

TESTI
Antichità, Medioevo e Umanesimo

Latin and Coptic

Languages, Literatures, Cultures in Contact

edited by
Maria Chiara Scappaticcio
and **Alessia Pezzella**

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Direzione scientifica

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Notes on the Formula *Sator Areto* in the Late Antique Egypt*

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Palindromes, acrostics, cryptograms and word games in general have been popular in every time, since they fascinate and stimulate the curiosity and talent of their readers¹.

One of the oldest and most famous acrostics in Latin is the Sator-acrostic, made up of five words inscribed into a square, in the following order: *Rotas Opera Tenet Arepo Sator*. Alternatively, according to a more recent version, it can be proposed that these five words were arranged in a very slightly different order: *Sator Arepo Tenet Opera Rotas*².

* The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program (Grant agreement no. 636983); ERC-PLATINUM project, University of Naples 'Federico II' – Principal Investigator: M.C. Scappaticcio.

¹ For an overview of ancient palindromes, *carmina figurata* and acrostics see M. Guarducci, *Dal gioco letterale alla crittografia mistica*, in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II.16.2, cur. W. Haase, Berlin - New York 1978, pp. 1736-1773. More specifically, on Pompeii attestations see R.R. Benefiel, *Magic Squares, Alphabet Jumbles, Riddles and More: The Culture of Word-Games among the Graffiti of Pompeii*, in *The Muse at Play: Riddles and Wordplay in Greek and Latin Poetry*, cur. J. Kwapisz, D. Petrain, M. Szymanski, Berlin - Boston 2013, pp. 65-79.

² The bibliography on the topic is particularly broad and is characterized by different perspectives, some of them nowadays are now outda-

This formula is usually inscribed into a square, with each word on a single line; it is thus known as a magical square as well, and it can be read in every direction. It had a particular fortune not only in the ancient world but also in the modern era up to the present day. For instance, *Sator Arepo eccetera* is the title of the volume of Umberto Eco, published in 2006, that includes several acrostics and riddles.

Scholars have considerably disputed on the nature of the formula and the context in which it was created, and they have proposed different solutions and interpretations; for this reason, they concentrated their interest largely on the most ancient instances of this acrostic. However, it is also worth evaluating the history of the formula, its changes, and its re-elaborations in different contexts of the ancient world.

This paper aims to investigate the instances of the Sator-formula in Coptic circles on the basis of papyrological evidence from Late Egypt. The occurrences – which are very numerous – show both the tenacity of the main features and their changes through time. Through a selection of important instances, this paper will try to elucidate the circulation of the formula and, thus, of the Latin language in Coptic environments.

1. *Structure, Origin, and Significance of the Formula*

Before discussing the Egyptian papyri, it is useful to specify some points about the original purpose of the formula and the con-

ted. At any rate, the works of M. Guarducci, *Il misterioso «quadrato magico». L'interpretazione di Jérôme Carcopino e documenti nuovi*, «Rivista di Archeologia Classica», 17 (1965), pp. 219-270 and J.G. Griffiths, 'Arepo' in the Magic 'Sator' Square, «The Classical Review», 21.1 (1971), pp. 6-8 remain valid. See also the very useful study of C. Kreuzsaler, *Die Magie im Sator-Quadrat*, in *Orakelsprüche, Magie und Horoskope. Wie Ägypten in die Zukunft sah*, cur. A. Zdiarsky, Wien 2015, pp. 43-52, with previous bibliography.

text in which it was particularly highly conceived; this will help to explain its use in Coptic Egypt.

The formula, as is well-known, is made up of five words, each of five letters, which are usually written underneath one another. These words can be read in each direction (horizontally from left to right and vice versa, and vertically from the top to the bottom and vice versa) but their order does not change. Moreover, the third word *Tenet* is a perfect palindrome.

As discussed above, the surviving evidence shows both the sequence starting with *Rotas* and *Opera*, and the sequence with *Sator* and *Arepo* in first position. The most ancient occurrences from Pompeii demonstrate that the former version is the original version. The ruins of the Campanian city preserve two instances of the acrostic: the former was discovered in the domus of *Publius Pasquius Proculus* together with other graffiti and was published by Matteo Della Corte in 1929³. The latter – preserved in its entirety – was read by the same scholar shortly after, in 1936, on a column of the *palaestra* near the amphitheatre; this was scratched together with other inscriptions (alphabets, Virgilian verses and greetings)⁴. Both these instances show that the formula was created before AD 79 and through the 1st century AD it was sufficiently well known and widespread that it was written on the walls.

There are further occurrences, coming from other contexts, that attest to the same order of the words: a graffito written on a brick has been discovered in Conimbriga (now Coimbra), and is

³ M. Della Corte, *Pompei: Epigrafi della casa di P. Paquio Proculo* (Reg. I, Ins. VII n. 1), «Notizie e Scavi» (1929), pp. 354-476, esp. 449 n. 112. See also *CIL* IV Suppl. 8123.

⁴ M. Della Corte, *Il crittogramma del ‘Pater Noster’ rinvenuto a Pompei*, «Rendiconti della Pontifica Accademia Romana di Archeologia», 12 (1936), pp. 397-400; Id., *Le iscrizioni della «grande palestra» ad occidente dell’anfiteatro*, «Notizie e Scavi» (1939), pp. 239-327; then *CIL* IV Suppl. 8623.

datable to the 1st century AD as well⁵. Other instances come from Aquincum (now Altófen, near Budapest), on shingle found among the ruins of the palace of the *legatus provinciae*, and from *Mamucium* (now Manchester), on a fragmentary amphora⁶.

Other instances which deserve a mention were discovered at Dura-Europos on the Euphrates, in Syria, during the Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters campaign of 1932-1933: the formula was repeated four times, together with other graffiti, on the walls of a room in the temple of Artemis Azzanathkona. Such a room served as an office and archive of the *actuarii* – who were in charge of the accounting system and documentation in general – of the *cobors XX Palmyrenorum* which was stationed at Dura in the first half of the 3rd century AD⁷. Consequently, the instances must have been inscribed before the destruction of the site in AD

⁵ See *Fouilles de Conimbriga. II. Épigraphie et sculpture*, edd. R. Etienne, G. Fabre, P. Lévêque, M. Lévêque, Paris 1976, n. 372. Published also as *AE* 1975, 493.

⁶ The formula from Aquincum was published by J. Szilágyi, *Ein Ziegelstein mit Zauberformel aus dem Palast des Statthalters*, «Acta antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae», 2 (1954), pp. 305-310. This scholar suggests dating the instance to the early 2nd century AD on the basis of the paleographic features and the archaeological context. See also *AE* 1956, 63 = 2000, 1221. On the formula discovered in 1978 at Mamucium and dated to the 2nd century AD see R. Goodburn, M.W.C. Hassall, R.S.O. Tomlin, *Roman Britain in 1978, II: Inscriptions*, «Britannia», 10 (1979), pp. 339-356, esp. 353 n. 34.

⁷ See M.I. Rostovtzeff, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of Fifth Season of Work*, New Haven 1934, pp. 159-161 n. 481; Id., *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of Sixth Season of Work*, New Haven 1936, p. 486 n. 809. In this same room, the papyri were also discovered which are published by *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report, V 1. The Parchments and Papyri. With an Account of Three Fragments by W.B. Henning*, edd. C.B. Welles, R.O. Fink, J.F. Gilliam, New Haven 1959.

256. Among these, three are written in the Latin alphabet, and the fourth one is in Greek letters.

Lastly, a further instance of the formula was found in Rome, on a wall of the *macellum Liviae* – under the Cathedral of Santa Maria Maggiore and in association with other acrostics – which can be dated between the 3rd and 4th century AD; to this same chronological scenario belongs an instance that was read among the ruins of Corinium Dobunorum, (near Cirencester), in the countship of Gloucester, within a private house⁸.

Since all these examples of the formula start with the words *Rotas Opera*, one can conclude that this sequence was the original one. By contrast, there is no ancient occurrence in which *Sator Areto* are written first which is known until now; all occurrences showing a different order of the words can be dated to the 4th or 5th century AD⁹.

Furthermore, the evidence shows us the incredible popularity of the acrostic during the first three centuries AD, not only in different geographical contexts, but also in different social environments: together with a private use of the acrostic, some instances clearly point to the public sphere, and particularly to the military (Dura-Europos) and administrative bureaucracy (Aquincum). At the same time, it is interesting to note that in some of the contexts (Pompeii, Dura-Europos and Rome), the acrostic was written together with other palindromes, verses and cryptograms.

This point assumes value when one considers the controversial question of the possible – pagan or Christian – origin of the formula. On this topic, scholars have suggested several and very different hypotheses, mostly based on the word *Arepo*. Since it does not exist

⁸ On the formula preserved by *macellum Liviae* cfr. P. Castrén, *Appendice*, in *Il calendario dipinto sotto Santa Maria Maggiore, con appendice sui graffiti del vano XVI a cura di Paavo Castrén*, cur. F. Magi, Roma 1972, pp. 77-78. On the other instance see R.G. Collingwood, *The Archaeology of Roman Britain*, London 1930, p. 176.

⁹ Guarducci, *Il misterioso «quadrato magico»* cit., p. 226.

in Latin, some scholars believed that it was a Celtic word, very similar to the noun *arepennis* that occurs in the work of Columella and is equivalent to the Latin *semiingerum*¹⁰. On this basis, they reconstructed a hypothetical *arepos*, which would be *arepus* in Latin, meaning the plough; such a meaning seemed to be related to the significance of «seeder» expressed by the word *Sator*¹¹.

Alternatively, some scholars have speculated that the word *Arepo* makes references to the *Harpocrates*¹², the Mithraic cults, Orphism, Pythagorean philosophy and the Hebrew religion¹³. Such different interpretations depend on the different ways of dividing the single words or of rearranging the single letters. The majority of scholars were in favour of the Christian origin of the acrostic: through a different order of the five words, it is possible

¹⁰ Colum. 5, 1, 6, 4: «*At Galli candetum appellant in areis urbanis spatium centum pedum, in agrestibus autem pedum CL, quod aratores candetum nominant; semiingerum quoque arepennem vocant*».

¹¹ Such a theory has been formulated mostly by J. Carcopino, *Études d'histoire chrétienne: le Christianisme secret du carré magique; les fouilles de Saint-Pierre et la tradition*, Paris 1953, pp. 9-102, to prove the Christian origin of the formula, that would be created by St. Ireneus during the persecutions in Lyons of AD 177.

¹² See especially M. Markovich, *Georgos Harpon (Knopyphi) Harpos*, «*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*», 50 (1983), pp. 155-171 (rist. in Id., *Studies in Graeco-Roman Religions and Gnosticism*, Leiden 1988, pp. 28-46) and G.M. Browne, *Arepotenet = Harpocrates*, «*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*», 52 (1983), p. 60, with other bibliographical references.

¹³ On the Mithraic hypothesis see for instance W.O. Moeller, *The Mithraic Origin and Meanings of the Rotas-Sator Square*, Leiden 1973. On the formula and Orphism see S. Eitrem, *The Sator Arepo-formula once more*, «*Eranos*», 48 (1950), pp. 73-74. On the Hebrew origin see lastly N. Vinel, *Le judaïsme caché du carré SATOR de Pompéi*, «*Revue de l'histoire des religions*», 223 (2006), pp. 173-193.

to obtain the formula *Pater noster* (repeated twice), together with the two Apocalyptic letters *A* and *O*; moreover, according to the same scholars, the formula would contain Christ’s cross, which is featured by the letter *T* repeated four times¹⁴. On the basis of these coincides, the theory of the Christian origin of the acrostic achieved a considerable success among scholars: the acrostic would have been created by the first communities and used by them as a company sign during the persecutions.

Such a theory – as well as the other ones that are in favour of a religious origin of the formula – was rejected by the work of Margherita Guarducci in 1965: starting from the most ancient instances in Pompeii, the epigraphist showed that in origin the formula had no one religious significance; it was born in pagan contexts and worked only as pastime, in a similar way to other acrostics.

It is likely that the formula came from the word *Rotas* and its palindrome *Sator*, which feature the ‘frame’ of the formula itself; then the verb *Tenet* was added, given the presence of the letter *T* in the four sides. Consequently, the letters *O* and *A* appeared in second position and gave rise to the word *Opera*. Its palindrome was *Arepo*, which was inserted despite its absence of meaning. Like other palindromes, acrostics and *carmina figurata*, the Sator-formula was born simply by combining the letters of the alphabet¹⁵.

Only afterwards was the formula adopted by Christian milieu, where it had a great fortune and was inscribed both on the walls of buildings and churches, and on objects (amulets), both alone and together with prayers and other formulas of blessing. Such fortune of the formula was very likely due to its apotropaic and positive val-

¹⁴ This theory was expressed for the first time by F. Grosser, *Ein neuer Vorschlag zur Deutung des Sator-Formel: Pater Noster*, «Archiv für Religionswissenschaft», 24 (1926), pp. 165-169.

¹⁵ Guarducci, *Il misterioso «quadrato magico»* cit., pp. 226-240. See also M. Guarducci, *Il misterioso Arepo*, in *Miscellanea etrusca e italica in onore di Massimo Pallottino* = «Archeologia Classica», 43 (1991), pp. 589-596.

ue: read all together and with their particular arrangement, the five words were believed to be a cure against fevers, illness and difficulties; they had to stimulate a general fascination and mostly a sense of the mystery in their readers.

It cannot be ruled out that the formula had already assumed a magic-apotropaic value perhaps also in pagan contexts; it is, however, certain that the Christians used it mostly as a sort of remedy against the Evil and the adversities in general¹⁶.

This same significance explains the longevity and the popularity of the Sator-formula through time and in different fields, such as the medicine and the magical practice.

2. *The Formula in Coptic Egypt*

2.1. *From Sator Arepo to Sator Areto*

The idea that the acrostic had a magical force which could remove difficulties and illnesses clarifies its use and fortune in Late Egypt and in Coptic environments as well. The surviving Coptic evidence is particularly rich and covers a large chronological period from the 5th to the 11th century.

Given this scenario, all Coptic instances show the version starting with *Sator Arepo*. Moreover, such instances attest to an important change in the formula: the Latin *Arepo* and *Opera* are writ-

¹⁶ Scholars have deeply debated about ancient magic and early Jewish-Christian relations, focusing on differences, on syncretism and common features. More recently, the idea of boundaries between magic and early Judaism and Christianity has been put in question by the material evidence. In this respect, see e.g., J.E. Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits on Amulets from Late Antique Egypt. Text, Typology, and Theory*, Tübingen 2014; further bibliography is listed by J.E. Sanzo on the site of his ERC project (Grant agreement no. 851466: <https://pric.unive.it/projects/ejcm/home>, l.a. 20/10/2021).

ten with *tau*, thus appearing as *Areto* and *Otera*¹⁷. This change is very useful for us in evaluating the extant evidence: generally, in the instances in which the formula is written alone, we cannot be completely certain if the alphabet is Greek or Coptic because no one of the additional Coptic signs is used. However, the variant with *Areto* and *Otera* permits us to reach a certain linguistic classification.

It remains uncertain if such a variant was made intentionally or not. The same arguments can be used in favour of both hypotheses. On the one hand, the graphical interchange between the two letters – very similar among them – could be made as a mechanical mistake; on the other hand, such interchange could be inserted because it caused a further symmetry within the formula itself with the triple *tau*. Despite this question, it is however certain that the variant with *Areto* and *Otera* gave the impression that the formula now had a stronger and superior magical value and, thus, stood out through the centuries.

2.2. Instances of the Formula Alone

In the Coptic milieu the formula is often attested alone and, in these cases, it is written in a square, in as similar way to the most ancient instances.

This is shown by an ostrakon kept in the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung of Berlin, numbered as P. 982. The piece was donated to the Museum by the consul Gustav Travers in 1897; its provenance remains unknown. It preserves all four margins, and the ink is very legible; the script is clear and traced slowly with a soft calamus; the big letters suggest the 7th century as its date¹⁸. The five

¹⁷ A.M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte. Vol. III: Einleitung in koptische Zaubertexte*, Bruxelles 1930, pp. 203; 222.

¹⁸ See the edition of A. Bastian, *Die Sator-Arepo-Formel*, «Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik», 13 (1881), pp. 35-36, esp. 35 (who suggested a 4th-5th century AD dating) and of W. Beltz, *Noch zwei Berliner Sator-Amulette*, «Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete», 24-25 (1976), pp. 129-134, esp. 131. The verb *Tenet* shows the use of *ei* and then of *eta*.

words are perfectly inscribed in a square, complete with all borders, both the exterior and interior ones.

The geometrical form is attested in other instances, both on papyrus and parchment. The Papyrussammlung of Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna preserves three items, numbered as K 2434, K 2435, K 2436 and acquired on the antiquarian market. All are parchment sheets and, on the basis of the palaeographic features, can be dated between the 10th and 11th century¹⁹. Similarly, the three items show the formula inscribed into a square with the horizontal lines only. In addition, in both K 2434 and K 2436 the formula is preceded by a cross; given the general resemblance, it is highly likely that these three pieces were written out by the same hand and belonged to the same owner as well.

A very similar instance, preserved by the same Collection and deserving a brief mention, is P.Vindob. inv. K 10336: the item consists of a papyrus fragment, written only on one side, along the fibres, and dated to the 11th century²⁰. It proves that, until this time, the formula was written in its characteristic square form.

All the aforementioned instances share a common and important feature: the formula is inscribed in the square, it occurs alone, without other religious or magical texts, and it occupies all the writing space. Together with these instances, the extant evidence also shows cases in which the formula is written alone and lacks its typical square; such cases, moreover, feature an 'obsessive' use of the formula, since it is written several times. This proves, again, that the five words and their particular disposition were perceived as a powerful and useful tool against difficulties.

¹⁹ See Kreuzsaler, *Die Magie* cit., pp. 49-50, and Zdiarsky, *Orakelsprüche* cit., p. 106 nn. 30-32.

²⁰ Kreuzsaler, *Die Magie* cit., p. 49. As noted by the scholar, the dating of this instance and of the other Coptic pieces is often on the basis of the script only and, consequently, should be regarded cautiously.

An instance of this use of the formula is preserved by P.Vindob. inv. G 46006²¹. It is a papyrus strip written around the middle of the 6th century AD: the Sator-formula is written three times, each word occupying a line itself; there is no graphical device to separate the three sequences, but the scribe was forced to reduce the height of the letters in the last sequence because of the lack of space. A mistake can be also noted in l. 10 where the word «*Totas*» was written in place of *Rotas*.

Despite the presence or not of the square form, it is clear that all these attestations worked as a personal amulet or charm to ward off evil or illness; papyri and parchments, in particular, were rolled up and worn attached to the neck. This is proved by the (small) dimensions of the items and the signs of wrinkles, which are well visible in, for instance, P.Vindob. inv. K 2436.

2.3. *Instances with Prayers, Magic Texts, and Other Formulas*

The Egyptian evidence shows that the formula was also used together with other texts, both religious and magical ones, and with other palindromes and acrostics too.

A similar use can be noted, for instance, in a parchment fragment preserved in Berlin (inv. P. 8096) and dated to the 7th century²². Each word of the formula occupies a line itself; then the magic words «*μουλαλ βουλαλ θουλαλ*» follow, which were used to invoke angels and demons; in addition, the Apocalyptic letters *alpha* and *omega* were written out, together with the letter *chi*, repeated several times, as it indicates Christ's cross. Lastly, the vocalic sequence, the symbol of the seven planets and thus of God, was written.

A further example is *P.Bad.* V 138²³, a paper strip of the Institut für Papyrologie in Heidelberg, bought on the antiquarian market

²¹ Zdiarsky, *Orakelsprüche* cit., p. 106 n. 33.

²² See Beltz, *Noch zwei* cit., pp. 132-134.

²³ *P.Bad.* V, pp. 397-399.

by Carl Schmidt in 1930 and published in 1934 by Friedrich Bilabel. The large and clear script points to the 11th century as dating. The text starts with an invocation, followed immediately by the Sator-formula.

Some instances appear to be more interesting for us, since they attest not only the simple juxtaposition of the acrostic with other prayers and formulas, but they re-use it to create new texts. This is shown by an *Oxyrhynchus papyrus* kept in the Sackler Library of Oxford (inv. 39 5B. 125/A) and assigned to the 11th century²⁴. The formula – in which the word $\omega\tau\eta\rho\omega$ was erroneously written in place of *Otera* and repeated twice (ll. 4-5) – works as the beginning of a magic spell against malaria and illness in general; the charm covers further magic formulas and the vocalic sequence.

A further interesting instance is preserved by P.Vindob. inv. K 7093, a paper fragment, written by a skilled scribe during the 10th century²⁵. It preserves a prayer against physical pain and makes use of the Sator-acrostic as a sort of frame: the acrostic is repeated at the start and the end of the text, perhaps making it more effective. Together with this acrostic, indeed, the anonymous author added a further well-known palindrome, *Alpha Leon Phone Aner*.

In Coptic environments, the formula is attested also with sacred and religious texts; an example features in a papyrus sheet, of the *Papyrussammlung* in Vienna, inventoried as K 3178²⁶. The script, running along the fibres, is small in size and rapid in execution and suggests the 7th and 8th century. In order, the text contains several formulas of invocation, a quotation from the opening of the Gos-

²⁴ *Editio princeps* in A. Alcock, *A Coptic Magical Text*, «Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists», 19 (1982), pp. 97-103.

²⁵ See Kreuzsaler, *Die Magie*, p. 50; Zdiarsky, *Orakelsprüche* cit., p. 108 n. 35.

²⁶ S. Pernigotti, *Un nuovo testo magico in copto della Papyrussammlung di Vienna*, «Ricerche di egiptologia e di antichità copte», 6 (2004), pp. 131-138.

pels, combined with the Sator formula at ll. 16-17. It ends with an unclear section which seems to invoke the Virgin Mary.

Such examples – like the ones in which the formula occurs alone – served the same purpose: they worked as an amulet and tools against evil. Such examples, indeed, are small in size and show wrinkle lines. This is proved, again, by the last example of the present selection: P.Vindob. inv. K 8302, a parchment fragment written during the 10th century²⁷. The formula, placed in a single line and separated through a horizontal line, occurs with other two prayers.

3. *Conclusions*

The Egyptian evidence clearly shows the fortune and the popularity of the Sator-formula within the Coptic milieu. However, the Coptic communities did not limit themselves only to adopting the formula, but they also changed it: firstly, the Latin alphabet was replaced by the Greek one; secondly, the words *Arepo Opera* became *Areto* and *Otera*, with the result of adding to the symmetries and the magical power of the formula itself.

Until the 11th century, the formula was inscribed in its typical square; however, and more often, it was written in single lines. In comparison to the most ancient instances, the Coptic evidence clearly illustrates the religious / magical value assumed by the five words. All attestations were used as an amulet against physical and mental pain. This is made more evident by the instances in which the formula is written together with other texts and formulas.

Unfortunately, most of the surviving items come from the antiquities market and their provenance, remains, therefore, unknown. An exception in this respect is the papyrus inventoried as 39 5B.

²⁷ See Kreuzsaler, *Die Magie* cit., p. 49.

125/A and kept in the Sackler Library, which comes from Oxyrhynchus. In P.Vindob. inv. K 3178 some linguistic features are typical of the Fayyum and might reveal an origin from this area²⁸. However, no manuscript contains elements which suggest a link with one of the monastic contexts of Late Egypt. At the same time, the purpose of the surviving items – that is of the amulet – shows that they were conceived for private use only.

Lastly, the extant evidence leads to an important consideration concerning the knowledge and the circulation of Latin in Late Egypt. Of course, the formula did not require knowledge of the Latin language or script; however, no indications were found to suggest that the formula was perceived as an expression of a different linguistic or cultural identity. By contrast, it is perfectly integrated into the Coptic context. It is worth underlining, again, that the formula occurs in combination with other formulas, prayers, and magic texts in general. Such combinations perfectly reflect the multicultural context of Late Egypt.

One should admit that, in general, the texts preserved by the papyrological evidence are well-known and quite common; however, the Coptic items show that, often, the formula was not only juxtaposed with the other prayers and formulas, but it was given a new function and revitalised, becoming a single new text with the other ones.

This can be regarded as further (small) evidence of the larger contact between Latin culture and Coptic culture in Late Egypt.

²⁸ Pernigotti, *Un nuovo testo* cit., p. 132.