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# INHALTSVERZEICHNIS

TECHNICAL INFORMATION.....	5
KURZBEMERKUNGEN	
Morenz, Ludwig D. / Ali, Mohamed Sherif: Monumental-Hieratisch im kanaanäisch-philistäischen Gebiet.....	6
Mrsich, Tycho: Imjt-pr und wieder zu Irtisen, Louvre C 14 .....	9
Panov, Maxim: Einige Bemerkungen zur Stele Louvre C 14.....	13
MISZELLEN	
Attia, Amani Hussein: Honoring the ancestors (Kha-em-hat TT 57).....	15
Cauville, Sylvie: Dendara. Le domaine d'Horus et la nécropole d'Osiris.....	43
Castañeda Reyes, José Carlos: Maât the Powerful Goddess.....	73
Dorn, Andreas: Flash-floods, huts and stratigraphy in the Valley of the Kings	91
Jansen-Winkeln, Karl: Zwei Kanopensätze aus der Nebneteru-Familie mit ungewöhnlichen Texten .....	113
Johnston, Kea: Spells in the Margins: The Form of the Writing Surface as a Driver of Content on the Coffin of Iwefaa (PAHMA 6-19928) .....	133
Köhler, Ines: Stele Louvre C 100 und die liebevolle Mutirdis. Von der Liebesdichtung zur biographischen Inschrift einer Frau .....	143
Metawi, Dina: A Statuette of the Overseer of Priests Nakht-Ankh (Cairo Museum, King Farouk Coll. no. 745) .....	159
Miatello, Luca: When Glyphs Hide Volumes: on Capacity Measures of the Archaic Period and the Old Kingdom .....	165
Ritner, Robert K. / Scalf, Foy D.: Anubis, Archer Figures, and Demotic Magic	185
Serova, Dina: Three seal impressions from the Middle Kingdom tomb of Ipi (TT 315).....	213
Stefanović, Danijela: Varia Epigraphica VII - The Middle Kingdom / Second Intermediate Period.....	231

## BEITRÄGE ZUR WISSENSCHAFTSGESCHICHTE

Pedersen, Lars Schreiber: „Es ist mir eine Freude, dass der Text in so gute Hände gefallen ist“. Some notes on the making of Alan H. Gardiner's The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage .....	241
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## ANUBIS, ARCHER FIGURES, AND DEMOTIC MAGIC

ROBERT K. RITNER and FOY D. SCALF<sup>1</sup>

In the recent exhibition catalog *Death Dogs: The Jackal Gods of Ancient Egypt* by Terry Wilfong, there appeared as number thirty-two a papyrus inscribed with a Demotic text accompanied by a rather interesting illustration (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> Wilfong mentions that the “text is, as yet, unedited, but the illustration — showing a jackal-headed god most likely to be Anubis shooting a bow and arrow toward a grotesque naked male figure — makes it all but certain that this papyrus is a magical text. A jackal-headed god shooting a bow and arrow is sometimes represented in amulet form (for example, see Andrews 1994, 47, fig. 52a), and this image may be related.” The authors are currently working to edit and publish the papyrus in full. This preliminary publication will serve to confirm Wilfong’s suspicions about the text, the jackal-headed figure, and to situate the illustration explicitly within the larger corpus of archer figures from ancient Egypt.

Based on the provenance information,<sup>3</sup> paleographic hand, and textual parallels, Papyrus Michigan Inv. 1444 likely dates from the second half of the first century to the second century CE. It now consists of four fragments, with many lacunae, especially in the middle of the papyrus between lines 13–24.<sup>4</sup> It should be noted that in the current mounting as shown in the catalog photograph the fragments are not properly aligned. Inscribed on the top two-thirds of the papyrus are thirty-five lines of Demotic text, followed by the illustration described by Wilfong.<sup>5</sup> As he suspected, the Demotic text is indeed a magical spell. Unlike the well-known Demotic magical handbooks,<sup>6</sup> the Demotic spell on the papyrus is notable for being personalized for a woman named Taromeway, daughter of Tasib (*T3-rmt-w3y r-ms T3-syb*), who seeks the affection of

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations in this article follow those of the Chicago Demotic Dictionary. The authors would like to thank George T. Thomson for his editorial help.

<sup>2</sup> Wilfong 2015, no. 32, pp. 74–75, figs. 121–122. Papyrus Michigan Inventory 1444, cited in Cruz-Urbe 1988, p. 20; Love 2016, p. 43 n. 141, and pp. 117–178. The papyrus further appeared in two online exhibitions of the University of Michigan Libraries, *Traditions of Magic in Ancient Antiquity* and *Diversity in the Desert*.

<sup>3</sup> Acquired in November 1924 with many other papyrus fragments, many from the Fayum region.

<sup>4</sup> See photograph in Wilfong 2015, fig. 122.

<sup>5</sup> See Wilfong 2015, fig. 121.

<sup>6</sup> For overview, see Ritner 1995; Dieleman 2005.



magical compendium P. Ramesseum XI. B, ll. 1–5 (= P. BM EA 10764),<sup>13</sup> which already contains the terminology of love sickness (l. 3): “A torch is in my desire; a torch is in my heart” (*tkꜣ m ib=i tkꜣ m hꜣty[=i]*). The image of a helpless, “inflamed” lover continues in late Egyptian magic<sup>14</sup> and the Michigan Demotic papyrus exemplifies the characterization of such spells as subjugation rites with an emphasis on sexual domination rather than romantic love.<sup>15</sup> Thus Ritner’s study of Egyptian magical practice uses the famous Louvre magical assemblage of bound and pierced female prisoner, lamella, and enclosing pot (E 27145) to introduce his discussion of execration magic and curses.<sup>16</sup> Like non-erotic execration magic, compulsion (cf. *hyt*) could be transmitted via diverse means, including pins and needles thrust into wax or clay figure substitutes. The elements of Louvre E 27145 conform to the specific details of a Greek magical text in the Bibliothèque Nationale known as the “Wondrous Spell for Binding a Lover” (PGM IV, 296–466).<sup>17</sup> A needle driven “into the brain” ensures that “she may remember no one but me, PN, alone.” The Bibliothèque National papyrus spell calls for the making of a male figure of Ares, “fully armed, holding a sword in his left hand and threatening to plunge it into the right side of her neck.”<sup>18</sup> Likewise, an attraction spell in PGM XXXIX is accompanied by a figure of Bes next to a male figure holding a knife and a decapitated head.<sup>19</sup>

In the Michigan papyrus, the illustrator has evoked this motif through the figure of Anubis shooting an arrow into the “victim” or target of the spell, who stands nude facing the god.<sup>20</sup> Although ancient Egyptian religion is rightly (in)famous for its plethora of canine-headed deities, a clear reference to Anubis (𓃹𓏏) in an otherwise badly lacunose section at the beginning of line eighteen confirms the identification of the jackal-headed figure.<sup>21</sup> Similar

<sup>13</sup> Meyrat 2019, pp. 84–88, 333. The new example disproves the assumption by Quack 1998, p. 84, that “love spells” were not part of dynastic magical manuals. In both 1998 and 2016, Quack unreasonably dismissed the Ramesseum text as “ambiguous” (Quack 2016, p. 79; cf. Quack 1998, p. 84, n. 51). The classification is certain.

<sup>14</sup> Ritner 1998.

<sup>15</sup> Frankfurter 2005, pp. 157–186; cf. the spells translated in Meyer and Smith 1994 and Quack 2016. See also Ritner 1993 [2008], pp. 111–113.

<sup>16</sup> Ritner 1993 [2008], pp. 111–113.

<sup>17</sup> Kambitsis 1976.

<sup>18</sup> Betz 1986, p. 44; Ritner 1993 [2008], pp. 112–113.

<sup>19</sup> Betz 1986, p. 279; Preisendanz 1931, p. 177.

<sup>20</sup> The illustration was discussed briefly in Love 2016, pp. 177–178.

<sup>21</sup> Although badly damaged, Anubis may be invoked again in line nineteen along with the ghost previously mentioned in line one.

iconography for Anubis and other jackal-headed figures is well attested, both from contemporary sources and otherwise. Anubis appears with bow and arrow on magical gems (figs. 11–12),<sup>22</sup> but the most attested context for jackal-headed gods with bows and arrows are on small amulets in a variety of forms.<sup>23</sup> Although on the gem the god stands, in these amulets the god is typically seated on a throne (figs. 2–10). From this position, the god draws the bow and readies his arrow. On several examples (figs. 3, 5, 7, 9), a quiver of arrows decorates the side of the throne.<sup>24</sup> In his Bulaq catalog Maspero described such a wooden amulet of a seated Anubis with bow, designated as “Anubis Archer” by Lefébure who further connected it with a larger statue group used for the protection of edifices, an association he extended to the amulets associated with the magical bricks of Book of the Dead spell 151 meant to protect the burial chamber.<sup>25</sup> Several of these figures drawing a bow have polymorphic attributes (figs. 14–16), some are clearly ram-headed Amun figures (figs. 14–17), and have been referred to as Anubis Pantheos by Olaf Kaper.<sup>26</sup> Most of the amulets had suspension holes designed to be worn or carried around the owner’s neck in order to ward off the compulsion of others,<sup>27</sup> or perhaps also to empower compulsion of their own, as suggested by the Demotic spell on Papyrus Michigan Inv. 1444.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>22</sup> The gem itself (fig. 11), published in Petrie 1927, p. 21, pl. XVI, no. 348, inspired the drawing (fig. 12), which appeared in Fiske 1852, pl. 27, and described in Eschenburg 1852, p. 124.

<sup>23</sup> Wilfong 2015, p. 74, cites the example from Andrews 1994, p. 47, fig. 52a. It should also be noted that the standard of Wepwawet from very early times could be paired with a bow and arrow, see DuQuesne 2005, p. 392. A similar standard appeared in the writing of *šms.w Hr* “followers of Horus,” see Wb. 4, p. 486; Daumas 1988, p. 240, no. 481.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Borghouts 1978, no. 102 (p. 74): “I am a quiver full of arrows. I am a pot full of unrest. No, you are not a quiver full of arrows. [Your are not a] pot full of unrest.”

<sup>25</sup> Maspero 1884, p. 189; Lefébure 1890, p. 29: “L’Anubis archer s’explique très bien ici, de même que le rôle de Khem remplaçant la momie humaine (ce dieu est toujours momifié), et que le rôle de Sekhet remplaçant la flamme, car cette déesse personifie la flamme, qui purifie l’air et chasse les mauvais esprits.”

<sup>26</sup> Kaper 2003, p. 103: “The Anubis Pantheos appears to be interchangeable with Amon Pantheos, because in one example the ram’s head is shown in front and the Anubis head is in the back, which demonstrates that the god represented by this figure is again the sun god in a pantheistic form.” For the discussion and debate about the nature of polymorphic/pantheistic forms, see Ritner 1989, pp. 111–112; Quack 2006; West 2011; First 2014; First 2017a and 2017b; Ritner 2017; Faraone 2017b. In this regard, note that the pantheistic figure on Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.156, 3A, holds arrows among its accoutrements.

<sup>27</sup> Borghouts 1978, no. 103 (p. 75): “The magic of Horus wards off bows and makes arrows miss the mark.”

<sup>28</sup> Hilton-Price 1899, pp. 240–241 and fig. preceding p. 239; Daressy 1905, pl. XLIII (nos. 38855–38857), see figs. 7 and 10; Mace 1916, p. 22, fig. 11; Sotheby’s 1982, p. 54, no. 127; Andrews 1994, p. 47, fig. 52a. See also the fragmentary black statuette (fig. 13) in the Louvre (published by Bénédite 1904, p. 115, fig. 1) “clad in Roman dress, carrying a bow in his hand” identified as Anubis by Wiedemann 1914, p. 57, n. 60.



Sakhmet's transfer of rage to the enemies of Egypt and pharaoh,<sup>35</sup> Anubis here transmits a "malignancy," that of love sickness as a "pathological state of the body," to the sufferer Kephala through his arrow. The New Kingdom love spells preserve the same sentiment: "For heaven has bestowed its love, like the course of an arrow [...], like the swiftness of a falcon."<sup>36</sup> It is unclear if the seven arrows of Sakhmet,<sup>37</sup> personified as demons and gods of protection,<sup>38</sup> are in any way related to the seven "spirits" (*ih.w*) associated with Anubis in Book of the Dead spell 125A/194, described by Heerma van Voss as "Anubis and the Seven Demons" and thereby associated with Anubis the archer and his arrows.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Association with arrows is extended to other goddesses, often closely related to Sakhmet, such as Sothis, who is called the "lady of the arrow" (*nb.(t) šsr*), "mistress of the arrow" (*hmw.t šsr*), and "one who dispatches the arrow" (*h:ih šsr*), as well as the "arrow of Bastet" (*šsr B:st.t*) and Nekhbet "who sends arrows" (*w:di.t šsr.w*). See Goyon 2006, pp. 116, 118 with nn. 10–11, fig. 12. Such references can be found embedded into the context of the myth of the wandering goddess, e.g., Edfu III, 291, 3, a hymn to Hathor, including: "You will set your disease against his enemies. You will put your arrow against those who plot against him" (*w:di=t ḳw=t r h:ty.w=f di=t šsr=t m w:š.w im=f*). See Goyon 2006, p. 34, fig. 2.

<sup>36</sup> Papyrus Harris 500, for translation, see Vincent Tobin in Simpson 2003, p. 309.

<sup>37</sup> The seven arrows of Sakhmet have been compared with the seven Hathors, seven scorpions, and seven daughters of Pre, whose stingers, like the arrow of Anubis, produced a "raging fire" with their venom. See Wilson 1997, p. 1032; Ritner 1998, pp. 1035–1041.

<sup>38</sup> For a discussion of divine "compulsion" (*hyt*) and Sakhmet's arrows, see Ritner 2011. For examples of personified arrows, cf. the texts of Seti I and Ramses II: *sw mi Mntw ... p:dt=f m-ḳf mi B:st.t šsr.w=f mi s: Nw.t* "He is like Monthu ... in whose hand is his bow like Bastet, his arrows like the son of Nut." See KRI I; RITA I, pp. 17–19; Gaballa 1969, p. 86–87, fig. 6. One of these personified arrows is called "great of strength" in the mythological papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.84: *iw šsr ḳ-phty m s:f* "and the arrow (  ) 'great-of-strength' is his protection." Note the similarity to the name of the serpent  from the Tanis Geographical Papyrus; see Griffith and Petrie 1889, pl. XIV.

<sup>39</sup> Heerma van Voss 1978. The text was discussed extensively in the idiosyncratic publication of DuQuesne 1994. See the comments of Griffiths 1980, p. 241: "... as M. Heerma van Voss shows in *Anoebis en de demonen* .... It is there said, in the version of BD 125, that *the court of the gateway consists of demons*, where the last word is *ihw*, which often means 'the glorified dead'; here it must mean, as Heerma van Voss (p. 5) shows, especially through the representations, *demons*. Anubis is here one of a group of eight who guard the exit from the Judgement Hall depicted and described in BD 125." The crux of the text is *iw d:gd:t n.t sbhy.t m ih.w* "The council of the gates (consists) of spirits (*ih.w*)." In the associated vignette, the groups with Anubis hold snake wands, on which see Ritner 2006. These guardians have been connected with the "seven" mentioned in various funerary spells, including CT 335/BD 17: "Look, I have come before you so that you might remove all the evil pertaining to me, like this which you did for these seven spirits (*ih.w*) who are in the following of the lord of the nomes, whose place Anubis made on that day of 'Come out!'" Cf. the use of the number seven in repelling poison in Borghouts 1978, no. 104 (pp. 75–76): "Break out, poison! Seven times. ...." For the symbolism of the number seven, see Ritner 1993 [2008], p. 161, n. 749, and Ritner 1998, p. 1031, n. 30.

Many so-called “minor” divinities are personified as, or closely associated with, the bow and arrow. The compilers of the *Wörterbuch* had already documented many occurrences of the šsr.w “protective deities (*Schutzgötter*)”<sup>40</sup> —  — who stand guard “at their hours” (*iw* (= *r*) *wnw.t=sn*) and whose designation is derived from the word  šsr “arrow”<sup>44</sup> and its related roots šsr “to kill”<sup>45</sup> and šsr “to utter.”<sup>46</sup> Like an arrow, the latter has a sense of “going forth (from the mouth).”<sup>47</sup> In Pyramid Texts spell 659, we already find an arrow-related etiology:

šzp n=k iḃḥ.w=k ipw ḥd.w mḥny.w pšr.w ḥ3=sn m šsr m m=sn pw n šsr

“Take these white teeth of yours, (those of) the *mḥn*-serpent which encircle them, as an arrow in this their name of ‘arrow.’”<sup>48</sup>

In the tenth hour of the Amduat, a group of twelve gods is composed of four anthropomorphic figures with sun-disks as heads carrying arrows, four figures carrying bows, and four figures carrying harpoons (fig. 22). Their names designate them as protectors, personifying elements of

<sup>40</sup> *Wb.* IV, 547, with *Zettelarchiv* DZA 30.252.90; Wilson 1997, p. 1033; Leitz 2002, p. 126.

<sup>41</sup> *Wb.* IV, p. 547; DZA 30.252.100; Edfu IV, 12; Piehl 1890, pl. XC.

<sup>42</sup> Edfu II, 75; *Wb.* IV, 547; Wilson 1997, p. 1033.

<sup>43</sup> Edfu II, 13; *Wb.* IV, 547; Wilson 1997, p. 1033.

<sup>44</sup> *Wb.* IV, p. 546; Germond 1981, pp. 298–304, who notes the uncertainty in reading šsr.w “arrows” vs. šsr.w “demons” (“À l’époque ptolémaïque, on ne se fit pas faute de jouer sur cette ambiguïté et il deviant souvent impossible de savoir s’il s’agit des flèches eux-mêmes de Sekhmet, symbole des actions les plus néfastes que l’irascible déesse pouvait déclencher au moment du passage d’une année à l’autre, ou de ses envoyés chargés d’exécuter des missions de destruction”).

<sup>45</sup> *Wb.* IV, p. 547; Wilson 1997, p. 1033. Likewise, cf.  from the Tanis Geographical Papyrus (BM EA 10673 = TM 44764), see Griffith and Petrie 1889, pl. XIV; DZA 30.252.130.

<sup>46</sup> *Wb.* IV, p. 548; Wilson 1997, pp. 1030–1031.

<sup>47</sup> Although note the connection to šsr: “to be wise, clever” (*Wb.* IV, p. 543) suggested by Wilson 1997, p. 1030.

<sup>48</sup> Sethe 1910, 455; Faulkner 1969, p. 271; Allen 2013, p. 219; Allen 2015, p. 264. Comparing the sharp fangs of snakes to arrows is a long-lasting theme, cf. Edfu VI, 302, 16 (line 49 of the text): *n mwt=f n=t(n) imy.w ir.w=sn iy m n’y.w m šsr spd tp-’s m šḥḥ imy.w ḥt=s* “He did not die for you, those who are in their forms, who have come as snakes with sharp arrow(s) before her (and) hastening after her.” See Ghattas 1968, p. 82; Wilson 1997, p. 492.

warfare, including *šsri* “He of the arrow,” *Sti.w* “Shooter,” *Pdty* “Archer,” and *šmrty* “Bowman.” They are addressed in the accompanying texts by the sun god:

*wnn=sn m šhr pn hr šsr.w=sn hr ‘bb.wt=sn hr pd.wt=sn m-ḥi.t ntr pn ‘3*  
*pri=sn hr=f r ḥ.t iḥt.t n.t p.t*  
*i.n n=sn ntr pn ‘3 ḥiḥ n šsr.w=tn spd n ‘bb.wt=tn pd n šmr.wt=tn nik=tn n=i ḥfty.w=i imy.w kkw r*  
*rwtv ḥ.t tn n=i m-ḥt=i ḥtp=i nn.t wšš iwf=i m m‘ndy.t*  
*ntsn ḥsf sbi nḥi-ḥr m kkw smšw n ‘pp ntr pn ‘3 m ‘rry.t iḥt.t n.t ḥ.t*  
*‘pp=sn hr ntr pn m-ḥt*

“They are like this, carrying their arrows, their spears, and their bows before this great god.

May they go forth with him to the eastern horizon of heaven.

This great god said to them: ‘Speed for your arrows, sharpness for your spears, tension for your bows so that you may punish for me my enemies who are in the darkness beyond the horizon for you belong to me in my following whether I set (in) the lower heaven or whether my flesh is strong in the day bark.

You are the ones who oppose the rebel “fierce-faced” in the united darkness because this great god passes through the eastern gate of the horizon.’

With this great god, they proceed following.”<sup>49</sup>

Sakhmet’s arrows are often aimed at enemies that are to be repelled, not attracted, much like the arrows of Shed and Horus-Shed,<sup>50</sup> particularly in the New Year’s texts known from Greco-Roman era temples. The king is protected from these arrows:<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Hornung 1994, pp. 725–730; Warburton, Hornung, and Abt 2007, pp. 313–315; e.g., P. Leiden T 71 (Leemans 1840; Carrier 2011, pls. 8–9); Niwiński 1989, pp. 314–314 (type A.II.1a).

<sup>50</sup> Berlandini 1998, pp. 31–55. Examples of Shed as archer are too numerous to collect comprehensively in this article. For representative examples, see figs. 18–19.

<sup>51</sup> Germond 1981, pp. 298–299. In fact, the king himself can wield these arrows, see Edfu I, 313, 2 (Goyon 2006, p. 134): *ny-sw.t bity iw‘ n ntr.wy mnḥ.wy stp Pth Wsr-kʿ-R‘ Šm-‘nh-ḥmn Hr pr m pd.t šsr m ‘f mi Šm.t* “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the heir of the beneficent gods, chosen of Ptah, Userkare, the living image of Amun (= Ptolemy IV), is Horus who has come forth with the bow, an arrow in his hand like Sakhmet.” Cf. Seth teaching archery to pharaoh Thutmose III (fig. 20).



Although demons as arrows are well attested in hieroglyphic texts of the Ptolemaic and Roman eras, their presence in the contemporary Demotic documents is far less certain. The common term for “demon” is *sšr*,<sup>58</sup> which might suggest a metathesis from older *šsr* “arrow,” but the etymology of the Demotic term is recognized as deriving from *šhr* “to overthrow,” with a typical phonetic shift from *h* to *š*.<sup>59</sup> The Demotic *sšr* “demon” appears frequently in lists of entities from which protection is needed. Such lists are particularly common in self-dedications,<sup>60</sup> but the term also occurs in the funerary corpus.<sup>61</sup> It appears again in the astrological material in reference to the *šwy sšr* “house of the demon,”<sup>62</sup> whose Greek equivalent is the τόπος “place” of the κακὸς δαίμων “evil spirit,” the twelfth division of thirty degrees in the astrological chart (Dodecatropos).<sup>63</sup> This picture becomes more complex, however, since hieroglyphic texts show that the *šsr*-arrow can determine or replace spellings of *sšr*, *šhr*, and *šhr*.<sup>64</sup> Though once distinct, the words for “arrow” and “overthrown one/demon” can have merged in sound as well as in meaning. Unetymological writings are a common feature of the late hieroglyphic and Demotic scripts, in which synonymy and homophony can override etymology. In any case, the usual Demotic term for “arrow” is *sty.t*, lit. “a thing shot,”<sup>65</sup> and only this term survives into Coptic as *COṬE*.<sup>66</sup> In P. Michigan Inv. 1444, the term *sty* “to shoot” appears in line 18 (as noted above).

<sup>58</sup> EG, p. 457; CDD 2 (15 November 2013): 13.1, pp. 391–392. See also *sšl* in EG, p. 465.

<sup>59</sup> See the discussion in Thompson 1941, p. 78, n. 13; Lichtheim 1983, pp. 160–161.

<sup>60</sup> See P. BM EA 10622, 23, and P. BM EA 10624, 17, published in Thompson 1941, pp. 68–78; P. Mil. Vogl. 3 Dem. 3, text B, line 8, and P. Mil. Vogl. 3 Dem 4, line 7, published by Edda Bresciani in Cazzaniga 1965, pp. 188–194; P. Cario CG 50018, 25 and P. Louvre E 10606, 12, published in Ryholt 2018, pp. 205–218.

<sup>61</sup> P. BM EA 10507, 11.9, published in Smith 1987, pp. 50, 120, pl. 8; parallel passage in P. Harkness (MMA 31.9.7), 3.3, published in Smith 2005, pp. 65–66, 165 n. (e), pl. 5.

<sup>62</sup> CDD S (15 November 2013): 13.1, p. 392.

<sup>63</sup> See Greenbaum 2016, pp. 7 (chart), 53–56 (discussion of Demotic material); Hughes 1986, p. 64, n. to III/7; Spiegelberg 1910, pp. 146–151. On the use and users of these astrological handbooks, see Winkler 2016, pp. 245–286.

<sup>64</sup> See writings of “to milk,” “to stroke,” and “to make fringe(?)” in *Wb*. IV, pp. 294–295. See also Daumas 1988, pp. 661–662. The issues are complex enough that inconsistencies can be found in modern editions. See, e.g., Goyon 2006, who transliterates the hieroglyphic spelling of “arrow”  as *sšr* on pp. 42, 86, but as *šsr* on pp. 32, 34, 86, 92, 116, 118, 134.

<sup>65</sup> EG, p. 475 and note the arrow determinative in the related “to shoot” and “to spit.”

<sup>66</sup> CD, p. 361b.

The amuletic archer figures, like the magical spells invoking arrows, served the dual purposes of both protection and compulsion.<sup>67</sup> Sakhmet's arrows can drive off enemies ("when shooting an arrow as Sakhmet does. You fell thousands who know you not")<sup>68</sup> as well as protect ("May you shelter him with the first arrow of the year"). Individuals likely suspended and wore the amulets for similar purposes, both as protection to ward off evil influences, but also to further compel desired actions. That is surely also the purpose of the small amuletic papyrus with an image of Seth the archer (fig. 21), originally folded for portability.<sup>69</sup> In the case of Papyrus Michigan Inv. 1444, Anubis shoots an arrow of compulsion into the target of the spell, which the female client surely hoped would infuse him with an uncontrollable desire for her.

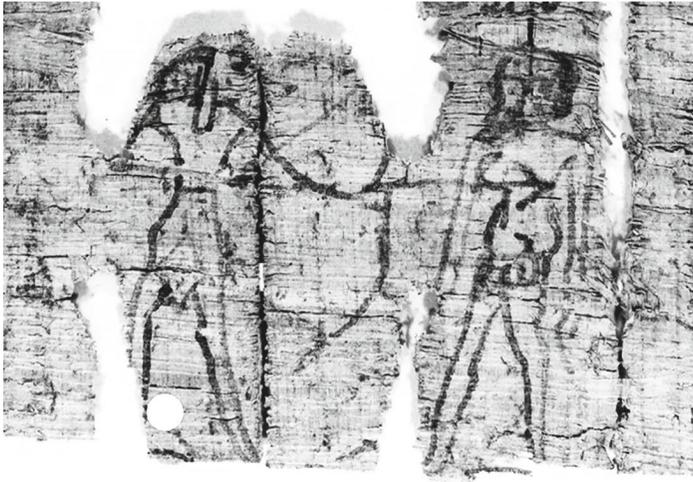
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<sup>67</sup> Note Sakhmet's arrows have the power to both injure and project, much like the seven scorpion goddesses: "Horus is inflamed and can be healed only by the fluids of the goddesses, who are the source of both injury and cure" (Ritner 1998, pp. 1039–1040).

<sup>68</sup> In the hymn to Senwosret III. See Lichtheim 1973 [2006], p. 198; Simpson 2003, p. 303.

<sup>69</sup> For full discussion, see Michailides 1952.

FIGURES



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



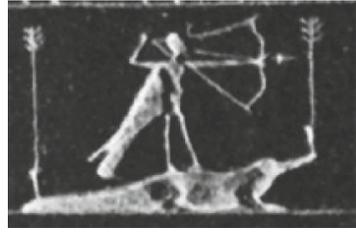
15



16



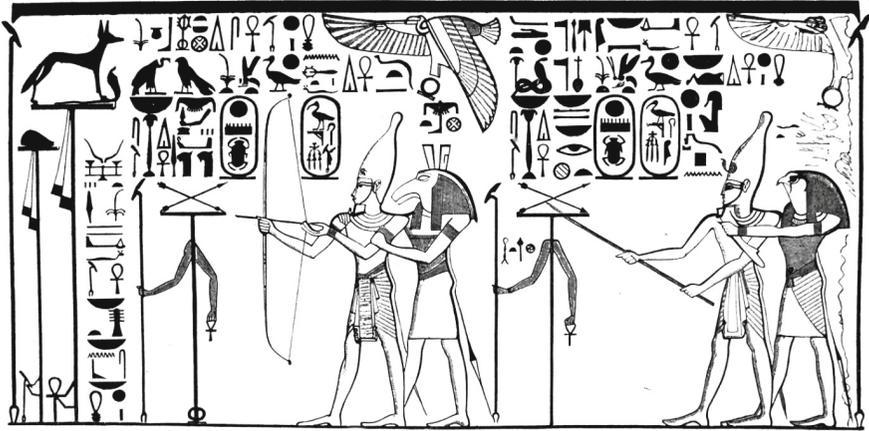
17



18



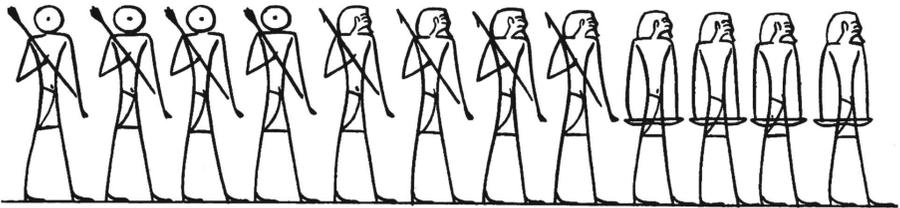
19



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21



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## FIGURE CAPTIONS

1. DESCRIPTION: Anubis shooting an arrow into the spell's target from P. Michigan Inv. 1444  
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wilfong 2015, no. 32, pp. 74–75, figs. 121–122.
2. DESCRIPTION: Jackal-headed divinity seated on a throne, drawing a bow.  
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hilton-Price 1899, 239-241, and figure before 239.
3. DESCRIPTION: Jackal-headed divinity seated on a throne with a quiver of arrows on the side, drawing a bow.  
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mace 1916, p. 19, fig. 11, p. 22 (description).
4. DESCRIPTION: Jackal-headed divinity with falcon tail and disk seated on a throne, drawing a bow.  
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Andrews 1994, 47, fig. 52 (BM EA 71027).
5. DESCRIPTION: Jackal-headed divinity with falcon tail seated on a throne with a quiver of arrows on the side, drawing a bow.  
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sotheby's 1993, no. 78; Minerva 1996, p. 13 (ad for Ancient World Arts, Ltd.).
6. DESCRIPTION: Jackal-headed divinity with falcon tail, drawing a bow.  
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Petrie 1914, p. 42, no. 199, pl. xxxvi (UC 52940).
7. DESCRIPTION: Jackal-headed divinity seated on a throne with a quiver of arrows on the side, drawing a bow.  
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Daressy 1905, pl. XLIII (CGC 38855).
8. DESCRIPTION: Jackal-headed divinity with falcon tail and crown of Upper Egypt seated on a throne, drawing a bow.  
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sotheby's 1982, 54, no. 127.
9. DESCRIPTION: Jackal-headed divinity with *atef*-crown seated on a throne, drawing a bow.  
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Unpublished (Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien).

10. DESCRIPTION: Jackal-headed divinity seated on a throne, drawing a bow.  
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Daressy 1905, pl. XLIII (CGC 38857).
11. DESCRIPTION: Jackal-headed divinity drawing a bow, inscribed on a magic gem.  
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Petrie 1927, 21, pl. XVI, no. 348; Faraone 2017a, p. 415, fig. 13, no. 19.
12. DESCRIPTION: Anubis holding a bow.  
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fiske 1852, pl. 27.
13. DESCRIPTION: Robed, headless figure holding a bow.  
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bénédite 1904, 111-118; Wiedemann 1914, 57, n. 60.
14. DESCRIPTION: Ram-headed divinity with the šwty-crown and falcon tail, drawing a bow.  
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roeder 1956, p. 89, Abb. 120.
15. DESCRIPTION: Ram-headed divinity with falcon tail, drawing a bow.  
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roeder 1956, p. 102, Abb. 133.
16. DESCRIPTION: Ram-headed divinity drawing a bow.  
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Daressy 1905, pl. XXXVII (CGC 38700).
17. DESCRIPTION: Ram-headed divinity kneeling, drawing a bow.  
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Andrews 1990, p. 159.
18. DESCRIPTION: “Horus the Savior” with falcon tail drawing a bow while standing on a crocodile pierced by arrows, from the Metternich Stela.  
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Allen 2015, p. 53.
19. DESCRIPTION: “Horus the savior” as an archer in a chariot from the Metternich Stela.  
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Allen 2005, p. 51.
20. DESCRIPTION: Seth with Thutmose III drawing a bow.  
BIBLIOGRAPHY: LD III, 36b; Wilkinson 1878, p. 137, pl. xxxi; Lanzone 1885, pl. 376; Nibbi 1982, p. 55, fig. 1; te Velde 2001, p. 270.

21. DESCRIPTION: Donkey-headed Seth holding a bow and arrow.  
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michailides 1952, pp. 45–53; te Velde 1967, pl. XII.1.
22. DESCRIPTION: Archers, Harpooners, and Bowmen from the Amduat.  
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hornung 1994, pp. 725–730.

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