

An Eternal Curse upon the Reader of These Lines
(with Apologies to M. Puig)*

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In retribution for the ‘prying’ or ‘intrusive curiosity’ inherent in the reading of another’s words, the Argentine novelist Manuel Puig entitled a 1980 work ‘Eternal Curse on the Reader of these Pages.’ The same sentiment appears in Egyptian magic. A Coptic curse preserved in the British Museum (Oriental Ms. 5986) begins with an invocation for divine wrath directed not against its primary victims (who are later damned by name), but against the accidental discoverer:

God of heaven and earth! Whoever shall open this papyrus and read what is written in (it), may all those things written in it descend upon him.¹

A counterpart is provided by the Coptic Papyrus Lichačev, which concludes a specific curse with a similar generic warning:

Whoever opens this papyrus and reads it, what is written on it will come upon him, by order of the lord god.²

Such invocations of divine hostility have their origin well before Coptic Christianity, in magical practices of Late Period Egypt that exploit the bond between the demonic and the divine.

The distinction between gods and demons in ancient Egypt is often tenuous at best.³ The ‘trickster’ character of Seth is well-known, but his ambiguous qualities can be shared by other gods as well. In the famous New Kingdom tale of ‘The Contendings of Horus and Seth,’ the conflict is

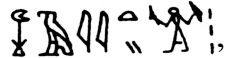
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resolved only when Osiris abandons any subtlety and threatens to dispatch demons from the underworld to chastise the divine tribunal itself:

Now you pay attention to this matter! The land in which I am is full of savage-looking messengers (**wꜣꜣꜣꜣ.w**) who fear no god or goddess. If I send them out, they will bring me the heart of every evildoer, and they will be here with me!⁴

In a similar fashion, plague-bearing demons, ‘the seven arrows’ loosed at the critical turn of the New Year, are minions of Sakhmet,⁵ whose baleful influence threatens deities and mankind alike. Protective hymns at Dendera and the Theban Mut temple redirect her fury toward state and temple enemies:

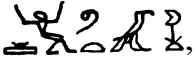
It is she who dispatches the slaughtering demons against those disaffected-of-heart.⁶

Translated also as ‘demons of disease,’ ‘knife-bearers,’ ‘murderers,’ and ‘nightly spirits,’⁷ the term for demons used in this passage, **ḥꜣ(y)ty.w** , is attested from the Pyramid Texts until Hellenistic times both as a designation for the ferocious assistants of Re and Sakhmet and as forces inimical to the fate of the living and of the blessed dead.⁸ Cultic infractions can unleash such demons by divine orders:

If one neglects all the rites of Osiris at their times in this district, ... the slaughtering demons (**ḥꜣty.w**) and wandering demons (**šꜣꜣꜣ.w**), armed with their knives, will come and go under his (Anubis’) order ... the slaughtering demons will seize (**ṯꜣꜣ**) the inhabitants of Egypt.⁹

By the seventh century, such demons are converted into personal protectors in the names **Pa-nꜣ-ḥty.w** and **Ns-nꜣ-ḥty.w**, each signifying ‘He of the slaughtering demons.’¹⁰ At Ptolemaic Thebes, a resident cult of **ḥty.w** ‘genies’ was served by a formal prophet.¹¹ A desire to achieve the same ends underlies the late veneration --and supplication-- of the multi-form deity Tutu, a personification or ‘image’ (**ṯwtw**) of the ‘collectivity’ or ‘summation’ (**ṯwtw**) of disease-bringing demons.¹²

Egyptians did not live in terror of their gods' capricious whims, nor was Egyptian theology fixated on the vindictive or jealous nature of a god in the manner of Genesis 20:5. Nevertheless, the pairing of gods and demons is not unusual in certain contexts, particularly in magical spells designed to heal or avert a malady. Thus, the medical Papyrus Ebers begins with two generic spells that may be recited for all the following prescriptions in the compendium. Both the 'first spell for applying remedies on any limb of a man' and the following 'spell for loosening any bandage' proclaim their efficacy to dispel 'the strokes of a god, goddess, dead man, dead woman, etc.,'¹³ where the etc. can include a 'male adversary, female adversary' and 'everything bad, evil and malevolent.' In the same papyrus, a later spell to remove the corruptive agent **wḥdw**, the source of bodily aging, disease, natural death and decay, again pairs male and female forms of this demon with 'the stroke of a god, the stroke of a goddess' and other hostile forces.¹⁴ From the perspective of the human practitioner, the role of deity in such texts is thus bivalent: a possible source of affliction but the necessary source of the cure. In the following note, I shall examine this ambiguity regarding otherworldly forces of destruction and benefaction as exemplified by a single late term for divine manifestation that has received frequent comment in brief textual notes, but never a systematic study.¹⁵

First attested in Late Egyptian as **ḥꜣwt** ,¹⁶ the term proliferates in Demotic in the form **ḥyt**¹⁷ and survives in Coptic biblical passages as **ϣΟΕΙΤ**.¹⁸ Depending upon context, it has been translated variously as 'inspiration,' 'ecstasy,' 'exorcism,' 'doom,' 'fate,' 'fury' and 'curse.' The earliest examples of the word appear in 'The Voyage of Wenamon,' col. 1/39 and 40, in a passage detailing an oracular pronouncement before the prince of Byblos:

Now when he offered to his gods, the god (Amon) seized a great seer from among his (1/39) great seers,¹⁹ and he caused him to be in an ecstatic state (**ḥꜣwt**). He said to him (the prince of Byblos):

'Bring up the god!

Bring the messenger who bears him! (1/40)

It is Amon who has sent him.

It is he who has caused that he come.'

But the ecstatic became ecstatic (**p3 h3wt h3wt**) on that night only after I had found (1/41) a ship heading for Egypt ...²⁰

As has long been noted, the statement that the god ‘seized’ (**t3i**) the seer indicates that this Phoenician oracular procedure entails a form of ‘possession.’ In contemporary Egypt, the most common oracular process entailed divine possession of a processional statue, but of necessity such possession also extended to the priestly bearers who made the portable bark-shrine advance, retreat or shake violently as indication of the divine decision.²¹ Assuming that the process was not consciously fraudulent, the movement of the bark would be comparable to that of the planchette on a ouija board; a slight movement by one party (however motivated or inspired) can produce a group action perceived to be supernaturally driven. In any case, the god was felt to compel the actions of his bearers, forcing the movement of their feet and arms.

Divine inspiration of humans is more specifically indicated in Ramesside Egyptian statuary, where seated scribes are depicted with baboons perched atop their shoulders or above their heads. These baboons are not their pets, but images of their patron deity Thoth, who is shown inspiring their writing.²² As Christiane Ziegler has noted, such statues are the tangible counterpart to a New Kingdom prayer in Papyrus Anastasi V: ‘Come to me, Thoth ... scribe of the divine Ennead ... Come to me that you may give advice and make me skillful ...’²³

Possession, however, may have negative aspects as well, and the medical papyri note several related conditions that may be considered forms of ‘demonic possession’: **hy.t**,²⁴ **tmy.t**,²⁵ and **nsy.t**, all written with the deceased enemy determinative that is indicative of their evil nature.²⁶ The last is expressly stated to be ‘something that enters (the body) from outside,’²⁷ and Ebbell and others have identified it as ‘epilepsy,’ the disease linked in early Greek thought with wrathful divine possession. Maspero had made the same identification for the **h3wt** of Wenamon.²⁸

How such possession might be envisioned is recounted in the ‘Bentresh Stela’ (Louvre C 284), in which a portable statue of ‘Khonsu-the-Authority, the great god who expels wandering spirits’ is sent abroad ‘to save the daughter of the prince of Bakhtan’²⁹ since ‘a malady has pervaded her body.’³⁰ The statue is sent after an Egyptian physician had found the

princess Bentresh ‘in the condition of one who has a ghost (ꜥḥ). He found him to be an enemy with whom one could contend.’³¹ The physician’s diagnosis of an illness with which ‘one could contend’ is a literal quotation of one of the three standard options as given by Papyrus Edwin Smith, and the simple statement indicates the unexceptional nature of the complaint. The disgruntled ghost is pacified with a party and food offerings.

Paralleling the threat of underworld demons and empowered ghosts, hostile possession by the gods themselves becomes a standard feature in the Persian through Roman eras within Demotic texts that again employ the notion of ḥꜥwt. While additional examples may have escaped me or await publication, I have identified 53 certain and two possible attestations of the term, a total that reflects an extraordinary resurgence of a formerly rare word (see the appendix). Now written phonetically as ḥyt (Ⲭⲏⲧⲏⲥ, ⲛⲧⲏⲥ, ⲛⲧⲏⲥⲏⲥ or ⲛⲧⲏⲥⲏⲥ), the Demotic term appears in four categories: legal, literary, votive and magical texts. It is particularly common in the last category, appearing in all of the great Demotic magical papyri -- London and Leiden, Leiden I 384 vo. and Louvre E. 3229 -- in addition to the minor magical texts on ostraca or wood (O Strassburg D. 1338, T. Leipzig Qaw, and O. Leiden 331). The London and Leiden papyrus alone contains thirteen attestations of the word, and one might conclude that the mere presence of this word defines a magical context regardless of text category. A representative example is provided by col. 6, ll. 35-36, directed to the lamp used in a spell for divination. The original editors, Griffith and Thompson, translated the word ḥyt as ‘fury’:

The fury of Sakhmet your mother and of Heka your father is cast (ḥwy) against (r) you. You shall not be lighted for Osiris and Isis ... until you have given me an answer ... (Appendix, no. 19)

Heka, the god of Magic, is himself invoked in this passage, and further examples in this papyrus expressly combine the term ḥyt with other magical terminology. In col. 10, ll. 3-7, the magician practitioner commands Anubis to escort spirits invoked for another divinatory spell. The recitation employs three instances of ḥyt and ensures that the spirits are properly ‘enchanted’ (phr) in accordance with (r-h.t) the force of ḥyt:

Let them come into being, in proper form, established, correct, enchanted (**phr**) in accordance with the fury [of him who is great] of reverence, for I am ZW,³² for I cast (**hwy**) fury against (**r**) you (scil. Anubis), ZW, the fury of all these gods, whose name I have uttered here today. (Appendix, nos. 22-24)

The force of **hyt** again produces a form of magical control within a spell to cure a dog bite, col. 19, ll. 33-35, in which the term for enchantment is now **št** (< older **šd**). Here the original editors have translated **hyt** as ‘exorcism(?).’

(By) the exorcism(?) of Amon and the Maiden (Triphis). Say: I am ZW... the dog who has enchanted (**št**) this dog... (Appendix, no. 27)

Together, the two passages form the most common models for the mention of **hyt** in Demotic texts. In a dozen of the surviving examples, **hyt** is ‘cast’ (**hwy**) against a person, deity or object to compel an action. As noted by Griffith and Thompson, the corresponding Greek approximation is ἐξορκιζῶ σε.³³ Within the London and Leiden papyrus, the ‘victims’ can be the assistants for producing a divination (such as the lamp [6/35] or Anubis [10/3, 4, 7]) or any recalcitrant deity who might be slow to respond:

You cry: ‘I cast (**hwy**) against (**r**) you fury of him who cuts you, of him who devours you.’ (col. 8/4; Appendix, no. 20)

Reveal to me, you great gods, ... I cast (**hwy**) against you (pl.) fury of the great god. (Vo. 22/15-16, (Appendix, no. 31)

The nuance of ‘fury’ seems particularly apt for an invocation in col. 21, ll. 30-32, which casts this force to direct a feverish passion inflicted by an enchanted scarab:

I cast (**hwy**) fury against you today, ZW, for every burning ... that you make today, you shall make them in the heart ... of NN.
(Appendix, no. 28)

If one may so characterize this force from its intended results, then ‘control’ can be added to ‘fury’ on the basis of the wording of a wooden tablet designed as a mummy ticket to compel ghostly assistance:

The **ḥyt** of Osiris-Sokar, the great god, Lord of Abydos, and (2) the **ḥyt** of Isis the goddess is cast (**ḥwy**) (3) against NN, son of NN, whom NN bore, (4) so as not to control (lit. ‘seize’ **mḥt**) NN, son of NN, whom NN bore, (B/1) forever and ever, so as not (B/2) to give burial ... (T. Leipzig Qaw, A/1-B/2; Appendix, nos. 15-16)

As revealed by the previous passages, the combination of ‘controlling by seizing’ with ‘enchantment’ and ‘inflamed passion’ defines the essence of the Egyptian concept of **ḥyt**. No single English word captures all these nuances, but ‘compulsion’ is a reasonable, and generally serviceable, equivalent.

When **ḥyt** is not explicitly ‘cast,’ the second, and most common, pattern employs **pꜣ ḥyt** at the beginning of a sentence or clause, where it is often translated as an oath: ‘(By/by) the **ḥyt** of deity NN.’ An introductory oath formula occurs repeatedly among the pious graffiti at Medinet Habu.

(By) the **ḥyt** of Amon of the Ogdoad! Do not erase these writings!
(Graffito Medinet Habu 47, l. 1; Appendix, no. 36)

(By) the **ḥyt** of Amon-Re, king of the gods of Djoser-set, and of Rattawi, resident in Thebes, and of Rattawi, [resident in Medamud,] and of the gods of Djeme! He who will erase these writings, the gods will cut off his lifetime.

(Graffito Medinet Habu 45, l. 14; Appendix, no. 34)

In the London and Leiden Papyrus, even Isis may be threatened by this formula:

Rouse their ba-spirits and their secret images! (By) the **ḥyt** of She-whose-son-is-Wonte, daughter of Ar..., rouse them for me!

(9/26-27; Appendix, no. 21)

Both the oath and ‘casting’ patterns are conjoined in two ‘love’ (properly ‘submission’) spells. Column 13, ll. 3-5, separates two would-be lovers:

as the heart of his father was bitter at sight of him (by) the **ḥyt** of him whose ba-soul is of fire ... The **ḥyt** of every god and goddess, ZW... is cast [against] NN son of NN and NN daughter of NN... (Appendix, nos. 25-26)

Verso, columns 12/9-13/2, inflict love sickness:

Let her feel a yearning ... she seeking for him in every place (by) the **ḥyt** of ZW, for I cast against you (pl.) **ḥyt** of the great gods of Egypt ... Waste her away O ghost (**akh**), take her sleep, O man of the Underworld (Amente)! (Appendix, nos. 29-30)

The notion of ‘casting’ **ḥyt** ‘against’ (r) a victim provides yet a further connection with magical terminology, since **heka** is itself ‘cast’ against victims -- and with the same verb **ḥwy**. The parallelism is explicit in ‘The Adventures of Setna and Si-Osire’ (Setna II), in which the young magician Si-Osire three times compels a Nubian sorcerer to admit the veracity of his ability to read a sealed letter, which itself contains three instances of Nubian sorcerers ‘casting magic’ against Egypt.

Thus in column 3, ll. 27-28, Si-Osire challenges his opponent:

Woe, O villain of Cush, at whom Amon, his god, rages! You who have come up to Egypt, ... saying: ‘I shall take [its] humiliation to the land of Nubia.’ The **ḥyt** of Amon, your god, is cast (**ḥwy**) against you!’ The words that I shall utter, which are those that are written in the letter, do not tell a lie about them before Pharaoh, your lord! (Appendix, no. 45)

Si-Osire’s words here, and in columns 4/22 and 5/25, are a direct response to the phraseology of the letter, which recounts that the chieftain of Nubia

‘heard the voices of three shamans of Cush [in the] latrine,³⁴ while one of them spoke with a loud voice saying:

But that Amon not find fault with me and the chieftain of Egypt have [me punished], I would cast my magic (ḥwy ... ḥyq) up against Egypt and I would cause the masses of Egypt to spend three days and three nights, [having] seen [no] light but only darkness.
(col. 4, ll. 3-5)

Si-Osire’s invocation of Amon’s rage corresponds to the Nubian’s explicit fear of that god’s blame, and the act of casting ḥyq is repaid by casting ḥyt.³⁵ The very context of the contest is magical in nature, for both parties are magicians, and the ability to read a sealed letter is a subject of Demotic magical manuals.³⁶ Griffith’s bland translation of ḥyt as ‘inspiration(?)’ seems inadequate, for the hostile context implies ‘possessive wrath.’

Such hostile casting of ḥyt occurs not only in magical and literary texts, but also in a legal document. Thus in a Ptolemaic judicial oath now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, the plaintiff swears against the accused thief of clothing: ‘I have already caused that there be cast ḥyt against him in the town regarding them also.’ (O. MMA Acc no. 21.2.121, ll. 9-10; Appendix, no. 38). The last editor, Kaplony-Heckel, translates ḥyt as ‘Fluch’ (‘curse’).

A rather different notion is to be understood within the judicial context of Papyrus Rylands IX, dated to year 9 of Darius and thus the earliest Demotic attestation of ḥyt. Recounting events in the reign of Amasis, the papyrus states that a plaintiff caused a superintendent of fields ‘to make a letter of ḥyt’ in order to have comparable land given in exchange for fields under dispute (Appendix, no. 41). The term ḥyt was translated as ‘divine inspiration(?)’ by Griffith, who envisioned a link to oracular practice or even a ‘furious letter’ in contrast to a friendly one.³⁷ More recently, Vittmann has signalled the defensive invocation of ḥyt on Demotic stelae with reference to the concluding injunctions of earlier donation texts. The Rylands example would record a similar divine invocation to force compliance with property settlement.

Like the Medinet Habu introductory oaths, Demotic funerary stelae and graffiti commonly open with mention of **pꜣ hyꜥ** of one or more deities. In these cases, however, **hyꜥ** is specifically directed against the reader of the inscription.

They are praised forever, they are rejuvenated forever -- the men whose names I have said and who are dead. The **hyꜥ** of Apis-Osiris, Lord of the gods, is upon the man who will read the stela. Do not let him erase them. Let him bless them.

(S. Serapeum Revillout, ll. 1-3; Appendix, no. 44)

Both Revillout and Spiegelberg analyzed the text differently, translating ‘... they are rejuvenated forever -- the men who died in the **hyꜥ** of Apis-Osiris, ... The man who will read the stela, do not let him erase them... ‘ The correct interpretation, however, is secured by numerous parallels, from which I extract only a few below:

His name remains here before Osiris, Horus and Isis, and the Agathos Daimon of the House of Cool Water, NN son of NN. (2) The **hyꜥ** of Isis is upon (**n**) the man who will read these writings. Let him present my obeisance together with that of every man of mine entirely.

(Graffito Philae 350, ll. 1-2; Appendix, no. 40)

The **hyꜥ** of the ibis is upon everyone who will read this writing. May he be the servant of the ibis.

(Northampton Ibis gallery graffiti no. 19, ll. 1-3; Appendix, no. 39)

The **hyꜥ** of Isis and Osiris is upon any man on earth who will read these writings. Let him offer water to me. Do not let him move (i.e. ‘remove’) my stela. (S. Akhmim, ll. 6-8; Appendix, no. 1)

The **hyꜥ** of Osiris-Apis the great god is upon (**n**) him who will move the stela. (S. Cairo 31147, ll. 1-2; Appendix, no. 6)

On the basis of the hostile connotations of the last example, Adel Farid disputed in 1994 the unexceptional wording of a stela recovered from the North Saqqara ibis galleries: ‘The **ḥyt** of the gods who rest here is upon him who will read these writings’ (S. Saqqara North, ll. 4-5; Appendix, no. 43).³⁸ For Farid, the inherently negative connotation of **ḥyt** requires serious emendation to the text: ‘(May the) curse of the gods ... (take effect!)³⁹ He who will read these writings (let him offer me water).’ In the absence of a comprehensive study of **ḥyt**, Farid was unaware of the many parallels to the Saqqara North inscription itself, and to the clearly bivalent nature of **ḥyt**.

The standard interpretation that ‘the **ḥyt** of the gods ... is upon him who will read these writings’ is guaranteed by the examples of Graffito Philae 350 and Stela Cairo 31147, which both supply an unambiguous preposition before **p3 nt-ḥw=f** ‘him who will ...’ Although Spiegelberg and others have assumed that this common pattern contains an ellipse of **ḥwy r** ‘is cast upon,’⁴⁰ the two examples that write a preposition use **n**, not **r**, and show that the literal meaning of the phrase is that ‘the **ḥyt** of the gods ... is **in** him who will read these writings.’ As will be seen below, this literal meaning has its basis in the imagined transmission of **ḥyt**.

The ambiguous nature of **ḥyt** is apparent from stelae and graffiti noted above, as well as from literary texts. The compulsive force acts negatively against those who erase or displace a text, but positively to elicit religious service and blessing.

The **ḥyt** of Isis the great, chief of the multitude/army is upon every man on earth who will read these writings. Do not let [him ...] attack (them), do not let him disparage the writings. Every man on earth who will find these writings and erase or disparage the writings, Isis the great, chief of the multitude/army will decrease his lifetime because of it, while every man who will give praise and respond regarding them, [he will be praised(?)] before Isis the great, the [great] goddess. (Graffito Aswan 13, ll. 6-13; Appendix, no. 2)

The **ḥyt** of Osiris is upon him who will read the stela. Let him offer water because of the fact that his name will be pure when he is dead. (S. Cairo 31122, ll. 2-3; Appendix, no. 5).

The good name of Pamont son of Padiese remains here before Montu, the great god, forever. The inspiration of Montu, the great god, is upon him who will read this good name. Let him raise his hand, let him do a dancing leap before Montu, the great god.

(G. Silsila 282, ll. 1-4; Appendix, no. 48)

In the last example, the physical effect of the god's possessive 'inspiration' (a leaping dance) seems particularly close to that visited upon the ecstatic of Wenamon many centuries before.

A distinctly beneficent aspect of **ḥyt** is noted in the literary Petubast cycle, where the Pharaoh greets the hero Min-neb-maat with a phrase combining **ḥyt nfr** and **wḏꜣy**:

(As for) these things, I have called them out (= requested them in oracle) before Amon the great god just so that I might see you without loss of good **ḥyt** or health.

(P. Spiegelberg, 16/25-26; Appendix, no. 49)

As is evident from another passage within this cycle, the 'good **ḥyt**' probably refers to the hero's 'inspired zeal' for combat, whose origin is revealed to be a divine force mediated through demonic transmission.

The contentious events of the Inaros tale of the Petubast cycle (Papyrus Krall) are first set in motion by an act of the god Osiris.

Osiris called to Strife-lover and Horus-Nemesis, the two demons (**ḥt**). [He said to them: 'Do not delay in going to the] earth. Go to Heliopolis and create strife in the heart of Pimay the younger, the son of Inaros, against Wertiamonniut, the son of Inaros.⁴¹

Strife-lover and Horus-Nemesis, [the two demons (**ḥt**),] did not delay in going to Heliopolis. They found the general Pimay the younger, the son of Inaros, just as he was sitting at a festival with his 40 men. [The] two demons (**ḥt**) entered into him (**n-ḥm=f**). At that very moment his heart forgot the festival, [and he said to his men:] 'O may

they live, my brothers and friends! I wish to fight - (by) the **hyt** of Atum, the [great] god, [lord of Heliopolis!']
(P. Krall col. 2/3-6; Appendix, no. 12)

The divine interference in human affairs echoes events of the Greek Iliad, a parallelism which the Egyptian author surely exploited and which his audience could surely appreciate, but the dispatch of demons by Osiris is no hellenistic innovation, as the traditional Horus and Seth tale proves.⁴² Here, however, the story details the actual process of possession. The **ht**-demons enter into Pimay and inflict a state that he perceives as **hyt** ‘inspiration,’ while wrongly attributing it to his local god Atum. The passage of **hyt** into its victim corresponds precisely to the wording of contemporary stelae and graffiti, which threaten divine **hyt** in (n < old m) the one who will read the inscription. The passage of disease or death-bringing demons into the physical body is paralleled by comments throughout the medico-magical literature. In both Papyrus Edwin Smith and Papyrus Ebers, disease causation can be attributed to ‘something entering from outside,’ further qualified as ‘the breath of an outside god or death.’⁴³ In Papyrus Ebers § 855 y, ‘that which enters from outside’ is determined by a seated disease demon and is apparently linked to ‘possession’ (nb3).⁴⁴ Intrusive forces appear further in Papyrus Ebers § 854 f, which notes that ‘in the left ear enters the breath of death’ (col. 100/3-5), before it passes through the circulatory system to the heart.⁴⁵ A similar notion is found in the Brooklyn magical papyrus 47.218.156, which provides spells to protect Pharaoh against various disease demons that might attempt “to sexually assault him, to ejaculate against him into his ears.”⁴⁶

It is striking that in the Inaros tale Osiris’ agents are none other than the traditional **h3ty.w**-demons in late vocalization, so that there is an intentional word-play between the **ht**-demons and the **hyt**-force they inflict. In 1976, Černý had suggested an etymological link between the **h3wt**-ecstasy of Wenamon and the **h3ty.w**-demons,⁴⁷ and this Demotic evidence strengthens the proposed link, though perhaps as a ‘folk-etymology’ of late speculation. In contrast, one must reject Stricker’s 1954 etymology of **hyt** in this passage as deriving from the **hr-tw**-oracle of Wb. III, 318, since that term probably survives as **r-hrw** in Demotic.⁴⁸ The prominence in the Inaros

tale of these **ḥꜥt**-demons as emissaries of Osiris and agents of **ḥꜥt** stresses the close bond between the categories of supernatural beings. From the Eighteenth Dynasty onward, such demons had been largely indistinguishable from gods. An invocation in P. Leiden I 346 salutes 12 spirits designated as **ḥꜥty.w**-demons ‘who make slaughter, who create disturbance, who hurry through the land, who shoot their arrows from their mouths,’ while the accompanying vignette depicting the 12 spirits shows proper ‘deities’ beginning with Sakhmet and ending with Khnum.⁴⁹ Raven has noted that ‘the opening lines ... suggest that the twelve gods invoked are identical to the **ḥꜥty.w** mentioned immediately after,’⁵⁰ though he is uncomfortable with this equation since it would make the deities themselves ‘murderers.’ The power of the gods to inflict destructive wrath is not, however, unusual. It is defined by the conceptual ancestor of **ḥꜥt**, the force of **bꜥw**, the plural of **ba**-spirit.

Though often translated blandly as ‘power,’ **bꜥw** designates a dramatic divine manifestation and often acquires the notion of ‘wrath.’⁵¹ It is this negative aspect alone that survives into common Demotic in the term **b(ꜥ)y.t**.⁵² Libyan-era donation stelae employ **bꜥw** in warnings directly comparable to those in Demotic stelae which use **ḥꜥt**.

As for the one who will disturb them, the wrath (**bꜥw**) of Neith comes to be against him forever and ever. His son will not be confirmed in his office. (Athens Donation Stela of Tefnakht, ll. 7-8)⁵³

He is in the wrath (**ꜥwꜥf m bꜥw**) of Amon, Mut and Khonsu. His name will not exist in the land of Egypt. May he die of hunger and thirst. (Cairo Stela Möller)⁵⁴

At Roman Esna, **bꜥw** even becomes a term for divine possession and thus a synonym for **ḥꜥt**. Restrictions regarding festival participants warn: ‘Do not allow any man to enter the temple who is possessed (**ḥr bꜥw**) or enchanted (**ḥm.t-sꜥw**).’⁵⁵ It is perhaps significant that the London and Leiden separation spell noted earlier derives inflammatory **ḥꜥt** from ‘him whose **ba**-soul is of fire.’⁵⁶

If anticipated by **ⲃⲉⲱ**, **ⲥⲱⲧ** is bequeathed to Coptic Christianity as **ⲰⲞⲈⲒⲐ**, a term used to translate **φοιβᾶν** ‘to be inspired/prophesy’ in Deuteronomy,⁵⁷ and **θίᾰσος** ‘inspired/frenzied’⁵⁸ and **ἐμμανής** ‘frantic/raving’ in the Wisdom of Solomon.⁵⁹ Dialectical variants serve to indicate ‘madman.’⁶⁰ Although the word **ⲰⲞⲈⲒⲐ** does not appear in the surviving Coptic magical texts, the historical influence of the concept certainly does. The patient listener may now recall this lecture’s opening curses, which warned that the magical effect of the text would come upon the reader ‘by order of the lord god.’ As I hope is now evident, such warnings parallel the near contemporary threats of Demotic inscriptions ‘by the compulsion of the gods.’

Appendix: Demotic Examples of **ⲥⲱⲧ Listed by Collection Published translations of **ⲥⲱⲧ** given in ()**

- 1) S. Akhmim, l. 6 (= S. Hamburg C 4059, Roman)
(ll. 6-8): ‘The **ⲥⲱⲧ** (curse) of Isis⁶¹ and (7) Osiris is upon any man on earth who will read these writings. Let him offer water to me. Do not let him move my (8) stela.’⁶²

- 2) Graffito Aswan 13, l. 6 (Ptolemaic?)
(ll. 6-13): ‘The **ⲥⲱⲧ** (inspiration) (7) of Isis the great, chief of the multitude/army is upon every man on earth who will read (8) these writings. Do not let [him ...] attack (them), do not let him (9) disparage the writings. Every man on earth who will find these writings and (10) erase or disparage the writings, Isis the great, (11) chief of the multitude/army will decrease his lifetime because of it, while every man (12) who will give praise and respond regarding them, [he will be praised(?)] (13) ... before Isis the great, the [great] goddess.’⁶³

- 3) S. Cairo 22136, l. 5 (Ptolemaic)
(ll. 5-8): ‘The **ⲥⲱⲧ** (curse) of (6) Isis and Osiris is upon him who will read (7) this stela. Let him offer (8) water to me.’⁶⁴

- 4) S. Cairo 31099, l. 17 (Ptolemaic)

(ll. 17-18): ‘The **hyt** (curse) of the gods who rest with Osiris-Apis (18) is upon [him] who will read these writings(?). The one who does obeisance to this stela, may he bless the above-mentioned Anemho, called Pasekhem.’⁶⁵

5) S. Cairo 31122, l. 2 (Roman)

(ll. 2-3): ‘The **hyt** (curse) of Osiris is upon him who will read the stela. (3) Let him offer water because of the fact that his name will be pure when he is dead.’⁶⁶

6) S. Cairo 31147, l. 1 (Roman)

(ll. 1-2): ‘The **hyt** (curse) of Osiris-Apis the great god is upon (n) him (2) who will move the stela.’⁶⁷

7) S. Cairo 31156, l. 1 (Roman)

‘The **hyt** (curse) of Osiris-Apis(?) [... is upon him who will ...]’⁶⁸

8) S. Chicago Field Museum 31673, Demotic l. 5 (Roman)

‘The **hyt** of Osiris is upon any man on earth who will read these. Let him offer water to me.’⁶⁹

9) Graffito Dakka 4, l. 4 (Roman)

(ll. 4-5): ‘The **hyt** (inspiration) of Thoth of the Nubs-tree, the great, is on him who (5) will read these writings. May he present [my obeisance].’⁷⁰

10) Graffito Dakka 10, l. 2 (Roman)

(ll. 2-3): ‘The **hyt** (inspiration) of (3) Thoth, [the great, of the] Nubs-tree is on him who will read these writings. May he present my obeisance.’⁷¹

11) Graffito Dakka 54, l. 2 (Roman)

‘The **hyt** of Thoth of the Nubs-tree is on him who shall read these writings. May he present my obeisance.’⁷²

12) P. Krall, 2/6 (Roman)

(2/3-6): ‘All of this happened while Strife-lover and Horus-Nemesis, [the two demons (**ht**)] did not delay in going to Heliopolis. They found the (4) general Pimay the younger, the son of Inaros, just as he was sitting at a

festival with his 40 men. [The] two demons (**ḥꜥ**) entered into (5) him. At that very moment his heart forgot the festival, [and he said to his men:] ‘O may they live, my brothers and friends! (6) I wish to fight - (by) the **ḥꜥ** (inspiration) of Atum, the [great] god, [lord of Heliopolis.>]’⁷³

13) O. Leiden 331, l. 1 (Ptolemaic)

(ll. 1-4): ‘(By) the **ḥꜥ** (curse) of Rattawi, [...] (2) resident in Djeme.⁷⁴ Every man [who ...] (3) of Amon and the remainder of the men [...] (4) Do not make excrement! [...]’⁷⁵

14) P. Leiden I 384 vo., I*/10 (Roman)

Revelation Spell for a cure through a vision of Imhotep; invocation to Shu or a lamp(?) (ll. 9-11): ‘May he give witness, Imhotep the great, the son of Ptah, (9) born of Khereduankh, to the **ḥꜥ** (fury) against you (**r-rꜥk**) before Nephthys, saying: ‘O Shu, (11) the living, O living ba-spirit, Live, O Shu, Live, O Osiris, ...’⁷⁶

15-16) T. Leipzig Qaw, A 1 and 2 (Roman)

(A/1-B/2): ‘The **ḥꜥ** (curse/compulsion) of Osiris-Sokar, the great god, Lord of Abydos, and (2) **ḥꜥ** (curse/compulsion) of Isis the goddess is cast (**ḥꜥꜣꜣ**) (3) against NN, son of NN, whom NN bore, (4) so as not to control (lit. ‘seize’ **mḥꜥ**) NN, son of NN, whom NN bore, (B/1) forever and ever, so as not (B/2) to give burial ...’⁷⁷

17-18) P. dem. Lille 31, A/14 and A/14a (Roman)

‘Cast **ḥꜥ** (a charm), cast **ḥꜥ** (a charm) on the one who will do it.’⁷⁸

19) P. London and Leiden, 6/35 (Roman)

(To a lamp, 6/35-36): ‘The **ḥꜥ** (fury) of Sakhmet your mother and of Heka your father is cast (**ḥꜥꜣꜣ**) against (**r**) you. You shall not be lighted for Osiris and Isis ... until you have given me an answer ...’⁷⁹

20) 8/4 (Against a recalcitrant god who doesn’t come in at a request):

‘You cry: ‘I cast (**ḥꜥꜣꜣ**) **ḥꜥ** (fury) at (**r**) you of him who cuts you, of him who devours you.’’⁸⁰

21) 9/26

(Against Isis, 9/26-27): ‘Rouse their ba-spirits and their secret images. (By) the **ḥyt** (fury) of She-whose-son-is-Wonte, daughter of Ar... (27), rouse them for me!’⁸¹

22-24) 10/3, 4 and 7

(Against Anubis to bring in spirits, ll. 3-7): ‘Let them come into being, in proper form, established, correct, enchanted (**phr**) in accordance with the **ḥyt** (fury) [of him who is great] of reverence, for I am ZW, for I cast (**ḥwy**) **ḥyt** (fury) against (**r**) you (scil. Anubis), ZW, the **ḥyt** (fury) of all these gods, whose name I have uttered here today.’⁸²

25-26) 13/3 and 4

(In a separation spell, ll. 3-5): ‘as the heart of his father was bitter⁸³ at sight of him (by) the **ḥyt** (fury) of him whose ba-soul is of fire ... (4) ... The **ḥyt** (fury) of every god and goddess, ZW... is cast (**ḥwy**) [against] NN son of NN and NN daughter of NN...’⁸⁴

27) 19/33

(Spell spoken to the bite of a dog, ll. 33-35): ‘(By) the **ḥyt** (exorcism?/fury) of Amon and the Maiden (Triphis). Say: I am ZW... the dog who has enchanted (**št**) this dog...’⁸⁵

28) 21/30

(Against a drowned scarab for love spell, ll. 30-32): ‘I cast (**ḥwy**) **ḥyt** (fury) against you today, ZW, for every burning ... that you make today, you shall make them in the heart ... of NN.’⁸⁶

29-30) Vo. 12/9 and 11

(In a love compulsion spell to invoked spirits, Vo. 12/9-13/2): ‘Let her feel a yearning ... she seeking for him in every place (by) the **ḥyt** (fury) of ZW, for I cast (**ḥwy**) **ḥyt** (fury) against you (pl.) of the great gods of Egypt ... Waste her away O ghost (**ꜥḥ**), take her sleep, O man of the Underworld (**!mn.t**)!’⁸⁷

31) Vo. 22/16

(Vision spell; directed to the great gods attendant upon the sun, ll. 15-16):
'Reveal to me, you great gods, ... I cast (**ḥwy**) **ḥyt** (fury) upon you (pl.) of
the great god.'⁸⁸

32-33) P. Louvre E. 3229, 1/19 and 1/21 (Roman)

'[Another] spell for sending a dream. [... the] **ḥyt** (anger) (20) [of] the great
[...] of the sea [...] Nun at night, (21) [... the] **ḥyt** (anger) of the one who is
in the depths [...].'⁸⁹

34) G. Medinet Habu 45, l. 14 (Ptolemaic, 50 B.C.)

'(By) the **ḥyt** (curse) of Amon-Re, king of the gods of Djoser-set,⁹⁰ and of
Rattawi, resident in Thebes, and of Rattawi, [resident in Medamud,] and of
the gods of Djeme! He who will erase these writings, the gods will cut off
his lifetime.'⁹¹

35) G. Medinet Habu 46, [l. 1] restored. (Ptolemaic, Cleopatra VII)

['(By) the **ḥyt** (curse) of the] gods of Djeme! Do not erase these writings!
He who will erase them, Amon will cut off his name.'⁹²

36) G. Medinet Habu 47, l. 1 (Ptolemaic, 37 B.C.)

'(By) the **ḥyt** (curse) of Amon of the Ogdoad! Do not erase these writings!⁹³

37) G. Medinet Habu 228, l. 1 (Ptolemaic?)

(ll. 1-3): '(By) the **ḥyt** (curse) of Rattawi, resident in Thebes, and of Rattawi,
resident in Medamud, and of Amon-Re of Djoser-set, (2) and of the gods of
Djeme! Every [man] on earth who will erase these writings which are
below, (3) the gods who rest here will erase his name together with that of
every man of his entirely.'⁹⁴

38) O. MMA Acc no. 21.2.121, l. 10 (Ptolemaic, 127 B.C.)

(Oath; ll. 9-10): 'I have already caused that there be cast (**ḥwy**) (10) a **ḥyt**
(curse/condemnatory judgment) against him in the town regarding them
(scil. stolen clothing) also.'⁹⁵

39) G. Northampton Ibis gallery 19, l. 1 (Ptolemaic)

(ll. 1-3): ‘The inspiration (**hyt**) of the ibis is upon everyone who (2) will read this writing. May he be (3) the servant of the ibis.’⁹⁶

40) G. Philae 350, l. 2 (Roman)

(ll. 1-2): ‘His name remains here before Osiris, Horus and Isis, and the Agathos Daimon of the House of Cool Water, NN son of NN. (2) The **hyt** (inspiration) of Isis is upon (**n**) the man who will read these writings. Let him present my obeisance together with that of every man of mine entirely.’⁹⁷

41) Papyrus Rylands IX, col. 18/1. (Dated 513 B.C., event set in the time of Amasis)

(col. 17/20-18/1): ‘Kheikhons caused him to make a letter (18/1) of **hyt** (divine inspiration?) to cause the 484 1/2 arouras to be given [as] the equivalent of the 484 1/2 arouras’ (under dispute).⁹⁸

42) P. Dem. Saqqara 2, 6/17 (Persian-Early Ptolemaic)

(Vengeance of Isis): ‘A **hyt** (spell/doom) of Isis is upon you (fem.). You have brought to me Isis in her own flesh.’⁹⁹

43) S. Saqqara North, l. 4 (Ptolemaic, 89 B.C.)

(ll. 4-5): ‘The **hyt** (fate/curse) of the gods who rest here (5) is upon him who will read these writings.’¹⁰⁰

44) S. Serapeum Revillout, l. 2 (Ptolemaic, 102 B.C.)

(ll. 1-3): ‘They are praised forever, they are rejuvenated forever -- the men whose names I have said and who are dead. (2) The **hyt** (mystery) of Apis-Osiris, Lord of the gods, is upon the man who will read the stela. Do not let him erase them. (3) Let him bless them.’¹⁰¹

45) Setna II, col 3/28 (Roman)

(Si-Osire to Nubian magician, col. 3/27-29): ‘Woe, O villain of Cush, at whom Amon, his god, rages! You who have come up to Egypt, the beautiful garden of Osiris, the footstool of Re-Horachty, (28) the beautiful horizon of Fate, saying: ‘I shall take [its] humiliation to the land of Nubia.’ The **hyt** (inspiration/possessive wrath) of Amon, your god, is cast (**hwy**) against

you!’ The words that I shall (29) utter, which are those that are written in the letter, do not tell a lie about them before Pharaoh, your lord!’¹⁰²

46) Setna II, col. 4/22

(Nubian forced to answer truthfully thereafter, col. 4/22-24): ‘The **hyt** (inspiration/possessive wrath) of Amon, (23) your god, is cast (**hwy**) against you! The words that I am [saying], are they what is written according to the letter that you possess?’ The shaman of the Cushites said: (24) ‘Read on beyond what you have read. As for every word that you are saying, they are all true.’¹⁰³

47) Setna II, col. 5/25:

(col. 5/25-26): ‘The **hyt** (power/possessive wrath) of Amon, your god, is cast (**hwy**) upon you, O villain of the Cushites! The words that I am saying, are they (26) what is written on this letter?’ The shaman spoke with his head lowered, saying: ‘Read on beyond what you have read. As for every word that you are saying, they are what is written in this letter.’¹⁰⁴

48) G. Silsila 282, l. 2 (Roman, AD 31-32)

(ll. 1-4): ‘The good name of Pamont son of Padiese remains here before Montu, (2) the great god, forever. The inspiration (**hyt**) of Montu, the great god, is upon him who (3) will read this good name. Let him raise his hand, let him do a dancing (4) leap before Montu, the great god.’¹⁰⁵

49) P. Spiegelberg, 16/26 (Late Ptolemaic/Early Roman)

(Pharaoh greets the hero Min-neb-maat, col. 16/25-26): ‘These things, I have called them out (= requested them in oracle) before Amon the great god just so that I might see you without loss of (16/26) good **hyt** (fate/spirit/strength) or health (**wḏy**).’¹⁰⁶

50) O. Strassburg D. 443, l. 4(?) (Ptolemaic)

(Letter of man to father regarding payments): ‘the **šyt** (inspiration?) of the men who are here is upon these/my [...]’¹⁰⁷

51) O Strassburg D. 1338, l. 3 (Roman)

(Spell for causing blood to descend from the body of a woman, aiding menstruation, ll. 2-3) ‘O sea, do not create waves, while the **hyt**(?) (compulsion) is before the great noble god who rejoices over order.’¹⁰⁸

52-55) ll. 10, 11 and 13

(ll. 9-15): ‘Perform this which I say to you. (By) the **hyt** (anger/compulsion) of the one who is on this Bark of Millions (Seth or Ra), which the face of women [...] worship, the **hyt** (anger/compulsion) of Ptah-Tenen, the Father of the Gods, the Great Daimon, the Abyss who is under the earth, the **hyt** (anger/compulsion) of the two sisters Isis and Nephthys, these two goddesses. Move, move together with Renenet the Great Daimon, (by) the **hyt** (anger/compulsion) of every god and goddess of Upper and Lower Egypt.’¹⁰⁹

56) S. Tuna el-Gebel 433, l. 3 (Ptolemaic)

(l. 3) The **hyt** (untranslated) [of ...]¹¹⁰

¹ Meyer and Smith, 1994 p. 187. The following article is an expansion of comments in the same volume; see R. K. Ritner, ‘Curses,’ p. 186.

² Ibid., p. 191.

³ For a general discussion of demons, see Te Velde 1975, cols. 980-4; Meeks 1971, pp. 17-84; and Vernus 1978, pp. 135-71 (no. 141).

⁴ Col. 15/4-6; Gardiner 1932, p. 58; Lichtheim 1976, p. 222.

⁵ See the discussion in Germond 1981.

⁶ Germond 1986, pp. 66-7 and 76, n. 33, for further bibliography. The Dendera example follows a protective hymn for the sacred falcon and ibis.

⁷ See the references in Raven 1997, pp. 282-3.

⁸ Wb. III, 236/6-7, with Beleg. III, p. 51. See PT 578 §1535: ‘the slayers fall on their faces at you’ (Faulkner 1969, p. 234). Further discussion by Meeks 1971, pp. 44-9; Quaegebeur 1979, pp. 42-6; and Goyon 1985, p. 20, n. 1.

⁹ P. Jumilhac, col. 18/5-8; see Vandier 1961, pp. 130 (differing translation) and 203, n. 629.

¹⁰ Lüddeckens, et al. 1988, p. 552 and 1989, p. 679. For discussion, see Pestman 1973, pp. 32-34. The earliest examples date to the 7th century; see Leahy 1985.

¹¹ Medinet Habu Graffito 45, l. 3; see Thissen 1989, pp. 30-31 and 33.

¹² See Ritner 1989, pp. 111-12; idem 'Plaque of Tutu,' in Silverman (ed.) 1997, pp. 36 and 82-83 (no. 22); and Sauneron 1960a. The god's name is also common in late devotional personal names: **P3-šr-Twtw**, **P3-Twtw**, **Twtw**, **Twtw-p3-š3**, and **Twtw-šy**; see Lüddeckens, et al. 2000, pp. 274, 344 and 1273-5. The link between the name of Tutu and the notion of "amalgam" is now denied in Kaper 2003, p. 193, since the earliest forms of the god depict a sphinx (p. 195) with its lion's tail ending in a serpent (p. 199)! Contrary to Kaper's assessment, however, sphinxes are inherently composite creatures - and even more so with snakes as tails!

¹³ Cols. I/1-II/1.

¹⁴ Col. XXX/6-17.

¹⁵ Griffith and Thompson 1921, p. 65; Spiegelberg, 1910, p. 49*, no 326; idem 1925, p. 47, n. VI; K. Sethe in idem 1928, p. 5 'Verdammungsurteil (o. ä.)'; Thissen 1989, p. 201; and Vittmann 1998, pp. 539-40. For the Coptic forms, see Černý 1976, p. 253; Westendorf 1965-77, p. 307 and Osing 1976, pp. 166 and 664, n. 722 (for link w/ Coptic **ϣⲱⲡⲧ**).

¹⁶ Wb. III, 226/9-10 (citations from Wenamon only); wrongly transliterated as **ḥ3ꜥ** in Lesko 1984, p. 160.

¹⁷ Erichsen 1954, p. 350.

¹⁸ Crum 1939, p. 590a.

¹⁹ The term for 'medium' is written as the common Egyptian word for 'youth,' but on the basis of context it has been suggested to represent a Semitic word for 'seer,' perhaps related to Aramaic **ꜥddn**; for discussion and bibliography, see Hoch 1994, pp. 86-7.

²⁰ Translation from my 2009 volume, The Libyan Anarchy: Documents from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period, Writings from the Ancient World, Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 93-94.

²¹ Jaroslav Černý, 'Egyptian Oracles,' in Parker 1962, pp. 35-48, esp. pp. 43-45.

²² Berlin 20001, Cairo CG 42162 (JdE 36582), 59291, MMA 29.2.16, and various Louvre examples; see Vandier 1958, pp. 449-50 and pls. CL and CLXXIII; and Desroches-Noblecourt 1985, no. 7.

²³ P. Anastasi V, 9/2-10/2; see Simpson (ed.) 2003, p. 440; and Desroches-Noblecourt, (ed.) 1976, pp. 136-7, no. 32.

²⁴ WbMT II, 1962, p. 563. Literally, 'monster,' it appears also as the name of a snake in PT 225c.

²⁵ *ibid*, pp. 952-53.

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- ²⁶ WbMT I, 1961, pp. 4870-81. Cf. also **nb3**, described as ‘something entering from outside,’ in *ibid.*, p. 455.
- ²⁷ P. Berlin 3038, spell 112.
- ²⁸ Maspero, 1967, pp. 208 and 261.
- ²⁹ ll. 15-16. A new translation of the text appears in Simpson (ed.) 2003, pp. 361-6.
- ³⁰ l. 9.
- ³¹ ll. 11-12.
- ³² For ‘Zauberwörter’ = ‘magical words.’
- ³³ Griffith and Thompson 1904, pp. 56 and 75.
- ³⁴ Literally, ‘the place of the buttocks,’ *contra* Quack 1989, p. 197, who reinterprets the phrase as ‘maison de l’ennemi .. bien que son sens exact soit peu clair.’
- ³⁵ The casting of magic (**ḥwy ḥyq**) is noted in Setna II, cols. 4/4, 6, 9, 11, 13; and 6/2.
- ³⁶ See Ritner 1995, pp. 3344-5.
- ³⁷ Griffith 1909, p. 102, n. 3.
- ³⁸ Farid 1994, pp. 121-2; restated in *idem* 1995, pp. 23, 25 and 29.
- ³⁹ This restoration parallels that of Spiegelberg 1904a, p. 164, which also cites S. Cairo 31147 (but wrongly noted as 31145).
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 164; and Vittmann 1998, p. 539.
- ⁴¹ Col. 1/4-5, in Hoffmann 1996, pp. 132-5 and 594.
- ⁴² Greek influence is discounted by Hoffmann in *ibid.*, pp. 49-78 and *passim*, but the sophisticated Egyptian author will have noted and exploited the literary currents of his time, including features of Greek literature. This does not, however, demean the Egyptian character of the work. Goethe’s celebrated awareness of world literature (‘Weltliteratur’ — a term he himself coined) did not make his work less ‘German’; see D. Damrosch 2003, pp. 1-36.
- ⁴³ Wilson 1952.
- ⁴⁴ Ritner 2006, p. 106; and Wilson 1952, p. 79.
- ⁴⁵ Ritner 2006, p. 103 with references.
- ⁴⁶ See Sauneron 1970, pp. 23-24 (4⁸ and 5⁴) and the parallels discussed on pp. 10-11.
- ⁴⁷ Černý 1976, p. 253.
- ⁴⁸ Stricker 1954, p. 49; said to be questionable by Hoffmann 1996, p. 144, n. 576; and noted without critique by Bresciani 1964, p. 113. For **r-ḥrw**; see Jasnow 1997, p. 210.
- ⁴⁹ Raven 1997, pp. 282-3.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 283.

⁵¹ For general discussion of **bꜣw** with references, see Borghouts 1982, pp. 1-70.

Vittmann 1998, p. 539, notes the parallelism with **hyt** without detailed discussion.

⁵² Erichsen 1954, pp. 111 and 113. A dissenting opinion is found in Quack, 1996, pp. 62-69. Quack's translation as 'character' does not fit the relevant contexts. Rare writings of **by.w** with a positive connotation ('glory') do survive in one funerary text; see M. Smith 1987, p. 166.

⁵³ Sottas 1913, pp. 153. The translation is taken from Ritner 2009, pp. 439-41.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 161.

⁵⁵ Esna V, p. 340, and see Sauneron, 1960b.

⁵⁶ Col. 13/3.

⁵⁷ Deuteronomy 14.1; see Liddell, Scott and Jones (eds.) 1925, p. 1947a.

⁵⁸ Wisdom of Solomon 12.5 (< **θειάζειν** Liddell, Scott and Jones (eds.) 1925, p. 787b).

⁵⁹ Wisdom of Solomon 14.23; see Liddell, Scott and Jones (eds.) 1925, p. 541a.

⁶⁰ Crum 1939, pp. 588b (**ϣωπτ**) and 631a (**ϣοπτ**). Osing 1976, pp. 166 and 664, n. 722, postulates an original **hꜣyt/*hꜣrt**. The link with **hꜣwt**-demon would require a corresponding ***hꜣrt**.

⁶¹ Spiegelberg 1904a, pp. 161-2, read Min(?), corrected to Isis in his notebooks.

⁶² Spiegelberg, *ibid.*, pp. 160-5, esp. 164-5; *idem* 1908, pp. 158-9; and Farid 1995, pp. 25 and 29.

⁶³ Bresciani and Pernigotti 1978, pp. 128-9 and pl. 39.

⁶⁴ Spiegelberg 1904a, p. 164 (order of Isis and Osiris reversed); and *idem* 1904b, pp. 67-8 and pl. XXII.

⁶⁵ Spiegelberg 1904a, p. 164; and *idem* 1904b, pp. 28-9, 31 and 33 and plate VI.

Spiegelberg translated **hyt** as "curse" and restored **hwy** 'cast' for the damaged traces of **pꜣ nt-ꜣw=f š** in l. 18. Brugsch 1891, p. 896, copied **pꜣ nt-ꜣw=f šm nꜣy h...** 'the one who will enter this grave(?)'.

⁶⁶ Spiegelberg 1904a, p. 164; and *idem* 1904b, p. 48 and pl. XI

⁶⁷ Spiegelberg 1904a, p. 164 wrongly as 31145; and *idem* 1904b, p. 58 and pl. XVII.

⁶⁸ Spiegelberg 1904b, p. 63 and pl. XIX.

⁶⁹ Farid 1995, pp. 21-3 and 29.

⁷⁰ Griffith 1937, p. 19, translated '(By) the inspiration ...' See also the discussion, pp. 9-10.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 20, translated '(By) the inspiration ...'

⁷² Bresciani 1969, no. 54. and pl. 70 (untranslated).

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- ⁷³ Col. 2/3-6, in *ibid.*, pp. 142-4 and 594.
- ⁷⁴ Nur el-Din read Tn(?).
- ⁷⁵ Nur el-Din 1974, pp. 262-3, 650 (fig.) and pl. 25 (= F 1897/6.306).
- ⁷⁶ Johnson 1975, pp. 34-5 and pl. 9.
- ⁷⁷ Spiegelberg 1925, pp. 39-41. Written on two sides of mummy-ticket shaped wooden tablet, the text was excavated by Steindorff at Qaw; see Ritner 1995, p. 3344.
- ⁷⁸ De Cenival 1985, pp. 101, 103, 110 and fig. 2; and *idem* 1987, p. 62. The second writing of **ḥwy byt** is written above the line (A/14a). De Cenival translates: 'Jeter un charme, jeter un charme, voilà ce qu'il fait.'
- ⁷⁹ (= P. British Museum 10070 + P. Leiden 383) Griffith and Thompson 1904, vol. 1, p. 57; and Betz (ed.) 1992, p. 206.
- ⁸⁰ Griffith and Thompson 1904, p. 65; Betz (ed.) 1992, p. 208.
- ⁸¹ Griffith and Thompson 1904, p. 73; Betz (ed.) 1992, p. 211. Wonte is a name of Apep (Wb I, 325/14).
- ⁸² Griffith and Thompson 1904 p. 75 and Betz (ed.) 1992, p. 212. All translate "like the fury..."
- ⁸³ **wwhe < OYΔZI-2HT** in Crum 1939, p. 508b.
- ⁸⁴ Griffith and Thompson 1904, p. 93; Betz (ed.) 1992, p. 217.
- ⁸⁵ Griffith and Thompson 1904, p. 127; and Betz (ed.) 1992, p. 227.
- ⁸⁶ Griffith and Thompson 1904, p. 141; and Betz (ed.) 1992, p. 231.
- ⁸⁷ Griffith and Thompson 1904, p. 185; and Betz (ed.) 1992, p. 245.
- ⁸⁸ Griffith and Thompson 1904, p. 195; and Betz (ed.) 1992, p. 248.
- ⁸⁹ Johnson 1977, pp. 59, 66 and plate 10; *idem* in Betz (ed) 1992, p. 324.
- ⁹⁰ The Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu.
- ⁹¹ Thissen 1989, pp. 30-1 and 201.
- ⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 37-8 and 201.
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-2 and 201.
- ⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 135-6 and 201.
- ⁹⁵ See Kaplony-Heckel 1963, pp. 299-300, no. 180 (formerly O. Newberry); Spiegelberg 1925, pp. 44-8, and pl. 3, and *idem* 1928, pp. 4-6.
- ⁹⁶ Spiegelberg, in Northampton, 1908, pp. 21 and pl. XXIX; and 1904a, p. 164.
- ⁹⁷ Griffith 1937, pp. 99-100 and 9-10.
- ⁹⁸ Griffith 1909, vol. III, pp. 102, n. 3; 244, n. 6; and 337; Vittmann 1998, vol. I, pp. 176-7 and vol. II, pp. 539-40.

⁹⁹ Smith and Tait 1983, pp. 73, 91 and 82, n. cu: ‘the spell a deity may wield over a human being: ‘doom’ seems appropriate here.’

¹⁰⁰ H. S. Smith 1974, p. 48. translates: ‘May the fate of the gods who rest here be upon him who reads this himself.’ See also Wildung 1977, p. 64 (# 42) and pl. 10; with the review in Ritner 1984, p. 354; contra Farid, 1994, pp. 121-22; restated in idem 1995, pp. 23, 25 and 29.

¹⁰¹ Revillout 1896, p. 167 (**hyt** translated as ‘mystère’). Revillout, followed by Spiegelberg in his notebooks, assumed that the deceased ‘died (in) the khyt of Apis-Osiris.’

¹⁰² (= P. BM 604) Griffith 1900, pp. 170-72, with note, p. 172. New translation by R. K. Ritner in Simpson (ed.) 2003, p. 479.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 481.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 484.

¹⁰⁵ Preisigke and Spiegelberg 1915, p. 17 and n. 5.

¹⁰⁶ Spiegelberg 1910, pp. 6 (date), 32-3 and 49*, no. 326 (etymology); for the attribution to the late Ptolemaic period, see Hoffmann 1995, pp. 38-9 and idem 1996, p. 144, n. 576 (taking **hyt nfr** as ‘spiritual health’ in contrast to **wd3y** ‘physical health’). See further the remarks of Maspero 1967, p. 261, n. 3 (translating the compound as ‘strength’).

¹⁰⁷ Questionable; written with **š**. Hand copy in Spiegelberg Nachlass and cited in unpublished Chicago Spiegelberg Notebooks, 121: **šyt n n3 rmt.w nt ty n n3y [...]**.

¹⁰⁸ Spiegelberg 1911, pp. 34-7 (translated ‘Zorn’); Ritner 1995, pp. 3343-4 (translated ‘compulsion/fury/possession’). The example in l. 3 is uncertain as the final ‘**t**’ is copied by Spiegelberg as a snake determinative.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ebeid 2008, pp. 89-90.

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Abbreviations follow Lexikon der Ägyptologie as is customary.

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