΔΑΙΩ**) along with fasting and offerings as part of the invocation.

20 **ΜΟΚ**. For **ΜΜΟΚ**: see line 7 above with the note.

20–2. For internal reference in invocations to ritual materials over which the text is pronounced, and which the invoked powers are asked to activate by their presence, see in general **Hay 1**, 9–10. A more specific comparandum is an incantation over a potion, seeking torment of the female target, in a ritual for erotic magic in the Demotic portion of the London-Leiden magical papyrus, *P.Mag.LL* recto xv 1–20: the first-person speaking voice self-identifies as the god Horus, who gives the blood of Osiris to Isis, and asks for it to

be given in turn to the target, ‘in this cup, this bowl of wine today, to cause her to feel a love for him in her heart, the love that Isis felt for Osiris, when she was seeking after him everywhere, let N the daughter of N feel it, she seeking after N the son of N everywhere; the longing that Isis felt for Horus of Edfu, let N born of N feel it, she loving him, mad after him, inflamed by him, seeking him everywhere, there being a flame of fire in her heart in her moment of not seeing him’. In Coptic, in addition to P.Berl. inv. 8320 as cited in the note on **ΠΑΠΕΣΕΡΩΒ ΝΠΕΝΙΠΕ** in 1 above, cf. the invocation to gain favour, spoken over honey on an ostrakon along with a ritual figure, in P.Köln inv. 1470 (ed. Weber 1975), 3–5, as cited in the note to **Hay 1**, 9–10.

21 **ΕΤΑΔΑ**. That **ΕΚΤΑΔΑ** was intended seems most likely (cf. **ΕΤΕΝΔΡΙΚΕ**, **Hay 1**, 34), given the reference to the presence and assistance of the invoked power in 24–6 below (compare also **Hay 3**, 8), but **ΕΙΤΑΔΑ** ‘when I give it’ (the suggestion of Korshi Dosoo) may also be considered.

ΕΝΣΣΩ. For **ΝΣΣΩ**: the expression of etymological **ē** with **ε** is paralleled in **ΧΕΜ** in 1 above (see the note there).

ΟΥΩΘΕ. Haplography for **ΟΥΟΥΩΘΕ**, cf. 13 above.

22 **ΕΝΔΑΝΟΥ**. For **-ΝΟΥ**: cf. **ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥ** in **Hay 1**, 29 with the note there.

ΩΠΕ. That the infinitive **ΩΠΕ** was intended seems probable, but Crum’s reading **ΩΠΠΕ** cannot be maintained: the **ω** will have dropped out more likely from a purely graphic error than from a phonetic development. The sense of the intransitive of **ΩΠΕ** as elsewhere attested would be strained (Crum, *CD* 526a).

ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ. For the simile see the note on 14–15 above.

22–3 **ΕΣΣΩ ΣΩΤΜ**. In view of the seeming parallel in 27, there is a temptation to emend to **ΕΣΣΩΤΜ**, as ed.pr., but it should be resisted: dittography is not common in the manuscript, and an address to a divine power is consistent with the *Hay* assemblage as a whole, and more particularly with the opening of this text and the verb **[Ν]ΚΝΗΥ** in 25 (possibly also in 23: see the following notes).

23 **†ΤΑΡΚΩ**. As in 27–8 below, for **-ΤΑΡΚΟ**.

ΜΜΟΣ. As the preceding verb **ΤΑΡΚΟ** is used elsewhere in the *Hay* texts only with divine addressees, here and in 27–8 one could suspect an error for **ΜΜΟΚ**, by confusion with the intervening sequence **†ΚΩ ΜΜΟΣ** in 27.

23–4 **ΝΠΕΖΩΟΜΤ ΝΡΑΝ ΟΥΣΚΛΗΜ ΟΥΣΚΛΗΜΔ ΔΝΔΡΩΗΣΕΓ ΕΛΕΙΕ ΕΧΕΜΜΔΣ ΙΔΘΩΘ**. As also in 28 below (**ΜΠΕΩΟΜΤ**), **ΠΕ-** may represent a reduced form of the near demonstrative (‘these three’) as well as an anomalous augment of the definite article (see **Hay 1**, 9 with the note). The names as currently divided number more than three (in contrast to 28 below); given that **ΕΛΕΙΕ ΕΧΕΜΜΔΣ** cohere as a group elsewhere (see the following note), perhaps the ‘three names’ are confined to **ΟΥΣΚΛΗΜ ΟΥΣΚΛΗΜΔ ΔΝΔΡΩΗΣΕΓ**, while **ΕΛΕΙΕ ΕΧΕΜΜΔΣ ΙΔΘΩΘ** is to be taken together as the appellation of another divinity, invoked immediately following as **ΠΕΝΤΑΘΕΙ ΧΝ ΤΕΘΗΣΙΑ**. The spelling **ΠΕΖΩΟΜΤ** (for Sahidic **ΠΩΟΜΝΤ**, or rather **ΠΕΙ-** ‘these three names’, as probably in 28 below) recalls the Akhmimic **ΞΑΜΤ(Ε)** (Crum, *CD* 566b), but a confusion with the ordinal prefix (**ΜΕΖΩΟΜΝΤ**) is also possible (the suggestion of Sebastian Richter).

ΟΥΣΚΛΗΜ ΟΥΣΚΛΗΜΑ. Divinities with a comparable sequence of names ΚΛΙΝ ΜΑΣΚΛΙΝΕ ΜΑΣ ΜΑΣΚΛΙΝ are invoked in P.Berl. inv. P 8320 (ed. *BKUI* 2; Beltz 1983, 71–2).

24 ΕΛΕΙΕ ΕΛΕΜΜΑΣ. For this pair see the note on ΕΛΩΕ ΕΛΩΜΑΣ in **Hay 1**, 102; the form ΕΛΕΜΑΣ is found in P.Lond. Copt. Or. 5525 (ed. Kropp, *AKZI*, text C), 39–40, paired with ΕΛΩΕΙ.

ΤΕΘΗΣΙΑ. For the loanword, and the combination of aromatic, burnt and other offerings with invocations, see **Hay 1**, 9–12 and 56 with the notes. The past tense of the preceding ΠΕΝΤΑΧΕΙ suggests a mythical exemplum (perhaps an elaboration of the consumption of offerings by divine fire in scripture, e.g. Leviticus 9:24), and therefore stands against the reading of a near demonstrative ΤΕ(Ι)ΘΗΣΙΑ ‘this offering’.

27 †ΚΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΖΙΒΟΛ ΝΠΙΩΤ ΝΑΚΑΘΟΣ. The language alludes to formal excommunication in an ecclesiastical context, with which the angel Gabriel is also threatened if he does not carry out a command to torment a female target of erotic magic in P.Heid. inv. K 684 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 122.236–9), p. 11.13–14, ΦΑΙΣΑΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΑΨΕΕΤΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΑΔΝΑΘΕΜΑ ΕΜΜΑΚ ΤΑΣΑΩΚ ΤΑΒΑΒΩΟΚ ΕΝΝΕ ΠΙΩΤ †ΜΑ ΝΑΚ ΖΝ̄ ΤΠΗ.

ΝΠΙΩΤ ΝΑΚΑΘΟΣ. For the epithet and the writing ΔΚΑΘΟΣ for ΑΓΑΘΟΣ (Greek ἀγαθός) cf. P.Heid. inv. K 12 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 124), 5 [ΠΝ]ΟΥΤΕ ΠΔΚΔΘΟΣ, and in general Förster, *WB* 1–3.

28 ΗΛΜΑΗΛ ΘΑΜΑΜΑΗΛ. Among names of the 24 heavenly presbyters of the biblical Revelation (for whom see the note to **Hay 1**, 78), as listed in P.Berl. inv. 8330 (ed. *BKUI* 17; Beltz 1983, 77–8), 6, is one ΘΑΜΙΗΛ. Might the ΗΥΝΙΗΛ who precedes him in that roughly alphabetic presentation be a miswriting (or misreading) for an ΗΛΜΙΗΛ comparable to the present ΗΛΜΑΗΛ?

Fragment of a manuscript from the top of a tall, very narrow sheet of sheepskin leather, giving recipes for at least two procedures from a formulary, both concerned with ‘favour’ (ⲬⲁⲢⲓϢ, Greek χάρις). The first begins with a long and complex invocation followed by a ritual drawing, part of which is lost. Any accompanying instructions have also presumably been lost in the lacuna. The favour at issue here proves to be of the erotic kind, in the compulsion of a woman to come and submit to a male user. Drawing on the analogy of erotic prowess attributed to the biblical King Solomon, owed to his legendary ring, the invocation includes a dialogue recounting an interview with a demon in the underworld, familiar from **Hay 1** and **2**, and a further analogy with the natural behaviour of animals. The beginning of the second recipe is presumably lost in the same lacuna on the front, resuming on the back amid another invocation of multiple divine powers for favour of a more commercial kind: attracting customers to a place of business. Instructions for use follow, including an aromatic offering and the drawing of a ritual figure, which is appended below. Beyond the general probability that the assemblage to which the manuscript belongs comes from the Theban region, the text may mention a place name or noun otherwise attested only there: see the note on 47–8.

The hand is a practised Coptic majuscule with some cursive features, assigned to Copyist 2 (along with **Hay 4–5**). The ⲁ is formed in a rounded two-stroke form with distinctive re-curved serif at the top, alongside a cursive form in a single stroke, while Ⲟ alternates between the three- and four-stroke varieties, and Ⲯ between two- and one-stroke forms, the former with a distinctive rightward-hooked foot, occasionally with the vertical shortened essentially to vanishing.

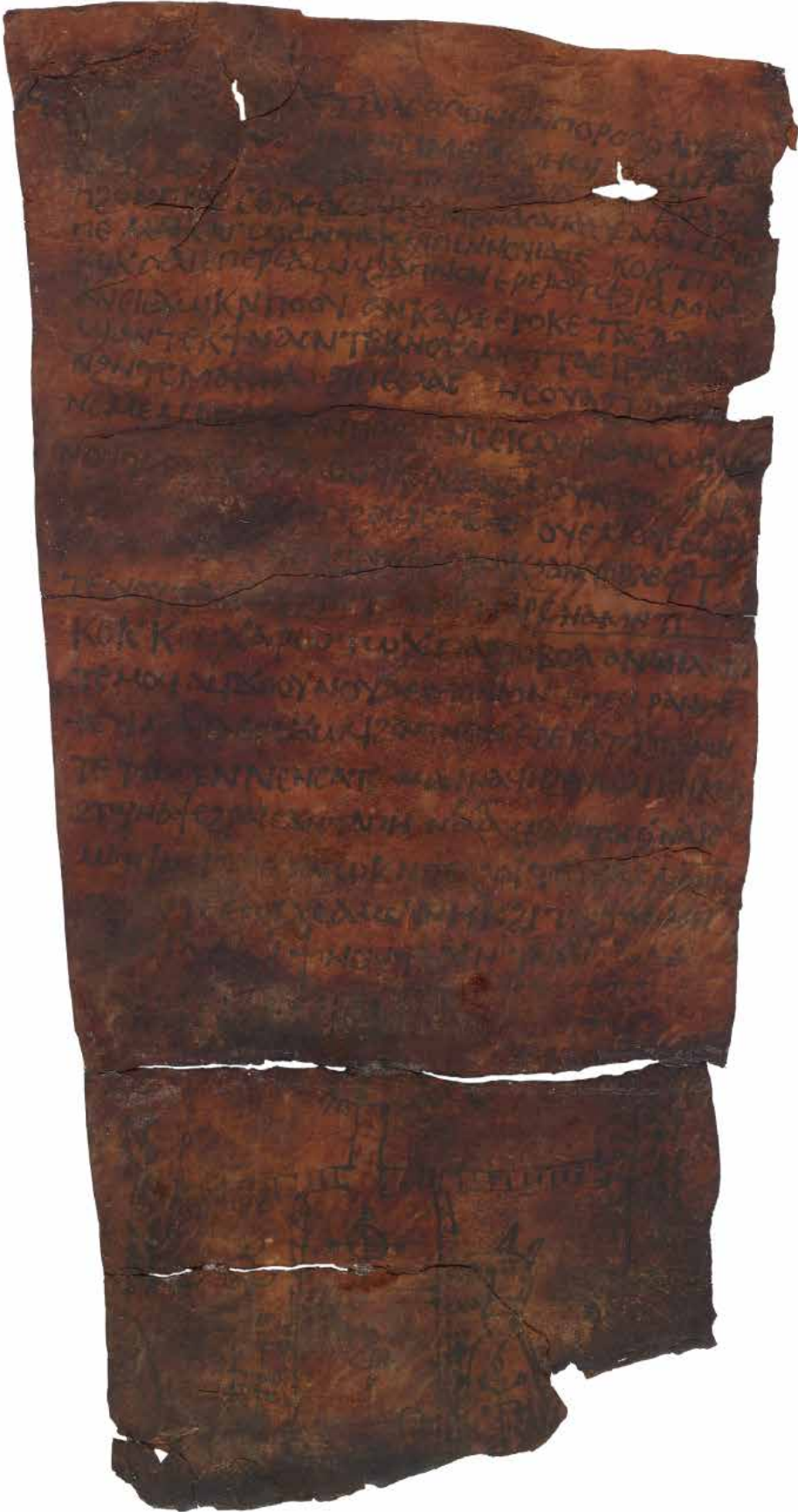
The text is in a single column along the horizontal axis on both sides, the page being turned over the long edge. A margin equivalent to about two lines of writing has been left at the top on front and back, and small, uneven margins at left and right. Horizontal dividing lines running the full width separate sections; diagonal slashes provide a sort of

closing punctuation in two places (14, 22). Superlineation is confined to some divine names and magical words and, inconsistently, to the placeholder abbreviation ⲁⲁ. Vacats seem to correspond to the avoidance of defects in the writing surface, not sense pauses. The pattern of horizontal cracks indicates rolling from the top along this axis.

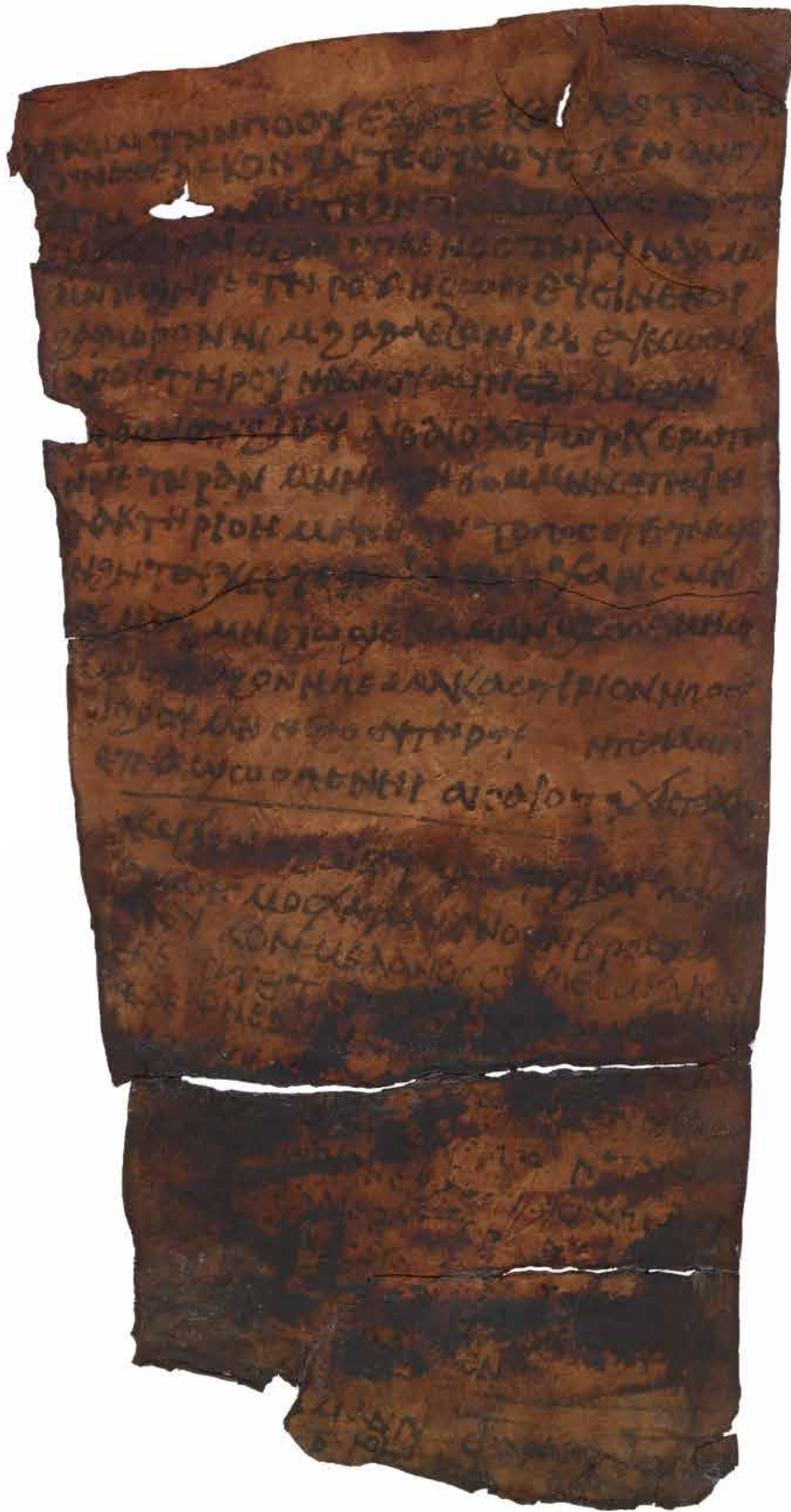
A detached fragment now assigned to **Hay 5** (see further the Introduction there) was regarded by the first editor as an unplaced fragment of this manuscript (his ‘fr. 1’), to which it was probably found stuck, a join falsely reinforced in later conservation with adhesive tape. That false bottom once removed, another possibility may be considered. The invocation of lines 13–46 on the front of **Hay 4** could find a direct continuation at the beginning of the back of **Hay 3** (24 and following), giving the missing invocation formula mentioned above; a connection can also be drawn between the ritual figures and captions at the end of the text on the back of **Hay 3** and those at the beginning of the back of **Hay 4**. There can be no direct join, but it is just possible that **Hay 3** and **Hay 4** are the top and bottom, respectively, of the same manuscript, which would have been no less than 65cm in height, comparable in that dimension to **Hay 1** but narrower.

The dialect is again non-standard Sahidic, but distinct from **Hay 1** and **2** in the abundance of features that resemble an Akhmimic-influenced Sahidic, even if direct influence is impossible at this date. In addition to the frequent writing of Ⲑ for ⲐϮ in the indefinite article and occasionally elsewhere (ⲉⲓⲟϣⲉ for ⲉⲓⲟϣⲟϣ(ⲉ), 20), there is interchange of /a/ for /e/ (ⲁⲡⲟⲛⲛⲛ, 1; ⲁⲅⲟⲗ, 3; ⲁϣⲛⲓ, 13; ⲁⲣⲟⲓ, 24; ⲁⲅⲟⲛ, 36) and /o/ (ⲣⲁϣⲛⲉ for ⲣⲟⲟϣⲛⲉ, 2; ⲁⲛⲕⲁⲓⲁⲉ for ⲁⲛⲟⲟⲉⲓⲁⲉ, 7), the suffixal form of the preposition ⲛⲛⲉ for ⲛⲁⲉ (ⲛⲛⲕ, 21; ⲛⲛⲓ, 38, and weakness of the sibilant quality of ⲟ (ⲛⲟⲟϣⲁⲅⲧ for ⲛⲟⲟϣⲁϣⲧ, 9; ⲉⲕⲁⲅⲉ for ⲉⲕⲁϣⲉ, 11). The infinitive ⲗⲉⲗⲉ appears elsewhere only in Bohairic (12 with the note).

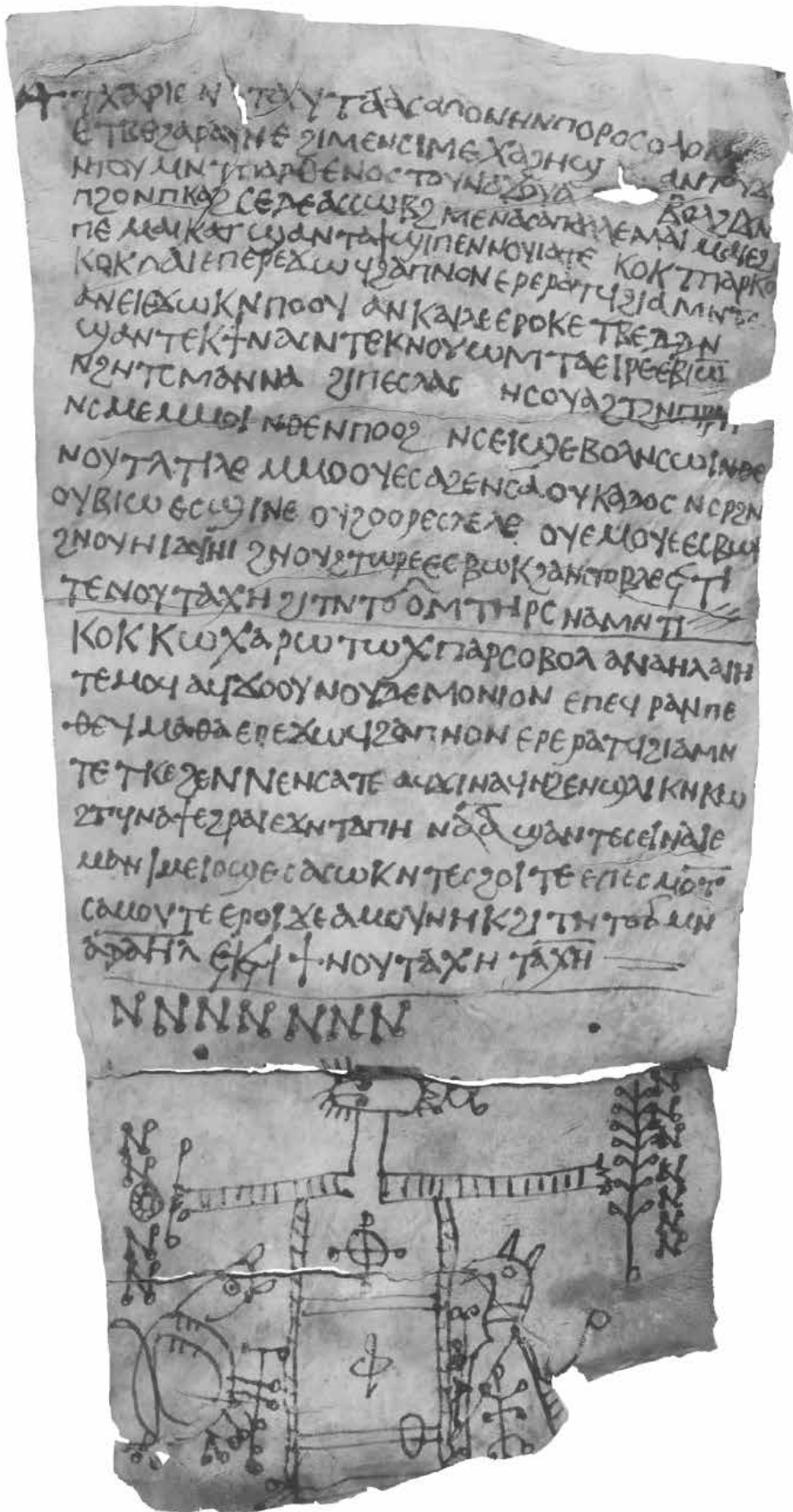
Ed.pr. Crum 1934b, 195–7 text A; tr. D. Frankfurter, *ACM* 166–9 no. 79, with textual notes, 367–8.



0 10cm



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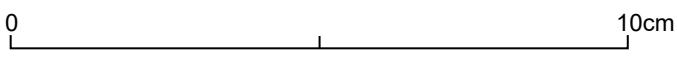


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ΜΙΜΩ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΟΥ ΕΧΑΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΓΤΗΜΑΙΟ
ΟΤΙΝΔΕ ΕΧΕΚΟΝ ΣΑΤΕΟΥΝΟΥΣ ΤΕΝΑΝΟΥ
ΔΓΜ ΜΩΤΗΡΗΤΗΝ ΔΗΨΟΥΣ ΕΝΤΗΤΗ
ΣΩΟΖΝΑΙ ΒΕΩΝ ΗΠΚΕ ΝΟΣ ΤΗΡ ΝΑΥΑΜ
ΛΗΝ ΨΗΡΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΗΣΩΜ ΕΥΣΙΝΕΝΑΤ
ΣΑΦΟΡΟΝ ΗΙ ΜΕΡΑ ΔΕΘΗ ΜΕ ΕΥΣΩΟΖ
ΑΡΟΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΩΝΟΥ ΑΥΗΕΒΙ ΨΕΡΑΝ
ΑΡΟΝΟΤΗ ΣΕΥ ΛΟΔΙΟ ΧΕΤΩΡ ΚΕΡΩΤΗ
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ΗΡΗΤΟΥ ΧΕΤΕΤΗ ΝΑΙΝΟ ΦΑΡΙΣ ΛΗ
ΔΕ ΜΟΥ ΜΗΟΥ ΨΕΝ ΛΑΝ ΨΩΠΕ ΜΗΟΥ
ΣΩΟΡΟΝ ΗΙ ΛΕ ΔΑΝ ΚΑΕΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΗΠΟΟΥ
ΙΟΥΟΥ ΛΗ ΝΕΘΟΥΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΕΛΕΜΟΥ
ΕΤΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΜΗΙ ΑΥΡΟΟΥ ΧΕΤΕΤΗ

ΚΕΒΗΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΝΑ ΝΑΚΕΑ
ΑΡΩΗ ΜΕΘΟΥΤΟΥ ΝΟΥΝ ΒΡΑΚΕ
ΚΕΥ ΚΟΝ ΜΕΛΑΝΟΥΣ ΜΕΛΑΝΟΥΝ
ΕΤΕ ΜΠΕΤ ΚΕΟΥ ΝΕΡΡΕ ΜΕΘΟΥΝΑ
ΒΕΛΕΚΟΝΕΣ

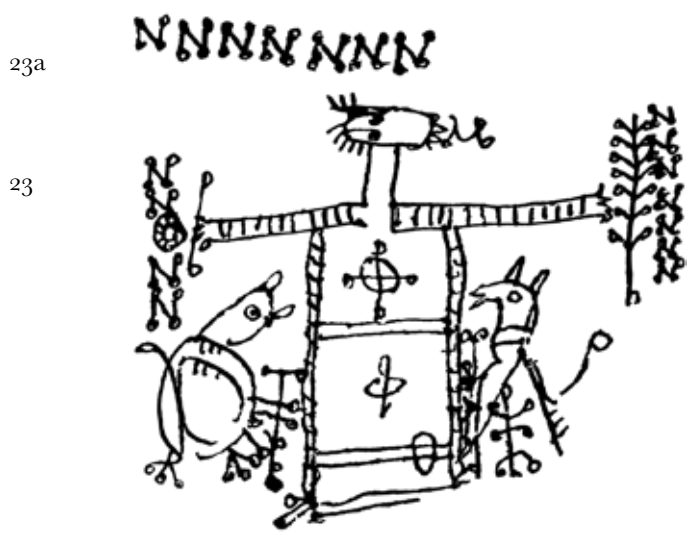
ΕΤΕ ΜΠΕΤ ΚΕΟΥ ΝΕΡΡΕ ΜΕΘΟΥΝΑ
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ΕΤΕ ΜΠΕΤ ΚΕΟΥ ΝΕΡΡΕ ΜΕΘΟΥΝΑ



front (grain)

+ ΤΧΑΡΙC N vac. ΤΑΥΤΑC ΔΠΟΝΗ ΝΠΟΡΟ CΟΛΟΜΟΝ
 ΕΤΒΕ ΖΑΡΑΥΝΕ ΖΙ ΜΕ ΝCΙΜΕ ΧΑΖΗ Ω vac. ΔΝΤΟΥΧΙ
 ΝΤΟΥΜΝΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΤΟΥΝΑΧΟΥ Δ vac. ΒΟΛ ΖΙΧΝ
 ΠΖΟ ΝΠΚΑΖ CΕΔΕ ΔCΩΒΖ ΜΕΝ ΔCΑΠΑΛΛΕ ΜΑΙ ΜΑΙΕΖ
 5 ΠΕ ΜΑΙΚΑΤ ΩΔΑΝΤΑ† ΩΠΕ ΝΝΟΥΙΑΤΕ ΚΟΚ ΤΠΑΡΚΟΚ
 ΚΟΚ ΠΑΙ ΕΠΕΡΕ ΧΩΨ ΖΑ ΠΝΟΝ ΕΡΕ ΡΑΤΨ ΖΙ ΔΜΝΤΕ
 ΔΝΕΙ ΕΧΩΚ ΝΠΟΟΥ ΔΝΚΑΙΛΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΕΤΒΕ ΔΔ Ν-
 ΩΔΑΝΤΕΚ† ΝΑC ΝΤΕΚΝΟΥΩΜ ΤΑΕΙΡΕ ΕΒΙΩ
 ΝΖΗΤC ΜΑΝΝΑ ΖΙ ΠΕCΛΑC vac. ΝCΟΥΔΑΖΤ ΖΝ ΠΡΗ
 10 ΝCΜΕ ΜΜΟΙ ΝΘΕ ΝΠΟΟΖ vac. ΝCΕΙΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΝCΩΙ ΝΘΕ
 ΝΟΥΤΑΤΙΛΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕCΑΖΕ ΝCΑ ΟΥΚΑΔΟC ΝCΡ ΖΝ
 ΟΥΒΙΩ ΕCΩΠΙΝΕ ΟΥΖΟΟΡ ΕCΛΕΛΕ ΟΥΕΜΟΥΕ ΕCΒΩΚ
 ΖΝ ΟΥΗΙ ΔΥΗΙ ΖΝ ΟΥΖΤΩΡΕ ΕCΒΩΚ ΖΑ ΝΕΤΟΒΛΕ ΕΙΤΙ
 ΤΕΝΟΥ ΤΑΧΗ ΖΙΤΝ ΤCΟΜ ΤΗΡC ΝΑΜΝΤΙ ///

15 ΚΟΚ ΚΩΧΑΡΩΤΩΧ ΠΑΡCΟΒΟΛ ΔΝΑΗΛ ΔΙΗ-
 ΤΕ ΜΟΨ ΔΨΧΟΟΥ ΝΟΥΔΕΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΕΠΕΨΡΑΝ ΠΕ
 ΘΕΥΜΑΘΑ ΕΡΕ ΧΩΨ ΖΑ ΠΝΟΝ ΕΡΕ ΡΑΤΨ ΖΙ ΔΜΝ-
 ΤΕ ΤΚΕΖΕΝΝΕ ΝCΑΤΕ ΔΨΧΙ ΝΔΨ ΝΖΕΝΨΛΙΚ ΝΚΩ-
 ΖΤ ΨΝΑ† ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΝ ΤΑΠΗ ΝΔΔ ΩΔΑΝΤΕCΕΙ ΝΑΙ Ε-
 20 ΜΑ ΝΙΜ ΕΙΟΨΕ: ΔCΩΚ ΝΤΕCΖΟΙΤΕ ΕΠΕCΜΟΤ
 CΑΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΙ ΧΕ ΔΜΟΥ ΝΗΚ ΖΙΤΝ ΤCΟΜ Ν-
 ΔΔΑΗΛ ΕΤΙ ΕΤΙ †ΝΟΥ ΤΑΧΗ ΤΑΧΗ =



1 ΤΙΧΑΡΙC Crum CΟΛΟΜ[ΩΝ] Crum 2 ΕΤΨΙ ΖΑΡΑΥΝΕ Crum 4 ΜΑΙΕΖ, Crum 5 ΤΠΑΡΚΟΚ: κ² fitted in above the line : ΤΠΑΡΚΟ Crum 13 ΖΝ ΟΥΤΩΡΕ Crum ΕΤ(Ι Ε)ΤΙ Crum

(front) ‘The favour that was given to the stone of king Solomon,
on account of the virginity and love of women, inflame (?) (them) until they take
their maidenhood and cast it off upon the
face of the earth SEDE ASSÖBH MEN ASAPALLE MAI MAIEH
5 PE MAIKAT until I bring shame to their parents. Kok Tparkok
Kok, this one whose head is in the Nun, while his foot is in Amente,
we have come to you today, we have visited you on account of NN,
so that you may give her the food, and I may be as honey
within her, manna on her tongue, and she may desire me like the sun
10 and love me like the moon and cling to me like
a drop of water that clings to a vessel, and let her be like
a honey(-bee) in her seeking, a bitch in her roaming, a cat in her going
from house to house, like a mare in her going under (lust-)mad (horses), now,
at once, quickly, by all the power of Amente.
15 KOK KÖCHARÖTÖCH PARSOBOL ANAËL. I asked
him, he sent a demon whose name is
Theumatha, whose head is in the Nun, while his foot is in Amente –
Gehenna of fire. He has taken up fiery spikes,
he will put (them) into the head of NN until she comes to me, to
20 whatever place I wish. She has drawn (up) her garment to her neck,
she will call to me, “Please come.” By the power of
Adaël, now, now, at once, quickly, quickly.’
(Figure, signs).

back (flesh)

ΜΜΩΤΝ ΝΠΟΥΥ ΕΧΝ ΤΕΚΑΙ vac. ΛΑΖΤ ΜΜΟ-
 25 ΟΥ ΝΑΘΕΛΕΚΟΝ ΖΝ ΤΕΟΥΝΟΥ ΕΤΕΝΑΝΟΥ-
 ΧΓ Μ vac. ΜΩΤΝ ΖΝ ΠΜΑ ΝΨΩΠΕ ΝΤΕΤΝ-
 ΣΩΟΥΖ ΝΑΙ ΕΖΟΝ ΝΠΚΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΡΨ ΝΑΔΔΑΜ
 ΜΝ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΣΩΗ ΕΥΕΙΝΕ ΝΑΙ
 ΖΑΔΩΡΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΖΑΔΔΕΖΟ ΝΙΜ ΕΥΕΣΩΟΥΖ
 30 ΑΡΟΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΑΨ ΝΕΒΙΩ ΕΖΟΝ
 ΕΠΡΟ ΝΟΤΗΖΜΕΨ ΔΙΟ ΔΙΟ ΧΕ †ΨΡΚ ΕΡΩΤΝ
 ΝΝΕΤΝΡΑΝ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΝΒΟΜ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΝΦΗ-
 ΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΝΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΕΤΝΨΟΠ
 ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΧΕ ΕΤΕΤΝ† ΝΑΙ ΝΟΧΑΡΙΣ ΜΝ
 35 ΟΣΜΟΥ ΜΝ ΟΥΨΩΕ ΝΠΜΑ ΝΨΩΠΕ ΜΝ ΟΥ-
 ΣΩΟΥΖ ΔΖΟΝ ΝΠΕΔΑΛΚΑΣΤΙΡΙΟΝ ΝΠΟΥΥ
 ΝΖΟΟΥ ΜΝ ΝΕΖΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ vac. ΝΤΕ ΠΑΣΧΥ
 ΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΗΙ ΔΙΟ ΔΙΟ ΤΑΧΗ ΤΑΧΗ

ΤΕΨΒΙΝΡΨΩΒ ΤΗΡΣ ΣΤΟΡΞ ΝΑΠΟΚΑΛ-
 40 ΔΜΩΝ ΜΟΣΧΑΤΩΝ ΣΝΟΨ ΝΒΡΟΜΠΕ
 ΝΛΕΥΚΟΝ ΜΕΛΑΝΟΣ ΣΖΑΙ ΠΕΣΩΔΙΟΝ
 ΕΠΕ vac. ΣΗΤ ΕΤΚΑΛΑΖΤ ΝΒΡΡΕ † ΠΜΟΥΥ ΝΑ-
 ΘΕΛΕΚΟΝ ΕΧΩΨ ΝΓ. [. .] . Ε [. . .] . . Ξ ΝΣΝΟΨ
 ΝΒΡΟΜΠΕ ΚΑΔΥ ΕΥΨΩ ΜΕ ΝΕΚΡΑΝ ΕΚΟ Ν-
 45 Ι ΜΟΥΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΠΡΟ ΝΤΑΠΟΘΗ-
 ΚΕ ΝΓ† ΠΣΩΔΙΟΝ ΕΖΟΝ ΕΠΡΟ ΝΠΕΘΟΥ-
 Δ: ΝΠΨΟΥΜΑΡΑ Γ̄ ΕΤ. [.] ΟΥ . . . Δ ΜΟΖ
 ΕΡΟΚ ΝΕΖ ΝΜΕ Σ . . [c. 3] . . . ΣΖ ΕΟΥΚΑΜ
 ΣΕΣ ΟΥΦΑΝΟΣ ΜΟΖ ΕΡΟΚ
 50 [c. 5] . . ΛΕ ΝΛΕΥΚΟΝ

[c. 5] ΓΜΑΝΝ ΦΟΡΑΝΤ ΦΟΡΑΝΙ



24 ΕΧΝ ΤΕΚΑ Crum 29 ΖΑ ΔΔΕΖΟ: Ζ² from corr.: ΖΑ ΔΔΕΙΟ Crum 30 ΝΕΒΙΩ Crum 31 [Ε]ΠΡΟ Crum ΝΟΤΗΖΜΕΨ Crum 34 ΝΟΥΧΑΡΙΣ Crum 35
 ΜΝΑ- Crum 37 ΝΤΕ ΠΑΣΧΥ: ΣΗ corr. from Ω?: ΝΤΕΠΑΣΧΥ Crum 43 ΝΓ[c. 10] ΝΣΝΑΨ Crum 44 Ν ΜΕ ΝΕΚΡΑΝ Crum 45 [] ΒΟΛ Crum
 46 [ΚΗ c. 3] ΠΣΩΔΙΟΝ Crum ΕΖΟΥΝ ΠΡΟ Crum 47 ΔΙ ΝΠΨΟΥΑ ΣΖΑ ΤΕ Crum ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΠ Crum 48 ΝΕΖ ΝΜΕ: ΠΕ[] Crum ΕΟΥΚΑΜ
 Crum 49 ΣΕΣ. [. .] . Ξ [. . .] . . . †ΑΝΟΣ Μ . . ΕΡΟΚ Crum 50 [] ΙΟΝ Crum 51 [] ΜΑΝΝ Crum ΦΟΡΑΝΤ Ψ̄ Ο . ΡΑ . Ν Crum

(back) ‘[... I invoke?] you today over the vessel of
25 sun-facing water, at the moment that I sprinkle
you in the dwelling-place, that you
gather in to me all the race of Adam
and all the children of Zoe, with them bringing me
every gift, every honour. They should all be gathered
30 to me like a honey-bee
to the mouth of a hive, yes, yes, for I adjure you
by your names and your powers and your amulets
and your places, in which you
are, that you give me favour and
35 blessing and desire for (my) dwelling and a
gathering-in for (my) workshop, on the present
day and all the days of my lifetime
that I shall have, yes, yes, quickly, quickly.’
Its procedure – all of it – storax and calamus juice,
40 musk-scented incense, blood of a white dove,
black (ink). Draw the figure
at the bottom of a new vessel, put the sun-facing water
into it and ... dove’s blood,
place them in a cup with your names, you being
45 ... water at the door of the storeroom,
and place the figure at the edge of the door-
frame of the *shoumara*, three times ... fill
for yourself (with?) genuine (olive) oil ... a black
... a lamp, fill for yourself ...
50 white ...
‘...RMANN PHORANT PHOURANI ...
(figures)

Commentary

Front 1 ΤΧΑΡΙC. Greek χάριC (cf. Förster, *WB* 866). Coptic ritual procedures dedicated to gaining or inspiring this quality include e.g. P.Gieben Copt. 1 (ed. Van der Vliet 2005b; now Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum inv. 16.750) and P.Köln inv. 1471 (ed. *P.KölnLüddeckens* Copt. 3; cf. *P.KölnÄgypt.* I 10); see also **Hay 1**, 78–9. In Greek the rubric χαριτήσιον is applied to such recipes, e.g. *PGMXXXVI* 274, and thence taken over in Coptic (Michigan Ms. 136 (ed. Worrell 1935a, 17–37), p. 7.16, with the commentary in the edition of Zellmann-Rohrer and Love 2022); see in general Brashear 1991, 71–3; Quack 2011. Magical practice in modern Egypt continued to include such procedures: an Arabic invocation for favour before authorities, including an address to the sun and angels with both spoken and written components, is mentioned in Blackman 1927, 194.

ΑΠΟΝΗ. For ΕΠΩΝΕ: on the spelling with Ο and Η see *P.Bal.* pp. 90 §61 and 71–2 §23 respectively; the presence of Α for Ε is the first appearance of a pervasive feature of the phonology of this text, which recalls Akhmimic (see *P.Bal.* pp. 68–9 §21 on the preposition in particular, and further ΑΒΟΛ in 3 below), although the resemblance may be solely by coincidence at this date. Crum doubtfully referred the word to ΩΝΕ, assuming a sense (for which see now Crum, *CD* 524a s.v. in fine) in which it appears to gloss the Greek ψωλή ‘phallus’, but with the feminine gender (ΤΩΝΕ). With the better attested sense and gender, sense can still be made via reference to a precious stone set in Solomon’s famous ring: see below.

ΝΠΟΡΟ. For ΜΠΡΟ; cf. Sahidic (and Bohairic) form ΟΥΡΟ: Crum, *CD* 299a.

CΟΛΟΜΟΝ. The setting of a precious stone in a ring given to King Solomon, to control demons, is mentioned in his eponymous *Testament*: ἐδόθη μοι παρὰ κυρίου Σαβαωθ διὰ Μιχαηλ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου δακτυλίδιον ἔχον σραφίδα γλυφῆς λίθου τιμίου (*Test.Sol.* recensions A–B, 1.6, ed. McCown 1922, 10*; the Greek text of a silver lamella amulet from Egypt of the 3rd or 4th century adjures demons to depart a named bearer because she possesses ‘the seal of Solomon’ (*P.Köln VIII* 338.7–8, τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ Σολομῶνος). His demonological prowess is also invoked in a fragmentary Coptic narrative motif in P.Köln in. 1850 (ed. *P.Köln XV* 641), 14–16, against demonic possession, ΠΕΧΕ ΠΕΡΡΟ CΩΛΩΜΟΝ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΓΗΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΠΑΡΕ ΕΠΑΙ []; see now also P.Heid. inv. K 408, ed. *P.Heid.Kopt.* 4.

On demonological traditions around Solomon see in general Duling 1985; Torijano 2002, 106–28, 192–230; Deines 2003; Rainbow 2007; Bohak 2008, 100–5; and for his ring in particular, Trnka-Amrheim 2020, 100–6. His more particular role in erotic conquest, as opposed to general mastery over demons, is less well attested in magic so far (for a contrasting tradition in which he himself fell victim to erotic magic practised by his Egyptian bride, see Ginzberg 2003, 2:947–8), but probably has its roots in legends around his dealings with the Queen of Sheba (Ginzberg 2003, 2:958–62), his association with the Song of Songs, and his many marriages and perhaps adultery (Ginzberg 2003, 2:949 n. 16). There may be a more distant relation to the tradition reflected in the *Apocalypse of Adam* (NHC V.5, 78.30–79.19) of the birth of the Illuminator (ΦΩCΤΗΡ) from a virgin

‘taken’ (ΑΧΧΙΤC) by Solomon with the aid of ‘his army of demons’ (ΤΕCΤΡΑΤΙΑ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΔΑΙΜΩΝ) (the suggestion of Sarah Iles Johnston, communicated by Korshi Dosoo). Novelistic elaboration of the life of Solomon as exemplum for magical purposes is also on record in Syriac (Zellmann-Rohrer 2021, 111–12).

2 ΕΤΒΕ ΖΑΡΑΥΝΕ. The ‘ironic’ sense proposed by Frankfurter to account for the reading of Crum ΕΤΒΙ ΖΑ ‘suffers’ is no longer necessary; the preposition ΕΤΒΕ governs a noun prefixed with ΖΑ(Ν) for Ζ(Ε)Ν as the indefinite article (cf. Bohairic ΖΑΝ, Crum, *CD* 470a, and ΖΑΔΩΡΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΖΑΔΑΓΕΖΟ ΝΙΜ in 29 below).

ΝCΙΜΕ. For -CΖΙΜΕ: cf. **Hay 1**, 92 with the note.

ΧΑΖΗ. For the form compare ΚΩΖ and ΚΩΖΤ with Kasser, *Crum Complements* 22b; Crum saw a logos or divine name, but an imperative suits the syntax better. For the infliction of burning as part of the sort of temporary curse imposed to influence the target of erotic magic, see e.g. P.Leid. inv. F 1964/4.14 (ed. Green 1987 with Green 1988), recto, 13–14, ΖΝ ΟΥΩΩ ΝΚΩΖΤ ΜΝΝ ΟΥΖΑΖCΕ ΜΝ ΟΥΛΙΒΕ ΩΑΝΤΕCΕΙ ΕΡΑΤΥ ΝΑΔ; the texts cited in the note to 11–13 below; and for Greek texts, Faraone 1999, 59–61; *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5304 ii 8 n.

2–4 ΩΑΝΤΟΥΧΙ ΝΤΟΥΜΝΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΤΟΥΝΑΧΟΥ ΑΒΟΛ ΖΙΧΝ ΝΖΟ ΝΠΚΑΖ. Virginity, here denoted with the hybrid ΜΝΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC, formed from the Greek loanword παρθένος ‘virgin’ (cf. Förster, *WB* 625) and the Coptic abstract noun prefix ΜΝΤ-, is referenced when the opposite effect is sought in P.Heid. inv. K 1682 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 137), the binding of a man ΝΝΕCΕΩ ΒΩΛ ΕΒΑΛ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΑ of a woman (34–5, and similarly throughout). The expression for casting on the ground, which also occurs in a damaged context in an invocation in Coptic magic, P.Heid. inv. K 14 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 126), ΕΒΑΛ ΖΙΧΜ ΦΑ ΜΠΚΕΖΕ, appears to be a Hebraism, introduced via Greek: cf. e.g. the Greek versions of 1 Kings 18:1, with rain sent ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς; and Amos 5:8, with water poured ἐπὶ πρόσωπου τῆς γῆς.

3 ΤΟΥΝΑΧΟΥ. For -ΝΟΧΟΥ; cf. the Akhmimic pre-pronominal form ΝΑΧ- (Crum, *CD* 247a); instead of a faulty writing for ΩΑΝΤΟΥ-, the conjugation is probably simply an instance of a common form of the conjunctive without initial Ν-: see Richter 2016.

Α vac. ΒΟΛ. For ΕΒΟΛ: cf. ΑΠΟΝΗ in 1 above.

4–5 CΕΔΕ ΔCΩΒΕΖ ΜΕΝ ΔCΑΠΑΛΛΕ ΜΑΙ ΜΑΙΕΖ ΠΕ ΜΑΙΚΑΤ. Crum, followed by Frankfurter, looked for syntactic Coptic, most attractively in the closing part (‘... I will not ... I will not sleep’, in which ‘I will not rise’ might also be read (the suggestion of Jacques van der Vliet) by emendation of ΜΑΙΕΖ ΠΕ to ΜΑΙΝΕΖCΕ); as the sequence is not punctuated in any clear way, it is regarded here as magical words, even if once syntactical before progressive distortion through copying. The verb ΩΑΝΤΑ† following in 5 may be regarded simply as parallel to ΩΑΝΤΟΥΧΙ in 2.

5 ΝΝΟΥΙΑΤΕ. For -ΕΙΟΤΕ, also on record in Akhmimic (Crum, *CD* 86b).

6 ΠΑΙ ΕΠΕΡΕ ΧΩΥ ΖΑ ΠΝΟΝ ΕΡΕ ΡΑΤΥ ΖΙ ΑΜΝΤΕ. With ΠΝΟΝ (as in 17–18 below) for ΠΝΟΥΝ: cf. **Hay 1**, 11 with the note. The Nun and Amente (on the latter cf. also see **Hay 1**, 23) are concepts from the topography of traditional Egyptian religion: the primeval waters, later associated with the Nile inundation, and the western desert (cf. **Hay 1**, 147 and **Hay**

4, 49, for ΠΕΜΝΤ in the etymological sense of a cardinal direction) as place of burial and hence a realm of the potentially efficacious spirits of the dead. Amente subsequently rendered the Judaeo-Christian concept of Hell: note in particular a gloss as ‘Gehenna of fire’ (ΤΚΕΖΕΝΝΕ ΝΣΑΤΕ) in 18 below, where the demon Theumatha is similarly described in reference to both the Nun and Amente, as well as a specifically Egyptian hagiographical association of the west with the abode of demons (*Apophthegmata patrum*, alphabetic collection, Μωσῆς 1, PG 65: 281; Wortley 2010, 171 no. 429). The specific, separate valence of the Nun (on which see in general Grieshammer 1981), beyond a site of supernatural character, is unclear: perhaps the comparably primeval abyss in Judaeo-Christian cosmology (Genesis 1:2), susceptible to interpretation as a place of eschatological punishment (e.g. Jonah 2:6 = Odes 6:6). It is also the residence of the devil, under the figure of the serpent (ΠΕΤΡΑΚΩΝ ΕΠΝΟΥΝ), in the prayer of Cyprian in P.Heid. inv. K 684 (as cited in the note to **Hay 2**, 4–28). There is no need to assume with Grumach (1970, 172–3) any connection between the abyss of the Hay text and traditional Egyptian conceptions of the sun’s passage through the underworld.

The portrayal of demons with fantastically tall stature is paralleled already in Demotic (*P.Mag.LL* recto xx 28, ink p-nte ḏḏf ty n-t-p.t e-rt.tḏf ty a-p-nwn, in a self-identification of the practitioner as the divinity Sa Sime Tamaho) and widespread in later Coptic invocations, but consistently the head is set in the sky, while only the feet are relegated to the abyss. There may be a more distant relation to a statement about Osiris in the same *P.Mag.LL* (related to the myth of his dismemberment by Seth?), recto xx 2, ‘whose head is in This, and his feet in Thebes’ (p-nte ḏḏf n Tny e-rt.tḏf n N). In Coptic erotic magic in particular, there is an invocation in the unpublished P.Mich. inv. 602 (read from a facsimile supplied by Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin), 33, of ΜΑΡΙΩΘ ΠΕΤΕΡΕ ΧΩ4 2N ΤΠΗ ΕΡΑΤ4 2N ΠΝΟΥΝ; similarly P.Mich. inv. 597 (as cited in the note on **Hay 1**, 22–7 above), ΜΑΡΙΩΘ ΠΕΤΕΡΕ ΧΩ4 2N ΤΠΗ ΕΡΕ ΡΑΤ4 2M ΠΝΟΥΝ, with further appellation ΠΙΡΙΠΕΡ ΠΗ ΠΑΝ ΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΠΕΤΕΡΕ ΟΥΑΕΙΝ ΔΤΕΚΟΥΜΗΝΗ ΤΗΡΣ ΠΕΤΑΜΑΣΤΕ ΕΧΜ ΠΕΤΟΚΟΣ 2M ΠΚΑΣ ΠΕΤΕ ΝΑΝΓΕΛΟΣ ΣΤΩΤ 2ΗΤ4 ΔΒΡΑΣΔΒΡΑΣ ΟΙΑΩ ΣΑΒΑΩΘ; and P.Mich. inv. 4932f (ed. Worrell 1935b, 184–7 with Polotsky 1937, 123), recto 11–13, †[ΠΑΡΑ]ΚΑ(ΛΙ) ΜΜΟΚ ΠΕΤΕΡΕ ΧΩ4 2N ΤΠΗ ΕΡΕ ΡΑΤ4 2M ΠΝΟΥΝ. For more general-purpose invocations in Coptic see also P.Carlsberg 52 (ed. Lange 1932 with Brashear 1991, 16–62), f. 1r.19–20, of the demon 2ΩΡΑΣΙΑΣ, ΕΤΕΛΕ ΧΩΒ ΤΗΚ 2N ΤΠΗ ΕΛΕ ΛΕΤ4 ΤΗΚ 2M ΠΚΕ21; *O.CrumST* 398.3–4, ΠΕΤΕΡΕ 2ΡΑ4 2N ΤΠΗ ΕΡΕ ΧΩ4 2M ΠΚΑΣ (to be restored also in P.Köln inv. 10235 (ed. Weber 1972), 4–5, following Van der Vliet 1998, 120); and P.Stras.Copt. 205 fr. A + I + K + 204 fr. G verso (ed. Hevesi 2018), 24, ΠΔΙ ΕΡΕ ΧΩ4 2N ΤΠΗ ΕΡΕ Ρ[ΔΤ4] 2M ΠΚΑΣ; and further Brashear 1991, 30–1, who cites also a hagiographic parallel.

7 ΔΗΚΔΙΛΕ. For the infinitive cf. standard Sahidic 6(Ο)ΕΙΛΕ/ΚΟΙΛΕ and Akhmimic 6Δ(Ε)ΙΛΕ (Crum, *CD* 807b–8a); taken here in Crum’s sense A, given the likely framing narrative of a descent to infernal realms (cf. the previous line) to meet this divine power, but sense B, of entrusting something, is also possible: both in the sense of a

commission (the purpose set out in the following lines) and as an echo of language of deposition in ancient curses (e.g. *SEG* XL 919, in which the speaking voice informs the invoked deity, ‘I deposit with you’ (παρατίθεμαί σοι) the named victim).

ΔΔ. For the placeholder see the note on **Hay 1**, 9.

7–8 ΝΩΔΑΝΤΕΚ†. For the addition of initial Ν- to this verbal prefix, and the alternate use to introduce a final clause, see Crum, *CD* 573a.

8 ΝΤΕΚΝΟΥΩΜ. For ΝΤΕΙΝΟΥΩΜ, or ΝΤΕΙ- with reduction of the demonstrative (see **Hay 1**, 9 note); the mention of food anticipates the honey and manna in the following similes and, especially if the demonstrative is understood (‘this food’), may also reference a lost, accompanying ritual preparation that the target of the recipe is to be caused to ingest, as in **Hay 2** (esp. 18–22).

8–9 ΤΑΕΙΡΕ ΕΒΙΩ ΝΖΗΤΣ ΜΑΝΝΑ 21 ΠΕΣΛΑΣ. The novel conjunction of honey and manna in this simile raises an association with Jewish scripture in the latter substance, if not with the Jewish magical tradition itself; compare a Byzantine amuletic prayer co-opting the biblical nexus of milk and honey (e.g. Exodus 3:8), in which it is asked, ‘Make the rulers and judges and assembly of the people honey and milk, that I may devour them’ (ποίησον τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ κριτὰς καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ λαοῦ μέλι καὶ γάλα, κἀγὼ δὲ καταφάγω αὐτούς: Vatican, BAV cod. Vat. gr. 1538, f. 201v).

9–10 ΝΣΟΥΑΣΤ 2N ΠΗ ΝΣΜΕ ΜΜΟΙ ΝΘΕ ΝΠΟΟΣ.

Comparable similes are invoked for the pursuit of favour (χάρις) of a more general scope in P.Gieben Copt. 1 (ed. Van der Vliet 2005b; now Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum inv. 16.750), 9–10, ΕΧΧΙ ΧΑΡΙΣ ΝΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΔΔ ΤΕΧΑΡΙΣ ΝΠΗ ΤΖΗΣΕ ΝΠΟΟΣ ΕΣΕΩΟΠΕ 2N Π2Ο ΝΔΔ; P.Köln inv. 1470 (ed. Weber 1975), 10–11, ΣΕΟΥΑΩΤ ΘΗ ΠΗ Σ[ΕΟΥΑΩΤ] ΘΗ ΠΟΟΣ ΣΕΤΙ ΕΩΟ ΝΑΪ ΘΗ ΝΑΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ.

9 ΝΣΟΥΑΣΤ 2N ΠΗ. For Sahidic ΟΥΑΩΤ, cf. the Akhmimic pre-pronominal ΟΥΑΣΤ (Crum, *CD* 500a); this explanation is to be preferred in view of ΜΕ in the parallel limb (see the previous note) to the pre-pronominal ΟΥΑΣ from ΟΥΑΩ ‘put’. Although ‘put me in the sun’ could in turn be seen as a metaphor for favour, that the construction with 2N governing a noun must be synonymous with ΝΘΕ Ν- is established by 13–14 below. This unusual construction may be due to translation, e.g. of Greek κατά, which can have a comparative sense (LSJ 883 s.v. B.IV.3) and which elsewhere, in a local sense, is rendered by 2N in Coptic (Crum, *CD* 683a).

10 ΝΣΕΙΩ. For ΝΣΕΙΩΕ, probably by simple haplography with the following word; cf. ΕΣΑΣΕ in the following line.

10–11 ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΤΑΤΙΛΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΣΑΣΕ ΝΣΑ ΟΥΚΑΔΟΣ.

The last is a loanword from Greek κάδος (cf. Förster, *WB* 357–8). The simile is used on its own in another invocation for favour, *P.HermitageCopt.* 71 iv 2–5, ΝΣΕΜΕΡ[ΙΤ4 ΝΘΕ] ΝΟΥΤΕΤΙΛΕ Μ[ΜΟΟΥ] ΕΣΑΩΕ ΝΣΑ ΠΒΙΤ [Ν]ΟΥΚΑΤΟΥΣ; similarly P.Lichačov s.n. (ed. Jernstedt 1929), ΝΣΕΜΕΡ[ΙΤ4 ΝΘΕ] ΝΟΥΤΕΤΙΛΕ Ν[ΜΟΟΥ] ΕΣΑΩΕ ΝΣΑ ΠΒΙΤ [Ν]ΟΥΚΑΤΟΥΣ, for which Jernstedt identifies a parallel in a literary text, of love ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΧΩ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΤΕΤ†ΛΕ ΜΙΜΟ[Ο]Υ ΕΣΑΩΕ ΝΣΑ [ΟΥΚΑ]ΔΟΣ Μ[ΠΝΑΥ Μ]ΠΚΑΥ[ΜΑ] (P.Bodl. MS Copt. g. 3, emending Von Lemm 1916, 916 no. CXLI); add also a simile in a prayer attributed to St

Athanasius in Budge 1915, 510, of God, **ΠΕΤΕΡΕΤΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΚΑΖ ΛΩΕ ΝΣΑ ΠΕΦΩΔΧΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΤΛΤΧΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΣΑΩΕ ΝΣΑ ΟΥΚΑΔΟΣ**. The water-drop simile ultimately depends on Isaiah 40:15 (in the Greek version, **ὡς σταγὼν ἀπὸ κάρδου**); for the combination with animal similes see the note on 11–13 below.

11 **ΕΣΑΖΕ**. For **ΕΣΑΩΕ** (cf. **ΝΣΕΙΩ** in 10 above): compare the Akhmimic qualitative **ΛΖΕ** (Crum, *CD* 88b).

11–13. Animal similes in erotic magic are firmly rooted in Egyptian traditions. They are known already in hieratic Egyptian texts: Borghouts 1978, 1 no. 1, ‘[let her] come after me like a cow after grass, like a maidservant after her children, like a herdsman after his cattle’; for Demotic see *P.Mag.LL*. verso xii–xiii, where reference is made to the male and female of the cat, the wolf and the dog. Not much known in contemporary Greek texts, they re-emerge in Coptic: for the latter see in general Frankfurter 2001, 485–97. A comparable set of animals is combined with the drop of water as here (see the previous note) in P.Heid. inv. K 684 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 122.112–23), p. 6.1–12, **ΖΝ ΟΥΕΠΙΘΕΜΙΑ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΩΩ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΩΤΑΡΤΗΡ ΕΤΒΕ ΔΔ ΠΧ ΔΔ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΙΩ ΕΣΖΑ ΠΩ ΟΥΜΟΥΤ ΕΣΖΑ ΠΧΕΥ ΟΥΟΥΖΑΑΡΙ ΖΑ ΠΟΥΖΑΡ ΕΣΖΑΜΖΜ ΕΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΕΖΤΑΑΡΙ ΕΣΒΗΚΒΗΚ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΔΑΜΕΥΛΙ ΕΣΛΙΒΙ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΛΑΒΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΕΜΣΑΖ ΕΣΙΩΙ ΕΒΑΛ ΖΑ ΤΕΠΙΘΕΜΙΑ ΜΕ ΠΟΥΩΩ ΕΝΔΔ ΠΧ ΔΔ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΤΕΧΤΙΛΙ ΜΑΥ ΕΣΑΩΙ ΕΠΒΙΤ ΝΟΥΚΕΤΟΥΣ** (which ed.pr. refers to κήτος; for the correct interpretation see the tr. of N. Kelsey in *ACM* no. 72). More general parallels abound elsewhere, including P.CtYBR inv. 1791 fol (second text; ed. S. Emmel, *ACM* Appendix 351–3 no. 3), 14–17, **ΩΑΝΤΕΣΕΡ ΘΕ ΝΝΙΟΥΖΩΩΡ ΝΚ[...] (Κ[ΔΜΕ]? Emmel) ΕΤΛΟΒΕ ΝΣΑ ΝΕΥΩΗΡΕ ΔΥΩ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΖΟΧ ΕΣΑΩΕ Ν[ΣΑ ΤΕ]ΨΥΧΗ ΝΔΔ ΩΑΝΤΕΣΕΙ ΩΑ ΝΙΜ Δ; P.Mich. inv. 4932f (ed. Worrell 1935b, 184–7), recto 8–11, **ΝΓΤΡΕ ΠΑΜΗ Ω[ΩΠΕ] ΖΜ ΠΕΣΖΗΤ ΝΤΕ ΠΩΣ ΩΩΠΕ ΖΜ ΠΩΙ [ΝΘΕ] ΝΟΥΣΩΝ ΜΝ ΟΥΣΩΝΕ ΜΝ ΟΥΛΑΒΟΙ [ΕΤΟΥ]ΩΩ ([ΤΟΥ]ΩΩ ed.pr.) ΕΤΧΙ ΝΕΣΩΗΡΕ; P.Ashmolean inv. 1981.940 (ed. Smither 1939), 10–14, of the male target, **ΕΦΕΩΙΝΕ ΝΣΩΙ ΧΙΝΕ ΤΜΕ ΕΤΜΕ ΧΙΝΕ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΧΙΝΕ ΣΩΩΕ ΕΣΑΩΕ ΕΧΙΝΕ ΧΩΡΕ ΕΧΩΡΕ ΩΑΝΤΧΙ ΕΡΑΤ ΝΦΖΗΠΟΤΑΣΕ ΖΑΠΕΣΗΤ ΝΑΥ ΕΡΗΤΕ; P.Schmidt 2 (ed. Kropp, *AKZ*I, text B), 35–6, **ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΟΥΖΟΡΕ ΖΑ ΟΥΖΟΡ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΩΟΥ ΖΑ ΟΥΚΑΠΡΣ**. The sequence in P.Mich. inv. 601 (see the note on 13 below), places an unusual focus on birds, recalling the implication of avian and fowling imagery in love poetry of ancient Egypt: **ΕΣΑΡ ΤΚΙ ΝΧΟΥΧΟ ΝΘΒΗΝΕ ΤΕΣΠΟΥΔΕ ΝΟΥΒΗΚ ΤΕΙΜΟΟΩΕ ΝΟΥΑΖΩΜ ΤΚΙ ΝΣΩΛ ΝΟΥΩΒΤ ΕΣΑΡ ΘΕ ΝΟΥΩΩΡΕ ΕΣΜΟΣΕ ΕΥΖΟΛΖΑ ΜΜΟΣ ΕΣΤ ΝΤΕΣΣΜΗ ΝΒΕ ΝΕΣΩΗΡΕ ΧΕ ΔΥΒΙΤΟΥ ΕΣΖΡΩΝΚΟΣ ΖΝ ΖΕΝΣΑΛΠΟΣ ΕΣΑΡ ΝΟΥΖΤΩΡ ΕΣΛΟΒΕ ΝΤΟΟΤ ΝΟΥΤΩ ΖΝΠΕΣΜΕ (6–11), and **ΜΑΡΕΣΡ ΘΕ ΝΟΥΟΥΖΩΡ ΕΔΥΤΑΑΣ ΑΠΕΣΚΛΗΛ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΗΣΟΟΥ ΕΤΑΑΣ ΑΠ[Ε]ΣΧΙ (21)**. Some parallels from Mandaean magical formularies may be added (ed. Drower 1943, 164 nos 45–6), one copied by a priest in 20th-century Baghdad, for the use of women upon men, which may derive from a shared ancestor in traditions related to Gnosticism (for another Mandaean-Coptic relation of this kind see Zellmann-Rohrer 2019): ‘Beseech the angels that they go and make (love) overpowering, and kindle love for her, N, in the heart of him, N. By all the names that there are, N should follow N with burning love and passion, like a breeding dog after a bitch in heat, so too********

should he, N, be drawn and dragged after her, N, by the names of those angels of heaven and earth, by the names of the angels of love’; also *ibid.* 166 no. 24, ‘He, N, should be inflamed, and sent off and fly and follow her, N, with love that is fervent and burning, like a he-goat after she-goats, like a bull after a cow, like a breeding dog after a bitch in heat, and like a fish after a fisherman, so too should he be towed and pulled’ (translations of Drower, modified).

12 **ΖΝ ΟΥΒΙΩ**. The noun stands for **ΟΥΖΑ ΝΕΒΙΩ**, cf. 31 below; for the construction with **ΖΝ** see 9–10 above with the notes.

ΟΥΖΟΟΡ. For **ΟΥΟΥΖΟΟΡΕ**, cf. **ΟΥΩΩΕ** for **ΟΥΟΥΩΩ** in 35 below with the note.

ΕΣΛΕΛΕ. The verb **ΛΕΛΕ** is confined to Bohairic according to Crum, *CD* 141a.

ΟΥΕΜΟΥΕ. For **-ΕΜΟΥ**; for the addition of final **-Ε** cf. *P.Bal.* p. 64 §19a.

ΕΣΒΩΚ. The legs of **Κ** are compressed, as the writer apparently ran out of space.

13 **ΔΥΗΙ**. For **ΕΥΗΙ**; cf. **ΑΠΟΗ** in 1 above.

13 **ΟΥΖΤΩΡΕ ΕΣΒΩΚ ΖΑ ΝΕΤΟΒΛΕ**. For the construction of **ΖΝ ΟΥΖΤΩΡΕ** cf. **ΖΝ ΟΥΒΙΩ** in 11–12 above with the note. The qualitative **ΟΒΛΕ** is a metathesis for **ΛΟΒΕ**, as Crum saw. Another version of the metaphor is applied in erotic magic in the unpublished formulary P.Mich. inv. 601, 10–11, read and slipped by Crum (*CD* 137a), in which the mare is said more actively to be driven mad by the horse: **ΕΣΑΡ ΝΟΥΖΤΩΡΕ ΕΣΛΟΒΕ** (from a facsimile; [Ε]λ- Crum) **ΝΤΟΟΤ ΝΟΥΤΩ (for -ΖΤΟ via haplography with a following ΖΝ)**. For the stallion as a figure of lust see also the *Apophthegmata patrum* (ed. Chaîne 1960) §9, where those who neglect fasting, called ‘the monk’s bridle’ (**ΠΕΧΑΛΙΝΟΣ ΜΠΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ**), are compared to it: **ΠΕΤΝΟΥΧΕ ΝΤΑΙ (sc. ΤΗΗΣΤΙΑ) ΣΑΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΧ ΟΥΖΤΟ ΝΛΑΒΣΖΙΜΕ ΠΕ; and the *History of the Monks in Egypt*, where one tempted by fornication ‘has become a senseless and female-mad horse’ (ἄφρων ἥδη καὶ θηλυμανῆς ἵππος γενόμενος, §1). A sorcerer literally turns the female target of erotic magic into a mare in an episode reported in both the *Lausiac History* (17.6–9; with Wortley 2010, 127 no. 187) and the *History of the Monks in Egypt* (21; with Wortley 2010, 125 no. 171), which requires the intervention of the saintly anchorite Macarius.**

13–14 **ΕΙΤΙ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΤΑΧΗ**. The first and last elements in this tricolon of urgency derive from Greek ἥδη and ταχύ respectively; the middle is Coptic, substituting perhaps for Greek ἄρτι: cf. the sequence ἥδη ἥδη, ταχὺ ταχύ, ἄρτι ἄρτι in *Suppl.Mag.* I 49 back 82–3 and I 50 back 70; and [ἄ]ρτι ἄρτι, ταχὺ ταχύ, perhaps preceded in a lacuna by [ἥδη ἥδη], in *P.Oxy.* LXXXVI 5543.10. For the formula in general, and the mixture of Greek and Coptic, see **Hay 1**, 10 with the note; cf. also 22 below.

14 **ΤΣΟΜ**. Crum read **ΤΣΟΜ**, but the mark is better taken as a flourish of the tail of **Σ** (cf. recto 21 below).

ΔΜΝΤΙ. A variant spelling of the **ΔΜΝΤΕ** in 6 above: on the place see the note there; for the form, cf. the Bohairic and Fayumic **ΔΜΕΝΤ** (Crum, *CD* 8b), but spellings with final **-Ι** for **-Ε** in general are also attested in Akhmimic: *P.Bal.* p. 71 §23a.

15 **ΚΟΚ**. Possibly deformed from **ΚΟΧ** as rubric introducing magical names, cf. e.g. P.Köln inv. 20826 (ed.

P.Köln XV 640), front, 5; *P.Macq. I 1*, p. 3.10 (with further references in the commentary, p. 86).

ΠΑΡΣΟΒΟΛ. The name bears a passing resemblance to the Beelzeboul (alias Beelzebub) known as ruler (ἄρχων) of demons in Christian traditions (Matthew 12:24; Mark 3:22).

ΑΝΔΗΛ. For this angel see the note on **Hay 5**, 29.

15–16 **ΔΙΗΤΕ.** For **ΔΙΑΙΤΕΙ**, from Greek αἰτέω, for which see **Hay 2**, 4–5 with the note.

16 **ΜΟΦ.** For **ΜΜΟΦ**; cf. **ΜΟΦ** in **Hay 1**, 16.

ΝΟΥΔΕΜΟΝΙΟΝ. For **-ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ**; on the loanword see **Hay 1**, 72 with the note.

17–18 **ΕΡΕ ΧΩΦ ΖΑ ΠΝΟΝ ΕΡΕΡΑΤΓ ΖΙ ΔΜΝΤΕ ΤΚΕΖΕΝΝΕ ΝΣΑΤΕ.** With **ΠΝΟΝ** for **ΠΝΟΥΝ** as in 6 above. For the Nun and Amente, and their role in delimiting the demon's enormous size, see the note on 5–6 above. The glossing of the ancient name Amente, already adapted within the Egyptian Christian tradition for the site of infernal punishment, via the Judaeo-Christian 'Gehenna of fire' is noteworthy; the latter phrasing surely derives from Greek, probably in turn rendering Hebrew or Aramaic, as e.g. εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός in Matthew 5:22 and the *Apocalypse of Esdras* (ed. Tischendorf 1866, 25).

18 **ΝΖΕΝΩΛΙΚ.** This aspect of the torment is unusual, but a Greek recipe for erotic magic in *PGMXXXVI*, with clear signs of Egyptian tradition such as invocations of Isis and Osiris, suggests an older tradition: these gods, along with other divinities, are asked to prepare the female target a bedding of thorns, and for her head, spikes (151–2, ὑποστρώσατε αὐτῇ σιττύβας ἀκανθίνας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κοτράφων σκόλοπας). The fiery spike in particular is carried by an infernal power (**ΠΤΑΡΤΑΡΟΥΧΟΣ ΝΔΜΝΤΕ**) as an instrument of torment at the moment of death in a vision of a monk in the Coptic *Apophthegmata patrum* §212, where it is specified as having three prongs (**ΟΥΦΛΙΣ ΝΚΩΣΤ ΝΩΟΜΝΤ ΝΤΑΡ**, ed. Chaîne 1960, 61; reference from Korshi Dosoo).

20 **ΕΙΟΩΦΕ.** For **ΕΙΟΥΩΦΕ**; cf. **ΠΝΟΝ** above with the note.

ΑΣΩΚ ΝΤΕΣΖΟΙΤΕ ΕΠΕΣΜΟΤ. Crum corrected the verbal form to **ΕΣΑΣΩΚ** to match **(Ε)ΣΑΜΟΥΤΕ** in the following line, but the past-future pairing (understand **ΑΣΩΚ** by haplography) already parallels the preceding description of the demon (**ΑΧΧΙ, ΦΝΑ†**). For the lifting-up of clothes (understand **ΕΠΕΣΜΟΥΤ**) compare the motif of the so-called 'Isis with raised garment' (*anasyrmēnē*: Frankfurter 1998, 104 n. 27) and the account in Herodotus of the women festival-celebrants in Egypt who stand and raise their garments as they sail past riverside spectators (ἀνασύρονται ἀνιστάμεναι, 2.60.2).

21 **ΣΑΜΟΥΤΕ.** For **ΕΣΑ-** (Sahidic **ΕΣΕ-**); cf. *P.Bal.* p. 154 §129.1.

ΝΗΚ. For **ΝΑΚ**; cf. Crum, *CD* 216a.

22 **ΕΤΙ ΕΤΙ.** For **ΗΔΗ ΗΔΗ** (Greek ἤδη), separated by **†ΝΟΥ** from the further loanwords **ΤΑΧΗ ΤΑΧΗ** (ταχύ): see 13–14 above with the note.

23, 23a *Figure with text.* An anthropomorphic, angelic figure flanked by two minor divinities with animal heads: for this disposition see e.g. *P.Heid. inv. K 684* (ed. *P.Bad. V* 122), ed. p. 314. The body of the main figure is inscribed with ritual signs (*charaktes*), found also in the angelic figures in *P.Heid. inv. K 684* (ed. *P.Bad. V* 122), ed. p. 314, and *P.Köln inv. 1471* (ed. *P.KölnLüddeckens Copt. 3* with Taf. IV; cf.

P.KölnÄgypt. I 10), and furnished with schematic representation of wings, paralleled in *P.Köln inv. 1471* (ed. *P.KölnLüddeckens Copt. 3* with Taf. IV; cf. *P.KölnÄgypt. I 10*), as are the wreath (for the importance of myrtle wreaths in particular in Mandaean rituals see Buckley 1985) and staff in the hands; cf. also **Hay 5**, 49 with the note. The composition, which may be continued in **Hay 4**, 1 (see the note there), is framed by further ritual signs in the form of letters (a repeated **Ν** with ringed termini, 23a; for signs of this type see **Hay 1**, 57–8 and **Hay 4**, 5–8 with the notes), two sequences of seven at top and right, and one of four at left, while a single letter-sign (**Μ**) issues from the mouth of the main figure. Grumach had identified the flanking figures as donkey-headed, demonic animals in the tradition of the Egyptian Seth (1970, 172–3). For Dosoo (2018, 33–4), the theriomorphs may instead figure the male and female parties in the erotic context to which the preceding invocation belongs, and the central orant figure, the user or the invoked demon, with a similar group possibly to be identified in **Hay 1**, 105–8 (for the pose see the note there).

The motivation of the choice of the letters **Μ** and **Ν**, or the **Φ** on the body of the main figure, is uncertain. For the first two one might think of the Coptic preposition **ΜΝ** 'with' to express the desired relation between user and target; for the **Φ**, perhaps Greek φιλέω 'love', or less likely the names in **Φ-** that come in a later section (51 below), but a name of the demon itself could be sought rather in the cruciform sign within a circle in the upper part of the chest, which might allude to **ΘΕΥΜΑΘΑ** (17). A comparably **Ν**-shaped sign, somewhat more ornamented at the termini, is prescribed without obvious phonetic referent for a more benevolent purpose, the cure of colic by inscription on a ring, in Alexander of Tralles, *Therapeutica* 8.2, ed. Puschmann 1879, 2:377; cf. Heim 1893, 480 no. 57.

Back 24. The text on the back cannot be read with continuous sense directly following the front: the invocation in the service of erotic magic begun in 1 has reached its expected conclusion in 22, followed by ritual drawings probably accompanying its delivery, whereas the invocation on the back, accompanied by its own set of ritual instructions (39–50) and captioned drawings (51–2), has a related goal of attraction and favour but for a different purpose, custom for a workshop (see the note on 26–7 below). The probably missing verbs of invocation could be supplied by regarding this line as a continuation of **Hay 4**, 13–46, which breaks off after **†ΣΟΠΣ†ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕ** and has the same aim, but as there can be no direct join, this interpretation remains only a possibility. See further the Introduction.

ΤΕΚΑΙ vac. **ΛΑΣΤ.** For **-ΣΑΛΑΣΤ**, cf. the Sahidic variant **ΚΑΛΑΣΤ** (Crum, *CD* 813b), reflected in 42 below; spellings with **ΔΙ** for **Δ** are rare: *P.Bal.* p. 61 §12. Instead of an anomalous insertion of **Ε** after the article, the form may also represent **ΤΕΙ-** by reduction of the demonstrative ('this'): see **Hay 1**, 9 with the note (cf. also **ΕΤΕΝΑ-** in the following line).

24–5 **ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΔΘΕΛΕΚΟΝ.** The adjective is best referred to Greek *ἀνθηλικός, cf. ἀνθηλιακός and ἀνθήλιος, as proposed by Drescher 1950–57, 59–61, of water 'drawn from a source) in the east, facing the sun', comparing some prescriptions in Byzantine ritual recipes for water drawn 'from an east(-facing) spring (Delatte 1927, 40 and 45, ἀπὸ

βρύσιν ἀνατολικήν) and ‘at a spring running opposite the sun’ (Delatte 1927, 430, εἰς βρύσιν τρέχουσαν ἀντικρυς τοῦ Ἡλίου); add now P.Heid. inv. K 685 (ed. Meyer 1996), p. 17.10, ΜΑΟΥ ΝΑΘΕΛΙΚΟΝ. In *P.Macq.* I 1, p. 13.26–7, ΜΟΟΥ ΝΑΝΘΗΛΙΟΝ is rendered ‘flower water (?)’ by the editors (i.e. a derivative of ἄθος ‘flower’) but is better explained by Greek ἀνθήλιος. In the present text Frankfurter rendered ‘[s]pell-free’ or ‘flower water?’ following K. Preisendanz ap. ed.pr. in the first case (ἄθελκτον) and apparently thinking of a derivative of ἄθος in the latter. The enigmatic ΜΟΟΥ ΝΑΜΦΟΤΚΟΝ in P.Stras.Copt. 205 fr. A + 204 fr. G recto (ed. Hevesi 2018), 7, may be related: is the point there perhaps that the water should never have been exposed to the light, and astrological influences, of the sun (Greek *ἄφωτικός, cf. ἀφώτιστος)? For such strictures in Byzantine magical texts see e.g. Zellmann-Rohrer 2018, 127 §35.

25–6 ΕΤΕΝΑΝΟΥΧΓ. The form seems best taken as a variant spelling for ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΧΚ, by assimilation of final -Κ to the following Μ (cf. *P.Bal.* pp. 95–6 §71), which would correspond to a ritual scattering of an activated liquid by the practitioner; Crum’s version ‘ye shall besprinkle yourselves’ (similarly Frankfurter) implies ΕΤΕΤΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΧΚ, which could perhaps be explained by a skip of the eye in copying, but the reflexive is out of place.

26–7. General parallels for the motif of gathering are **Hay 4**, 13–46 (for a possible relation to the present text, see the note on 24 above), and P.Moen III (ed. Satzinger and Sijpesteijn 1988), hair side, 1–10, †СОПС †ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΙ ΜΜΟΚ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡ ΧΕΚΑΔΣ ΕΚΕΤΝΝΟΟΥ ΝΑΪ ΕΒΟΛ 2Ν ΤΠΕ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΠΕΚΑΡΧΗΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΝΨΩΟΥΑ2 Ε2ΟΥΝ ΜΠΛΑΟΣ ΜΠΙΤΙΜΕ Ε2ΟΥΝ ΕΠΑΡΚΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΑΑ, and 60–75, 2ΩΟΥΑ2 Ε2ΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΪ ΜΠΛΑΟΣ ΜΠΙΤΙΜΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΝΟ6 ΚΟΥΪ 2ΗΚΕ ΡΜΕΟ 20ΟΥΤ 21 2ΣΙΜΕ 20ΟΥ2ΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΑΑ ΕΠΑΡΚΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΑΑ ΤΑΧΥ ΤΑΧΥ; see further P.Heid. inv. K 685 (ed. Meyer 1996), p. 17.18–29, especially 18–19, †ΝΟΥΣΟΟΥΣ ΝΕΝΟΥΣΩΚ ΕΣΑΘΗ ΝΝΙΜ ΑΑ, and 22–9, ΒΕΣΟΟΥΣ Ε2ΟΥΝ ΝΕΝΓΑ ΝΙΜ ΕΙΤΕ 2ΑΙ† ΕΙΤΕ ΝΟΥΒ ΕΙΤΕ 2ΑΤ ΕΙΤΕ ΛΑΔΥ ΝΑΚΑΘΩΝ ΕΙ Ε2ΟΥΝ ΕΠΗ ΑΑ ΥΣ ΑΑ ΜΕ ΓΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΡ4 ΝΑΔΔΑΜ ΝΕΨΗΡΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΖΩΗ ΜΝ ΠΧΠΟ ΤΗΡΒ ΝΙΣΜΑΗΛ ΡΕ ΝΕ6ΙΧ ΜΕ2 ΝΑΚΑΘΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΥΕΙΝΕ ΜΟΟΥ ΕΥ† ΜΟΟΥ ΝΕ6ΙΧ ΑΑ ΔΙΟ ΔΙΑ ΤΑΧΗ; and a pendant to a request for assistance in catching fish, perhaps looking ahead to its sale, in the invocation in P.Lond.Copt. Or. 6795 (ed. Kropp, *AKZI*, text F), 24–6, ΝΨΤΙ ΝΟΥΧΑΡΙΣ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΜΠΕΜΠΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΓΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΡ4 ΝΑΔΔΑΜ ΜΝ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΖΩΗ.

27 Ε2ΟΝ. For Ε2ΟΥΝ, as also in 30 below; cf. ΠΝΟΝ in 6 above with the note.

27–8 ΠΚΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΡ4 ΝΑΔΔΑΜ ΜΝ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΩΗ. The first term is a loanword from Greek γένος (cf. Förster, *WB* 147–8); the name of the wife of the protoplast Adam is taken from a Greek etymological calque on Eve along the lines expressed in Genesis 3:20, Ζώνη (cf. the common noun ζωή ‘life’ and the Hebrew root חַיָּה ‘live’; so too e.g. Hippolytus, *Refutatio* 5.16.13). This idiom in the sense ‘all mankind’ is not paralleled in Greek, but it is common in Jewish magical texts especially those concerned with winning favour, expressing as here its extent before all of humanity; see Schiffman and Swartz 1992, 68. For the full expression in requests for ‘gathering’ see **Hay 4**, 32–4 and the parallels in the previous note. Some more general

comparanda for this grouping of all humanity are P.Köln inv. 1470 (ed. Weber 1975), 6–7, ΠΚΗΝΟΣ ΝΑΔΔΑΜ ΜΝ ΝΕΨΕ[ΡΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ] ΝΩΗ; and P.Schott-Reinhardt 500/1 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 123), 73–4, ΠΓΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΡ4 ΝΑΔΔΑΜ ΜΝ ΝΕΨΕΡΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΩΗ. Favour and success with this scope are sought in P.Palau Rib. inv. 137 (ed. Quecke 1969), 3–4, [ΜΠΕΜΤΟ] ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΚΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΡΕΒ [ΝΑΔΔΑΜ ΜΝ] ΝΨΗΡΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΣΟΥΗ, and probably in a fragmentary context in P.Stras.Copt. K 204 fr. A + 205 fr. D recto (ed. Hevesi 2018), 2, ΠΕΜΤΟ Β[Ο]Λ Μ[Π]ΚΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΡ4 ΝΑΔΔΑΜ ΜΝ ΝΨΕΡΕ [ΤΗΡΟΥ Ν]ΩΗ; and with the addition of the offspring of Ishmael, that is, the Muslim Arab arrivals to Egypt (see further Chapter 7), in P.Vind. inv. K 5024 (ed. Till 1942, 104–6), A, 3–6, ΜΠΕΜΤΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΚΕΝΟΣ ΕΝΑΔΔΑΜ ΜΝ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΖΩΗ ΜΝ ΠΕΧΠΟ ΤΗΡ4 ΝΙΣΜΑΗΛ. By contrast, the target of the invocation in P.Heid. inv. K 681 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 139), 39–41, is to be cursed ΜΠΔΕΜΤΑ ΕΒΑΛ ΜΠΚΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΡ4 ΝΑΔΔΑΜ ΜΝ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΩΗ ΝΕΚΟΥΪ ΜΝ ΝΕΝΟ6. See also P.Macq. inv. 588 (ed. Dosoo 2018), 11, and the commentary there.

29 2ΑΔΩΡΟΝ ΝΙΜ 2ΑΔΔΕ2Ο ΝΙΜ. The preposition 2Α would not suit the sense with ΕΙΝΕ, where it would be expected to govern the recipients of the gifts, not the objects themselves (Crum, *CD* 79a); the indefinite article with ΝΙΜ is unexpected, but the form at least can be paralleled by 2ΑΡΑΥΝΕ in 2 above (see the note there). The first noun is a loanword from Greek δῶρον, cf. ΤΩΡΩΝ in the invocation in P.Heid. inv. K 684 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 122.222), p. 10.21 (reference from Korshi Dosoo; see in general Förster, *WB* 216–17); ΔΔΕ2Ο is for ΤΔΕΙΟ, with anomalous aspiration and a rare interchange of Δ for Τ outside of Greek words (cf. ΕΚΔΔ4 in **Hay 1**, 86 with the note).

30 ΔΡΟΙ. For ΕΡΟΙ: cf. ΔΠΟΝΗ in 1 above with the note.

Ε2ΟΝ. As in 46 below, for Ε2ΟΥΝ: cf. 27 above.

31 ΝΟΤΗ2ΜΕ4. For ΝΟΥΤΙ2-

32–3 ΝΕΤΝΦΗΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ. For ΝΕΤΝΦΥ- (the Greek φυλακτήριον): cf. **Hay 1**, 8 with the note.

33 ΕΤΕΤΝΨΟΠ. For -ΨΟΟΠ: cf. ΠΟ2 in **Hay 1**, 11 with the note.

34 ΝΟΧΑΡΙΣ. For ΝΟΥ-; on the loanword χάρις see the note on 1 above

35 ΟΣΜΟΥ. For ΟΥ-.

ΟΥΨΩΕ. For ΟΥΟΥΨΩ, via simplification of the doubled ΟΥ, cf. **Hay 2**, 13 with the note and ΟΥ2ΟΟΡ in 12 above.

36 Δ2ΟΝ. For Ε2ΟΥΝ; cf. ΔΠΟΝΗ in 1 above with the note. ΝΠΕΔΔΑΚΑΣΤΙΡΙΟΝ. For ΜΠΕΡΓΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ (or ΜΠΕΙΕΡ- ‘this workshop’ with reduction of the demonstrative: cf. **Hay 1**, 9 and 14 with the notes), from Greek ἐργαστήριον; see **Hay 1**, 87 with the note.

37 ΠΔΧΥ. The last two letters are the result of a correction, after the copyist probably began ΠΔΩ-, an attested variant: Crum, *CD* 367b.

38 ΕΤΝΑΨΩΟΠΕ. For -ΨΩΠΕ, perhaps by conflation with the qualitative ΨΟΟΠ.

ΝΗΙ. For ΝΑΙ; cf. ΝΗΚ above.

ΔΙΟ ΔΙΟ ΤΑΧΗ ΤΑΧΗ. For the expression of urgency see 13–14 above and **Hay 1**, 10 with the notes.

39–52. Instructions for a ritual to accompany the previous invocation (from at least 24–38), including ritual drawings with captions. See in general **Hay 1**, 10–11 with the notes.

39 **ΤΕΦΘΙΝΡΩΒ ΤΗΡΣ**. The two would naturally be construed together, but the specification of a ‘full’ (as opposed to partial?) offering-procedure lacks an obvious point. Compare **Hay 1**, 10–11, where a comparably generic ‘every thing’ holds an independent place in a list of ingredients (**ΤΕΦΘΙΝΡΩΒ ΜΕΛΑΝΟΣ** (...) **ΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΣΤΕΡΞ**) and may mean ‘ingredient such-and-such’ (see the note there).

ΣΤΟΡΞ. For **ΣΤΟΡΑΞ**, from Greek **στόραξ** (cf. **στερξ** in **Hay 1**, 11 with the note).

39–40 **ΝΑΠΟΚΑΛΛΑΜΩΝ**. Apparently for **ΜΝ ΟΠΟΚΑΛΛΑΜΟΝ**, the latter from Greek ***ὀποκάλαμον** via ***ὀποκάλαμος**, as **ΔΠΟΥΚΑΛΛΑΜΩΝ** in **Hay 1**, 11 (see the note there).

40 **ΜΟΣΧΑΤΩΝ**. For the sense see **Hay 1**, 57; ed.pr. wrongly assumed a type of wine (‘muscat’).

40–1 **ΣΝΟΦ ΝΒΡΟΜΠΕ ΝΛΕΥΚΟΝ**. The same ingredient, described via the Greek adjective **λευκός** (cf. Förster, *WB* 470; **Hay 4**, 90–1), is prescribed in an offering accompanying an invocation to gain a good singing voice in P.CtYBR inv. 1791 fol (first text; ed. S. Emmel, *ACM* Appendix 346–51 no. 2), 1–5.

41–2 **ΣΖΔΙ ΠΕΣΩΔΙΟΝ ΕΠΕΧΗΤ ΕΤΚΑΛΛΑΞΤ ΝΒΡΡΕ**. Comparable instructions are applied for erotic magic in P.Heid. inv. K 518 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 131), 19, **ΓΡ ΝΕΖΩ^Α ΕΒ ΕΣΚΩΤΕ^Α ΕΣΟΥΑΝ ΕΝΑ^Α**; P.CtYBR inv. 1791 fol (first text; ed. S. Emmel, *ACM* Appendix 346–51 no. 2), 13–19, **ΕΚΣΔΙ ΕΝΝΑΙ ΕΝΧΕΝ [Τ]ΒΔΣΙΣ ΕΜΠΔΑΠΟΤ ΝΑΤΤΩΕΩΕΜ ΔΩΤΟΦ ΕΠΕΚΜΟΤΕ**; for a finished product, see the bowl fragment O.LACMA inv. MA 80.202.214 (ed. Dieleman 2006). The form in 41 (cf. the following note) may stand for **ΠΕΖΩ-** if Greek ζ is counted as a double consonant, but in comparison to **ΠΣΩΔΙΟΝ** in 46 below, a reduced form of the demonstrative **ΠΕΙ-** might be preferred (‘this figure’), referring to the drawing that begins at the foot of the fragment.

41, 46 **ΣΩΔΙΟΝ**. For **ΖΩΔΙΟΝ**, from Greek **ζώδιον**; for parallels see the previous note and **Hay 1**, 7–9.

44 **ΜΕ**. For **ΜΝ**: cf. **Μ(Ν)** in **Hay 1**, 6, and for the realisation of etymological **ε** as **ε**, *P.Bal.* pp. 52–4 §1A.

45–6 **ΔΠΟΘΗΚΕ**. For **ΔΠΟΘΗΚΗ**, from Greek **ἀποθήκη**; cf. *P.KRU* p. 400, Index II s.v.; Vycichl, *DE* 14b; Förster, *WB* 79.

46 **ΕΖΟΝ**. For **ΕΖΟΥΝ**: cf. 30 above.

46–7 **ΝΠΕΘΟΥΑ ΝΠΩΟΥΜΑΡΑ**. The second term is recorded several times in documentary texts from the Theban region, including variant spellings **ΩΦΩΜΑΡΑ** and **ΩΟΥΜΑΡΕ** (Crum, *CD* 567a), in contexts that suggest a landmark of some kind (e.g. *P.KRU* 8.7–8): a proper name (in which case the first word might have been a variant of **ΜΠΤΟΥΥ** (‘mountain’ or more specifically ‘monastery’: Cadell and Rémondon 1967), but the lack of parallels does not favour this solution), or more likely, if **ΠΕΘΟΥΑ** stands for standard Sahidic **ΜΠΤΟΥΑ** (the suggestion of Jacques van der Vliet; cf. **Hay 4**, 76–7), a type of building or part thereof: the foundations of one are mentioned in *P.KRU* 7.25. In the context of **ΔΠΟΘΗΚΕ** in 45–6, compare perhaps Demotic **šym**, **šym(ʔ.t)**, **šmy(t)** of various kinds of storage facilities (*CDD* § 19–23).

ΜΟΖ. As in 49 below, for **ΜΟΥΖ**; cf. **Hay 1**, 11 with the note.

49 **ΟΥΦΑΝΟΣ**. A reading **-ΤΑΝΟΣ** as Crum printed would be palaeographically possible but gives no sense. For **ΦΑΝΟΣ**, from Greek **φάνος** ‘torch’, or in view of its being filled (with oil?), ‘lamp’, cf. *P.Apoll.* 95 fr. A 4, in which one is inventoried in a 7th-century context; similarly in an inventory of a monastery, *P.Prag.* II 178 i 12.

50 [c. 5]. The text was obscured for Crum by a modern adhesive label. In context a specification of another type of oil (**ΝΕΖ**) might be expected.

51 [c. 5] **ΡΜΑΝΝ ΦΟΡΑΝΤ ΦΟΡΑΝΙ**. These names are apparently to serve as captions for the figures whose heads survive below before the break, to be inscribed in turn on a ceramic vessel as described above (41–2). In **Hay 1**, 1, there is an invocation of a comparable group **ΔΜΑΝΟΥ ΦΟΥΡΑΤ ΦΟΥΡΑΝΙ** as three ‘guardians’: see the note there; the first member cannot be reconciled with the traces here, for which consider **[ΦΟ(Υ)]ΡΜΑΝΝ** for alliteration. As two further groups of three guardians in that text recur in the assemblage of ritual figures and captions at the beginning of the text on the back of **Hay 4**, it is possible that they belong to the same sequence, and **Hay 3** and **4** to the same manuscript: see further the Introduction.

A fragmentary formulary, giving the bottom of a tall, very narrow manuscript, with remains of no fewer than two recipes. Most of the front is taken up by a longer invocation for a commercial purpose, the ‘gathering-in’ of customers to a shop via angelic powers, which is preceded by some brief instructions and fragmentary ritual drawings and signs, probably belonging at least in part to the same procedure. This invocation breaks off abruptly in mid-phrase, despite a generous bottom margin; it could find a direct continuation in the first line on the back of **Hay 3** (24 and following: see also the Introduction there). It is just possible that **Hay 3** and **4** form the top and bottom of the same manuscript, respectively, without a direct join. The fragmentary beginning of **Hay 4** would then belong to the complex of ritual drawings at the end of the front of **Hay 3**, and there could also be a relation between the fragmentary assemblages of figures and captions on the backs of both **Hay 3** and **4** (see the notes on **Hay 3**, 51 and **Hay 4**, 47–51), which would make up the end of this same ‘gathering-in’ procedure. The rest of the back of **Hay 4** is devoted to a recipe, including a design for an inscription with a figural drawing and signs, whose rubric mentions a woman and blood: the aim is unclear, but possibilities include both aggressive and healing ritual.

The leather, probably from a sheep, bears imperfections from the animal’s lifetime. The skin was cut in line with the backbone, with the top of the manuscript closest to the head. The sheet is low quality, from the axillary region and right back leg of the animal, and with its right edge untrimmed. These features together with residual hair suggest that the piece was an offcut. Dark staining and breaks along the horizontal indicate rolling along this axis.

The hand is a competent Coptic majuscule with some cursive features, assigned to Copyist 2 (as **Hay 3** and **5**). For

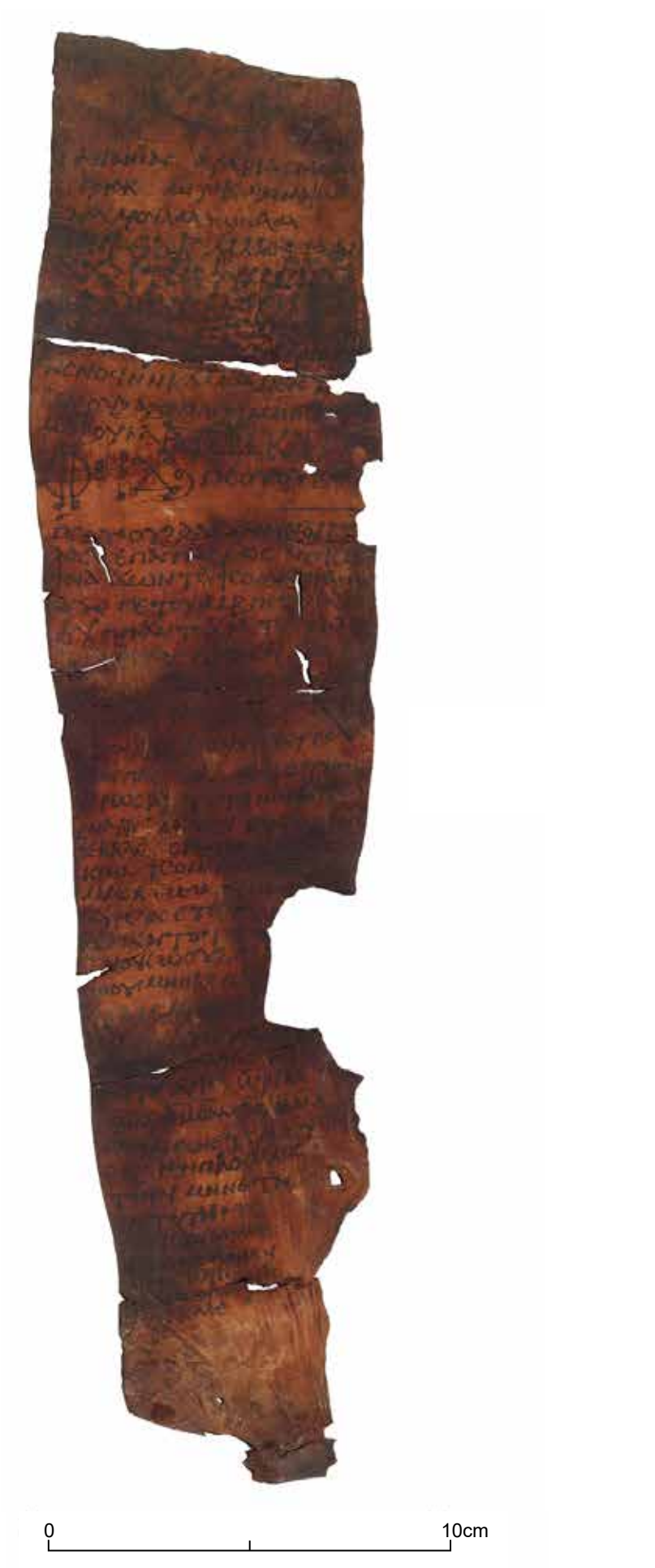
its general character see the Introduction to **Hay 3**.

There are horizontal dividing lines between sections, and superlineation of some divine names and magical words. Vacats seem to be the copyist’s avoidance of defects in the substrate. There is no other punctuation, and no abbreviations but for $\phi\chi$ (18: see below).

The text is in a single column along the horizontal axis on both sides of the sheet, flipped over the long edge, as in **Hay 3**, of which this fragment may provide the bottom. The designations ‘front’ and ‘back’ have been inverted with respect to previous publications to match this copyist’s preference for beginning with the grain side of the leather sheet. The column extends nearly to the edge on both sides, except near the bottom of the front, where a hole and some roughness in the leather have been avoided, which is probably also the reason for the bottom margin of roughly the equivalent of five lines. The format is also close to **Hay 5** (see further the Introduction there), and the hand is the same, as is the motif of captioned figural drawings associated with the cardinal directions, but a mismatch between flesh and grain sides for these two sequences (47–51 with **Hay 5**, 11) excludes an identification as two fragments of the same manuscript.

The dialect is again non-standard Sahidic, and phonetic characteristics closely comparable to those of **Hay 3** continue. The form $\lambda\sigma(\gamma)\mathbf{N}$ as there is frequent (11, 14, 30, 31, 39) but not consistent (cf. $\epsilon\sigma\mathbf{OY}\mathbf{N}$, 22). At 18, a form of the Bohairic abbreviation $\phi\uparrow$ for $\phi\mathbf{N}\mathbf{OY}\uparrow$ ($\mathbf{P}\mathbf{N}\mathbf{OY}\mathbf{T}\mathbf{E}$) is probably to be recognised in $\phi\chi$, and the spelling $\mathbf{I}\mathbf{C}\mathbf{X}\mathbf{N}$ - for $\mathbf{X}\mathbf{N}$ - in 42 also resembles Bohairic (see further the commentary).

Ed.pr. Crum 1934b, 197–9 text B; tr. D. Frankfurter, *ACM* 171–4 no. 81, with textual note, 368 (excerpts also in Frankfurter 2018, 204–5).



Hay 4





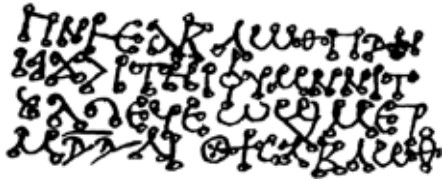


front (grain)



ΑΝΑΝΙΑΣ ΑΖΑΡΙΑΣ ΜΙΖΑΝΗ
ΣΕΔΡΑΚ ΜΙΖΑΚ ΑΔΕΝΑΚΩ
ΛΑΛ ΜΟΥΛΑΛ ΨΩΛΑΛ

5



ϸϸΑΙ ΝΕΦΗΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ

10

ΝΣΝΟϸ ΝΝΚΑΜΟΛ ΝΑΛΕΥ ΟΥ-
ΣΩΟΥΣ ΔΣΟΝ ΝΒΡΟΜΠΕ ΚΑ ΝΟΥ-
ΜΑΣΟΥΗΛ



ΠΣΟΥΟΥΣ ΔΣΟΥΝ ΝΝΑΓΓΕ-

15

ΛΟΣ vac. ΕΠΑΣΠΑΣΜΟΣ ΝΠΙΩΤ
†ΝΑ vac. ΧΩ ΝΤΑ† ΕΟΟΥ ΝΤΑΣΜΝ-
ΝΕΥΕ ΠΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΠΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ
ΦΧ ΠΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΠΔΗ-
ΜΙΟΡΚΟΣ ΠΑΤΝΑΥ ΕΡΟϸ

20

ΣΩΡΜΟΣΙΝΗ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΠΑΙ
ΕΤΕΡΕ ΤΖΑΛ vac. ΠΙΣ ΝΤΟΤϸ
ΕϸΣΩΟΥΣ ΕΣΟΥΝ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ
ΕΠΑΣΠΑΣ vac. ΜΟΣ vac. ΝΠΙΩΤ ΝΠΕ-
ΧΕΡΩΣΙΑ ΤΗΡϸ ΝΠΙΩΤ

25

ΑΝΑΒΟ vac. ΗΛ ΠΕΠΙΤΡΟΣ ΝΠΙΩΤ
†ΕΚΚΛΗ vac. ΣΙΑ ΠΔΚΩΘΑΝΛ ΕΡΕ-
ΚΙΝΗ †ΣΟΠΣΠ †ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕ
ΜΜΟΚ ΜΠΟΟΥ ΣΩΡΜΙΣΗΛ
ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΕ vac. ΡΕ vac. Π[ΣΩΟΥΣ]

9 ..ΝΕΦΗΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ Crum 10 [π-] edd. 11 ΚΑΚΟϸ Crum 18 Φ† Crum 22 ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ: Γ' corr. from λ 26 ΠΔΚΩΘΑΝΛ: Δ' corr. from Η? (or vice versa?): ΠΔΚΩΘΑΝ ΛΕΡΕ Crum 29 η[ΣΩΟΥΣ] Crum

(front) ...

(*signs*)

‘Ananias, Azarias, Mizaēl,

Sedrak, Mizak, Adenakō,

Lal, Moulal, Shōlal.’

5 (*signs*)

(*signs*)

(*signs*)

(*signs*)

Write the amulets

10 in the blood of white camels; a
gathering-in of doves; place in a
nest. (*signs*)

(*signs*). The gathering-in.

‘The gathering-in of the angels

15 for the greeting of the father –

I shall speak and honour and hymn

the holy one, the holy one,

God the almighty, the creator,

the invisible,

20 Hōrmosiēl the angel, this one

with the trumpet in his hand,

gathering in the angels

for the greeting of the father and

all the council of the father,

25 Anaboēl, the steward of the father,

this congregation, Pakōthaēl, Erekiēl.

I beg, I entreat

you today, Hōrmisēl

the angel, in whose hand is the gathering-

30 ΛΖΟΥΝ ΝΤΟΥΤϢ ΧΕ[ΚΑΣ ΕΚΕ-]
 † ΝΟΥΣΩΟΥΣ ΛΖΟ[ΥΝ Μ-]
 ΠΟΥ ΜΝ ΠΚΕΝΟΣ [ΤΗΡϢ Ν-]
 ΛΔΔΜ Μ(Ν) ΝΩΗΡΕ [ΤΗΡΟΥ]
 ΝΖΩΗ ΖΙΤΝ ΤΒΟΜ ΝΝΟ[Ϣ]
 35 ΝΡΑΝ ΝΑΩΡΑΤΟΣ ΕΤΣΑ
 ΖΟΥΤΕ ΔΡΙΗΛ ΩΡΙΗΛ
 ΕΜΙΗΛ ΘΙΜΙΑΗΛ ΘΑΝΑΗΛ
 ΠΑΤΡΙΗΛ ΝΕΤΣΩΟΥ-
 Ζ ΛΖΟΝ ΝΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ
 40 ΤΗΡϢ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΝ-
 ΖΗΤϢ ΤΗΡϢ
 ΜΝ ΙϢΧΝ ΜΜΔ Ν-
 ΩΔ ΝΠΡΗ ΩΔ ΝΕϢ-
 ΜΔ ΝΖΩΤΠ vac. †-
 45 ϢΟ vac. ΠϢΠ †ΠΑΡΔ-
 vac. ΚΑΛΕ. vac.

back (flesh)



50 ΛΒΙΟΥΤ ΚΑΡΝΑΒΟ ΚΑΡΝΑΒΑ



34 ΝΝ[ΝΟϢ] Crum 45 ϢΩΠϢΕΠ Crum 48 ΒΗΘΕΙΑΛ Crum 49 ΠΕΜΝΤ: ΝΤ fitted in above line : om. Crum 50 Κ[] Crum

30 in, that you
give a gathering-in
today, with all the race of
Adam and all the children
of Zoe, by the power of the great
35 names, invisible, fearsome:
Ariēl, Ōriēl,
Emiēl, Thimiaēl, Thanaēl,
Patriēl, the ones who gather
in all the universe
40 and all those that
are in it,
and from the places of
the rising of the sun to its
places of rest. I
45 beg, I
entreat ...?

(back)

[*Names*]

(*figures*) The north

Bēth Bētha Bēthaei

(*figures*) The west

(50) Abiout Karnabo Karnaba

(*figures*) The south

(left col.)

55 **ΣΡΑΦΑΝΛ**
ΣΡΑΓΟΥΝΛ
ΡΑΓΟΥΝΛ
ΤΑΨΗΛ
ΗΛ
ΜΙΘΗΛ
ΣΟΥΡΙΝΛ
ΑΓΟΥΝΛ
 60 **ΣΡΑΦΟΝΛ**
ΡΑΓΟΥΝΛ
ΣΡΑΓΟΥΝΛ
ΜΙΧΑΝΛ
ΗΛ
 65 **ΜΑΙΝΛ**

(centre col.)



(right col.)

70 **ΟΥΤΡΙΝΛ**
ΟΥΡΙΝΗΛ
ΟΥΡΑΝΛ
ΜΙΧΑΝΛ
ΕΙΔΗΛ
ΔΗΛ
ΗΛ
 75 **Λ**

80 **ΟΥΣΙΜΕ ΟΥΣΝΟϸ ΣΖΑΙ ΔΥΘ-**
ΟΥ ΝΟΝΑΜ ΝΣΑ ΠΑΖΤ ΝΚΑΨ
... ΨΤΕΠΕΙ ΠΑΤΜΟΥ
[c. 5] ΤΕΣΙΜΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΚΙΑΜΙ
[c. 5] . ΣΦΔΙΩΝ ΤΙΣ ΕΥ
[c. 5] ΚΩΣ ΟΥΖΣ ΖΙΡΜ ΠΡΟ Ν
[c. 5] . .



85 **ΠΝΟΒ ΝΤΙΣΙΜΕ**



ΖΡΗ-

90 **ΡΕ ΝΨΟΝΤΙ ΔΣΠΑ-**
ΡΤΟΝ ΧΑΡΒΑΝΗ
ΝΕΡΕ ΚΟΥ ΚΟΨ ΝΛΕΥ-
ΚΟΝ ΨΟΥΡΗ ΝΟΜ-
ΡΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΥΝΗΣ Ν-
ΧΑΚ ΖΝ Ο'ΝΔΖ . [.]
ΜΕΡΕ ΝΕ [c. 2 ζ]
 95 **ΤΝΡΙ Ν [c. 5]**
ΝΗΝ . Ψ . [c. 5]

55 **τα,ηλ** Crum 56 **π....** Crum 65 **μαιηλ** Crum 69 **ουσιηλ** Crum 70 **ουρανηλ** Crum 76 **ουσιμε** Crum 76-7 **δυ,ου** Crum 77-8 **ηκλω.[...]** **ψτεπει** Crum 78 **πατμου** Crum 79 **[]εσιμε** Crum **πκιαμι** Crum 82 **om.** Crum 89 **χαρβανη** Crum 90 **κοψ** Crum 93 **ναζ[...]** Crum 94-5 **[]τηρι.[]** Crum 96 **ρηη[]** Crum

(left col.)

Hraphaēl
Sragouēl
Ragouēl
55 Tasēl
Ēl
Mithēl
Souriēl
Agouēl
60 Sraphoēl
Ragouēl
Hragouēl
Michaēl
Ēl
65 Maiēl
A woman – blood: write on the
right side of a door-frame after bending a reed (?)
...
... the woman, and the vessel
80 ... figure, place it in a
... set it at the door of
...
(figure)
‘The sin of this woman’ (signs)
85 (signs)
(signs)
(signs). Flower
of acacia, bitumen,
all-heal –
90 another one had ‘white costus’ –,
brazier of ...,
add it to some dyeing (?) oil
in a ...,
let the ... at
95 the ...
...

(centre col.)

(signs, figures)

(right col.)

(signs)
Outriēl
Ouriēēl
70 Ouraēl
Michaēl
Eiaēl
Aēl
Ēl
75 L

Commentary

Front 1 *figure*. The shape suggests a highly stylised boat, surmounted by a six-pointed star with ringed termini: for the star cf. **Hay 1**, 57–8 with the note, and for the composition as a whole, the amulet P.Vind. inv. K 8301 (ed. Stegemann 1934a, 26, 67–70 no. XLIV with Till 1935b, 235), via the good digital facsimile made available by the online catalogue of the Vienna Papyrussammlung, where a similar upward-facing arc seems to be carrying a humanoid albeit armless figure; just possibly an even more stylised version can be discerned in the figure in **Hay 5**, 11. The boat would have obvious appeal in a traditional Egyptian context, with its reminiscence of the solar bark as symbol of divine power underpinning the cosmic order (for references to this vessel in Greek ritual texts see e.g. *Suppl.Mag.* II 76 ii 9 (*GEMF* 4.36) with the commentary); Gnostic traditions, reflected in turn in a place for divine ships in Mandaeen cosmology, represented in amuletic texts (e.g. Drower 1934, 181–2 with figs 4 and 13; cf. Buckley 2002, 35), may also play a role. If **Hay 3** and **4** were part of the same manuscript, the boat design would form the bottom of the composition begun in **Hay 3**, 24.

2–46. At least from 13 on, there is a procedure to attract custom to a place of business (see the notes there), and some short instructions in 10–12 probably relate to the same goal. The connection of the names and signs in 2–9 to that procedure is obscure, but no internal grounds require their assignment to a separate recipe, and they are clearly marked off from the fragmentary figure in 1 by a horizontal dividing line.

2–4 **ΑΝΑΝΙΑΣ ΑΖΑΡΙΑΣ ΜΙΖΑΗΛ ΣΕΔΡΑΚ ΜΙΖΑΚ ΔΔΕΝΑΚΩ ΛΑΛ ΜΟΥΛΛΑ ΨΩΛΛΑ**. The nine names are the three Hebrew, Babylonian and secret names, respectively, of the three companions of the prophet Daniel (for their veneration in Byzantine Egypt see Gascoy 1984, 333–7). Similar sequences of the triple names appear in various apotropaic contexts but are especially associated with fever, appropriate to the salvation of their bearers from the fiery furnace; a wall-painting from medieval Nubia adds yet a fourth series of names: see *CIEN* 2018 no. 66. For general discussion see Van der Vliet 1991, 236–9, who compares among other parallels the *Testament of Solomon*, where a fever-demon suggests the names **Βουλταλα Θαλλαλ Μελχαλ** to cure fever (*Test.Sol.* 7.6); for accompanying iconography in particular, Dosoo 2021b, 126–30. Attestations in Coptic ritual texts include a large number of amulets: P.Heid. K 564a (ed. Quecke 1963, 255–65 no. 2), 1–3, **ΑΝΑΝΙΑΣ [ΑΖ]ΑΡΙΑΣ ΜΙΣΑΗΛ ΣΕΔΡΑΚ ΕΜΙΣΑΚ ΔΒΔΕΝΑΓΩ ΘΑΛΛΑ ΕΜΕΛΛΑ ΒΑΚΕ** (read from the photograph); P.Stras. inv. Kopt. 201 and 202 (ed. Burns 2014), 1–2, **ΑΝΑΝΙΑΣ ΑΖΑΡΙΑΣ ΜΙΣΑΗΛ ΣΕΔΡΑΚ ΜΕΙΣΑΚ ΔΒΔΕΝΑΚΩ ΘΑΛΛΑ ΜΑΛΛΑ ΒΟΥΛΛΑ ΔΘΑΚΟΘΑ**; P.Stras. inv. Gr. 499 (ed. Richter 2014a), 4–11, **ΑΝΑΝΙΑΣ ΣΑΡΙΑΣ ΜΙΣΑΗΛ ΛΑΛ ΜΟΥ ΔΥΛΛΑ ΝΤΑΚ ΜΟΥΤΑΚ ΔΥΤΑΚ ΛΑΛΙΗΛ ΜΟΥΡΙΗΛ ΘΑΘΙΗΛ**; P.Vind. inv. K 7089 (ed. Stegemann 1934a, 17, 31–2 no. XV with Till 1935b, 207), 4–7, **ΑΝΑΝΙΑΣ ΑΖΑΡΗΑΣ ΜΙΣΑΗΛ ΣΕΤΡΑΚ ΜΙΣΑΚ ΟΜΩΕΩΛ ΑΧΙΔΗΝΑΚΩ (ΔΨΗΜΑΚΩ ed.pr.) ΘΩΛΛΑ ΒΩΛΛΑ ΜΩΕΛΛΑ**; P.Vind. inv. K 8637 (ed. Stegemann 1934a, 21, 50–2 no. XXVII with Till 1935b, 211 and Bélanger Sarrazin 2017b), 2–4, **ΛΑΛ ΜΗΛΛΑ ΒΟΥΚΑΛ ΣΑΤΡΑΚ ΜΗΣΣΑΚ ΔΒΤΗΝΑΚΟ ΔΝΝΗΑΣ ΔΣΑΡΙΑΣ ΜΗΣΗΛ**; for assistance and childbirth and general protection, P.Lond.Copt. Or. 5525

(ed. Kropp, *AKZI*, text C), 80–5, **ΘΑΛΛΑΜΕΛΛΑ ΚΩΚΑΛΘΑΛΛ ΜΑΛΛΒΟΥΚ ΑΝΑΝΙΑΣ ΣΕΤΡΑ ΔΣΑΡΙΑΣ ΜΙΣΑΚ ΜΙΣΑΗΛ ΔΒΔΕΝΑΚΩ**; in P.Berl. inv. 11347 (ed. Beltz 1985, 32–5), recto 42–3, the supreme deity is invoked to send **ΑΝΑΝΙΑΣ ΔΣΑΡΙΑΣ ΜΙΣΑΗΛ ΣΕΤΡΟΚ ΜΙΣΑΚ ΔΒΔΕΝΑΚΟ ΛΑΛ ΜΟΥΛΛΑ ΒΟΥΛΛΑ** as **ΠΕΚΓ ΝΑΛΟΥ ΝΣΑΓΙΟΣ** for a blessing of medicinal oil. Due to the association with the fiery furnace, as mentioned, the sequence is especially popular in fever amulets: see e.g. *P.Heid.Kopt.* 5, 2Δ [N] **ΑΝΙΑΣ ΔΣΑΡΙΑΣ ΜΙΣΑΗΛ ΖΙΤΡΑΚ ΜΙΣΑΚ ΔΒΤΗΝΑΚΩ ΛΑΛ ΜΟΥΛΛΑ ΒΟΛΛΑ**; P.Oxy. inv. 39 5B.125/A (ed. Alcock 1982), 44–9, **ΛΑΛ ΜΟΥΛΛΑ ΨΑΥΛΛΑ ΤΩΚ ΜΑ ΤΩΚ ΖΕΤΡΑΚ ΜΕΖΑΚ ΑΥΤΕΝΑΚΩ ΑΝΑΝΙΑΣ ΑΖΑΡΙΑΣ ΜΑΖΑΝΣΚΕ ΤΑΝΙΗΛ**; P.Vind. inv. K 4437 (ed. Till 1942), 2–5, **[ΔΣ]ΑΡΙΑΣ ΜΙΣΑΗΛ ΣΕΔΡΑΚ [ΜΙΣ]ΑΚ ΔΒΔΕΝΑΚΩ [ΘΕ]ΝΛΛΑ ΜΕΝΛΛΑ ΒΕΝΛΛΑ**; and some permutation is probably to be read in the fever amulet *P.HermitageCopt.* 65.3–4. A formula for an adjuration to heal fever applies the same motif: P.Heid. inv. K 685 (ed. Meyer 1996), f. 9v.9–11, **ΑΝΑΝΙΑΣ ΑΖΑΡΙΑΣ ΜΙΣΑΗΛ ΣΕΤΡΑΚ ΜΙΣΑΚ ΔΒΤΕΝΑΚΩ ΛΑΛ ΒΟΥΛΛΑ ΜΟΥΛΛΑ**. The sequence **ΜΟΥΛΛΑ ΒΟΥΛΛΑ ΘΟΥΛΛΑ** appears also in its own right in e.g. P.Berl. inv. 8096 (ed. Beltz 1984, 88).

5–8. The signs include many that seem to be based on Coptic letters, ornamented with ringed termini: see **Hay 1**, 57–8 with the note. A few portions may suggest underlying sense: 5 **ΠΝ(ΟΥΤ)Ε (Σ)ΑΒ(Δ)ΩΘ**; 6 **ΤΗΡΟΥ**; 7 **ΕΓΕΩΩ**; 8 **ΜΔΔ**. 9 **ΝΕΦΗΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ**. From Greek φυλακτήριον: cf. **Hay 1**, 7–9 with the note.

10 **ΝΣΝΟΦ ΝΝΚΑΜΟΛ ΝΔΛΕΥ**. Camel's blood (**ΝΝΚΑΜΟΛ** for **-ΒΑΜΟΥΛ**) is prescribed also in *P.Mag.LL*, recto xxv 29, but as part of a lethal poison, to be mixed with wine and the blood of a dead man; camel's urine appears among the ingredients of a medicinal preparation for an eye disorder in P.Louvre AF 12530 (ed. Richter 2014b), verso 62–3.

10–12. The loss of the beginning of the preceding recipe leaves it unclear whether these highly compressed directions belong with the following invocation beginning in 14, to which 13 would provide a sub-rubric, or to a section that ended before the latter. Frankfurter took the invocation as serving to attract customers to a place of business, but the intervening reference to doves would be left unexplained, and following an attractive suggestion of Korshi Dosoo, the doves may belong to the rubric itself, the procedure aiming rather at the success of a dovecote. Ritual protection for the latter is probably to be identified in the formulary *P.Macq.* I 1 p. 15.8–13 (if the rubric **ΟΥΜΑ ΚΑ ΘΡΟΜΠΕ ΕΤΕΡΕΩΩΡΕ** is again to be understood in a literal sense, by the suggestion of Korshi Dosoo), and surely in later Christian Arabic texts from Egypt, e.g. Henein and Bianquis 1975, 62 (and for a sense of the aggressive ritual methods believed to menace dovecotes, *ibid.* vii–xi).

11 **ΔΣΟΝ**. As in 13 and 39 below, for **ΕΣΟΥΝ**; cf. **ΔΣΟΥΝ** in 14 below, and **Hay 3**, 36 with the note.

11–12 **ΚΑ ΝΟΥΜΑΣΟΥΗΛ**. Understand **ΚΑΔΥ 2Ν ΟΥ**–; the forms of the noun, which can also mean more specifically 'dovecote' (cf. the note on 10–12 above), so far attested are **ΜΑΣΟΥΛΛ** (var. **ΜΕΠ**-, **-ΕΛ** and **-ΒΑΛ**) and **ΜΕΣΟΥΗΛ** (Crum, *CD* 208a with add. p. xix; Westendorf 1965–77, 110).

13–46. An invocation to draw in customers to a workshop: see **Hay 3**, 24–38, with the notes on 24 and 26–7, which possibly continues the present text; at the very least a rubric

is provided by 13, and the divine names, signs and short instructions beginning in 2 above may also belong to the same procedure. Frankfurter 2018, 204–5 remarks on the application of the liturgy to the promotion of commerce, but the application may be rather to animal husbandry (see the previous notes).

13 **ΠΣΟΥΟΥΖ**. As in the following line, for **ΠΣΩΟΥΖ**: cf. 10–11 above.

14–15 **ΠΣΟΥΟΥΖ ΔΣΟΥΝ ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΠΑΣΠΑΣΜΟΣ ΝΠΙΩΤ**. With **ΠΣΟΥΟΥΖ** for **ΠΣΩΟΥΖ** (see the previous note) and **ΔΣΟΥΝ** for **ΕΣΟΥΝ** (as in 30 (and probably 31) below: cf. 11 above with the note). The invocation for favour in *P.HermitageCopt.* 71 iii 11–12 makes similar reference to a heavenly voice that summons divinities **ΕΠΑΣΠΑΣΜΟΣ ΕΠΙΩ[Τ]**.

16–17 **ΖΜΝΝΕΥΕ**. For **ΖΥΜΝΕΥΕ**, from **ὕμνέω** probably via a by-form **ὕμνεύω** (the infinitive **ΖΥΜΝΕΥΕ** is found in the martyrdom of Chamoul (as cited in the note on **Hay 1**, 87), cod. p. 98; it is perhaps reflected in Greek in the infinitive **ὕμνεῦσαι** used by Dioscorus of Aphrodito: fr. 12b (ed. Heitsch 1963), 19 (see now *P.Aphrod.Lit.* 4.37, and the index there (p. 715) for two further, restored instances of this infinitive); for the cognate noun **ῥυμος** in Coptic cf. Förster, *WB* 833). For first-person statements of hymning see among Greek ritual texts the invocation and promise to Mentor-Phoibos, *PGM* II 135–6 (see now *GEMF* 30), **ὕμνήσω Μέντορι Φοῖβω**, and the Christian prayer in the amulet *PGMP* 5c.2, with a citation of the promise to ‘hymn you in the midst of the congregation’ (**ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε**) from Psalm 21(22):23; see also the following note.

17 **ΠΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΠΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ**. Probably intended as the notional, albeit unmarked object of the three preceding verbs, but direct speech (i.e., the words themselves that will be spoken and hymned) is also conceivable. The phrase is contiguous with the first two elements of the *trishagion* (‘thrice-holy’) acclamation, drawn from Isaiah 6:3 (and Revelation 4:8) and adapted for both liturgical and magical texts (cf. **Hay 1**, 103; and e.g., with the maintenance of the Greek version, the Coptic invocation in P.Heid. inv. K 685 (ed. Meyer 1996), p. 15.9–10). This biblical intertext, in conjunction with the Greek loanword for hymning (see the previous note), suggests the possibility that a Greek liturgical sequence, modelled on biblical hymns, such as **ἐρῶ (or ἄσομαι) καὶ δοξάσω (or αἰνέσω) καὶ ὑμνήσω** stood behind this tricolon (cf. in general Psalm 70:8 and Isaiah 25:1 in the Greek version).

18 **ΦΧ**. Crum read **ΦΤ**, but the second letter is skewed to the right such that it resembles rather **Χ**; the intention was probably nevertheless to abbreviate **ΠΝΟΥΤΕ**, as found in Bohairic **ΦΤ** for **ΦΝΟΥΤ** (*P.Bal.* pp. 229, 248–9), and also in Fayumic and Kasser’s système orthographique G (‘bachmouric’: Kasser 1981, 102).

18–19 **ΠΔΗΜΙΟΡΚΟΣ**. For **ΠΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ**, from Greek **δημιουργός**, as found among the formulae of Coptic epitaphs (Förster, *WB* 170); cf. also the invocation of the Christian deity as ‘God the almighty, the holy, the true, compassionate one and creator’, in a request for guidance on a journey amounting to a Christian oracle question (*PGMP* 1.1–3, **ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ ἀληθινός, φιλόανθρωπος καὶ δημιουργός**).

20 **ΖΩΡΜΟΣΙΝΛ**. The angel, who recurs under the name **ΖΩΡΜΙΧΛ** in 28 below, may be related to the Gnostic luminary Harmozel (see recently Burns 2018, 141–6; cf. Michl 1962, 214 no. 97 s.v. Harmuser; and on the Aions, **Hay 2**, 3 with the note). His command of universal attention, in relation also to music-making, is cited in O.Cair. inv. 49547 (ed. Girard 1927), 23–8, **ΧΕΡΑ ΖΩΡΜΟΣΙΝΛ ΠΕΤΣΑΛΕ ΠΣΟΥΝ ΜΠΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΑΣΜΑ ΜΠΙΩΤ: ΕΥΩΣΕΜ ΣΩΒ ΤΕΙ ΝΗΤΧΝ ΜΠΗΛΕ: ΜΕ ΝΕΤΖΙΧ ΝΕΠΗΡΚΟΣ: ΝΩΔΥΣΩΤΜ ΕΡΩ ΕΙ ΠΛ. Ε ΝΕΤΠΣΟΥΝ ΠΜΕΤΣΝΩΥΣ ΚΩΣΜΩΣ ΠΕΥΝΟΒ ΝΣΕΥΩΣΕΜ ΣΩΒ ΧΕ ΖΑΚΙΟΣ ΖΑΚΙΩΣ: ἴς ΠΕΡ ΖΑΚΙΩΣ: ΖΑΜΗΝ ΖΑΜΗΝ: ΖΑΜΗΝ**; and similarly in a more general sense in P.CtYBR inv. 1791 fol (first text; ed. S. Emmel, *ACM* Appendix 346–51 no. 2), 44–5, **ΧΕΡΕ ΖΩΡΜΟΣΕΝΛ ΠΝΟΣ ΕΝΔΡΧΩΝ ΕΥΣΩΥΖΕ ΕΝΝΑΤΠΕ ΜΝ ΝΑΠΚΑΣ ΠΑΙ ΕΩΔΡΕΝΑΠΕΥ ΣΩΤΕΜ ΕΤΕΥΣΕΜΗ ΣΥΗΤΟΥΝ ΜΕΝΣΩΥ**.

21 **ΤΖΑΠΙΖ**. A trumpet-playing angel is similarly invoked to gather in customers (**ΕΚΕΣΑΠΙΖΕ ΝΤΣΩΟΥΖ ΝΑΙ ΕΣΟΥΝ []**) for a workshop (**ΔΛΓΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ**) in P.Stras.Copt. 204 fr. C + J + M verso (ed. Hevesi 2018), especially 3–5; the trumpet itself is hailed in the invocation in *P.HermitageCopt.* 71 i 7. Elsewhere the summoning role is allocated to the angelic Dauithe in particular, with a golden ‘trumpet of the father’ that gathers in all on earth: P.Lond.Copt. Or. 5987 (ed. *P.Lond.Copt.* I 1008; Kropp, *AKZ* I, text D), 77–80, **ΔΔΥΙΘΕ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΙΩΤ ΝΑΡΧΗ ΤΟΚ ΠΕ ΕΚΣΑΠΙΖΕ ΝΤΣΑΠΙΖ ΝΝΟΥΥ ΝΠΙΩΤ ΨΑΚΣΑΠΙΖΕ ΝΣΩ{ΣΩ}ΟΥΑΣ ΕΡΟΚ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΒΙ ΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΝ ΠΣΩΩΝΤ ΤΗΡΥ ΕΙΤΕ ΑΡΧΗ ΕΙΤΕ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΙΤΕ ΑΡΧΗΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ**; similarly P.Lond.Copt. Or. 6794 (ed. Kropp, *AKZ* I, text E), 7–10, **ΠΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΕΨΑΚΚΙΛ ΝΝΟΥΥ ΖΝ ΤΕΥΕΙΧ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ ΕΡΕ ΤΚΙΘΑΡΑ ΜΠΝΑ ΖΝ ΤΕΥΕΙΧ ΝΒΑΝΑΣ ΕΥΣΩΟΥΖ ΕΣΟΥΝ ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΠΑΣΠΑΣΜΟΣ ΜΠΕΙΩΤ**; *P.Macq.* I 1, p. 4.18–19, **ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕΡΕ ΤΙΖΑΠΙΖ ΝΟΥΥ ΝΤΟΟΤΚ ΕΚΨΑΝΣΑΠΙΖΕ ΨΑΥΣΩΟΥΕΖ ΤΗΡΟΥ**. For general relations between Dauithe, musicianship and Gnostic mythologies about King David, see Kropp, *AKZ* III, 33–9, and the Coptic version of the apocryphal vision of Bartholomew, ed. Westerhoff 1999, 136.10.

22 **ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ**. For **ΝΝ-**, probably by simple haplography: cf. 14–15 above.

24 **ΧΕΡΩΣΙΑ**. For **ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑ**, from Greek **γερουσία**. The term is so far unparalleled in an angelological context but applied to human councils in the Greek versions of Hebrew scripture, e.g. Deuteronomy 27:1, **ἡ γερουσία Ἰσραηλ**.

25 **ΕΠΙΤΡΟΣ**. For **ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΣ**, from Greek **ἐπίτροπος** (cf. Förster, *WB* 290). For angels as stewards see Origen, *Contra Celsum* 8.36 (**οἱ ἀληθῶς σατράπαι καὶ ὑπαρχοὶ καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἐπίτροποι τοῦ θεοῦ ἄγγελοι**); the supreme deity is described as a cosmic steward in Philo, *Quod deus sit immutabilis* 30 (**ἐπίτροπος τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ τε καὶ κόσμῳ**). The same Greek loanword denotes a title in the mortal realm in the Coptic documentary text *CPR* IV 28.24.

26 **ΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ**. The natural referent would be some subgroup of angels, perhaps the following two names as these have no other epithet, but it is conceivable that an original sequence such as **ΠΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΣ ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΜΠΙΩΤ** ‘the steward of the congregation of the father’, qualifying the preceding Anaboël, has been distorted. An angelic church, probably also as here in a mystical sense, is referenced in the invocation in O.Cair. inv. 49547 (ed. Girard 1927), 19–20,

ΚΣΕΡΕ ΝΤΑΥΙΔ ΠΕ ΠΩΤ ΠΕΚΧΣ ΠΕΤΠΣΑΛΕ ΖΝ ΤΕΚΛΗΣΑ
 ΝΕΣΡΠΜΙΣΕ ΝΤΠΕ; and P.Lond.Copt. Or. 5987 (ed. *P.Lond. Copt.* I 1008; Kropp, *AKZ*I, text D), 75–6, ΕΚΤ ΖΝ ΠΑΠΟΤ
 ΝΝΟΥΓΧ ΝΤΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΝΝΕΩΗΡΠ ΕΜΙΣΕ, similarly also P.Heid.
 inv. K 685 (ed. Meyer 1996), p. 14.9–10 (cf. the note on **Hay**
1, 1–12 above), which as Meyer suggested may be derived
 from Hebrews 12:23. For Michael more generally as angel of
 the church (ἐκκλησία) see Kropp, *AKZ*III, 78–9 §138.

27 †ΣΟΠΣΠ †ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕ. For the pair of verbs see **Hay** **1**,
 6–7 with the note.

28 ΖΩΡΜΙΣΗΛ. See the note on ΖΩΡΜΟΣΙΗΛ in 20 above.

30 ΔΣΟΥΝ. For ΕΣΟΥΝ (as restored also in the following
 line): see 11 and 14 above with the notes.

32–4. For the expression see **Hay** **3**, 26–8 with the notes.

34 ΝΝΟ[6]. For ΝΝΝΟ6.

35 ΔΩΡΑΤΟΣ. For ΔΟΡΑΤΟΣ, from Greek ἀόρατος, a
 version of the ΠΑΤΗΛΑΥ ΕΡΟΧ in 19 above; for the loanword cf.
Hay **1**, 43 with the note, and for the epithet applied to
 divinities in Greek invocations, e.g. *PGM*VII 961–2, δεῦρό
 μοι, ὁ ἐν τῷ στερεῷ πνεύματι, ἀόρατος, παντοκράτωρ,
 κτίστης τῶν θεῶν.

35–6 ΕΤΣΑ ΖΟΥΤΕ. In Coptic the phrase would usually
 mean ‘fearful’ (Crum, *CD* 721a), which is inappropriate in
 this context: perhaps the root cause is an imprecise
 equivalence of the Greek φοβερός, which has a duality of
 senses, active (causing fear) and passive (experiencing it).

36 ΔΡΙΗΛ. For the angel see Michl 1962, 204 no. 21.

39 ΔΣΟΝ. For ΕΣΟΥΝ: see 11 above with the note.

42 ΜΝ ΙΣΧΝ. The copyist seems to have added
 superlination as if understanding the *nomen sacrum* ΙΣ
 (perhaps extended to the following word by conflation with
 Χ(ΘΕΙ)C or even Χ(ΡΙΣΤ)Υ at a hypothetical earlier stage of
 transmission); for ΙΣΧΝ- in place of ΧΝ- cf. Bohairic ΙΣΧΕΝ
 (Crum, *CD* 772b: reference from Korshi Dosoo).

Back 47–51. Missing at the top, along with the captions
 for the three figures assigned here to the north (ΠΣΗΤ), are
 three entire figures, their captions and a label for ‘the east’,
 to judge from the similar arrangement in **Hay** **5**, with ΠΕΕΤ
 in 11. As there, the groupings of captioned divine figures
 probably belong to an amulet (ΠΡ ΦΗΛΑΚΤΙΡΙΟΝ, **Hay** **5**, 1).
 As both of the groups ΒΗΘ ΒΗΘΑ ΒΗΘΑΕΙ and ΔΒΙΟΥΤ
 ΚΑ ΡΝΑ ΒΟ ΚΑΡΝΑΒΑ represented in the present composition
 also appear in **Hay** **1**, 2 and 4 respectively (see further
 below), and the group [c. 5] ΡΜΑΝΝ ΦΟΡΑΝΤ ΦΟΡΑΝΙ in **Hay**
3, 51 also finds a close parallel there (see the note), that
 portion of **Hay** **3** might in fact be the beginning of the
 present sequence, apparently for the cardinal direction east,
 if **Hay** **3** and **4** were associated as top and bottom of the
 same manuscript (see further the respective Introductions).

The cardinal directions appear in the order east, north,
 south, west in a prayer for angelic ‘cleansing’ in the so-called
 Rossi Gnostic Treatise (ed. Kropp, *AKZ*I, text R), pp. 10.22–
 11.4, ΚΑΘΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΙ ΜΠΕΙΕΒΤ ΝΣΕΝΤΒΑ ΜΜΑΖΕ ΚΑΘΑΡΙ[ΖΕ
 ΝΑΙ] ΜΠΕΜ2[Ι]Τ ΝΣΕΝΤΒΑ [ΜΜΑΖΕ] ΚΑΘΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΙ ΜΠΡ[Η]C
 Ν[ΣΕΝΤ]ΒΑ ΜΑΖΕ ΚΑΘΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΙ ΜΠΕΜ[Ν]Τ ΝΣΕΝΤΒΑ ΜΜΑΖΕ;
 cf. also the order east, west, north, sea (ΠΙΕΙΒΤ ΜΝ ΠΕΜΝΤ
 ΠΕΜ2ΙΤ ΜΝ ΘΑΛΑCΣΑ), the last two being originally
 synonymous in Egyptian spatial conceptions, in P.Vind. inv.
 K 8304 (ed. Stegemann 1934a, 28–9, 82–4 no. LII, with Till
 1935b, 219–20), 4–5. East, west, north and south are hailed in

their own right in that order in the invocation reconstructed
 in *P.HermitageCopt.* 71 i 9–11, [Χ]ΕΡ[Ε] ΠΙΗΒΤ ΧΕ[ΡΕ ΠΕΜΕΝΤ]
 ΧΕΡΕ ΠΕΖΜΙΤ [ΧΕΡΕ ΠΡΗΣ].

48 ΒΗΘ ΒΗΘΑ ΒΗΘΑΕΙ. A nearly identical group ΒΗΘ ΒΗΘΑ
 ΒΗΘΑΙ are invoked as ‘guardians’ in **Hay** **1**, 2 above: see the
 note there.

50 ΔΒΙΟΥΤ ΚΑ ΡΝΑ ΒΟ ΚΑΡΝΑΒΑ. A similar group of
 ΔΒΙΟΥΤ ΚΑΡΝΑΒΟΤ ΚΑΡΝΑΒΙΗΛ are invoked as ‘guardians’ in
Hay **1**, 4 above.

52–73. A list of divine names, each ending (or consisting
 entirely) in -ΗΛ, which would suggest angels. Their number
 (22) is nearly that of the 24 presbyters (see the note on **Hay** **1**,
 78).

54 ΡΑΓΟΥΗΛ. Repeated below at 61; for the angel see
 Michl 1962, 227–8 no. 177.

58 ΣΟΥΡΙΗΛ. For the angel see Michl 1962, 235–6 no. 231.

60 ΣΡΑΦΟΗΛ. The name is perhaps related to that of the
 angel Seraphiel (šrpy’l), for whom see Michl 1962, 234 no.
 216.

66–7 *signs, figures*. The first line could be resolved as the
 letters ΒΗΛ (compare **Hay** **1**, 57–8 with the note), perhaps as a
 caption giving the name (Bēl) of one of the figures beneath it
 (compare 47–51 above). The rest of the composition is clearly
 to be divided into two registers, the second of which is a
 schematic, humanoid figure with feet, eyes, and exaggerated
 brows but lacking arms; the first could be seen to share a
 roughly triangular body and round head but distinguishes
 itself by unusual diagonal and horizontal (striated)
 protrusions from the ‘head’ – which, if indeed a head, would
 feature only one, central eye –, four pairs of protrusions from
 the centre with ringed termini and what resembles the ringed
 version of Ε turned on its side in place of feet.

72–5. These sequential items could be read as a
 progressive diminution of the name ΕΙΔΗΛ, especially as ΕΙ
 represents a single /i/ sound: for such figures, originally
 symbolic deletions of the names of diseases or harmful
 demons to be banned, but later applied more broadly to
 powerful names and words, see Faraone 2012; *P.Oxy.*
 LXXXVI 5545.18–24 and 5548.6–11 with the notes.

76 ΟΥCΙΜΕ ΟΥCΝΟC. With CΙΜΕ (as also in 79 and 84
 below: cf. **Hay** **1**, 92 with the note) for CΣΙΜΕ. Crum
 tentatively identified ‘a charm for a woman with disordered
 menstruation’; uterine bleeding in women is also among the
 applications of the prayer of Seth, son of Adam, when recited
 over vinegar or oil to be used as an ointment, in P.Mich. inv.
 593 (ed. Worrell 1930, 248), ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥCΣΙΜΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΕCΝΟC
 ΖΑΡΟC. Aggressive magic might also be considered,
 especially since the final instruction is to place the inscribed
 object at a door (but cf. the following note); see also the note
 on 84 below. If erotic magic, the blood would belong to the
 following direction to write (cf. **Hay** **1**, 61 with the note):
 such a direction is phrased more clearly in 9–10 below.
 Another possibility, kindly communicated by Korshi Dosoo,
 who is preparing a relevant study based on re-interpretation
 of P.Berl. inv. 8315 (ed. *BKUI* 11; Beltz 1984, 93–4), P.Mich.
 inv. 1190 (ed. Worrell 1935a, 5–13 no. 2), recto 1–34, and
O.CrumST 399, is a curse specifically directed at causing
 menstrual bleeding.

76–7 ΑΥΘΟΥ ΝΟΝΑΜ. For Sahidic Ε(Ο)ΥΤΟΥΑ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ;
 for the spelling of the first word with Θ- see Crum, *CD* 443b,

and cf. **Hay 3**, 46–7; a door is also mentioned below in 81. Writing in blood on the **ΤΟΥΛ** as an apotropaic device (cf. the previous note) would be paralleled by the description of the marking of doorways with the blood of the paschal lamb in the Coptic version of the homily of Cyril of Jerusalem on the cross cited in the lemma of Crum (*ibid.*; the version published by Budge 1915, 199 lacks **ΤΟΥΛ**). The door, however, which recurs in 81 below, may as often (e.g. **Hay 1**, 76–7) be that of the target of aggressive magic.

77 **ΝΣΑ ΠΑΣΤ ΝΚΑΩ**. The bending of the reed might have been intended as an analogy for the aim of the ritual (on which see the note on 76 above); a corruption of an original sense such as ‘behind the turning(-post of the door) with a reed’ is also conceivable: on the role of hinges see recently the commentary to *P.Oxy. LXXXVI* 5546 (to the parallels for the role of the ἔρμης (έρμης) discussed there, add P.Cair. inv. 42573 (ed. Chassinat 1955), f. 1r.21–3 (§6), in which a ritual liquid mixture is applied **ΕΠΞΕΡΜΗΣ** in order to stop a water-wheel from giving water, that is, presumably, turning properly). For the reed see **Hay 1**, 86 with the note.

78 ... **ΩΤΕΠΕΙ ΠΑΤΜΟΥ**. Very doubtfully, **ΚΩΩΤ ΕΠΕΙ ΠΑΤΜΟΥ** might be read, ‘*kosht*, that is, the waterless kind’, of a dry variety of the ingredient *ko(u)sht* (‘costus’): cf. **Hay 1**, 60.

79 **ΠΚΙΛΜΙ**. Probably **ΚΙΑΜΙ**, a type of jar, see Crum, *CD* 811a s.v. **Σ(Ε)ΛΜΑΙ**. The alternative **ΚΛΜΕ** ‘pad’ (of fibre or fabric) might suit an offering-assemblage in general or a medical context as a suppository, but the feminine gender would be expected (cf. **Hay 1**, 35, **ΤΕΚΕΛΜΕ**; Crum, *CD* 105a).

80] **ΣΩΔΙΩΝ**. Probably either **ΠΣΩΔΙΩΝ** or **[Ο]ΥΣΩΔΙΩΝ**; the noun is for **ΖΩΔΙΩΝ**, from Greek ζώδιον: see **Hay 1**, 7–9 and 41 with the notes. The figure at 83 below would be meant.

80–1 **ΤΙΣ ΕΥ[]**. Perhaps **ΕΥ[ΝΗΣ]**, cf. **ΤΗΣ ΕΥΝΗΣ** in 46 below, or some other noun qualified by **[Ν]ΚΩΣ** ‘of a corpse’ (suggestion of Korshi Dosoo: cf. the note on **Hay 1**, 97); **ΤΙΣ** is for standard Sahidic **ΤΑ(Δ)Σ**.

81 **ΟΥΣΣ**. For **ΟΥΣΣΣ**; cf. Akhmimic **ΟΥΣΣΣ** (Crum, *CD* 505b).

81–2. Perhaps **Ν[ΤΕ ΠΕΣ]ΗΙ**.

83 *Figure*. A humanoid head on a rectangular trunk without recognisable arms; the two horizontal and two diagonal appendages at the bottom are difficult to interpret as human feet in this rendering, and those at left bear circular termini that suggest rather magical *charakteres* (cf. those that follow in 84–7; see in general **Hay 1**, 57–8 with the note). As the body is also adorned with ritual text (the vowel **α**, repeated seven times in each of three columns), it is more likely a representation of a divine power that is to assist with the procedure – cf. especially **Hay 5**, 49, with similar adornment with the vowel **ω** – than one of the patient.

84 **ΠΝΟΒ ΝΤΙΣΙΜΕ**. The translation assumes that this phrase stands for standard Sahidic **ΠΝΟΒΕ ΝΤ(Ε)ΙΣΙΜΕ**, which requires the minimum of normalisation: on the spelling without final **ε**, see *P.Bal.* pp. 66–7 §20d; for **ΙΜΕ** cf. 76 and 79 above. If the context is erotic magic (see the note on 76 above), there are some parallels in the Byzantine tradition where the desired result is denoted as ‘sin’: e.g. Delatte 1927, 84.22–3, of the mind and heart of the female target being set aflame ‘in longing for me and in the sweet

sin of my body’ (εἰς τὸν πόθον μου καὶ ἔς τὴν γλυκεῖάν μου ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κορμίου μου). If medical, the point might be that the bleeding disorder is the result of sin, to be expiated by the present procedure, but the direct labelling of the apparently female figure in 83 above with this phrase would seem counterproductive. One might also be tempted to regard **ΠΝΟΒ** as a variant spelling of **Π(Ε)ΚΝΟΦ** ‘the blood’ (the suggestion of Korshi Dosoo), such that the offending blood, once labelled, may be symbolically controlled; if yet again the goal is a curse, the label would clearly express what is to be inflicted on the target.

84–7 *signs*. The composition again features a mixture of letter-like signs and more abstract shapes (see in general **Hay 1**, 57–8 with the note); among the former **ι** (84), **χι ζ ζ ζ** (85), reversed **ζ** (86) and **ζ π η** (87) can be made out, and among the latter a concentration of rectangles enclosing three or four horizontal lines each (85, 86) is noteworthy: do these perhaps figure schematic, textual amulets or other inscribed finished products of ritual?

88 **ΝΩΟΝΤΙ**. For **-ΩΟΝΤΕ**; cf. the Bohairic **ΩΟΝ†** (Crum, *CD* 573a), and for spellings with final **-ι** for **-ε** more generally cf. **ΔΜΝΤΙ** in **Hay 3**, 14 with the note.

88–9 **ΑΣΠΑΡΤΟΝ**. For **ΑΣΦΑΛΤΟΝ**, from Greek ἄσφαλτον (cf. Förster, *WB* 121).

89 **ΧΑΡΒΑΝΗ**. For **ΧΑΛΒΑΝΗ**, from Greek χαλβάνη: cf. Förster, *WB* 863; Michigan Ms. 136 (ed. Worrell 1935a, 17–37), p. 11.10, with the commentary in the edition of Zellmann-Rohrer and Love 2022.

90–1 **ΝΕΡΕ ΚΟΥ ΚΩΨ ΝΛΕΥΚΟΝ**. With **ΚΟΥ** for **ΚΕΟΥΑ** or **ΚΕΟΥΕΙ** (cf. Crum, *CD* 91a); **ΛΕΥΚΟΝ** is a loanword from the Greek λευκός (cf. **Hay 3**, 40–1), whose form, if drawn from a Greek version, suggests that the enigmatic **ΚΟ(Υ)Ω** (see **Hay 1**, 60 with the note) may render a Greek plant name with the neuter gender (or masculine, if an accusative form was taken over directly: cf. e.g. Michigan Ms. 136 (ed. Worrell 1935a, 17–37; Zellmann-Rohrer and Love 2022), p. 12.5–6, **ΛΙΒΑΝΟΣ ΝΞΕΝΙΚΟΝ**). The interpretation of Crum requires a qualifier **ΝΕΡΕΚΟΥ** for the preceding **ΧΑΡΒΑΝΗ** which is unparalleled both in its presence and in its form; it is not likely related to Greek ἐρείκη, which was not exploited for any resin that could be associated with χαλβάνη, and which should have been taken over in its nominative form or perhaps in a genitive in **-ΗΣ**.

The notation of a variant reading suggests collation between multiple versions of the same recipe at some point in the copying process. For such collation in magical texts of the Graeco-Roman period see Dieleman 2005, 36–9 and 72, Love 2016, 191, and Dieleman 2019, 305; the medical author Alexander of Tralles, active in the 6th century, follows a similar method in researching ‘natural remedies’ (φυσικά) for epilepsy: *Therapeutica* 1.15 (ed. Puschmann 1879, 1:559), with the notation ‘from another exemplar’ (ἐξ ἄλλου ἀντιγράφου).

91 **ΩΟΥΡΗ ΝΟΜΡΑ**. The specification of the censer or brazier is obscure: cf. perhaps **ΔΜΡΕ** ‘baker’ (Crum, *CD* 8b), but in that connection a proper oven would be expected; **ΝΟΜ(Ε)** ‘of clay’ would make good sense (see below) but leave **ΡΑ** unexplained. Just possibly the following **ΤΗΣ** is to be joined with it as **ΝΟΜΡΑΤΗΣ** (a relation to Greek ὄμβρος ‘rain’ is conceivable though improbable), but the former gives good

sense as a verbal form (see 80–1 above). In view of specifications of similar apparatus as ‘bronze’ in aromatic offerings in P.Stras.Copt. K 204 (ed. Hevesi 2018), frs. C + J recto, 2 (ϠΟ[Υ]ΡΗ ΝΟΜΖΔΤ), P.Lond.Copt. Or. 6795 (ed. Kropp, *AKZ* I, text F), 55 (ϠΟΥΡΗ ΝΑΜΖ`Τ'), and **Hay 1**, 37 (ϠΟΥΡΗ ΝΖΟΜΤ), an emendation to ΟΜ(2)Δ(Τ) might be considered here. A ceramic basin from the Coptic phase of occupation at Medinet Habu in the Theban region was possibly used as a censer (Hölscher 1954, 78 no. Z'1 with fig. 105; this reference is owed to Thomas Beckh), from which a Coptic inscription mentioning ‘my father Athanasios’ (ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΔΘΑΝ[ΔΣΙΟΣ]?) can be read, perhaps suggesting production in a local monastic context; more conclusively a

fragment of a bowl from Deir el-Bakhit can be identified as a censer by an inscription, ‘Holy censer filled with incense’ (ϠΟΥΡΗ ΕΤΟΥΛΛ[Β] ΕΤΜΕΖ ΝϠΟΥΝΗ), probably produced at the monastery on this site (Beckh 2016, 740–1).

92–3 ΕΥΝΗΖ ΝΧΔΚ. The qualifier of the oil remains unexplained (cf. Westendorf 1965–77, 416); it recurs in a list of ingredients for an offering to accompany an invocation at the full moon in P.Köln inv. 1471 (*P.KölnLüddeckens* Copt. 3; cf. *P.KölnÄgypt.* I 10), 34–5, further qualified as ‘uncooked’ (ΝΑΤΛΩΖΕΜ), perhaps in the sense ‘unrefined’. The tentatively proposed relation to dyeing is by comparison to Sahidic ΧΩ(Ω)6Ε and its derived noun ΧΗ6Ε, with variants including ΧΕΚΕ (Crum, *CD* 801a).

Hay 5
EA 10434b, Reg. no. 1868,1102.463
TM 99565

c.151 x 65mm (h x w) (top fragment)
c.59 x 53mm (h x w) (bottom fragment)

8th–9th century?
Thebes?

Fragments of a tall, very narrow manuscript on a sheet of sheepskin leather, which make up the top and bottom without a direct join, giving the remains of three recipes from a formulary. The first provides instructions for making an amulet via a ritual design of drawings and names ordered by the cardinal directions, a motif found also in **Hay 4**. The text breaks off here after only the first of the directions, and when it resumes on the bottom fragment and overleaf, it seems to be in the middle of an invocation for favour, particularly for a man in the eyes of a woman, which reaches its conclusion on the back of the top fragment. There follows an amuletic, pseudonymous prayer attributed to the prophet Elijah, treated by the copyist essentially as a string of magical words, but with signs of direct transliteration from a Greek text concerned specifically with restraining speech.

The hand is assigned to Copyist 2 (as **Hay 3–4**), whose character is described in the Introduction to **Hay 3**. The text is in a single column on front and back along the horizontal axis, the page being turned over the long edge. Margins are essentially neglected, except for a small top and right margin on the back. Abbreviations are confined to the placeholder $\overline{\Delta\Delta}$ (also $\overline{\Delta\Delta}$, $\Delta\Delta$). There are horizontal dividing

lines between sections, and a simple cross at the beginning of the first line of the front. Superlineation is used above some divine names and magical words.

The bottom fragment was once kept with **Hay 3** (see also the Introduction there), and the first editor accordingly published it as ‘fr. 1’ of that text. It can now be recognised as the significantly tapered foot of a tall, narrow manuscript, excluded on textual grounds from placement with **Hay 3**, and requiring only an apparent dittography overleaf, which could however be an intentional, emphatic repetition (see the note on 21–2), for an identification as the bottom of the same manuscript to which the original **Hay 5** gives the top. The content and format are in general close to **Hay 4** (see also the Introduction there), and the hand is the same, but a mismatch between flesh and grain sides excludes an identification as two fragments of the same manuscript.

The dialect is non-standard Sahidic. The phonetic features characteristic of **Hay 3–4** are less in evidence (note $\overline{\pi\alpha\eta\eta\sigma\sigma\gamma\gamma\pi\tau}$ for $\overline{\pi\epsilon\eta\eta\sigma\sigma\gamma\gamma\pi\tau}$, 2), but the amount of syntactic Coptic is also relatively small.

Ed.pr. Crum 1934b, 199 text C; tr. D. Frankfurter, *ACM* 169–70 no. 80, with textual notes, 368.





0 10cm



front (grain)

+ πρ φηλακτιριον
πανσουριτ πε χε
μερ πμεγε νταβοκϣ
νμμααυ πωορη πε

5



10

πεεβτ

(within left figure) ιαω σαβαωθ

[unknown number of lines]

_____ []

15



μαρθαλεθαθ

αωθωφμι vac.?

τι χαρις νδδ εσο-

ν ενιμ τωρε δδ

20

ερω σωνε ννδδ

ντωτϣ δδ

1 πιφηλακτιριον Crum 4 πε: π corr. from ε 11 πεεβτ: τ fitted in above line 12 σαβαω Crum 15-17 om. Crum 18-19 τι χαρις ντ...νε
νιμ Crum 21 ντωτϣ δδ Crum

(front) The making of the amulet:

‘He is our guardian:

bind the thought, that I may ...

with them.’ The beginning is:

5 (*signs*)

(*signs*)

(*signs*)

(*signs*)

(*signs*)

10 (*signs*)

(*figures*) The east

(*within figure*) Iaō Sabaōth

CHZ

ō

[*unknown number of lines*]

15 (*signs*)

‘MARTHATHLETHAT

ATHŌTHTHŌMI.

Give favour to NN towards

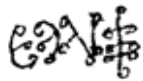
so-and-so daughter of NN

20 (*signs*). Bind NN

to NN,

back (flesh)

ΝΤΩΤϥ ΝΔΔ



ΜΙΧ-

ΔΗΛ ΤΙ ΧΑΡΙΣ ΓΑΒ-

25 ΡΗΛ ΜΑ ΤΑΝΩ

ΣΟΥΡΙΛ † ΤΑΝΩ

ΡΑΦΑΗΛ ΤΑΝΩ

ΣΕΒΘΩΡ ΤΙ ΧΑΡΙΣ

ΑΝΑΗΛ † ΤΑΙΩ ΒΑΘΟ-

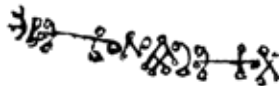
30 ΥΗΛ † ΝΟΥΩΨΕ ΝΝΔΔ

ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΔΔ ΝΝΕΞΟΥ

ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΠΕΨΩΝΣ

ΠΑΙ ΠΕΦΗΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ

ΝΤΕΥΧΗ ΝΞΕΛΙΑΣ



35

ΦΛΕΜΝΕΚΟΚ ΑΦΗΝΤ`Ο`Ρ

ΚΑΧΑΜΟΣ ΝΝΙΧΑΛΙΝΟΣ

ΣΤΟΜΑΥ ΣΝΙΚΑΡΤΙΑΝ

ΝΣΟΥΕΣΤΨΕ ΠΚΑΚΑ

40 ΜΕΣΤΟΚΟΣ` ΛΑΝΙΟΝ

ΚΑ ΧΑΛΕΝΙΣΟΝ ΔΔ

ΜΝ ΔΔ` ΑΠΟΥΚ. ΔΔ

ΠΛΕ[c. 10]

ΝΚ[c. 10]

[unknown number of lines]

45 [c. 5]...ΟΝ

[c. 5]...Η. ΕΧΑΚ

[.] Δ ΠΕΤΩΜΣ ΞΠΡ-

ΑΝ ΡΟ... ΔΙΟ ΔΙΟ



37 ΒΑΧΑΜΟΣ Crum 39 ΝΣΟΥΕΣΤΨΕ Crum 40 ΛΑΝΙΟΝ Crum 41 ΚΑΧΑΜΗΝΙΣΟΝ Crum 42 ΑΠΟΥΚΛΕ...C Crum 43 om. Crum 45 []...ΟΝ Crum

46 []...Λ.ΨΑΚ Crum 47 []...ΠΟΥ...ΞΠΡ Crum 48 om. Crum

(back) to NN!

(signs) Michaël,

give favour!

25 Gabriël, give salvation!

Souriël, give honour!

Raphaël, (give) salvation!

Sebthōr, give favour!

Anaël, give honour! Bathouël,

30 put a desire for NN

into NN, for all the days

of his life.

This is the amulet

of the prayer of Elijah:

35 *(signs)*

‘PHLEMNEKOK APHĒNTOR

KACHAMOS NNICHALINOS

STOMAU SNIKARTIAN

NSOUESTŌSE PKAKA

40 MESTOKOS LANION

KA CHALENISON NN

with NN ... NN

...

...

[*unknown number of lines*]

45 ...

...

... which is submerged, in the

name (?) ..., yes, yes.’

(figures)

Commentary

Front 1 ΠΡ ΦΗΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ. A rubric for the design of an amulet (for the loanword from Greek φυλακτήριον, cf. **Hay 1**, 7–9 with the note), without further instructions; it apparently involves the inscription of a short text (2–4) followed by a longer composition of ritual signs and figures (5–14), part of which is lost, with a sub-rubric (4). When the text resumes after the break in 15, the concern is more specifically with the attainment of favour, and hence that portion probably belongs under a new rubric that would have stood in the lacuna.

2–4. The amulet introduced by the rubric in 1 begins directly with a short text that, despite its difficulties, is probably syntactic Coptic rather than magical words; there are no discernible divine names. The reference to a guardian (ΠΑΝΖΟΥΡΙΤ for ΠΕΝΖΟΥΡΙΤ, 2) suits the context well; there is much discussion in Christian literature on the restraint of bad or oppressive thoughts (λογισμοί), which may correspond to the ‘binding’ (ΜΕΡ) requested here, as is certainly sought in some late Greek ritual recipes (Zellmann-Rohrer 2018, 130 with n. 36), but the rest, including the reference to doing something to ‘it’ (the thought?) ‘with them’ or ‘to the mothers’ (ΝΜΜΑΔΥ) is obscure.

3 ΝΤΑΒΟΚΗ. Following the imperative ΜΕΡ, a conjunctive in ΝΤΑ- would give good sense, but the infinitive (or pre-pronominal form with 4) has so far resisted identification.

4 ΝΜΜΑΔΥ. For ΝΜΜΑΥ: cf. *P.Bal.* p. 61 §11 (citing inter alia ΝΜΑΔΥ); compare the spellings in ΟΟ for Ο, probably the result of hypercorrection, in **Hay 1** (see the note in ΕΤΡΟΕΙΣ in 2).

5–10 *signs*. The majority resemble Coptic letters with the addition of ringed termini, as also in 23 and 35 below (cf. also 15 and 20), for which in general see **Hay 1**, 57–8 with the note. No connected sense can be recovered here, but ΩΡ at the beginning of 6 (cf. ΖΩΛ for ΖΩΡ in **Hay 1**, with the note on 12–37) and ΛΗΙΑΣ in 8, as an anagram of the name of the prophet Elijah (see 34 below with the note), might be divided out.

11 ΠΕΕΒΤ. Presumably the first in a sequence of figures for each of the four cardinal directions: see **Hay 4**, 47–51.

12 ΙΑΩ ΣΑΒΑΘΩΘ. For the divine name inscribed on the body or garment of this figure see the note on **Hay 1**, 45; for the inscribed garment see also 49 below and **Hay 2**, 23 with the note. There may be some relation to the adjuration of divine powers by their garments in **Hay 1**, 51 (ΝΕΤΝΖΒΩ).

15 *signs*. Obscure at the end but beginning with letter-like forms with ringed termini (see **Hay 1**, 57–8 with the note): Χ Ζ Ω (the same sequence found in 13–14 above) Δ, then perhaps Γ or Σ.

18–19 ΕΖΟΝ. For ΕΖΟΥΝ; cf. **Hay 3**, 27, 30.

19 ΝΙΜ ΤΩΕΡΕ ΔΔ. For the placeholder formula see **Hay 1**, 9 and 64 with the notes.

20 *signs*. These resemble Ε with ringed termini (see **Hay 1**, 57–8 with the note) mirrored across a central Ι of the same type.

20–1 ΝΝΔΔ (..) ΔΔ. For ΝΔΔ (..) ΝΔΔ, cf. 22 below.

21–2. The near repetition of ΝΤΩΤΓ (Ν)ΔΔ could be a dittography occasioned by the pause when the copyist turned the sheet over, but the variation in the second instance (ΝΔΔ) suggests instead an emphatic doubling, cf. also **Hay 2**, 11, ΝΜΜΑΣ ΝΜΜΑΣ. The spelling ΝΤΩΤΓ in

place of ΝΤΟ(Ο)ΤΓ may be a remnant of an Old Coptic vocalisation in the Theban area: *P.Bal.* p. 84 §49.

23 *signs*. The first four elements resemble Coptic letters with ringed termini (see 5–10 above with the note), from which it might be possible to discern the sequence ΕΕΛΙ with the second Ε in mirrored writing, which suggests in turn the divine names ΗΛΙ and ΕΛΩ(Ε)Ι (see **Hay 1**, 102 with the note). Of the fifth element, a three-barred cross with the same ringed termini (seen also in 5 above), there is a four-barred version in the bilingual Greek-Coptic fever amulet *P.Köln X* 425.4; among amuletic gems cf. also Bonner 1950, 300 no. 279 with pl. XIII.

23–32. The motif of the angelic roster, in which each in a list of angels or comparable powers is asked to confer a specific benefit, is found a few times in Coptic invocations; the inclusion of a divine power with a traditional Egyptian epithet here (ΣΕΒΘΩΡ, 28 with the note) is noteworthy. Compare *P.Lond.Copt. Or.* 5525 (ed. Kropp, *AKZ I*, text C), 116–19, ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΤΙ ΕΡΗΝΗ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΤΙ ΧΑΡΙΣ ΖΡΑΦΑΗΛ ΤΙ ΤΩΔΑΜ ΣΟΥΡΙΗΛ ΤΙ ΟΥΩΩ ΖΡΑΓΟΥΗΛ ΤΙ ΜΗΙ ΑΝΑΗΛ ΤΙ ΕΔΟΥ ΣΑΡΑΦΟΥΗΛ ΤΙ ΖΗΣΕ ΖΙ ΜΕΤΣΑΙΝ ΖΙ ΤΟΛΘΑ; *P.Lond.Copt. Or.* 6796 (2–3) recto (ed. Kropp, *AKZ I*, text G), 89–100, [ΜΑΡΕ ΜΙ]ΧΑΗΛ ΩΩΠΕ ΝΣΑ ΟΥΝΑΜ ΜΜΟΪ [ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΝΣΑ ΖΒ]ΟΥΡ ΜΜΟΪ : ΣΟΥΡΙΗΛ ΜΑΡΕϚ [ΣΑΛΠΙΖΕ ΖΔΘΗ] ΜΜΟΪ : ΖΡΑΦΑΗΛ Μ[ΔΡΕϚΩ ΖΙΧΝ Π]ΔΖΗΤ : ΖΡΑΓΟΥΗΛ ΜΑΡΕϚ [ΤΙ ΚΛΟΜ] Ε [ΧΝ] ΤΔΑΠΕ : ΔΣΟΥΗΛ ΕϚΤΙ [Ω]Μ ΖΙ ΧΑΡΙΣ ΝΔΙ : ΣΑΡΑΦΟΥΗΛ ΜΑΡΕϚ† [ΤΑΙΟ ΜΝ] ΟΥΕΟΟΥ ΜΝ ΟΥΖΜΟΤ ΕΠΑΖΟ ΑΝΟΚ ΣΕΥΗΡΟΣ ΠΩΕ ΝΙΩΔΑΝΝΑ ΣΥΝΣΥΝΓΗΣ [ΒΑΡ]Φ[ΔΑΡ]ΝΓ[ΗΣ ΖΔΘΗ ΜΜΟΪ Ε]ΥΜΙΩΕ [ΝΜΜΑΥ ΕΧ]ΩΙ ΤΑΩ ΣΑΒΑΘΩ ΕΧΝ ΤΔΑΠΕ [ΔΔΩΝΔΕΙ] ΕΛΟΕΪ ΕΧΝ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΕϚΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ [ΖΔΘΗ ΜΜΟΪ], and verso (ed. Kropp, *AKZ I*, text H), 43–56, ΜΑΡΕ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΑΖΕΡΑΤϚ ΣΑ [Ο]ΥΝΑΜ ΜΜΟΪ : ΜΑΡΕ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΑΖΕΡΑΤϚ ΣΑ ΖΒΟΥΡ ΜΜΟΪ : ΟΥΡΙΗΛ ΜΑΡΕϚΣΑΛΠΙΖΕ [ΖΔ]ΘΗ ΜΜΟΪ : ΖΡΑΦΑΗΛ ΜΑΡΕϚ†ΚΛΟΜ [Ε]ΧΝ ΤΔΑΠΕ : ΟΥΡΙΗΛ ΜΑΡΕϚ† ΧΑΡΙΣ ΕΠΑΖΟ : ΑΝΑΗΛ ΜΑΡΕϚΩ ΖΙΧΝ ΠΑΖΗΤ : [ΣΑΡΑ]ΦΑΗΛ ΜΑΡΕϚΧΙΖΜΟΤ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΩΪ : [c. 10] ΒΩΚ ΕΡΟϚ ΜΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΡϚ ΜΝ ΠΓΕΝΟΣ Τ[ΗΡ]Ϛ ΝΔΔΑΜ ΜΝ ΝΩΠΡΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΖΩ[Η ΙΑ]Ω ΣΑΒΑΘΩ ΕΧΝ ΤΔΑΠΕ : ΔΔΩΝΔΕΪ [ΕΛΩΕΪ] ΕΧΝ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΕϚ† ΝΔΙ ΝΟΥΕΟΟΥ [ΜΝ c. 5] ΜΝ ΟΥΧΑΡΙΣ ΜΝ ΟΥΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑ [ΜΝ ΟΥ]ΕΞΟΪΑ ΕΣΤΑΙΝΥ ΜΝ ΟΥΪΝΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΝΑΝΟΥϚ.

The history of this motif is more complex than the label ‘Schutzengelgebet’ sometimes applied to it in the modern literature (Van der Vliet 2019a, 343) implies: the last two comparanda from *P.Lond.Copt. Or.* 6796 (2–3) suggest a relation to a much older and more widespread motif of claiming or requesting to be surrounded by divinities. Ancient Mesopotamian parallels can be found in e.g. the text ed. Geller 2007, tablet 3, 108–10: the exorcist claims to enter the house of the client with a retinue of Mesopotamian gods, ‘with Shamash in front of me and Sin behind me, with Nergal on my right, and with Ninurta on my left’. For a discussion of amuletic applications of this formula, which was later adapted for the Jewish liturgy in the so-called ‘Bedtime *Shema*’ with a claim to be surrounded by angels on all sides, see Levene, Marx and Bharyo 2014; for medieval Hebrew, Bohak 2014, 217 (cod. p. 176.14–16). The motif is found in Egypt by the Graeco-Roman period, in the Demotic *P.Mag.LL* recto ix 19, ‘Horus is before me, Isis behind me, Nephthys as my diadem’, and in the Jewish

Aramaic portion of a bilingual Aramaic-Greek amuletic text on a metal tablet, likely from Tell-Amarnah, T.Ashmolean acc. 1921.1121 (ed. Kotansky, Naveh and Shaked 1992), 24–5, ‘On my right hand is Harbiel, on my left hand ‘Azriel, above me is (the presence) of El, in front of me is Mahanayim, as it is said, “And when Jacob saw them he said, ‘This is the camp [mahaneh] of God’”’ (cf. Genesis 32:3). For Greek, see recently the fragmentary version in *P.Kramer* 2.3–5, a 3rd-century amulet for victory (νίκη) and favour (χάρις), including the specifications right, left and over the head ([ἐκ] δεξιῶν μου, [ἐξ ἀρι]στερῶν μου, and [ἐ]πὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς [μου]); and for a Christian application, the amulet *PGMP* 21.25–35 with the commentary of Hopfner 1935, 362–4: ‘I have before me Jesus Christ, traveling and journeying with me, behind me Ido Sabaod (*sic*) Adonai, on my right and left the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, at my face and heart Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, Sarouel, Ragouel, Nouriel, Anael’ (ἔχω ἔμπροσθέν μου Ἰη(σο)ῦ Χρη(στό)ς συνοδηγοῦντά μου καὶ συνοδουποροῦντάν μοι, ὀπίσω μου Ἰδω Σαβαοδ Ἀδω[ναι], ἐκ τεξιῶν κ(αὶ) [ἀριστερῶν] μου τὸν θε(ε)ὸν Ἀβ[ραάμ] Ἰσαάκ Ἰακώβ,] ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπο[ν] μου κ(αὶ) τῆς καρδίας μου Γα[βριηλ, Μιχαηλ,] Ραφαηλ, Σαρουηλ, [Ραγουηλ,] Νουριηλ, Αναηλ). A long exorcistic prayer in a Byzantine manuscript contains the claim to have ‘the sun on my right, the moon on my left, the stars over my head and the surpassingly holy mother of God before me and all around me the holy angels Michael, Gabriel, Ourouel and Raphael’ (Milan, BA cod. A 56, ff. 210v–211r, ed. *P.Bad.* V p. 238 (here normalised), ὁ ἥλιος ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἡ σελήνη ἐξ ἀριστερῶν μου, τὰ ἄστρα ἐπὶ κορυφῆς μου καὶ ἡ ὑπεραγία θεοτόκος ἔμπροσθέν μου καὶ κύκλωθέν μου οἱ ἄγιοι ἄγγελοι Μιχαηλ, Γαβριηλ, Ουρουηλ καὶ Ραφαηλ).

24 **ΧΑΡΙΣ**. For the loanword see **Hay 3**, 1.

25 **ΤΑΝΩ**. As in 27 below, for **ΤΑΝΩ**, cf. *P.Bal.* p. 82 §44.

26 **ΤΑΗΩ**. For **ΤΑΕΙΟ**; the spelling with **ΗΙ** for (ε)Ι (the latter preferred in the form of the same word in 29 below) is unusual, cf. *P.Bal.* pp. 70–1 §22, and for the final vowel, **ΤΑΝΩ** in the previous line with the note.

28 **ΣΕΒΘΩΡ**. R. Ritner ap. Frankfurter identifies an otherwise unattested divine epithet from an older phase of the language, ‘[the] one who equips Horus (Sbte-Hor)’, referring to the traditional Egyptian deity, on whom see **Hay 1**, 12–37 with the notes. One might speculate on other, related theophorics such as ‘Wall of Horus’ (**ΣΩΒΤ-ΩΩΡ**) or ‘Horus-is-prepared’ (**ΣΕΒΤ(ΩΤ)-ΩΩΡ**).

30 **ΝΟΥΩΕ**. For **ΝΟΥΟΥ**-; cf. **Hay 2**, 13 with the note.

ΝΝΔΔ. For **ΝΔΔ**; cf. 20 above.

33 **ΠΕΦΗΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ**. From Greek φυλακτήριον; cf. 1 above with the note.

34 **ΤΕΥΧΗ ΝΞΕΛΙΔΣ**. A pseudonymous prayer attributed to the biblical prophet Elijah, on whom see **Hay 1**, 61–3 with the note. In the present case the drought, elsewhere conceived as a ‘binding’ of the heavens, associated with Elijah is probably referenced (1 Kings 17–18). This event is also invoked in the Byzantine tradition as an exemplum for the binding of enemies, which seems the most likely application here in light of the content of 36–44 (see below), as e.g. in a manuscript of the late 16th or early 17th century, Athens, EBE cod. 1265, f. 45r, for the binding of guns in

particular, ‘As the prophet Elijah bound the sun in the sky and the clouds, so too do I bind the vision and the armament of so-and-so...’ (ὡς ἔδησεν ὁ προφήτης Ἠλίας τὸν ἥλιον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ νέφη, ἔτσι δὴνῶ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸ φῶς του [καὶ] τὸ ἄρματον τοῦ δεῖνος; an incomplete excerpt is given in Delatte 1927, 89). In Coptic this binding is appealed to more generally in an invocation to preserve the virginity of a woman in P.Heid. inv. K. 1682 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 1682), 29–32, **ΠΜΟΥΡ ΕΠΩΛΧΕ ΤΑ ΖΗΛΙΑΣ ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΧΟΟΥ ΖΙΧΕΝ ΤΑΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΕΤ ΝΑΙ ΝΕΥΡΑΝ ΚΑΚΟΥΡΙ ΚΑΒΝΕΙ ΚΑΒΝΑ ΩΩΡΑΝΙ ΩΟΥΓΙΩΝΑ** (it is not necessary to suppose a lacuna after **ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ** with ed.pr). Another pseudonymous attribution of a prayer (**ΩΗΛΗΛ**) to Elijah ‘the Tishbite, the chariot of Christ’, is a Coptic invocation for healing and protection in P.Vind. inv. K 8302 (ed. Stegemann 1934a, 26–7, 70–6 no. XLV, with Polotsky 1935, 89–90, Till 1935b, 215–18), 25–45, beginning **ΠΕΩΛΗΛ ΝΞΙΔΙΑΣ ΠΕΙΘΙΤΕΧΒΙΤΕΣ ΠΞΔΡΜΑ ΠΕΚΧΡΙΣΤΟΥΣ**.

35 *signs*. The signs resemble Coptic letters with ringed termini (for the type see 23 above with the note), which could suggest an otherwise unattested angel-name **ΕΙΗΝΑΧΗΛ**, **ΕΡΗΝΑΧΗΛ** or **ΕΒΗΝΑΧΗΛ** with the **Ε** and **С** in mirrored writing. The final character, however, may be instead an abraded **Χ**.

36–44. Following the signs in 35, the body of the amuletic prayer introduced in 34 arrives. In 37–41, there is perhaps underlying Greek, suggesting transcription of a prayer concerned with the binding of enemies (see the note on 34 above), in at least **ΝΝΙΧΑΛΙΝΟΣ** (χάλινος ‘bit’, ‘bridle’), **ΣΤΟΜΑΧ ΣΝΙΚΑΡΤΙΑΝ** (στόμα ‘mouth’, οὖς ‘ear’, καρδία ‘heart’); syntactic Coptic resumes with the placeholders **ΔΔ ΜΝ ΔΔ**, before further possible Greek in **ΔΠΟΥΚ**, **ΔΔ**, some abbreviation of the imperative **ἀπόκλεισον** ‘lock up’ governing the placeholder **ΔΔ**. Compare in general the invocation in P.Heid. inv. K 683 (ed. *P.Bad.* V 140), 11, to place **ΟΥΧΑΛΙΝΟΣ ΜΝ ΟΥΩΤΑΜΕ** on the mouth (**ΕΤΤΑΠΡΟ**) of the target. Van der Vliet 1991, 222 proposes to divide out **ΧΑΜΟΣ** ‘muzzle’ from **ΚΑΧΑΜΟΣ**, as part of an invocation to place a **ΧΑΜΟΣ** and a **ΧΑΛΙΝΟΣ** on the mouth and heart of a detractor or rival in a love affair, pointing to a collocation of **ΧΑΜΝΟΣ** and **ΧΑΛΙΝΟΣ** in an invocation against a female target in P.Würzburg inv. 42 (ed. Brunsch 1978), B, ii, 7 **ΟΥΩΤΩΜ ΜΝ ΟΥΚΑΡΩΧ ΜΝ ΟΥΧΑΜΝΟΣ ΜΝ ΟΥΧΑΛΙΝΟΣ ΜΝ ΟΥΖΥΠΟΤΙΣΜΟΣ ΜΝ ΟΥΜΝΤΕΜΠΟ**.

For the vestiges of Greek more generally compare the amuletic prayer referring to the four animals and 24 presbyters of Revelation (see **Hay 1**, 78 with the commentary), in P.Vind. inv. K 7090 (ed. Stegemann 1934a, 17, 31–4 no. XVI with Till 1935b, 207–8), 19–30, ‘Protect, bless, have mercy on, guard, help in your power your servant Tat, first-born of Petros, by the prayers and intercessions of the holy four animals, the angels and the 24 presbyters with 24 crowns’, φίλαξον, εὐλό(γη)σον, οἰκτεῖρισον, φροῦρησον, ἐν δυνάμει σου βοήθη τὸν δοῦλό σου **ΤΑΤ ΩΩΡΕΠ ΠΕΤΡΟ Εὐχαῖς κα(ὶ) πρεσβίαις τῶν ἀκίον τεσσάρων ζῴων ἀγγέλων κ(αὶ) τῶν κδ̄ πρ(εσβυτέρων) ἔχωντες κδ̄ στ(εφάνους)** (my readings from a digital facsimile). On a smaller scale in the fever amulet P.Mil.Vogl.Copt. 22 (ed. Hasitzka and Satzinger 2004, 48–9 no. 17, with Van der Vliet 2005a), 11, **ΠΑΥΣΟΝ** is probably the transcription of the Greek

imperative *παῦσον* ‘relieve’, which as Van der Vliet remarks is apt for a healing amulet, but it is overlined along with a series of magical words.

46] . *ⲛⲉϣⲁⲗⲕ*. Crum read the fourth letter with certainty as *λ*, but a *τ* in a similar ligature with the following *ϵ*, or even *ρ* written slightly too close to the latter, cannot be excluded in the absence of connected sense.

47–8 *ⲥⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲣⲟ* . . . If the first group stands for *ⲥⲘⲡⲣⲁⲛ* (or *ⲥⲛⲡⲣⲁⲛ* in the spelling most often found in the Hay texts; for the loss of final *-ⲛ* cf. *Ⲙⲛⲟⲙⲟⲩ* in **Hay 1**, 6 with the note), a divine name might be looked for in the following, just possibly *ⲛⲣⲟ ϣϥ* or *ⲛⲣⲟ ϣϥ* (for *ⲛⲣⲣⲟ*); for the divine kingship cf. P.Lond.Copt. Or. 5987 (ed. *P.Lond.Copt.* I 1008; Kropp, *AKZI*, text D), 61, and P.Lond.Copt. Or. 6796 (2, 3) recto (ed. Kropp, *AKZI*, text G), 54.

49 *figures*. Each of the two roughly humanoid figures is

dressed in a boxy garment inscribed in turn with a six-squared grid, each square filled with the letter *ω*. A similar disposition with a single omega on the chest of a humanoid figure is also attested outside of Egypt, in the formulary fragment *P.Murabba'at* 157 (the context of use is damaged beyond reconstruction). Beyond the general quality of enhancing divine power by the wearing of holy names (see also 12 above with the note), there may be a more specific relation to Christ's self-identification as the alpha and omega (Revelation 1:8). The orant pose of the figures (see **Hay 1**, 105–8 with the note) may relate to the function of the amuletic prayer itself (see the note on 36–44 above), in which the appendages to their arms, perhaps representations of magical *charakteres* rather than hands, would further figure the nexus of ritual utterance and inscribed signs (see also **Hay 3**, 23, 23a with the note).

Small, complete sheet of leather, probably sheepskin. In the absence of rubrics and instructions, the text, which contains little syntactic Coptic alongside ritual signs, is probably a finished product, an amulet possibly concerned with repelling the evil eye, or an archival copy thereof. The short and broad format, which differs from the tall and narrow layout of the rest of the formularies, may also point in this direction. If the context in an archive with the rest of **Hay 1–5** is accepted, the possibility of an archival copy will be somewhat likelier. The circulation of such copies is attested in late ancient Egypt: a private letter in Greek from the 3rd century requests one of a healing amulet (*P.Oxy.* XLII 3068 = *Suppl. Mag.* I 5), and a 4th-century Coptic document from a Manichaean context amounts to a cover letter for another, of a bilingual Greek-Coptic invocation for aggressive magic, the separation of two people (*P.Kellis.Copt.* (*P.Kellis V*) 35 with Mirecki, Gardner and Alcock 1997; on both texts see Love 2016, 273–7). Further afield, the practising physicians Marcellus Empiricus and Alexander of Tralles, active in the 5th and 6th centuries respectively, who both included incantations and textual amulets among their collections of medical advice, acknowledged actively soliciting such

material from non-traditional sources in the realm of folk medicine (Marcellus, *De medicamentis* pref. §2; Alexander of Tralles, *Therapeutica* 1.15, ed. Puschmann 1879, 1:557–75; see also the note to **Hay 4**, 90–1).

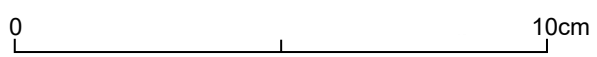
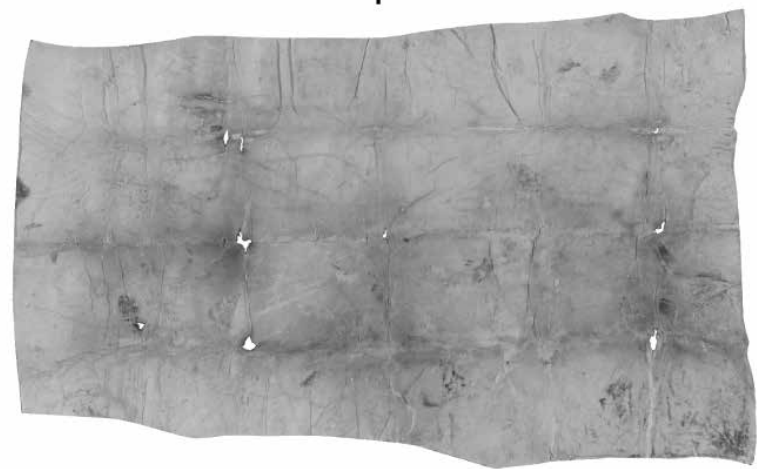
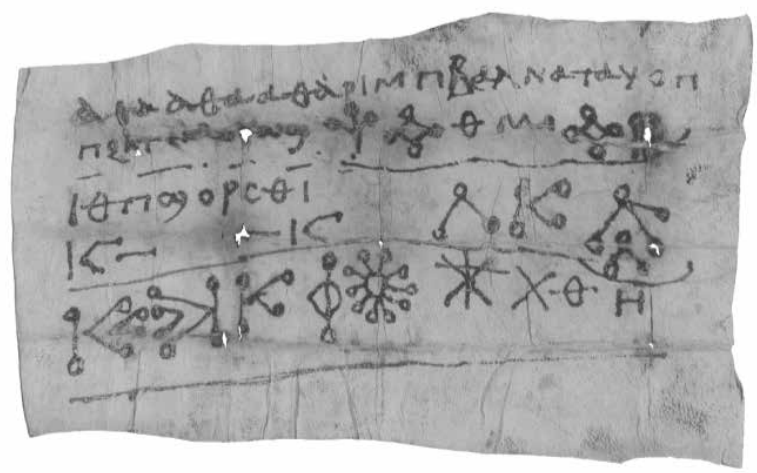
The hand is a reasonably practised Coptic majuscule with cursive features (Copyist 3). The number of available letterforms is too small for a secure assignment to the copyist of any of the other manuscripts: there are affinities with Copyist 2 (especially Υ in two strokes with a rightward hook at the foot) but also eccentricities such as a left-leaning \mathfrak{z} with closed bow at the top.

The text is disposed in two lines on the grain side of the leather. Horizontal dividing lines separate magical words and signs into registers; there is no other punctuation. Margins are left on all sides. The back is blank. Creases in the surface are consistent with folding on both horizontal and vertical axes into a small rectangular packet.

The short sequence of syntactic Coptic presents no variations from Sahidic.

Ed.pr. Crum 1934b, 200 text D; tr. D. Frankfurter, *ACM* 170 no. 80 ‘additional piece’.





ATHA ATHA ATHA weep, impure eye,
loveless (?) heart. (*signs*) THMA (*signs*)

ITH PSHORSTHI

(*signs*)

5 (*signs*)

Commentary

ⲓ ⲗⲐⲗ ⲗⲐⲗ ⲗⲐⲗ ϣⲓⲙ. For the beginning of the sequence compare P.Berl. inv. 15975 (ed. Beltz 1984, 101–2, with Van der Vliet 1991, 234–6), ⲓ, ⲗⲐⲗ ⲗⲐⲗⲣⲗ ⲛⲣⲱ. . ., preceding an invocation of angels. The division of the final ϣⲓⲙ out as syntactic Coptic (for ϣⲓⲙⲉ) is owed to Gesa Schenke; previously it had been considered part of the magical words. If this division is accepted, the imperative sets off a command to the ‘impure eye’ (ⲛ-ⲗⲧ-ⲐⲮⲐⲛ; ‘will tell’, Crum and Frankfurter, i.e. ⲧⲗⲮⲐ{ⲛ}) that suggests an aim of protection from the evil eye more particularly (see the following note).

ⲛⲃⲗⲗ. The address to the eye is unparalleled elsewhere. For reference to eyes compare the ‘seizing’ of the eyes proclaimed in two amulets, perhaps as here related to defence against the evil eye: P.Berl. inv. 8331 (ed. *BKUI* 16; Beltz 1983, 78), ⲛⲃⲱⲛⲉ ⲙⲛⲃⲉⲗ, followed by a line of letter-

like signs and ⲛⲃⲱⲛⲉ [ⲙⲛ]ⲃⲉⲗ ⲛⲃⲐⲣ; and P.Berl. inv. 8329 (ed. *BKUI* 15; Beltz 1984, 94), ⲛⲃⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲛⲃⲉⲗ alone with some magical words and divine names.

ⲛⲗⲐⲮⲐⲮⲱⲮ. As a privative ⲛ-ⲗ(ⲧ)-ⲐⲮⲱⲮ (for the rare omission of ⲧ in the privative see *P.Bal.* p. 130 §110d) the form responds to the preceding ⲛⲗⲧⲐⲮⲐⲮⲱⲮ and hence describes a concomitant of the evil eye, the hostile (because jealous) heart; previous translators had taken the form as written as a finite verb (‘will desire’), which remains possible, but the relation to the newly identified aim of protection from the evil eye is less clear.

4–5 *signs*. A mix of letter-like signs with the addition of ringed termini, with more abstract shapes: see in general **Hay 1**, 57–8, also for the multi-pointed star. The letters ⲕ, ⲗ and ϣ can be recognised here, as well as ⲕ Ⲑ ⲛ in a plainer style but still distinct from the lettering of the syntactic Coptic portion above.

Hay 7
EA 10414b
TM addendum

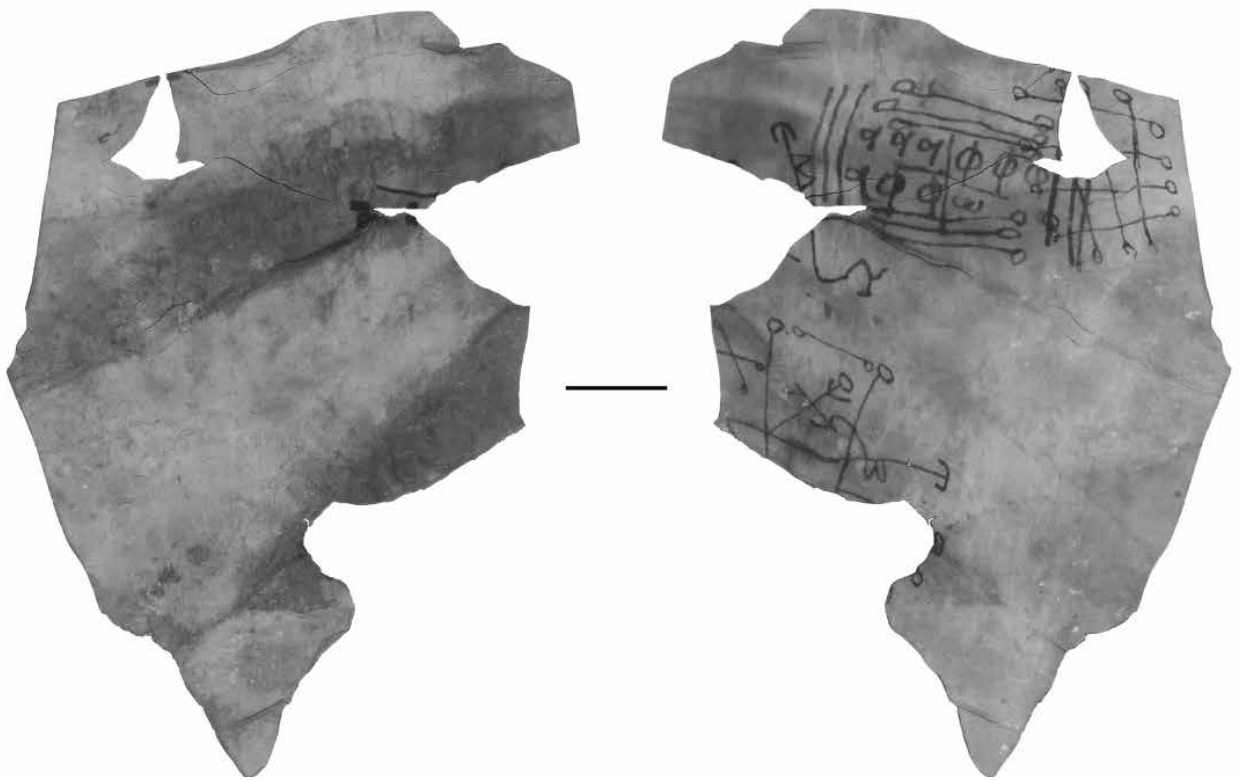
c.155 × 104mm (h x w)

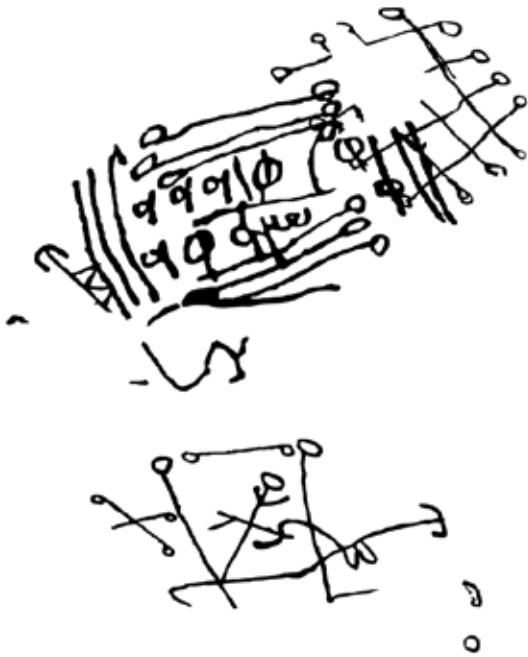
8th–9th century?
Thebes?

Small fragment of sheep or goat skin, possibly of a formulary, which cannot be placed with any of the other manuscripts as currently constituted. It was once stored with a fragment of the top right corner of **Hay 2**, to which it was falsely joined with modern adhesive tape. The preserved remains, which are published here for the first time, give

only ritual drawings. The irregular shape of the fragment and its uneven edges, which nevertheless give ample margins around the drawings, might also suggest a single scrap of leather used for an archival copy of such designs, as proposed for **Hay 6**. Staining shows that it was rolled in a cone-shape before being flattened.







Commentary

Drawings. From bottom to top, the first group may be analysed into a border of elongated lines with circular termini, framing a grid filled with letter-like signs. Among the latter λ , ϕ and ω might be discerned: compare **Hay 5**, 49, with the note there, and further **Hay 1**, 57–8 with the note. Appendages to the left and bottom suit more the style of the second group. The latter resembles the oblique, intersecting lines of the ritual ‘seals’ exemplified by the Pergamon magical assemblage (Wünsch 1905, Taf. 3, figs 14–15) and found also in a fragmentary, 4th-century Greek formulary from Kellis (*P.Kellis I* 85).

Chapter 6

The Hay Manuscripts as an Ancient Archive

Michael Zellmann-Rohrer

Chapter 5 has presented new editions and translations of commentaries on the Hay texts, informed by the results of new imaging and materials analysis elsewhere in this volume. This contextualising chapter considers the Hay manuscripts as a synchronic assemblage and the implications for the interests, aims and identity of a group or family of ritual specialists who accumulated them in late ancient or early medieval Egypt. Some preliminary considerations on the graphic characteristics of the Coptic texts and accompanying drawings are also developed for a better understanding of the formation of the Hay assemblage.

Walter E. Crum was the first to propose that the manuscripts were all the work of a single hand, a claim that has been generally accepted. Reconsideration of letterforms suggests further refinement, introduced here in 6.1. This assessment is perhaps supported by the radiocarbon analysis (presented in detail in Chapter 3.5) of a subset of the manuscripts, as two of the sheets for which results were obtained could have been prepared for writing up to two centuries apart (see **Table 3.3**). The rest of Chapter 6 considers the complexities of a multi-stage but still coherent assemblage, and its implications for the history of the manuscripts.

6.1 Texts and copyists

Throughout, there is more similarity than difference in the handwriting of the manuscripts, but a pattern of characteristic letterforms points to the work of multiple hands. Each can be characterised as a book- or imitation-book-script, unimodular in the typology of Orsini.¹ At least three, possibly four, different copyists seem to have been active, to whom the manuscripts can be assigned as follows:

- Copyist 1a: **Hay 1**
- Copyist 1b: **Hay 2**
- Copyist 2: **Hay 3–5**
- Copyist 3: **Hay 6**

The hands of Copyist 1a and b, practised Coptic majuscules, are close but not close enough for Crum's identification to be maintained with confidence. Divergences in letterforms without obvious motivation – **Μ** is consistently in three strokes, **Υ** in two in 1b, but three- and four-stroke **Μ** and one- and two-stroke **Υ** are found in 1a – and punctuation, extensive in 1a but all but absent from 1b, would require at the very least a long interval in the career of a single copyist between the two productions.² The distinction between Copyist 1 and 2 is clearer. Unique to Copyist 2 is the rounded form of **λ** in two strokes with a distinctive re-curved serif at the top; and to Copyist 1, inorganic cursive ligatures, especially of **ϵ** with a preceding letter, possibly due to the copying of a cursive exemplar by a copyist unfamiliar with formal cursive. Copyist 3 shares features with Copyist 2, in particular the two-stroke form of **Υ**, but the sample is too small for a confident identification, and the left-leaning form of **2** with closed loop at top used by Copyist 3 diverges from the rest of the manuscripts (**Fig. 6.1**).

For the single hand that he identified, Crum proposed a date in the 6th or 7th century.³ Radiocarbon dating points somewhat later, as early as the 7th or 8th century for the

	Δ	Μ	Υ	Ϛ
Copyist 1a	Δ Δ	Μ Η	Υ Ϛ	Ϛ Ϛ
Copyist 1b	Δ Δ	Η Η	Υ	Ϛ
Copyist 2	Δ Δ	Μ Η	Υ Υ	Ϛ Ϛ
Copyist 3	Δ Δ	Μ	Υ	Ϛ

Figure 6.1 Script table. Examples of the hands of copyists 1a, 1b, 2 and 3 in the Hay manuscripts (facsimile drawings)

activity of Copyist 1 and the 8th or 9th for that of Copyist 2 (see further Chapter 3.5), which can also be broadly supported by a securely dated parallel: the Theban document *P.Lond.Copt.* I 398 (*P.KRU* 70; *SBI* 5591), a will internally dated on the Era of Diocletian to AD 750.⁴ As developed further below, there is no need to assign all seven Hay manuscripts to the career of a single copyist in order to speak of a meaningfully cohesive assemblage: the collection may have been built up over time, perhaps within a family.

Orthography also supports a multipartite composition of the assemblage. Linguistic features are discussed in more detail in the introduction to each manuscript in Chapter 5. In summary, a non-standard Sahidic, consistent with documentary texts from the Theban area, can be identified in **Hay 1** and **Hay 2**, and a set of orthographic features recalling Akhmimic, already sporadic in **Hay 2**, and hence setting it apart from **Hay 1**, abounds in **Hay 3–5**.

Compositional preferences with respect to paratextual features further complicate the history of the manuscripts. Complex drawings, including figural elements, discussed further below, are central to **Hay 3–5** (and **Hay 7**, whose lack of plain syntactic Coptic prevents its assignment to any copyist), but absent from **Hay 2**. The arrangement of divine names and figural drawings by cardinal directions is shared by **Hay 4** and **5**, and is essentially unique to them in the entire tradition of Coptic magical texts. **Hay 1** includes three humanoid figures (105–8), alongside the letter-like signs (*charakteres*) that are shared with **Hay 3–5**, but in contrast to the latter, its figures are smaller and less detailed.

A general coherence, despite the probably distinct conditions of individual production, is suggested by other features. First is the use of leather as substrate, uncommon for Coptic magical texts and perhaps a characteristic of southern Egyptian or Nubian manuscript culture, borrowed from documentary texts. There is an earlier Blemmyan documentary archive of Greek and Coptic texts from Pathyris of the late 6th century, and Nubian use of leather alongside paper for documentary texts continued long into the medieval period.⁵ The format of these leather sheets also concurs across the assemblage, though the specific dimensions are closer for the subgroup **Hay 3–5**. The orientation is generally tall and narrow – comparable to the *transversa charta* disposition of Byzantine papyrus documents and to liturgical *rotuli* – and with a single column of writing, usually opisthographic. The use of offcuts (see further Chapters 3 and 8), or at least leather prepared to a lower standard than might be expected for the professional book-trade, is another commonality, rare in turn among other Coptic magical manuscripts. A general comparandum is the copy, probably for internal reference, in this case in a

monastery, of the Coptic letter of Theodore of Pbau on a long parchment strip in which the irregular edges follow the contours of the particular hide from which it was prepared.⁶

That a fragment of **Hay 5** was apparently found stuck to **Hay 3**, to which the first editor assumed it to belong, further suggests that the manuscripts were stored together in antiquity. The circumstances of accession to the British Museum offer additional support. Despite the disparate EA numbers in the inventory system under which the manuscripts are now kept, adjacent Museum registration numbers (see in more detail Chapter 2.3.2 and **Table 2.1**), which were assigned before the texts could have been read and grouped thematically by modern intervention, establish at least that they were together in Robert Hay's collection at the time of their accession in 1868.

6.2 Drawings

Besides the Coptic texts, which have received the most sustained attention in modern studies so far, the Hay manuscripts offer a rich complement of non-textual signifiers – perhaps their most striking feature to both ancient and modern eyes – towards ritual aims. These non-phonetic signs and figural and abstract drawings will be inventoried here with a focus on distinguishing compositional strands within the assemblage. Their historical context, which is the proper topic of Chapter 7, will also be kept in view.

The drawings may be roughly divided according to composition and complexity into *charakteres* and figures, which the texts term *zodia*. That both could form part of a package of occult knowledge within the magical tradition is shown by invocations, a version of which appears in **Hay 1**, 6–10, in which deities are presented with the speaker's claim to know their names, powers, 'amulets' (there $\Phi\eta\lambda\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$), and 'figures' (there $\kappa\omega\delta\iota\omicron\nu$), which can be supplemented with '*charakteres*' in other witnesses (see the commentary on **Hay 1**, 7–9), and to have offered an appropriate burnt offering ($\Theta\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$).⁷

The term for the first category (the Greek $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\rho$) was applied within the tradition already in Late Antiquity, including in invocations of the signs themselves. Their most common and recognisable forms are as Greek letters with the addition of ringed termini, sometimes also rotated from their original orientation, and more abstract but still compact geometric figures based on intersections of lines, with similar ringed termini. An origin in Hermetism or other philosophising discourse centred on the Greek language (source of the letter-like signs) is possible, perhaps inspired by Egyptian hieroglyphs (their symbolic reading in Late Antiquity is exemplified by the treatise attributed to

Horapollon).⁸ This graphic technique surely circulated outside of Egypt too, where it is reflected in amulets, curse tablets and even monumental inscriptions and was also taken up in the medieval period in Christian, Jewish and Islamic traditions; a multiplicity of meanings and allusions to deities and astrological doctrines seems to have pertained.⁹

In contrast to the quasi-alphabetic transferability of the *charakteres*, the significance of the figures is more contextually dependent. It is, therefore, approached here through a case-by-case analysis for designs of both types.

Hay 1 deploys drawings to a limited extent, mostly of the *charakteres* type. These signs first appear at the end of an invocation, following the prescription of a burnt offering (57–8), probably to be identified as what the instructions call ‘amulets’ (ϢϢΔΙ ΝΕΦΗΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ ‘write the amulets’, 56).¹⁰ The sequence ΥΜΕΛΑ ΧΩΡΑΣ ΧΕΜΕΡΑ preceding them is probably an alphabetic complement to the contents. Similar, short sequences of *charakteres* are applied more directly as the central mechanism of two of the healing recipes, in conjunction with short alphabetic sequences of magical words or syntactic Coptic (66, 72–3). Figural drawings appear only once, towards the end of the collection. A rubric ‘for women’ (105) is enclosed within a frame along with geometric *charakteres*, then flanked by further geometrical *charakteres* at left and three standing anthropoid figures at right. The larger holds its arms outstretched; the two smaller, whose enlarged ears suggest a composite, animal aspect, strike an orant pose. They are probably labelled by the names in three lines to their left (ΔΠΤΙΣΙΣ, ΔΔΙΝΙ, ΜΑΡΙΜΑΝΗ). Divine names and magical words follow below in parallel columns, one of which is footed by further geometric *charakteres*. When syntactic Coptic resumes (145), it is to put a curse on the sexual potency of a man, such that the entire complex could have been applied ‘for’ a particular woman from the perspective of a man acting against a rival lover. The three figures might then represent the human or supernatural actors in that scenario; another such tableau may occur in **Hay 3**. A division into two, however, a healing recipe on behalf of a woman followed by the aggressive procedure, remains possible.

Hay 3 associates a single, large and complex but probably fragmentary figural assemblage (23) with a preceding invocation for erotic magic. Here *charakteres* are also directly incorporated on the bodies and surrounding the hands and mouths of the figures represented, which may in turn figure ritual speech and amuletic devices. The interpretation of this assemblage is discussed in more detail in the commentary. A tempting proposal would make the central, anthropomorphic figure either the ritualist or the demon invoked in the preceding, and the two animal-headed figures flanking it the two human parties concerned in the procedure. Absent of any internal exegesis, however, the question cannot be answered decisively, and other representations are possible, such as the ritualist assisted by two theriomorphic demons. Just before the text breaks off on the back, another composition seems to be introduced, with a single line of three names (51) apparently labelling three figures, of which only the heads survive (52). The beak-like protrusion on the one at left suggests a divine power of avian aspect.

Hay 4, which along with **Hay 5** has the highest density of drawings, may in fact continue the two designs in **Hay 3**, if **Hay 3** and **Hay 4** belong to the same original manuscript (see the introduction to **Hay 4** in the catalogue). There is a crescent, hatched shape beneath an asteriform, ringed figure, which might suggest a boat carrying celestial bodies, shared between Egyptian and Gnostic cosmology as reflected in later Mandaean imagery (albeit much later, and far from Egypt), and also in Manichaeism¹¹ (see the commentary to **Hay 4**, 1; on Gnosticism, see 7.4 below). It could have concluded the first figural tableau of **Hay 3**. Then come some letter-like and geometric *charakteres*, which seem to belong to what are internally designated as ‘amulets’ (as in **Hay 1**, here ϢϢΔΙ ΝΕΦΗΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ, 9), some of which (5–8) seem to have arisen from the transformation of syntactic Coptic into ring-letters. Most of the back of this manuscript is devoted to a figural assemblage, unique to this manuscript and **Hay 5**, in which groups of three divine figures, their apparel in turn adorned with *charakteres*, are labelled with their names and one of the cardinal directions. The fragmentary figure at the end of **Hay 3** might belong to the first of these groups, which also seem to share their bird-like heads. Another procedure of unclear purpose, whose heading mentions ‘a woman’ and ‘blood’ (76–96), gives some letter-like and geometric *charakteres* and a figure with a recognisably human head, which is probably to be identified with what the damaged instructions prescribe as a ‘figure’ (ϢΩΔΙΩΝ, 81). The latter includes Coptic letters inscribed on the human body, which could represent either the analogically appropriate attire of an invoked deity, as in the cardinal-direction groups, or the effect of the ritual on a human target. **Hay 5**, in addition to a more fragmentary version of the cardinal-directions motif, gives a similarly dense block of *charakteres* as part of an amulet (ΦΗΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ, 1–10), some shorter sequences of *charakteres* and a pair of small orant figures with apparel inscribed with Coptic letters (49).

Hay 6, which resembles a ritual finished product more than a formulary, gives some letter-like and geometric *charakteres* alongside Coptic text. The fragmentary **Hay 7** is difficult to contextualise in what must have been a larger programme, including letters perhaps inscribed within a figure, but there are some distinctive, abstract compositions of more complexity than the geometric *charakteres*, which may belong to a tradition of seal-like designs (see the commentary there).

This overview makes clear some general commonalities – all but one of the manuscripts (**Hay 2**) apply drawings in some form, often in closer connection with textual elements, and there is a broad similarity in draughtsmanship – and confirms the impression from the palaeographic analysis of considerable particularities, and the more specific division among copyists. That is, apart from close similarities between **Hay 3** and **4**, which may be part of the same original manuscript, and a more general resemblance of *charakteres* across the manuscripts (which are, however, shared in turn with a common late ancient stock), design features of the remaining, figural components differ considerably. As already suggested by orthographic features, both the copyists of the Hay manuscripts and the exemplars from which they copied the drawings were probably multiple.

6.3 Interests and aims of the copyists

If the identification of a gradually produced but eventually synchronic assemblage is accepted, what can be said of the group or family of ritual specialists who accumulated it? An analysis of the contents is the first step in answering this question. The assemblage consists of five more or less complete formularies (and one small fragment), and one finished product or archival copy thereof. A sign of active collection is the very presence of **Hay 6** in the assemblage (see below), and one of the instructions of **Hay 4**, referring to a variant reading found in another manuscript, suggests active collation (see the commentary on 90–1) – indications of interest in collection, rather than passive preservation. A review of the contents of the constituent manuscripts will add further detail, with the opportunity also to synthesise explanations of content dispersed throughout the commentary in Chapter 5. (References cited there are not repeated.)

6.3.1 Hay 1

This formulary, the most extensive of the Hay texts, is written on both sides of a leather sheet and offers 26 recipes for invocations of angelic powers, short recipes at the interstices between magic and medicine ('iatromagical') combining pharmacology with inscription of ritual signs, and a multi-purpose prayer with a diverse list of applications.

The first three invocations lack rubrics to specify the intended use, which is probably a general appeal for the attention of supernatural beings, for assistance broadly conceived. In each case the invocation is followed by a recipe for aromatic offerings, referenced also in the invocations, whose savour, especially when burnt, would have wafted to the skies, and which can thus be seen as a paired approach to attract these same divine powers. In one case a stricture is added that the procedure must be performed in a state of fasting for three days (11), setting the proceedings apart from the quotidian, raising the degree of difficulty of practice and hence suggesting a correspondingly more pressing motivation. That the same procedure should be performed at the full moon is a reminiscence of more extensive astrological orientations in Graeco-Roman magical texts. The last of the offering-recipes adds a recommendation for amulets (56–7), including both text and signs (see the previous section), to be bound to the user's thumb, and whose presence indicates a level of apprehension about unintended consequences of the summoning of the powers just prescribed.

The first of the three invocation-procedures (1–12) calls on three groups of three 'guardians' to leave some apparently elevated and probably heavenly place where they reside and simply come to the place where the user, and the enticing offering, are placed. A claim is made to know not only the names of these powers, which are duly listed and prove to overlap in part with groups known both within the Hay assemblage and in other Coptic magical texts, but also 'your images and your amulets', which are not represented here but may allude to the programmes of drawings of captioned figures in **Hay 3–5**. The prescription of black ink among the offering-substances may once have been intended as part of

a ritual ink-preparation for such drawings, even if it is no longer distinct in the present state of the compilation. That the claim includes also 'your powers' is probably a concrete reference, for the three groups are each called 'strong in their power' in specific relation to a guardianship, as 'watching over' the 'body and blood' of each of the three persons of the Christian trinity, the (father) 'almighty', the son, and the holy spirit. The invocation, then, adapts terminology from the Christian liturgy of the eucharist, as do the internal references to a 'remnant that lies on the holy table' – probably some of the offering-bread that was not selected for the eucharist itself – and to the 'sign of the lamb', referencing the blessing of the select eucharist loaf itself. The eventual offering, however, in no way resembles the traditional eucharist – making clear the dynamics of adaptation rather than mere borrowing – just as the eucharistic terminology itself, as in the 'body and blood of the holy spirit', sets the text apart from the traditional liturgy.

The second invocation (12–37) addresses another entity 'strong in his power', giving a point of contact with the nine guardians in the first, but this 'great one' proves to be drawn from a different traditional background, as he is named as none other than the Egyptian god Horus. The purpose, as signalled in the closing lines (34–6), is for this power to be present and activate some radish-oil, and other ritual substances, so that they will assist the user in a general way, for 'the things that I will undertake'. The Horus motif, however, originally served another purpose, consonant in turn with its origins in Egyptian myth: the god has fallen in love with a scorpion-like woman and enlists supernatural aid in pursuing her. This narrative adapts the motif of the descent to the underworld and interaction with the powers there (*katabasis*), which in the Graeco-Roman tradition included dialogue, in particular the recitation of tokens of initiation when challenged by guardians.¹² A dialogue with a demon met there – a motif found also in **Hay 3** and probably alluded to also in **Hay 2** – inscribes the request of the invocation itself in a mythical space. It cannot have been scruples over erotic aims that occasioned this modification; the shorter procedures collected on the back of **Hay 1**, not to mention **Hay 2** in its entirety, set that beyond doubt. Rather, Horus may have been assimilated to the nine guardians of the previous invocation. More active intervention has been carried out beyond mere grafting, as the speaking part from 24 to the end, in which 'Horus' is made to express to the infernal power what he would like done, names not the erotic subjugation that might be expected from the preceding lines, but attention to the present offering. Horus is also the one to introduce the technique of adjuration as opposed to invocation (19), which carries over into the section requesting presence at and activation of the offering. That he does so in the name of three decans further implicates this section in a complex traditional background. The Egyptian decans as celestial deities would have been current with the traditional cult of Horus, but their citation here in connection to infernal powers, and in furtherance of the technique of ritual adjuration as continuation of the Judaeo-Christian exorcism, is consistent with their transformation into demons in Christian Egypt. The

position of Horus himself is ambiguous: in a speech beginning at 14, he eventually makes a further adjuration by the Satanic Zadanael (32), and he himself is perhaps linked to ‘iron bars’ (13), even as a guardian of the iron-bound, infernal prisons evoked further on (22–3).

The final invocation (38–58) names a plurality of divine powers, without further epithets, and calls them to leave the apparently celestial places in which they are and descend upon a cup of water. So far there is a broad similarity to the first invocation, but a more specific purpose is conveyed in the following, that is, not mere attendance, but mystical revelation and more pragmatic divination. The cup is to be filled with ‘light’, and by extension the perception of the user with ‘divinity’ and ‘light’ of a presumably metaphysical kind, as the request culminates in a revelation ‘of every mystery about which I shall inquire of you’. The mode of invocation broadens, too, to include the adjuration from the previous section, both by the name of a supreme father (45) and by tokens of the deities themselves (50–1); the latter are further personified, imagined to be seated on a throne during the divinatory consultation (52–3). In addition to the usual offering, a prescription for amulets was probably intended to shield the user from any harmful side effects of this divine presence.

After a probable end-title (58) for the preceding collection of three invocations and their instructions, the compilation shifts from a spiritual to a medical focus. The front of the sheet gives three short medical recipes, one prescribing magical signs to cure headache, the other two pharmacological approaches to disorders of the legs and eyes. This medical section continues on the back, opening with four longer recipes for healing and protection, prescribing ritual invocations or inscriptions generally drawn from the realm of Judaeo-Christian scripture and its elaboration. The first of these invokes a familiar and popular biblical model, the drying up of the Jordan for Elijah, as analogy for the resolution of discharge of fluid or blood – but in conjunction with the agency of a less familiar power, one who holds in his hand the keys of the heavens, associated in turn with the sequence of magical words *LAGAR GARGAR AROMARKAR*. The second recommends both magical signs – as applied previously against headache – and magical words to be written on an olive leaf to bring sleep; one of the latter, *SOLOEL* (67), recalls the name of the angel Ioel who was placed in charge of sleep (and invoked in cases of insomnia) in the angelological tradition reflected in Byzantine texts. A Christian saint, George, is invoked for general protection, in a narrative motif borrowed from his hagiography: just as George called for divine help via a Psalm during the trials of his martyrdom, so too should he help the user – a request strengthened by recitation of magical words. Finally, a still enigmatic narrative motif alludes to healings performed by Jesus Christ, probably addressing a demon or demonised illness with the claim to have received the knowledge of the procedure that brought relief in biblical times. To judge from the reference to ‘writing with his finger’ and the accompanying magical signs, the motif served to assimilate the latter to the practice of the most potent of Christian providers of healing.

A section-divider signals the transition to something new:

a multi-purpose invocation that can be applied for a range of purposes. The short prayer calls on a single divinity (74–6), one Marmarioth who takes the form of fire and possesses a superintendence over ‘all the powers’ that can be expected to have tempted users in search of supernatural assistance. Through a set of 14 directions that follow, this invocation (internally, ‘the prayer’) is prescribed for primarily aggressive aims – appropriate for the fiery and imperious nature of Marmarioth – some of which add, or substitute, a further list of holy names. These names belong to the more beneficent 24 presbyters of Revelation, whom a post-biblical tradition had named alphabetically, covering each letter of the Greek alphabet, which it seems assumed that the user would know or be able to consult, as well as the ‘powers’ of each presbyter (see the commentary on 78) and one independent addition of magical words (97). The aims include erotic magic and the detriment and dispossession of personal enemies and rivals.

Following this multi-purpose complex is a sequence of six lines primarily of magical words with an admixture of divine names and brief syntactic Coptic, culminating in a command to ‘release’ (104) that could suggest a return to healing. A rubric ‘for women’ (lit. ‘on account of the woman’, 105) at the centre of a tableau of further magical words and drawings might mark this and the following, four-columned continuation of magical words as one and the same, or some related procedure for healing specifically female medical ailments. A final section, however, returning to fully syntactic Coptic, implicates women as objects of contention between male rivals: this aggressive procedure, possibly to be considered together with the preceding rubric ‘for women’, is an invocation to bind the sexual potency of a man with a woman. An anonymous deity is invoked as the one who has disrupted the cosmic order by stopping the celestial bodies in their paths – a motif with parallels in Egyptian mythology, as too the wish that the head and feet of the target should be made to change places – before the text descends from the macro- to the microcosm with a novel simile of the desired inefficacy of the male rival under the figure of a sluggish ant and a frozen spring of water in winter.

Hay 1, the most extensive and complete witness to the interests of the ancient users of the assemblage and the ritual means deployed to achieve them, shows these aims to have consisted in three groups. Represented are communion with divine powers, revelation and divinatory consultation, not otherwise attested in the assemblage; healing from a range of bodily and spiritual afflictions, including demonic possession; and aggressive acts for personal benefit. As for means, invocation and prayer with a grounding in a Christian belief-system, augmented with a wider range of divine powers (traditional Egyptian, apocryphal angelic and demonic entities), are at the centre, but the technique of amuletic deployment of writing, specifically the writing of magical words and drawings, reflects older magical practices.

6.3.2 Hay 2

This formulary narrows its focus to a single recipe, an invocation for erotic magic to be used by a man upon a

woman. The text opens with a reference to an otherwise unknown demonic power, ‘Eizax Marax, the one of the iron staff’, who rules ‘from the salt water to the cataract’, that is, probably the Nile in the fullness of its course through Egypt. More relevant to the present purpose, he also commands the obedience of ‘all female creatures’, whose nature may thus have been felt to be in particular sympathy with the river, an obedience expected to result in the satisfaction of the user, who now speaks in the first person. A continuation in the form of an invocation of Eizax Marax might have been anticipated, but instead the text shifts to the narrative mode, and it is recounted how, in a mythical past time as model for the present case of use, this power rose up out of the sea – terminal point of his Nilotic realm as defined at the outset – and entered into dialogue with the first-person speaking voice. The dialogue recalls especially that between Horus and an infernal power in **Hay 1**, a form that will recur also in **Hay 3**. The motif of the *katabasis* reflected in both of those texts may underlie the presentation here, but inverted such that the infernal power is summoned to the upper world by the force of the ritual authority of the practitioner, or his exemplar in the narrative.

The dialogue – perhaps shorn of an earlier movement in which the speaker conjured up his interlocutor – comes quickly to the point. This divinity, who upon his rising from the sea is compared in his power probably to a deity from the Gnostic cosmology, an Aion (3), offers the speaker a bargain, broadly recalling that struck by the magician Cyprian with Satan, that is, to ‘do it for you’ if the speaker ‘count[s] me as a brother’. The speaker apparently accepts, proceeding directly to the request that supplies the missing referent for ‘it’ – another sign of truncation of a longer narrative motif – that the female target be given to him so that ‘I may fulfil my desire with her’. Like Horus in **Hay 1**, this voice makes a sort of meta-invocation, or rather adjuration, which now also grounds itself more recognisably in a Christian background: the adjuration references the trinity, as well as the angel Gabriel, an exemplar in his intervention in the opening narrative acts of the Christian gospels, in which he went to Joseph and ‘caused him to take Mary as his wife’. The latter is a unique application of this familiar episode in Coptic magic, where the focus is usually on the interaction of Gabriel with Mary. The angel serves more generally as analogue for the positive impression that the user seeks to make in the sight of the target.

A final movement ties adjuration and mythical narrative to ritual action in the present time, even if no instructions for the latter have survived. The ‘lust’ (here via a loanword from Greek ἐπιθυμία) to be inflicted on the target is furnished with an aetiology, anchored in an elaborated Christian scripture. It is equated with the lust with which the archdemon Mastema poisoned humankind, in particular by contaminating the source of the four rivers in Paradise with the noxious emanations of his own body, an adaptation of a narrative in the apocryphal *Questions of Bartholomew*. That poisoned water is equated in turn with a cup of wine that the user is to say is held in his right hand, for the preparation of which a fuller version of this recipe might once have contained instructions. But the target has already drunk the poisoned water – so it is performatively claimed – and hence

been filled with the same diabolic lust. In further temporal telescoping, the text also anticipates the effects when the target drinks the wine. In that altered state, she is encouraged to obey by a double approach: adjuration via magical ‘names’, which bracket the user’s arrogation of the ecclesiastical prerogative of excommunication (27) in the case of disobedience. To the impression of reworking and recombination of earlier material is added the discord between the generally feminine gender in reference to placeholders for the target, and one in the masculine gender (18–19), which may be a remnant from an earlier version in which same-sex desire was in play, as attested too in the magical papyri of the Graeco-Roman period.

Hay 2 thus represents a more specific preoccupation – the satisfaction of erotic desire – but a no less complex compositional process and traditional background. Up to three distinct motifs in pursuit of this aim have been combined: the invocation of Eizax Marax; the *katabasis*-like encounter of the Aeon-like power in dialogue with a first-person speaker; and the engagement of the same speaker with the narrative precedent of Mastema. There are signs of adaptation of intended use for at least part of the text, from the compulsion of a male target to that of a female. So too are multiple traditional frames of reference implicated, from the easily recognisably Christian gospel narrative of Joseph, Mary and Gabriel and the threat of excommunication, through the apocryphal Mastema episode, to magical words and divine powers, like Eizax Marax, whose origin seems to belong to a more diverse cultic landscape of the Graeco-Roman period.

6.3.3 Hay 3

This fragmentary formulary (possibly to be considered part of the same original as **Hay 4**) maintains the focus on personal advancement, now broadened in two recipes concerned with gaining ‘favour’, which is expressed via the Greek loanword χάρις. That is, others are to be induced to favour the user via ritual means: the specifics of the kind of mental state, and the means to attain it, are developed separately in the two procedures.

The first begins with a lengthy, complex invocation; accompanying instructions may have been lost in a lacuna. The ‘favour’ at issue here proves to be of the erotic kind, in particular the compulsion of a woman to come and submit to a male user, to which **Hay 2** was wholly devoted. A reference to bringing ‘shame to their parents’ hints that the aim is not purely lust but access to marriageable young women still under close family supervision, as can also be suggested for one of the aggressive procedures in **Hay 1**, 96–8. The first movement draws on the analogy of ‘favour’ with which the legendary ring of the biblical King Solomon was endowed, giving him in turn sexual prowess: legends about the ring, reflected in the *Testament of Solomon*, and more broadly about the sexual exploits, belong to later elaboration of the Jewish scriptures.

This scriptural nexus continues into the next movement, in a sensory simile for the desired effect, in which the user wishes to be received by the target like manna. This heaven-sent substance, which sustained the Israelites in the desert – the eventual complaints about its invariability (Numbers

11:4–6) are elided – is joined with the figure of a drop of water clinging to a vessel, drawn from the Greek version of Isaiah (40:15). This simile is paired with another based on the natural behaviour of female animals under the effects of desire for males, known from traditional Egyptian erotic magic. It sits within what was probably once a separate invocation-motif, recounting an encounter with a demon of the underworld, familiar from **Hay 1** and probably adapted also in **Hay 2**. Here a first-person speaking voice, now in the plural, addresses the demon Kok Tparkok Kok, whom, it is claimed, ‘we have visited’ on account of the female target. To her the demon should give ‘the food’, setting off the manna-simile and perhaps corresponding to a ritual preparation, as also the wine in **Hay 2**, which is not specified in the current version. As a coda, an exhortation to swift action – a stock phrase – is reinforced ‘by all the power of Amente’, a reference to the traditional Egyptian topography of the afterlife, transformed in Christian Egypt into an infernal realm. Here the equation between traditional Egyptian Amente and the Judaeo-Christian Hell is made more explicit by the situation of the feet of a prodigiously large demon, Theumatha, ‘in Amente – Gehenna of fire’, that is, the traditional term updated with a Judaeo-Christian gloss. The *katabasis* motif is further complicated by a double movement, such that the first-person speaker presents his request (now speaking in the singular as ‘I’) as having been fulfilled in the form of the dispatch of this Theumatha, now more explicitly marked as a ‘demon’, by the preceding Kok Tparkok Kok. This Theumatha comes bearing fiery spikes with which to torment the female target, a violent turn of the anodyne ‘favour’ with which the procedure began. The text closes with a vivid insertion of imagined speech of the female target – a rarity in such compositions – who is pictured as having pulled up her clothes in a gesture of invitation, begging the user to come to her. An accompanying programme of figural drawings and magical signs may represent the workings of these infernal powers, in general or on user and target in particular, through ritual speech. The missing foot of the sheet may have given instructions for use, as in the second procedure.

The beginning of this second recipe is presumably lost in the same lacuna on the front, and resumes on the back in the midst of another invocation of multiple divine powers for favour of a more commercial kind: drawing customers into a place of business. These powers, whose names do not survive but who are probably angelic rather than demonic (compare the similar procedure in **Hay 4**, 14–16, to which it may in fact belong), are asked to empower by their presence a vessel of water. As set out in the invocation, the user will sprinkle the water in a ‘dwelling-place’, for which a combined residence and commercial space was probably meant, reflected also in a ‘workshop’ in a recapitulation further on, in order to bring general blessing and more specifically an abundance of eager visitors, or customers. That these visitors are expressed as ‘all the race of Adam and all the children of Zoe’, that is, the biblical Adam and Eve, suggests the adaptation of an angelological procedure originally drawn from the Jewish magical tradition and transmitted through Greek, as also in **Hay 4**. The adjuration of these powers by

similar tokens of secret knowledge as found in **Hay 1**, related to passwords required for celestial ascent of the initiated, speaks also to a vestige of Gnostic traditions.¹³ A final simile comparing the gathering to that of bees to a hive may continue the traditional Egyptian application of animal behaviour as analogy seen in the erotic magic in the first recipe. Following the invocation are some instructions for use, including an aromatic offering of the sort familiar from **Hay 1**, the preparation of the water over which the preceding invocation is to be spoken and the drawing of a ritual figure, which is appended below the text. Possibly continued in **Hay 4**, the drawing may represent the powers addressed in the invocation itself, captioned with their names above their heads.

Personal advancement is thus pursued along two distinct paths in **Hay 3**: sexual gratification, but perhaps in connection also with the economic importance of an advantageous marriage, and the attraction of blessings to a household and place of business in the form of beneficent visitors and customers. The methods centre on complex, multi-part invocations with equally manifold levels of traditional background: Judaeo-Christian scripture and apocryphal elaboration, Gnosticism and traditional Egyptian motifs.

6.3.4 Hay 4

This fragmentary formulary (possibly to be considered part of the same original as **Hay 3**) gives the remains of at least four recipes. Beginning on the grain side, the bottom part of a ritual drawing probably figuring a boat is preserved, separated by a horizontal divider from three lines of names, which prove to be the Hebrew and Babylonian names of the three companions of the biblical Daniel, each of whom is given one further, occult name. The purpose is not specified and cannot easily be inferred: these companions were especially popular in amuletic approaches to fever, as models for overcoming pernicious heat, but not limited to them. It is also unclear whether these names should be divided from the following four lines of letter-like magical signs, which include a form of the formulaic placeholder $\overline{\Delta\Delta}$ ‘NN’, which could suggest at least an original intention as an amulet for a single, named bearer. The writing of ‘the’, or ‘these amulets’ in camel blood is then prescribed, either the preceding lines, or more likely others to follow (12–13), possibly for the protecting or blessing of a dovecote via ‘gathering in’ of domesticated doves or pigeons. Here the formulary pivots to a different kind of gathering, familiar from **Hay 3** (perhaps even continued there), of customers to a place of business, raising the possibility that the preceding dovecote procedure was, at least in this compilation, intended rather as a ritual prelude, an analogue in the service of this commerce-promotion. The invocation sets up a further analogy on the celestial plane, with the same angels responsible for gathering in their fellows to greet the supreme father. Among them Hormosiel (here also Hormisel), with his summoning trumpet, may be derived from the Gnostic luminary Harmozel, especially as a similar trumpet-playing role is also assigned in Coptic magic to the Gnostic Dauithe. At least two other angels were more current in contemporary religious experience, as Thanael (37) also seems to have been

commemorated in personal names (e.g. *O. Frangé* 70), as too perhaps Bathouel from **Hay 5**, 29 (e.g. *O. Frangé* 163; if not from Bethuel, father of Rebecca). Those to be gathered in the mortal realm are designated as offspring of Adam and Zoe, as in **Hay 3**, suggesting a background in the same Jewish angelological tradition transmitted through Greek as there, if not the same invocation. The invocation, which ends abruptly in mid-phrase, despite a generous bottom margin, could find a direct continuation at the top of the surviving back of **Hay 3**.

On the flesh side the text is again incomplete at the beginning, but a peculiar arrangement of divine names by cardinal directions can be recognised, probably as captions giving the names of figures in ritual drawings beneath them, which appears also in **Hay 5**. Here north, west and south survive, with three figures for each, though the names of those for north are lost. The surviving names recall those of the guardians invoked in the first invocation of **Hay 1**, grounding these two parts of the assemblage in a shared stock of spirit-lore, applied for different purposes. The missing top register that can be presumed to have stood for east might be identified in the fragmentary end of **Hay 3**, which supplies three names above three heads, although no cardinal direction has survived. If that identification were accepted, these figures would probably belong to the same customer-gathering procedure, as also the following multi-column presentation in **Hay 4** of angel-names (nearly equalling the number of the 24 presbyters referenced in turn in **Hay 1**) and further figural drawings and magical signs.

A final procedure is concerned with bleeding (76–96). The rubric is uninformative beyond that the bleeding is particular to women: presumably it is uterine, but whether normal menstruation is to be restored in healing or deranged as a form of curse remains unclear. The mechanism centres on the deposition of ritual drawings, one of which seems to figure the patient or her affliction itself, and an aromatic offering or fumigation.

Hay 4, whether it ultimately formed a part of **Hay 3** or just a part of the same assemblage, is comparable in the centrality of the pursuit of commercial success through the application of angelology. The generally familiar, but augmented Judaeo-Christian traditional frame persists, with a hint of a Gnostic background in the role of Harmosiel. In its more extensive remains, **Hay 4** also shows a somewhat broader scope, concerned with amuletic protection, possibly with animal husbandry and apparently with female reproductive health, whether to benefic or malefic ends.

6.3.5 Hay 5

This fragmentary formulary preserves the remains of three recipes. The first gives instructions for making an amulet, whose composition applies a motif found in **Hay 4** (and perhaps also **Hay 3**). Here, however, only two figures rather than three seem to be entered under a cardinal direction, and they lack the name-captions above their heads. The text breaks off after only the first of the directions, which impedes a more detailed comparison. The term ‘guardian’ appears in an acclamation at the head of the textual amulet, which coincides with the epithets of the nine powers addressed in the first invocation of **Hay 1**, some of whose

names resemble those in the cardinal directions motif in **Hay 4**, suggesting participation in a shared tradition. The text on the back resumes in the midst of an invocation for favour, particularly for a man in the eyes of a woman, in which magical words and signs are applied and the help of angels is sought. Thus, the angelological tradition continues to be represented from **Hay 4**: the form here is a sort of angelic roster, in which each member is tasked with conferring a benefit on the beneficiary. Here, to apportion ‘favour’ (twice) as well as ‘salvation’ (twice), ‘honour’ (twice) and ‘desire’ (that is, desirability of the user with respect to the target), a total of seven are met, the familiar (arch-) angelic Michael, Gabriel, Suriel (cf. Uriel), and Raphael, as well as Anael and Bathouel with recognisably angelic -el names. A surprise is Sebthor, whose name probably derives from a compound containing that of the Egyptian Horus (see 28 with the commentary).

A prayer attributed to the biblical prophet Elijah, whose miraculous crossing of the Jordan was also adduced as narrative analogue in **Hay 1**, serves as a general-purpose amulet. In addition to the oral quality expected from ‘prayer’ (here via a loanword from Greek εὐχή), the beginning of this amulet is in fact a line of letter-like magical signs. The text that does arrive appears to be a distortion, over the course of copying, of a transliteration as opposed to translation from Greek. Some formulaic placeholders, and terminology of communicative and intellectual faculties, curbs and restraints, suggest the protection of a named bearer from hostile speech by likewise named personal enemies. The formulary closes with two figural drawings, likely of divine powers, and scant remains of what was probably an invocation preceding them, ending in a formulaic expression of urgent affirmation, ‘yes, yes’.

Hay 5 attests in roughly equal parts to concern with amuletic protection and personal advancement with respect to third parties, here specifically an erotic relation, but without the violent compulsion detailed especially in **Hay 3**. Angelology and the elaboration of biblical traditions are the central element of traditional background, to which magical signs and figures also contribute, and at least one reminiscence of an Egyptian deity surfaces in the assimilation of Sebthor to a cast of angels.

6.3.6 Hay 6

In the absence of rubrics and instructions, the text of this small, complete sheet of leather, which contains only a short sequence of syntactic Coptic alongside ritual signs, resembles a finished product. As it was probably included within an assemblage of formularies, it might have functioned as an archival copy of such a finished product, especially as it cannot be recognised as the product of any of the surviving formularies. This text differs in form from the rest: complete but relatively small in size, it is also oriented horizontally rather than vertically. The single imperative addressed to an ‘eye’ and ‘heart’, surrounded by magical words, is difficult to assign conclusively to a purpose, but the ‘eye’, especially as qualified as ‘impure’ and apparently treated as hostile in the command for it to ‘weep’, suggests that protection from the evil eye may have been sought in a textual amulet. As the personal names often spelled out in

genuine amulets provided to clients are missing, there is a further possibility that this sheet was a mock-up or prototype, or a sort of field copy of a personalised amulet in which the personalisation has been suppressed.

6.3.7 Hay 7

This small fragment probably belonged to a formulary, but it cannot be placed with any of the other surviving manuscripts. The preserved remains give only ritual drawings.

6.3.8 Synthesis

Throughout the Hay assemblage, a preference for practical and relatively simple procedures can be remarked, which contrasts with the more complex procedures of the major manuscript collections in book-rolls and codices of the magical papyri from Roman Egypt, which will be introduced in Chapter 7. Correspondingly, the goals are in most cases more immediate and tangible than the hymns and procedures to summon divine attendants in those earlier collections, or the initiation rituals that the latter share to some extent with the Gnostic Nag Hammadi codices. Although it has been argued that some of the more outlandish preparations, promised results, mystification, encoding devices and pseudepigraphic attributions characteristic of the best known of the magical papyri, the so-called Theban Magical Library, and related texts may serve an authoritative authorial self-presentation on the part of Egyptian priests,¹⁴ that is, prestige rather than practical use, it would be difficult to explain the more *ad hoc* production of the Hay manuscripts – evidenced, for example, in the substandard leather substrates – as a purely bookish phenomenon. An exception to the overall impression of immediacy is **Hay 1**, with two invocations in the block of text at its beginning that seem to serve a desire for a more general attendance by supernatural powers (the first invocation) and for mystical revelation (the third invocation), but even the latter could have been applied for the more concrete aim of divination via apparitions in a vessel – that is, a form of lecanomancy.

Hay 1, the most extensive of these manuscripts, can serve as a leading example of the potential and limitations of a content-based analysis for conclusions about aims and identity. The identity question will be taken up more fully further on. Here it can simply be acknowledged that direct indications of the identity of the collectors, or potential users (as opposed to that of the clients) are limited, other than the requirements of literacy and access to the aromatic substances and other ritual offering-materials prescribed in the formulary. There is nevertheless an unmistakable impression of orientation of use, or client-consultation, towards a secular rather than monastic community, relevant to issues of social context explored in more detail in Chapter 7. One of the 14 applications of the Marmarioth-prayer, in the case of ‘a man whom you wish to leave his house’ (76–7), is especially revealing. A secular person could have hired a monk to deploy such a procedure against an enemy described in these terms, and the documentary record of late ancient and later Egypt shows that monasteries in general were far from closed to economic dealings with secular

people. One hesitates, however, to dismiss the ‘you’ of the rubrics – not ‘a client who wishes to make a man leave’ but ‘whom *you* wish to leave’ – as purely generic.¹⁵

The ancestors of the Hay texts in the world of the magical formularies of Late Antiquity are taken up in detail in Chapter 7. A brief perspective is given here on the aims of the former in comparison with some of the major contextual groups that can be drawn among the latter. In a study of five possible archives among the Graeco-Egyptian papyri, Jacco Dieleman has identified divination and alchemy as prominent in the Theban Magical Library,¹⁶ which are absent from the Hay texts with a possible exception in **Hay 1**. Better represented, in common with the earlier papyri, are Dieleman’s categories of ‘control’ and ‘protection’; Jacques van der Vliet takes ‘health’ and ‘success in sex and business’ as the dominant concerns for the ‘Christian spells’ as he analyses them,¹⁷ which the Hay manuscripts could then be seen to typify.

One respect in which the procedures and their aims seem to demand contextualisation in a community – and a secular rather than monastic one – beyond eccentric curiosity has already been raised in the discussion of **Hay 1** above. The sustained concern elsewhere in the assemblage with two types of procedures bears out this point. First there is the pursuit of ‘favour’, whose consistent expression with the Greek loanword *χάρις* suggests an origin in a genre represented among the Greek magical papyri, the *charitesion*, also listed among the ‘magic arts’ (*τεχνὰ μαγικά*) by Irenaeus (*Adversus haereses* 1.20.2), writing in the 2nd century, in connection with what he deemed a heretical cult of angels, who are indeed invoked directly in the Hay texts (**Hay 4**).

In some cases (the first recipe of **Hay 3**, **Hay 5**) there is a specific orientation towards winning favour for a man in the eyes of a woman, which could pass for a gentler form of the erotic magic deployed elsewhere in the assemblage (**Hay 2**). In others, however, it is of a specifically commercial kind, with potential customers (the second recipe of **Hay 3**), or of a more general kind (**Hay 1**), which invites speculation on other use and goals: public life, career advancement, petitions or more sustained engagement with courts and halls of power, business ventures. In another branch of the Christian magical tradition, reflected in early modern Syriac amulets and formularies, favour is sought specifically before authorities, and an opposition between the users, members of a minority Christian culture, and the target-officials as members of a majority Muslim culture is explicitly drawn.¹⁸ Something similar in the Hay manuscripts, though never made explicit, could lie behind the focus on favour: besides a universal human desire for assistance in social situations bearing on livelihood, the appeal is sharpened by the extra difficulty that a Christian might have felt in securing the favour of a Muslim, especially one in a position of power, in Islamic Egypt.

6.4 Identity of copyists and collectors

Who were the people behind the Hay manuscripts? To begin to answer this question, beyond the penumbra of their reconstructed interests, a possible distinction must be raised between their owners – who counted among the relatively few contemporaries literate in Coptic – and others who may

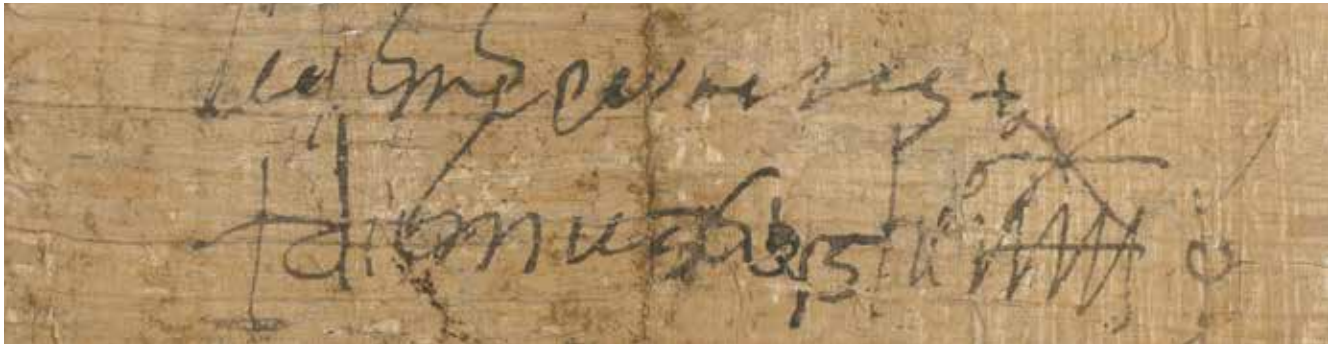


Figure 6.2a–b a) (above) Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Scan: Berliner Papyrusdatenbank, P 2576 (BGU I 315). Settlement between Aurelios Apa Ioulios and Aurelios Ioseph, Arsinoe, AD 627, detail showing notarial subscription of the notary Georgios; b) (right) Facsimile drawing (detail) of the portion of the subscription with designs resembling magical *charakteres* elsewhere associated with the Sun and Jupiter



have come into contact with their contents indirectly. That is, paying clients and less formal acquaintances may have benefited from the application of the procedures by the owners of the manuscripts.

The work of David Frankfurter, seminal for the study of Coptic magic in recent years, stresses the role of monks and priests as prime agents in the production and practice of ritual texts.¹⁹ Priests are known to have worked as estate managers in Byzantine Egypt,²⁰ a particularly relevant comparandum for putting literacy to work as a profitable sideline. For amulets in monastic contexts, the testimony of the famous abbot Shenoute has often been applied in modern discussions – and is duly considered in Chapter 7.8 – but it concerns only animal products used as talismans, not textual amulets, let alone ritual formularies. More relevant is the dossier of the monk Frange, active in the Theban region a century or two before the Hay texts: one of his letters (*O. Frangé* 191) accompanies an amuletic ‘cord’ (ⲕⲁⲛ) that he sends to be attached to a mare, and ‘blessings’ (ⲛⲉⲥⲙⲟⲩ) to be attached more specifically to its neck, for it to receive divine protection. In that context, Frange’s response (*O. Frangé* 190) to a request for writing on ‘a large tablet’ (ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲓⲗⲁⲗ) to be placed ‘in front of the livestock’ (ⲉⲗⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲧⲃⲛⲟⲟⲩⲉ) may also have to do with amulets, as may the monk’s copy of a prayer for the blessing of a monastery’s ‘men and livestock’ (ⲉⲕⲉⲗⲁⲣⲉⲗ ⲉⲛⲣⲟⲩⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲗⲩⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛⲛⲧⲃⲛⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲗⲩⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩⲩ: *O. Crum* ST 18.4–7 with *O. Frangé* p. 158). Blessings, however, are far from erotic magic, or a procedure to drive a man out of his house, to cite just two examples of the more aggressive rituals in the arsenal of the Hay collection. If Shenoute took such umbrage at the essentially private devotion of the residents of Pneuith near Panopolis, who will be met in Chapter 7.8, one can only imagine how much more loudly he would have fulminated against monks who participated in the fullness of

the ritual practices exemplified by the Hay texts, since there is no mention of them in his voluminous oeuvre.

Although the monastic scriptorium and the initiative of clergy are appealing contexts for the production of magical texts in general terms, there are no positive indications that the copyists and owners of the Hay manuscripts were priests or monks. The appearance of the term *shoumara* in **Hay 3**, 46–7, whose precise meaning remains unknown, is not an exception, even in the rather unlikely case that this word did refer to the site of a monastery (see further the commentary). Only a familiarity on the part of the compiler and user with the local monastic topography would have to be assumed, not the active participation of the monks themselves. In **Hay 1**, 82, reference is made to ‘the altar of a *topos*’ (ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲟⲡⲟⲩ) as the site of ritual deposition, but here the sense of internality to a monastic or clerical community is still weaker. Even if this *topos* (literally, ‘place’) did mean more specifically a monastery rather than a private chapel, the user would seem to be envisioned as external to a context in which such an altar is a permanent fixture, having to search out ‘a’ *topos* as opposed to ‘your’ or ‘the’ centrally located one in ‘your’ monastery or church.

The interests represented in the texts themselves also point towards a strongly secular milieu. Success in business, specifically in attracting customers to a shop, is pursued, as is the appropriation of another person’s shop or house, neither of which, in contrast to the blessing of monastic holdings of livestock sought by Frange, is particularly suggestive of a monastic or priestly context. Monks and priests had economic agency, but so active, secularly immersed – and likely, to their eyes, sordid – a role as shopkeeper is improbable. At best, such a position could have suited a deacon. Even if the intervention was on behalf of a client, the prevalence of business concerns in the assemblage, and the more aggressive varieties of its

expression – making a person ‘flee’ from his house, for example, in **Hay 1**, 76–8 – make it difficult to identify as the work of a monk or cleric, even of the lower ranks, who took his orders to heart. This scruple could also have been expected to apply to erotic magic, another prominent concern of the assemblage, in such presumably reprehensible manoeuvres as dispatching a demon to drive fiery spikes into a woman’s head until she submits – or rather, exposes herself to the user (or client) and seeks sex from him (**Hay 3**). The rubrics and internal references speak not of gaining conquest for others, but rather for the user himself (always him), which in their consistency in this respect are not so easy to dismiss as an illusion of phrasing.

The rest of this chapter will be devoted to considering some other possible identities, besides churchmen. The first criterion, of literacy, will have been a stringent one, but although restricted in contemporary Egypt, it was not confined to priests and monks. Members of what might be called a notarial class were literate for professional purposes, functioning as secretaries, drawing up official documents, keeping accounts and exchanging letters.²¹ To such a notarial context belongs at least one text from the so-called Greek magical papyri (*PGMP* 13a). This formula for a prayer, requesting that a supreme, Christian divinity ‘make subject’ (ὀπόταξον) all demons to the user, was copied on the back of a document in the archive of Dioscorus of Aphrodito, leading citizen of that village in the 6th century. His role included drafting petitions and legal documents in Greek and Coptic on behalf of other members of his community. More careful analysis of the scribal features of the Coptic magical papyri holds the potential to reveal a wider role for such notarial actors in their tradition.²² At least one professional notary used designs resembling magical *charakteres* in subscriptions to notarised documents: an asteriform sign with ringed termini and a diagonal criss-cross pattern, associated in other contexts with the Sun and Jupiter respectively, applied by Georgios at Arsinoe in AD 627 (*BGU* I 315; **Fig. 6.2**).²³

The fullest evidence for this alternative, literate but non-ecclesiastical context comes earlier in late ancient Egypt. Much will have changed in Egypt between this 4th-century witness and the Hay manuscripts – intervening centuries of majority-Christian culture, then the advent of Islamic rule – but the perspective on the full range of those who could take an interest in magical texts, and manifest that interest in the form of collecting and copying them, is no less valuable. The document (*P.Philammon*; cf. *PGMXXIIa*) is a Greek notebook in the form of a papyrus codex, whose owner, Aurelius Philammon, a municipal official of Hermopolis in the mid-4th century, probably acquired it blank – entirely or at least in large part – and filled it out with a miscellany of texts of professional and personal interest: copies of court transcripts, receipts and accounts related to his duties in collecting taxes, magical texts with a focus on the application of verses from Homer for personal benefit and an invocation of the Sun to grant favour. The role of Coptic in such a personal, secular circulation is indicated in turn by a bilingual Coptic-Greek letter sent between two men who provide no indications of any religious office or monastic affiliation, found at the oasis

town of Kellis (*P.Kellis.Copt.* (*P.Kellis* V) 35), discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.5). It supplies a copy of a bilingual Coptic-Greek ritual text for an aggressive aim from private life, to separate a man and a woman, that is difficult to reconcile with the expectations of spiritual probity for churchmen. Nothing about the contents of the letter or its findspot, in the ruins of a private house, mark either party as anything other than a private person.

In light of these expanded contextual possibilities, another magical tradition in Egypt may be put forward as a model for the copying and collection of the Hay manuscripts. This is the Jewish magic represented by the Cairo Genizah,²⁴ which will also figure in the discussion in Chapter 7. Characterised by short gatherings of notes, in codex form or on single sheets of paper, magical texts in the Genizah match the Coptic texts in their diversity of aims and methods, and in their permeability to external ritual traditions. The sheer quantity of material and its multiplicity seem to demand a wider spread of individual literacy, interest and initiative, beyond the bounds of institutional centres, the equivalent of monastic libraries. Rates of literacy in the Jewish communities represented by the Genizah significantly surpassed those of contemporary Christian communities, but in a more general way the artisanal workshops of late ancient Christian Egypt can be compared, in that they produced artefacts imbued with religious significance but were not necessarily dependent on religious institutions.²⁵

A more specific comparison can be drawn with the situation of magic in rural communities in modern Egypt as observed by Winifred Susan Blackman, whose evidence will also be applied in Chapter 7.7. For these specialists, Muslim and Christian, at least one of whom was generally to be found in each village, practice indeed depended on written formularies (‘books’), which they usually wrote themselves as a more durable record of material passed down orally in families, from father to son. One practitioner from among the ‘Copts’ showed a more enterprising spirit, having collected ‘with great labour’ procedures to serve his speciality of remedies for spirit-possession, and had entered the profession not through a family tradition but via ‘long apprenticeship’ to a colleague.²⁶

In all three cases – the Hay manuscripts, the Cairo Genizah and 20th-century Egyptian villages – a comparison with earlier ritual practice also helps to reconstruct a more diverse background of practitioners and their identities. Chapter 7 will take up those earlier practices from a different perspective, more broadly contextual than identity-focused – such a question would require a monograph in itself. Here one last model may be briefly introduced in the category of ‘freelance religious experts’, as recently defined by Heidi Wendt for the Roman period. If the question of the comparative mobility of personnel involved must be set aside in the absence of relevant indications in the Hay assemblage, there remains a useful parallel in the client-facing professionalisation of cultic practice and the freedom to draw on a plurality of traditions. For members of Wendt’s category, which in turn shaped the practice of early Christian charismatic figures such as Paul, there was something ‘extraordinary’ on offer in their services, but they

derived legitimacy in the first instance not from institutional frameworks or confession, but ‘demonstrations of skill and learning’.²⁷ Such a basis would also have been available in the Hay manuscripts for their owners, even if whatever ‘demonstrations’ they may have based on them lie beyond recovery.

Notes

- 1 Orsini 2008.
- 2 For such gerontological aspects of palaeography see Cromwell 2017, 45–6; for deliberate variation in script by a scribe of Coptic alchemical texts to signal textual divisions, Richter 2018.
- 3 Crum 1934a, 51.
- 4 For a sample see pl. 3 of *P.Lond.Copt.* I; for the date, *BLV*, 97.
- 5 For the Pathyris archive, see F. Mitthof in *SPP III*² pp. xxv–xxx and Dijkstra 2014, 328–9; for use of leather for Nubian-language texts: Ruffini 2014, nos 63–71.
- 6 Dublin, Chester Beatty Library Cpt 2013 (Ac. 1846), ed. Quecke 1975.
- 7 For the nexus of invocation, ritual drawings and offerings see recently Gardner and Johnston 2019, 38–47; for a thorough consideration of the figures, Dosoo 2021b.
- 8 On the Horapollonian text see Sbordone 1940; Masson and Fournet 1992; Thissen 2001; Fournet 2021a; on Chaeremon, a poorly known predecessor of the 1st century AD, see van der Horst 1984.
- 9 For overviews see Mastrocinque 2012 and Gordon 2014; monumental inscription: on the retaining walls of the theatre of Miletus (*CIG* 2895; *I.Chr. Asie Mineure* 221; *I.Milet* II 943a).
- 10 See already Dosoo 2021b, 108–10.
- 11 For other probable reflections of a shared tradition between late ancient Egypt and the Mandaeans of southern Iraq see Zellmann-Rohrer 2019. Ships bearing holy figures as well as celestial bodies feature also in Manichaean cosmology (see e.g. the introduction of Böhlig and Wisse (1975, 47) to the edition of the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, NHC III, 2 and IV, 2), which could also factor in their appearance in Egypt (the suggestion of Jacques van der Vliet).
- 12 On reflections of this motif in the magical papyri see recently Faraone 2019; it was also at the centre of the so-called Orphic lamellae that promised guidance to the abode of the blessed in the afterlife (Graf and Johnston 2007).
- 13 See e.g. the *Apocalypse of Paul*, NHC V, 2 p. 23 (further parallels in the introduction to the edition of Murdock and MacRae, in Parrott (ed.) 1979, 49).
- 14 Dieleman 2005, esp. 239–84.
- 15 For the generic second person singular in Coptic see recently Brakke 2020, 60–1; it is also found in magical and medical prescriptions: e.g. Michigan Ms. 136 (ed. Worrell 1935a, 17–37; see now Zellmann-Rohrer and Love 2022), p. 2.1–8 (also p. 5.6 in Greek).
- 16 Dieleman 2019, 296–7.
- 17 Dieleman 2019, 300–4; Van der Vliet 2019a, 332.
- 18 E.g. an unpublished recipe in an 18th-century codex now in Birmingham, University Library, Mingana MS 316 ff. 69a–70a, for a prayer to be inscribed as an amulet to gain ‘sweetness’ (HLYWT) before all mankind, in which the invocation runs in part, ‘raise up the fire of affection (RHMT) for the bearer of these writings (...) in the heart of all sons of Hagar (...) and in the heart of all emirs (...) and governors and viziers, good and evil, amen.’ For this manuscript and the tradition to which it belongs, see Zellmann-Rohrer 2021, esp. 82.
- 19 Frankfurter 2001, 499–500; Frankfurter 2018, 184–211 (but allowing in passing ‘the scribal services of figures not affiliated with a Christian institution’, 185); Van der Vliet 2019a, 348, speaks of a ‘growing consensus that so-called Coptic magic was practiced by members of the lower clergy, monks and deacons’.
- 20 Schmelz 2002, 241–5.
- 21 The large, bilingual Greek-Coptic archive of the notary Senouthios (of which the largest published portion is in *CPR XXX*), of the early Islamic period, is exemplary for the activities of such professionals. The education of a *notarios*, the future St Symphonios, is reflected in the martyrdom of Panine and Panew, ed. Till 1935a, 55–62 (reference from Sophie Kovarik), including ‘cursive’ and ‘majuscule’ scripts, which took place in a dedicated school-hall (ΘΕΡΙΟΝ) at Antinoopolis under the ‘teacher of the *nomikoi* of the city’ (ΠΙΣΑΞ ΝΝΟΜΙΚΟΣ ΝΤΠΟΛΙΣ, pp. 56–7 Till); the historical setting is probably to be referred to the 4th century, but the composition was later, not before the 7th.
- 22 Sebastian Richter has kindly shared the information that Krisztina Hevesi is at work on a study of assemblages of Coptic magical texts now in Berlin and Strasbourg that show such features.
- 23 Sophie Kovarik is thanked for this reference; for the planetary associations, see Mastrocinque 2012.
- 24 For the texts: Schäfer and Shaked 1994–; for an accessible presentation in synthesis with other sources on ancient and medieval Jewish magic see recently Harari 2017, 207–93.
- 25 Frankfurter 2018, 28–9, 151–81.
- 26 Blackman 1927, 230–1.
- 27 Wendt 2016, 10. For the practitioners of Coptic magic as actors in a competitive ‘market’ see recently Dosoo 2021a.

Chapter 7

From Ancient to Medieval Magical Practice: The Historical Position of the Hay Texts

Michael Zellmann-Rohrer

This chapter gives historical context for the Hay assemblage through a diachronic survey of magical texts in the Coptic language, from precursors in the pre-Old Coptic (or Graeco-Egyptian) material of the Roman period, through the height of ritual text production in Coptic in Late Antiquity (4th through 7th centuries AD),¹ to the long afterlife of such texts in Islamic Egypt. Inextricably bound with these developments is a story of two transformations, without which the Hay manuscripts cannot be understood. First, how the Egyptian language and script developed as a medium for the transmission of magical texts, from the native writing systems into the hybrid Coptic script via Greek. Second, how the ritual landscape in which that magic itself was rooted, informed first by traditional Egyptian religion, slowly took up elements of Hellenic cult over the Graeco-Roman period, then was more dramatically reshaped by the advent of Christianity, firmly in place and even dominant in Egypt – in a distinctively Egyptian form – by the end of the 4th century. A perspective is also offered on the Islamic context to which the copying of the Hay manuscripts probably belongs, after their revised dating – but which, in contrast to other witnesses, had yet to exert a perceptible influence on their form and content.

The focus here will be on ancient texts as primary sources – in keeping with the central position of manuscripts in this volume – and, in terms now in favour in the study of ancient magic, ‘insider’ as opposed to ‘outsider’ sources.² As contemporary ‘outsider’ accounts, more discursive but usually derogatory, such as found in hagiography and homiletics, can nevertheless add detail and useful sidelights, they will be considered in section 7.8. Gleanings from another kind of ‘outsider’ perspective conclude section 7.7: observations by modern Westerners on ritual practices in a comparable, though inevitably much differing, milieu of Christians and Muslims in Egypt of the 19th and 20th centuries.

7.1 Ptolemaic Egypt

Egyptians had had contact with foreign writing systems, most extensively cuneiform, since the pharaonic period. Greek itself was a late and limited addition for the latter, in the colony at Naukratis and more occasionally by travellers further south, such as the visitors’ graffiti in the temple of Achoris at Karnak on Thebes’ east bank and on the colossi of Ramses II at Abu Simbel. The first recorded experiments with representing the Egyptian language in the Greek alphabet began not long after its introduction as language of governance in Egypt in the Ptolemaic period. There was a practical need to transliterate personal names and toponyms into Greek, but evidence of more discursive engagement comes among the graffiti from the Memnonion of Abydos, in which syntactic Egyptian is found in Greek script without the additional letters of fully formed Coptic (‘pre-Old Coptic’ or ‘Graeco-Egyptian’), in one case precisely dated by regnal year (of the rebel Hyrgonaphor who proclaimed himself king over Upper Egypt) to 202/1 BC.³ Magical texts figure prominently in the surviving evidence for this practice: the convenience of Greek vowel-letters may reasonably be assumed as a motivation, with the appeal of accurate representation of the pronunciation of archaic

texts, facilitated by interlinear glossing.⁴ There was also an opportunity to reach a broader public than the increasingly restricted circles literate in the native Egyptian writing systems, a force that also drove the more systematic translation of Egyptian ritual texts into Greek. In a development comparable to one in private letter-writing in the Roman period, Egyptians themselves embraced Greek and Old Coptic for practical reasons in the obsolescence of Demotic writing for a distinct but contiguous ritual genre, letters addressed to deities.⁵

This transitional time also shaped key elements in the transmission and use of ritual texts in Egypt: temples and their priestly personnel. Both were traditionally closed and hereditary groups, but they were assiduously cultivated by the Hellenic, or more specifically Macedonian, ruling class throughout the Ptolemaic period, as the temples enjoyed royal benefactions and their priests royal favour. To the beginning of this time of foreign rule belongs the famous ‘Peukestas papyrus’ (*SB XIV 11942*), probably issued by one of Alexander’s generals to prevent the violation of priestly quarters at Memphis or Saqqara. A witness on the ground to the royal privileges accorded to – and eagerly accepted by – the temples is a letter from the Zenon archive of the mid-3rd century BC in which a body of priests of ‘Aphrodite’ reminds a high financial official, the *dioiketes*, of the urgency of providing the expensive embalming-materials required for the burial of a sacred animal, which had been promised (*PSIIV 328*; *P.Zen.Pestman 50*).

Temples maintained the right to hold land, the revenues from which, in addition to royal subsidies, supported the priests themselves as they engaged in the copying of ritual texts, among other pursuits. The portion of such texts that verged on the magical could already begin to serve a broader public if the priests took to providing private clients with personalised services, such as amulets and oracular consultations.⁶ Hybrid institutional structures could also give more direct routes for non-priestly participation, such as the position of the *katochoi* in the Serapeum of Memphis, some of whom identified as ethnically ‘Greek’ or Macedonian, but among whom Egyptian language-learning seems to have progressed, such that they could conceivably have consulted priestly books.⁷ The priesthood itself also expanded and diversified: priests began to bear Greek names⁸ – not in itself a sign of change in ethnicity, but difficult to explain under an assumption of a hermetically sealed social set.

The absence of Ptolemaic magical papyri in Greek is at first striking. The exceptions are liminal cases, and finished products of, rather than instructions for, the underlying practices. The so-called ‘Curse of Artemisia’ (*PGM XL*), whose Ionic dialect suggests it belongs to a pre-Ptolemaic settlement from Asia Minor at Memphis, is in form indebted to traditional Egyptian letters to the gods appealing for justice against human malefactors. Some written submissions of questions (‘tickets’) from the consultation of a temple oracle by private individuals at Tebtunis in the 3rd century BC are then the sole properly Ptolemaic witness.⁹

Egyptian-language magical texts, however, also continue to be attested, and total survivals of Greek papyri from the Ptolemaic period are small in comparison to the Roman.

That the later Roman flourishing of the genre is not a sudden development is suggested by the already well-developed synthesis of Hellenic, Egyptian and Mesopotamian magical traditions in a collection of incantations in Greek from the late 1st century BC or 1st century AD – which owes its survival purely to the chance of being reused for the cartonnage of a human mummy in the necropolis of Herakleopolis, alongside an archive of an official, Athenodorus, from that city.¹⁰ Whether it is connected to Athenodorus himself or not, the mixture of erotic magic and a headache cure suits a sympotic context – and its morning-after effects – in an urban setting, and nothing about the findspot can connect it to a priestly milieu. The internal title of the collection speaks of a translation made into Greek from a sacred book in an Egyptian temple, a process that need not be accepted literally, but the underlying sense of traditional Egyptian ritual now circulating (alongside distinct motifs from other traditions) in a foreign language within Egypt is inescapable. The continuation of this circulation into Christian and Islamic Egypt is responsible for bringing the traditional Egyptian motif of Horus into the Hay texts, but adapted and reframed by processes whose dynamics will be considered in 7.4 and 7.6 below.

7.2 Roman Egypt

The social parameters of the later flowering of magical formularies in Roman Egypt, among the so-called Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri, will be examined below (7.6). Now it is time to turn to the situation of the Egyptian language in particular – Coptic, the medium of the Hay manuscripts, and its predecessors – in the environment of Hellenistic and Roman Egypt that also provided the background to the complex mixture of cultic traditions in the Hay manuscripts.

An early example is a fragment of a book-roll with a Greek magical formulary of the late 1st century AD (*P.Oxy. LXV 4468*; *GEMF 6*). It shows clear signs of Hellenic influence: an invocation in pursuit of ‘favour’ (χάρις) refers to the gods Pluto, Zeus, Hermes ‘son of Maia’, Hera and Aphrodite ‘bestower of favour’, and to their dwelling on Mount Olympos, in conjunction with some magical words that may hail from the Near East (verso i 1–17). In an invocation in another section aimed at bringing sleep, there is also a metrical closing tag of great antiquity in Greece, asking the goddess Persephone to ‘perfect a perfect incantation’ (Φερσεφόνη τέλεσον τ[ελέαν] ἐπαιοιδήν], verso i 26). The Egyptian language, still current in both spoken and ritual use in the local context of this formulary, the city of Oxyrhynchos, makes itself felt in an utterance prescribed as part of an amulet (φυλακτήριον: verso ii 20–5). Internally identified as a ‘speech in Egyptian’ (λόγος Αἰγ]υπτιστί), it does indeed, though fragmentary, preserve some syntactic elements in the Egyptian language: the self-identifications ‘I am’ ανακ αγκ [], similarly ανκ followed by divine names αμα ραλλ [], and νταφ μν μν ‘he, so-and-so’.¹¹

In the same city of Oxyrhynchos, in the slightly later Roman period, Old Coptic makes its entrance. That is, certain Egyptian words are written in Greek letters, with the addition of new ones borrowed from alphabetic Demotic to represent more accurately phonemes not found in Greek.

This witness is an otherwise entirely Egyptian ritual formulary, P.Brit.Mus. EA 10808 (*GEMF* 14), dated to the later 2nd century AD, a fragment of a book-roll with a complex mixture of Demotic, Greek and Old Coptic scripts (see **Fig. 1.8**). The convenience of recording precisely the vowels of divine names, whose correct pronunciation would have been considered crucial to the efficacy of the ritual, again probably underlies this choice: an entire column (ii) of the text is devoted to a transcription into Old Coptic of a Middle Egyptian text, an invocation concerned with winning favour and love for its beneficiary.

A more recognisably and substantially bilingual manuscript, reflecting the rise of Greek as a language of scientific and technical literature even in milieu traditionally dominated by Egyptian, comes in the 3rd century. Old Coptic as exemplified by this manuscript shows a still fluid set of additional letters, before their systematisation in a ‘standard’ Coptic. *PGM* III is a composite of fragments of two original manuscripts, one solely in Greek (III.1), the other bilingual, in Greek and Old Coptic, including its special letters (III.2).¹² The Old Coptic portion is fragmentary and textually corrupt, but remains that are extensive enough for analysis survive in two places. A short invocation (λόγος; 396–407) consists chiefly of divine epithets as part of a long procedure for divine assistance in divination. A longer one (633–89), untitled, apparently served a ritual for a divinity to make the user’s ‘shadow’ (σκιά) serve him, and is periodically interrupted by Greek placeholders inviting the insertion of particulars ‘as you wish’ (ὡς ἂν θέλεις). That Old Coptic portions, so far as preserved, are confined to invocations suggests that this writing system offered a middle ground between the original intention of pre-Old Coptic glosses to preserve pronunciation of archaic language – the longer of the two invocations here lays claim several times to knowledge of a ‘true name’ (ΡΑΝ ΕΝΜΗΤ) – and the popularising effect of Greek script (and language) as more easily and widely written and read. *PGM* III, however, is no fossilised relic of ancient Egypt: the Old Coptic shows already an engagement with contemporary cultic currents. In the shorter invocation (396–407), the names of the angels Michael and Gabriel appear, and a continuation (418–20) refers to the eschatological toponym Gehenna (ΓΕΙΝΝΑ: see **Hay 3**, 17–18 with the note) and may include a self-identification as ‘Jesus, the great god’ (ΔΝΓ? in place of ΔΝΓ in *PGM*, followed by ΗΣΟΥΣ ΠΝΕΤΟ). The longer invocation (633–89) includes among self-identifications and divine epithets sequences of the seven Greek vowels and the Judaeo-Christian or Gnostic ΣΑΒΔΑ[Θ] ΔΔΩΝΑΙ ΔΔΩΝ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΙΟΤ.

7.3 Jews in Egypt, Jewish elements in magical texts

Contact between Jews, or Judaeans, and Egyptians had a long history. Beyond whatever historical reality may be reflected by the biblical narratives of Israelite presence in Egypt, Egyptian foreign conquest brought contact with the relevant part of the Near East, and, closer to the time of the Hay manuscripts, Jewish communities were settled in Egypt under the Persians and the Ptolemies. From Judaea the Persians adopted the Aramaic script and language as an administrative technology, and the Ptolemies, who already

had Greek for that purpose, showed an interest rather in a religious aspect. Royal patronage supported the translation of Jewish scripture that resulted in the Septuagint, to judge from credibly historical elements in the otherwise fictional *Letter of Aristeas*. That the influence of Judaism on magical texts in Egypt was reflected not only in the Greek language, even if relying on it for diffusion, but also in Egyptian-language texts shows that these developments were not limited to Alexandria. The engagement also involved dynamic mythmaking, as emerges, for example, from the references in the Demotic portions of the bilingual Demotic-Greek formulary *P.Mag.LL* to a divine revelation ‘in the fashion of your revelation to Moses (written with a divine determinative) that you enacted upon the mountain, before whom you created the darkness (and) the light’, alongside references to cult at Abydos that identify the invoked god clearly as Osiris, and in a recipe for erotic magic to ‘the longing that God, the son of Sirius (?), felt for Moses while he was going to the hill of Ninaretos to offer water to [h]is god, his lord, his Iao Sabao(th)’.¹³ A more precise borrowing from Jewish scripture appears in a Greek formulary of the 4th century, *PGMXXXVI*, which cites as a narrative analogy the destruction of the biblical Pentapolis and the transformation of Lot’s wife into a pillar of salt. The text echoes biblical language, citing the five cities by name, and contextually links this episode to the ritual use of sulphur, but makes some additions: that all five, not only four, of the cities were destroyed, and that Lot’s wife was lithified simply by ‘hearing the sound’ (ἀκούσασα τῆς φωνῆς) of the destruction,¹⁴ which may reflect a dynamic engagement with scripture beyond a passive reception through distorting media. The interface between Greek and Coptic language and script also intersects with the translation of Jewish scripture, as the Old Testament book of Proverbs was rendered in Egyptian in the 3rd or early 4th century, in a script better described as Old Coptic than Coptic, with a high concentration of unusual and archaic letters going back to Demotic.¹⁵ Already in the 3rd century a Greek version of Isaiah was being annotated in Coptic (*P.Beatty* VI (cod. V) + *PSIXII* 1273).¹⁶

The interaction with Judaism also ran in both directions, in a manner that illustrates the complexities of the magical practice of Late Antiquity. Non-Jewish (Hellenic, Egyptian) elements appear in magical texts otherwise securely attributed to Jewish practitioners in Late Antiquity.¹⁷ Such transfers continued into later times, as suggested by probable uptake from Coptic, possibly through an Arabic medium, into the Jewish magic of the Cairo Genizah, where there may even have been an attempt to copy Demotic signs.¹⁸

Because of the dominant place of Christianity in the tradition of the Coptic texts, to which the Hay manuscripts belong – as also the belief-system guiding and permeating the worldview and daily life of their practitioners – there was less scope for any direct influence from Judaism, opposition to which was central to Christian self-definition. Still, the Hay manuscripts engage with lore about the magical prowess of Solomon (**Hay 2**), which owes a debt, even if unacknowledged by contemporaries, to Jewish traditions, as does the development of the angelology reflected most extensively in **Hay 4** and **5**, integrated in turn with

Egyptian traditions (as shown by the Egyptian name of one of the angels in **Hay 5**, Sebthor: see 28 with the commentary and section 6.3 above). From elsewhere among the Christian magical texts there is the apparent translation of a pseudonymous prayer of the Jewish patriarch Jacob from Greek into Coptic, citing an apocryphal tradition of an alternative ending to the biblical episode of the binding of Isaac.¹⁹

7.4 Christianity and Christian magic

The flowering of Christianity in Egypt, in a distinctively Egyptian form,²⁰ is undoubtedly the most significant development for the constitution of the texts of the Hay manuscripts. Christian features are so pervasive in them – crosses, invocation of divine powers, claims to act ‘in the name of’ the latter, co-options of the cult of saints, scripture, liturgy – that they hardly need elaboration here. It is, nevertheless, striking how much more elaborately other branches of the Coptic magical tradition develop a Christian mythology: the cosmologies, visions of heavenly churches and detailed celestial topography and reference to ritual practices of angels, on display in the lengthy ‘Glorification-text’ (*Endoxon*) of the archangel Michael, to which, and to the applications of which, an entire 10th-century codex is devoted.²¹ To understand the background of the Hay manuscripts, it should also be recalled that Christianity was not alone among new religious traditions introduced to Egypt in the Roman period, and its eventual dominance over rivals in what should be seen as stiff competition was far from guaranteed. Direct lines between ancient Egyptian traditions and a later ‘Christianisation’ of them are, therefore, problematic. Besides Gnosticism and Manichaeism, which will be discussed below, there was also the more specifically Egyptian Hermetism and the Hellenic Neoplatonism,²² among the inheritance from which may be the distinctive *charakteres* discussed in Chapter 6.

Before that, some no less distinctive and significant developments took root in Alexandria, where non-Jewish interest in Jewish scripture had been active already for centuries: the intersection of Jewish, Christian, Hellenic and Egyptian cultic and mythical elements in what is conventionally termed ‘Gnosticism’. Even if there is no consensus on the precise scope of that term, or substantial evidence for it as a self-identification among adherents, Christian authors of the 2nd through 4th centuries did speak of contemporary, heretical groups as ‘gnostics’.²³ Original texts, most spectacularly those copied in the 13 codices of the 4th or 5th century secreted together at Nag Hammadi (near ancient Diospolis Parva), are generally accepted as products of this same 2nd- to 4th-century period.

In the Hay texts Angelicus M. Kropp, writing before the Nag Hammadi find, pointed to Gnostic influence on the opening, ‘syncretistic’ prayer of **Hay 1** (*AKZ* III, 226–7; see also the commentary on 1–12), with its unusual descriptions of the Christian eucharist and persons of the trinity as having distinct divine, or angelic, guardians. The passwords in several of the invocations in the Hay texts, and accompanying aromatic offerings, may also reflect elements of such a synthesis with apocalyptic teachings that find their closest analogues in Gnosticism, even if no practice in the

recent history of the Hay assemblage could be characterised as properly Gnostic. Absent are characteristic features generally attributed to Gnosticism: the salvific role of received knowledge (*gnosis*) itself, a dualistic cosmology, polemic against Judaism and Christianity. There are only fragments of Gnosticism’s distinctive cast of mythological figures: probably one of the cosmic Luminaries, Harmozel (**Hay 4**, 20 with further discussion and references in the commentary) and possibly an Aion, but, if correctly read in **Hay 2**, 3, the latter is only mentioned as a general comparandum for a more specific, demonic power. More decisive signs in turn are found elsewhere in the Coptic tradition, as the Barbelo-Mother in the handbook *P.Macq.* I 1, or the mythology expressed there of Dauith as simultaneously ‘mother of all origins’ and father of angels and archangels, presiding over a tree on the banks of the Euphrates, and over a chimeric eagle-bear creature that intercedes for human souls, whose ‘true name’ is given as Kabaon.²⁴

Manichaeism was the other contender with Christianity for late ancient primacy, but it has left fewer, if any, direct reflections in the Hay manuscripts. Manichaean missionary activity, and faith-communities, did exist in Egypt, and a magical stratum probably accompanied one of them in the Dakhla Oasis settlement of Kellis. There is the bilingual, Greek-Coptic text *P.Kellis.Copt.* (*P.Kellis* V) 35, which will be introduced in section 7.5, and a Greek handbook and matching finished product (*P.Kellis* I 85 and 87), which were found in the same room as the bilingual text and some other material of comparable genres: hemerologies, a horoscope and one further amulet and formulary.²⁵ Some of the distinctive *charakteres* of one of the Kellis formularies (*P.Kellis* I 85), not closely matched among the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri, are broadly paralleled in one of the Hay texts, suggesting some diffusion in the intervening centuries: see **Hay 7** with the commentary there. The presence of celestial boats among the figural drawings in the Hay manuscripts (see 6.2 above) could also owe something to a Manichaean alongside an Egyptian traditional background.

7.5 The rise of Coptic

The related question of the development of specifically Coptic language and script, at the centre of the development of Christianity and contemporary ritual texts in Egypt, and hence crucial for an understanding of the Hay manuscripts, may now be taken up. As has been recently recognised, a cohesive system existed for recording the Egyptian language via Greek letters, with some additional ones derived from Demotic, already by the end of the 1st century AD, although competition with other systems took several more centuries to be resolved in favour of a ‘standard’ Coptic.²⁶ Magical texts in particular continue to reveal complexities in the development of these systems. The chief implication for the Hay manuscripts is the non-linearity of the progression from the turn of the 2nd century (and the so-called Old Coptic Horoscope that exemplifies that emergent, coherent system²⁷) to their period. The Egyptian language, and the pre-Coptic Egyptian scripts, persisted well into the Roman period, such that they could presumably have served as

sources alongside Greek for the compilation of at least some of the earliest (Old) Coptic. This survival is attested by the well-known Demotic magical papyrus of London and Leiden (*P.Mag.LL*). There the situation of languages and scripts seen so far is inverted: an Egyptian-language frame with occasional use of the Greek alphabet to render precisely magical words that are probably in turn neither Egyptian nor Greek in origin, or to take over in full syntactic Greek invocations felt to be untranslatable.²⁸ An especially complex example involves Demotic ritual instructions furnished in part with Greek glosses, and an entirely Greek invocation (*P.Mag.LL* recto iv 1–22, with *PGMXIVa* 1–11).²⁹

Into the 4th century, syntactic pre-Coptic, or Graeco-Egyptian, portions in Greek formularies continue to be found. In *PGMI*, five columns disposed on a short book-roll, a self-contained Egyptian opening in Greek letters introduces a longer Greek ritual speech in pursuit of invisibility, which can be rendered in Coptic characters as follows: **ΔΝΟΚ ΔΝΟΥΠ ΔΝΟΚ ΟΥΣΙΡΦΡΗ ΔΝΟΚ ΩΣΩΤΣΩΡΩΝΟΥΙΕΡ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΟΥΣΙΡΕ ΠΕΝΤΑ ΣΗΤ ΤΑΚΟ** ‘I am Anubis, I am Osiris-Re, I am Osotsoronouier, I am Osiris, the one whom Seth destroyed’ (251–2). Self-identifications with *an(o)k* ‘I (am)’ are not uncommon even among what would otherwise be considered magical *logoi* in Greek, but the connected syntax of the last sequence, using the copula **ΠΕ** ‘am’ and the relative clause ‘the one whom Seth destroyed’, shows a more sustained engagement with the Egyptian language. Such engagement is borne out by an example in which the Egyptian language is not just transliterated faithfully, such that sense can still be made of it, but also supplied with a Greek version, confirming that making sense of it did indeed interest ancient readers and copyists. An incantation to open a lock (*PGMXXXVI* 315–16) addresses the lock first in Coptic, **ΔΥΩΝ ΝΗΙ ΔΥΩΝ ΝΗΙ ΤΚΕΛΛΙ**, then in Greek, **ἀνοίγηθι ἀνοίγηθι κλειστρον**, the latter reflecting a more idiomatic than literal translation; that is, the imperative has been changed to the passive voice – impossible in Coptic – and the direct rendering of an equivalent of **ΝΗΙ** ‘for me’ thus dispensed with.

In this same century comes a momentous expansion, in which Coptic begins to approach Greek on a more equal footing. Extensive portions of Old Coptic turn up in a bilingual, Greek-Coptic ritual formulary in a papyrus codex (*PGMIV* with Love 2016). Alongside the usual transliterations of Egyptian divine names directly into Greek, there are even more substantial Old Coptic portions than in *PGMIII*, and in a better state of preservation that can sustain more detailed philological analysis. The codex, as far as preserved, opens with Old Coptic, which lacks a clear indication of purpose, but the substantial invocation (11–25) unmistakably hails the Egyptian deities Osiris, Anubis and Thoth with traditional epithets (e.g., Osiris as ‘Pharaoh of the underworld, lord of mummification’, Anubis as ‘He who is upon his mountain’, Thoth as ‘Twice great’) and makes clear a general goal of divine assistance in an inquiry, which may be a form of divination. Among them stand too Hebraic or Hebraising divine names suggesting contact with external traditions, above all Sabaoth and Michael ‘the great one of angels who is with God’. A rendering in Old Coptic script (94–113) of traditional

Egyptian myth is more ambitious both in form, wrought with the poetic features of parallelism and interlocking doublets and triplets, and in content, narrating a dialogue between the gods Isis and Thoth, in which Isis complains of the adultery of Osiris with Senephthys, and Thoth offers a ritual cure, apparently analogous to what is (or was once) sought via the ritual in the framing procedure. Nevertheless, in a codex of 35 folia and 3,274 lines (to count from the edition of Preisendanz in *PGM*) these Old Coptic sections, five in total and none longer than 20 lines, are much in the minority, and confined to spoken invocations. Greek was apparently felt more practical for instructions and rubrics.

The quick pace of development of the Coptic script, and of the underlying language in the ritual sphere such that it could compete and even supplant Greek on the practical side too, can be seen in another product of the 4th century. Another bilingual Greek-Coptic ritual formulary, now in a smaller, parchment codex and with a scope restricted to healing (Michigan Ms. 136),³⁰ shows some archaic features in the language of its lengthier Coptic incantations but an entirely regularised Coptic script. The content of this miniature codex, probably copied in Arsinoe/Krokodilopolis, is in fact primarily in Coptic, with only a few portions purely in Greek, perhaps in turn kept on the familiar grounds of fidelity: an application of the verses of Homer and an invocation of angels, for example, both of which may have been considered difficult to render into Coptic. Here, where the scope is medical, there was no preference for Greek against Coptic even for the practical elements, the rubrics and instructions that would have allowed the procedures to be applied.

This intersection of bilingualism and ritual texts, now once again making use of the more standardised Coptic script, and like the Michigan parchment codex showing a firm shift of the balance between the two languages in favour of Coptic, can also be traced through occasional witnesses from outside the narrow scope of the copying of formularies. The 7th-century dossier of the monk Frange has already been discussed in Chapter 6.4. Earlier in Late Antiquity, a letter on papyrus from a Manichaean context in the Dakhla Oasis town of Kellis in the 4th century (*P.Kellis. Copt.* (*P.Kellis* V) 35) proves to be a cover-letter for a bilingual Greek-Coptic invocation (the first few lines of which are in Greek, the rest, and the majority, in Coptic) for aggressive magic, the separation of a man and woman.³¹ According to the accompanying correspondence, also in Coptic, the sender of the letter had been asked to search out a particular ritual text, but after failing to find it, has offered the one copied as a substitute. There is little detail on the correspondents beyond their names, the Egyptian Psai and the Roman Ouales (Valens), their functional bilingualism,³² and their curiosity about ritual texts, which seems, as also in the Hay manuscripts, to have been pursued outside of the structures of temple or church, despite obvious traditional Egyptian and Judaeo-Christian features of this particular text.

7.6 Regional and traditional context

Just as Coptic magical formularies such as the Hay texts cannot be fully understood, despite the – appealingly, for

modern scholars – large numbers in which they have survived, without a background pieced together from more disparate sources, so too do the magical texts of Egypt in general need some words of contextualisation. In an overview of Graeco-Egyptian magic and its characteristic features, reflected particularly in the papyrus formularies (some 100 items) and an even larger corpus of inscribed amuletic gems (over 5,000), Gideon Bohak (2016) has called attention to the centrality of writing (the ‘scribal’ character of the corpus), the prominence of non-Greek magical words (‘words of power’), drawings and signs in the mechanisms of the ritual³³ and the mixture of Greek and Egyptian elements in the linguistic, cultic and mythical background. Such magical papyri are found continuously – though not uniformly – in Egypt from the Ptolemaic period on, their survivals peaking in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD, and, as has already been glimpsed, make use of Greek and various phases and scripts of the Egyptian language. No fewer than 350 formularies and their associated finished products can be recognised, most often pursuing healing, but with a diverse complement of aggressive, divinatory and other aims including alchemy.³⁴

The identification of shared motifs in gems, metal amulets, curse tablets and medical compendia of authors such as Alexander of Tralles,³⁵ active outside Egypt, shows that the restriction of such written formularies to Egypt is at least in part an accident of the archaeological record. Broader cultural currents were at work, and Bohak (2016) persuasively suggests a sequence in which a ‘bicultural encounter’ in Ptolemaic Egypt led to a hybrid magic that was then diffused widely under Rome, after Egypt became a Roman province. Correspondingly, magical texts copied and used in Egypt were open to external influences too: the 4th-century Michigan Ms. 136 has recently been shown to have a shared background with the medical author Marcellus Empiricus, active at Constantinople and in western Europe, writing in Latin but recording some magical material in Greek, such as the amuletic application of Homeric verses,³⁶ which is probably indebted to an otherwise vanished circulation of such texts. Further investigation of medieval Christian manuscript culture, in the fullness of its linguistic diversity – setting Syriac Aramaic, for example, alongside medieval Latin and Byzantine Greek – continues to reveal further fragments of a shared magical inheritance of Late Antiquity,³⁷ which illustrate this otherwise obscured circulation shared between Egypt and the rest of the Near East and wider Mediterranean area. These connections, however, need not detract from the extent to which the transmitted elements were extensively reconceptualised to fit contemporary contexts, as for the users of the Hay manuscripts confronting the Horus myth (**Hay 1**).

The nascent dominance of Coptic – both language and script – in the transmission of ritual texts in Egypt will be the key to understanding the next phase in the historical background to the Hay texts. Greek, however, even after it ceded some of its official functions, such as to Coptic as language of legal documents beginning in the 6th century and conclusively after the Islamic conquest,³⁸ did not disappear entirely. Its position as the official language of the

Christian church in Egypt³⁹ left deep roots, and it continued in liturgical use;⁴⁰ though increasingly limited, and more specific to ritual codices, it continued to feature in bilingual formularies. P.Carlsberg 52 (inv. 31+35) is a fragmentary bilingual parchment codex of the 7th century, whose first three pages give an invocation of a demon for assistance in Fayumic Coptic and the fourth a Greek invocation with a first-person narrative of a descent to the underworld (compare 6.3.1 above), with a request to dispatch yet another demonic power.⁴¹ The name of the demon invoked in the Coptic portion, ΠΕΤΒΗ ‘the avenger’, suggests the survival or maintenance of a traditional Egyptian avenging deity reconceptualised as a netherworld power,⁴² but integrated into a divine landscape both Judaeo-Christian – including the cherubim and angels and an omnipotent father – and post-Hellenic, threatening the demon with recourse to ‘Artemis, the mother of all the gods’ in case of disobedience.

The fragments of untranslated Greek, on their way to becoming simply magical words, which are found in the Hay manuscripts and other formularies of their time (see the commentary on **Hay 5**, 36–44), are another vestige of this transition from Greek to Coptic in large part via translation. This Greek, then, will have been left behind in the production of those versions. This situation is a mirror image, for Greek, of its role as target language for earlier translations of ritual texts from Egyptian.

Roots in culturally Hellenic ritual elements, distinct from mere use of Greek language in ritual texts, complicate these relations and suggest a motivation for use – and preservation – of Greek beyond convenience, even if these elements fail to outlast Late Antiquity. Among the earliest attestations of Greek Magical Papyri, at the turn of the common era, the so-called ‘Philinna papyrus’ collects healing incantations in a Greek literary metre, the dactylic hexameter, and applies an ancient apotropaic motif ordering afflictions to flee (*PGM* XX; *GEMF* 3). The erotic magic of the formulary *Suppl. Mag.* II 72 (*GEMF* 4), recovered from the necropolis of Herakleopolis, introduced already, alludes in further hexameters to the pelting of a beloved with fruit, drawn from Hellenic rituals of courtship. Already in the latter manuscript, these elements are thoroughly integrated with Egyptian (and also Near Eastern and Mesopotamian) ones: the formulary itself is billed as a translation from Egyptian. This nexus continues in later texts: a pair of similes for the desired effect sought on the female target of a ‘genital-locking’ procedure (φουσκλειδίων) in the formulary *PGM* XXXVI calls for her to ‘love me (...) as Isis loved Osiris and remain chastely devoted (ἀγνή) to me as Penelope to Odysseus’ (288–9). Indirect evidence of translation from Greek into Demotic can be found in the magical handbook *P. Mag. LL*, in rubrics, instructions (some with Greek loanwords), and some invocations, with other invocations simply left in Greek, but the consultation of older Egyptian sources can also be established. As Dieleman concludes, the priests involved in this composition ‘succeeded in bending the Hellenised Egyptian magic to their will’.⁴³ The Hay texts are thick with Greek loanwords and scribal features, such as technical abbreviations,⁴⁴ but these features are common throughout Coptic, and specific Hellenic ritual elements that could stand out against the hybridity of Late Antiquity are

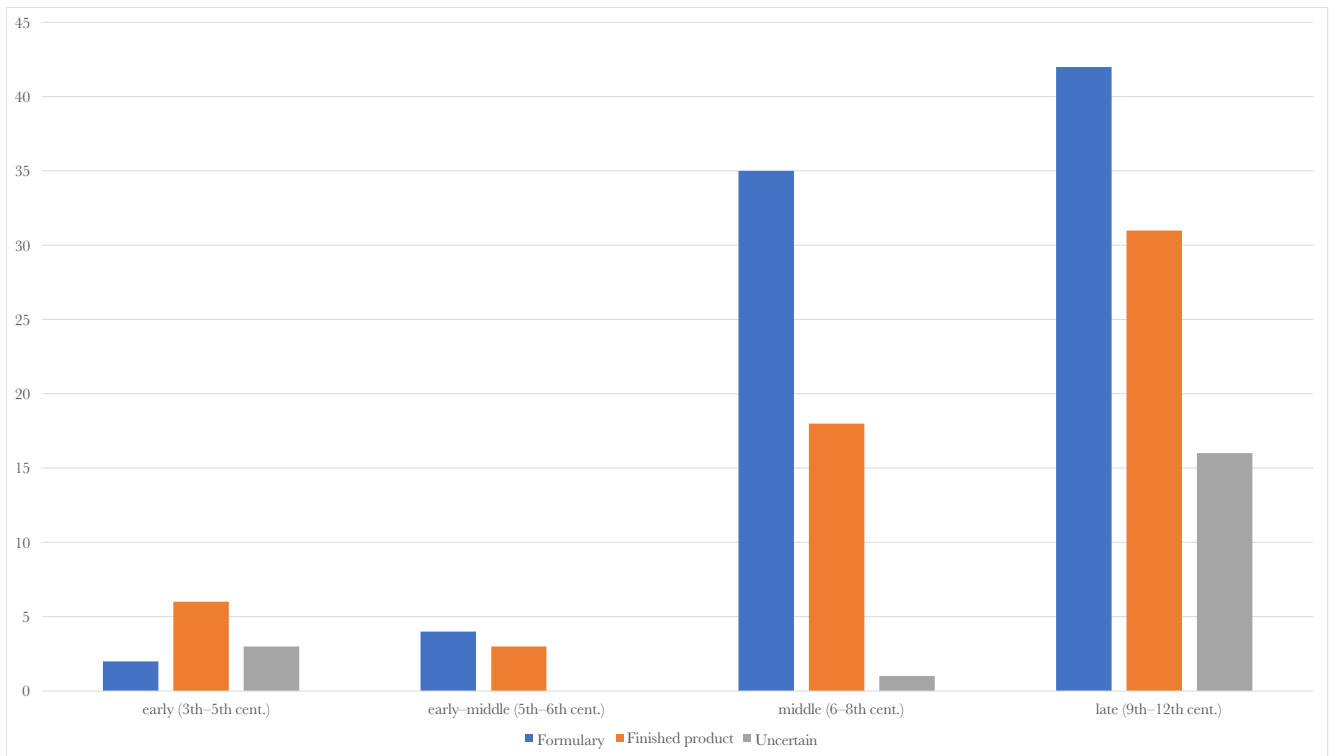


Figure 7.1 Chronological distribution of Coptic magical texts (as listed in Bélanger Sarrazin 2017a)

essentially absent. In the world of their users, the end of a distinct Hellenic culture in Egypt has been reached and passed.

7.7 Coptic magic: peak and descent

The height of Coptic-language magical texts might be expected to come after the eclipse of Greek. A statistical analysis is hindered by the absence of a published corpus of Coptic magical texts: a recent effort to redress this, the *Kyprianos* project, estimates a total of over 500 manuscripts in various states of publication, dating between the 3rd and 12th centuries.⁴⁵ The most detailed account for Coptic so far available, the checklist published by Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin (2017a) based on 242 certain and 60 possible cases, yields 35 Coptic formularies that can be assigned to the 6th through 8th centuries (and four more assigned to the 5th or 6th), along with at least 18 finished products (amulets and similar) presumably produced from such formularies. (The data are presented in **Fig. 7.1**: only manuscripts listed in this checklist as certainly magical, and assigned a date, are represented.) This ‘middle’ period corresponds with the lack of any monolingual Greek formularies from Egypt securely dated after the 6th century, following an ‘early’ transitional period of bilingual formularies and translation from Greek into Coptic and preceding a ‘late’ period in Islamic Egypt. The statistical peak, however, a total of 42 formularies (and 31 finished products) and some of the most extensive of the surviving documents, comes in the ‘late’ period. By then Arabic had already established itself as the new language of governance in Egypt, but Coptic continued in use within Christian communities before the rise of Christian Arabic. To judge from published survivals, the ground prepared by the ‘early’ and ‘middle’ periods was exploited most fully in the ‘late’ one, though an evidentiary bias will have favoured

survivals of later manuscripts. It is on the cusp of these two, ‘middle’ and ‘late’, that the Hay manuscripts can be seen to stand, the implications of which will now be traced.

Characteristic of the ‘middle’ and especially the ‘late’ periods are long, complex prayers or invocations and rituals with ambitious spiritual goals. Accompanied by aromatic offerings, they stake and strengthen claims on what Richard Gordon has called ‘spirit-attention’,⁴⁶ in a cultic imaginary rich with supernatural powers. Some pseudonymous prayers (as of Mary and Michael) take up an entire manuscript, and extensive lists of their recommended ritual applications may also be given. There are occasional vestiges of traditional Egyptian religion, such as the Horus motif in **Hay 1**, but more pronounced in this Christian period is the distinctively Egyptian Christianity⁴⁷ – among the Hay texts, for example the co-option of Psalms and hagiography in **Hay 1** – perhaps with traces of Gnosticism, as suggested in 6.3 above, however far removed that system would have been from the lived experience of its contemporary users. The witness of the formulary *P.Macq. I* in this respect has already been discussed. More extensive traces come in the so-called ‘Rossi Gnostic Treatise’, a formulary in the form of a papyrus codex with instructions for a long invocation for general protection and more specific bodily and spiritual ‘cleansing’ (καθαριζε) accompanied by a burnt offering, ritual attire, and ritual drawings. The codex was the work of a Christian copyist, but it references entities with a more diverse background, such as ‘the mind (νοους) that is hidden in the father’ and ‘the great, honoured virgin, inside whom the father was hidden before he created anything’, and a finely drawn hierarchy of angels,⁴⁸ with elaborate descriptions throughout of various occult aspects of this celestial ‘father’.

In what institutional framework would these ‘middle’ and ‘late’ Coptic magical texts have been copied? Precise

internal indications are rare, and such as can be found are of a much later date.⁴⁹ Some considerations specific to the Hay manuscripts, on what can nevertheless be hypothesised, have already been given in Chapter 6.4. More generally, the traditional Egyptian temples, whose operations accommodated, if not encouraged, the copying of magical texts for wider circulation, must be removed from the equation in most cases after the 4th century, and certainly after the 5th. The integration of magical texts within Christian institutions, church and monastic, was ideologically more problematic but probably still important: both internal evidence, such as intertexts with Christian scripture, and external indications, such as the ire of Shenoute against churchmen implicated in magic (below, 7.8) point in this direction. A third way had opened up already in the earlier Graeco-Roman period: literate people with access to formularies but no apparent connection to structures of religious institutions, exemplified by the bilingual correspondence from Kellis, discussed above (7.5).

The Hay manuscripts show no signs of the Islamic context in which, according to the dating proposed in this volume, they should now be placed. This conclusion extends to physical disposition – the eventually more economical paper is not yet in use, to say nothing of wood-block printing for finished products⁵⁰ – as well as content. Developments in the rest of the Islamic period may be briefly summarised, as a sort of mirror image of earlier shifts, in which Coptic gradually fades in favour of Arabic. Coptic, by then the chief language of Egyptian Christianity, will first share space with Arabic in bilingual formularies. In P.Heid. (Schott-Reinhardt) A / K 500/1 (*P.Bad.* V 123), assigned to the 7th or 8th century AD by its editors, scribal practices of Late Antiquity continue in the use of a papyrus roll, rotated to receive a single, tall column (*transversa charta*), and the Coptic ritual texts are copied in a still relatively fluid, documentary-style hand, but each is introduced by instructions in the Arabic language and script. Such a disposition would already begin to allow cross-cultural applications, that is, beyond the needs of a Christian community in which Arabic eventually became the spoken language, the use of originally Christian ritual material on behalf of, or even by, Muslims.

Further evidence for this adaptation will be encountered in section 7.8 on external sources for later magical practices. One internal witness can be mentioned here: an invocation in a Vienna papyrus of the 9th or 10th century seeking favour ‘before the race of Adam and all the children of Zoe’, so far broadly similar to what is found also in the Hay manuscripts (**Hay 3**, 27–8; **Hay 4**, 32–4), but adding another clause, ‘and all the offspring of Ismael’ (ΜΠΕΜΤΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΚΕΝΟΣ ΕΝΔΑΔΑΜ ΜΝ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΖΩΗ ΜΝ ΠΕΧΠΟ ΤΗΡΨ ΝΙΣΜΑΗΛ).⁵¹ The presence of ΙΣΜΑΗΛ, apparently the biblical Is(h)mael, puzzled the first editor, but it can now also be recognised in an invocation for a comparable purpose (attracting customers to a shop) in a 10th-century magical handbook.⁵² In both cases the phrase can be explained as an addition to gain relevance, for Christians on their way to becoming a minority culture among the ‘offspring of Ishmael’, that is, the Arab rulers of Egypt and its growing Muslim population more generally, an analogous situation to that of Jews in the Graeco-Roman

period and Late Antiquity. It may even have been a hypothetical ‘offspring of Israel’ (ΙΣΡΑΗΛ, differing only in one letter from ΙΣΜΑΗΛ) originally within a Jewish version of this procedure that inspired this addition. Coptic would, in the course of the Middle Ages, be replaced for magical purposes by Christian Arabic, whose medieval Egyptian tradition remains to be studied. It is possible, nevertheless, to look ahead to some modern examples, such as two handbooks for the application of the Psalms for amuletic purposes from 20th-century Egypt.⁵³

The statistical peak of surviving evidence for text production associated with Coptic magic, as analysed here, lies in the Islamic period, and the spread of Arabic does not immediately equate to the loss of written Coptic for ritual purposes. The presence of finished products in Coptic mentioning people with Arabic names is a further caution in this regard. One 11th-century fever amulet on paper from Behnasa, the medieval settlement on the site of the ancient city of Oxyrhynchos, in fact mirrors the situation of a 5th-century amulet from the same place, with personal names providing the only direct signs of the probable Arabic and Coptic spoken languages of their respective beneficiaries.⁵⁴ The bilingual Heidelberg formulary introduced above also points to a similar hybridity of modern convenience and preservation of older traditions. That influence ran from Islamic culture and religion in the other direction, finally, is shown by a sheet of paper from the otherwise generally Jewish textual assemblage of the Cairo Genizah but with recognisably Christian features, copied in the 9th–11th centuries AD.⁵⁵ The text is entirely in Coptic script, but the first lines give a transliteration of the Islamic *bismillah* (ΠΕΣΜΕΛΛΕ ΕΡΑΡΑΖΜΕΝ ΕΡΑΡΑΖΙΜ) and an Arabic formulation of the particulars of the curse, that the tongue of a named man be bound before a named woman. This section is followed by magical *charakteres*, then a Coptic invocation of a Christian deity with reference to the ‘voice uttered at the top of the wood(en cross)’.

The association of Copts as a religious community with magic continued long into modern Egypt. Muslim communities had magic of their own, and practitioners to match,⁵⁶ to whom Christians indeed sometimes turned already in the medieval period,⁵⁷ but Christian neighbours were specially sought out by Muslims for related purposes, whether because of magical efficacy attributed to alterity, or a reputation for inheritance of ancient traditions. During her time in residence with Egyptian peasants in the early 20th century, Winifred Susan Blackman observed that Muslim women would seek *barakah* (‘blessing’, a substance with talismanic or amuletic efficacy) from Christian women, usually in the form of pieces of their clothing, to protect children, and she herself was asked to spit in the mouths of infants for the same purpose.⁵⁸ Blackman also encountered a ‘written charm’ provided to a Muslim woman for the protection of her unborn child, ‘obviously Coptic’ in its invocation of the trinitarian deity; the co-existence of one Muslim and one Copt magician in the same village; and a Coptic priest with a book containing ‘the proper incantations’ to accompany a ritual to find buried treasure.⁵⁹ The circulation of books – that is, formularies – alongside the translation of magical texts may explain in part how

distinctive features of Late Antiquity, reflected also in the Hay manuscripts, could still be found in Blackman's time: a written 'charm' for erotic magic buried at the threshold of a male target, to make him unable to eat or sleep, and the requirement of the mother's name (metronym) rather than the patronym to identify the target.⁶⁰ Nor were the ritual healing practices dependent upon priestly or monastic actors: a report from the decade after the residence of Blackman has an apparently professional healer, for whom no ecclesiastical affiliation is mentioned, attend to a scorpion-sting via amulet and oral incantation.⁶¹

7.8 'Outsider' sources

With the exception of the ethnography of modern Egypt just introduced, the preceding account has preferred the testimony of 'insider' sources, which have the advantage of a precise and unbiased account of the workings, and some sense, however incomplete, of the extent of the underlying practices. These sources leave obvious gaps: the circumstances of production and use (if the formularies were indeed used) above all, as the copyists of the formularies in question as a rule remain anonymous. Bilingual formularies and finished products at least provide indirect indications and onomastic data, which can, for example, illustrate the implication of Coptic-language ritual formularies in the production of amulets for Muslims, or at least Christians with Arabic names – a testament to their continued relevance in Islamic Egypt. This final section turns to the contribution of other sources on Coptic magic, with particular attention to its social position.

The nexus of Egyptian language and ritual professionals can be illustrated with an anecdote of Anastasios of Sinai, probably set shortly before the Arab conquest of Egypt. Some 'magicians' (φάρμακοι) have been confined in prison, itself an interesting testament to official attitudes to their practices, which receive no further specification.⁶² As reported by a prison-keeper, sent to get written statements from the accused for their trials, one of them speaks to him 'in the Egyptian language' (Αἰγυπτιακῆ γλώττη), warning him to make sure that he has taken communion and is wearing a cross before questioning his colleagues, to prevent them from harming him.

The most extensive witness is the work of the abbot Shenoute (c.347–465), best known of Coptic authors,⁶³ and leader of monastic communities near the village of Atripe in Upper Egypt across the Nile from Panopolis. Shenoute wrote at an important transitional period in Late Antiquity some centuries before the Hay manuscripts. The rapid Christianisation of Egypt in the 4th century was, in retrospect, a *fait accompli*, but, to judge from the words of Shenoute, the outcome could not yet be taken for granted. His invective against contemporary superstitions and accusations of 'paganism' (various expressions including via the loanword Ἑλλην) must be taken with much caution: there is a pervasive rhetorical agenda, driven by contemporary rivalries, and indulgence in biblical and hagiographic tropes. Some suggestive details, however, should not be ignored. The venom reserved by a monk for practices claimed in modern scholarship to be performed by monks also complicates the latter claim. Some of the

references may evoke at first survival or resurgence of traditional pre-Christian cult – and Shenoute might not have found this contrary to his purpose – but, as in the Hay texts, a Christianity may be conceived as *incorporating* such diverse elements as to make it unrecognisable to an ascetic.

Not yet directly relevant to the Hay texts, but indicative of variety in popular ritual practice, is an accusation of amulet-making from natural objects. In this case the body parts of animals are at issue, and the makers are monks, who act on behalf of secular people. Specifically, monks are condemned who produce amulets made of animal parts (snake head, crocodile tooth, fox claws) to be worn on the body, and monks and presbyters who provide holy water and blessed oil for healing.⁶⁴ Nowhere are written formularies mentioned that might inform these productions, but there is a broad conceptual parallel in the *Cyranides*, an encyclopaedia on the occult properties of animal, plant and stone products that included recommendations for amulets. Reflections of the textual tradition of the *Cyranides* can also be recognised in Coptic.⁶⁵

A particularly rich description of what Shenoute condemns as pagan magic comes in his recounting of a raid on private houses at Pneuitt, near his monastic centre. These activities could pass for the sort of private ritual practice to which the Hay manuscripts belonged, and may not even have been seen by their practitioners as anything but Christian. Carried off and destroyed were 'idols' (Εἰδωλον), offerings of first-fruits and lamps (ἀπαρχή, λυχνία), and 'books full of abomination' (βιβλῶν γεγραμμένων βωβημάτων) or 'full of every magic' (βιβλῶν γεγραμμένων μαγίας), owned by 'performers of magic (*hik*), of remedies, of horoscope-casting, of calculation of the stars in the sky, of the worship of idols' (νιρεφρζικ νρεφπαζρε νρεφκαογνογ νρεφωπ εννκιογ ντπε νρεφωμωεεἰδωλον).⁶⁶ Nothing suggests that these people, whose multifarious activities are catalogued, are monks or churchmen, whom Shenoute might have labelled as such, nor is it clear that there is a temple – condemned pointedly elsewhere in Coptic hagiography⁶⁷ – rather than private devotion. Further, indirect support for this secular magic is the list of professions that the Coptic version of the *Traditio apostolica* presents as problematic for catechumens: beyond the general 'magician' (μαγος), also the more specific 'performer of incantations' (ρεμωυτε), 'astrologer' (αстролоγος), 'diviner' (ρεφωινε), 'dream-interpreter' (πετβωλ ν̄ζενρασογ), and 'maker of amulets' (πετταμιο ν̄ζενφγλακτηριον).⁶⁸

Shenoute's *Life*, not from his pen but reflecting the outlook of the monastic community that he established, offers one more piece of evidence for the spread of magical practices. The latter, in this vignette, appear dependent in turn on written formularies, and outside the framework of religious institutions. Some 'pagans' (βεληνοσ) attempted to prevent Shenoute's visit to their village by burying ritual objects created according to 'their books' (αγθωμσ ν̄ζανφαρμαγια κατανογχομ) in his path.⁶⁹ The episode is influenced by literary commonplaces,⁷⁰ but the reference to 'books' may still be credited as an authentic contemporary detail. Support comes from references within the Coptic magical papyri themselves, showing anxiety about harm from aggressive ritual deployed via writing – for example the

prayer attributed to Mary in P.Lond.Copt. Or. 4714(t) (P.Lond.Copt. I 368), ‘if something has been done against him, may it return upon the head of him who wrote it’ (ἔϣωπε ἀγρ̄ ρωβ̄ ἐροϥ μαρεϥκ̄τοϥ ἐχ̄νταπη̄ μ̄πενταϥσ̄αῖϥοϥ) – and from outside, as in a prayer seeking the divine release of a woman’s womb in case she has been cursed with infertility, including by ‘binding’ (μοϥρ) of her womb with an ‘amulet’ (φυλακτηριον).⁷¹

A perspective on the more positive use of ritual words, deployed in oral rather than written form, is preserved in a homily attributed to Athanasius. Here is some rare evidence for ‘outsider’ sources quoting ritual speech, beyond condemning its mere existence. The author complains of contemporary amuletic practices including the use of ‘enchanted water’ (μοϥϥ μμοϥϥτε) over which the users had made what can be read as a short incantation in the form of a performative utterance, ‘It is this evil that we cast out!’ (εϥϥω μμοϥ ϥε εννοϥϥε εβωλ̄ ν̄τ̄ρ̄βοονε).⁷²

7.9 Conclusion

Together, Chapters 6 and 7 have considered first the particularities of the Hay manuscripts, then their context in the ritual of the late ancient Mediterranean world, the background of this ritual landscape in earlier Egypt and its later career in Islamic Egypt. The texts remain substantially unique testimony to the collecting and, probably, practice of a group of ritual specialists, but they cannot be fully understood without a perspective on the linguistic and cultic currents that informed their times. Through contextualisation, they begin to emerge as witnesses to the afterlife of the vibrant, multiply determined cultic situation of Late Antiquity, the diverse cultural background – traditional Egyptian, Hellenic, Jewish, Gnostic – that informed the Christianity of the still anonymous people behind them.

Notes

- 1 For definitions of the key terms ‘magic’ and ‘Late Antiquity’ see Chapter 1.1.
- 2 See Bohak 2008, 143–5, for the juxtaposition of these categories; similarly ‘emic’ is privileged by Van der Vliet 2019a, 331–2, who favours ‘otherness’ and ‘markedness’ as a means of defining a modern corpus for study. Frankfurter 2018, 4, valorises magical texts and documents of ‘lived religion’ in understanding the process of Christianisation.
- 3 Perdrizet and Lefebvre 1919, nos 74 and 334, perhaps also no. 295; for no. 74 (SB V 7658), see now Pestman, Quaegebeur and Vos 1977, 1:102–5 and 2:111–12; Pfeiffer 2015, 108–10 no. 20, Vleeming 2015, 244–5 no. 1746 (with the dating followed here), and Quack 2017, 33. Coptic language and Coptic script are distinguished following Quack 2017, 27, who also notes that Coptic script could be used to record other languages (older phases of Egyptian, as well as Old Nubian and Arabic), just as other scripts (Greek, as discussed here; Demotic) could be used to render the Coptic language.
- 4 For some early examples see Quack 2017, 42–9; and the discussion of Dieleman 2005, esp. 47–80, on two substantial magical formularies of the later Roman period.
- 5 Greek: *O. Worp* 7–8; Old Coptic: Papyrus Schmidt (Satzinger 1975 with Richter 2002a, 247–50; see recently Quack 2017, 58–60). For obsolescence and script-switching see now Love 2021.
- 6 Amulets: Dieleman 2015; oracle questions: e.g. Ryholt 1993 on the pharaonic period, Tallet 2012 and Bresciani 2015 on the Graeco-Roman period (some Ptolemaic examples are cited below), and on the continued career of oracle questions in Christian Egypt see recently Frankfurter 2018, 19–20, 130–2.
- 7 On this archive, for which the principal texts are edited in *UPZ I* 2–111, the best recent overview is Thompson 2012, 201–44.
- 8 Particularly those whose roles overlap with administrative and military functions, beginning in the 2nd century BC: Fischer-Bovet 2014, 314–23.
- 9 *GEMF* 1 might belong to the Ptolemaic period but its identification as a magical formulary is not certain; the very fragmentary *GEMF* 2 probably belongs to the transitional period in the latter half of the 1st century BC. Four ‘tickets’ pertaining to a single case of theft are described by N. Litinas ap. Gallazzi and Hadji-Minaglou 2019, 263 no. 183; the four are identical except for the name of the culprit (‘If Pêgê has taken the earrings (ἐνώϊδια) of Terpous the daughter of Ptolemaios’ (sc., ‘select this slip’), repeated with Theokrita, Tanplakis (a *hapax*, but preferable from the original, seen by the present author in an exhibition in the Cairo Museum (2019), to ‘Psenplakis’ (Litinas)) and Thallos). On the genre see n. 6 above.
- 10 *Suppl. Mag.* II 72 with Zellmann-Rohrer 2020b, 27–33; see now *GEMF* 4. A roughly contemporary collection including some more fragmentary metrical portions is *Suppl. Mag.* II 71 (*GEMF* 2).
- 11 For the Egyptian elements see recently Zellmann-Rohrer and Love 2022, 31.
- 12 For the division into two manuscripts and the date see Love 2017.
- 13 *P. Mag. LL* recto v 3–33 and verso xii 1–xiii 12 with Dieleman 2005, 73–7 and 125–30; see also recently Dieleman 2019, 284–5 on the syncretism of Greek, Egyptian and Jewish elements in general.
- 14 *PGM XXXVI*. 295–311, with Bohak 2008, 204–5.
- 15 *P. Bodmer VI*, with Quack 2017, 73–4.
- 16 See now Fournet 2020, 7–8, with three further, relevant 3rd-century texts: a Greek-Coptic glossary to Amos and Hosea, Psalm 46:3–10 in Akhmimic copied as part of a school-text and the

- Hamburg bilingual codex (possibly in part a school-text), including Ecclesiastes, Lamentations and Song of Songs.
- 17 Bohak 2008, 227–90.
 - 18 Bohak 1999, 35–9, 43–4.
 - 19 *PGMXXIIb* and *P.MMA 34.1.226* (ed. Zellmann-Rohrer 2017).
 - 20 On this development, nuancing the analysis of the role of pre-Christian religious elements in Frankfurter 1998, see Frankfurter 2018 (cf. also Frankfurter 2007a); on the implications for magical texts in particular: De Bruyn 2017. The term ‘Coptic magic’ is a convention, which should not obscure the extent to which the inheritor of the descriptor ‘Coptic’, the modern Coptic Orthodox Church, condemns ‘magic’: Van der Vliet 2019a, 322.
 - 21 P.Heid. K 686, ed. Kropp 1966.
 - 22 On this multiplicity see recently Van der Vliet 2019b, 241.
 - 23 See e.g. Marjanen 2008.
 - 24 *P.Macq.* I pp. 6.16–7.4; see in general Van der Vliet 2019a, 341–2; for survival of elements of Sethian Gnosticism into the 5th century see now Piowarczyk 2020.
 - 25 *P.Kellis I* 82–8; see recently Dieleman 2019, 291.
 - 26 Quack 2017, 76–8. For the complex implications of language- and script-choice for the transmission of magical texts in particular see now E.O.D. Love in Zellmann-Rohrer and Love 2022, 19–64.
 - 27 P.Lond. 98 verso (Černý, Kahle and Parker 1957; Neugebauer and Van Hoesen 1959, 28–38 no. 95), see most recently Quack 2017, 60–2.
 - 28 On this manuscript see Dieleman 2005, esp. 25–101.
 - 29 See further Dieleman 2005, 123–6; Dieleman 2019, 308–9.
 - 30 For a re-edition with detailed study and the accompanying dating (against the 6th-century date offered by ed.pr., Worrell 1935a), see Zellmann-Rohrer and Love 2022.
 - 31 *P.Kellis Copt. (P.Kellis V)* 35 with Mirecki, Gardner and Alcock 1997; Love 2016, 273–6; Van der Vliet 2019a, 333–5; Zellmann-Rohrer and Love 2022, 72.
 - 32 For bilingualism at Kellis see recently Fournet 2020, 12–13.
 - 33 The privileging of such non-graphic elements over words is taken as another sign of the scribal nature of this tradition by Dieleman 2019, 285–6; see *ibid.* 289–304 for an updated survey (the formularies are now being republished in the *GEMF* project).
 - 34 Dieleman 2019, 284. Dosoo 2016 remains useful on the aims of the texts themselves.
 - 35 Bohak 2016; Dieleman 2019, 290–1.
 - 36 On this practice see in general Collins 2008 with the addenda in Zellmann-Rohrer 2016; Zellmann-Rohrer and Love 2022, 176–83.
 - 37 For some examples see Zellmann-Rohrer 2020a, 2020c and 2021.
 - 38 On this development see recently Fournet 2020.
 - 39 Fournet 2020, 57–61.
 - 40 An illustration from a magical context is the preservation of the liturgical *trishagion*-acclamation, drawn from Isaiah 6:3, in the so-called ‘Rossi Gnostic Treatise’ (discussed in section 7.7), ed. Kropp, *AKZI*, 65 and 73 (cod. pp. 3.19–21 and 13.20–22); see also **Hay 4**, 17 with the note.
 - 41 Coptic portion: Lange 1932; Greek: Bülow-Jacobsen and Brashear ap. Brashear 1991, 16–42. The author is preparing a new edition of both portions.
 - 42 ‘Survival’ is used in a factual sense: this deity, as Horus in the motif found in **Hay 1**, quite literally survives from an earlier period in contrast to others, e.g., Sobek, who are nowhere in evidence in this period. Frankfurter 2018, 7–15, rightly stresses that the label ‘pagan survivals’ tends to obscure the dynamic process by which such deities are implicated in the process of Christianisation and its expression, not resistance to it. On the Egyptian root of **ΠΕΤΒΗ** (**ḏb**) in the divine name **Νετβευτες** (plural) and the theophoric personal names **Πανετβευς** and **Πανετβης**, see Backhuys 2019, 238–43.
 - 43 Dieleman 2005, 294; see also *ibid.* 123–38.
 - 44 See e.g. **Hay 1**, 9 with the commentary.
 - 45 K. Dosoo, E.O.D. Love, M. Preininger and J. Schwarzer (eds), *Kyprianos Database of Ancient Ritual Texts and Objects*. Published at: www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/. For a report on this work see Dosoo, Love and Preininger forthcoming.
 - 46 Gordon 2014, 276; on the burnt offerings and their background see the commentary on **Hay 1**, 56.
 - 47 Van der Vliet 2019a, 329, speaks of a ‘basically Christian’ corpus ‘absorbing a wide variety of traditional elements’.
 - 48 Ed. Kropp, *AKZI*, 63–78 (63, unnumbered page of the codex with introductory instructions; cod. p. 1.5–6 for the invocation of **ΠΝΟΥΣ**; pp. 6.4–5, cod. pp. 2.4–3.7 with a roster of angels and their spheres of competence; p. 7.4, cod. p. 16.3–5 for the Virgin).
 - 49 E.g. the colophons showing the influence of monastic book-culture: the formulary P.Heid. K 682 (*P.Bad. V* 137), copied by the deacon Iohannes in AD 967 (on the new reading of Gardner and Johnston 2019, 47–51); an unpublished parchment codex now in Paris, Collège de France, copied by the deacon Raphae in AD 1035 (cf. *Kyprianos* M572).
 - 50 For two examples from 10th-century Behnasa (site of the ancient Oxyrhynchos) see Saiyur and Bloom 2006, 150–1 (with further parallels).
 - 51 P.Vind. K 5024 (ed. Till 1942, 104–6), A, 3–6.
 - 52 P.Heid. K 685 (ed. Meyer 1996), p. 17.25–7.
 - 53 One is edited and translated in Henein and Bianquis 1975, the other described and translated in Viaud 1977.
 - 54 Coptic with Arabic personal names: P.Oxy. inv. 39 5B.125/A, ed. Alcock 1982 (divide in 15–16, 24–5, 41–2 and 55–6 **ΠΟΥΛΠΕΣ ΠΥΣ ΝΖΑΡΡΑ** (**ΠΟΥΛΠΕΣΠΥΣ**, ed.pr.), as **ΠΥΣ** stands for the marker of filiation (derived from the Greek *nomen sacrum* abbreviation **υ(ί)ς** but resolved according to the language of context: see the introduction of T.S. Richter to *P.Gascou* 60 (p. 390)); the bearer’s name probably transliterates an Arabic *kunya* name such as Abu-’l-Baha or Abu-’l-Baḥa). Greek with Coptic personal names: *P.Oxy.* LXV 4469, gives the bearer’s name with the filiation marker **ΠΩΗΡΕ** (22).
 - 55 Cambridge, University Library T.-S. 12.207, ed. Crum 1902 (cf. Kropp, *AKZI*, 242–3).
 - 56 Blackman 1927, 183–200: most villages had at least one ‘magician’; on Islamic magic in general see now the essays collected in Savage-Smith 2004, with an extensive introduction (xiii–li).
 - 57 An 8th-century Coptic business letter from the Fayum reports that an anonymous copyist in the service of the Musim Emir al-Walīd cured some 100 sick men and women by writing ‘book-rolls’ (**ΧΩΜΕ**) for them (P.Vind. K 55, ed. Garel 2016).
 - 58 Blackman 1927, 65.
 - 59 Written ‘charm’: Blackman 1927, 74; co-existence: *ibid.*, 187; Coptic priest: *ibid.*, 189.
 - 60 Erotic magic: Blackman 1927, 90; metronym: *ibid.*, 92, 191. For the ancient background of these two motifs see the commentary on **Hay 3**, 2 and **Hay 1**, 9 respectively.
 - 61 Cited in Dosoo 2021a, 78.
 - 62 Ed. Nau 1904, 68–9 no. 48; cf. Wortley 2010, 117 no. 116. For the term **φάρμακος** and related, externally applied designations of ‘magicians’ see Van der Vliet 2019b, 242–3.

- 63 On the author and his life see Brakke and Crislip 2015, esp. 1–23.
- 64 The text is edited in Orlandi 1985, 18–19 §§255–9; see recently Van der Vliet 2019b, 253–4.
- 65 P.Berl. inv. 8116+8117 (ed. *BKUI* 26) with Zellmann-Rohrer and Love 2022, 68–9 (among the Greek papyri note also *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5315; the edition of the compilation as reflected in the medieval Greek manuscript tradition is Kaimakēs 1976). Frankfurter 2018, 70, considers only ‘the “weirdness” of these animal parts ... or some local associations’ as explanations for their efficacy.
- 66 Ed. Leipoldt 1908, 86–90 no. 26 at 87–9, with Barns 1964, 153.
- 67 Pseudo-Dioscorus, *Panegyric of Macarius of Tkôw* 5.1–2 (ed. Johnson 1980, 29–30; tr. 21–3) with Frankfurter 2007a, 182–3.
- 68 Canon 41.13–14, ed. Till and Leipoldt 1954, 12, with Van der Vliet 2019b, 249, and Dosoo 2021a, 52–3.
- 69 Ed. Leipoldt 1951, 41 §83.
- 70 See most recently Love 2016, 243–7.
- 71 *P.MorganLib.* 306 (cf. *ACM* 176 no. 83) with the translation of Van der Vliet 2019b, 260; see *ibid.* 261–2 for reflections in Coptic hagiography of anxieties about writing turned to the purpose of erotic magic.
- 72 Ps. Athanasius, *Homily on the Virgin* 95, ed. Lefort 1958, 36; see recently Van der Vliet 2019b, 251–2.