

Supplementum Magicum

Vol. II

(Suppl. Mag. II)

edited with translations and notes by
Robert W. Daniel and Franco Maltomini

This material is protected by copyright
law (Title 17, U.S. Code).



WESTDEUTSCHER VERLAG

Oxyrhynchos

III AD¹

T.Köln inv. 4.

ED.PR.: D.Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte. Nr. 12: Schadenzauber gegen zwei Athleten,"

Bonner Jahrb. 168 (1968) 108 f.

COMM.: ed.pr.

TRANSL.: ed.pr.

REF.: Jordan, "Survey," no. 157.

DESCR.: lead tablet consisting of a large fragment (8 × 13 cm) and several smaller ones that cannot be placed securely. The tablet was rolled and folded, and it is now cracked and corroded. Inscribed on one side only.

LOC.: Institut für Altertumskunde, Universität zu Köln.

To date this is the only known applied spell of Egyptian provenance directed against athletes: the persons cursed are foot-racers (δρομεῖς).² Charms of agonistic content from formularies are PGM III 1-164 (cf. 19 f., 41, 162 f.); IV 2159-63; VII 390-393, 919-924; XXVII. A list of curse tablets against athletes is to be found in D.R.Jordan, *Hesperia* 54 (1985) 214.³

Because of the tablet's poor and fragmentary state of preservation, the first editor gave only a partial transcription of the text (here lines 1-6 left, 1 right, 9 *fin.*, 12 *fin.*-20 *init.*, 21 *init.*, 22 *init.*, 23-25, 29).

The first 10 lines of the text were written in sections side by side: permutations of Ευλαμω in a column on the left side of 1-6, an invocation and the χυχβαχυχ logos on the right side of 1-10.

Diaeresis on iota in 17.

¹ IV AD according to the first editor.

² Another probable instance of curse against a foot-racer is Jordan, "Survey," no. 29 (from the Athenian agora); for an unpublished curse from Isthmia, see idem, *Hesperia* 54 (1985) 214.

³ Add the two defixiones against charioteers from Apamea published by W. van Rengen in: *Apamée de Syrie. Actes du colloque tenu à Bruxelles les 29, 30, 31 mai 1980* (ed. J. Balty, Paris 1984), pp. 213-233.

1	ευλαμω [	ἐπι]καλοῦμαι ἐπιτελ[
	υλαμωε [	] αν ὑπὸ γῆν
	λαμωευ [	] τονυολ υνπα
4	αμωευλ [	] νσα
	μωευλα [	] ιατη του
	ωευλαμ [	] τρο κα
	π ρ [	]αχυχ βαχυχ βακα
8	κ[	]βαχυχ[. . .]χυ
	αιωνα [	]χυχβαζαχυχ
	τον ου[	]χ [βα]δητοφωθι
	βασι βιβιωθ αρλ[	c. 10]φιλαλαωχακον
12	κοχλωκον οχλωιο[. .] λ [. .]	ακ κιαβ δῆσον, κα-
	τάδῆσον τὰ ν[εῦ]ρα, τὰ μέλη, τὸν νοῦν, τὰς φρένας,	
	τὴν διάνοιαν, τὰ τριακόσια ἐξήκοντα πέ[ν-]	
	τε μέλη καὶ νεῦρα τῶν περὶ τὸν [. . .] δν]	
16	ἔ[ν]τεκεν Ταειάς, καὶ Ἀφοῦν, ὃν ἔτεκεν [Ταεῖς,]	
	τῶν ἀθλητῶν δρομέων, ἵνα μὴ [c. 8]	
	μιν μηδὲ εὐρωστῆσαι, ἀλλὰ ἀγρυ[πνεῖτωσαν]	
	δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς καὶ ἀποβαλ[έ]τωσαν [παῖσαν]	
20	τροφὴν ἐπὶ κακῶσι καὶ νοῦ [c. 7]	
	ει ν αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἰχύ[ωσι δρα-]	
	μῖν, ἀλλὰ ὑστερίτωσαν ὕστε[c. 7]	
	καὶ κατὰσχεσ αὐτῶν τῶν περὶ [τὸν c. 5]	
24	ὃν ἔτεκεν [Τ]α[ειάς,] κ[αὶ Ἀφοῦν, ὃν ἔτε-]	
	κεν Ταεῖς, [c. 20]	
	ὑπ[ὸ] πάντω[ν . . .] υ[c. 10]	
	κρανειον ν[. .] ν κώλυσο[ν c. 10]	
28	καὶ ἀμαύρωσον αὐτῶν τοὺς [ὀφθαλμούς,]	
	ἵνα μὴ ἰχύ[ωσιν τραμῖν [c. 10]	
	καὶ ἐνεάδιν, ἀμαυρου [c. 7]	
	τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως, κύριε [c. 7]	
32	Αβρασαξ [	

17 ἵνα Pap. 20 κακῶσει 21-22 δραμεῖν 22 ὑστερείτωσαν
27 κρανίον? 29 δραμεῖν 30 ἐνεάζειν?

Fragments.

A

1 — — —
]cov [
 Αβ]ρααξ
 4]ρεν[. . . .
 — — —

C

1]χαρα[
]αι[
 — — —

E

1] . . . [
]αραη . . [
]αραβα . [
 — — —

B

1 — — —]ο . . [
] λ . ονδ[
]λλατ . [
 4] . . . [
 — — —

D

1]ινα[
]δεμ . [
 — — —

(Lines 1-6 left) *Eulamô ulamôe lamôeu* ¹⁴ *amôeul môleula deulam*. (1-10 right) ---
 I call upon you, fulfill (?) --- under the earth --- *achych bachych baka* --- *-bachych-* ---
chy- -chychbazachych- --- *ch badêtophôthi*. (11 ff.) *bapsi bibiôth arl-* --- *philchalôchakon*
¹² *kochlôkon ochlôio-* --- *-ak kiab*, bind, bind down the sinews, the limbs, the mind, the
 wits, the intellect, the three hundred and sixty-five limbs and sinews of ---, whom ¹⁶
 Taeias bore, and of Aphous, whom Taeis bore, and company, foot-racing athletes, so that
 they cannot run (?) nor have strength, but let them be sleepless through the entire night and
 let them throw up all ²⁰ food to their distress and --- of them, so that they do not have
 the strength to run, but let them come in behind, let them come in behind (?) --- and
 restrain ---, ²⁴ whom Taeias bore, and Aphous, whom Taeis bore, and company --- by
 all --- the head (?) --- hinder --- ²⁸ and dim their eyes so that they do not have the
 strength to run --- and be bewildered, dimmed --- by your power, lord --- ³² *Abrasax* ---.
 (Fr. A) --- *Abrasax* ---.

1-6 left *ευλαμω* --- *ωευλαμ*: for this name in the same arrangement,
 cf. 57, 8-13; Audollent, *DT*, 172, 6-12; 243, 1-6; 252, 13-18; 253, 22-27
 (in the last three places it occurs next to the *χυχβαχυχ* logos, likewise
 arranged in a column). On the name *Ευλαμω*, see 44, 17 comm.

In 1 the first editor read *ευ[λαμω]*.

1-8 right (in 8, *βαχυχ* only; the following *χυ* belongs to the main piece)
 are contained on a now independent fragment from the right side of the tablet.
 Apparently, there is no longer an exact physical join with 9 ff., but one can
 hardly doubt where the fragment should be placed.

1 right. Perhaps *ἐπιτέλ[ει]* or *ἐπιτέλ[ει][cov]*.

3-6 right and 7-10 left could be either Greek or magical words.

7-10 right. Parallels for the *χυχβαχυχ* logos in PGM, Vol. 3 (Index), p.
 242 f. (for *βαχυχ*, cf. p. 218). Ch. Harrauer, *Meliouchos*, p. 47 n. 50,
 suggests that the syllables in *χυχβαχυχ*, like those in the name *Βαιν-*
χωωωχ (see 15, 3-4 comm.), may have their origin in the Egyptian words
b3 'soul' and *kkw* 'darkness' (cf. also *βακαξιχυχ*, for which see 44, 15
 comm.). For other interpretations of the word, see Preisendanz, *Akephalos*,
 p. 37 n. 2.

11 *βιβιωθ*: cf. *Βιβιον*, on which see 44, 3-4 comm.

φιλαλαωχακον: part of the sequence recalls PGM III 505 *ἀλοούχα-*
κον, an otherwise unattested name of a bird.

12 *κοχλωκον*: cf. PGM IV 3262 *κοκλοτομ*; LVIII 27 *κοχλωτα*.

12-13 *δῆκον, κατὰδῆκον*: *δῆκον*, [κα]τὰδῆκον ed.pr. For the in-
 tensifying combination of simplex and compound, cf. 57, 34 f.; Audollent,
DT, 187, 56; van Rengen, cit. (above footnote 3), p. 215, lines 1-2; Youtie-
 Bonner, "Two Curse Tablets from Beisan," p. 54, line 2; also Audollent,
DT, 15, 19 *δῆκατε, συνδῆκατε*, 4, 7, 9, 14 *λύκατε, ἀναλύκατε*. On the
 phenomenon in literature, see R. Renhan, *Studies in Greek Texts* (Hypom-
 nemata 43, Göttingen 1976), pp. 22-27.

14-15 *τὰ τριακόσια ἐξήκοντα πέ[ν]τε μέλη καὶ νεῦρα*: cf. PGM
 IV 149 f. (Coptic) "I will bewitch her heart, I will bewitch the heart of her, I
 will bewitch her breath, I will bewitch her 365 members" (transl. by M.W.
 Meyer in Betz, *Translation*, p. 40; see also idem, "The Love Spell of PGM
 IV 94-153: Introduction and Structure," in: *Acts of the 2nd Intern. Congress
 of Coptic Studies. Rome 22-26 Sept. 1980*, Rome 1985, p. 197); Ziebarth,
Sitzungsb. Berlin (1934) 1042-45, no. 24, fr. III 5; fr. IV 3-6 *ἐλθατε* ---
εἰς τὴν κ[αρδίαν] *κὲ εἰς τὰ τριακόσια ἐξήκο[ντα πέντε μέλη]* *Γαμετῆς*;

Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 295 (*Cod. Par.* 2316, fol. 316r) ὀρκίζω σε, Βασκανία, - - - ἵνα ἐξάρης ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (the wearer of the amulet) πᾶν ἄλγος καὶ πόνον καὶ μετώπων καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν, κᾶν στόμα, κᾶν τράχηλον, κᾶν ὤμον, κᾶν χεῖρα κτλ. (mention of many other parts of the body) καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τριακοσίων ἐξήκοντα πέντε ἁρμόνων κτλ.; Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, pp. 246, 15-17 φεῦγε, δαιμόνιον πονηρόν, μὴ ἀδικήσης τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁδεῖνα· φεῦξαι καὶ ἀναχώρησον ἀπὸ τῶν τριακοσίων ἐξήκοντα πέντε ἁρμονίων αὐτοῦ; 90, 16 δὴνὼ τοὺς τζε' ἁρμούς; also 429, 15. According to Epiphanius, *Panar.* 24, 7, 4 (GCS 1, p. 264, 9-18), the Basilidian gnostics, who worshipped Abrasax (this name in Greek numeral-letters makes 365), maintained that accordingly the universe was composed of 365 heavens, the year of 365 days, and the human body of 365 parts, ὥς ἐκάστη τῶν δυνάμεων ἀπονέμεσθαι ἓν μέρος. *Pistis Sophia* 132 (p. 224, 16-18 Schmidt-Till) states that the 365 *leitourgoi* built the 365 parts of the human body, and *Apocryphon Johannis* says the same of the 365 angels; see M.Krause-P.Labib, *Die drei Versionen des Apokryphon des Johannes im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo* (Wiesbaden 1962), esp. p. 159 f. (19, 2-6). The 365 limbs of the body, of course, correspond to the deities who presided over the 365 days of the year. For other *melothesia*i (36 decans ~ 36 members; 12 signs of the zodiac ~ 12 members, etc.), see *RE* X A, s.v. Zodiakos, coll. 579-582 (H.Gundel); *XX.2*, s.v. Planeten, col. 2155 f. (W. and H.Gundel); *P.Oslo* I 1, pp. 41 f. and 140. (In some medieval exorcistic texts, the number of the limbs adds up to 362; see *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* III, s.v. Glieder, col. 866.)

15-17 τῶν περὶ τὸν - - - τῶν ἀθλητῶν δρομέων: it is difficult to decide whether the expression οἱ περὶ + acc. *nominis proprii* (on which see S.L. Radt, *ZPE* 38, 1980, 47-56 and 71, 1988, 35-38) is to be taken here in the sense of 'X and his associates, attendants, family, companions etc.', or simply as a periphrasis for X alone. Both meanings occur in the papyri; see H.C.Youtie, *TAPA* 89 (1958) 395 f. (= *Scriptiunculae* I, p. 305 f.). If 'NN, Aphous and company' is what the writer intended, then the expression will indicate the two athletes with other contestants, or the two athletes with their staff (trainer etc.), or the like. One may compare the defixio edited by D. R.Jordan, *Hesperia* 54 (1985) 214, no. 1 (= Jordan, "Survey," no. 24 = SEG XXXV 213), line 4, where a wrestler is cursed and "those with him" (καὶ τ[ο]ῦς σὺν αὐτῷ); cf. also the related tablets nos. 2, 3, 5, 6 (= Jordan, "Survey," nos. 25, 26, 28, 29 = SEG XXXV 214, 215, 217, 218).

16 Ταειάς : Ταείας ed.pr. For Ταειάς, cf. *P.Bon.* 39, fr. a verso, 11; *P.Cair. Isid.* 9, 91; cf. also Ταίās in SB I 3852; XIV 12190, 5; *P.Oxy.* XLI 2977, 9; XLVI 3295, 11.

Ἀφοῦν : Ἐφοῦν (unattested) ed.pr.

16 and 25 Ταεῖς: not registered in the onomastica.

17 ἀθλητῶν : ἀθλητέων ed.pr.

17-18 ἵνα μὴ [c. 8] μιν : ἵνα μὴ ἔχ[ειν αὐτοὺς δύνα]μιν ed.pr. Where Wortmann gave εχ[we see minimal traces, but can read nothing. The text might have run ἵνα μὴ δυ[νηθῶσι δρα]μῖν; cf. Audollent, *DT*, 234, 18-20, 44-46; 235, 12-14, 30-33, etc.

18-20 ἀλλὰ ἀγρυ[πνεῖτως] - - - τροφήν: cf. Audollent, *DT*, 289, 16 *auferas illis dulce somnum*, of race-horses; van Rengen, cit. (above, footnote 3), p. 215, lines 6-7 μὴ φάγωσι, μὴ πίωσιν, μὴ κοιμηθῶσιν, of charioteers.

18 ἀγρυ[πνεῖτως] : ἔγει[ρον αὐτοὺς] ed.pr.

19-20 ἀποβαλ[έ]τως [πᾶσαν] | τροφήν : κατά[ρχες πᾶ]σαν [αὐτῶν] | τροφήν ed.pr. The expression τὴν τροφήν ἀποβάλλειν can be paralleled by Diosc., *Eupor.* II 8 (III 244, 23 Wellmann) πρὸς δὲ τοὺς τὴν τροφήν ἀποβάλλοντας ἐπιτιθέμενος ὠφελεῖ σπόγγος, and *P.Oslo* III 152, 4 f. (a letter) πεπυρέχειν ἀποβαλὼν τὴν τροφήν; cf. also Macarius, *Serm.* 15, 1, 9 (GCS 1, p. 174, 23 f.) πᾶν δ' εἰς ἐὰν προεβέγκῃς αὐτῷ βρωτὸν ἢ ποτὸν ἢ διςτον, βδελύσσεται καὶ ἀποβάλλεται, and Dittenberger, *Syll.*³ 1171 (= *I.Cret.* I, XVII 17), 5-7 *κάρκας ἐνπύου[ς καὶ] ἡμαγμένους - - - ἀ[πο]βάλλειν*. These passages show that the phrase indicates not merely a refusal of food due to lack of appetite, but rather 'throw up', 'vomit'. This meaning of ἀποβάλλω is not registered in the lexica.

20 ἐπὶ κακῶσι (r. κακῶσει): 'to their distress' with final sense is preferable to causal 'because of a condition of distress'. The phrase has final sense also in *LXX* 2 Ma. 3, 39; Joseph., *A.J.* IV 294; Sozom. *Salam.*, *Hist. eccl.* VI 16, 2 (GCS, p. 256, 24); Eust., *Il.* 23, 212 (IV 606, 16 f. van der Valk). The word κακῶσι occurs in another curse tablet (from Hebron); see B.Lifshitz, *Revue Biblique* 77 (1970) 81 f. (= Jordan, "Survey," no. 163), lines 1-3 ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς χαρακτῆρα[ς κατα]κλίνε (r. -ῖναι) ἐπὶ κάκωσιν κτλ.; lines 5-6 κατακλίνε[τε αὐ]τὸν ἐπὶ κάκωσι(ν) καὶ θάνατον (so Jordan; κακῶσι καὶ θανάτῳ Lifshitz) κτλ.

21-22 ἵνα μὴ ἰσχύ[ῃσι δρα]μῖν (r. -μεῖν): the restoration seems guaranteed by 29. Cf. lines 20-21 of the Athenian curse tablet against a wrestler

edited by D.R.Jordan, *Hesperia* 54 (1985) 218, no. 4 (= Jordan, "Survey," no. 27 = SEG XXXV 216) καὶ μὴ ἰσχύετω πρῶτως [παλαί]ειν (also lines 26-27 μὴ ἰσχύων ὅλως μηδέν); cf. also *ibid.*, p. 252 (= "Survey," no. 38 = SEG XXXV 227, possibly a love charm), lines 26-27 ἵνα μὴ ἰσχύῃ μηκέτι ἀναστῆναι, μὴ περιπατῆσαι, κτλ.

22 ὑπερίτωσαν (r. ὑπερείτωσαν) ὑπε[c. 7] : ὑπερίν ed.pr. Cf. Xen., *Mem.* 3, 5, 13 ἀθληταί τινες - - - ὑπερίζουσι τῶν ἀντιπάλων.

ὑπε[c. 7]: perhaps once again ὑπε[ρείτωσαν], an emphatic repetition.

23 κατάχρεσ: probably an accusative is lost in the lacuna in 25 (cf. PGM IV 372 f. κατάχρεσ αὐτῆς τὴν βρῶσιν καὶ τὴν πόσιν and the parallels 46, 20 f.; 47, 20 f.; 50, 55-57), though one cannot rule out that κατέχω is here constructed with the genitive object (see LSJ, s.v. I 2).

τῶν περὶ [: πᾶν [ed.pr.

24-25 [T]α[εἰάς,] κ[αὶ 'Αφοῦν, ὃν ἔτε]κεν : T[ακίας καὶ περὶ τὸν 'Εφοῦν, ὃν ἔτε]κεν ed.pr.

25 [: ἔχει [ed.pr. Perhaps τ[ῶν ἀθλητῶν δρομέων (cf. 17), but the trace is elusive. It is possible, however, that the tablet has suffered damage here since the first edition.

27 κρανεῖον: perhaps κρανίον; or ἡμ[ι]κράνειον (r. -ιον) 'headache'.

28 ἀμαύρωσον αὐτῶν τοὺς [ὀφθαλμοῦς]: cf. Audollent, *DT*, 241, 13 f. ἀμαύρωσον αὐτῶν τὰ ὄμματα ἵνα μὴ βλέπωσιν, of a charioteer and his horses; cf. also 252, 30 with app.cr. For the sense, cf. 234, 58-61 ἄφελε αὐτῶν - - - τὴν ὄρασιν ἵνα μὴ δυνασθῶσιν βλέπειν; 242, 57 f. ἀπόκνισον αὐτῶν τὰ ὄμματα ἵνα μὴ βλέπωσιν.

29 τραμῖν (r. δραμεῖν) : πα . . . ed.pr.

30 ἐνεάδιν: probably for ἐνεάζειν. For the verb, cf. Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.*, p. 251, 27-29 and *Etym. M.*, p. 340, 50, where, as opposed to LSJ s.v. ("strike dumb, astonish"), it appears to be intransitive. It is intransitive also in Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* 1, 3 (p. 15, 24 Butler). The syntax, however, is not clear; perhaps something like [ποίησον αὐτοῦς] stood at the end of 29.

ἀμαυρου . . . [c. 7]: first μ or ν; then indecipherable traces. Certainly a form of ἀμαυρώω, probably ἀμαυρουμέν[ους].

30-31. Probably ὑπὸ [τῆς αἰῆς δυνάμεως; cf. Audollent, *DT*, 187, 62.

Audollent, *DT*, 38.

ED.PR.: F.Lenormant, "De tabulis devotionis plumbeis Alexandrinis," *Rhein. Mus.* 9 (1854) 369-382.

REPUBL.: C.Wachsmuth, *Rhein. Mus.* 18 (1863) 563; J.Zündel, *Rhein. Mus.* 19 (1864) 483-496; Wessely, *Ephesia Grammata*, no. 244; E.Babelon and J.-A.Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris 1895), pp. 701-703, no. 2296; Wünsch, *DTA*, pp. 50-52; Audollent, *DT*, 38.

COMM.: ed.pr.; Zündel, *loc.cit.*; E.Kuhnert, *Rhein. Mus.* 49 (1894) 37-38; Wünsch, *loc.cit.*; Audollent, *loc.cit.*; K.Preisendanz in *RAC* VIII, col. 13 f.; Moraux, *Une defixion judiciaire*, p. 48 n. 1.

TRANSL.: ed.pr.

REF.: Preisendanz, "Zaubertafeln," p. 147.

DESCR.: lead tablet; 16 × 15 cm. Inscribed on one side only.

LOC.: Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. Inv. C 3844.

Ionikos curses Annianos for reasons that are not immediately obvious. Audollent stated that Ionikos wished to protect himself from being harmed by Annianos, and on p. 473 of his index "Defixionum genera et causae" he included the curse in the category "Causa defixionis obscura." On the basis of lines 9-10, Moraux suspected the text to be a love charm, and both E.G. Kagarow (*Griechische Fluchtafeln* [Eus Suppl. 4, Leopoli 1929], p. 51 f.) and D.R.Jordan (*Hesperia* 54, 1985, 223 n. 16) included it in lists of erotic defixiones. Preisendanz, on the other hand, regarded the text as a possibly juridical curse: "Das . . . Exemplar . . . sollte . . . einen Annianos durch Fluchwirkung seinem Gegner (vor Gericht ?) unterwerfen . . ." Perhaps these seemingly disparate analyses are not incompatible with each other.

¹ III AD according to previous editors.

Oxyrhynchos

III AD

T.Cairo Mus. JdE 36059.

ED.PR.: O.Guéraud, "Charme de haine, sur tablette de plomb," in: *Mélanges Maspero II* (1934-1937), pp. 206-212.

COMM.: ed.pr.

TRANSL.: ed.pr.

REF.: Jordan, "Survey," no. 154.

DESCR.: lead tablet; 19 × 15 cm. Inscribed on one side only.

LOC.: Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Chichoeis is to be rendered speechless in the presence of Herakles and Hermias, and he is to become the object of their hate. Although the use of disjunctive charms was frequently motivated by erotic jealousy (see 95 intr.), the present one clearly was not. One may compare especially PGM LXVI, which also establishes strife between one male and two others: εἰςβαλε τὸν Φιλόξενον τὸν ψάλτην μετὰ Γενναδίου φ(ί)λον εἰς μάχην. εἰςβαλε τὸν Πελάγιον τὸν πρεσβύτερον εἰς μάχην μετὰ Φιλοξένου τὸν ψάλτην.¹ Explicitly or implicitly indifferent to sex are the following passages from disjunctive charms in the formularies: PGM XII 372-374 δότε τῷ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα μάχην, πόλεμον, καὶ τῷ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα ἀηδῖαν, ἔχθραν, ὥς εἶχον Τυφῶν καὶ Ὁσίρις (εἰ δὲ ἀνὴρ ἔστιν καὶ γυνή· ὥς εἶχον Τυφῶν καὶ Ἰσις'); 458 f. ποιήσων τὸν δεῖνα διαχωριθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ δεῖνα; 463 διάκοψον [τ]ὸν δεῖνα ἀπὸ τοῦ δεῖνα; also PDM xii 50-61 and 62-75 (Betz, *Translation*, pp. 169-170); Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte I, M*, 82-84 (transl. II, p. 46); VBP V 123, 7-24.

The reasons that led to the use of non-erotically motivated separative charms can vary greatly. The present one, for example, might have been

written by someone who hoped to replace Chichoeis in business dealings with or employment under Herakles and Hermias. Another possibility is that the spell was juridically motivated: Chichoeis may be cursed with muteness so that he cannot speak out against his opponents in court (see 58, 8-9 comm.); and when it is said that they should "hate him with great hate" (13-14) and "not wish to see him at all" (16) this may mean that they should proceed against him with strong enmity and disdain. Given either of these hypothetical situations, it is noteworthy that Chichoeis and his mother bear Egyptian names, the two other parties and their mothers Greek names.

Even when disjunctive charms are directed against man and woman, the reason need not *always* have been erotic desire for one of the parties. On occasion the explanation may simply be malice, witness the divisive character of Iago in Shakespeare's *Othello*. On the other hand, a concerned parent, believing that his son or daughter has fallen in love with the "wrong" person, might also resort to a disjunctive charm.

A diplomatic transcription is given to illustrate the layout of the text by sections. A normalized transcription of sections D-G follows.

		A	
D	B	ερεικειειφθηαραραχααραηφθειεικειρε	
		ρεικειειφθηαραραχααραηφθειεικειρε	
		εικειειφθηαραραχααραηφθειεικει	
		εικειειφθηαραραχααραηφθειεικει	
		εικειειφθηαραραχααραηφθειεικει	
		εικειειφθηαραραχααραηφθειεικει	
		εικειειφθηαραραχααραηφθειεικει	
		εικειειφθηαραραχααραηφθειεικει	
		εικειειφθηαραραχααραηφθειεικει	
		εικειειφθηαραραχααραηφθειεικει	
E	F	μειτωερμιασνε	κατεναντι
		τεκενδιδυμητον	ηρακληουονε
		χιζωεινονεκεν	κενηρακλεια
		ταχωειμυρικωσα	μειτωσαναυ
		ταυτωνχιζωειν	τοντωμεγαμικημα
G	H	εικειειφθηαραραχααραηφθειεικει	
		εικειειφθηαραραχααραηφθειεικει	
		εικειειφθηαραραχααραηφθειεικει	
		εικειειφθηαραραχααραηφθειεικει	
		εικειειφθηαραραχααραηφθειεικει	
		εικειειφθηαραραχααραηφθειεικει	
		εικειειφθηαραραχααραηφθειεικει	
		εικειειφθηαραραχααραηφθειεικει	
		εικειειφθηαραραχααραηφθειεικει	
		εικειειφθηαραραχααραηφθειεικει	

¹ The three names and titles 'cantor' and 'presbyter' show that the setting of this spell is Christian; see R.W.Daniel, *ZPE* 89 (1991) 119 f. As to its motivation, see L.Koenen, *ZPE* 8 (1971) 199 note 1, and Daniel, *loc. cit.*

Sections D-G

- 1 μυρίκοσον Χιχόει(ν), ὃν ἔτεκεν Ταχόεις, κατέ-
ναντι Ἡρακλ(ή)ου, ὃν ἔτεκεν Ἡράκλεια,
καὶ κατέναντι Ἑρμίου, ὃν ἔτεκεν
4 Διδύμη· μισίτωσαν Χιχόειν.
μισίτο Ἑρμίας, ὃν ἔ-
τεκεν Διδύμη, τὸν
Χιχόειν, ὃν ἔτεκεν
8 Ταχόεις· μυρικώσα-
τε αὐτὸν Χιχόειν
κατέναντι
Ἡρακλήου, ὃν ἔτε-
12 κεν Ἡράκλεια·
μισίτωσαν αὐ-
τὸν τῷ μέγα μίσημα
{ταχὺ ταχύ}
16 καὶ μὴ θελήσουσι αὐτὸν βλέψαι ὄλος.
τονομυρίκοσον αὐτόν, τὸν Χιχόειν,
ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ, ἐν τῇ ἄρτι
ὄρᾳ, ἤδη ἤδη, {ταχὺ ταχύ}.

1 μυρίκοσον	4 Διδύμη· μισίτωσαν	5 μισίτω	9 αὐτόν
13 μισίτωσαν	14 τὸ	16 θελήσουσι	βλέψαι ὄλος
μυρίκοσον	19 ὄρᾳ		17 τονο-

(A) *ereikeiseiphthēararachararaēphtheiseikeire* (etc.). (B) *eiramnamachammarka* (etc.). (C) *akrammachamarei* (etc.). (D-G) Make Chichoeis, whom Tachoeis bore, mute over against Herakles, whom Herakleia bore, and over against Hermias, whom ¹⁴Didyme bore. Let them hate Chichoeis. Let Hermias, whom Didyme bore, hate Chichoeis, whom Tachoeis ¹⁸bore. Cause him, Chichoeis, to be mute over against Herakles, whom ¹²Herakleia bore. Let them hate him with great hate, ¹⁶and may they not wish to see him at all. Cause him, Chichoeis, to be mute in voice, on the present day, in this very hour, now now, quickly quickly.

Section A *ereikeiseiphthēararachararaēphtheiseikeire* in Schwindschema: on the palindrome see 54, 1 comm.

Sections B and C *akrammachamarei* spelled backwards and forwards in wing-shaped formations. On the magical name, see 10, 1 comm.

Sections D-G

1 μυρίκοσον (r. μυρίκωσον): cf. 8-9 μυρικώσατε and 17 τονομυρίκοσον; on the vacillation between singular and plural, see 44, 10 comm. Both μυρικώω and τονομυρικώω are *addenda lexicis*. Cf. Hesychius, s.vv. μυρικᾶς· ἄφωνος, ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχων ὃ μέλλει πράττειν, and μύρκος· ὁ καθόλου μὴ δυνάμενος λαλεῖν. Κυρακούσιοι. ἐνεός. ἄφωνος. On the basis of these passages, Guéraud suggested that the basic meaning of μυρικώω is 'to make mute'. He pointed out that the same verb is to be recognized in PGM XIII 239 f. ἐάν τινα θέλῃς μυρικῶσαι πρὸς ἄνδρα γυναῖκα ἢ ἄνδρα πρὸς γυναῖκα (cf. 242 διακόπτω τὸν δεῖνα ἀπὸ τοῦ δεῖνα). Cf. also 95 → 4 for a probable occurrence of a form of μυρικώω in a diakopos. For the general sense Guéraud compared Audollent, *DT*, 139, 1-14 *Quomodo mortuos qui istic supultus est nec loqui nec sermonare potest, seic Rhodine apud M. Licinium Faustum mortua sit nec loqui nec sermonare possit. Ita uti mortuos nec ad deos nec ad homines acceptus est, seic Rhodine apud M. Licinium accepta sit et tantum valeat quantum ille mortuos quei istic supultus est. Dite pater, Rhodine tibi commendo, uti semper odio sit M. Licinio Fausto*. Guéraud concluded that in the *diakopoi* persons are cursed with muteness so that they appear stupid and contemptible.

2 Ἡρακλ(ή)ου: cf. 11. On the name Ἡρακλῆς variously declined, see Gignac, *Grammar* II, p. 71 f.

14 μίσημα: a poetic word elsewhere attested only in the classical tragedians (see LSJ, s.v.); Soph., *El.* 289 was used by Aristophanes (see Kassel-Austin, *PCG* III.2, Fr. 175).

15 ταχὺ ταχύ: the writer added these words here when he found that there was no space available for them after ἤδη ἤδη in 19.

16 ὄλος (r. ὄλω): suggested by Guéraud in his commentary.

17 τονομυρίκοσον (r. -ωσον): τονο. Μυρίκοσον Guéraud (p. 210). Because μυρικώω apparently means 'to make mute', one should in all likelihood recognize a new compound, the first element of which is from τόνος. The sense must be 'make mute the volume of the voice'.

56

Oxyrhynchos

III/IV AD

P.Oxy. inv. 50.4B 23/J (1-3) b.

ED.PR.: E.G.Turner, "The Marrow of Hermes," in: *Images of Man in Ancient and Medieval Thought: Studia G.Verbeke ab amicis et collegis dicata* (Louvain 1976), pp. 169-173.REPUBL.: G.Giangrande, *Anc. Soc.* 9 (1978) 101-116 (= *Scripta Minora Alexandrina* 2, pp. 573-588); P.Gorissen, *ZPE* 37 (1980) 199 f.; C.A.Faraone, *ZPE* 72 (1988) 279-286; H.S.Versnel, *ZPE* 72 (1988) 287-292.COMM.: J.Gw.Griffiths, *ZPE* 26 (1977) 287 f.; Giangrande, *loc.cit.* and *Mus. Philol. Lond.* 7 (1986) 39-42; Gorissen, *loc.cit.*; Faraone, *loc.cit.*; Versnel, *loc.cit.*TRANSL.: ed.pr.; Giangrande, *Anc. Soc.* 9, p. 102; Betz, *Translation*, no. CIX; Faraone, *loc.cit.*, p. 285.

PHOTO: ed.pr.

DESCR.: papyrus; 8 × 8 cm. Written in a crude hand along the fibers. The back is blank.

The text seems to be complete, for there is blank space above the first line of writing.

Below the text, space of 3 cm.

LOC.: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

The nature of the simile magic at work in this charm was first recognized by Faraone: as a part of a mill turns and as an object is ground by a millstone, so Zetous also called Kalemera is to be forced to have a change of heart and mind.¹ As to the motivation of the charm, Turner and others suspected that it was erotic.² Turner compared the metaphor of 'turning' to Theocr. 2, 30 f.

¹ German folklore knows of similar uses of a mill: runaway servants or departed lovers return, and thieves bring back stolen objects, if a piece of their clothing is placed under a millstone (see *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* VI, col. 607).

² Turner proposed the following normalized transcription and translation: ὥσπερ στρέφεται ὁ Ἑρμῆς τοῦ μυελοῦ καὶ ἀληθεύεται τοῦτο τὸ πιττάκιον, οὕτως στρέψον τὸν ἐγκέφαλον καὶ τὴν καρδίαν καὶ πᾶσαν διάνοιαν ζητεῖν (τῇ) ἐπικαλουμένη(c) Καλημέρα. ἥδη ἥδη ταχὺ ταχὺ. "As Hermes turns in his marrow and vouches for the truth (?) of this chit, so turn the brain and heart and search out all the mind of her who is called Kalemera. Instantly instantly quick quick." Also Giangrande and Griffiths suspected that the charm was erotically motivated; since their suggestions are based on now rejected readings and interpretation, they are not taken into consideration here. (Griffiths' article,

χῶς δινεῖθ' ὅδε ῥόμβος ὁ χάλκεος ἐξ Ἀφροδίτας, / ὥς τῆνος δινοῖτο ποθ' ὁμετέραισι θύραισιν. That the brain and the heart of Zetous are to be influenced can also be paralleled in love charms, as e.g. 45, 7-9 ἔδῃα γὰρ αὐτῆς τὸν ἐγκέφαλον καὶ τὰς χῖρας καὶ τὰ ὑποχόνδρια καὶ τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν πρὸς φιλίαν ἐμοῦ Θέωνος.³ The present text, however, stands apart from the *defixiones amatoriae*, among other reasons, because it lacks explicit mention of love and sexual acts.

An essentially different background is suggested in the first place by a close parallel that is most easily consulted in Heim, *Incantamenta*, no. 221: *Ad fugitivos. In charta scribit dominus manu sua sive domina manu sua sinistra nomen fugitivi et de manu dextra scribat haec nomina 'pallachata παλλακατα σαππα' et ea(n)dem charta(m) mittes in mola(m) frumentaria(m) et ibi teratur.*⁴ The present spell, then, was most likely used by a master against the slave Zetous-Kalemera, who was probably fugitive or suspected of planning to run away.⁵ Already Turner pointed out that Kale-

nevertheless, remains valuable for its observations on Egyptian religious and biological conceptions about marrow). Versnel and Faraone dealt only with the nature of the simile magic and did not remark on its motivation. Versnel proposed what he himself called "an alternative, not a superior interpretation" to Faraone's, namely that a figurine of the god Hermes, perhaps made of marrow or fat, was twisted and bruised so as to influence Zetous.

³ The brain of the beloved is mentioned also in two other love charms (PGM IV 1543; XXXVIII 11), the heart of course dozens of times (see PGM, Vol. 3 [Index], p. 115, s.v. καρδία). The διάνοια of the beloved is not mentioned in the love charms preserved in the papyri.

⁴ From the sixth century Codex Vossianus L. Q. 9, ed. J.Piechotta, "Ein Anecdotum latinum," no. 189 (in *Jahres-Bericht des Königlichen katholischen Gymnasiums zu Leobschütz über das Schuljahr 1886/87*, hrsg. K.Hansel, Leobschütz 1887, p. xii).

⁵ For prayers against fugitive slaves recited by the Vestal Virgins, cf. Plin., *N.H.* XXVIII 3 *Vestales nostras hodie credimus nondum egressa urbe mancipia fugitiva retinere in loco precatone*; Dio Cass. XLVIII 19, 4 τοσοῦτοι γὰρ δὴ ἡτόμοιόνουν ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀεπαρθένους καθ' ἑρῶν εὐξασθαι ἐπιχεθῆναι εἰς τὰς αὐτομολίας. For Byzantine charms to force a fugitive slave to return, cf. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, pp. 12, 1-5 εἰς φυγὴν ἀνθρώπου. εἰς φυγὴν τινὰς ἀνθρώπος καὶ θέλῃς νὰ τὸν ἐπιτρέψῃς, γράψον ἀνάποδα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅπου ἔφυγεν εἰς καινούργιον κεραμίδιν ἀποκάτω καὶ τὰς χαρακτῆρας· καὶ βάλε το ἀπάνω εἰς μίαν πυροστιάν νὰ καῇ· καὶ γυρίζει ὁπίσω; 114, 15-19 (cited here in intr.). Astrological prognoses as to when and how fugitive slaves will return or as to when and where their masters can find them were composed by a Demetrius (*Cat. Cod. Asir. Gr.* I, pp. 104-106), Protagoras of Nicaea (*op.cit.* IV, p. 150 f.), and Maximus Astrologus (pp. 26-36 Ludwig; cf. the epitome on pp. 90-92). For numerological prognoses with the same concern, cf. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, pp. 143, 12-18; 151, 1-22; 453, 10-19; 455, 4-6. For a charm to cause a slave to run away, cf. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, p. 615, 13-16. A spell to make a fugitive slave indetectable: PGM IV 2145-54 τρίστιχος Ὁμήρου πάρεδρος· - - - (Homeric verses) τούτους τοὺς στίχους εἰς τὴν ἀποδράσας φορῇ ἐν σιδηρᾷ λάμπρῃ, οὐδεπότε εὐρεθῆσεται. A curse against someone who has caused another's slaves to run away is the lead tablet from

mera was a typical slave's name (see here lines 6-7 comm.), and Gorissen thought it probable that this was her status for another reason: the name of her mother is not given, which could mean that Zetous-Kalemera was a purchased slave of unknown descent. The use of the verb *τρέφειν* in lines 1 and 3 may also be an indication that the charm was directed against a fugitive slave; cf. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, p. 114, 15-19 *περὶ τοῦ φυγεῖν ἄνθρωπον. γράψον εἰς ἀγέννητον χαρτὶ 'Ξανακτροφῇ· 'Αβραάμ εἶχεν δοῦλον καὶ ἔφυγεν· 'Ισαάκ ἐζήτησεν αὐτόν· γεννηθήτω ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ σκότος καὶ ὀλίγημα καί, ἄγγελος, ἐκδίωξον αὐτόν, 'Αβραάμ, φθάσον αὐτόν καί, ὁ ἄγιος Θεόδωρος, τρέψον αὐτόν.*⁶

The slip of papyrus is in a relatively good state of preservation. Surely it has not passed through the works of a mill. It may be an exemplar of a text that was to be recopied and then used.

ὥπερ τρεφετε ο ερμης	1	ὥπερ τρέφεται ὁ ἔρμης
του μυελου και αληθετε του		τοῦ μυελίου καὶ ἀλήθεται τοῦ-
το το πιτακιον ουτος τρεψον		το τὸ πιτάκιον, οὕτως τρέψον
τον ενκεφαλον και την	4	τὸν ἐγκέφαλον καὶ τὴν
καδιαν και πασαν δια		καρδίαν καὶ πᾶσαν διὰ-
νοιαν ζητουν η επικα		νοιαν Ζητοῦν τῆς ἐπικα-
λουμένη καλημερας		λουμένης Καλημέρας,
ηδη ηδη ταχυ ταχυ	8	ἤδη ἤδη, ταχὺ ταχὺ.

Amorgos published by Th. Homolle, *BCH* 25 (1901) 412-430 (= IG XII 7, p. 1 = Jordan, "Survey," no. 60; see now H. Versnel, *ZPE* 58, 1985, 252-255).

For certain or possible references to slaves in the curse tablets, see F. Bömer, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom* (Akad. Wiss. und Lit. Mainz, Abhandl. geistes- und sozialwiss. Kl., Jhrg. 1963, Nr. 10), pp. 121-138. Like many others in recent generations, Bömer believed that magic was resorted to chiefly by the lowest social classes — a view that is gradually losing ground, and rightly so in our opinion. One should, therefore, not necessarily assume with Bömer that when a slave is the object of a curse, the operator will have been a fellow slave rather than the owner or another free man (see e.g. Bömer, *op.cit.*, pp. 124, 126 f., 134). Although a slave might have been cursed by another slave for various reasons, the person most likely to want to alter a slave's behavior and intentions is the slave's owner or someone acting on his behalf.

⁶ Cf. the use of *ἐπιτρέφειν* in Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, p. 12, 1-5 (cited above, note 5). Cf. also PGM XII 61 f. (as revised by Daniel, *Two Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 16 f.) *ποιήσον τρέφεσθ[αι πάντ]ας ἀνθρώπους τε καὶ πάσας γυναῖκας εὐπειθῶς μου (εὐπειθῶς μου Παρ.; ἐπὶ [ἐ]ρωτά μου Preisendanz).*

As the Hermes-stone (?) of the mill turns and as this chit is ground, so turn the brain and the heart and the entire mind of Zetous also called Kalemera, now now, quickly quickly.

1-3 *ὥπερ τρέφεται - - - οὕτως τρέψον*: for the *similia similibus* construction (*ὥπερ - - - οὕτως*), cf. 58, 8-11 and see Audollent, *DT*, Index VI E (p. 491 f.). As to the verb *τρέφειν* and the function of the charm as a whole, see intr.

1 ὁ ἔρμης: a rotating part of a mill, probably the millstone itself — to judge both from what one expects of the magical procedure and from the meaning that can be expected of words based on *έρμ-*. The cult of Hermes was connected with piles of stones and stone pillars, and the name of the god is etymologically related with words that have the basic meaning of 'stone' or 'pile of stones' — *έρμα*, *έρμαξ* (cf. the roughly synonymous *λίθαξ* and *μύλαξ*), *έρμαϊον*, etc. See M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I (Munich 1955²), pp. 503-505; Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 373 f., s. vv. *έρμα* and *Έρμης*; further literature in *Der Kleine Pauly* 2, p. 1069 f. Cf. also the proverbial *ἐν τῷ λίθῳ Έρμης* transmitted by Arist., *Metaph.* 1002^a 22 and 1017^b 7.

2 *μυελίου*: proposed by L. Koenen (see Faraone, p. 284 n. 13).

ἀλήθεται (Faraone): on this verb, which occurs also in PGM IV 3088, 3097, 3110, and P.Oxy. VI 908, 26, 34, see Gignac, *Grammar* II, p. 280.

6-7 *Ζητοῦν τῆς ἐπικαλούμενης Καλημέρας*: Gorissen first recognized the name *Ζητοῦς*, an *addendum onomasticis*.

Καλημέρα: read by H.M. Cockle (*apud* ed.pr.); attested elsewhere in the papyri only in a contract of sale of a slave (c. AD 300), SB V 8007, 4 *δούλην Α[ἰ]λα[ν]οῦν ὀνόματι Καλημέραν*. Cf. *TLL Onomasticon* II, col. 77, s.v. *Calemerus*: "nom. maxime servorum et servarum." Of the sixteen women named Calemera in Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom* I, p. 96 f., two belong to the category of slaves or freedwomen, fourteen are of uncertain status. A slave named *Καλήμερος* who lived in Palestine under the reign of Honorius and Theodosius II is mentioned by Sozom. *Salam.*, *Hist. eccl.* IX 17, 3 (GCS, p. 407, 19). *Καλημέρα* is a name of good omen comparable to *Καλόκαιρος*; see J.&L. Robert, *Hellenica* 9 (1950) 64-66.

57

IV AD¹

Provenance
unknown

P.Reinach II 88.

ED.PR.: P.Collart, "Une nouvelle tabella defixionis d'Égypte," *Rev. Phil.* 56 (1930) 248-256.

REPubL.: P.Reinach II 88 (P.Collart).

COMM.: Collart, *loc.citt.*; (line 1) Bonner, *SMA*, p. 169 f. (see also p. 104 for a general description of the text); (lines 4, 30 left, 32 right, etc.) H.C.Youtie, *ZPE* 21 (1976) 194 f. (= *Scriptuunculae Post.* I, p. 308 f.).

TRANSL.: Collart, *loc.citt.*

PHOTO: ed.pr., between pp. 250 and 251.

REF.: Jordan, "Survey," no. 162.

DESCR.: lead tablet; 16 × 20 cm (not 19 × 25 cm as indicated by Collart). Inscribed on one side only. A horizontal break at line 14 and at least four other creases show that the sheet of lead was folded five or more times. There are three holes in the lead: two at the left edge by lines 24-25 and 41-43, one at the right edge by 38-40. In the ed.pr. they are said to be nail holes, but their diameters (between 1 and 2 cm) appear to be too large for this.

LOC.: Institut de Papyrologie, Université de Paris - Sorbonne. Inv. 2063.

The present text is a θυμοκάτοχον or 'restrainer of wrath', a spell that is occasionally combined with charms for victory (νικητικά), subjugation (ὑποτακτικά) or silencing (φιμωτικά). The best study of such texts is by Th.Hopfner, "Ein neues ΘΥΜΟΚΑΤΟΧΟΝ," *Archiv Orientalní* 10 (1938) 128-148; see also the discussion by Bonner, *SMA*, pp. 103-106.

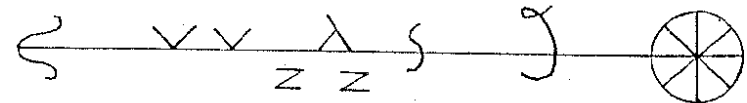
Other applied θυμοκάτοχα are 58; PGM O 1; Bonner, *SMA* D. 149; and the gem edited by Mouterde, "Le glaive de Dardanos," pp. 77-80

(described by Bonner, *SMA*, p. 105 f.). The θυμοκάτοχα are represented with greater frequency in the formularies: cf. 79, 19-25; PGM IV 467 f. (= 831 f.); VII 925-939, 940-968; IX; X 24-35, 36-50; XII 179-181 (cf. 278); XIII 250-252; XXXVI 35-68, 161-177, 211-230; LXXIX-LXXX (= now P.Prag. I 4-5). A wrath-restraining formula occurs regularly in the juridical curse tablets from Kourion on Cyprus: παραλάβετε τοῦ δεῖνα τὸν θυμὸν τὸν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔχει τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὴν ὀργήν.² 54 might be based on a θυμοκάτοχον καὶ νικητικόν (see intr. and line 37 comm.).

The present 'wrath-restrainer' is the only surviving example written on lead. Cf., from the formularies mentioned above, PGM VII 925 f. λαβὼν λεπίδα μολιβῆν ἀπὸ ζυγοῦ μούλων καὶ γράψον κτλ. and X 36 f. λαβὼν λάμναν (ἢ πέταλον) μολιβοῦν ἀπὸ ἡμιόνων γράφε κτλ.

Perhaps the most interesting detail in the text are the phrases in 36-37 that describe the deity in terms reminiscent of late ancient Platonism.

- 1 ὀρκίζω σε, νεκυδαίμων, ὅστις ποτὲ εἶ, κατὰ τῆς κυρίας Βριμῶ προκύνῃ Βαυβῶ,
νυκτοδρόμα, βιασάνδρα, καλεσάνδρα, κατανικάνδρα, λακί λακιμον
Μασκελλεῖ Μασκελλῶ Φνουκενταβαθ ορεοβαζαγρα ρηξίχθων ἱππόχθων
4 πυριτηγανυξ, κατὰχεται τὴν ὀργήν, τὸν θυμὸν Παωμίου, ὃν ἔτεκεν
[ἢ Τ]ισῶται, ἥδη ἥδη, ταχὺ ταχύ.



- 8 ευλαμω
υλαμωε
λαμωευ
αμωευλ
12 μωευλα
ωευλαμ

- 3 ορεοβαζαγρα: γ ex ρ 4 κατὰχεται

¹ V AD according to Collart's ed.pr., IV-V AD according to his republication. For comparable handwriting in a document dated to AD 372, cf. Cavallo-Machler, *Greek Book-hands*, pl. 6b = Schubart, *Pap. Gr. Berol.*, Taf. 39.

² These texts are best consulted as a group in Audollent, *DT*, 22-37, or in Mitford, *Inscr. Kourion*, nos. 127-142. For the specific passages, see Audollent, *DT*, Index VI D, p. 487, s.vv. ὁ θυμός, οἱ θυμοί, ἡ ὀργή, αἱ ὀργαί, or Mitford, *Inscr. Kourion*, p. 418 f., s.vv. θυμός, ὀργή.

- ναί, κύριε, εικισθαι φερμου Χνουωρ Αβρααξ Φγουννοβοηλ
οχλοβαζαρω
- 16 διὰ τὸ ἅγιον ερηκισθφααραχααραρηφθισικηρε
ὄνομα Ιωβεζεβυθ ρηκισθφααραχααραρηφθισικηρ
βύθιε Ζεῦ ηκισθφααραχααραρηφθισικη
ιωβαριαμβω κισθφααραχααραρηφθισικ οπλομυρτιλοπλη[ξ]
20 μερμεριον Αβρααξ ισθφααραχααραρηφθισι εξανακερων[ιθα]
εულαμω σικηρεαραχααραρηφθισ λαμψαμερω
εულαμ ωμαλυ ικηρεαραχααραρηφθι λαμψαμαζων
εულα μαλυ εულαμω κηρεαραχααραρηφθ βαρυ Ιαω [?]
24 [ευ]λ αλ υλαμω φηαραχααραρηφ οπλομυρτιλοπληξ
[ε]υ α λαμω ηαραχααραρηφ αναχαζα
ε αμω αραχααρα εξανακερωνιθα
μω ραραχααρα αναξαρναξα
28 ω αραχααρρ κερσφακερωνας
κατάσχεται τὸν θυμόν, τὴν αχαρ φαμεταθασμαξαρανα
ὀργὴν Παώμιου, ὃν ἔτεκεν ρχαρ βαρυ Ιαω ιακινθου
ἡ Τιᾶτε, ἥδη ἥδη, α κατάσχεται τὴν ὀργήν, τὸν
32 ταχύ ταχύ. θυμόν Παώμιος, ὃν ἔτεκεν
ἡ Τιᾶτε, ἥδη ἥδη, ταχύ ταχύ.
βελιας βελιωας αρουηου Ἀρουηλ Χμουχ Χμουχ· δῆσον, κατά-
δισον τὴν ὀργήν, τὸν θυμόν Παώμιος, ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ Τιᾶτε·
36 ὅτι ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν μέγαν σωματοειδὴ ἄσματος,
[τ]ὸν τὸ φῶς κατασπῶντα, τὸν κύριον τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως,
ιαωιωιαίου Ιαβορ Καβαωθ λενταμαουθ[?]
[ε]ρηκισθφααραχααραρηφθισικηρε Ιωβεζεβυθ [?]
40 μερμεριον Αβρααξ ιαηιαη· κατάσχεται τὴν ὀργήν, τὸ[ν]
θυμόν Παώμιος, ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ Τιᾶτε, τὸν νοῦν, τὰς φρένας
ὅπως μὴ ἀντίτη ἡμῖν, ἐμοὶ τ(ῶ) Ὀριγένει, ὃν ἔτεκεν Ἰούλλα ἡ καὶ
Θεοδώρα, ἀλλὰ εὐήκοος ἡμῶν γένηται, ἥδη ἥδη, ταχύ ταχύ.

29 left κατάσχετε 31 right κατάσχετε 39 Ιωβεζεβυθ: prius β ex ζ

40 κατάσχετε 42 ἀντίτη Ὀριγένει

I adjure you, corpsc-dæmon, whoever you are, by the mistress *Brimo*, *dog-leader* (?), *Baubo*, *night-roamer*, *subduer of men*, *summoner of men*, *conqueror of men*, *laki lakimou* *Maskellei Maskellō Phnoukentabādīh oreobazagra rêxichthôn hippochthôn* ¹⁴ *pyripéganyx*, restrain the anger, the wrath of Paomios, whom Tisatai bore, now now, quickly quickly. (Drawing with mag. signs). ¹⁸ *eulamō ulamōe lamōeu amōeul* ¹² *mōeula deulam*. Aye, lord, *sisisrō, sisi phermou Chnouōr Abrasax Phnouobōēl ochlobazarō*.

(16-32 left) Through the holy name *iōbezebyth*, *Zeus of the depths of the sea*, *iōbariambō* ²⁰ *mermeriou Abrasax eulamō* (etc.). ²⁹ Restrain the wrath, the anger of Paomios, whom Tisate bore, now now, ³² quickly quickly.

(16-31 middle) *erēkisithphēararacharaēphthistikēre* (etc.).

(19-33 right) *Hoplomyrtioplēx* ²⁰ *exanakerōniha lampsamerō lampsamazōn basym Iaō* ²⁴ *hoplomyrtioplēx anachaza exanakerōniha anaxarnaxa* ²⁸ *kerasphakerōnas phameta-thasmaxarana basym Iaō iakinthou*. Restrain the anger, the ³² wrath of Paomis, whom Tisate bore, now now, quickly quickly.

(34-43) *Belias beliōas arouēou Harouēl Chmouch Chmouch*, bind, bind down the anger, the wrath of Paomis, whom Tisate bore. ³⁶ For I call upon you, the great apparently corporeal incorporeal one, you who bring down the light, the lord of the first creation, *iaōēiō-iaieou Iabor Sabaōih lentamaouth erēkisithphēararacharaēphthistikēre iōbezebyth* ⁴⁰ *mermeriou Abrasax iaēiaēe*. Restrain the anger, the wrath of Paomis, whom Tisate bore, and his mind and wits, so that he not speak against us, against me Horigenes, whom Ioulle also called Theodora bore, but so that he be obedient to us, now now, quickly quickly.

1 προκύνη Βαυβώ : προκυνητε Collart, suggesting in the ed.pr. a form of προκυνητός (cf. P.Reinach II 88 "vénérable (?)"). Bonner correctly rejected this, and he pointed out that the reference to the present passage in LSJ, s.v. προκυνητός should be deleted (the same applies to LSJ, s.v. προκύνητος, which refers to the present passage only). The new reading was confirmed for us on the original by A.Blanchard (a certain first β followed by faint traces of four letters, of which the third is tall and broad enough to be another β). Cf. PGM VII 692 Βριμώ, ῥηξίχθων: προκύνη Βαυβώ, 885 f. προκύνη Βαυβώ; Bonner, *SMA*, D. 63 βρειμώ προκύνη ῥηξίχθων. As was pointed out by Bonner (*SMA*, p. 169 f.), προκύνη is probably an epithet of Hekate. For the possible meaning of the compound, cf. Poll. 5, 65 προκυνεῖν τὸ προῦλακτεῖν πρὶν ἢ τὸ θηρίον ἀνευρεῖν; *Anth. Pal.* 11, 322 (Antiphanes) = Gow-Page, *The Garland of Philip I*, line 774 (cf. II *ad loc.*) ξηροὶ Καλλιμάχου πρόκυνες; and the name of the

lesser Dog Star Προκύων. For the word under consideration, see Bonner: "As Προκύων is the star that goes before Sirius, Προκύνη is Hecate as leader of her pack of hellhounds ...; or else it is a noun strangely formed on the analogy of Προκύων and calls Hecate herself 'hound.'" The epithet of Hecate in PGM IV 2722 f. κυλακάγεια supports the former possibility, those in PGM IV 1434 κύων μέλαινα and 2251 ἰσopάρθενος κύων the latter.

2 βιαcάνδρα, καλεcάνδρα, κατανικάνδρα: see 42, 30 comm.

λακι λακιμου: cf. PGM VII 302 f. καὶ κατὰ (τῶν ἐπὶ) τῶν Τιμοριῶν τεταγμένων λακι λικιω λακιμου; XXXVI 345 f. καὶ κατὰ τῆς τούτου Ἀνάγκης λακι λακιω λακιω[υδ] λακιωδα. Both of these passages follow the Maskelli-logos; in the present passage the situation is reversed. K.Fr.W.Schmidt's suggested that λακι be equated with Egyptian *njk* "der Strafende" (see *GGA* 196, 1934, 172); this not convincing for linguistic reasons (H.J.Thissen).

3-4 Μαcκελλει Μαcκελλω - - πυριτηγανυξ: see 54, 27-29 comm.

4 Παῶμιου: the same genitive in 30 left, but Παῶμιος in 32 right, 35 and 41. The same man was called both Παῶμιος and Παῶμις, as was pointed out by Youtie (*loc.cit.*) with reference to other such instances, e.g. Ὠρος = Ὠρίων, Θεών = Θεωνᾶς, and Θερμοῦθις = Θερμοῦθιον.

5 Τιcᾶται (spelled Τιcᾶτε in 31 left, 33, 35 and 41): a new by-form of the well-attested name Τιcᾶτις.

8-13. For the permutations of ευλαμω, see 53, 1-6 left with comm.

14 ναί, κύριε: see 42, 35 comm.; add to the parallels PGM XII 106 να[ί, κύρι]ε as restored by Daniel, *Two Greek Magical Papyri*, p. xvii.

14-15. ciicrow ciicw φερμου Χνουωρ Αβραcαξ Φνουνοβοηλ | οχλοβαζαρω: cf. 42, 49-50 with comm. For the last word in the sequence, cf. PGM XII 167 οχλοβαραχω.

16 middle + 17-20 left ερηκιcιθφηαραραχααραηφθιcικηρε + Ιωβεζεβυθ | βύθιε Ζεῦ | ιωβαριαμβω | μερμεριου (repeated in part in 39-40): cf. PGM IV 1797-1801 ερηκιcιθφη αραραχααρα ηφθιcικηρε Ιαβεζεβυθ ιῶ βύθιε· βεριαμβω βεριαμβεβω· πελάγιε μερμεργου.

16-31 middle ερηκιcιθφηαραραχααραηφθιcικηρε. There are irregularities in the Schwindeschema in lines 21-23 and 27-31. On the palindrome, see 54, 1 comm.

17 left Ιωβεζεβυθ: a variant of Ιαβεζεβυθ. The latter, like Ιωβεζεβυθ here, follows the ερηκιcιθφη-palindrome in PGM IV 1798, 1999; VII 419;

LXVII 14 f.; Audollent, *DT*, 198, 7 f.; it follows after some unread letters in PGM III 448. Adducing evidence for the presence of Samaritans in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, Deissmann convincingly argued that Ιαβεζεβυθ reflects the Samaritan pronunciation of Hebrew *Yaweh Sabaoth*, which was usually transcribed as Ιαω Cαβαωθ (see Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, pp. 13-20; cf. Hopfner, *Offenbarungszauber* I, § 742).

18 left βύθιε Ζεῦ : βυθιεζευ Collart, but βύθιε - - πελάγιε in PGM IV 1799 f. (cited above on 16 middle + 17-20 left) guarantees the articulation. Cf. *Orph. hymn.* 63, 16 πόντιος εἰνάλιος Ζεῦς; Aesch., Fr. 46a, 10 Radt Πόσειδον Ζεῦ τ' ἐνό[λιε with the parallels adduced *ad loc.* 'Zeus of the depths of the sea' in the present syncretistic text can be regarded as Zeus-Helios and thus as the Egyptian sun god who was born out of the depths of the primeval ocean; see the note on PGM XII 229 ὁ ἐκπεφυκῶς ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ in Merkelbach-Totti, *Abrasax* I, p. 172 f.

19 right οπλομυρτιλοκλη[ξ]: also in 24 right. The elsewhere unattested magical word appears to be based on Greek elements. It is reminiscent of the more common νιχαροπληξ, on which see Bonner, *SMA*, p. 201.

20 left μερμεριου: quite possibly based on or related to Μαρμαραωθ, on which see 42, 52 comm. Cf. also 96 A 1 μαρμαριθῖ μαρμαριθε; 96 F fr. B 3 right μαρμουρ[; PGM IV 1801 μερμεργου; VII 482 μεριουτ μερμεριουτ, 487 f. μαρμαριουτι, 533 μερμερεω.

21 right λαμψαμερω and 22 right λαμψαμαζων: for λαμψ- and λαμπ- at the beginning of magical words and names, cf. PGM, Vol. 3 (Index), p. 225 f., s.v. Λαμψουρη (cf. here 38, 7 comm.), p. 260, s.vv. λαμπηαψ, λαμπιπυρρι, λαμφθεν, λαμψει, λαμψουωρ, λαμψη etc. The element -λαμ(ψ) also comes at the end of magical names; cf. e.g. 10, 4-5 Σεμεcιλαμ (see comm.) and 42, 41 Σεμεcειλαμψ. Cf. also Λαμψουηρ Λαμμηρ Λαμφορη in lines 4-6 of the protective amulet inscribed on a silver lamella from Boreae in Macedonia published by D.M.Robinson in: L.W. Jones (ed.), *Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of E.K.Rand* (New York 1938), pp. 245-253, discussed with parallels and reference to various etymologies proposed; see also P.Warren 21, 27 comm.

23 right βαcυμ Ιαω: also in 30 right. For βαcυμ(μ) and βαcημμ, often coupled with Ιαω, cf. PGM, Vol. 3 (Index), p. 218; βαcυμ also occurs in the Αωθ logos in 87, 10-11. The word is probably in origin Hebrew *bašem* 'in the name of'. Apparently it also came to be regarded as a divine name; see W.Fauth, *Oriens Christianus* 67 (1983) 70.

30 right *ιακινθου*: it may be pure coincidence that one can recognize the mythological name *Ἰακίνθου* = *Ἰακίνθου* (cf. *RE* IX.1, col. 7 f. [S.Eitrem] for the spelling with initial iota), for here *ιακινθου* follows the Hebrew elements *באֶסוּמִי־אֶסוּ*, and *Hyakinthos* is not attested elsewhere in Greek magical texts. In the Christian alphabetic *onomasticon sacrum* PGM P 14, 19 *Ἰακιν* is glossed *Ἰάω ἀνάστασις*. Possibly, then, for the present passage: *Ἰακιν* *θ(ε)οῦ*. For the element *ια-*, cf. Hieron., *Ep.* 25, 3 (CSEL 54, p. 219, 11 f.) on the ten Hebrew names for god: *octavum ia, quod in deo tantum ponitur et in alleluiae quoque extrema syllaba sonat*. Substantially the same in Hieron., *Tractatus de psalmis*, Ps. 146 (CC 78, p. 329, 10-14), and in a fragment attributed to Euagrius, ed. P. de Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (Göttingen 1887), p. 229.

34 *αρουηου*: in light of the following name, one might consider *Ἀρουη(ρ)ου* or *Ἀρουη(ρ) ου*.

Ἀρουηλ = *Ἀρουηρ*, on whom see 42, 49 comm.

Χμουχ: since this follows *Ἀρουηρ*, it must be a variant of the name of Chnum; cf. PGM IV 1576 *Ἀρουηρ Χνουφ*. On Chnum-Horos, see 42, 49 comm.

34-35 *δησον, κατάλδησον*: cf. 53, 12-13 with comm.

36-37 *τὸν μέγαν σωματοειδῆ ἀσώματον*, I *[τ]ὸν τὸ φῶς κατασπῶντα, τὸν κύριον τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως*: these phrases appear to reflect late ancient Platonic conceptions about the deity and creation. On points of contact between Neoplatonism and the magical papyri, see S.Eitrem, "La théurgie chez les Néo-Platoniciens et dans les papyrus magiques," *Symb. OsI.* 22 (1942) 49-79; E.R.Dodds, "Theurgy and its Relationship to Neoplatonism," *JRS* 37 (1947) 55-69.

36 *τὸν μέγαν σωματοειδῆ ἀσώματον*: cf. Iambli., *Myst.* 1, 17, which answers Porphyrios' question: *πῶς γὰρ δὴ ἡλιός τε καὶ σελήνη κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγον καὶ οἱ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐμφανεῖς ἔχονται θεοί, εἰ ἀσώματοί εἰσι μόνως οἱ θεοί*; Damascius, *De princ.* 132 (II, p. 11, 5-7 Ruelle) καὶ διττὸν εἶναι τὸν κοσμικὸν θεόν, ὡς τὸν ζφδιάρχη· τὸν μὲν οἶον δεδεμένον τῷ κοσμικῷ σώματι, τὸν δὲ ἀφιέμενον, καὶ ἀσώματον μὲν, προἱστάμενον δὲ τῆς κοσμικῆς ὕλης ζώης. For the words *σωματοειδής* and *ἀσώματος* in antithesis in Damascius, cf. *De princ.* 14 and 16 (I, p. 28, 22 and p. 31, 28 Ruelle). Cf. already Philo, *Opif.* 36 *ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀσώματος κόσμος ἤδη πέρας εἶχεν ἰδρυθεὶς ἐν τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ, ὁ δ' αἰσθητὸς πρὸς παράδειγμα τούτου ἐτελειογονεῖτο, καὶ πρῶτον αὐτοῦ τῶν μερῶν* - - -

ἐποίει τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁ δημιουργός, ὃν ἐτόμως στερέωμα προσηγόρευεν ἅτε σωματικὸν ὄντα - - - *εἰκότως οὖν ἀντιθεὶς τῷ νοητῷ καὶ ἀσώματῳ τὸν αἰσθητὸν καὶ σωματοειδῆ τοῦτον στερέωμα ἐκάλεσεν*, which is based in part on Plat., *Tim.* 31B-32C; cf. also *Tim.* 41D-E *ξυστήσας δὲ τὸ πᾶν διεΐλε ψυχὰς ἱσαρίθμους τοῖς ἄστροις ἐνειμέθ' ἐκάστην πρὸς ἕκαστον, καὶ ἐμβιβάσας ὡς ἐς ὄχημα τὴν τοῦ παντὸς φύσιν ἔδειξε, νόμους τε τοὺς εἰμαρμένους εἶπεν αὐταῖς, ὅτι γένεσις πρώτη μὲν ἔσοιτο τεταγμένη μία πᾶσιν κτλ.*; *Leg.* 898D-899B, esp. 898D *ἡλίου πᾶς ἄνθρωπος σῶμα μὲν ὀρεῖ, ψυχὴν δὲ οὐδεῖς*, and 899B *ἄστρον δὲ δὴ περί πάντων καὶ σελήνης* - - - *τίνα ἄλλον λόγον ἐροῦμεν ἢ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτων, ὡς ἐπειδὴ ψυχὴ μὲν ἢ ψυχὰι πάντων τούτων αἰτίαι ἐφάνησεν, ἀγαθαὶ δὲ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν, θεοὺς αὐτὰς εἶναι φήσομεν κτλ.* For the corporeal and incorporeal aspects of the divinity, cf. also PGM XIII 63 f. *τὸν πάντα ὁρῶντα καὶ μὴ ὁρώμενον* - - - 69-71 *οὐ οὐδεὶς θεῶν δύναται ἰδεῖν τὴν ἀληθινὴν μορφήν. ὁ μεταμορφούμενος εἰς πάντας, ἀόρατος εἰ Αἰὼν Αἰῶνος*.

ἀσώματον: cf. *ἀσώματε* in 65, 35 and PGM IV 1777.

37 *[τ]ὸν τὸ φῶς κατασπῶντα*: the verb *κατασπᾶν* was used by ancient Neoplatonists of 'dragging down' or 'forcing down' something from a higher to a lower realm; cf. Damascius, *In Phaed.* 170 (p. 103 Westerink) καὶ ὁ Προμηθεὺς ἐν νάρθηκι κλέπτει τὸ πῦρ, εἴτε τὸ οὐράνιον φῶς εἰς τὴν γένεσιν κατασπᾶν, εἴτε τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὸ σῶμα προάγων, εἴτε τὴν θείαν ἔλλαμψιν ὕλην ἀγένητον οὖσαν εἰς τὴν γένεσιν προκαλούμενος; idem, *Vita Isid.*, Fr. 12 (p. 15 Zintzen) εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὴν (sc. τὴν ἀπτικήν αἴσθησιν) τῷ ὄντι χθονίαν καὶ ἀντίτυπον καὶ κατασπᾶσαν τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὸν τῆς γενέσεως ἀέναντον ὀχετόν; Porph., *De abst.* 4, 13 (p. 250, 15-18 Nauck) *φθαρτὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν ὕλην οὐ μόνιμον αὐτῶν, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἀθανάτους ἀεὶ διαμένειν, καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ λεπτοτάτου φοιτώσας αἰθέρος ῥύμη φυσικῇ κατασπώμενας*. For the verb used similarly by Christian writers, cf. Lampe, s.v. 4b.

τὸν κύριον τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως: cf. PGM IV 487 f. *γένεσις πρώτη τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως αετιουω, ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς πρώτη ππ κτλ.*; also 742 f. Cf. also *γένεσις πρώτη* in Plat., *Tim.* 41E (cited above, 36 comm.); for Neoplatonic interpretations of this phrase by Iamblichus, an anonymous and Syrianus, see Procl., *In Tim.* 324C-E (III, pp. 277, 31 - 279, 2 Diehl). Cf. also Damascius, *Vita Isid.*, Fr. 174 (p. 149, 1-3 Zintzen)

ἦν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ πρώτη γένεσις τῷ ὄντι μυστική. λέγεται γὰρ κατελθεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς χεῖλεσιν ἔχων τὸν κατασιγάζοντα δάκτυλον, οἷον Αἰγύπτιοι μυθολογοῦσι γενέσθαι τὸν Ὁρον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Ὁρου τὸν Ἥλιον. Horos with his finger raised to his mouth is discussed by D.Wortmann, "Kosmogonie und Nilflut," *Bonner Jahrb.* 166 (1966) 68-70.

38 ἰαωηιωιαίου Ιαβop: the division and capitalization is ours.

Ιαβop: cf. PGM, Vol. 3 (Index), p. 222, *s.nn.* Ιαβαθ, Ιαβαι, Ιαβας, Ιαβε, Ιαβου, etc. These names are generally explained as deriving from the Samaritan pronunciation of the tetragrammaton (literature and parallels in Merkelbach-Totti, *Abrasax* 2, p. 163 on PGM V 102). Possibly Horos should be recognized in the termination -op. If so, Jahweh-Horos syncretized.

39-40 [ε]ρηκικιθφηαραραχααραφηθικηρε Ιωβεζεβυθ [?] Ιμερ-μεριου: see above on 16 middle + 17-20 left.

42 ἡμῖν, ἐμοὶ τ(ῷ) Ὀριγένι (r. -γένει): ἡμῖν, ἐμοὶ τώριγένι Collart. The omitted ω is more easily explained by haplography than by crasis, which in the Koine has become rare and restricted to a few stereotyped phrases; see Gignac, *Grammar* I, pp. 321-324. The writer's exemplar probably had μοι, ἐμοὶ τῷ δεῖνα; cf. PGM XIII 620 f. μὴ ἀποστραφῆς με, ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα; 39, 12 φιλεῖν με, ἐμὲ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον. On the use of ἡμεῖς for ἐγώ (cf. 43 ἡμῶν), see Mayser, *Grammatik* II.1, pp. 40-42. This generalizing plural may indicate that the writer included, e.g., his family, friends, or those who would take his side in a legal controversy.

Ἰούλλη: not in the papyrological onomastica.

43 εὐήκοος: more common is ἐπήκοος with the same sense; cf. 39, 6; 58, 11.

O.Bodl. II 2180 recto.

ED.PR.: J.G.Tait-C. Préaux, *Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* II (London 1955), p. 390, no. 2180 recto.

DESCR.: ostrakon (ribbed pottery); 16 × 12.8 cm. The magical text is written on the convex side. On the other side, in a different hand, an account of corn and wine (O.Bodl. II 2180 verso).

LOC.: on deposit at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Inv. O.Bodl. 1129.

Another θυμοκάτοχον. For parallels and literature, see 57 intr. Diaeresis on iota in 3 and 7; dicolon after a magical word in 3.

- 1 θυμοκάθυκων
καὶ νικητικῶν.
Ἰαω Ερβηλ ἰω Πακερβηκ:
4 Αβρασαξ πνουβουη
μεσκουλ κοφεμωλωλ
θοραξ.
L Ἰαω Καβαωθ Αδωναῖ Αβρασαξ,
8 ὥς ὡ λίθως οὗτος ἄφρονος
καὶ ἄλαλος, οὕτω καὶ πάντες
οἱ κατὰ μαι ἄφρονι καὶ ἄλαλοι
καὶ ἐπήκοοί μοι γένωνται.

1 θυμοκαθυκων· Ostr., I. θυμοκάτοχον 2 νικητικόν 3 dicolon in Ostr.
7 L in Pap. 7-11 in eisthesi 8 ὁ λίθος ἄφρονος 10 κατὰ με ἄφρονι
11 ἐπήκοοί

Antinoopolis¹

Plate IV

III AD²

Museo del Vicino Oriente, inv. 181/665.

ED.PR.: I.Crisci in: *Antinoe (1965-1968). Missione Archeologica in Egitto dell'Università di Roma* (Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente. Serie Archeologica 21, Rome 1974), p. 121 f. "Testo magico."

COMM.: ed.pr.

DESCR.: terra-cotta sherd from a shallow bowl; 16 × 8 cm. The letters were incised on the concave side when the clay was still moist. The bowl's original height was 6 cm, its diameter 33 cm.

LOC.: Museo del Vicino Oriente, Rome.

A potsherd from a shallow terra-cotta bowl inscribed to serve as a vessel for divination; as such, a unique document of applied magic.³

The sherd preserves part of a Schwindeschema and seven lines of a Greek formula that summons the great god. The top of the Schwindeschema runs parallel to the bowl's rim, about 1.5 cm below it. The design will have bottomed out roughly at the center of the bowl. The top of the Schwindeschema was originally 20-25 cm broad. The seven lines of Greek run parallel to the left edge of the Schwindeschema. The reconstructed text accounts for writing on about a quarter to a third of the bowl's interior surface; quite possibly more or all of this surface was inscribed as well.

The form of divination for which the bowl was used is *lekanomanteia*, a subcategory of *hydromanteia*: A vessel was filled with one or more liquids (usually water and oil). Various other substances and objects could be added, and mirrors were often employed. The vessel was exposed to the light of the

¹ Found to the northeast of the ancient city, close to the wall.

² IV-V AD according to the ed.pr.

³ For other kinds of magical inscriptions incised or written in ink on bowls, vases and lamps, cf. e.g. 51; PGM O 5; further material in D.Wortmann, *Bonner Jahrb.* 168 (1968) 81 note 12. See also Naveh-Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, pp. 19-28, 124-214.

sun, the moon, a lamp or a torch, and a god was summoned to enter it. The soothsayer or his child medium could see or even hear the god; as the one or the other gazed into the filled vessel he could foretell the future by interpreting the reflections on the surface or the slicks of oil on the water. Literature: *RE* XII.2, s.v. Λεκανομαντεία, coll. 1879-89 (R.Ganszyniec); Th.Hopfner, *Offenbarungszauber* II, esp. §§ 228-272; idem, "Mittel- und neugriechische Lekano-, Lychno-, Katopiro- und Onychomanteia," in *Studies Presented to F.Ll.Griffith* (London 1932), pp. 218-232; F.Cunen, "Lampe et coupe magiques (PGM V, 1-52)," *Symb. Osl.* 36 (1960) 65-71. For a discussion of this and related practices not only throughout late antiquity, but also among various peoples through the nineteenth century, see E.Lefébure, "Le Vase divinatoire," *Sphinx* 6 (1903) 61-85.

For prescriptions that specify writing or drawing on vessels for *lekano-manteia*, cf. PGM IV 3209-17 Ἀφοροδίτης φι(α)λομαντεῖον. ἀγνεύσας ἡμέρας ζ' καὶ λαβὼν φιάλην λευκὴν πλῆσον ὕδατος καὶ ἐλαίου, πρότερον γράψας εἰς τὸν πυθμένα ζμυρνομέλανι· ἥιοχ χιφα· ελαμ-ψηρ ζηλ αεθίουω' (γράμματα κε), ὑπὸ τὸν πυθμένα δὲ ἔξωθεν· Ὑαχηλ, χθονίη, δραξω' (γράμματα ιη), καὶ κήρωσον λευκῷ κηρῷ. εἰς δὲ τὸν κύκλον ἔξωθεν τὸν ἄνω· ἱερμι, φιλω ς ερικωμα δερκ[ω] μαλωκ γαυλη Ἀφροίηλ ἐρωτῶ; and 3247-54; Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, pp. 54, 1-6; 504, 5-12; 586, 5 f. Cf. also Griffith-Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, XIV 17 ff. (cited here is the translation of J.H.Johnson in Betz, *Translation*, p. 219) "You bring a copper cup; you engrave a figure of Anubis in it; you fill it with settled water guarded which the sun cannot find; you fill the top (of the water) with true oil - - ." Pliny knew of a similar practice: *N.H.* XXXIII 46 *tinguit Aegyptus argentum, ut in vasis Anubim suum spectet.*

The present inscription differs from those cited above in that it was incised when the clay was still moist, and the bowl was baked subsequently. This suggests that the artifact was used repeatedly. The person who commissioned it to be made was probably a professional diviner.

1 [ιαεωβαφρενεμουνοθ]ιλαρικριφια[ευεαιφιρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
[αεωβαφρενεμουνοθ]ιλα[ρικριφιαε]υε[αιφιρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
[εωβαφρενεμουνοθ]ιλα[ρικριφιαε]υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
4 [ωβαφρενεμουνοθ]ιλα[ρικριφιαε]υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
[βαφρενεμουνοθ]ιλαρικριφιαε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
[αφρενεμουνοθ]ιλαρικριφιαε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
[φρενεμουνοθ]ιλαρικριφιαε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
8 ρε[νε]μουνοθ]ιλαρικριφιαε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
ε[νε]μουνοθ]ιλαρικριφιαε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
νε[νε]μουνοθ]ιλαρικριφιαε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
ε[νε]μουνοθ]ιλαρικριφιαε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
12 μουνοθ]ιλαρικριφιαε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
ουνοθ]ιλαρικριφιαε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
υνοθ]ιλαρικριφιαε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
νοθ]ιλαρικριφιαε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
16 οθ]ιλαρικριφιαε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
θι[λαρικριφιαε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
ι[λαρικριφιαε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
[λαρικριφιαε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
20 [αρικριφιαε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
[ρικριφιαε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
[ικριφιαε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
[κριφιαε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
24 [ριφιαε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
[ιφιαε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
[φιαε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
[ιαε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
28 [αε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
[ε[υε[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]
[υ[αιφι[ρικιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι]

32 δεῦρό μοι, ὁ αὐτο-
γεννήτωρ θεέ, ἄσπερ-
μοβόλητε, αὐτοπάτω[ρ, αὐ-]
τομήτωρ, ἀφανής, [2-4]
[. . .] ἀκόματε, δέσποτα,
36 [.] ὁ κρύφια [?
[.] ἀληθ[.]

iaeobaphrenemounothilarikriphiaeaeiphirkiralithonuomenerphaboeai (etc.). (Lines 31-37) Hither to me, self-begotten god, (created) without cast seed, father of yourself, mother of yourself, invisible, incorporeal, ruler - - - hidden - - - true (?) - - -.

1-30 *ιαεωβαφρενεμουνοθιλαρικριφιαεεαφιρκιραλιθονουμενερ-φωβωεαι* etc.: a very common palindrome; cf. 48 A; 49, 1+3; 74, 11-16; and see PGM, Vol. 3 (Index), p. 280. The formula often occurs in solar contexts. According to K.Fr.W.Schmidt, it is based on the Hebrew divine name *ιαεω* + Egyptian *f3j.f-rn-īm* 'd, mr (= *rw?*)-*R^c* (*m*)-*k3r.f* 'Iao is the bearer of the secret name, the lion of Re secure in his shrine' (GGA 196, 1934, 177 f.; also GGA 193, 1931, 443 f.; Th.Hopfner, *Archiv Orientaln* 7, 1935, 119). But this is not convincing for linguistic reasons (H.J.Thissen)

31 *δεῦρό μοι*: cf. e.g. PGM IV 236-238 (*lekanomanteia*) *δεῦρό (μοι), ὅ τις θεός, ὁφθητί μοι ἐν τῇ ἄρτι ὥρα καὶ μὴ μου θαμβήσης τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· δεῦρό μοι κτλ.*; PGM VII 559 f. (*lychnomanteia*) *ἦκέ μοι, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀεροπετές* and 570 *δεῦρό μοι, κύριε*. The phrase *δεῦρό μοι* is very common in prayers in the magical papyri. It begins e.g. the prayer transmitted by PGM XII 238-257, XIII 761-800 and XXI (see the discussion by Merkelbach-Totti, *Abrasax* I, pp. 127-222); cf. also PGM III 496; further references in PGM, Vol. 3 (Index), p. 77, s.v. *δεῦρό μοι*. For the Egyptian equivalent *αμου νη*, cf. 6, 3 comm.

31-32 *αὐτογεννήτωρ*: attested also in Irenaeus, *Haer.* I 8, 4 (I, p. 135 Harvey), and Epiph., *Panar.* 34, 5, 8 (GCS 2, p. 13, 9). Cf. *αὐτογενέτωρ* (PGM IV 1561; XIII 269; P 13a, 1), *αὐτογένεθλος* (PGM I 342 *lychnomanteia*; IV 943 *lychnomanteia*, 1989 necromancy), and *αὐτογέννητος* (XIII 63, 572).

32-33 *ἀπερμολόγητε*: *ἀπερμολήτε* ed.pr. *Addendum lexicis*; cf. *σπερμολόγος*, *σπερμολόγημα*, *σπερμολόγια* and *σπερμολόγος*. The similar *ἀπερμολόγητος* is used by Dioskoros of Aphroditon in P.Cairo Masp. II 67188 (= PGM P 13a), line 1 *π[αν]τοκράτωρ, πρωτογεν[έτωρ], [α]ὐτογενέτωρ, ἀπερμολόγητε*. Preisendanz altered the last word to *ἀπερμολόγητε* ("ohne Samen Erzeugter"), but a compound based on *-γόννητος* is unparalleled. The transmitted reading *ἀπερμολόγητε*, however, can be defended, though not as was recently done by L.S.B. MacCoull (*Tyche* 2, 1987, 95 f.), suggesting that Dioskoros based the word on *σπερμολόγος* 'babbler' (used of Paul in Acts 17, 18), positing that he gave it

a new meaning under the influence of the Stoic concept of the *λόγος σπερματικός*, and translating it as "not bound by the ordinary laws of human nature." Dioskoros rather had in mind NT Ep. Hebr. 7, 3 *ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, ἀγενεαλόγητος* (of Melchizedek), and he may have been familiar with the word as used of Christ's divinity – e.g. Orig., in *Lucam* 28 (GCS 9, p. 161, 9) and Ps. Justin Martyr, *Quaest. et respons. ad orthodoxos* 67 (III, 2, p. 98 Otto). The meaning of *ἀγενεαλόγητος* is 'of unrecorded descent', 'without genealogy'. In Dioskoros' *ἀπερμολόγητε*, the element *-σπερμ-* is probably synonymous with *γενεα-*; the word, then, should be translated 'without known seed' or 'without known descent'.

33 *αὐτοπάτωρ*: also in Aristid., *Or.* 43, 9 Keil, of Zeus; *Orph. hymn.* 10, 10; of Physis; Iamb., *Myst.* VIII 2 (261, 13), of God; Porphyry, *Hist. Philos.*, fr. 17 (p. 15 Nauck), of the Platonic Good and Beautiful; Synes., *Hymn.* 1, 146, of God; Clem. Rom., *Recogn.* 3, 3, 8 (GCS 2, p. 9, 9) of God; Greg. Naz., *Carm.* 2.2, 7, 254 (Migne, PG 37, col. 1571A), of Christ. 33-34 *αὐ]τομήτωρ*: the word is probably attested in Semonides 7, 12, but in a different sense. It is also transmitted in Epiph., *Panar.* 31, 6, 4 (GCS 1, p. 394, 1), where it has been emended to *αὐτοπάτωρ*.

34-35 *ἀφανής*, [2-4] [*ἀ]σώματε* : *ἀφανής* |] *τε* ed.pr. The restoration *ἀ]σώματε* (cf. 57, 36 with comm.; PGM IV 1777 *ἀϊδῆ, ἀσώματε*) is considerably likelier than *ὑπερ]σώματε* (cf. Lampe, s.v.). One can probably rule out *πυρ-* and *πυρ]σώματε* (PGM IV 595 f. and VII 701), because the context seems to require the concept of incorporeality. Other compounds based on *-σώματος* are still less suitable. If *ἀ]σώματε* is correct, an entire word is missing before it.

37] *ἀληθ[* :] *ἀληθ[* ed.pr. The god should reveal the 'truth' or make the revelation 'truthfully'. Cf. from divinatory charms PGM I 320 *ἀληθείην καταλέξας*; II 10 *ἐπ' ἀλ[η]θείας*, 115 *τῇ ἀληθείᾳ*; IV 913 *πάντα ἀληθῆ διηγείται*; XIV 6 f. *χρημάτικον ἐπ' ἀληθείας, ἀληθῶς, ἀψευδῶς, ἀναμφιλόγως*; also III 288 *ἀψευδῶς*; IV 1033 *ἀψεύτως*, 2504 *ἀψευδῶς*; V 421 *ἀψευδῶς*; VII 248 *ἀψεύτως*, 571 *ἀψευδῆς*. A stone scarab found on the Tusculan hill (ed. R.Wünsch, *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 27, 1899, 294-299) contains the following Greek inscription accompanied by magical words and the seven vowels: *χρημάτικόν μοι ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ἐπ' ἀληθείᾳ μετὰ μνήμης*. Numerous requests for truthful revelation in demotic texts, e.g. Griffith-Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, XXVII 23 f.; XXIX 8, 12, 20; etc.

Fayum ?

III/IV AD

T.Moen s.n.

ED.PR.: P.J.Sijpesteijn, "Ein Herbeirufungszauber," *ZPE* 4 (1969) 187-191.COMM.: ed.pr.; (line 21) F.Maltomini, *ZPE* 87 (1991) 253.

TRANSL.: ed.pr.

PHOTO: ed.pr., plate 10.

DESCR.: lead tablet; 10.7 × 12.5 cm. There are two breaks where the tablet had been folded vertically (3 and 7 cm from the left margin). After these folds were made, the tablet was folded from the top towards the bottom so as to form a packet of about 4 × 3 cm. Inscribed on one side only.

LOC.: private collection of E.Moen, Baarn, Holland (previously in the private collection of A.M.Hakkert).

The nature of this text is clearly shown by lines 19-22: a daemon is commanded to come, to enter into Alexander, to appear and speak; he should be articulate, peaceful and not frightening. Requests of this sort characterize charms for divination in which a daemon is supposed to speak through a living medium.¹ In all likelihood Alexander was a child.² He wishes that the divination be successful and that he remain unharmed during the possession.³ Since it is written on lead, the charm is likely to be directed towards a corpse-daemon, and so we are probably dealing with an example of necromancy.

¹ On such divinatory charms, see Hopfner, *Offenbarungszauber* II, §§ 75 II b, 273-295.

² Children, especially boys, were almost always the mediums in magical divination. See Th.Hopfner, "Die Kindermedien in den griechisch-ägyptischen Zauberpapyri," in: *Recueil d'études dédiées à la mémoire de N.P.Kondakov* (Prague 1926), pp. 65-74; idem, "Mittel- und neugriechische Lekano-, Lychno-, Katoptro- und Onychomantien," in: *Studies Presented to F.Ll.Griffith* (London 1932), p. 219.

³ For the dangers to which child mediums were exposed, see Hopfner, *Offenbarungszauber* II, § 69; idem, *Studies Griffith* (cit. above, note 2), p. 225 f.

- 1
 4
 8
 12
 16
 20
- ∇ ∇ ∇ B I Z Z ∇ E ∇ E I H H ∇ K N Θ ∇ ∇
 O Σ ∇ T ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇
 ∇
 τουραιαρ υητιρωχοχε
 μαβαντεανα αγατα αμαψουουρου
 αναπαντο ροδαμιτ Κατραπερκμηφ
 θυρσερψε αμαχθεν θουφ καρχηρηθρωινε
 κρομιορφι ζθο θονινευκτεν θουσιθωθ
 Ιαω τεωαντισιρονμυραε βωδρομωω
 αλεου παονενε παντιενε λυμβρεκλαρυζ
 κρογεακετοριψαραβαθαεο παχνευχανωρ
 φοβερόμματα πανεργέ(α) Σεσενγεν Βαρ-
 φαραγγης ομοιβασκο / βερωουνηρ
 θωβαφ θαμβαμι οψνωσιμφυτι
 σθομψιμ φηιεινδυσδωμηλελωθε
 αδυναισα / ιοιναθαψαωσευ βιρααριν
 δαλημ αζαθοαθαγενγη ψουανε
 πουραθα ουαμωθ αέηιδύω επεη
 οιουθευα ∇ ∇ ∇ ιι θεσμοαθαα
 έλθέ, λάλησον, είκρίθητι
 έμοι 'Αλεξάνδρω, όν [ε]τεκε
 Διδύμη, πάνητί μοι είρηνικώς,
 διά φωνής, άβόφως.

4 αγότα Pap. 9-18 in ecthesi 17 αέηιδύω Pap. 19-22 in eisthesi
 21 φάνητί μοι 22 άφόβως

(Mag. signs) *touraiar yētirôchoche* ¹⁴ *mabanteana agata amapsouourou anaapanio rodami* *Satraperkmēph thyrsērpse amachthen thōuph karchrēthchrōine kromiōrphi ziho thoni-neukieu Thōouthiūthōih* ¹⁸ *Iaō teōantisironmyrae bōdromōō aleou paonene pantiene lymbrek-laryz krogeaketoripsarabathaeo pachneuchanōr*, you with terrible eyes, you the doer of all, *Sesengen Barpharaggēs* ¹² *omoibasko berōounēr thōbaph thambami opsnōoimphyti sihompsim phiēiōindysdōmēlelōthe adynaisa ioinathapsaōseu biraarin* ¹⁶ *dalēm azathoathagengē psouane pouratha ouamōth aeēioyō epeē dioutheua* ∇ ∇ ∇ *iii thesmaoathaa*. Come, speak, enter ²⁰ me Alexandros, whom Didyme bore, appear to me peacefully, by (your) voice, without causing fear.

3 τουραιαρ-: cf. PGM I 133 f. -ρουρραιαλ.

4 ἀγῶτα Pap.: interpret as ἀγατα or ἀγ' ἄστα or ἀγο' ἄτα.

5 Κατραπερκμηφ: cf. PGM XII 185; XIII 917; Delatte-Derchain, *Intailles*, nos. 48, 408 (?), 510; line 2 of the silver amulet from Homs (Syria) published by P.J.Sijpesteijn, *OMRO* 59-60 (1978-1979) 189-192 (= SEG XXVIII 1334); Griffith-Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, XVII 19; verso XXII 14 (cf. Betz, *Translation*, pp. 223 and 248). Cf. also PGM O 2, 24 f. Κατραπειν; IV 2485 f. Κατραπαμμων.

As for the final κμηφ, it occurs as a name of the Sun in PGM III 142, 471; IV 1705; as a name of Osiris in IV 2094 (Κμηφι); cf. also VII 583 (Κμηφικ) and col. 17, where Κνηφικ is written within an ouroboros (see Vol. 2, Taf. I, Abb. 4); Audollent, *DT*, 242, 7; and see PGM, Vol. 3 (Index), p. 225. The name is likely to indicate the primitive serpent-deity of Thebes *Km-3t.f* ('he who has completed his age'), on which see Griffiths, *Plutarch's de Iside et Osiride*, p. 374. The interpretation of K.Fr.W.Schmidt, *GGA* 193 (1931) 449 and Th.Hopfner, *Plutarch. Über Isis und Osiris II* (Prague 1941), pp. 100, 101 nn. 2-3, who equated Κμηφ with Egyptian *k3 mwt.f* 'bull of his mother', is probably to be dismissed. For the possible connection of the Theban serpent-god and Chnoubis, see the discussion by H.M.Jackson, *The Lion Becomes Man. The Gnostic Leontomorphic Creator and the Platonic Tradition* (Society of Biblical Literature, Diss. Series 81, Atlanta 1985), pp. 101-103 n. 78. R.K.Ritner (in Betz, *Translation*, p. 22 n. 35), however, interprets κμηφ as Egyptian *hm3.f* 'his shrine'.

6 -αμαχθεν: cf. PGM IV 862 αμαχθα; XIII 987 αμαρχθα.

-χρηθ-: cf. PGM XII 116 χρ[η]θ.

7 κρομιορφ: for the ending, cf. PGM XIXa 5 χοου[χ]ορφι.

Θωουθιθωθ: based on Θωθ; cf. 45, 25, and see W.Brashear, *APF* 36 (1990) 59, comm. on 113-114.

8 Ιαω τεω-: after Ιαω a small oblique scratch in the lead, seemingly accidental. Also possible Ιαωτ εω-; cf. PGM V 141 Ιαωτ, 479 Ιαωθ.

10 -αραβα-: cf. PGM XIII 758 αραβα.

-αχνευ-: cf. PGM XII 169 μα]ρμαραχνευ.

-νωρ: for magical words ending in -ωρ, see PGM, Vol. 3 (Index), p. 277 f.

11 φοβερόμματα: the word occurs in PGM V 437, and on a magical gem (Bonner, *SMA*, p. 168 = Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca* IV, p. 273): φοβερόμματα Βριμὼ Αρωριφρασι.

πανεργέ(α): elsewhere only in Aesch., *Ag.* 1486, of Zeus.

11-12 Σεεεγγεν Βαρφαραγγης: see 10, 2 comm.

13 θαμβαμι: cf. PGM IV 1214 θαμβραμι; I 218 f. Αμβραμι.

14 εθομ-: cf. PGM II 15 εθομ and 96 A 37 εθωμβανλη.

15 αδυναιαια: possibly for Αδωναι or Αδωναϊοι.

ιαινα-: instead of ι, perhaps an upright connected with the preceding oblique stroke.

βιρααριν: cf. PGM I 136 βιραθαν; XIII 952 βιραιθαθι; and IV 2415 αριν.

16 αζαθο- : α' γαθο- ed.pr. The reading, however, is difficult, since what was written between the two alphas is partially lost in a vertical break of the tablet.

19-22. This section is indented also compared with 1-8.

19 εἰςκρίθητι: the verb εἰςκρίνω (active 'cause to enter', passive 'enter into') is technical for the entry (εἰςκριτικ) of the soul as well as of a daemon into the body; for the latter, cf. Iambl., *Myst.* III 6 (112, 11); 13 (131, 12); Porph., *De philos. ex orac. haur.* II, *apud* Eus., *P.E.* IV 23, 5 (GCS 8.1, p. 214, 23); V 8, 6 (*ibid.*, p. 238, 3) = *Orac. Chald.*, fr. dub. 223, 5 des Places; Psell., *De oper. daem.* 13 (Migne PG 122, 849C = p. 21 Boissonade); and see Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, p. 295 f. Somewhat different is the sense of εἰςκρίνω in PGM IV 3025, 3083 f. and probably VII 432 ('cause to enter into his proper place'); see K.Preisendanz, *Wiener Studien* 42 (1921) 128; Eitrem, *Some Notes*, p. 16 f.

21 πάνητί μοι (r. φάνηθί μοι) Maltomini, *loc. cit.*: πανάτιμος ("ganz ohne Ehre") ed.pr. Cf. PGM II 166; IV 999, 1002, 1007, 1015, 1019, 1024, 1041, 1045; VII 331, etc.

εἰρηνικῶς: cf. PGM IV 1041 f. εἰσελθε, φάνηθί μοι, κύριε, ἰλαρός, εὐμενής, πραῦς, ἐπίδοξος, ἀμήνιτος (also 1045 f.), 1972-74 πραῦς, μειλίχιος μηδ' ἀντία μοι φρονέοιτο. μηδὲ εὐ μηνίσης κτλ.; V 44 f. διατήρησόν με καὶ τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον ἀπημάντους, 420 ἰλεῶς μοι γενοῦ.

22 διὰ φωνῆς: the daemon is supposed to speak articulately and intelligibly. Cf. PGM IV 1032 f. ἀποκρίθητί μοι διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς σου φωνῆς, ἵνα ἀκούσω δηλαυγῶς; LXXVII 21 f. εὐδελον χρηματιεῖ.

ἀβόφως (r. ἀφόβως): cf. 97 → 9; PGM LXXVII 21 ἀφόβως, ἀτρόμως; IV 237 f. μή μου θαμβήσης τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, 1062-64 συντηρήσας με - - - ἀνειδωλόπληκτον, ἄπληγον, ἀθάμβητον, 1079 f.; LXII 36 f.; Griffith-Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, II 14 *aph-o-b-o-s* (= ἀφόβως); XVII 19: "watch this boy, do not let him be frightened, terrified, or

scared" (cf. Betz, *Translation*, pp. 197, 223); Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte* II, XXXII 44 f.: "Du mögest mir erscheinen in einem Gesichte, das mir nicht Furcht einflößt."