SCRIBAL PRACTICES IN THE PRODUCTION
OF MAGIC HANDBOOKS IN EGYPT

Jacco Dieleman

Introduction*

This article is a diachronic examination of the means by which information is organized in recipes contained in the hieratic and Demotic magic formularies from Egypt. These scribal conventions concern visual reading aids, controlled vocabulary and fixed text formats. I argue first that these genre rules were clear-cut and remained unchanged for the entire period that hieratic formularies were produced, and second, that some recipes in the Demotic magic handbooks continue these rules, whereas others deviate from them. This second observation has a bearing on the ongoing debate about the cultural, intellectual and institutional roots of Greco-Egyptian magic in general and the Demotic magical papyri in particular. Given the overall application of the traditional scribal conventions in the Demotic recipes, it seems warranted to conclude that the Demotic formularies were written, edited and copied by scribes who had been trained and worked in an Egyptian temple scriptorium, the institution where hieratic formularies had been produced since at least as early as the Middle Kingdom (ca. 1975–1640 BCE). However, given the longevity and stability of these scribal conventions, the deviations in the Demotic recipes, no matter how small or irrelevant at first sight, are significant and beg to be addressed. Did they result from internal changes in the curriculum and practices in the temple schools and scriptoria? Or are they a reflection of new procedures and protocols developed outside the temple

compound proper and adopted only secondarily into the Demotic formularies?

Before analyzing the Demotic recipes in detail, I first survey the formal features of hieratic formularies and discuss in detail the relation between a recipe's function and its text format. This allows me to explicate the scribal conventions and genre rules of the formularies that were produced in Egyptian temple scriptoria between the Middle Kingdom and the early Roman period. The second half of the article offers a similar analysis of the Demotic recipes. In the concluding section, the results of the two analyses are compared.

The Demotic Magical Papyri

The Demotic Magical Papyri represent a fascinating collection of spells well suited to the study of aspects of continuity and change in ritual and scribal practices in Roman-period Egypt.[1] The corpus forms a small, yet coherent group of texts comprising two manuscripts from Thebes in southern Egypt, one manuscript from Oxyrhynchus in Middle Egypt, and two of unknown provenance (one very likely also from Thebes).[2] They are dated by paleography to the third, possibly even

---

[1] A good overview is presented in Robert K. Ritner, "Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire: The Demotic Spells and Their Religious Context," *ANRW* II.18.5 (1995) 3333–79. English translations by Janet H. Johnson are available in Hans Dieter Betz (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation. Including the Demotic Spells* (Chicago, 1986), abbreviated as GMPT in this article. German translations of a representative selection of spells by Joachim Quack can be found in Bernd Janowski and Gernot Wilhelm (eds.), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge Band 4: Omina, Orakel, Rituale und Beschwörungen* (Gütersloh, 2008) 331–59.

[2] The two Theban manuscripts are pLeiden I 384 verso and pLondon-Leiden [publications: Janet H. Johnson, "The Demotic Magical Spells of Leiden I 384," *OMRO* 56 (1975) 29–64; and F. L. Griffith and Herbert Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1904–09); see also Jacco Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites. The London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100–300 CE)* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 153. Leiden: Brill, 2005)]. The manuscript from Oxyrhynchus is pBM 10808 [most recent publication: V. H. Sederholm, *Papyrus British Museum 10808 and Its Cultural and Religious Setting* (PdÄ 24; Leiden, 2006); but see still J. Osing, *Der spätägyptische Papyrus BM 10808* (ÄA 33; Wiesbaden, 1976), and also Jacco Dieleman, "Ein spätägyptisches magisches Handbuch: eine neue PDM oder PGM?," in F. Hoffmann and H. J. Thissen (eds.), *Res Severa Verum Gaudium. Festschrift Zauzich* (Studia Demotica 6; Peeters Publishers; Leuven, 2004) 121–28. The manuscripts with unknown provenance are pLouvre E3229 and pBM 10588 [publications: Janet H. Johnson, "Louvre E3229: A Demotic Magical Text," *Enchoria* 7 (1977) 55–102; W. M. Brashear and A. Bülow-Jacobsen, *Magica Varia* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 25; Brussels, 1991) 71–73; and H. J. Bell

pLeiden I 384 verso[3]	PDM xii & PGM XII
pLeiden I 383 & pBM 100070 = pLondon-Leiden	PDM xiv & PGM XIV
pBM 10588	PDM lxi & PGM LXI
pLouvre E3229	PDM Suppl.
pBM 10808	*without number*

Corpus of the so-called Demotic Magical Papyri

second, century CE. All five are magic handbooks with a varied assortment of recipes and incantations for divination rites, binding spells, dream sending, aphrodisiacs and curative applications.

The corpus is conveniently called the *Demotic* Magical Papyri to distinguish it from, and at the same time associate it with, the contemporary and substantially larger corpus of *Greek* Magical Papyri, which contains spells for similar magical ends.[4] However, putting too much stress on the word Demotic obscures the fact that the majority of spells are written in a combination of scripts—such as hieratic, Old-Coptic, Greek, and cipher next to Demotic—and that four of the manuscripts in question contain sections in *Greek*, some of them substantial in

---

et al., *Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum*, in: Proceedings of the British Academy 17 (London, 1932)]. The Louvre manuscript was purchased from the Anastasi collection in 1857 and may thus very well come from Thebes, possibly even from the same hoard as the other two Theban handbooks; its hieratic hand definitely has a Theban flavor. To this list one may add oStrassburg D 1338, which preserves a copy of a recipe to alleviate menstruation pains taken from a similar manual; see Wilhelm Spiegelberg, "Aus der Strassburger Sammlung demotischer Ostraka," *ZÄS* 49 (1911) 34–41, ostracon 1, plate 6; improved translation: Ritner, "Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire," 3343f.

[3] It is perhaps useful here to remind scholars of the system of inventory numbers used in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden. Too often scholars refer to the Leiden manuscripts with the capital letter J, e.g. P. Leiden J 384, in spite of the fact that this letter designation does not exist. It is merely a persistent typographical error. The proper letter designation is I—i.e., the capital i. For an explanation of the system of inventory numbers, see Maarten J. Raven, "Numbering Systems in the Egyptian Department of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden at Leiden," *OMRO* 72 (1992) 7–14.

[4] For an overview of the Greek Magical Papyri, see William M. Brashear, "The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928–1994)," *ANRW* II 18. 5 (1995) 3380–684. The spells were published, together with a few spells in Old-Coptic, as the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (PGM) in Karl Preisendanz (ed.), *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1928–31) [2nd ed., ed. by Albert Henrichs; Stuttgart 1973–74)] and R. W. Daniel and F. Maltomini (eds.), *Supplementum Magicum*, 2 vols. (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Papyrologica Coloniensia 16.1–2; Opladen, 1990–92). English translations are available in GMPT.

length and nowadays—inconveniently—counted as separate spells in the modern edition of the Greek Magical Papyri. The evident association with the Greek Magical Papyri is further borne out by the fact that two of the Theban Demotic magical manuscripts, and possibly four of them, were discovered as part of a larger collection of magical and alchemical handbooks in Greek, commonly called the Theban Magical Library, in the hills of Luxor (ancient Thebes) in or somewhat earlier than 1828. The Greek magical manuals of this ancient cache are nowadays counted as the most important and extensive manuals among the Greek Magical Papyri.

The Demotic manuals are thus not only chronologically and thematically, but also archaeologically, related to the Greek Magical Papyri. It would, however, be wrong to equate the two corpora, as if the one were nothing but the other in a different language. As I have tried to show in a previous investigation, the use of language and script in the Demotic manuals is quite different from that which we find in the Greek handbooks, which suggests that the Demotic manuals were produced for a different group of consumers—that is to say, for users who had undergone a rigorous Egyptian scribal training in addition to having mastered Greek. The Greek and Demotic manuals are thus different, yet very similar: they are both testimonies, each in its own way, to one and the same flourishing culture of Greco-Egyptian magic in the Roman period.

Egyptian formularies for healing and protection

In ancient Egypt, healers and ritual specialists made use of handbooks with practical instructions for treating ailments and injuries and for preparing amulets. Several dozen of such manuals have been preserved, attesting to a long-standing, indigenous tradition of collecting, archiving and applying specialized skills and knowledge in an attempt to overcome and anticipate impotence in situations of life crises.[5] The earliest of the extant documents date to the middle of the Middle

---

[5] Egyptologists traditionally distinguish between medical and magical handbooks, although there are no formal, ancient Egyptian criteria to support this distinction; see further below in this article. For useful surveys of the medical sources, see Wolfhart Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin* (HdO 1.36; Leiden, 1999), 4–79 and John F. Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine* (London, 1996), 24–41. A similar list of sources does not exist for the magical papyri, but see J. F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian*

Kingdom (ca. 1850 BCE), but the fragmentary biographical inscriptions of the courtier Washptah from Saqqara reveal that such manuscripts were already in circulation around 2400 BCE.[6] The passage in question relates how the king was present when Washptah suffered a seizure in the company of lector priests and physicians. The king then orders the bringing of a chest with scrolls, by which undoubtedly handbooks for healing are meant. The tradition continued well into the Roman period, as the second century CE formularies from the temple libraries of Tebtunis, Soknopaiou Nesos and Crocodilopolis in the Fayum demonstrate.[7] As will be shown in the remainder of this article, the Demotic magical papyri are perhaps best regarded as the latest representatives of this pharaonic tradition.

The handbooks are compendiums of recipes that instruct a practitioner in how to prepare and administer a medicament, how to perform a healing rite and how to produce an amulet. A few specialized manuals for healing, such as the Lahun Veterinary and Gynecological Papyri and the Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus, are organized as collections of case studies (*šsʒw*) of ailments and injuries. In these manuscripts, each individual text carefully describes the symptoms and the procedures of examination, explicates the diagnosis and prognosis, and gives the appropriate treatment.[8] In such cases, the recipe proper is contained in the section on the treatment. However, the majority of manuals are collections of recipes only, taking the stages of examination, diagnosis and prognosis for granted. The recipe's title is assumed

---

Magical Texts (NISABA 9; Leiden, 1978) and Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Altägyptische Zaubersprüche* (Stuttgart, 2005).

[6] For a translation of the biography of Washptah, see Nigel C. Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age* (Writings from the Ancient World 16; Atlanta, 2005), 318–20 and Alessandro Roccati, *La littérature historique sous l'ancien empire égyptien* (Paris, 1982), 108–11. The language of the surgical treatise contained in pSmith suggests an Old Kingdom date of composition; James Henry Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus* (OIP 3–4; Chicago, 1930), 73–75.

[7] Tebtunis: The Manual of the priesthood of Sakhmet (in hieratic), numerous fragments; pCarlsberg 463 + PSI inv. I 73 published in Jürgen Osing and Gloria Rosati, *Papiri geroglifici e ieratici da Tebtynis* (Florence, 1998), 189–215; one or two further manuscripts remain unpublished: Ryholt, "On the Contents and Nature of the Tebtunis Temple Library," 150, fn. 37. Soknopaiou Nesos: pAshmolean 1984.55 (in hieratic); mentioned in Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*, 78. Crocodilopolis: the Demotic Vienna Medical Book; E. A. E. Reymond, *A Medical Book from Crocodilopolis. P. Vindob. D. 6257* (MPER 10; Vienna, 1976).

[8] Westendorf translates *šsʒw* as "Lehrtexte", i.e. texts that transmit knowledge gained from practical experience to an apprentice. For more details on this text type, see Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*, 82–87.

to provide sufficient information about when and for which occasion it is to be used. A typical recipe informs the reader about the required materials, their quantities and measures, the ritual implements, the wording of the incantation, and explains, in brief, which actions are to be performed at which moment. Recipes are often listed thematically according to symptom, ailment and body part, although certain manuals, or sections thereof, seem to be without order.

The manuals are the product of a scribal tradition that was institutionalized in the temple scriptorium and maintained for more than two millennia through formal training in an apprenticeship setting. This institution knew a limited set of rules and practices as regards the production of manuscripts. These conventions concern the use of jargon and fixed phrases, ways of glossing and commenting, the use of black and red ink, and the relative sequencing of text units. They assisted the scribes in formulating an intricate set of actions in an easy to follow, step-by-step procedure. Accordingly, they also helped the reader retrieving the information quickly and without mistakes. It is important to stress that these principles were not affected by the choice of language and script. The great majority of manuals are written in Middle or Late Middle Egyptian. However, those of the New Kingdom display a fair amount of Late Egyptianisms and, in the Greco-Roman Period, formularies were also produced in Demotic. As regards the script, two of the earliest manuals, the Lahun Veterinary Papyrus and pRamesseum V (inscribed ca. 1850 BCE), are written in cursive hieroglyphs arranged in narrow, vertical lines separated by margin lines that are to be read in retrograde, with the title for each recipe written on a horizontal line above the entire body of the text. This layout is in line with that of liturgical handbooks of similar date, such as the Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus, the Ramesseum Funerary Liturgy and the Hymns to Sobek, all of which were found as part of the so-called Ramesseum library.[9] However, this early layout disappeared in the course of the Middle Kingdom and was replaced by handbooks in the less formal hieratic with the text written first in vertical lines, but soon

---

[9] The official excavation report of this "library" is J. E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum* (ERA 2; London, 1898), 1–21, plates 1–30A. The tomb's contents are most conveniently listed and discussed in Joachim Friedrich Quack, "Zur Lesung und Deutung des Dramatischen Ramesseumpapyrus," *ZÄS* 133 (2006): 72–89, 72–77. See also R. B. Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* (Oxford, 1991), xi–xiii; Ritner, *Mechanics*, 223–32; Ludwig D. Morenz, *Beiträge zur Schriftlichkeitskultur im Mittleren Reich und in der Zweiten Zwischenzeit* (ÄAT 29; Wiesbaden, 1996), 144–47.

in horizontal lines, and without margin or guide lines. This layout was retained until the end of the Roman period, even in manuscripts written in Demotic, although double ruled lines were introduced in the Roman period to separate the columns.[10]

The formal features listed above enabled scribes to organize the information in a methodical and consistent way.[11] A recipe's structure was visually defined through the use of red ink to highlight or set apart certain key words, opening phrases or self-contained sections from the main body of text, which was written in black ink. For example, the title, the numbers and measures, separation marks, and corrections or additions could be written in red ink; occasionally, the entire text of the directions for use or the incantation was rubricized.[12] In addition to this visual device, controlled vocabulary and relative sequencing of text units were further means to structure and control the information flow. These discursive reading aids deserve our closest attention, because a recipe's text format—i.e. the key words used and the sequence of its text units—was relative to its purpose.

Text formats in Egyptian formularies

The recipes in the formularies for healing and protection of the Middle and New Kingdoms can be divided into those that take as their focal point the preparation of a substance, which is always to be applied to a patient's body, either externally or internally, and those that take an incantation as their point of departure. The scribes thus defined each recipe as one or the other by the appropriate keyword in its title. This keyword is always found at the head of the recipe and is usually written in red ink to set it apart from the main body of text, which was

---

[10] W. J. Tait, "Guidelines and Borders in Demotic Papyri," in M. L. Bierbrier (ed.), *Papyrus, Structure and Usage* (British Museum Occasional Paper 60; London, 1986), 63–89. Double ruled lines are now attested as early as the Augustan period; Friedhelm Hoffmann, "Die Hymnensammlung des P. Wien D6951," in Kim Ryholt (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies* (CNI Publications 27; Copenhagen, 2002), 219–28, 219.

[11] A very useful survey of structuring devices in Egyptian manuscripts is Richard Parkinson and Stephen Quirke, *Papyrus* (London, 1995), 38–48.

[12] This practical usage is to be distinguished from the custom of writing certain ominous words and names in red ink. The latter is to be understood in the light of the symbolic properties of the color red; most recently, Geraldine Pinch, "Red Things: the Symbolism of Colour in Magic," in: W. V. Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2001), 182–85, esp. 84.

written in black ink. Recipes of the first type have the generic term for substance *pẖrt* (prescription, medicament), or occasionally *zpw* (remedy; plural of *zp* "deed"), as their key word.[13] These recipes give directions for preparing and applying drugs, potions, ointments, bandages, etc. At times a more specific heading such as *gsw* (ointment) or *kꜣpt* (fumigation) is used, but the general heading was definitely preferred. Recipes of the second type are entitled *rꜣ* (utterance, incantation) or *šnt* (conjuration), rarely *mḏꜣt* (book, written charm).[14]

In modern scholarship, the former group has been viewed as representing a tradition of ancient Egyptian curative therapy that takes recourse to more or less rational methods to diagnose and treat diseases and injuries, and has been distinguished from, and valued over, the latter, which relies on the spoken word and persuasive analogy as a means to heal or protect a patient.[15] The former was therefore designated as representative of Egyptian medicine, whereas the other was relegated to the margin of scholarly interest as belonging to the domain of magical practices and superstition. However, as a result of closer inspection of ancient Egyptian vocabulary and practices of healing, this view has now been abandoned and most scholars agree that the ancient practitioners themselves made no such distinction. Rather, they considered incantations addressed to demons that bring disease into the body and substances applied to a wound or ailing body part to be complementary methods toward the same goal.[16]

---

[13] For a useful discussion and list of occurrences, see *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*, 284–91 (*pẖrt*) and 736f (*zpw*). For *pẖrt*, see also Ritner, *Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 54–67. The other keywords mentioned in this paragraph can also be found in the *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*.

[14] For more details, see Ritner, *Mechanics*, 41–44; *mḏꜣt* is not discussed in his book. The common translation "chapter" for *rꜣ* (e.g in the Coffin Texts and Book of the Dead) is unnecessarily misleading and is not retained in this article.

[15] See footnote 5 of the present article.

[16] The debate over whether or not to recognize medicine and magic as two separate branches of thought and action in ancient Egypt has produced a large body of secondary literature. I refer the reader to Geraldine Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt* (2nd edition; London, 2006), 133–46 for a useful summary with relevant references. For scholars who convincingly argue against recognizing this distinction, see J. Walker, "The Place of Magic in the Practice of Medicine in Ancient Egypt," *BACE* 1 (1990): 85–95; Joachim Friedrich Quack, "Review of Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*," *OLZ* 94 (1999): 455–62; Christian Leitz, "Die Rolle von Religion und Naturbeobachtung bei der Auswahl der Drogen im Papyrus Ebers," in Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert (ed.), *Papyrus Ebers und die antike Heilkunde* (Philippika Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen 7; Wiesbaden, 2005), 41–62.

It must therefore be stressed that the first type of recipe does not exclude the inclusion of a magical incantation, and that the second is often accompanied by directions to prepare a substance or implement of some sort.[17] The distinction between the two is a matter of emphasis, either on the substance or on the incantation, and not an essential difference in thought and action. It is at times difficult, if not impossible, to discern what made the scribe decide to choose the substance over the incantation and vice versa when he set out to compose a new recipe. From a scribal point of view this decision was not without consequence, as it strictly determined the recipe's text format, and thus had to be consciously made beforehand.

Recipes of the "substance" type start with a title, which contains the keyword and a succinct explanation of the recipe's purpose.[18] For example, recipes to relieve stomach aches can be entitled "prescription (*pẖrt*) for causing the belly to open (itself)" or "remedy (*zpw*) for opening the belly" (Ebers 34 and 7 [= H 58]). If the recipe is part of a sequence of recipes concerned with the same ailment, the title is usually abbreviated to the keyword "another" (*kt*), whose feminine grammatical gender indicates that it substitutes for "prescription" (*pẖrt*). In a few cases the keyword may even have been dropped altogether, thereby resulting in abbreviated headings such as "killing tapeworm" (Ebers 50). Immediately following the title, the ingredients are given, often presented in a list with their required numbers and measures. Finally, the directions for use are given. In cases when the preparation or administration of the medicament was to be accompanied by an incantation, the incantation's wording is given as the fourth section of the recipe, usually introduced by the clause "what is to be said as magic (*ḥkꜣw- hekau*) to it."

To illustrate the standard text format of the first type, two recipes are given below. They are part of a recipe cluster concerned with curing a patient from demonic ꜥꜣꜥ poison in the body, a subject treated at length in the medical papyri Ebers and Hearst.[19] In papyrus Ebers the

---

[17] See also Joris F. Borghouts, "Les textes magiques de l'Égypte ancienne. Théorie, mythes et thèmes," in Yvan Koenig (ed.), *La magie en Égypte: à la recherche d'une définition* (Paris, 2002), 17–39, 21f.

[18] For more details on the text format, see Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*, 87–91.

[19] For the demonic ꜥꜣꜥ poison, see Westendorf, "Beiträge aus und zu den medizinischen Texten. [III. Incubus-Vorstellungen. IV. Feuer- und Wasserprobe]," *ZÄS* 96 (1970): 145–51; and idem, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*, 361–66.

main cluster is called "The beginning of the prescriptions (*pḥrwt*) of driving out *ꜥꜣꜥ* poison from the belly and from the heart" (pEbers 221; 44/13). Note that in the second example the incantation, though coming only at the end, is actually the longest text unit of the recipe. This demonstrates that the text format's sequence is not established by the number of words of the individual text units, but by the keyword.

[title]	<u>To drive out the *ꜥꜣꜥ* poison of</u> a god or a dead person from the belly of a man or a woman.
[ingredients]	Acacia leaf, <u>1/32</u> dja; *arw* tree leaf, <u>1/32</u> dja; *qaa* fruits of the *arw* tree, <u>1/32</u> dja; pulp of the carob fruit[20] <u>1/8</u> dja; grapes, <u>1/8</u> dja; Lower Egyptian salt, <u>1/32</u> dja; the kernel of a mussel, <u>1/32</u> dja; *tehua*, <u>1/8</u> dja; galena, <u>1/64</u> dja; *shasha* fruit, <u>1</u> dja; hair-of-the-earth fruit, <u>1/8</u> dja; honey, <u>1/32</u> dja; plant slime, <u>5</u> dja.
[directions for use]	To be cooked and sieved. To be drunk over a period of 4 days.[21]

[title]	<u>Another (prescription)</u>.
[ingredients]	An *abdju* fish whose mouth is filled with incense.
[directions for use]	To be cooked. To be eaten before going to bed.
[incantation]	<u>What is to be said over it as magic (*heka*)</u>: O dead man, dead woman, covered one, hidden one, who is in this my body, in these my limbs; remove yourself from this my body, from these my limbs! Look, I brought excrement to eat for you. Hidden one, creep away. Covered one, retreat.[22]

In the second type of recipe, the title consists of the keyword "incantation" (*rꜣ*) or "conjuration" (*šnt*) and a short phrase to succinctly indicate its purpose, as for example "another incantation (*rꜣ*) for a conjuration (*šnt*) of a head that hurts" and "another conjuration (*šnt*) of the head" (pLeiden I 348 2/9 and 3/5). When the recipe is part of a thematic cluster, "another" (*ky* or *kt*) can precede the keyword or replace it altogether. The wording of the incantation follows immedi-

---

[20] For *ḏꜣrt* as "pulp of the carob fruit," I follow Sydney Aufrère, "Études de lexicologie et d'histoire naturelle, I–III," *BIFAO* 83 (1983): 1–31, 28–31.

[21] H 83 = pHearst 6/16–7/2; the manuscript is dated to around 1350 BCE. For a very close parallel, see Eb 225 = pEbers 44/22–45/4; the manuscript is dated to 1550 BCE. For the dja measures I follow Tanja Pommerening, "Neues zu den Hohlmassen und zum Medizinalmassystem," in Susanna Bickel and Antonio Loprieno (eds.), *Basel Egyptology Prize 1* (Aegyptia Helvetica 17; Basel, 2003), 201–219.

[22] H 85 = pHearst 7/4–6; the manuscript is dated to around 1350 BCE.

ately after the title. If the rite entails preparing a concoction, manipulating an implement or drawing apotropaic imagery, the directions for use are given *after* the incantation. To set them visibly apart from the incantation, the directions for use are often written in red ink. Unlike the former type, the ingredients are not listed as a separate text unit, but rather are most often integrated with the text of the directions for use. The following two examples illustrate the basic text format. The first is taken from a group of headache spells; the second forms part of a group of spells to prevent bleeding in a pregnant woman. Note how the sequence [title], [incantation], [directions for use] is fixed.

[title]	<u>Another conjuration (*šnt*) of the head.</u>
[incantation]	Horus is fighting with Seth about the Unique Bush, the *hemem* plant that Geb (i.e. the god of the earth) had begotten. Re, listen to Horus. He has only kept silent because of Geb, even though Horus is suffering from his head. Give him a driving out of his harms. Isis, make up your mind, mother of Horus! I have indeed put \<an amulet\> upon every (spot of) suffering.
[directions for use]	<u>Words to be spoken over buds of a single bush. To be twisted to the left. To be moistened with plant slime. A fiber of the *seneb* plant to be laced to it. To be made into 7 knots. To be given to a man at his throat.[23]</u>

[title]	<u>Incantation (*rꜣ*) for repelling blood.</u>
[incantation]	Go back, you who are in the hand of Horus. Go back, you who are in the hand of Seth. The blood that came forth in Hermopolis has been repelled. The red blood that came forth at the hour has been repelled. Are you not aware of the dam? Go back, you, at the hand of Thoth.
[directions for use]	<u>This incantation is to be spoken over a bead of carnelian. It must be applied to the woman's rear. It is a repelling of blood.[24]</u>

---

[23] pLeiden I 348 no. 10 (= 4/5–9); the manuscript is dated to the 13th century BCE. For important philological notes, see J. F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (OMRO 51; Leiden, 1970), 19 and 77–82; cf. Borghouts, "Les textes magiques de l'Égypte ancienne," 20f.

[24] London Medical Papyrus 25 (Wreszinski 37) = pBM 10059 9/1–3; the manuscript is dated to around 1350 BCE. For commentary, see Wolfhart Westendorf, "Beiträge aus und zu den medizinischen Texten," *ZÄS* 92 (1966): 128–54; and Christian Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom* (Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum 7; London, 1999), 67.

My proposition that the key word determines a recipe's text format is cogently confirmed by the following two recipes. They are both concerned with curing a patient from the *tmjt* disease. The first recipe is a *pḥrt* text detailing how to prepare a poultice to be put on the spot where the patient suffers from the disease, whereas the second is a *šnt* recipe whose incantation directly addresses the demons causing the disease and is meant to be spoken over an ointment or poultice of an entirely different composition. The recipes do not only demonstrate that the same disease allowed for alternative approaches of healing. More relevant to the present argument is the fact that the relative sequencing of text units changes with the key word—irrespective of the ailment at hand or any other criteria.

[title]	Prescription (*pḥrt*) for driving out the *tmjt* disease.
[ingredients]	soot, *šnft* fruit, dregs of the ꜥꜣt liquid, flour of the threshing floor, hematite, emmer, soil that comes from under a woman's excretion, Lower Egyptian salt.
[directions for use]	To be cooked. To be bandaged with it.[25]

[title]	Another conjuration (*šnt*) of the *tmjt* disease.
[incantation]	These wrappings and coverings (?) [are doing something]. They are the hair of .?. Your body is of iron, your hair is that of the goddess Sekhat[-Hor].[26] She has guarded these. Hail to you, gods of the darkness,[27] gods of my city. What was said is what is hidden (though) spoken. What came forth from my mouth are [utterances] that came forth from my mouth, because I enchant this *tmjt* disease, so that I remove the influence of a god, male dead, female dead (etc.) onto the earth and that the commoners, the elite, and the Hnmmt folk of Re may see it.
[directions for use]	This incantation is to be spoken over natron of the mason, *ḥmw* of the *kꜣkꜣ* plant, gum, pulp of the carob fruit, dates. The (spot which shows the) *tmjt* disease is to bandaged with it.[28]

---

[25] H 168 = pHearst 11/10–11; the manuscript is dated to around 1550 BCE. For translating *ḥry n pddw* as "soil that comes from under a woman's excretion," I follow Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*, 504.

[26] For this goddess, see LGG VI, 500a–501b.

[27] Following LGG VII, 290a.

[28] L 10 = pBM 10059 4/1–5; the manuscript is dated to around 1350 BCE. For important philological notes, see Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri*, 57 and consult also Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*, 384.

A further important observation concerns the style of the language of the recipes. Compared to the language used in the incantations, which can be convoluted at times and displays a wide range of variation in syntactical patterns, the language of the directions for use is very straightforward and uniform. The practitioner is informed about the required procedures with a sequence of laconic sentences that often consist of nothing more than a verb and an adverbial phrase to indicate what to do in which way. The verb form used most often is the so-called passive *sḏm=f* with optative mood; also very common is the stative verb form with optative mood.[29]

The genre conventions I have described above apply to recipes written in Middle and Late Middle Egyptian. They remained in force for the entire period that the scribes in the temple scriptoria copied, edited and composed formularies in hieratic. They can, for example, be observed in the Brooklyn Snake Book (pBrooklyn 47.218.48 and 85), which dates to ca. 600 BCE, and on Papyrus Rubensohn, a fragment of a medical handbook dating to the 4th century BCE. Unfortunately, for the Greco-Roman Period, formularies in hieratic are not available for study, because they have not been preserved or not yet been identified in the papyrological collections. Circumstantial evidence is provided by Papyrus BM 10808 of the 2nd century CE, which is a collection of three fever spells written in a form of Late Middle Egyptian and transcribed into a Greco-Egyptian alphabetic script. Although this is not a hieratic formulary in the technical sense, it is clear that the extant version was transcribed or reworked from a hieratic original. As was the custom since at least the second millennium BCE, the complex wording of the three incantations is followed by the succinct directions for use at the end of the text.

---

[29] For a detailed discussion of the use of these two verb forms in the prescriptions of the medical papyri, see Wolfhart Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texte* (Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter VIII; Berlin, 1962), 127ff. and 180ff. According to Westendorf, the stative is used for verbs that concern the preparation of the medicament, whereas the passive *sḏm=f* is used for those that concern the application. A grammatical study of this kind remains to be done for the corpus of magical papyri, but its outcome is unlikely to be very different.

Continuity and innovation in the Demotic formularies

A study of the scribal practices in the Demotic magic manuals reveals both similarities with and differences from those described above for the hieratic formularies. The Demotic scribes continued working with the basic principles of the scribal conventions of old, but were not reluctant to experiment with the patterns and to introduce new methods. These similarities and differences can be observed in the use of black and red ink, the selection of title words, the occurrence of paragraph markers and the structure of a recipe's text format. The first three of these structuring devices are addressed one by one in this section; the next section is devoted to a close analysis of the text format of Demotic recipes.

To an untrained eye, the use of black and red ink may appear to be very similar in the hieratic and Demotic manuals. As is the case with the hieratic manuscripts, black ink is used in the Demotic manuals for the main body of text, whereas red ink is reserved for highlighting titles, paragraph markers, and numbers and measures. A closer look, however, reveals that red ink was used more sparingly in the Demotic manuals: only single words and phrases are written in red ink, never an entire text unit such as the incantation or directions for use.

As regards the technical jargon and title words, a distinction must be made on the one hand between title words of a general nature and those that are more specific and, on the other, between those known from the hieratic formularies and those that are unattested in those earlier manuals. Bearing these two distinctions in mind, the following observations can be made: First, the title words of a general nature are *pḫrt*, *rꜣ* and *gy*, the first two of which continue the jargon of the hieratic formularies. Apparently, whereas *pḫrt* and *rꜣ* had been retained, *zpw* and *šnt* had fallen into disuse as headings in the Demotic formularies. This fact is quite remarkable, because the roots of these words were still in use in Demotic.[30] Their absence may therefore be an *argumentum e silentio* that they were deliberately discarded as jargon for Demotic formularies. The heading *gy* occurs as a generic term with

---

[30] For *šnt* in the meaning "curse," see pPetese Tebt. A '6'/30 (written *šnyt*). *Sp* occurs in the compound nouns *sp n sh* (lit. "feat of a scribe") and *sp n ḥyḳ* (lit. "feat of magic"), which can both be translated as "magical rite or formula"; DG 425, pPetese Tebt. A 3/30, and Ritner, *Mechanics*, 68, fn. 311.

the meaning "method of doing something."[31] It defines the recipe as a series of actions or steps to be undertaken irrespective of the type or significance of the prescribed substance or incantation. As such, this heading is even less restrictive in meaning than *pẖrt* and *rꜣ*. As is the case in the hieratic formularies, these title words may be preceded, or replaced altogether, by *ky* or *kt* (another) to indicate that the recipe is of a similar type as the one preceding.

More precise in meaning and content are the title words for divination rites. Whereas the hieratic formularies are primarily concerned with healing and protection, the Demotic manuals also include recipes with detailed instructions on how to perform bowl or lamp divination rituals, either with the help of a boy medium or by the practitioner alone, as a means to make a god appear and to consult with him in a face-to-face encounter about any matter at hand.[32] The title words of such recipes are very specific, such as *šn ḥn* (vessel inquiry), *šn n pꜣ ḫbs* (inquiry of the lamp), *šn n pꜣ Rꜥ* (inquiry of the sun), *šn wbe iꜥḥ* (inquiry opposite the moon), *sš-mšt* (casting for inspection?),[33] and *pḥ-nṯr* (god's arrival). These terms are as yet unattested in hieratic formularies. Another specialized term is *kswr*, the word for "ring"

---

[31] The same term occurs as *gꜣy* in the Demotic Vienna Medical Book and as *gꜥy* in the Isis Divination Manual; for the latter, see Martin A. Stadler, *Isis, das göttliche Kind und die Weltordnung* (MPER NS 28; Vienna, 2004). The term actually has a range of meanings such as "character, shape, manner, method"; see WB 5.15, DG 571. The restricted meaning proposed here is supported by a phrase used in the Isis Divination Manual: *pꜣ gꜥy šn pꜣ ꜥl nty iw=w r-ir=f*, "the method of consulting the dice/child which is to be <u>done</u>" (1/1 and 8). This usage is already attested in the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, a 17th-dynasty copy of a 12th-dynasty original.

[32] It is important to note here that although the art of divination is attested for as early as the Middle Kingdom, the Demotic spells differ from the earlier types of divination in the sense that they claim to produce a face-to-face encounter with the deity, whereas the earlier types of divination are about interpreting signs, either occurring spontaneously, such as dreams and moon and sun eclipses, or produced artificially. For the latter type of divination, see the preliminary discussion of a fragmentary New Kingdom manuscript with directions for interpreting the shapes of oil slick in a bowl filled with water in Sara Demichelis, "La divination par l'huile à l'époque ramesside," in: Yvan Koenig (ed.), *La magie en Égypte: à la recherche d'une définition* (Paris, 2002), 149–65. For a convenient overview of divinatory practices in ancient Egypt, see Alexandra von Lieven, "Divination in Ägypten," *AoF* 26 (1999): 77–126; for practices in Greco-Roman Egypt, see also David Frankfurter, "Voices, Books and Dreams: The Diversification of Divination Media in Late Antique Egypt," in Sarah Iles Johnston and Peter T. Struck (eds.), *Mantikê. Studies in Ancient Divination* (RGRW 155; Leiden, 2005), 233–54.

[33] For this term and its tentative translation, see *GMPT*, 200, fn. 59 [R. K. Ritner]. Joachim Quack suggests reading *sšm-št*, "Frageanleitung"; *TUAT Neue Folge Band 4*, 339, fn. 47.

and accordingly the title word for spells to consecrate a ring and to imbue it with magical powers. The phrase *tỉ-swr* (potion) occurs once as a heading to a love spell involving the preparation of magically charged wine.

In comparison with hieratic formularies, Demotic recipes make far more use of paragraph markers as an additional structuring device. Paragraph markers, usually written in red ink, indicate transitions from one text unit to another—for example, from the wording of the incantation to the directions for use and vice versa. Their frequent usage was probably born of necessity, as recipes grew in length and complexity. Whereas the hieratic recipes are in general short and concise, the Demotic recipes tend to be longer and to describe in more detail the proceedings and their sequence. This lengthening requires more reading aids to produce a clear-cut and easy-to-use recipe. To introduce the wording of the incantation the standard *ḏd mdwt* (words to be said) is used, often written as a composite hieratic sign, or a phrase such as *nꜣ sẖw nty ỉ.ỉr=k ꜥš=w* (the writings which you should recite) or *pꜣ ꜥš nty ỉ.ỉr=k ꜥš=f* (the invocation that you are supposed to recite). If the invocation consists of a string of names and epithets, for example the ubiquitous *voces magicae*, the phrase *twys nꜣ rnw* (here are the names) occurs frequently. The directions for use are often introduced by the idiom *pꜣy=f swḥ ỉyẖ*, which means "its gathering things, i.e. preparation" and remains unattested outside the Demotic magical manuals to date.[34] In *ky/gy* recipes the directions for use are most frequently introduced by *pꜣy=f ky* (its method).

Text formats in the Demotic formularies

When discussing the text format or relative sequencing of text units in the recipes of the Demotic formularies, it is useful to make a distinction between recipes that exhibit a compartmentalized structure and those that have an integrated format. I use 'compartmentalization'

---

[34] Griffith and Thompson translate the idiom as "spirit-gathering" (#730 in their glossary), taking the *ỉyẖ* as a writing of the word "spirit" (#30 in their glossary). However, the determinatives do not match, so that, given the context, it makes more sense to take *ỉyẖ* as a variant writing of *ỉẖy* "thing, object" (#125 in their glossary). The directions for use are not about collecting spirits, but about assembling the required ingredients and implements. See also *GMPT*, 199, fn. 50 [RKR].

as a heuristic term in reference to the text formats discussed above. Compartmentalized recipes uphold a strict division in their layout between the text units of [incantation] and [directions for use]. The term 'integration' I reserve for recipes in which these text units are to a large extent intertwined and loosely sequenced. Integrated recipes tend to be longer and to prescribe rites that require more preparations and actions than is the case for the compartmentalized recipe. In our current, small sample of Demotic formularies, the integrated type is restricted to recipes for separation and binding spells, divine consultation rites and ring spells—spells that have no equivalents in the hieratic formularies.

Compartmentalized recipes

In the Demotic formularies, the principle of compartmentalization is retained in *pḫrt* and *r3* recipes as well as in *pḥ-nṯr* recipes and some *gy* recipes. Demotic *pḫrt* recipes follow the standard sequence of [title], [ingredients], [directions for use] and, if included at all, [incantation]. The majority of Demotic *r3* recipes retain the conventions of the hieratic *r3* recipe with a sequence of [title], [incantation] and [directions for use, including ingredients]. However, a number of Demotic *r3* recipes violate the conventions by reversing the sequence of text units to [title], [directions for use] and [incantation]. As for compartmentalized *pḥ-nṯr* and *gy* recipes, they do not arrange the units [directions for use] and [incantation] in a fixed order. In the following paragraphs, these observations are addressed in more detail.

Demotic pḫrt *recipes*

Demotic *pḫrt* recipes agree with the *pḫrt* recipes in hieratic formularies in the sense that the central and defining element of the recipe is a substance or implement of some sort, whose constitutive ingredients are given immediately following the recipe's title. In the majority of cases the recipes are very straightforward and concerned with instructions for preparing and administering potions, ointments, pills and bandages, as in the following recipe for preparing a potion to stimulate a woman sexually.

[title]	_Prescription (pḥrt)_ for causing that a woman _loves_ a man
[ingredients]	fruit of acacia
[directions for use]	_Grind_ with honey; anoint his phallus with it; you are to sleep with the woman.[35]

As is the rule for _pḥrt_ recipes in the hieratic manuals, the target of this recipe's procedure is the client's body. However, in the Demotic magical papyri, the link between _pḥrt_ and its area of application has been loosened to the effect that certain Demotic _pḥrt_ recipes prescribe applying a substance or implement to an area other than the body. Instead, as for example in the next passage, the substance is to be applied to the flame of an oil lamp or, as in the second passage, the implement is to be deposited under the threshold of the desired woman's house.

[title]	_Prescription_ (_pḥrt_) for _enchanting_ (_pḥr_) the vessel swiftly to the effect that the gods enter and tell you a truthful answer
[directions for use]	you should \put/ the shell of an _egg_ of a *CROCODILE*, or what is inside it, on the _flame_. It _enchants_ (_pḥr_) immediately.[36]

[title]	_Prescription_ (_pḥrt_) for causing that [a woman] loves you
[ingredients]	a _statuette of Osiris_ (made) of wax
[directions for use]	You should […] and you should bring hair and [wool] of a donkey together with a bone of a lizard. You should [bury them under the] threshold of _her_[37] house. If stubbornness occurs, you should bring it to […] the _statuette of Osiris_ with _ram's_ wool. You should put the lizard's bone […] and you should bury it anew under the threshold of _her_[37] house. You should recite […] _before Isis_ in the early evening when the _moon_ rises. Listen before you bury [it?].
[incantation]	O secret image of _Osiris_ (made) of wax, O powerful one, O protection of […] O lord of praise, love and respect, may you go to any house where NN [is and

---

[35] PDM xiv.930–32 = pLondon-Leiden vo 3/14–16. In my translation of the Demotic recipes I indicate which script occurs in the original text in the following way: Demotic = standard font; hieratic = italicised, standard font; alphabetic Demotic = small capitals; cipher script = small capitals, written between two *; Coptic = standard font, underlined with dots; caption in red ink = underlined.

[36] PDM xiv.77–78 = pLondon-Leiden ro 3/20–21. The word for crocodile is written in a cipher aphabet; see Dieleman, _Priests, Tongues, and Rites_, 87–96.

[37] Note here the use of the archaic construction _pr=s_ instead of _p3y=s ꜥwy_.

send her] to any house where NN is, the tip of her feet
following his heels [...] with her eyes full of tears, her
heart full of longing;[38] her [...] which she will do. O
statuette of Osiris (made) of wax, if you will be stub-
born [and will not send NN] after NN, I will go to the
chest in which [...is], I will <take out?> Isis who is in
it [...] *black*, I will wrap her in a hide of a *black* [...],
I will make receive [...] after *Osiris* her husband and
her [brother......] May you .?., O lord of .?., O lord
of [......] who is in the *House of the Obelisk*, come [to
me...][39]

These two recipes allow for a number of important observations.
First, the second recipe shows that Demotic *pḫrt* recipes can contain
an incantation, which follows, as is the case in hieratic *pḫrt* recipes,
at the end. Furthermore, the first recipe's structure violates the *pḫrt*
genre rules by incorporating the ingredient in the running text of the
directions for use instead of listing it separately following the title, as
would be required. The most likely reason for this breach in the genre
conventions is a need for brevity and efficiency, because the recipe is
part of a series of concise *pḫrt* recipes prescribing the use of alternative
ingredients for producing different effects in one and the same divi-
nation ritual (PDM xiv.1–92 = pLondon-Leiden 1/1—3/35). It is thus
not a self-contained recipe. Third, the verb *pḫr* (to enchant) in the first
recipe contains the key to understanding why the *pḫrt* recipe's range of
use could have been extended in the Demotic manuals. In Demotic the
root *pḫr* had acquired the explicit meaning "to enchant," whereas in
earlier days it meant "to contain and protect through encirclement."[40]
Accordingly, a *pḫrt* could now also be understood as a prescription
that allows for transferring desired properties between objects *at a
distance*, in both place and time, on the basis of the laws of similarity
and contiguity.

---

[38] In translating *ḥme* as "longing", I follow Robert K. Ritner, "Gleanings from Mag-
ical Texts," *Enchoria* 14 (1986): 95–106, 100.

[39] PDM xli.112–27 = pBM 10588 ro 8/1–16. For philological notes, see Bell, Nock,
Thompson, "Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus," 249–50.

[40] For an etymology of the term and its nuances of meaning, see Ritner, *Mechanics*,
57–67, esp. fn. 266 and p. 61.

Demotic r3 recipes

The *r3* recipe type continued to be used in Demotic formularies. The term itself, however, had fallen into disuse and been replaced by ꜥš (recitation, invocation) in common speech.[41] Its continued use as title word in the Demotic formularies is therefore an indication that the Demotic scribes deliberately chose to adopt the age-old conventions of the Egyptian scriptorium. A close reading of these *r3* recipes reveals occasional variation in the relative sequence of text units.

In the majority of cases, Demotic *r3* recipes retain the classic text format, as is exemplified by the following two spells.

[title]	*Incantation (r3) for causing* praise and love in Nubian[42]
[incantation]	SUMUTH[43] KESUTH HRBABA BRASAKHS LOT[44] ANAPH ABAKHA.[45]
[directions for use]	Say this; you must put gum on your *hand*, kiss your shoulder twice, and go before the man of your choice.[46]
[title]	Another incantation (*r3*) for sending a dream
[incantation]	Words to be said (*ḏd mdwt*): Listen to my voice, O akh-spirit of a noble mummy of a man of the necropolis who assumes [all his] forms, come to me and perform for me such-and-such a task today, because I am invoking you in your[47] *name* of […] in Abydos, *who rests in*

---

[41] It is for this reason that the paragraph markers refer to incantations with the terms ꜥš and *šḥw* instead of *r3*.

[42] Johnson (*GMPT*, 289) translates the title as "spell of giving praise and love in Nubian," which is misleading because the spell is actually about receiving praise and love from the man addressed; compare with PDM xiv.309–34 = pLondon-Leiden ro 11/1–26.

[43] Note that this *vox magica* is provided with the seated man determinative in addition to the divine determinative.

[44] Thompson (Bell, Nock, Thompson, "Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus," 241 and 244) and Johnson (*GMPT*, 289) transcribe this name as LAT, but the scribe clearly wrote the composite sign group for the Greek short vowel /o/; compare with the table in Quack, "Griechische und andere Dämonen," 433.

[45] The *voces magicae* ANAPH and ABAKHA start with an oblique stroke. Thompson (Bell, Nock, Thompson, "Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus," 241 and 244) and Johnson (*GMPT*, 289) read it as *s3*, the sign to indicate filiation, and translate "son of(?)." Following Quack (*TUAT Neue Folge Band 4*, 358), I read it as a sign for the opening vowel /a/; see F. Ll. Griffith and Herbert Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden. Vol. III. Indices* (Oxford 1921) 113, no. 1.

[46] PDM lxi.95–99 = pBM 10588 ro 7/1–5; for important philological notes, see Ritner, "Gleanings from Magical Texts," 98.

[47] The Demotic text has here the possessive pronoun for the third personal plural, *p3y=w*; which must be an error.

| | *the Mansion of the Official*,[48] whose[47] name is 'This one who rests \in *maʿat*/' (another manuscript says: 'Who […] in maʿat), *Nun* […] who completes the ritual,[49] 'Great One of Nun' is your true *name*. 'SHLBI NUH[RO]' is your true name, truly. 'Nun NEO soul of HAB, [Nun NE]O, Great one of Nun' is your true name. 'Soul of souls (another manuscript says: 'soul of a bull') […] of Nun' is your true name. 'Soul of souls, SHLBI NUHRO' is your true name.[50] May you listen to [my] voice, […] in all his forms, akh-spirit of a noble mummy of a man of the necropolis, because I am [calling you] in your name of 'SI[…]ISIRA SIRATHMA,' because I am [NEBU] TO, O SUAL[TH NEBU]TOSUALTH[51] SIRATHMA, because I am […]s, O SU[ALTH NEBUTOS]UALTH,[52] let the soul of the noble akh-spirit waken up for me; let him go [to the place] where So-and-so is; let him approach(?) [him; let him] cause that he does for me the such-and-such [matter] which I am requesting today(?). |
| [directions for use] | Its preparation (*pꜣy=f swḥ iyh*): [write] these names with blood of a *hoopoe(?)*[53] [on a] reed leaf; you put it […] of a dead man; you leave [a…] of clay under his head(?); you recite them again to him. You do [it on…of the] lunar month; it is left in a place [that is…]. If stubbornness occurs, you must [put? the] hoof of a male donkey and myrrh […] before him; beat the ground until it stops… When you [act against a man, you should take] male […]. When you act against a woman, you should [take] female […].[54] |

The second recipe is part of a sequence of eight dream-sending spells in the Louvre manual (PDM *Suppl.*). They all have the same title and follow the standard text format except for spell PDM *Suppl.*28–40,

---

[48] The Mansion of the Official is either the name for a sanctuary in Heliopolis or a room in a temple; for a list of relevant epithets, see LGG V, 87c.

[49] For this translation (ʿrḳ ỉrw), see Quack, *TUAT Neue Folge Band 4*, 351.

[50] At this point, the scribe mistakenly repeated the line "NEO soul of HAB Nun NEO, the great one of Nun is your true name." He corrected himself by encircling the redundant phrase with a black line. It is left out of the translation.

[51] This *vox magica* is provided with a supralineal gloss in Greek letters, written from left to right: νεβουτοσουα[…].

[52] The *vox magica* is provided with the same supralineal gloss in Greek letters as in the previous line: νεβοντυσο[υ]αλ[…].

[53] Of the name of the animal, written in cipher letters, only the final three letters are preserved: ου-π-τ. Possibly, one could read [κουκ]ουπ(ε)τ for "hoopoe" as in Quack, *TUAT Neue Folge Band 4*, 351.

[54] PDM *Suppl.*40–60 = pLouvre E 3229 ro 2/10–3/1.

which gives the directions for use *before* the incantation. Why, in this particular case, did the scribe violate the genre conventions within this otherwise coherent cluster? A study of the other Demotic formularies reveals that there is a pattern and that this instance was most likely neither a mistake nor an idiosyncrasy.

The London-Leiden manuscript shows a similar combination of classical and innovative text formats in its *rꜣ* recipes. Six healing spells, preserved as a cluster on columns 19 and 20 of the recto, display the standard *rꜣ* recipe text format and, were it not for the embedded *voces magicae*, one would be tempted to view them as "old-fashioned" hieratic healing recipes transcribed and translated into Demotic.[55] The standard text format has also been retained in a lengthy spell to secure love and respect and a spell against the evil eye.[56] However, in three unrelated *rꜣ* recipes, the normal sequence has been subverted to [title], [directions for use, including ingredients] and [incantation]. In the first recipe the incantation is in Greek and therefore seems appended to, rather than integrated with, the recipe, even though the rite's cohesion on the level of acts and words is otherwise without question.[57] The second spell works on the power of writing enigmatic symbols and manipulating the written object; the incantation is given at the end and amounts to nothing more than a straightforward "Bring So-and-so, the daughter of So-and-so, to the bedroom[58] in which So-and-so, the son of So-and-so is."[59] The recipe can therefore hardly be termed an

---

[55] As for the *voces magicae*, note that their number is very low, that all but one are without glosses, and that except for ɪᴀʜᴏ sᴀʙᴀʜᴏ ᴀʙɪᴀʜᴏ (PDM xiv.592 = pLondon-Leiden ro 19/39) they have a ring to them quite different from those in the Greek manuals. I therefore do not rule out the possibility that this cluster of healing spells is indeed a reworking of older hieratic versions with some ad-hoc *voces magicae* thrown into the mix to make the spells "up to date."

[56] PDM xiv.309–34 = pLondon-Leiden ro 11/1–26 and PDM xiv.1097–1103 = pLondon-Leiden vo 20/1–7 (the *rꜣ* heading was never filled in with red ink). For the latter spell, see Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, 138–43.

[57] PDM xiv.675–94 [PGM XIVc 15–27] = pLondon-Leiden ro 23/1–20. For this spell, see Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, 130–38.

[58] The Demotic phrase for this word is awkward. It literally says "the house/spot of the place of lying down." Johnson's translation "to the house, to the sleeping-place" is incorrect, because the scribe clearly wrote the genitival *n*, not the preposition *r* before *pꜣ mꜣꜥ*. I therefore take it to be a compound expression for "bedroom," despite the fact that the common expression in Demotic is *st mn* or *ꜥwy mn* (DG, 159). This may have resulted from translating from Greek; Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, 99f.

[59] PDM xiv.1070–77 = pLondon-Leiden vo 17/1–8.

incantation in the proper sense of that word.[60] The third spell is actu-
ally a recipe for consecrating a magical ring (*kswr* in Demotic) that
has the ability to fetch a woman when placed on top of a lamp and
enchanted with the words, which are only given at the end, "Bring So-
and-so, the daughter of So-and-so, to this place in which I am, quickly,
within these hours of today."[61] Given its content and text format one
would expect the heading of this recipe to have been *kswr* (ring spell)
or *pẖrt* (prescription).[62]

To return to the cluster of dream-sending recipes in the Louvre
manual, all eight *r*ꜣ spells are provided with paragraph markers in red
ink to introduce the wording of the incantation and the directions for
use. In the first four recipes the directions for use are introduced by
ḏd mdwt (words to be said) and not, as would be expected, by *pꜣy=f
swḥ iyẖ* (its preparation). In the following three recipes of this same
sequence the directions for use are fittingly introduced by *pꜣy=f swḥ
iyẖ* (its preparation), but in the cluster's final recipe *ḏd mdwt* (words
to be said) is used again, as is the case in the remaining six unrelated
recipes in the manuscript, except for PDM *Suppl.*149–62. The occur-
rence of *ḏd mdwt* as a tag to introduce the directions for use, if taken
literally, does not make any sense at all and begs to be explained.[63]
There seems to be no apparent reason to account for the deviation
other than a recurring scribal mistake, a lapse of reason or general

---

[60] This also holds true for the cluster of fetching and curse charms PDM xii.50–164,
which are all *r*ꜣ recipes by title, but factually writing spells that prescribe uttering
the straightforward commands and strategically depositing the written and charged
object.

[61] PDM xiv.1090–96 = pLondon-Leiden vo 19/1–7.

[62] For a Demotic ring spell with the heading *kswr*, see PDM xii.6–20 = pLeiden I
384 vo II*/6–20; note that this recipe gives the directions for use *before* the incantation
as in the present *r*ꜣ recipe.

[63] Cf. Ritner, *Mechanics*, 41 where he writes that "conjoined as *ḏd mdw*, 'words to
be said,' the terms conclude most magical recitations, serving to introduce the direc-
tions for the accompanying rite." I have been unable to find any corroborative evi-
dence for this statement and suspect that Ritner refers here to the idiomatic expression
"words to be said over/to [an object or body part]," which phrase serves indeed as
a common transition from the wording of the incantation to the directions for use
in hieratic manuals; in fact, the phrase is part of the directions for use. A demotic
example can be found in PDM xiv.1102 (= pLondon-Leiden vo 20/6), where the scribe
forgot to fill in the *ḏd mdwt* with red ink. The present case is different, though, because
the *ḏd mdwt* is truly a meta-textual paragraph marker and not embedded in the text
of the directions for use. In her *GMPT* translations Johnson evades the problem by
translating "formula," which is a paraphrase rather than a translation.

incomprehension on the part of the scribe. However, this may very well amount to jumping to inappropriate conclusions, for the recipes are otherwise well written and structured—as is the whole manuscript, for that matter. Moreover, the same phenomenon can be observed on pLondon-Leiden, which was clearly written by another scribe.[64] An alternative explanation may be that the archaic *ḏd mdwt* (words to be said) had become a paragraph marker *par excellence*, irrespective of its literal meaning.

Demotic pḥ-nṯr *recipes*

The term *pḥ-nṯr* (literally "god's arrival") refers to a type of oracular consultation.[65] Recipes that carry this term as their title word exhibit a compartmentalized structure without following any fixed order in the relative sequence of [incantation] and [directions for use]. This observation is important, because other oracular consultation recipes, such as *šn hn* ("vessel inquiry") and *šn n pꜣ ḥbs* ("inquiry of the lamp"), have an integrated text format (for which, see further below). A further difference between *pḥ-nṯr* recipes and *šn hn* and *šn n pꜣ ḥbs* recipes is that the former are relatively plain and simple in their directions, prescribe relatively short incantations and have few if any *voces magicae*. In other words, in structure and content, *pḥ-nṯr* recipes correspond better with the classical schema than with the innovative *šn hn* and *šn*

---

[64] PDM xiv.304 = pLondon-Leiden ro 10/31 and PDM xiv.411 = pLondon-Leiden ro 14/17. Brashear is mistaken when he states that the Demotic manuals were all written by the same scribe; "The Greek Magical Papyri," 3404.

[65] Due to a paucity of instructive sources, *pḥ-nṯr* remains an elusive category. It is clear that it refers to a set of rituals to provoke contact with a deity with the aim of interrogating him; "to reach the god"—i.e., to consult him. The rite can be a public or private affair, be concerned with issues that are relevant to the community at large or those that only pertain to a sole individual and, depending on its purpose, can be considered an acceptable and lawful form of enquiry or acquire an illicit character; Jean Marie Kruchten, *Le grand texte oraculaire de Djéhoutymose* (Monographies Reine Élisabeth 5; Brussels, 1986), 328–31 and Ritner, *Mechanics*, 214–20. Though attested as a technical term since the late New Kingdom, instructions to perform a *pḥ-nṯr* (or in its Greek translation σύστασις and αὐτοπτικός/αὔτοπτος) are only preserved in the Demotic and Greek magic manuals. Since these are instructions for small-scale consultation sessions of a private and secretive nature that always involve incubation with the aim of seeing the deity in a dream, which is fundamentally different from the proceedings in the Theban oracular tribunal of the Third Intermediate Period, it remains unclear to what extent the prescribed methods and underlying rationale are comparable to those of the New Kingdom. References to a *pḥ-nṯr* rite in the Petese Stories are in too fragmentary contexts to be of help in elucidating this problem; pPetese Tebt. C21 2/x+6 and pPetese Tebt. D2 2/2.

n pꜣ ḫbs recipes, even if all three types are conceptually related. This discrepancy can perhaps be explained by assuming that the *pḥ-nṯr* is an older technique and recipe type than the *šn hn* and *šn n pꜣ ḫbs*. The extant *pḥ-nṯr* recipes may then very well be reworked versions of older materials, whereas the *šn hn* and *šn n pꜣ ḫbs* recipes are more recent compositions. The following *pḥ-nṯr* recipe serves as a general illustration of the text format.[66]

[title]	A *god's arrival (pḥ-nṯr)* of Osiris
[incantation]	*O Isis, O Nephthys, O noble spirit* of Osiris Wennefer, come to me, because I am your *beloved son* Horus. O gods *who are in the sky*, O gods *who are on the earth*, O gods *who are in* the Nun, O gods *who are in the south*, O gods *who are in the north*, O gods *who are in the west*, O gods *who are in the east, come to me in this night*, instruct me about such-and-such a matter, about which I am enquiring, quickly, quickly, hurry, hurry.
[directions for use]	<u>Words to be said (*ḏd mdt*)</u> over a benu-bird (i.e., a phoenix) drawn with myrrh water, juice of *ꜣny* wood,[67] .?. and black ink[68] on your right hand and recite these writings to it in the evening, while your *hand* is outstretched opposite the *moon*. When you go to sleep, you put your hand under your head. Good, *good. Four times.*[69]

gy *recipes*

A number of recipes in the Demotic formularies are entitled *gy*. This term translates into "method (of doing something)" and, accordingly, a *gy* recipe can loosely be described as a script for a set of actions, including reciting incantations and preparing ritual implements and medicaments. Instead of prioritizing the words (*rꜣ* recipe) or the objects (*pẖrt* recipe), the *gy* recipe is defined by the procedure itself, irrespective of the rite's purpose or substance. About a dozen *gy* recipes

---

[66] Other examples are PDM *Suppl.*130–38 and 149–62; PDM lxi.63–78; PDM xiv.232–38, 295–308, 627–35, 695–700, and 1078–89.

[67] Quack translates "Gistensaft," i.e. broom juice; *TUAT Neue Folge Band 4*, 354. The identification of *ꜣny* with 'juniper' (*wꜥn*) is phonetically not possible; F. Ll. Griffith and Herbert Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden. Vol. I. Indices* (Oxford 1904) 80, note to line 33.

[68] I follow Quack (*TUAT Neue Folge Band 4*, 354 and fn. 143) in reading *myš rꜣw km*.

[69] PDM *Suppl.*130–38 = pLouvre 3229 ro 5/14–22.

occur in the extant corpus, half of which are not self-contained reci-
pes, but rather alternative methods to a preceding recipe, such as a
love spell or a lamp divination. In those cases, the recipe is entitled
"Another method (*gy*) thereof also." *Gy* recipes exhibit no fixed text
format: both compartmentalized and integrated formats occur. The
following self-contained spell for finding a thief serves as an illustra-
tion of a compartmentalized *gy* recipe.

[title]	<u>A method</u> (*ky*) of finding a thief
[directions for use]	[...] You bring a *head* of a drowned man; take it to the *field*; bury it; sow flax seed over it until you reap the flax; reap it when it stands high and by itself; bring the flax to the village; wash the head alone with *milk*; wrap it in cloth; and take it to the place you want. If you want to find a thief, you should bring a small amount of flax; recite (ꜥš) the writing (sḫ) over it; say the name of each man one at a time; make a *knot* and draw it together. If he is the one who took it away, then he will speak when you draw the *knot* together.
[incantation]	<u>The writings (sḫw) that you should recite (ꜥš); words to be said (ḏd mdt)</u>: Mine is the item[70] of Khau; mine is the item of *Geb*; *mine* is the item that *Neith* put aside; *mine* is the item of this *ibis*, son of *Thoth*. <u>Behold, yeah, behold, yeah</u>. I will draw together to me here today, O my sister SAMAL[A], so that I will give the items of *Geb*, which he gave to *Isis*, when *Seth* assailed them in the papyrus swamp of *Buto*, as she took in *her hand* the small amount of flax and made it into a *knot* contracting these entrails, until he was revealed to *Horus* in the papyrus swamp. I will take this small amount of flax with my own *hand*; I will make it into a *knot* until So-and-so reveals the stolen good that he took away.—*It is very good*.[71]

The variation in function and format among *gy* recipes can perhaps
be explained as resulting from a shift in the usage of the term. The
term also occurs in a fragmentary manuscript of the second century
CE that gives directions for dyeing textiles (P. Vienna D 6321).[72] The

---

[70] Following Quack (*TUAT Neue Folge Band 4*, 358) I translate *mt* as "item" instead
of "speech" as in other translations. The item in question is the piece of flax that the
pratitioner holds in his hand.

[71] PDM xli.79–94 = pBM 10588 ro 6/1–16. For recent editions of this spell, see
Alexandra von Lieven, "Osiris, der Dekan H̱ꜣw und der Tod. Zur Deutung des
Spruches zum Finden eines Diebes in pPM 10588," *Enchoria* 27 (2001): 82–87 and
T. S. Richter, "Der Dieb, der Koch, seine Frau und ihr Liebhaber. Collectanea magica
für Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert," *Enchoria* 29 (2004/2005): 67–78, see 67–71. For similar
thief-finding spells, see PDM xiv.1056–59 (= pLondon-Leiden vo 15/1–4); xiv.1061–62
(= pLondon-Leiden vo 15/6–7); PGM V.70–95; PGM V.172–212; SM 86.

[72] For the identification of the manuscript's content, see Quack, "Review of West-
endorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*," *OLZ* 94 (1999): 456. Several fragments

manual is structured into sections relative to the stages of the proce-
dure itself by way of sub-headings in red ink. These headings are titled
"method," such as in "the method (*g3y*) of cooling down." The term
serves here as a paragraph marker for larger sub-sections which, when
taken together, describe a complicated procedure in successive, easy
steps. Seen in this light, it is quite possible that, in the Demotic magic
formularies, the term *gy* is a paragraph marker become title word and
the *gy* recipe is a sub-section become a recipe type. This would explain,
first, why the term is not attested as a title word in the hieratic manu-
scripts and, second, why the *gy* recipe does not have a standard text
format of its own. As said above, the use of paragraph markers only
became relevant when the recipes began to grow in length and com-
plexity. It was thus only at a late stage that scribes were in need of this
term; accordingly, they never developed a fixed text format for this
category.

Integrated recipes

The Demotic magic formularies contain a number of recipes whose
text structure is not compartmentalized. Instead of retaining a strict
dichotomy between the units of [incantation] and [directions for use],
these recipes exhibit a partial blurring of these distinctions, resulting
in a frequent alternation between directions for use and words to be
said within one and the same recipe. I refer to recipes of this type as
"integrated recipes." They deserve close scrutiny, because they are not
attested in the extant hieratic formularies. In their structure, they rep-
resent a true innovation in scribal practices.

Recipes that exhibit integration are different from compartmental-
ized recipes in a number of important respects.[73] First, the principle of

---

are published as Text B in E. A. E. Reymond, *From Ancient Egyptian Hermetic Writ-
ings* (MPER 11; Vienna, 1977). Other fragments can be consulted in Reymond, *A
Medical Book from Crocodilopolis*, where they are misidentifed as a manual on skin
diseases (book A).

[73] In his study of the lamp divination recipes, John Gee fails to observe the peculiar
nature of their text format. This may be due to the fact that he follows Th. G. Allen's
superficial classification, applied by Allen to Book of the Dead spells, of preliminary
comments (P), spoken invocation (S), and terminal comments (T) and thus comes to
the wrong conclusion that the recipes follow a standard pattern; John Gee, "The Struc-
ture of Lamp Divination," in Kim Ryholt (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Con-
ference of Demotic Studies* (CNI Publications 27; Copenhagen, 2002), 207–18, 207f.

composition is not the integrity of the classical text units [incantation] and [directions for use], but rather the coherence of the successive stages in the procedure. The new text format was probably necessitated by the increased length and complexity of the prescribed procedures, entailing now several discrete steps of preparing the place of execution, gathering and setting up all required implements, executing the ritual, and bringing it to a close. Each individual step requires performing certain actions in combination with uttering certain phrases and incantations. With the development of such complex rites, scribes were faced with the challenge of how to describe the detailed, intricate and lengthy procedures as effectively as possible. They may have felt that maintaining a strict separation between the text units of [incantation] and [directions for use] would violate the coherence of the procedure and produce a cumbersome and impractical recipe.[74] Instead of following the traditional genre rules of compartmentalization, they opted for a text structure that synchronizes the words and actions. As a result, these recipes can no longer be broken down into discrete and juxtaposed sections of [incantation] and [directions for use], as I do for the recipes above. The essence of their structure can only be captured by subdividing them into successive sections of [preparation], [execution] and [closure].[75]

With the integrated text format, recipes tend to be more linear in structure, instructing the reader what to do, to say and to expect at each stage of the procedure. They do not require the reader to flip back and forth in the recipe, because they take the reader by the hand as it were through the procedures, explaining them step by step, from the beginning to the end. Accordingly, the recipes acquire a narrative quality at the expense of strict and regular formal divisions. The following recipe illustrates the linear structure very well; note how the directions for use and incantation are juxtaposed for the first half of the recipe, whereas they are intertwined in the second half.

---

[74] The classic text format was however retained in recipe PDM xiv.636–69 = pLondon-Leiden 21/10–43 despite the rite's complexity.

[75] The preparation section is concerned with preliminary actions such as cleansing the area of execution and praying to the sun god for a blessing. The execution section details all the actions and words prescribed for the actual performance of the rite. The closure section explains how to end the session without causing any harm. Not all recipes contain a preparation and closure section.

[title]	<u>Here</u> is a *method* (*ky*) of inquiry of the sun (*šn n pꜣ Rꜥ*) of which it is said that it is well tested.
[execution]	<u>Its preparation</u>: you should bring a boy who is pure, recite the written spirit *formula* to him, bring him before the sun, and make him stand up on a new brick at the moment that the sun is about to rise, so that he comes up entirely in the *disk*.[76] You should wrap him in a new linen cloak,[77] make him close his eyes, and stand upright behind him. You should recite down into his head and tap down onto his head with your sun-finger of your right *hand*, after having filled his eyes with the black eye paint that you prepared beforehand.[78]

> [here follows an invocation of seven lines with two strings of *voces magicae* addressing the light and asking the chief deity for truthful answers to any questions being posed.]

After it you should recite his compulsion <u>for another seven times</u>, while his *eyes* are closed. <u>Words to be said</u>: "(a string of *voces magicae*) come to the child, cause that comes to him the god in whose hand the command is and that he tells me an answer to any matter concerning which I am inquiring here today." If the *light* hesitates to come inside, you should say: "(a string of *voces magicae*)" <u>for seven times</u>. You should place *FRANKINCENSE* on the brazier. You should say this great name after all this. You should recite it from beginning to end *and vice versa* for <u>four times</u>: "(a palindrome *vox magica*)." You should say: "Cause that the child sees the light; cause that comes the god in whose hand the command is and that he tells me an answer to any matter concerning which I am inquiring here today, in truth, without falsehood therein."[79]

It is quite remarkable that the consecutive steps are not always presented in a logical, linear order, but are at times rather disorderly. In such cases, the rite cannot be performed as one reads along, but only after the whole recipe has been read and the correct sequence of the consecutive steps has been reconstructed. In light of user-friendliness

---

[76] Following Johnson, *GMPT*, 239.

[77] The word *ḳbꜣt* refers to any large piece of fabric or mummy bandages, but considering the use of *šntot* in the parallel passage in line 23 of the same column, I surmise that the scribe was thinking specifically about a large garment.

[78] The same procedure is prescribed in PGM IV.88–93.

[79] PDM xiv.856–75 = pLondon-Leiden ro 29/1–20.

and efficiency such a text format seems counterproductive. One there-
fore wonders whether this was intentional or the unfortunate result
of a complicated history of textual transmission, possibly involving
at times casual and inattentive copyists who, at some stage, broke up
the linear sequence, deliberately or inadvertently, and thus produced
a loose arrangement or patchwork of sections. For example, the fol-
lowing recipe falls apart into a [preparation] section instructing the
ritualist to ask the sun god for a blessing at dawn and an [execution]
section detailing how to perform the ritual. The latter section gives the
essential information of where to execute the ritual and of the relative
position of the participants and the lamp only at the end, whereas in
the relative sequence of the procedures it comes at the beginning.

[title]	Another method (*gy*) thereof also (i.e. an enquiry of the lamp).
[preparation]	You should rise at dawn from your bed at the begin-ning of the day on which you are to do it or any day, so that everything that you are to do will be correct through your agency. You should be pure from any evil. You should recite this incantation (ꜥš) to Pre three or seven times: "(string of *voces magicae*) let every mat-ter to which I apply my hand here today, let it happen."
[execution]	Its *method*: You should bring a new lamp to which no red lead has been applied, <put> a clean wick into it, fill it with uncontaminated genuine oil. You should put it in a hidden place cleansed with natron water, and place it on a new brick. You should bring a boy, make him sit on *another* new brick with his face turned to the lamp, close his *eyes*, and recite these (spells) which are above[80] down into the *boy's head* seven times. You should let him open his *eyes* and say to him: "Do you see the *light*?" If he says to you, "I am seeing the light in the *flame* of the lamp," you should cry out at that moment "HEUE" nine times. You should ask him about everything you wish after reciting the invocation you did previously before Pre at dawn.

---

[80] This refers to the incantation to the lamp given in the preceding spell PDM
xiv.459–72 (=pLondon-Leiden ro 16/1–14) on the same column. Johnson (*GMPT*,
230, fn. 344) is mistaken in identifying lines 478–79 of the current spell as the referent.
Those are in fact meant to empower the ritualist himself at dawn, not the boy, as is
explicitly said about a similar spell: "so that everything that you are to do will happen,"
PDM xiv.473 (= pLondon-Leiden ro 17/15).

> You should do it in a place whose door opens to the
> east, position the face of the lamp turned <to the…>,
> and position the boy's face turned <to the…>[81] facing
> the lamp, while you are on his left. You should recite
> down into his *head*, touching his *head* with your sec-
> ond finger of […] of your right *hand*.[82]

In such cases, the abundant paragraph markers can be a helpful read-
ing aid in reconfiguring the actual sequence of actions. They are, how-
ever, not always consistently applied. Moreover, the thus demarcated
sections tend to incorporate more than one stage of the procedure and
to integrate prescribed utterances and directions for use. As a result,
the transitions from one step to another are fluid and ill-defined at
times. It remains open to question whether this was a deliberate choice
or is rather a reflection of carelessness on the part of the copyists.

It is beyond doubt that the integration type represents a departure from
the classical compartmentalized text format. It would therefore be a
worthwhile endeavor to trace its origins, both back in time and across
genres. For example, several hieratic liturgical handbooks for temple
rituals, dated to the Late Period (seventh–fourth century BCE), exhibit
features that are reminiscent of, albeit far from identical with, the inte-
grated type.[83] As regards other Demotic manuscripts, it is to be hoped
that the unpublished formularies for healing will soon become avail-
able for study.[84] It should also be taken into account that the integrated

---

[81] The scribe never filled in the cardinal directions.

[82] PDM xiv.475–88 (= pLondon-Leiden ro 16/18–30).

[83] Liturgies that deserve close attention are the "Ritual of the Confirmation of Royal
Power at New Year" [pBrooklyn 47.218.50; Jean-Claude Goyon, *Confirmation du pou-
voir royal au nouvel an* (BdE 52; Cairo, 1972)], the Ritual of the Preservation of Life
[pSalt 825 = pBm 10090+10051; Philippe Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825, rituel pour
la conservation de la vie en Égypte* (Brussels, 1965), and François-René Herbin, "Les
premières pages du Papyrus Salt 825," *BIFAO* 88 (1988): 95–112], and the Ceremonies
performed for Osiris in the month of Khoiak in the Amun temple at Karnak [pLouvre
N 3176; Paul Barguet, *Le Papyrus N. 3176 (S) du Musée du Louvre* (BdE 37; Cairo,
1962)]. The manuscripts are dated between the seventh and fourth century BCE; see
publications and Ursula Verhoeven, *Untersuchungen zur spät hieratischen Buchschrift*
(OLA 99; Leuven, 2001), 287 and 318. The date of composition of the liturgies, how-
ever, may very well extend back to the New Kingdom.

[84] Two such manuscripts have already been published. For the Demotic Vienna
Medical Book, see Reymond, *A Medical Book from Crocodilopolis* (this publica-
tion must be used with due caution). For pBerlin P 13602, see W. Erichsen, "Aus
einem demotischen Papyrus über Frauenkrankheiten," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für
Orientforschung* 2 (1954): 363–377; a second column of this manuscript remains

type is widespread, if not the default type, in the contemporary Greek magical papyri. There is abundant evidence in the Demotic formularies that the scribes and copyists made use of Greek formularies when producing the extant Demotic formularies—or their mother-copies.[85] Perhaps the integrated type entered into the Demotic formularies by way of translating and reworking spells from the Greek formularies. This might partly explain why the prescribed incantations in Demotic integrated recipes tend to feature multiple strings of *voces magicae* on average, usually written out in alphabetic Demotic and provided with glosses in Old-Coptic. These issues ought to be addressed in more detail in future research.

Conclusion

The foregoing study of scribal conventions in hieratic and Demotic formularies resulted in three important observations. One, the application of black and red ink and controlled vocabulary to structure and regulate the flow of information is similar in both corpora. Two, the Demotic formularies continue using the classical, compartmentalized *rꜣ* and *pḥrt* recipe types. Occasionally, the genre conventions are applied less strictly than in the hieratic formularies. Three, the Demotic formularies also make use of a wholly new recipe type that integrates the prescribed actions and words while describing the procedures of the rite in a linear sequence.

The first two observations lead to the conclusion that the compilers, editors and copyists of the Demotic magic manuals were intimately familiar with the age-old conventions of manuscript production of Egyptian temple scriptoria. They were professional scribes working in an Egyptian temple scriptorium, where they had access to the necessary training and mother-copies. It is more difficult to appreciate the full meaning and relevance of the third observation due to a lack of comparable, contemporary sources in Demotic and hieratic. The integrated recipe definitely represents an innovation in the production of

---

unpublished, see Karl-Theodor Zauzich, "Die Aufgaben der Demotistik—Freude und Last eines Faches," *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 17 (1994): 9–16. Friedhelm Hoffmann is currently working on the re-edition of the Demotic Vienna Medical Book. The Papyrus Carlsberg Collection holds at least three further manuscripts; Ryholt, "On the Contents and Nature of the Tebtunis Temple Library," 154.

[85] Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, 285–94.

Egyptian formularies, but for the moment it remains impossible to determine when the innovation was introduced and unknown whether it was an invention of the scribes of the temple scriptorium or a format borrowed from somewhere else. I believe that the introduction of the integrated text format was first of all a very practical matter, as it was necessitated by the general increase in length and complexity of the rituals. In this light, it is important to realize that the shift to longer and more complex rituals was a deliberate choice. For example, recipes for oracular consultations are attested in both compartmentalized and integrated formats. The former type gives instructions for a short and straightforward procedure, whereas the latter are concerned with elaborate operations. In other words, if the editors had wanted, they could easily have adhered to the familiar type of simple rites described in compartmentalized recipes. As the editors did not do so, the inquiry should accordingly be reformulated in three distinct questions: Why did one feel the need for more complex rituals, when did these rituals become fashionable, and who invented them in the first place? To answer these questions properly, we have to cast the net of our inquiry wider than can be done in the present article.