

The Greek Magical Papyri: an Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928–1994)

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Contents

Preface	3381
Abbreviations	3382
Foreword	3389
I. Introduction	3390
1. Egyptian Precedents	3390
a) Ancient Egyptian Magic	3390
b) Demotic Magic	3396
2. Greek Magic in Egypt	3398
a) First Finds and Publications	3398
b) Textual History	3412
c) Dating	3419
d) Hymns	3420
e) Foreign Elements	3422
α) Gnostic	3422
β) Mithraic and Persian	3423
γ) Babylonian	3425
δ) Latin and Roman	3425
ε) Semitic	3426
ζ) Buddhistic?	3429
f) <i>Voces magicae</i>	3429
g) <i>Historiolae</i>	3438
h) Signs and Designs	3440
i) <i>Lamellae</i> and <i>Defixiones</i>	3443
3. Near-Magic and Non-Magic	3446
a) Oracle Questions	3448
b) Horoscopes	3456
c) <i>Falsa et Incerta</i>	3456
4. Highlights	3459
5. Coptic Magic	3470
6. Relics	3473

II. Survey	3476
1. New Publications	3476
a) PGM LXXXII–CXXX	3476
b) Additional Texts	3478
c) <i>Descripta, Inedita, Incerta</i>	3483
2. Provenances	3484
3. Present Locations	3486
4. Chronological Tables	3491
5. Genres	3494
6. Corrections, Translations, Discussions	3506
7. Glossary of <i>Voces Magicae</i>	3576
III. Annotated Bibliography (1928–1994)	3603
Indices	(to follow at the end of ANRW II 18.6)

Preface

Although several minor surveys of the magical papyri appeared in the 1950's, the last major survey article was published in 1927. Hence the need for a survey encompassing the results of the last 60 years' research is great. The following is an attempt at filling that need. Besides noting the proposed new readings, emendations, interpretations and translations, brief, thumbnail sketches on various topics basic to the study of Greek magic in Egypt are proffered. These are up-date articles and not intended to be complete or comprehensive studies of the phenomena they touch upon. The reader is referred to the literature cited where the same topics are treated with much more thoroughness and erudition.

Many of the books and articles noted in the Annotated Bibliography were unavailable in Berlin and had to be procured from institutes and libraries all over Europe on short-term, inter-library loan. Others I was able to consult only once and briefly on trips abroad. Hence, final proof-reading of the Annotated Bibliography and the section entitled "Corrections, Translations, Discussions" using the original sources was out of the question. I beg the readers' indulgence for any errors.

I would like to thank the many colleagues who answered questions about papyri in their collections, sent me off-prints, xerox-copies, occasional odd articles, unpublished manuscripts and translations from languages I would not otherwise have had access to.

I would like to thank J. CHRISTMAN, R. DANIEL, M. EATON-KRAUSS, R. KOTANSKY and M. SMITH for reading portions of the manuscript and for suggesting various improvements.

MORTON SMITH placed his card files and library at my disposal several times while I was in America. Without the benefit of his kindness the Annotated Bibliography would have been several hundred entries poorer.

Above all, sincere thanks to S. BRUSKE, E. HACHENBERGER, D. LEHMKÜHLER, S. MULJANA, C. NASSAR and the rest of the staff at the Interli-

brary Loan Division of the Free University Library in West Berlin. Without their continued and unstinting assistance in procuring the material for the Annotated Bibliography this survey could never have been written.

This work is dedicated to the memory of MORTON SMITH who encouraged me from its inception on and whose death only weeks before its completion prevented him from seeing it in its final form.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations to the papyri may be found in the 'Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca', BASP 11 (1974) 1–35, BASP. Suppl. 4, 1985³.

The abbreviations for journals are for the most part those of 'L'Année philologique'.

The following list includes exceptions, journals not included in 'L'Année philologique' and various other frequently cited abbreviations.

AEMT	J. F. BORGHOUTS, <i>Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts</i> (= NISABA 9), Leiden 1978.
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt / Rise and Decline of the Roman World</i> , Berlin–New York 1972 ff.
AO	<i>Archiv Orientalni</i> , Prague 1921 f.
Athen. Mitt.	<i>Athenische Mitteilungen</i> , 1893 f.
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i> , Cairo 1902 f.
BKT	<i>Berliner Klassikertexte</i> , Berlin 1904 f.
BonnJbb	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher</i> , Bonn 1842 f.
BSAC	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte</i>
BSFE	<i>Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie</i> , 1949 f.
CCAG	<i>Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum I–XIII</i> , Brussels 1898–1953
CdE	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> , Brussels 1925 f.
DACL	F. CABROL, H. LECLERQ, <i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i>
DMP	F. L. L. GRIFFITH and H. THOMPSON, <i>The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden I–III</i> , London 1904–1921
GMP	H.-D. BETZ, <i>The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation</i> , Chicago 1986. (All references are to page numbers.)
HDA	H. BÄCHTOLD-STÄUBLI and E. HOFFMANN-KRAYER, edd., <i>Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens</i> , Berlin–Leipzig 1927–1942, repr. Berlin–New York 1986
HERE	J. HASTINGS' <i>Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics</i> , repr. Edinburgh 1961–1966
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , Berlin 1873 f.
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht van het vooraziatisch-egyptisch genootschap „Ex Oriente Lux“</i> , Leiden 1938 f.
JPGMJ	<i>The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal</i> , Malibu 1974 f.
LÄ	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , Wiesbaden 1975 f.
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Kairo</i> , Augsburg 1930 f.

MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
MMAF	Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française du Caire, Paris 1884
MPER	(v. infra: PREISENDANZ, MPER)
NDIEC	New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity, North Ryde, Australia 1981 f.
PBA	Proceedings of the British Academy, London 1903 f.
Ph.Wo.	Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, Leipzig 1884 f.
RE	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart 1893 f.
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, Stuttgart 1950 f.
RGVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, Giessen 1903 f.
RhM	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Frankfurt/M. 1832 f.
SAK	Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur, Hamburg 1974 f.
SB	Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten, Strassburg 1915 f.
SM	R. DANIEL and F. MALTOMINI, Supplementum Magicum I–II, Cologne–Opladen 1990–1992.
SP	Studia Papyrologica. Revista Espanola de Papirologia, 1962 f.
UPZ	U. WILCKEN, Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit I, Berlin–Leipzig 1927, II Berlin 1957

Other frequently cited works:

Abrasax I, II	R. MERKELBACH, M. TOTTI, Abrasax. Ausgewählte Papyri religiösen und magischen Inhalts. Bd. 1: Gebete, Bd. 2: Gebete (Fortsetzung) (= Abhandlungen der rheinisch-westfälischen Akad. d. Wissens. Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensia XVII.1,2), Opladen 1990, 1991.
ALON	G. ALON, Jews, Judaism and the Classical World, Jerusalem 1977.
ARAM	KURT ARAM, Magie und Zauberei in der alten Welt, Berlin 1927.
AUDOLLENT, Defix.	A. AUDOLLENT, Defixionum tabellae quotquot innotuerunt ..., Paris 1904.
BARB, Abraxas	A. A. BARB, Abraxas-Studien, in: Hommages à W. Deonna (= Coll. Latomus 28), Brussels 1957, 67–86.
ID., Survival	A. A. BARB, The Survival of Magic Arts, in: A. MOMIGLIANO, ed., The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century, Oxford 1963, 101–125.
BARTSCH	E. BARTSCH, Die Sachbeschwörungen der römischen Liturgie, Münster 1967.
BAUER	W. BAUER reviews: Papyri Graecae Magicae, in: TLZ 54 (1929) 102–104.
BETZ, GMP	see GMP.
BJÖRCK, Fluch	G. BJÖRCK, Der Fluch des Christen Sabinus, Uppsala 1938.
BLAU, Zaubерwesen	L. BLAU, Altjüdisches Zaubерwesen, Strassburg 1914, repr. Graz 1974.
BONNER, Studies	C. BONNER, Studies in Magical Amulets, Ann Arbor 1950.
BONNET, Reallexikon	H. BONNET, Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte, Berlin 1952.

- BOWMAN, Egypt
BRASHEAR, *Magica Varia*
- BUDGE, Amulets
- BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, Orakler
- BUTLER
- CUNEN, Lécanomancie
- DEISSMANN, Licht
DELATTE, *Anecd. Athen.*
- DELATTE and DERCHAIN, Intailles
DELATTE, Office
- DIETERICH, Abraxas
- DIETERICH, Mithrasliturgie
- DÖLGER, Sol Salutis
DONADONI, Religione
DORNSEIFF
- EISLER, Weltenmantel
- EITREM, Papyri
- ELIADE, Images
ID., Patterns
- ID., Naissances
ERMAN, Religion
- FESTUGIÈRE, L'idéal
- ID., Révélation
- FOWDEN, Hermes
FRANZ, Benediktionen
- GIFFORD
GOODENOUGH, Symbols
- ALAN BOWMAN, *Egypt after the Pharaohs*, London 1986.
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- LEXA, Magie
LINDSAY, Origins
LINDSAY, Men
LUCK
Magika Hiera
MAHÉ I
MAHÉ II
MARGANNE
MARTINEZ
Mél. Maspero II
MIGNE, PG
MILLIGAN, Here and There
ID., Selections
Mithrasliturgie
MOKE
MONTEVECCHI
MORAUX, Défixion
MORGAN
MULDER
NAVEH and SHAKED,
Amulets
NILSSON, Religion
ID., GGR
NOCK, Texts
O'CALLAGHAN
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E. TAVENNER, The Use of Fire in Greek and Roman Love Magic, in: *Studies in honor of Frederick William Shipley*, St. Louis 1942, 17–37.
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A.-M. TUPET, *La magie dans la poésie latine*, Paris 1976.
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ID., Typology
E. TURNER, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press 1977.
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M. J. VERMASEREN, La sotériologie dans les Papyri Graecae Magicae, in: U. BIANCHI and M. J. VERMASEREN, edd., *La sotériologia dei culti orientali nell'impero romano*, Leiden 1982, 17–30.
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K. WEITZMANN, *Ancient Book Illumination*, Cambridge, Mass. 1959.
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J. G. WINTER, *Life and Letters in the Papyri*, Ann Arbor 1933.
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X. F. M. WOLTERS, Notes on Antique Folklore on the Basis of Pliny's Natural History Bk. XXVIII 22–29, Paris–Amsterdam 1935.
- WORTMANN, Kosmogonie
DIERK WORTMANN, Kosmogonie und Nilflut. Studien zu einigen Typen magischer Gemmen griechisch-römischer Zeit aus Ägypten, *BonnJbb* 166 (1966) 62–112.
- ID., Texte
DIERK WORTMANN, Neue magische Texte, *BonnJbb* 168 (1968) 56–110.
- WÜNSCH, Zaubergegerät
R. WÜNSCH, Antikes Zaubergegerät aus Pergamon (= *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Inst.*, 6. Ergänzungsheft), Berlin 1905.

ZANDEE, Death
ZUCKER

JAN ZANDEE, *Death as an Enemy*, Leiden 1960.
F. ZUCKER reviews K. PREISENDANZ, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*,
in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 31 (1931) 355–363.

For references to other works not cited in the foregoing lists the reader should consult III: Annotated Bibliography, pp. 3603 ff.

Foreword

Among the multitudinous and multifarious written documents of daily life in Greco-Roman Egypt that the desert sands have preserved for us number the Greek magical texts – usually on papyrus or parchment, less often on linen, ostraca or tablets, either wooden or metal.¹ The following is a survey of these texts since the discovery of the first papyrus 170 years ago down to the present day. The only major survey article is K. PREISENDANZ' in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 8 (1927) 104–167. In the 1940's and 1950's follow-up articles and minor surveys appeared, but a major survey encompassing all aspects of the magical papyri has never again been undertaken.

When PREISENDANZ published his survey and bibliography in 1927, he knew of ca. 135 papyri, 3 ostraca, 4 wooden and several metal tablets from Egypt. In the meantime, the number of papyri has not quite doubled (ca. 230), the ostraca more than tripled (11). Nine wooden tablets and more than two dozen metal ones are known today. Hence the need is great for a new survey, taking into account not only the literature written on the magical texts PREISENDANZ knew in 1927, but also the magical texts published since then and the literature which has grown up around them. The present survey is an attempt at filling this need.

In addition to this survey, and by way of introduction for the non-specialist, brief, thumbnail sketches are included, describing various aspects of magic such as it was practiced in Egypt not only under the Greeks and Romans, but also at the time of the pharaohs before them and during the Coptic period after

¹ Not to mention the magical gems which I have usually had to exclude from consideration. Most of them remain unpublished. If they are, then it is in obscure and out-dated works, difficult of access. Convenient collections are: BONNER, *Studies*; ID., *Amulets chiefly in the British Museum*, *Hesperia* 20 (1953) 301–345; ID., *A Miscellany of Engraved Stones*, *Hesperia* 23 (1954) 138–157; DELATTE and DERCHAIN, *Intailles*; H. PHILIPP, *Mira et Magica*, Mainz 1986; D. WORTMANN, *BonnJbb* 175 (1975) 63–82.

On their much disputed Alexandrian origin the note published by P. DERCHAIN, *Revue d'Égyptologie* 26 (1974) 19–20, throws interesting light.

Cf. an ancient gemmology in general: P. ZAZOFF, *Die antiken Gemmen*, Munich 1983; A. A. BARB s. v. *Gnostiche gemme*, in: *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale* III (1960) 971–974; J. ENGEMANN s. v. *Glyptik*, in: *RAC* 11 (1981) 270–313; F. ECKSTEIN and J. WASZINK s. v. *Amulett*, in: *RAC* 1 (1950) 397–411; G. DEVOTO and A. MOLAYEM, *Archeogemmologia*, Rome 1991; E. ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL, *Magische Amulette und andere Gemmen*, Opladen 1992. M. MAASKANT-KLEIBRINK presents an annual bibliography in *Bull. Ant. Beschaving*. On connections between the gems and the papyri v. *infr.* p. 3418.

them. By consulting the works cited in the notes the reader can find exhaustive and detailed discussion of what is only cursorily touched upon here.

The standard reference works are K. PREISENDANZ, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (PGM), two volumes of which appeared in 1928 and 1931 in Leipzig and Berlin. The projected third volume never appeared (v. p. 3410). However, all references here are to the second, revised edition of A. HENRICHS, Stuttgart 1973–1974, which includes some of the material from the projected vol. III. PREISENDANZ designated the pagan and Jewish texts by Roman numerals (I–LXXXI), Christian ones by Arabic numerals (1–24). This convention is maintained here throughout.

H.-D. BETZ, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, Chicago 1986 (GMP), contains a selection of texts published since PREISENDANZ' PGM and continues PREISENDANZ' numbering from LXXXII to CXXX. R. DANIEL and F. MALTOMINI, *Supplementum Magicum I*, Cologne–Opladen 1990, II 1991, (SM), contains texts come to light since PGM II.

In addition to these primary sources, for all question of interpretation the reader should consult THEODOR HOPFNER's unsurpassed *Offenbarungszauber* (OZ) in two volumes, published in Leipzig 1921 and 1924. In the meantime the old facsimile editions of HOPFNER's handwritten manuscripts have been replaced by clearly typewritten ones. HOPFNER's references to papyri by individual inventory numbers are gone and in their place are PGM references. Full quotations from ancient authors replace HOPFNER's brief references.²

I. Introduction

1. Egyptian Precedents

a) Ancient Egyptian Magic

τοῖα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μητιοέντα
ἔσθλά, τά οἱ Πολύδαμνα πόρεν, Ὠῶνος παράκοιτις
Αἴγυπτίῃ, τῇ πλεῖστα φέρει ζεῖδιωρος ἄρουρα
φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἔσθλα μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά. *Odyssey* 4.227 f.

For the Greeks, the Romans and the Jews, Egypt was the land of mystery and magic *par excellence*.³ For the Egyptians, magic was intimately wrought

² Published by A. M. Hakkert, Amsterdam 1974 and 1983.

³ Cf. HOPFNER, *Fontes passim*; BLAU, *Zauberwesen* 38–39; A. ABT, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei* (RGVV 4.2), Giessen 1908, 152 f.; HOPFNER, *OZ* II § 17; ERMAN, *Religion* 406; A. NOCK, *JEA* 15 (1929) 228; H.-D. BETZ, *Lukian von Samosata*, Berlin 1961, 108; KÁKOSY, *Magia* 76 ff.; Talmud b. Qid 49b: "Ten measures of witchcraft have come into the world. Egypt received nine of these, the rest of the world one measure".

up with everyday living – there were no controllers of right-thinking, no prohibitions against sorcery or divination. In fact, the gods were credited with the invention and use of magic. The pharaohs openly engaged in it. The spells – protective, maleficent, healing,⁴ execratory, amatory, binding – were committed to writing, collected in handbooks and formularies and deposited in temple libraries.⁵ Ancient Egyptian magic anticipates much of what can later be found in Greco-Roman magic. Some of the more salient similarities may be briefly noted here.⁶

⁴ The distinctions between 1) magic and religion, and 2) magic and medicine are often vague. On magic vs. religion, see ERMAN, *Religion* 295; L. DRIOTON, *Rev. de l'Égypte Ancienne* 1 (1927) 133 f.; H. BRUNNER, *Antaios* 3 (1962) 534–543; W. WOLF, *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Ägypten*, Stuttgart 1962, 210; J. ČERNÝ, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, London 1952, 57; S. MORENZ, *Gott und Mensch im alten Ägypten*, Leipzig 1964, 140–155; ID., *Ägyptische Religion*, Stuttgart 1960, 241; ROEDER, *Ausklang* 113 f. Cf. A. KAPELRUD, *The Interrelationship between Religion and Magic in Hittite Religion*, *Nu-men* 6 (1959) 32 f.; W. GUTEKUNST, s. v. Zauberei, in: LÄ VI (1986) 1320 ff.; D. AUNE, *Magic in Early Christianity*, ANRW II 23,2, ed. W. HAASE, Berlin–New York 1980, 1507 ff.; as well as the works cited in the bibliography below in n. 353 (pp. 3446 ff.). On magic vs. medicine: P. GHALIOUNGUI, *Magic and Medical Science in ancient Egypt*, London 1963; H. GRAPOW, *Grundriß der Medizin der alten Ägypter II*, Berlin 1955, 11–16 (GRAPOW refused to include much of the iatro-magical literature in his collections of texts); A. H. GARDINER s. v. Magic (Egyptian), in: *HERE* 8 (1915) 267 § 8; A. D. NOCK, *Texts*, 17, 53; F. CUMONT, *Egypte des astrologues*, Brussels 1937, 128–129.

⁵ v. n. 405.

⁶ While threats to the gods and knowledge of the true name are commonly agreed to be original Egyptian contributions to magic, obviously much of the following is not specifically Egyptian but universally common to magical phenomena, be they Egyptian, Fijian, Sumerian or Eskimoan. Assuming, however, that the Greek papyri of Egypt are basically continuations of the indigenous tradition (pace H. BONNET, *Reallexikon* 880; S. MORENZ, *OLZ* 48 [1953] 352, prefers to see a connection), Egyptian precedents are cited here. Occasionally, however, Babylonian, Sumerian or Assyrian precedents and parallels are introduced. – J. JOHNSON, *Enchoria* 7 (1977) 97, cites A. D. NOCK, *JEA* 15 (1929) 228–229, and LEXA, *Magie I* 156–166, who discuss the relationship between Egyptian and Greek magic in Egypt. At the Fourth International Congress of Egyptology (Munich 1985), F. DE SALVIA presented a paper documenting the evidence for Egyptian influences on Greek magic (1000–500 B. C.) (= SAK. Beihefte Bd. 4), Hamburg 1991, 336–343. On Egyptian magic in general see ROEDER, *Ausklang*; ID., *Volksglaube im Pharaonenreich*, Stuttgart 1952, 181–197; L. KÁKOSY s. v. Horusstele, in: LÄ III (1980) 59–62; H. TE VELDE s. v. Dämonen, in: LÄ I (1975) 980–984; L. KÁKOSY s. v. Metternichstele, in: LÄ IV (1982) 122–124; H. ALTENMÜLLER s. v. Magische Literatur, in: LÄ III (1980) 1151–1162; J. BORGHOOTS s. v. Magie, in: LÄ III (1980) 1137–1151; BONNET, *Reallexikon*, s. vv. Magie, Zauberei, Hike, Beschwörung, Liebeszauber, Fluch; ERMAN, *Religion* 295–313; LEXA, *Magie*; A. H. GARDINER s. v. Magic, in: *HERE* 8 (1915) 262–269; J. BORGHOOTS, *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique* (= Bibliothèque d'Étude 64.3), Cairo 1972, 7–19; S. SAUNERON, *Les prêtres de l'ancienne Égypte* (= *Le temps qui court* 6), Paris 1957; ID., *Le monde du magicien égyptien*, in: *Le monde du sorcier* (= *Sources orientales* 7), Paris 1966, 27–66; D. MEEKS, *Génies, anges, démons en Égypte*, in: *Génies, anges, démons* (= *Sources orientales* 8), Paris 1971, 17–83; B. DE RACHEWILTZ, *Egitto magico-religioso*, Turin 1961; L. KÁKOSY, opp. cit.; E. LEFEBVRE, *Rites Égyptiens. Construction et protection des édifices* (= *Publications de l'École des Lettres d'Alger. Bulletin*

Since the Egyptian gods had to be revived every day, they were dependent on man to perpetuate the rituals and that ensured their existence. Hence the magician could threaten to interrupt the ceremonies and so command and force the gods to do his will.⁷ His claim to esoteric, divine, secret knowledge,⁸ especially the name of the god or demon,⁹ also put him in a superior position and gave him the upper hand over the object of his incantations. Making short shrift of things, the magician could simply say he was a god too, the equal of any that heaven or hell pitted against him.¹⁰

Execrations, whose goal was total¹¹ destruction of the enemy, identified by name, whether alive or dead,¹² human or divine, as well as *damnationes memoriae* conducted on inscriptions, individual hieroglyphs and statues deposited in cemeteries are all commonly attested.¹³

de Correspondance Africaine 4), Paris 1890; R. K. RITNER, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practices*, Diss. Chicago 1987 (non vidi); A. ROCCATI, A. SILIOTTI, *Magia*. A convenient selection of texts is AEMT.

⁷ U. WILCKEN, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* I,1, Leipzig 1912, 124 ff.; F. CUMONT, *Die orientalischen Religionen im römischen Heidentum*, Leipzig 1930³, 244 f., nn. 71, 80; H. ALTENMÜLLER s.v. *Götterbedrohung*, in: LÄ II (1977) 664–669; S. SAUNERON in: *Sources orientales* 7 (n. 6), 40 ff.; ID., BSFE 8 (1951) 11–21; HOPFNER, *Mageia* 344 f.

⁸ AEMT 40, 126; H. LANGE, *Der magische Papyrus Harris*, Copenhagen 1927, 54: „*Verrate (den Spruch) nicht an andere, es ist ein wahres Geheimnis des Hauses der Schriftgelehrten*“.

⁹ Knowledge of the true name: AEMT 10, 88, 123, 127, 128, 138; LEXA I 113 f.; ROEDER, *Ausklänge* 172; HOPFNER, OZ I § 682; DORNSEIFF 54.1; LEFEBVRE, *Bibliothèque Egyptologique* 36 (1915) 95–126; HOPFNER, *Mageia* 334 f.

¹⁰ Identification with a god: LEXA I 56 ff.

¹¹ The most total destruction imaginable for the Egyptians was burning: A. WIEDEMANN, *Der 'Lebende Leichnam' im Glauben der alten Ägypter*, Zs. d. Vereins f. rhein. u. westf. Volkskunde, Elberfeld 1917; WORTMANN, *Texte* 95; ZANDEE, *Death* 14 f. Cf. PREISENDANZ, *Papyrusfunde* 70.

¹² “Belief in a personal after-life is common to almost all of mankind. Agnostic or sceptic races are non-existent”, J. FRAZER, *The Belief in Immortality* I, Cambridge 1913, 33. Food and drink offerings to the dead, well-attested in the ancient world, are documented even in 19th century Europe. Cf. WIEDEMANN (n. 11); JOSEPH WIESNER, *Grab und Jenseits* (RGV 26), Berlin 1938, 168; K. MEULI, *Griechische Opferbräuche*, in: *Phyllobolia* für P. von der Mühl, Basel 1946, 190 ff. = ID., *Ges. Schriften* II, Basel–Stuttgart 1975, 912 ff.; A. WIEDEMANN, *Der Geisterglauben im alten Ägypten*, in: *Anthropos* 21 (1926) 1–37; B. MALINOWSKI, *Magic, Science and Religion*, Boston 1948, 32 f.; J. C. LAWSON, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, Cambridge 1910, repr. New York 1964, 528 ff.; WORTMANN, *Texte* 81; HOPFNER, OZ I, §§ 351 f.; NUMA DENIS FUSTEL DE COULANGES, *The Ancient City*, repr. Baltimore–London 1980, ch. I.1 “Notions about the Soul and Death”; W. F. OTTO, *Die Manen*, Darmstadt 1958², 48 f.; ONIANS, *Origins* 278; J. M. C. TOYNBEE, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, Ithaca 1971, 37, 41, 51–52.

¹³ G. POSENER, *Les criminels débauchés et les morts sans nom*, Rev. d’Egypt. 5 (1946) 51–56; J. YOYOTTE, *Le martelage des noms royaux*, Rev. d’Egypt. 8 (1951) 215–239; J. S. F. GARNOT, BIFAO 59 (1960) 5–10; E. DRIOTON, *Une mutilation d’image*, AO 20 (1952) 351–355; J. VAN DIJK s.v. *Zerbrechen der roten Töpfe*, in: LÄ VI (1986) 1389–1396; G. POSENER, s.v. *Ächtungstexte*, in: LÄ I (1975) 67–79.

Defensive magic, however, is the most wide-spread genre: warding-off demons and the wandering souls of the dead which motivated snakes and scorpions, or caused diseases, bad dreams, etc.

Magical rites could be performed only on certain days¹⁴ in an area delineated by the sorcerer as sacred (the Egyptian word for conjuring: *šnjt*, means "encircling"), either excluding inimical powers (just as the cartouche protects the king's name) or enclosing and hemming them in.¹⁵ The magician should be ritually clean,¹⁶ the articles he used new.¹⁷ Morning, when light conquers darkness, was a favorite time for conducting the ceremony.¹⁸ The incantation proper had to be recited with due solemnity, rhythmically and clearly. It could be sung¹⁹ or even shouted.²⁰ However, it had to be done properly;²¹ carelessly

Examples of execratory texts are published by J. OSING, MDAIK 32 (1976) 133–185; AEMT 12; G. POSENER, MDAIK 16 (1958) 251–270; VILA, *Journal des Savants* 1963, 135–160.

Hieroglyphs cut in two: P. LACAU, ZÄS 51 (1913) 1–64; ID., ASAE 26 (1926) 69–81; F. KAMMERZELL s. v. Zeichenverstümmelung, in: LÄ VI (1986) 1359–1361; A. A. BARB, in: J. R. HARRIS, ed., *The Legacy of Egypt*, Oxford 1971², 156. Cf. W. DEONNA, *L'Image incomplète ou mutilée*, REA 32 (1930) 321–322.

The deposition of curse texts in graves is well attested for other parts of the world – v. I 2 i. J. TRUMPF, *Athen. Mitt.* 73 (1958) 94 f., adduces evidence for graves actually being opened so that the curses could be deposited.

¹⁴ ASAE 48 (1948) 425–431; HOPFNER, OZ I §§ 829 ff., ID., *Mageia*.

¹⁵ See on knots in Egyptian and Greek magic: A. MASSART, OMRO Suppl. 34, Leiden 1954, 98; W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, *Amulets*, London 1914, pl. XVII–XIX; ROEDER, *Ausklänge* 184; J. G. GRIFFITHS, *Plutarch of Iside et Osiride*, Cambridge 1970, 408.6; HOPFNER, *Mageia* 358 f.; DELATTE and DERCHAIN, *Intailles* 368; BONNER, *Studies* 3.9, 160, 194; M. PIEPER, MDAIK 5 (1934) 125–126; FR. W. VON BISSING, *Ägyptische Knotenamulette*, ARW 8 (1905) Beiheft, gewidmet H. Usener zum 70. Geburtstag, 23–27; P. WOLTERS, *Faden und Knoten als Amulett*, *ibid.*, 1–22; J. HECKENBACH, *De nuditate sacra sacrisque vinculis* (RGVV 9.3), Giessen 1911; S. EITREM s. v. Bindezauber, in: RAC 2 (1954) 380–385. In Jewish magic: TRACHTENBERG, *Magic* 127. In general: ULRIKE ZISCHKA, *Zur sakralen und profanen Anwendung des Knotenmotivs als magisches Mittel, Symbol oder Dekor*, Munich 1977; M. ELIADE, *Les dieux lieux et le symbolisme des nœuds*, RHR 134 (1947–1948) 5–36; S. GANDZ, *The Knot in Hebrew Literature*, *Isis* 14 (1930) 189–214; H. DECUGIS, *Les étapes du droit I*, Paris 1946²; M. ELIADE, *Images*, ch. 3; ONIANS *Origins*, 366 ff. and index, s. v. bond; CYRUS L. DAY, *Quipus and Witches' Knots*, Lawrence, Kansas 1967; I. SCHEFTELOWITZ, *Das Schlingen- und Netzmotiv im Glauben und Brauch der Völker* (RGVV 12.2), Giessen 1912.

¹⁶ ASAE 39 (1939) 70–71; JEA 23 (1937) 171; BIFAO 40 (1941) 98–99; A. PIANKOFF, *The Shrines of Tutanchamun*, New York 1955, 32–33; HOPFNER, *Mageia* 359.

¹⁷ PIANKOFF (n. 16), 32–33; EITREM, P. Oslo I, pp. 50, 100; AEMT 27; PGM IV 66, V 268. Cf. TRACHTENBERG, *Magic* 121–122.

¹⁸ AEMT 67, 95; WM. BRASHEAR, ZPE 33 (1979) 273. See on this and other transition periods WM. BRASHEAR, APF 36 (1990) 61–74.

¹⁹ LANGE (n. 8) 12: „Die schönen Sprüche zum Singen“.

²⁰ AEMT 120; ZPE 2 (1968) 15: ἀναγιγνώσκειν μεγά[λη φωνή]; v. n. 242.

²¹ AEMT 123 (p. 84); ROEDER, *Ausklänge* 168; Plin., n. h. 28.2.11; F. DÖLGER, *Antike u. Christentum* 2 (1930) 242; LEIPOLDT and MORENZ, *Schriften* 56–59; HOPFNER, OZ I §§ 724, 767, 776–782; ID., *Mageia* 373; S. NIDITCH, *Orientalia* 48 (1979) 464–465.

garbled the spell would not only be useless but even potentially dangerous for the user.

For emphasis the spell was repeated.²² To avoid any mistakes about the person the spell was intended for, he/she was identified by name and mother's name.²³ Complete possession or total efficacy was aspired to by naming all the parts of the body.²⁴ The magic had to take effect immediately.²⁵ Guarantee was given that the spell was oft-tried and found effective.²⁶

Wax or clay figurines with spells written on papyrus attached to them have been found, made according to instructions occasionally attested in magical procedures.²⁷ Supernatural attributes were ascribed to everyday objects and materials.²⁸

²² AEMT passim: "This spell is to be said 4 times". E. NORDEN, *Aus altrömischen Priesterbüchern*, Lund-Leipzig 1939, 145.1, cites Horace III 26.6: *hic hic ponite*; Catull. 61.8: *huc huc veni*, 64.195: *huc huc adventate*; AUDOLLENT, *Defix.* 248: *age age iam iam cito cito*. PGM XII 322, 334: κρύβε κρύβε; EITREM, P. Oslo I, pp. 58 f., 61 f.; PFISTER, *Religion* 199; *Id.* s. v. Kultus, in: RE XI,2 (1922) 2155 f.; F. HEILER, *Das Gebet*, Munich 1969⁵, 152 ff.; NOCK, *Texts* 265–266, 283; F. MALTOMINI, ZPE 48 (1982) 167–168; HEIM 482: *ut os ut os* (Marcell. XXI.2); Plin, n. h. XXVII.131: *reseda, morbis reseda, scisne, scisne*.... In PGM XVI the same spell is repeated no less than nine times.

D. MARTINEZ, P. Mich. 6925: A New Magical Love Charm, *Diss. Ann Arbor* 1985, 82 f., cites Eur. Elect. 679, Or. 149, Alc. 872, and refers to K. J. DOVER, *Theocritus*, London 1971, pp. xlv–l; H. THESLEFF, *Studies on Intensification in Early and Classical Greek* (= *Comm. Human. Litt.* 21.1, 1954), 194 f.; A. HENRICH, ZPE 39 (1980) 12.4 – and many more.

²³ AEMT passim; PGM passim. Cf. S. EITREM, P. Oslo I, pp. 44–45; U. WILCKEN, APF 1 (1901) 423–425; H. LEWY, ARW 29 (1931) 189–193, for Semitic and Mandaean parallels; D. JORDAN, *Philologus* 120 (1976) 130.8, on the Egyptian or Babylonian origin of this practice.

²⁴ MASSART (n. 15) 88–89; S. EITREM, P. Oslo. I, pp. 38–42; F. MALTOMINI, ZPI 48 (1982) 166; SM II 53; GAGER (n. 340) no. 134. Cf. the figurine stuck with pins according to the directions given in PGM IV 296–434, published by KAMBITIS; and PGM XXIV b.

²⁵ N. E. SCOTT, *The Metternich Stela*, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, vol. 9, no. 8 (1951) 212: "quickly, quickly, today"; cf. MALTOMINI, ZPI 48 (1982) 169.

²⁶ AEMT 71, 72, 84: "A true means, (proved) an infinite number of times" aut sim.; MASSART (n. 15) 109–110. Cf. HOPFNER, *Mageia* 371.

²⁷ Instructions: AEMT 84, 125, 128; SAUNERON, *Le monde du magicien égyptien* (n. 6) 44–45; *Id.*, *Le papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn*, New York 1970, 19; S. SCHOTT, *Urkunden mythologischen Inhalts*, Leipzig 1929–1939. Wax figures: S. SCHOTT, ZAS 65 (1930) 35–42; M. RAVEN, OMRO 64 (1983) 7–47.

Cf. F. MALTOMINI, SCO 29 (1979) 95.14; WORTMANN, *Texte* 86; HOPFNER, *Mageia* 347 f.; TRACHTENBERG, *Magic* 125–126; W. BURKERT, *Die orientalisierende Epoche in der griechischen Religion und Literatur*, SB Heidelberg. Akad. Wiss. 1984, 68 f.; M. J. RAVEN, *Wax in Egyptian Magic and Symbolism*, OMRO 64 (1983) 7–48; WM. BRASHEAR, SAK 19 (1992) 79–109; C. FARAONE, *Classical Antiquity* 10 (1991) 165–205.

²⁸ NOCK, *Texts* 257 f.; F. MALTOMINI in: P. Laur. IV (= *Papyrologica Florentina* XII), Florence 1983, 50–51; HOPFNER, *Mageia* 314 f.; W. BARTA s. v. *Materialmagie und -symbolik*, in: LÄ III (1980) 1233 f.

Recalling a myth – either real or created *ad hoc* – reminded the god of a situation in the past similar to the one in which the conjuror was at present. Just as the god had triumphed then over his adversaries or afflictions, so now he should come to the aid of the mortal who was in a similar situation.²⁹

Foreign languages or downright gibberish and hocus-pocus words were intercalated into the texts of the spells.³⁰ Foreign – especially Nubian – magic was highly esteemed.³¹ Even *characteres*, magic symbols and signs, are attested.³²

As elsewhere in the ancient world, dreams and oracles played a large role in divination and prophecy.³³ Otherwise, the Egyptian magician may also have resorted to lecanomancy for foretelling the future.³⁴

²⁹ LEXA, *Magie* I 53–56; ROEDER, *Ausklang*; AEMT *passim*; here I 2 g.

³⁰ Hocus-pocus: This charm is cited by ERMAN and RANKE, *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum*, Tübingen 1923, 406–407; ERMAN, *Religion* 303; LANGE (n. 8) 65, 94; DONADONI, *Religione* 338: *idr idsn / idrgh idsn / sm mtn idsn / sm im idsn / sm dgyn idsn / sm dgbn idsn / sm t'ktl' idsn / dwrhs qn hs*. Cf. J.-C. GOYON, *BIFAO* 75 (1975) 368: *'ir3k3 'ir3k3, 'ihyr3k3 'hyr3k3 ... 'ih-bnnt (al. Thn-b3yirky)*; LEXA, *Magie* I 116; K. SETHE, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den Altägyptischen Pyramidentexten* I, Hamburg 1962, 214–215: *hj-tj-tj-bj-tj*; II, p. 186, Spruch 281; B. DE RACHEWILTZ (n. 6) 193 n. 129. Common to all of these is the repetition of similar sounds, *homoiarcton* and *homoioteleuton* – standard devices of the later Greek and Coptic *voces magicae* and *glossolalia* everywhere. Cf. H.-P. WEITZ, s. v. Sarapis, in: ROSCHERS *Lexikon* IV (1909–1915) 361, who cites *exx.* from ancient Babylonian incantations.

Foreign languages: J. VERCOUTTER, *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique*, Cairo 1956, 82 ff.; GRAPOW, *op. cit.*, IV 258–259 = W. WRESZINSKI, *Der Londoner medizinische Papyrus*, Leipzig 1912, 150–152: “in the language of the desert inhabitants”, “in the language of the Keftiu”; Y. KOENIG, *Le papyrus Boulaq 6* (= *Bibl. d'Étude* 87), Cairo 1981, 24; and E. DRIOTON, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 12 (1955) 165: Hebrew. B. EBBELL, *ZÄS* 59 (1924) 149: Arabic. In the late Demotic magical text DMP Greek is the exotic, foreign language (v. n. 38).

³¹ J. BORGHOUTS, *OMRO* 51 (1970) 151.2; L. KÁKOSY, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 7 (Budapest 1981) 131 ff.; Y. KOENIG, *Rev. Egypt.* 38 (1987) 105–110; H. THISSEN, Nubien in demotischen magischen Texten, in: D. MENDEL, U. CLAUDI, edd., *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext*, Gedenkschr. P. Behrens, Cologne 1991, 369–376.

³² AEMT 26 and n. 73.

³³ S. SAUNERON, *Les songes et leur interprétation dans l'Égypte ancienne*, in: *Les songes et leur interprétation* (= *Sources orientales* 2), Paris 1959, 17–61; UPZ I, p. 366; O. RUBENSOHN, *Das Aushängeschild eines Traumdeuters*, in: Fs. J. Vahlen, Berlin 1900, 1–15; K.-TH. ZAUZICH, *Aus zwei demotischen Traumbüchern*, APF 27 (1980) 91–98; J. LECLANT, *Éléments pour une étude de la divination dans l'Égypte pharaonique*, in: A. CAQUOT, M. LEBOVICI, *La divination* I, Paris 1964, 1–23.

³⁴ Cf. F. CUNEN, *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 33 (1959) 396 ff.; J. CAPART, *Les anciens Égyptiens pratiquaient-ils déjà la lécanomancie*, CdE 19 (1944) 263; A. VAN HOONACKER, *Was Josef's beker (Gen. 44) en tooverbeker?*, in: *Isidoor Teirlinck Album*, Louvain 1931, 239–243; CUNEN, *Lécanomancie*; J. VERGOTE, *Josef en Egypte*, Louvain 1959, 172 f. utilizes much of CUNEN's dissertation. For lecanomancy in later and earlier times see E. PETERSON, *Frühkirche* 333 ff.; C. DAICHES, *Babylonian Oil Magic in the Talmud and the Later Jewish Literature*, London 1913; J. HUNGER, *Becherwahrsgang bei den Babyloniern* (= *Leipziger Semitische Studien* 1), 1913, 1. Abh. V. inf. nn. 464 f.

b) Demotic Magic³⁵

Although later native magic written in Demotic still draws heavily on Egyptian mythology for its themes and motifs, its character is strikingly different from that of its ancient Egyptian antecedents. There are many more spells for productive and destructive magic containing long, detailed descriptions of elaborate rituals and preparations – a feature unknown to earlier Egyptian magic.³⁶ New is also the citation of different sources, e.g. “Memphis, the place of Ptah – another (manuscript) says ‘the house of the obelisk’”.³⁷ There is increasing use of *voces magicae*³⁸ and Semitic or Assyrian and Persian names such as Mithra, Ereschigal, Nebutosualeth, Abraham, Adonai, Moses,³⁹ Sabaoth, Anael and Boel.⁴⁰ These departures from ancient precedents need to be studied with regard to their relationships with Greek and Semitic practices.⁴¹

Demotic magical texts (the demotic script being attested from 643 B.C. to 452 A.D.) date usually to the Roman period. The only exception known to date was recently published.⁴² They resemble in style and content contemporary Greek ones. There are instructions for making magic rings, for sending dreams, for making magic inks, for performing lecanomancies and necromancies. The most famous – and with 62 columns also the longest – text is DMP,

³⁵ See now J. JOHNSON, Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri, in: GMP iv–lvii; E. BRESCIANI, I grandi testi magici demotici, in: ROCCATI, SILIOTTI, *Magia* 313–329; R. RITNER, Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire: the Demotic Spells and their Religions Context, above in this volume (ANRW II 18,5) 3333–3379.

³⁶ J. BORGHOUTS, Magical Texts, in: *Textes et langages de l’Égypte pharaonique* (= Bibliothèque d’Étude 64.3), Cairo 1972, 17.

³⁷ J. JOHNSON, *Enchoria* 7 (1977) 91; EAD., OMRO 56 (1975) 35: “of the ... soul, another (manuscript) says, Ruler of the western half(?)”. Cf. DMP, p. 55; “*esex, poe, ef-khe-ton*, otherwise said, ‘*Kheton*’”.

³⁸ J. JOHNSON, *Enchoria* 7 (1977) 93 f.

E. REVILLOUT, *Revue égyptologique* 1 (1880) 271, published an excerpt from DMP col. 2, containing the *voces magicae aphobot apseustos epaletheia* which M. MÜLLER, *Recueil de Travaux* 8 (1886) 178, demonstrated are Greek: ἀφόβως ἀψεύστως ἐπ’ ἀληθεία. Cf. JOHNSON, in: GMP p. 197 n. 30.

The most extensive lists of *voces magicae* in Demotic are in DMP III 137 ff. Here, in an invocation said to be Greek (coll. 27–28), MÜLLER 178 also found fragments of genuine Greek. According to him, the words *episghes emmime* are ἐπισχες ἐπί με.

Many of the same *voces magicae* appear in Demotic as in Greek; however, there are numerous ones unique to the Demotic texts. Cf. n. 283.

Cf. JOHNSON, *Enchoria* 7 (1977) 55.7, 87–88; LEXA, *Magie* I 61.

³⁹ DMP 5.13–14 “Reveal yourself to me here today in the manner of revealing yourself to Moses which you did on the mountain” – in an apparent reference to the Biblical Moses.

⁴⁰ JOHNSON, *Enchoria* 7 (1977) 94; DMP III 137 ff.

⁴¹ JOHNSON, *Enchoria* 97; BORGHOUTS (n. 36) 17.

⁴² G. VITTMANN, Ein Zauberspruch gegen Skorpione im Wadi Hammamat, in: *Grammata Demotika*. Fs. E. Lüddeckens, Würzburg 1984, 245 ff. Although Egyptian magic knows scorpion charms – therapeutic and apotropaic – from earliest times down to the Coptic and Arabic periods, this seems to be the only one in Demotic (VITTMANN 247). K.-Th. ZAUZICH, *Abakadabra oder Ägyptisch?*, *Enchoria* 13 (1985) 119–132, denies the presence of *voces magicae* in this text. Cf. n. 505.

which contains spells written not only in Demotic proper but also Hieratic (probably to ensure the antiquity and sanctity of the spells), ciphers (to ensure secrecy), alphabetic Demotic and old Coptic (to clarify the pronunciation of the magical names, crucial to the spells' success).⁴³ Three passages in Greek (= PGM XIV) play the same role as Coptic passages in the Greek magical papyri – they are the hocus-pocus *vores magicae* designed to astound and mystify the client/listener and so increase the efficacy of the magic in his eyes.

DMP dates to the early III c. A. D. and is probably a translation from the Greek. Nonetheless the prototype seems to have been Egyptian since Greek deities are so few and Egyptian ones so common. MÜLLER⁴⁴ suggests that some of the formulae may even derive from 18–20th dynasty literature. Otherwise, the language seems to be late Demotic, even approaching Coptic. The odd instance of Hieratic is not necessarily proof of antiquity, since Hieratic is still attested in the first few centuries A. D. Furthermore, the Hieratic signs are atypical and not so much derivative as imitative of the ancient calligraphy.⁴⁵

The Demotic magical papyrus P. Leid. J 384 is written by the same scribe using all the same languages and scripts employed by the others. This text, copied by LEEMANS in 1856⁴⁶ and cited by SPIEGELBERG in 1917⁴⁷ and whose Greek sections were published by PREISENDANZ (PGM XII), was not edited *in toto* until 1975 by J. JOHNSON.⁴⁸ Since the language, scripts and contents of both papyri are so similar, JOHNSON concludes “the scribe first used the back of a century old literary papyrus⁴⁹ ... to write down various Demotic and Greek magical spells. Later, but probably not much later, having run out of space on that papyrus, he continued in [DMP].”⁵⁰

Another important Demotic-Greek magical text is P.dem.Lond. 10588, published by H. I. BELL, A. D. NOCK and H. THOMPSON.⁵¹ The recto comprises eight columns, the verso, two columns of Demotic and 80 lines of Greek (PGM LXI). It dates to the III c. A. D. In addition to the usual instructions for performing magical rites there are also two medical recipes preserved in Greek. According to the editors, “in no case is the Greek a translation from the Demotic or vice versa”.⁵²

The last major Demotic magical text, which like the preceding three was bought from ANASTASI is P. Louvre E 3229.⁵³ It too is written in a mixture of

⁴³ JOHNSON, *Enchoria* 7 (1977) 93–94.

⁴⁴ M. MÜLLER (n. 38) 172.

⁴⁵ Cf. DMP vol. I 10–13; HULL, *Magic* 25–26.

⁴⁶ C. LEEMANS, *Monuments égyptiens du Musée d'antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide*, vol. II, fasc. 17, Leiden 1856, pl. CCXXVI–VI.

⁴⁷ W. SPIEGELBERG, *Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenauge ... nach dem Leidner Papyrus J 384*, Strassburg 1917.

⁴⁸ J. JOHNSON, *OMRO* 56 (1975) 29 ff.

⁴⁹ i. e. SPIEGELBERG (n. 47).

⁵⁰ J. JOHNSON, *OMRO* 56 (1975) 53.

⁵¹ NOCK, *Texts*.

⁵² *ibid.* 237.

⁵³ J. JOHNSON, *Enchoria* 7 (1977) 55–102.

scripts, although apparently not by the same person responsible for P. Leid. J 384 and DMP. As is obvious from the foregoing description, Demotic magic is inextricably intertwined with contemporary Greek magic, both of them drawing on and supplementing each other, existing side by side as equal partners continuing and developing the age-old tradition of magic in Egypt.

The following list comprises the known Demotic magical texts:

- 1) W. SPIEGELBERG, Eine demotische Fluchtafel aus Kûs, SB Bayerisch. Ak. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1925, 39–41. Cf. W. EDGERTON, Wooden Tablet from Qâw, ZÄS 72 (1936) 77–79.
- 2) W. SPIEGELBERG, Die demotischen Papyrus aus den kgl. Museen zu Berlin, Leipzig–Berlin 1902, 20 f. Cf. K.-Th. ZAUZICH, ZDMG Suppl. 1 (1969) 45 f.
- 3) J. JOHNSON, OMRO 56 (1975) 29 ff.
- 4) DMP.
- 5) NOCK, Texts.
- 6) W. TAIT, Papyri from Tebtunis in Egyptian and Greek, London 1977, nos. 18–20 (Roman).
- 7) J. JOHNSON, Enchoria 7 (1977) 55 ff.
- 8) G. VITTMANN, in: Fs. Lüddeckens, Würzburg 1984, 245 ff. Cf. K.-Th. ZAUZICH, Enchoria 13 (1985) 119–132.
- 9) O. Strassburg D 1338; SPIEGELBERG, ZÄS 49 (1911) 34–37.

R. K. RITNER, Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire: the Demotic Spells and their Religious Context, above in this volume (ANRW II 18,5) pp. 3333–3379, mentions ca. 20 Demotic magical papyri of Ptolemaic date from Saqqara.

On Demotic oracle questions see below: I 3 a Oracle Questions.

2. Greek Magic in Egypt

a) First Finds and Publications

„Botokudenphilologie“ – WILAMOWITZ

From the days of Pythagoras and Herodotus Egypt had fascinated the Europeans who travelled up and down the Nile and told of its wonders to their eager listeners at home.⁵⁴ The Arab conquest in 641 A.D. put an end to all

⁵⁴ Cf. K. SMELIK and E. HEMELRIJK, Who knows not what monsters demented Egypt worships?, ANRW II 17.4, ed. W. HAASE, Berlin–New York 1984, 1852–2000; HOPFNER, Fontes; S. MORENZ, Die Begegnung Europas mit Ägypten, SB. Sächs. Akad. Wiss. Leipzig 1968; CHR. FROIDEFOND, Le mirage égyptien dans la littérature grecque d'Homère à Aristote, Aix-en-Provence 1971; P. MARSTAING, Les écritures égyptiennes et l'antiquité classique, Paris 1913; J. VERGOTE, Muséon 52 (1939) 199; MAHÉ, Hermès I 125; M. BERNAL, Black Athena I, New Brunswick 1987; S. MORRIS, AJA 93 (1989) 529; J.-M. ANDRÉ, Les Romains et l'Égypte, Les Etudes Philosophiques, Paris 1987, 189–206. On the invad-

such visits, and for 700 years Egypt was inaccessible to the Christian Europeans. With the Renaissance and the return of stable political conditions to the Mid-East, Europeans again ventured into Egypt in increasing numbers. Napoleon's expedition (1799–1801) finally opened Egypt to the West. CHAMPOLLION's decipherment of the hieroglyphic script in 1822 made the Egyptian language intelligible for the first time in 1500 years. The expectations of the age were high. "In Mozart's Magic Flute (written in 1791) we can still feel how the late eighteenth century hoped to find in the wisdom and ritual of Egypt a new and satisfying answer to the mystery of life itself".⁵⁵ It came therefore as somewhat of a disappointment when the first Greek papyrus from Egypt, published by N. SCHOW in 1788,⁵⁶ turned out to contain not the wisdom of the ancients but a list of canal-workers for the year 193 A.D. in a heretofore unheard-of place called Tebtynis.

The early 19th century saw the discovery and publication of more Greek papyri – among them the most important magical texts ever to come to light. Had they attracted more wide-spread attention these unique witnesses to the popular religion of Greco-Roman Egypt – while by no means revealing the wisdom of the ancients – might nonetheless have satisfied popular yearnings for occult and mystic knowledge of a by-gone age. Far from attaining any popular acclaim, the first magical papyri were largely ignored even by the scholars of the day. Although they were catalogued among Egyptian acquisitions Egyptologists ignored them, since they were written in Greek, while classicists, whose attention was riveted solely on things Attic, denigrated and decried them as the barbaric products of a bastard culture unworthy of their study.⁵⁷

ing Arabs' interest in their predecessors see U. HAARMANN, *Die Sphinx. Synkretistische Volksreligiosität im spätmittelalterlichen islamischen Ägypten*, *Saeculum* 29 (1978) 367–384.

⁵⁵ TURNER 19. Cf. S. MORENZ, *Die Zauberflöte. Eine Studie zum Lebenszusammenhang. Ägypten – Antike – Abendland* (= Münstersche Forschungen 5), Münster–Köln 1952; PETER A. CLAYTON, *The Rediscovery of Ancient Egypt. Artists and Travellers in the 19th Century*, London 1982 (= *Id.*, *Das wiederentdeckte alte Ägypten*, Bergisch Gladbach 1983); L. DIECKMANN, *Hieroglyphics. The History of a Literary Symbol*, St. Louis 1970; C. TRAUNECKER and J.-C. GOLVIN, *Karnak. Résurrection d'un site*, Paris 1984; D. BULL and D. LORIMER, *Up the Nile*, New York 1979; J. LECLANT, *De l'Égyptophilie à l'Égyptologie*, CRAI 1985, 630–647; J. BALTRUSAITIS, *Le quête d'Isis. Introduction à l'Égyptomanie*, Paris 1967; R. WITTKOWER, *Allegorie und der Wandel der Symbole in Antike und Renaissance*, Cologne 1984, 219 ff.; E. WIND, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, Oxford 1980; E. IVERSEN, *The Myth of Egypt and its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition*, Copenhagen 1961; S. MATTON, *L'Égypte chez les 'philosophes chimiques' de Maier à Pernety*, *Les Etudes philosophiques*, Paris 1987, 207–226; WM. BRASHEAR, *Magical Papyri*, in: P. GANZ, ed., *Das Buch als magisches und als Repräsentationsobjekt* (= *Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien* 5), Wolfenbüttel 1992, 51 f.; *Egyptomania. L'Égypte dans l'art occidental 1730–1930* (exhibition catalogue), Paris 1994, with extensive bibliography.

⁵⁶ The so-called *Charta Borgiana* has been republished as SB I 5124. J. E. SANDYS, *A History of Classical Scholarship III*, repr. New York 1958, 317, describes SCHOW.

⁵⁷ The fate of the magical gems was no better – cf. A. BARB, *Diva Matrix*, *JWCI* 16 (1953) 193, 213; WINCKELMANN, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (1776), 95: „Die anderen geschnittenen Steine, die man Abraxas nennt, sind itzo durchgehends für Gemächte der

Today one can only wonder at their lack of understanding and insight. Until the discovery of the magical papyri the only evidence for magical practices in the ancient world were gems and an occasional literary allusion or description of incantations and exorcisms in classical authors.⁵⁸ Here, for the first time and *en masse*, were genuine, ancient *grimoires*, direct from the magicians' workshops. By all rights they should have attracted and fascinated Egyptologists, classicists, students of religion and of the Greco-Egyptian culture alike. But they did not.

To be sure, interest in ancient mysticism and magic was there. G. PARTHEY published his 'Hermetis Trismegisti Poemander', Berlin 1854, and several years later his 'Iamblichi de mysteriis liber', Berlin 1857. A. MAURY wrote 'La magie et l'astrologie dans l'antiquité et moyen âge', Paris 1864, 1877; O. JAHN, 'Über den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks bei den Alten', Berichte d. Sächsischen Gesellschafts. d. Wissenschaften 1855; and B. SCHMIDT, 'Volksleben der Neugriechen und das hellenische Altertum', Leipzig 1871. However, these studies concentrated almost exclusively on the literary sources, as if some of the most important evidence for ancient occultism – already published and accessible for them – were not lying right under their noses!

Already in 1826, the oldest Greek magical text on papyrus – and still today one of the oldest Greek papyri in the world – was published by GIOVANNI PETRETTINI.⁵⁹ His discussion of Artemisia's curse on her husband is exhaustive and does full justice to this unique and earliest testimony to Greek magic in Egypt. Although some of his contemporaries gave his publication the credit it deserved,⁶⁰ for the most part it went unnoticed for over half a century, until FR. BLASS re-discovered and re-edited the now justly famous "curse of Artemisia" (PGM XL) in 1882.⁶¹

About the same time as PETRETTINI published his remarkable find, fellahin turned up a singular lot of magical and alchemical papyrus rolls and codices in a grave at Western Thebes, dating ca. 250–350 A.D. The story of this discov-

Gnostiker und Basilidianer aus den ersten christlichen Zeiten erklärt, und nicht würdig, in Absicht der Kunst, in Betracht gezogen zu werden"; A. FURTWÄGLER, Die antiken Gemmen: Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im Altertum I–III, Leipzig–Berlin 1900, 363; ID., Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium, Berlin 1896, p. X: „Sie sind charakterisiert sowohl durch ihre künstlerisch abscheuliche, widerlich weiche Ausführung, wie durch ihre zaubermächtigen, bedeutungsvollen Typen“. Nonetheless, he continues, „ihre gesonderte Behandlung, die sie in noch höherem Maße verdienen, als sie ihnen schon geworden, müssen wir den Gelehrten überlassen, in deren Studienggebiet dieses merkwürdige Stück alter Religionsgeschichte liegt“.

⁵⁸ Cf. TUPET, *Magie*; J. E. LOWE, *Magic in Greek and Latin Literature*, Oxford 1929; E. TAVENNER, *Studies on Magic from Latin Literature*, New York 1916; S. EITREM, *La magie comme motif littéraire chez les grecs et les romains*, SO 21 (1941) 39–83; ID., SO 12 (1933) 10–38; E. MASSONNEAU, *La magie dans l'antiquité romaine*, Paris 1934; L. FAHZ, *De poetarum romanorum doctrina magica* (RGVV 2,3), Giessen 1904.

⁵⁹ *Papiri Greco-Egizi ... dell'I. R. Museo di Corte*, Vienna 1826.

⁶⁰ KARL OTFRIED MÜLLER, GGA 1827, 1041 f., and F. LETRONNE, *Journal des Savants* 1828, 477 ff.

⁶¹ *Philologus* 41 (1882) 746 ff. Cf. I 2 b.

ery, unparalleled in the history of papyrology and Greco-Egyptian magical studies, deserves recounting here.⁶²

The principal figures include GIOVANNI ANASTASI, an Armenian born in 1780 in Damascus. Ca. 1797 he went to Egypt with his father who became a flourishing purveyor to the French troops. After the French defeat and with drawal his father died in bankruptcy. ANASTASI (an adopted name) re-established himself and became one of the wealthiest merchants in Egypt, serving as Swedish-Norwegian Consul-General from 1828 until his death in 1857. Besides other commercial ventures he conducted a thriving trade in antiquities, employing agents to deal with the villagers at Saqqarah and Thebes. He sold large collections of antiquities to the Dutch in 1828, to the English in 1839 and to the French in 1857.⁶³

The same year CASPAR JACOB CHRISTIAAN REUVENS (1793–1835) received his degree in law (1813), he also published his first work in classics. By 1818, he had been named professor of archeology at the University of Leiden, where he became professor ordinarius in 1826. He is best remembered as the first director of the Museum van Oudheden te Leiden. Untiring in his efforts to see the newly founded museum become one of the leading institutions in Europe, REUVENS not only promoted excavations at home but also sent his emissaries abroad to purchase objects for his growing collection. In 1828 one such commission was sending Col. J. E. HUMBERT to Livorno to purchase a collection ANASTASI was offering for sale.⁶⁴

Before leaving England in 1865 to become Assistant Judge for the Supreme Court for China and Japan, CHARLES WYCLIFFE GOODWIN (1817–1878) had established a reputation as an accomplished Hebraist, a first-rate Greek scholar, an authority on Anglo-Saxon and an eminent decipherer and interpreter of Hieratic texts.⁶⁵

CONRADUS LEEMANS (1809–1893) had taken up archeology on the advice of REUVENS. He accompanied REUVENS to Paris, where they met CHAMPOLLION, in 1829 and joined the staff of the Leiden museum, later becoming its

⁶² The story of the finding and publishing of the magical papyri has been often told *in extenso* (pace G. FOWDEN, *Hermes* 168 and n. 47). Cf. P. GORISSEN, *Ontwikkelingsgang der studies over de grieksche magische papyri uit Egypte*, *Philologische Studien* 6 (Louvain 1934–1935) 190–209; K. PREISENDANZ, *PGM I, Vorrede*; ID., *Papyrusfunde*; ID., *Überlieferung*; ID., *Überlieferungsgeschichte*; ID., *Magie*; ID., *Das Studium der griechischen Zauberpapyri*, *CdE* 6 (1931) 456–459; ID., *Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, *APF* 8 (1927) 104–131; D. COHEN, *La papyrologie dans les Pays-Bas*, *CdE* 6 (1931) 403–410; S. DE RICCI, *REG* 37 (1924) 250–252, 253; *GMP*, xli ff.

⁶³ See on ANASTASI: W. DAWSON and E. UPHILL, *Who was Who in Egyptology*, London 1972²; W. DAWSON, *JEA* 38 (1949) 158–160; O. LAGERCRANTZ, *P. Graecus Holmiensis. Recepte für Silber, Steine und Purpur*, Uppsala–Leipzig 1913, 46; A. KLASSENS, *OMRO* 56 (1975) 20.1–2; W. C. HAYES, *JEA* 24 (1938) 14; *GMP*, p. 1 n. 12.

⁶⁴ Cf. SANDYS (n. 56) 280; W. D. VAN WIJNGAARDEN, *CdE* 11 (1936) 472–477; COHEN (n. 62); H. D. SCHNEIDER, *De Laudibus Aegyptologiae*: C. J. C. Reuvens als verzamelaar van Aegyptiaca, Leiden 1985; *L'Egyptologue* C. Leemans (n. 66), *passim*.

⁶⁵ Cf. DAWSON and UPHILL (n. 63) on GOODWIN.

director in 1839. He was the first Egyptologist to publish a systematic and comprehensive catalogue of a major European collection.⁶⁶

GUSTAV FRIEDRICH CONSTANTIN PARTHEY (1798–1872), a German Coptist and classicist, published a number of Greek and Coptic texts. His chief claim to fame was his Coptic-Latin dictionary which remained the standard work for many years.⁶⁷

In 1883, while still a schoolteacher in Vienna, CARL FRANZ JOSEF WESSELY (1860–1931) started working as an unpaid, volunteer assistant in the Archduke RAINER's papyrus collection. In 1904, he became director of the collection and in 1919 privatdocent in paleography and papyrology at the University of Vienna.⁶⁸

FRANÇOIS LENORMANT (1837–1883) learned Greek at the age of 6 and at 14 published an article on Greek epigraphy in 'Revue archéologique'. He became Professor of Archeology at the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1874 and a renowned expert in Oriental languages.⁶⁹

Sometime before 1828 reportedly in Thebes and supposedly in a tomb – the exact date and place are unknown – villagers found a large number of papyrus rolls and codices – a find which became known as the 'Theban Magical Library'. ANASTASI, working through his agents, acquired the library and sold (or gave in the case of the Stockholm papyri) its contents to various European collections.

To the Rijksmuseum in Leiden were sold in 1828:

- P. Leid. gr. J 384, also known as V = ANASTASI 75 = PGM XII. This is a 3.6 m. long roll, containing on the *verso* 19 volumns of magical spells, four in Demotic, two in both Demotic and Greek, and 13 in Greek. The *recto* contains a Demotic literary text from the II c. B. C.⁷⁰ (The first half of this roll [=ANASTASI 75] was acquired in 1828, the second half [= ANASTASI 75a] in 1830). Written by the same scribe who wrote P. Leid. gr. J 383.
- P. Leid. gr. J 395, also known as W = ANASTASI 76 = PGM XIII, a 1078 line collection of Coptic and Greek spells in codex form.
- P. Leid. J 383 = PGM XIV, later discovered to be the second half of P. Brit. Mus. 10070. Together they form a roll with 29 columns on the

⁶⁶ See on LEEMANS, L'Egyptologue Conrade Leemans et sa correspondance. Contribution à l'histoire d'une science, à l'occasion du cent-cinquantième anniversaire du déchiffrement des hiéroglyphes et du centenaire des Congrès des Orientalistes, Leiden 1973; DAWSON and UPHILL (n. 63); COHEN (n. 62).

⁶⁷ Cf. DAWSON and UPHILL (n. 63) on PARTHEY.

⁶⁸ Cf. Aegyptus 12 (1932) 250–255; PREISENDANZ, Papyrusfunde 120–122.

⁶⁹ Cf. DAWSON and UPHILL (n. 63) on LENORMANT.

⁷⁰ SPIEGELBERG (n. 47). – In the meantime, more Demotic fragments of this work have appeared: W. TAIT, Acta Orientalia 36 (1974) 23–27; Id., Acta Orientalia 37 (1976) 27–44; M. PEZIN, CRIPEL 8 (1986) 97–98. The work has been re-edited by F. DE CENIVAL, Le mythe de l'œil du soleil (= Demotische Studien 9), Würzburg 1987. A Greek translation of the same tale was published by S. WEST, JEA 55 (1969) 175 ff.

one side and 33 on the other of spells in Demotic,⁷¹ Old Coptic and Greek. Written by the same scribe who wrote P. Leid. gr. J 384.

- P. Leid. J 397, or X, as LEEMANS designated it (X being in this case not the Roman numeral but the letter after V and W), a 10-page codex with alchemical recipes in Greek.⁷²

Auctioned to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris in 1857 was:

- Bibl. nat. suppl. grec 574 = ANASTASI 1073 = PGM IV, a 36-page codex of spells in Coptic and Greek, 3274 lines long.

Sold to the British Museum in London in 1839:

- P. Brit. Mus. XLVI = PGM V, a 7-page codex with 489 lines of Greek.

Bought by the British Museum in 1857 in Paris:

- P. Brit. Mus. 10070 = PGM XIV, which was recognized as the missing first half of P. Leid. J 383.

Given to Stockholm sometime before August 1832:

- P. Holmiensis, a 15-page codex with alchemical recipes in Greek.⁷³
- PGM Va, a loose page with a Greek magic spell, found among the pages of P. Holmiensis.⁷⁴

Although the following texts ultimately derive from ANASTASI's collection, it is not at all certain that they belong to the same find as those listed above:

- P. Brit. Mus. CXXI = PGM VII, a roll with 1027 lines of Greek. PREISENDANZ, Papyrusfunde 93, would like to assign it to the Theban magical library. However, there is no indication of its provenance nor of the circumstances under which it was purchased for the British Museum in 1888.
- P. Brit. Mus. 10588 = PGM LXI, a roll with spells in Demotic and Greek: on the *recto*, eight columns of Demotic with occasional Old Coptic *vores magicae* and two Greek sections within the Demotic; on the *verso*, two columns of Demotic (with occasional Old Coptic) and four columns of Greek.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Published as DMP. Cf. G. MASPERO, Sur un rituel égyptien de magie opératoire remontant à l'époque romaine, Recueil de travaux 40 (1923) 105–130. The Demotic texts are republished by J. JOHNSON, OMRO 56 (1975) 29–64, and EAD., in: GMP, pp. 195 ff.

⁷² C. LEEMANS, Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Publici Lugduni-Batavi, vol. II, Leiden 1885, pp. 199 ff. M. BERTHELOT, Introduction à l'étude de la chimie des anciens et du moyen-âge, Paris 1938, 19–173, translates and discusses the alchemical text. It has been re-edited by R. HALLEUX, Les alchimistes grecs 1: Papyrus de Leyde, Papyrus de Stockholm, Paris 1981. Cf. R. HALLEUX in: Actes du XVe Congrès International de Papyrologie, 3e partie (= Papyrol. Bruxellensia 18), Brussels 1979, 108–111.

A photo is published by RAVEN, Papyrus 74. According to TURNER, Typology, and his classification principles, this manuscript falls into his Group 5 (v. p. 17).

⁷³ O. LAGERCRANTZ, Recepte für Silber, Steine und Purpur, Leipzig–Uppsala 1913. LAGERCRANTZ discusses its origin and acquisition on pp. 45–46, 54. Cf. A. KLASSENS, OMRO 56 (1975) 20 ff. and R. HALLEUX, opp. cit. (n. 72).

⁷⁴ Cf. LAGERCRANTZ 233.

⁷⁵ NOCK, Texts. Cf. J. JOHNSON in: GMP, pp. lv–lviii.

- P. Louvre E 3229, formerly ANASTASI 1061, a roll with seven columns of Demotic on the *recto* and one column on the *verso* (where there is also an effaced Greek text). The scripts used are early Hieratic, Old Coptic and alphabetic Demotic and are apparently all written by the same scribe who wrote P. Brit. Mus. 10588, PGM XII and DMP.⁷⁶
- P. Berol. 5025 = PGM I, and P. Berol. 5026 = PGM II. The first is a complete roll (80.2 × 33.5 cm.) with 5 columns of writing in 347 lines. The second is a roll (94 × 33 cm.) with 4 columns of writing in 183 lines. According to the Berlin inventory book, the Egyptologist R. LEPSIUS bought the two rolls from the ANASTASI collection in Paris in 1857 – pace PARTHEY who states LEPSIUS bought them in Thebes.⁷⁷ In fact, LENORMANT⁷⁸ catalogues them under the nos. 1074 and 1075 in ANASTASI's collection. However, they do not seem to belong to the same Theban find as the other lengthy rolls and codices owned by ANASTASI. This fact need not surprise us, since LENORMANT catalogues no less than sixty papyrus rolls belonging to ANASTASI!
- P. gr. Louvre 2391 = PGM III, a papyrus roll over 1.5 m long with writing on both sides in Greek and Old Coptic. It was acquired for the Louvre in 1837 from the collection of J.-Fr. MIMAUT,⁷⁹ with no indication of provenance given. PREISENDANZ⁸⁰ would like to think it comes from the same Theban find as the others mentioned above.

Even if PGM I, II, III, VII and LXI be excluded from the same Theban cache comprising ANASTASI's papyri, it is still the largest find of magical papyri ever made. To this day the texts remain unrivaled for their length and importance for the study of Greek and late Egyptian magic. Furthermore, they are all formularies containing incantations, exorcisms, and directions for performing magical ceremonies, as well as for making amulets, charms, gems, etc. For the most part the papyri discovered since then belong to the category of applied magic, being the amulets and charms made according to instructions such as those given in these extensive collections of recipes and procedures found in the Theban tomb.

⁷⁶ Cf. J. JOHNSON, op. cit.; EAD., *Enchoria* 7 (1977) 55f. For the effaced Greek text see BRASHEAR, *Magica Varia*, no. 3.

⁷⁷ PREISENDANZ, APF 8 (1927) 106; ID., PGM, vol. I, p. 1 n. 1.

⁷⁸ Catalogue d'une collection d'antiquités, Paris 1857.

⁷⁹ According to J.-J. DUBOIS, *Description des antiquités égyptiennes grecques et romaines, monuments coptes et arabes, composant la collection de feu M. J.-F. MIMAUT*, Paris 1837, vff., MIMAUT was born in 1774. After his formal education he entered into the diplomatic service and distinguished himself as consul in Sardinia (where he wrote a history of the island), Spain and Venice. The last stage in his career was as consul-general for France in Alexandria from 1830 until his death in 1837. Very early he developed an interest in art and archeological artefacts. The magical papyrus, no. 541 in the aforementioned catalogue (« *fragment d'un manuscrit grec, en lettres onciales, et dont le sujet est astrologique ... quelques figures de formes monstrueuses* »), is only one of a multitude of objects.

⁸⁰ Papyrusfunde 94. SMITH, *Relations* 133.1, is not convinced.

The reason for this singular lot of papyrus rolls and codices being placed in a burial is not known. Considering the Roman government's attitude toward magic and magicians in the 4th c. A.D., it is conceivable that they were hidden there for safe-keeping in time of peril.⁸¹ Another possible motive may have been to conceal the texts from curious and profane eyes.⁸² Still a third, is that the books might have been placed in the tomb in an act of concern for the deceased.⁸³ Regardless of the motive, the result was to keep this 'library' of magical works in four languages – Hieratic, Demotic, Coptic and Greek⁸⁴ – some of them even written by the same person,⁸⁵ intact for 1400 years.

In 1828, immediately upon the Leiden museum's acquisition of the Greek and Demotic papyri from Thebes,⁸⁶ REUVENS began deciphering some of them. His study⁸⁷ caught the attention of KARL OTFRIED MÜLLER, who besides undertaking the first translation of a Greek magical papyrus into a modern European language (German) – based on REUVENS' transcriptions – also pointed out the importance of these texts for the study of Demotic in particular and magic in general.⁸⁸ Although REUVENS transcribed and annotated two en-

⁸¹ Cf. BARB, *Survival*; E. MASSONNEAU (n. 58) 136–261: La répression; F. MARTROYE, La répression de la magie et le culte des gentils au IV^e siècle, RHD sér. IV.9 (1930) 669 ff.; J. MAURICE, La terreur de la magie au IV^e siècle, RHD sér. IV.6 (1927) 108–121; M. SIMON, Verus Israel (n. 222) 416 f.; J. STRAUB, Heidnische Geschichtsapologetik in der christlichen Spätantike, 1963, 59–61; O. CASEL, Jb. f. Liturgiewiss. 14 (1938) 305 f.; ABT (n. 3); H. FUNKE, JbAC 10 (1967) 145–175; F. WINKELMANN, in: Graeco-Coptica 33, citing: K.-L. NOETHLICH, Die gesetzgeberischen Maßnahmen der christlichen Kaiser des 4. Jh. gegen Häretiker, Heiden und Juden, Cologne 1971, n. 832, pp. 122 f., 126, 138 f., 146, 194, and Leon III's *ekloga* nos. 17, 43.52.

G. PARÁSSOGLU in: *Collectanea Papyrologica I*, Bonn 1976, 262.1, in a discussion of a newly discovered circular banning magic and related activities, cites further bibliography. New readings to this text are proposed by N. LEWIS, CdE 52 (1977) 143–146 and J. REA, ZPE 27 (1977) 151–156. Cf. G. HORSLEY, NDIEC 1 (1981) no. 12.

⁸² PREISENDANZ, Überlieferungsgeschichte 234. PGM XIII, one of the texts found in the Theban cache, says: ἀνεύρετον ποιήσον τὴν βίβλον (233), ἐπιγνοὺς γὰρ τῆς βίβλου τὴν δόναμιν κρύψεις (741). Cf. LINDSAY, *Origins* 39, 405.

⁸³ v. infr. I 3 c.

⁸⁴ Libraries of magical books in one or several languages are well attested: S. PERNIGOTTI, F. MALTOMINI, P. MARRASSINI, SCO 29 (1979) 15–130: Greek, Coptic, Aramaic; W. H. WORRELL, A Coptic Wizard's Hoard, *American Jnl. of Semitic Languages* 46 (1929) 239 ff.: Coptic; A. ERMAN, Ein koptischer Zauberer, ZÄS 33 (1895) 43–46: Coptic. As MALTOMINI (p. 56) suggests, they were designed with a vast and varied clientele in mind. Cf. on magical laboratories: WÜNSCH, *Zaubergerät*; C. JULIAN, Au champ magique de Glozel, REA 29 (1927) 157.4; A. D. NOCK, JEA 15 (1929) 220; C. FARAONE and R. KOTANSKY, ZPE 75 (1988) 275.2, describing a cache of 19 silver phylacteries; P. KEYSER, JNES 52 (1993) 82, describing a magician's *instrumentarium* from the vicinity of Baghdad; GAGER (n. 340) 92.34, 132–134.

⁸⁵ Written in the same hand are P. Holm., P. Leid. J 397; PGM XIII. Cf. J. JOHNSON in: GMP, p. lvii.

⁸⁶ J 383, 384, 395 = PGM XII–XIV.

⁸⁷ Lettres à M. Letronne ... sur les papyrus bilingues et grecs ... du Musée de Leyde, Leiden 1830.

⁸⁸ Gött. Gel. Anz., 56. Stück, 9. April 1831, 545–554.

tire Leiden papyri,⁸⁹ a premature death prevented him from ever seeing his work in print. The manuscript still exists.

The next edition of a Greek magical text was by C. W. GOODWIN. His 'Fragment of a Graeco-Egyptian Work upon Magic'⁹⁰ includes transcription, English translation and detailed commentary (PGM V). Having only limited material at his disposal – the Leiden papyri described by REUVENS, an occasional gem, the recently published 'Pistis Sophia' (v. n. 187) and the classical and Christian authors – and confronted not only with an array of *vores magicae*, but also with Hebrew and Egyptian names and words in Greek transcription, and numerous Greek words unattested in contemporaneous dictionaries, GOODWIN nonetheless produced a reputable edition and commentary which only rarely misses the mark. Although the letter-forms remind him of second century B. C. specimens published by CHAMPOLLION and SILVESTRE, "the contents of the piece make it probable that it is not earlier than the second century after Christ" (p. iii). (Modern editors date it to the fourth century.) REUVENS had attributed the Leiden papyri to the Gnostic school of Marcus. GOODWIN posited "a much closer affinity ... between them and the work recently published entitled 'Pistis Sophia'" (p. v), citing not only the typically Marcosian vowel combinations but also "several of the mystical names which are found in the Leyden Papyri and in our own" (p. vi). However, discrepancies in the doctrines propounded by the 'Pistis Sophia' and the London papyrus ultimately persuaded GOODWIN that they could not have derived from the same school. He suggests "the author may have been a priest of Isis or Sarapis, addicted to that kind of theurgy, which Porphyry ... severely criticises" (p. vi).

Neither then nor even later did GOODWIN's edition attract the attention it deserved. C. W. KING⁹¹ drew upon GOODWIN's translation, since it was the only magical papyrus available to him at the time. WESSELY, who published the same papyrus in 1888,⁹² did not even bother mentioning the fact that his was a re-edition. F. KENYON, however, five years later did.⁹³

1865 saw the next edition of magical papyri by G. PARTHEY who already previously had ventured into the fringe areas of ancient philosophy and religion.⁹⁴ His edition of two Greek magical texts (PGM I, II) contains transcriptions, commentaries and German translations.⁹⁵ Although his identification of St. George in PGM I 26 is now no longer tenable, his commentaries otherwise show sound research and judgement. He even went so far as to cite parallels

⁸⁹ J 384, 395 = PGM XII, XIII.

⁹⁰ Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society 2, Cambridge 1852.

⁹¹ The Gnostics and their Remains, London 1864, 1887.

⁹² v. I 2 e a.

⁹³ P. Lond. I, London 1893, p. 64.

⁹⁴ Hermetis Trismegisti Poemander, 1854; Iamblichi de mysteriis liber, 1857.

⁹⁵ Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museums. Abh. Kgl. Akad. Wiss. Berlin 1865, 109–180.

from Egyptology, magical gems and *defixiones* and summoned the help of such renowned classicists of the day as KIRCHHOFF, HERCHER and HAUPT – who, it should be stressed, did not shirk from assisting him in his bold undertaking.

In 1885, 50 years after REUVENS' death, the Leiden magical and alchemical papyri from the Theban cache were finally published by C. LEEMANS.⁹⁶ Whether the transcripts and commentaries are more REUVENS' work than LEE-MANS' is a question that will probably never be answered to everyone's satisfaction.⁹⁷

In 1885, another papyrus from the 'library' at Thebes was published by C. WESSELY.⁹⁸ With 3274 lines of spells in both Coptic and Greek, it is the longest magical papyrus in the world (PGM IV). WESSELY's edition, which is full of errors and little more than a rough transcript without accents or punctuation, at least had the advantage of making the whole work accessible once and for all.⁹⁹ Although LENORMANT had intended publishing the papyrus upon its acquisition by the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1857, he evidently never got around to doing it.¹⁰⁰ Out of consideration for him, E. MILLER¹⁰¹ did not divulge his sources when he discussed three hymns in this codex. In the meantime, others, citing MILLER, treated the same hymns without having the slightest idea of their context.¹⁰² Since Egyptologists had also already noted and

⁹⁶ op. cit. (n. 72).

⁹⁷ D. COHEN, CdE 6 (1931) 403 ff., attempts a solution which seems to satisfy PREISENDANZ, since he does not bother to take up the issue again in his *Papyrusfunde* 104.

⁹⁸ Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London, Denkschr. Akad. Wiss. Wien 36 (1888) 44–126.

⁹⁹ WESSELY was well aware of his edition's shortcomings and published corrections the same year: Zu den griechischen Papyri des Louvre und der Bibliothèque Nationale, 15. Jahresber. Staatsgymn. Hernalss-Wien 1888/1889, Wien 1890, 12–18.

¹⁰⁰ C. W. GOODWIN, writing from Shanghai in April 1867, tells how he had written to LENORMANT soon after its acquisition "for leave to inspect. M. Lenormant informed me that it was in the hands of the binder, and could not then be seen". But he did give GOODWIN some particulars on the Coptic sections. GOODWIN continues: "Enquiries have lately, I am told, been made for this manuscript and it is said to have disappeared or at least to be inaccessible. Egyptologists at Paris should look after this. It slumbers no doubt forgotten in some safe drawer in the Bibliothèque", ZÄS 6 (1868) 23–24.

¹⁰¹ Hymnes orphiques, Mélanges de littérature grecque, Paris 1868, 437–458. His reticence provoked A. KOPP, Beitr. z. gr. Excerpten-Literatur, Berlin 1887, 46–54, to doubt the hymns' authenticity. Others, however, defended MILLER: A. CROISET, Rev. crit. 20 (n.s. 22) 1886, 430 f.; H. WEIL, Journ. des sav. (1886) 663–665; H. OMONT, Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibl. Nat. 3 (1888) 278 (cited by PREISENDANZ, Überlieferungsgeschichte 237.60, and S. DE RICCI, REG 37, 1924, 250 f.)

MILLER too had started transcribing the hymns already in 1857, just after the codex had been acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale, and presented his work to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in 1867 (v. Comptes rendus, n. s. 3, 1867, 93, 7, 1871, 352–357).

¹⁰² A. MEINEKE, Hermes 4 (1870) 56–58; W. DILTHEY, RhM n. F. 27 (1872) 375–419; A. NAUCK, Mélanges gréco-romains 3, St. Petersburg 1869–1874, pp. 177–185: n. 5.

discussed the Coptic passages,¹⁰³ it was high time for a complete and thorough transcription of the whole codex.

In the same journal where he published the large Parisian codex, WESSELY also edited: 1) a lengthy magical papyrus of unknown origin that had once belonged to J.-F. MIMAUT and since 1837 was in the Louvre (PGM III); 2) a re-edition of GOODWIN's text (PGM V); 3) a short piece found in Memphis and acquired by the British Museum from ANASTASI in 1839 (PGM VI); and 4) several horoscopes.

In 1893, WESSELY published the transcription of a 1026-line roll in the British Museum (PGM VII) as well as several shorter texts in the same collection (PGM VIII–X).¹⁰⁴ In the same year, F. KENYON edited these same texts and published them with notes and commentary in the first volume of *P. Lond.* He also included a papyrus only recently acquired by the British Museum in 1888 (PGM XI a).

Thus by 1893, all of these important Greek magical texts had been published. In addition to these lengthy formularies, authentic charms and amulets on papyrus and parchment were beginning to appear. For example, GRENFELL and HUNT's excavations at Oxyrhynchus in 1896 brought to light PGM XXIV a, b, XXVII, XXVIII a–c. Other finds at Eshmunein in 1903 (PGM XIX a) and at Hawara in 1899 (PGM XXXII, XXXII a) provided evidence for the contemporary practical application of magic like that prescribed in the long rolls and codices. As the number of magical texts, both theoretical and practical, increased, and the first editions, by now almost half a century old, proved in many respects unsatisfactory, ALBRECHT DIETERICH entertained the idea of compiling a corpus of magical papryi. Already in 1894, AUGUSTE AUDOLLENT had produced his 'Defixionum Tabellae', and in 1898, RICHARD WÜNSCH his 'Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom'. It was time for the papyrologists to reciprocate with a corpus of magical texts on papyrus.

ALBRECHT DIETERICH¹⁰⁵ (1866–1905) was a product of the school of HERMANN USENER at the Bonn university. USENER,¹⁰⁶ who was a classical phi-

¹⁰³ E. REVILLOUT, *Mélanges d'Archéologie égypt. et assyr.* 3, 1876; A. ERMAN, *ZÄS* 21 (1883) 89–109; H. BRUGSCH, *ZÄS* 22 (1884) 18 – inter al., cf. PREISENDANZ, PGM IV, introd.

¹⁰⁴ *Denkschr. Akad. Wiss.* 42 (1893) 16 ff.

Only one magical papyrus roll has come to light in the meantime which rivals these earlier known texts in size and importance: P. Oslo I 1 = PGM XXXVI which has twelve columns and measures 2.4 meters.

Sizes of the larger formularies in decreasing order: PGM IV: 3274 lines (codex); PGM XIII 1078 (codex); PGM VII 1026 (roll); PGM III 731 (roll); PGM XII 495 (roll); V 489 (codex); XXXVI 371 (roll); I 347 (roll); II 182 (roll); VIII 110 (roll).

¹⁰⁵ See on DIETERICH, R. WÜNSCH, in: DIETERICH, *Kleine Schriften*, IX–XLII; F. PFISTER, *Albrecht Dieterichs Wirken i. d. Religionswissenschaft*, ARW 35 (1938) 180–185; H.-J. METTE, *Lustrum* 22 (1979–1980) 5–106.

¹⁰⁶ See on H. USENER, A. DIETERICH ARW 8 (1905) 111 f. = *Id.*, *Kleine Schriften*, Leipzig 1911, 354 ff.; NILSSON, *GGR I* (1967³) 7, 9 etc.; H.-J. METTE, *Lustrum* 22 (1979–1980) 5–106; *Aspetti di Hermann Usener filologo della religione a cura di G. ARRIGHETTI*, R. BODEI et al., Pisa 1982.

lologist by training, found his interests turning early on towards religion, especially its ethnological aspects. He produced his best results in the areas where pagan, Christian and popular beliefs mingled in free association. Following in his footsteps, DIETERICH delved into the substrata of popular Greek religion, as evinced in the magical papyri, all the while basing his research on a rigorously thorough philological method. A paper he wrote in USENER's class on the magical papyrus P. Leid. J 384 (PGM XII), including emendations and commentary, earned the first prize in a contest and whetted his appetite for magical studies. Out of this prize essay grew his doctoral dissertation¹⁰⁷ in which he tried to demonstrate the value of these bizarre texts for the history of religion. Not only was he able to show that they contain relics of authentic prayers and hymns for the mysteries and religious ceremonies, he also indicated in his commentaries their worth for the history of the Greek language.

Although he had set his sights on P. Leid. J 395, fear of critics who would not regard another magical papyrus as proper subject matter for a *Habilitation* induced DIETERICH to choose the Orphic hymns instead.¹⁰⁸ However, in his 'Abraxas', which appeared in the same year,¹⁰⁹ in 'Nekyia'¹¹⁰ and in his 'Mithrasliturgie',¹¹¹ DIETERICH was able to give full rein to his inclinations.

At first rarely noticed and only cursorily if at all,¹¹² these bizarre relics of popular belief from Greco-Roman Egypt gradually attracted other intrepid souls who, like DIETERICH, began to investigate them and incorporate their findings into their studies: Egyptologists,¹¹³ classicists,¹¹⁴ students of Judaism,¹¹⁵ of the Christian religion,¹¹⁶ of comparative religion¹¹⁷ and authors in

¹⁰⁷ *Papyrus magica Musei Lugdunensis Batavi* (= Jahrbücher f. Klass. Phil. Suppl. 16, Leipzig 1888, 749–830. His 'Kleine Schriften', Leipzig 1911, 1–47, contains the prolegomena of the dissertation.

¹⁰⁸ *De hymnis Orphicis capitula quinque*, Marburg 1891.

¹⁰⁹ Leipzig 1891; repr. Aalen 1973.

¹¹⁰ Leipzig 1893, 1913².

¹¹¹ Leipzig 1903, 1910² (ed. R. WÜNSCH); 1923³ (ed. O. WEINREICH).

¹¹² e.g. W. FROEHNER, *Notice de la sculpture antique du Musée National du Louvre I*, Paris 1869, 498; H. KOPP, *Beitr. zur Geschichte der Chemie I*, Braunschweig 1869, 126, 408.

¹¹³ M. MÜLLER (n. 38) 172–178; H. BRUGSCH, *Grammaire démotique*, Berlin 1855 (repr. Milan 1971), 7 et passim; ID., *Über das ägyptische Museum zu Leiden*, ZDMG 6 (1852) 250 ff.; and others – see PGM IV introd., pp. 65–66.

¹¹⁴ HEIM; R. REITZENSTEIN, *Poimandres*, Leipzig 1904; E. ROHDE, *Psyche*, Tübingen 1893; G. KROPATSCHECK, *De amuletorum apud antiquos usu*, Diss. Greifswald 1907.

¹¹⁵ BLAU, *Zauberwesen*; W. BAUDISSIN, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte I*, Leipzig 1876, 197–285; E. SCHÜRER, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes III*, Leipzig 1898², 294 f.

¹¹⁶ W. BOUSSET, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, repr. Leiden 1979, 18–19, 21: („*Einleitung: Bousset als Theologe*“ by A. VERHEULE), 197; A. DEISSMANN, *Bibelstudien*, Marburg 1895 (= ID., *Bible Studies*, Edinburgh 1901, 1903², 1923³); ID., *Licht*, Tübingen 1908, 1909^{2,3}, 1923⁴ (= ID., *Light from the Ancient East*, London 1910, 1911²). For the impact of the magical papyri on Christian theological studies see HULL, *Magic* 17 ff.

¹¹⁷ Like F. CUMONT, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra I*, Brussels 1896; II, Brussels 1899. His countryman, the pioneer sociologist A. VAN GENNEP, *Religions, mœurs et légendes. Essais d'ethnographie et de linguistique II*, Paris 1909, 176, praises A. DIETERICH's research.

the RGVV-series founded by DIETERICH.¹¹⁸ The turn of the century witnessed a hotbed of activity in the research on ancient magic, despite the scornful sneers of WILAMOWITZ and his school who repudiated USENER, DIETERICH and their associates as „*Verehrer des Aberglaubens*“ and their research methods as „*Botokudenphilologie*“.¹¹⁹ DIETERICH, undaunted by WILAMOWITZ' barbs – but also by the great man's almost total neglect of his research (in his 'Glaube der Hellenen' WILAMOWITZ mentions DIETERICH, who after all had produced over 1000 pages of research on Greek religion, only three times) – decided to take a step towards realizing his corpus of magical texts by undertaking a complete re-edition of the great Paris magical papyrus (PGM IV).

He began working on the hymns and other metrical sections, leaving the rest to a young student by the name of KARL PREISENDANZ. Their edition, complete with a critical apparatus, was almost finished when in 1908 DIETERICH suddenly died. PREISENDANZ also recognizing the need for a whole corpus and not just a few select re-editions, learned that ADAM ABT and LUDWIG FAHZ, students of DIETERICH and WÜNSCH, were re-editing P. Mimaüt (PGM III) and the two Berlin papyri 5025, 5026 (PGM I, II). It seemed only expedient that they should pool their efforts and embark on a project that would comprise all Greek magical texts from Egypt, whether on ostrakon, papyrus or parchment, formularies and amulets, pagan and Christian, prose and poetry.¹²⁰

WÜNSCH tackled the metrical work left undone by DIETERICH. ABT and FAHZ continued working on the Berlin papyri, and PREISENDANZ took on all the rest. The Coptic sections were delegated to GEORG MÖLLER. However, twenty years – and one world war – were to pass before the first projected volume would appear. The galley proofs with PGM I–IV had just been printed when World War I broke out, bringing with it heavy losses for the team. WÜNSCH died in action in 1915, ABT in 1918 and MÖLLER shortly thereafter. To replace them SAM EITREM was recruited from Oslo and ADOLF JACOBY from Luxemburg.

After the war, work on the volume was resumed. However, all the lengthy formularies were in need of re-collating. Once this was done, the critical apparatus also had to be revised. Finally, in 1928, the first volume of PGM appeared

¹¹⁸ e. g. A. ABT (n. 3) or L. FAHZ (n. 58), I. SCHEFTELOWITZ (n. 15).

¹¹⁹ Quoted by PFISTER in ARW 35 (1938) 183. I have not been able to locate this quote in WILAMOWITZ' *œuvre* itself, and know it only from PFISTER's account. The Botocudes are a now extinct tribe of eastern Brazil. Cf. for example, C. NIMUENDAJU, Social Organization and Beliefs of the Botocudes of Eastern Brazil, *Southwestern Jnl. of Anthropology* 2.1 (1946); ELIADE, *Naissances* 158.

Cf. the comments made by G. MASPERO, *Mémoire sur quelques papyrus du Louvre*, Paris 1875, 122, referring to P. Louvre dem. E 3229 (= JOHNSON, *Enchoria* 7 (1977) 55 ff.): « *ce qui en reste suffit à montrer qu'il ... renferme des formules magiques sans grand intérêt pour la science* ». By LENORMANT, *Catalogue d'une collection d'antiquités*, Paris 1857, no. 1073: « *fromage gnostique* » (referring to PGM IV). By NILSSON, *Religion* 155: „*elendes Zeug*“.

¹²⁰ R. WÜNSCH, ARW 14 (1911) 547, announces the plans for a corpus of magical papyri.

with the names of K. PREISENDANZ as editor, and of A. ABT, S. EITREM, L. FAHZ, A. JACOBY, G. MÖLLER and R. WÜNSCH as collaborators, listed on its title page.

This volume contains the two Berlin papyri 5025 and 5026 (PGM I, II), the Mimaüt papyrus (PGM III), the great Paris magical text (PGM IV), the London papyrus first edited by C. GOODWIN (PGM V), the single sheet of Greek magic found in the Uppsala alchemical codex (PGM V a), and another London papyrus (PGM VI).

The second volume containing all the other known Greek magical texts from Egypt¹²¹ appeared three years later. It includes the nos. VII–LX as well as the Christian texts, designated 1–20, and several ostraca and wooden tablets as well.

Half a century – and another world war – later, the projected third volume, containing more new texts, and a systematic catalogue of the hymns with detailed indices, still has not appeared. The printing plates (as well as all the copies of PGM I and II in stock) were destroyed during the air raid on Leipzig in 1943. From a few surviving examples of page proofs which have been circulated about in the intervening years xerox copies have been made, so that most papyrological institutes now also have access to this volume.¹²²

After PREISENDANZ' death in 1968, ALBERT HENRICHS was commissioned by the Teubner Verlag to prepare a revised and improved reprint of PGM, including the ill-starred third volume. Vol. I appeared in Stuttgart in 1973, vol. II in 1974. PGM XV, XX, XXXIV, LIX, LXVII and PGM 18 have all undergone thorough revisions. Furthermore, the second volume contains the texts PREISENDANZ had intended for vol. III, i.e. PGM LXI–LXXXI and the Christian ones, PGM 21–24. Also included is a collection of hymns and other metrical sections from the magical papyri, based on the edition of E. HEITSCH.¹²³

By the time PREISENDANZ' team was finishing its corpus of papyri, magical studies were becoming more fashionable and scholars were turning to ancient magic as a field for profitable research. Alongside PREISENDANZ' PGM appeared THEODOR HOPFNER's magisterial study¹²⁴ as well as his numerous articles in 'PAULY-WISSOWA's Realencyclopädie'.¹²⁵ From this period date A. DELATTE's collection of later Greek manuscripts¹²⁶ and the corpus of astrological texts.¹²⁷ More recently the gemmological studies of CAMPBELL BONNER¹²⁸ and of A. DELATTE and PH. DECHAIN¹²⁹ have set the pace in this field.

¹²¹ As well as one ostrakon from Greece (PGM O 4) and a *dipinto* on a vase found near Olbia on the northern coast of the Black Sea (O 5).

¹²² Cf. K. PREISENDANZ, *Byz. Zeits.* 59 (1966) 391.1.

¹²³ *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit I*, Göttingen 1963², pp. 179 ff.

¹²⁴ *Offenbarungszauber I, II*, Leipzig 1921, 1924.

¹²⁵ E.g. *Lithika*, XIII.1 (1926) 747–769; *Mageia*, XIV.1 (1928) 301–393; *Theurgie*, VI, A, 1 (1936) 258–270; *Charakteres*, Suppl. 4 (1924) 1183–1188.

¹²⁶ *Anecdota Atheniensia I, II*, Liège 1927, 1939.

¹²⁷ *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum I–XII*, Brussels 1898–1953.

¹²⁸ *Studies in Magical Amulets, chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*, Ann Arbor 1950.

¹²⁹ *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes*, Paris 1964.

Today the study of magical papyri needs no apology.¹³⁰ The number of serious scholars researching them for dissertations, for theological, philological and iconographical studies, gathering them into corpora and translating them is enormous. Still the flood of new material continues unabated. The corpus of magical texts with English translations (GMP) prepared by a team under the leadership of H.-D. BETZ contains 50 new papyri published since 1941. Even so another two dozen have accumulated in the meantime, and still more are being prepared for publication around the world.¹³¹ R. DANIEL and F. MALTOMINI have compiled a corpus of magical papyri continuing the work begun by PREISENDANZ 50 years ago. Eagerly awaited are the indices to PGM, now in preparation by E. N. O'NEIL.¹³² *Vivant sequentes!*

b) Textual History¹³³

Given the millennia-old tradition of magic in Egypt as a skill, sometimes reputable and even necessary as a prerequisite for the functioning and preservation of the universe and state, the imported traditions of the Greeks, Syrians, Jews, Persians and others found fertile ground along the Nile, conducive to their flourishing and continued development in the land of the Pharaohs. Greek, being not only the language of the ruling class but also the easier one to write, soon supplanted Egyptian (outside the temples) as the predominant idiom of the upper class for the magical literature in Egypt. Although next to nothing remains of this early magical literature from the last three centuries B. C. it must have been considerable. The extant papyri of the Roman period allude to collections of pseudo-scientific, iatromagical and divinatory writings that were evidently circulating around the Mediterranean 2000 years ago under the names of Zoroaster, Ostanes, Astrampsychos, Pitys and others,¹³⁴ authorities whose names were thought to vouch for validity and quality.

However, the papyri pass over in silence the most illustrious compiler of scientific, astrological and magical works: Bolos of Mendes (Egypt). Writing and excerpting profusely in the II c. B. C. under the name of Democritus, Bolos was responsible for many works from theosophic speculation to necromancy, demonology, angelology, alchemy and astrology. To him are attributed theoreti-

¹³⁰ Almost no apology! See O. NEUGEBAUER, *The Study of Wretched Studies*, *Isis* 42 (1951) 111; R. BECK, *Planetary Gods and Planetary Orders in the Mysteries of Mithras* (= *EPRO* 109), Leiden 1988, ix–xii, defending the study of astrology in the ancient world; W. PAGEL, *The Vindication of "Rubbish"*, in: ID., *Religion and Neoplatonism in Renaissance Medicine*, ed. by M. WINDER, London 1985, 1–14 (non vidi); *Objections to Astrology*, Buffalo, N.Y.: Prometheus Books 1975 (non vidi).

¹³¹ v. inf., pp. 3483–3484.

¹³² GMP, p. ix.

¹³³ Cf. PREISENDANZ, *Überlieferungsgeschichte*; ID., *Magie*; EITREM, *Papyri*; F. MALTOMINI in: *Papiri letterari greci editi da A. CARLINI et al.*, Pisa 1978, 237–244; ID., in: P. Monac. II 28 introd.

¹³⁴ PREISENDANZ, *Überlieferungsgeschichte* 230.29, cites thirty names found in the magical papyri.

cal as well as practical works on the unity of nature and sympathetic and antipathetic reactions.¹³⁵

When the first Greek magical texts were written in Egypt is unknown. The earliest one known to date is the "curse of Artemisia" (PGM XL). Composed, at the latest, soon after Alexander's death,¹³⁶ the language is not yet Koine but still Ionic with a smattering of Doric and Attic. PREISENDANZ¹³⁷ and PETRETTINI¹³⁸ both suggested the curse was styled after a standard formulary prepared by the priests. In fact, WILCKEN regarded the text of a Demotic curse in the Cairo museum as its Egyptian equivalent.¹³⁹ As WILCKEN and PREISENDANZ pointed out, if the curse had been heeded by the gods,¹⁴⁰ it would have been removed from the temple, but it was not – until someone found it by chance there 2100 years later.¹⁴¹

The next oldest magical text extant – and the earliest formulary known – is the 'Philinna papyrus' (PGM XX). It contains headache and fever charms attributed to two magicians, Philinna of Thessaly, and another from Gadara, Syria, whose name is lost. Written in an epigrammatic style in hexameters, it has an unmistakably literary quality. MAAS says it would have appealed to an Aeschylus or a Pindar.¹⁴²

In 1976, two other early formularies were published, both dating from the I c. B. C. (PGM CXVII, CXXII). They confirm PREISENDANZ' speculations made thirty years ago as to what I c. B. C. formularies would be like, if and whenever they should appear.¹⁴³ Like the Philinna papyrus, these too have a literary flair with snatches of poetry and literary *topoi*. Like contemporary lead *defixiones*, they are simple and direct in their language and know nothing

¹³⁵ See on Bolos, M. WELLMANN, s. v. Bolos, in: RE III,1 (1897) 676–677; ID., Die *Φυσικά* des Bolos Demokritos, Abh. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. 7, Berlin 1928; J. WASZINK, s. v. Bolos, in: RAC 2 (1954) 502–508; W. KROLL, Bolos und Demokritos, Hermes 69 (1934) 228 ff.; FESTUGIÈRE, Révélation I, 196 ff., 222 ff.; LINDSAY, Origins 90 ff.; R. HALLEUX, Les alchimistes grecs II: les vieux auteurs (sous presse). For further bibliography on Bolos see K. ALPERS, Vestigia Bibliae 6 (1984) 60.42 and P. KEYSER, ICS 15 (1990) 360.40.

¹³⁶ BJÖRCK, Fluch 131 f.; UPZ I,1; PETRETTINI, Papiri greco-egizi (n. 59), Vienna 1826, 8: „*di antichissima età ed anteriore al Regno del primo Ptolemeo*“.

¹³⁷ Because the well-proportioned phrases do not give the impression of a spontaneous *ad hoc* composition – PREISENDANZ, Magie 113. PETRETTINI, op. cit., 5, also notes the „*purità delle frasi, col pacato andamento del discorso ... colle formule vetuste*“, etc.

¹³⁸ Noting the idiosyncratic phraseology – op. cit. 25.

¹³⁹ UPZ I, p. 101, citing W. SPIEGELBERG, Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes du ... Caire 39: P. dem. Cair. 31045 on p. 237. E. SEIDL, in: Essays in honor of C. B. Welles, New Haven 1966, 61–62, gives an improved translation.

¹⁴⁰ UPZ I, p. 101; PREISENDANZ, Magie 114.26.

¹⁴¹ The exact finding spot is unknown. PETRETTINI, op. cit., 5: „*così lascerebbe campo al sospetto che fra le rovine di un qualche tempio e più particolarmente di quel di Serapide, in Menfi e ne' suoi contorni, siasi piuttosto ritrovato*“. UPZ I, p. 101: „*aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach im Serapeum selbst gefunden*“.

¹⁴² P. MAAS, The Philinna Papyrus, JHS 62 (1942) 38. See now R. DANIEL, ZPE 73 (1988) 306.

¹⁴³ Überlieferungsgesch. 232.

about the elaborate ceremonies and rituals (*praxeis*) or drawings, *characteres* and endless strings of vowels and *vores magicae* which characterize later Greek *grimoires*.

The next oldest formulary (PGM CXI) from the I c. A. D. is too fragmentary for any thorough analysis. However, both it and PGM XVI, the first example of applied magic on papyrus, also from the I c. A. D., show evidence of an innovation which was soon to become one of the most characteristic features of Greco-Roman magic – and of magic in general for all time to come. Sometime in the I c. A. D., for reasons still unknown, there began to appear those interminable, unpronounceable and mostly unintelligible series of *vores magicae* along with the similarly obscure *characteres* – and both of them *en masse*. As these accretions of hocus pocus expanded in length and complexity, the need for longer, more detailed formularies arose.¹⁴⁴ No longer could an individual simply write a text on a papyrus or foil and deposit it under a doorway, in a tomb or carry it on his person, as in times past. He was now constrained to conduct a whole ceremony, reproducing an entire incantation, with all its dozens – even hundreds – of lines of magic words.

Some spells even proscribe omitting or altering anything. Nonetheless, enough variations of simple spells exist, proving that changes continued to be made, sometimes deliberately. Still there must have been increased reliance on magic books giving precise, step-by-step instructions on preparing metal tablets, papyrus chits, gems, figurines or potions.

During the first three centuries A. D., the majority of compilations, collections and anthologies of Greco-Roman magical formularies, as we know them today, were produced, circulated, copied – and interpolated. The papyri which preserve them date from the III–VI/VII c. A. D. and are the most heterogeneous pastiches imaginable, their disparate contents betraying every few lines their checkered development. Recipes and instructions for making gems, charms, amulets, figurines, and potions are intermingled with divination by numbers, dice or Homeric verses. Amatory magic follows hard on execration, exorcism or magico-medical recipe. Hecate, Kore, Apollo, Aphrodite and Athena are invoked along with Ereschigal, Adonai, Jehovah and Jesus. Suddenly there appears a snatch of classical Greek poetry, but it is interlarded with *vores magicae*. A Coptic section succeeds a Greek one. It is sometimes difficult to find any unifying principle whatsoever.

¹⁴⁴ The early formularies (PGM XX, CXVII, CXXII) are all on a single sheet. Even some written later are still single-page formularies (cf. F. MALTOMINI, SCO 31 [1981] 110–111), but these are rare. – More usual are the lengthy rolls and codices replete with instructions for carrying out the involved procedures necessary for ‘energizing’ or consecrating a gem or a *lamella* or for accomplishing a *systasis* with a god. Still, amongst all the verbiage, some details are strikingly lacking. Thus one gets the impression that “the papyri are rather like advanced cookbooks, the sort that only an experienced cook can understand” (SMITH, Jesus 114).

In the Coptic magical texts these once lengthy, complicated procedures have atrophied to a simple list of ingredients, thus presupposing an extensive knowledge and experience on the part of the Coptic magician – v. infra. I 5 (pp. 3470–3473).

Far from pretending to be homogeneous and original compositions, the formularies themselves attest to multifarious sources, citing renowned authorities, quoting whole passages from their works verbatim or noting the existence of variant textual traditions in other manuscripts. For example, PGM V 51 f. mentions "other copies" ἐν ἄλλοις ἀντιγράφοις. In V 13 the interlinear note ἄλλ(ως) ἄν(ω) refers to a variant reading written above the title in tiny letters. At the end of the first praxis (V 45 ff.), which (it is specifically stated) should not be done by full moon, is a note to just the opposite effect: ἐν δὲ ἅλλοις ἀντιγράφοις ἐγγέγραπτο ὅτι πληθούσης "however, in other copies is written 'by full moon' ". PGM vol. III s. v. ἄλλος lists numerous examples of such phrases as ἐν ἅλλω (II 50, IV 500, II 204, XIII 731), ἄλλο δέ (XII 201), ἄλλοι οἱ δὲ λέγουσι (V 390) etc., all testifying to other sources and textual traditions. Sometimes an authority is given for a variant reading: PGM IV 2427: τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος ὃ ἐστὶν ὡς λέγει Ἐπαφρόδιτος τὸ ὑποκείμενον φρη ανωι φωρχω φουου ρορ ψις οροχωωι, ὡς δὲ ἐν τῷ χάρτη ᾧ εὔρον, μεταβλήθη τὸ πραγματικὸν οὕτως Ἀρπονκνουφι λόγος. In PGM XII 935–975, almost a dozen different authorities are cited for a particular "holy name".

Despite the many injunctions to reproduce and recite a spell precisely and accurately — ὀνόματα βάρβαρα μήποτ' ἀλλάξῃς¹⁴⁵ — in practice, great liberty seems to have been taken with the texts.

PGM V 364–365 is a series of *voces magicae*. Following it one finds the note: ὡς ἐν τῷ αὐθεντικῷ εὑρέθη τὰ ὀνόματα "but in the original are found the words ..." — and an entirely different series of magical words!

Patent mistakes in the magical papyri are also clear evidence for their being second and third-rate copies of works long since lost. In PGM IV 1225, at the end of a list of magical nonsense words, one finds the note "one hundred letters". Counting them, however, one gets only 99. Did the annotator or copyist err? Omissions and other errors in the texts and drawings of P. Osl. I 1 (PGM XXXVI) are attributable to an incompetent copyist who was incapable of even reproducing the drawing on the *Vorlage* in front of him.¹⁴⁶

Mistakes in translation also betray the existence of models and precedents for our extant copies. In PGM V 75 the Egyptian *uḏat* "eye" is rendered in Greek as οὐάτιον or οὐς. In PGM VII 591 f. ἐλθέ μοι ἀκοη οὐρανοῦ the word ἀκοη is not the Greek word for "hearing" but Egyptian *ḥk3-w* "sole ruler". In PGM IV 3028: ἐπι Ἀμμων is not Greek ἐπί, but rather Egyptian *ḥj* = "to fly".¹⁴⁷

All this makes it obvious that the III–VI/VII c. A. D. texts on papyrus and parchment in our collections today cannot be the original works of the scribes who penned them, but are rather compilations from a multitude of various

¹⁴⁵ Psellus, Comm. 1132 C (KROLL 58; MIGNE, PG 122, 1148 b 14–15) quoted by DORNSEIFF 56.2; W. SPEYER, JbAC 10 (1967) 266; R. MAJERCIK, The Chaldean Oracles, Leiden 1989, 197 Fr.g. 150.

¹⁴⁶ S. EITREM, P. Osl. I, p. 81; A. PROCOPÉ-WALTER, ARW 30 (1933) 36.4.

¹⁴⁷ K. SCHMIDT, ap. PREISENDANZ, Magie 120.75; ID., GGA 1934, 178. Glossary s. vv.

sources – PGM I 46's claim to being compiled from "thousands of sources" being colloquially exaggerated!

What these sources were or how far they are removed from the copies we have today is – in most instances – impossible to say. A remarkable exception concerns the aforementioned 'Philinna papyrus' (PGM XX). When P. MAAS published his reconstruction of the fragments comprising the 'Philinna papyrus' in the Amherst and Berlin collections he was able to report a parallel text from Oxyrhynchus.¹⁴⁸ This even more fragmentary formulary from the IV c. A.D., preserves much the same text as the five to six-centuries older 'Philinna papyrus' – another indication of the conservatism in magical practices. It would be interesting to know how faithfully the text of the more recent Oxyrhynchus papyrus adhered to the 'Philinna papyrus'. Did it, for example, interpolate any *voces magicae* into the classical hexameters, or did it remain true to the text of the original?

Given all the formularies and instructions for making various things one would expect to find at least the occasional *defixio*, gem or amulet made according to them. For the most part the magical papyri, lamellae and ostraca, whether formularies or applied charms, are unique and unparalleled. However, there are a few exceptions. One of the most remarkable of these was discovered and published only recently.

Early in the 1970's a group of objects was found near Antinoopolis: a clay jar containing an inscribed lead foil and a clay figurine of a woman kneeling, her hands bound behind her back and her body pierced by thirteen nails in all its vital points.¹⁴⁹ S. KAMBITIS shows in her publication of the Greek text on the foil that the figurine and the charm written on the foil follow the procedures prescribed by PGM IV 296–434: a "wonderful love charm" consisting of two sections: *praxis* (ll. 296–334) and *logos* (335–434).

The *πράξις* delineates procedures for modelling two figurines in wax or clay: one of Ares, and another of a kneeling woman whose hands are bound behind her back. Certain magic words should be inscribed on certain parts of the woman's body¹⁵⁰ which is then to be pierced with thirteen bronze pins. Afterwards a spell should be recited and inscribed on lead. The two statuettes and the lead foil should then be tied together and placed (with seasonal flowers) in the grave of a man who has died either prematurely or violently.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ P. MAAS, JHS 62 (1942) 33–38 = PGM XX, where the readings of P. Oxy. ined. are considered in the notes. See now SM II 88.

¹⁴⁹ P. DU BOURGUET, Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France 25 (1975) 255–257.

¹⁵⁰ S. EITREM, P. Osl. I, pp. 38–42, describes parallels.

¹⁵¹ Especially remarkable in this tablet is the naming of the *nekydaimon*. (6: τῷ δαίμονι τούτῳ Ἀντινόῳ; 11, 14, 18: νεκύδαμον Ἀντινόε). *Nekydaimones* usually remain anonymous in these charms (PGM IV 346: ὅστις ποτ' εἶ, εἴτε ἄρρην, εἴτε θῆλυς). For other exceptions see n. 429. Cf. SM I 37 introd. KAMBITIS 217.1, arguing that the name is too widespread to permit any identification, prefers to see in the Antinous of this invocation not Hadrian's lover but some other man of the same name who died prematurely or violently. P. DU BOURGUET (n. 149) 256, was of a different opinion: «Il s'agit certainement du favori d'Hadrien, noyé tragiquement dans le Nil». However, he later changes his mind and in MIFAO 104 (1980) 227, expresses the same reservations as KAMBITIS does. – Originally

The magician responsible for this group of objects and the text on the foil evidently availed himself of a different, albeit related text, or else he took some liberties with both *πρᾶξις* and *λόγος*, since the statuette here was found alone, i.e. there was no Ares¹⁵² with it. Furthermore, there are no traces of writing on the figurine. Nor does the placement of the nails correspond exactly to the prescription given in PGM IV, and there is no mention of a clay jar in the magical handbook. Finally, the text which is to be recited and written on the lead foil is only an approximation of that in PGM IV. Six other *agōgai* on silver, lead, papyrus and an ostrakon display essentially the same text: SB IV 7452; T. Köln 1,2 (silver foils), 3 (ostrakon);¹⁵³ T. Mich. inv. 6925 (*lamella*).¹⁵⁴ None of them, however, adheres strictly to the text prescribed in PGM IV 335–434.¹⁵⁵

Scholars have found other examples¹⁵⁶ – none of them quite as spectacular as the foregoing one – demonstrating the use of the handbooks for applied

the lot of objects was described as deriving «*probablement de la région d'Antinopolis*», a city founded by Hadrian in honor of Antinous. Certainly, Antinous' *νεκυδαίμων* would be the first to come to the mind of an Antinoopolite intent on conjuration. His tomb (or cenotaph) must have been the scene of many a deposition, conjuration, incantation and invocation. After all, Antinous met the requirement for a *νεκυδαίμων* perfectly. His premature death by drowning brought him automatic identification with Osiris, a young god drowned in the Nile and resurrected, conquering death and restoring life and fertility to the earth. (Cf. WORTMANN, *Kosmogonie*, 65 f.; NDIEC 1, no. 8, NDIEC 4, pp. 45–46; A. HERMANN, *Antinous Infelix*, in: *Mullus. Fests. Th. Klauser, JbAC-Erg.-Bd. 1*, 1964, 155–167). – Witnesses to the cult of Antinous at Antinoopolis are Origen, c. Cels. 3.36 and Dio Cass. 69.11. Cf. DU BOURGUET (n. 149) 256; R. LAMBERT, *Beloved and God*, London 1984, 271.39; H. I. BELL, *JRS* 30 (1940) 135 “building conjectured to be the tomb of Antinous”. – In the meantime, however, P. DU BOURGUET, *MIFAO* 104 (1980) 227, says the provenance is «*vaguement la Moyenne Egypte*», thus, in fact, rendering any speculation about possible connections with the tomb of Antinous futile.

¹⁵² Recently two statuettes of Ares and a kneeling woman have appeared, the one of terracotta and the other of wax (described in the auction catalogue of JEAN ROUDILLON, 206, blvd. St-Germain, Paris, for a lot of objects to go on sale on Oct. 27 and 28, 1987: nos. 259 and 260. No. 260 is depicted and shows Ares wearing a helmet, the crest of which is rendered in a lighter-colored wax, his arms outstretched and his hands resting on the shoulders of the woman kneeling before him. It is impossible to see in the photo whether he is pressing a sword against her left shoulder as is prescribed in PGM IV 300. The placement of the needles is for the most part the same as in the statuette in the Louvre. No. 259 made of terracotta is not pictured. According to the description in the catalogue the placement of the needles is radically different from that of the Louvre statuette and from the prescription in PGM IV 321 f.

¹⁵³ WORTMANN, *Texte* 57 ff.

¹⁵⁴ MARTINEZ.

¹⁵⁵ K. PREISENDANZ, *Gnomon* 2 (1926) 192; A. D. NOCK, *JEA* 15 (1929) 233–235; WORTMANN, *Texte* 58–59; and MARTINEZ in his discussion of the Michigan lead foil, all discuss the variant readings. V. MARTIN, *Genava* 6 (1928) 63, also claimed PGM IV's influence on the wording of his lead tablet. However, the instances he cites, according to PREISENDANZ, *Magie* 118.59, are perhaps nothing more than common-places of erotic literature.

¹⁵⁶ AUDOLLENT, *Defix.*, lxxxiv; R. WÜNSCH, *Defixionum Tabellae Atticae. IG III,3, Appendix*, Berlin 1897, p. xxx; A. D. NOCK, *JEA* 15 (1929) 221–222, 233 f.; BJÖRCK, *Fluch* 116; SIJPESTEIJN, *OMRO* 59–60 (1978–1979) 191; WORTMANN, *Texte* 58.

magic, e.g. PGM LVIII $\equiv$ AUDOLLENT Defix. no. 188; PGM XXXII a $\equiv$ T. Cairo 36059 (GUÉRAUD in: Mél. Maspero II 206 ff.).

The occasional gem also furnishes an example of applied magic based on instructions in the papyri. BONNER, Studies 19, cites five gems which have a "lion-headed figure holding a whip in the right hand and an orb in the left, corresponding exactly to the description" in PGM I 143 ff. However, there all similarity ceases. Neither the mineral, the inscriptions, nor the ouroboros prescribed by the papyrus agree with gems BONNER knows. BARB cites one gem¹⁵⁷ which corresponds strikingly to PGM II 104 ff. and another¹⁵⁸ which is evidently made according to instructions in PGM V 239 ff.

The most famous example of correspondence between a formulary (PGM 1716–1744) and a gem was published by R. MOUTERDE,¹⁵⁹ where he was able to demonstrate a direct relationship between the two. However, such instances of parallelism are rare. The discrepancies between the gems and the papyri far outnumber the few parallels. This fact is striking and merits further research.¹⁶⁰

Duplicate, triplicate and more copies of a spell are attested in papyrus amulets, thus indicating a common source. These sources, whatever they were, have not yet turned up. PGM XXVIII a, b, c, as well as nos. 2, 3 and 6 a, all seem to have been patterned after a common formula. PGM 15 a $\equiv$ 15 b. PGM T 2 a, b, c; ZPE 42 (1981) 112 and SB I 3573 may derive from a common formulary.¹⁶¹ PGM 3.7–8 and XCVI 1 f. also display the same text.¹⁶² PGM XXXII a $\equiv$ LXVIII. Both these texts and XXXII were written by the same person.

PGM 6 d $\equiv$ P. Louvre E 7332 bis.¹⁶³ PGM 2 shows the same text on *recto* and *verso*, written by the same hand. Two almost identical formularies, PGM LXXIX and LXXX, were written by two different people.

In addition to these, texts were written in duplicate evidently for the same person on the same (?) occasion.¹⁶⁴

Besides these occasional instances of duplicate and quadruplicate copies, there is evidence for magical texts being mass produced. WORTMANN¹⁶⁵ found on the edge of one of his metal foils traces of writing, remnants of another charm which had been cut off after the text had been written. DANIEL¹⁶⁶ also

¹⁵⁷ BARB, Abraxas 81 f.

¹⁵⁸ BARB, Magica Varia, Syria 49 (1972) 367.2.

¹⁵⁹ R. MOUTERDE, La glaive de Dardanos, Mél. Univ. St. Joseph 15.3 (1930) 53 ff.

¹⁶⁰ M. SMITH, Relations 129 f.; K. PREISENDANZ, Byz. Zeits. 59 (1966) 388 f., cites PGM and gem parallels; C. BONNER, HThR 39 (1946) 25 ff.: discrepancies; D. WORTMANN, BonnJbb 175 (1975) 80: parallel.

¹⁶¹ WM. BRASHEAR, ZPE 50 (1983) 101–102.

¹⁶² R. DANIEL, ZPE 25 (1977) 150–151. Cf. R. KOTANSKY, in: Magika Hiera 118, on the incantatory *voces magicae* recommended in the *Hippiatrica* for gout which in the meantime have been found on a gold *lamella* from Brindisi.

¹⁶³ WM. BRASHEAR, Magica Varia, no. 2.

¹⁶⁴ WORTMANN, Texte 57 ff., nos. 1–3; SB 6224–6225; AUDOLLENT, Defix., nos. 87 and 111–112.

¹⁶⁵ Texte 59.

¹⁶⁶ ZPE 19 (1975) 256.

found traces of writing on the right edge of the text on linen he edited. In the Theban magical library both alchemical texts and PGM XIII were all written by the same person¹⁶⁷ as were all the 'Sethianic' curse tablets.¹⁶⁸ The complex of documents in three languages published by S. PERNIGOTTI, F. MALTOMINI and P. MARRASSINI¹⁶⁹ is, as MALTOMINI suggested, evidence for whole *officinae* of magicians busy at work producing magic for a diversified clientele.¹⁷⁰

c) Dating

The aforementioned considerations on the textual transmission go hand in hand with the problem of dating – not the extant papyrus formularies, but rather their *Vorlagen*. PGM IV, for example, although written early in the IV c., has more the character of a text composed two hundred years earlier. According to experts, the Coptic sections must have been composed around 200 A.D.¹⁷¹ Furthermore, lines 2446 f. recount an anecdote about Hadrian's visit to Egypt. Despite the episode's apocryphal character at least it provides a definite *terminus post quem* for the composition of this section. The much-touted references in lines 1217 f. and 3007–3086 to the eternal flame in the temple of Jerusalem, however, do not prove that these sections were composed before the destruction of the temple in 70 A.D. As NOCK suggests, "the writer's Jerusalem may well be a Jerusalem of the imagination".¹⁷² At least one section of PGM IV may have been incorporated into the whole sometime after 380 A.D., that is, if $\mu\eta\nu\omicron\tau\omicron\rho\alpha\nu\nu\epsilon$ in l. 2664 refers to Attis Menotyrannus, according to the arguments proposed by E. LANE.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁷ PREISENDANZ, PGM XIII, introduction.

¹⁶⁸ A. D. NOCK, JEA 15 (1929) 220 and notes. Cf. H. VERSNEL, Mnemosyne 29 (1976) 399.91, citing five *lamellae* with parallel texts; D. JORDAN, Hesperia 54 (1985) 205 f., on fourteen *lamellae*, most of them bearing parallel texts, written by two – maybe three – persons; C. FARAONE in: Magika Hiera 23.11; R. KOTANSKY in: Magika Hiera 118–119; GAGER (n. 340) 92.34, 132–134.

¹⁶⁹ v. n. 84.

¹⁷⁰ In general see SMITH (n. 160) 130. Coptic doublets are discussed by S. PERNIGOTTI, EVO 6 (1983) 75–92; A. KROPP, Oratio Mariae ad Bartos (= Berichte u. Arbeiten aus der Universitätsbibliothek Giessen 7), Giessen 1965. – D. JORDAN, Hesperia 54 (1985) 211.9, addresses the question of whether or not women could have inscribed some *lamellae*.

¹⁷¹ PREISENDANZ, PGM IV, introduction.

¹⁷² A. D. NOCK, JEA 15 (1929) 224.

¹⁷³ E. LANE, On the Date of PGM IV, The Second Century. A Journal of Early Christian Studies 4 (Abilene, 1984) 25–27. – D. WORTMANN, Bibl. Orient. 27 (1970) 219, deduces that PGM VII 285 f. must have been composed sometime after August 28, 27 B.C. Whether 50, 100 or 200 years afterward, it is impossible to say. – H.-D. BETZ, GMP p. 183 n. 81, notes that the aspects of the heavens described in PGM XIII 385 f. correspond to those which must have been evident in A.D. 139, thus perhaps dating the spell. – M. SMITH, Transformation by Burial, Eranos-Jahrb. 52 (1983) 109.40, suggests that the original text of PGM IV 475–820 was at least three literary generations older than the extant mid-fourth-century papyrus: the writer who sent this text to his 'daughter' used a text originally written for men. This was preceded by a revamping of the text from a ritual for immortalization to one for divination. This preceded the present copy. –

A similar situation exists with regard to the lead tablet SB IV 7452 and PGM IV 341 ff. The tablet bears essentially the same text as that prescribed by the formulary on papyrus. Since the tablet predates the formulary by at least a century, both tablet and papyrus must derive from an older – and as yet unrecovered – archetype.

Actual dates in the magical texts are rare. The oracle question PGM XXX b has a date which is convertible to 26 April A.D. 6. The horoscopes in PGM LXXII 52–75 date to 217, 219 and 244, thus providing *termini post quos* for the writing of the rest of the text. PGM 13 a was penned by the poetaster Dioscoros of Aphrodito who lived and wrote in the VI c. A.D. PGM 15 a, b were apparently written after the Henotikon of Zeno in 482. PGM XXVIII a–c, PGM 2, 3; P. Heidelb. V 137.48 (Coptic); PGM CI 37 = SM I 45.37; SB III 6225 all display day dates without any indication of the year. For dating these texts one has to resort to paleographical considerations.

d) Hymns

A problem in itself is the phenomenon of the magical hymns. These are the metrical sections, sometimes in iambs (PGM I 296, IV 2242–2347) or anapaests (V 172–179), but more often in dactyls, ranging from a few lines to 30, 40 and even 100 and more. These apostrophes to Selene, Hekate, Aphrodite and other deities appear suddenly in the middle of otherwise prosaic and pedestrian instructions for preparing potions and casting spells, then just as abruptly break off or degenerate into series of vowels or *voces magicae* with no rhyme or rhythm to them whatsoever.¹⁷⁴ Sometimes only lines and portions of a hymn are utilized. The *disiecta membra* of the hymn to Helios are found strewn among three different magical papyri: IV 436–461, 1957–1989, VIII 74–81, I 315–325; of the hymn to Hermes in V 400–420, VII 668–680, XVII b; of the hymn to Apollo and Apollo-Helios in II 81–101, 133–140, 163–166, etc.

The magical hymns early attracted classicists, who were for the most part otherwise put off by what they read in the magical papyri. They were tempted to test their wit by reconstructing the *Urtexte* of what they believed were genuine relics of ancient Greek poetry.¹⁷⁵

Even today the consensus is that while some hymns were probably composed in magic circles for the use of the conjuror, others might in fact descend

M. SMITH, *Pagan Dealings with Jewish Angels*, *Studii Clasice* 24 (1986) 179, proposes a date in the mid-second century for the composition of the invocation appearing twice in the magical papyri in PGM I 300–304 and PGM III 211–214, in other words, about 150 years before the date of the earlier papyrus PGM III – hence ca. 150 A.D.

¹⁷⁴ In PGM I 304, II 100 and IV 2928 the *voces magicae* are metrical. Zs. RITOÓK, *AAASH* 26 (1978) 449–456, and R. KOTANSKY, *JPGMJ* 11 (1983) 178, cite other examples. Cf. R. MERKELBACH, *ZPE* 47 (1982) 172, and D. JORDAN, *ZPE* 72 (1988) 245–259, on heretofore unnoticed metrical *voces magicae*.

¹⁷⁵ MILLER (n. 101) 437–459; K. WESSELY, *WS* 8 (1886) 190–194; B. KUSTER, *De tribus carminibus papyri Parisinae magicae*, Königsberg 1911; E. ABEL, *Orphica*, Leipzig–Prague 1985.

from ancient Greek literary endeavor.¹⁷⁶ While much effort has been expended editing these verses and trying to arrive at a proper Greek text that meets all the requirements of classical language and prosody, for the latest editor these attempts are superfluous. E. HEITSCH argues that the hymns were so popular, their use so wide-spread, their adaptation to various purposes and contexts so thorough, that it is now virtually impossible to reconstruct the „*vormagische Urfassung*“.¹⁷⁷

Given the hymns' affinities with the Orphic hymns,¹⁷⁸ the Chaldaean oracles and the Clarian oracles in Porphyry's 'De philosophia ex oraculis hau-rienda' one arrives perforce at a general dating within the I-II c. A. D. for the composition of the magical hymns.¹⁷⁹ However, if the traces of poetry recently identified by MALTOMINI are indeed fragments of longer texts, then we have magical hymns in the papyri already in the I c. B. C.¹⁸⁰

There is actually nothing preventing the appearance of a hymn in such an early text. Hippolytus¹⁸¹ cites a hymn to Hekate which reminded BERGK¹⁸² of the verses of Theocritus and which could have easily stood in any of the magical papyri. Regardless of their age, the hymns obviously include much that could be traced to ancient Greek precedents if only we had the means necessary for comparing them.¹⁸³

The hymns (apart from occasional interpolations) constitute one of the few distinctly Greek components of the magical papyri. They hearken back to the days when the Olympian and chthonian deities¹⁸⁴ reigned supreme, when Iao, Baal, Ereschigal, Nebutosualeth and their likes were hundreds of miles away and still unheard of. With the passing of time, however, Zeus and Persephone, Aphrodite and Hekate had to make room for other deities from Babylo-nia, Persia and Egypt¹⁸⁵ itself. Early scholars tended to overestimate foreign

¹⁷⁶ R. WÜNSCH, *Aus einem griechischen Zauberpapyrus* (= *Kleine Texte* 84), Bonn 1911, p. 2 ff.; A. D. NOCK, *JEA* 15 (1929) 222; NILSSON, *Religion* III, 131 ff.; E. HEITSCH, *Zu den griechischen Zaubershymnen*, *Philologus* 103 (1959) 218.

¹⁷⁷ HEITSCH, *op. cit.* 220; KEYSSNER, *Gottesvorstellung* 92.

¹⁷⁸ B. KUSTER (n. 175) 52 f., 79 f., who notes among other things the typical accumulation of epithets.

¹⁷⁹ NOCK, *JEA* 15 (1929) 223.

¹⁸⁰ MALTOMINI (n. 133) 243 ff.; *Id.*, in: *P. Monac.* II 28, pp. 40 ff. Cf. the contemporary PGM CXXII and the most recent remarks by R. JANKO, *ZPE* 72 (1988) 293.

¹⁸¹ Hippolytus, *Ref.* IV 35.5 = E. HEITSCH, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Göttingen 1963, no. LIV. Cf. HEITSCH, *Philologus* 103 (1959) 222.

¹⁸² *ibid.*

¹⁸³ Cf. R. REITZENSTEIN, *Index lectionum*, Rostock 1892-1893; *Id.*, *Inedita poetarum Graecorum fragmenta* III, Rostock 1892-1893, 18-28. D. WORTMANN, *ZPE* 2 (1968) 160, suggests a Euripidean model for a phrase on a *lamella* in Cologne. Cf. SEGAL, *Magic* 352 ff.

¹⁸⁴ See on the Greek gods and influence of Greek religion, NILSSON, *Religion* 129 ff.; DELATTE and DERCHAIN, *Intailles* 176-244; BONNER, *Studies* 39-44; EITREM, *Papyri*.

¹⁸⁵ The numerous appearances of the ancient Egyptian deities, conflated with their Greek counterparts or acting independently of them, are cited and analyzed in detail by T. HOPFNER, *AO* 3 (1931) 119 ff., 327 ff.; A. PROCOPÉ-WALTER, *ARW* 30 (1933) 34-69;

influence in the papyri, claiming they were a hodge-podge of oriental, Gnostic, Mithraic and Babylonian elements. In the meantime, more critical analysts have eliminated most of the putative Babylonian, Mithraic, Persian and Gnostic elements, leaving only the Greek, Jewish and Egyptian ones as the main syncretistic components.

e) Foreign Elements

α) Gnostic

Early editors of Greek magical papyri, having only the gems and literary sources to base their judgements on, went overboard in their efforts to trace Gnostic influences. REUVENS, finding the same seven vowels in his papyrus (PGM XII) as in the Gnostic writings of Marcus, attributed the text to the same school.¹⁸⁶ In 1851, M. J. SCHWARTZE published the 'Pistis Sophia'.¹⁸⁷ GOODWIN, writing in 1852, suggested his papyrus (PGM V) had closer affinities to the 'Pistis Sophia' than to any Marcan text, since the 'Pistis Sophia' exhibited not only the vowels with their mystic associations, but also some of the same magical names as are found in the papyri. C. W. KING cited PGM V as an example of Gnostic literature.¹⁸⁸ Indeed, in the omnium-gatherum known as PGM V, Gnostic names and elements are combined with Jewish, Egyptian and even good classical Greek ones in wild abandon (lines 96 ff.). Otherwise, Gnostic elements are relatively few in the magical papyri.

PGM XIII 139–213 ≅ 442–563 is the only Gnostic passage of any length. In this cosmogony God laughs seven times and creates the seven gods who span the cosmos. He laughs once and creates light, the god of the cosmos and of fire. He laughs a second time and divides everything liquid into three parts. The god of the abyss appears. Thus are created Νοῦς, also called Hermes; Γέννα, the seed of all things; Μοῖρα, Καῖρός and Ψυχή. The papyrus text continues in this fashion.

In PGM I 300, III 211, IV 14, 16 Iao, the creator god of the Old Testament, is relegated to being a servant of Zeus or another angel, albeit a powerful one, among several others. In the aforementioned PGM XIII 743, "Ogdoas, the god who orders and administrates everything", and in ll. 84, 597 (I)aldabaeim, otherwise known as Ialdaboath, one of the seven archons of the Ophites, ap-

DELATTE and DERCHAIN, *Intailles* 54–173; WORTMANN, *Kosmogonie* 62 ff.; M. PIEPER, *MDAIK* 5 (1934) 123 ff.; F. SBORDONE, *Aegyptus* 26 (1946) 130 ff., 148.

¹⁸⁶ REUVENS (n. 87) I 27 ff.

¹⁸⁷ M. G. SCHWARTZE, *Pistis Sophia: Opus gnosticum Valentino adiudicatum ... latine vertit M. G. Schwartz, edidit J. H. Petermann*, Berlin 1851–1853. See now the later editions of J. SCHMIDT, *Pistis Sophia. Neu herausgegeben mit Einleitung nebst griechischem und koptischem Wort- und Namenregister* (= *Coptica. Consilio et impensis Instituti Rask-Oerstadiani edita*, II) 1925; C. SCHMIDT, *Koptische-gnostische Schriften I: Die Pistis Sophia, die beiden Bücher des Jeu, Unbekanntes altgnostisches Werk* (= *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte I*), 3. Aufl. bearbeitet von W. TILL, Berlin 1959.

¹⁸⁸ n. 91.

pears. Psinother, the infinite Light, is attested in PGM IV 829 and III 186 a, b.¹⁸⁹ Ieu which appears commonly in the PGM either as a *vox magica* or the name of a deity is, of course, reminiscent of the Gnostic work called the 'Book of Jeu' – v. II 7, Glossary s. v.

E. PETERSON¹⁹⁰ undertook a Gnostic analysis of PGM I 197 f. and IV 1177 f., a prayer for salvation wherein the celebrant identifies himself with Man "the most beautiful creation of God in heaven". This Man is, according to PETERSON, Adam who in the prayer expresses his longing to escape from Fate and return to his original perfect, spiritual state. SEGAL,¹⁹¹ however, repudiates this interpretation.

On the whole, the papyri were not so much influenced by Gnosticism as Gnosticism was by magic.¹⁹² While Gnosticism and magic had much in common, the essential difference is in the tone: whereas Gnostics were interested in the whys and wherefores, magicians were intent only on producing results for themselves and their clients.¹⁹³

β) Mithraic and Persian

In 1903, A. DIETERICH published 'Eine Mithrasliturgie', purporting to have discovered in PGM IV 475–834 a relic of ancient Mithraic worship. His interpretation was immediately rebutted by F. CUMONT¹⁹⁴ who saw not so much a Mithraic liturgy as a Greek magician's fantasy. DIETERICH¹⁹⁵ defended his findings and repudiated CUMONT's attempt at deriving the passage from Egyptian ritual. CUMONT¹⁹⁶ retorted that although the 'Mithrasliturgie' might in fact have Mithraic trappings, two essential elements were definitely lacking: 1) the passage of the soul through the seven planetary spheres, and 2) Mithras'

¹⁸⁹ T. HOPFNER, AO 3 (1931) 348–352, discusses these elements in detail. R. KOTANSKY, JPMJ 8 (1980) 181–184, published a gold *lamella* bearing among the other *nomina barbara* the name of the fourth principle light-Aeon in Gnostic literature: Eleleth.

¹⁹⁰ E. PETERSON, La libération d'Adam de l'Anagke, Revue biblique (1948) 199 f., revised as: Die Befreiung Adams aus der Anagke, in: PETERSON, Frühkirche 107 ff. Cf. J. DORESSE, The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics, London 1960, 107 ff.

¹⁹¹ SEGAL, Magic 353.

¹⁹² HULL, Magic 12.

¹⁹³ A. D. NOCK, JEA 15 (1929) 232. Cf. R. RITNER, A Uterine Amulet in the Oriental Institute Collection, JNES 43 (1984) 210; BONNER, Studies 1, 22–26, 45, 138–139; DORESSE (n. 190) 103 f.; F. C. BURKITT, Church and Gnosis, Cambridge 1932, 35 ff.; A. BARB, JWCI 16 (1953) 202. – Why A. F. SAMUEL, BASP 22 (1985) 317, includes in his 'Corpus of Gnostic Texts' just PGM XXVIII c, PGM 2,5 a and P. Princeton II 107, alongside PGM XIII 342 ff., excluding all the other fever and scorpion amulets which in their time were also published as 'Gnostic' charms, is obscure.

¹⁹⁴ F. CUMONT, Un livre nouveau sur la liturgie paienne, Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique 47 (1904) 1–10.

¹⁹⁵ ARW 8 (1905) 502.1

¹⁹⁶ Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain, Paris 1907, 300. Cf. CUMONT, in: A. HARNACK, Die Mission u. Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten II, Leipzig 1924⁴, 941: « Je persiste à croire que Dieterich s'est trompé et que la Mithras-Liturgie n'est pas une liturgie et n'est pas mithriaque ».

guiding the elect during their ascension into the heavens. The appearance of the name Mithras in this passage is just a whim of the magician.

REITZENSTEIN,¹⁹⁷ O. GRUPPE and many others¹⁹⁸ also expressed their reservations. By the time he died in 1908, DIETERICH was forced to concede that Egyptian magicians must have altered the original text considerably.

While some scholars like A. D. NOCK¹⁹⁹ and A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE²⁰⁰ have repudiated DIETERICH's interpretation entirely, the modern attitude is one of moderation: while on the one hand it is impossible to prove that the entire piece was used in the cult of Mithras, it is just as impossible, on the other, to prove that portions were not used. R. BECK and others, in fact, cite Mithraic elements in support of DIETERICH's thesis.²⁰¹

Iranian elements are just as few and far between. Apart from the instructions on how to deliver the chant, which are said to be Iranian,²⁰² HOPFNER²⁰³ cites as Iranian the names Barza and Zuro in the prayer to Aphrodite (PGM IV 2892 ff.), Zoroaster (PGM XIII 967), Ostanes (PGM XII 122) and Astrampsychos (PGM VIII 1). Furthermore, the epithet *Persia* referring to Artemis-Hekate in PGM IV 2271, 2715, 2781, has been cited as evidence for identification of this goddess with her Persian counterpart Anahita.²⁰⁴ PHILONENKO²⁰⁵ derives the expression ὁ μέγας Νοῦς (PGM V 464) from Iranian theological texts and briefly traces its transmission through Jewish, Manichaean and Gnostic writings before making its unique appearance in the Greek magical papyri. However, BONNER,²⁰⁶ NILSSON,²⁰⁷ FESTUGIÈRE,²⁰⁸ PREISENDANZ²⁰⁹ and HOPFNER²¹⁰ all otherwise note the paucity of things Persian.

¹⁹⁷ Hellenistische Theologie in Ägypten, Neue Jbb. f. d. klass. Altertum 13 (1904) 102.

¹⁹⁸ GRUPPE, Bursians Jahresber. 137 (1908) 229; H. STUART JONES s. v. Mithraism, in: HERE 8 (1915) 752–759; ID., Quarterly Review 440 (1914) 103–127.

¹⁹⁹ JEA 15 (1929) 231: "neither a liturgy, nor, properly speaking, Mithraic".

²⁰⁰ L'Idéal 314: « On n'eût jamais songé à une 'liturgie de Mithra' si le nom de ce dieu ne se présenterait au début de l'enchantement ... on trouve aussi bien des noms babyloniens: dira-t-on qu'il s'agit alors de liturgies empruntées à Babylone? »

²⁰¹ R. BECK, Mithraism since Franz Cumont, ANRW II 17.4, ed. W. HAASE, Berlin–New York 1984, 2051; A. F. SEGAL, Heavenly Ascent in Hellenistic Judaism, Early Christianity and their Environment, ANRW II 23.2, ed. W. HAASE, Berlin–New York 1980, 1382. Cf. HOPFNER s. v. Mysterien, in: RE XVI, 2 (1935) 1346 f.: „Wichtigstes Dokument der Mithrasweihe“; M. CLAUSS, Mithras. Kult u. Mysterien, Munich 1990, 115: „Die Echtheit des Textes ist wohl zu Unrecht bezweifelt worden“. In the meantime a genuine Mithraic text on papyrus has come to light: WM. BRASHEAR, A Mithraic Catechism from Egypt (= Tyche Supplementband 1), Vienna 1992; ID., Ein mithräischer Katechismus aus Ägypten in Berlin, Antike Welt 24 (1993) 2–19.

²⁰² J. BIDEZ and F. CUMONT, Les mages hellénisés II, Paris 1938, 243; A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, in: Mémoires Lagrange (n. 242) 125.6.

²⁰³ AO 3 (1931) 356 f.

²⁰⁴ BETZ, GMP p. 337, citing Diod. Sic. V 77 and NILSSON, GGR II 672 ff.

²⁰⁵ M. PHILONENKO, CRAI 1985, 437–438.

²⁰⁶ Studies 32 ff.

²⁰⁷ Religion 133–134.

²⁰⁸ CP 46 (1951) 81–82.

²⁰⁹ PGM III, Vorrede, reprinted in PGM², p. xv.

²¹⁰ OZ II 19 ff.

γ) Babylonian²¹¹

The only personages from this corner of the world seem to be Ereschigal, Baal, Shamash, and perhaps Nebutosualeth, as well. Ereschigal was Lady of the Great Place (i. e. the abode of the dead), sister and sworn enemy of Inanna (Akkadian Ishtar), the Queen of Heaven. In Egyptian Greek magical texts she appears over a dozen times and is identified with various goddesses, among them Hekate-Persephone, Selene, Isis and Aphrodite. Baal the fertility god and chief of gods, appears only a half-dozen times, usually as a *vox magica*. Shamash, the sun god, makes rare appearances and then only in association with Re.

It has been suggested that the common *vox magica* Nebutosualeth might derive from the name of the Assyro-Babylonian god of vegetation and patron of writing, Habu. In the latter-named capacity he was responsible for inscribing the fates of men as decreed by the gods on his tablets. However, the word has also been interpreted as Egyptian *nb n to sual* + ηθ for "Lord of the Underworld"²¹² or *nb.t. w3ḏ.t, nšwj.t-ī' r.tj* for "Mistress of Uto, queen of the two Royal Snakes".²¹³

δ) Latin and Roman

Taking into consideration all the other languages employed in the magical papyri, whether real or artificial, the paucity of Latin and the absence of anything specifically Roman in general is striking.²¹⁴ Only one Latin magical papyrus has ever turned up. Although the original papyrus is probably lost forever, thanks to a brief description and transcription made by PREISENDANZ in the late 1930's based upon a preliminary transcription made by O. GUÉRAUD in 1937, we are able to make a relatively competent estimate of its contents. It is a Christian amulet invoking God and Jesus Christ in his capacity of *medicus caelestis* perhaps for general protection or for curing immediate or future illness. The request is imbedded in a *cento*-like conglomeration of citations from the Bible and liturgy. The text is interesting for the light it sheds on the north Italian-African tradition of the Psalter²¹⁵ and for its witness to contemporary Latin of the V or VI c.²¹⁶

²¹¹ Cf. HOPFNER, OZ II §§ 18 ff.; ID., AO 3 (1931) 333–334; W. FAUTH, ZPE 98 (1993) 57–75; C. FARAONE, GRBS 28 (1987) 257–280; ID., Talismans and Trojan Horses, Oxford Univ. Press 1992.

²¹² I. ZÜNDEL, RhM 19 (1864) 484–486.

²¹³ K. SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 175. For further Babylonian elements see WEITZ (n. 30) 361, who translates several *voces magicae* as unmistakably pure Babylonian (v. inf. II 7: Glossary s. vv. λουλου ζαρζαρκαθ, λουλου βαρθαρθαρ).

²¹⁴ EITREM, Papyri 251.16 suggested that PGM I 177–180 may derive from the Roman imperial cult.

²¹⁵ R. DANIEL, F. MALTOMINI, ZPE 74 (1988) 253–265.

²¹⁶ J. KRAMER, ZPE 74 (1988) 267–272.

Otherwise, there are Latin personal names – either the agents or objects – of spells and curses, e.g. Sabinus,²¹⁷ Priscilla,²¹⁸ Matrona,²¹⁹ Capitolina (PGM XV), Ionicus and Annianus.²²⁰ The names of two otherwise unknown magicians, Claudianus (PGM VII 862) and Urbicus (PGM XII 318), are preserved as authorities and guarantors for quality.

Greek words are occasionally glossed with their Latin counterparts, e.g. PGM XIII 252: πατήλλιον ἢ ἐπικάρσιον, LXII 44: εἰς φιάλην (πατήλλιον χρηστόν). And the same Latin words appear here as in the ordinary documentary papyri, e.g. οὐγκία, σίτουλα, σουδάριον, etc. More intriguing are the putative traces of Latin among the *voces magicæ* (v. I 2 f.). The reason for the scarcity of Latin words might be due to the fact that Latin is nowhere cited as a holy language in the magical papyri. Whereas Egyptian, Hebrew, Greek, Persian and Syrian are touted as holy languages, Latin, apart from some *defixiones* and the aforementioned single, unique papyrus, seems not to have enjoyed any magical repute beyond the confines of Italy.²²¹

ε) Semitic

In the land of magic *par excellence* along the Nile, native, home-grown elements were not, of course, so effective and popular as foreign ones – especially Jewish and pan-Semitic elements.²²² The reason for this phenomenon is

²¹⁷ BJÖRCK, Fluch.

²¹⁸ P. Lund 12.

²¹⁹ WORTMANN, Texte 57 ff.,

²²⁰ AUDOLLENT, Defix. no. 38.

²²¹ Cf. C. GORDON, Aramaic Magical Bowls, AO 6 (1934) 329: on an Aramaic incantation bowl (VII c. A.D.) divine protection is sought against “Aramean sorcery, Jewish sorcery, Arabic sorcery, Persian sorcery, Indian sorcery, Greek sorcery, and the sorcery of the Romans”. This does not mean that the Babylonians regarded the Romans as especially powerful magicians. Rather it is a common *topos* in magical texts that foreign magic is stronger than native magic. Egyptian texts 1600 years older are the same. Cf. I. E. S. EDWARDS, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum: Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom I, London 1960, 10: “we shall keep her safe from the magic of a Syrian, from the magic of a Nubian, from the magic of a Libyan, from the magic of the people of Egypt”, p. 24: “I shall keep her safe from the magic of the Syrians, ... the Ethiopians, ... of the Shasu, of the Libyans, ... of the people of Egypt”, p. 38: “from any magic of the people of Cush”, etc.

²²² The repute of Jewish magicians exceeded even that of Egyptian sorcerers (G. MUSSIES in: Studies ... Jan Zandee [= Numen Suppl. 43], Leiden 1982, 89–120, citing Apuleius, *Flor.* XC; Plin., *n. h.* 30.2.11). Cf. WÜNSCH, Antike Fluchtafeln (= Kl. Texte 20), Bonn 1907, 12–15; NILSSON, Religion 134–138; HEIM 522–523, 527; FESTUGIÈRE, L’Idéal 287.9, 294.1, 298.1; ID., Révélation IV 183.3,4, 186.2,8,9, 187.6, 189.7, 196.7; M. SIMON, Verus Israel, Paris 1948 (= Verus Israel. A Study of the Relations between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire, translated by H. McKEATING 1986 – non vidi), 394 ff.; ID., Recherches d’histoire judéo-chrétienne 142–144; BONNER, Studies 26–32; L. ROBERT, Jnl. des Savants 1981, 3–44 passim; HULL, Magic 30 ff.; A. D. NOCK, JEA 15 (1929) 229; EITREM, Papyri 243 ff.; C. D. G. MÜLLER, Die Engellehre der koptischen Kirche, Wiesbaden 1959; GOODENOUGH, Symbols 153 ff.; HOPFNER, AO 3 (1931) 334 ff.; M. RIST, The God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, JBL 57 (1938) 289–303; M. GRUN-

unknown – perhaps because the Jews were the largest and most conspicuous foreign population in Alexandria, their non-syncretistic and uncompromising attitude in matters of religion and their highly visible adherence to a distinctly deviant mode of living set them apart from their neighbors. For whatever reason, Jewish elements outnumber by far all other foreign elements in the Greek magical texts.

Except for Helios no other deities appear so frequently and are invoked so often as Iao (for Jaweh), Sabaoth and Adonai. By way of contrast, Elohim – usually Eloë, Eloai, *aut sim.* – appears less than a dozen times. Moses is highly regarded as an author of magical literature and to him are ascribed several portions of the long magical formularies.²²³ The Old Testament patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, are elevated to the position of deities and invoked by the magician to do his bidding. Solomon,²²⁴ who later and elsewhere plays such a large role in magical spells, appears less than a half dozen times in the papyri and David not at all.²²⁵ Angels, archangels, cherubim and seraphim abound, their names being coined from practically any root conceivable, be it Semitic, Egyptian or Greek, and adding the Hebrew termination *-el*.²²⁶

Many are the *voces magicae* which scholars through the ages have tried to derive from Hebrew and Aramaic. Modern linguists reject most of these earlier proposed derivations as implausible and fantastical. Even the seemingly obvious and commonly accepted explication of $\sigma\epsilon\mu\epsilon\sigma\iota\lambda\alpha\mu$ as Hebrew for “eternal sun” is apparently no longer valid. G. SCHOLEM says it is not Hebrew

WALD, Neue Spuk- und Zaubersliteratur, Monatsschrift f. Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judentums 77 (1933) 170.1; N. F. MARCOS, Motivos judíos en los papiros mágicos griegos, in: Religion, Superstición y Magia en el Mundo Romano, Cadiz 1985, 101–127.

²²³ J. GAGER, Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism, Nashville 1973, 134–161: “Moses and Magic”.

²²⁴ E. g. B. BAGATTI, Altre medaglie di Salomone cavaliere e loro origine, Rivista d'archeologia cristiana 47 (1971) 331–342; LEITE DE VASCONCELLOS, Signum Salomonis. Estudo de Etnografia comparativa, Lisbon 1918; PREISENDANZ, s. v. Salomon, in: RE. Suppl. 8 (1956) 660 f.; P. PERDRIZET, Negotium Perambulans in Tenebris, Strassburg 1922; D. DULING, Solomon, Exorcism and the Son of David, HThR 68 (1975) 235–252; W. FAUTH, Arbath Iao, Oriens Christianus 67 (1983) 82 n. 118; J. ENGEMANN, Zur Verbreitung magischer Übelabwehr, JbAC 18 (1975) 37 f.; C. C. McCOWN, Test. Salomonis, Leipzig 1922, 90 ff.; M. NALDINI, in: Studia Florentina A. Ronconi sexagenario oblata, Rome 1970, 281–287 (= VAN HAELEST no. 753).

²²⁵ A. D. NOCK, JEA 15 (1929) 229; SARTORI, s. v. David, in: HDA II (1930) 179–180.

²²⁶ Cf. SCHWAB, Angél.; E. PETERSON, RhM 75 (1926) 393–421; REUBEN MAGULIES, Ma-la' kē Elyon, Jerusalem 1964² (non vidi); S. EITREM, P. Oslo. I, pp. 78–80; F. MALTOMINI, ZPE 48 (1982) 166–167; MÜLLER (n. 222): ROHLAND; J. MICHL, s. v. Engelnamen, in: RAC 5 (1962) 53–258; G. DAVIDSON, A Dictionary of Angels, New York–London 1967; J.-H. NIGGEMEYER, Beschwörungsformel aus dem ‘Buch der Geheimnisse (Sefer ha-Razim)’: zur Topologie der magischen Rede (= Judaistische Texte u. Studien 3), Hildesheim–New York 1975, 225–238; G. A. BARTON, The Origin of the Names of Angels and Demons in the Extra-Canonical Apocalyptic Literature to 100 A. D., JBL 31 (1912) 156–167.

and has nothing to do with the sun, but rather Aramaic *shemi shalam* "my name is peace".²²⁷

Other frequently appearing Semitic roots are Baal "Lord" (spelled in the papyri as Bol, Bal, Bēl) in various combinations such as Βαλσαμης, Βαλχαμ, Αβελβελ, and Melek "king" in such *voces magicae* as μελχιου, μελχαμελχου, μελχιεδα. Semea, which appears in PGM III 29, 207, V 429 and DMP 14. 214, might be the name of a Syrian goddess well attested on votive inscriptions.²²⁸

In addition to outright allusions to Old Testament episodes or places and direct transcriptions of Hebrew words and names, underlying Jewish influence has been traced in numerous passages in PGM. JACOBY,²²⁹ for example, posits Hebrew inspiration for the creation account in PGM XIII 161 ff.

Alongside the all-pervasive Jewish influence in Greek magical texts from Egypt there are even three texts written in Aramaic. Two of them are from Oxyrhynchus: one on lead,²³⁰ the other on papyrus.²³¹ The origin of the third (on papyrus) is unknown.²³² While it has often been posited that this or the other magical text in Greek may have been written by a Jew, here are three 'living' witnesses to Jews producing Jewish magic in Egypt. By the time when these incantations were produced, *Koinē* Greek had long replaced Aramaic as the *lingua franca* in the eastern Mediterranean. Hence, the texts in question were most likely written by a Jew, who, for reasons unknown to us, opted to use the language of his forefathers rather than that of his contemporaries for formulating his dark desires.²³³

²²⁷ SCHOLEM, Gnosticism 134.

²²⁸ O'NEIL, in: GMP p. 24.48. Cf. DUSSAUD s.v. Simea, in: RE III A,1 (1927) 137–140; S. RONZEVALLE, *Sima-Athēna-Némesis*, *Orientalia* 3 (1934) 121–146. C. BONNER, *AJA* 53 (1949) 271, however, associates Semea with *šmš* "sun", and R. RITNER in GMP p. 207.158, with the Greek σημεία. Cf. MARTINEZ (n. 22) 138; K. PREISENDANZ s.v. Semea, in: ROSCHERS *Lexikon* VI (1924) 866–867; HÖFER s.v. Semea, *ibid.*, IV (1909–1915) 660–662.

²²⁹ A. JACOBY, *Byz.-Neugr. Jbb.* 10 (1932–1934) 65 ff.; cf. PGM vol. II, p. 95.1. S. SAUNERON, *BSFE* 32 (1961) 47, on the other hand, points out Egyptian features. For other traces of Jewish influence, see M. PHILONENKO, *CRAI* 1985, 433–452; J. SCHWARTZ, *A propos d'interdits concernant le récit de la création*, in: *Paganisme, Judaïsme, Christianisme*. Mél. Marcel Simon, Paris 1978, 45–53; S. SCIACCA, *Kokalos* 28–29 (1982–1983) 87–104.

²³⁰ F. KLEIN-FRANKE, *ZPE* 7 (1971) 47–52; NAVEH and SHAKED, *Amulets*, p. 82: Amulet 9.

²³¹ M. J. GELLER, *ZPE* 58 (1985) 96–98.

²³² P. MARRASSINI (n. 84) 125–130.

²³³ On the use of Hebrew by Jews in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt cf. C. SIRAT, *Les papyrus en caractères hébraïques trouvés en Egypte*, Paris 1985; C. SIRAT et al., *La Ketouba de Cologne. Un contrat de mariage juif à Antinoopolis* (= *Papyrol. Coloniensia* 12), Opladen 1986; F. KLEIN-FRANKE, *ZPE* 51 (1983) 80–84; J. SCHWARTZ, *ZPE* 55 (1984) 141–142; Wm. BRASHEAR, *ZPE* 60 (1985) 237. Examples of Hebrew papyri from Egypt are also noted by V. TCHERIKOVER and A. FUKS, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* I, Cambridge 1957, 107–108, e.g. M. STEINSCHNEIDER, *ZÄS* 17 (1879) 93–96; PREISENDANZ, *Papyrusfunde* 138; P. Ant. 47–50; F. E. ESTEBAN, *SP* 7 (1968) 111–128.

ζ) Buddhistic?

At least one scholar has even considered the possibility of Buddhistic influence on the so-called 'Mithrasliturgie' (PGM IV 475 ff.). He furthermore examined the *voces magicae* for possible loan words from Sanskrit. In both ventures, however, he had to confess finding nothing definitive. He concluded that despite the many features they have in common, the Dharani texts of Buddhistic ritual and the 'Mithrasliturgie' were undoubtedly composed independently and without any knowledge of each other.²³⁴

Alongside such easily identifiable figures and elements from foreign mythologies as those discussed above, there are hundreds of names and words which are not so easily identified or derived. These are the so-called *voces magicae*.

f) *Voces Magicae*

Armazel, Barbelon, Abraxan, Balsamum et ridiculum Leusiboram ceteraque magis portenta quam nomina, quae ad imperitorum et muliercularum animos concitandos quasi de hebraicis fontibus hauriunt, barbaro simplices quosque terrentes sono, ut quod non intelligunt, plus mirentur.

Hieronymus, Epist. 75.3.1

Foreign or strange-sounding words in magical spells are an age-old and pandemic phenomenon. Attested already in Assyrian and Egyptian magic from the 2nd millennium B. C., they continue to be used down to the present day.²³⁵ The Greeks called them *Ephesia grammata* because ἀσαφὲς καὶ αἰνιγματώδης

²³⁴ J. HAUER, Die Dhāraṇi im nördlichen Buddhismus und ihre Parallelen in der sogenannten Mithrasliturgie, Stuttgart 1927.

²³⁵ To name just a few examples: in Egyptian magic v. n. 30; in Assyrian: E. EBELING, *Orientalia* 23 (1954) 52; in Hebrew: HOPFNER, *OZ I* §§ 769 f.; SCHOLEM, *Gnosticism* 77, 81–82; in Mandaic: E. YAMAUCHI, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, New Haven 1967, 44; in Syriac: Muséon 76 (1963) 39 (v. BRASHEAR, *ZPE* 56, 1984, 67); in a Linear A text: C. H. GORDON, *Leviathan, Symbol of Evil in Biblical Motifs*, in: *Studies and Texts* 3, ed. A. ALTMANN, Cambridge, Mass. 1966, 5 ff.; in Latin (v. p. 3432); in modern English: J. G. GRIFFITHS, *Atlantis* 266–290; W. M. SAMARIN, *Tongues of Men and Angels*, New York 1972 (non vidi); BONNER, *Studies*, 189, cites Sumatran examples. Cf. GOETHE, Reineke Fuchs, 11. *Gesang*: „und sie legt' ihm die Hand aufs Haupt und sagte die Worte: Nekräst negibaul geid sum manteflih dnudna mein tedachs“; J. VAN HAVER, *Nederlandse Incantatieliteratuur*, Ghent 1964, nos. 270, 364; H. WEBSTER, *Magic: A Sociological Study*, Stanford 1948, 95–96; R. KOTANSKY, in: *Magika Hiera* 136.103. – Cf. LEIPOLDT and MORENZ, *Schriften*, 183–184, on the related phenomenon of foreign languages in religious texts, e. g. Akkadian in Hittite, Persian in Latin, Hebrew and Aramaic in Greek (with bibliography). – On the use of archaic language in magic and religion: F. KAINZ, *Sprachpsychologisches zum Thema 'Religion und Sprache'*, in: *Fests. W. Havers* (= *Die Sprache* 1, 1949) 109–110; S. J. TAMBIAH, *The Magical Power of Words*, *Man*. n. S. 3 (1968) 175–208.

ἐπὶ ποδῶν καὶ ζώνης καὶ στεφάνης ἐπιγέγραπται τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὰ τοιαῦτα γράμματα.²³⁶ According to Hesychius, s. v. Ἐφέσια γράμματα and Clem. Alex. *Strom.* V,8,45.2, the original *Ephesia grammata* were six only: ἄσκιον κατὰ σκιον λιξ τετράξ δαμναμενεὺς αἴσια (-ιον Hesychius). However, the term undoubtedly soon became applied to any hocus pocus. Although Menander and Anaxilas evidently know of them in the IV c. B. C.,²³⁷ direct contemporary evidence is scanty, the only examples attested deriving from a *dipinto* on a vase from IV-c. B. C. Russia and on a *defixio* from IV-c. Crete,²³⁸ the latter containing the same original six words known to Hesychius and Clement.

Voces magicae are conspicuously absent from the earliest Greek magical papyri from Egypt. The reason commonly given for this absence is the national character of older Greek magic that relied solely on home-grown divinities like Pluto, Kore, the Moirai, the Erinyes, Hekate and others.²³⁹ The curse of Artemisia (PGM XL IV c. B. C.) and the recently published Berlin and Munich papyri (v. I4 Highlights, I c. B. C.) are similarly devoid of any of this hocus pocus which characterizes magical material of a later date. This syncretistic, international magic – attested from Bithynia to the Ukraine,²⁴⁰ from North Africa to Syria – combined Latin, Greek, Coptic, Hebrew, Egyptian, Babylonian elements in wild abandon and thought nothing of invoking Apollon, Paieon, Zeus, Iao, Michael, Gabriel and Abraham, Adonai, Pakerbeth all in one breath (PGM I 297 f.). In the papyri the first *voces magicae* begin to crop up in the I c. A. D. (PGM XV, XVI, LVII + LXXII), and by the III c. A. D. they are everywhere in rampant profusion.

Continuing the distinction made in antiquity between spoken (Menander: λέγων ἄλεξιφάρμακα) and written charms (Anaxilas: φορῶν Ἐφέσια γράμ-

²³⁶ Pausanias as quoted by Eustath. ad Hom. Od. T 247. DEISSMANN, *Ephesia grammata*, in: *Abh. z. semit. Religionskunde u. Sprachwissens.* W. W. von Baudissin ... überreicht (= *Beih. z. ZATW* 33), Giessen 1918, 121–124, derives it from Babylonian *epēšu* “to bewitch”. For a general description of the *Ephesia grammata* cf. KUHNERT in: *RE* V.2 (1905) 2771 f. s. v. Ἐφέσια γράμματα.

²³⁷ Menander (fr. 313 KOERTE-THIERFELDER; MEINEKE, FCG IV 181; KOCK, CAF III 108): Ἐφέσια τοῖς γαμοῦσιν οὗτος περιπατεῖ / λέγων ἄλεξιφάρμακα; Anaxilas as quoted by Athenaeus XII 548 c: ἐν σκυταρίοις ραπτοῖσι φορῶν / Ἐφεσήια γράμματα κάλα; Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 1337: ἀνωλόλυξε καὶ κατῆδε βάρβαρα / μέλη μαγεύουσα; HEIM 525 f. and HOPFNER, OZ I §§ 706 f., cite other attestations from classical authors.

²³⁸ vase: PGM O 5 (Olbia). Cf. K. PREISENDANZ, *APF* 11 (1935) 159. *Lamella*: K. PREISENDANZ, *APF* 9 (1930) 130, citing E. ZIEBARTH, *Nachrichten d. Gesell. d. Wissens. zu Göttingen* (1899) 129–133; R. WÜNSCH, *RhM* 55 (1900) 73–85, et al. Cf. W. ROSCHER, *Philologus* 60 (1901) 89; C. McCOWN, *TAPA* 54 (1923) 132 ff.; R. KOTANSKY, in: *Magika Hiera* 127.27.

²³⁹ R. WÜNSCH, *Deisidaimoniaka*, *ARW* 12 (1909) 17–19; ID. (n. 156) p. xx; M. SMITH, *On the Lack of a History of Greco-Roman Magic*, in: *Althistorische Studien H. Bengtson ... dargebracht*, Wiesbaden 1983, 255–256; A. NOCK, *JEA* 15 (1929) 225 ff.; PREISENDANZ, *Überlieferungsgeschichte* 233 f., ID., *Magie* 120; HOPFNER, *Magiea* 307 f.

²⁴⁰ Bithynia: J. CORMACK, *HTHR* 44 (1951) 25 ff. (*defixio*); Ukraine: T. BLAVATSKAJA, *Amulette des environs de Gorgippia*, *Izsledvanija v chest na akad. Dimitui Dechev*, Sofia 1958 (a gem from Anapa); Syria: P. PERDRIZET, *REG* 41 (1928) 73 f. (metal phylactery). See on the wide distribution of *defixiones* the bibliography in n. 340.

ματα)²⁴¹ BONNER, Studies 186–196, divides *vores magicae* into two main categories: those designed to make an auditory impression and those with a visual effect. To the most basic auditory effects belong the series of vowels, especially the alphabetic sequence αεηιουω, but also single vowels or two or three in various permutations which fill whole lines on gems and papyri. The soft and sonorous repetition of these vowel sequences must have had an indeed enchanting effect on the hopeful client.²⁴² Each vowel's association with a planet, a musical tone and an angel increased its magical efficacy.²⁴³

Not nearly as popular and varied are the just as interminable and wholly unpronounceable clusters of consonants. Their effect was heightened by smacking the lips (ποππυσμός) or by hissing (συριγμός).²⁴⁴

Combining vowels and consonants in random fashion the magician produced strings of sing-song words whose only structural principles seem to be certain tendencies to *homoioteleuton*, *homoiarcton* and general rhyme and rhythm,²⁴⁵ e.g. PGM VII 379, 384: μελιβου μελιβου μελιβαυβαυ; XIII 809

²⁴¹ Cf. Gregory Nazianzenus (MIGNE PG 36.318A and *scholium* 907B–C, quoted by BONNER, Studies 3–4), where the distinction is made between περιάμματα and ἐπάσματα. C. McCOWN, TAPA 54 (1923) 131, cites further examples.

²⁴² PGM V 25 f. tells how the individual vowels are to be articulated. According to Demetrios, On Style § 71, they were sung. Cf. BONNER, Studies 186; DORNSEIFF 52–53; C. RUELLE, Le chant des sept voyelles grecques, REG 2 (1889) 38–44, 393–395 (whom DORNSEIFF 47.3, refutes); HOPFNER, OZ I § 777; LINDSAY, Origins 126 ff.; J. GODWIN, The Mystery of the Seven Vowels, Grand Rapids 1991. – On mumbling, murmuring and whispering, supposedly Iranian in origin, but also bellowing and roaring out, the invocations, see BIDEZ and CUMONT (n. 202) 243; FESTUGIÈRE in: Mémorial Lagrange. Cinquantenaire de l'Ecole biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem (1890–1940), L. H. VINCENT ed., Paris 1940, 125.6 (non vidi); PETERSON, Frühkirche 127.62, 337.19; BLAU, Zaubermessen 71; DELATTE, Anec. Athen. I, p. 56; HOPFNER, OZ II, §§ 40 ff.; DELATTE, Office 147.5; LEXA, Magie I 101; J. NAVEH, IEJ 29 (1979) 119; DIETERICH, Mithrasliturgie², 40 f., 221–222; H. SCHMIDT, Veteres philosophi quomodo iudicaverint de precibus (= RGVV IV,1), Gießen 1907, 55 ff.; S. SUDHAUS, Lautes u. leises Beten, ARW 9 (1906) 185 ff.; Sophronios, *Vita Cyri et Iohannis* (MIGNE PG 87.3, p. 3521B); E. YAMAUCHI (n. 235) 54; H. WEBSTER, Magic (n. 235) 95–96; K. TALLQVIST, Die assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlû, Leipzig 1895, 20; S. EITREM, SO 12 (1933) 32.2; ABT (n. 3) 212 f.; T. GASTER, Orientalia 11 (1942) 64; L. MOSCADI, 'Murmur' nella terminologia magica, SIFC 48 (1976) 254–262.

²⁴³ HOPFNER, OZ I §§ 150–151; DORNSEIFF 43 ff.; BONNER, Studies 187; DELATTE and HOPCHAIN, Intailles 361; LINDSAY, Origins 127 f.

²⁴⁴ Cf. PGM VII 767 f., which lists various modes of utterance; XIII 40, 48 f.; HOPFNER, OZ I § 780. HAUSER (n. 234) discusses the same phenomena in Buddhistic chants.

²⁴⁵ BONNER, Studies 190, cites examples of up to 240 letters. On the use of consonants cf. DORNSEIFF 60 f.; DIETERICH, Abraxas 23; JACOBY, s. v. Hax pax max, in: HDA III (1930–1931) 1587 (predilection for words ending in -x); HOPFNER, AO 3 (1931) 133–134 on Lerthex and Sterxerx as cacophonous names for Seth; O. WEINREICH, Wunderseltzame Recepte, Hess. Blätter f. Volkskunde 9 (1910) 133–134 n. 1 (*vores magicae* ending in -x). F. MALTOMINI, SCO 29 (1979) 70, 103, cites other examples, as does A. JACOBY, ARW 29 (1931) 204 ff. W. DEONNA, Abra, Abraca: la croix-talisman de Lausanne, Genava 22 (1944) 134 ff., and H. WINKLER, Die Aleph-Beth-Regel (v. infr.), analyse the various techniques in more detail. Cf. P. COLLART, Rev. de phil. 4 (1930) 253; BRASHEAR, Magica

τουχαρ σουχαρ; XII 112: νεννανα σεννανα; Cato, *de re rustica* 160: *motas vaeta daries dardaries astataries dissunapiter*. *Huat hauat huat, ista pista sista, dannabo dannaustra, huat haut haut, ista sis tar sis, ardannabon dannaustra*;²⁴⁶ Hippolytus, *Ref. omn. haer.* V 7: ὕε κύε; IG 2² 4876: ὕε κύε ὕπερχύε; W. TILL, ZAS 77 (1942) 102: θΟΥΛΑΔΑ, ΜΟΥΛΑΔΑ, ΒΟΥΛΑΔΑ. Except for the

Varia 41–42; J. L. HELLER, *Nenia, παίγνιον*, TAPA 74 (1943) 215–268; J. JAYNES, *The Origins of Consciousness in the Breakdown of the Bicameral Mind*, Boston 1976, 357 ff.; H. GÜNTERT, *Von der Sprache der Götter und Geister*, Halle (Saale) 1921, 65 ff.; D. HARMENING, *Zur Morphologie magischer Inschriften*, Jb. f. Volkskunde n. F. 1 (1978) 67–80; A. LIEDE, *Dichtung als Spiel II*, Berlin 1963, 230 f., 268 f.; S. FEIST, *Runen und Zauberwesen im germanischen Altertum*, Arkiv för nordisk Filologi 35 n. F. 31 (Lond–Leipzig 1919) 243–287.

M. GASTER, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, June 1915, n. 53 (reprinted in T. GASTER, ed., *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic ...* by M. GASTER, New York 1971, vol. I 455) notes *homoio-teleuton* in *voces magicae* in Samaritan amulets.

E. NORDEN, *Logos and Rhythmus* (Rektoratsrede), Berlin 1928, 9, cites as example the charm in the Iguvine Tables: *tursitu tremitu hondu holtu, ninctu nepitu, sonitu savitu, preplotatu previlatu*.

Comparable are children's chants, which the children earnestly believe are Chinese and of great antiquity. While their Chinese origin may be somewhat in doubt, "that these rhymes are centuries old is not to be lightly dismissed", I. and P. OPIE, *Children's Games in Street and Playground*, Oxford 1969, 44. Cited are examples of a popular rhyme which remains relatively unchanged the world over, from century to century, e.g. *Une, mine, mane, mo* (France 1961), *Ene, tene, mone, mei* (Germany 1847), *Ina mina maina mau* (Norway 1959), *Eena, meena, mina, mona* (England 1895). Cf. DORNSEIFF 57.1 and A. BARB, *Animula Vagula Blandula*. Notes on Jingles, Nursery-Rhymes and Charms, *Folklore* 61 (1950) 15–30; H. WINKLER, *Die Aleph-Beth-Regel*. Eine Beobachtung an sinnlosen Wörtern in Kinderversen, Zaubersprüchen u. Verwandtem, in: *Oriental. Studien* E. Littmann überreicht, Leiden 1935, 1–24; E. SZEPES, *Magic Elements in the Prayers of the Hellenistic Magic Papyri*, AAASH 24 (1976) 209 f.; Zs. RITOÓK, AAASH 26 (1978) 447 ff.; W. VYČICHL, *Die Aleph-Beth-Regel im Demotischen u. Koptischen*, Archiv f. ägypt. Archaeologie 1 (1938) 224–226; W. VYČICHL, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, Leuven 1983, 103; G. KLINGBERG, *Korrumperade latinska gudstjänstformulär ...*, ARV. *Journal of Scandinavian Folklore* 10 (1954) 124–141, on remnants of the Latin ritual in children's rhymes.

Taken to its extremes one gets the alliterative gibberish, several hundred words long, called "Hebrew" in the Coptic charm edited by WORRELL (n. 84) or AUDOLLENT, *Defix.* no. 161, with 133 lines of *voces magicae* and *characteres*.

Modern researchers attempt tracing relationships between vowel sounds and word meanings, the deep, dark vowels like *o* and *u* having an awesome, threatening, secretive nature on the one hand, and on the other the lighter ones like *e* and *i* often referring to gentler, pleasanter things whether in English or Chinese: E. PAX, *ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΙΑ*, Munich 1955, 265; W. HAVERS, *Zur Entstehung eines sog. sakralen u-Elementes in den idg. Sprachen*, Anz. d. ph.-h. Kl. d. Wiener Akad. Wiss. 1947, 139 ff.; F. SPECHT, *Die Alten Sprachen* 4 (1940) 112–122; ID., *Der Ursprung der idg. Deklination*, Göttingen 1944, 303 ff.; F. TROJAN, *Phonetische Lautstilkistik, Habilitationsschrift*, Vienna 1947; ID., *Biophonetik*, Mannheim 1975, 213 f.; C. HALLPIKE, *The Foundations of Primitive Thought*, Oxford 1979, 411 ff.

²⁴⁶ Cf. TUPET, *Magie* 169–170; R. GOUJARD, *Caton, De Agricultura*, Paris 1975, 319–321; P. THIELSCHER, *Cato: De agricultura*, Berlin 1963, 384–392.

last series, which in Coptic magic seems to be secret names for Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, these simple, repetitive, sing-song syllables probably have no deeper significance and were devised simply for the sake of their pleasant sound.

Magical character was often ascribed to words containing the whole Greek alphabet, like βεδυζαψθωμπληκτρονσφιγξ, μαρπτεσφιγκλωψζβυχθηδον, and κναξζβιχθυπτηςφλεγμοδρωψ²⁴⁷ and series like αω βψ γχ δφ,²⁴⁸ etc. But these were more often used by school teachers as didactic exercises in teaching the alphabet and are not the proper subject of magical papyri.

Visual effects were obtained by writing words in various schematic forms, reminiscent of the Hellenistic *technopaignia*.²⁴⁹ There was the wing-shape (πτερυγοειδῶς or *Schwindschema*):

Μιχαηλ	(PGM XLIV), its converse, the pyramid:	α	(PGM I 13)
ιχαηλ		εε	
χαηλ		ηηη	
αηλ		ιιι	
ηλ		οοοοο	
λ		υυυυυ	
		ηηηηηηη	

the heart-shape (καρδιοειδῶς PGM LXII 82), the cluster of grapes (PGM III 70: καρδιακῶς ὡς βότρυς), patterns cruciform (PGM 4) and rhomboid (PGM XVIIa), etc. Curiously, the letters of a *Schwindschema* are sometimes written

²⁴⁷ Cf. HOPFNER, OZ I §§ 757 ff.; DORNSEIFF 69 f.; Clem. Alex. Strom. V 8.48.4, cited by C. RÖMER, P. Köln IV, p. 102, where other references are given. G. HUSSON, Bibl. Or. 41 (1984) 402–403, discussing P. Köln 175 „Schriftprobe eines christlichen Schreibers“, where one of these words appears, suggests «on pourrait aussi songer à une amulette (*suggestion de J. VAN HÆLST*)». Add to the references given by RÖMER, P. Köln IV, p. 102: P. BELLET, BASP 19 (1982) 1 ff.; K. MICHALOWSKI, ed., Nubia. Récentes recherches. Actes du Colloque nubologique international, Warsaw 1975, 39, where DONADONI reports finding on the wall of a church at Sonqi Tino κναξ...; R. MERKELBACH, ZPE 61 (1985) 293–296; T. Louvre MND 551 D: ἀβροχίτων δ' ὁ φύλαξ θηροζυγοκαμψιμέτωπος (repeated four times; personal communication from P. CAUDERLIER).

²⁴⁸ Cf. G. GOYON, L'abécédaire araméen, in: S. I. GROLL, ed., Pharaonic Egypt, the Bible and Christianity, Jerusalem 1985, 67, where most of the letters of the alphabet written in alphabetical order produce a meaning; W. WATSON, JAOS 20 (1899) 175.1, where a series of Hebrew names comprises the whole alphabet; COOGAN, Alphabets and Elements, BASOR 216 (1974) 61–63, on the origin of the word 'element' in such letter games. For more bibliography cf. W. M. BRASHEAR, Enchoria 14 (1986) 15–16. On the magical character of the written letters see DORNSEIFF passim; C. PRÉAUX, CdE 10 (1935) 361–370; TIEMANN, s. vv. Schreiben, Schrift, Geschriebenes in: HDA IX (1941) 293–388; KAINZ (n. 235).

²⁴⁹ BETZ, GMP, p. 3.5, cites literature on *technopaignia*. Cf. R. DANIEL, in: P. Rain. Cent., p. 303. JEREMY ADLER and ULRICH ERNST, Text als Figur. Visuelle Poesie von der Antike bis zur Moderne, (Ausstellungskatalog der Herzog August Bibliothek 56), Wolfenbüttel 1987, present more recent examples.

consecutively as if the person responsible had no notion of their potential form.²⁵⁰

Palindromes, rarely making any sense,²⁵¹ also belong to the category of visual effects. As BONNER, *Studies* 193, notes, palindromes when they are pronounced are scarcely ever recognized, unless they are short, whereas written, even the longest ones with up to 60 letters are easily recognizable.²⁵²

Finally there are the bona fide *voces magicae*, not just letter games, permutations or palindromes, but the either longer or shorter words which for the most part defy all analysis and description. Some of these seem to have been secret names, code names, for certain divinities, their derivation and meaning for the most part entirely obscure. Others may be isopsephistic in nature.²⁵³

All this has not prevented people from trying their hand at analyzing these words and attempting to define and interpret them. Even in the magical papyri themselves one finds occasional, and quite fanciful, attempts at assigning origins, e.g. PGM V 473: Συριστί θεὸν μέγαν ζααλαηριφου ... Ἑβραιστί· ἀβλα-ναθαναλβα ἀβρασιλωα; XIII 82 = 594: ὀρνεογλυφιστί·²⁵⁴ αραϊ, ἱερογλυφιστί· λαιλαμ, ἄβραιστί· ανοχ Βιαθιαρβαθ βερβιρ ..., αἰγυπτιστί· Ἀλδαβαιμ, κυνο-κεφαλιστί· ἀβρασαξ, ἱερακιστί· χι χι χι χι ... ἱερατιστί· μενεφωιφωθ χα χα χα ..."; V 115: Οσοροννωφρις· τοῦτὸ ἐστὶ σοῦ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἀληθινὸν τὸ παραδι-δόμενον τοῖς προφήταις Ἰσραὴλ – where even the good Egyptian Osiris Wennefer is credited with being Hebrew! Or in Coptic texts one reads: "he raised his voice, speaking in the language of the Hebrews: *achrabrami metasphin adonai eloei lamebto azael* ... the translation of which is: God who sits on the

²⁵⁰ PGM II 66 f.; R. KOTANSKY, *JPGMJ* 8 (1980) 184; DELATTE, *Anecd. Athen.* I 549.10 f. (reported by BARB, *Abraxas* 73), 125.1 f. (v. n. 456); C. BONNER, H. YOUTIE, *TAPA* 68 (1937) 54 line 10: εὐλαμων, ὑλαμων, λαμων κτλ.

²⁵¹ An exception may be the αβεραμενω-palindrome – v. p. 3437.

²⁵² On palindromes in general cf. D. HAGEDORN, *ZPE* 2 (1968) 65 f.; S. PÉTRIDÈS, *Les karkinoi dans la littérature grecque*, *Echos d'Orient* 12 (1909) 86–94; R. DANIEL, in: P. Rain. Cent., p. 303; K. PREISENDANZ s. v. Palindrom, in: *RE* 18.3 (1949) 133–139.

²⁵³ On isopsephisms see BONNER, *Studies* 192; DORNSEIFF 96 ff.; HOPFNER, *OZI* § 705; S. AGRELL, *Eranos* 26 (1928) 1 ff.; J. CLÉDAT, *MIFAO* 12 (1904) 95; P. FRIESENHAHN, *Hellenistische Wortzahlmystik im Neuen Testament*, 1935; J. PLUMLEY in: P. VAN MOORSEL, ed., *New Discoveries in Nubia*, Leiden 1982, 91 f.; P. Oxy. 45.3239 – correctly identified by T. SKEAT, *ZPE* 31 (1978) 45–54; M. CROPP, *ZPE* 32 (1978) 258; PACK² 2109; J. MARCILLET-JAUBERT, *ZPE* 33 (1979) 185–186; P. PERDRIZET, *REG* 17 (1904) 350–360; W. PRENTICE, *AJA* 10 (1906) 137–150; V. GRUMEL, *Orientalia Christiana* 13 (1947) 515–521; C. BONNER, *JEA* 16 (1930) 6–9; H. SATZINGER, *Berliner Koptische Urkunden III*, Berlin 1968, no. 388; C. FARAONE and R. KOTANSKY, *ZPE* 75 (1988) 262; Wm. BRASHEAR, *ZPE* 78 (1989) 123–124.

²⁵⁴ Commonly attributed to magicians is the power to understand animal talk. Cf. Philostr., *Vit. Apoll.* 1.20, 3.9; Plin. n. h. 10.137; WELLMANN, *Physika* (n. 135) 1.24; GMP, p. 58.140; BLAU, *Zauberwesen* 65.2; FESTUGIÈRE, *L'Idéal* 286.6; L. CHARBONNEAU-LAS-SAY, *La bestiaire du Christ*, Bruges 1940, 678 ff.; M. ELIADE, *Shamanism. Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, London 1964, 96 f.; FOWDEN, *Hermes* 59, quoting M. LICHTHEIM, *Ancient Egyptian Literature III*, Berkeley 1980, 125–138 (Demotic tale of Setne).

wagon of the Cherubim", etc.²⁵⁵ Otherwise, the Greek magician gave his texts a Semitic flair by strewing them with words and names ending in *-el* or *-oth* and *-ath*. His Semitic counterpart achieved the same effect by Grecizing his *voces magicae* with words terminating in *-os*.²⁵⁶

Besides, or instead of, creating his own bogus, *ad hoc* "foreign" words the Greek magician also resorted to using genuine foreign languages in his spells, just as his counterparts and predecessors used in their ancient Egyptian and Linear A spells dashes of Semitic languages.²⁵⁷ Similarly, one finds Hebrew and Greek in Demotic magical texts,²⁵⁸ Hebrew in Coptic magic,²⁵⁹ and Egyptian in Latin magic.²⁶⁰

The presence of more authentic and easily identifiable Hebrew words such as Sabaoth, Iao and Adonai, of Coptic words and phrases, and of Babylonian and Egyptian deities used as *voces magicae* prompted scholars to attempt other derivations from the same languages.

Already in 1829 U. F. KOPP²⁶¹ working mainly from gem inscriptions attempted deriving the *voces magicae* from Hebrew. His derivations are forced and fantastic²⁶² and are now viewed with just skepticism. G. PARTHEY noted in his commentaries to magic papyri in the Berlin collection²⁶³ the occurrence of parallel *voces magicae* on gems and papyri wherever possible, but he did not

²⁵⁵ KROPP, KZT II, 81, and S. PERNIGOTTI, EVO 6 (1983) 75 ff. Cf. SCHOLEM, Gnosticism 81, who cites from the lesser Hekhaloth: "This is the ineffable Name ... and its interpretation is Greek". DMP 27.35 calls the spell consisting of strings of *voces magicae* in line 20 of the same column Greek. On genuine Greek words in Demotic magic v. n. 38 on DMP 28.1. On bogus 'Amorite' language in Hebrew charms v. BLAU, Zaubermagie 66–67; H. LEWY, Zeits. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde 3 (1893) 130 f.

²⁵⁶ SCHOLEM, Gnosticism 77, 81–82; A. BARB, Syria 49 (1972) 369.3; Id., Abraxas 69.1; C. BONNER, AJA 49 (1945) 442.

²⁵⁷ v. supra nn. 30, 235.

²⁵⁸ v. n. 38.

²⁵⁹ Hebrew in Coptic: KROPP, KZT III, p. 218.

²⁶⁰ Egyptian *voces magicae* in Latin charms: G. ZUNTZ, Persephone, Oxford 1971, 284.5, referring to *Hippiat.*, p. 69, c. 440 = HEIM, p. 536. S. SCIACCA, Kokalos 28–29 (1982–1983) 87–104, interprets all the *voces magicae* written in Greek letters on a phylactery found in Sicily as Hebrew. Cf. H. C. YOUTIE's interpretation of the Hebrew in Greek letters on a *lamella* found in Great Britain in R. G. COLLINGWOOD and R. P. WRIGHT, Roman Inscriptions of Britain I, Oxford 1965, p. 144 no. 436 – v. infra. II 7: Glossary s. v. ἐλ-λιων. Cf. SIMON, Verus Israel (n. 222) 399.2; TRACHTENBERG, Magic 102, on Latin in medieval Hebrew magic; SCHOLEM, op. cit. 33 and Id., Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism, Jerusalem 1941, repr. N. Y. 1961, 362.50, on the Greek four elements as a *vox magica*, in Hebrew – identified by U. LEWY, Tarbiz 12 (1941) 164.

L. DALY, AJPh 103 (1982) 95–97, identified as verse from the *Anthologia Palatina* the Greek *voces magicae* in a Latin charm from medieval England which had stumped A. A. BARB, Die Blutsegen von Fulda und London, in: G. KEIL, R. RUDOLF et al., edd., Fachliteratur des Mittelalters. Festschrift Gerhard Eis, Stuttgart 1968, 485–493.

²⁶¹ KOPP, Pal. crit. Cf. HOPFNER, OZ I §§ 731 ff.

²⁶² SCHOLEM, Gnosticism 97.

²⁶³ v. n. 95.

undertake any derivations. WESSELY²⁶⁴ summarized what was then known about the phenomenon of hocus pocus words in magic, citing ancient authors on the subject and listing all the ones known from gems, inscriptions and papyri.

Since Egyptologists had begun tackling the Coptic portions of PGM IV,²⁶⁵ DIETERICH asked WIEDEMANN to look at the *voces magicae* in his 'Mithrasliturgie' (PGM III 475 ff.) with a view to finding Egyptian or Coptic roots among them. WIEDEMANN complied suggesting a few tentative etymologies, but he cautioned against laying any great weight on them.²⁶⁶

In the meantime others have tried their hand, and some progress in the elucidation of these words has been made. Hebrew and Egyptian²⁶⁷ are the main sources, other Semitic languages having contributed relatively little: Arabic²⁶⁸ perhaps in the Demotic portions of PGM LXI and Babylonian being limited to *eulamo* ("eternal") and the deities Ereschigal and Baal.²⁶⁹ The Syrian goddess Semea appears as a *vox magica* in PGM III 29, V 429, DMP 7.28, and is addressed as a King in PGM III 207.²⁷⁰ Latin is also met with occasionally.²⁷¹

The elucidation and explication of these arcane expressions goes on today as experts in various ancient languages submit the *voces magicae* to intense scrutiny. Occasionally, a relatively sound case is made for interpreting a word in one language, only to be invalidated by someone who advances a similarly sound argument for identifying the word as another language. For example, *Nebutosualeth*, a common *vox magica* in Greek and Demotic magical papyri, gems and *lamellae*, has been interpreted as Babylonian,²⁷² Nebu being a Babylonian deity. Others have suggested it is Egyptian and give two different etymologies to substantiate their claims.²⁷³

²⁶⁴ K. WESSELY, *Ephesia grammata*, Vienna 1886.

²⁶⁵ v. PREISENDANZ, PGM I, pp. 65–66.

²⁶⁶ *Mithrasliturgie*² 37.

²⁶⁷ On Egyptian words in Greek magic v. K. F. W. SCHMIDT, GGA 1927, 463–469; 1931, 441–458; 1934, 169–186; 1937, 149 f.; Ph. Wo. 1935, 1174–1184; Th. HOPFNER, AO 3 (1931) 119–155, 327–358; 7 (1935) 89–120; 10 (1938) 128–148.

²⁶⁸ NOCK, *Texts* 247: *Salbanakha*, where *Salb-* is misspelled for *kalb-* = arab. *qalb* "heart"? B. EBBELL, ZÄS 59 (1924) 149 sees Arabic in an ancient Egyptian spell.

²⁶⁹ BONNER, *Studies* 187; NILSSON, *Religion* 133; R. DANIEL, ZPE 50 (1983) 152; F. MAL-TOMINI, SCO 29 (1979) 71; PREISENDANZ, *Akephalos* 35 f.; A. JACOBY, ARW 28 (1930) 283.

²⁷⁰ O'NEIL in: GMP 24.48. C. BONNER, AJA 53 (1949) 271, associates it on the other hand with Semitic *shemesh* "sun".

²⁷¹ E.g. Βελλῶνα IV 3022, ια νοα IV 2414, αμωρ IV 283?, αματωρ VII 535?, αχχεριμα IV 2027?, ουμαντωρ = *vementer*?, VII 578. Cf. PGM vol. III, p. 207, *Register II: Latei-nische Wörter*.

²⁷² K. PREISENDANZ s. v. *Neboutosualeth*, in: RE 16,2 (1935) 2158–2160.

²⁷³ K. SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 175: „*Herrin von Uto, Königin der beiden Königsschlangen*“. I. ZÜNDEL, RhM 19 (1864) 484, 486: *neb n to sual + eth* "Lord of the Underworld". W. CRUM, JEA 29 (1942) 31: *neboutos oueri* may be the correct word division.

Nabis biennouth, often inscribed on gems but heretofore not yet found in the papyri, has been interpreted as Hebrew and as Egyptian.²⁷⁴ The same goes for *basum*, which could be Egyptian or Hebrew.²⁷⁵ Even *semesilam*, which was long thought to be Hebrew for "eternal sun" is now declared as Aramaic *shemi shelam*: "my name is peace".²⁷⁶

The elucidation and explication of these arcane expressions goes on today. M. TARDIEU collected thirteen examples of the word *aberamentho* in the papyri. Most of them occur in the palindrome αβεραμενθουλερθεξαναξεθρελυο-ωθνεμαρεβα which he translates as Hebrew for « *Puissant des eaux, Thot, dieu de pluie, O souverain* (ἄναξ): *pluie de Dieu, Thot, aux eaux puissantes* ». ²⁷⁷

Much less learned was my analysis of the *hapax* word appearing on a gem published by A. BARB: YONIEGYOMΣΟΘΟΒ. It turns out to be retrograde for βοηθός μου γεινοῦ.²⁷⁸

Sometimes long-standing identifications and analyses of *voces magicae* are overlooked and new occurrences are published as *hapax legomena*. This was recently the case with both βους²⁷⁹ and ΒΟΥΛΑΛ, ΜΟΥΛΑΛ, ΘΟΥΛΑΛ amulets.²⁸⁰

At long last, after centuries of endeavor, a plausible interpretation for the *SATOR* magic square has been proposed. Perhaps the most famous of all magical formulae, the *SATOR* square has not heretofore been found in Greek magical papyri but is common in Coptic magical texts. M. MARCOVICH²⁸¹ derives *AREPO* from the Greek Ἀρπῶς, Ἀρπών (cf. PGM I 26: ἡκέ μοι, ἀγαθὲ γεωργέ Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων, Ἀρπὼν [Κνου]φι, 237: Ἀρπὼν Χνουφι, I V 2428, 2433: Ἀρπὼν Χνουβι. Ἀρπὼν Χνουφι = Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων = Ἀρποκράτης). Ἀρπὼν becomes

²⁷⁴ WORRELL, ap. BONNER, HThR 25 (1932) 362–367: Hebrew for "bound by chains". KOPP, Pal. Crit. IV 158: Hebrew for "bound with incantations". P. DERCHAIN, CdE 39 (1964) 179–180: Egyptian "*nḥp*" (pottery wheel), "*b3 n nṯr*" (spirit of God).

²⁷⁵ K. SCHMIDT, GGA 1937, 149: Egyptian for „*Panther von Oberägypten*“. W. FAUTH, Or. Christ. 67 (1983) 70: Hebrew for „*im Namen (Jahwehs)*“.

²⁷⁶ SCHOLEM, Gnosticism 134. The same obscurity plagues researchers in other languages. NAVEH and SHAKED, Amulets 67–68, list the various attempts at explaining a *vox magica* in Aramaic. Everything from Greek, to Persian, to Judaeo-Persian, to Mandaic, to a nonsense word in the PGM has been suggested for the letter combination *trpsdk*.

²⁷⁷ M. TARDIEU in: Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions presented to G. Quispel, Leiden 1981, 412–418.

²⁷⁸ WM. BRASHEAR, ZPE 56 (1984) 65.

²⁷⁹ WM. BRASHEAR, ZPE 50 (1983) 101. P. SIJPESTEIJN, ZPE 55 (1984) 114, published four anepigraphic objects which in his opinion serve the same purpose as ΒΟΥΣ amulets.

²⁸⁰ WM. BRASHEAR, ZPE 50 (1983) 106–107. Add to the list there H. QUECKE, Muséon 76 (1963) 258 ff.; A. ALCOCK, BASP 19 (1982) 97 ff. – The words also appear in garbled form in the *Test. Salomonis* VII 6: βουλταλα θαλλαλ μελχαλ. C. McCOWN cites even more bizarre variants in the app. crit. on p. 30* of his edition (n. 224). H. HOFMANN, s. v. Sator-Quadrat, in: RE Suppl. Bd. XV (1978), discussing the same edition of the *SATOR* square where βουλαλ, μουλαλ, θουλαλ also appear, repeats the erroneous statement of the editor that these three words are otherwise unattested. Thus the error continues to be perpetuated. Cf. J. VAN DER VLIET, Aegyptus 71 (1991) 240, on βουλαλ etc.

²⁸¹ M. MARCOVICH, ZPE 50 (1983) 155–171. See now J. G. GRIFFITHS, Atlantis 36–46.

in Latin *AREPO*; γεωργός becomes in Latin *SATOR*. MARCOVICH thus translates: "The Sower Harpocrates checks (binds) tortures (and) toils" or "The Sower Harpocrates keeps (protects) the carriage and agricultural labor and crops". G. M. BROWNE²⁸² adduces further evidence for the equation *AREPO* = Harpocrates, citing a Byzantine manuscript where the magic square appears. There the word *TENET* is glossed with κρατεῖ, thus facilitating the equation *AREPO* = Harpocrates.

In 1974, a papyrus in the Yale collection was published containing in addition to some Coptic Psalm verses three unattested *vores magicae* μαχιωϥ τϥατταϥα, and ϣαϥιϥαϣα which the editor suggested were the names of spirits or demons. Correctly transcribed they proved to be the names of the Three Wise Men: μελχιωρ, τϥατταϥια and ϣαϥιϥωρα who have in fact been demoted here to the rank of spirits at the bidding of the Coptic magician. The names are otherwise attested only rarely in Coptic.²⁸³

Whereas BONNER is continually pointing out the futility of deriving most of the *vores magicae*, M. PHILONENKO²⁸⁴ adopts a much more positive attitude. The successful analyses by him and others clearly demonstrate that the occasional nugget is there, still lurking in the magical papyri, waiting to be found.²⁸⁵

Although one papyrus speaks of completing a magical *praxis* "without any superfluous garrulity" (PGM IV 2085: ἀνευ πάσης λεσχολογίας), this was obviously a rare occasion. Seemingly endless strings of *vores magicae* are one of the facts of life that anyone dealing with Greek magical papyri will have to contend with.

g) *Historiolae*

Borrowing not only foreign names and words, the Greek magician was not averse to weaving whole episodes from foreign mythologies into his incantations. Sometimes these *ad hoc* stories (*historiolae*) can be traced to their Egypt-

²⁸² G. BROWNE, ZPE 52 (1983) 60.

²⁸³ To the four attestations cited in CdE 58 (1983) 297–310, add now the one recently brought to light in the excavations at Kellia, reported by J. PARTYKA in: Le site monastique des Kellia (Basse-Egypte). Recherches des années 1891–1983, Louvain 1984, 45. (I thank R. KASSER for this reference.) Cf. J. PARTYKA, CdE 62 (1987) 277–280; J. VAN DER VLIET, Aegyptus 71 (1991) 241–242.

Is it due merely to the vagaries of fate that some words like the *SATOR* magic square or Thoulal Moulal, Boulal are found only in Coptic magical texts, others only in Greek or Demotic, some only in papyri, others only on gems or *lamellae*? Recently, F. MALTOMINI, SCO 29 (1979) 79–80, reported a word which had heretofore appeared only on gems for the first time on a magical papyrus. R. KOTANSKY, JPMJ 11 (1983) 173, noted a *vox magica* that occurs only on *lamellae*.

²⁸⁴ CRAI 1985, 431 ff.

²⁸⁵ A. A. BARB, Folklore 77 (1966) 302–303. On the astounding longevity displayed by some of the *vores magicae* cf. II 7: Glossary s.vv. σουμαρθα, μαρμαραωθ, σεσεγγενβενφαρ-αγγης.

tian or Hebrew origins. Very often the source is not so readily apparent. Discussing the 'Philinna papyrus' (PGM XX) in 1942, P. MAAS said: "I know of no seven maidens quenching a fire in Greek mythology".²⁸⁶ However, L. KOENEN twenty years later was able to adduce the origin for this particular *historiola* in ancient Egyptian mythology.²⁸⁷

This idea that mythical events (archetypes) "once upon a time" (*in illo tempore*) retain their supernatural forces forever and can be reactivated at any given time by the simple act of recounting them is a technique common to all times and places.²⁸⁸ The precedent having been cited, the god is obliged to act the same way now as then, this time to the benefit of the conjuror/supplicant. Even a simple allusion to deeds done in the past will suffice to incite a god to action.²⁸⁹ The same thought is implicit in the magician identifying himself with a certain deity. Having once been in the same situation as the person for whom the rite is performed, the god is induced to act in a way favorable to the magician.²⁹⁰

However, if native, canonical mythological sources could not provide ready examples of suitable myths, the magician had no qualms about creating new ones for the occasion or borrowing appropriate examples from foreign mythology. A striking example from ancient Egyptian magic are the Canaanite and Babylonian deities in a magic text in Leiden.²⁹¹ Later magicians followed suit. Thus one finds the Demotic magician in the II c. A. D. using material from the Old Testament,²⁹² the Greek magician using Egyptian myths or creating apocryphal episodes in the life of Christ (v. infra) and the Coptic sorcerer drawing on the pagan mythology of his forefathers²⁹³ – all with the intent of re-creating a certain situation for the nonce.

Whereas the 'pagan' Greek magical papyri are replete with *historiolae* and allusions too numerous to mention, 'Christian' papyri with *historiolae* are, on the other hand, rare. Until recently only two examples – PGM 7 and 23 –

²⁸⁶ v. n. 142.

²⁸⁷ CdE 37 (1962) 167–174.

²⁸⁸ S. BRANDON, The Ritual Perpetuation of the Past, *Numen* 6 (1959) 112–129; Quellen des alten Orients: Die Schöpfungs-Mythen, Darmstadt 1977, 98–99; M. ELIADE, Le Mythe de l'éternel retour. Archétypes et répétition, Paris 1949; Id., Kosmogonische Mythen und magische Heilung, *Paideuma* 6 (1956) 194–204; H. SCHWABL s. v. Weltschöpfung, in: RE Suppl. 9 (1962) 1433–1582; LEXA, *Magie* I 53 ff.; HOPFNER, *Magia* 343.46–59; J. LEIPOLDT, S. MORENZ, *Schriften* 187; G. VAN DER LEEUW, Die sog. 'epische Einleitung' der Zaubersformeln, *Zeits. f. Religionspsych.* 6 (1933) 161–179; HEIM 495.1; F. MALTOMINI, *ZPE* 48 (1982) 152; BARB, *Survival* 122 f.; MAAS (n. 142) 37; F. OHRT, s. v. Segen, in: HDA VII (1936) 1582–1620; E. DE MARTINO, *Katholizismus, Magie, Aufklärung*, Munich 1982, 119–124; ELIADE, *Patterns* 388 ff.

²⁸⁹ e.g. PGM 18; P. Turner 49; MASSART (n. 15) 99.6.

²⁹⁰ MASSART (n. 15) 63, referring to GARDINER (n. 4) 265.

²⁹¹ AEMT 23 = MASSART (n. 15) p. 10 and commentary.

²⁹² DMP 5.13–14 (quoted here in n. 39).

²⁹³ KROPP, *KZT* II, pp. 3 ff.; H. O. LANGE in: *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, London 1932, 161 ff.

were known. The recent publication of P. Heid. G. 1101 brings the number to three.²⁹⁴ In the 'Christian' texts simple allusions, canonical and apocryphal, are more common.

While Jesus, Solomon and the Old Testament patriarchs are regularly elevated to the position of deities in spells, "it is remarkable that no names of historical persons from Greek, Egyptian, or Persian tradition are used in the papyri as names of deities in spells".²⁹⁵ In 1908, O. LEMM published a fragment of papyrus in the Golenischeff collection which bears on the one side the names Alexander, Selpharios, Diatrophe and the phrase „*sie werden alle gelöst*“ and *characteres*. The other side bears the Coptic alphabet. If LEMM's interpretation is correct, then this would be the only known attestation of historical personages from Greek history invoked as deities in an amulet, albeit Coptic.²⁹⁶

Might Sesengen bar (son of) Pharanges, which appears universally in the Greek, Coptic and Demotic papyri, and on the gems, be the name of a reputed magician in the ancient Near East and invoked so often that it had degenerated by Greco-Roman times into a simple *vox magica*? G. SCHOLEM²⁹⁷ has suggested he might have been a mythical personage. He might also have been a historical authority.

In later European magic one finds Cato invoked in a medieval charm.²⁹⁸ However, regarding the Greek magical papyri, SMITH's observation of 1978 still holds true today.

h) Signs and Designs

For an illiterate, ignorant clientele any sign or symbol, be it alphabetic, cryptographic²⁹⁹ or simply a product of the magician's fantasy, has strong magical potential. Whole lines of nothing but magical symbols, devoid of any significance whatsoever for the modern-day reader, were infused with who-knows-what-sort-of power for the ancient magician and his unwitting clients. These

²⁹⁴ F. MALTOMINI, ZPE 48 (1982) 153 f.

²⁹⁵ SMITH, Jesus 198.

²⁹⁶ VON LEMM 127–129.

²⁹⁷ SCHOLEM, Gnosticism 97–100. Cf. BARB, JWCI 27 (1964) 14–15. Cf. the *vox magica* SSM BN PDRS on a 7th-c. B. C. Canaanite or Hebrew inscription (H. TORCZYNER, JNES 6 [1947] 18–29; T. GASTER, Orientalia 6 [1942] 41–79; W. FAUTH, ZDMG 120 [1980] 229–256).

²⁹⁸ FRANZ, Benediktionen II 175.

²⁹⁹ For systems of cryptography see: J. DORESSE, Cryptographie copte et cryptographie grecque, Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte 33 (1952) 215 ff.; A. BARB, JWCI 27 (1964) 20.119; F. WISSE, Language Mysticism ... Cryptography, Enchoria 9 (1979) 101–120; M. GUARDUCCI, Dal gioco letterale alla crittografia mistica, in: ANRW II 16.2, ed. W. HAASE, Berlin–New York 1978, 1736 ff. = EAD., Scritti scelti (EPRO 98), Leiden 1983, 407–443. – Two magical papyri – PGM LVII, LXXII – both fragments of the same work are written entirely in cryptography. It can be deciphered. Other 'scripts' are evidently the work of modern forgers; v. nn. 392, 393.

characteres were seriously regarded, and great care was taken to reproduce them exactly according to given specifications. For example, one finds in PGM VII 195 the sentence "these are the *characteres*". Eleven symbols follow with the concluding remark: "there are eleven *characteres*", to ensure that the copyist took some care in reproducing them.

Another example is a rare Coptic fever amulet published by P. J. SIJPESTEIJN, CdE 57 (1982) 377–381. The text on both sides of the parchment is preceded by an identical array of magical signs and "ring letters" (v. infra.). Because the "artist" was not consistent in sizing and spacing them, their disposition differs slightly from one side to the other, but their order remains the same. Another indication of canonicity is provided by the fever amulet PIFAO III 50 with a *figura magica* surrounded by fantasy letters and "ring letters". Very similar is PGM VII 217 ff. (v. PGM II, Taf. 1, Abb. 1), where some of the same elements appear in the same configuration.³⁰⁰

The origin of these symbols is obscure. HOPFNER,³⁰¹ BONNER,³⁰² PIEPER,³⁰³ AGRELL,³⁰⁴ and DANIEL³⁰⁵ adduce the influence of the hieroglyphs for some of them. In Egypt, the transmission of the written language from one generation to the next had always been restricted to a comparatively small number of priests and scribes. Under Roman rule knowledge of the hieroglyphic script was apparently limited even further.³⁰⁶ By the time the magical papyri and gems were in vogue, knowledge of the hieroglyphs had all but died out, so that for the common folk they must have appeared indeed as strange and wonderful signs, imbued with magical power.³⁰⁷

Certain symbols have been associated with specific gods. For example, BONNER³⁰⁸ suggests that the bar crossed by three sinusoid curves is a Chnumis-

³⁰⁰ WM. BRASHEAR, ZPE 56 (1984) 65–66.

³⁰¹ HOPFNER, OZI § 819.

³⁰² BONNER, Studies 194, 253 ff. passim.

³⁰³ M. PIEPER, MDAIK 5 (1934) 125 f.

³⁰⁴ S. AGRELL, Die pergamenische Zauberscheibe und das Tarockspiel, K. Humanistika Vetenskapss. i Lund årsberättelse 1935–1936, IV, 61–190.

³⁰⁵ R. DANIEL, ZPE 19 (1975) 259. GRUNWALD (n. 222) 171–172, discusses *characteres* of hieroglyphic origin in Jewish magic.

³⁰⁶ Cf. BGU V = Gnomon of the Idios Logos §§ 71, 75, 76.

³⁰⁷ The latest datable hieroglyphic text is an inscription on the Gate of Hadrian at Philae (A. D. 394): no. 436 in: F. LL. GRIFFITH, Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus I, Oxford 1935. Cf. FOWDEN, Hermes 64, who notes the bewilderment and fascination felt by people in late antiquity when confronted with the hieroglyphs; E. LÜDDECKENS in: Die Sprachen im römischen Reich der Kaiserzeit (= Beih. d. Bonner Jahrbücher 40), Cologne–Bonn 1980, 252; MARSTAING (n. 54); J. VERGOTE, Muséon 52 (1939) 199; MAHÉ I 125. In P. Oxy. 1029 (A. D. 107), five carvers of hieroglyphic inscriptions swear an oath that they are the only ones in the city to ply that trade.

Reading ability in hieratic is apparently still a requisite for entering the priesthood in A. D. 162 – cf. P. Tebt. II 291.40 f. and S. SAUNERON, BIFAO 61 (1962) 55–57.

³⁰⁸ BONNER, Studies 25, 52, 58–59. Cf. JACKSON, Lion 86.59, citing as proof representations of Chnumis in the temples at Dendera, Edfu and Philae, where the "serpent is standing on its tail, its body crossed by three smaller serpents".

symbol. WORTMANN,³⁰⁹ on the other hand, calls it „*Zeichen für heiliges Wasser*“. BARB³¹⁰ cites evidence for the eight-pointed asterisk being the ancient Babylonian determinative for names of gods. DÖLGER³¹¹ calls it a solar symbol.

Zeta with a horizontal bar through it is a Zeus-symbol according to BARB³¹² and DEONNA.³¹³ PHILONENKO³¹⁴ cautions that it may represent the paleo-Hebraic *yod*, and hence refer to the *tetragrammaton*.

HOPFNER³¹⁵ also tries his hand at associating certain symbols with particular deities.

The “ring letters” and *characteres* – letters and symbols with a tiny circle at each juncture and termination – have been interpreted as stylized knots and Egyptian in origin.³¹⁶ PREISENDANZ³¹⁷ traces them to the form of a nail, while others posit an origin in cuneiform,³¹⁸ southern Arabic,³¹⁹ or Greek.³²⁰ They are attested in Ethiopian, Aramaic, Syriac, Jewish, Greek, Coptic and Arabic amulets.³²¹ STRELCYN³²² discusses them in detail.

Besides these simple symbols one also finds crude drawings of Greek and Egyptian gods and goddesses, fabulous monsters and demons. Work on the *figurae magicae*, that ultimately derive from Egyptian illustrated rolls,³²³ has

³⁰⁹ WORTMANN, *Kosmogonie* 90, Texte 104.

³¹⁰ A. BARB, *JWCI* 16 (1953) 216.48, 27 (1964) 8.43. M. PHILONENKO, *CRAI*, Paris 1979, 302, agrees.

³¹¹ DÖLGER, *Sol Salutis*³, 403–404. Cf. M. BERTHELOT, *Les Origines de l'alchimie*, Paris 1885, 63, who says it derives from the Assyrian symbol for the sun.

³¹² A. BARB, *Gnomon* 41 (1969) 302, *JWCI* 16 (1953) 216.

³¹³ W. DEONNA, *Genava* 22 (1942) 376 ff.

³¹⁴ PHILONENKO (n. 310) 301. Cf. *Id.*, *Une intaille magique au nom de Iao*, *Semitica* 340 (1980) 57–60, where he interprets the symbols on BONNER, *Studies*, no. 280, also as paleo-Hebraic letters.

³¹⁵ T. HOPFNER, *AO* 10 (1938) 143–144. For general discussions see HOPFNER, s.v. *Characteres*, in: *RE Suppl.* IV (1924) 1183 f.; A. DELATTE, *Une clochette magique*, *Acad. Roy. Belg. Bulletin. Cl. d. Lettres* 5 sér. 40 (1954) 256 f.; H. LEWY, *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy*, Paris 1978, 252–254; A. DELATTE, *Mus. Belg.* 18 (1914) 73 f.; M. LEJEUNE, *Pour un fichier des EBNI (écritures bizarres non identifiées)*, *CRAI* 1983, 697–701.

³¹⁶ PIEPER (n. 303) 125; BONNER, *Studies* 194.

³¹⁷ PREISENDANZ, *Akephalos* 40 f.

³¹⁸ A. BARB, *JWCI* 27 (1964) 14.81; H. WINKLER, *Siegel und Charaktere in der mohammedanischen Zauberei*, Berlin–Leipzig 1930, 150 ff.

³¹⁹ A. GROHMANN, *AO* 5 (1933) 313.

³²⁰ JOHN H. KROLL, *Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, suggests they were derived from punched writing on Greek allotment plates which were worn like amulets (cf. MORGAN 46.14).

A. BARB, *Folklore* 77 (1966) 302–303, suggests the possibility of their being a Jewish innovation. PIEPER (n. 303) suggests an Egyptian origin.

³²¹ W. M. BRASHEAR, *CdE* 58 (1983) 298.2. They are still in use in 18th-c. Europe: TRACHTENBERG, *Magic* 140, 142, 150, 151.

³²² S. STRELCYN, *Prières magiques éthiopiennes*, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 18 (1955) xxxiii ff.

³²³ EITREM, *Papyri* 248–249; M. PIEPER, *Jb. DAI* 48 (1933) 40 ff.; WEITZMANN, *Illumination; Id.*, *Illustrations*; W. M. BRASHEAR, *Magical Papyri* (n. 55). T. GASTER, *Orientalia* 11 (1942) 69 f., discusses ancient Semitic *figurae magicae*.

been more successful. The pioneering efforts of DELATTE,³²⁴ PREISENDANZ,³²⁵ PROCOPÉ-WALTER³²⁶ and SEYRIG³²⁷ have been continued by A. BARB,³²⁸ C. BONNER,³²⁹ W. DEONNA,³³⁰ S. MORENZ,³³¹ and more recently by I. GRUMACH,³³² D. WORTMANN,³³³ R. RITNER,³³⁴ W. FAUTH³³⁵, and others. Their studies make fascinating reading and clearly demonstrate how some figures and symbols retained their magical power for centuries and even millennia. Still the call made by S. EITREM³³⁶ in 1927, repeated by A. D. NOCK³³⁷ in 1929, I. GRUMACH³³⁸ in 1970, and P. FINNEY³³⁹ in 1980, continues to go unheeded, and a corpus of *figurae magicae* is still as much a desideratum as ever.

i) *Lamellae* and *Defixiones*

Alongside perishable papyri other, more durable, materials such as gems, ostraca, marble, wood and above all metal served as writing surfaces for magical spells. Metal *lamellae* and *defixiones* have been (and continue to be) found "from Northern Britain to Nubia; from Spain to Luristan".³⁴⁰ Egypt, as if

³²⁴ A. DELATTE, Etudes sur la magie grecque 5: 'Ακέφαλος θεός, BCH 38 (1914) 189–249.

³²⁵ PREISENDANZ, Akephalos; ID., Uroboros.

³²⁶ A. PROCOPÉ-WALTER, Iao und Set (Zu den *figurae magicae* in den Zauberpapyri), ARW 30 (1933) 34–69.

³²⁷ H. SEYRIG, Invidiae Medici, Berytus 1 (1934) 1–10.

³²⁸ Diva Matrix, JWCI 16 (1953) 193–218; Abraxas 67–86; The Mermaid and the Devil's Grandmother, JWCI 29 (1966) 1–23; Seth or Anubis?, JWCI 22 (1960) 367–371.

³²⁹ Studies; Hesperia 20 (1951) 301 ff.; 23 (1954) 138 ff.

³³⁰ Ouroboros, Artibus Asiae 15 (1952) 163 ff. Cf. B. STRICKER, De grote zeeslang, Leiden 1953; MARTINEZ 38.

³³¹ S. MORENZ and J. SCHUBART, Der Gott auf der Blume (= Artibus Asiae Suppl. 12), Ascona 1954.

³³² On the History of a Coptic Figura Magica, in: Proc. of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology, DEBORAH H. SAMUEL, ed. (= American Studies in Papyrology 7), Toronto 1970, 169–179; EAD., Slow of Speech and Slow of Tongue: An Expressive Gesture, in: Norms and Variations in Art. Essays in honor of M. Barasch, Jerusalem 1983.

³³³ Kosmogonie.

³³⁴ A Uterine Amulet, JNES 43 (1984) 209–221.

³³⁵ W. FAUTH, Seth-Typhon, Onoel and her eselsköpfige Sabaoth, Or. Chr. 57 (1973) 79–120. R. KOTANSKY, JPGMJ 11 (1983) 175–176, discusses the *tabula ansata* on gems, magical papyri and *lamellae*.

³³⁶ Gnomon 3 (1927) 179.

³³⁷ JEA 15 (1929) 233.

³³⁸ History (n. 332) 174. In 1922, DORNSEIFF 43, suggested making an edition of the magical papyri illustrated with gem parallels.

³³⁹ P. FINNEY, Did the Gnostics Make Pictures, in: B. LAYTON, ed., The Rediscovery of Gnosticism I, Leiden 1980.

Now, in 1994, plans for a corpus of *figurae magicae* are being made by P. C. FINNEY. The work is to be entitled *Magical Images in Later Antiquity. An Iconographic Lexicon*, Leiden: Brill (forthcoming).

³⁴⁰ KOTANSKY (n. 335) 169.1. Cf. A. AUDOLLENT, Defixionum tabellae quotquot innotuerunt ..., Paris 1904; E. ZIEBARTH, Neue Verfluchungstafeln aus Attika, Boiotien und Euboea, SB Berlin 1934, 1022 ff.; E. G. KAGAROW, Griechische Fluchtafeln. Eos Supplemen-

withholding in metal what she has so richly bestowed upon us in papyrus, has so far produced singularly few of these: only 18 in Greek and one in Aramaic. Eleven *lamellae* are amatory spells³⁴¹ on lead – *agōgai*, designed to attract someone to a person who felt his/her love was being unrequited by the object of his/her affections. Two *defixiones* are curses on lead. Two *lamellae* are *thymokatocha*, designed to reconcile someone with his enemy. Two are amulets on silver. One invokes a spirit. The single Aramaic text appears to be an exorcism on silver.

The type of metal used was of direct importance to the spell's efficacy. Gold, being the metal of the sun, and silver, associated with the moon, were used in protective and healing amulets. Heavy, somber, grey lead, the metal of Saturn-Kronos, a divinity hostile to mortals, was *de rigueur* in curses (*defixiones*), and incantations intended to incite enmity and disharmony whether Greek, Coptic or Punic magic. Its color and its heavy weight, its dangerous oxide, the cold that was attributed to it, all made lead ideal for the malicious purposes for which it was used.³⁴²

tum 4 (1929); R. WÜNSCH, Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom, Leipzig 1898; ID., Defixionum (n. 156); D. JORDAN, Survey of Greek Defixiones not included in the Special Corpora, GRBS 26 (1985) 151–197; M. BESNIER, Récents travaux sur les defixionum tabellae latines 1904–1914, Rev. Phil. 44 (1920) 5–30; E. GARCÍA-RUIZ, Estudio lingüístico de las defixiones latinas no incluidas en el corpus de Audollent, Emerita 35 (1967) 55–89 (p. 55.1); H. SOLIN, Eine neue Fluchtafel aus Ostia (Comm. Hum. Litt. 42.3), Helsinki 1968, „Anhang“, pp. 22–31, are more recent compilations. Annual listings were published by J. and L. ROBERT, Bull. Epigr., under the rubric «*tablettes d'imprécation*». – For pertinent discussions see K. PREISENDANZ, APF 9 (1930) 119–154, 11 (1935) 153–164; ID., s. v. Fluchtafel, in: RAC 8 (1972) 1–29; D. JORDAN, Hesperia 54 (1985) 205–255; M. GUARDUCCI, Epigrafia greca IV. Epigrafi sacre, pagane e cristiane, Rome 1978, 240–257; D. JORDAN, Athen. Mitt. 95 (1980) 226 ff.; E. R. DODDS, The Greeks and the Irrational, Berkeley 1968, 204 f.; S. EITREM and H. HERTER, s. v. Bindezauber, in: RAC 2 (1954) 380–385; G. LAFAYE, s. v. Tabellae, in: C. DAREMBERG and E. SAGLIO, Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, Paris 1877–1910, V, 1–5; ONIANS, Origins 373 ff.; C. FARAONE in: Magika Hiera 3–32; R. KOTANSKY, ibid., 107–137; MARTINEZ; J. GAGER, Curse Tablets and Binding Spells, Oxford 1992.

³⁴¹ While most lead *lamellae* bear curses and incantations promoting discord and disharmony, amatory texts are also attested. Although this phenomenon is particularly, it is not peculiarly, Egyptian – pace DU BOURGUET, (n. 149) 256. One such *lamella* was found in Austria – cf. R. EGGER, Liebeszauber, Jahreshefte d. Österreich. Arch. Inst. 37 (1948) 112–120; E. WEBER, Das Bleitafelchen mit einem Liebeszauber aus Mautern an der Donau, in: Bericht über den 16. Österreich. Historikertag in Krems, Donau, Sept. 1984 (= Veröffentl. d. Verb. Österreich. Geschichtsver. 25), Vienna 1985, 62–65 (non vidi). Since, however, this seems to be an Egyptian speciality, the sole *lamella* from Austria being an anomaly, then one can posit at least tentatively an Egyptian provenance for the lead tablet in a private collection published by P. SIJPESTEIJN, ZPE 24 (1977) 89 f.

³⁴² Cf. AUDOLLENT, praef. xlvii; HOPFNER, OZ I §§ 287, 607–614; F. KLEIN-FRANKE, ZPE 7 (1971) 48–49, who quotes Anecd. Athen. I and CCAG. According to D. JORDAN, Athen. Mitt. 95 (1980) 228.12, the Aramaic and Greek tablets published by KLEIN-FRANKE, op. cit., and WORTMANN, Texte 104–105, are silver.

The following authors discuss the use of various metals in magic: F. MALTOMINI, SCO 29 (1979) 104 (tin); KOTANSKY (n. 335) 169.1 (list of all the *lamellae* mentioned in PGM

Once the metal plate had been engraved with the charm it had to be consecrated or 'energized' by means of rites, incantations and sacrifices. The magical papyri are replete with such instructions.³⁴³ Today only a single vase with the charred remains of a sacrifice gives silent testimony to such a ceremony conducted in Austria 2000 years ago.³⁴⁴

The *defixiones* were then nailed to the walls of chthonic sanctuaries,³⁴⁵ or more often than not simply deposited in a grave³⁴⁶ or, as is the case in later times, in a well.³⁴⁷ Being inorganic they survived the centuries underground or underwater³⁴⁸ in places where papyrus had long since decomposed.

Like the oldest magical texts on papyrus, the earliest lead foils from V c. B.C. Greece are simple and laconic in their language and get down to brass tacks quickly: καταδῶ (καταδίδημι, ἀνατίθημι *aut sim.*) τὸν δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι θεῷ. Probably the oldest Greek curse text (on an ostrakon) is direct and to the point: Ἀριστίωνι ἐπιτίθημι τεταρταῖον εἰς Ἄϊδα.³⁴⁹

Such terseness is attested even later, e.g. SB III 6225: ποιήσον Νίκην Ἀπολλωνοῦτος ἐρασθῆναι Παντοῦτος ὃν ἔτεκεν Τμεσιῶς (I A.D.). Anepigraphic *tabellae* and lead figurines or *lamellae* bearing only the name(s) of the

spells); S. EITREM, P. Oslo. 1.2. n. (bronze); J. FRAZER, *The Fasti of Ovid*, London 1929, vol. II 451–452, vol. IV 47 f. (bronze utensils); MARTINEZ 2 (bronze and lead); M. ELIADE, *Schmiede und Alchemisten*, Stuttgart 1980, 19 f., 29 f., 199 f. (iron). For other materials see MARTINEZ 2; FARAONE, in: *Magika Hiera* 7.

³⁴³ Cf. F. MALTOMINI, *SCO* 29 (1979) 75–76; HOPFNER, *OZ I* §§ 539 ff., 803; *PGM IV* 1308 f., 2708 f., VII 484 f., etc. S. EITREM, *SO* 19 (1939) 57–86, discusses the consecration of gem stones as prescribed in *PGM*.

³⁴⁴ R. EGGER (n. 341). WORTMANN, *Texte* 82, suggests the vase he published contained as an offering water from the Nile.

³⁴⁵ D. JORDAN, *Athen. Mitt.* 95 (1980) 231.23, lists chthonic sanctuaries where *defixiones* have been found.

³⁴⁶ Preferred graves were those of persons who had died prematurely or violently; cf. JORDAN, *op. cit.* 231.23; v. nn. 151, 411, 429.

³⁴⁷ JORDAN, *ibid.* 232 and n. 24; ID., *Hesperia* 54 (1985) 207, citing: W. S. FOX, *AJP* 33 (1912) 303–310; R. P. MASANI, *Folklore of Wells, Being a Study of Water-Worship in East and West*, Bombay 1918; L. MORIN, *Le folklore des puits* ..., *RHR* 103–104 (1931) 221–271. Cf. *PGM III* 285, VII 451, 462; v. n. 418. — J. and C. BORD, *Sacred Waters. Holy Wells and Water Lore in Britain and Ireland*, London 1985, 84 f., cite the practice in Great Britain and show a Roman curse tablet found in the waters at Bath. — Not only curse tablets but also phylacteries usually come from graves, less often from wells — D. JORDAN, *AJA* 89 (1985) 165. Cf. J. and C. BORD, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

³⁴⁸ "There is no noticeable difference between the condition of the tablets from dry land and that of the tablets from bodies of water", JORDAN, *op. cit.* 232.24.

³⁴⁹ V–IV c. B.C., Greece, cited by W. K. C. GUTHRIE, *The Greeks and their Gods*, London 1950, 271 f., and M. NILSSON, *GGR* (1953³) 801, 804, Abb. 8. A. GARDINER and K. SETHE, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead Mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdoms*, London 1928, p. 12, see in the Egyptian letters to the dead "a certain kinship of idea in the use that was made by the Greeks and Romans of the leaden tablets on which they inscribed curses against their personal enemies. These were, in effect, letters addressed to the gods of the netherworld, and were buried in the cemeteries in the hope that the dead in their tombs might forward them to their right destination." Cf. G. HUGHES, *JNES* 17 (1958) 1–11.

accursed have also been found.³⁵⁰ But these are the exceptions. The same trend as in the papyri can be seen in the *lamellae*: from the I c. A. D. onwards, magical figures, symbols, words, vowel series, whole-scale repetitions of the entire text are the order of the day. In fact, some texts on metal consist of little else except *vores magicae* and magical symbols.³⁵¹

Although instructions for making *lamellae* occur frequently in PGM,³⁵² most of the examples of applied magic on *lamellae* are – like the applied magical texts on papyri and gems – without parallel. However, C. C. EDGAR, BSAA 21 (1925) 42–47, was able to demonstrate that the text on his *agōgē* was the same as that found in PGM IV 335 f. More recently other texts on lead tablets have been discovered which have the same text – v. n. 168. But these examples all come from Egypt. It would be interesting to know the sources inspiring the *agōgai* and curses found in England, Lebanon and Luristan. But these are undoubtedly lost and gone forever – either burned in the fury of Christians' campaigns, or neglected and left exposed to the elements, long since decomposed. Only the durable *lamellae* are left, eloquently attesting to the same syncretistic magical practices in the rest of the ancient world as the papyri do for Greco-Roman Egypt.

3. Near Magic and Non-Magic

What distinguishes magic from religion? The debate is ongoing.³⁵³ Leaving questions of classification and interpretation aside, it should be noted that

³⁵⁰ Cf. PREISENDANZ, *Magie* 115.34; R. EGGER, *Liebeszauber* (n. 341); HUBERT, s. v. *Magia*, in: C. DAREMBERG and E. SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, Paris 1877–1910, II, 2, 1518; A. JODIN, *Bull. Archéol. Maroc* 6 (1966) 55–90.

³⁵¹ E. g. P. SIJPESTEIJN, *OMRO* 59 (1978–1979) 189; C. GRIGGS, in: *Atti del XVII Congr. Internaz. di Papirologia*, Naples 1984, 695 f.

³⁵² R. KOTANSKY (n. 335) 169.2, lists all occurrences in PGM – v. p. 3506.

³⁵³ The following works address themselves to this issue:

F. ALBERGAMO, *Mito e magia*, Naples 1970; R. ALLIER, *Magie et Religion*, Paris 1939; J. ANNEQUIN, *Recherches sur l'action magique et ses représentations*, Besançon 1973; I. ARKIN, *Roman Magism at the End of the Republic: A Re-Evaluation in Light of the Degeneration Theory of Wilhelm Schmidt*, Diss. St. Louis, Missouri 1964; H. AUBAIN, *L'homme et la Magie*, Paris 1952; D. AUNE, *Magic in Early Christianity*, ANRW II 23.2, ed. W. HAASE, Berlin–New York 1980, 1507–1557; TH. VAN BAAREN, *Geruststellungsriten. Een bijdrage tot de critiek op de gangbare opvattingen over magie*, Groningen 1952; C. BAILEY, *Phases in the Religion of Ancient Rome*, Berkeley 1932; BARB (n. 1); ID., *Mystery, Myth and Magic* (n.13) 138–169; ID., *Survival*; C. BAROJA, *The World of the Witches*, London–Chicago 1964 = *Les Sorcières et leur monde*, Paris 1972; F. BERGE, J. G. FRAZER, M. RENAULT, *Histoire générale des religions*, vol. 5 in the series by M. GORCE and R. MORTIER, *Folklore et Religion, Magie et Religion*, Paris 1951; K. BETH, *Religion und Magie bei den Naturvölkern*, Berlin 1914; ID., *Religion und Magie*, Leipzig–Berlin 1927; H.-D. BETZ, in: *Magika Hiera* 246 ff.; I. BLYTHIN, *Magic and Methodology*, *Numen* 17 (1970) 45–59; L. DEUBNER, *Magie und Religion*, Freiburg 1922; J. DE VRIES, *Magic and Religion, History of Religions* 1 (1962) 214–221; E. R. DODDS (n. 340); E. EHNMARK, *Anthropomorphism and Miracle*. Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1939; ID.,

some practices that seem to us magical were regarded by the ancients as normal procedures of established religion – *haruspicum*, *augurium*, *auspium*, hepa-

Religion and Magic – Frazer, Söderblom, and Hågerström, *Ethnos* 21 (1956) 1–10; S. EITREM, s. v. Magic, in: *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford 1949, 528–530; ID. and J. H. CROON, s. v. Magic, *ibid.*, Oxford 1970², 637–638; J. ENGEMANN, *JbAC* 18 (1975) 22 ff.; C. FARAONE, in: *Magika Hiera* 17 ff.; J. FILLIOZAT, *Magie et Médecine*, Paris 1943; J. FRAZER, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, New York–London 1935; H. GEERTZ and K. THOMAS, *An Anthropology of Religion and Magic*, *Jnl. of Interdisciplinary History* 6 (1970) 71–109; J. GOODY, *Religion and Ritual: The Definitional Problem*, *Brit. Jnl. of Sociology* 12 (1961) 142–164; E. GRAF, in: *Magika Hiera* 209.1 (bibliography); W. GUTEKUNT, s. v. Zauber, in: *LÄ VI* (1986) 1320 ff.; I. HAMPP, *Beschwörung, Segen, Gebet*, Stuttgart 1961; HERE, s. vv. Demons, Magic. etc.; J. W. HAUER, *Die Religion, ihr Werden, ihr Sinn, ihre Wahrheit I: Das religiöse Erlebnis auf den untersten Stufen*, Berlin 1923; J. JASTROW and R. M. WENLEY, *Magic and Divination*, in: *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology II* 35–36; K. H. E. DE JONG, *De magie bij de Grieken en Romeinen*, Haarlem 1921; J. H. KING, *The Supernatural: Its Origin, Nature and Evolution*, New York 1892; A. KÖBERLE, *Der magische Weltaspekt*, *Symbolon* 3 (1962) 39–45; E. LEACH, *Culture and Communication*. Cambridge 1976, chap. 6: *Theories of Magic and Sorcery*; G. VAN DER LEEUW, *La Religion dans son essence et ses manifestations*, trad. J. MARTY, Paris 1955; C. LEVI-STRAUSS, *The Sorcerer and His Magic*, in: *Cultural Anthropology I*, London 1972; L. LEVY-BRUHL, *La mentalité primitive*, Paris 1922; *Lexikon der Alten Welt*, Stuttgart 1965, s. vv.: Aberglaube, Fluch, Zauber etc.; G. E. R. LLOYD, *Magic, Reason and Experience*, London–New York–Melbourne 1979; J. LUBBOCK, *The Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man*, London 1870; V. MACDERMOT, *The Cult of the Seer in the Ancient Middle East. A Contribution to Current Research on Hallucinations drawn from Coptic and other texts*, Berkeley–Los Angeles 1971, 258–260, 798–800: medical bibliography; ‘Magie’, in: *Encyclopaedia Universalis* vol. 11, Paris 1985, 473–480; *Magika Hiera*, *passim*; R. MARETT, *Preamimistic Religion*, *Folklore* 11 (1900) 162–182; E. DE MARTINO, *Sud e magia*, Milan 1977 = *Katholizismus, Magie, Aufklärung*. Munich 1982; ID., *Il mondo magico*, Turin 1958; M. G. MARWICK, *Sorcery and its Social Setting*, Manchester 1965; E. MASSONNEAU, *Le crime de magie dans le droit romain*, Paris 1933 = *La magie dans l’antiquité romaine*, Paris 1934; M. MAURON, *Eternelle Magie*, Paris 1964; M. MAUSS, *Esquisse d’une théorie générale de la magie*, *Année sociologique* 7 (1902) 1–140 = ID., *Sociologie et Anthropologie*, Paris 1950, 1–141 = *A General Theory of Magic*, New York 1972; J. MIDDLETON, *Theories of Magic*, in: *Encyclopedia of Religion* 9 (1987) 82–89; M. NILSSON, *Religion*; D. L. O’KEEFE, *Stolen Lightning. The Social Theory of Magic*, New York 1982; R. OTTO, *The Idea of the Holy*, Oxford 1926; V. PARETO, *The Mind and Society* (= *Trattato di Sociologia Generale*), New York 1935, vol. I 101 ff.; W. PERRY, *The Origin of Magic and Religion*, London 1923; O. PETTERSSON, *Magie–Religion*, *Ethnos* 22 (1957) 109–119; L. PETZOLDT, ed., *Magie und Religion. Beiträge zu einer Theorie der Magie* (= *Wege der Forschung* 337), Darmstadt 1978, with contributions by L. LEVY-BRUHL, K. BETH, B. MALINOWSKI, T. PREUSS, E. EHNMARK, R. KRISS et al.; W. PEUCKERT, *Magie*, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 3. Folge VI, 55 (1936) 349–368; ID., *Pansophie. Ein Versuch zur Geschichte der weissen und schwarzen Magie*, Stuttgart 1956; F. PFISTER, s. v. Kultus in: *RE* XI,2 (1922) 2108 f., 2154 f.; ID., *Religion* 194 f.; K. T. PREUSS, *Der Ursprung der Religion und Kunst*, *Globus* 86 (1904) 321, 355, 375, 388; 87 (1905) 333, 347, 380, 394, 413; C. H. RATSCHOW, *Magie und Religion*, *Gütersloh* 1955; J. A. RONY, *La Magie*, Paris 1963; J. B. RUSSELL, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages*, Ithaca–London 1972, 1–26; P. SAINTYVES, *La force magique, du mana des primitifs au dynamisme scientifique*, Paris 1914; D. SAURAT, *La littérature et l’occultisme*, Paris 1929; P. SCARPI, *Magia: semantica di un concetto*, *BIFG* 4

toscopy, ornithomancy, horoscopy and oracle questions³⁵⁴ – to name a few. For better or for worse, the oracle questions from Greco-Roman Egypt have been incorporated into the corpus of magical texts. The following brief introduction and survey is devoted to them.

a) Oracle Questions

The practice of approaching a god and consulting him is attested already in the Naqada period of Egyptian history.³⁵⁵ Witnesses to the fact are the pudgy stone falcons which actually ‘nod’ if tapped on their tails.³⁵⁶ These stone falcons are the harbingers of the cultic statues carried about in processions several thousand years later. According to the movements the god made – forward to

(1977–1978) 197–208; W. SCHMIDT, *Ursprung und Werden der Religion: Theorien und Tatsachen*, Münster 1930; F. SCHWENN, *Gebet und Opfer*, Heidelberg 1927, 62–81; SEGAL, *Magic*; J. Z. SMITH, *Towards Interpreting Demonic Powers in Hellenistic and Roman Antiquity*, ANRW II, 16.1, 425–439; M. SMITH, *How Magic was Changed by the Triumph of Christianity*, Graeco-Arabica 2 (1983) 51–58; H. SPENCER, *Principles of Sociology I*, London 1896; E. STEMPLINGER, *Antiker Volksglaube*, Stuttgart 1948; M. SUMMERS, *A History of Witchcraft and Demonology*, London 1926; ID., *Witchcraft and Black Magic*, 1945; S. J. TAMBIAH, *Form and Meaning of Magical Acts: A Point of View*, in: *Modes of Thought*, R. HORTON and R. FINNEGAN, edd., London 1973, 199–229; ID., *The Magical Power of Words*, *Man* 3 (1968) 175–206; ID., *Magic, Science, Religion and the Scope of Rationality*, Cambridge 1990; K. THOMAS, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, London 1971; K. THOMAS, *An Anthropology of Religion and Magic*, *Jnl. of Interdisciplinary History* 6 (1975) 91–109; L. THORNDIKE, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*. 6 voll., New York 1929–1946; J. TONDRIAU, *L’occultisme*, Paris 1964; J. TROUIL-LARD, *La théurgie paienne*, in: *Encyclopaedia Universalis* vol. 15, Paris 1973, 582–583 (non vidi); E. TYLOR, *Primitive Culture*, London 1872, Vol. II, 76–83; J. VAN BAAL, *De magie als godsdienstig verschijnsel*, Amsterdam 1960; H. VERSNEL, in: *Magika Hiera* 92–93; ID., *Some Reflections on the Relationship Magic–Religion*, *Numen* 38 (1991) 177–186; A. VIERKANDT, *Die Anfänge der Religion und Zauberei*, *Globus* 92 (1907) 21–65; P. WATERMAN, *The Story of Supersitition*. New York 1929; R. and M. WAX, *The Magical World View*, *Jnl. for the Scientific Study of Religion* 1 (1962) 179–188; ID., *The Notion of Magic*, *Current Anthropology* 4 (1963) 495–518; WEBSTER (n. 235); ID., *La Magie dans les sociétés primitives*, Paris 1953; G. WELTER, *Les croyances primitives et leurs survivances*. Paris 1960; W. WIDENGREN, *Religion und Magie*, in: *Religionsphänomenologie*, Berlin 1969, 1–19; M. WILSON, *Witch Beliefs and Social Structure*. *American Jnl. of Sociology* 56 (1951) 309 ff.; M. WINKELMANN, *Magic: A Theoretical Reassessment*, *Current Anthropology* 23 (1982) 37–66; P. XELLA, ed., *Magia. Studi di storia delle religioni in memoria di Raffaella Garosi*, Rome 1976; NUR, YALMAN, *Magic*, in: *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 9 (1968), 521–528.

³⁵⁴ F. PFISTER, *Ph. Wo.* 33–34 (1932) 919, classifies the oracle questions alongside letters to the gods. For the latter cf. ABD-EL-GAWAD MIGAHD, *Demotische Briefe an Götter von der Spätzeit bis zur Römerzeit*, Würzburg 1986.

³⁵⁵ pace J. ČERNÝ, *Egyptian Oracles*, in: R. PARKER, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes*, Providence 1962, 35.

³⁵⁶ E. J. BAUMGARTEL, *The Nodding Falcon of the Guennol Collection at the Brooklyn Museum*, *The Brooklyn Museum Annual* 9 (1967–1968) 69–87; W. NEEDLER, *Predynastic and Archaic Egypt in the Brooklyn Museum 1984*, 368 no. 294 (refs. thanks to M. EATON-KRAUSS and B. FAY).

express approval or backward for disapproval – the petitioner would know the god's answer to his question.³⁵⁷

Besides such oral petitions, there were also the written petitions presented by the pharaoh and other dignitaries recorded in temple and tomb inscriptions or on long papyrus rolls. One of these inscriptions written around 1000 B. C., shows striking similarity to later Demotic, Greek and Coptic oracle questions: "Two pieces of writing were made before the great god. The one said: 'Amon-rē', king of the gods, my good Lord! They say that there is something to be sought from Dhutmose, son of Su'aamun, the steward' while the other writing said: 'Amon-rē', king of the gods, my good Lord! They say that there is nothing to be sought from Dhutmose, son of Su'aamun' ".³⁵⁸

The ordinary Egyptian resorted to more modest means and presented his request to the gods on ostraca. About a hundred such petitions were found in Deir el-Medina. Their tenor is not at all unlike that of the Greek oracle question. "Is it he who has stolen this mat?" "Have the men of the army stolen it?" "Shall one appoint Sety as priest?" "Will he give us a chief now?" "Will they mention me to the vizier?"³⁵⁹

Herodotus, who visited Egypt sometime after 450 B. C., was impressed by the widespread popularity of oracles (II 83). His observation (II 174) that in different temples different procedures obtained for consulting an oracle has been interpreted as evidence for foreign – Greek or Persian – influence.³⁶⁰ Although there were numerous other ways of getting the gods to speak, for example, via dreams or mediums, the evidence for them is limited for the most part to descriptions in literary manuscripts and papyri.³⁶¹

³⁵⁷ ČERNÝ (n. 355) 44–45, who notes the same procedure in Lucian, *de Syria dea* 36. Cf. Strabo C 814; Diodorus 17.50.6–7; U. WILCKEN, *Alexanders Zug in die Oase Siwa*, Sitzungsber. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl. 1928, 583–584; J. REA, *ZPE* 27 (1977) 154 n. 6. – Even in the V c. A. D. the practice was still continued. The Nobads and Blemmyes secured from Maximinus the right to take an Isis statue on board a ship and off to Nubia so it could give oracles in a procession (Priscus fg. 21; A. BERNAND, *Inscriptions grecques de Philae I*, Paris 1969, pp. 19–20).

³⁵⁸ ČERNÝ (n. 355) 45. Other sources cited by ČERNÝ also speak of "two writings" being submitted to a god.

³⁵⁹ *ibid.*, 46; Š. ALLAM, *MDAIK* 24 (1969) 10–15.

On Egyptian oracles cf. O. KAISER, *Zeits. f. Religions- u. Geistesgeschichte* 10 (1958) 191–272; A. BLACKMAN, *JEA* 11 (1925) 249–255, *JEA* 12 (1926) 176–185; J. BARNS, *JEA* 35 (1949) 69 f.; J. ČERNÝ, *BIFAO* 35 (1935) 41–58, 41 (1942) 13–24, 72 (1972) 49–69; G. ROEDER, *Kulte, Orakel und Naturverehrung im alten Ägypten*, Zürich 1960, 242–251; G. POSENER, *ZÄS* 90 (1963) 98–102; L. KÁKOSY, s. v. Orakel, in: *LÄ IV* (1982) 600–606; J. LECLANT, *Éléments pour une étude sur la divination dans l'Égypte pharaonique*, in: A. CAQUOT, M. LEIBOVICI (n. 33) 1–23; SEIDL (n. 139) 59–65; H.-M. SCHENKE, *Orakelwesen im Alten Ägypten*, *Das Altertum* 9 (1963) 67–77; J. JANSSEN, *Vragen aan het orakel in Deir el-Medina (bij Thebe)*, in: K. VEENHOF, ed., *Schrijvend verleden. Documenten uit het oude nabije oosten vertaald en toegelicht*, Leiden–Zutphen 1983, 277–283; K. P. KUHLMANN, *Das Ammoneion*, Mainz 1988.

³⁶⁰ R. SALOMONS, *Einige Wiener Papyri*, Amsterdam 1976, 2–4. On Herodotus II 174 cf. H. DE MEULENAERE, *Athenaeum* 27 (1949) 299–301.

³⁶¹ *UPZ I*, pp. 31–34; P. VERNUS, s. v. Traum, in: *LÄ VI* (1986) 745–749; L. KOENEN, *BASP* 22 (1985) 171 ff.

More tangible witnesses to another technique are the dozens of oracle questions in Demotic,³⁶² the Greek and even Coptic,³⁶³ written on small scraps of papyrus and preserved in collections around the world today. They were usually written on one side (exceptions being the Demotic texts published by E. BRESCIANI in EVO 2, 1979, 57–68 and L'archivo demotico – v. infra n. 362 – no. 11), pierced³⁶⁴ (for what reason is unknown) and deposited in the temples³⁶⁵ of the respective oracles where archaeologists discovered them.

Although the mundane concerns expressed in the oracle questions remained unchanged since the days of the pharaohs,³⁶⁶ the later ones differ fundamentally in style³⁶⁷ and display the following tripartite structure:³⁶⁸

³⁶² 40 Demotic: 20 from Tebtynis: E. BRESCIANI and P. PESTMAN, Tre domande oracolari, in: P. Mil. Vogl. III, pp. 195 ff.; W. ERICHSEN, Demotische Orakelfragen, Det Kgl. Danske Videnskab. Selskab. Hist.-filol. Med. 28 (1942) 3–19; G. BOTTI, Biglietti per l'oracolo di Soknebtynis, in: Studi in memoria di I. Rosellini II, Pisa 1955, 11–26; E. BRESCIANI, Una nuova domanda oracolare demotica da Tebtynis, in: Fs. E. Seidl, Cologne 1975, 25–26; EAD. et al., Una domanda oracolare demotica con risponso scritto, EVO 2 (1979) 57 ff. – all addressed to Suchos. 12 from Soknopaiu Nesos: E. BRESCIANI, L'archivo demotico del tempio di Soknopaiu Nesos I, Milan 1975, 1–12 – addressed to Suchos. 1 from Gebelen: W. SPIEGELBERG, Die demotischen Denkmäler II (= Catalogue Général des antiquités égyptiennes du Caire 39), Strassburg 1908, p. 227: to Nechtharous. Cf. U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, Forschungen und Berichte 12 (1972) 82. – 4 from Hermupolis: EAD., *ibid.*, 79–90: to Teephibus – cf. J. QUAEGBEUR, Enchoria 5 (1975) 21. – 1 from Elephantine: KAPLONY-HECKEL, *op. cit.* 81 – no addressee given. – 1 from Upper Egypt: *ibid.*, 82 – no addressee preserved. – 1 from Oxyrhynchus: W. BRUNSCH, *Orientalia Suecana* 31–32 (1982–1983) 37–38. Similar are the letters to gods, listed by BRESCIANI et al., EVO 2 (1979) 67 n. 2.

³⁶³ H. DE NIE, Een koptisch-christelijke orakelvraag, JEOL, deel 2, no. 8 (1942) 615–618. Cf. A. VOLTEN, OLZ 46 (1943) 205–208; S. DONADONI, RSO 29 (1954) 183–186; *Id.*, in: Synteleia V. Arangio-Ruiz I, Naples 1964, 286–289; L. PAPINI, Biglietti oracolari in copto dalla Necropoli Nord di Antinoe, in: Acts of the Second International Congress of Coptic Studies, edd. T. ORLANDI and F. WISSE, Rome 1985, 245–256.

³⁶⁴ A. HENRICHS, ZPE 11 (1973) 117.

³⁶⁵ Cf. J. RAY, JEA 61 (1975) 187; W. SCHUBART, ZÄS 67 (1931) 113–114, who refers to Lucian, *Pseudom.* 19; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.23; Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 19.12.3.

³⁶⁶ See Lucian's hilarious persiflage of petty prayers in *Icaromenippus* 25 and Plutarch, *de def. or.* 413 B, *de Pyth. or.* 407 D, 408 C. The political events of the day are immaterial; the only questions asked are περί θησαυρῶν, κληρονομῶν, γάμων παρανόμων, εἰ γαμητέον, εἰ πλευστέον, εἰ δανειστέον. In fact, we read in some of the Greek oracle questions: εἰ οὐ δίδοται μοι συμβῶσαι (PGM XXX b), εἰ δέδοται μοι γαμῆσαι (PGM LXXIII), ἢ κρείνεται αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἐς πόλιν (PGM XXXI a). Eusebius, *Theophan.* 2.50.52 (GRESSMANN pp. 103 f.), rails against the pagan practice with its petty questions on banal and mundane matters. PETERSON, *Frühkirche* 334.2, cites numerous instances of magic employed to find lost or stolen goods or money. Cf. H. D. SAFFREY, *Rev. Et. Augustiniennes* 31 (1985) 3–19; *Id.*, in: A. ARMSTRONG, ed., *Classical Mediterranean Spirituality*, London 1986, 195–213. And the petty prayers continue today – cf. M. SMITH, *Helios* 13 (1986) 63–64, with ref. to H. VERSNEL, *Religious Mentality in Ancient Prayer*, in: Faith, Hope, and Worship, H. VERSNEL, ed., Leiden 1981.

³⁶⁷ „Die neuägyptischen Orakelfragen werden auf Ostraka geschrieben, die demotischen auf Papyrus, diese tragen ... ein Siegel. Die neuägyptischen Texte beschränken sich auf den

- 1) addressee (deity) occasionally followed by the name of the petitioner. In the Greek oracle questions:

δεῖνα παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος, ἐρωτᾷ ὁ δεῖνα/ ἄξιοι ὁ δεῖνα/ χρημάτισον τῷ δεῖνι;

- 2) the question: prodoxis introduced by εἰ or εἰ, sometimes written ἦ;³⁶⁹
 3) request for an answer (apodosis, usually τοῦτό μοι δός or τοῦτό μοι ἐξένεγκον (-ετε), τοῦτο being the papyrus chit on which the question was written, otherwise referred to as τὸ σύμβολον, τὸ γραπτόν or τὸ πιττάκιον.

The technique for consulting an oracle was as follows: A question with positive phrasing was written, e.g. "If I should go to ..., give me this chit". Below it the same question with negative or alternative phrasing was written: "If I should not go to ..., give me this chit" or "If I should stay here, give me this chit". The two questions were then cut apart, rolled up and presented to the priests.³⁷⁰ The person would know the answer to his question depending on which piece of papyrus was returned to him.³⁷¹ Written answers to oracle questions are attested in other parts of the ancient world,³⁷² but in Egypt they are rare.³⁷³

Wortlaut, die demotischen nennen gern den Namen des angerufenen Gottes, den Namen des Fragenden und ein Jahresdatum, außerdem den für die demotischen Orakelfragen typischen Vermerk „Wenn meine Angelegenheit gut ist, so daß wir dies Dokument herausbringen!“ KAPLONY-HECKEL, op. cit., p. 80.

³⁶⁸ HENRICHS (n. 364) 116–117; ČERNÝ ap. PARKER (n. 355) 47; L. PAPINI, *Analecta Papyrologica* 2 (1900) 11–20; ID., in: R. PINTAUDI, ed., *Miscellanea Papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell'edizione della Charta Borgiana*, Florence 1990, 463–469, discusses general points of terminology.

³⁶⁹ Whereas earlier editors saw here direct or indirect questions introduced by εἰ, HENRICHS 116 n. 7 and W. CLARYSSE, in: *Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di Papirologia III*, Naples 1984, 1348, prefer a conditional sentence. This construction is corroborated by the Demotic. See now R. STEWART, *The Oracular εἰ*, GRBS 26 (1985) 67–73.

³⁷⁰ Such pairs of questions are preserved in Demotic (E. BRESCIANI, *L'archivio* [n. 367] nos. 1, 2), Greek (P. Strasb. 352, 353; P. Oxy. XVI 1926 and P. Harris 54 = PGM 8 a and 24 – cf. H. YOUTIE, ZPE 18 [1975] 253–257; G. BJÖRCK, *Symbol. Osl.* 19 [1939] 87 n. 1) and Coptic (H. DE NIE v. n. 363). – The photo published by YOUTIE vividly demonstrates two chits with alternative questions cut from the same piece of papyrus.

³⁷¹ J. REA, P. Oxy. LV 3799.7 n., suggests that the oracle questions from Soknopaiu Nesos in the Berlin collection published by A. S. ALY, ZPE 68 (1987) 99 ff. (here nos. 12–17), since they were found together in a temple context, might "well be retained versions, counterparts of those which were returned to the questioners". Cf. H. VERSNEL in: *Magika Hiera*, 103.112.

³⁷² BJÖRCK, op. cit. passim; SCHUBART, op. cit., 113–114; LATTE, s. v. Orakel, in: RE XVIII, 1 (1939) 829–866.

³⁷³ Most of the examples are Demotic: BRESCIANI, *L'archivio* (n. 362); BRESCIANI et al., EVO 2 (1979) 57 ff., and possibly the Greek papyri P. Aberd. 14; SALOMONS (n. 360) (= NDIEC 2 no. 8); E. TURNER and T. SKEAT, JEA 54 (1968) 199–208; K. TREU, APF 24–25 (1976) 120 (= NDIEC 2, p. 40); P. Yale II 131. Two Greek oracle questions, one pagan (P. Oxy. 3590) and the other Christian (P. Berol. 21269, APF 32, 1986, 29), show at the bottom the word *vai*. In Greek: P. Aberd. 14; P. Yale 131; R. P. SALOMONS, *Einige Wiener Papyri*, Amsterdam 1976, no. 1; T. SKEAT, E. TURNER, JEA 54 (1968) 199–208. – See now

Answers to oracle questions are also found in the so-called 'Sortes Astrampsychi'.³⁷⁴ These consist of ready-made, numbered questions and answers pertaining to all manner of concerns of daily life and its problems. The person wishing to consult the oracle would give the number of the question interesting him to the priests who by means of various calculations would report the answer.³⁷⁵ Similar are the 'Sortes Sanctorum'.³⁷⁶

The advent of Christianity to the land along the Nile was ineffectual in eradicating and eliminating such deep-rooted practices as these. The language sometimes changed. The deities consulted were no longer Zeus, Soknopaios or Ammon, but rather "God of the Christians" or Philoxenos or Kolluthos. But the spirit and the technique remained the same.

The present list comprises in chronological order all known Greek oracle questions from Egypt.³⁷⁷ The arrangement is as follows: provenance, date e.g. I = first century, II = second century; publication reference; deity / saint to whom the question is addressed.

L. PAPINI, *Struttura e prassi delle domande oracolari in greco su papiro*, *Analecta Papyrologica* 2 (1990) 11–20.

³⁷⁴ G. M. BROWNE, *The Papyri of the Sortes Astrampsychi*, Meisenheim am Glan 1974 (= P. Oxy. 1477, 2832, 2833); P. Oxy. 3330; P. Rain. I 33; J. LENAERTS, *CdE* 58 (1983) 187 ff.; W. CLARYSSE and F. A. C. HOOGENDIJK, *Kleio* n. r. 11 (1981) 53–91; F. A. C. HOOGENDIJK and P. VAN MINNEN, *P. Lugd.-Bat.* XXV 8; G. M. BROWNE, in: *Arktouros. Hellenic Studies* presented to B. M. W. KNOX, Berlin 1979, 434–439; G. HORSLEY, *NDIEC* 2, 37–44; W. CLARYSSE and R. STEWART, *CdE* 63 (1989) 309–314; P. Berol. 21341, 21358 (ed. pr., Wm. BRASHEAR, in: P. MIRECKI, M. MEYER, edd., *Ritual Power* (forthcoming); G. M. BROWNE, *Sortes Astrampsychi I*, Leipzig 1983.

³⁷⁵ Cf. G. BROWNE, *BICS* 17 (1970) 95 f.; *Id.*, *ICS* 1 (1976) 53–58; SALOMONS (n. 360) p. 5; R. STEWART, *ZPE* 69 (1987) 237–242.

³⁷⁶ Most recently discussed by P. CANART, *ZPE* 57 (1984) 85 ff., who cites P. COURCELLE, *Divinatio*, in: *RAC* 3 (1957) 1248–1249; M. FÖRSTER, *Sortes Sanctorum*, in: *Lex. f. Theol. u. Kirche* IX (1937) 678–679 (non vidi).

Cf. T. C. SKEAT, *An Early Mediaeval "Book of Fate": The Sortes XII Patriarcharum*, *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 3 (1954) 41–54; A. VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Une collection sahidique de 'Sortes Sanctorum'*, *Muséon* 69 (1956) 35–52; E. VON DOBSCHÜTZ, s. v. *Sortes Apostolorum*, in: *Realencyklopädie f. protest. Theol. u. Kirche* 18 (1906) 537–538. TRACHTENBERG, *Magic* 218, describes similar medieval Jewish practices. The 'Sortes Vergilianae', only sparsely attested in classical literature, also enjoyed immense popularity in medieval Europe – cf. H. SLOANE, *The Sortes Vergilianae*, *CW* 21 (1928) 185–189; J. GESSLER, *A propos des Sortes Vergilianae et leur survivance*, in: *Hommages à J. Bidez et F. Cumont* (= *Coll. Latomus* 2), Brussels 1949, 107–109; V. J. FLINT, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe*, Oxford 1991. F. HEINEVETTER, *Würfel- und Buchstabenorakel in Griechenland und Kleinasien*, *Diss. Breslau* 1912, 52.2, cites more modern parallels to the *Sortes Astrampsychi*. Cf. GUNDEL, *Dekane* 285, 314, 406–408, on the somewhat similar *Tabula Aristobuli*; K. TREU, *APF* 37 (1991) 55–60, on a bilingual *Bibel-orakel*. F. PFISTER, *Religion* 310, cites literature for medieval Arabic equivalents. V. n. 458.

³⁷⁷ Previous compendia: W. SCHUBART, *ZÄS* 67 (1931) 110–115; PGM XXX a–f; XXXI a–c; LXXIII–LXXVI; 8 a, b; HUNT and EDGAR, *Select Papyri I*, nos. 193–195; A. WILHELM, *APF* 15 (1973) 71–74, including epigraphical oracle questions; TOTTI, *Texte* pp. 130 ff.; P. PAPINI, *Corpus delle domande oracolari in greco* (*Corpora Papyrorum Graecarum*) (in press).

Ptolemaic:

- 1) Tebtynis, III–II B. C., P. Mil. Vogl. III 127 (= PACH² 2493): Χάρης Σούχῳ τῷ αὐτοῦ θεῷ.
- 2) ?, II B. C., M. GRONWALD and D. HAGEDORN, ZPE 41 (1981) 289 ff. (= SB XVI 12677).
- 3) Oxyrhynchus, II–I B. C., P. XVII Congr. 14: κυρία Θεήρει καὶ Θεώνει καὶ Ἀρπεβήκει καὶ Ἀρποχράτη.
- 4) Tebtynis, I B. C., P. Tebt. II 284, private letter referring to an oracle answer from Σεκνεβτῦνις ὁ κύριος θεός.

Roman:

- 5) ? I (P. München III 117): Εἴσι θεᾶι με(γίστη) καὶ Διοσκ(ούροις) κα[ί] Σάραπι θεᾶι γ̃ με(γάλῳ).
- 6) Bacchias, I (PGM XXX a): Σοκωννωκοννὶ θεῷ με[γα]λο μεγάλῳ.
- 7) Soknopaiu Nesos, 6 A. D. (PGM XXX b): τῷ μεγίστῳ κραταίῳ θεῷ Σοκνοπαί[ω].
- 8) Soknopaiu Nesos, I (PGM XXX c): Σοκνοπαίῳ καὶ Σοκονπιεῖος θεοὶ μεγάλοι μεγάλ[οι] – two copies of the same question.
- 9) Oxyrhynchus, I (PGM XXXI b): κύριέ μου Σάραπι Ἥλιε εὐεργέτα.
- 10) ?, I, A. BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, ZPI 57 (1984) 91: κύριος Ἀρσηνήσι.
- 11) Fayum, I/II, (PGM XXXI a): κύριοι Διόσκοροι.
- 12) Soknopaiu Nesos, I, P. Berol. inv. 21716: [κυρί]ῳ Σοκνοπ(αίῳ) καὶ Ἀμμωνι.³⁷⁸
- 13) Soknopaiu Nesos, II, P. Berol. inv. 21712: κυρίῳ Σοκνοπαίῳ θεῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς.
- 14) Soknopaiu Nesos, II, P. Berol. inv. 21713: Σοκνοπαίου θεοῦ γ̃ μεγάλου, μεγάλου καὶ Ἀμμων Θεοῦ Σοκκοπια.
- 15) Soknopaiu Nesos, II, P. Berol. inv. 21714: κύρι Σοκνοπαίου.
- 16) Soknopaiu Nesos, II, P. Berol. inv. 21715: κυρίῳ [Σοκνοπαίῳ θεῷ] μεγάλ[ῳ] μεγάλῳ καὶ Ἀμμωνι θεοῖς μεγάλοις]
- 17) Soknopaiu Nesos, II, P. Berol. inv. 21875: κυρίῳ Σοκνοπ[αίῳ] καὶ Ἀμμωνι θεοῖς μεγάλοις]
- 18) Elephantine,³⁷⁹ II, P. Berol. inv. 25043: κύριε
- 19) Philadelphia,³⁸⁰ II, P. Berol. inv. 25044: κύρι Ἀμμωνι
- 20) Soknopaiu Nesos, II, P. Köln IV 201: [Σοκ]γ[ο]παίῳ θεῷ καὶ Ἀμμωνι Σουκου [...] καὶ τοῖς συννά[οις] θεοῖς
- 21) Oxyrhynchus ?, II, P. Köln IV 202: κύρι Θῶνι.
- 22) Oxyrhynchus, II, P. Oxy. 2613: [κ]ύρ[ε]ι μο]ν Ἥλ[ι]ε Σάρα[π]ι?
- 23) Soknopaiu Nesos, II, P. Strasb. 221: κύριε Ἀμμων (cf. YOUTIE, TAPA 95, 1964, 325–328).
- 24) Soknopaiu Nesos, II, P. Strasb. 352: Σοκνοπαίου {καὶ Σου} καὶ Ἀμμων[ος] Σουκ[ο]γν[π]ιαίε θεῶν με[γά]λων (HAGEDORN, P. Köln IV, p. 218)

³⁷⁸ AZZA SHABAN ALY, ZPE 68 (1987) 99 ff., published this and the following Berlin papyri.

³⁷⁹ pace ALY, ZPE 68, 99.

³⁸⁰ pace ALY, ZPE 68, 99.

- 25) Soknopaiu Nesos, II, P. Strasb. 353: [] κύριος
- 26) Soknopaiu Nesos, II, P. Strasb. 354: κ[ύριε] Ἄμμων
- 27) Soknopaiu Nesos, II, P. Strasb. 355: κύρι Ἄμμων Σωκωπίει (HAGEDORN, *op. cit.*, p. 218).
- 28) Soknopaiu Nesos, II (PGM XXX e): Σοκνοπ(αίω) θεῶ μεγάλωι καὶ Ἄμμωνι θεοῖς μεγίστοις.
- 29) Soknopaiu Nesos, II (PGM XXX f): κυρίω Σοκνοπ(αίω) καὶ Ἄμμωνι θεοῖς μεγάλωις.
- 30) Soknopaiu Nesos, II (PGM XXX d): θεῶν μεγάλων μεγάλων Σοκνοπαίω καὶ Σοκονπειῶι.
- 31) Soknopaiu Nesos, II (PGM LXXV): κύριε μέγιστε. Σοκνοπαίωι θεῶι μεγάλ[ωι].
- 32) Fayum, II (PGM LXXVI): Σούξει θεῶ μεγάλω μεγάλω.
- 33) Oxyrhynchus, II (PGM LXXIII): [Διὶ Ἡ]λίω μεγάλω Σαράπιδι [καὶ] τοῖς συννάοις.
- 34) Oxyrhynchus, II (PGM XXXI c): Διὶ Ἡλίωι μεγάλωι Σεράπ[ι]δι.
- 35) Soknopaiu Nesos, II (HENRICHS, ZPE 11, 1973, 118 = SB XII 11227 = Hengstl, no. 66): κυρίω Σοκνοπαίω καὶ Ἄμμωνι ἀνικητῶ.
- 36) Soknopaiu Nesos?, II (P. Heid. IV 335): κύρι Σεκνπάεωσ καὶ Ἄμ[ωνι] Ζούχου καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτοῖ[ς] θεοῖς.
- 37) Oxyrhynchus, II (P. Oxy. 3078): Διὶ Ἡλίωι Σαράπιδι Νικαφόρωι.
- 38) Fayum, II–III (HENRICHS, ZPI 11, 1973, 117 = SB XII 11226): κυρία Εἴσι.
- 39) Oxyrhynchus, II–III (P. Oxy. 3590): κύριε Θῶ[ν]ι.
- 40) Oxyrhynchus, II–III (PGM LXXIV): [Διὶ Ἡ]λίω μεγάλ[ω] Σαράπιδι].
- 41) Oxyrhynchus, II–III (P. Oxy. 3799): κύριε.
- 42) Soknopaiu Nesos?, II–III (P. Princeton AM 11224Q; ZPE 70, 1987, 104): τῶι κυρίωι Ἡλίωι Σοκνοπαίω.
- 43) Soknopaiu Nesos?, III (JEA 53, 1967, 121 = SB X 10569): κυρίω Ἄμμι.
- 44) Soknopaiu Nesos?, III (ibid. 122 = SB X 10570): κυρίω Ἄμμι.

Byzantine:

- 45) Oxyrhynchus, IV (P. Oxy. 1567): no addressee given. Cf. B. KRAMER, ZPE 61, 61–62.
- 46) Oxyrhynchus, V–VI (PGM 1): ὁ θ(εὸς) ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἀληθινὸς φιλάνθρωπος καὶ δημιουργὸς ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
- 47) Oxyrhynchus, VI (PGM 8 b): ὁ θεὸς τοῦ προστάτου ἡμῶν τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλοξένου.
- 48) Oxyrhynchus, VI (PGM 8 a): δέσποτά μου, θεὲ παντοκράτωρ, καὶ ἅγιε Φιλόξενε, πρόστατά μου = no. 47; cf. NDIEC 2, p. 40; VAN HAELST no. 963; H. C. YOUTIE, ZPE 18 (1975) 253ff.
- 49) Oxyrhynchus, VI (PGM 24) = VAN HAELST no. 915.
- 50) Antinoe, VI (P. XVII Congr. 20): [Κολ]λοῦθε μάρτυς χ(ριστιανό)ς.
- 51) Antinoe, VI (P. XVII Congr. 21): ὁ θ(εὸς) τῇ [ς θ]εοδόκος Μαρία.
- 52) Kom Fares, VI–VII (P. Berol. 21269, APF 32, 1986, 29): ὁ θ(εὸς) τῶν Χριστιανῶν.

Inedita:

- 1) In the excavation journal of F. ZUCKER and W. SCHUBART, published in part by W. MÜLLER, APF 21 (1971) 5–55, the occasional oracle question is reported and transcribed. In the meantime, all except the one on p. 27 have been properly edited. For the papyrus reported on p. 15, see A. ALY, ZPE 68 (1987) 99 f.
- 2) Eschmunein, III, P. Berol. 25626: Ammon.

Addenda:

P. PRUNETI, Domanda oracolare, in: M. MANFREDI, ed., Dai papiri della Società italiana. Omaggio al XX congresso internaz. di papirologia (Copenhagen 23–29 agosto 1992), Florence 1992, 13–15: PSI inv. 133, November 21, 5 B. C., addressed to: τοῖς δυοῖ ἀδελφοῖς τῶν ἀλιέων. – P. Oxy. 3799, II/III, addressed to: κύριε.

Provenances:

Soknopaiu Nesos:	21
Oxyrhynchus:	17
Tebtynis	2
Fayum	3
Antinoe	2
Elephantine	1
Philadelphia	1
Bacchias	1
Kom Fares	1
unknown	3
total	52

Major deities in the oracle questions:

Ammon alone: nos. 19, 23, 26, 43, 44.

Soknopaios alone: nos. 7, 15, 31.

Soknopaios and Ammon: nos. 12, 16, 17, 20 (and Sochus), 28, 29, 35, 36 (and Suchos and associate deities).

Soknopaios, Ammon, Sokonpieios: nos. 14, 24.

Sokonpieios: nos. 8 (and Soknopaios), 14, 23, 27 (and Ammon), 30 (and Soknopaios – cf. D. HAGEDORN, P. Köln IV, p. 218).

Helios Sarapis: nos. 9, 22?

Helios Soknopaios: no. 42.

Zeus Helios Sarapis: nos. 33, 34, 37, 40.

Other deities:

Thonis: nos. 3, 21, 39.

Thoeris: no. 3.

Harpebekis: no. 3.

Harpokrates: no. 3.
 Isis: nos. 5, 38.
 Dioskuroi: nos. 5, 11.
 Suchos: nos. 1, 20, 36.
 Sapis: no. 5.
 Sokonnokonnis: no. 6.
 Harpsenesis: no. 10.
 Souxis: no. 32.
 Seknebtynis: no. 4.
 anonymous: no. 41.

b) Horoscopes

Numerous horoscopes on papyrus have also been recovered from the sands of Egypt. These usually consist of nothing more than a succinct citation of the year, date and hour of birth with a listing of the planetary positions with respect to the zodiac. Any further astrological prognosis is lacking. Supposedly the astrologer would have interpreted the heavenly constellations and given his assessment to the hopeful client orally. The horoscopes on papyrus are conveniently listed in O. NEUGEBAUER and H. B. VAN HOESSEN, *Greek Horoscopes* (= *Mem. American Philos. Soc.* 48), Philadelphia 1959. Cf. NEUGEBAUER and VAN HOESSEN, *Astrological Papyri and Ostraca: Bibliographical Notes*, *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 108 (1964) 57–72; H. G. and W. GUNDEL, *Astrologumena. Die astrologische Literatur in der Antike und ihre Geschichte* (= *Sudhoffs Archiv. Beiheft* 6), Wiesbaden 1966, 171–173; A. PEASE, *Some Ancient Horoscopes*, *CW* 54 (1960) 252 f.; J. KOLLESCH *APF* 26 (1978) 146 f. (for texts published between 1964 and 1976); K. MARESCHE, *P. Köln V* 236 introd. (for texts published since then); G. IOANNIDOU, *ZPE* 72 (1988) 261; D. BACCANI, *Appunti per oroscopi negli ostraca di Medinet Madi*, *Analecta Papyrologica* 1 (1989) 67–77; EAD., *Oroscopi greci: documentazione papirologica*, Messina 1990; A. KEHL, *Horoskop*, *RAC* 16 (1992) 597–662. For Demotic texts see R. PARKER, in: H. THISEN, K.-Th. ZAUZICH, edd., *Grammata Demotika*. Fs. f. Erich Lüddeckens, Würzburg 1984, 141–143; O. NEUGEBAUER, *JAOS* 63 (1943) 115–127; O. NEUGEBAUER, R. PARKER, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts III*, Providence 1969; J. OSING, *Horoskop*, *LÄ III*, 11–13; BACCANI, *op. cit.*, 25–26, 30, 50, 52.

For Hebrew parallels cf. M. DELCOR, *Recherches sur un horoscope en langue hébraïque provenant de Qumran*, *Revue de Qumran* 5 (1966) 529–542; J. CARMIGNAC, *Les horoscopes de Qumran*, *Revue de Qumran* 5 (1965) 199–217.

c) Falsa et Incerta

Besides the oracle questions, there are texts, originally published as magical and intended for, or included in, PGM which upon close inspection proved to be other examples of borderline cases or indeed not magical at all.

For example, combinations of letters such as P. Heid. IV 64: βαβ, αββ, βββ, γζβ, γβζ..., and P. Leid. J 398 (Y): βα βε βη βι βο βυ βω, γα γε γη γι γο γυ γω, δα... etc., both published as magic were later shown to be, in the first case, arithmetical, in the second alphabetical, school exercises.³⁸¹ A Coptic magical text might just as easily have been mistaken for an alphabetical exercise. It reads:

ANA	ANAH	ANAHΛ	
ABA	ABAH	ABAHΛ	
ΑΓΑ	ΑΓΑΗ	ΑΓΑΗΛ	
ΑΔΑ	ΑΔΑΗ	ΑΔΑΗΛ	
AE	AEH	AEHΛ	etc., up to AMA AMAH AMAHΛ.

However, the concluding portion reveals it to be a charm: AMANOYHΛ BOIΘI, etc.³⁸²

The ultimate, correct assignment of these texts to their respective categories cannot be denied, but it is a well-known fact that the letters of the alphabet were imbued with magic powers both in ancient and more modern times.³⁸³ By the mere act of writing the alphabet a powerful charm was created, since all the necessary letters are now available for spirits and demons to make whatever incantations were most expedient for them. Thus various permutations of the alphabet, regarded by some as didactic, are still regarded by others as magical.³⁸⁴

With the latter idea in mind BILABEL³⁸⁵ suggested that the wooden tablets with lists of names, Christian texts and the above mentioned multiplication tablets he believed to be random letter permutations, found in the graves at

³⁸¹ Cf. F. BILABEL, Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden II, Heidelberg 1929, p. 177 ff. (ad P. Heid. IV 64); WILCKEN, UPZ I 147 introd.; PREISENDANZ, PGM XL introd., n. 1; and PACK² 2742 (ad P. Leid. J 398 Y – which DIETERICH, Abraxas 165.2, and WOLTERS, Folklore 128–129, regard as magical).

³⁸² W. BELTZ, APF 29 (1983) 64. Cf. the names of the 24 elders reported by U. BOURIANT, Rec. de Travaux 15 (1893) 179; A. WIEDEMANN, ARW 8 (1905) 552–554; C. PRÉAUX, CdE 10 (1935) 368: ΑΑΗΛ, ΒΑΗΛ, ΓΑΗΛ, ΔΑΗΛ ... ΦΑΗΛ, ΧΑΗΛ, ΨΑΗΛ, ΩΑΗΛ; as well as BKU I 17; KROPP, KZT III §§ 225 ff. Somewhat similar are the *voces magicae* in WÜNSCH, Zaubergeß 13: αλαλαλ ελελελ ηληληλ, etc., ασασας εσεσεσ ησησησ etc., αψαψαψ ενψεψ etc.

³⁸³ A. BERTHOLET, Die Macht der Schrift in Glauben und Aberglauben, Abh. d. deutsch. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1948, 1–48. D. HARPER, Harvard Jnl. of Asiatic Studies 45 (1985) 469, discusses the magical power of writing in ancient China.

³⁸⁴ Cf. DORNSEIFF; A. HEBBELYNCK, Les mystères des lettres grecques, Louvain 1902; C. PRÉAUX, CdE 10 (1935) 367–370; M. GUARDUCCI, (n. 299); J. DORESSE, BIE 33 (1950–1951) 215–228; WM. BRASHEAR, Enchoria 14 (1986) 16; P. BELLET, BASP 19 (1982) 1–7; F. WISSE, Enchoria 9 (1979) 101–120; H. QUECKE, Die Briefe Pachoms, Regensburg 1975; E. SZEPES, Magic Elements in the Prayers of the Hellenistic Magic Papyri, AAASH 24 (1976) 211–212; M. LEJEUNE, Sur les abécédaires grecs archaïques, RPh57 (1983) 7–12; A. HEUBACH, Die Würzburger Alphabettafel, Würzburger Jbb. f. d. Altertumswiss. n. F. 12 (1986) 7–20, esp. p. 9. (According to J. BINGEN, CdE 63, 1988, 315–316, these tablets are forgeries.)

³⁸⁵ P. Bad IV, p. 143, referring to nos. 60–65.

Qarara, might be magical because of the writing on them. Superstitious, probably illiterate, people would have considered inscribed boards as strong apotropaic magic for the deceased. In fact, depositing texts with the dead had a long-standing tradition in Egypt, being attested from 3000 B. C. to XIV c. A. D.³⁸⁶ The same practice is also found in Greece and elsewhere.³⁸⁷

Of course, the ancient Egyptian 'Book of the Dead' papyri had amulatic character. The Greek literary works deposited in tombs were more probably for their owners' enjoyment in the afterlife.³⁸⁸ Bilabel's wooden tablets with their lists of names and multiplication tables seem rather dry reading matter in either this life or the next. Hence, his suggestion that they are amuletic is, in the final analysis, quite plausible.³⁸⁹

While the interpretation of such objects is largely speculative, that of other texts initially considered as magical is definitely not. The editor of a wooden tablet in the Louvre (A. F. 6715) published in ZPE 28 (1978) 200, going on the words ὤμου, κυνῶν and the repetitive ὠμθ suggested the text might be magical. More probably the board contains a single account, ὠμου and ὠμθ being misspellings and abbreviations for ὁμοῦ. Κυνῶνδε is an illiterate rendition of γινῶνται, etc.³⁹⁰

P. Straßb. 39 and 39a are texts written in strange scripts that were first interpreted as magical. But they were soon shown to be more likely modern-day forgeries – illiterate attempts at imitating writing.³⁹¹ Nonetheless, as recently as 1974 and 1978 papyri bearing the same meaningless squiggles were published as magical texts, only to be subsequently and rightly revealed as forgeries.³⁹² Leather scrolls in the Butler Library at Columbia University con-

³⁸⁶ 3000 B. C.: W. B. EMERY, *Tomb of Hemaka*, Cairo 1938, 14. 14th century: J. M. PLUMLEY, *The Scrolls of Bishop Timotheos*, London 1975.

³⁸⁷ In the ashes of the funeral pyre at Derveni, Greece, the charred fragments of an Orphic cosmogony copied in the IV c. B. C. were found in 1962; cf. *BASP* 2 (1964) 3–14; ZPE 47 (1982) 1 bis–11 bis. A tomb near Athens contained a male skeleton, a papyrus roll, a bronze pen, a tortoise-shell lyre and two lekythoi (London Times, 25 May 1981). – Rumania: In 1963, near Constanza, a grave dating to the 4th c. B. C. was excavated. The papyrus roll found between the legs of the skeleton crumbled upon exposure to air (TURNER 39–40). D. HARPER (n. 383) 470.26, discusses burying books with the dead in China, citing HULSEWE, *Texts in Tombs*, *Asiatische Studien* 18–19 (1965) 78–89.

³⁸⁸ PREISENDANZ, *Papyrusfunde* 130 f., describes famous literary papyri found in graves.

³⁸⁹ See on the putative amuletic character of the Cologne Mani codex A. HENRICHs and L. KOENEN, ZPE 5 (1970) 103 (*pro*), and L. KOENEN, ZPE 11 (1973) 241 (*contra*). Cf. the apocryphal Christian works found in a grave in Achmim (Panopolis) – U. BOURIANT, *Fragments du texte grec du livre d'Enoch*, *MMAF* 9.1 (1892) 93 f.; the liturgical fragments probably found in a grave in Hermupolis – P. Würzburg 3 – and K. GAMBER's remarks in: *Miscel·lània papirològica* Ramon Roca-Puig, SEBASTIÀ JANERAS, ed., Barcelona 1987, 129 f.; and K. GAMBER, *Ostkirchl. Studien* 34 (1985) 178–182, and J. RIUS-CAMPS in: *Miscel·lània papirològica* R. Roca-Puig 286 f., concerning P. Berol. 13918.

³⁹⁰ W. M. BRASHEAR, ZPE 50 (1983) 99–100; J. GASCOU, ZPE 60 (1985) 254 f.

³⁹¹ P. Straßb., p. 6.; U. WILCKEN, *APF* 5 (1913) 260.

³⁹² SP 13 (1974) 57–60; *ibid.*, 17 (1978) 85–87 = PGM CXVIII. Cf. R. COLES and C. GALLAZZI in: *Studi in onore di O. Montevicchi*, Bologna 1981, 99 ff.; U. HORAK, *Tyche* 6 (1991) 91–98.

taining *inter alia* magical texts were also correctly perceived to be modern forgeries.³⁹³

PGM 14 is an alphabetical list of Hebrew names written in Greek; added to the right of each name is the translation. The list was compiled according to DEISSMANN, „*wahrscheinlich zu Amulettzwecken, kräftige und trostreiche biblische Namen und Sprüche mit griechischer Übersetzung*“.³⁹⁴ D. ROKEAH, P. Oxy. XXXVI 2745, “Onomasticon of Hebrew Names”, put such lists in their proper – and non-magical – context.³⁹⁵

PGM O 3, consisting of 1) the tale of Christ’s healing the blind and crippled at the pool of Soloam, and 2) a troparion based on an expanded trishagion, L. KOENEN rightly consigned to the mass of anonymous liturgica circulating in the VII–VIII c. A. D.³⁹⁶

Other texts which have been categorized as magic and assigned a PGM number are: LXXXII = P. Vars. 4, which seems more likely to be a treatise on trees or plants;³⁹⁷ LXXXV = P. Harris 56 = PACK² 1602, an anthology of epigrams; XCIII = P. Ant. II 65, more like a manual on sacrificial procedures; CX = P. Wash. Univ. inv. 181, an astrological text; XXXIV = PACK² 2636, a fragment of a novel.

The wooden tablet in Vienna published by K. WESSELY in 1982, re-examined by H. GERSTINGER and included in PGM vol. II, p. 236 as T 1, continues to defy all attempts at explication. From an autoscopic examination of the text on the tablet kindly put at my disposal by H. HARRAUER in December 1990 it is apparent that the letters to the left and right of each line on the “*verso*” are arithmetic figures which have nothing to do with the intervening text. Read, for example, in lines 13 ff.:

Ἀυκη ψεντοι βιουθ ... κρησδιωννι	Ἰνυς
.υκη αωκαι ...	προσεφε Βα
.καL τανωρ ...	ανοκεας γζ
Ἰυκη και σενο ...	
Ἰαυξη. ευ και	καρειασον .βκς

– hence relieving us of some of the burden of interpreting this unusually enigmatic text which may in the final analysis prove to be non-magical after all.

4. Highlights

While nothing like the ‘Theban Magical Library’ (v. I 2 a, p. 3402) has ever again turned up, a number of exciting new finds have been made in the

³⁹³ J. GILLIAM in: Essays in honor of C. B. Welles, New Haven 1966, 113–120.

³⁹⁴ Licht 344.

³⁹⁵ FESTUGIÈRE, L’Idéal 284.1, also recognized PGM 14 as an onomasticon.

³⁹⁶ P. Lugd.-Bat. XVII, pp. 39–40. Cf. H. LECLERCQ, s. v. Ostraka, in: DACL XIII,1 (1937) 80–84.

³⁹⁷ R. DANIEL, Unidentified Prose: P. Vars. 4, BASP 22 (1985) 29–32.

last few years which are worthy of special mention. The unusual Louvre figurine and lead tablet have already been discussed (v. I 2 b, pp. 3416f.). A similar group of objects was found in a grave in Oxyrhynchus.

Two silver foils and a vase with writing on it are all intended to bewitch a certain Matrona so that she fall in love with Theodore. Like the aforementioned lead tablet in the Louvre, as well as several other magical charms (v. I 2 b, p. 3417), the texts on the vase and silver foils parallel PGM IV 335–406 and again provide interesting examples of applied magic showing the same text as a known formulary. Although vases with magical *dipinti* are known from other parts of the Roman Empire – and common in ancient Egypt – this is the first example from Roman Egypt.³⁹⁸

Another group of magical objects consisting of a vase containing a pair of wax figures embracing each other had a papyrus was found in Upper Egypt.³⁹⁹ Although a single clay figurine with an amatory spell had already been discovered in Egypt⁴⁰⁰ this is the first example of two such wax figures. In his publication of this ensemble, WORTMANN is able to cite only later Arabic parallels for such a practice.⁴⁰¹

Out of a cartonnage mummy coffin⁴⁰² from Abusir el Melek came a single sheet formulary in prose and poetry from the Augustan period.⁴⁰³ It purports

³⁹⁸ WORTMANN, Texte 57–84.

³⁹⁹ *ibid.*, 85–102.

⁴⁰⁰ PGM XXXII a – cf. APF 11 (1935) 164.

⁴⁰¹ In the meantime another magical ensemble consisting of lidded vase containing wax figurines embracing each other and a papyrus with a Greek love spell, a nearly word-for-word parallel to WORTMANN's text no. 4 (n. 399), has been acquired by the Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst in Munich. Cf. D. WILDUNG, *Münchener Jahrbuch d. bildenden Kunst* 1983, p. 211; BRASHEAR (n. 27).

⁴⁰² The papyrus was not buried with the deceased (v. n. 387). It was used as waste paper in the manufacture of cheap coffins. Cf. H. IBSCHER, *Särge aus Pappe*, *Allgem. Anzeiger f. Buchbindereien* 23 (1908); C. V. A. ADAMS, *The Manufacture of Ancient Egyptian Cartonnage Cases*, *The Smithsonian Journal of History* 1 (1966) 55–66; R. DAVID, *Mysteries of the Mummies*, London 1978, 66–67; W. M. BRASHEAR, *Vereine im griechisch-römischen Ägypten* (= *Xenia* 34), Konstanz 1993, 9–11; U. HORAK, *Analecta Papyrologica* 4 (1992) 94–143.

Today cartonnage coffins and mummy masks are valuable sources for papyri. The procedure of extracting the papyri without damaging the painting on the exterior is an arduous process. J. HOFMANN, *Die Auflösung von Mumienkartonage*, *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 13 (1976) 99–101; MAHAFFY, P. Petrie I, S. 9 ff., 62–63; MONTEVECCHI 247 ff.; Ø. WENDELBO, *The Extraction of Papyri from Gesso Cartonnage*, in: *Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Papyrologists*, London 1975, 337–340; *Id.*, *Symbol. Oslo.* 50 (1975) 155–157; *Id.*, *Restaurator* 2 (1975) 41–51, 53–59; B. FOSSE, et al., *Symbol. Oslo.* 56 (1981) 171–179, all describe the traditional method of getting at the papyri.

The new method is decried by A. STOHLER-ZIMMERMANN and H. HARRAUER, *Restaurator* 85 (1979) 315–319; A. STOHLER-ZIMMERMANN, *Das Ablösen der Malerei von Mumienkartonage*, in: *Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Papyrology*, Chico 1981, 665–676; H. MAEHLER, *A New Method of Dismounting Papyrus Cartonnage*, *BICS* 27 (1980) 120–122; M. WRIGHT, *A Method of Extracting Papyri from Cartonnage*, *Studies in Conservation* 28 (1983) 122–126; A. BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, *Mummy-Cartonnage: Modi-*

to be a translation of ancient Egyptian spells in the book of Hermes⁴⁰⁴ found in the temple at Heliopolis, thereby creating an aura of antiquity, holiness and efficacy. Since Egyptian temples served as depositories of magico-religious literature⁴⁰⁵ it is not impossible that at least some of the formulae are indeed translations of Egyptian spells. However, there is no evidence of any direct translation. At least the first (amatory) formula is reminiscent more of Greek practice than of anything Egyptian. Its title identified it as a spell to be recited over apples, and it includes a *topos* common to Greek and Latin literature – throwing apples to show one's love.⁴⁰⁶ The damaged and corrupt text is couched in dactylic hexameters. The following attempt at reconstruction is necessarily somewhat conjectural:

καὶ δώσω τόδε φάρμακον † καίριον αἰεὶ † βρωτὸν
 θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν.
 ἦ ἂν δῶ μήλω τε βάλῃ μήλω τε πατάξω
 πάντα δ' ὑπερθεμένη μαίνοιτ' ἐπ' ἐμῇ φιλότῃ
 ἦ τ' ἐν χειρὶ λαβοῦσα φάγοι -- ◡ ◡ --
 ἐν κόλπῳ καθίσαι καὶ μὴ παύσαιτο φιλῶν με
 Κυπρογένεια <θεά, σὺ> τέλει τελέαν ἐπασιδῇν.

fied Version of the Enzyme-Method, in: *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia I*, Neapel 1984, 45–49; M. FACKELMANN, *Restauration von Papyrus und anderen Schriftträgern aus Ägypten* (= *Studia Amstelodamensia XXIV*), Zutphen, 1985, 67 ff.; *Id.*, *Anagennesis 4* (1986) 185 ff.

⁴⁰³ WM. BRASHEAR, *Ein Berliner Zauberpapyrus*, *ZPE* 33 (1979) 261 ff.

⁴⁰⁴ Magical works were often ascribed to Hermes; cf. H. and G. GUNDEL, *Astrologumena*, Wiesbaden 1966, 23–24; PGM XXIV a; FOWDEN, *Hermes* 2 ff.; FESTUGIÈRE, *Révélation I*², 287–308 (all PGM texts pertaining to Hermes); D. PINGREE, *JWCI* 43 (1980) 5. – The 'discovery' of 'ancient' writings in a temple or other hiding place is an oft-employed ruse. Cf. A. FESTUGIÈRE, *Corpus Hermeticum III*, Paris 1954, clxiii note 2; *Id.*, *C. H. IV* 40.162; *Id.*, *WS* 73 (1960) 124 f. = *Etudes de religion grecque et hellénistique* 272 f., *Id.*, *Révélation I*², 309 ff.; W. SPEYER, *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike*, Göttingen 1970.

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. FOWDEN, *Hermes* 57 f.; BURKART, *Bibliotheken im alten Ägypten*, *Bibliothek-Forschung und Praxis* 4.2 (1980) 79–115; V. WESSETZKY, s. v. *Bibliothek*, in: *LÄ II* (1975) 783–785; E. A. E. REYMOND, *From the Contents of the Libraries of the Suchos Temples in the Fayyum I, II* (= *MPER n. S. X., XI. Folgen*), Vienna 1976, 1977; S. SAUNERON, *Les prêtres de l'ancienne Egypte*, Paris 1957, 119–138; E. OTTO, *Ägyptisches Buch- und Bibliothekswesen*, in: *Handbuch der Orientalistik I: Ägyptologie, 2. Abschn.: Literatur*, Leiden 1952, 220–231. Even Dhul-Nun, the renowned Sufi, is said to have acquired his knowledge of alchemy of the temple at Achmin (L. KÁKOSY, *Das Ende des Heidentums in Ägypten*, in: *Graeco-Coptica* 76, with reference to G. WIET, *L'Egypte de Murtadi*, Paris 1953, 109).

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. C. FARAONE, *Aphrodite's Kestos and Apples for Atalanta: Aphrodisiacs in Early Greek Myth and Ritual*, *Phoenix* 44 (1990) 219–243. Earlier literature on this motif includes: B. O. FOSTER, *HSCP* 10 (1899) 39–55; J. TRUMPF, *Hermes* 88 (1960) 14–22; A. LITTLEWOOD, *HSCP* 72 (1967) 154–157; M. LUGAUER, *Unters. z. Symbolik des Apfels i. d. Antike*, Diss. Erlangen 1967; M. K. BRAZDA, *Zur Bedeutung des Apfels in der Antiken Kultur*, Diss. Bonn 1977; E. S. MCCARTNEY, *TAPA* 56 (1925) 70–81; H. HORN, *Mysteriensymbolik auf dem Kölner Dionysosmosaik*, Bonn 1972.

"I will give this drug, which is always suitable and edible for both mortal men and immortal deities. May she, to whomsoever I should give and toss an apple, (whom) I should strike with an apple, postponing everything be mad with love for me. Whether she take (the apple) in her hand and eat it or hold it in her lap, may she not desist from loving me. Cyprus-born goddess, bring this charm to fruition".⁴⁰⁷

The second section, an amatory spell, consists of a formulaic ritual text to be recited while one handles or consumes objects representing various parts of the human body:

ἐλάβόν σου [τὸ] ὄμμα· ὁ δε<ῖ>να· ἐλάβόν σου [τὴν] ψυχὴν· ὁ δεῖ[να· ἐπα-
σά]μην σου τοῦ αἵματος· [ὁ δ(ε)ῖ(να)]· ἐχρησάμην[ν] ὁ δ(ε)ῖ(να)· κατέφα-
γόν] σου τὸ ἥπαρ· ὁ [δ(ε)ῖ(να)] ± 5]σάμην σου τ[ὸ δέ]ρμα· ὁ δ(ε)ῖ(να)·
ἐποίησα· ἡ θεὰ ἡ ἐν τῷ οὐρ[αν]ῶι αὐτὸν προκ[άτ]ιδε καὶ ἐ[γ]γένετο αὐτῷ[ι
π]άντα κατὰ ψυχὴν

" 'I took your eye'. So-and-so (says): 'I took your soul'. So-and-so (says): 'I smeared myself with your blood'. So-and-so (says): 'I anointed ...' So-and-so (says): 'I ate your liver'. So-and-so (says): 'I ... your skin'. So-and-so (says): 'I have accomplished it'. The goddess in heaven looked down on him and everything happened to him according to his wishes".

Both the style and content are reminiscent of oaths repeated by initiates into the Greek mystery religions. By the enactment of certain ritual and quasi-dramaturgical procedures based on mythological precedents, the initiate is transfigured, unified with the god or goddess and thus elevated to a new and higher sphere of existence. The type of charm represented here as Greek and Demotic parallels which are all similarly intended to produce union in love.⁴⁰⁸

π[ρὸς τ]ὰ ἄστρα κατὰσειε λέγων[ν ...] χρῆς ἰδη πρὶν ἥλιον [l. χρῆση πρὶν εἰδῆς τὸν ἥλιον?] λαβὼν μύρον ἔπασον καὶ χρεῖσον τὸ πρόσωπον. ("Lifting your hands towards the stars shake them while saying ... Do this before you see the sun (rise)". There follows a hymn to the rising sun (χαῖρε ἥλιε, χαῖρε ἀνατέλλων, χαιρέτωσαν δὲ οἱ σὺν ἑοῖ ἀνατέλλοντες θεοί, χαιρέτω δὲ ...) which

⁴⁰⁷ Cf. R. JANKO, ZPE 72 (1988) 293, for conjectures; F. MALTOMINI, ZPE 74 (1988) 247–248, for emendations and improved readings; C. FARAONE, (n. 406) 235.36, for an alternate interpretation.

⁴⁰⁸ SMITH, Jesus 122 and 201, discusses parallels, e.g. PGM VII 385 f., 970 f., DMP XIII 17 f., *verso* XXXII 1 f. Cf. FESTUGIÈRE, L'Idéal 317 f.; F. PFISTER, Zalmoxis, in: Studies presented to D. M. Robinson, St. Louis 1953, vol. II, 1112–1123. HOPFNER, Mysterien, in: RE XVI,2 (1935) 1326; A. HENRICHs, Die Phoinikika des Lollianos, Bonn 1972, 28 ff.; DIETERICH, Mithrasliturgie 92 ff.; ELIADE, Naissances 231 ff.; W. BURKERT, Homo Necans, Berlin–New York 1972, 39 ff.; „Ritus und Mythos“. Cf. the oath of the mysteries of Demeter quoted by Clem. Alex., *Protrept.* II 15 (POTTER p. 14): ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον· ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον· ἔκερνοφόρησα· ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν; and the oath of the Eleusinian initiands, *ibid.*, II 21 (POTTER p. 18): ἐνήστευσα, ἔπιον τὸν κυκεῶνα, ἔλαβον ἐκ τῆς κίστης, ἐργασάμενος ἀπεθέμην εἰς κάλαθον καὶ ἐκ καλάθου εἰς κίστην (≡ Arnobius V 26).

develops into the *agōgē* proper: ἐφ' [ὅ]τι μὴ πίοι μ[ή]τε κάθεται μήτε []ῶσαι ἀλλὰ ἔχοι με κτλ. ("So that she may neither drink, nor sit, nor ... but may have me (in her heart, on her mind"?) This charm like the two preceding ones concludes with the prayer Κυπρογένεια τέλει τελέαν ἐπασιδῆν.

In the last charm to cure headaches the magician threatens Osiris, Ammon and Isis-Nephthys with headaches unless they relieve him of his. This collection is noteworthy for not only its unusual cannibalistic and 'melomantic' texts, but also for its complete lack of *voces magicae* and above all its early date. Out of the same coffin came documents dating from 52 B. C. to the early years of Augustus' reign. Hence, one can with reasonable certainty ascribe it to the same era.

Just at the time this formulary was published another formulary appeared.⁴⁰⁹ It consists of 23 minuscule, non-contiguous fragments of love charms belonging to the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. Scattered among the prose sections are tantalizing bits of hexameters and possibly iam-bics. Like the aforementioned Berlin papyrus these fragments are noteworthy for their age (late I c. B. C.), their literary language and – as far as can be determined – their lack of *voces magicae*.⁴¹⁰ Unfortunately, the fragments are so small, the amount of text preserved so scanty, that almost nothing definitive can be said about them. Osiris-Esies,⁴¹¹ Anubis and infernal deities (οἱ ἐν Ἄδη θεοί)⁴¹² make an appearance. Other references, such as Διοσκορ[οί], ἀναστά-τειρα and πότνια ἄθανάτη are tantalizingly obscure. Nocturnal rites are inti-mated by the words ἀγρυπνία, οὐρανὸς ἀστερόεις, μεσονύκτια.

In 1979, a remarkable collection of papyrus rolls and codices of unknown origin dating to the IV–V c. A. D. and written in three languages, Coptic,

⁴⁰⁹ edited by F. FABRINI and F. MALTOMINI (n. 133) no. 34. It has since been re-published as P. Monac. II 28.

⁴¹⁰]ακρα could conceivably begin several *voces magicae*, e. g., ακραμαχαμαρει, ακραβαεω, etc.; it could also terminate something banal like μακρά.

⁴¹¹ Cf. F. DÖLGER, *Esietus. Der Ertrunkene oder der zum Osiris gewordene*, *Antike und Christentum* 1 (1929) 174–183; S. MORENZ, *Das Problem des Werdens zu Osiris i. d. gr.-röm. Zeit Ägyptens*, in: *Religions en Egypte hellénistique*, P. DERCHAIN, ed., Strasbourg 1969, 75–91; H. DONNER, *ibid.*, 41–44 (Esies in Aramaic); J. LEBOVITCH, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 301–303; E. LIPINSKI, *Orient. Lovan. Period.* 8 (1977) 109 ff.; J. HANI, *Les nymphes du Nil*, *Ant. Class.* 43 (1974) 212–224; J. QUAEGBEUR, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 246–250; *Id.*, *Orient. Lovan. Period.* 8 (1977) 138 ff.; J. GRIFFITHS, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth*, *Liverpool* 1960, 7.3; F. GRIFFITH, *ZAS* 46 (1909–1910) 132–134; M. MURRAY, *ZAS* 51 (1914) 127–135; H. KEES, in: *Studies ... Griffiths* 402–405; A. ROWE, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 1–67, 291–297; FESTUGIÈRE, *L'Idéal* 299.1; WORTMANN, *Kosmogonie* 66; A. HERMANN, s. v. *Ertrunken*, in: *RAC* 6 (1966) 375–380; MALTOMINI (n. 133) 250–251; PREISENDANZ, *Nekydaimon* 2240 ff., esp. 2249, 2263; Iamblichus, *de myst.* 5.24; S. EITREM, *CR* 38 (1924) 69; C. STRAUSS s. vv. *Ertrinken/Ertränken*, in: *LÄ* II (1977) 17–19; M. VANDONI, *Ἑσις*, *Rendiconti Ist. Lombard. Cl. di Lettere* 102 (1968) 436–438; R. A. WILD, *Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis and Sarapis* (EPRO 87), Leiden 1981, 235.106; LINDSAY, *Men*, ch. 19: *The Blessed Drowned*; R. MERKELBACH, *ZPE* 72 (1988) 65–66.

⁴¹² οἱ ἐν Ἄδη θεοί also appear in B. BOYVAL, *ZPE* 14 (1974) 71 ff.; AUDOLLENT, *Defix.* 22.44 ff., 23.4 f., 29.30 etc.

Greek and Aramaic, was published.⁴¹³ The presence of so many languages and different texts, apparently all belonging together, is evidence for a workshop or factory and a magician's attempt at satisfying a diverse and perhaps large clientele.

The relatively well-preserved Coptic miniature codex (ca. 9 × 9 cm) contains 10 pages, only three of which bear writing. The first page has rows of letters, *voces magicae* and a series of staurograms (ϣ)⁴¹⁴ as decoration – all of which seems to serve as introduction to the two texts which follow. The first text invokes numerous deities who should come to aid the conjuror. The intent of the charm is not specified. The second is a formulaic agoge beseeching several deities, among them the rarely attested Petbe,⁴¹⁵ to assist the lovelorn in attaining the object of their carnal desires.

The Greek fragments number thirteen and comprise formularies and other texts of uncertain nature. *Characteres*, *voces magicae* (many of them heretofore unattested) and, above all, *figurae magicae* abound. Notable are the appearance of Christ and Kaulakau. Nonetheless, neither the Coptic for the Greek texts can be definitely characterized as Christian, Jewish or pagan.

The first papyrus is a roll measuring 86 × 14 cm., written perpendicular to the length and across the fibers. It is a formulary in fourteen sections which can be divided into two main categories: 1–47 magical words, names, figures, symbols, designs etc.; 48–72: the formularies proper: 1) to facilitate birth, 2) to induce sleep, 3) against strangury, 4) fever amulet, 5) invocation of Raphael, 6) iatromagic prescriptions, 7) medical prescriptions, 8) victory charm, 9) prescriptions (?). The birth amulet (in corrected orthography) reads: πρὸς γεννῶσαν· ἐξελθε ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου σου· Χριστὸς σε καλεῖ· ὄστρακον δεξιῷ μηρῷ, and provides the earliest attestation for a charm often used in medieval and modern magic.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹³ PERNIGOTTI, MALTOMINI, MARRASSINI (n. 84).

⁴¹⁴ On the staurogram and christogram cf. P. Lugd.-Bat. XIX, p. 100; P. Lugd.-Bat. VIII, p. 98; K. ALAND, *New Testament Studies* 10 (1964) 75–79; M. NALDINI, *Il cristianesimo in Egitto*, Florence 1968, 23–27; DEISSMANN, *Licht* 255.4; BUDGE, *Amulets* 347 f.; NAVEH and SHAKED, *Amulets*, p. 58; BRASHEAR, *Magica Varia*, no. 2.18 n.

⁴¹⁵ Cf. R. PETTAZZONI, *Kronos in Egitto*, in: *Studi in Memoria di Ippolito Rosellini I*, Pisa 1949, 275–299; H. O. LANGE (n. 293); A. ELANSKAJA, *Drevneegipetskoe ... (Les dieux de l'Egypte ancienne à la période copte)*, *Drevnij Vostok i Mirovaja Kultura*, Moscow 1981, 133 ff.; H. BRUNNER, *Petbe*, in: *LÄ IV* (1982) 992–993; H. BONNET, *Reallexikon s. v. Petbe*; BRASHEAR, *Magica Varia*, no. 1.

⁴¹⁶ MALTOMINI 82 cites examples, e.g.: *Ad difficultatem pariendi probatum. Elisabet peperit praecursorem, sancta Maria genuit salvatorem. Sive masculus sis sive femina, veni foras, salvator revocat te ... Quod si hoc tam cito non scriptum proderit, tunc in alio membranulo scribas: „Lazare, veni foras, salvator revocat te“ et supra pectus feminae mitte“* (HEIM 550). τέξε, γυνή, ὡς ἡ Μαριάμ τὸν Χριστόν, ὡς ἡ Ἑλισάβετ τὸν Πρόδρομον· ἐξελθε, τέκνον, καλεῖ σε ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ σε περιμένει (DELATTE, *Anecd. Ath.* 619 f.). Parallels can be found in FRANZ, *Benediktionen II* 198–201, nos. 1–8, 201–202, nos. 1–2; HEIM 564.6; F. OHRT, s. v. *Gebärsegen*, in: *HDA III* (1931) 344–346; M. GASTER, s. v. *Birth*, in: *HERE II* (1909) 657; DELATTE, *Anecd. Athen.* I 114, 115.6 ff., 15 ff.; CCAG V.4, pp. 120.5 ff.

The unexpected appearance of the words *μνημεῖον* in this text refers to the story of Lazarus. The imperative *ἐξελθε* is addressed both to the child in the womb and to Lazarus in the tomb. The simile is suppressed in this clumsy, telegraphic Greek. Yet one should understand: (As Christ said to Lazarus) "Come out ..., (so now I adjure you), child, come out".⁴¹⁷

The other major text is a roll 24 × 4.7 cm. with writing perpendicular to the length on both sides. There are three charms: 1) for obtaining favor (*χαριτήσιον*) involving placing something in a latrine⁴¹⁸ and burying something else in a house; 2) for inducing good luck (*κατακλητικόν*) or illness (?) (*κατακλητικόν*); and for making a wax figurine, probably for malicious purposes.

A sketch of the figurine is given which even includes the same letters as in the text which should be incised onto the head. The figure is moreover the same one as in the Coptic codex.

On the other side are instructions for invoking certain deities. Various fragments of indeterminate character conclude the Greek section. Noteworthy is the appearance for the first time in a magic papyrus the name Kaulakau which according to Epiphanius, *Panarion* 25.3.6, was the name the Nicolaites gave to one of the archons. Other writers, however, report differing traditions (v. MALTOMINI ad loc.).

Similar to this text is a Coptic charm (P. Berol. 8313, *rto.* col. I 66 ff.) published by A. ERMAN, ZÄS 33 (1895) 43 = KROPP, KZT II, no. XVII, dating to the VII–VIII c.: "What is crooked will become straight. (The child) should see the light. May my heart's wish be fulfilled quickly. It is I, the Lord Jesus, who gives healing who speaks." A. JACOBY, *Elsässische Monatsschriften* 1912, 288, first drew the parallels between this Coptic charm and the medieval ones. Now we have a Greek charm antedating the Coptic one by two centuries.

⁴¹⁷ M. 83 cites parallels: „*Christus quadrinuanum Lazarum vocavit et dixit: Lazare, veni foras. Et ego adiuro te, finans, ... ut ex eas*“ (FRANZ, *Benediktionen* 200 no. 4); ὡς ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἀπὸ τοῦ κήτους καὶ ὁ Λάζαρος ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου, ἐξελθε καὶ σύ, τέκνον (DELATTE, *Anecd. Ath.* 114.27, 115.26 ff.)

⁴¹⁸ As MALTOMINI 101 indicates, this instruction is unique but has analogies in depositing things in baths or other watery places. In addition to the bibliography he cites cf. C. BONNER, *Demons of the Bath*, in: *Studies pres. to F. Ll. Griffith*, London 1932, 302–308; HOPFNER, *AO* 10 (1938) 144–145; D. JORDAN, *Athen. Mitt.* 95 (1980) 232; MURRAY (n. 411); GRIFFITH (n. 411); PREISENDANZ, *APF* 11 (1935) 156 (*Eyguières* and *Deux-Sèvres*), *Id.*, *Akephalos* 32 ff.; C. BONNER and H. YOUTIE, *TAPA* 68 (1937) 53 (tablet found in a cistern); W. S. FOX, *Submerged Tabellae defixionum*, *AJP* 33 (1912) 301–310; D. JORDAN, *Hesperia* 54 (1985) 205–255; GAGER (n. 340) no. 94.

That wells, rivers and other watery places were the abode of maleficent spirits is a belief widely attested from ancient Egypt down through antiquity to modern times. Cf. EDWARDS (n. 221) p. 10: "we shall keep her safe from demons of a canal, from a demon of a well, from a demon of a river, from a demon of a lake, from a demon of (a pool) left (by the inundation)" and similar texts on pp. 32, 65, 100, 114; F. J. DÖLGER, *Der Exorzismus im altchristlichen Taufritual*, Paderborn 1909, repr. New York 1967, 161 ff., who cites Tertullian, *de baptismo* c. 5 (CSEL 20.205.17, 19, 24, 26) and many other testimonies.

GUTHRIE (n. 349) 273–274, cites an example from mid-19th c. England. Cf. J. and C. BORD (n. 347); F. JONES, *The Holy Wells of Wales*, Cardiff 1954; ELIADE, *Patterns* 200 f., 214, for general treatment of the subject.

Although a historiola with Jesus miraculously arresting the flow of the Euphrates river is otherwise unknown in European magical literature, it serves as basis for a magician's hopes in a Heidelberg papyrus published in 1982.⁴¹⁹ The miraculous arrest of a river in its course is cited as proof of Christ's power to stop a flux in the body of the person who prepared the charm. The geographically and chronologically closest example is KROPP, KZT II, p. 45 lines 60 ff.: "For flux or hemorrhage. When Elias wished to cross the Jordan river on foot, he raised his rod commanding the Jordan to become as dry land. Thus, O Lord, you are able now to take away the flux from NN".

Otherwise, one has to go to the northern European *Jordansegen* of medieval and modern date.⁴²⁰ These were intended for stopping hemorrhage and can be categorized into two types, based on episodes in the life of Christ: the one apocryphal and relating to the dry crossing of the Jordan, the other Biblical and relating to Christ's baptism. The earliest examples are Latin and German and date to the 9th–12th c.:

*Christus et sanctus Johannes ambelans ad flumen Jordane, dixit Christus ad sancto Johanne „restans flumen Jordane“. Commode restans flumen Jordane: sic restet vena ista in homine isto. In nomine patris etc.*⁴²¹ *Adiuvo sanguis per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum ut non fluas plus quam Jordanis aba quando Christus in ea baptizatus est.*⁴²² *Ad fluxum sanguinis narium. Christus und Johan giengon zuo der Jordan. Do sprach Christ: stant Jordan, biz ih unde Johan uber dih gegang. Also Jordan do stuont, so stant du. N. illius bluot. Hoc dicatur ter et singulis vicibus fiat nodus in crine hominis.*⁴²³

⁴¹⁹ F. MALTOMINI, ZPE 48 (1982) 149–170.

⁴²⁰ M. cites the following literature: O. EBERMANN, Blut- und Wundsegen (= Palaestra, Untersuchungen und Texte aus der deutschen und englischen Philologie, XXIV) Berlin 1903, pp. 24–35; FR. HÄLSIG, Der Zauberspruch bei den Germanen bis um die Mitte des XVI. Jahrhunderts, Diss. Leipzig 1910, pp. 88–92; cf. F. OHRT, De danske Besværgelser mod Vrid og Blod tolkning og Forhistorie, Det kgl. danske Videnskab. Selskab., Hist.-filol. Meddelelser, VI.3, København 1922, pp. 99–128; ID., s. v. Jordansegen, in: HDA IV (1931–1932) 765–770; V. J. MANSIKKA, Litauische Zaubersprüche, Folklore Fellows Communications, XXX.2, nr. 87 (Helsinki 1929) 57–58, 69–71, 93; F. OHRT, Zu den Jordansegen, Zeitschr. f. Volksk., N. F. 1 (1930) 269–274; H. FREUDENTHAL, Das Feuer im deutschen Glauben und Brauch, Berlin–Leipzig 1931, 401; H. HARMJANZ, Die deutschen Feuersagen und ihre Varianten in Nord- und Osteuropa, Folklore Fellows Communications, XXXVII.2, nr. 103 (Helsinki 1932) 62–64, 103, 107–108, 118; F. OHRT, Die ältesten Segen über Christi Taufe und Christi Tod in religionsgeschichtlichem Lichte, Det kgl. danske Videnskab. Selskab. Hist.-filol. Meddelelser, XXV.1 (København 1938) 27–47, 77 ff.; A. A. BARB, St. Zacharias the Prophet and Martyr. A Study in Charms and Incantations, JWCI 11 (1948) 38, 53–55; F. HEEGER, Fränkische Segensprüche aus drei Jahrhunderten, Bayer. Jahrb. f. Volksk. (1960) 168; HAMPP (n. 353), 163–174; VAN HAVER (n. 235) 457–458.

⁴²¹ K. MÜLLENHOFF–W. SCHERER, Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem VIII–XII Jhdt., Berlin 1892³ (Berlin–Zürich 1964), II 275.

⁴²² E. VON STEINMEYER, Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler, Berlin 1916 (Berlin–Zürich 1963), 379.

⁴²³ MÜLLENHOFF–SCHERER, op. cit., II 275.

The arrest of the Jordan at Jesus' baptism is unknown to canonical gospels. As A. JACOBY has shown, it stems from a lost apocryphal work probably of Egyptian origin.⁴²⁴ The miraculous crossing of the Jordan river also probably has its origins in apocryphal traditions and has numerous parallels and precedents.⁴²⁵ Although various bodies of water other than the Jordan are mentioned in these charms, the Euphrates appears nowhere else. No legend or apocryphal work makes any connection between Jesus and the Euphrates. MALTOMINI suggests as possible inspirations for this *historiola*: Revelations 16.12, IV Esra 13.43 ff. *inter alia*.

In 1976, an enigmatic papyrus seemingly of magical character was published and a tentative translation and interpretation attempted.⁴²⁶ Two years later the text was re-edited and translated as follows:⁴²⁷

ὥσπερ στρέφεται ὁ Ἑρμῆς τοῦ μυελοῦ καὶ ἀληθεῖται τοῦτο τὸ πιττάκιον, οὕτως στρέψον τὸν ἐγκέφαλον. καὶ τὴν κηδῖαν καὶ πᾶσαν διάνοιαν ζήτουν ἢ ἐπικαλουμένη Καλημέρας. ἤδη ἤδη, ταχὺ ταχὺ.

"Just as Hermes turns to make the marrow (in the bones of the deceased) the object of his care, and just as this tablet fulfils itself, thus you turn the marrow (in the skull of the man I want to influence by this spell). I, who am invoking you (or: I, who am calling to me the man's ἐγκέφαλος by means of this spell) have taken care of carrying out both the burial procedure and the whole intention of Kalemera. Instantly instantly, quickly quickly".

Since the brain and marrow were the only parts of the body not embalmed by the Egyptians, they were entrusted to Hermes (or Thoth) for safekeeping. Hermes-Thoth⁴²⁸ as god of the dead goes out of his way (στρέφω) to take care of the marrow of the dead person. The demon receiving the order στρέψον etc.

⁴²⁴ A. JACOBY, Ein bisher unbeachteter apokrypher Bericht über die Taufe Jesu, Strassburg 1902. Cf. *Chronicon Pascale*, p. 421 f. (PG 92, p. 545 C) cited by JACOBY, p. 17, and by H. LECLERCQ s. v. Baptême de Jésus, in: DACL II,1 (1910) 348.

⁴²⁵ Pseudo-Matthew, 36 (TISCHENDORF, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, p. 105); Vita Adae et Evae 28.4; Protevang. Jacobi (TISCHENDORF, *Evang. Apocr.* p. 35); E. DE STRYCKER, La forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques, Brussels 1961, 150; F. OHRT, Segen (n. 420), pp. 89.2, 133; A. A. BARB, St. Zacharias (n. 420), p. 54.3.

⁴²⁶ TURNER, Marrow. The papyrus is from Oxyrhynchus and dates to the IV c. A. D.

⁴²⁷ M. GIANGRANDE, Hermes and the Marrow, *Ancient Society* 9 (1978) 101 ff. = Id., *Scripta Minora Alexandrina II*, Amsterdam 1981, 573–588.

⁴²⁸ Cf. BONNET, *Reallexikon* s. v. Thoth, p. 812; P. BOYLAN, Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt, Oxford 1922; S. EITREM, Hermes und die Toten, *Christiania* 1909; PGM IV 296 ff.: Ἑρμῆς καταχθόνιος Θωοῦθ; L. KOENEN, ZPE 8 (1971) 199 ff. = PGM LXVII 11: Ἐ[ρμου] χθονίου Θουῶθ; NILSSON, *Religion* 139. Hermes-Thoth was, however, not the god of love (BOYLAN, 124–135; BONNET, 808–809). In love-spells he is always explicitly invoked as (κατα)-χθόνιος, as *Totengott*, who is expected to assist the νεκυδαίμων.

is the νεκυδαίμων of the deceased Kalemera.⁴²⁹ The woman who has invoked (ἐπικαλουμένη) the νεκυδαίμων says she has fulfilled Kalemera's every wish

⁴²⁹ Unusual is the apostrophe of the dead spirit by name. H. MAEHLER's emendation of the gem reading published by D. WORTMANN, BonnJbb 175 (1975) 78–79, eliminating a named *nekydaimon*, reduces the number of known named *nekydaimones* to two: Antinoos in T. Louvre inv. E 27145 (v. n. 151 = SM 47) and Horion in T. Heid. Arch. inst. inv. F 429 a, b = SM 37 – unless Evangelos in PGM XXXII 1 is another such creature. Cf. PREISENDANZ, *Nekydaimon* 2248–2249. Named *nekydaimones* in curse tablets: GAGER (n. 340) nos. 20, 43.

From ancient Egypt to modern Europe the belief has persisted that the dead – especially those who have died “prematurely” or violently – may still be enjoying a kind of existence until their properly allotted life-span has terminated, or, in the case of the latter, until their spirits have been appeased. Hence, they could be summoned to do the bidding of the necromancer for either good or ill. Cf. R. DANIEL, ZPE 19 (1975) 256; A. NOCK, Tertullian and the Ahori, Vig. Chr. 4 (1950) 129–141 = ID., Essays on Religion and the Ancient World, ed. Z. STEWART, Oxford 1972, 712 ff.; WÜNSCH, Fluchtafeln (n. 222) 13–15; AUDOLLENT, Defix., pp. cx–cxvi; PGM V 305–368; WORTMANN, Texte; L. KOENEN ap. SIJPESTEIJN, ZPE 4 (1969) 191; F. DÖLGER, Antike u. Christentum 2 (1930) 31–37; HOPFNER, Mageia 330 ff.; BURKERT (n. 27) 65 f.; J. BREMMER, The Early Greek Concept of the Soul, Princeton 1983, 70–124 “The Soul of the Dead”; HOPFNER, Nekromantie; PREISENDANZ, *Nekydaimon*; J. WASZINK, s. v. Biothanati, in: RAC 2 (1954) 391–394; ID., Tertullian, *anim.* (commentary) p. 564–567; W. GUNDEL, Neue astrologische Texte des Hermes Trismegistos (= Abh. Bayer. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Abt. n. F. Heft 12), Munich 1936, passim (index III s. v. biothanatus and p. 346); GEIGER, s. v. Tod, in: HDA VIII (1937) 974–976; MÜLLER-BERGSTROM s. vv. Hingerichteter, Armsünder, Hinrichtung, *ibid.*, IV (1932) 37–58; D. JORDAN, Athen. Mitt. 95 (1980) 234; R. LASCH, Die Verbleibs-orte der abgeschiedenen Seele der Selbstmörder, Globus 77 (1900) 110–115; E. NORDEN, P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI, Leipzig–Berlin 1916², 11 f., NILSSON, GGR II³, 548; D. JORDAN, ZPE 75 (1988) 237; G. POETHKE, s. v. Antinoos, in: LÄ I (1975) 323; G. WIEGELMANN, Der ‘lebende Leichnam’ im Volksbrauch, Zeits. f. Volkskunde 62 (1966) 166–183; B. BRAVO, Une tablette magique d’Olbia Pontique. Les morts, les héros et les démons, in: Poikilia. Etudes offerts à J.-P. Vernant, Paris 1987, 185–218; Cod. Sangall. 193 (quoted by FRANZ, Benediktionen 157 ff. and E. BARTSCH, 375: *expellas omnem umbram, omnem satanam et omnes machinationes diabolicas spirituum immundorum sive biothanatum sive errantium*; F. RÜSCHE, Blut, Leben und Seele (= Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums im Auftrag der Görres-Gesellschaft 5. Erg.-Bd.), Paderborn 1930, 68 ff.; F. CUMONT, After Life in Roman Paganism, New Haven 1922, repr. New York 1954, ch. 5; P. LAMBRECHTS, in: Hommages à W. Deonna (= Coll. Latomus 28), Brussels 1957, 322–333; W. DEONNA, Cimetière des bébés, Revue archéologique de l’Est et du Centre-Est 6 (1955) 231–247; E. MAASS, Die Lebenden und die Toten, Neue Jbb. f. d. kl. Altertum 225 (1922) 205–218; R. GARLAND, The Greek Way of Death, Ithaca 1985, 38 ff., 77–103; WM. BRASHEAR, Übergänge, Grenzen, Niemandsländ, APF 36 (1990) 61–74.

On *ahori* in Assyrian texts: S. LACKENBACHER, Rev. d’Assyriologie 65 (1971) 119–154; E. CASSIN, The Death of the Gods, in: S. C. HUMPHREYS and H. KING, edd., Mortality and Immortality. The Anthropologist and the Archaeology of Death, London 1981, 321. For the same beliefs in more modern times cf. CL. LECOUTEUX, Geschichte der Gespenster und Wiedergänger im Mittelalter, Vienna 1987, 33; J. DELUMEAU, La peur en occident (XIVe–XVIIIe siècles), Paris 1978; E. LEROY LADURIE, Montaillou, Paris 1975, 598; H. A. WINKLER, Ägyptische Volkskunde, Stuttgart 1936, 228–232.

and intention by giving her the proper κηδία, without which she would not be able to exist in the nether world. In reciprocation of this, ἡ ἐπικαλουμένη now expects the νεκυδαίμων of Καλημέρα to influence the ἐγκέφαλος of the man she loves. Since the woman wishes to remain anonymous, she mentions neither her name nor that of the man she wants to charm. Instead, she gives a clue by which the νεκυδαίμων could identify the person involved.⁴³⁰ Here, the direct articles τὸν ἐγκέφαλον and τοῦ μυέλου indicate that the brain and marrow of a specific person are envisaged. One assumes that Kalemera's *nekydaimon* knew the man and woman in question, or else the woman would mention them in a prayer/ceremony while placing the written spell into the tomb of Kalemera.⁴³¹

However, more recently the spell has again undergone close scrutiny by two experts in ancient magic who offer diverging interpretations. C. FAR-ONE⁴³² would eliminate any mention of the marrow, emending the Greek word in question to μυλαίου. After effecting various other changes, he translates: "Just as the *hermes* of the mill is turned and this *pittakion* is bruised, so too turn (and bruise) the brain, the heart and all the mind of Zetous, who is also known as Kalemera. Instantly, instantly, quickly, quickly". He accordingly interprets the text as a curse. The person cursing Zetous seeks to bruise her cognitive faculties by symbolically crushing the *pittakion* and by (presumably) reciting the charm written on it.

H. VERSNEL,⁴³³ proffers still another interpretation based partly on the foregoing one. He suggests that a 'voodoo' doll may be in question here and would translate: "Just as the Hermes made of fat (marrow) is twisted (in the sense of: is being moulded with twisted limbs) and this papyrus is bruised, so twist the brain, etc.". Obviously, the last word on both Hermes and the marrow has not yet been said.

For the numerous other amulets and formularies which have come to light in the last few years, the reader should consult the list of recent publications below II 1, on p. 3476–3483.

To the modern mind, the ancient practice of invoking dead spirits for amatory purposes seems incongruous and unseemly. To my knowledge no convincing explanation of this particularly Egyptian phenomenon (v. n. 341) has ever been advanced.

⁴³⁰ GIANGRANDE cites as a parallel AUDOLLENT, Defix. 210, where one hair is given as a clue, since „*cuius sit capillus ... norunt dii*“ (ibid., p. 1, n. 5).

⁴³¹ J. G. GRIFFITHS, ZPE 26 (1977) 287–288, discussing this text cites the Egyptian belief that the bones and marrow are receptacles for semen and cites S. SAUNERON, BIFAO 60 (1960) 19–27; J. YOYOTTE, ibid., 61 (1962) 139–146; J. HANI, REG 76 (1963) 111–120; Plutarch, *de libid. et aegrit.* 6, *de Iside et Osiride* 20, 358 C and GRIFFITHS ad loc. (n. 15) 356, et al. Cf. E. LESKY, Die Zeugungs- und Vererbungslehren der Antike und ihr Nachwirken, Abh. Akad. Wiss. u. Literatur in Mainz, Geistes- u. Sozialwiss. Kl., Nr. 19, Jahrg. 1950, Wiesbaden 1951, 1233 f.: „Die enkefalo-myelogene Samenlehre“; ONIANS, Origins 96–100, 108, 123–132, 226–228, 287–288; M. L. WEST, Hesiod, Works and Days, Oxford 1978, 305; W. DEONNA, Le symbolisme de l'œil, Bern 1965, 15.

⁴³² ZPE 72 (1988) 279–286.

⁴³³ ibid., 287–292.

5. Coptic Magic

The practice of magic did not, of course, cease with the demise of the Greek language and culture in Egypt. Although the vehicle of expression changed from Greek to Coptic, magic continued to enjoy a healthy existence for hundreds of years. The native Egyptian element had always been preponderant in Greek magic. Furthermore, parallels to the spells written in Greek, formularies and amulets were written in Demotic up to the III c. A.D. However, already in the II c. A.D., attempts were made at producing magical works in the Egyptian language using the Greek alphabet.⁴³⁴ With the development of Coptic into a full-blown medium of expression in the V–VI c. A.D., Coptic magical texts gradually superseded the Greek ones.

The most comprehensive study of Coptic magic remains that of A. M. KROPP, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte I–III*, Brussels 1930–1931, from which the following remarks are summarized.⁴³⁵

⁴³⁴ JEA 28 (1942) 20–31. Some *vores magicae* are visible on the right edge of the papyrus on the plate; re-published by J. OSING, *Der spätägyptische Papyrus BM 10808* (= Ägyptologische Abh. 33), Wiesbaden 1976, with one plate.

Already in the second century B. C. one finds Egyptian texts written in Greek letters: UPZ I 79.4–5; P. PESTMAN. R. VOS, J. QUAEGBEUR, *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues I*, Leiden 1977, no. 11 = SB V 7658 = LACAU, *Etudes de Papyrologie* 2 (1933–1934) 229–246. Two mummy labels, written by the same person in the second or third c. A.D., published by B. BOYVAL, *CRIPPEL* 3 (1975) 243, 247, nos. 616, 632, are analyzed in detail by J. QUAEGBEUR, *P. Lugd.-Bat. XIX*, pp. 254–255. Cf. W. CRUM, *Coptic Documents in Greek Script*, PBA 25 (1939) 249 f.; G. STEINDORFF, *Bemerkungen über die Anfänge der koptischen Sprache u. Literatur*, in: *Coptic Studies in honor of W. E. Crum*, Boston 1950, 189–214; H. SATZINGER, *The Old Coptic Schmidt Papyrus*, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 12 (1975) 37–50; V. GIRGIS, *MDAIK* 20 (1965) 121 = SB 10707; H. SATZINGER, *Die altkoptischen Texte als Zeugnisse der Beziehungen zwischen Ägyptern und Griechen*, in: *Graeco-Coptica* 137–146; OSING, *op. cit.*

⁴³⁵ Also informative is Lexa, *Magie*. For general orientation now see also S. PERNIGOTTI, *La magia copta: i testi*, below in this volume (ANRW II 18,5) 3685–3730.

Coptic magical texts are most conveniently listed in W. KAMMERER, *A Coptic Bibliography*, Ann Arbor 1950, 97 ff. For subsequent publications consult the bibliographies in *Orientalia* n. S. 18 (1948) to 36 (1967) continued thereafter in *Enchoria. Zeitschrift f. Demotistik und Koptologie*, Wiesbaden 1971 ff. In the meantime TITO ORLANDI has instituted a new Coptic bibliography available by subscription from: CIM Editore, Piazzale di Ponte Milvio 28, 00191 Rome, Italy.

For convenience some of the more interesting and extensive publications are listed here: P. Heidelberg V; A. KROPP (n. 170); H. QUECKE, *Muséon* 76 (1963) 247–265; J. DRION, *Muséon* 59 (1946) 479–489; V. STEGEMANN, *Muséon* 51 (1938) 73–87; H. SATZINGER (n. 253) nos. 387–394; S. PERNIGOTTI, *SCO* 29 (1979) 19–53; *Id.*, *EVO* 6 (1983) 75–92; W. CRUM, *JEA* 20 (1934) 51–53, 195 ff.; H. POLOTSKY, *Orientalia* 4 (1935) 416 f.; *ibid.*, 6 (1937) 119 f.; W. TILL, *Orientalia* 4 (1935) 195 f.; W. WORRELL, *Orientalia* 4 (1935) 1 ff., 184 ff.; W. BELTZ, *APF* 29 (1983) ff., 30 (1984) 83–104, 31 (1985) 31–41, 32 (1986) 55–66; A. KROPP, *Der Lobpreis des Erzengels Michael* (vormals P. Heidelberg Inv. Nr. 1686), Brussels 1966; V. STEGEMANN, *Die koptischen Zaubertexte*

Although most of the ancient Egyptian gods and goddesses had vanished by this time, certain deities like Isis, Horus, Nephthys, Bes – and rarely Seth⁴³⁶ – continued to live on.⁴³⁷ Replacing the old deities is a host of new ones derived from the holy books, canonical and apocryphal, of the new religion. From legends and gnostic works others were conscripted to do the bidding of the Coptic sorcerer. So one finds the three youths in the fiery furnace,⁴³⁸ the two thieves crucified alongside Christ,⁴³⁹ the forty martyrs of Sebaste,⁴⁴⁰ the seven sleepers of Ephesus,⁴⁴¹ the twenty-four elders and four creatures of the Apocalypse,⁴⁴² the four cherubim who support the throne of Jahweh,⁴⁴³ the three wise men,⁴⁴⁴ the personified letters of the alphabet⁴⁴⁵ and many others. Awaiting his command are furthermore whole armies of angels and archangels.⁴⁴⁶ Like his forefathers two millennia before him, the Coptic magician had no qualms about threatening the gods and forcing them into situations similar to his by use of *historiolae*. He too knew the true names of the powers he invoked, and he addressed the twenty-four elders of the Apocalypse,⁴⁴⁷ the

der Slg. Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer in Wien, SB. Heidelberg. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. 1933–1934; H. LANGE (n. 293).

Inedita in the Cologne collection are being prepared for publication by C. RÖMER and H. THISSEN (v. ZPE 84, 1990, 175. Those in the Univ. of Michigan and Berlin collections by P. MIRECKI (personal communication).

The Coptic Magical Papyri Project, under the direction of MARVIN W. MEYER and sponsored by the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity in Claremont, Calif., aims at collecting, editing and publishing only selected texts, thus leaving a corpus of Coptic magical texts such as PREISENDANZ' PGM as much a desideratum as ever.

- ⁴³⁶ KROPP III §§ 3–10. – However, the Copts confused the ancient Egyptian god with the Old Testament patriarch of the same name, making the interpretation of the figure Seth in their magic difficult. WORRELL (n. 84) 255.2, documents a late appearance of Seth's name in Coptic magic.

GRUMACH, History (n. 332) shows that representations of Seth, on the other hand, are common up to the 11th c. – LANGE (n. 293) published a text where even Athena, Aphrodite, Apollo, et al. make an unusual appearance.

- ⁴³⁷ A. ERMAN, ZÄS 33 (1895) 43 ff.; W. WESSETZKY, Die Wirkung des Altägyptischen in einem koptischen Zauberspruch, Acta Orientalia 1 (Budapest 1950) 26–31 = Studia Aegyptiaca 6 (Budapest 1981) 31–36; L. KÁKOSY, Remarks on the Interpretation of a Coptic Magical Text, Acta Orientalia 13 (Budapest 1961) 325; W. WORRELL, Orientalia 4 (1935) 29, 31.

- ⁴³⁸ KROPP III § 228; W. TILL, ZÄS 77 (1942) 102–104; H. QUECKE, Muséon 76 (1963) 225 f.; WM. BRASHEAR, ZPE 50 (1983) 106–107.

- ⁴³⁹ KROPP III §§ 101, 369 and plate 1; TILL, ZÄS 77 (1942) 102, 104.

- ⁴⁴⁰ KROPP III § 183; D. HAGEDORN, ZPE 55 (1984) 146–153.

- ⁴⁴¹ KROPP III § 183.

- ⁴⁴² KROPP III §§ 144–147 and 221–222, 225–227.

- ⁴⁴³ KROPP III §§ 120–124.

- ⁴⁴⁴ WM. BRASHEAR, The Coptic Three Wise Men, CdE 58 (1983) 297–310.

- ⁴⁴⁵ Cf. WIEDEMANN and BOURIANT (n. 382) discussing the painting in the monastery at Deir Sama'an (Deir el Gharbieh) showing 24 seated figures, each one designated by a name: Aael, Bael, Gael, Dael, Eael ... Phael, Chael, Psael, Oael.

- ⁴⁴⁶ KROPP III §§ 125 ff.

- ⁴⁴⁷ KROPP III §§ 225–227.

three youths in the fiery furnace⁴⁴⁸ and even the five nails of the cross⁴⁴⁹ individually by their mystical names.

The Sator-magic square, so far unknown in Greek magical texts from Egypt, enjoyed great popularity among the Copts,⁴⁵⁰ so did the Alpha-Leon-Phōnē,-Anēr-square.⁴⁵¹ Although the *ablanathanalba-logos* was just as popular among the Copts as it had been among the Greeks, the Copts seem to have been entirely unaware of the fact that it is a palindrome.⁴⁵² Other hold-overs from Greek magic are Bainchoooch, Abrasax, Semesilam, Damnameneus and Sesengenbarpharanges.⁴⁵³

Just as the Greek magician employed the exotic language Coptic in his spells, the Coptic magician employed Greek to heighten the effect of his magic on his listeners.⁴⁵⁴ Like his predecessors he also took delight in filling whole pages with derived and contrived *voces magicae*⁴⁵⁵ and angel names, consisting of almost any stem imaginable and the typical Semitic termination *-el*.⁴⁵⁶

However, his interest in procedural details seems to have flagged. Although iatromagical ceremonies are still in vogue, usually all that remain of the elaborate instructions for performing the lengthy, complicated *praxeis* are mere lists of ingredients appended to the ends of the Coptic formularies.⁴⁵⁷

Of the some 130 formularies extant 15 are exorcisms or conjurations, approximately 10 are intended to achieve success in a certain endeavor, another

⁴⁴⁸ TILL (n. 439) and n. 280.

⁴⁴⁹ KROPP III §§ 102, 229. Although Ethiopic magic connects the Sator-magic square with the five nails, direct attestation from Coptic magic has not yet appeared. Cf. J. ENGEMANN, JbAC 18 (1975) 24 n. 10; F. DOBBERAHN, Fünf äthiopische Zauberröllen, Diss. Bonn 1976, 135.

⁴⁵⁰ Cf. HOFMANN (n. 280) 492; MARCOVICH (n. 281). — It is still in use among the Copts today — G. VIAUD, Magie et coutumes populaires chez les Coptes d'Egypte, Sisteron 1978, 77. For some, still inexplicable, reason, the Copts consistently employ the forms ἀπετο and στερα. W. BELTZ, APF 24–25 (1976) 132, regards them „als eine Schöpfung sui generis“. J. BAUER, in: P. Rain. Cent., p. 288, as copyists' mistakes that then became the standard spellings (*Leitfehler*). S. EURINGER, Hist. Jahrb. 71 (1952) 339, derives the error from Ethiopian sources, where the words are similarly spelled. There confusion between two similar letters, *pait* and *danet*, resulted in the former being supplanted by the latter.

⁴⁵¹ KROPP III 222; G. PARÁSSOGLU, SP 13 (1974) 107f.

⁴⁵² KROPP III § 201.

⁴⁵³ KROPP III §§ 201 ff.

⁴⁵⁴ KROPP III, pp. 121–122.

⁴⁵⁵ The text published by WORRELL (n. 84) has dozens of nonsense words created for the nonce. — One interesting example of derived *voces magicae* are the Aramaic words Christ is said to have spoken on the cross: *eloi eloi lama sabachthani* (Matt. 27.46, Mark 15.34). These were much *en vogue* among Coptic magicians who even went so far as to personify them — KROPP III § 218. Like the Sator square they seem to be entirely lacking in Greek magical papyri — unless P. Ryl. IV 699.4 is an exception.

⁴⁵⁶ KROPP III, pp. 131–132; W. BELTZ, APF 29 (1983) 64 (quoted here in I 3c); MÜLLER (n. 222) indices. DELATTE, Anecd. Ath. I 125.1 ff., preserves evidence for the same tendency in late Greek magic: various component parts of the *ablanathanalba* palindrome + *el*: *ablathanael*, *blathanael*, *lathanael*, *athanael*.

⁴⁵⁷ F. MALTOMINI, SCO 29 (1979) 75–76, cites KROPP II XIII 77f., XIV 12f., XV 46, XXXII 60f.; cf. W. CRUM, JEA 20 (1934) 197.

15 are of amatory nature, and a dozen relate to problems of maternity. The remaining instructions fall into either of two large groups of ca. 40 apiece: phylacteries against diseases, wounds or bites from dangerous animals; *thymokatocha* and malicious imprecations intended to do one's enemies harm. Although only one mantic procedure is preserved, there is a whole group of Coptic *Sortes Sanctorum*.⁴⁵⁸

Other characteristic features of Coptic magical texts are the often elaborate and ornate drawings the multifarious symbols and the frequent use of ring letters.⁴⁵⁹ Striking and curious is the relative scarcity of Psalm verse amulets.⁴⁶⁰ Considering the impact of Christianity on Egyptian life and *mores* it is surprising that the Copts did not use the Psalms more in their magic.

Even after the Arab conquest in 641 A. D., although Arabic magic eventually superseded it for the most part, Coptic magic still continues to flourish in Egypt down to the present day.⁴⁶¹

6. Relics

From the days of the pharaohs, through the Greek occupation, the flowering of the Coptic language and literature, on through the centuries after the Arab conquest, magic was part and parcel of everyday life in Egypt. Consequently, both in antiquity and after, during the European Middle Ages, Egypt was considered the land of magic *par excellence*. Charlatans, diviners and magicians had only to claim an Egyptian origin for their recipes, spells and other secret knowledge to guarantee their success.⁴⁶² In most instances one can neither prove nor disprove their claims of origin. However, keen-eyed scholars have discovered in more recent European magic expressions and techniques which can, in fact, be directly traced to the magical papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt. Some of these relics may be briefly noted in conclusion here.⁴⁶³

⁴⁵⁸ S. DONADONI, *Testi magici copti*, in: ROCCATI and SILIOTTI, *Magia* 333.

⁴⁵⁹ Cf. P. Bad. V, *passim*.

⁴⁶⁰ V. STEGEMANN, *CdE* 11 (1936) 179; *Id.*, *Zaubertexte* (n. 435) p. 62, ad XLII; P. Bad. V 127, 129, 130.

⁴⁶¹ P. Bad. V 123, a Coptic-Arabic spell, written in the VIII c., harbings things to come. P. Bad. V, pp. 416–447, is a convenient collection of Arabic magic. Cf. N. HENEIN and T. BIANQUIS, *La magie par les Psaumes ... un manuscrit arabe chrétien d'Égypte* (= *Bibl. d'Études Coptes* 12), Cairo 1975; VIAUD (n. 450); and A. KHATER, *L'emploi des psaumes en thérapie avec formules en caractères cryptographiques*, *BSAC* 19 (1967–1968) 123–176 (18th c. bilingual MS).

⁴⁶² v. n. 3; WM. BRASHEAR, *ZPE* 33 (1979) 265–266.

⁴⁶³ Some of the usages in the papyri can be traced to Egyptian precedents. For example, the ancient Egyptian practice of writing a spell, washing off the words and drinking the liquid, thus imbibing the spell itself (e.g., AEMT nos. 28–29, 84 f.; R. RITNER, *Horus on the Crocodiles*, *Yale Egyptological Studies* 3, 1989, 106 ff.), continued in Greek (WORTMANN, *Texte* 102, 103), Coptic (KROPP *KZT* III, pp. 161–162), as well as in medieval European and Arabic magic (A. BARB, *Der Heilige und die Schlangen*, *Mitteil. d. Anthropol. Ges. in Wien* 82, 1953, 17.119; BUDGE, *Amulets*, 447–449; TRACHTENBERG, *Magie* 122–123). Cf. FRANZ, *Benediktionen* 454.2, on charms written on edible objects. FOWDEN, *Hermes*,

Various modes of divination using mirrors or bowls of liquid as reflecting surfaces and young boys as mediums, frequently mentioned in DMP and PGM, are attested in Greek manuscripts of the 15th–16th c.⁴⁶⁴ Even more recent attestation from 18 c. Egypt is presented by LANE.⁴⁶⁵ RÖHEIM,⁴⁶⁶ WESTERMARCK,⁴⁶⁷ KUHNER⁴⁶⁸ and WORRELL⁴⁶⁹ document cases in the 20th century.

Marmaraoth, a popular magic word probably deriving from Syriac for “Lord of Lords”, has been found in medieval European Latin prayers in a bowdlerized form.⁴⁷⁰

J. CORMACK identified echos of a spell on a curse tablet from the III–IV c. in a Greek manuscript of the 16th–17th centuries.⁴⁷¹

60.48, cites further literature, e.g. DORNSEIFF 20, 50; L. KÁKOSY, s.v. Horusstele, in: LÄ III (1980) 61; J. BORGHOUTS, s.v. Magie, in: LÄ III (1980) 1145; W. SPEYER, JbAC 8–9 (1965–1966) 92.

For other examples of Egyptian, Babylonian and Canaanite hold-overs in Greek, Jewish and later medieval European magic see: G. PETTINATO, Die Ölwahrsagung bei den Babyloniern, Rome 1966; A. A. BARB, Folklore 61 (1950) 18, Id., JWCI 29 (1966) notes 28, 32, Id., JWCI 27 (1964) 15, Id., JWCI 22 (1960) 370.32; T. GASTER, Orientalia 11 (1942) 70.2, Id., Folklore 1900, 129–162; TRACHTENBERG, Magic 156; H. KRONASSER, Die Sprache 7 (1961) 145 ff.; KRÄMER, Babylonisches Gut in syrischen Zaubertexten, Mitteil. d. altorient. Gesell. 4 (1928–1929) 108–121; W. FAUTH, SSM BN PDRSSA, ZDMG 120 (1970) 251 ff.; SCHOLEM, Gnosticism, 97–100.

The ancient Babylonian symbol for Jupiter (Z) A. A. BARB finds even in 17th-c. European magic – JWCI 16 (1953) 216 n. 48.

R. EISLER, Syrii Tumores. Die Krankheit der Göttin Išhara, in: Mél. syriens offerts à M. R. Dussaud, Paris 1939, 689–695, compares the appearance of a Hurrian deity in a Punic magic text 1000 years later to the appearance of Ereschkigal in Greek magical papyri. H. S. VERSNEL, ZPE 58 (1985) 267–268, discusses similarities between a Hittite spell and Ovid, *Fasti* VI 158 ff.

⁴⁶⁴ T. HOPFNER, Mittel- und neugriechische Lekano-, Lychno-, Katoptro- und Onychomantien, in: Studies ... Griffith 218–232. Cf. FRANZ, Benediktionen I 469; M.-Th. d’ALVERNY, Récréations monastiques. Les couteaux à manche d’ivoire, in: Recueil de Travaux offert à M. Clovis Brunel, Paris 1955, vol. I 10–32.

⁴⁶⁵ E. W. LANE, An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians 1842–1846 and 1890, vol. II 90–99, vol. III 204–206, quoted by GOODWIN (n. 91) and by HULL, Magic 21–22.

⁴⁶⁶ G. RÖHEIM, Spiegelzauber, Imago. Zeitschrift f. Anwendung der Psychoanalyse auf die Geisteswissenschaften 5 (Leipzig–Vienna 1917–1919, repr. Nendeln 1969) 63–120.

⁴⁶⁷ E. WESTERMARCK, Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilisation, London 1933, repr. Amsterdam 1973, 10 ff.

⁴⁶⁸ R. KUHNER, Bull. Soc. Egypt. Genève 3 (1980) 23–25, describes a lecanomantic séance involving a sorcerer and a boy medium which she observed in Egypt in 1976.

⁴⁶⁹ W. WORRELL, Ink, Oil and Mirror Gazing Ceremonies in Modern Egypt, JAOS 17 (1936) 37–53. Cf. BUDGE, Amulets 447; TRACHTENBERG Magic 219–222; DELATTE, La catoptromancie grecque, Liège–Paris 1932, esp. p. 127; M.-L. VON FRANZ, On Divination and Synchronicity, Toronto 1980.

⁴⁷⁰ FRANZ, Benediktionen II 56: *mermeut, mermeunt* – cf. PGM VII 482: μεριουτ, μερμεριουτ, 483: μερμεριουτ, 487: μαρμαριουτ. G. BICKELL, ZDMG 27 (1873) 609, finds it in the Eastern Syrian liturgy.

⁴⁷¹ CORMACK (n. 240) 29. Cf. DELATTE, Anecd. Athen. 97. Cf. V. MARTIN, Genava 6 (1928) 56–65 – or are these just platitudes, *loci communes*, as PREISENDANZ, Magie 118.59, suggests?

BARB suggested that the Egyptian city Alabastron may have inspired the name of a demon in modern Turkey called Alba(r)sti or Alkari(si).⁴⁷² He also convincingly adduced a Greco-Coptic origin for an Old High German spell which has parallels in the Balkans and Anglo-Saxon England.⁴⁷³ PREISENDANZ identified the same *vox magica* in *Schwundeschema* on P. Köln inv. 851 (VII c. A. D.) as in an 18th-c. Greek manuscript also in *Schwundeschema* published by DELATTE, *Anecd. Athen I*, 125, 11–13.⁴⁷⁴ MALTOMINI found the closest parallels to a VI–VII c. papyrus in German, English and Slavic charms of the 12th c. onward.⁴⁷⁵

DRIOTON found influence for a Coptic charm of the 10th c. in PGM IV 1716 (early IV c.).⁴⁷⁶

O. VON LEMM noted in BKU I 26, a Coptic paper codex of the 11th c., a recipe for causing dissension and strife among tipplers by tossing a dog-bitten stone into their wine. He could cite the same recipe from an Arabic text, and he speculated that both ultimately derive from a common Jewish source.⁴⁷⁷ In the meantime, a Greek papyrus in the Yale university collection has been published⁴⁷⁸ which F. MALTOMINI correctly identified as the same recipe, adding Latin, Greek and medieval European parallels and derivatives.⁴⁷⁹

Picatrix,⁴⁸⁰ an Arabic manual of Hellenistic magic, written in the mid-11th c., translated into Latin in 1252 and still cited in the 19th century, contains numerous reminiscences of magic, such as one finds in the Greek magical papyri. LEXA, I 168–169 cites examples.

At the beginning of this century a circular bronze plate and other objects used for divination dating to the III–IV c. A. D. were found in Pergamum. This bronze platter was adapted by the Arabs and transmitted as far East as Tibet and Indochina. It is often depicted in manuscripts and books from all over Europe and variously attributed to ancient Egyptian kings, Greek philosophers

⁴⁷² BARB, *JWCI* 29 (1966) 18.58–59.

⁴⁷³ BARB, *Folklore* 61 (1950) 26 f.

⁴⁷⁴ PREISENDANZ, *Überlieferung* 214.

⁴⁷⁵ F. MALTOMINI, *ZPE* 48 (1982) 149 ff. Cf. F. MALTOMINI, *SCO* 29 (1979) 82–83, for medieval incantations recalling a IV–V c. one.

⁴⁷⁶ E. DRIOTON, *Muséon* 59 (1946) 488–489.

⁴⁷⁷ VON LEMM no. XVII, pp. [15–16].

⁴⁷⁸ G. PARÁSSOGLOU, *Hellenica* 27 (1974) 251 f. = P. Yale II 134 = PGM CXXVII.

⁴⁷⁹ F. MALTOMINI, *CCC* 1 (1980) 374; *Id.*, *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 16 (Pisa 1986) 153–154; *Id.*, *ZPE* 68 (1987) 105–106.

⁴⁸⁰ Cf. H. RITTER and M. PLESSNER, *Picatrix* (= *Studies of the Warburg Institute* 27), London 1962, 267 ff. Cf. *Picatrix*, ein arabisches Handbuch hellenistischer Magie (= *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1921–1922*), Leipzig 1923; D. PINGREE, *Picatrix. The Latin Version of the Ghāyat Al-Ḥakim*, London 1986. – Supposedly the name *Picatrix* derives from Hippocrates or Harpocraton (H. and R. KAHANE, *Picatrix and the Talismans*, *Romance Phil.* 19, 1966, 574–593), just as Bilinas in Arabic magical texts is purportedly derived from Apollonius of Tyana (cf. LECLERC, *L'identité de Balinas et d'Apollonius de Tyane*, *Jnl. asiatique* 6. sér., 14, 1869, 111–131; T. HOPFNER, *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 4, 1931, 163–164; W. SPEYER, *JbAC* 17, 1974, 63.110). D. PINGREE, *op. cit.*, xv, however, is not convinced of the derivation of *Picatrix* from Harpocraton.

and Christian saints. In the Renaissance it appears as an astrological calendar and finally degenerates into a parlor game.⁴⁸¹

The ouroboros, the snake biting its own tail, thus forming a circle and representing completeness as well as eternity, was already known in ancient Egypt.⁴⁸² The Greeks and Romans took it over, as did European soothsayers and cabalists of the Middle Ages and Renaissance.⁴⁸³ It is still in vogue today.

M. PIEPER cites examples of Egyptian reminiscences alive in modern European culture and suggests that Paphnuzi, the popular name for the devil in Lower Austria, derives from the Egyptian proper name Paphnutius.⁴⁸⁴

If the names of the three wise men, which found ready empy in Coptic magical texts of the VII c. are, in fact, Coptic inspired interpolations in the *Excerpta latina barbari*, then Caspar, Melchior and Balthasar may be living witnesses to the magical tradition that was once a hall-mark of Greco-Egyptian culture.⁴⁸⁵

II. Survey

1. New Publications

a) PGM LXXXII–CXXX

The following texts are those published since PREISENDANZ–HENRICHs, PGM² and included in BETZ, GMP, whose numbering in Roman numerals is followed here. All dates (in Roman numerals) are A. D. unless otherwise specified.

⁴⁸¹ BARB, Survival 113.

⁴⁸² B. STRICKER (n. 330); R. RITNER, JNES 43 (1984) 219–220. H. JONES, The Gnostic Religion, Boston 1958, 1963, ch. II.2, citing Origen. *c. Cels.*, VI 25, 35, maintains the Babylonian deity Tiamat is the prototype for the ouroboros. For general discussion see L. KÁKOSY, s. v. Uroboros, in: LÄ VI (1986) 886–893.

⁴⁸³ PREISENDANZ, Uroboros; ID., Ein altes Ewigkeitssymbol als Signet und Druckermarkte, Gutenberg-Jahrbuch 1935, 143–149; W. DEONNA, La descendance du Saturne à l'ouroboros de Martianus Capella, SO 31 (1955) 170–189; C. PRÉAUX, Saturne à l'ouroboros, Hommages à W. Deonna (= Coll. Latomus 28), Brussels 1957, 394 ff.; W. DEONNA, Saturne à l'ouroboros de Martianus Capella, Volume du 150me anniversaire de la Soc. Nat. Antiq. de France, Paris 1955, 103 ff.; ID., Ouroboros (n. 330); NAVEH and SHAKED, Amulets, p. 204; G. GOLDSCHMIDT, Antaios 7 (1965–1966) 152 ff.; W. DEONNA, Le symbolisme de l'acrobatie antique (= Coll. Latomus 9), Brussels 1953, 132 f.; E. NEUMANN, Ursprungsgeschichte des Bewußtseins, Zürich 1949.

⁴⁸⁴ M. PIEPER, Jahrb. d. DAI 48 (1933) 54, ID., MDAIK 5 (1934) 136.

⁴⁸⁵ W. M. BRASHEAR, CdE 58 (1983) 297–310.

For more relics see: PREISENDANZ, Akephalos; MORENZ und SCHUBART (n. 331); GRUMACH (n. 332); BARB and DALY (n. 260); W. S. and A. M. BLACKMANN, An Ancient Egyptian Symbol as a Modern Egyptian Amulet, Annuaire de l'Inst. de Philologie et d'Hist. Orientales 3 (1935) 91–95; D. PINGREE, JWCI 43 (1980) 3 ff. (on the Greek magical papyri as source material for the Arabic manual of magic entitled Ghayat al-Hakim).

- LXXXII P. Vars. 4: more likely a treatise on plants or trees.
- LXXXIII P. Princ. II 107: Christian fever amulet, IV/V, unknown provenance = SM 29.
- LXXXIV P. Princ. II 76: *agōgē*, III, unknown provenance = SM 40.
- LXXXV P. Harris 56 = PACH² 1602: not magic, but an anthology of epigrams.
- LXXXVI P. Reinach II 89: formulary for a phylactery; hemeromancy, horomancy, IV, unknown provenance = SM 80.
- LXXXVII P. Erlangen 37: fever amulet, IV, unknown provenance = SM 14.
- LXXXVIII P. Princ. III 159: fever amulet, III/IV, unknown provenance = SM 11.
- LXXXIX P. Lund IV 12: phylactery, IV, unknown provenance = SM 13.
- XC P. Med. inv. 23 (Aegyptus 33, 1953, 57–62): formulary probably worn as an amulet, IV/V, unknown provenance = SM 92.
- XCI P. Michael. 27: fever amulet, III/IV, unknown provenance = SM 9.
- XCII P. Merton II 58: good luck charm, III, unknown provenance = SM 63.
- XCIII P. Ant. II 65: possibly a manual on sacrificial procedures, V, Antinoe = SM 100.
- XCIV P. Ant. II 66: iatromagical prescriptions, V, Antinoe = SM 94.
- XCV P. Ant. III 140: iatromagical prescriptions, V/VI, Antinoe = SM 99.
- XCVI P. Palau Rib. inv. 126 (CdE 43, 1968, 111): amulet, IV/V, unknown prov.
- XCVII P. Köln inv. 1886 (BonnJbb 168, 1968, 110): iatromagical prescriptions, III/IV, Oxyrhynchus = SM 78.
- XCVIII P. Köln inv. 1982 (ibid., 107): exorcism, III, Oxyrhynchus = SM 7.
- XCIX P. Köln inv. 2283 (ibid., 105): amulet, V/VI, unknown provenance = SM 33.
- C P. Köln inv. 2861 (ibid., 102 f.): amulet, V/VI, unknown provenance = SM 20.
- CI P. Köln inv. 3323 (ibid., 85 f): *agōgē*, V, Upper Egypt, north of Assiut = SM 45.
- CII P. Oxy. 2753: *praxis* and *epiklesis*; purpose uncertain, IV, Oxyrhynchus = SM 90.
- CIII P. Athen. 70: formulary for an amatory *praxis*, II, unknown provenance = SM 73.
- CIV PUG I 6: fever amulet, III, unknown provenance = SM 4.
- CV P. Berol. 21227 (ZPE 17, 1975, 25): invocation to Sarapis, III/IV, unknown provenance = SM 87.
- CVI P. Berol. 21165 (ibid., 28): fever amulet, III/IV, Fayum? = SM 10.
- CVII P. Köln inv. 5512 (ZPE 19, 1975, 255): *agōgē*, III/IV, provenance unknown = SM 44.
- CVIII P. Köln inv. 5514 (ibid., 249): *agōgē*, III/IV, provenance unknown = SM 43.
- CIX P. Oxy. inv. 50.4B 23/J (1–3) b (TURNER, Marrow) love charm, ca. 300 A.D., Oxyrhynchus = SM 56.
- CX P. Wash. Univ. inv. 181 (BASP 13, 1976, 176): astrological text.

- CXI P. Wash. Univ. inv. 139 (ibid., 178): directions for drawing magical figures, I, provenance unknown = SM 70.
- CXII P. Wash. Univ. inv. 242 (ibid., 180): amulet, IV/V, provenance unknown = SM 16.
- CXIII P. Amst. I 15: scorpion amulet, V, provenance unknown = SM 17.
- CXIV P. Yale II 130: formulary for a phylactery against demons and diseases, III, Aboutig (?) = SM 84.
- CXV P. Gaál, (RITOÓK, *Antik Tanulmányok* [Studia Antiqua] 22.1, 1975, 30–43; DANIEL, ZPE 25, 1977, 153): fever amulet, IV, provenance unknown = SM 12.
- CXVI P. Laur. inv. 54 (ZPE 26, 1977, 245): invocation to Seth-Typhon, VI, provenance unknown
- CXVII P. Mon. Gr. inv. 216 (Papiri Letterari Greci – v. n. 133 – no. 34): formulary, I B. C., provenance unknown = P. Mon. II 28 = SM 71.
- CXVIII P. Palau Rib. inv. 200 (SP 17, 1978, 85): forgery.
- CXIX P. Laur. III 57: formulary, III, provenance unknown = SM 82.
- CXX P. Laur. III 58: amulet, III, provenance unknown = SM 1.
- CXXI P. Med. inv. 71.58 (Aegyptus 59, 1979, 63): iatromagical (?) list of negative mental and physical conditions, III/IV, provenance unknown = SB XVI 12222.
- CXXII P. Berol. 21243 (ZPE 33, 1979, 261): *praxeis* and formularies for *agōgai* and headache charm, I B. C./I A. D., Abusir el-Melek = SM 72.
- CXXIII–CXXV P. Mil. Vogl. inv. 2145–1262 (SCO 29, 1979, 55–124): *praxeis* and formularies, V/VI, provenance unknown = SM 96–98.
- CXXVI P. Laur. IV 148: formulary for a *diakopos*, V, provenance unknown = SM 95.
- CXXVII P. Yale II 134: iatromagical prescriptions and jokes, III/IV, provenance unknown = SM 76.
- CXXVIII P. Heid. G. 1386 (SCO 31, 1986, 111): formulary for a Christian fever amulet, V, provenance unknown = SM 28.
- CXXIX P. Berol. 21260 (ibid., 115): directions for making an amulet, III Fayum? = SM 81.
- CXXX P. Mich, inv. 6666 (ZPE 50, 1983, 147): fever amulet, III, provenance unknown = SM 3.

b) Additional Texts

The following list contains magical papyri, ostraca, tablai and *lamellae* from Egypt not included in either PGM or BETZ, GMP. Previous lists of papyri published since PGM are found in PACK², p. 2; PREISENDANZ, *Magie* 112.16; TRAVERSA, *Aegyptus* 33 (1953) 61–62; TURNER, *Marrow* 169.1; J. FACAL and A. GONZÁLEZ, *Repertorium Litterarum Graecarum*, Madrid 1982, 357–385; M.-H. MARGANNE, ZPE 65 (1986) 175.

Not included in the following summary are: SB V 9125 (a magical inscription on bronze of unknown provenance); the horoscope ring published in ZPE 39 (1980) 155–158 – cf. ZPE 55 (1984) 18; PUG I 41 (the names of the 40

martyrs of Sebaste, identified by D. HAGEDORN, ZPE 55, 1984, 146–153; even though the text was probably intended as an amulet, the 40 martyrs of Sebaste are associated more with Coptic than with Greek magic); P. BENOIT, J. MILIK, R. DE VAUX, *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, Oxford 1961, vol. II no. 157 (vso of 171, v. plates C and CVI), a fragment of Greek magic on paper dating from the X c. A.D., now in the Palestine Archeological Museum in Jerusalem.

No attempt has been made to include all the papyri and parchments such as P. Laur. III (= P. Flor. V) 123 or P. Berol. 21718–21720 (BRASHEAR, *Magica Varia* no. 4) bearing *figurae magicae* but no significant text. See HORAK, where these are catalogued, analyzed and discussed.

Pagan:

Formularies and Instructions:

O. Cair. inv.? (*olim* O. Mich. inv. 9883; ZPE 16, 1975, 274): directions for preparing a spell or amulet (?), III, Karanis = SM 68.

O. Ashm. Shelton 194: formularies for scorpion amulets, IV?, Oxyrhynchus? = SM 89.

P. Oxy. inv. 72/65 (a) (MAAS – n. 142); formulary for amulets against inflammations, IV, Oxyrhynchus = SM 88.

P. Lit. Lond. 171: iatromagical recipes, III, unknown provenance = SM 83.

P. Noviomagensis inv. 2: *lychnomanteia*, IV/V, unknown provenance, ZPE 58 (1985) 93–95 = SM II 93.

P. Oxy. 3298: formulary for an *oneiretesia*, Oxyrhynchus, III = SM 85.

P. Oxy. 3068: note about an amulet, Oxyrhynchus, III, ZPE 19 (1975) 280 = SM 5.

P. Genav. inv. 186: formulary with charms against insomnia and sciatica, unknown provenance, II, SCO 36 (1986) 293–298 = SM 74.

P. Genav. inv. 293: formulary for unknown purposes, unknown provenance, II, SCO 36 (1986) 298–308 = SM 75.

P. Carlsberg 52: invocation of Marmaraoth, V/VI, unknown provenance, BRASHEAR, *Magica Varia* no. 1.

P. dem. Louvre E 3229: *charitesion*, III/IV, Thebes, *ibid.* *Magica Varia* no. 3.

P. Berol. inv. 11734: formulary with *charitesia*, phylactery, etc., III, unknown provenance, APF 36 (1990) 49 ff.

P. Oxy. LVI 3834: formulary (promoting conception, inducing prophetic dreams, *thymokatochon*, victory against legal adversaries, against fever), III, Oxyrhynchus.

P. Oxy. LVI 3835: formulary with five spells for catching and identifying thieves, III/IV, Oxyrhynchus.

BGU IV 1024–1027, S. 11: formulary with two *charitesia*, spells for victory, love, *phimotikon*, IV/V, Hermupolis, APF 38 (1992) 19 ff.

P. Berol. 21336: formulary for inducing dreams or preparing an amulet (?), IV, unknown provenance, BRASHEAR (n. 374).

P. Oxy. 3931: formulary for making a person invisible, *figurae magicae*, other damaged formularies, III/IV, Oxyrhynchus.

Sortes Astrampsychi:

P. Lugd.-Bat. XXV 8 = SM 18.

P. Gent inv. 85 vso (CLARYSSE and STEWART – n. 374).

P. Berol. 21341, 21358 (n. 374).

Applied Magic:

P. Palau Rib. inv. 3 (*olim* G. Michailides): amulet of general character, IV, Fayum (?), Aegyptus 32 (1952) 45–53 = SM 69.

P. Rain. Cent. 39: 'Testamentum Salomonis', V/VI, unknown provenance.

P. Bon. 3: Homeromancy, II/III, unknown provenance = SM 77.

P. Laur. IV 149: fragment, too small for evaluation; IV, unknown provenance = SM 91.

P. Oxy. 3B 29F, col. I: Egyptian text in Greek letters; col. II: fragmentary *voces magicae* familiar from PGM, ca. 150, Oxyrhynchus, JEA 28 (1942) 20–31; OSING (n. 434).

P. Haun. III 50: amulet (?), III/IV, unknown provenance = SM 8.

PUG I 7: magic (?), III, unknown provenance.

P. Ryl. II 247: fragments, III, unknown provenance.

P. Ryl. IV 699: *voces magicae*, III, unknown provenance.

O. Bodl. 2180: *thymokatochon*, IV/V, Thebes = SM 58.

O. Antinoe = Antinoe (1965–1968): Missione Arch. in Egitto dell'Univ. Roma, Rome 1974, pp. 121–122: ostrakon with invocation and *voces magicae* in rhombus form, IV/V = SM 65.

O. Edfu I 227–228: *voces magicae* (or school exercises?), Byzantine, Edfu.

SB III 6127: bone amulet, no date, no provenance given.

SB X 10702: amuletic bracelet, IV, Sheik Zoued = SEG 24.1199.

O. Köln 409: *agōgē*, III/IV, Oxyrhynchus, BonnJbb 168, 1968, 80 f. = SM 51.

O. Medinet Madi = A. VOGLIANO, Secondo Rapporto degli Scavi Medinet Madi, Milan 1937, pp. 49 ff., n. 15: magic (?), no date given: *ibid.*, no. 16: *ablanathanalba* in *Schwundeschema*, II = SM 67.

T. Louvre inv. AF 6716: curse on grave robbers, IV, Saqqara (?), ZPE 14 (1974) 71 ff. = SB XII 11247 = SM 52.

SB I 3573: *Bous* amulet, no date, no provenance given.

T. Moen inv. 629: *Bous* amulet, no date, no provenance given, ZPE 55, 114.

P. Monac. (ÄS 6792): *agōgē*, IV, unknown provenance, SAK 19 (1992) 79–109.

P. Oxy. LVI 3831: Homeromancy, III/IV, Oxyrhynchus.

Christian:⁴⁸⁶

P. Vindob. G 36506: amulet (?), Byzantine, unknown provenance, ZPE 40 (1980) 95 = SM XVI 12658.

⁴⁸⁶ The term 'Christian' is a rather vague and arbitrary designation for some of these texts. F. MALTOMINI, ZPE 48 (1982) 150.3, cites bibliography for the debate on this problem. Not included in this list are O. Bodl. 2161 and 2162, which may be either liturgical or magical but are too fragmentary to make any decision possible. Likewise, not included

- P. Fuad inv. 203: prayer against evil spirits, I/II, unknown provenance, *Revue biblique* 58 (1951) 549 ff.
- P. Lugd.-Bat XIX 20; fever amulet, VI, unknown provenance = SM 35.
- P. IFAO III 50: fever amulet with Jewish elements, IV/V, unknown provenance = SM 19.
- P. Köln inv. 851: fever amulet, VII, unknown provenance, *Philologus* 107 (1963) 157–161 = VAN HAELEST, no. 900 = SM 34.
- P. Ryl. III 471: amulet, V, unknown provenance = VAN HAELEST 984.
- P. Ups. 8: curse of the Christian Sabinus, VI, unknown provenance = VAN HAELEST 1000 = SM 59.
- P. Turner 49: fever amulet, V/VI, unknown provenance = SM 31.
- P. Berol. 21911: amulet against rheumy eyes, V, unknown provenance = SM 26.
- P. Heid. inv. G. 1101: formulary for a charm against rheumy eyes, V/VI, *Fustat, ZPE* 48 (1982) 149–170 = SB XVI 12719 = SM 32.
- P. Matr. inv. 5: amulet (?), V/VI, unknown provenance, *SP* 19 (1980) 61–63 = SB XVI 12535.
- P. Amst. I 26: fever amulet, IV/V, unknown provenance, *ZPE* 5 (1970) 58 = SM X 10762 = SM 22.
- P. Köln inv. 521 a: amulet, VI, unknown provenance, *BonnJbb* 168 (1968) 106 = VAN HAELEST 899.
- BKT VI, pp. 129–130: amulet, no date, no provenance given.
- P. Haun. III 51: fever amulet, V, unknown provenance = SM 23.
- P. Ist. Vitelli inv. 319: amulet, V, unknown provenance, *Studia Florentina* (n. 224) pp. 281–287 = VAN HAELEST 753.

are P. Oxy. 407: “A Christian Prayer”, which could conceivably have been worn as an amulet, and P. Amst. inv. 88, published in *SP* 9 (1970) 99–100 = VAN HAELEST, no. 848 («*selon moi, probablement une amulette*»). Perhaps an answer to an oracle question? Not included are amulets and charms consisting solely of Psalm or other Bible verses. For their use in Greek magic see: L. AMUNDSEN, *SO* 24 (1945) 141 f.; P. COLLART, *Psaumes et amulettes*, *Aegyptus* 14 (1934) 463–467; C. PRÉAUX, *Une amulette chrétienne*, *CdE* 10 (1935) 361–370; E. H. KASE, *P. Princ.* II 107; A. BÖHLIG and K. KORTENBEUTEL, *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 415 f.; I. CECCHETTI in: *Miscellanea G. Belvederi*, Vatican City 1954–1955, 557–578; H. MULDER, *De Canon en het volksgeloof, Gereformeerd theologisch tijdschrift* 54 (1954) 97–138; VAN HAELEST, p. 414 s. v. *amulette*; A. BIONDI, *SP* 20 (1981) 93 ff.; P. CRASTA, *SP* 18 (1979) 31 ff.; K. ALAND, *Repertorium der griech. christlichen Papyri* I, Berlin–N.Y., 325 ff.

On Psalm verses in Arabic magic: N. HENEIN and T. BIANQUIS (n. 461).

In Coptic magic: V. STEGEMANN, *Muséon* 51 (1938) 82–83; ID., *Zaubertexte* (n. 435), no. XLII.

In Jewish magic: TRACHTENBERG, *Magic* 109. In 19th-c. Syriac magic: C. KAYSER, *Gebrauch von Psalmen zur Zauberei*, *ZDMG* 42 (1888) 456–462. Epigraphic attestations: D. FEISSEL, *BCH* 108 (1984) 471–479. In general: PFISTER, s. v. *Bibulamulett*, in: *HDA I* (1927) 1219–1220. As far as the other Christian magical texts are concerned, I have been somewhat more exclusive than VAN HAELEST, p. 414 s. v. *amulette*, and limited the selection here to prayers for specific occasions, omitting invocations of a more general nature.

- P. Louvre E 7332 bis: prayer for health, VII, unknown provenance, BRASHEAR, *Magica Varia* no. 2.
- P. Vindob. G. 42406: general amulet, V, unknown provenance, WS 100 (1987) 185–199.
- P. Heid. inv. Lat. 5: phylactery, V/VI, Fustat, ZPE 74 (1988) 253–265 = SM 36.
- P. Köln VI 257: fever amulet, IV/V, unknown provenance = SM 21.
- P. Prag. I 6: fever amulet, V, unknown provenance = SM 25.
- P. Hamb. I 22: malediction, IV, Panopolis = SM 60.
- P. Bon. 9: phylactery (against eye diseases?), IV–V, prov. unknown = VAN HÆLST, no. 893.
- P. Vindob. G. 16685: amulet against punishment, V, prov. unknown, ZPE 30 (1978) 209–210; cf. H. LOEBENSTEIN, H. HARRAUER, *Katalog d. Sonderausstellung: 100 Jahre Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, Vienna 1983, no. 34, where it is designated as an amulet = SM 62.
- P. Vindob. G. 19931: amulet, V, unknown provenance, WESSELY, *Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme II*, *Patrologia Orientalis* 18 (1924) 435 no. 5.
- P. Berol. 21337: amulet with angel names, isopsephistic numbers, VI, unknown provenance, BRASHEAR (n. 374).
- K. TREU, J. DIETHART, *Griechische literarische Papyri christlichen Inhaltes* (= MPER XVII), Vienna 1993, no. 10.
- P. Coll. Youtie II 91: formulary,⁴⁸⁷ V–VI, unknown provenance = SM 30.
- P. Amst. inv. 88: amulet, VI/VII, unknown provenance, SP 9 (1970), 100, cf. K. TREU, *APF* 22–23 (1974) 387.
- BIFAO 6 (1908) 61–63: curse, IV, unknown provenance = BJÖRCK, *Fluch*, p. 47, no. 25 = VAN HÆLST, no. 739 = SM 61.
- T. priv. coll. Cologne: phylactery for a house, VII/VIII, Fayum, BonnJbb 168 (1968) 107 = VAN HÆLST, no. 744.
- P. Vindob. G. 17268: phylactery, V, either from the Arsinoite or Hermupolite nome, *Tyche* 1 (1986) 3–4.
- P. Berol. 21337: amulet with angel names and numbers, VI, unknown provenance, BRASHEAR (n. 374).

Lamellae:⁴⁸⁸

- AUDOLLENT, *Defix.*, no. 38: *thymokatachon*, III, Alexandria = SM 54.
- P. Genav. inv. 269 (V. MARTIN, *Genava* 6, 1928, 56–64): *agōgē*, III/IV, unknown provenance = JORDAN no. 161 = SM 38.

⁴⁸⁷ Cf. MALTOMINI, *op. cit.*, 151.4, on the scarcity of Christian formularies, and PGM CXXVIII.

⁴⁸⁸ Cf. D. JORDAN, GRBS (1985) 188–191, where most of these *lamellae* are further described; S. EITREM ap. W. EMERY, *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul I*, Cairo 1938, 405–407, for a gold *lamella* from Nubia, re-edited by R. KOTANSKY and R. MERKELBACH ap. SM II, p. 158.

Inedita are listed in II 1 c.

- PSI I 28: *agōgē*, III/IV, Eshmunein = JORDAN no. 151 = SM 42.
 SN I 4947: *agōgē*, III, unknown provenance = JORDAN no. 169 = SM 39.
 SB III 6224–6225: *agōgē*, I, unknown provenance = JORDAN nos. 158, 159 = SM 37.
 SB IV 7452: *agōgē*, III, Hawaret el Maqta, SEG 8.574 = JORDAN no. 153 = SM 46.
 GUÉRAUD, Charme de haine, sur tablette de plomb, in: Mél. Maspero II 206 f., III, Oxyrhynchus. JORDAN no. 154 = SM 55.
 P. Reinach II 88: *thymokatochon*, IV/V, unknown provenance. JORDAN, no. 162 = SM 57.
 T. Louvre inv. E 27145: *agōgē*, Antinoopolis?, III/IV, BIFAO 76 (1976) 213–223; SEG 26.1717; JORDAN no. 152 = SM 47.
 T. Köln 1 and 2: *agōgai*, Oxyrhynchus, III/IV, BonnJbb 168 (1968) 56 f.; JORDAN nos. 155, 156 = SM 49, 50.
 T. Köln 4: curse, IV, Oxyrhynchus, BonnJbb 168 (1968) 108; JORDAN no. 157 = SM 53.
 T. Köln 7: fever amulet,⁴⁸⁹ Oxyrhynchus, IV, BonnJbb 168, 104 = SM 2.
 T. Köln 8: good luck amulet, Oxyrhynchus, VI, BonnJbb 168, 106 = VAN HAAELST no. 903 = SM 64.
 T. Moen (*olim* HAKKERT):⁴⁹⁰ *agōgē*, III/IV, Fayum, ZPE 4 (1969) 187–191 = SM 56.
 P. Mich. inv. 6925: *agōgē*, II/III = MARTINEZ = SM 48.
 T. priv. coll.: *agōgē*, III/IV, unknown provenance (v. n. 341), ZPE 24 (1977) 89 ff. = JORDAN no. 189 = SM 41.

c) *Descripta, Inedita, Incerta*

Papyri:

- PSI XV 1496: 6.7 × 18.7 cm.; fragmentary formulary written on both sides. *Verso*: directions for drawing an 8-pointed star and a bird with illustrations of both; *voces magicae*. *Recto*: directions for drawing a magical figure with illustration; *voces magicae* of the *maskelli-logos*; *ablanathanalba* palindrome; remnants of an *agōgē*. Cf. PREISENDANZ, Überlieferung 210–211 (P. Ist. Vitelli inv. 615; more recent information I owe to M. MANFREDI, *per litt.* March 6, 1986).
 P. Ist. Vitelli inv. 371: *figura magica* of Seth, *voces magicae* and perhaps instructions for a *praxis*. Found in 1932 in Ali Algamm. Cf. PREISENDANZ, op. cit. 211.
 J. Rylands Library Bulletin 61 (1979) 295: fragments mentioned by A. BOWMAN and J. THOMAS.

⁴⁸⁹ These tablets, along with T. Köln 6 (Aramaic), published by F. KLEIN-FRANKE, ZPE 7 (1971) 47–52, are silver, according to D. JORDAN, Athen. Mitt. 95 (1980) 227–228.12.

⁴⁹⁰ Information supplied by P. SIJPESTEIJN.

- P. Berol. 11520: 53 lines in two columns; III c. Cf. PREISENDANZ, PGM II, p. 188. While the papyrus in fact mentions digging and burning, and a section heading reads ἄλλο ἵπτασθαι, the otherwise extremely lacunose text reads more like a narrative and should be classified under the *incerta*.
- P. Princeton inv. AM 14601 B: extremely fragmentary, nothing definitely ascertainable as distinctly magic. Should be classified under the *incerta*. (I thank B. KRAUT for bringing this papyrus to my attention.)
- P. Mich.: scorpion amulet similar to PGM 2,3 and XXVIII a–c (R. STEWART, *per litt.* January 21, 1986).
- PSI inv. 1954 ined.: Quaderni dell'Accademia delle Arti del Disegno 1: Papiri dell'Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli', Florence 1988, p. 30, no. 29. Described as a magical papyrus (5.3 × 7.8 cm.) bearing figures, *characteres* and magical words with *Brillenbuchstaben*.
- P. Oxy. 2436 vso: "parts of two columns of a magical spell of the second to third centuries".
- P. Berol. 21300: *incertum*, II–IV c., Hermupolis, BRASHEAR (n. 374).
- P. Oxy. 3976 vso.: *voces magicae*?
- P. Berol. 21360: formulary, III/IV, Hermupolis.
- K. WÖRPER, 7 Magical Papyri from Kellis (forthcoming).

Lamellae:

- Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland: inv. no. 57.1961: silver with approx. 37 lines; conjuration against epilepsy.
- Walters Art Gallery, inv. no. 57.1962: silver; Aramaic and Greek.
- Walters Art Gallery, inv. no. 57.1960: gold; unread.
- Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: inv. no. 1921.1122: 2.8 × 3.6 cm., no meaningful text.
- Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: inv. no. 1921.1121: 6.1 × 11.5 cm., 36 densely packed lines. Both this and the foregoing tablet were presented to the museum by J. G. MILNE and were presumably acquired in Egypt. (Information on the foregoing *lamellae* was kindly put at my disposal by R. KOTANSKY, *per litt.*, February 26, 1986.)
- D. JORDAN, *Hesperia* 54 (1985) 223.16, mentions other tablets in the Perkins Library of Duke University; 235.20: in the Cologne collection; 251: in the Ashmolean museum; cf. *Id.*, *GRBS* 26 (1985) 189–191, where he cites other *inedita* from Egypt.
- R. KOTANSKY, *Incantations and Prayers for Salvation on Inscribed Greek Amulets*, in: *Magika Hiera* 107–137, and C. FARAONE, *The Agonistic Context of Early Greek Binding Spells*, *ibid.*, 3–32, mention other *inedita*.

2. Provenances

Although PREISENDANZ' lists in PGM II, p. xxii and APF 8 (1927) 165–166, claim to indicate both *Herkunfts- und Aufbewahrungsorte*, i.e. provenances and present locations, they actually give only the latter, with nothing

but an occasional reference to the provenance. Here for the first time then is a listing of the magical papyri, ostraca and *lamellae* according to the places they were said to have been found.

Aboutig: CXIV

Abusir el Melek: CXXII

Alexandria: AUDOLLENT, Defix. no. 38.

Antinoe: 13 a?; XCIII–XCV; T. Louvre inv. E. 27145 (BIFAO 76, 1976, 213 f.); the ostrakon published in: Antinoe: Missione Archeol. (v. supra p. 3480) pp. 121–123.

Arsinoe: 10; P. Vindob. G. 17268 (Tyche 1, 1986, 3–4)?

Assiut, north of: CI

Edfu: O. Edfu I 227–228

Fayum: XXXIV, XXXVI, LIX, 21, CVI?, CXXIX?, Aegyptus 32,45 f.?; WORTMANN, Texte 107; ZPE 4 (1969) 187–191.

Fustat: P. Heid. G. 1101 (ZPE 48, 1982, 149–170); P. Heid. inv. Lat. 5 (= SM 36).

Hawara: XXXII, XXXII a, LXVIII

Hawaret el Maqta: SB IV 7452

Heracleopolis Magna: XVIII a, 9

Hermupolis: XIX a, XXII a, LXIII, 17?, Ostr. 1; PSI I 28; BGU IV 1024–1027 (p. 11: APF 38, 1992, 19 ff.; pp. 22–23: *ibid.*, pp. 24–25).

Karanis: O. Mich. inv. 9883 (ZPE 16, 1975, 274)

Kom Mähdiye: XVIII b

Medinet Madi: VOGLIANO, 2. Rapporto degli scavi (v. supra p. 3480) nos. 15, 16.

Memphis: VI, XL

Oxyrhynchos: XXIII, XXIV, XXV a, XXVI–XXIX, XXXV, LXVI, LXXXI, XCVII, XCVIII, CII, CIX; 1, 2, 4, 5 a,b, 6 a–c, 7, 8 a,b, 19, Ostr. 2; P. Amst. I 26; P. Oxy. 3068, 3298; SB X 10762?; O. Ashm. Shelton 194; SM 88; O. Köln inv. 409 (BonnJbb 168, 1968, 80); Tab. Köln inv. 1, 2, 4, 7, 8 (*ibid.*, 56 ff.); P. Oxy. LVI 3831, 3834, 3835; GUÉRAUD in: *Mél. Maspero* II 206 f.; P. Oxy. 3 B 29 F (JEA 28, 1942, 20–31); P. Oxy. 3931; P. Berol. 21358 (v. n. 374).

Panopolis: P. Hamb. I 22.

Saqqara: T. Louvre AF 6716 (ZPE 14, 1974, 71 ff.)?

Sheik Zoued: SB X 10702

Tebtynis: XXXIII

Thebes: IV, V, V a, XII, XIII, XIV, O. Bodl. 2180.

unknown: I, II, III, VII, VIII–XIc, XV–XVII, XIX b, XX, XXI, XXII b, XXV b–d, XXXVII–XXXIX, XLI–LVIII, LXII, LXIV, LXV, LXVII, LXIX–LXXII, LXXXVII, 2 a, 3, 5 c, d, 6 d, 11–16, 18, 20, 22, 23; Ostr. 3; Tab. 1–2 a–c; as well as all the others published since BETZ, GMP and not otherwise indicated under any locality.

Ostraca 4 and 5 in PGM, vol. II, p. 235, being non-Egyptian in origin, are incongruities in this list.

The provenances of the oracle questions are listed in I 3 a.

3. Present Locations

Major changes in PREISENDANZ' list of *Aufbewahrungsorte* are necessitated by the fact that most of the Oxyrhynchus papyri in voll. I–XLI of that series have since been distributed to various universities, colleges, institutes and libraries in N. America and Europe⁴⁹¹, hence invalidating PREISENDANZ' listing under "Oxford". Otherwise, PREISENDANZ' indications are repeated verbatim here. For the papyri published since then, I have tried to verify the information where it was incomplete or questionable as time permitted.

Nos. LXXXII–CXXX refer to GMP.

Alexandria, Egypt

Greco-Roman Museum:

XV

Allentown, Pennsylvania

Muhlenberg College:

P. Oxy. 1077 = 4

Amsterdam, Holland

Papyrologisch Instituut:

CXIII, P. Amst. I 26.

Bijbels Museum, Herengracht 366:

P. Amst. inv. 88 (SP 9, 200)

Demarée coll.: ZPE 24, 1977, 89 f.

Ann Arbor, Michigan

University Library:

XXXIV, LVII, LXIX–LXXI, CXXX; P. Mich. inv. 6925 = SM 48.

Athens, Greece

Archaeological Society:

CIII

Baarn, Holland

Moen collection:

ZPE 55, 1984, 114; ZPE 4, 1969, 187–191.

Barcelona, Spain

Seminario di Papirologia de San Cugat del Valles:

XCVI, CXVIII, P. Palau Rib. inv. 3 (= Aegyptus 32, 1952, 45–53 = Stud. Pap. 6, 1967, 109 f.)

Berkeley, California:

Bancroft Library: XXXIII

Berlin, Germany

Staatl. Museen:

954 9

955 XVIII a

956 XVIII b

5025 I

5026 II

6096 (BKT VI, p. 129)

6751 20

⁴⁹¹ v. R. A. COLES, Location-List of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri (= Graeco-Roman Memoirs n. 59), London 1974.

7318 XXXc
 7319 XXXc
 7504 XX
 9566 XXI
 9873 XXIIa
 9909 XIX a
 11734 APF 36 (1990) 49
 11737 XIX b
 11858 23
 13300 XXXe
 13302 XXXd
 13304 XXXf
 13307 LXXV
 13412 = SB I 4947
 13895 XXIIb
 2148 SB I 3573
 17202 APF (1995)
 21227 CV
 21165 CVI
 21243 CXXII
 21260 CXXIX
 21230 (ZPE 17, 1975, 31 f. = P. Turner 49)
 21336 (n. 374)
 21337 (n. 374)
 21341 (n. 374)
 21358 (n. 374)
 21360 ined.
 21911 (ZPE 17, 1975, 30)
 21269 (APF 32, 1986, 29)
 BGU 1024–1027 (APF 38, 1992, 19 f.)

Birmingham, England

Woodbroke College:

LXXVII and 24

Bologna, Italy

University Library:

P. Bon. 3

P. Bon. 9

Brussels, Belgium

Musée du Cinquantenaire:

inv. 6390 LX

inv. 6391 LX

P. Oxy. 1566 LXXXI

P. Oxy. 924 5a

Budapest, Hungary

Priv. Coll. E. Gaál:

CXV

Cairo, Egypt

Egyptian Museum:

10263 13

10434 XXVc

10563 LIX

10696 5c

67188 13a

60139 LXVI
 60140 LXVII
 60636 LXVIII
 47411 XXIV a
 47412 XXIV b
 41378 } XXV a
 47566 }
 47442 XXXI b

SB IV 7452

tabella: Mél. Maspero II 206 f.

O. Cairo. = SM 68.

Société Fouad I de Papyrologie:

inv. no. 203 (Rev. bibl. 58, 1951, 549 f.)

Institut Français d'Arch. Orient.:

PIFAO III 50; BIFAO 6 (1908) 61

Cambridge, England

University Library:

LXXIII, XCI

Cologne, Germany

Institut f. Altertumskunde:

XCVII—CI, CVII, CVIII; P. Köln VI 257

inv. 851 (Philologus 107, 1963, 157)

inv. 521 a (BonnJbb 168, 1968, 106)

inv. 409 (ibid., 80 f.)

T. Köln 1, 2, 4, 7, 8 (ibid., 56 f.)

priv. coll. (ibid., 107)

Copenhagen, Denmark

Univ. of Copenhagen, Institute of Classics:

P. Haun. III 50, 51

C. Niebuhr Inst. of Near Eastern Studies: BRASHEAR, Magica Varia no. 1.

Dublin, Republic of Ireland

Chester Beatty Library:

XCII

Erlangen, Germany

Universitätsbibliothek:

LXXXVII

Florence, Italy

Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli':

XXV d, XXXV, 18, 19; inv. 319 (NALDINI, Studia Florentina [v. supra n. 224] pp. 281 f.).

Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana:

CXVI, CXIX, CXX, CXXVI, P. Laur. IV 149; PSI I 28.

Freiburg, Germany

Universitätsbibliothek:

XXV b

Geneva, Switzerland

Bibliothèque publique et univ.:

tabella: (Genava 6, 1928, 56—65)

papyri: P. inv. 186 and 293 (SCO 36, 1986, 293—305)

Genoa, Italy

Istituto di Diritto Romano, Università degli Studi:

CIV, PUG I 7.

Gent, Belgium

University Library:

P. Oxy. 1478 = XXVII

P. Gent inv. 85 (CdE 63, 1988, 309)

Giessen, Germany

Seminar f. klass. Phil.:

17, LVIII

Glasgow, Scotland

University Library:

P. Oxy. 1151 = 5 b

P. Oxy. 1384 = 7

Hamburg, Germany

Staats- u. Universitätsbibliothek:

P. Hamb. I 22

Heidelberg, Germany

Universität. Institut f. Papyrologie:

14, LXXVIII, CXXVIII, inv. G. 1101 (ZPE 48, 1982, 149)

Archäologisches Institut:

SB III 6224, 6225.

Leiden, Holland

Museum van Oudheden:

XII, XIII, XIV b,c, LXII

Papyologisch Instituut:

P. Lugd.-Bat. XIX 20, XXV 8, SM 41 (ZPE 24, 1977, 89)

Leipzig, Germany

Universitätsbibliothek:

LI, LII

London, England

British Library:

V–XI a–c, XIV a, XXIII, XXVI, LXI, LXXVI, 5 d, SB III 6127; P. Lit. Lond. 171;

P. Oxy. (JEA 28, 1942, 20–31).

Egypt Exploration Society:

XCIII–XCV, CII, CIX

University College:

XXXII, 15 b

Priv. coll. H. Price: Ostr. 1

Lund, Sweden

University Library:

LXXXIX

Madrid, Spain

Instituto A. de Nebrija:

inv. no. 5 (SB XVI 12535)

Manchester, England

John Rylands Library:

P. Oxy. 1150 8 b

P. Oxy. 1060 2

P. Oxy. 923 LXXIV

P. Pyl. II 247, III 471, IV 699

Milan, Italy

Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore:

XC, CXXI, P. Coll. Youtie II 91

Castello Sforzesco:

O. Medinet Madi 16 = SM 67

Munich, Germany

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek:

CXVII

Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst:

P. Monac. ÄS 6792 (SAK 19, 1992, 79)

New Haven, Connecticut

Yale University Library:

P. Fay. 137 XXX a

P. Fay. 138 XXXI a, CXIV, CXXVII

Newton Center, Mass.

Andover Newton Theological School:

P. Oxy. 1060 = 6c

Nijmegen, Holland

Catholic University:

P. Noviomag. 2 (ZPE 58, 1985, 93–95)

Oslo, Norway

University Library:

XXXVI–XXXIX, LXXII, 3, Ostr. 2

Oxford, England

Ashmolean Museum:

XXVIII a–c, 8 a, P. Oxy. 3068, 3298, 3831, 3834, 3835, 3931, 3976; P. Oxy. (JHS 62, 1942, 37); O. Ashm. Shelton 194

Bodleian Library:

XXXII a, O. Bodl. 2180

Paris, France

Bibliothèque Nationale:

IV; Audollent, Defix. 38.

Musée du Louvre:

III, XVI, AF 6716 (ZPE 14, 1974, 71–73), E 27145 (BIFAO 76, 1976, 213–223),

E 3229 (BRASHEAR, *Magica Varia* no. 3), E 7332 bis (BRASHEAR, *Magica Varia* no. 2)

Institut de Papyrologie:

LXXXVI, P. Rein. 88, 89

Priv. coll. Egger:

Ostr. 3

Pisa, Italy

University Library:

CXXIII–CXXV

Prague, Czech Republic

National and University Library:

LXXIX, LXXX, 21, P. Prag. I 6.

Princeton, New Jersey

Theological Seminary:

1, 6 a,b

University Library:

XXIX, XXXI c, LXXXIII, LXXXIV, LXXXVIII

Rome, Italy

Museo del Vicino Oriente:

inv. 181/665 = O. Antinoe = SM 65.

St. Louis, Mo.

Washington University:

CX–CXII

St. Petersburg, Russia

Hermitage:

16

Strasbourg, France

Bib. univ. et rég.:

XVII a, b, c, LIII–LVI

Tiflis, Georgia

Zereteli priv. coll.:

15 a

Uppsala, Sweden

University Library:

P. Ups. 8

Vienna, Austria

Nationalbibliothek:

XXX b, XLI–L, 2 a, 6 d, 15 c, 10, 11, 12, LXIII–LXV

inv. G. 330 (P. Rain. Cent. 39)

inv. G. 2312 = SPP XX 294

inv. G. 16685 (ZPE 30, 1978, 209)

inv. G. 17268 (Tyche 1, 1986, 3–4)

inv. G. 17893 (ZPE 5, 1970, 58)

inv. G. 19931 (Patrol. Orient. 18, 1924, 435, no. 5)

inv. G. 36506 (ZPE 50, 1983, 95)

inv. G. 42406 (WS 100, 1987, 185)

inv. G. 29831 (MPER XVII, no. 10)

Warsaw, Poland

University:

LXXXII

Locations unknown:

P. Heid. inv. Lat. 5 (lost after WW II)

O. Edfu I 227–228

SB X 10702

SB VIII 10002

4. Chronological Tables

These lists of papyri, ostraca, wooden and metal tablets contain and continue the ones compiled by FESTUGIÈRE, *L'Idéal* 281–282.

For a chronological list of the oracle questions see I 3 a.

Papyri (pagan):

IV B. C.: XL

III/I B. C.: XX

I B. C.: CXVII

I B. C./I A. D.: CXXII

6 A. D.: XXX b

I A. D.: XVI, XXX a, XXXI b, CXI, XV?

I/II: XXXI a

Hadrianic: LVII, LXXII

II: XXXI c, CIII, LXIX, LXXIII, LXXV, LXXVI, LXXVII, P. Gen. inv. 186 and 293 (SCO 36, 1986, 293–305).

ca. 150: P. Oxy. 3 B 29 F (JEA 28, 1942, 20–31)

II/III: XI c, P. Bon. 3, LXXIV

II or III: VI, XIV a,b,c, XVII b, XXI, XXX c, XXXII, XXXII a, XXXIV, LIX, LXXI, CX

III: VII, XI b, XXIII, XXIV a,b, XXV a, XXIX, XXXIII, LI, LII, LXIII, LXVIII, LXXXVIII, LXXXIV, XCII, XCVII, CIV, CXIX, CXX, CXXIX, CXXX, PUG I 7, P. Oxy. 3068, 3298, P. Ryl. 247, 699, PGM XVIII b, P. Lit. Lond. 171, P. Berol. inv. 11734 (APF 36, 1990, 49), P. Berol. 21341, 21358 (v. n. 374), P. Monac. ÅS 6792 (SAK 19, 1992, 79), P. Oxy. 3834, 3976

ca. 300: CIX

late III: LXI, LXII

III/IV: XXVI, XXVII, LXVI, LXVII, LXX, LXXIX, LXXX, XCVII, CV, CVI, CXIV, CXXI, P. Haun. 50; P. Oxy. 3831, 3835, 3931

III or IV: LXXXVIII, XCI, CVII, CVIII, CXXVII

after 300: III

300–350: XII

346: XIII

IV: II, IV, V, XVII a, XIX b, XXII b, XXXVI–XXXIX, LVIII, LXIV, LXXXI, LXXXII, LXXXVI, LXXXVII, LXXXIX, CII, CXV, P. Michael. (Aegyptus 32, 1952, 45–53); SM 88, 91; P. Berol. 21300, 21336 (v. n. 374)

IV/V: IX, X, XI a, XC, XCVI, CXII, P. Bon. 9, P. Noviomag. inv. 2 (ZPE 58, 1985, 93); BGU 1024–1027 (APF 38, 1992, 19 f.)

late IV/early V: I

IV or V: VIII, XIX a, XXII a

III–V: XVIII a

early V: XLIII

V: XXVIII a, XXXV, XLVI, XCIII, XCIV, CI, CXIII, CXXIII–CXXIV, CXXVI; P. Berol. 17202 (APF 1995)

V/VI: XLI, XLVI⁴⁹², L, XCV, XCIX, C, CXXV, P. Rain. Cent. 39, P. Carlsberg 52 (BRASHEAR, *Magica Varia* no. 1)

VI: XXV b, XXVIII b,c, XLII, LX, CXVI, 23

VI/VII: XLV, XLVIII⁴⁹³, LXV

VII: P. Berol. 6096 (BKT VI, pp. 129–130)

after 641: LIII, LVI

VIII: XLIX⁴⁹⁴

Christian Texts:

I/II: P. Fuad inv. 203 (Rev. bibl. 58, 549 f.)

ca. 300: 21

IV: 5 a, 16, BIFAO 6 (1908) 61.

IV/V: 6 b, LXXXIII, PIFAO III 50, P. Amst. I 26, SB X 10762, P. Köln IV 257

IV or V: 3, 13, 19.

⁴⁹² DIETHART, *per litt.*, Jan. 1986.

⁴⁹³ Coptic!

⁴⁹⁴ DIETHART, *per litt.*, Jan. 1986.

- V: 5 b, 6 c, 7, CXXVIII, P. Berol. 21911 (ZPE 17, 1975, 30); P. Ist. Vitelli inv. 319 (Studia Florentina [v. n. 224] p. 281); P. Vind. G. 16685 (ZPE 30, 1978, 209–210), P. Vind. G. 19931 (Patr. Or. 18, 1924, 435 n. 5), P. Vindob. G. 17268 (Tyche 1, 1986, 3–4); P. Haun 51, P. Ryl. III 471, P. Vindob. G. 42406 (WS 100, 1987, 185)
- V/VI: 6 a, 18, P. Turner 49, P. Heid. G. 1101 (ZPE 48, 1982, 149 f.), P. Matr. inv. 5 (SP 19, 1980, 61 f.) P. Coll. Youtie II 91, P. Heid. inv. Lat. 5
- V or VI: 1, 5 c, 17, P. Berol. 21230 (ZPE 17, 1975, 31)
- VI: XLVII, 2, 4, 8 a, 9, 10, 15 a–c, P. Lugd.-Bat. XIX 20, P. Köln 521 a (BonnJbb 168, 1968, 106), P. Ups. 8, PGM 24, 13 a
- VI/VII: 6 d⁴⁹⁵, 12, 20, SPP XX 294, P. Amst. inv. 8 (SP 9, 1970, 100)
- VII: 2 a⁴⁹⁶, 5 d, 11, 22, P. Köln inv. 851 (Philologus 107, 1963, 157), P. Louvre E 7332 bis (BRASHEAR, Magica Varia no. 2)
- VII/VIII: Tab. Cologne priv. coll. (BonnJbb 168, 1968, 107)
- Byzantine: P. Vindob. G. 36506 (ZPE 40, 1980, 95)

Ostraca:

- II: PGM O 2; VOGLIANO, Secondo Rapporto ... Medinet Madi (v. supra p. 3480) no. 16
- III: O. Mich. inv. 9883 (ZPE 16, 1975, 274)
- III/IV: O. Köln inv. 409 (BonnJbb 168, 1968, 80)
- IV: PGM O 4, 5: O. Ashm. Shelton 194
- IV/V: O. Bodl. 2180, O. Antinoe (Antinoe. 1965–1968. Missione Arch. [v. supra p. 3480] p. 121–122)
- late empire: PGM O 1
- VII or VIII: PGM O 3
- Byzantine: O. Edfu I 227–228

Tablai:

- IV: T. Louvre AF 6716 (ZPE 14, 1974, 71)
- IV or V: PGM T 1
- VII/VIII: T. priv. coll. Köln (BonnJbb 168, 1968, 107).
The wooden tablets SB 3573, PGM T 2 a–c, T. Moen (ZPE 55, 1984, 114) are all undated.

Lamellae:

- I: SB III 6224, 6225
- III: SB I 4947, IV 7452, T. Cairo 36059 = SM 55
- II/III: MARTINEZ = SM 48
- III/IV: PSI I 28, T. Köln 1, 2 (BonnJbb 168, 1968, 56 f.), T. Moen (ZPE 4, 1969, 187 f.), T. Louvre E 27145 (BIFAO 76, 1976, 213 f.), T. priv. coll. (ZPE 24, 1977, 89), T. Genav. inv. 269 = SM 38.
- IV: T. Köln 4,7 (BonnJbb 168, 1968, 104, 108)
- IV/V: P. Rein. 88
- VI: T. Köln 8 (BonnJbb 168, 1968, 106)

Bracelet:

- IV: SB X 10702

⁴⁹⁵ *ibid.*

⁴⁹⁶ *ibid.*

5. Genres

As compiled by PREISENDANZ and his co-editors the texts of PGM are a motley lot:⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁷ PREISENDANZ reported in several places about the numbers and kinds of texts in PGM:

PGM III <i>Vorrede</i> :	PGM I and II:	121	texts
	PGM III	21	pagan
		4	Christian
		<u>146</u>	
	pagan formularies:	52	
	pagan applied:	54	
	Christian formularies:	5	
Magie 112 n. 15:	PGM I and II:	51	formularies (pagan)
		42	applied magic (pagan)
		32	Christian texts
		5	ostraca and several tablets
		<u>130</u>	

Forschungen und Fortschritte 15 (1939) 151–152:

PGM I	7	texts
PGM II	106	texts: 75 pagan 31 Christian
PGM III	<u>22</u>	texts
	<u>135</u>	

Forschungen und Fortschritte 16 (1940) 409 n. 3:

30 formularies
50 applied magic

PFISTER, Ph. Wo. 33/34 (1932) 917 reckons:

PGM I, II:	88	pagan
	31	Christian
	5	ostraca
	<u>4</u>	tablets
	<u>128</u>	

My tallies: PGM I, II:	82	pagan	+	PGM III:	21	pagan	=	103	pagan
	31	Christian		+	4	Christian		35	Christian
	5	ostraca						5	ostraca
	<u>4</u>	tablets						<u>4</u>	tablets
	<u>122</u>			+	<u>25</u>			=	<u>147</u>
	formularies (pagan):	49							
	applied (pagan):	54							
		<u>103</u>							

Formularies:

I–V, V a, VI–X, XI a,b,c, XII, XIII, XIV a,b,c, XIX b, XX, XXII a,b, XXIII, XXIV a,b, XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII, XLVI, L, LII, LVII, LVIII, LXI–LXV, LXVII, LXIX–LXXII, LXXVII–LXXXI.

Applied magic:

XV, XVI, XVII a,b, XVIII a,b, XIX a, XXI, XXV a,b,c,d, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII a,b,c, XXIX, XXX a–f, XXXI a,b,c, XXXII, XXXII a, XXXIII–XXXV, XXXIX–XLV, XLVII–XLIX, LI, LIII–LVI, LIX, LX, LXVI, LXVIII, LXXIII–LXXVI – including all the *falsa*, *incerta*, *Coptica*, oracle questions, literary excerpts, etc.

1) PGM I–LXXXI consist not of 81, but of 103 texts, some Roman numerals containing as many as six subdivisions.

2) PGM I–LXXXI (supposedly pagan or Jewish, at any rate non-Christian magical papyri) contain a Coptic text (XLVIII), several forgeries (LIII–LVI), and list under two numbers fragments that belong to the same papyrus (LVII and LXXII). Furthermore, literary fragments (e. g. XVII b, XXIX, XXIV), oracle questions and magical excerpts from papyri dealing with other subjects are also included in this potpourri.

3) PGM 1–24 (Christian texts) also contain sometimes two or three separate texts listed under one number, so that all told there are not 24 but 35 texts. Two of these, nos. 8 a and 24, are part of the same papyrus. No. 14 is a Hebrew-Greek onomasticon and not magic.

4) Among the ostraca two (nos. 4 and 5) were found in Megara and Olbia respectively and hence are anomalies in the PGM corpus which contains otherwise exclusively Egyptian material. No. 3 is a Christian hymn in other words, non-magical (KOENEN, P. Lugd.-Bat. XVII, p. 39).

BETZ, GMP, continuing the numbering of PGM from nos. LXXXII to CXXX, inadvertently includes a literary text (LXXXV = Pack^2 1602), some *incerta* whose magical character has not been absolutely ascertained (LXXXII, XCIII) and a forgery (CXVIII).

Since new magical texts are continually being published, any lists and compilations are obsolete almost as soon as they appear. Nonetheless, the following attempt is here made to list and categorize all the magical texts, as well as their component sections, known to date. Since a spell may belong to several categories, the same spell may be listed under two different headings, e. g. *agōgai* and *agrypnetika*. This holds true especially for the spells listed under “unknown” and “general”, especially when the charm consists exclusively of *voces magicae*. Some texts tout themselves as all-purpose charms designed to cure the sick, raise the dead, torment the object of one’s affections, send or bring dreams, good luck, success, favor, etc. I have tried to give cross-references to these.⁴⁹⁸

PGM I

1–42: *praxis* for receiving an omniscient spirit by night: 1–25: preparations; 26–37: invocation to Harpokrates-Chnuphi; 37–40: instructions for eating in the presence of the god; 41–42: admonitions to secrecy and purity; 42–195: *praxis* for receiving an omniscient spirit by night: 42–54: epistolary introduction explaining the origin of these writings; 55–69: matutinal procedures for obtaining a gem stone; 69–75: nocturnal procedures for

Cf. PFISTER’s review of PGM in Ph. Wo. 33/34 (1932) 918, where the papyri are categorized.

⁴⁹⁸ My compilations were made in the fall of 1984 and the winter of 1985. Upon receipt of BETZ, GMP, in the fall of 1986, I was able to compare his lists (pp. xi–xxii) and ascertain that except for a few instances they were quite consistent with each other.

invoking and receiving the *paredros*-god; 75–95: receiving and entertaining the *paredros* during his three-hour visit; 96–130: the manifold capabilities of the god; 130–132: admonitions to secrecy; 132–142: invocation of the *paredros* (*Ephesia grammata*); 143–148: instructions for engraving the stone; 148–152: prayer to Selene (acc. to the instructions in 71 f.); 155–162: completion of the instructions given in 1.78; 163–166: invocation (cf. 1.80); 172–192: additional list of the *paredros*' capabilities; 192–194: further admonitions to secrecy; 194 f. variant on 133 f.

196–221: invocation to Aion which can be used as a general phylactery

222–231: to become invisible

232–243: mnemonic recipe

243–247: ink recipe

247–262: to become invisible

263–347: *praxis* for summoning a prophetic demon: 263–276: preparing a phylactery; 276–296: gathering and preparing the different objects and ingredients essential for the ceremony; purification; 296–327: Hymn to Apollo and prayer for an omniscient demon; 328–331: the demon's capabilities; 332–341: preparations for receiving and releasing the demon; 342–347: benediction to be said at the demon's release.

PGM II

1–64: *praxis* and *epiklesis* to Apollo for inducing revelatory dreams

64–183: alternative spell for inducing revelatory dreams

(The extremely convoluted construction of PGM II makes it difficult to reproduce in outline form. HOPFNER, OZ II §§ 191–200, sorts out the muddle of instructions and puts them in a rational order.)

PGM III

1–164: various *praxeis* and invocations for achieving general magical powers

165–195: *praxis* for invoking a god who will prophesy (*systasis*)

195–262: revelatory spell, consisting of:

A. 195–235: prayer to the sun

B. 235–256: another prayer

C. 256–262: release of the god

263–275: prognosis: foretelling the future

276–281: auspicious times for certain magical procedures

282–409: *praxeis* and invocations used in foretelling the future

410–423: mnemonic *praxis*

424–465: mnemonic *praxis*

465–478: mnemonic *praxis*

479–482: foretelling the future in order to detect a thief

483–488: foretelling the future in order to detect a thief

489 ff: foretelling the future in order to detect a thief (?)

495–612: *praxis* and invocation to the sun (*systasis*)

612–623: sciomancy

633–731: spell for a *systasis* with the god (see line 695)

PGM IV

- 1–25: invocations to various deities (Coptic): revelatory spell
 26–51: consecration and purification
 52–85: partial fasting; *praxis* with a scarab and lychnomancy for inducing an epiphany of the sun god
 86–87: phylactery against demons
 88–152: *praxis* with a boy medium for incurring the love of a woman (Coptic, little Greek); 88–144: ὑπὲρ γυναικῶν, 145–152: κατὰ γυναικῶν
 153–285: Nephotes' letter to Psammetichos on lecanomancy
 180–209: prayer to Typhon for a *systasis* with the sun
 210–222: *systasis* is indicated by the appearance of a bird
 222–242: lecanomancy proper
 250: release/dismissal
 255: silver amulet
 261–285: invocation to Typhon for a *systasis*
 286–295: on picking magic herbs
 296–466: amatory ritual using wax or clay figurines; invocation of *nekydaimones*.
 467–468: *thymokatochon* using Homeric verses
 469–474: to win friends using Homeric verses
 475–829: "Mithras liturgy"
 475–486: invocation of Pronoia and Tyche
 487–538: Prayer for immortality
 538–586: ascension and visions
 587 ff.: third prayer
 635 ff.: theophany
 662–675: seven goddesses of fate appear
 676 f.: seven polar rulers appear
 696 f.: Arctos' theophany
 724 f.: the god prophesies
 732 f.: instructions for including a *symmystes*
 750 f.: details of the *praxis* (using a scarab) for consecrating the *symmystes*
 773 f.: details of the *praxis* using the *kentritis* plant.
 813 f.: manufacture of an amulet with Homeric verses (the same ones as 469 f.)
 830: an isolated Homeric verse
 831–832: *thymokatochon* with Homeric verses
 833–834: to win friends with Homeric verses
 835–849: astrological fragment on good and evil influences of the planet
 850–930: "Solomon's trance" with a boy medium (general charm).
 930–950: theophany, *systasis* with a god, lecanomancy
 950–1115: lychnomancy
 1115–1166: secret charm: invocation
 1167–1226: panacea charm, good against death
 1227–1264: exorcism: incantation and tin amulet

- 1265–1274: “Aphrodite’s secret name” (amatory charm)
 1275–1308: “omnipotent force of the bear constellation” (invocation, prayer for prophecy)
 1309–1330: smoke sacrifice to accompany the aforementioned invocation
 1331–1389: “omnipotent force of the bear constellation” (inducing a theophany to the magician in person without any medium)
 1390–1495: *agōgē*; invocation of a *biaiothanatos*
 1496–1595: *agōgē* using myrrhe
 1595–1715: omnipotent consecration of the stone; prayer to Helios in his hourly metamorphoses
 1716–1871: “sword of Dardanos” (to subdue and force the person to love you)
 1873–1926: *agōgē* using wax figure of a dog
 1928–2005: King Pitys’ *agōgē* using skyphomancy (in this case a skull)
 2006–2125: King Pitys’ *agōgē*. Letter from Pitys to King Ostanēs, describing divination with a skull. (special ink, directions for drawing a *figura magica*).
 2126–2139: method for preventing a skull from divulging oracles; ring amulet
 2140–2144: Pitys’ divination with a corpse
 2145–2150: three Homeric verses
 2151–2240: their manifold uses
 2241–2359: apotropaic prayer to Selene (constraining a deity)
 2360–2372: spell for prosperity employing a hollow Hermes figurine
 2373–2440: instructions for making a beggar man out of wax which will bring favor, riches, victory, love, success etc.
 2441–2620: “Pachrates’ *agōgē*” (for inducing and sending dreams, making sick, inducing visions etc.)
 2621–2707: “insulting Selene” (general *praxis* for sending dreams, making sick, inducing visions, etc.)
 2708–2784: *agōgē*: *praxis* and hymn to Hekate
 2785–2890: prayer to Selene for general purposes; ring amulet
 2891–2942: *agōgē*; astronomical signs indicating that the *agōgē* has worked
 2943–2966: *agōgē agrypnitikē*
 2967–3006: procedures for picking plants required in magical ceremonies
 3007–3085: “Pibeches’ exorcism of demons”
 3086–3124: Kronos’ epiphany and release
 3125–3172: spell for prosperity and favor using a wax figurine
 3173–3208: divination with three reeds, lychnomancy, to induce dreams, without a medium
 3209–3254: “Aphrodite’s phialomancy”
 3255–3274: Typhonic invocation and *praxis* for inducing insomnia

PGM V

- 1–52: Sarapic oracle with a boy medium
 53–70: theophany (lecanomancy)
 70–95: finding a thief

- 96–171: “Jeu’s stele” (exorcism, general power)
 172–180: catching a thief
 181–212: catching a thief
 213–369: “Hermes’ ring” (general purpose charm)
 370–445: theophany of Hermes (lecanomancy)
 446–489: Sarapis’ theophany: *desmolytos*, *oneiropompos*, *charitëssion*, etc.

Influencing material objects⁴⁹⁹:

- to make a place prosper: IV 2360–2371, 3125–3172.
 to make sleeping people speak: VII 412–417, LXIII 8–11 (the woman will say her lover’s name)
 exorcisms: IV 3007–3085, V 96 f., XII 14 f., XIII 243–245, XXIV b. 10 f. (?), XXXVI 275–280, XCIV 17 f., XCVIII; SB X 10702; P. Ist. Vitelli inv. 319 (Studia ... Ronconi [v. n. 224] 281–287)
 to kill a winged creature: XIII 247; a snake: XIII 261–264; to stop a snake: XIII 249
 to open a door: XII 160 ff., XIII 288–296 (δεσμόλυτον), 327–333, 1064–1075, XXXVI 311–320, APF 38 (1992) 20
 to resurrect the dead: XIII 278–282
 to cross a river on a crocodile: XIII 282–288
 to change a goddess into an old servant woman: XI a
 to win at dice: VII 423–428
 to succeed in business: XII 99–106
 to find a thief⁵⁰⁰: V 70–95, 173–180, 181–212, III 479–482, 483–488, 489 f.; P. Oxy. 3835 (five spells; formulary)
 to make invisible: I 102, 222 f., 247 f., V 488, VII 619 f. (lecanomancy), XIII 235 f., 267–269, 270–277 (to metamorphose into objects animate and inanimate), P. Oxy. 3931
 to quench fire⁵⁰¹: XIII 297–302
 to keep fire burning: XIII 303–308
 to purify gold: XII 193–201

Iatromagical:

- tumors: XCIV 27 f. (formulary)
 rheumy eyes: PGM VII 197–198, P. Berol. 21911 = SM 26 (Christian; applied); P. Heid. G. 1101 (ZPE 48, 1982, 149 f.; Christian; formulary)
 headache: PGM VII 199–200, 201–202, LXV 4–5, XVIII a, XX col. II 1 f., 15 ff. (formularies), XCIV 39 f. (form.), CXXII col. II 26 f. (form.)
 cough: PGM VII 203–205, 206–207
 cramp or fracture: XIII 246–247
 inducing conception: P. Oxy. 3834. 1–5, 6–11 (formularies).

⁴⁹⁹ Cf. the lists in RIESS, s.v. Aberglaube, in: RE I (1893) 38 ff.; HOPFNER, Mageia 375 ff.

⁵⁰⁰ Cf. PETERSON, Frühkirche 334.2.

⁵⁰¹ Cf. PFISTER (n. 497) 920.

contraceptives: XXXVI 320 f., LXIII 25, 26 (formularies), LXV 1–3 (formulary), XXII a.11 f. (Homeric verses); LXII 103 f.⁵⁰²
 medicinal recipes with *historiolae*: P 7
 womb pains: P 12, XXII a.9
 hardening of the breast: PGM VII 208–209
 buboes: PGM VII 209–210
 fever and chills: PGM VII 212–213, 214–215, VII 219–220, XCIV 10 f. (form.)
 erysipelas: PGM XIII 245, SM 88.1–5
 epilepsy: PGM XCV?
 antidote for poison: PGM XIII 253
 breast pains: XXII a.9
 hemorrhages: XXII a.2
 leprosy: XXII a.15
 inflammation: SM 88.6 ff.
 stopping a wandering uterus⁵⁰³: PGM VII 260–272, P 12.
 for birth: CXXIII 48 f. (form.)
 somniferent: CXXIII 51–52 (form.); P. Gen. inv. 186.1–7 (form.) (SCO 36, 1986, 293 f.)
 fever⁵⁰⁴: XVIII b, XX col. II 4–14 (formulary)?, XXII a.10 f. (form.; APF 38, 1992, 24), XXXIII, XLIII, XLVII, P 5 a,b, 13, LXXXIII, LXXXVII, LXXXVIII–XCI, CIV, P. Köln 851 (Philologus 107, 1963, 157–161), CVI, CXV, PIFAO III 50; P. Lugd. Bat. XIX 20; P. Amst. I 26 = SM 22; CXIX B 4–5, CXXIII 56 (formulary), CXXVIII (Christian formulary), CXXX; P. Turner 49; T. Köln 7 (BonnJbb 168, 1968, 104); P. Prag. I 6; P. Köln VI 257; SM 88.6 ff. (?); P. Oxy. 3834.33 f. (form.), P. Haun. III 51
 insomnia: P. Gen. inv. 186 lines 1–7 (SCO 36, 1986, 293 f.) (form.)
 sciatica: P. Gen. inv. 186 lines 8–21 (SCO 36, 1986, 293 f.) (form.)
 eye diseases: XCIV 22 f. (form.), XCVII, P. Berol. 21911 (ZPE 17, 1975, 30); P. Heidel. G. 1101 (ZPE 48, 1982, 149–170: formulary); P. Bon. 9 (Christ. amulet)
 blow or sting: XCIV 44 f. (form.)
 male genital disorders?: CXXIII 60–62
 λυσίφάρμακα: XXXVI 178–185, 256 f., LXI 33 f.
 medical prescriptions: CXXIII 63–65, 66–68
 scorpion sting⁵⁰⁵: PGM VII 193–196, XXVIII a,b,c (applied), P 2, 2 a, 3 (all applied), CXIII, O. Ashm. Shelton 194 (formularies)

⁵⁰² LXII 103 ff. is a charm for making menstrual blood flow. HUNT (*ed. pr.*) suggests the purpose is amatory. BARB, Syria 29 (1952) 279, JWCI 16 (1953) 214 n. 23, and JWCI 22 (1960) 368, indicates that such charms are intended to induce abortion. See now J.-J. AUBERT, GRBS 30 (1989) 421–449, and R. GORDON, *Spells of Wisdom*.

⁵⁰³ Cf. A. BARB, *Diva Matrix*, JWCI 16 (1953) 214.23, 29 (1966) 20.92.

⁵⁰⁴ An unusual fever amulet on a gem was published by R. KOTANSKY, JPMJ 8 (1980) 181 ff., and A. GIESSEN, ZPE 55 (1984) 226 ff. A. GIESSEN lists known fever amulets in P. Köln VI 257, p. 155.

⁵⁰⁵ On the role of the scorpion in magic see: A. DE BUCK, B. STRICKER, OMRO 21 (1940) 53–62; P. SIJPESTEIJN, ZPE 22 (1976) 108, Taf. III b = P. Amst. I 15; WOLTERS, *Folklore*

strangury: XCIV 36 f. (formularly), CXXIII 53 f. (formularly)

See also Democritus' pranks, some of which are iatromagical in character.

weather magic⁵⁰⁶: PGM I 120 f.?, XXIX?

Phylacteries:

I 196–221, IV 86 (against demons), VII 311–316 (against nightmares and evil spirits), 317–318 (πρὸς Σεληνήν), 370–374 (against animals and robbers), 491 f. (general), 579 ff. (against demons, spirits; panacea; amulet on gold, silver, tin or papyrus), XVII c (?), XXI (prayer for protection), XXII a.10 (fever amulet on tin – v. APF 38, 1992, 24), LIX (against grave robbers), LXII 23, LXXI (formularly), P 4, 5 c,d, 6 b,c,d, 9 (applied), 10 (formularly), 12 (against womb pains), 13 (general), 13 a (general), 15 a (against the *Akephaloi* or *Autokephaloi*), 15 b (against the *Akephaloi*, as well as womb pains and fever, according to the introduction), 16, 17 (against evil spirits), 18 (prayer for healing), 19 (general), 20 (ὑποτακτικόν), 22, 23, Ostr. 4, LXXXVI (formularly), LXXXIX, XC (formularly worn as an amulet?), XCVI, XCIX, C, CXIV (formularly against demons); P. Bon. 9 (against eye diseases?); P. Vindob. G. 16685 (ZPE 30, 1978, 209: against punishment?); P. Vindob. G. 17268 (Tyche 1, 1986, 3–4: general phylactery); P. Berol. 11734 (APF 36, 1990, 49: formularly for a general phylactery); P. Vindob. G. 42406 (WS 100, 1987, 185–199: general phylactery; Jewish-Christian); P. Louvre E 7332 bis (BRASHEAR, *Magica Varia* no. 2; Christian; general phylactery); P. Heid. inv. Lat. 5 = SM 36
house phylacteries: P 2, 2 a, 3, 6 a; T. Köln priv. coll. (BonnJbb 168, 1968, 107)

53; M. TOD, JEA 25 (1939) 55–61; P. SCHIERNERL, Archiv f. Völkerkunde 36 (1982) 147–159 (modern Egyptian scorpion amulets); T. HOPFNER, AO 13 (1942) 167–200; SMITH, Jesus 196; BONNER, Studies 77–78; PHILIPP, Mira et Magica 122 c; B. VAN DE WALLE, JNES 31 (1972) 80–82; R. RITNER, Enchoria 14 (1986) 106; J. BORGHOUTS, OMRO 51 (1970) 149 ff.; W. DEONNA, Laus Asini, Rev. Belg. de Phil. et d'Hist. 34 (1956) 356.1; S. EITREM, SO 7 (1928) 53–81; P. Bad. V, pp. 443 ff. Cf. n. 42.

⁵⁰⁶ SMITH, Jesus 199–200. Other fair-weather charms are: AUDOLLENT, Mém. Acad. Inscr. et Belles Lettres 43.2 (1939) 45–75; PREISENDANZ, APF 11 (1935) 156–157. Cf. W. FROEHNER, Philol. Suppl. 5, 1899, 44 f.; F. CABROL, s. v. Amulettes, in: DACL I,2 (1907) 1840, and H. LECLERCQ, s. v. Avignon, in: DACL I,2 (1907) 3237; G. MANGANARO, Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Serie Ottava. Rendiconti. Cl. di Scienze morali 18 (1963) 60. – On weather magic see W. FIEDLER, Antiker Wetterzauber, Stuttgart 1931; F. OHRT, Fluchtafel u. Wettersegen. Folklore Fellows Communications 30.2, 1929; FRANZ, Benediktionen I 217–218, II 1–123; V. PARETO, The Mind and Society (= Trattato di Sociologia Generale), New York 1935, vol. I 112–133 (weather magic from classical times up to the Middle Ages); L. ROBERT, Hellenica 9 (1950) 63 f.; HOPFNER, Mageia 375; H. ROSE, The Folklore of the Geoponica, Folklore 44 (1933) 65–66; WOLTERS, Folklore 138–141; NILSSON, GGR³, 111 f., 116 f.; J. FRAZER, The Golden Bough, London 1956³, vol. I, ch. 5; R. STRÖMBERG, The Aeolus Episode and Greek Wind Magic, Symbolae Philologicae Gotoburgenses 1950 = Acta Univ. Gotoburg. 56 (1950) 71–84.

Amatory magic:

Love, favor, success, friends, etc.: IV 2373–2440, VII 215 ff., XII 67 f., 271, 99–106, XIII 338 f., XCII, CXXIV 1–6?, 7 ff.?

Love: III 162, IV 88–152, 296–466, 1265–1274, 1390–1495, 1496–1595, 1717–1870, 1873–1926, 1928–2005, 2005–2125, 2709–2784, 2891 ff., 2943–2966, VII 300–310, 385–389 (lecanomancy), 405–406 (φίλτρον), 459 f. (tin amulet), 462 f. (tin amulet), 468–477, 624 f. (lecanomancy), 643–651 (lecanomancy), 661–663, 865–918, 969–972, 973–980, 981–992, X 1–18, 19–23, XIc, XII 397–400 (πρὸς ἐπιχάρειαν καὶ φιλίαν), 476 f., XIII 237–239, 319–320 (φίλτρον), XV (applied), XVI (applied), XVII a (applied), XIX a (applied), XIX b.1–3 (formularly), 5–17 (formularly), XXXII (applied), XXXII a (applied), XXXVI 69–101, 102–133, 134–160, 187–210, 283–294 (φυσικλείδιον), 295–310, 333–360, 361–371 (all formularies), XXXVIII (formularly), XXXIX (applied), LII (formularly), LXI 1–33 (formularly), LXII 1–23 (lychnomancy, formularly), LXIV (formularly), LXVII (formularly), LXVIII (applied), LXXVIII (formularly), PGM O 2 (applied), LXXXIV, CI, CIII (formularly), CVII, CVIII, CIX, CXVII (formularly), CXIX 2–3 (formularly), 4–6 (formularly), CXXII col. I 6–14, 15–27, col. II 1–25 (formularies); O. Köln 409 (BonnJbb 168, 1968, 80 f.; applied); P. Monac. ÅS 6792 (SAK 19, 1992, 79 f.); BGU IV 1024–1027, p. 11 (APF 38, 1992, 20). Most of the *lamellae* from Egypt belong in this category.

χαριτήσια καὶ νικητικά: PGM VII 186–190, 390–393 (v. δρομέως), cf. 429 ff., 528 f., 919 ff., 925 f., 1017 ff., XII 271 (a ring), XIII 338, XXXVI 161 f. (θυμοκάτοχον καὶ νικητικόν), 210 f. (θυμοκάτοχον, νικητικόν, χαριτήσιον), XXVIII (νικητικόν, applied), CXXIII 69–71 (νικητικόν, form.), P. Oxy. 3834.26–32 (νικητικόν, form.); BGU IV 1024–1027, p. 11 (APF 38, 1992, 20).

χαριτήσια: XII 182–189, IV 1608, XIII 338 f., XXII a.18 ff., XXXVI 37 ff., 275–280: BRASHEAR, *Magica Varia* no. 3; P. Berol. 11734 (APF 36, 1990, 49).

φιλοκατάδεσμος αἰώνιος: PGM VII 191–192, VIII 1–63 (φ. Ἀστραψούκου).

Inducing / sending dreams:

II 1–64, 64–183, III 162, VII 222–249 (lychnomancy), 250–254 (lychnomancy), 255–259 (lychnomancy), 359–370 (lychnomancy), 478 ff. (lychnomancy, ὄνειραιτητόν), 664–685 (lychnomancy), 703–726, 740–755 (tin amulet), 795–845, 865–918 (v. lines 877, 916), 1010–1016 (ὄνειρομαντεῖον), VIII 64–84 (ὄνειραιτητόν τοῦ Βῆσα), XII 14 ff. (ὄνειροπομπεία), XII 107 ff. (ὄνειροπομπὸς Ἀγαθοκλεῦς), 123 f. (ὄνειροπομπὸς Ζμίνιος, lychnomancy), 145–152 (ὄνειραίτησις), 190 ff. (ὄνειραιτητόν), XIII 308–318 (ὄνειροπομπόν, lychnomancy), 338, XXII b.28 f. (lychnomancy), XXII b.32 f. (lychnomancy), P. Noviomagen. inv. 2 (ZPE 58, 1985, 93 f.), P. Oxy. 3298, 3834.12–18 (form.).

to appear to someone in a dream: VII 407–410.

Maleficent magic:

constraints: PGM V 305 f., VII 394–395, 396–404, 417–422, 429 ff., XII 114 f., XIII 752, XXXVI 1–36, LXII col. 3, LVII.

Trennungszauber: III 162, VIII 428, XII 365–375, 454 f., XIII 239–241, 320–326 (preventing a woman from being captivated by another man), LXI 39–60, 60 f. (formulary), LXIII 21? (formulary), LXVI (applied), PGM O 2, CXXVI (formulary).

curses, revenge, *Schadenzauber*, etc.: III 1 ff., 70 ff., 162, XXII a.5, XIV c, XXXVI 231–255, XL, LI, LVIII, P 15 c, 16, CXXIV 12–26 (formulary), T. Louvre inv. AF 6716 (ZPE 14, 1974, 71), P. Ups. 8; T. Köln 4 (BonnJbb 168, 1968, 108); Mél. Maspero II, 206 ff.; P. Hamb. I 22; BIFAO 6 (1908) 61–63.

ἀγρυπνητικά (inducing insomnia): IV 2943–2966, 3255–3274, VII 374–376, 377–385 (lychnomancy), 652–660, XII 14 f., 376–396, LII 20 f.

ὕποτακτικά:⁵⁰⁷ PGM VII 925 f., 940 f.; X 36 f., XII 67 f., XIII 1042 f., XLVI, CXIX 7 (formulary).

κατακλιτικόν: CXXIV 7 f. (?) (form.)

θυμοκάτοχα: IV 469 f., 831, VII 418 f., 940 f., IX, X 24 f., XII 179–181, XIII 250–252⁵⁰⁸, XIV b (?), XXXVI 37–68, 161–177, 211–230, LXXIX (formulary), LXXX (form.), PGM O 1; O. Bodl. 2180; AUDOLLENT, De-fix. 38; P. Reinach II 88; P. Oxy. 3834.20–25 (form.); BGU IV 1024–1027, p. 11 (APF 38, 1992, 20).

Varia:

divining with a boy medium⁵⁰⁹: PGM I 86, III 711, IV 89, 850, V 1–50, VII 348–358, 540 ff., XIII 749, LXII 25 f.

horomancy, hemeromancy⁵¹⁰: PGM III 275, 424, IV 26, 2221, 3146, V 243, VII 155–167, 272–284, 285–300, XII 308, 378, XXXVI 330, LXXXVI.

Homeromancy⁵¹¹: IV 467 ff., 813 ff., 2145 ff., VII 1–148, XXII a, P. Bon. 3, P. Oxy. LVI 3831.

⁵⁰⁷ Cf. HOPFNER, AO 10 (1938) 130 ff.; PFISTER (n. 497) 921 f. on *thymokatocha*, *hypotaktika*, *phimotika*, etc.

⁵⁰⁸ Cf. DMP 109: "(A spell) of going to meet a sovereign (?) when he fights with you and will not parley (?) with you".

⁵⁰⁹ Cf. PETERSON, Frühkirche 333 f., 357 f.

⁵¹⁰ Cf. W. WRESZINSKI, Tagwählerei im alten Ägypten, ARW 16 (1913) 86–110; W. R. DAWSON, Some Observations on the Egyptian Calendars of Lucky and Unlucky Days, JEA 12 (1926) 260–264; HOPFNER, OZ I §§ 827 ff., Id., Mageia 356 f.; JUNGBAUER, s. v. Ägyptische Tage, in: HDA 1 (1927) 223 f.; W. GUNDEL, Jb. d. Charakterologie 4 (1927) 135–193; WEST (n. 431) 346 ff. For Babylonian parallels see S. LANGDON, Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic Calendars (Schweich Lecture 1933), London 1934; G. FURLANI, Interdetti assiri, SMSR 16 (1940) 34–82. – For more recent Egyptian ones see C. G. SELIGMANN, Ancient Egyptian Beliefs in Modern Egypt, in: Essays and Studies presented to Wm. Ridgeway, Cambridge 1913, 455–457.

⁵¹¹ The use of Homeric verses in divination is also attested by Marcellus 15.108 and Alexander of Tralles 2.580. However, poetry in magic is not limited exclusively to Homeric epic. Theodoros 345 attests the use of Vergil's 'Aeneid', and Iamblichos' Life of Pythagoras 29.

divination: III passim, IV passim.

divination with dice: XLIX (?), LXII 47 f.

divination with letters: XXIV a.

divination with numbers: XII 351–364.

secret names of objects and substances: XII 401–444.

Sortes Astrampsychi: XXVI, P. Lugd.-Bat. XXV 8 (= SM 18); P. Gent inv. 85 vso. (CdE 63, 1988, 309–314) P. Berol. 21341, 21358 (v. n. 374).

description of magical powers: XXXIV

Moses' Eighth Book: XIII 1–233 $\approx$ 345–735.

instructions for drawing *figurae magicæ*⁵¹²: XXIV b, CXI, IV 2006 f., VII 580, IV 2014–2016 = 2111–2117, 2045 f., 2068 = 2124–2125, 3115; III 68 f., VII 222, VIII 65 f., 569, 925 f., XII 122 f., 145 f., 375 f., II 159–160, 166 f., IV 2006 f., VII 580, VII 810 f., VIII 105 f., X 36 f.; BASP 13 (1976) 178.

instructions for making an amulet: PGM passim; CXXXIX, O. Mich. inv. 9883 (ZPE 16, 1975, 274).

note about an amulet: P. Oxy. 3068.

instructions for making figurines⁵¹³: IV 296 f., 1840, 1877 f., 2361, 2378, 3130, V 384, VIII 54 f., XII 303, XIII 104, 309, 320.

instructions for making amulets: XII 13, IV 78, 256, 789, 813, 1071, 1316, 1335, 2358, 2505, 2630 = 2877, 2705, 2897, 3014, 3114, VII 494, 911, 924, PGM I 272, III 95.

Democritus' pranks: PGM VII 149–154, 167–185, XI b, CXXVII, P. Lit. Lond. 171.

General prayers and amulets (for omniscience, omnipotence, victory, love, favor, success, etc.): I 96–130, 196–221, III 1–164, IV 2145–2240, 2441–2620, 2621–2705, 2785 f., V 96–172 (for power over all spirits and demons), 215–445 (Hermes' ring: omniscience), 446 f., 460 f., VII 429–458, 686–702, 757–794, 846–860, VIII 1–63, XII 14 f., 67 f., 271 f., XIII 334–340, 761 f. (gold amulet), 1001–1064 (gold, silver amulet), XIV a, XXII b.1–27, XXV c, XXXV (victory, power, favor etc.), XXXVI 211–230, LVII, LXIX (prayer for power), LXX (love, protection, victory, etc.), LXXII (formular), P 11, 21 (prayer for victory, favor, success, etc.), LXXXI (formular), PGM T 2 a,b,c, CV, CXVI; Aegyptus 32 (1952) 45–53; O. Antinoe (v. supra p. 3480); SB I 3573; T. Moen inv. 629 (ZPE 55, 1984, 114); P. Fuad inv. 203 (Rev. biblique 58, 1951, 549 ff.: prayer against evil spirits); P. Ryl. III 471 (Christian good luck); P. Matr.

164, the use of Hesiodic verses. Cf. SLOANE (n. 376); R. GANSZYNIEC, s. v. Stichomanteia, in: RE III A,2 (1929) 2485–2487; Id., De Sortibus Vergilianis, Eos 33 (1930–1931) 179–186; HEIM 514 ff.

On Christian oracle questions and the *Sortes Sanctorum* see P. COURCELLE (n. 376); R. GANSZYNIEC, Les sortes sanctorum, in: Jubilé A. LOISY, Congrès d'histoire du christianisme 3 (Paris 1928) 41–51; P. COUCELLE, L'enfant et les 'sorts bibliques', Vig. Chr. 7 (1953) 194–220; Id., Source chrétienne et allusions païennes de l'épisode du Tolle, lege, Rev. d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses 32 (1952) 171–200; VAN LANTSCHOOT (n. 376).

⁵¹² Cf. PREISENDANZ, Paredros 1443; HOPFNER, OZ I § 818.

⁵¹³ Cf. PREISENDANZ, op. cit. 1428–1453.

inv. 5 (SP 19, 1980, 61–63); P. Köln 521 a (BonnJbb 168, 1968, 106); P. Ist. Vitelli inv. 319 (Studia Florentina [n. 224] pp. 281–287: exorcistic amulet); P. Vindob. G. 19931 (Patrol. Orient. 18, 1924, 435 no. 5: Christian gen'l); P. Coll. Youtie II 91 (Christian gen'l; formulary); P. Amst. inv. 88 (SP 9, 1970, 100: Christian); T. Köln 8 (BonnJbb 168, 1968, 106); P. Carlsberg 52 (BRASHEAR, *Magica Varia* no. 1); P. Vindob. G 42406 (WS 100, 1987, 185; Christian); P. Vindob. G 36506 (ZPE 40, 1980, 95; Christian); BKT VI, pp. 129–130 (Christian).

Unknown:⁵¹⁴

VII 591–592, XXV a,b,d, XVII c, XXXVII, XLI (applied amulet), XLII (applied amulet), XLIV (applied amulet), XLV (applied amulet), XLIX (applied amulet), L (instructions for divining with dice?), LX (applied amulet), LXIII 1–7, 13–20, 21–24, PGM T 1, LXXXII (botany?), XCIII (sacrificial procedures?), CII, CXII, CXIX B 1–3, CXX (applied amulet), CXXI, CXXIII 1–47, 72 and succeeding fragments, CXXIV 1–6 (χαριτήσιον?), CXXV, P. Laur. IV 149; JEA 28 (1942) 20–31; P. Haun. III 50; PUG I 7; P. Ryl. II 247, IV 699; O. Edfu I 227, 228; SB III 6127; O. Medinet Madi (v. supra p. 3480) no. 15; P. Gen. inv. 293 (SCO 36, 1986, 298–305; formulary).

Miscellanea:

Sextus Iulius Africanus, *Kestoi*: PGM XXIII
 Testamentum Salomonis: P. Rain. Cent. 39
 prayer to the wind god: PGM XXIX

Incerta:⁵¹⁵

P. Ant. III 121 (hexameters from a hymn?); P. Harris 47 (= Pack² 2398; magico-medical?); P. Oxy. 2552 (illustrated polychromatic fragment with text possibly referring to Hermes); PSI XIII 1368; PSI XIV 1450 (illustrated papyrus showing a standing, bearded male facing right and holding in his left hand a spear topped by a snake. A scorpion dangles from his hand. Agathos Daimon?). Cf. Quaderni (v. supra II 1 c: *inedita*) p. 29, no. 28; A. MINTO, *Aegyptus* 32 (1952) 324 f.

Delenda:

LXXXII, LXXXV, XCIII, CX, CXVIII, CXXI?

Various and Sundry Lists:

amulets consisting solely of magical signs and letters⁵¹⁶: XVII c, XXV a, XXV b, XXV d, XLIX, LIII–LVI, LX. Cf. P. Berol. 21718–21720 (BRASHEAR, *Magica Varia* no. 4).

⁵¹⁴ Some of these, especially the ones consisting solely of *voces magicae*, are conceivably “general protective amulets”.

⁵¹⁵ Cf. SM I xv–xvi.

⁵¹⁶ quoted from SMITH, *Relations* 130.

references to uses of gems⁵¹⁷: I 66 f., 143 ff., II 18, III 189, IV 503 ff., 1654 ff., 1722 ff., 2162, 2304 f., 2630 ff., 2877 ff., 3140, V 213 ff., 447 ff., XII 202 ff., 271 ff., 400 ff., XXII a.11, LXII 40 ff.

references to phylacteries and charms of metal⁵¹⁸: *λάμνα* (Lat. *lamina*, *lamella*) – PGM III 15, 297, 299; IV 2153, 2154, 2166, 2177, 2208, 2226, 2238; IV 3014 (*λαμνίον*); VII 398, 459, 462; IX 8; X 26, 36; XXXVI 1, 37 f., 231, 234; LVIII 6; *πέταλον* – PGM III [58], 66; IV 330, 1218, 1255, 1813, 1824, 1847, 2705; V 306, 359; VII 216, 382, 417, 487, 581, 743; IX 14; X <36>, 39; XII 197, 197 f., 199; XIII 889, 898, 903, 1008, 1052; *λεπίς* – PGM III 410, 411, 417; IV 258, 1828, 2160, 2161, 2216, 2228; VII 271, 919, 925; XIII 1001; XXXVI 278; LXXVIII 3; *πλάξ* – PGM IV 2187, 2194, 2212; VII 432; *πλάτυμμα* – PGM IV 329, 407; VII 438; *πτύχιον* – PGM VII 740, 741. Add: LXXXII 2 f.; XCIV 37; P. Berol. 9873 (APF 38, 1992, 24)

6. Corrections, Translations, Discussions

K. PREISENDANZ, APF 8 (1927) 104–167, presented not only previews and summaries of the texts that would soon appear in his PGM, but also a bibliography of all the literature that had been written about them since the early 19th century. His bibliography includes summaries of the important discussions and proposed new readings. The following is an attempt to bring PREISENDANZ' report up to date. Subsumed under each papyrus, ostrakon, *lamella* or *tabella* are line-by-line references to proposed new readings⁵¹⁹ (regardless of their plausibility, correctness or merit) and to longer translations⁵²⁰ or substantial discussions of interpretation. Not included are simple citations of PGM passages, mere references to PGM or very short excerpts in translation without any substantial discussion. These are noted in the bibliography on pp. 3603 ff., where literature since PREISENDANZ is cited according to author. Furthermore excluded are discussions and derivations of *voces magicae*. These are listed under the respective words on pp. 3576 ff.

Given the flood of literature in all branches of classical, archaeological, gemmological, sociological, ethnological, psychological and theological studies, any claim to completeness for either list would be foolhardy to say the least. Readers are invited to communicate their *addenda*.

⁵¹⁷ quoted from SMITH, *ibid.*, 132.6.

⁵¹⁸ quoted from R. KOTANSKY, JPGMJ 11 (1983) 169.2, with some additions.

⁵¹⁹ It was not possible to incorporate all the new and revised readings proposed in SM; Abrasax I–III; R. DANIEL, Two Greek Magical Papyri in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (= Abh. d. rhein.-westfäl. Akad. d. Wiss. Sonderreihe: Papyrologica Coloniensia XIX), Opladen 1991.

⁵²⁰ In addition to the German translations in PREISENDANZ, PGM, the English translations in BETZ, GMP, the reader can find the magical papyri translated into Spanish in J. L. C. MARTINEZ and M. D. S. ROMERO, *Testos de magia en papiros griegos* (= Biblioteca Clásica Gredos, 105), Madrid 1987.

PGM I

W. SCHUBART, Griech. Palaeographie (Hdb. d. Altertumswiss. I. Bd., 4. Abt., 1. Hälfte), Munich 1925, 134, dates it to III c. A. D. — EITREM, Papyri 157 f.: gen'l descr. — KAKOSY, *Magia* 38–39: descr.

1–42: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, *L'Idéal* 319.1. — 2: for meals with deities cf. 23–24, 85–89, III 424–430, IV 750–775, VII 644–651; H.-J. KLAUCK, *Herrenmahl und hellenistischer Kult*, Münster 1982 — BETZ, GMP 3.1. — 6: *l. τίθει δ[ὲ ἔσθθεν] αὐτοῦ (= τοῦ ῥάκου)* SCHMIDT, GGA 193 (1931) 441, who cps. PGM IV 1081 f., XXXVI 369 f. — 10: „mit unzerschnittenem Weihrauch“ — not „mit männlichem Weihrauch“ — ZUCKER 359. — 12: κλίματα: uncertain meaning here — BETZ, GMP 3.5, who cites literature on *technopaignia*. — 20 f.: O. BÖCHER, *Dämonenfurcht u. Dämonenabwehr*, Stuttgart 1970, 285: milk and honey as food of the gods. — 22: „Schrein“ not „Tempel“ — ZUCKER 359. — 24: „ehe du dich <zum Mahl / zu Tisch> niederlegst“, ZUCKER 359. — 26–38: BARTSCH 175: Greek and Ger. tr. — 27: *l. Ἀρπσεφ[νο]ῦφις?* „Horus, der schöne Knabe“ SPIEGELBERG ap. W. WEBER, *Die ägyptisch-griech. Terrakotten* (Kgl. Museen zu Berlin. Mitteil. aus d. ägypt. Slg. II), Berlin 1914, 61.95. — 29–37: cf. GUNDEL, s. v. Sirius, in: RE III A,1 (1927) 324, 335 f.; ZUCKER 361. — 31: ἀνα[μινγνών τῇ γῇ] FESTUGIÈRE, *L'Idéal* 318. 4; ἀμ[αρευτῇ γῇ] SCHMIDT op. cit. 442. — 32: ἐπ[ὶ θεμελίῳ] EITREM, SO 20 (1940) 175; ὁ ἐπ[ὶ θεμελίῳ] SCHMIDT 442, who cps. PGM IV 3074, 3075. — 34: ἀχηνίας γονὰς [ἰεῖς ἐ]πὶ τ[ὸν ἱερὸν ἐρ]ινεὸν τῆς Ἡλίου πόλεως SCHMIDT 442. — 37: *l. ωφρι, οφρι, οίφρι* PETERSON, RhM 75 (1926) 400, who cps. SB 6127 and Chnumis gems: βρινταντηνοφριν. — 43 f.: PIEPER, MDAIK 5 (1934) 131, descr. — 43–195: gen'l descr., PREISENDANZ, Paredros 1435. — 54–191: Engl. tr., SMITH, Jesus 98–99; NT parallels cited there on p. 192. — 56: ἐπὶ δώματος ὑψηλοῦ „auf das Dach des Hauses“ SCHMIDT 442, cf. PGM IV 170, 2469. — 56: δῶμα ὑψηλόν „kein hochgelegenes Gemach, sondern ... ein ebensolches Dach“, BAUER 103. — 58 f: τελαμῶνα „nicht Riemen, sondern Binde“, SCHMIDT 442, cf. PGM IV 176. — 59: *l. [εὐθὺς ἀ]νατέλλοντος ... κεφ[αλήν καὶ ἐπιδιόκων* EITREM, SO 20 (1940) 175. — 59 f: [εὐθὺς δὲ] ἀνατέλλοντος ... κεφ[αλήν καὶ ἄμα δι]όκων SCHMIDT 442, who cps. PGM V 452 f., I 72 f. Κατασειὼν ≠ „in-dem du hinabwirfst“, but rather „in-dem du hin und her schwenkst“, in all three passages. — 63: θυμιατήριον „kein (irdener) Räucheralter, sondern ein Räuchergefäß“, BAUER 103. — 64: *l. ἱερόν*, NOCK, Class. Rev. 38 (1924) 105.20. — 66: *l. τοῦ σώματος* SMITH, Jesus 191. — 68: noun ἱερων?; τάχος goes with γλῦφε RIESS 51. — 72: W. BURKERT, *Structure and History in Greek Myth and Ritual*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1979, 163. 32: magic with myrtle branches. *l. [ἐνκαρπ]ον* SCHMIDT 442. — 75: cf. IV 2469, 2712, BAUER 103. — 75: *l. κατ' ὀλίγον ἀνα]λυθὲν τὸ ἄστρον* SCHMIDT 442–443, who cps. 154 ff. — 78: *l. λέγε παραυτά* SCHMIDT 443, who cps. 97, 183, 185. — 82 f: στενὸς τόπος = στενωπός? RIESS 51; *l. στεγνὸν τόπον ... κάθ[ισον]* SCHMIDT 443. — 86: *l. προσάνα[πρεσε πρὸς]* SCHMIDT 443. — 88: πρόπεμπε “you address preliminary words” O'NEIL in: GMP 5.20. *l. φίλον* NOCK, CR 38 (1924) 105.20. — *l. ε[ὔτο]νος* SCHMIDT 443. — 91: πρὸς ἃ φράζει 2nd person middle

form – BETZ, GMP 5.21. – 92: “Test this oath” / “Test the oath itself” ? BETZ, GMP 5.22. – 92: I. πειρᾷ δὲ τοῦτον [τὸν] ὀρκισμὸν αὐτοῦ (= τοῦ θεοῦ) SCHMIDT 443. – 93: I. κέλευε δὲ τῷ παιδί τὰς θύρας τρέχειν SCHMIDT 443. – 96: I. γίνωσκέ τοι ... ὃν εἶδες SMITH, Jesus 191. – 97 f.: Engl. tr., BUTLER 16–17; Engl. tr., RIESS, CW 28 (1934–1935) 105. – 99: ἀναρίπτει ἀνέμους ἐκ γῆς EISLER, Weltenmantel 455.6, cites exx. for the windy Underworld. I. κατ-αστρέφει, ὀνειραιτητεῖ, ἀν[ιστᾷ ν]εκρούς ἐκ γῆς SCHMIDT 443. – 108 f.: I. εὐ-θύς [σοι] θήσει ... καὶ ταῦτα θήσει τὰ μὲν ἀληθῆ ibid. – 111: I. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπηρετοῦντάς σοι ibid. – 119–190: excerpts in Polish tr., MANTEUFFEL, Me-ander 5 (1950) 497. – 120: A. ST. PEASE, Vergil Aeneis (1935) ad IV 510, and R. G. AUSTIN, Aeneis (1955) ad IV 510, note the presence of the same deities in both places. – 121: ἐνδιατρέχειν, „nicht ‘darauf’ laufen, sondern hindurch-laufen“, BAUER 103. – 125: λύχνος not „Licht“ but „Lampe“, ibid. – 133: I. ὡρι πι[ρνε]μουν SCHMIDT 443. – 140 f.: BONNER, Studies 141, disc. the solar character of the passage. – 143 ff.: BONNER, Studies 19, 128–129. – 144: Ὠρος, not Ἡλίωρος, is meant: BONNER, Studies 19. – 142: BONNER, JEA 16 (1930) 6 f.: the isopsephistic value of the χαβραχ formula and gem parallels. – 143 f.: Engl. tr., LINDSAY, Origins 262. BONNER, HThR 39 (1946) 48–49: gems made more or less according to these instructions. Engl. tr., JACKSON, Lion 110. P. ZAZOFF, Archäol. Anzeiger 1965, 94. 215, going by PREISENDANZ in PGM vol. I, p. 1, and dating the papyrus to the IV–V c., says the gems all pre-date the papyri by about a century. – 143–196: descr., M. SMITH, Helios 13 (1986) 71–72, who draws Pauline parallels. – 145 f.: PIEPER, MDAIK 5 (1934) 132, descr. – 148 f.: SCHOLEM, Gnosticism² 71, stresses Jewish influence, esp. the composite names. – 154: I. ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατελθόντα κατ’ ὀλίγον ἀναλυό-μενον SCHMIDT 443. – 163 f.: analysis, FESTUGIÈRE, Révélation IV 182. – 163: I. βασιλεῦ, <ὀρκίζω σε> SICHERL 113, who says not Aion but a subordi-nate spirit of the air is being invoked here. – 166–177: AUNE, Prophecy in Early Christianity, Grand Rapids 1983, 46: Engl. tr. – 176: f. Engl. tr., SMITH, Clement of Alexandria, Cambridge 1973, 222, where Biblical parallels are noted; EITREM, Papyi 251.15: evidence for the Roman imperial cult? – 178: Ger tr., HOPFNER, Mageia 371. – 180: HANSE 14.1: various possibilities for translation. – 182: I. ὅση αὐτὸν κατεγγύς σου ἐστῶτα SCHMIDT 444. – 192 f.: I. εἰ μὴ μόνω [συ]γτέχνω υἱῷ σου ibid. – 193: ἰσχινῶ υἱῷ Egyptian or Semitic idiom? BERGMAN in: GMP, p. 8 n. 37. – 195–224: Fr. tr. and analysis, FESTU-GIÈRE, Révélation IV 183 no. 2. VERMASEREN, Sotériologie 23, quotes FESTU-GIÈRE’s translation. – 196 f.: ῥίζωμα “foundation”, RIESS, 51, who discusses the Jewish elements; PETERSON, Frühkirche 107–128; GOODENOUGH, Symbols II 194: despite the presence of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob it is probably Chris-tian. – 197–222: belongs to the foregoing solar praxis, SICHERL 114. Greek and Fr. tr., AMÉLINEAU, Essai sur le gnosticisme égyptien 315 f. – 197: <στήλη> is not necessary; in fact, no substantive is necessary, PETERSON, Frühkirche 107. – 207–211: Engl. tr., RIESS, CW 28 (1934–1935) 106. – 209: ἄφατοι „unsagbar“ PETERSON, Frühkirche 116. – 211: <τήν> unnecessary: ibid. 117. – 212 f.: ibid. 110, on the Adam figure here. – 214: ἀπορῶμαι ἀ[πάντων] „mir fehlt alles“, ibid. 111. ἄβουλος „ohne Wollen“, ibid. 111. – 216: BETZ, GMP

8.40, cites exx. of *heimarmene* in PGM and literature. — 223: l. ὀφθαλμὸν νυκτιβαῦ[(τος)] SCHMIDT, op. cit. 445, who cps. XXXVI 264. — 224: l. σφαγγίνου μύρου SCHMIDT, op. cit. 445, who cps. IV 2584, 2650, 2873, 3097. — 232 f.: Ger. tr., KROPP, KZT III 161.1. — 237–242: is similar to DMP 16.6–8, JOHNSON, Enchoria 7 (1977) 55.7. — 241: LEIPOLDT and MORENZ, Heilige Schriften 178–179, cite parallels for eating and drinking written charms. — 259 f.: l. ἔσει δῆλος ὀπίσω SCHMIDT 445. — 263: θρόνος: PETERSON, Frühkirche 255 cites parallels. — 264–348: GOODENOUGH, Symbols II 194: pagan in structure; probably Jewish charm recast by a pagan. — 279, 336: PETERSON, op. cit., 260.37, and BIDEZ and CUMONT (n. 202) I 39: on ebony rods in magic. — 280 f.: v. ad 72. — 284: λύκου ὀφθαλμός must be a spice, not a wolf's eye, SCHMIDT 445. — 295–303: Ger. tr., EISSFELDT, ZMR 42 (1927) 161. — 296 f.: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, L'Idéal 294–295. — 300–304: ≡ III 211–214 SMITH, Pagan Dealings (n. 173), cps. the two versions and their textual transmission. Suggests A. D. 150 as probable date of composition of the *Urtext* of this invocation. — 305–314: = KERN, Orph. Fragm., p. 312: ZUCKER 361–362. — 308: „*Mischkrug*“ not „*Becher*“, ZUCKER 359. — 309 f.: Engl. tr., LINDSAY, Origins 265; SMITH, Jesus 112. — 309 f.: analysis, FESTUGIÈRE, Révélation IV 184. — 315–325: Greek and Ger. tr., Abrasax I 10 ff. — 326: GUNDEL, Dekane 68–69, disc. the *voces magicae* which number 36, the same number as the decans and the Moirai. — 327 f.: l. περὶ ἐποπτείας ... περὶ ὀνειραιτησίας SCHMIDT 445. — 336: v. ad 72 and 279. — 341 f.: JACOBY, Byz.-Neugr. Jbb. 10 (1932–1934) 88–89: strong Jewish influence; résumé of Genesis creation story. Cf. Mt. 10.28, Luc. 12.5, Act. 8.10. — 345: JACOBY, op. cit., 89.1: l. ὀρκίζω φθείροντα τὸν μέχρις κτλ. or ὀρκίζω φθείροντα μέχρις τοῦ κτλ.?

PGM II

brief descr. in W. SCHUBART, H. KORTENBEUTEL, Die Papyri als Zeugen antiker Kultur, Berlin 1938, 58. — photo: Abrasax I, Taf. I. — gen'l descr.: EITREM, Orakel u. Mysterien, Zurich 1947, 49–52; ID., Papyri 257 ff. — Greek, Ger. tr., commentary: Abrasax I 35 ff.

2: μαντοσύναισιν goes with χαίρων, not with ἐπίρροθος SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 445. — 5 f.: l. φιλόλεσχον *add. lex.*, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 445–446, who cites exx. of Apollo being called λεσχηνόριος. Cf. STEIER, s. v. Lorbeer, in: RE XIII (1927) 1441, on the mantic virtues of the bay leaf and PGM II 81 f. — 10 f.: l. γράφεται, μετὰ τοῦ πιττακίου SCHMIDT 446: cf. I 265 ff. — 11 f.: Ger. tr., Leben 88. — 20 ff.: Ger. tr., Leben 88. — 23: l. ψιέθου SCHMIDT 446. — 24: „*mit unzerschnittenem Weihrauch*“ cf. ad I 10. — 25: ἄσπιλος not „*ungefleckt*“, but „*unbefleckt*“, „*makellos*“. [?] — 25–28: RIESS 51, asks how one can sacrifice incense and pine cones on a *thymiaterion* together with two cocks. He sees a corruption in l. 28 κοιμῶ, “unless the expression ἐν δεξιᾷ means “on the right side of the bed”, so that the *crux ansata* is drawn on the earthen floor. For it is manifestly impossible for a person to lie along its vertical line”. — 26 f.: PIEPER, MDAIK 5 (1934) 132, descr. — 28–34: BONNER and YOUTIE,

TAPA 84 (1953) 60–66, disc. a gem parallel. – 31: l. ἐν σπίννῃ λί<θω> SCHMIDT 446, who cps. Theophr. περὶ λίθων 13 and Hesychius σπίννα· ὁ σπίνος. RIESS 51: l. πίννῃ. – 32–34: ≡ DMP 7.25–28, PGM V 424–449, JOHNSON, Enchoria 7 (1977) 55.7. – 34 f.: l. δεινῶς λειοτρίβησον SCHMIDT 446. – 42: the sign is an Egyptian symbol of protection *shenou*, BERGMAN in: GMP, p. 13.14. – 47 f.: Engl. tr., BUTLER 15. – 55 f.: l. γυμναζομένῳ SCHMIDT 446, who translates „über einen unverdorbenen Knaben, der sich dazu entkleiden muß“. – 58: l. αἰσθη πληγῆς μάστιγος ibid. – 67 and 72: BONNER and YOUTIE, TAPA 84 (1953) 60–66, disc. a gem parallel; cf. PREISENDANZ, Byz. Zeits. 59 (1966) 391. – 69: ἀπὸ ἱερο γλώσσης SCHMIDT 447: the *vox magica* beginning with ἱερο is incomplete. All of it, not just the first part, would have been holy. Cf. PGM IV 3207, where a *vox magica* begins ἱερῶ-. – 73: l. αὐτ-ἀνάλοιφον (add. lex.) = οἶνος αὐτίτης SCHMIDT 447, who cps. διφθεράλοιφος and Plin. *n. h.* 14.120, 23.45. – 78: For κύριον ὄνομα cf. Philo, *Leg. alleg.* I 75, *Det.* 22,83, *Plant.* 74; Iambl., *Myst.* 7.4–5 (BETZ, GMP 15.23). – 81–100: RIESENFELD, *Eranos* 44 (1946) 153 ff.: stylistic analysis. – 86: l. κλύε SCHMIDT 447. – 89: l. οὐρανοφοῖτα ibid. – 91: l. ἀκάμας ibid. – 92 f.: CAILLOIS, *Rev. Hist. Relig.* 115 (1937) 153, accepts DILTHEY's textual emendations. – 98–141: Greek and Fr. tr., AMÉLINEAU, *Essai sur le gnosticisme égyptien* 315 f. – 100: ἀραραχαρά<ρα> ἥ φθισίκηρε have been incorporated into the verse. The first is Hebrew (?), the second the Greek translation: RIESS 51. MERKELBACH, *ZPE* 47 (1982) 172: φθισίκηρε „*Vernichter des Todeslosen*“. – 101–141: RIESENFELD, *Eranos* 44 (1946) 153 ff.: stylistic analysis. – 101–155: Greek text and Ger. tr., TOTTI, *ZPE* 73 (1988) 287 ff., who cites it as evidence for identifying Apollo-Helios-Harpokrates with Tithoes. – 102: l. ὁ ἐπὶ λωτῷ καθήμενος SCHMIDT, *GGA* 193 (1934) 176. – 104: WORTMANN, *Kosmogonie* 68: gem parallels. BARB, *Abraxas* 81 ff., cites this as an example of the sun god in the four sections of the earth; Hebrew parallels and gem parallels. – 104 f.: Greek and Ger. tr., KÁKOSY, *Stud. Aegyptiaca* 2 (1976) 193, who cites an archaeological parallel fitting this description. – 114: l. βασιλείον ἀ<στ>εροειδῆ? RIESS 52; or does it mean a cloud, or a nimbus on the head? Cf. Exod. 16.10; 24.16; 34.5. – 115: l. σεισμούς? RIESS 52, which could refer to an earthquake or to turbulence in a thunderstorm. In the latter instance, one would want to retain the reading ἀεροειδῆ in l. 114. l. εἰς Μουσέως θεός TOTTI, *ZPE* 73 (1988) 287. l. γῆς σεισμούς· ὥς γάρ; cf. XII 89. SICHERL 284. – 122: l. ὑδάτων φέριστε HARRAUER, *Meliouchos* 41.44. – 128 f.: GUNDEL, *Dekane* 233: descr.; disc. of the decan Kommes as he is portrayed in this text. – 139: l. φνεσκηρ? SCHMIDT, *GGA* 1931, 444. – 140 f.: BONNER, *JEA* 16 (1930) 6 ff.: disc. χαβραχ formula, its isopsephistic value and gem parallels. – 141–175: PETERSON, *Frühkirche* 255: cites parallels; RIESS, *JEA* 26, 52: two triduumms and a seventh day for the sacrifice. – 144 f.: l. καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς σεισμούς· θεός γάρ SCHMIDT 447, who cps. IV 1323 f. and disc. κωτο „*Erdbeben*“. The Greek here renders the Coptic κομ νογν and κομ φθο. – 150 f.: BETZ, GMP 17.40, cps. Exod. 12.7, 22–23; Deut. 6.4–9, 11, 13–21 etc. – 150 f.: l. καθ-αρὸν <πῆλῳσων> τὰς φ. SCHMIDT 448; Ger. tr., ROHLAND 80. – 150–151: the purification with mud is Orphic: RIESS 52. – 151, 160: PETERSON, *Frühkirche*

337: cites parallels. — 155: WORTMANN, Kosmogonie 101: Horus-Michael-Chnumis gem parallels. — 158: the terms of dismissal recall a Jewish prayer: RIESS 52. — 159: l. ὡς περιέχη, χρίσας αἷμα αἰγός „indem du als Umrahmung (der Zeichnungen auf dem πηλός) an der Außenseite der Tür zum Schlafgemache Ziegenblut streichst“ SCHMIDT 448. Under the right arm of the drawing read: λαμπουρη, *ibid.* — 166: BONNER, Studies 164 f.: the headless god is here a mere bogeyman. — 169 f.: vignette in KÁKOSY, Magia 128. — 176 f.: Ger. tr., Leben 89.

PGM III

= VAN HAELST 1075, Photo: ZPE 13 (1974) Taf. III (lines 574 ff.); HARRAUER, Meliouchos, Taf. I–VI (lines 1–178); DIRINGER, The Alphabet, London 1968 (3rd rev. ed.), vol. II 313: photo of several columns. — descr., KÁKOSY, Magia 39.

1–164: Greek, Ger. tr., commentary: Abrasax I 81 ff. — 1: [θεοποί] ησον, Abrasax I 96. — 1–24: Engl. tr., LUCK 97–98. — 1–52: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, L'Idéal 300.1; Fr. tr. and disc., CAPART, CdE 18 (1943) 36: mummified cats are products of such ceremonies as this. — 2, 3: πνίγειν, πνίξις „ertränken“, BAUER 104. — 3–14: Greek, Ger. tr., analysis. HARRAUER, Meliouchos 11 f. — 4–5: this is a male cat; hence it cannot be Bastet (pace EITREM, CR 38, 69), SICHERL 102. — 8: ἱερὸν πνεῦμα refers to the deified soul of the cat united with Osiris, SICHERL 102. — 15: ἐν τ[ῷ στόμα]τι is inconsistent with l. 67: [διὰ τ]ῶν καμ[αρῶν] GMP, p. 18.4. — 15: l. μὴν δὲ ἐν τ[ῷ δεξιῷ ὠ]τί SCHMIDT GGA 193 (1931) 449. — 32: l. φωκενεψ *ibid.* 452. — 36 f.: the deified soul of the cat is invoked independently of, and not in association with, Osiris the “great chthonic deity”, SICHERL 102. — 43–58: Greek, Ger. tr., analysis, HARRAUER, Meliouchos 49 ff. — 43: l. ῥανεῖς {εἰς} τὸ ὕδωρ RIESS 52. — 43 ff.: BjÖRCK, Fluch 116: parallel *defixiones*; HARRAUER, Meliouchos 53 f., notes similarities with AUDOLLENT, Defix. 38.10 ff. — 47: ἀρκυία Cf. the Egyptian underworld demon, “the Netter”, e.g. D. BIDOLI, Die Sprüche der Fangnetze, Augustin 1976; ZANDEE, Death 226–234 — GMP 19.11. l. Ἑρμεκάτη Ἑκάτη or Ἑρμεκάτη, Ἑρμεκάτη because the deity addressed is feminine. Therefore, Ἑρμῆ (PREISENDANZ) has to go (HARRAUER, Meliouchos 50.55). Hekate is not „die abwehrende, unterweltliche“ but „die Netze stellende Totengöttin“ SCHMIDT GGA 1931, 449. — 50: πνευματωτοῦ *add. lex.*, GMP 19.15. — 71–93: Greek, Ger. tr., analysis, HARRAUER, Meliouchos 19 ff. — 79: v. ad l. 152. — 81: χευχθωνίε = Ζεῦ χθόνιε? which would identify Helios-Mithras with Hades (DILLON in: GMP 20.19). — 85: συντέλεσον κτλ. belongs to the preceding invocation (HARRAUER, *op. cit.* 21.15). — 93: καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς γραφόμενα not „und das im folgenden Geschriebene“ (PREISENDANZ), but rather „und die folgende Zeichnung“ (*ibid.* 25.22). — 98–124: Greek, Ger. tr., analysis (*ibid.* 27 ff., citing ancient Egyptian parallels). — 98: RITNER in: GMP 21.24, cps. Iambl. Myst. 6.5; B. EBBELL, Papyrus Ebers, London 1937, 70–71. Cf. the Metternich stele (v. n. 25). — 100: not „bis ich den heiligen Helios treffe“, but „bis ich dem heiligen Helios mein Anliegen vorgetragen habe“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931,

449, who cps. V 163 f. – 105: not „Südwesten“ but „Westen“, ZUCKER 360. – 109: WORTMANN, Texte 74, discusses similar *voces magicae*. – 110–111: l. αμφιμιου[τι]? Cf. cat-headed Re-Mjwjtj, HARRAUER, Meliouchos 29.28. – 114 f.: l. δι' ὅπερ ἐμοί [δὸς μὴ] ἄλλω[ς αἰτεῖν], ἵνα ἀνταποδοῖς αὐτοῖς [τὸ δεῖνα] πρᾶγμα, SCHMIDT GGA 1931, 449. – 115: SICHERL 100 rejects PREISENDANZ' interpretation and translates: „Ich rufe dich, Seth, an ...“ – 119: „nach jüdischer Gewohnheit die Bat Kol, die Himmelsstimme, Ersatz für die Gottheit selbst“, BAUER 104. – 129 f.: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, L'Idéal 296. – 129–161: Greek, Ger. tr., and analysis, HARRAUER, Meliouchos 31 f. – 130: κωμαστήριον HARRAUER, ibid. 33.32, cites K. SMOLAK, Zur Himmelfahrt Christi ..., JÖB 20 (1971) 12 ff., et al., on the stars dancing in the heavens. – 131: l. οἰζου, or Ὠρ αειαου (Hor + „aoia Ephesia“ of Apuleius, *met.* 11.17) HARRAUER, ibid. 34.33. – 133–145, 153–157: ibid. 42 f., ancient Egyptian parallels. – 135: not „Westen“ but „Nordwesten“, ZUCKER 360. – 136: l. λιβιβοῤ? Abrasax I 101. – 138: ὁ [φοῖν]ιξ [ὁ] πυροειδής? Abrasax I 101. – 138: l. ἄρπαξ? HARRAUER, op. cit. 34. – 142: Kmeph disc. by SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 449, who prefers to see in his name a Greek rendition of the Egyptian *km²-f* „sein eigener Erzeuger“, cf. 370, 654, 143 f., II 120 f. – 143: ὠκεανός = NOYN „das Urwasser“, SCHMIDT 449; BARB, JWCI 16 (1953) 219–220. – 144: RIESS 52: the significance of Chnum as creator god. – 145: The egg is that which produced the sun god, SCHMIDT GGA 1931, 449–450. For the sun as an egg cf. PGM XII 100–106; for the cosmic egg, J. BERGMAN, Isis-Seele und Isis-Ei, Uppsala 1970, 73–102; MORENZ, Egyptian Religion 177–179 – RITNER in: GMP 22.37. – 145–151: BARTSCH 185: Greek and Ger. tr. – 146: l. [πρωτο-γέ]νης RIESS 52. – 152: l. χαβραχ φνεσκη; cf. I 141–142, II 138–139, III 77–78 – GMP p. 22.38. BONNER, JEA 16 (1930) 6 ff.: isopsephistic value of the χαβραχ formula and gem parallels. – 157 f.: l. ὑπήντησας [καὶ] ἐδωρήσω SCHMIDT 450. – 165–262: Greek text, Ger. tr., commentary, Abrasax II, Kap. V. – 165: l. λαβὼν [β]α[λ]σάμινον SCHMIDT 450. – 180: l. οὐροβόρος ΚΟΤΑΝΣΚΥ in: GMP 23.41. – 187–242: Photo: Abrasax II, Taf. 2. – 187: l. κοπάνου? ΚΟΤΑΝΣΚΥ in: GMP 23.43. – 187: l. τὰ ξυρά? ibid., 23.42. – 187: κομπάνου τὰ ξυρά „Schermesser des Kombabos“? HARRAUER, Meliouchos 17.11, who cps. Kombabos, beloved of Atargatis-Kubaba (Kybele). – 191: l. ἀνὰ οὐγγίας δ[ύ]ο SCHMIDT 450, who cps. IV 1310. – 194: l. τελεῖ future, instead of imperative, GMP 23.45. – 194: l. τρανῇ SCHMIDT 450. – 198: HANSE 14.1, suggests possible translations. – 201: l.νάματα Ν[υμφῶ]ν EITREM, SO 21 (1941) 127. – 205–213: Greek, Ger. tr., analysis, HARRAUER, Meliouchos 15 f. HARRAUER prints PREISENDANZ' reconstruction of the hymn in the footnote on p. 16, and discusses the faults and merits of the various versions by FAHZ, HEITSCH and PREISENDANZ. – 206: l. Σημέα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, κόσμου [πάτε]ρ [ἐμοῖ] ἵλαος ἔ[λ]θοις HARRAUER, Meliouchos 17.11. Semea is a Syrian goddess (cf. III 29, V 429, DMP xiv 214) – O'NEIL in: GMP 24.48, who cites further literature. l. ἵλαος ἔ[λ]θοις, KEYSSNER, Gottesvorstellung 91. – 211–214: v. I 300–304 (SMITH, Pagan Dealings [n. 173]. – 215: l. αἰώνι[ον] ὄμμα-τος [αὐγῇ] SCHMIDT 450; Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, L'Idéal 296. – 220: l. ἀντολήθεν ... ἐὼν μούνος χόρον ... κόσμον [δι]ελ[αύνων] ... [ἐρ]ρουσι δι' ἡλυγος ... κα-

δ[ύνων φέγγεις ἐνέ]ρων ἐπὶ σήματ' ἄμαυρά καὶ Στυγὸς ἀδ[μήτους] πηγὰς καὶ ἡέρα λυγ[ρόν] SCHMIDT 450. — 220: ἐπισκεπάω solecism for ἐπισκέπτομαι ?, the sense which is required here — O'NEIL in: GMP 24.52. — 228: I. κ[αί] πέλαγος σιγ[ῶν ὑποστ]έλλεται SCHMIDT 450. — 243–262: Photo: Abrasax II, Taf. 3. — 250: I. χάρμ[α βροτοῖς Σ]μινθεῦ KEYSSNER, Gottesvorstellung 121. — 257: I. εἰ[πὲ δ]πίσω ἀεροδόρμε Πύ[θιε] ... εὐχα[ριστίας] εὐμενῆς καὶ ἐπήκοος, ἀ[φ'] ἧς σ' ὥρας καλ[έσω] SCHMIDT 450. — 261 f.: I. εὐμενῆς καὶ ἐπήκοος, ἀ[φ'] ἧς σ' ὥρας κα[λῶ] SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 179. — 263 f.: Engl. tr., SMITH, Jesus 116. — 276: I. πᾶν ἁλωτόν SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 171. — 277 f.: had to be composed after August 28, 27 B. C., because of the moon's position, WORTMANN, Bibl. Or. 27 (1970) 219; Fr. tr. and disc., CUNEN Lécanomancie 135. — 283: ἐξ[αμέτρῳ, cf. 437 ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ Abrasax II 122. — 289 f.: Fr. tr. and disc., CUNEN, Lécanomancie 136–137. — 283 ff.: [προ]/γνωστικὴ πρᾶξις πᾶσα[ν ἐν]εργίαν ἔχουσα καὶ [πάντα τὰ πά]/θη ποιοῦσα κλιτά, ἐν βυθ[ῶ] <γῆς ἢ ἐν> ποταμ[ῶ] <ἢ ἐν> τύμβ[ῳ] <βιαίου> καταβὰς εἰσανάβαλλε <τῆς θε>ραπειᾶς <τινὰ ἐν> μίτῳ ὠ<χρῶ> <τὸ> πάθος παύεται, καὶ ὅτι [ἂν β]ούλη, πεύσει. SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 451. — 291: BARB, Survival 125 addenda ad 112.2, cites this passage in connection with the magical utensils from Pergamum. — 295 f.: gen'l descr., PREISENDANZ Paredros 1439. — 295: I. καλόν ἐστιν κτλ. EITREM, SO 30 (1953) 110. — 295 f.: ἐστιν ἐπιθεῖναι τῇ τραπέζῃ [ὕπ]ό[κε]νον 'Απόλλωνα ἐν ξύλῳ δάφνης. „Hier bedeutet ἐστιν wie gewöhnlich: 'man kann', nicht 'man muß'. Das ist also eine Möglichkeit, die aus einer anderen Fassung übernommen ist. Darum Z. 299: ὑπόθεσις τὴν λάμναν ὑπὸ τὸ θυμιατήριον (auf dem Dreifuße) ἢ κα<ὶ τὸ> ξόανον, ὃ ἔκτιστο ἀ<ντι> [το]ῦ θυμιατηρίου“ SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 451. — 302 and 304: not „Kapelle“ but „Raum, Zimmer, Saal“, ZUCKER 360. — 304: I. καὶ ὅ[νου αἵματι ἀ]ληλιμμένος, SCHMIDT 451. — 305: „mit Binden versehen“ not „eingehüllt“, ZUCKER 360. — 327 f.: Engl. tr., SMITH, Jesus 116: cf. John 2.24 f. — 332: ωῖβ = ὦ<ον> ἰβ<εως> RIESS 52. — 336: I. [ιαρβ]αθ αγραμνὴ φ[ιβ]λῳ χνημεῳ, DANIEL ZPE 50 (1983) 148. — 337: δός μοι ... τριακονθήμερον is one sentence, RIESS 52. — 410: I. λαβὼν γάλα βόειον καὶ καταλεάσας (add. lex.) καὶ ἀποθεῖς εἰς καθαρὸν ἄγγος ὑπόθου τὴν λεπίδα SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 451, who cps. Hesychius ἀλεάζειν· θερμαίνειν. — 412: twelve pastry dolls are intended, KOTANSKY in: GMP 29.79. — 418: p̄cosm pehouit? “the first darkness”, MEYER in: GMP 29.81. — 419: ΓΕΙΝΝΑ = Gehenna?, ibid., 29.82. — 420: ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΠΙΝΕΤΟ = “Jesus our great one”? ibid., 29.83. — 421: the significance of the *udjat* drawing in the margin is obscure, since nothing in the adjacent text refers to it, WORTMANN, Bibl. Or. 27 (1970) 218. — 432: I. δαμνίπη, WORTMANN, Texte 76. — 434 f.: ibid., parallels to the *voces magicae*. — 479 ff.: Πρόγνωσις· λαβὼν κυνοκεφάλια υ[... λέγε εἰς || τὸ ὕψος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. ὁ φῶρ τὸ[ν Δ] παρε[ν]όμησεν, ὁ μόνος μέγας θεός, δ[ὸς αὐτόν] | ἀπὸ συνόδου ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ζ· γνῶσ[τὸν (μοι?)] | γενέσθαι, “Ἦλιε. ἄλλη ἀντιγραφὴ ... | αλα. α ανγ' ξιχα μιχα' ανγ' ο[υ]ων(α)? || εροῖ πετενητ ωπρωμε ἔ[χ]ων στέφανον ἐπὶ τῇ | κεφαλῇ [χ]ρυσοειδῇ, γενοῦ εἰς [τὸν φῶρα ἄραντα τὸ δεῖνα], | ἀπόλεσον, σχίσον αὐτόν καὶ κε[φαλήν] τοῦ ἀποτεμῶν | δίφ[ξο]ν· εἰάν δὲ ἀποκεφαλίσ[η] JACOBY, ARW 29 (1931) 204, who continues: l. 484: αλλαλαλα? cf. PGM II 4, 67. — 484: αητ ζιχα μιχα αητ ο[γ]ων[α]ε]

ερων: „Ich bin Xicha, Micha bin ich. Offenbare mir das, was im Herzen des Menschen ist“. Cf. PGM III 457, *ibid.* – 490: „Es ist die Formel ΜΑΣΚΕΛΛΙ ΜΑΣΚΕΛ]ΛΩ [ΦΝΟΥ]ΚΕΝΤ ΑΒΑΩΘ zu ergänzen (so Preisendanz in seinem ungedruckten Index).“ Abrasax II 122. – 494 f.: [σύστασις πρ]ὸς Ἡλίον περὶ πά[σης πρ]άξεως καὶ περ[ὶ π]άν[των] ποι[ούσα], περὶ ὧν ἐὰν θέ[λῃ]ς. οὕτως ἐπικαλοῦ. SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 452. – 494–609: Photo: Abrasax II, Taf. 1. Greek text, Ger. tr., commentary, *ibid.*, Kap. I. – 495 f.: Engl. tr., Nock, JEA 15 (1929) 230–231. – 498–504: BARTSCH 172: Greek and Ger. tr. – 501: gen'l disc., SICHERL 281–300. – 513: I. φωκενγεψ SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 452. – 516–526: Engl. tr., TAVOR, Things Unutterable, Univ. Press of America 1986, 93. – 523 f.: I. ὄνου στέρ[φος]? SCHMIDT 452. – 542: I. κατατετιμημένης SCHMIDT 452. – 547–548: ≡ IV 2753–2755 and DMP vso. 15.2–4, JOHNSON, Enchoria 7 (1977) 55.7. – 550–590: Engl. tr. and disc., SMITH, Helios 13 (1986) 72–73. – 552: I. πρῶτος δ' ἐξεφάνης ἐκ πρωτογόνου μετέωρος ὕδατος ἀβύσσου SCHMIDT 452, who says the passage deals with the creation of the sun god in the heavenly body of water called Nun and cps. IV 513. Ὑδωρ βίαιον and εὐμεθόδως he rejects as impossible readings. – 556: I. αἰθραν SCHMIDT 452. – 556: ὑσγηνοιδῇ bothers RIESS 52, who would prefer something like ἰσογῶνιος. – 560–562: is similar to PGM I 237–242, IV 2433, 2199–2201 and DMP 16.6–8, JOHNSON, Enchoria 7 (1977) 55.7. – 571: ἐμπνευματίζω *hapax*: cf. πνευματίζω conj. KEIL in C.H. 13.19, cited by Nock and FESTUGIÈRE, Hermès Trismégiste II (Corpus Hermeticum XIII–XVI), Paris 1945, p. 208 – GMP 33.113. – 574 ff.: photo in J. ΜΑΗÉ, ZPE 13 (1974) Taf. III. – 583: λίσσομαι, ἄναξ, πρόσδεξαι | μου τὴν λιτανείαν, τὴν πρὸς σέ ἀναφορὰν προστάξας, ἵνα με συνορᾶν τῶν, πρὸς σέ τὴν γνῶσιν / ἔλλυ[χνιὰς]ης· καὶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ὕλικου σώμα/τος εὐμεν[ῆ] ἀποκ[ατάστασιν] δέομαι, κύριε, πρόσδε/ξαι μου τὴνδε ἀξίωσιν, τὴν λιτανείαν, τὴν προσσύ[στασιν], τὴν ἀναφορὰν τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ δεητικοῦ, / [δ κ]αὶ φθασάτω πρὸς σέ, τὸν πάντων δεσπότην, ὅπως / ποιήσης πάντα τὰ τῆς εὐχῆς μου, θεῶν γενέσθαι. Vgl. Corp. Herm. I 26: τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τέλος τοῖς γνῶσιν ἐσχηκόσιν, θεωθῆναι, ZP III 600: χαίρομεν, ὅτι ἐν πλάσμασιν ἡμᾶς ὄντας ἀπεθέωσας τῇ σεαυτοῦ γνώσει, SCHMIDT 452. – 584 and 588: not „Erhebung“ but „Eingabe, Vorbringen, Gebet“; „der Geist, der sich in Rede (in Worten) äußert (zu äußern vermag)“, ZUCKER 360. – 591–610: FESTUGIÈRE and Nock, *op. cit.*, 353–355 (Greek, Latin, French), 399–401 (textual notes): ΜΑΗÉ, Hermès I pp. 158–167; M. TOTTI, Texte no. 80; ΜΑΗÉ, ZPE 13 (1974) 40–60. – Latin tr.: W. SCOTT, Hermetica I, London 1924, pp. 374–377; M. TOTTI, Texte no. 80. Fr. tr., ΜΑΗÉ, Hermès I 141. Greek, Coptic, Latin synoptic editions, ΜΑΗÉ, Hermès I 160 ff.; cf. vol. II 476–477. Coptic tr.: M. KRAUSE, P. LABIB, Gnostische u. hermetische Schriften aus Codex II u. Codex VI (Abh. d. DAIK, Kopt. Reihe 2), Glückstadt 1971, 185–186; ΜΑΗÉ, ZPE 13 (1974) 40–60; D. M. PARROTT, ed., The Coptic Gnostic Library XI: Nag Hammadi Codices V 2–5 and VI with P. Berol. 8502.1 and 4, pp. 374–387: The Prayer of Thanksgiving VI,7: 63,33–65,7 (P. DIRKSE and J. BRASHLER); SCHENKE u. TRÖGER, Theol. Lit. Ztg. 98 (1973) 495–503; J. ROBINSON, ed., The Nag Hammadi Library translated into English, Leiden 1977, 298–299; TOTTI, Texte no. 80. Engl. tr.: LUCK 96; RIESS, Class. Weekly 28, 106; BELL, Cults and Creeds,

Liverpool 1957, 73–74; FOWDEN, *Hermes* 114–115. Ger. tr.: VERMASEREN, *Sotériologie* 21 (who uses FAHZ' Ger. tr.). SMITH, *Jesus* 136, cps. it with Matt. 11.25 f.; descr. and disc., FOWDEN, *Hermes* 84 f. – 592 ff.: „ἄφραστον ὄνομα τετιμημένον / τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ προσηγορίᾳ καὶ εὐλογοῦμενον τῇ τοῦ / <ὕ>οῦ ὁσιότητι, ὃς πρὸς πάντας καὶ πάντα πατρικὴν / [εὖ]νοϊαν – ἐνεδείξω. *In der lateinischen Fassung bei Apuleius heißt es: nomen sanctum et honorandum, nomen unum, quo solus deus est benedicendus religione paterna, quoniam omnibus paternam pietatem – praebere dignaris. Diese paterna pietas hat ihr Gegenstück in der pietas filii patrem benedicentis.* – 596 ff.: χαρισάμενος ἡμῖν νοῦν, / [λόγ]ον, γνῶσιν· νοῦν μὲν, ἵνα σε νοήσωμεν, λόγον / δέ, ἵν]α σε ἐπικάσωμεν, γνῶσιν, ἵνα σε ἐπιγνώ/σωμεν. *Vgl. die lateinische Fassung: ratione, ut te suspicionibus indagemus.* – 601 ff.: χάρις ἀνθρώπου πρὸς σὲ μία· τὸ σὸν μέγεθος / γνωρίσαι. ἐγνωρίσαμεν σε ὃ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς ζωῇ / ἐγνωρίσαμεν σε, μήτρα πάσης γενέσεως· ἐγνωρίσαμεν / σε, ὃ μήτρα κυφορέ ἐν πατρὸς φυτεία· ἐγνωρί/σαμεν σε, ὃ <τοῦ> παντὸς κυφοροῦντος αἰώνιος διαμονή. *Vgl. die lateinische Fassung: haec est enim humana sola gratulatio: cognitio maiestatis tuae. cognovimus te, – o vitae vera vita, o naturarum omnium fecunda praegnatio; cognovimus te, totius naturae tuo conceptu plenissimae aeterna perseveratio*“, SCHMIDT 453. – 591: Χάριν σοι οἶδαμεν, ψυχῇ πάση καὶ καρδίᾳ[ν] πρὸς | σ[ἐ] ἀνατεταμένη[ν] TOTTI. ψυχῇ πάση καὶ καρδίᾳ[ν] πρὸς σ[ἐ] ἀνατεταμένη[ν] SCOTT, ψυχῇ πᾶσα καὶ καρδίᾳ[ν] πρὸς σ[ἐ] ἀνατεταμένη[ν] ΜΑΗΕ, DIRKSE and BRASHLER | πάση EITREM, *Les papyrus magiques grecs de Paris, Videnskapselskapets Skrifter* II. Hist. filol. Kl. 1923.1, Christiania 1923, 34 f. – 593: τετιμημένον | [τῇ] τοῦ θεοῦ προσηγορίᾳ καὶ εὐλογοῦμενον τῇ τοῦ | [θεοῦ] <εὐλαβείᾳ πατρικῇ> TOTTI. <εὐλαβείᾳ πατρικῇ> MERKELBACH ap. TOTTI, {θεοῦ} <πατρός> SCOTT, ΜΑΗΕ – cf. Coptic, <πατρός ὀνομασίᾳ> DIRKSE and BRASHLER, <πατρός εὐλογία>. Cf. REITZENSTEIN, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen nach ihren Grundgedanken und Wirkungen*, Leipzig 1910, 1920². – 594: ὃς πρ[ὸς] πάντας καὶ πρὸς πάντα[ς] πατρικὴν | εὐνοϊαν καὶ στοργὴν καὶ φιλίαν καὶ ἐπιγλυκυτά[την] ἐνέργειαν ἐν<ε>δείξω TOTTI. ὃς: ος Pap., ὡς ΜΑΗΕ, ὅτ[ι] REITZ., SCOTT | πάντα[ς]: παντας Pap., πάντα PREISENDANZ, Coptic. – 595: χαρισάμενος ἡμῖν νοῦν, | λόγον, γνῶσιν TOTTI. ἡμῖν REITZ., ὑμῖν Pap. λόγον: ΛΟΓΟΣ Coptic, [...]ον pap. – 597: γνῶσιν <δέ> TOTTI, cf. Coptic. I. ἐπιγνώσωμεν <χαίρομεν φωτισθέντες ἐν τῇ σεαυτοῦ γνώσει> χαίρομεν ΜΑΗΕ. Cf. Coptic. – 600: σώμασιν Coptic and Latin versions. – 601 f.: BARB, *JWCI* 16 (1953) 198, sees here “uterine mythology”. – 601: χάρις ἀνθρώπου πρὸς σὲ μία, τὸ | γνωρίσαι <σέ>, TOTTI and ΜΑΗΕ; cf. Coptic and Latin versions. – 602: ἐγνωρίσαμεν, ὃ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς <ζωῇ>: ἐγνωρίσαμεν, <ὃ φῶς νοητόν>, ὃ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς <ζωῇ> ΜΑΗΕ – cf. Coptic, <ζωῇ> Coptic and Lat. texts, ἐγνωρίσαμεν <σέ> ὃ <φῶς νοητόν>, ὃ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς <ζωῇ> DIRKSE and BRASHLER. – 603: ἐγνωρίσαμεν, ὃ μήτρα πάσης γνώσεως TOTTI, γνώσεως Pap., φύσεως ΜΑΗΕ, who also inserts ὃ before μήτρα. – 606: οὕτω σοῦ τάγαθόν ΜΑΗΕ. – 607: [χ]ά[ρι]ν, πλή[ν] TOTTI and ΜΑΗΕ. – 608: [μί]α δὲ τή[ρησις] ΜΑΗΕ. – 612–632: BETZ, *Hist. of Religions* 21 (1981) 163, disc. the role of the shadow in magic. PREISENDANZ, *Paredros* 1450: gen'l descr. – 612: I. ἀ[διά]χυτον “not softened by cooking” KOTANSKY, in: *GMP* 34.123. – 615 ff.: SICHERL cps. DMP

4.23. – 617f.: περιεζωσμένος <ζῶμα> σεβέννινον, ἄρρενικοῦ φοίνικος / καὶ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ [στροφεῖον] σφενδόνης / κόκκινον. Cf. PGM IV 903f.: σὺ δὲ περιζῶσαι σεβέννινον / ἄρρενικοῦ φοίνικος, and 1342f.: περιζῶσάμενος σεβέννινον ἄρρενικοῦ φοίνικος. „Möglich wäre auch <ἄρρενικοῦ φοίνικος> ἄριχον, wenn dies bisher nicht belegte Wort zu äg, lrk, 'rk 'umbinden' gehörte. Die σφενδόνη ist hier nicht 'Schleuder', sondern 'Kopfbinde'“ SCHMIDT 453; Abrasax II 122. – 620: LEIPOLDT and MORENZ, Heilige Schriften 172: the feather is the sign of the Egyptian *hierogrammateus*. – 627: instead of “if he does not hearken”, one expects “and when you are finished, say...” DILLON in: GMP 34.128. – 652 ff.: Coptic analyzed and derived by SCHMIDT 455–456. – 680: J. QUAEGBEUR, Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique (= Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 2), Louvain 1975, 169, equates Shai with Re. – 696: ἰ. οἰκεῖτω? MEYER in: GMP 35.141. – 697: ἰ. ἐ[πιτη]δές SCHMIDT 456. – 707: WORTMANN, Kosmogonie 68, cites gem parallels; MERKELBACH, Roman und Mysterium, Munich 1962, 116.3: [δακτύ]λιον = „Fingerlein“ and not „Ring“. ἰ. 'Α. ἔχοντα ἐπὶ στόματος [τὸν δάκτυ]λον HOPFNER AO 3 (1931) 128.16. – 708–709: γράψας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς Ἀρποκράτην ἔχοντα ἐπὶ στόματος [τὸ δακτύ]λιον, τῇ δὲ εὐωνύμῳ σκῦτος δεδραγμένον καὶ [ἄρ]πην, ἐν [στῆθαι θε]οῦ ἔπειτα ΑΒΛΑΝΑΘΑΝΑΔΒΑ, ἐν πτέρυγι ΑΒΡΑΣΑΞ κτλ. Abrasax II 122. – 709: „Sichel“ not „Stachel“, ZUCKER 360.

PGM IV

= VAN HAELEST 1074. – Gen'l disc. and observations: SEGAL, ANRW II 23.2, 1381–1382. – Contents date to 2nd c., the manuscript to the 4th, HULL, Magic 25. – Coptic portions translated into French: LEXA, Magie II 155 ff.; into German: ROEDER, Ausklang 215 f. – TURNER, Typology 21: Group 8.

1–25: DUQUESNE, A Coptic Initiatory Invocation (= Oxfordshire Communications in Egyptology 2), Thame 1991 (non vidi); 1–25 photo: DUQUESNE, Discussions in Egyptology 20 (1991) 6; Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH, Ancient Christian Magic, San Francisco 1994, no. 2. – 9: ῥυστική ≠ *Sonntag*, acc. to PETERSON, Frühkirche 108, who cps. IV 1164, VII 847; Hermas' *Visio* III 1.1; and disc. the Egyptian origins of the passage. – 11 ff.: SATZINGER, Texte (n. 434) 144–145, describes the dialect as a mixture of Bohairic and Sahidic with some Sub-Achmimic elements. – 11–25: mainly Sahidic. KAHLE, Bala'i-zah. Coptic Texts from Deir El-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt I, London 1954, 243. – 26 f.: Engl. tr., BUTLER 10–11; Ger. tr., KROPP, KZT III 157.2. NOCK, JThS 26 (1925) 407, cps. the passage with KROLL, CCAG VI, p. 76. Engl. tr., ARKIN, Roman Magism at the End of the Republic, Diss. St. Louis 1964, 44. – 35 f.: Ger. tr., C. HABIGER-TUCZAY, Magie und Magier 55. – 38: “Dig a trench around” = “walk around”; cf. PAX, s. v. Circumambulatio, in: RAC 3 (1957) 143–152 – GMP 37.16. Cf. E. KNUCHEL, Die Umwandlung in Kult, Magie und Rechtsbrauch, Bonn 1919. – 45: possible interpretations discussed in GMP 37.20. – 52–72: = DAVID and GRONINGEN, Papyrological Primer, Leiden 1965⁴, no. 72; P. PESTMAN, The New Papyrological Primer, Leiden 1990, no. 70. – 52: προαγνέουσας = sexual purity: BÖCHER (v. ad I 20) 289,

with parallels. — 52 ff. Ger. tr., PIEPER, MDAIK 5 (1934) 132. — 53: I. ἀνεψητῶν DAVID and GRONINGEN, op. cit., p. 142. — 63: κάλαμον χωρικόν „Rohr vom Ort, wo du die Praktik ausführst“ ZUCKER 360: cf. P. Oslo I.238. — 75–77: mainly Sahidic, KAHLE, Bala'izah I 243. — 80: προυποκείμενον: possible interpretations discussed by SMITH in: GMP 38.24. — 81–84: mainly Sahidic, KAHLE, Bala'izah I 243. — 86: “Phylactery for those possessed by demons”, KOTANSKY in: GMP 38.26. — 87: „Bei Preisendanz steht φυλακτήριον πρὸς δαιμόνια ZOMENOS O3K (?) KOYP[I]HΛ IAΦHΛ κτλ. *Das mit 'koptischen' Buchstaben geschriebene ZOMENOS ist noch Griechisch, πρὸς δαιμονιαζομένο(υ)ς, wie schon Tambornino vorgeschlagen hat. Statt KOY-PIHΛ steht auf einer Wiener Gemme (Nr. 2217 bei E. Zwierlein-Diehl) KOYΣ-TIHΛ, IAΦHΛ ist wohl PAΦAHΛ*“, Abrasax II 122. — 88: DELATTE, Clochette (n. 315) 273, wants to keep the literal sense of the word κωδωνίζειν and (together with ABT and PREISENDANZ) translate « *après avoir sonné devant (auparavant?) lui* » — pace HOPFNER, OZ II § 265, who takes the word metaphorically in the sense « *éprouver, contrôler* ». — 89 ff.: Ger. tr., ROEDER, Ausklang 219 ff. — 94–112: mainly Sahidic and Bohairic, KAHLE, Bala'izah I 243. — 94–153: Engl. tr. and disc., MEYER, The Love Spell of PGM IV 94–153, in: T. ORLANDI, F. WISSE, edd., Acts of the Second Intern. Cong. of Coptic Studies, Rome 1985; MEYER and SMITH (v. ad 1–25) no. 3. — 108: I. ρωμ, ρωμ, MEYER, op. cit. 195. — 109 f.: Engl. tr., LINDSAY, Origins 171. — 110: I. ετρεβλωγτ, MEYER, op. cit. 195. — 123–131: Sahidic and Bohairic, KAHLE, Bala'izah I 244. — 125 f.: DERCHAIN, CdE 30 (1955) 240; HOPFNER, Plut. I 131, disc. ancient Egyptian elements. — 139–143: mixture of Sahidic and Bohairic, KAHLE, Bala'izah I 243. — 147–153: Sahidic and Bohairic, KAHLE, Bala'izah I 243. — 152: I. επετεμπεχт: MEYER, op. cit. 195. — 153–221: descr., M. SMITH, Helios 13 (1986) 69–70. — 153–285: structural analysis, EITREM, SO 8 (1929) 49–50: a *systasis* is not a union but rather a meeting with the god, *ibid.* SMITH, Transformation by Burial (n. 173) 109 f., on the ritual death and transformation described here. EITREM, Orakel u. Mysterien, Zurich 19–47, 71: gen'l descr.; HOPFNER, in: Studies ... Griffith (n. 464) 218–232, disc. of lecanomancy and related phenomena; Engl. tr., SMITH, Clement of Alexandria (v. ad I/76) 221, with bibliography and parallels; *Id.*, Jesus 193, NT parallels; Ger. tr., ARAM 341–342; Fr. tr. and disc., CUNEN, Lécanomancie 162; Engl. tr., LUCK 94–95. — 165: I. ὄψεις? HOCK in: GMP 40.46. — 170 f.: Engl. tr., SMITH, Jesus 103; Fr. tr. and disc., CUNEN, Lécanomancie 163. — 179 f.: Fr. tr., *ibid.* 165; Swedish tr., AGRELL, Senantik mysteriereligion, Lund 1931, 35. — 185–193: Ger. tr., KROPP, KZT III 145.2. — 209 f.: Fr. tr. and disc., CUNEN, Lécanomancie 168. — 210: σημεῖον τῆς συστάσεως „*Zeichen der Vereinigung*“ HANSE 14.1. — 211 f.: SICHERL 87 takes issue with PREISENDANZ, Akephalos 20, and interprets Seth as inimical and destroying solar deity, as opposed to Osiris, beneficent solar god. — 222: “inquiry of bowl divination and necromancy”, GMP p. 42, following M. SMITH, Clement of Alexandria (v. ad I/76) 221. — 222–235: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, L'expérience religieuse du médecin Thessalos, Rev. Bibl. 48 (1939) 45–77 = Hermétisme et mystique païenne, Paris 1967, 159.72. — 222–242: Coptic parallel discussed by KROPP, KZT II,

p. 51; Fr. tr., and disc., CUNEN, *Lécanomancie* 171. – 243 f.: Fr. tr., CUNEN 173. – 251: on the relevatory dialogue cf. Corp. Herm. 1.3,27,30; P. PERKINS, *The Gnostic Dialogue: The Early Church and the Crisis of Gnosticism*, New York 1980 – BETZ, GMP 42.57. – 254: CUNEN, *Lécanomancie* 173, wants after „*der große Gott*“ not „NN“, but rather the Typhonic name. – 260–273: disc. by RIESS 52. – 260–285: Fr. tr. and disc., CUNEN, *Lécanomancie* 175. – 267: l. ἄδηλον O'NEIL in: GMP 43.62. – 272: l. πράξης or τελέσης *metri causa*, RIESS 52. – 286 ff.: DELATTE, *Herbarius*, Brussels 1961, 30, suggests Nechepso is the author; *ibid.*, pp. 121, 129, 174, 180.1: parallels cited. – 286–296: Engl. tr., SCARBOROUGH, in: *Magika Hiera* 157; Greek and Ger. tr., BARTSCH 47; Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, *Hermétisme* (v. ad 222–235) 171. – 287 f.: FESTUGIÈRE, *Rev. bibl.* 48 (1939) 69–70: Fr. tr. – 295: DELATTE, *Herbarius* 124.1: cf. interpolators of Ps.-Apul. 114.14: *incantationem meam perferas illibatam*. – 296 f.: MOUTERDE (n. 159) 108 f., cps. this with a *defixio* portraying a figure pierced by nails; Fr. tr., ALLIER, *Magie et Religion*, Paris 1935, 369; Engl. tr., MOKE 205; RAVEN, *OMRO* 64 (1983) 11, cps. with Ptolemaic Egyptian destructive rituals; GIFFORD, *Liebeszauber* 26–27: gen'l descr.; Engl. tr.: LUCK 92–93; descr. TAVENNER, *Fire* 35–36; Gk. text, Engl. tr., analysis, MARTINEZ 8–20; Eng. tr., GAGER (n. 340) no. 27. – 305: ἰση = Hesies?, LINDSAY, *Men* 298. – 326: φύσει = *culus* + *cunnius*: WEINREICH, *RhM* 77 (1928) 112. – 328: instructions for a *defixio* are similar to the *tabellae* in Cologne, WORTMANN, *Texte* 58. – 335 f.: Engl. tr., BUTLER 13 f.; cpd. with Cologne *tabellae*, WORTMANN, *Texte* 68 ff. *passim*. – 335–345: = deposition with chthonic divinities, 345–347 = adjuration of local spirits, HASLAM ap. MARTINEZ 16.55. – 338: l. χθονίοις καὶ Πλούτωνι WORTMANN, *Texte* 70. – 340 f.: MORENZ, *Religion u. Gesch. d. alt. Ägyptens*, Weimar 1975, 516: gen'l disc. – 343: μέλλαξι FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria II*, Oxford 1972, n. 326, cites other instances of this rare word which can best be translated here as “youths”. – 345–347: v. 335–345. – 345: l. Σῶς ἐρμαικῶ? GUEY, *Rev. Phil.*, sér. 3, 22 (1948) 52, who discusses Σῶς in relationship with Ἑρμῆς Ἀέριος. – 351: l. ἔτεκεν ἡ HASLAM ap. MARTINEZ 11.45. – 351–352: recalls a graffito in ASAE 23 (1923) 140 = SB III 6840: ZUCKER 362. – 354: ἵνα imperatival force demanding a heavier stop (= period) than PREISENDANZ' comma. MARTINEZ 11.46. – 354–355: l. στέγειν MALTOMINI, *ZPE* 78 (1989) 95–97. – 359: l. ἐνφοβοὶ MARTINEZ 11.47. – 362 f.: Hebrew derivations discussed, RIESS 52–53. – 368: ἐντολαὶ „*Gebote*“, BAUER 104; ZUCKER 360. – 376: ἔλκε ... τῶν τριχῶν: LIEBERMAN, *Greek in Jewish Palestine*, Philadelphia 1942, 112, cites parallels from Jewish literature. – 377: ψυχὴ ≠ φύσις MARTINEZ 11.49. – 390: σαταμα = Σατανα, F. LEGGE, *The Names of Demons in the Magic Papyri*, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 23 (1901) 47. – 404: “satisfy her sexual desires” rather than “carry out her sexual acts”, MARTINEZ 12.53. – 406: ἕτερον μέρος “another part”, MARTINEZ 119. – 406: l. κατὰ καρδίαν τοὺς χ., SCHMIDT, *GGA* 1934, 180. – 436–461: Greek, Ger. tr., commentary: *Abrasax I* 10 ff. – 438 f.: ZUCKER 358, discusses textual variants. – 440: l. ἐκ σοῦ RIESS 53. – 446–449: CAILLOIS, *Rev. Hist. Relig.* 115 (1937) 169–171: the merits and faults of DILTHEY's and MILLER's Greek texts. – 447: instead of τῇ δεῖνα read

ἐμοί, and add ἐν after μεσάταισι<ν> – RIESS 53. – 455 ff.: = 1985 ff. This passage should be cited in the discussion of Helios and Moira by GUNDEL, Weltbild 15 ff. – WORTMANN, Bibl. Or. 27 (1970) 218. – 455: I. οὐνομα σὸν Ὠρῶν Μοίραις ἰσάριθμον, PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 134, who cps. REITZENSTEIN, Poimandres (n. 114) 259 f. Otherwise, I. οὐνομα σὸν Μοίραις αὐταῖς ἰσάριθμον, as in PGM I 325 f. – 456: GUNDEL, Dekane 68–69. – 475 ff.: Ger. tr. and commentary, MERKELBACH, Kosmogonie und Unsterblichkeitsritus; Ital. tr., A. CEPOLLARO, Rome 1982 (non vidi) – 475–824: Gr. text, Ger. tr. and commentary, MERKELBACH, Abrasax III. – 475–723: descr. and disc.: HOPFNER, AO 3 (1931) 352 f.; ID., in: RE XVI.2, 1346 ff.; NOCK, JEA 15 (1929) 231; FESTUGIÈRE, Révélation III 169–174; FOWDEN, Hermes 82 f.; CLAUSS, Mithras (n. 201) 114–117; analysis and disc., TABOR, Things Unutterable (v. ad 516–526) 93–94. – 475–750: Fr. tr. and commentary, EVOLA, Notes sur les Mystères de Mithra, Cahiers de l'Herméneutique 3 (1973) 3–36, facsimile on p. 28. – 475–820: SMITH, Transformation (n. 173) 109 ff., disc. the ritual burial and transformation described here. – 475–834: Engl. tr. with occ. commentary, M. W. MEYER, The Mithras Liturgy; Engl. tr., G. S. R. MEAD, A Mithriac Ritual, London and Benares 1907 (non vidi); Introduzione alla Magia, Rome 1971: Ital. tr. (non vidi); SCHÜTZE, Mithras-Mysterien, Stuttgart 1937, 125–139: Ger. tr. and descr. HAUER (n. 234) discusses features common to Buddhistic techniques. He considers and rejects the possibility of Buddhistic influence on the *Mithrasliturgie*. – 475 ff.: SMITH, Observations on Hekhaloth Rabbati, in: Biblical and Other Studies, A. ALTMANN, ed., Cambridge, Mass., 1963, 158 f.: the account of the ascent and PGM IV 475 ff. derive from a common tradition; cf. SMITH, Clement of Alexandria 181; CUMONT, Die oriental. Religionen im röm. Heidentum, Leipzig–Berlin 1931, 279, restates his position on DIETERICH's Mithrasliturgie; Engl. tr., SMITH, Jesus 102; Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, Révélation I 303 f., which is cited in part by VERMASEREN, Sotériologie 25–26. – 476: I. τὰ πατροπαράδοτα μυστήρια MERKELBACH, Hirten d. Dionysos, Stuttgart 1988, 177.14; I. ἄπρατα, ἀπαράδοτα, J. KROLL, Deutsche Literaturzeitung 1930, 216. – 476: „allein für mein Kind“, not „für mein einziges Kind“, ZUCKER 357.4. – 477: I. ἄξιῶ, μύστη FESTUGIÈRE, Révélation I 303.2. – 479: SMITH, Transformation (n. 173) 109.40: the address to the “daughter” may be genuine. SMITH disc. the textual tradition. – 496 f.: refers to Adam. PETERSON, Frühkirche 110. – 507–508: ZUCKER 362, accepts PREISENDANZ' emendation; perhaps πυρί is meant in ἀέρι? – 516 f.: analysis, FESTUGIÈRE, Révélation IV 184. – 517–723: SEGAL, Hellenistic Magic, in: Studies ... Quispel, Leiden 1981, 353–355: gen'l disc., excerpts in Engl. tr.; more important than trying to identify the mediator figure with Adam (as PETERSON, Frühkirche 107 f., tries unsuccessfully to do) is the “archangel” as mediator. – 522: SMITH, The Image of God, Bull. J. Rylands Libr. 40 (1958) 480.1: similar to Shemot Rabba 38.8; reciting the Qedushah as a means of invoking the deity or a result of union with him. – 523 f.: GRIFFITHS, Apuleius 289: Mithraic baptism discussed. – 523: ZUCKER, 357, prefers EITREM's ὑπεξεστώσης. – 535: I. προύχω τ(ὸν) ὄρον? SMITH, Jesus 193. – 537 ff.: Engl. tr., SMITH, Observations (v. ad 475 f.) 158–159. – 537–538: <πρῶι στάς ἀντίον τοῦ ἡλίου>

RIESS 52, cf. 785. – 539 ff.: Ger. tr., ARAM 369–371. – 552: place the comma before, not after, ἀπηλιωτήν RIESS 53. – 557–558: CHADWICK, HThR 43 (1950) 171, silence as a symbol of God; cites parallels. – 559: place σύμβολον ... ἄφθαρτον after στόμα RIESS 53. – 583–584: ἄπυρον „*feurig, flammend*“ ? ZUCKER 362. – 589–590: RIESS 53 does not understand the τετρα emendations. The κληῖθρα are evidently the bolts of the fiery closed doors which he assumes are within the ἄπυρον κύκλωμα. I. τοῦ τετάρτου διαζώματος, FESTUGIÈRE, Révélation I 305.3. – 628: not „*Bleib stehen*“ but „*tritt hin*“, ZUCKER 360. – 644 f.: DEY, ΠΑΛΙΝΓΕΝΕΣΙΑ, Münster 1937, 108, discusses the unusual syntax of this sentence „*wo ein auf das Subjekt des Satzes bezügliches part. coni. durch καὶ mit einem gen. abs. verbunden ist, dessen Subjekt mit dem des Satzes identisch ist*“. – 644–649: Engl. tr., BETZ, Hist. of Religions 21 (1981) 170. – 661–672: the “seven Tychai” are the seven Hathors: STRICKER, De Geboorte van Horus II, Leiden 1968, 87. – 696: NILSSON, Religion 128.4: Arctos, not Mithras (pace DIETERICH, Mithrasliturgie 76 f.); cf. FAUTH, ZPE 57 (1984) 96. – 709: I. μένε σύ, μένε ἐν KROLL, Deutsche Literaturzeitung 1930, 216. – 711: I. κατὰ τοῦ ENTΩ SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 183. – 730: PETERSON, Frühkirche 259–260: parallels. – 733–750: MEYER’s Engl. tr. used by BETZ, The Formation of Authoritative Tradition, in: Jewish and Christian Self-Definition III: Self-Definition in the Greco-Roman World, B. F. MEYER, E. P. SANDERS, edd., Philadelphia 1982, 167. – 737: I. λέγε {ις} ὥς, EITREM, Some Notes on Demonology, Oslo 1966, 50.7. – 750 f.: Ger. tr. PIEPER, MDAIK 5 (1934) 132–133; Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, L’Idéal 311–312. – 775: BAUER 104. – 792 ff.: SICHERL 69 makes φοροῦντα parallel to ῥίψαντα and translates: „*Verwende die Salbe nicht mehr, sondern man muß befragen, nachdem man sie in den Fluß geworfen hat, während man das große Mysterium des durch die 235 Vögel wiederbelebten Skarabäus trägt*“. – 802 f.: „*wird eine Ibisfeder an der schwarzen Spitze, die man geweiht hat, mit ihrem Saft bestrichen*“, ZUCKER 361. – 807: I. <τῆς> τοῦ Βησαῖτος, or τοῦ Βησαῖτος <τῆς> βοτάνης? ZUCKER 362. – 835–849: brief general description in O. NEUGEBAUER and H. VAN HOESSEN, Astrological Papyri and Ostraca 62 (v. supra I 3 b); PACK² 2067. – 848: I. ξδλ, ZUCKER 362. – 850–929: Ger. tr., HOPFNER, Kindermedien, Seminarium Kondakovianum, Prague 1926, 70–71. – 858: ουριωρ ≠ angel name, but rather Hebrew for “arise, light”, RIESS 53. – 874: KROLL, Deutsche Literaturzeitung 1930, 216, disputes PREISENDANZ’ interpretation. – 883 f.: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, Révélation I 288; Engl. tr., LINDSAY, Origins 42, with parallels. – 900 f.: a parallel text is in Test. Sol. I.3 (McCOWN [n. 224] p. *8, lines 5–15) – BETZ, GMP 55.121. – 907: delete the comma after ἀρσενικόν, ROSE, CR 43 (1929) 75. – 912: ἐπὶ τοῖς πλίνθοις “near to the bricks”, RIESS 53. – 930–1086: structural analysis, EITREM, SO 8 (1929) 50; a *systasis* is not a union but rather a meeting with the god, *ibid.*; descr., GANSZYNIEC s. v. Lychnomanteia, in: RE 13.2 (1927) 2115–2119. – 930–1114: HOPFNER in: Studies ... Griffith (n. 464) 218–232, on lecanomancy, etc.; Greek, Ger. tr., commentary: Abrasax I 2 ff. – 939 ff.: EITREM, SO 4 (1926) 42 ff., analysis. – 939: τε, although necessary to the sense, mars the verse structure (O’NEIL in: GMP 56.130). – 940: λευκὸν ὕδωρ καὶ δένδρεον ὑπιπέτηλον EISLER, Weltenmantel 578.1 cps.

Nonnos, *Dionysiaca* XL 476: καὶ φυτόν ὑπὲρ ἑλίου ἔλιξ ὄφις. — 940: PETERSON, Frühkirche 317.28, parallels. — 948 f.: PREISENDANZ ends the hymn at 948, although the petition continues through l. 955 including vestiges of verse which may belong to a later redaction — GRESE in: GMP 56.128. — 950: HANSE 14.1, disc. translation possibilities. — 955: l. φωταγωγία(ς)· στεψάμενος EITREM, SO 4 (1926) 47.1. — 961: l. πεφθαφωζα EITREM, SO 4 (1926) 47.1, who cps. P. Osl. I 43, 228; it is spelled here -φωσζα because of φῶς. — 964–974: Engl. tr., ARNOLD, Ephesians, Power and Magic 91. — 965–972: KROPP, KZT II, p. 51: Coptic parallel. — 971: EISLER, Weltenmantel 744.1, cites parallels. — 972: Βουηλ PETERSON, RhM 75 (1926) 399–400, cps. CCAG VIII,2, p. 157.16: Βοαηλ = DMP (GRIFFITH–THOMPSON pp. 61, 14.111.113.115) Boel? Cf. line 103. — 979–985: Engl. tr., ARNOLD, Ephesians, Power and Magic 91–92. — 1006: WORTMANN, Kosmogonie 99, gem parallels. — 1031: v. ad l. 972. — 1032: l. εἰσκήθητι? SIJPESTEIJN, ZPE 4 (1969) 191. — 1048: WORTMANN, Kosmogonie 110.353, gem parallels; perhaps an allusion to Horus as a horse-rider in his fight against Seth. — 1060–1066: Ger. tr., EISSFELDT, ZAW 15 (1939) 182–183. — 1113: PETERSON, Frühkirche 262.48, parallels. — 1115 f.: ASSMANN, Zeit u. Ewigkeit, Heidelberg 1975, 40.137: the deities apostrophized are derived from ancient Egyptian religious conceptions. — 1115 f.: Engl. tr., LINDSAY, Origins 264–265; Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, Révélation I 298, IV 185. Greek text, Ger. tr., commentary, Abrasax II, Kap. II. — 1126 f.: στοιχείων “stars”, RIESS 53. — 1133: l. χαίρετε ἔ? RIESS 53. — 1135: evidence for mystery cult, NILSSON, Religion 155 f. — 1137 f.: ἐγκύκλιον not „kreisförmig“, but „kugelförmig“, H. GUNDEL, Vom Weltbild i. d. gr. Zauberpapyri, in: Proc. of the Twelfth Intern. Cong. of Papyrology, Toronto 1970, 192. — 1167–1181: BARTSCH 194: Greek and Ger. tr. — 1167–1225: PETERSON, Frühkirche 109–128. FESTUGIÈRE’s Fr. tr. quoted by VERMASEREN, Sotériologie 24; FESTUGIÈRE, Révélation I 299, IV 186 no. 6: Fr. tr. — 1167: „Formel, die für alles nützlich ist“, PETERSON, Frühkirche 107.1. — 1167–1220: Engl. tr., GOODENOUGH, Symbols II 193. — 1169 f.: Engl. tr., GRANT, Hellenistic Religions, N.Y. 1953, 47; JACOBY, Byz.-Neugr. Jbb. 10 (1932–1934) 88–89: strong Jewish influence; résumé of Genesis creation story. — 1174–1184: BARTSCH 59: Greek and Ger. tr. — 1189 f.: PETERSON, Frühkirche 256, cites parallels. — 1196 f.: FARAONE, ZPE 100 (1994) 81, disc. parallel readings. — 1205: l. ὑψωσάν <σε εἰς> τὸν οὐρανόν FESTUGIÈRE, Révélation I 299. — 1219: PETERSON, Frühkirche 348 ff., on the *petalon*. — 1227 f.: DEUBNER, ARW 30 (1933) 101, on the crown in magic. — 1228 f.: HULL, Magic 71: the name of Jesus as used by professional magicians. — 1228–1248: Engl. tr., MILLIGAN, Selections no. 47; Id., Here and There, pp. 110–111; Gk. text and German tr., MERKELBACH, Astrologie, Mechanik, Alchimie, pp. 60–61; Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH (v. ad 1–25) no. 19. — 1230 f.: J. BARBEL, Christos Angelos, Bonn 1941, 206–207, summarizes attempts at interpretation and suggests „Jesus Christus, heiliger Geist und Sohn des Vaters, ist danach unter die sieben (Engeln) gerechnet als einer von ihnen“. — 1231 f.: EDWARDS, ZPE 85 (1991) 234–235, on Χρηστός – Χριστός. — 1231–1239: Bohairic with some Sahidic, KAHLE, Bala’izah I 243. — 1265: l. Ποθῶπις „Sehnsuchts-

blickende“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 174. – 1265–1274: Engl. tr., MOKE 325. – 1282: „Zusammenhalt des Alls“, ZUCKER 361. – 1294: ἄρμαρα disc. by RIESS 53. – 1301: Ger. tr., FAUTH, ZPE 57 (1984) 95. – 1302: comma after πόλου RIESS 53. – 1304–1305: „Harmonie des Alls“, not „Harmonie der gesamten (Planeten)“, ZUCKER 361: cf. 1304. – 1323 f.: l. ὁ καταπεπαυκῶς τὸν ὅ. καὶ καθ’ ἡμέραν SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 172. – 1326: l. ἐξαίρων BONNER, Studies 82.11. – 1345 f.: Engl. tr., BUTLER 9. – 1376: ALON 239–240: βασυμ does not mean „im Namen Isak“ (pace PREISENDANZ). Rather Basum is a separate entity with a separate identity. – 1390–1495: Engl. tr., MOKE 153 f. – 1393: the heroes may have been gladiators but also maybe brigands – NOCK, Vig. Chr. 4 (1950) 129–141 = Essays (n. 429) 714. – 1439: l. καλπασίνων? BOURGERY, REL 6 (1928) 307.2, cf. κάλπη «urne funéraire». EISLER apud BOURGERY prefers καρπασίνων, funerary bands. – 1444 f.: Ger. tr., O. KERN, Religion der Griechen III, Berlin 1938, 225. – 1466: αἰδιος „ewig“, BAUER 104. – 1466: l. Αἰδωνείων, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 175. – 1467: WORTMANN, Texte 70, on Anubis with the key. – 1496–1512: BARTSCH 48: Greek and Ger. tr. – 1496–1552: Engl. tr. and description, TAVENNER, Fire 24–25. – 1496–1715: Engl. tr., MOKE 173 f. – 1496–1545: = DAVID and GRONINGEN (v. ad 52–72) no. 72 b; Engl. tr., LUCK 96–97. – 1499–1510: Polish tr., MANTEUFFEL, Meander 5 (1950) 497. – 1505: NOCK, Texts 262–263: parallels cited. – 1528–1561: BARTSCH 48: Greek and Ger. tr. – 1567: RITNER, JNES 43 (1984) 218–219: Soroor formula is a formula for opening. – 1588: PREISENDANZ, Uroboros 203: parallels for Chphyris-egg. – 1596 ff.: Engl. tr., LINDSAY, Origins 310–311; Engl. tr., MOKE 299; Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, Révélation I 299; Greek, Ger. tr., commentary: Abrasax I 104 ff. – 1598 f.: JACOBY, ARW 21 (1922) 219–225: cf. Pistis Sophia I 165 ff. – 1606: <ὅ>, Abrasax I 116. – 1615: l. ἐπιπρέφαντος, Abrasax I 117. – 1622: ΗΙ „Sonne“ Abrasax I 117. – 1629: l. ὀργιαστῆς τ’ ὁ θορνατῆς?, M. SMITH in: GMP 68.207. – 1637 f.: WORTMANN, Kosmogonie 88, disc. Egyptian features. – 1642: BARB, JWCI 16 (1953) 219–220: ὁ ἐν ὤκεανῳ ὀχεύων refers to „Urozean“. – 1647: <ὅ> Abrasax I 118. – 1648 ff.: SICHERL 281–300, disc. – 1656: l. ΠΕΚΡΑΝ THISSEN in: Abrasax I 118. – 1666: l. ΑΒΑΙ ΣΙ ΑΒΑΙ SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 177. – 1696: l. ὑπό Abrasax I 121. – 1711: Σαρουσιν = Sar(apis) + Us(ir)is in accusative. Abrasax I 121. – 1716–1870: PREISENDANZ, s. v. Xiphos, in: ROSCHERS Lexikon 6 (1924–1937) 526–528: brief description. – 1716–1744: MOUTERDE (n. 159) 54–55: Fr. tr., gem parallels; Engl. tr., LINDSAY, Origins 119, gem parallels cited. – 1716 f.: FESTUGIÈRE, CP 46 (1951) 81–82, stresses lack of Iranian elements; cf. RIESS 53–54; NOCK, JEA 11 (1925) 154–158, description, analysis, paraphrase, gem parallels. – 1716–1927: Engl. tr., MOKE 51–55. – 1726: ἀναδεσμευομένην del. KERENYI, Die griech.-orientalische Romanliteratur, Tübingen 1927, 194; cf. MERKELBACH (v. ad III 707) 33.2. – 1736: ἀχαπα ἀδωναίε βασμα Χαρακῶ does not mean „... Adonai im Namen des Charako“ (pace HOPFNER, AO 3, 1931, 338) because the preposition *di* “of” is missing – ALON 240. – 1748 f.: Spanish tr., RAMOS JURADO, Habis 3 (1972) 70. – 1752: l. ἀπλάνητον instead of ἀπλατον? BOUSSET (n. 116) 200.28. – 1768: l. ὀδύνη ῥᾷ τέρμας O’NEIL in: GMP 70.223. – 1815: For a magical gold

leaf inscribed with a sword cf. REINACH and BABELON, *Recherches archéol. in Tunisie* (1883–1884), *Bulletin Archéologique* 1886, p. 57. R. KOTANSKY in: GMP 70.231. – 1816: Ἰσραηλ, Μίσαηλ, PETERSON, RhM 75 (1926) 403–404, 407: parallels. – 1840–1870: gen'l descr., PREISENDANZ s. v. Oneiropompeia, in: RE XVIII,1 (1939) 444; ID., Paredros 1437. – 1841: GMP translates: "And there is also a rite for acquiring an assistant". – 1845: GMP translates differently from PREISENDANZ. – 1849: ἰ. δεῖνος τὸ ὄνομα RIESS 54. – 1875 f.: gen'l descr., GIFFORD, Liebeszauber 26–27. – 1882 f.: The dog is not Hekate (pace HOPFNER, Mageia 351), but rather Cerberus, SICHERL 190. – 1900: ἄρμπα RIESS 53. – 1930–2005: SMITH, Jesus 97–98, gen'l descr.; HOPFNER in: *Studies ... Griffith* (n. 464) 218–232, on lecanomancy, etc.; Fr. tr. and disc. CUNEN, *Lécanomancie* 150 ff. – 1957–1989: Greek, Ger. tr., commentary: Abrasax I 10 ff. – 1957: ZUCKER 358, prefers ἀνεμοφοιτήτων ἀνέμων and πυρὸς ἀκάματον πῦρ. – 1959 f.: ZUCKER, *ibid.*, discusses textual variants. – 1961: ἰ. ἐκ σοῦ γάρ KEYSSNER, *Gottesvorstellung* 20. – 1977: KROLL, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 1930, 217, prefers WÜNSCH's reading. – 1983: Ζουχα PETERSON, RhM 75 (1926) 402, cps. the decan Ζοχα (PITRA, *Analecta sacra et profana* V,2, p. 286). The same appears in *Rev. de phil.* 1908, 256, no. 67, as Ζοχα. – 1986: GUNDEL, *Dekane* 68–69. – 2006 ff.: DELATTE, *Catoptromancie* (n. 469) 106, cps. this with a medieval English crystallomancy; HOPFNER, *Nekromantie* 2230: gen'l descr. Πίτυος: cf. PREISENDANZ, s. v. Pitys, in: RE XX,2 (1950) 1882–1883; FOWDEN, *Hermes* 150 ff. – 2015 f.: Engl. tr., ROSE, HThR 43 (1950) 273, with disc. – 2060: DELATTE, *Office* 132.2, cites parallels of pacts with demons. – 2071: ἰ. ἐὰν ἧ <ἀνουσίαστος> ἀσχέτως SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 178. – 2080: ἰ. πρὸς τοῦτο ὃ πράσσεις or πρὸς ὃ τι ποτὲ πράσσεις, O'NEIL in: GMP 74.252. – 2098 f.: Ger. tr. and commentary on hermaphroditism, EITREM, *Kronos in der Magie*, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* 2 (1934) = *Mélanges J. Bidez*, pp. 356 f. – 2111–2117: Engl. tr., JACKSON, *Lion* 111; *ibid.*, 162–163, Mithraic features stressed. – 2112: lion-headed demon but without Aion. Is the αἰλουροπρόσωπος of PGM III 81 ff. identical with him, or should one consider this an Egyptian creature? VERHEULE in the introduction to BOUSSET (n. 116) 23.93. – 2112: WORTMANN, *Kosmogonie* 88, gem parallels. – 2126 f.: CUNEN, *Lécanomancie* 159, translates: «*Sceau qui ensorcelle: concernant les vases incohérents et aussi concernant le fait qu'ils ne parlent pas et n'accomplissent pas une seule de (ces pratiques): scelle l'ouverture du vase avec la poussière provenant des portes du temple d'Osiris et la terre d'une tombe,*» and defends his translation against that of HOPFNER, *OZ* II § 249. – 2145–2240: Ger. tr., KROPP, *KZT* III 169.2; gen'l descr., PREISENDANZ *Paredros* 1449; HOPFNER, *Nekromantie* 2231. – 2153: KOTANSKY in: GMP 76.267, cites a rare example of an iron *lamella*: A. DAIN, *Inscript. grecques du Musée du Louvre: les textes inédits*, Paris 1933, 108 no. 205. – 2155: H. MARTIN in: GMP 76.268, cites examples of dying people prophesying. – 2186 f.: Ger. tr., HOPFNER, *Nekromantie* 2231. – 2194 ff.: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, *Révélation* IV 188. – 2199–2201: cf. ad PGM III 560–562. – 2200: ἰ. Πᾶ, Πᾶν, FESTUGIÈRE, *Révélation* IV 188. – 2203: κατὰ τῆς Ἀνάγκης „gegen die Ananke“, HOPFNER, *AO* 10 (1938) 147.2. –

2216: l. ἐπὶ ἡμέρας γ', ἐν ᾧ κεῖται ἐκεῖνος, ἡμερεύση HOPFNER, AO 10 (1938) 147.6. – 2242 f.: WEINREICH, Epipompe, in: Pisciculi ... Dölger dargeboten, Münster 1939, pp. 295–296. Ital. tr., BOLGIANI, La Magia in grecia e in roma arcaica 35. – 2242–2355: SMITH, The Hymn to the Moon in: Proc. of the 16th Intern. Congr. of Papyrology, Chico 1981, 643–654: numerous corrections and discussion of contents. – 2242: l. ἀποκρουστικὴν and translate “a text (to be said) to the waning moon”, *ibid.* 645. – 2243–2337: HOPFNER, AO 13 (1942) 167–200 *passim*. – 2243: l. φωτοπλήξ “he who strikes with light”; ἐκ σκότους l. ἀνημμένη RIESS 54. – 2244: εἰλημμένη = εἰλημένη “rolled”, SMITH, *op. cit.* 645–646. – 2246 f.: RIESS 54. – 2250: l. πρὶν ἢ βδελύσσης, SMITH, *op. cit.* 647, following KROLL, *Philologus* 54 (1895) 563. – 2260: KROLL, Gott u. Hölle, Leipzig–Berlin 1932, 476.4: parallels for the infernal dog’s mouth being forced open. – 2261: *ibid.*, 477.1: This Kerberos is not the same as the dog mentioned in 2260. Cf. 2294. – 2266: l. ὀρφνης ὀλκίτι, φωτινῶν σημάντρια SCHMIDT, GGA 1937, 150. – 2271: Περσία: evidence for identification with the Persian goddess Anahita, BETZ, GMP 337. Cf. lines 2715, 2781; Diod. Sic. V 77; NILSSON, GGR II 497. – 2289: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, *Révélation* I 287. – 2291 f.: SMITH, *op. cit.* 648, scans:

ἀκουσον ἧω φορβ(ε)ᾶ Βριμω Σαχμι
 Νεβουτοσουαληθ. {του} τὸ γὰρ σὸ(ν) σύμβολον
 τὸ σάνδαλόν σου ἔκρυψα ...

Σαχμι produces a scazon (cf. 72, 89 of the poem). Translate: “For I have hidden your symbol, your sandal ...”. Σύμβολον, rather than σημεῖον, appears more often in PGM for the secret sign of the god. Cf. SMITH in: GMP 79. – 2296: l. δ’ οὐχ with the negative extending its force to the first colon, KOENEN *ap. SMITH*, *op. cit.* 650; less likely is ῥομβοῦ στερῶ σε. – 2296: “I use attractive and refrain from apotropaic magic”, GOW, *Theocritus II*, Cambridge 1965, 35 ff.; The *rhombos* and *chalkeon* are used for opposite purposes. – 3202 f.: HOPFNER, AO 13 (1942) 176, Ger. tr. and commentary. – 2304, 2311: l. σου instead of μου SMITH, *op. cit.* 651. – 2309: l. θορουμένη, RADERMACHER, *Byz.-Neugr. Jbb.* 5 (1926–1927) 80. – 2314: l. ἐκκλύσει, SMITH, *op. cit.* 651. – 2314 f.: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, *Révélation* IV 188. – 2316: l. πόλον, instead of σου νοῦν, KOENEN *ap. SMITH*, *op. cit.* 651; cf. VAN HERWERDEN, *Mnemosyne* n. S. 16, 1888, 316 f. – 2319: l. ἀναγκασθῆς, SMITH, *op. cit.* 652, who interprets: “All these cosmic catastrophes will occur ‘unless you are compelled by my magic (which is) a flying arrow most swift to run to its goal’”. – 2321–2322: l. μοῖράν μου λόγων (ἦν) δεῖ σε γενέσθαι *ibid.* 652. – 2323: ἀνωθεν εἰς ἀνωθεν “over and over again” *ibid.* 652. – 2328: l. σφιγγανάγκη *ibid.* 646, following HEITSCH and SCHMIDT. – 2328–2330: l. καὶ Σφιγγὸς ἀνάγκη, BONNER, CP 25 (1930) 180–183; ἀντιχειρά σου κρατῶ: the operator subdues the god by gripping her hand, *ibid.* – 2330: l. ἐννευσα, SMITH, *op. cit.* 653. – 2334 f.: HOPFNER, AO 13 (1942) 177, Ger. tr. and commentary. D. JORDAN, ZPE 72 (1988) 255, cites parallels: PGM LXX 9 f., T. Köln 1.57–61 and Marcellus Empir., *De medicam.* 15.89. – 2339: l. φοβοῦσ’ Ἐριννύς, δαίμονες τερᾶσται SMITH, *op. cit.*, 653. – 2341: the meaning seems to be “to NN, the

enemy of the heavenly gods, Helios, son of Osiris, and Isis, wife of Osiris", *ibid.* 653. – 2359 f.: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, *Révélation I* 293; Fr. tr., DELATTE, *Ac. Roy. Belg. Bulletin* 40 (1954) 260; gen'l descr., PREISENDANZ, *Paredros* 1439. – 2372–2440: RAVEN, *OMRO* 64 (1983) 14–15, cps. Hermes and Thoth as good luck figures; gen'l descr., PREISENDANZ, *op. cit.* 1440. – 2373 f.: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, *Révélation I* 288. – 2396: = 3149 pap. ἄγριον which SICHERL 59 would like to retain as it is. – 2430: BONNER, *JEA* 16 (1930) 9, isopsephistic values of the *voces magicae*. – 2437: I. ὀρφανῶ HOPFNER, *Plutarch I* 88.9. – 2441–2621: description, TAVENNER, *Fire* 25–26, who compares a 16th-c. MS published in *RhM* 49 (1894) 43; HOPFNER, *AO* 13 (1942) 167–200 *passim*. – 2441–2705: Engl. tr., MOKE 141 f. – 2442: I. ἄγουσα καὶ ἀνουσίαστος ἀσχετῶς μονοημέρως SCHMIDT, *GGA* 1934, 178, who cps. VII 593, IV 2071, XXXVI 361. V. ad XXXVI 361. I. ἀγωγή ... ἄγουσα ἀσχετούς καὶ ἀ(συν)ουσίαστους μονοημέρως (-ημερους Pap.). *Abrasax II* 122. – 2446: ZUCKER 362–363, on the identification of Pachrates. – 2447–2455: Engl. tr., BOWMAN, *Egypt* 190. – 2452: I. ἐκδοκιμάζοντος GUEY, *Rev. Phil. sér. 3*, 22 (1948) 28.5. – 2468: ποιεῖν ἀνθρακίαν „*ein Kohlenfeuer anmachen*“, BAUER 104. – 2469: PETERSON, *Frühkirche* 2.11, 12, parallels for praying on roofs; cf. NOCK, *Texts* 257 n. – 2475 ff.: Engl. tr., BUTLER, 13; WINKLER, in: *Magika Hiera* 227; BETZ, *ibid.* 253. – 2479: μεγίστη θεός KRAUS, *Hekate, Heidelberg* 1960, 44.205: „Die μ.θ. ... gehört in einen ganz anderen Vorstellungskreis als der Beiname in *Lagina*, der sich auf einen offiziellen Kult bezieht.“ – 2492: ἀναστενάξας ≠ „*aufschreien*“ but rather „*Seufzen*“ DIBELIUS, *Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, Tübingen 1959³, 83.1. – 2505–2517: Ger. tr., KROPP, *KZT III* 163.1. – 2543: SCHWEIZER, *Aberglaube u. Zauberei bei Theokrit*, Diss. Basel 1937, 27, prefers ἄσυχε δαίμων. – 2584 and 2650: „*Zwiebel und Knoblauch*“, ZUCKER 361. – 2622–2706: HOPFNER, *AO* 13 (1942) 167–200 *passim*. – 2629: I. μηνιῖ, BETZ, *GMP* 86.326. – 2633: I. περικειμένη καρδιακῶς SCHMIDT, *GGA* 1934, 180, who cps. VII 724, IV 406, II 68, III 69. – 2643–2671: RIESS, *CW* 28 (1934–1935) 107, gen'l descr. – 2664: On the basis of μηνοτύραννε, referring to Attis Menotyrannus, whose inscriptions date 374–390 A.D., LANE (n. 173) 25–27, suggests a *terminus post quem* of 380 A.D. for the compilation of PGM IV. – 2675–2693: Ger. tr., DÖLGER, *Ant. u. Christ.* 1 (1929) 12–13; the *kollyria* are small, crescent-shaped pills, *ibid.* – 2692: ὀλοστόμῳ „*fugenlos ... aus einem Stück geschnitten oder gehämmert*“, DÖLGER, *Ant. u. Christ.* 1 (1929) 13.50. – 2708–2784: description and partial translation, TAVENNER, *Fire* 26–27. – 2708–2890: Engl. tr., MOKE 56–61. – 2709–2784: HOPFNER, *AO* 13 (1942) 167–200 *passim*. – 2713: „*hochgelegenes Zimmer*“ cf. 2469, ZUCKER 361, who cps. 2469. – 2715: „*Perseus-tochter*“, I. Περσεΐα ... Λυδῇ, cf. 2271, 2781, ZUCKER 361. – 2751–2783: Ger. tr., ROHLAND 76–77. – 2753–2755: is similar to III 547–548 and DMP verso 15.2–4, JOHNSON, *Enchoria* 7 (1977) 55.7. – 2768–2782: Greek, Ger. tr. and analysis, HARRAUER, *Meliouchos* 65 f. – 2781: v. ad I. 2271. – 2785–2790: Engl. tr., KOTANSKY in: *Magika Hiera* 128. – 2785–2879: Greek and Engl. tr., GRAF, *ibid.* 199–202. – 2785–2890: HOPFNER, *AO* 13 (1942) 167–200 *passim*. – 2786 ff.: descr. by NILSSON, *Religion* 144; Ger. tr. KERENYI, *Die*

Göttin Natur, *Eranos-Jb.* 14 – 1946 (1947) 68 f. – 2791: δρόμος „*Gestirnbahn*“, STEGEMANN, *Orientalia* 4 (1935) 399.1. – 2834: I. σύ τε γάρ GRAF in: *Magika Hiera* 209.24, discussing and rejecting proposed readings. – 2836: KEYSSNER, *Gottesvorstellung* 36–37: problems of textual emendation. – 2847: WORTMANN, *Texte* 76, disc. the *voces magicae*. – 2867: καπετόκτυπε “who strike the graves”, GRAF, in: *Magika Hiera* 190, 209.23. – 2874: GRAF *ibid.* 209.26, retains PREISENDANZ’ translation and rejects O’NEIL’s in: *GMP*. – 2891–2942: Engl. tr., MOKE 62–64. Greek text, Ger. tr., commentary, *Abrasax II*, Kap. X. – 2900 f.: Engl. tr., BUTLER 15. – 2927: „*komm auf den Ruf dieser Zaubersprüche*“, ZUCKER 361. – 2929: may contain an anagrammatized reference to Jesus, SMITH, *Jesus* 63. – 2943: RIESS, *AJP* 17 (1896) 78, cps. *Plin.*, *n. h.* 30.140. – 2943–2966: Engl. tr., MOKE 77 f.; Engl. tr., LUCK 101. – 2942: ἡξεν?, ἡξεν? O’NEIL in: *GMP* 94.372. – 2954: ἀντικεφάλους “head to head”? “tail to tail”? “head to tail”? The head-to-tail position is most frequently attested on amulets – M. SMITH in: *GMP* 94.374. – 2966: I. διὰ παντὸς [φιλεῖν], EITREM, *SO* 21 (1941) 127. – 2967 ff.: Ger. tr. and commentary, HOPFNER *AO* 3 (1931) 331–332; DELATTE, *Herbarius* (v. ad 286 f.) 30, suggests Nechepso is author, cf. pp. 152–153, 174. – 2967–2975: Engl. tr., SCARBOROUGH in: *Magika Hiera* 157. FESTUGIÈRE, *Rev. bibl.* 48 (1939) 70: descr. – 2967–3001: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, *Hermétisme et mystique païenne* (v. ad 222–235) 171–173. – 2977–3001: BARTSCH 177: Greek and Ger. tr. – 2978 f.: DELATTE, *Herbarius* (v. ad 286 f.) 130–131; Engl. tr., LINDSAY, *Origins* 209; Engl. tr., FERGUSON, *the Religions of the Roman Empire*, London 1970, 164; Fr. tr., MICHAILIDÈS, *Bull. Inst. Egypt.* 33 (1950–1951) 176–177; Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, *Rev. bibl.* 48 (1939) 70–71. – 2982: Nock, *Texts* 261, disc. parallels. – 2985: σπουδὴ ≠ *Würde*, ROSE, *CR* 43 (1929) 75. – 3007: read „*Pibechis*“, ZUCKER 363. – 3007–3086: EITREM, *Some Notes on Demonology* (v. ad 737) 15–30; BONNER, *Studies* 27; BONNER, *HThR* 36 (1943) 42; KNOX, *HThR* 31 (1938) 192 ff., cites similar Jewish exorcistic formulae; HULL, *Magic* 71, gen’l descr.; GASTER, *Logos Ebraikos*, *JRAS* 1901 = *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic ...* by M. GASTER I, edited by T. GASTER, N.Y. 1971, 356–364, notes common elements with *Enoch* 6.3–25 and gives an Engl. tr.; Engl. tr., C. K. BARRETT, *The New Testament Background*, London 1956, 31–35. – 3007–3085: Engl. tr., E. FERGUSON, *Demonology of the Early Christian World*, N.Y.–Toronto 1984, 54 (borrowing from C. K. BARRETT, *The New Testament Background* 31–33). – 3007–3041: Ger. tr., T. K. OESTERREICH, *Die Besessenheit*, Langsalza 1921, 97 and 167. – 3009 f.: WENDLAND, *Jbb. f. class. Phil.*, Suppl.-Bd. 22, Leipzig 1896, 752, sees here no Essenic, Therapeutic or Orphic influence (pace DIETERICH, *Abrasax* 143, 146). – 3019 f.: PREISENDANZ, *Magie* 119.60: „*Jesus*“ is a later interpolation; EITREM, *P. Oslo I*, pp. 134–135; SIMON, *Verus Israel* (n. 222) 407–408, disc. Jewish features and decides it was designed for a pagan clientele. – 3024: ταννητις PREISENDANZ, *GGA* 1939, 135, cps. τᾶναι (GUNDEL, *Dekane* 447 s.v.). – 3028: ἐπι ≠ ἐπι but rather ‘*pj*’ “to fly” SCHMIDT ap. PREISENDANZ, *Magie* 120.75. – 3037–3052: BARTSCH 61: Greek and Ger. tr. – 3039 f.: BARB, *JWCI* 11 (1948) 52.6, relates the seal which Solomon puts on Jeremiah’s tongue with a legend and

cites parallels. G. FITZER, s. v. σφραγίς, in: Theol. Wb. z. NT 7 (1964) 947.72, cites bibliography on the seal of Solomon. — 3043: l. ἡ καταχθόνιον ἡ ἄβυσσαῖον ἡ χερσαῖον ἡ + φαρισαῖον. TERZAGHI ap. COLONNA, Aegyptus 20 (1940) 48; cf. V 170 and read θαλάσσιον instead of φαρισαῖον (COLONNA 50). — 3044–3057: BARTSCH 198: Greek and Ger. tr. — 3051: LIEBERMANN ap. SCHOLEM, Gnosticism² 88: ἐνουράνιος δύναμις cpd. with expressions on an Aramaic *lamella*. — 3052–3056: shows definite influence from Psalms 114 (113).3–5: DONNER, ZÄS 100 (1974) 91.85. — 3060: insert a comma after the second „*der Himmel*“, BAUER 104. — 3062: l. ὄριον τεῖχος, JACOBY, Byzant.-Neugriech. Jbb. 10 (1932–1934) 78.1. — 3069 f.: WORTMANN, Texte 73, parallels. — 3074: λακάω: this word, not λακέω, is to be understood in Acts 1.18. BAUER 104. — 3074 f.: BJÖRCK, Fluch p. 116 n., cps. AUDOLLENT 271.33 and the text of Sabinus' curse. — 3086 f.: Ger. tr., EITREM, Kronos (v. ad 2098 f.) 352, and commentary; descr., KERN, Religion (v. ad 1444 f.) 222–223. — 3091: l. λέγοντος and translate: “if, while you are reciting the charm, you hear a heavy tread and the rattle of iron”, CROSS, CR 43 (1929) 75. — 3096: pap. σιλούρου, a reading SICHERL favors instead of the emendation into αἰλούρου. This is a chthonic ritual; both *silurus* and the moss are chthonic beings (cf. IV 2584, 2560, 2873), SICHERL 258–259. — 3098–3124: Engl. tr., LUCK 102. — 3102: l. ὑπὸ γῆν <κράτος?> κατέχεις EITREM, op. cit. 359. — 3107: ἐν ὧρα ἀνάγκης is the intended sense, ibid. — 3107–3108: l. ὁ <συν>αποσταθεῖς „*ich bin es, der mit dir (vom jetzt herrschenden Weltenregiment) abgefallen bin*“, ibid. — 3122: l. τοῖα ibid. 354. — 3125 ff.: BONNER, Studies 164.42, disc. the iconography; gen'l descr., PREISENDANZ Paredros 1439. — 3134 f.: RITNER in: GMP 98.417, cites S. SAUNERON, JNES 19 (1960) 269–287, who publishes such a pantheistic statue. — 3148: RIESS 54. — 3149: v. 2396. — 3165 f.: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, Révélation IV 189. — 3175: BJÖRCK, Fluch p. 116, cites parallels to the defixion. — 3199–3204: Engl. tr., COCKLE, BICS 30 (1983) 150. — 3209–3254: HOPFNER, Studies ... Griffith (n. 464) 218–232, on lecanomancy, etc. Fr. tr. and disc., CUNEN, Lécanomancie 143 f. — 3211: πυθμὴν «*la paroi inférieure d'une sorte de soucoupe*», CUNEN, Lécanomancie 147–149 n. — 3220: δέσποινα νυμφῶν: BETZ, GMP 100.424, cps. Orph. Hymn. 52.22–25 Pausanias 2.32.7 (Aphrodite Nymphaia). — 3251: EITREM, Papyri 260.35, cites a vase showing such a scene as is described in the papyrus. — 3272, 3273: αὐτῇ ≠ 3248: ὁ δεῖνα O'NEIL in: GMP 101.431.

PGM V

TURNER, Typology 21: Group 8, “aberrant 1”.

1–52: Engl. tr., LEWIS and REINHOLD, Roman Civilization II, N.Y. 1966, 569–570; Engl. tr. (1–40), HULL, Magic 21, with disc. and parallels; Fr. tr. and disc. of Demotic parallels, CUNEN SO 36 (1960) 65–71; Fr. tr., CUNEN, Lécanomancie 106; CUNEN, SO 37 (1961) 141–145: common elements with Demotic magical papyri. — 3: l. β[ά]θρου CUNEN, SO 36 (1960) 65–71; l. βόθρου PETERSON, Frühkirche 341.28. — 3 ff.: Engl. tr., HULL, Magic 21. — 4–21: Greek, Ger. tr. and analysis, HARRAUER, Meliouchos 78 f. — 19: l. φριξωπέ

βρόνταξ ἀστράπτα SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 456. — 31: ἰ. θρόνος PETERSON, Frühkirche 256, citing parallels. — 36: PETERSON, Frühkirche 261, disagrees with REITZENSTEIN (n. 114) 208; the four men = four winds. — 42: PETERSON, Frühkirche 256.18: parallels for tables with linen tablecloths. — 53–69: Fr. tr. and disc., CUNEN, Lécanomancie 107, 116. CUNEN, SO 37 (1961) 141–145: common elements with DMP, Fr. tr. — 64 ff.: μύρον μεθ' ὕδατος ... στίμι Κοπτικόν cf. IV 1069 f., SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 456, who cps. IV 1069 f. — 70 f.: PETERSON, Frühkirche 334.2: lengthy bibliography on magic for detecting lost or stolen money. — 70 f.: *udjat* drawing probably indicates that the sun should be forced to catch the thief, WORTMANN, Bibl. Or. 27 (1970) 218. — 73 f.: ἰ. παλιούρινον, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 456. — 78 f.: χαρχουμ cf. χαρχνουμς, PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 140. — 80 f.: cf. ad 70 f. — 96 f.: DORESSE, Secret Book (n. 190) 105: gen'l description; Fr. tr., DELATTE and DERCHAIN, Intailles 43 f., discussion of the Akephalos; BONNER, Studies 166: here the Akephalos = Osiris (agrees with PREISENDANZ). DONNER, ZÄS 100 (1974) 89.67: the text is not Typhonic, the headless god is not Seth, pace HOPFNER, AO 3 (1931) 342 ff. — 96–120: Engl. tr., SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, Paganism and Christianity in Egypt, Cambridge 1913, 44. — 96–172: Greek text, Ger. tr., commentary, Abrasax II, pp. 153 ff. — 98–158: MERKELBACH, Der Eid der Isismysten u. d. Zauberpapyri, Annales Univ. Saraviensis 8 (1959) 51–52, claims similar elements as in the Isis aretalogies and in the oath of the Isis mysteries. — 101: ἰ. οἶον οὕτως εἶδε πώποτε, SNELL, Glotta 44 (1967) 26.2, who suggests this *exempli gratia*. — 108: ἰ. ἀλληλομιλεῖν SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 456. — 122: v. J. REILING, Hermas and Christian Prophecy (= Novum Testamentum. Suppl. 37), Leiden 1973, 41–48, on “empty spirits”; BETZ, GMP 103.12. — 143: ἰ. ἦδη ἦδη? BETZ, GMP 103.13. — 152 f.: Ital. tr. and disc., PESCE, BSAA 33 (1939) 256–258, who sees here a description of the female *paredra* of Aion. Photo of papyrus. — 154: δι' ὅλου „durch und durch“, „ganz und gar“, BAUER 104. — 155: BETZ, GMP 103.14, cps. C. H. I 17 for ὕδωρ ὀχευτικόν. — 155: “My name is a Heart (= womb?)”, BARB, JWCI 16 (1953) 202. — 156 f.: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, Révélation IV 189–190. — 163 f.: not „tritt ... auf die sechs Namen“, but „wende dich an sie“, „rufe sie an“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 456, who cps. III 100. — 172–210: Engl. tr., LEWIS and REINHOLD, Roman Civilization II, N.Y. 1966, 569–570. — 173: cf. ad 70 f. — 181 ff.: cf. P. DE LABRIOLLE, s. v. Artotyritae, in: RAC 1 (1950) 718–720. — 184: „das Gebet des Käsebrotes“ *mißverständlich*, BAUER 104. — 192: PETZL, ZPE 9 (1972) 68–71: epigraphical attestation for Parammon. — 196–212: Engl. tr., C. J. THOMPSON, The Mysteries and Secrets of Magic, London 1927, 78–79. — 203: RIESS, AJP 17 (1896) 78, cps. Pliny, *n. h.* 32.49. — 213–302: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, Révélation I 291 f., with parallels; Engl. tr., SMITH, Jesus 116; Engl. tr., BETZ, The Formation of Authoritative Tradition (v. supra ad IV 733–750) 165. — 215 f.: PETERSON, Frühkirche 256, cites parallels; PIEPER, MDAIK 5 (1934) 133: Ger. tr. — 239 f.: BONNER, Studies 20, finds no examples of such amulets; SBORDONE, Aegyptus 26 (1946) 134: Ital. tr.; cf. DAMIGERON, *de lapidibus* 6. — 247 f.: Engl. tr., LINDSAY, Origins 413.65. — 251: LEFEBVRE, ASAE 20 (1920) 248: evidence for Heron's pantheistic nature. — 253 f.: ἰ. ἔχω ὑπὸ τὴν γλῶσσαν τὸ τέλεσμα τοῦ EM

SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 456: *telesma* ≠ „Zoll, Abgabe“ but „Talisman“. EM in 353 and III 636. — 260: BETZ, GMP 105.30, cps. J. BERGMAN, *Mystische Anklänge*, in: *Mysticism* (= *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis* 5), Stockholm 1970, 70–72. — 268: I. ἀσινής, SCHMIDT 457. — 269–282: Ger. tr., DÖLGER, *Antike u. Christentum* 1 (1929) 179. — 279 f.: Ger. tr., HOPFNER, *Mageia* 345. — 284: The two mountains are Bachu and Manu — RITNER in: GMP 105.35; cf. BONNET, *Reallexikon s. vv. Manu, Bachu*. — 339–340: FESTUGIÈRE, *L'Idéal* 314.1: ἀροα μαθρα = Ahura Mithra. — 341: Μανιηλ PETERSON, RhM 75 (1926) 407, cps. CCAG VIII,2, p. 150.5, 151.29: Μανιηρ, Μαννιηλ. — 350: I. ἀνεμοφορήτων, PREISENDANZ, *Magie* 123.11: cf. PGM XV 14. — 370–439: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, *Révélation I* 294–295; CUMONT ap. FESTUGIÈRE 294.1 « *Prends 28 feuilles (lamelles) du cœur du laurier* ». — 370 f.: gen'l descr., PREISENDANZ, *Paredros* 1439; brief descr., ΜΑΗΕ, *Hermès II* 100. — 371: I. γῆς παρθένου SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 457, who cps. II 57. — 373: I. λαμβάνει ἐλαίας ἀρτίβλαστα, ἀπὸ τοῦ δένδρου κομισθέντα τοῦ ἐν Ἡλιοπόλει κῆ SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 457; I. κομισθέντος ἐς τόσον, FESTUGIÈRE, *Révélation* 294.4. — 376 f.: I. καὶ <πλάσσεται> πλάσμα Ἑρμοῦ SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 457. — 381: I. <ῆ> καὶ εἰς φῦσαν χηνείαν SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 457. — 387 f.: RONCHI, *Pterophoras*, *Parola del Passato* 23 (1968) 290–295: cf. Diod. Sic. I 87.8. — 392–423: Greek and Engl. tr., GRAF, *Magika Hiera* 205–206. — 402: Hermes-Thoth is not „*Befolger der Gerechtigkeit*“, but „*Mahner zur Gerechtigkeit*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 457, citing ERMAN, *Religion* 14. — 406: I. ἡλίου <ἀριστερόν> ὄμμα WORTMANN, *Bibl. Or.* 27 (1970) 218. — 408: I. τοὺς ὑπὸ τάρταρα σαῖσι βροτούς SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 457–458. — 416 f.: ἱλαρός „*heiter*“, „*fröhlich*“, BAUER 104. — 417: KEYSSNER, *Gottesvorstellung* 50.1, agrees with PREISENDANZ' emendation. — 424–449: is similar to II 32–34 and DMP 7.25–28, JOHNSON, *Enchoria* 7 (1977) 55.7. — 434: Μαρουηρ PETERSON, RhM 75 (1926) 407, cps. REITZENSTEIN (n. 114) 298: Marouel. — 447: WORTMANN, *Kosmogonie* 108: gem parallels for Sarapis with ibis scepter. — 455: I. ἴδιον, RIESS 54. — 459–482: cf. ad 98–158. — 459–489: Engl. tr., GOODENOUGH, *Symbols II* 194–195; Engl. tr., GRANT 47; Ger. tr., NILSSON, *Religion* 155; Engl. tr., GRANT, *Review of Religion* 14 (1949–1950) 162; Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, *Révélation IV* 190; Greek text, Ger. tr., commentary, *Abrasax II*, Kap. XIII. — 460: κτίσαντα reflects Aquila's version, SCHWARTZ, *A propos d'interdits concernant le récit de la Créatio*, in: *Paganisme, judaïsme, christianisme* 48; PHILONENKO, CRAI 1985, 435. One expects here: τὸν κτίσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. The omission of τὸν οὐρανὸν is probably accidental; the insertion of ὁσῶ is surely intentional (PHILONENKO 436, who cites parallels). πᾶσαν σάρκα Hebraism or 'Septuagintism', as is πᾶν πνεῦμα, *ibid.* 436–437. — 462: RIESS 54, rejects the restoration <πασ>σαλεύ<σαντα>. JACOBY, *Byz.-Neogr. Jbb.* 10 (1932–1934) 79.6, keeps the papyrus' reading σαλεύ[σαντα], cps. I Clem. 20.1, and translates „*der den Himmel kreisen läßt*“. — 462: σαλεύ[σαντα] is preferable to PREISENDANZ' emendation, according to CAQUOT, CRAI 1985, 451, who cps. Ps. 17.8 and I Henoch 60.1. — 463–464: reminiscent of Gen. 1.18, PHILONENKO, CRAI 1985, 437, with parallels. — 464: ὁ μέγας Νοῦς a unique expression in PGM but has parallels in other texts, Manichaean and

Gnostic, in Coptic, Syriac and Parthian; *ibid.* – 465: αἰωνόφθαλμος *hapax*. PHILONENKO, *ibid.*, translates « *Oeil de l'Aion* », citing the leontocephalic Aion of Castelgandolfo which bears a single gigantic eye on its chest in support of his translation. – 466 f.: analysis and parallels, *ibid.* 440–443. – 468 ff.: *voces magicae* derived and translated, *ibid.* 443 ff. Cf. here II 7: Glossary, s. vv. – 473: συριστί « *en langue de Syrie ... araméen* » contrasted with Hebrew in I. 475; *ibid.* 443. CAQUOT, CRAI 1985, 451, is less sure. – 483–487: cf. variants of the same text in PGM I 239–241, II 81, II 123, XIII 807; cf. I Henoch 9.24: « *Tu es le Dieu des dieux, le Seigneur des seigneurs, le Roi des rois* », *ibid.* In the final analysis this invocation of the Creator addresses all the gods of creation, Aion, Zeus, Adonai, the sons of the goddess Ipet, the God of gods, the Lord of lords, the King of kings, and Sobek, and bids them come to the aid of the mother and child.

PGM VI

14: πεδίλοις “measures”, O’NEIL in: GMP 111.5. – 42: μουσιάρχα cf. ὁ μουσάρχος, epithet of Apollo, BETZ, GMP 112.15.

PGM VII

= VAN HAELEST 1077.

1 ff.: =PACK² 552. – 1–148: brief disc., A. and L. DELATTE, *Annuaire de l’Inst. de Phil. et d’Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 4 (1936) 583. – 11–29: Danish tr., BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, *Orakler*. – 153–166: T. SINCLAIR, ed., *Hesiod, Works and Days*, London 1932: ad l. 810 cites this passage in a disc. of lucky and unlucky days. – 167 f.: DIELS and KRANZ, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, Berlin 1956⁸, vol. II 220, cite this as an example of elementary alchemy. – 167–185: Engl. tr., MOKE 346. – 168 f.: Ital. tr., V. ALFIERI, *Gli atomisti*, Bari 1936, 303 f. – 170: I. μήλω, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 170. – 171: RIESS, *AJP* 17 (1896) 77: cf. Plin., *n. h.* 25.162, 26.121, 129. – 174: *ibid.* 78: cf. Plin., *n. h.* 32.142. – 174: I. μίσυ κόψας ... κρᾶμα SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 170; μίσυ is a στύπτικον; cf. Diosc. V 100; P. Chic. Lit. 4.1; PGM XII 195. – 180: I. καὶ πόλλα ... μεθύειν χοίρεον, SCHMIDT 170: „*Schweinelunge*“ not „*Schweineleber*“; RIESS, *AJP* 17 (1896) 78, cps. Pliny, *n. h.* 28.262. – 182–185, 191–192: brief descr., GAZZA, *Aegyptus* 35 (1955) 97. – 186: I. καλαβώτην τειχωρόν (*add. lex.*) φαίον, τὸν ἐν τοῖς μ., SCHMIDT 170. – 191–192: Engl. tr., MOKE 234. – 193–207: Engl. tr., SCARBOROUGH in: I. MERKEL and A. DEBUS, edd., *Hermeticism and the Renaissance*, Cranbury–London 1988, 32. – 222: I. ὁ. Βησᾶ SCHMIDT 170, who cps. VIII 64. – 223–248: description of the contents; cf. I 43 f., VIII 65 ff. for black cloths, SBORDONE, *Aegyptus* 26 (1946) 131. – 224: I. ὕδωρ ὀμβριον SCHMIDT 170, who cps. VIII 72. – 225: αὐτός is ambiguous here, since it can refer both to the ink or the writing surface, cf. GMP 122.14. – 226: γράφε „*zeichne*“, not „*schreibe*“, because the parallel text (VIII 64) begins ζωγράφησον, ZUCKER, *Byz. Zs.* 36 (1936) 400. – 227: Bes is to be drawn on the left side, EITREM, *SO* 20 (1940) 175: cf. VIII 65 I. μέλαν Ἰσιακὸν <ῥάκος> SCHMIDT 170. – 230: I. ἐκμάξης EITREM, *SO* 20 (1940) 175. – 231:

l. τῷ Ἰσιακῷ <ράκει> μέλανι SCHMIDT 170, who cps. VIII 66, 68. — 234: „das Sehvermögen an den Füßen“, SICHERL 83. The figure described is a pantheistic Bes. — 235: l. οὐ τὸ στόμα ... καίεται SCHMIDT 170: cf. 245 f., VIII 93 f., IV 76. — 235 f.: cf. VIII 96 f., VII 243, 246, VIII 102; SCHMIDT 170. — 240: BERGMAN in: GMP 123.22, retains the reading of the papyrus as opposed to BOLL who would read Ὀσίρεως (PGM apparatus ad loc.). — 245 f.: l. πυρὸς καίεται SCHMIDT 170–171; cf. ad 235. — 251: ναιενχρη see here II 7: Glossary. — 260: l. ἐξορκίζω σε, μήτρα SCHMIDT 171. — 260 f.: BARB, Diva Matrix, JWCI 16 (1953) 214.23, disc. wandering wombs — not a prolapsed uterus; SCHMIDT 171, suggests the same interpretation: l. ἀπολήξης ... ὡς κυοῦσα ... μεμαιευμένη ἴση. JACOBY, Byz.-Neugr. Jbb. 10 (1932–1934) 76–77 n.: μήτρα = ἄβυσσος, over which the Creator stood and out of which he called the world into being. As he ordained then law and order for that μήτρα, so should he now fix the μήτρα of the afflicted person. — 260–271: Greek text, SCARBOROUGH's Engl. tr., AUBERT, GRBS 30 (1989) 424. — 285 f.: had to be composed after Aug. 28, 27 B. C., because of the moon's position, WORTMANN, Bibl. Or. 27 (1970) 219. — 285 f.: l. πᾶν ἄλωτόν ... κακώσιμον· τοξότη ... ἐπικλήσεις ἦτοι ἐπιλαλήματα SCHMIDT 171, who cps. III 276. — 294: l. Ὑδρηχόῳ· εἰς φίλτρον. Ἰχθυσ<ι>· εἰς π. EITREM, SO 20 (1940) 175. — 300: l. καταπεπαυκῶς τὸν ὄφιν καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐξαίρων κτλ. SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 172, who cps. 366 and IV 1324. — 300 f.: SCHMIDT 171–172, disc. the *vox magica* and cites parallels; Engl. tr., MOKE 183. — 301: l. κατὰ <τοῦ ἐπὶ> τῶν Τιμωριῶν τεταγμένου SCHMIDT 172, who cps. VIII 94, XIII 456, XXXVI 345. — 305: l. κιονά — οὐ τι μὴ περιμείνω σε, ἀλλ' ἄξον αὐτήν „laß mich nicht auf dich warten, sondern bring sie!“, SCHMIDT 173, cf. 309. — 320–334: Fr. tr. and disc., CUNEN, Lécanomancie 100. — 323: l. ἐμποδιζέσθω SCHMIDT 173 and DEUBNER, Ololyge u. Verwandtes, Abh. d. Preuss. Akad. Wiss. 1941, p. 13.2. — 326 and 505: COURCELLE, « Connais-toi toi-même » de Socrate à St. Bernard I, Paris 1974–1975, 76.39. — 336: l. στίμι SCHMIDT 173, who cps. IV 1070, V 67. — 337: „Ibisfeder“ and not „Ibisflügel“, SCHMIDT 173, who cps. IV 47. — 339 f.: „schräg darauf sehend“, not „seitwärts blickend“, SCHMIDT 173. — 362: l. φρηι ibid. — 365: l. κοιμῶ ibid. — 366: l. καταπεπαυκῶς ... καθ' ἡμέραν ἐξαίρων SCHMIDT 173 and BONNER, Studies 82.11. Cf. ad 300. — 370: BETZ, GMP 127.50, cites literature on the tassel: Numbers 15.38–39, Deuter. 22.12; SCHÜRER, The History of the Jewish People II 479. — 370: KROPP, Lobpreis (n. 435) 80, cps. his Coptic charm. — 385–389: Engl. tr., MOKE 286. — 385: l. Κανωπίτις, Ποίη SCHMIDT 173–174 with parallels. — 386: l. Ροδόχρως, SCHMIDT 174 with parallels. — 387: l. Μορφώ ... φαριερι SCHMIDT 174. — 390–393: DANIEL, ZPE 93 (1992) 149: δρομευς ≠ *Rennpferd*, but rather foot-racer. — 405: l. φίλτρον ἐπιλαλήματος κατὰ φίλων· λέγε SCHMIDT 174; RIESS, AJP 17 (1896) 78, cps. Plin., *n. h.* 34.166. — 419: l. ibid. 82: cf. Plin., *n. h.* 29.81 f. — 424: l. ποιήσόν μοι κ. ZUCKER, Byz. Zs. 36 (1936) 401. — 429 f.: HOPFNER, AO 10 (1938) 135 f.: disc. and Ger. tr. — 458: {καὶ κοι(νὰ) ὅς' ἂν θέλ(ης)} ZUCKER, op. cit. 401. — 459: l. γραφεῖω καὶ <κατα>θές <εἰς> φρέαρ βαλὼν SCHMIDT 175, who cps. 216 f., 417 f., 755, II 152 etc. — 461: l. οβακτιου, ibid. See II 7: Glossary s. v. — 461: <καὶ κοινὰ ὅς' ἂν θέλ(ης)> ZUCKER, op. cit.

401. – 467–475: Engl. tr., ΜΟΚΕ 65–66. – 473: I. τὸ ζωγράφημα SCHMIDT 175, who cps. 467. – 478: I. πασσαλεύων *aut sim.*, <ἄγγελον> unnecessary, RIESS 54. – 478: I. δαίμονα instead of ἄγγελον, BETZ, Hist. of Religions 21 (1981) 163. – 490: I. ἐπὶ ψιάθ<φ θρυ>ίνῃ καινῇ. Cf. XIII 116; ZUCKER, op. cit. 401. – 490–497: Fr. tr., BONNEAU, La crue du Nil, Paris 1964, 265. – 491–504: Greek text, Ger. tr., commentary, Abrasax II, Kap. VIII. – 491–492: „*im ganzen Schwarzlande (Ägypten)*“, SCHMIDT 175; LINDSAY, Origins 71, discusses the term “perfect black”. – 492–494: ≡ P. Michigan Ms. 136, published by W. WORRELL, Orientalia 4 (1935) 17–37, according to J. VAN DER VLIET, Aegyptus 71 (1991) 228, who cps. the *vores magicae* and studies the phrase ἐν τῷ τελείῳ μέλανι. – 494: I. ἀθερνεκτησι SCHMIDT 175; see here II 7: Glossary s. v. – 496: I. Νεβουτο, σουαληθ *ibid.* – 498: ὀνόματα τῆς θ[εοῦ] *ibid.* 176. – 499: I. ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἐν τῷ λωτῷ καθημένος SCHMIDT 176, who cps. II 102, XII 87. – 502: GRIFFITHS, Apuleius 153: Isis = Nemesis, discussion and parallels. – 505–528: Greek text, Ger. tr., commentary, Abrasax II, Kap. III. – 505 f.: Engl. tr., LINDSAY, Origins 265; Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, Révélation IV 190. – 506 f.: BOUSSET (n. 116) 203.34, cps. XIII 959 ff., II 118 ff., III 153 ff. and Pistis Sophia (SCHMIDT 232.11, 244.4) and suggests Persian influence on the *vores magicae*. – 505: BETZ, Hist. of Religions 21 (1981) 61, says the section is correctly titled; DODDS (n. 335) 304.56: the title is textually correct. – 510: CUMONT, Die oriental. Religionen (v. ad IV 475 ff.) 285: more evidence for Egypt's mortal Aion not being the same as the zervanistic Aion. – 511: I. ἀπλάνητον instead of ἄπλατον? BOUSSET (n. 116) 200.28, 207.6. – 516 f.: I. ὁ εὐγενής, ὁ ἔγγονος ... τῇ ἱερᾷ λίμνῃ ... ἐν τοῖς δυσὶ βάρεσιν ΣΚΙΑΘΙ καὶ ΜΑΝΤΕ SCHMIDT 176 with disc. and parallels. – 516–521: Engl. tr. and commentary, J. BERGMAN, Ancient Egyptian Theogony, in: Studies Jan Zandee (= Numen Suppl. 43), Leiden 1982. BERGMAN notes reflections of anc. Egyptian Khepri-theology in the words εὐγενής, ἔγγονος and συγγενής. – 522: MARTIN in: GMP 132.85, cites literature on determining the sex of eggs. – 538: κῦφι SCARBOROUGH in: Magika Hiera 160–161, discusses this compound which appears throughout PGM, e. g. IV 1313, 1971, V 221, VII 873. – 540–570: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, L'Idéal 320.2, *Id.*, Révélation I 289; EITREM, Orakel u. Mysterien (v. supra p. 3517) 70: gen'l description. – 540–575: Ger. tr., HOPFNER, Kindermedien (v. supra ad IV 850–929) 67–68. – 543: I. ἅπτε δὲ λίνῳ καινῷ SCHMIDT 177. – 548: I. καλ[ῶ] *ibid.* A new sentence begins with τὸν Ἀνοῦβιν. – 548, 1039: RIESS, AJP 17 (1896) 78, cps. Plin., *n. h.* 27.57. – 549–587: HOPFNER, in: Studies ... Griffith (n. 464) 218–232: gen'l description. – 556: I. εντω (also in I. 576) SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 183, who says it is Egypt. 'ndw „*Sonnenglanz*“. – 559 f.: Engl. tr., SMITH, Jesus 112. – 562: τυπώσεται EITREM, Greek Magical Papyri in the British Museum, Videnskaps-sels. Forhandl. 1923.3, 14, translates “perceive”. DODDS, (n. 335) 299, “give shape to”, suggesting a materialization is taking place here. – 580–590: PREISENDANZ s. v. Salomo, in: RE Suppl. 8 (1956) 675: possible reference to Solomon's seal. Engl. tr., ARNOLD, Ephesians, Power and Magic 55. – 582: I. φορο-ύμενον πρακτικόν ἐστίν, SCHMIDT 177; I. σφραγιστικῶς, PREISENDANZ, Uroboros 201, who describes and discusses lines 579–590; φ. στρατιωτικῶς “worn

in the manner of a soldier", RIESS 54, who would also delete one ἔστιν. — 591 f.: BETZ, GMP 134, gives a different transcription of the words surrounding the ouroboros: *tar? eoeeournibrin*. Vignette from col. 17 in: ΚΑΚΟΣΥ, *Magia* 128. — 593: l. ἀγωγὴ ἄσχετος SCHMIDT 178; l. ἄ. ἀσχέτου (sc. δαίμονος, not γυναικός pace HOPFNER, OZ I § 657), PREISENDANZ, *Nekydaïmon* 2252. V. ad XXXVI 361. — 593–619: Engl. tr., MOKE, 127. — 605 f.: l. νευρὰς οὐκ ἔχει ... ἐπὶ χόδω (*add. lex.*) ... γαστρὶ σκύλακας SCHMIDT 178. This *diabole*, which may be compared with IV 2574 f., 2643 f., blasphemes the various deities by attributing to each one things particularly revolting to him. — 607: l. ἀπεκ-όπη *ibid.* — 608: τὴν λάρνακα not "coffin" but "ark of the covenant", *ibid.* — 611 f.: ταρασσομένην ... μὴ τυγχάνουσιν *ibid.* 179; cf. XXXVI 110 f., 125 f., 147 f. — 613: l. πᾶρῃ *ibid.*, cf. IV 135. — 616: εἰς τὸν πεσσόν „*Terrasse*" (cf. P. Monac. 11.27, 9.98 f.) ZUCKER, *Byz. Zs.* 36 (1936) 401. — 619–627: Engl. tr., MOKE 294. — 631: l. βάλε εἰς <τὸ> κρίνινον SCHMIDT 179. — 643–651: Fr. tr., PREISENDANZ, *CdE* 10 (1935) 340; Engl. tr., MOKE 301; NOCK, *Texts* 257 f.: parallels for the idiom σὺ εἶ ... οὐ σὺ εἶ; cf. MASSART (n. 15) pp. 85–86, and MALTOMINI, *P. Laur. IV*, pp. 50–51; Engl. tr., SMITH, *Jesus* 111. — 647: παταχναι, l. παταθναξ, a common epithet of Seth: PROCOPÉ-WALTER, *ARW* 30 (1933) 64.5. — 649 f.: l. ἀφ' ἧς ὥρας SCHMIDT 179, who cps. III 261, XII 61 ff. — 661: cf. ad 405. — 665–669: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, *L'Idéal* 320.2; *Id.*, *Révélation I* 295. — 668: WORTMANN, *Kosmogonie* 97: Egyptian parallels. — 668–685: Greek and Engl. tr., GRAF, in: *Magika Hiera* 205. — 669 f.: does not refer to the *udjad* (pace GUNDEL, *Weltbild* 10.37), WORTMANN, *Bibl. Or.* 27 (1970) 218. — 673: l. τάρταρα σαῖσι SCHMIDT 179, cf. V 409. — 678: l. Μαίης ... εὐνους τε φανείς ... ἐκπέμψον <δείγματ'> ἀληθῇ *ibid.* — 686–690: ZUCKER, *Byz. Zs.* 36 (1936) 401, misses a note explaining that this is very similar to PGM V 400–421, but not so similar to XVII b. — 686–702: DANIEL, *ZPE* 72 (1988) 278: archaeological material for the zigzag-hemmed peplos (καχαρόπεπλος). — 692 f.: BJÖRCK, *Fluch* 116: parallel *defixiones* cited. — 695: Εὐναία from ναός SCHMIDT 180. — 707: l. τὰ ἐπτὰ φωνήεντα δι' ὧν πᾶν ὀνομάζεται ΕΙΤREM, *SO* 20 (1940) 175. — 707: l. ὀνομάζε[τ]αι; δι' ὧν refers not to τὰ ἐπτὰ φωνάεντα, but to γραμμάτων λ' ZUCKER, *Byz. Zs.* 36 (1936) 401. — 710, 733: PETERSON, *Frühkirche* 260: parallels for magic wands. — 713: Φευβε = Φοῖβε WORTMANN, *Kosmogonie* 100.273. — 718 f.: RIESS, *AJP* 17 (1896) 78: cf. *Plin.*, *n. h.* 30.140. — 724: l. κατὰ κ<αρδίαν> ὅσα> θέλεις SCHMIDT 180, who cps. IV 406 f., II 68, III 69. — 728 f.: l. βύβλινα ὑποδήματα *ibid.*; cf. *Herod.* II 37; HOPFNER, OZ I § 855. — 746: BETZ, GMP 139.134, cites A. D. NOCK, *JHS* 46 (1926) 47–48; NILSSON, *GGR* II 642, 680, on the enthronement of the initiate. — 746–747: PETERSON, *Frühkirche* 267.74 cites parallels. — 756–794: Greek and Engl. tr., GRAF, in: *Magika Hiera* 203–204. Greek text, Ger. tr., commentary, *Abrasax II*, Kap. IX. — 756–795: HOPFNER, *AO* 13 (1942) 167–200 *passim*. — 759: the sole reference in PGM to Iao as *creator mundi* — NILSSON, *HThR* 44 (1951) = *Op. Sel.* III 232. — 810 f.: the numerical designations 1–12 (α β γ ... ιβ) were erroneously included in the magical symbols by PREISENDANZ; BETZ, GMP 140.137. — 830 f.: l. <πιστευθ>εἰς τὴν οὐρανοῦ <ἐξου>σίαν ... στρέφεται ἐπὶ γῇ SCHMIDT 180. — 837 f.: l. κατ' ἀγλαίαν τοῦ

σοῦ ὅλου κοσμικοῦ *ibid.* — 837: ZUCKER, *Byz. Zs.* 36 (1936) 401, is not satisfied with the proposed emendations for καταγαιαντοσσοῦ. — 846–858: Ger. tr., ARAM, *Magie* 340; Ger. tr., HOPFNER, *Magieia* 314. — 862 f.: Engl. tr., LINDSAY, *Origins* 42. — 862–918: Engl. tr., MOKE 179; Σεληνιακόν does not mean „*Mondraucherwerk*“, PFISTER, *Ph. Wo.* 1932, 923. Rather it is the name of the magician. Claudian is known from *Cat. des mss. alch.* V 157 and 162. — 863 f.: I. ἡ βίβλος ἥδ' αὐγὴν εἶδε καὶ δι' ἐτῶν SCHMIDT 181: αὐγὴν ἰδεῖν = „*ans Tageslicht kommen*“. — 866 f.: I. μεῖζον μεῖγμα αὐτοῦ <καὶ> θείου *ibid.* Cf. XII 17 f. — 871: τὸ σύνολον ≠ „*das Ganze*“, *pace* PREISENDANZ, but rather “at all”, O'NEIL in: GMP 141.145. — 879: I. προχρισάμενος δὲ τοῦ χρίσματος SCHMIDT 181. — 882: I. [δαίμ]ων ἱλαρῶτι, *ibid.* Cf. P. Oxy. 1380.161 f. — 884: I. ἡ πάρεδρον θεόν, *ibid.* Cf. I 83 f. — 890: Cf. ad III 556 (RIESS 54). — 909–971: Engl. tr., MOKE 308. — 912: ἄξει καὶ καταδεσμεύσει (the goddess the lady) καὶ ἐρασθήσεταιί σου (the lady) SCHMIDT 181–182. — 914: I. ἄξη (the goddess the lady) καὶ συγγένηταί σοι (the lady), *ibid.* 181. — 916: I. καταπαήσεται *ibid.* 182. — 919: I. ὁ ἔχει ἐν ... λεπίδα μολιβῆν *ibid.* 182. — 919–924: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, *Révélation* I 288; Engl. tr., JORDAN, *AJA* 89 (1985) 164, reading with WESSELY ἔχε[ι], and omitting πλοῖω, ἵππω. — 961: I. ἐν τῷ κενεῷ πνεύματι (Seth), SCHMIDT 182; *thymokatochon* discussed by HOPFNER, *AO* 10 (1938) 128 f.; πνεῦμα ≠ air but rather the „*Pneumareich*“, p. 134.1. — 963 f.: I. ὁ τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφὸν μαιφονήσας SCHMIDT 182. — 963–965: δεῦρό μοι ... μὴ λ[υ]πήσας, Σήθ: either incorrectly read or emended, DONNER, *ZÄS* 100 (1974) 88.55. — 967 f.: I. ποδὰς μοι ἐλθεῖν SCHMIDT 182. — 973–980: Engl. tr., MOKE 65–66. — 981–1009: Engl. tr., *ibid.* — 994: (*Gebet*): [σὺ εἰ ὁ βρον]τῶν, ὁ βρέχων καὶ ἀστ[ράπτων κατὰ τὸν] καιρὸν καὶ καταξηρά[νας] ὡσαύτως. δεῦρό μοι, χρημάτωνισον. *Besser* καταξηρα[ίνων]. *Abrasax* II 122. — 1010–1016: Ger. tr., ROHLAND 78. — 1017–1022: Engl. tr., GOODENOUGH, *Symbols* II 200. — 1017: [Χαῖρε Ἥλιε, χ]αῖρε Ἥλιε, χαῖρε Γα[βριηλ, χαῖρε] Ραφαηλ, χαῖρ[ε] Μιχαηλ ... δός μοι τὴν νίκην κτλ. „*Man ergänzt am Anfang besser* [Νικητικόν] χ]αῖρε Ἥλιε κτλ.“, *Abrasax* II 122.

PGM VIII

1–64: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, *Révélation* I 290; *descr.*, TAVENNER, *Fire* 27–28. — 3: I. ὁ συνάγων τὰς <ἀνασ>τροφάς SCHMIDT GGA 1934, 182. — 4: I. μορφήν, νίκην *ibid.*, cf. I. 26. — 6 ff.: Ger. tr., HOPFNER, *Magieia* 313. — 12: ἡ λόλλα is a kind of olive tree, SCHMIDT 183. — 12 f.: I. τὸ ἐβένινον *ibid.* — 16–20: Engl. tr., BETZ, *Hist. of Religions* 21 (1981) 165. — 18: I. συνδοκοῦντας SCHMIDT 183. The charm makes people willingly hand over their possessions to the magician. — 23: I. <δς> ἐὰν ἐπεκαλέσατό σε, θεὲ μέγιστε ... κατέσχευ τὴν χάριν ... καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὸ τὸν κόσμον ζώοις. Χάρις does not mean „*deine Gunst*“ but „*die erbetene Gunst*“, SCHMIDT 184. — 27 f.: I. δός μοι χάριν *ibid.* — 29: pap. ἐποίησα which SICHERL 95 retains. — 36: WORTMANN, *Kosmogonie* 99: gem parallels. — 37 f.: COLPE, *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, Göttingen 1961, 187.12, cps. the Gnostic Gospel of Eva (quoted by Epiphanius, *Panar. haer.* 26.3): „*ich bin du, und du bist ich.*“ BETZ, *Hist. of Religions* 21 (1981) 165 f., disc. the concept of “image” and identification with the god.

– 38: εἶδωλον may show philosophic influence, BETZ, GMP 146.11. – 41 f.: Engl. tr., LINDSAY, Origins 42. – 43: στήλη „Stele“ not „Säule“, ZUCKER, Byz. Zs. 36 (1936) 401. – 45: The *voces magicae* have sixteen, not fifteen, letters. The fault must lie in the first word, perhaps due to underlying Egyptian words – BERGMAN in: GMP 146.12. – 49: BONNEAU, Crue (v. supra ad V 490–497) 298: Abrasax is a substitute for Nilos. – 50 f.: I. καὶ συνέργησον σὺν Ἀ.Δ. SCHMIDT 184, who cps. II 9 f., LVII 31. „Fall in die Waagschale mit...“, i. e. „*vereineige deinen Einfluß mit...*“, ZUCKER, Byz. Zs. 36 (1936) 401. – 56: I. ἐντίθει εἰς τὸ γλωσσόκομον SCHMIDT 184. – 64–110: BONNER, Studies 108–109, discusses the drawing and cites parallels from the gems. – 64: the Bes figure should be drawn on the left hand (VII 230: τὴν χε[ῖρ]άν σου) ZUCKER, Byz. Zs. 36 (1936) 400. – 65–69: Italian tr., SBORDONE, Aegyptus 26 (1946) 131. – 69, 73: v. ad VII 226. – 74–81: Greek, Ger. tr., commentary: Abrasax I 10 ff. – 77–79: cf. ZUCKER 359. – 90: PETERSON, Frühkirche 259.32: parallels for admonitions not to forget what has been revealed. – 99: I. τὸν παρὰ τοῖς ποσὶν SCHMIDT 184. – 103: I. ψιέθου *ibid.*; cf. ad PGM II 23.

PGM IX

HOPFNER, AO 10 (1938) 128 ff.: gen'l discussion of *thymokatocha*; PFISTER, (n. 497) 921, prefers PREISENDANZ' interpretation to DIEHL's.

4 ff.: I. <παύσας> παντοῖον θυμόν, τοὺς <θ'> ὑπὸ γῆν καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ γῆν, ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας <μου>, τοῦ δεῖνα, μάλιστα τὸν δεῖνα ... ὥσπερ εἰ βωλέον πηλοῦ SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 184. – 5: ὑπὸ τὴν κτίσιν not „*unter der Erde*“ but „*Schöpfung*“, HOPFNER, AO 10 (1938) 134.3, and SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 184. – 8: I. σισι<ς>ρ[ω]? ΣΙΡΕΣΤΕΙΝ, ZPE 51 (1983) 116.14. – 12 f.: I. φέρων καὶ θυμοὺς στήσον ψυχῶν πάντας ὀργὰς ... ὀργίλων SCHMIDT 185, who suggests the following reconstruction:

θυμοῦ σε παύσω καὶ σε πραυνῶ χολῆς·
 σῖγ' ἔλθῃ καὶ διακράτει σιγὴν φέρων·
 θυμοὺς φρενῶν στήσον τε πάντας καὶ σβέσον
 ὀργὰς ἀπάσας ὀργίλων

PGM X

= VAN HAELEST 1078.

1: I. παρωίδιον “a small dish”, O'NEIL in: GMP 149.1. – 1–23: Engl. tr., MOKE 342 f.; Engl. tr. of 1–28, LEWIS, Life 97. – 8, 23: WORTMANN, Kosmogonie 106: palm-branch = eternal love. – 29–35: BUDGE, Amulets 211, reproduces a very inaccurate sketch of the design. – 36 f.: HOPFNER, AO 10 (1938) 135 f.: I. Ἀπολλῶς – ὦ, not Apollo but the name of the magician who devised this method (p. 137.1); <ἡ πέταλον> is unnecessary, since πέταλον and λάμνα are synonyms (p. 138.1). – 50: BONNEAU, Crue (v. supra ad V 490–497) 298: Νεῖλος substituted by Ἀβρασας.

PGM XIa

FAUTH, Grazer Beitr. 12–13 (1985–1986) 193–211, cps. Alciphron 3.26.3 (p. 91 SCHEPERS) and identifies the οἰκουρός with Hekate.

1: Typhon's skull = the skull of an ass, GMP 150.1. – 3 f.: l. ἡ τριόδον SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 185. – 6 ff.: the twenty-six *voces magicae* should perhaps number twenty-four to correpond to the hours of the day and night, BERGMAN, in: Mél. Gutbub, Montpellier 1984, 4. – 6: l. εἰλειθυία? since both this and *merope* are suitable names for the goddess Nephthys – BERGMAN in: GMP 150.2. Cf. E. L. BOWIE, Apollonius of Tyana, ANRW II 16.2, Berlin 1978, 1652–1699, esp. 1686; J. BERGMAN, in: Mél. Gutbub 1–11 – MARTIN in: GMP 151 n. – 12: J. BERGMAN, in: Mél. Gutbub 1–11: the goddess οἰκουρός (*maîtresse de la maison*) is none other than Nephthys (Egyptian for « *maîtresse de la maison* »). – 20: l. κυρία, <ἦδ>η SCHMIDT 185. – 20: l. [ἦδ]ῃ σαυτῇ χρήσομα[ι] „*ich werde mich deiner bedienen*“ ZUCKER, Byz. Zs. 36 (1936) 402. – 21: The prototypes for the γραῦς are the daughters of Phorkos (Apollod. Bibl. II 37) – SCHMIDT 185. – 22: l. ἀχώριστός [σου] ἔσται ἡ γραῦς *ibid.*, cf. l. 39 f. – 22: l. ἄ. [γίν]ηται = [γίν]εται? ZUCKER, Byz. Zs. 36 (1936) 402. – 30: l. <ἀλλὰ> μὴ εὐκόλως αὐτὴν ἀπολύσης· ἄληπτος SCHMIDT 185; l. ὅλως μὴ εὐκόλως αὐτὴν ἀπολύσης· ἀμετάληπτος EITREM, SO 20 (1940) 175, cf. l. 105. DEUBNER (v. ad VII 323) 11–12. – 35: l. ταῦτα ἀκούσασα ἡ θεός SCHMIDT 186.

PGM XIb

2: ὀνορύγχους KOTANSKY in: GMP 151.8, cites literature.

PGM XIc

Engl. tr., MOKE 67.

PGM XII

= VAN HAELEST 1079.

JOHNSON, OMRO 56 (1975) 29 f., translates Demotic sections and publishes photos. – Photos: RAVEN, Papyrus 73; WEITZMANN, Illustrations pl. XIV: *figuræ magicae* in coll. 12, 14, 17; DANIEL (n. 519). – Gen'l descr., BERTHELOT (n. 72) 8–9.

6: ιωχ PETERSON, RhM 75 (1926) 405, cps. ιωχω on a gem and CCAG VIII,2, p. 150.4: ιωχθ. – 6–7: for Kore carrying torches cf. G. E. MYLONAS, Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries, Princeton 1961, fig. 88 and pp. 213–221 – BETZ, GMP 153.5. – 15 f.: PREISENDANZ, s. v. Oneiopompeia, in: RE XVIII,1 (1939) 444 and s. v. Paredros 1437: gen'l descr.; GOODENOUGH, Symbols II 201, partial translation and discussion: a complete mixture of Hellenistic, Egyptian and Jewish elements; FESTUGIÈRE, CP 46 (1951) 82 stresses Egyptian elements, lack of Iranian ones. PFISTER, Ph. Wo. 33/34 (1932) 922–923: structural analysis: tripartite division: preparation 17–20, consecration 20–36, sacrifices 39–76. Greek, Ger. tr., commentary: Abrasax I 65 ff. – 18 f.: RIESS 54–

55: l. εἰς δέξιν τῶνδε (scil. τῶν παραθεμάτων of l. 21), EITREM, SO 20 (1940) 175. — 32: μὴ θύε „*schlachte nicht blutig*“, PFISTER, Ph. Wo. 33/34 (1932) 923. — 27: „*ich schreibe dir's in Details ausführlich*“, EITREM, SO 20 (1940) 175. — 36: ὀλοκαυστεῖν ≠ roast, but rather „*vollständiges Verbrennen*“, PFISTER, Ph. Wo. 33/34 (1932) 923. — 40: MERKELBACH, Roman u. Mysterium (v. ad III 707) 11.4, cites parallels of Eros as a dragon; p. 14.4, on Eros' house. — 41: ὅπο[υ σε] EITREM, SO 20 (1940) 176, cf. l. 82. — 43: „*alles, was aufgeschrieben (oder evtl., gesagt) und neben dich gelegt wird*“, EITREM, SO 20 (1940) 176, with discussion of the mythology. — 46: pap. κα[τ]εχρήσατο, which SICHERL 62–63 would retain as it is. l. κατεχρήσα(ν)το (LEEMANS, DIETERICH) ZUCKER, Byz. Zs. 36 (1936) 402. — 62: l. παρανίμω SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1174, who cps. VII 973. — 63: κατ' ἐπιταγὴν is not only in the NT, but also in pagan sacral texts, ZUCKER, Byz. Zs. 36 (1936) 402. — 73 f.: τῷ ἐπὶ τούτων κτλ. ZUCKER, op. cit. 402, is satisfied neither with the Greek nor the German. — 80 f.: l. Τωυθ = Θῶυθ ibid. 402. — 85: πασίχθων is good Greek, RIESS 55. — 86: αμην ≠ Hebrew *amen*, but rather Egyptian Amun, HARRAUER, Meliouchos 39.40. — 87–93: Greek text and Ger. tr., TOTTI, ZPE 73 (1988) 289 ff., who cites it as evidence for identifying Apollo-Helios-Harpokrates with Tithoes. — 87: l. κατεπιτίμου? EITREM, SO 20 (1940) 176. — 88: l. <ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς λίβα μέρεσιν> ... θεὸς γὰρ ἐφάνης τῇ ἀληθείᾳ SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1174, with parallels from PGM II 111, 115. — 97: no comma after ἀνεμώνης, RIESS 55; ID., AJP 17 (1896) 80–83, cps. Plin., *n. h.* 21.164, 165. — 99 f.: PREISENDANZ, Uroboros 202–203, discusses Chphyris-egg and cites parallels. — 107 f.: KHMI, KHMI, ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ μέγας ὁ ἐν <τῷ ὕδα>τι κ. SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1174, with parallels and discussion of Osiris-Esies. — 109: RIESS 55, discusses dream-sending. — 114: l. δευρό μοι, τῷ δεῖνα, ὁ πῆξας τὸ ὕδωρ τῇ σεαυτοῦ δυνάμει SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1175, cf. 242, Exod. 15.8. — 121: l. καθαρὸν — καὶ κατὰ O. ibid. 1175. — 121–143: gen'l descr., PREISENDANZ, Paredros 1439; Engl. tr., LUCK 99. — 127: προσέχουσα = προσεχομένη EITREM, SO 20 (1940) 176. — 128: l. ἐκτεταμένον SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1175. — 131: l. εἰς τὸν τοῦ δεῖνα οἶκον ibid. 1175, who cps. 135, 139, 140. — 134 f.: Engl. tr., SMITH, Jesus 112. — 138: l. τὸν χάμψαν? RIESS 55. — 141: l. πρήσας RIESS 55. — 144: ὄν. αἰτησις, ἀκριβῆς εἰς πάντα· γράψων EITREM, SO 20 (1940) 176. — 144–152: Ital. tr., BACCANI, Oroscopi greci 156. — 145: ἀκριβῆς εἰς πάντα probably part of the title, BURKERT in: GMP 158.47. — 145 f.: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, Révélation I 293. — 150: l. ΗΙ ΟΥΑΘΙ ΦΡΗ ΠΙΝΟΥΝΘ-ΝΕΝΤΗΡ SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1175, with interpretation of the Egyptian. See here II 7: Glossary. — 152: l. ἐπικαλέσαι EITREM, SO 20 (1940) 176. — 153–158: BARTSCH 170: Greek and Ger. tr. — 156: ιωχ PETERSON, RhM 75 (1926) 405, cites parallels: a gem with ιωχω and an angel in CCAG VIII,2, p. 150.4: ιωχθ. — 159: ὀφροπρόσωπος „*schlangengestaltig*“, SICHERL 147.1. — 162: τεκμήριον δέ, ὅτι γίνεται· δῆσας τινὰ πανδετῇ ibid. 1175–1176. πανδετῇ unattested adverbial. — 165: l. ΜΑΡΣΑΒΩΟΥ, ΕΡΜΟΥ, ΠΕΧΡΗΦ ibid. 1176 with parallels. See here II 7: Glossary. — 168–169: δαρδαραμπτου harplography for δαρδαρλαμπτου „*düster leuchtend*“, FAUTH, ZPE 98 (1993) 63. — 172: RITNER, JNES 43 (1984) 218–219: the *Soroor*-formula is for opening

the womb. — 175 f.: l. κεραυνομεγαλο[κλο]νε Ζήν, περατόκοσμε, λαμπρόβηλε, πλουτοδαίμων, αἶθρει, φριξακτινωπέ, ἐνδιατοποφρήν, ἄδολε SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1176, with parallels and discussion. — 179 f.: *thymokatochon* disc. by HOPFNER, AO 10 (1938) 128 f., with corrections to PREISENDANZ' German translation. — 179: l. ζ(μυ)ρ(νομέλανι) EITREM, SO 20 (1940) 176. BERTHELOT, Introduction (n. 72) 303, notes the appearance of this sign elsewhere. — 180: χνεωμ = χμωμ = *ῥωμωμ* „*Groll, Zorn*“, HOPFNER, AO 10 (1938) 132.2. — 186: πα κεβραωθ MARTINEZ 80. — 193: l. καὶ ἔχε <ἐ>τοι<μα> SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1176, who cps. XIII 28. — 193–201: Greek text, Fr. tr. and commentary, HALLEUX, *Alchimistes* (n. 72) 163–166. — 193 f.: Fr. tr. and disc., BERTHELOT, Introduction (n. 72) 13 f., who cps. Plin., *n. h.* 33.25 and more modern techniques. — 199: ὀζεῖα „*Behandlung*“; cf. Hesych. s. v. Ὀζ' θεραπεία ZUCKER, Byz. Zs. 36 (1936) 402. — 202: ἱασπιν ἀερίζοντα RIESS 155, and AJP 17 (1896) 79, cps. Plin., *n. h.* 37.118: *utilem contionantibus*. — 202 f.: μ[έ]χρι πρὸς βασιλεῖς SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1177, who cps. XXXVI 36 f. — 202–269: Greek and Norwegian tr., KOLSRUD, Gullringen, in: G. GJESSING, ed., *Traen-Funnene*, Oslo 1943, 179–180. — 203–207: It. tr., SBORDONE, *Aegyptus* 26 (1946) 134, and gem parallels. — 203–210: Engl. paraphrase, BONNER and YOUTIE, TAPA 84 (1953) 60–66. — 218: l. (οἱ τρεῖς ἥλιοι) κατὰ μέρος ἐκ α' κοιλίας (*dem Himmelsozean*) ἐκπορευόμενοι καθ' ἡμέραν SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1177. — 220: l. ὃ τῶν φανερῶν καλυπταί, ὃ τῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένων φανερωταί *ibid.* — 222: l. ὃ τῶν ὑπερεχόντων ὑποτάκται, ὃ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ὑψωταί *ibid.* — 226: l. ὃ βασιλέων κύριοι καὶ κρατισταί, ὃ <τῶν> ἀμοίρων κομισταί (κατὰ τινα <ἀ>κλήρων) *ibid.* — 226: WITTMANN, *Isisbuch*, Stuttgart 1938, 202.266, cps. ERMAN, *Ägypt. Lit.* 197. — 227 f.: GRIFFITHS, *Apuleius* 198–203, 219, and WORTMANN, *Kosmogonie* 106, discuss the symbolism of the palm-branch. l. ἐγὼ φυτὸν ὄνομα βαῖς, ἐγὼ ἀπόρροια / αἵματος ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ μεγάλου ταφῆς — τῶν βαῖων SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1177, with discussion of Egyptian elements. — 229 f.: WORTMANN, *Kosmogonie* 73, compares it with P. Beatty 1; οὐάτιον (Horus' eye) as a tabu word for Isis-Hathor? — 229: <ἐγὼ> Abrasax I 172. — 230: σοκρατης is the reading of the papyrus. BETZ, GMP 162.70, cites the literature on the various suggested emendations: J. KROLL, s. v. Chrates, in: RE 11 (1922) 1641–1642; PREISENDANZ, s. v. Pachrates, in: RE 18 (1942) 2072. — 233–234: refers to Nut, B. STRICKER, *Camephis*, Amsterdam 1975, 6.30. — 263 f.: PREISENDANZ, *Magie* 121.89: unusual is the lack of Latin. — 234: WORTMANN, *Texte* 94; BONNEAU, *Crue* (v. supra ad V 490–497) 256. — 235: l. ἐγὼ εἰμι ΗΣΕ ΝΕΦΕΡΟ SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1178, with disc. See II 7: Glossary. — 237 f.: Engl. tr., GRANT 46; NILSSON, *Religion* 152: Ger. tr. — 238–269: BARTSCH 208: Greek and Ger. tr. — 238–246: Engl. tr., LUCK 100. — 238–269: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, *Révélation* I 297; Engl. tr., BUTLER 16. — 238 ff.: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, *Révélation* IV 191 f., with various possibilities suggested for emending 243 = XIII 772 = XXI 7. — 241: l. ἀνοιγήσεται? Abrasax I 176. — 242: <οὐ> Abrasax I 176. — 242 ff.: Ger. paraphrase combining elements from XIII 267 ff. and XXI 4 ff., ASSMANN, *Ägypten* 281. — 245 ff.: Engl. tr., GRANT 46; Engl. tr., GRANT, *Review of Religion* 14 (1949–1950) 162; Greek, Ger. tr., commentary, Abrasax

I 16 ff.; Ger. tr., KERN, *Religion der Griechen III* (v. supra ad IV 1444 f.) 225–226. – 250: I. δρόμῳ FESTUGIÈRE, *Révélation IV* 194.2. – 255: I. εὐ<ε>τηρίαν EITREM, SO 20 (1940) 176. – 256: I. οὐ ἡ δικαιοσύνη οὐκ ἀποκλίνεται = οὐ σκολιάζει. – 258 ff.: I. τέλοςόν μοι τήνδε τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐπὶ το φοροῦντί μοι τήν/δε τὴν δύναμιν (= τὸ δακτυλίδιον) ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, ἐν παντὶ χρόνῳ ἅπληκτον, ἀκαταπόνητον, / ἄσπilon ἀπὸ παντὸς κινδύνου τηρηθῆναι, φοροῦντί μοι ταύτην δύναμιν, SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1178. – 262–267: BARTSCH 170: Greek and Ger. tr. – 271–350: analysis and disc., PFISTER, Ph. Wo. 1932, 923–924. – 271–315: Norwegian tr., KOLSRUD, *Gullringen* 180 (v. ad II. 202–269). – 281: EITREM, SO 19 (1939) 72, cites parallels. – 285: εἰλωειν = Elohim, RIESS 55. – 288: I. τὸν KAT, τὸν AKEP, τὸν NHΦ, τὸν KONTE ON, τὸν KATOYT SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1178, with disc. of derivations and parallels. See here II 7: Glossary. – 291: I. ἀκρουροβόρον PREISENDANZ, *Uroboros* 194.3. – 315: „und verwende ihn so in dem schönsten Ort“, EITREM, SO 19 (1939) 67. – 351 f.: Fr. tr. and disc., BERTHELOT, *Introduction* (n. 72) 86–92. Ital. tr., ALFIERI, *Gli atomisti*, Bari 1936, 305. – 351–364: FÖRSTER, *Archiv. f. d. Studium d. neueren Sprachen u. Literaturen* 129 (1912) 45–49, cites parallels from medieval manuscripts. – 351–352: I. γνῶθι πόστιν σελήνην ἀνέπεσε νοσῶν, MALTOMINI, ZPE 66 (1986) 157–159. – 365–375: Engl. tr., MOKE 259–260. – 376 f.: SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1178–1179, discussion; takes exception to PREISENDANZ' transl. – 379: I. ἀύπνωσ EITREM, SO 21 (1941) 127. – 380: I. ἐὰν δὲ βούλῃ <λῦσαι> πότε SCHMIDT 1178–1179. – 401 f.: Engl. tr., LINDSAY, *Origins* 42. – 401 ff.: J. SCARBOROUGH in: GMP 167.95, lists similar compilations and suggests various identifications and emendations. – 401 f.: Fr. tr. and descr., BERTHELOT, *Introduction* (n. 72) 10–11. – 401–445: Engl. tr., BETZ, *Formation of Authoritative Tradition* (v. supra ad IV 733–750) 168; SCARBOROUGH in: *Magika Hiera* 159–160. – 409–445: SCARBOROUGH, *Hermetic and Related Texts* (v. supra ad VII 193–207) 33–34: Engl. tr. – 421: I. αἶμα <ἄπ'> ὀφθαλμοῦ SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1179. – 435: I. [αἶμα] Τιτᾶνος ibid. – 449: I. ὥσπερ? RITNER in: GMP 169.111. – 454–465: Engl. tr., MOKE 268; Engl. tr., JOHNSON, OMRO 56 (1975) 41. – 457: I. καὶ διάκοπον πρᾶσσοντα SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1179. – 466–495: Engl. tr., MOKE 68. – 470 f.: Engl. tr., JOHNSON, OMRO 56 (1975) 43, 45. – 473: WORTMANN, *Kosmogonie* 82.125, cps. picture of Osiris with engravings on gems. – 490–495: descr., TAVENNER, *Fire* 28.

PGM XIII

Photo: DANIEL (n. 519) – source analysis and summary of contents: M. SMITH, in: *Atti del XVII Congr. di Papirologia II*, Naples 1984, 683–693. – structural analysis: M. SMITH, P. Leid. J 395 (PGM XIII) and its Creation Legend, in: *Hommage à V. Nikiprowetzky*, Paris 1986, 491–498. – gen'l descr., BERTHELOT, *Introduction* (n. 72) 16–19, noting features of chemical interest. – TURNER, *Typology* 19: Group 7. – Ger. tr. and commentary, MERKELBACH, *Kosmogonie u. Unsterblichkeitsritus*.

1–230: Gk. text, Ger. tr. and commentary. MERKELBACH, *Abrasax III*. – 1: θεὸς θεοί: BETZ, GMP 172.1, cites epigraphic parallels and suggests “god”

preceding "gods" smacks of the monotheistic tendency of the times. μονάς: v. BETZ, GMP p. 172.2. — 10: the lamps are filled to capacity, RIESS 55; SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1179: lamps of a τετάρτη μοῖρα filled to capacity. — 13: l. ἐπιθύματα ἔ EITREM, SO 5 (1927) 86. — 14 f.: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, Révélation I 288. — 14 f.: l. ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἱερᾷ βύβλῳ SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1179. — 22: l. κύαμον Αἰγύπτιον τοῦτον λέγει, scil. ὀροβον ἡλιακόν, ibid. — 23: l. καὶ ταῦτα (= τὰ ζ' ἄνθη τῶν ζ' ἀστέρων) δὲ ὁ Μανεθῶς ἔλεγε ἐν <τῇ> ἰδίᾳ βίβλῳ ἐντεῦθεν / βαστάσας, ibid. — 23: ἐντεῦθεν (out of Ὀγδόῃ Μούσεως) βαστάσας and 14: ἐκ ταύτης τῆς βίβλου (again out of Ὀγ. Μούσεως) κλέψας are parallel insertions. Parenthesis belongs before καὶ and after βαστάσας, ibid. — 24: l. σαμψούχι κοινόν EITREM, SO 5 (1927) 86. — 26: „l. τὰ ζ' ἄνθη τῶν ζ' ἀστέρων, ἃ ἐστὶ σαμψούχι/νον usw. bis ῥόδον, ταῦτα τὰ ἄνθη — / — λειοτρίβησον“, SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1179. — 29 f.: EITREM, SO 5 (1927) 86, opts for the texts now standing in PGM. — 29 f.: κατὰ θεόν is not translated. It probably means nothing more than κατὰ τύχην and should be construed pleonastically with οἷα δήποτ' οὖν ZUCKER, Byz. Zs. 36 (1936) 402. — 38 f.: τῇ καθολικῇ συστάσει: „allgemeine Verbindung mit dem hauptsächlich in Betracht kommenden Gott“ is the translation ZUCKER, op. cit. 402, would prefer. He refers to PFISTER, Ph. Wo. 1932, 924. — 38: νίτρον τετράγωνον « Carbonate de chaux (spath calcaire) ou le sulfate de chaux, peut-être le feldspath », BERTHELOT, Introduction (n. 72) 18. — 40 and 410: ΚΑΚΟΣΥ, ZÄS 90 (1963) 73, cites literary and sculpted parallels to the crocodile with falcon-head. — 60 f.: οὐδὲ ἐν ἀπεργάσει κτλ. „nichts von allem, was du ... findest“. ZUCKER misses a note on the solicism, and suggests the phrase is equivalent to ἐν τούτοις οἷς, ZUCKER, Byz. Zs. 36 (1936) 402. — 62 f. = 571 f.: Engl. tr., GRANT 46; FESTUGIÈRE's Fr. tr. (cf. ad 571 f.) cited by VERMASEREN, Sotériologie 22; Ger. tr., NILSSON, Religion 154; Fr. tr. and descr., BERTHELOT, Introduction (n. 72) 19; Engl. tr., GRANT, Review of Religion 14 (1949–1950) 162; Engl. tr., LUCK 100. — 71: Did the scribe intend ἐπ' αἰῶνα? EITREM, SO 5 (1927) 87. — 71 f.: Engl. tr., FINEGAN, Hidden Records, Philadelphia–Boston 1969, no. 97. — 76: l. φανέντες <ἐπικαλοῦνται σε> ἵνα κτλ. SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1180. — 77: l. ἀχέβυκρωμ and cf. parallel passages in lines 141 f., 292, 333, 446, 590 ibid. — 92–95: ZUCKER, Byz. Zs. 36 (1936) 402, notes contamination ἵνα — ἐάν. — 96: ONIANS, Origins 446.4, interprets τέλος as a covering for the head and cites parallels in support. — 101: „Sie hat ihm (dem Zimt) seine (des Zimts) Zauberkraft verliehen“; cf. l. 358, where PR. translates correctly, SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1180. — 111: l. Ιεθωρ, ibid. with disc. and parallels. V. inf. II 7: Glossary. — 114–116 = 671 f.: προαγνέυσας ὡς προεῖπον must refer to the prescription in l. 4 f. = 347 f. Κατὰ τὴν σύνοδον belongs to λειπούσης. Translate: „sieben Tage, bevor der Mond bei der Vereinigung (nämlich mit dem Widder) schwindet, schlafe auf ebener Erde“. The seven days are the last ones of the 41-day long ἀγνεία, ZUCKER, Byz. Zs. 36 (1936) 403. — 130: ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος "beginning and end", RIESS 55, who also discusses what nitron could be. — 131–133: MALTOMINI, P. Flor. VII, p. 175, rejects τὸ ἔ<τερο>ν, preferring τὸ ἐν μέρος. — 133 f.: l. <ἐπι>γραφέσθω δὲ τὸ νίτρον ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων <τῷ μέλανι τῷ διὰ> τῶν ἐπιθυμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀνθέων SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1180, who

cites lines 227 f., 432 f. as parallels (l. 228: <τῶν> ἀρωμάτων). Ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων does not refer to ἀνθέων and ἀρωμάτων but means the sides of the natron tablet (cf. ll. 131, 434). – 136 f.: l. κατάκου “put down” (= κατάκειο, κατάκεισο), *ibid.* 1180. – 138–213 = 443–563: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, *Révélation I* 300. – 138 f.: Engl. tr., GRANT 46. – 143 f.: l. διὰ σὲ ἐνεδοξάσθη (Ἡελιος) ὁ ἡμέρας ἀγλαομορφούμενος, εἶθ’ ὡσαύτως <νυκτὸς> τοὺς ἀστέρας ἰστάς κτλ. SCHMIDT 1181. – 146: l. Βαλσαμην instead of βασημμ; cf. 591 ff., PGM IV 1735, V 135, BOUSSET (n. 116) 225.23. – 147: βασημμ: The word stands by itself as one of the angels who were first created; it is not necessarily a name – pace PREISENDANZ who translates „*im Namen Jahwe*“ – ALON 237 f. – 147 f.: SMITH, AJA 71 (1967) 417 f.: cps. to nos. 147–154 in DELATTE and DERCHAIN, *Intailles*; SCHOLEM, *Gnosticism*² 81, cites as parallel MS Oxford 1531. – 148: ὀρνεογλυφιστί: FESTUGIÈRE, *L’Idéal* 286.6: parallel Egyptian and Greek sources for magicians understanding bird talk; οὐαι = Latin *vae*. – 150: l. αὐτοῦ, BETZ, GMP 176.35. – 154: BONNER, JEA 16 (1930) 9: isopsephistic value of Ialdabaeim = 99. – 161: BARBEL, Christos Angelos (v. ad IV 1230) 212.150, tentatively suggests a connection between the seven gods and the seven angels. – 161 f.: SAUNERON, BSFE 32 (1961) 43–48: Egyptian parallels. – 167–172: JACOBY, *Byz.-Neugr. Jbb.* 10 (1932–1934) 65–92: Hebrew elements. – 171: RIESS, 55, says it is a Hebraism. – 172: WORTMANN, *Kosmogonie* 97, cites Egyptian parallels; l. βουλομένου δὲ τὸ γ’ κακῶσαι ἐφάνη / δι’ ἀπορροίας τοῦ θεοῦ Νοῦς SCHMIDT 1181. – 175 f.: DELATTE, DERCHAIN, *Intailles* 274, cite a gem (probably fake) inspired by this passage. S. SAUNERON, *Bull. Trimestr. d. l. Soc. Franç. d’Egyptologie* 32 (1961) 47, posits an Egyptian origin for the passage. In his ‘*Les fêtes religieuses d’Esna (Esna V)*’, Cairo 1962, 268–269, SAUNERON gives a brief summary of the article in BSFE 32, 43–48. – 195: l. Ἰεθωρ SCHMIDT, *Ph. Wo.*, 1935, 1181. – 216–224: brief general description in O. NEUGEBAUER and H. VAN HOESSEN, *Astrological Papyri and Ostraca* (v. I 3 b) 59. – 234–244: = HENGSTL no. 68: German tr. and brief description of contents and magical texts in general. – 237–238: Engl. tr., MOKE 69. – 239 f.: RIESS 55 cps. *Plin.*, *n. h.* 30.143; *Id.*, *AJP* 17, 78. – 239 f.: l. ἐάν τινα θέλης πεφρικέν/αι πρὸς ἄνδρα γυναῖκα ἢ ἄνδρα πρὸς γυναῖκα. „*Beispiel eines διάκοπος*“. – 242: l. διακόπτω τὸν δεῖνα ἀπὸ τῆς δεῖνα, SCHMIDT, *Ph. Wo.* 1935, 1181, who prefers either ῥικνώσασθαι or ῥικνωθῆναι; GUÉRAUD in: *Mél. Maspero II* 210: l. μωρικῶσαι or μωρικωθῆναι. – 243–297: Engl. tr., LUCK 98–99. – 251: not „*Herr meines Lebens*“ but „*Herr des Lebens*“, SCHMIDT, *Ph. Wo.* 1935, 1181. – 251 ff.: HOPFNER, *AO* 10 (1938) 131.3, changes PREISENDANZ’ translation. *Thymokatochon* discussed by HOPFNER *passim*. – 255–259: Fr. tr. and disc., PONSING, *Rev. d’Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 50 (1980) 30–31. – 257–259: „*Der Magier versetzt sich in die Rolle des obersten Gottes und befiehlt dem Sonnengott: φάνηθί μοι ... αὐθέντα Ἥλιε, ὁ ὑπ’ αὐτὸν τὸν ἕνα καὶ μόνον τεταγμένος: προστάσσει σοι ὁ αἰεὶ <εἷς> καὶ μόνος*“, *Abrasax II* 122. – 269: l. ἀλλο<ί>ωσ<ις>? EITREM, *SO* 20 (1940) 176. – 270: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, *Révélation I* 289; cf. IV 3077, II *Macc.* 7.28. – 275: NOCK, *JTS* 26 (1925) 176 f.: DIETERICH’s emendation ὁμοιώμασι is unnecessary; γίγνεσθαι ἐν is a Hebraism for γίγνεσθαι. – 289: EDWARDS,

ZPE 85 (1991) 232, on Χρηστός – Χριστός. – 292: “twelve times by day”, BETZ, GMP 180.68. – 297 f.: analysis, FESTUGIÈRE, Révélation IV 195. – 298: PFISTER, Ph. Wo. 33/34 (1932) 919–920, cites literature on „Feuersegen, Scheiterhaufenwunder, Feuerbeschwörung“ etc., as parallels. – 300: I. αὐτοῦ <τοῦ> ἀεὶ ὄντος FESTUGIÈRE, Révélation IV 195.1; <τοῦ> ἀεὶ ὄντος SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1181. – 311: I. {τοῦ} βιε βεσνεητι, ibid. 1181: τοῦ is a dittography from αὐτοῦ. V. inf. II 7: Glossary. – 319: not „Löwenwespen“ but „Wespenlöwen“, ibid. – 320: I. γυναικά σου BETZ, GMP 181.73; Abrasax II 122. – 320–326: Engl. tr., MOKE 343. – 237 f.: KROLL (v. ad IV 2260) 485, cites EITREM’s text in P. Osl. I, p. 111, and suggests this door-opening charm is inspired by *katabasis* episodes where the gates of the underworld are miraculously opened. – 327 f.: Engl. tr., LINDSAY, Origins 286: Engl. tr., GRANT 457, and Review of Religion 14 (1949–1950) 162; Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, Révélation IV 196. – 343–371: Gk. text, Ger. tr. and commentary. MERKELBACH, Abrasax III. – 357: I. φόρει δὲ κιννάμωμον SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1181. – 360: I. εἰς δὲ ἀπόγευσιν EITREM SO 20 (1940) 176. – 362: RIESS 55 cps. this with 130. – 369 f.: I. ἄσπιλον καὶ ἀτταγᾶς δύο SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1182, cf. XII 213. – 377: I. ἵνα ἀφθόνως λάβῃ πνεῦμα EITREM, SO 20 (1940) 176. – 380: I. ἐπακούσει EITREM, SO 20 (1940) 176. – 384–392: STRICKER, De Geboorde van Horus II, Leiden 1968, 165: disc. underlying Egyptian mythology. – 387: According to the calculations in GMP 183.81, this spell might have been composed in 139 A.D. – 389: BÖKER s.v. Zeitrechnung, in: RE IX A (1967) 2416. – 394: ἵνα ἐκ τοῦ ἤχους <ἐκ τοῦ ἀβύσσου> SCHMIDT Ph. Wo. 1935, 1182, cf. III 552 f., IV 513. – 399: ἔστιν γὰρ γέννα κόσμου καὶ ἡλίου – a gloss, BETZ, GMP 183.84. – 434: I. εἰς τὰ δύο μέρη ταῦτά, i.e. τὰ αὐτά EITREM, SO 20 (1940) 176. – 434 f.: I. καὶ τότε ἀπόκλυσσον SCHMIDT 1182. – 466: WORTMANN, Kosmogonie 81.121, discusses Abrasax. – 478: *voces magicae* = Hebrew for “in God (the Name) is the bond” or “where there is no covenant there is no creation”, OBERMANN apud RIESS 55. – 478: βεσεν βερειθεν βερיו ALON 240: Besen is here again a separate entity (cf. XIII 147 n., IV 1376 n.). – 484: I. προμασαχ αχθειω SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1182. See II 7: Glossary. – 486: I. διὰ τῆς ἀπορροίας or ἐπιρροίας EITREM, Hellenika 4 (1953) 196. – 508: I. Κρόνος RIESS 56. – 514 f.: I. ὁ δὲ περιθέμενος τοῦ φωτός τὴν δόξαν / (τετρά)τροπον τοῦ φωτός ἔδειξέν τινα αὔραν SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1182. – 527–543: Ger. tr., SICHERL 134. – 533: I. δράκοντα Πύθιον SCHMIDT 1182. Cf. 193, 667. – 566: I. μὴ ἐξέλθῃ SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1182. Cf. 564. – 570–582 = 62–71: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, Révélation I 297, IV 194 no. 15; Engl. tr., GRANT, Hellenistic Religions 47; FESTUGIÈRE’s transl. quoted by VERMASEREN, Sotériologie 22; Ger. tr., EISSFELDT, ZMR 42 (1927) 161. – 576: I. μερίσας SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1183. – 578 f.: Spanish tr., RAMOS JURADO, Habis 3 (1972) 83. – 605–607: Hebraisms, RIESS 56. – 619 f.: Engl. tr., ARNOLD, Ephesians, Power and Magic 66. – 622: GUNDEL, Dekane 69: ρουω = decan. – 632–640: Engl. tr., JORDAN, AJA 89 (1985) 164. – 634: GRIFFITHS, Apuleius 242–244: fate in astrology and magic. – 639: I. μυριώνυμε BETZ, GMP 188.105. – 641–642: I. καὶ ἄρας <τὴν> ἀριστεράν EITREM, SO 5 (1927) 87. – 643–644: RIESS 56 undertakes thorough revamping of the text. – 648:

l. <ῆς> καθαρὸς α.π. καὶ <εἰς> σ.ο. EITREM, SO 5 (1927) 87. – 662: ὄνομα is an unnecessary insertion, BETZ 188.108. – 687: ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος EITREM, SO 20 (1940) 176, says cf. PGM III, p. 63 col. 1 and FESTUGIÈRE, L'Idéal 327. – 704 f.: Engl. tr., BUTLER 12. – 708: GRIFFITHS, op. cit. 242–244: fate in astrology and magic. – 709 f.: French tr., FESTUGIÈRE, L'Idéal 317. – 711: ὥροσκόπος ≠ „Horoskop“, but rather „Stundenschauer, Dekan“, PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 135.1. – 732–1056: Greek, Ger. tr., commentary: Abrasax I 179 ff. – 734: l. ῆ: evidence for three manuscripts, BETZ, GMP 189.111. – 737: {καὶ} ἐβδοματικὸς θ. Abrasax I 209. – 743 f.: l. Ὁγδοῦς θεός unpunctuated – SCHOLEM, Gnosticism² 70–71, who calls it a counterpart of the Jewish Azbogah YHWH in the Hekhaloth. – 752: RIESS 56 says this passage was overlooked by both DELATTE, Catoptromancie (n. 469) 141 and GANSCHINIETZ, s. v. Katoptromanteia, in: RE XI, 1 (1921) 27–29. l. ὀσπτρομαντιῶν SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1183, cf. P. Oxy. 1449.19, P. Osl. 46.7, BGU 1300.17. – 757: l. ἀ(να)γραμματίζε, BETZ, GMP 190.113. – 762 f.: Engl. tr., GRANT 46. – 767 ff.: Ger. paraphrase, ASSMANN, Ägypten, Stuttgart 1984, 281, combined with elements from XII 242 f. and XXIf. – 783–806: Engl. tr., M. SMITH, Helios 13 (1986) 71, who draws Pauline parallels. – 783 f.: Engl. tr., SMITH, Clement (v. ad IV 153) 218; Id., Engl. tr., Jesus 102, who cites NT parallels on p. 193. – 786: cf. XII 256 corr. by SCHMIDT. – 788–804: KEE, Medicine, Miracle and Magic, Cambridge 1986, 108; Id, Miracle in the Early Christian World, New Haven–London 1983, 63–64: Engl. tr. – 790–824: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, L'Idéal 324–325, quoted by VERMASEREN, Sotériologie 20. – 795: Ger. tr., HOPFNER, Mageia 336–337. LINDSAY, Origins 415.3: Syriac parallels. – 795 f.: Ital. tr., BOLGIANI, La magia in grecia e in Roma arcaica 23. – 796: l. ἐν φυλακτηρίῳ BONNER, P. Mich. III 155.5 n. – 800: l. ἴσθι ἐμοὶ δ. π. ἀγαθός SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1183. – 803: l. ἀβασκάντως EITREM, SO 21 (1941) 127. – 806 f.: ANOX AI ΕΦΕ ΣΑΚΤΙ ΕΤΗ BIBIOY and 809: βαί ν φνουν φνουθ and 810: ιεου θωθω and 811: εριωπω and 814: οσερχενθε and 815: οσερ χενθ εμενθει v. SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1183. V. inf. II 7: Glossary. – 817: <θεοῦ> Abrasax I 214. – 823: pap. ειπων, l. βλέπων; pap. εισ, l. ἔχων Abrasax I 214. – 824 f.: Fr. tr., MARQUÈS-RIVIÈRE, Amulettes, talismans et pantacles, Paris 1938, 119; Engl. tr., BOUISSON, Magic, London 1960, 121. – 842 f.: Engl. tr., GRANT 46; Ger. tr., NILSSON, Religion 153; Engl. tr., GRANT, Review of Religion 14 (1949–1950) 162. – 873: l. τὰ ὅρη <ράγήσεται> SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1183. – 880–882: RIESS 56, discusses the imagery. – 887: ὥδε προάγων τὸ{ν} δεῦτερον Ἰάω Abrasax I 216. – 888: l. τ. τελείως τῇ ιγ' SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1183. – 888–904: belongs after 1001, RIESS 56. – 921 f.: l. θουθ, κουφιω, παθενι, αρψεντεν, σιτενγι, αρτεν, βεντεν, ιεθενθηρ, σοι ρε = ὡοι ρε, αρσαμοσι, SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1183 with derivations and parallels. V. inf. II 7: Glossary. – 935–975: the author of this passage was evidently concerned with authenticating its veracity by naming as many references as possible, WORTMANN, Bibl. Or. 27 (1970) 219. – 941 f.: l. διαπληρώσας SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1183, who cps. 640, 944 f., IV 704 f., 657. – 957: l. ω νθηρ ibid. V. inf. II 7: Glossary. – 968: ζζ: transcription of palaeo-Hebrew yod and equivalent to Greek κύριος, Abrasax I 218. – 970 f.: SCHOLEM, Gnosticism²

23.6: a possible reference to some older Jewish source parallel to the *Sefer Shmoshi Torah*. V. ad IV 1196–1199. – 979 f.: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, *Révélation* IV 196. – 979: the book is named *Panaretos*, *ibid.* IV 196.8. – 997: I. ὁ μέγας μέγας Αἰών, *ibid.* IV 197.3. – 1005: I. ἐστεμμένος ὑοσκυάμφ ἀκμάζοντι SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1184, who cites P. Osl. I, p. 122. – 1012: καβόνιον, *Abrasax* I 220–221: parallels. – 1026: <ἡ Ἑρμῇ> *ibid.* 222. – 1035: I. ἡ οὔσης κατὰ διάμετρον ... πρακτικὴ ἢ πρᾶξις SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1184. – 1046: κύριον <ἰσχυρόν> *Abrasax* I 222. – 1052 f.: διὰ χειρῶν ἔχειν means „*unter Händen haben*“, „*sich mit etwas beschäftigen*“. The magician is to keep the *petalon* on his person. If he takes it in his hand, he should not let go of it. SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1184. – 1056: I. παυθ φθα *ibid.* V. inf. II 7: Glossary. – 1063: I. γυπόμορφε *ibid.* Cf. P. Oxy. 1380.66.

PGM XIV

Ger. tr., HOPFNER, AO 7 (1935) 89–120. – Dutch tr. of col. 15 (Demotic): RAVEN, Papyrus 70. – Ital. tr. of Demotic: DONADONI, *Religione* 539–547. – HOPFNER in: *Studies ... Griffith* (n. 464) 218–232, on various forms of divination.

PGM XIV a

Greek text, Ger. tr., commentary, *Abrasax* II, Kap. VI. – Ger. tr., ROEDER, *Ausklang* 190. – Ger. tr. of selected Demotic passages: *ibid.* 185–213; ROEDER, *Zauberei u. Jenseitsglauben im alten Ägypten*, Zurich 1961, 187 f.

PGM XIV b

Photo, Dutch tr.: RAVEN, Papyrus 69 ff.

12–15: RITNER in: GMP 221–352, stresses “the Egyptian origin of the whole, despite the placement of the Greek version before the Egyptian one”. Ταστάς Eg. for „*Begräbnisplatz der Mengen*“; Ἀλχάς Eg. for „*Nekropolis von Abydos*“, LAUTH, ZÄS 4 (1886) 36; cf. PGM vol. I, p. 74 n. 4.

PGM XV

HENRICHs, ZPE 6 (1970) 193 ff. + Tafel. X, ZPE 7 (1971) 150: new readings which are now incorporated into PGM². – Engl. tr., MOKE 343. – PREISEN-DANZ, *Magie* 119: perhaps datable to I c. A. D.

2: I. εὔρωσι with the papyrus; otherwise εὔρη. „*Die Dämonen, die den Nilos binden sollen, sollen „auch nicht von Seite von Göttern und auch nicht von Seite von Menschen eine reine (d. h. vollständige) Lösung finden*““, ZUCKER, *Byz. Zs.* 36 (1936) 403. – 11: περιέλετε Νίλου οὐ ἔστιν ἡ οὐσία [ἐκεῖ]νου „*reißt weg von N. den, der die Macht über ihn hat*.“ One would expect ἐξουσία, but cf. HOPFNER, OZ I §§ 643 f. ZUCKER, *Byz. Zs.* 36 (1936) 403. – 13: I. διὸ <δ>ρκίζω ὑμᾶς, EITREM, SO 20 (1940) 176. – 15: I. βαρβαρε θιωθ (accidentally omitted in PGM), BETZ, GMP 251.3.

PGM XVI

JORDAN, *Philologus* 120 (1976) 130.7, dates it to II c. A.D.; I. *πᾶσα μήτρα passim*, *ibid.*, 132. New edition by D. JORDAN, *ZPE* 74 (1988) 231–243. – Engl. tr., MOKE 69; KEE, *Medicine, Miracle* (v. XIII 788) 108–109. Polish paraphrase, MANTEUFFEL, *Meander* 5 (1950) 498. – PREISENDANZ, *Magie* 119.63: „*vielleicht weist die Beschwörung beim Herzen des Kronos auf Herkunft aus Arsinoe (wie beim Defixions-Ostrakon PGM II O 1)*“ – but O 1 does not come from Arsinoe. It was found in Hermupolis (ZERETELI and JERNSTEDT, *P. Ross. Georg.* V no. 3, introd.). – descr., TAVENNER, *Fire* 28.

PGM XVII a

= HENGSTL, no. 71. Engl. tr., MOKE 27 f.

22 f.: MALTOMINI, *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 275, adduces literary parallels: Archil. 72 D = 112 TARD.; Anacr. 164 BGK. = 124 GENT.; Lucil 8.305–306 MARX; Tib. I.8.26; Ovid, *Amor.* 1.4.43–44; Anthol. Pal. V 128.1–3, etc.

PGM XVII b

Sp. tr., RAMOS JURADO, *Habis* 3 (1972) 60–61, who cites parallels. – Eng. tr., GRAF in: *Magika Hiera* 204.

21: I. τὴν σὴν [ἀρετὴν ἐπίδειξαι] KEYSSNER, *Gottesvorstellung* 50–51. – 22: καὶ σ[ὴν] *ibid.* 51.

PGM XVII c

RIVAL 227.

PGM XVIII a

= VAN HAELST 721. RIVAL 69–70. Dutch tr., MULDER 115.

PGM XVIII b

RIVAL 63–68.

PGM XIX a

RITNER, *JNES* 43 (1984) 218: the *Soroor*-formula is for opening the womb.

13: μελητῆς *add. lexicis*, O'NEIL in: *GMP* 256.5. – 13–16: Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, *L'Idéal* 315; Engl. tr., MOKE 70. – 49–54: descr., TAVENNER *Fire* 28. – 50 f.: Grk. text and Engl. tr., FARAONE, *Class. Jnl.* 89 (1993) 7–8. – 53: κεῖται παρὰ σοὶ τὸ θ.μ. “this divine and holy act depends on you”, NOCK, *JEA* 11 (1925) 158. – 53: ἀνδρί is probably incorrect and should be genitive, O'NEIL in: *GMP* 257.11. – 54: πλειστὼς has a dubious existence and should probably be emended to πλεῖστα *ibid.* 257.12.

PGM XIX b

4–17: Engl. tr., MOKE 182. – 5: „*leg's nieder auf einen getöteten (Hund)*“ or „*deponiere es in einen getöteten (Hund)*“, SICHERL 193.

PGM XX

= PACK² no. 1871; D. PAGE, *Select Papyri III*, Cambridge, Mass. and London 1962, no. 146; MARGANNE no. 29. Engl. tr., LINDSAY, *Daily Life in Roman Egypt*, London 1963, 223. RIVAL 71–73. EITREM, *SO* 29 (1952) 130; MERKELBACH, *APF* 16 (1958) 86; HENRICHs, *ZPE* 6 (1970) 204 f., suggest readings which have been incorporated into PGM². HENRICHs, *ZPE* 6 (1970) 205.1, and MALTOMINI (n. 133) 239.5, discuss the dating. DICKIE, *ZPE* 100 (1994) 119, disc. the identity of Philinna. WILAMOWITZ, *BKT* V.2, Berlin 1907, 144, calling it „spätgriechisch“, was patently expressing the prejudices of a strict classicist for whom anything later than the V or IV c. B. C. was „spätgriechisch“. – photo: *ZPE* 6 (1970) Taf. XI.

L. KOENEN, *CdE* 27 (1962) 168, dates it to the I c. B. C. R. DANIEL, *ZPE* 73 (1988) 306, suggests reading in lines 1–2:

[	name	]ς Κεφαλη(νίδος) [ἐπαιοιδῆ πρὸς]
[	ailment	]σ.

Engl. tr., KOTANSKY in: *Magika Hiera* 112, 113.

4–12: O'NEIL in: *GMP* 258.12, cps. the story of Demeter and Demophoon in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter 231–255 (ed. N. J. RICHARDSON, Oxford 1974, 231–234) and J. G. FRAZER, *Apollodorus*, vol. II, Cambridge, Mass. 1979, 311–317.

KOENEN, *CdE* 37 (1962) 167–174, traces the *historiola* to Egyptian mythology; FARAONE, *Mystodokos*, in: MIRECKI and MEYER, edd., *Ritual Power/Magic*, cites Near Eastern precedents. BONNER, *Hesperia* 13 (1944) 349–351, compares lines 15–16 with a charm on pp. 30–35 of the same journal – Αἰὼν ἐρπέτα δὸς νίκην κατὰ τῶν ὑπὸ πέτρων – and suggests possible restorations for the lacunae. See now on the Αἰὼν ἐρπέτα charm, JORDAN, *AJA* 89 (1985) 162. – P. Oxy. ined. (= PACK² 1872), cited in the notes to PGM XX, is no. 130 in MARGANNE; SM 88.

The following notes are based on an autoscopic exmination of the papyrus kindly granted me by G. POETHKE in March 1990:

Col. II: 2: λογο]ς?: Visible is the rightmost end of the downward diagonal stroke with a shortupward tick at the end. Above it is a configuration resembling an arrowhead pointing left. Sigma, therefore, seems out of the question. – 3: θν. [...]..[: Eta is anything but certain. The lacuna is much longer than three letters. Sigma is even less certain than the eta. – 4:].ολοις – 7:]προσπανκατακατα[– 8:]υστοδο[.].ς: Before sigma is a portion of a curved letter at the position 12 o'clock to 1 o'clock. – 10:]ων κρηνας – 12:]γωνιδεσ-ηγαγανυ[: Too much of the letter succeeding eta is missing to judge between rho and gamma. The second questionable letter is lacking portions from the left and lower sections. Only the upper rightmost section remains, and it is horizontal and straight. Hence, gamma is much more plausible than rho which would curve downwards. – After nu only the faintest smudge of ink is visible

which could be any letter at all. – 18:]φευγουσινδε[: Nothing precedes phi. – 19:]μωνυχ.[: Here the papyrus is extremely abraded and damaged; it is difficult to ascertain any distinct letter forms whatsoever.

PGM XXI

photo: Abrasax I Taf. II. – Engl. tr., KEE, *Medicine, Miracle* (v. ad XIII 788) 110–111; Greek, Ger. tr., commentary, Abrasax I 135; RIVAL 129–131.

2: βαρβαριχ βα[: Abrasax I 143. – 4 ff.: Ger. paraphrase (combined with elements from XII 242 f. and XIII 267 f.) ASSMANN, *Ägypten* (v. XIII 767 ff.) 281. – 20: The eight guards comprise the Ogdoad of Hermopolis – BERGMAN in: GMP 259.4. – 24: l. ἐν φυλακτ[ηρίῳ *voces magicae*, BONNER, *P. Mich.* III 155.5 n.

PGM XXII a

= VAN HAELST 1073. Engl. tr., KEENAN, *APF* 35 (1989) 17.

1–13: Greek text, commentary: BRASHEAR, *APF* 38 (1992) 24–25. – 10 f.: formulary for a fever amulet to be written on a tin *lamella* and worn. – 11–13: Engl. tr., MOKE 235. – 13: γρ(άψας) εἰς καινή[ν] σελίδα or πινακίδα. Χάρτης is masculine, ZUCKER, *Byz. Zs.* 36 (1936) 403. – 18–27: Engl. tr., MOKE 345. – 20: MARCOVICH, *ZPE* 64 (1986) 296, ad Hippolytus, *Ref.* 4.7.23, cites ἐπταούρανος („aus sieben Himmeln bestehend“, PREISIGKE, *Wörterbuch*, s. v.) in support of his interpretation of Isis *heptastolos*.

PGM XXII b

Engl. tr., GOODENOUGH, *Symbols* II 203, and discussion.

10: l. δ κ[α]θ[ήμενος] ἐπὶ ὄρους π[αλαμ]ναίου, conjectured by L. ROBERT, *Journal des Savants* 1981, 16, and confirmed to me by G. POETHKE (per litt. July 31, 1986). – 17–27: Engl. tr., GOODENOUGH, *Symbols* II 200. – 17 f.: Ger. tr., ROHLAND 78.

PGM XXIII

= PACK² 53. – FRANCIS C. R. THEE, *Julius Africanus and the Early Christian View of Magic*, Tübingen 1984, has discussion and thorough bibliography. The most recent edition is by JEAN-RENÉ VIEILLEFOND, *Les Cestes de Julius Africanus*, Paris and Florence 1970. – Fr. tr., VIEILLEFOND, *Rev. Etudes Italiennes* n. S. 11 (1965) 449–450; WINTER 264: gen'l descr.; – Ger. tr., BAUER, *Rechtgläubigkeit u. Ketzerei*, Tübingen 1934, 164. – Greek text, Engl. tr. and commentary DUQUESNE, *Jackal at the Shaman's Gate*. Various textual emendations proposed.

4: l. καὶ ἐπιδωσάμενοι BETZ, *GMP* 262.5.

PGM XXIV a

Engl. tr., MILLIGAN, *Selections* no. 46; Ital tr., DONADONI, *Religione* 591; Engl. tr., LINDSAY, *Origins* 42; Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, *Révélation* I 287.

24: GRESE in: GMP 264.3, lists the various ways this has been translated by GRENFELL and HUNT, P. Oxy. vol. 6, pp. 200–201; MILLIGAN, Selections 110–111; and PREISENDANZ in PGM.

PGM XXVb

descr., W. KOSACK, *Alltag im alten Ägypten*, Freiburg i. Br. 1974, 47.

PGM XXV c

= VAN HAELEST 896.

PGM XXVI

= HUNT and EDGAR, *Select Papyri I*, no. 195; HENGSTL, no. 65; BROWNE, *The Papyri of the Sortes Astrampsychi*, Meisenheim am Glan 1974, pp. 17 ff.; HORSLEY, *NDIEC 2*, 37–44; BJÖRCK, „Heidnische und christliche Orakel mit fertigen Antworten“, *SO 19* (1929) 97 f. – brief descr., VERSNEL, *Faith, Hope and Worship 6*. – Engl. tr., LEWIS, *Life 99*. – Engl. tr., SCHUMAN, *Life from the Desert Sand 138*. – Span. tr., PRESEDO VELO (v. ad. XXX a) 94. – Ital. tr., DONADONI, *Religione 593–594*. – Danish tr., BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, *Orakler*.

Discussions: BROWN, *The Papyri of the Sortes Astrampsychi* (n. 374); ID., in: *Arktoouros. Hellenic Studies ... B. M. W. Knox* (n. 374) 434–439; LENAERTS, *CdE 58* (1983) 187 ff., ad P. Rain. I 33, P. Iand. V 71 and an unedited *Oxyrhynchus papyrus*; R. STEWART, *ZPE 69* (1987) 237–242. Cf. P. Oxy. 2832, 2833, 3330; CLARYSSE and STEWART, *CdE 63* (1988) 309–314; P. Lugd.-Bat. XXV 8. – R. STEWART kindly provided me with a list of his forthcoming publications on the *Sortes*: *Sortes Astrampsychi II: Ecdosis Altera*, Teubner; “The Textual Transmission of the *Sortes Astrampsychi*”, ICS. – CLARYSSE and HOOGENDIJK, *De Sortes van Astrampsychus. Een orakelboek uit de Oudheid bewerkt voor het Middelbaar Onderwijs*, *Kleio* (Driemaandelijks tijdschrift) n. r. 11 (1981) 53–91, with introduction, explanation and Dutch translation. – EITREM, *SO 17* (1937) 104: the sense of line 20 is not “Have I been bewitched?” but rather “Am I a witch?”. – RIVAL 213. – R. COLES, *BASP 13* (1976) 85–87, reviews BROWNE, *The Papyri of the Sortes Astrampsychi*, and discusses the oracular εἰ.

PGM XXVII

= HUNT and EDGAR, *Select Papyri I*, no. 198: ad line 5: Σουλκυσησου “some mysterious deity”. – Dutch tr., BOGAERT in: *Ἀνάμνησις. Gedenkboek Prof. Dr. E. A. Leemans*, Brugge 1970, 114. – Engl. tr., BARRETT, *New Testament Background*, London 1956, 31.

PGM XXVIII a–c

Engl. tr., and commentary, TOD, *JEA 25* (1939) 58 ff.

PGM XXVIII a

RIVAL 93–94.

PGM XXVIIIb

RIVAL 95.

PGM XXVIIIc

= VAN HAELEST 965; RIVAL 96.

PGM XXIX

SMITH, Jesus 199–200, suggests it might be a spell for good weather as well as a sailors' song. V. *supra* n. 506.

7: l. μὴ τύπη τὰ πελάγη, ἀλ(λ') ὑποτάξατε (sc. τὰ πελάγη) ναυβάταις EITREM, SO 20 (1940) 176. – 8: l. οὔρος? BETZ, GMP 266.2. – 9: l. ἀπέκ(κ)λειε τὰ πνεύματα EITREM, SO 20 (1940) 176. BARTSCH 210: Greek and Ger. tr.

PGM XXX

Engl. tr., KEE, *Medicine, Miracle* (v. ad. XIII 788) 109.

PGM XXX–XXXI

PFISTER, Ph. Wo. 33/34 (1932) 919: these and the Christian oracle questions do not belong to PGM. They belong rather to the letters to the gods; cites literature and parallels. J. REILING, *Hermas and Christian Prophecy*, Leiden 1973, 84: selected Engl. tr. Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, *De l'essence de la tragédie grecque*, Paris 1969, 83–84. Oracle question texts are reproduced in G. RONCHI, *Lexicon theonymon*, Milan 1975, under the names of the various deities addressed on the papyrus chits.

PGM XXXa

= TOTTI, *Texte* no. 50; K. SUDHOFF, *Ärztliches aus gr. Papyrusurkunden*, Studien zur Geschichte d. Medizin 5–6, Leipzig 1909, p. 213; W. SCHUBART, ZÄS 67 (1931) 110 no. 3; A. WILHELM, APF 15 (1953) 74. – Engl. tr., MILLIGAN, *Selections* no. 25; ID., *Here and There*, p. 110; Span. tr., PRESEDO VELO, in: *Religion, Superstición y Magia*, Cadiz 1985, 93.

PGM XXXb

= TOTTI, *Texte* no. 51; A. WILHELM, APF 15 (1953) 73; D. HAGEDORN, *Kölner Papyri IV*, p. 219. – Engl. tr., MOKE 345. – Ger. tr., LOEBENSTEIN and HARRAUER, *Katalog* (v. p. 3482) no. 32. – Ger. tr., R. HELBING, *Auswahl aus griech. Papyri*, Berlin–Leipzig 1912, p. 81. – Ger. tr., SCHUBART, *Internationale Monatsschrift f. Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik* 10 (1916) 1528. – Span. tr., PRESEDO VELO (v. ad XXXa) 93. – Ger. tr., SCHENKE, *Altertum* 9 (1963) 68. – Polish tr., MANTEUFFEL, *Meander* 5 (1950) 497. – Ger. tr., photo: *Ein Weltgebäude. Die österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, Graz 1987, 24, 25.

PGM XXX c

= TOTTI, *Texte* no. 52; K. SUDHOFF, (v. ad XXX a) pp. 213–214; W. SCHUBART, *ZÄS* 67 (1931) 110, no. 4; H. M. SCHENKE, *Das Altertum* 9 (1963) 75. – Ger. tr., SCHENKE, *Altertum* 9 (1963) 75. – Engl. tr., LEWIS, *Life* 98. – Span. tr., PRESEDO VELO (v. ad XXX a) 94.

PGM XXX d

= TOTTI, *Texte* no. 53: W. SCHUBART, *ZÄS* 67 (1931) 111 no. 9; H. M. SCHENKE, *Das Altertum* 9 (1963) 75; D. HAGEDORN, *P. Köln* IV, p. 219. – Span. tr., PRESEDO VELO, *Religion y Magia* (v. ad XXX a) 94.

PGM XXX e

= TOTTI, *Texte* no. 54. Cf. W. SCHUBART, *Einführung in die Papyrskunde*, Berlin 1918, 368, Id., *ZÄS* 67 (1931) 111 no. 7; A. WILHELM, *APF* 15 (1953) 72; H. YOUTIE, *TAPA* 95 (1964) 326–327 = Id., *Scriptiunculae I*, Amsterdam 1973, 426–427. Greek text: *APF* 21 (1971) 28. – Engl. tr., AUNE, *Prophecy in Early Christianity*, Grand Rapids 1983, 54. – Span. tr., PRESEDO VELO, (v. ad XXX a) 94. – Danish tr., BÜLOW-JACOBSEN *Orakler*.

PGM XXX f

= TOTTI, *Texte* no. 54. Cf. W. SCHUBART, *Einführung in die Papyrskunde* 368; Id., *ZÄS* 67 (1931) 111 no. 8; A. WILHELM, *APF* 15 (1953) 74; YOUTIE, *TAPA* 95 (1964) 327 = Id., *Scriptiunculae I* 427; A. HENRICHS, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 116.7; *APF* 21 (1971) 28. – Danish tr., BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, *Orakler*.

PGM XXXI a

= TOTTI, *Texte* no. 55; K. SUDHOFF, *Ärztliches aus griech. Papyrusurkunden* (v. ad XXX a) p. 214; W. SCHUBART, *ZÄS* 67 (1931) 111 no. 6.

PGM XXXI b

= TOTTI, *Texte* no. 56; SCHUBART, *ZÄS* 67 (1931) 111 no. 5; HUNT and EDGAR, *Select Papyri I*, no. 193. – Engl. tr., AUNE, *Prophecy in Early Christianity* (v. ad XXX e) 54; BOWMAN, *Egypt* 189. – Ital. tr., DONADONI, *Religione* 593. – Span. tr., PRESEDO VELO (v. ad XXX a) 94. – Engl. tr., C. K. BARRETT, *New Testament Background* (v. ad. XXVII) 31. – Ital. tr., K. PARLASCA, R. PINTAUDI, *El-Fayyum*, Milan 1985, 150.

PGM XXXI c

= HUNT and EDGAR, *Select Papyri I*, no. 194; Engl. tr., BELL, *Cults and Creeds* (v. ad III 591–610) p. 69; Engl. tr., LEWIS, *Life* 98. – Ger. tr., SCHENKE, *Altertum* 9 (1963) 75. – Polish tr., MANTEUFFEL, *Meander* 5 (1950) 497. – Ital. tr., K. PARLASCA, R. PINTAUDI, *El-Fayyum*, Milan 1985, 150. – Danish tr., BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, *Orakler*.

PGM XXXII a

Not a *diakopos*, but rather a homosexual love-charm (pace PREISENDANZ, Ph. Wo. 50, 1930, 748 f.), MALTOMINI, Aegyptus 59 (1979) 276. — Engl. tr., SMITH, Jesus 124. GUÉRAUD in: Mél. Maspero II 205, prefers the readings of HUNT to those of PREISENDANZ in line 25. — sketch in G. ROEDER, Volksglaube (n. 6), Abb. 63, showing the papyrus as it was found rolled up and tied with a string together with a clay figurine. ROEDER misinterprets the text as a love charm prepared by Helen in order to incite Ammonios' love (!). Photo in BOWMAN, Egypt 134.

PGM XXXIII

Engl. tr., LINDSAY, Daily Life (v. ad XX) 223; KEE, Medicine, Miracle (v. ad XIII 788–804) 110. Cf. RIVAL 40–43.

21: I. παρημέρου SCARBOROUGH in: GMP 267.4, who cps. Pollux, On. I 65 cod. B, where this word appears.

PGM XXXIV

= PACK² 2636, with further bibliography. — re-edited by E. R. DODDS in: Studies ... G. Norwood, Toronto 1952, 133–138, with various new readings which are incorporated into PGM². A. STRAMIGLIA, ZPE 88 (1991) 73–86. — Engl. tr., GRANT, Miracle and Natural Law, Amsterdam 1952, 128. — PFISTER, Ph. Wo. 33/34 (1942) 919, cps. Apul. Met. I 3, I 8, III 15. — DARIS, Aegyptus 66 (1986) 110–114, suggests joining P. Palau Rib. inv. 152 + PGM XXXIV.

3: I. κηλῶσαι EITREM, SO 2 (1924) 43 f. — 17: I. χρίσασθαι S. WEST, ZPE 7 (1971) 95, who cps. Eur. Hipp. 516. — 22: I. παραδόξων? O'NEIL in: GMP 267.6.

PGM XXXV

RIVAL 189–203. — Engl. tr., GOODENOUGH, Symbols II 197–198.

1: Βύθος is an entity of the Valentinian gnosis, BONNER, Studies 32, cf. Iren. 1.1.1. — 4: Σουριηλ represents the Hebrew Suriel (well-known from the Hekhaloth tradition) rather than Zuriel — SCHOLEM, Gnosticism² 46.12. — 5: ιφιαφ possible root for Yophiel in Jewish mystical texts, *ibid.*, 12.7. — 7: PETERSON, RhM 75 (1926) 407: parallels for Muriatha, e.g. ἐπὶ τὸν ἕκτον οὐρανὸν Μοριαθ (silver *lamella* from Beirut published in: Florilegium M. de Vogué 288.31). Both texts derive from the same *Vorlage*. — 9: PETERSON, Frühkirche 298.51: angels set over animals. — 15–23: Engl. tr., ARNOLD, Ephesians, Power and Magic 74–75. — 21: τὸ ἔνδυμα τοῦ Ελωέ: cf. SCHOLEM, Gnosticism² 64. — 36: On Bileam the prophet from Pethor cf. Num. 22.5–24.25; 31.8,16; Deut. 23.4, etc.: GINZBERG, The Legends of the Jews III 354–382; H. KARP, s. v. Bileam, in: RAC 2 (1954) 262–273 — BETZ, GMP 268.5; PETERSON, RhM 75 (1926) 410. — 41: Σαραχαηλ PETERSON, *op. cit.* 416, finds him in a Celtic charm.

PGM XXXVI

= VAN HAAELST 1080. — gen'l descr., HULL, *Magic* 48. — photo: K. WEITZMANN, *Illustrations* pl. XIV. — Coll. 1 and 2. — drawings discussed by SICHERL 88–90, who concludes that an acephalous Osiris-Seth is depicted in col. I; in coll. IV an acephalous Seth-Jahweh.

15–17: Horus?, HOPFNER, *AO* 10 (1938) 138.2. PETERSON, *TLZ* 51 (1926) 509, says the words on the body of the first *figura magica* are supposed to energize it. — 44: „Die Neunzahl ist schwerlich Zufall“, PETERSON, *ibid.*, who interprets the *kyrioi angeloi* in Judeo-Christian terms. The symbols next to the picture of the acephalous deity indicate that he is probably a decan, *ibid.* — 35–48: Engl. tr., JORDAN, *AJA* 89 (1985) 164. — 68–101: Engl. tr., MOKE 89; GOODENOUGH, *Symbols* II 196. — 69 f.: descr., TAVENNER, *Fire* 29–30, translating βαλὼν (l. 73) as “throw, cast”. — 102–134: Engl. tr., MOKE 106; descr., TAVENNER, *Fire* 30; Ger. tr., *Spätantike und frühes Christentum. Ausstellung im Liebighaus Museum alter Plastik, Frankfurt a. M. 1983*, 148. — 105–109: GRIFFITHS, *JEA* 25 (1939) 101: Seth, not Min, is addressed. — 105: ὁ κτίζων κτλ. because this terminology is not found in the Septuagint Jahweh is not intended here, PETERSON, *TLZ* 51 (1926) 509. — 106: Heliopolis: CCAG VIII,4, p. 103 — *ibid.* Perhaps the god Min — not Seth — is intended. *ibid.* — 106: Min of Koptos was born of the white sow — cf. J. BERGMAN, *Isis auf der Sau*, *Boreas* 6 (Uppsala 1974) 81–109, esp. 91–92 (RITNER in: *GMP* 271.7). — 108: RITNER in: *GMP* 271.9, cps. Ex. 7.17–24; 14.21–31; W. K. SIMPSON, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, New Haven 1973, 21, for Egyptian parallels for iron rods. Cf. the *defixio* from Hadrumentum, l. 11 ff.: ὀρκίζω σε τὸν διαστήσαντα τὴν ... ῥάβδον ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ DONNER, *ZÄS* 100 (1974) 88.62, who says it is not Moses but Jahweh who acts here as *megas theos*. — 134–160: Engl. tr., MOKE 151; Ger tr., K. LATTE, *Die Religion d. Römer u. d. Synkretismus d. Römerzeit* = BERTHOLET, *Religionsgeschichtl. Lesebuch*² V, Tübingen 1927, 312 ff. — 138 f.: KÁKOSY, *OLZ* 73 (1978) 14, cites an ancient Egyptian parallel for demons besmirching their faces (*Grundriß der Medizin der alten Ägypter* IV, 258, V, 440). — 141: HOPFNER, *Plutarch* I 46, sees here a reference to Osiris' adultery with Nephthys. — 143: l. αὐτῆς HOPFNER, *ibid.*, 46.7. — 156–157: P. VAN DEN BROEK, *The Myth of the Phoenix*, Leiden 1972, 56, disc. problems of interpreting the word phoenix. — 162 ff.: HOPFNER, *AO* 10 (1938) 128 f.: gen'l discussion with corrections in the German translation. — Col. II Stethokephalos-figure with a pregnant ouroboros? PREISENDANZ, *Uroboros* 207.57. Coll. III, X NOCK, *Texts* 264, cites parallels for the *figurae magicae*. — 171: Πουβήλ = Πουβαήλ: angel of Mars, attested only for the Sabians, PETERSON, *TLZ* 51 (1926) 509. Cf. *Protev. Iacob. I.2*: Πουβήλ. Ναριήλ: attested in the Book of Enoch and in Aramaic magic bowls, PETERSON, *TLZ* 51 (1926) 509, *Id.*, *RhM* 75 (1926) 409. — 172: Κατιήλ: cf. Καταήλ in CCAG VIII,2, p. 150.7. PETERSON, *TLZ* 51 (1926) 509 is not satisfied with EITREM's interpretation, but he suggests nothing in its stead. Cf. *RhM* 75 (1926) 405. — 173: Ιουήλ, Ιωήλ PETERSON, *RhM* 75 (1926) 403, 404, cites parallels: Iouel an archangel in REITZENSTEIN (n. 114) 296; a name for the Ennead in SCHMIDT-TILL, *Pistis Sophia*, Berlin 1959³, p. 339.33; PGM IV

3010; CCAG VIII, 2, p. 150.32, etc. – 173: Ἐζριήλ = Ezrael in the Ethiopian version of the 'Apocalypsis Petri' (cf. ZNW 1913, 72). PETERSON, *ibid.* – 174: Ἀζαήλ PETERSON, RhM 75 (1926) 394, A. also in *Test. Salom.*, 7.7; *Orac. Sib.* II 215; Henoch *passim*; gems; PSI I 28.10; Ethiopian and Celtic magical texts; CCAG VIII, 2, p. 173.22 (Ἀζαήλ). – 176: Ἐναεζραήλ = ενα + εζραήλ (cf. CCAG VII 180.11: Ἐναμέρφαήλ), PETERSON, TLZ 51 (1926) 509, who does not agree with EITREM's derivation. – 178–187: Engl. tr., GAGER (n. 340) no. 129; photo: *ibid.*, p. 238, fig. 30. – 187–202: Engl. tr., MOKE 71. – 189–210: Engl. tr., GOODENOUGH, Symbols II 196. – 190: ἰ. πεπληρωμένος πάντων πάσης γῆς σφραγισμός. Hekate is «*le sceau de la terre entière qui est rempli de toutes choses*», FESTUGIÈRE, *Coniectanea Neotestamentica* 12 (1948) 46 f. – 194: ἰ. τὸ πῦρ ὃ πῦρ κατέχεις καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ FESTUGIÈRE, *ibid.* 46 f. – 196: ἰ. κατέχομαι? O'NEIL in: GMP 274.23. – 211–230: Greek text, Ger. tr., commentary, Abrasax II, Kap. IV. – 214–230: Engl. tr., HULL, Magic 43. – 235, 246: A. MEILLET, Bull. de la Soc. Linguistique de Paris 27 (1926) 60 (*comptes rendus*), sees in βάθραχον (*sic!*) not a metathesis of aspirated consonants but rather a conservative, Ionic form in Koine Greek. – 256–264: Engl. tr., GAGER (n. 340) no. 130. – 258: Ἀστράηλος = αστραελ? (in Bull. dell'istit. di corr. arch. 1849, p. 11), PETERSON, TLZ 51 (1926) 510, *Id.*, RhM 75 (1926) 397. Χράηλος = Chrail (on a Mandaic magic bowl, POGNON, *Inscr. mand.*, p. 46), PETERSON, *ibid.* – 277: θ[ύς]ας καὶ ἐπίθεας καὶ λίβανον ... περιάπων FESTUGIÈRE, *Coniectanea* 46 f. – 283–294: Greek text, Engl. tr., disc., AUBERT, GRBS 30 (1989) 426–427; Engl. tr., MOKE 331. – 295–310: Engl. tr., MOKE 118; GOODENOUGH, Symbols II 199; TAVENNER, Fire 31. – 310: Ἰσραήλ PETERSON, RhM 75 (1926) 403–404, cps. Henoch 10.1; PGM V 117; PGM IV 1816, et al. – 310: SCHOLEM, *Gnosticism*² 95, notes a similar sequence of names on an Aramaic phylactery. – 312–320: Greek text, Engl. tr., disc., AUBERT, GRBS 30 (1989) 439. – 315–320: Engl. tr., HULL, Magic 28. – 320–332: Engl. tr., MOKE 242; SCARBOROUGH, in: *Magika Hiera* 158. – 322–332: SCARBOROUGH, *Hermetic and Related Texts* (v. ad VII 193–207) 32: Engl. tr. – 333–360: Engl. tr., MOKE 182; TAVENNER, Fire 31. – 334 f.: GRIFFITHS, *Conflict of Horus and Seth*, Liverpool 1960, 118.3, attempts to find Egypt. parallels for Horus using a burning tree. – 345 f.: ἰ. κατὰ τῆς τιμωροῦ Ἀνάγκης ... οὐδε SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 172. – 361: ἰ. ἀσχέτου <δαίμονος>? MALTOMINI, P. Laur. IV 148.12 n., cf. PGM VII 593, IV 2071; PREISENDANZ, *Nekydaimon* 2252: ἰ. ἀσχέτου. – 361: „ἀγωγή ἄσχετος, ποιούσα μονοήμερος „*Unwiderstehliches Mittel herbeizuführen, nur am selben Tag wirksam*“ (PREISENDANZ). *Man sollte wohl korrigieren ἀγωγή ἀσχέτου, „Herbeiführung einer Frau, die man nicht bekommen kann, wirksam innerhalb von einem Tag“.* Vgl. VII 593 ἀγωγή ἀσχέτου („*Herbeiführen einer Widerspenstigen*“), Abrasax II 122. – 361–371: Engl. tr., MOKE 196. – 364: ἰ. εἰσι σῶθι SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 175. V. inf. II 7: Glossary. Cf. P. Oxy. 1380, 143 f.

PGM XXXVII

= TOTTI, *Texte* no. 10, who records the following new readings:

1: μετ' ἀν[θ]ρώπων ἂ. οὐδὲ με[τὰ] γυναικῶν MERKELBACH ap. TOTTI. – 2: μεμολυσμένων, ἀλλοτρία MERKELBACH. – 3: εἰδῶς, ὁμνύῃ, ἐστηκ[έ]τω πᾶσα

MERKELBACH. — 4: ἡ] συγγένεια MERKELBACH. — 5: καὶ] μετ' αὐτ[οῦ MERKELBACH. — 6–7: οὗτος δὲ [γράφει πάν/τα ταυτα TOTTI. — 7: πυξεῖν = πυξίον, ἀν[αγνῶ MERKELBACH. — 8: ἐν τῷ] TOTTI, φων[ῇ πρὸς τὴν MERKELBACH. — 9: τῶν π]ροφητῶν, πρῶ[τοστολιστῶν MERKELBACH. — 10: μαρτυ]ρίαν MERKELBACH συ[μβουλίαν TOTTI. — 11: κληθῇ] πάλιν TOTTI, ἐκφαν[ῶ MERKELBACH. — 12: εἰ]πω TOTTI. — 13: γρ[άψω MERKELBACH, προ[TOTTI. — 14: ο]ὔτε MERKELBACH. — 16: cf. Apoc. Ioh. 22.18 f., PETERSON, TLZ 51 (1926) 508.

PGM XXXVIII

gen'l disc., SICHERL 281–300.

1: ἰ. ἄγενυσον [σὲ ζ' ἡμέρας καὶ O'NEIL in: GMP 278.1. — 1–12: Engl. tr., MOKE 72. — 13 ff.: Abrasax I 117–118, cp. IV 1642–1679, and suggest various textual restorations. — 14: [ὁ ἐξ ἐρυθρᾶς] θαλάσσης or [ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς] θαλάσσης or [ὁ κύριος τῆς] θαλάσσης Abrasax I 118.

PGM XXXIX

Engl. tr., MOKE 72. — Bes figure: BONNER, Studies 112.38, notes gem parallels.

PGM XL

= H. JONES and P. PARSONS, Supplementum Hellenisticum, Berlin–New York 1983, no. 900. — BJÖRCK, Fluch 131 f., quotes it and discusses it in the context of other curses. — PREISENDANZ, Magie 113–114: gen'l disc. of contents and situation in which it was written. — The text can be transposed phrase for phrase into Demotic, J. D. RAY, Jews and Other Immigrants in Late Period Egypt 273. — Engl. tr., BELL, Cults and Creeds (v. ad III 591–610) 3–4; VERNEL in: Magika Hiera 68–69. — HUGHES, JNES 17 (1958) 1–12, cps. it with Egyptian letters to the dead. — SEIDL, Gottesentscheidungen (n. 139) regards it as a „*Schadengebet*“, not a „*Gottesentscheidung*“. — BASTIANINI, Tyche 2 (1987) 1 f., on the format and lay-out of the text; the sheet is a *protokollon*. — Photo: H. HUNGER, Antikes und mittelalterliches Buch- und Schriftwesen, Zurich 1961, Abb. 7; R. SEIDER in: Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums, Berlin 1974, Taf. 67; MONTEVECCHI, tav. 9; H. KLOS, Die Papyrussammlung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Vienna 1955, Taf. III (p. 21, no. 13, brief descr.); H. HUNGER, Die Papyrussammlung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Vienna 1962, Taf. III (p. 24, no. 15, brief descr.); LOEBENSTEIN, Die Papyrussammlung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Vienna 1972, Taf. III (p. 16, no. 16, brief descr.). Reproduction and Swedish tr.: FRÖSÉN, Brev från antiken, Stockholm 1990, 12–13. Photo and paleographical commentary: R. SEIDER, Paläographie der griech. Papyri III,1, Stuttgart 1990, pp. 141–145.

PGM XLI

RIVAL 206.

PGM XLII

RIVAL 211.

PGM XLIII

2: Ἀσουήλ PETERSON, RhM 75 (1926) 397, cites parallels, e. g. BUDGE, Coptic Apocrypha 198; SB Berlin. Akad. 1891, p. 1046; Henoch 6.7: Aseal (?). — RIVAL 47–52.

PGM XLIV

RIVAL 229.

PGM XLV

RIVAL 215.

PGM XLVII

= VAN HAELEST 1050. RIVAL, 60–62. — Ger. tr., LOEBENSTEIN and HARRAUER, Katalog (v. p. 3482) no. 41.

2: Στραγιήλ PETERSON, RhM 75 (1926) 419, cps. CCAG VIII,2, p. 151.27: Στραγιήλ.

PGM XLVIII

emendations to the Coptic proposed by W. TILL, Orientalia n. S. 4 (1935) 220–221.

PGM L

7: I. Π[χα]ρχ[υ]ού[μεος] SCHMIDT ap. PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 140.

PGM LI

1–27: RITNER in: GMP 283, cps. this necromantic request to Egyptian letters to the dead. Cf. A. GARDINER and K. SETHE (n. 349).

PGM LIII–LVI (forgeries)

cf. COLES and GALLAZZI (n. 392).

PGM LVII

Greek text, Ger. tr., commentary, Abrasax II, Kap. VII. — Fr. tr., FESTUGIÈRE, L'Idéal 322–323.

2–9: Greek, Ger. tr., HARRAUER, Meliouchos 52–53, who notes the similarity between this passage and ancient Egyptian texts, e. g. Totenbuch chap. 125. — 30: I. τύχη «avec une initiale miniscule: ta chance», DELATTE, Clochette (n. 315) 262.4.

NOCK, *Class. Rev.* 43 (1929) 238: 3: l. ἦ. — 4: [ἐάσ]ω τὰ κρέα. — 8: κατακρύψω [με(τὰ)] τῶν γιγάντων, cf. Synesius in HOPFNER, *Fontes* 635.12. — 36: opening of Pronoia, cf. PGM IV 475.

PGM LVIII

WORTMANN, *Texte* 58, says this is similar to AUDOLLENT, *Defix.* 188.

15: “take into custody (this wicked and impious ... man)”, KOTANSKY in: *GMP* 285.6.

PGM LIX

HENRICHs, *ZPE* 6 (1970) 210 f. + Taf. XI, disc. new readings which are now incorporated into PGM². — RIVAL 124. — Engl. tr., KEE, *Medicine, Miracle* (v. ad XIII 788) 109.

PGM LX

RIVAL 214.

PGM LXI

gen'l descr., PREISENDANZ, *Ph. Wo.* 1933, 1029 f.

1–38: Engl. tr., MOKE 72. — 5: αἰτ[.]ς pap., l. ἔδος „Götterbild“, PREISENDANZ, op. cit. 1032. — 11: l. πρίν σε ἐπ' ἀναγκαστ<ικ>οὺς θεοὺς or πρίν σοι ἐπαναγκαστ<ικ>οὺς θεοὺς? ibid. 1030. — 14: l. ἀφ<εθ>ῆς, ibid. — 19: ἐξωργίζω ζε pap. = ἐξ. δέ? ibid. 1031. Translate not „*ich beschwöre dich (das magisch gewordene Öl) beim großen Gott*“. Rather the magician addresses the god directly. — 27: Ἡσενεφύς, ενεσιε aut sim. are also possible restorations, ibid. 1032. — 33: the name of the ring is not “Abrasax”. This name is to be engraved on the ring. Perhaps ἐγγεγλυμμένον should be inserted into the text, ibid. 1032. — 39 f.: l. ἀγω[γῇ] λύουσα τὰ μ]ακάρια or ἀγω[γῇ] σχίζουσα μ]ακάρια ἀδικισθε[ις] ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρος, λαβών ibid. 1033. — 39–59: Engl. tr., MOKE 275. — 39: FESTUGIÈRE, *HThR* 31 (1938) 18, notes the use of lizards in magic. — 40: l. καλαβώτην ἀπὸ ταριχε[ίου] „*nimm ein Gecko von der Stätte des Einbalsamierens*“. Cf. Plin., *n. h.* 30.27.3, PGM VII 186, for lizards inhabiting graves, etc. PREISENDANZ, op. cit. 1033–1034. — 47–48: l. τὸν καλαβώτην ἐπε[χε]σκελ[ε]τὸν μὴ ἄσασθαι τοῦ Ἡλίου. ἐξ[άρ]σας δέ ibid. 1034. — 51: l. Ὁσερονωρφ[ιν] ὑπὸ σοῦ, ibid. 1034. — 55: l. εἶδωλε [Ἡλίου μὴ πρ]οσέλθης διὰ [τοῦ πυλῶ]νος, ἀφ' ἧς ὥρας ἐάν [ἀνατείλῃς ἐς] τὴν γῆ[ν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν] χρόνον, ὅσον σὺ [ἐπαυξάνεις τὸ]ν Ποτ[αμὸν ἐκ Ποτα]μοῦ, ὅσον θαλα[σσοκ]ρατεῖς ibid. 1035. — 60–66: Engl. tr., MOKE 283. — 60 f.: [Λόγος γραφόμενος εἰς [χα]ρτίον [καθαρὸν αἶμα]τι Τυφῶνος, ὃ εστ[ι] ὄνειον ... ποίει τυφλοδούντας αὐ[τούς] [διάκοπον or διαχώρησον or ἀπάλλαξον, τ]ὸν δεῖνα ἀπὸ τῆς δεῖνα] ... ἔ]νθες πρηστήρα αὐ[τοῖς] PREISENDANZ, op. cit., 1035, who further discusses and emends the iatromagical recipes following the main text.

PGM LXII

= VAN HAELEST 1081; = P. Lugd.-Bat. I 21.

1: λυχνιάζω *addendum lexicis*, O'NEIL in: GMP 292.1. — 1: l. [κα]ῖ β[ά]θρῳ, CUNEN, *Lécanomancie* 123–124 n. — 1–24: Engl. tr., MOKE 75. — 3: l. ὤς [σὺ] or else ὡς δι|ακονήσας ... οὕτω [δι]ακόνῃ[σ]ον κάμοι τῷ δῖνι πρὸς τὴν δῖνα EITREM, SO 11 (1932) 114. — 8–17: Fr. tr., SAUNERON, BSFE 8 (novembre 1951) 17. — 12–16: FAUTH, ZPE 98 (1993) 57–75, Gk. text, Ger. tr., commentary. — 14 f.: BETZ, GMP 292.7, cps. the creation myth in *Corpus Herm.* I 17–19; BOUSSET (n. 116) 117–118. — 24 ff.: = HENGSTL no. 69; Fr. tr., CUNEN, *Lécanomancie* 121 f. — 27: λαμφοῦρη P. Warren 12 and HENGSTL 69. — 32: καταθύων τὸν π. P. Warren 21 and HENGSTL 69. — 33 f.: PREISENDANZ puts the invocation to the sun (written in the margin of the papyrus) before the *voces magicae* and after them ὁ θεὸς εἰσελθε κτλ. P. Warren 21 and HENGSTL 69: αβρα ... βαραχε. ὁ θεός, εἰσελθε κύριε. χαῖρε ἱερὲ φῶς κτλ. καὶ χρημάτων μοι περὶ ὧν κτλ. — 39: P. Warren 21 and HENGSTL 69 do not have the <ταῦτα δῖωκε> ἐπὶ φ. which PREISENDANZ inserts. — 42: l. δῖωκε (scil. τὸν λόγον) EITREM, SO 11 (1932) 114. — 43 f.: P. Warren 21 and HENGSTL 69: βάλλε δὲ εἰς τὴν φιάλην. βύθιζε χόριον κυνὸς καλουμένης <ς> Λευκῆς κυνὸς λευκοῦ γεγεννημένου ἢ ἀσκαῖον χόριον. εἰς δὲ τὸ στήθος κτλ. — 46–50: PREISENDANZ restores much of what in P. Warren 21 is lacunose and uncertainly read. — Col. II photo: AUBERT, GRBS 30 (1989) after p. 432. — 76–106: Engl. tr., AUBERT, GRBS 30 (1989) 428. — 103 f.: BARB, JWCI 22 (1960) 368: a charm for inducing abortion; the drawing (καρδιοειδῶς) represents the womb; RITNER, JNES 43 (1984) 215, cites Egyptian precedents and gem parallels. — 104: l. καὶ ± 12 αἰσχρῶ αἵματι? AUBERT, GRBS 30 (1989) 430. — 106: l. χά[ρ-αξ]ον ἐν πιττα[κίῳ χαλκ]ῷ? EITREM, op. cit. 114. — 124–127: ἀνυγῆτω ἡ φύσις καὶ ἡ μήτρα τῆς δῖ(νος) καὶ αἵμασέσθω νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρα{ι}ς καὶ τὰ κ. γ. ..() αἰσχρῶ αἵματι καὶ προδί[ω]κε τὰ [π]ρόθετα νυκτὸς, ἀδήλ[ου] αὕτη με πρώτη ἡδίκησε καὶ χῶσον παρὰ ῥοῦν ἢ παρὰ [μ]ήχαρον ἐν πιττακί[δι]ῳ HOOGENDIJK ap. AUBERT, GRBS 30 (1989) 430.14.

PGM LXIII

Span. tr., PRESEDO VELO (v. ad XXX a) 94. — descr., A. KÖRTE, APF 11 (1935) 281 f.

PGM LXIV

Engl. tr., MOKE 76. — descr., A. KÖRTE, APF 11 (1935) 281 f.

PGM LXV

descr., A. KÖRTE, APF 11 (1935) 281–282.

PGM LXVI

R. DANIEL, ZPE 89 (1991) 119–120: a non-erotic, severing spell, prompted by professional rivalry and jealousy rather than unrequited love, pace L. KOENEN, ZPE 8 (1971) 199.1.

PGM LXVII

re-edition: KOENEN, ZPE 8 (1971) 199 f.

PGM LXVIII

GUÉRAUD, ASAE 38 (1939) 247–248: The Cairo Journal d'Entrée no. 28348 records a mud figure with papyrus found by PETRIE in Hawara in 1887–1888, but now missing. GUÉRAUD supposes his papyrus is the same one.

PGM LXX

Engl. tr., BETZ, Hist. of Religions 19 (1980) 288.

2–3: I. εμ κομπῶ βασιμ SCHMIDT, GGA 1937, 149. – 3–11: Hekate charm originally intended for women – ibid. SCHMIDT reads and punctuates: πρὸς φόβον. κολάσι, ὃς ἐὰν ἐξέρχεται. λέγε· ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἑρεσχιγὰλ ... κρατῶν τοὺς ἀντ[ί]χιρας ... καὶ οὐδὲ ἐν δύναιται κακὸν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. ἐὰν δὲ ἐγγῆς ἐπέλθῃ σοι, ἐπιλαβόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς πτέρνης λέγε· Ἑρεσχιγὰλ ... καὶ παραιτίσι. BONNER, CP 25 (1930) 180–183, discusses the sense of crossing parts of the body for magical purposes. – 4–25: Engl. tr., KOTANSKY, in: Magika Hiera 121. – 5: I. λέγε τῷ BETZ, Hist. of Religions 19, 289. – 9 f.: D. JORDAN, ZPE 72 (1988) 255, cites parallels: PGM IV 2334 f., Marcellus, *de medicam.* 15.89; T. Köln 1.57–61; unpublished *lamellae* in the Duke University library and the Getty museum. – 10: JORDAN in: Abstracts of the 18th Intern. Cong. of Papyrology, Athens 1986, 37, identifies this as iambic and cites as parallel: PGM IV 2334 f.; T. Köln inv. 1.58 f. (= BonnJbb 168, 1968, 60 f.); Marcellus Empiricus, *de medic.* 15.89. The imagery is similar to that of Porphyry, *peri agalmatōn* fr. 8 (BIDEZ). – 11: JORDAN, ibid., identifies this as dactylic and cites as parallels inscriptions on *lamellae* from Crete (I. Cret. II (19)7; Selinous (unedited in the Getty Museum); Rome (unedited in the Duke Univ. collection); and on T. Köln inv. 1.64 f. Δακτύλων does not refer to the Idaean Dactyls but is probably an intrusion of a marginal note into the body of the main text. – 12–18: Hekate charm strongly influenced by the Egyptian elements, SCHMIDT, op. cit., who reads: φοιβάντρα, μελάνη. – 14: I. Δακτύλον ibid. – 15: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα BETZ, op. cit. 293.33, who considers it part of the formula and not just an indication to repeat the foregoing. He finds elements of the Idaean Daktyl mystery cult ritual here. – 18: σκορπίζειν does not mean “chew”, as PREISENDANZ translates it, but rather “scatter”, ibid. – 22: I. ἀναδεύσας μαζία ἐπίγραφ[ο]ν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ <τινος> καὶ ὡς ἐγκρυσον εἰς φρέαρ ibid. 150.

PGM LXXI

MONTEVECCHI 275: Greek text. – RIVAL 176.

PGM LXXII

Greek text, Ger. tr., commentary, Abrasax II, Kap. VII.

PGM LXXIII

= PACK² 2492. – Engl. tr., WINTER 118; LEWIS, Life 98. – Ital. tr., DONADONI, Religione 593. – Ger. tr., SCHENKE, Altertum 9 (1963) 75.

PGM LXXIV

= PACK² 2491.

PGM LXXVI

Danish tr., BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, Orakler.

PGM LXXVII

= VAN HÆLST 1076. – Engl. tr., KEE, *Medicine, Miracle* (v. ad XIII 788) 111. 9: BJÖRCK, *Fluch* 115–116, cps. PGM IV 3074 and AUDOLLENT, *Defix.* no. 271.33.

PGM LXXVIII

Engl. tr., MOKE 76. – PREISENDANZ notes the papyrus briefly in *Forschungen u. Fortschritte* 15 (1939) 152, *CdE* 26 (1951) 406, *Überlieferung* 209. SEIDER, *Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 8 (1964) 165: brief mention. – MALTOMINI, *Civiltà Classica e Cristiana* 1 (1980) 371 f., suggests:

1: εἰς ἐργασ[τήριον]. – 3: l. π[ι]τικους in the app. crit. of PGM. – 4: οὐτ[ως]. – 4–5: [κατα/καύσω κα]ῖ. – 6: γυν[α]ικεῖον, ἔτεκεν. – 8: δ[ιοῦλος]? – 13: traces of *vores magicæ*; l. ὀνόματι. – 14:] [.]ωια[.]αω[.]ιαω = Ια[ω]αω Ια[α]αω?

PGM LXXIX

re-edited as P. Prag. I 4.

2: WORTMANN, *Kosmogonie* 102: parallels for which Michael = Thoth = Hermes. – 2–4: = LXXX 1–3: l. ἀνοκ πε βαλινχωωωχ ἀβρασαζ ἐριντ κτα, MALTOMINI, *SCO* 35 (1985) 313–314.

PGM LXXX

re-edited as P. Prag. I 5.

PGM 1

= HUNT and EDGAR, *Select Papyri* I, no. 196; VAN HÆLST 954. – Ger. tr., HELBING, *Auswahl* (v. ad XXX b) p. 137. – Span. tr., O'CALLAGHAN 124. – Engl. tr., LEWIS, *Life* 220; MILLIGAN, *Selections* no. 54; ID., *Here and There* 150; M. MEYER and R. SMITH, *Ancient Christian Magic*, San Francisco 1994, no. 30.

PGM 2

= VAN HÆLST 957; RIVAL 118. – TOD, *JEA* 25 (1939) 60, disc. and cites parallels. – WEINREICH, *Universitas. Zeits. f. Wiss., Kunst und Lit.* 1 (1946) 279: Ger. tr. of lines 6 ff. – Span. tr., O'CALLAGHAN 123. – Dutch tr., MULDER 116. – Greek and Ger. tr., BARTSCH 230. – Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH, no. 25. – KAKOSY, *Les stèles d'Horus sur les crocodiles*, *Bull. du Musée Hongrois des Beaux Arts* 34–35 (1970) 7–24, cites PGM 2,3,6a as examples of Horus in amulets against dangerous beasts.

PGM 2 a

= VAN HAELEST 1010; RIVAL 117, 122. — DÖLGER, *Antike u. Christentum* 5 (1936) 248–254, says it is inspired by Exodus 12.23; cites parallels for ἄγγελος ὁλεθρεύων; gen'l disc. of „*Türsegen*“. — Ger. tr., WEINREICH, op. cit. (v. PGM 2) 279. — Span. tr., O'CALLAGHAN 124.

PGM 3

= VAN HAELEST 951.

7–8: ἰ. γαίας μελί ζ' ξορο ωρο ααααα βαινχωωωχ μαι ηηη ληναγκορη DANIEL, ZPE 25 (1977) 151; cf. PGM XCVI. — Ger. tr., K. MEISEN, *Der böse Blick*, Rhein. Jb. f. Volkskunde 1 (1950) 175; „*Magie*“ in: *Spätantike u. frühes Christentum* (v. ad XXXVI 102) 152. — Span. tr., O'CALLAGHAN 123–124. — gen'l disc., TOD, JEA 25 (1939) 58–59; RIVAL 74 f. — Greek and Ger. tr., BARTSCH 102, 231. — Dutch tr., DANIEL in: PESTMAN, *Vreemdelingen in het land van Pharaoh*, Zutphen 1985, 63. — Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH, no. 26.

PGM 4

= VAN HAELEST 341. — Dutch tr., MULDER 119. — Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH, no. 7. — Photo: MULDER after p. 112.

PGM 5 a

= VAN HAELEST 953; RIVAL 44 f. — Span. tr., O'CALLAGHAN 118. — Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH, no. 15.

PGM 5 b

= VAN HAELEST 959; RIVAL 53–59. — Engl. tr., MILLIGAN, *Here and There* 150; MEYER and SMITH, no. 16. — Span. tr., O'CALLAGHAN 121. — Greek and Ger. tr., BARTSCH 231.

PGM 5 c

= VAN HAELEST 897; RIVAL 103–105.

PGM 5 d

= VAN HAELEST 933; RIVAL 223.

PGM 6 a

= VAN HAELEST 960. — Engl. tr., BOWMAN, *Egypt* 202; MILLIGAN, *Here and There* 151. — Span. tr., O'CALLAGHAN 123.

PGM 6 b

= VAN HAELEST 955; RIVAL 188. — Engl. tr., MILLIGAN, *Here and There* 137. — Span. tr., O'CALLAGHAN 121. — Dutch tr., MULDER 115.

PGM 6 c

= VAN HAELEST 956; RIVAL 115–116. – Engl. tr., MILLIGAN, *Here and There* 137–138. – Span. tr., O'CALLAGHAN 122. – Greek and Ger. tr., BARTSCH 101, 167.

PGM 6 d

= VAN HAELEST 1013. – Greek and Ger. tr., BARTSCH 167. – re-edited, BRASHEAR, *Magica Varia* p. 66. – J. DIETHART, *per litt.* 2 October 1985:

 .[]

πάντα γὰρ ὑπήκοα

τὰ νῦν κῆ ἐλθὲ εἰς ἔλεας καὶ εἰς εὐμενίαν κτλ.

PGM 7

l. ἀπήντησαν [Ἴ]η[σοῦ τρεῖς ἄνδ]ρες PFISTER, *Ph. Wo.* 33/34 (1932) 918, who says it is a *Begegnungszauber* and not at all extracts from apocryphal legends. – OHRT, *Hess. Blätter f. Volksk.* 35 (1936) 50–52, 57–58: Ger. tr.; cf. James 5.14; gen'l disc. of these texts in the light of *Begegnungssegen*; p. 52.5, finds confirmation for reading μ[έσον]. – OHRT, s.v. Dreibrüdersegen, in: HDA 2 (1930) 427: Ger. tr. – OHRT, *Fluchtafel* (n. 506) notes PGM 7 as a parallel to the charm he discusses. – Span. tr., O'CALLAGHAN 118. – Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH, no. 4. – PREISENDANZ, PGM III, *Vorrede* p. ix, calls it a formulary, but MALTOMINI, *ZPE* 48 (1982) 151.4, correctly challenges this interpretation.

PGM 8 a

= DAVID and GRONINGEN (v. ad IV 52–72) no. 68; PESTMAN (v. ad IV 52–72) no. 77; VAN HAELEST 963. – Span. tr., O'CALLAGHAN 124. – Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH, no. 32.

PGM 8 b

= HUNT and EDGAR, *Select Papyri I*, no. 197; VAN HAELEST 958. – Dutch tr., CLARYSSE and HOOGENDIJK, *Kleio n. r.* 11 (1981) 62. – Ital. tr., DONADONI, *Religione* 594. – Engl. tr., LEWIS, *Life* 220; MEYER and SMITH, no. 31. – Span. tr., O'CALLAGHAN 124.

PGM 9

= VAN HAELEST 720; RIVAL 208. – Engl. tr., MILLIGAN, *Selections* no. 55; MEYER and SMITH, no. 18. – Span. tr., O'CALLAGHAN 119.

PGM 10

= VAN HAELEST 1002; RIVAL 154–162.

6–21: Greek and Ger. tr., BARTSCH 62. – 21–30: Greek and Ger. tr., *ibid.* 56. – Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH, no. 20.

PGM 11

= VAN HAELEST 1003; RIVAL 231.

PGM 12

= VAN HAELEST 1001; RIVAL 97–99. – Not a *prolapsus uteri* but rather a wandering womb is the object of the incantation, BARB, JWCI 16 (1953) 214.23. – Span. tr., O'CALLAGHAN 122. – Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH, no. 17. – Greek and Ger. tr., BARTSCH 101.

PGM 13

= VAN HAELEST 895; RIVAL 148–151. – PREISENDANZ, PGM vol. III, *Vorrede*, p. ix, denotes this and PGM 13 a as formularies. MALTOMINI, ZPE 48 (1982) 151.4, correctly challenges this interpretation, stating they are both prayers. – BARBEL, Christos Angelos (v. ad IV 1230) 253: theological implications discussed: Christ is not equated with Gabriel here. „*Die Gesamtauffassung des Papyrus ist sonst ganz im Sinne der 'Großkirche' gehalten*“. – Span. tr., O'CALLAGHAN 120. – Dutch tr., MULDER 120. – Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH, no. 10.

PGM 13 a

= VAN HAELEST 898. – RIVAL 163, suggests reading in line 1: πρωτογέ[ννητ]ε «*premier-né*». – MACCOULL, Tyche 2 (1987) 95–97, defends the papyrus' reading ἀσπερμολόγητε. In l. 2 Βρινθαω may derive from βρίθω “the Preponderant One” (cf. Wisdom 9.15)? Discussion of Dioscorus' knowledge of Gnosticism. – Greek and Ger. tr., BARTSCH 100. – Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH, no. 22. – Ger. tr., „Magie“ in: Spätantike u. frühes Christentum (v. ad XXXVI 102) 151. – DELATTE, Office 123.7, notes the absence of air spirits. – v. ad PGM 13 (PREISENDANZ).

PGM 14

(Bilingual onomasticon) FESTUGIÈRE, L'Idéal 284.1: not magic and should be deleted. – PREISENDANZ, PGM III, *Vorrede*, p. ix, calls it a formulary, but MALTOMINI, ZPE 48 (1982) 151.4, correctly challenges this interpretation. – RIVAL 178. – Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH, no. 37.

PGM 15 a

= VAN HAELEST 972; RIVAL 168. – Ger. tr., DÖLGER, Antike u. Christentum 5 (1936) 253–254. – Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH, no. 23.

PGM 15 b

= VAN HAELEST 767; RIVAL 173.

8–10: Ital. tr., GIAMBERARDINI, Il culto mariano in Egitto I, Jerusalem 1975, 128. – Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH, no. 24.

PGM 15 c

= VAN HAELEST 1017; BJÖRCK, Fluch, p. 46, no. 23; LOEBENSTEIN and HARRAUER, Katalog (v. supra p. 3482) no. 33, with Ger. tr. – Span. tr., O'CALLAGHAN 125. – Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH, no. 28.

PGM 16

= BJÖRCK, op. cit., no. 24; VAN HAELEST 971. – Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH, no. 27.

16: l. παραστά[τεi] αὐτῷ STEGEMANN, Die Gestalt Christi i. d. kopt. Zaubertexten, Heidelberg 1934, 18.5.

PGM 17

= VAN HAELEST 917; RIVAL 106 ff. – Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH, no. 21.

PGM 18

= VAN HAELEST 754; RIVAL 100–102.

1–3: *Trishagion*-formula; cf. Isaiah 6.3: MALTOMINI, SCO 32 (1982) 239, and SIJPESTEIJN, ZPE 52 (1983) 246.

NALDINI, SIFC 33 (1961) 216 f., suggests corrections which are incorporated into PGM². Cf. NALDINI, Documenti dell'antichità cristiana. Papiri e pergamene greco-egizie della Raccolta Fiorentina, Florence 1965, p. 33 no. 42; ID., Augustinianum 21 (1981) 179–188. – Dutch tr., MULDER 118. – Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH, no. 13.

PGM 19

= VAN HAELEST 423; RIVAL 186. – Dutch tr., MULDER 117.

PGM 20

= VAN HAELEST 732, 733; RIVAL 217.

PGM 21

= VAN HAELEST 1035. – Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH, no. 36.

PGM 22

= VAN HAELEST 232; RIVAL 224.

PGM 23

= VAN HAELEST 876. – RIVAL 238. – Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH, no. 8.

PGM 24

Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH, no. 33. – Cf. H. YOUTIE, ZPE 18 (1975) 253–260, Taf. VIII.

PGM O 1–3

PREISENDANZ, APF 11 (1935) 160–161, cites literature.

PGM O 1

Engl. tr., GAGER (n. 340) no. 111.

CLARYSSE, *Enchoria* 14 (1986) 155: a Coptic parallel.

PGM O 2

Engl. tr., GAGER (n. 340) no. 35.

PGM O 3

KOENEN, *P. Lugd.-Bat.* XVII, p. 39, identifies it as a hymn, hence not magical. RIVAL 232.

PGM O 4

G. HORSLEY, *NDIEC* 4 (1987) 191, discusses this ostrakon which was also published by GUARDUCCI (n. 340) 336–338. PREISENDANZ, APF 11 (1935) 161, cites further literature.

PGM O 5

ibid. 159, literature cited.

PGM T 1

In part the text consists of mathematical calculations or exercises. V. *supra* I 3 c.

PGM T 2 a,b,c

= SB I 970, 971, 2021; RIVAL, *Amulettes* 235–237. – BRASHEAR, *ZPE* 50 (1983) 102: minor corrections and parallels. – GUNDEL, *Dekane* 48.1, identifies Bous with the decan Bos. – PREISENDANZ, APF 11 (1935) 161, cites literature.

PGM LXXXII⁵²¹

= P. Vars. 4. Re-edited by R. DANIEL, *BASP* 22 (1985) 29–32, and declared as non-magic.

PGM LXXXIII

= P. Princeton II 107 = VAN HAELEST 967; SM 29, pl. V. – RIVAL 90–91. 19: I. Σαλα[μὲν Τάρχει] ? RIVAL 90–91.

⁵²¹ PGM LXXXII–CXXX refer to texts in H.-D. BETZ, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, Chicago 1986.

PGM LXXXIV

= P. Princeton II 76; PREISENDANZ, *Überlieferung* no. LXXXII; SM 40, pl. VIII.
– Engl. tr., MOKE 378.

PGM LXXXVII

= P. Erlangen 37; SM 14, pl. 2. – cited by PREISENDANZ, *CdE* 26 (1951) 408; PREISENDANZ, *Überlieferung* 212; TREU, *APF* 19 (1969) 195; VAN HAELEST 907, although it is not Christian. – MALTOMINI, *SCO* 32 (1982) 235 ff., corrections and commentary; SIJPESTEIJN and DANIEL, *ZPE* 54 (1984) 83–84, corrections and commentary. – RIVAL 114.

PGM LXXXVIII

= P. Princ. III 159; re-edited by B. METZGER, *Historical and Literary Studies, Pagan, Jewish and Christian*, Leiden 1968, 104–110; HENGSTL, no. 70; VAN HAELEST 968; SM 11. – METZGER, *St. Paul and the Magicians*, *Princeton Seminary Bull.* 38 (1944) 27 f.: gen'l descr.

PGM LXXXIX

= P. Lund 12 = SM 13. – PREISENDANZ, *Überlieferung* 212, suggests the following readings:

16: Ἰὼ Ἰὼ Ἀβρασάξ. – 5 and 33: βοήθησον τῇ μεικρᾷ Σοφίᾳ ἥ (sic) καὶ Πρεισκείλλῃ.

PGM XC

= TRAVERSA, *Aegyptus* 33 (1953) 57; re-edited in P. Med. I 20, where the reading in line 8 is: .εος [θε]ος. VAN HAELEST 948; SM 92, pl. III. – Cf. HOMBERT, *CdE* 29 (1954) 329.

PGM XCI

= P. Michael. 27; SM 9. – KOTANSKY in: GMP 303, suggests this is more likely a fever amulet than a curse or love charm.

PGM XCII

= P. Merton II 58 = VAN HAELEST 949 = SM 63.

1: ι. εἰς KOTANSKY in: GMP 303.

PGM XCIV

= P. Ant. II 66 = PACK² 2391 = SM 94.

PGM XCV

= P. Ant. III 140 = MARGANNE no. 62 = SM 99.

PGM XCVI

= O'CALLAGHAN, CdE 43 (1968) 111–113. New readings suggested by him in SP 8 (1969) 115–118 and VANDONI, Rendic. d. Istituto Lombardo 1968, 532–534 (who compares it with PGM 3). Re-edited by DANIEL, ZPE 25 (1977) 150–151, with improved readings passim. MALTOMINI, ZPE 48 (1982) 159, does not like the original reading Ηλ. – SM 15.

PGM XCVII

= D. WORTMANN, Texte 109; SM 78. MALTOMINI in: P. Flor. VII (v. ad CIII) p. 176, suggests reading in lines 12–13: [κρο]τῶνος βοὸς μ[ελαίνης].

PGM XCVIII

= WORTMANN, Texte, no. 11, p. 107. – W. HORNBOSTEL, Sarapis, Leiden 1973, 27: re-edition. – SM 7, pl. II.

PGM XCIX

= WORTMANN, op. cit. 105, no. 7; VAN HAELEST 901; SM 33.

PGM C

= WORTMANN, op. cit., 102–104, no. 5; VAN HAELEST 902; SM 20. – Cf. SIJPESTEIJN, Bibl. Or. 30 (1973) 206.

PGM CI

= WORTMANN, op. cit., 85 f.; SM 45. – WORTMANN, ZPE 2 (1968) 227 f., discusses Egyptian precedents and elements. – SIJPESTEIJN, ZPE 4 (1969) 189, discusses the *vox magica* θωθουθωθ. – Engl. tr., GAGER (n. 340) no. 30. – Dutch tr., DANIEL in: PESTMAN, Vreemdelingen (v. ad PGM 3) 65. – RAVEN, OMRO 64 (1983) 17, says l. 17 γῆ τῶν κυνῶν reminds one of Anubis as psychopompos, since “land of the dogs” as necropolis is evidently a reference to the desert as an abode of jackals. – Almost word-for-word parallel text: BRASHEAR, Ein neues Zauberensemble, SAK 19 (1992) 79–109.

12 f.: KÁKOSY, Stud. Aegypt. 2 (1976) 173–174, cites an ancient Egyptian precedent for “giving Osiris”; δῶσω ὑμῖν Ὅσιριν Νοφριῶθ “I will grant that Osiris be benevolent to you”, FARAONE, ZPE 100 (1994) 83–85. – 21: τὸν ἐν ὡπ, BERGMAN in: GMP 308.8, prefers to translate “innermost shrine, abaton”; the god there is probably Osiris.

PGM CIII

= P.S.A. Athen. 70; re-edited by MALTOMINI in: P. Flor. VII (= Miscell. Papyrologica, ed. R. PINTAUDI), Florence 1980, pp. 169–172; RIVAL 177; SM 73.

PGM CIV

= PUG I 6; SM 4. – σῳίζω = σῳίζου?, ὠμίζε? GIGANTE, PP 30 (1975) 248, who suggests this might be a Christian amulet.

PGM CV

= BRASHEAR, ZPE 17 (1975) 25 f., Taf. 1 b; SM 87; G. IOANNIDOU, Greek Literary Papyri in Berlin-Charlottenburg (forthcoming), no. 131.

5: I. ἄγνωστε, ὃν καθαρᾷ ψυχῇ ἐγὼ ο[MALTOMINI, CCC 1 (1980) 375. Cf. P. W. VAN DER HORST, The Unknown God, in: Knowledge of God in the Gr.-Roman World, Leiden 1988, 19–42, where this document should be added to the list. – 10: Abraham should probably be restored in the lacuna, KOTANSKY in: GMP 310.3, citing RIST (n. 222).

PGM CVI

= BRASHEAR, ZPE 17 (1975) 25 f.; SM 10; IOANNIDOU (v. ad CV) no. 68. – Cf. NÉVÉROV in: Homm. à M. Vermaseren II (EPRO 68), Leiden 1978, 848, no. 48 (gem): σαλαμαξα ... βαμιαζα; cf. Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen, Munich–Wiesbaden 1968 ff., vol. III, p. 250, no. 201: αιανακβα-σαλαμαζα βαμιαζα αμοραχθι.

PGM CVII

= R. DANIEL, ZPE 19 (1975) 255–264; SM 44.

PGM CVIII

= DANIEL, ZPE 29 (1975) 249–255; SM 43, pl. VII.

8: I. Εὔα, DANIEL, ZPE 74, 249.

PGM CIX

= TURNER, Marrow; SM 56. – GIANGRANDE, Anc. Society 9 (1978) 101: thorough new analysis; J. G. GRIFFITHS, ZPE 26 (1977) 287–288: early Egyptian parallels for the bones and marrow as receptacles for semen; P. GORISSEN, ZPE 37 (1980) 200: I. ὥσπερ στρέφεται ὁ Ἑρμῆς τὸν μυελὸν καὶ ἀληθεῖται τοῦτο τὸ πιττάκιον, οὕτως στρέψον τὸν ἐγκέφαλον καὶ τὴν καρδίαν καὶ πᾶσαν διάνοιαν Ζητουν ἢ ἐπικαλουμένη Καλημέρας, κτλ. – FARAONE, ZPE 72 (1988) 279 ff. reads:

- ὥσπερ στρέφεται ὁ ἐρμῆς
τοῦ μυλαίου καὶ ἀλήθεται τοῦ-
το τὸ πιττάκιον, οὕτως στρέψον
4 τὸν ἐγκέφαλον καὶ τὴν
καρδίαν καὶ πᾶσαν διά-
νοιαν Ζητοῦτος τῆς ἐπικα-
λουμένης Καλημέρας.
8 ἦδη ἦδη, ταχὺ ταχύ

and translates: “Just as the *hermes* of the mill is turned and this *pittakion* is bruised, so too turn (and bruise) the brain, the heart and all the mind of Zetous, who is also known as Kalemera. Instantly, instantly, quickly, quickly.”

VERSNEL, ZPE 72 (1988) 287 ff., reads:

- 1 ὥσπερ στρέφεται ὁ Ἑρμῆς
τοῦ μυελοῦ καὶ ἀληθεῖται τοῦ-
το τὸ πιττάκιον, οὕτως στρέψον
4 τὸν ἐγκέφαλον καὶ τὴν
καρδίαν καὶ πᾶσαν διά-
νοιαν Ζητοῦν ἢ ἐπικα-
λουμένη Καλημέρας.
8 ἤδη ἤδη ταχύ ταχύ.
6–7 i. e. τῆς ἐπικα/λουμένης

and translates: “Just as the Hermes made of fat (marrow) is twisted (in the sense of: is being moulded with twisted limbs) and this papyrus is bruised, so twist the brain, etc.”

2–3: BRASHEAR in: MIRECKI and MEYER, *Ritual Power/Magic in the Ancient World*, notes a possible reminiscence of an ancient Greek folk song.

PGM CX

= PACKMAN, BASP 13 (1976) 175–177; re-edited by PACKMAN ZPE 74 (1988) 85–95.

PGM CXII

= PACKMAN, BASP 13 (1976) 179 f. SM 16.

PGM CXIII

= SIJPESTEIJN, ZPE 22 (1976) 108. SM 17.

PGM CXIV

= PROULX and O'CALLAGHAN, SP 13 (1974) 83–88; P. Yale II 130; SM 84. – Re-edited by DANIEL, ZPE 25 (1977) 145–149. – Miscellaneous alternative readings: MALTOMINI in: P. Flor. VII (v. ad CIII) pp. 174–175.

PGM CXV

= Zs. RITOÓK, *Antik Tanulmányok (Studia Antiqua)* 22 (1975) 30–43; SM 12. – Re-edited by DANIEL, ZPE 25 (1977) 153–154, and RITOÓK, AAASH 26 (1978) 433 ff.

PGM CXVI

= PINTAUDI, ZPE 27 (1977) 245–246. – MALTOMINI in: P. Flor. VII (v. ad CIII) p. 176: ισιωρ = Ἰσι Ὠρ.

PGM CXX

= P. Laur. III 58; SM 1.

PGM CXXI

Engl. tr., GAGER (n. 340) no. 128.

PGM CXXII

= BRASHEAR, ZPE 33 (1976) 261 ff.; SM 72; IOANNIDOU (v. ad CV) no. 147.
– WINKLER, Constraints of Desire 173–174, notes Sapphic reminiscences. –
Photo: S. SCHOSKE, Schönheit – Abglanz der Göttlichkeit. Kosmetik im alten
Ägypten, Munich 1990, 148.

I 1–14: Greek text, Engl. tr., disc.: FARAONE, Phoenix 44 (1990) 233 f., citing
Near Eastern parallels. OBBINK, Poetic Quotation in the Greek Magical Papyri,
ZPE (forthcoming), suggests the verses derive from the Atalanta story in the
Hesiodic Catalogue. – I 5: “Enchantment (sc. spoken) three times over apples”,
FARAONE, op. cit. 235.36. – I 6: l. ἡ ἄν δὴ μήλω τε βάλω μήλω τε πατάξω
MALTOMINI, ZPE 74 (1988) 248. – I 7–8: l. βρωτὸν <δ’> ἀνθρώποις<ι> καὶ
ἀθανάτοις θεοῖσιν, or else: βρωτὸν θνητοῖς<ι> καὶ ἀθανάτοις θεοῖσιν --
καίριον being an explanation for αἰεὶ βρωτὸν JANKO, ZPE 72 (1988) 293.

MALTOMINI, Civiltà Classica e Crist. 1 (1980) 375, suggests: – I 24: ἐμπεσ[
οῦσ]α. – 25–26: idea of eternal love expressed here: [μου] ἄχ[ρι] ἄν, or [μου
μ]έχ[ρι] ἄν? – II 15: ἀλλὰ ἔχοι με ἐν φρεσὶ? – 16: καὶ ἄδημος ἦτο? – 19:
βασαν[ί]ζω?, βασαν[ι]ῶ? – (While all of MALTOMINI’s suggestions are plausi-
ble and probably correct, I cannot verify any of them on the papyrus even
under the microscope. The condition of the papyrus is that bad.) – II 1: l. κατά-
σειε λέγω[ν MALTOMINI, ZPE 74 (1988) 248, who cites parallels.

PGM CXXIII

P. Migl. Vol. 1245 = MALTOMINI, SCO 29 (1979) 55–91.

72: l. νάρκ[η]ς ὠξύνγῃ (l. ὀξύγγιον) [χ]ρῖσον MALTOMINI, ZPE 85 (1991) 244.

PGM CCXXVI

= R. PINTAUDI, ZPE 38 (1980) 261 f.; SB XVI 12640; P. Laur. IV 148; SM 95.
– MALTOMINI, SCO 32 (1982) 239 ff. suggests the following readings:

A 13 διάκοπον τὸν Δ

15 κοι(νά)

19 σίναπι = mustard; l. καὶ εἰπέ· σίναπι, [οὐκ εἰ σίναπι]/ ἀλλὰ ὀφθαλ-
μός

B 4 ἡ βλέψις

7 σίν]απι?

16 τῇ]ν οἰκίαν τῆς Δ

PGM CXXVII

= PARÁSSOGLOU, *Hellenica* 27 (1974) 251, plate II; P. Yale II 134; SM 76.

7: ἰ. μάχην MALTIMINI, *Civiltà Classica e Cristiana* 1 (1980) 374, citing parallels from classical and medieval literature for the belief that a stone bitten by a dog causes dissension and strife among tipplers. Cf. VON LEMM, no. XVII (v. nn. 477–479). — 8: τὸ μέσον: ἰ. τὸ μέθυ MARCOVICH, ZPE 65 (1986) 58. MALTOMINI, ZPE 68 (1987) 105–106, and ID., *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 16 (Pisa 1986) 153–154, rejects this suggestion.

PGM CXXVIII

= MALTOMINI, SCO 31 (1981) 111–114; SM 28.

PGM CXXIX

= SM 81; IOANNIDOU (v. ad CV) no. 164.

PGM CXXX

= DANIEL, ZPE 50 (1983) 147 ff.; SM 3. — Dutch tr., DANIEL in: PESTMAN, *Vreemdelingen* (v. ad PGM 3) 62.

Texts recently published or otherwise not included in PGM or GMP

PAPYRI, PARCHMENTS, OSTRACA:

P. Köln inv. 851. *Ed. pr.*, D. WORTMANN, *Der weiße Wolf*, *Philologus* 107 (1963) 157–161 (cf. PACK², p. 2) = MARGANNE no. 98. Span. tr., O'CALLAGHAN 118. PREISENDANZ, *Überlieferung* 214, finds the same *Schwindschema* of the same *vox magica* in an 18th-c. Greek manuscript in DELATTE, *Anecd. Athen.* I 125.11–13. VAN HAELEST 900; SM 34, pl. III; TREU, *APF* 19 (1969) 195.

P. Vindob. G. 16685. *Ed. pr.*, H. HARRAUER, ZPE 30 (1978) 209–210 = LOEBENSTEIN and HARRAUER, *Katalog* (v. p. 3482) no. 34: „*Christliches Amulett gegen Bestrafung*“ (V c. A. D.) with Ger. tr. = SB XIV 12184 (V–VII c. A. D.). HARRAUER, *Tyche* 1 (1986) 4: Greek and Ger. tr. SM 62. ŁUKASZEWICZ, ZPE 73 (1988) 61–62, cites parallels and suggests translating: „*Vor allem schlechte Zeiten für den zu bestrafenden Theodoros, weil er böse ist*“.

P. Vindob. G. 40906. *Ed. pr.*, H. HARRAUER, *Die Sator-Formel in Geheimschrift*, in: *Römische Geschichte, Altertumskunde und Epigraphik*. Fs. Artur Betz (E. WEBER, G. DOBESCH, edd.), Vienna 1985, 299–301, V c. A. D. Published with photo. — photo: *Weltgebäude* (v. ad XXX b) 28, Abb. 7.

P. Vindob. G. 297. *Ed. pr.*, A. HENRICHS, ZPE 11 (1973) 118–119 = SB XII 11227 = HENGSTL, no. 66 = LOEBENSTEIN and HARRAUER, *Katalog* (v. p. 3482), no. 31.

- P. Köln inv. 521 a. *Ed. pr.*, WORTMANN, Texte 106 (no. 9) = HORSLEY NDIEC 1 (1981) no. 22.
- P. Mich. inv. 1258. *Ed. pr.*, A. HENRICHS, ZPE 11 (1973) 117 = SB 11226; Dutch tr., CLARYSSE and HOOGENDIJK, Kleio 11 (1981) 62. Danish tr., BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, Orakler.
- P. Amst. I 26. *Ed. pr.*, SIJPESTEIJN, ZPE 5 (1970) 57–59 = MARGANNE, p. 405 = MARGANNE, ZPE 65 (1986) 182: Add.¹ 10; VAN HAELST 849; SM 22. Photo: P. SIJPESTEIJN, Gynaecologische aspecten van de Papyrus Ebers, Amsterdam 1972, p. 78.
- P. Ryl. III 471 = VAN HAELST 984; RIVAL 204–205.
- P. Coll. Youtie II 91 = HORSLEY, NDIEC 1 (1981) no. 64; SM 30. HORSLEY, NDIEC 3 (1983) 115, suggests: line 2 [ἐπ]οιήσαμ[εν]. PARÁSSOGLU, Hellenica 32 (1980) 83: line 4 εἶα σε τὸν φοροῦντα[ν] ἢ τὴν [φοροῦσαν].
- P. Berol. 21230. *Ed. pr.*, WM. BRASHEAR, ZPE 17 (1975) 31–33. Re-edition in P. Turner 49, with new fragment. Re-dated to V/VI A.D. VAN DER LAAN in: P. Lugd. Bat. XIX, p. 100, suggests reading at the end of line 1: καὶ βαρ[ι]λεύει. (I cannot confirm this reading on the papyrus.) HORSLEY, NDIEC 3 (1983) 115 f., discusses the credal formula and suggests for line 2: πιστεύομ[εν]. SM 31, pl. VI; SB 11495; IOANNIDOU (v. ad CV) no. 134. – Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH (v. ad PGM 1) no. 14.
- P. Lugd. Bat. XIX 20. HORSLEY, NDIEC 3 (1983) 114 f., discusses the credal formula on this and other papyri. SM 35. VAN HAELST 757.
- BjÖRCK, Fluch = DAVID and GRONINGEN, Papyrological Primer (v. ad IV 52–72) no. 71. SM 59.
- PSI inv. 319. *Ed. pr.*, NALDINI (n. 224). TREU, APF 22–23 (1974) 388, notes presence of *characteres magicae* before line 1; after τὴν δοῦλ[ην] one expects a name; cf. also Greek liturgical exorcisms. BINGEN, CdE 46 (1971) 372: I. ὁρκίζω σε κατὰ [τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτ]ωρος καὶ Σ.; cf. Orationes sive exorcismi Magni Basilii (PG 31, 1681 a). SM 24.
- PIFAO III 50
- L. ROBERT, Journal des Savants 1981, 12: ΘΥ = θ(εο)ῦ, ἀρχά(γγελοι); BRASHEAR, ZPE 56 (1984) 65: read on the body of the *figura magica*: Δαμναμενευς, Ακραμαχαμαρι; various other minor changes in the text; discussion of the *figurae magicae*. SM 19, pl. IV.
- P. Vindob. G. 19931. *Ed. pr.*, WESSELY, Patrologia Orientalis 18 (1924) 445, no. 5. Quoted and discussed by F. J. DÖLGER, Ein Türsegen mit der „Blut Christi“-Formel und eine „Blut Jesu Christi“-Litanei, Antike u. Christentum 5 (1936) 252. VAN HAELST 1018.
- P. Vindob. G. 330. *Ed. pr.*, PREISENDANZ, Eos 48.3 (1956) 161–167. Re-edited by DANIEL in: P. Rain. Cent. 39 = PACK² 2038 = MARGANNE, no. 188 = VAN HAELST 570. BONNER, Studies 165: ad Test. Salom. 9.1, says Φόνοϛ = ἀκέφαλος θεός of the magical papyri and gems; BONNER, HThR 36 (1943) 45: gen'l descr. of Test. Salom.; GUNDEL, Dekane, mentions Test. Salom. passim; BARB, JWCI 16 (1953) 211, says chap. 13 is a description of a Gorgoneion. NALDINI (n. 224) 279 ff., discusses similarities between the exorcism and Test. Salom.

P. Berol. 21911

= WM. BRASHEAR, ZPE 17 (1975) 30 f.; HORSLEY, NDEIC 3, 118 f.; SM 26; TREU, APF 26 (1978) 155, no. 892 d; IOANNIDOU (v. ad CV) no. 206. — JORDAN, HThR 84 (1991) 343 f., detects here a fragmentary folksong. — Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH (v. 3559) no. 6.

P. Haun. III 50

= SM 8.

P. Haun. III 51

= SM 23.

P. Vindob. G. 42406

= C. and H. HARRAUER, WS 100 (1987) 185–199. — SM 27.

P. Heid. inv. G. 1101

= MALTOMINI, ZPE 48 (1982) 149–170; SB XVI 12719; SM 32; PREISENDANZ, Überlieferung no. XCIII; TREU, APF 30 (1984) 126, no. 915 a. — Cf. G. FIACCADORI, PP 41 (1986) 59–63.

P. Heid. inv. Lat. 5

= SM 36.

P. Köln VI 257.

= SM 21.

P. Lugd.-Bat. XXV 9

= SM 18.

P. Oxy. XLII 3068

= SM 5, pl. VII.

P. Palau Rib. 3 *Ed. pr.*: MICHAELIDES, Aegyptus 32 (1952) 45–53. SM 69. — Re-published by S. BARTINA, SP 6 (1967) 109–121. There (p. 113) he dates it to the first centuries B. C.–A. D.

P. Vindob. Salomons 1 (oracle answer)

Engl. tr., BOWMAN, Egypt 189.

P. Strasb. 221 (oracle question)

= TOTTI, no. 57; J. BINGEN, Choix de papyrus, Liège 1968, no. 17. — Cf. H. YOUTIE, TAPA 95 (1964) 325–328 = ID., Scriptiunculae I, Amsterdam 1973, 425–428. — Dan. tr., BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, Orakler.

P. Bon. 3

= PACK² 645 and 1034; SM 77. — MALTIMINI in: P. Flor. VII (v. ad CIII) p. 173, suggests new readings and attempts identifying Homeric verses in this Homeromancy. Codicological notes: MALTIMINI, ZPE 85 (1991) 239–243.

P. Bon. 9

HALKIN, Anal. Bolland. 72 (1954) 307, would date it later than IV/V, because of the epithets θεοτόκος καὶ ἀειπάρθενος which were approved at the Council at Ephesus in 431.

P. Köln 201 (oracle question)

Danish tr., BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, Orakler.

P. Oxy. 2613 (oracle question)

Danish tr., BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, Orakler.

P. Carlsberg 24 (oracle question). *Ed. pr.*, BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, ZPE 57 (1984) 91; Danish tr., BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, Orakler.

P. Berol. 11734

Ed. pr., WM. BRASHEAR, APF 36 (1990) 49–61. – R. MERKELBACH, per litt. 6 June 1991: *Von Zeile 74 ab ein langes Gebet an Selene*. – 75: ὃ δέ[σποινα ἢ τὸ αἶ]θος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆ[ς ἢ λῆ]ου λαμβάνουσα. – 80: ἢ τὸν σπόρον πάν[των αὐξ(άν)ουσα] Νεβουτοσουαληθ, [ἢ Ἑλίω] προσποκρίνουσα --- πλησμονῇ --- καταδείξασ[α --- διεξαγο[υ]σ]α --- καταδείξασα. Cf. Appuleius, *Metam.* XI 2,3: *nutriens laeta semina*, XI 25,3: *tibi respondent sidera*. – 90: ἢ τὰς ἀκολουθούς νύκτας ταῖς ἡμέραις ποιήσασα --- ἢ μερίσασα --- τρ(ε)ῖς ἡμέρας --- σκότει (*es ist von den drei Tagen die Rede, an welchen der Mond nicht zu sehen ist*). – 97: ἐν] ὑπεροχῇ γενο[μένη] --- ἢ ἐλαττουμέν[η] --- σκότει. – 106: δ]αῖμον σπέρμα[τα --- διασπείρουσα. – *Einige Parallelstellen in Abrasax II*, S. 103; dazu Clemens, *Recogn.* VIII 46,2–3.

P. Carlsberg 52 inv. 31

Ed. pr., BRASHEAR, *Magica Varia* no. 1. – Additions, corrections: BRASHEAR in: MIRECKI and MEYER, edd., *Ritual Power/Magic in the Ancient World*. – R. MERKELBACH, per litt. 6 June 1991: „*Das Formular in Pap. Carlsberg 52 scheint mir zu einer Lekanomanteia zu gehören. Der Bericht in den Zeilen 8–12 erinnert an die Zeremonie, welche Hippolytos, Elenchos IV 35 (p. 61,10–20 Wendland) beschreibt.*“

P. Carlsberg inv. 35

Ed. pr., BRASHEAR, *Magica Varia*, p. 40. – Additions, corrections: BRASHEAR in: MIRECKI and MEYER, edd., *Ritual Power/Magic in the Ancient World*. – R. MERKELBACH, per litt. 6 June 1991: 5: κεφωρις = Χφωρις? *Chepri, der Skarabäus?*

P. Louvre E 7332 bis

Ed. pr., BRASHEAR, *Magica Varia* no. 2. – Additions, corrections: BRASHEAR in: MIRECKI and MEYER, edd., *Ritual Power/Magic in the Ancient World*. – TREU, *Christliche Papyri*, APF 37 (1991) 96. – R. MERKELBACH, per litt. 6 June 1991: „13: *Der Sinn dürfte sein διὰ τῶν πρεσβειῶν τῆς σῆ τεκνούσης ἀγιοτάτης δεσποίνης.*“ – commentary, p. 67: l. “Two similar texts on tufa tablets”; IG XIV 2481 and 2494 are the two (bronze) *tabellae* cited on p. 66.2. D. JORDAN, per litt. 18 July 1991.

P. Prag. I 6

TREU, *Christliche Papyri*, APF 36 (1991) 97. SM 25.

P. Oxy. 3931

4: θειῶν? KEENAN, *BASP* 29 (1992) 213. – 9: ἐπιπορεύομαι “I travel forth”, KEENAN, *BASP* 29 (1992) 213.

P. Köln 851

Ed. pr., WORTMANN, *Philologus* 107 (1963) 157–161. SM 34. – Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH (v. ad PGM 1) no. 11.

BGU IV 1024–1027, S. 11

Ed. pr., BRASHEAR, APF 38 (1992) 19 f. Mentioned by J. KEENAN, APF 35 (1989) 15 f.

P. Berol. 9096

Ed. pr., WESSELEY, *Patrologia Orientalis* 18 (1924) 412–413. – Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH (v. ad PGM 1) no. 9.

P. Berol. 13232

Ed. pr., TREU, *Museum Philologum Londiniense* 2 (1977) 254; ID., APF 24–25 (1976) 120. – Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH (v. ad PGM 1) no. 35.

P. Berol. 21269

Ed. pr., TREU, APF 32 (1986) 29. – IOANNIDOU (v. ad CV) no. 173. – Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH (v. ad PGM 1) no. 34.

O. Köln 409

Ed. pr., WORTMANN, *Texte* no. 3. SGD 155–156; SM 51. – Engl. tr., GAGER (no. 340) no. 29 Cf. SIJPESTEIJN, *Bibl. Or.* 30 (1973) 206 f.

BIFAO 6 (1908) 61

= VAN HAELEST 739 = SM 61. – Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH (v. ad PGM 1) no. 29.

P. Amst. inv. 173

Ed. pr., SIJPESTEIJN, ZPE 5 (1970) 57–59. VAN HAELEST 849. – Engl. tr., MEYER and SMITH (v. ad PGM 1) no. 12.

LAMELLAE:

SB III 6225: PREISENDANZ, *Magie* 114.33: read ἐπὶ "Ἑλληνας instead of ἐπὶ εἰ μῆνας; WORTMANN, *Texte* 99, compares SM 45.36: ἐπὶ χρόνον μηνῶν δέκα. EITREM, *P. Oslo II*, p. 33 n. 1: a marriage on trial for five months has parallels in Egyptian documents; 2–3 read: ποιήσον καὶ ἀνάγκασον. – JORDAN, GRBS 26 (1985) 190 no. 159; SM 37.

V. MARTIN, *Genava* 6 (1928) 56–64. PREISENDANZ, *Magie* 118.59: says the phrasing of MARTIN's *lamella* represents more *loci communes* than any direct influence from PGM IV or similar formularies; ID., *Uroboros* 203: Λαμπουρη = name of the sun god; οθικαλακαιφνω Σαβαώ = οθιλαρικ-ριφια-logos; χφυρισων = χφῶρις ῥόν. JORDAN, GRBS 26 (1985) 190 no. 161; SM 38. – Engl. tr., GAGER (n. 340) no. 34.

PSI I 28 = JORDAN, GRBS 26 (1985) 188 no. 151; SM 42. Analysis; lines 20–25: Greek text, Ger. tr. and analysis, HARRAUER, *Meliouchos* 83 ff.

40: βαλευ = βα(σι)λεῦ? MALTOMINI, ZPE 80 (1990) 295–296. 52: l. κρατέόχειρα δαρδαρα „starkhändige Dardara“, FAUTH, ZPE 98 (1993) 63. – 57: εἶαν = ἄξον HARRAUER, *Meliouchos* 86.

MALTOMINI, *P. Flor.* VII (v. ad. CIII) p. 176, reads as follows: 1: ἔδρασμα χαρχαρόστομα. – 1–2: δρακοντέλιξε. – 2: τρικαρανοστρεφη-. – 2–3: πνευματηλάτα. – 3: μαστιξιν for μάστιξιν, ἡγριωμαιναις for ἡγριωμέν-αις. – 4: κ. δοντες for δράκοντες.

See SM 42 for a thoroughly revised transcription and elaborate commentary on the numerous emended readings.

- T. Louvre AF 6716. *Ed. pr.*, BOYAVAL, ZPE 14 (1974) 71 f. = NDIEC 2 (1982) no. 13, where HORSLEY deletes the *καί* which BOYAVAL adds after *σε* in line 2. SM 52.
- GUÉRAUD in: *Mél. Maspero II*, 206 ff. TUPET, *Magie* 413.6, cites *μυρικόω* on this *defixio* as an example of neologism in magic. GUÉRAUD, *ASAE* 38 (1938) 248–249, discusses the finding place (Oxyrhynchus). JORDAN, *GRBS* 26 (1985) 189 no. 154; SM 55. – Engl. tr., GAGER (n. 340) no. 112.
- P. Rein. II 88 = JORDAN, *GRBS* 26 (1985) 191 no. 162; SM 57. – BONNER, *Studies* 104: Greek text and Engl. tr., GAGER (n. 340) no. 115. – photo: *ibid.*, fig. 25, p. 212.
- T. Leid. Demarée
= SIJPESTEIJN, ZPE 24 (1977) 89 f. – SB XIV 12103; SEG XXVII 1243; HORSLEY, NDIEC 2, no. 11; SM 41.
- T. Cairo Mus. JdE 48217
= C. EDGAR, *BSAA* 21 (1925) 42–47. – SB IV 7452; SEG VIII 574; SM 46.
- T. Mich. inv. 6925
= MARTIN. – SM 48. Re-dated to the II/III c. A. D.
- T. Köln 4
= SM 53. – JORDAN, ZPE 100 (1994) 321–322, cites parallels.
- T. Köln 7
= WORTMANN, *Texte* no. 6, pp. 104 ff.; SM 2.
- T. Moen.
Ed. pr., SIJPESTEIJN, ZPE 4 (1969) 187 f. SM 66. – 3: *πανάτιμος* l. *πάνητί* *μοι* = *φάνηθί μοι*. MALTOMINI, ZPE 87 (1991) 254.
- T. Louvre inv. E 27145
Ed. pr., KAMBITSIS, *BIFAO* 76 (1976) 213–223. NDIEC 1 (1981) 33 f., no. 8; SEG 26.1717; BE 1978, 34; JORDAN, *GRBS* 26 (1985) 188 no. 152; SM 47. – Cf. JOCELYN, *LCM* 6 (1981) 45. – P. DU BOURGUET, *MIFAO* 104 (1980) 225–238, discusses the *lamella* and other objects found with it. Color and black-and-white photos. – Engl. tr., GAGER (n. 340) no. 28.
- T. Köln 1,2, published by WORTMANN, *Texte* 56 ff. MARTINEZ, contains new readings of D. JORDAN and his own. – = JORDAN, *GRBS* 26 (1985) 189 nos. 155, 156; SM 49, 50. – D. WORTMANN, ZPE 2 (1968) 155–160: discusses a phrase in l. 57 f. – Dutch tr., DANIEL in: *PESTMAN, Vreemdelingen* (v. ad PGM 3) 66. – Engl. tr., FARAONE, in: *Magika Hiera* 14. 48: l. *νυκτιδρόμε*? TOTTI, ZPE 67 (1987) 264.7. – Re-edited by D. JORDAN, ZPE 72 (1988) 245–259, who improves many readings and reconstructs iambic and dactylic sections: 57–61: iambic; snatches of the same occur in Marcellus Empir., *de medicam.* 15.89; PGM IV 2334–2335; PGM LXX 9–12. – 64–73: dactylic, similar to PGM LXX 11–15 and unpublished *lamellae* in the Getty Museum and the Duke University library. – 72–73 l. *Φοίβη ... ιοδάμασσα* FARAONE, ZPE 100 (1994) 81. Cf. SIJPESTEIJN, *Bibl. Or.* 30 (1973) 206 f.
- SB I 4947 = JORDAN, *GRBS* 26 (1985) 190 no. 160; SM 39.
Ger. tr., Leben p. 86. QUAEGBEUR, *Enchoria* 4 (1974) 19–28, discusses the name *Teilouteilou*.

AUDOLLENT, Defix. no. 38. PREISENDANZ, *Magie* 121, stresses the lack of anything specifically Roman; unusual is the lack of filiation (121.86). SM 54. – Engl. tr., GAGER (n. 340) no. 110. – JORDAN, ZPE 100 (1994) 323, proposes new readings.

TABLAI:

T. Louvre AF 6715, published by BOYAVAL, ZPE 28 (1978) 200 f., is not magic (WM. BRASHEAR, ZPE 50, 1983, 99–100; cf. J. GASCOU, ZPE 60, 1985, 254 ff.)

SB I 3573

minor corrections and parallels, BRASHEAR, ZPE 50 (1983) 102; other parallels published by SIJPESTEIJN, ZPE 42 (1981) 112 and *ibid.*, 55 (1984) 14.

7. Glossary of *Voces Magicae*

The third volume of PREISENDANZ' *Papyri Graecae Magicae* containing *inter alia* the indices and various word lists never saw the light of day. The following list does not presume to begin to replace it. It merely presents proposed etymologies and comments on *voces magicae* and *nomina barbara* as I have chanced upon them in the monographs and articles of the Annotated Bibliography. Others have been culled from the ill-fated third volume of PGM. For the sake of completeness (and for the amusement of the reader) all etymologies proposed, even the most fanciful and idiosyncratic ones, regardless of their merit and validity, have been included in this compilation. Until complete indices to the magical papyri and a proper etymological dictionary of the *voces magicae* are produced, this modest glossary will have to serve in their stead.

The entries are arranged as follows:

- 1) the lemma, citing the word in its most usual form(s).
- 2) the word's occurrence – usually a simple reference to PGM. While many *voces magicae* are *hapax legomena* others are frequently attested in both the papyri and gems. Still others are peculiar to the gems or to the papyri. I have tried to note these phenomena in the additional notes and comments – v. 5.
- 3) suggested language of derivation. Opinions diverge considerably, as some scholars will derive a word from Hebrew, others from Egyptian or Babylonian, etc.
- 4) translation. To avoid confusion and misinterpretation translations are usually left in the original language of the translator.
- 5) additional notes and comments, citing further bibliography, other interpretations, other occurrences, etc.

The entries are not complete studies; rather they summarize what the reader will find more fully explicated in the sources indicated.

AA (PGM LXX 2) Egypt. ⲟⲩ „erzeugen“? SCHMIDT, GGA 1937, 149, who suggests it is an „ithyphallischer Sonnengott“.
 ααβαμ (*lamella*) Hebrew *'ahēbhūm* „*ha amato essi*“. SCIACCA, *Phylakterion* 99.
 αβαδωτ (SM 42) Hebrew *'bdwt* „*destructions*“, CATASTINI ap. SM 42.33.n.

- αβαδι αυαν (*lamella*) Hebrew 'abhdē 'aōn „servi del peccato“. SCIACCA, Phylakterion 100.
- Αβελβελ (PGM IV 3022) BAUDISSIN (n. 115) I 25, recalls Abelbalos, king of Berytus – cf. HOPFNER, OZI § 731.
- αβεραμενωουλερθεξαναζεθρελυοωθνεμαρεβα (PGM passim, e.g. I 294, II 125, III 67, IV 181, V 180, etc.) „*typhonisch*“, PREISENDANZ, PGM XIV 24, in the translation. Hebrew «*Puissant des eaux, Thot, dieu de pluie, O souverain: pluie de Dieu, Thot, aux eaux puissantes*», TARDIEU (n. 277); BONNER, Studies 202–203, disc. various attributions. MARTINEZ 33.
- Αβήλ (PGM XI a.8) perhaps an *interpretatio Hebraica* of Osiris, the first victim of a fratricide? BERGMAN in: Mél. Gutbub (v. p. 3536) 10.15.
- Αβιωχωσσως = Αβωχωνιωχ = Βαινχωωωχ: all isopsephisms for 3663. BONNER, Studies 192; ID., JEA 16 (1930) 8.
- αβλαναθα (papyri and gems passim) Hebrew “father, come to us”, KOPP, Pal. Crit. III 681–684, quoted in HOPFNER, OZI I, p. 451. BONNER, Studies 202, and SCHOLEM, Gnosticism² 94, are sceptical of this etymology. Cf. DELATTE, Mus. Belge 18 (1914) 28; E. PETERSON, Εἰς Θεός, Göttingen 1926, 98 f.; KROPP, KZT III 122; MARTINEZ 108–110.
- αβλαναθαλβα: Probable affiliation with Syriac *beth laha* “daughter of the god”, T. DUQUESNE, Jackal at the Shaman's Gate, p. 44.
- αβλαναθαναλβα (papyri, gems, *lamellae*) Hebrew acronym: *atta barouch leolam adonai + nathan + alba*, GINSBURGER ap. PERDRIZET, REG 41 (1928) 78. BONNER, Studies 202, is sceptical. Cf. MALTOMINI, SCO 29 (1979) 85; D. ROBINSON, in: Classical and Mediaeval Studies i. h. o. Edward Kennard Rand, 1938, repr. N.Y. 1968, 250 f.; MARTINEZ 108 f.; LECLERCQ, s. v. Abrasax, in: DACL I,1 (1907) 152 f.; DMP 22.13: 'bl'n 'th 'n 'lb'. In Aramaic in: NAVEH and SHAKED, Amulets, p. 57 line 25.
- αβρα-, αβρα- MARTINEZ 74–75 cites the extensive literature which has been written on this metathesis and the various words deriving from it, e.g. BARB, Abraxas; DEONNA, Genava 22 (1944) 116–137; FAUTH, Oriens Christianus 67 (1983) 65–103.
- αβρα βραχ<ι>α (PGM IV 1566) Hebrew: „*Tetragramm im Himmel*“ JACOBY, ad loc.
- abracadabra: MOUTERDE (n. 159) 84–85, explains it as a mixture of various elements from PGM IV 334 f. BARB, Abraxas 67.2, derives it from APBACACABRA which he in turn derives from APBAC, a Grecized form of Hebrew *arba* “four”. Others suggest derivations from Hebrew *ha-bracah* (the blessing) or *ha-bracah dabrah* (pronounce the blessing). Cf. NELSON, Eranos 44 (1945) 326–336; A. BUCHHOLZ, Zeits. f. Religions- und Geistesgesch. 8 (1956) 257 f.; W. DEONNA, Genava 22 (1944) 121.6. Many scholars suggest a connection between this and the following word: *abrasax*.
- Ἀβρασάξ or Ἀβραζάξ (gems, *lamellae*, papyri passim) Hebrew: *arba* “four” + αξ, in order to arrive at the isopsephistic value of 365; BARB, Abraxas 70–71. BONNER, JEA 16 (1930) 6–9 and Studies 192, discusses the isopsephistic value. W. DEONNA, Genava 22 (1944) 121.4, cites some of the vast literature on this name. Cf. DIETERICH, Abraxas; RIESS, s. v. Abrasax, in: RE I,1 (1893) 109–110; H. LECLERCQ, s. v. Abrasax, in: DACL I,1 (1907) 127–155; MICHL (n. 226) 201; K. PREISENDANZ, s. v. Abrasax, in: Der kleine Pauly I (1975) 17–18; W. DREXEL, s. v. Abrasax, in: Realencycl. f. prot. Theol. u. Kirche I³ (1896) 113–118; JACOBY, s. v. Abrasax, in: HDA I (1927) 99; SCHWAB, Angél. 383; DMP 23.24; TRACHTENBERG, Magic 101 (exx. from medieval Jewish magic); MARTINEZ 77–78. EISLER ap. DORSEIFF 42.5: Hebrew *arba k'se* „*vier (scil. ζῴα) des Thrones*“.
- αβρωωθ ΜΟΡΑΥΧ, Défexion 33–34, summarizes the various etymologies: WÜNSCH, ARW 12 (1909) 31: a deformation of *Iao* or something like ἑβραικὸς Ἰαω. GANSCHINIETZ, s. v. *Iao*, in: RE IX,1 (1914) 698 f., suggests a derivation from the Gnostic *Iabraoth*. HOPFNER, AO 3 (1931) 342, 347: an epiclesis of *Jaweh* as well as of *Seth*. CORMACK, HThR 44 (1951) 33: a deformation of Hebrew *arba* “four” – an allusion to the *tetragrammaton*. R. HEIM, Schedae 134 (cited by HOPFNER, OZI I § 733): Hebrew for *pater mali*. BLAU, Zauberesen 102, 104–105: a deformation of *Sabaoth*.
- αβωθερας (Argive magical inscription) DELATTE, Mus. Belge 17 (1913) 334, cites numerous similar words beginning or ending in αβωθ. PATTERSON, HThR 78 (1985) 441, quotes

- M. SMITH proposing a reduction from Sabaoth + an abbreviation of (Neph)ersas. Cf. BRASHEAR, HThR 83 (1990) 338.
- αεβαχα (*lamella*) Hebrew *'ābēbh*ḵha* „*ha amato te*“. SCIACCA, Phylakterion 99.
- αεμειναβαρωθερ/ρεθωραβανιεμεα (PGM LIX 7) PREISENDANZ, PGM XIV 24 n., considers it Typhonic; BONNER, Studies 203, uterine.
- αεξιαι (gem; JWCI 27, 1–9): read δεξιαί, DANIEL and SIJPESTEIJN, JWCI 51 (1988) 169.
- αζαζαισθαιλιχ (PGM VII 819) ODEBERG, 3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch, Cambridge 1928, 169.6, cps. the Hebrew angel name Azza.
- αζαραχθ[χ?]αραζα (PGM IV 1789) Hebr. „*verhüllen*“? JACOBY, app. crit. ad loc.
- AH, AIH (PGM IV 944) „*das göttliche Kind der Hathor* = Hor“ (PGM III, p. 214).
- AHΩHH (PGM IV 2303) Egypt. ʿt, *ih.t* „*große Kuh*“ (PGM III, p. 214).
- αθερεσφιλουως (SM 48) Egypt. Hathor?, Grk. αἰθέριος? MARTINEZ 104.
- αθερνεβουνι (PGM VII 495) Egypt. *Ht-Hr-nb.t-wn.t* „*Hathor, Herrin von Dendera*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 175, 181.
- αθερνεκτση (PGM VII 492) Egypt. *Ht-Hr-nht-š.t* „*Hathor-Stärke der Isis*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 175, emending the reading of the papyrus. Cf. BARB, JWCI 22 (1960) 370.29, on its appearance on a gem.
- αθαα βαθαα Hebrew: „*Thou art father*“? JACOBY, PGM IV 1075 n.
- Aθρω (PGM LXII 85) „*großer Hathor*“? PGM vol. III, p. 244 s. v.
- αθωμ Atum, Aton? The decan Athum? GUNDEL, Dekane 79 no. 16; PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 142.
- αια αιν ρυχαθ (PGM XIII 331) Hebrew: „*Ich bin die Quelle der Geister*“, JACOBY ad loc.
- αιαναφα (SM 48) Hebr. *ahia* (cf. Exod. 3.14, where this form of the divine name occurs) + ναφα (*non liquet*). MARTINEZ 103.
- Ακερ (PGM XII 288) Eg. *ikr* „*vorzüglich, tadelsfrei*“, *Beiname des Thot*. Cf. PGM IV 204. SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1178.
- ακκομ (PGM XVII c. 8) Akom? HOPFNER, AO 7, 93.
- ακοη (PGM VII 591) Egypt. *ḥk3-w'* „*einzig Herrscher*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 178.
- ακοιβτα (gem) Aramaic „*the likeness of (lao)*“, YOUTIE, JAOS 50 (1930) 214–220.
- ακραμμαχαμαρι (papyri and gems passim) KOPP, Pal. Crit. IV 121 „*liga amuletum meum*“ or „*protegit amuletum meum*“. SCHOLEM, Gnosticism 97, says this is „*rather fantastic Hebrew*“, and suggests it is Aramaic for „*uproot the magic spells*“. The word occurs mostly in contexts betraying heavy Jewish influence. Also in Coptic Gnostic texts, e.g. Pistis Sophia, (SCHMIDT, p. 354.12). BARB, Klassische Hexenkunst, Jedermann-Hefte 3, Vienna 1933, 15, suggests it is Hebrew for „*ich rufe aus den Tiefen*“. PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 138: „*der solare Allgott*“. Cf. SM 10.1 n.
- ακριμακραγετα BONNER, AJP 75 (1954) 303: „*a meaningless word*“. BARB, JWCI 27 (1964) 13.80: ακραμμαχαμαρι transformed into a Greek-sounding noun along the lines of ἀρχηγέτης, -γέτα. DRIOTON, ASAE 45 (1947) 84: corrupt Greek for ἀρκεῖ μακράν, κῆτα « *soyez repoussés au loin, monstres des eaux!* » On a gem: SB 10002 = SEG 14.883.
- ακρομβους (PGM XIII 1058) Egypt. „*Har Erdschöpfer*“, JACOBY in PGM vol. III p. 245.
- ακτι (PGM II 78) Egypt. ʿḥtj „*Horizontischer*“, cf. *Hr-ʿḥtj* „*Hor im Horizonte*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 447.
- αλβανα (PGM XII 117) Hebrew „*Mond*“, DÖLGER, Sol Salutis² 360 f.
- αμαρδα (SM 48) Aramaic „*behold, this is the lord*“, MARTINEZ, P. Mich. 6925: A New Magical Love Charm, Diss. Ann Arbor 1985, 113.
- αμαρεμ (PGM VII 573) Latin *amarem*? PGM vol. III, 207.
- αματωρ (PGM VII 535, 536) Latin *amator*? PGM vol. III, p. 207.
- αμελχιψιθιουθι (PGM V 8) Greek ἀμείλιχος + Copt. πει „*neun*“, „*also 3 × 3 als Ausdruck höchster Steigerung*“ + Tihut (*die neubabylonische Form von Thot*), HARRAUER, Meli-ouchos 81–82. V. infra ψι.
- αμηιτηλαι (SM 96A,C) Hebrew: *'amit(i)* + *'el + bai'* „*la mia verità il Dio vivente*“, VIVIAN ap. MALTOMINI in: P. Flor. VII, pp. 176–177. SM 96A.19–20n.

- αμμ (SM 43) Demotic 'm 'm "shrew-mouse?", DANIEL, ZPE 19 (1975) 252–253. SM 43.2n
 ἀμοραχθι (PGM XVI 9, XIII 987, gems, *defixiones*) Egypt. *Hr-ḥ.t* "Horus of the horizon",
 MARTINEZ 103.
- αμου (PGM III 48, XXIa, XIII 993, etc.) one of various Egyptian deities or else Coptic "come",
 DANIEL, ZPE 19 (1975) 252; Abrasax I 240; RITNER in: GMP 139.135.
- αμουν ηει (PGM IV 929) Egypt. "Amun comes", RITNER in: GMP 56.124. Cf. SM 6.3 n.
- αμουν ω ηι (PGM I 139) Egypt. "Amon the great", RITNER in: GMP 6.30.
- αμουναβρεο (PGM IV 296 f.) Egypt. *imn p re o* "Amun of the Great Re", MOKE p. 216.
- αμουναυειουσιν Copt. „*Vieni da me qui dentro*“, PINTAUDI, ZPE 26 (1977) 247.
- αμουσιν (PGM I 139) „*großer Unbekannter*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 444.
- αμωρ (PGM IV 283) Latin *amor*? PGM vol. III, p. 207.
- ανα (PGM XII 810) Aramaic "I (am)"? BETZ, GMP 191.119.
- αναγ βιαθι (PGM XIII 512 f.) WORTMANN, Bibl. Or. 27 (1970) 218, refutes GUNDEL's interpretation of this word as a secret name for the Horai and Moirai (GUNDEL, Weltbild 18 ff.).
- αλκ κατ ci κατ εμεσι κατ (PGM III 669) Egypt. „*Ich bin Kat, Sohn des Kat, den Kat erzeugt*“, SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1178.
- ανιμι (PGM IV 3160, 3163) Latin *animi*? PGM vol. III, p. 207.
- ανου Demotic and Coptic? "Bring them in". THOMPSON, PBA 17 (1931) 267.
- ανουθ Egypt. *ḥ-n-ut* „*Großer der Balsamierungsstätte*“, „*Großer der Balsamierer*“ = Anubis, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 171. HOPFNER, AO 3 (1931) 123: name for Osiris.
- ανουρ (PGM X 12) Egypt. *In-ḥr* (Greek Onouris), a deity who revived Tefnut, RITNER in: GMP 149.2.
- ΑΝΟΧ ΑΙ ΕΦΕ ΣΑΚΤΙ ΕΤΗ (PGM XIII 806 f.) Egypt. *ink ḥ'j r p.t, šk.tjr dṣ.t* „*ich gehe auf zum Himmel, steige hinab zur Unterwelt*“, SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1183.
- ανοχω (PGM IV 1535) „*der große Anoch (Sonnennamen)*“, JACOBY, app. crit. ad loc.; Egypt. "I am great", RITNER in: GMP 67.201.
- αντερω Egypt. „*großer Gott*“, EITREM ap. PGM III p. 215.
- αραθ, αρωθ (PGM XIII 147, 454), decan. PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 142; GUNDEL, Dekane 48, 77 no. 5, 289.4; ID., Weltbild 21, 23.
- αραμει (PGM IV 204) „*auf Aramäisch*“ or „*Aramäer Iao*“, JACOBY, app. crit. ad loc.
- αραραχααρα (PGM XVI 68) Arara is a decan. GUNDEL, Weltbild und Astrologie 21. HAR-
 RAUER, Meliouchos 56.60. Cf. χαρχαρ.
- αραρμαχης (PGM IV 672) cf. Egypt. „*Harmachis*“ "Horus who is on the horizon", BETZ, GMP 51.93.
- αραχθι „*Hor im Horizont*“, EITREM ap. PGM III p. 216.
- αρβα → αρβα-, αρβα-.
- αρβαθ, αρβαιθ "Horus the falcon"? THOMPSON, PBA 17 (1931) 267; SPIEGELBERG, ARW 21 (1922) 225. DMP 16.12. A. JACOBY, Mitteil. d. Schlesisch. Gesell. f. Volkskunde 31–32 (1931) 214–215, derives *Arbatel*, the name of a medieval tractate on magic, from Αρβαθ + ΗΛ.
- αρβαθιαυ FAUTH, Oriens Christianus 67 (1983) 65 f., cites and rejects earlier interpretations: KOPP, Pal. Crit. IV 209 „*spopondisti salutem*“ (cf. HOPFNER, OZ I § 734); EISLER ap. DORNSEIFF 37 and note 2: *Arba'oth* = *Tetragrammaton*; JACOBY, ARW 28 (1930) 273: „*Tetragram Iao*“; H. THOMPSON ap. BONNER, Studies 206, connecting it with αρβαιηθ "Horus the falcon"; PERDRIZET, REG 41 (1928) 78–79: «*Jahve dont le nom s'est écrit en quatre lettres*». FAUTH 71 suggests above and beyond the semantic value „*Vierheit des Iao*“ an appellation of the cosmic, mystic plurality of a four-fold creature („*Vier Iao*“), the magic pantokrator (PERDRIZET: *Iao quadrifrons*).
- Αρβαρβαφαραφαξαρθαθαξ + Ιαω FARAONE and KOTANSKY, ZPE 75 (1988) 262, note that the isopsephistic value of this unique *vox magica* on a gold lamella is the palindromic 2662. (NB: in ancient notation the number would have been written Β'χξβ where no palindrome is involved.) Cf. BRASHEAR, ZPE 78 (1989) 123.
- αρβουηρι „*die Seele des Großen*“ JACOBY ap. HOPFNER, Plutarch I 87.4.

- αρδιμαλεχα (PGM IV 1939) HOPFNER, OZ I § 157: Semitic: Moloch; JACOBY ap. PGM III p. 216: Aramaic *malecha*.
- Ἀρενδότης, αρεννώτης (PGM VII 573) Egypt. *Hr-nd-it.f* „Horus, der seinen Vater schützt“, JACOBY ap. PGM III, p. 216; RITNER in: GMP 134.101.
- αριωθ (P. Carlsberg 52.26) Hebrew abstract noun deriving from *ari* “lioninity”, SMITH ap. BRASHEAR, *Magica Varia* no. 1, p. 51.
- Ἀρμαχιμενεύς, (PSI I 28) Egypt. *Hr-m-ḥt* “Horus on the Horizon” + -μένεϋς, SM 42.8–9 n. ARPMIOYC (PGM VII 361) Egypt *Hr-mḥj-hsḥ* „Horus, grimmer Löwe“ SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 173; WORTMANN, *Bibl. Or.* 27 (1970) 219. DMP.
- αρνεβουατ (PGM XIII 766) cf. νεβουητι, PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 131. Egypt. „Horus, Herr des gesunden (Sonnen-Auges)“, ABRAHAX I 212.
- αροα μαθρα (PGM V 339–340) Ahura Mithra, FESTUGIÈRE, *L'Idéal* 314.1.
- αρου αζαρ (PGM I 28) PETERSON, *RhM* 75 (1926) 397, cps. Aru (a Harranite deity) and Arouel.
- Ἄρουηρ (PGM VII 685, IV 1576, XIX a.44) Egypt. *Hr-ur* “Horus the great” or “Horus the elder”, JACOBY, ARW 28, 271; SM 42.49–50 n.; RITNER in: GMP 137.120.
- αρπαηρ (PGM IV 3162) Egypt. „Horus der Große“, ZUCKER, *Byz. Zeits.* 31 (1931) 363.
- αρπνοφερ (BONNER, *Studies* 196) Egypt. „Horus die Sonne“, „Horus, der (Sohn) der Sonne“, or *Hr pḥ nefer* „der gute Horus“. Cf. PGM II 118, VII 362, XII 183, XIX a.7.
- αρπονχνουφι βριντατηνωφι βρισκυλμα (PGM I 26) Horus-Chnum + ... nefer + ? PERDRIZET, in: *Mél. Maspero* II 137–144, connects it with Agathos Daimon and a solar complex. It appears on gems with Harpocrates, the cock-headed god, and solar deities. Cf. BONNER, *Studies* 205; EITREM on P. Osl. 1.126, 219; JACOBY, ARW 28, 271.4. DMP 16.6.
- αρσαμωσι (PGM III 583, II 124) Egypt. *Hr-šmšw* „Horus Erstgeborener“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 452; JANKUHL s. v. Horsemsu, in: *LÄ* 3 (1980) 13; RITNER in: GMP 187.103.
- αρσενωφερ (PGM II 118, IV 1629) Copt. ⲁⲣⲓ ⲱⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲏ „Horus, Sohn des Re“ HOPFNER, OZ I §§ 452–453. SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 173: *wršj-nfr-R* „Guter Wächter Re“. BONNER, *Studies* 196: “Horus, son of the Good one”, “Horus, son of the Good Sun”. Cf. BONNET, *Reallexikon* 54–55; WINTER, s. v. Arensnuphis, in: *LÄ* 1 (1975) 424–425; HARRAUER, *Meliouchos* 33–34. Egypt. *Iry-hms-nfr* „der gute Gefährte“ or else *Wrs-nfr* „der gute Wächter“, THISSEN *ZPE* 73 (1988) 305.
- αρσεντεφθα (PGM XXII b.29) Egypt. “Horus, child of Ptah”, BERGMAN in: GMP 333.
- αρσεντεχθα (PGM XXII b.29) read Harsennechtha? “Horus, child of the strong one”, BERGMAN in: GMP 332.
- αρσερερτωθι (PGM VII 578) Horus-Thot. WORTMANN, *Kosmogonie* 100.273.
- αρ σω Egypt. “Horus-Su”, JACOBY, ARW 28 (1930) 273.4; DERCHAIN, *CdE* 39 (1964) 184.
- αρτεν (PGM IV 6) Egypt. *irw-tnj* „erhabenes Geschöpf“, SCHMIDT, *Ph. Wo.* 1935, 1183.
- αρφελιημ, αρφελλιμ (*lamella*) Hebrew *ʾarpillim* „tenebre, oscurità“. SCIACCA, *Phylakterion* 98.
- αρχεντεχθα (PGM XXII b.29) Egypt. *Hr-ḥntj-ḥtj* „Horus, Erster von Athribis“, SCHMIDT, *Ph. Wo.* 1935, 1178, who emends the reading of the papyrus. RITNER in: GMP 332: Egyptian „*Har-Khenty-Khet*“, cf. BONNET, *Reallexikon* 131–133; U. RÖSSLER-KÖHLER s. v. Horus-Chentechtai, in: *LÄ* 3 (1980) 27–33.
- αρχην σε κοπω (PGM XXI 20) Greek? “rule. I weary you ...” SMITH in: GMP 259.6.
- αρψεντεν (PGM IV 563) Egypt. *Hr-p.šrj-n-tnj* „Horus, der Sohn des Erhabenen“ SCHMIDT, *Ph. Wo.* 1935, 1183.
- αρω (PGM O 2.14) decan. GUNDEL, *Dekane* 58,77; PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 142. Egypt. *Hr ḥ* „Horus groß“? PGM vol. III 248.
- αρωριφασις (PGM IV 2234, 2928) HOPFNER, OZ I § 737, quotes KOPP, *Pal. Crit.* IV, pp. 49–50, 57, who translates: „*fac me gaudere, reddere me hilarem*“ (Copt. ⲁⲣⲟⲣⲓ ⲫⲣⲁⲱⲓ). BONNER, *Studies* 196, associates it with Aphrodite-Hathor.
- ασινον (PGM T 1.9) Latin *asinum*? PGM vol. III, p. 207.
- ασκι κατασκι λιξ τετραξ δαμναμενεύς αισια HICKEL, *De Ephesiis litteris linguae semiticarum vindicandis*, Jena 1860, reads Hesychius s. v. Ἐφέσια γράμματα as follows: ασκι κατ ασκι αιξ τετρα νδ αμν αμεν εν και σιον, and translates: „*Tenebrae pallidae sunt tenebrae meae*,

ad ignem suspice fideliter, fidus ille, qui collustrans praebebat vitam – quoted by P. HUVÉLIN, Les tablettes magiques et le droit romain, in: Annales internationales d'histoire. Congrès de Paris 1900, Paris 1901, 50.4. Cf. KOTANSKY in: Magika Hiera 110 f., 121, and here s. v. δαμναμενεύς. V. n. 236.

ασρω (PGM IV 2024) = Ap Σω? Horus, Su, JACOBY, ARW 28 (1930) 273.4.

ασσ αλκη (PGM IV 1486) Hebrew *az* „Stärke“ + Greek gloss ἀλκή? JACOBY ap. PGM, vol. III, p. xiii.

Αστρατηλος (PGM XXXVI 258) cf. SCHOLEM, Gnosticism² 95.

ανεβωθιαβαθαβαθωβευα once on a London gem (BONNER, Studies 203–204); once on a papyrus (PGM IV 1941). Solar associations (BONNER). Palindrome.

αφ ωρ (PGM XIII 1059) Egypt. „Apis, Horus“. RITNER in: GMP 195.

αφουθ (PGM LVII 10) decan. PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 143; GUNDEL, Dekane 78.18.

αχ αι φω (PGM I 326 f.) Egypt. αχ „Geist“, αι = *hai* „Licht“, φωφωρ „Angesicht“? JACOBY ap. PGM vol. III, p. 248. SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1180: „Sonnenglanz des Antlitz“. Cf. PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 136; WORTMANN, Bibl. Or. 27 (1970) 218.

AXAM (PGM IV 20) Hebr. „der Weise“, JACOBY, app. crit. ad loc.

αχερωκρωμ (PGM XIII 78, 141, 333, 446, 590) Egypt. *ḥw* „Sonnenglanz, Licht“; *ḥj* „tragen“, **krm* „Flamme, Feuer“, therefore equivalent to the Greek πυρφόρος. For αχε cf. φιαχα, αχαιφω. SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1180.

αχερω (PGM VII 325) Coptic: „Geist“ + ερω „König“, JACOBY in PGM vol. III, p. 248.

αχθιρι (PGM V 61) „Horizontbewohner Re“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 456; Id., Ph. Wo. 1935, 1182.

αχθοπιβθου (SM 49) WORTMANN, Bibl. Or. 27 (1970) 219, cps. the third decan in Aquarius: Ptebiou; cf. GUNDEL, Dekane 79 no. 33. The word is a *hapax* in SM 49.44.

αχχεμεν Egyptian: *iʿh* “moon”? Coptic σοε, ιοε? HOPFNER, AO 3 (1931) 130; Id., Plutarch I 27.

αχχεριμα (PGM IV 2027 f.) Latin *acerrima*? PGM vol. III, p. 207.

αωθ (PGM IV 388, 3030, VII 567) Hebrew *ʾoth* „Buchstabe“, DORNSEIFF 37, 125. Cf. *arba ʾoth* = *tetragrammaton*, (EISLER ap. DORNSEIFF 37.2); *seba ʾoth* = ἐπτά γράμματα (PERDRIZET, REG 41, 1928, 79). MALTOMINI, ZPE 48 (1982) 162, cites further literature. MARTINEZ 100.

βααδαμμαχωρ ριζαη (PGM XIII 974) Hebrew “in Adam was the source of secrets”, BETZ, GMP 194.136.

βααλασην (PGM XIII 767, XXI 1, etc.) Semitic deity. Abrasax I 212 cites literature. Cf. Plautus, *Poenulus* 1027, where the word appears in Punic.

βααλασης (PGM IV 1019) “Baal, Sun”. Cf. HOPFNER, OZ I § 738; O. EISSFELDT, ZAW 57 (1939) 1–31 = Id., Kl. Schriften II, Tübingen 1963, 171–198; PGM IV app. crit.

βαθινι v. σελβιους

βαιν: 1) βαίς, βάιον “palm tree, palm leaf”; 2) βαι Coptic: “soul, life”. DANIEL, ZPE 19 (1975) 253.

βαινονουν (PGM XIII 809) Egypt. *b3-n-p3-nwn* „Ba des Nun“ = Re. THISSEN, Ägypt. Beitr. z. d. gr. mag. Papyri 299.

Βαινωωωχ (PGM, *defixiones*, gems passim) Egypt. *b3 n kkw* “spirit of darkness”, CRUM, Coptic Dictionary, s. v. βαι. Cf. K. SETHE, Das ägyptische Verbum I § 417: KK „Finsternis“; Pistis Sophia (SCHMIDT 234, cf. 410); DORNSEIFF 184; KOENEN, ZPE 8, 203; HOPFNER, OZ I § 739, who quotes KOPP, Pal. Crit. IV 169: Hebrew for „in defectu virium tuarum“; DELATTE and DERCHAIN, Intailles passim; PHILIPP, no. 164; BONNER, JEA 16 (1930) 8: B. = 3663; Id., Studies 188; HOPFNER, AO 3, 330; HARRAUER, Meliouchos 80–81; MICHL (n. 226) 207–208; BRASHEAR, ZPE 78 (1989) 123–124; SM 15.3–4 n.

βαισολβαι (PGM IV 1668; gem: PHILIPP p. 69, no. 83) Copt. βαβαϊαβαβαι „Löwe, Sohn eines Löwen“, MÖLLER, JACOBY ap. SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 450 and GGA 1934, 177. Abrasax I 119: Coptic βαβαι „Löwe“, ωο „wahrlich“.

- βακαξιχυχ (PGM V 11) Egypt. "soul of Khukh, son of Khukh", GRIFFITH, THOMPSON, DMP 5.8, 6.25. „*Seele der Finsternis, Sohn der Finsternis*", HOPFNER, AO 7 (1935) 314 f. Cf. EITREM, SO 19 (1939) 78 no. 9; P.-M. DUVAL, *Bacuceus, Etudes Celtiques* 12 (1968–1971) 656–662. V. βαχυχ.
- βακαω: 1) var. of χυχβυχυχ-logos; 2) related to the Egyptian bull, Bakha. DANIEL, ZPE 19 (1975) 252.
- βαλ (PGM passim) Baal. Cf. SM 39.9 n.
- βαλχαμ (PGM XII 151) Hermes-Thoth name. HOPFNER, AO 7 (1935) 114.15. DMP 1.16, 28.3.
- βαρβαθιαω: β + αρβαθιαω. WORTMANN, *Texte* 92: β = p³, the Egyptian article.
- βαρβαλ (SM 42) Aramaic *bar-ba'al* "son of the Lord", CATASTINI ap. SM 42.32 n.
- βαρβαρ- SPEYER, JbAC 10 (1967) 265 f., suggests words beginning with these syllables were inspired by βάβαρα ὀνόματα. Abrasax I 96, refers to Coptic βαρβαρ „*loder*". Cf. FAUTH, ZPE 98 (1993) 65 f.
- βαρβαραδωναι (PGM XII 90, SM 48) Hebrew *arba adonai* "four (is the name) of Yahweh". MARTINEZ 94.
- Βαρβαρανω (PGM V 481) cf. PGM IV 385, and Barbar in the Apocr. Ioann. II 17.15. PHILO-
NENKO, CRAI 1985, 445.
- βαρβαριαω (PGM III 11) Coptic „*lodernder Iao*", Abrasax I 96.
- βαρβαριθα (PGM IV 362 f.; SM 48) Hebr. (b)arba atha "thou art arba"?; Aramaic "Come arba", "Arba has come"? MARTINEZ 76–77.
- βαρβαριχ (PGM XXI 2) Coptic βαρβαρ „*loder*", IX = ιε „*Dämon*". Abrasax I 143.
- Βαρβελω (not in PGM) v. QUISPTEL, Vig. Chr. 19 (1965) 73, who cites similar forms from PGM. Cf. W. FAUTH, Or. Chr. 57 (1973) 82 f.
- βαρζα (PGM IV 2919) Persian "shining light", RITNER in: GMP 93.368; cf. HOPFNER, OZ II, p. 100.
- βαρθαρθα v. λουλου
- βαρουχ (PGM V 480, XII 155) Hebrew *barūk* "blessed", MALTOMINI, SCO 29 (1979) 110, 120, who cites further exx., e.g. BIFAO 76 (1976) 218; SM 49.34. See also MARTINEZ 77.
- Βαρουχ Αδωναι Ελωαι Αβρααμ (PGM V 480) Hebrew: „*Beni soit Adonai, Dieu d'Abraham*"; abbreviated version of a prayer to be recited three times a day. PHILO-
NENKO, CRAI 1985, 445, referring to W. STAERK, *Altjüdische liturgische Gebete*, Berlin 1930, 8–19.
- βαρουχαμβα (SM 48) Hebrew *baruch* + arba "blessed", "four"? MARTINEZ 77.
- βαρωθα (PGM XII 168) Egypt. *bj³-rw^d* „*festes Erz*", SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1181.
- βασημ, βασυμ *aut sim*. According to ALON, Jews, 239–240, this is a separate individual entity with his own identity and not simply Hebrew or Aramaic for "in the name of".
- βασμα (PGM IV 1736) Aramaic „*im Namen*", JACOBY, app. crit. ad loc., PGM vol. III 250. Aramaic *bi-shema* "in the name", ALON, op. cit. 240.
- βασμαδωναι Hebrew "in the name of the Lord", BONNER, *Studies* 187.
- βασυμ (PGM LXX 3) Egypt. *b³-šm³* „*Panther von Oberägypten*", SCHMIDT, GGA 1937, 149. W. FAUTH, Or. Christ. 67 (1983) 70: Hebrew „*im Namen (Jahwehs)*". Cf. βασημ.
- βασυμ (XIII 593) Hebrew *be-shum*? ALON, op. cit. 237 f.
- βαφρενεμουν οθιλαρι κριφι (VII 584 f.) Egypt. „*fj³-f-rn-^{imn} 'd mr (= lw) R' m-k³r.f. 'd „Träger des verborgenen Namens, wohlbehaltener Löwe des Re in seinem Schrein*", SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 443 f.; Id., GGA 1934, 177; HOPFNER, AO 7 (1935) 119.
- βαχυχ (PGM X 41 f.) Hebrew *kokab* "star", WÜNSCH, ARW 12 (1909) 34 ff.; AUDOLLENT, Defix. no. 155; WÜNSCH, Seth. Verfluchungstafeln (n. 340) 16.50. DMP 5.9, 6.27, 27.31. PREISENDANZ, Akephalos 37.2, is sceptical of the derivation from Hebrew and notes the existence of an Egyptian decan named Khukhu and one named Baba. Together they could have inspired the form found in PGM X 41 f.: χυχβαχυχ. HARRAUER, Meliouchos 47.50, suggests: Egypt. *b³ kkw* „*Seele*", „*Finsternis*". Cf. AUDOLLENT, Defix. 250.1: Βαχαχυχ, *qui es in Egipto magnus demon*, and 251, col. II 8 ff. V. βακαξιχυχ.
- βελω εν ω (PGM VII 332) Egypt. „*sein (Re's) Pavian, groß*", SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 173.

βελαϥ, παβελαϥ (PGM IV 108) *bn-f*, *p²-bn-f* „sein (d. h. des Re) Pavian, dieser Pavian“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 173.

βενου (PGM XXI 28) „Phoenix“, Abrasax I 96.

βερβαλ (PGM LXVII 8) derives perhaps from Bel = Marduk = Horus, KOENEN, ZPE 8 (1971) 203.

βερω (gem) Aramaic “his son”, YOUTIE, JAOS 50 (1930) 214–220.

βεσεν βεριθεν βεριο (PGM XIII 478) Hebrew “in the Name is the covenant” or “where there is no covenant there is no creation”, RIESS 55. Hebrew: „*schaffen*“? JACOBY in PGM vol. III 250.

βεχιων (gem) cf. βηχ (PGM IV 2030), βηχ (PGM V 7) Egypt. „*Falke*“, WORTMANN, BonnJbb 175 (1975) 77.

βιβιου (PGM XIII 807) Egypt. *b³-b³.w* „*Seele der Seelen*“, SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1183; DANIEL, ZPE 19 (1975) 260. Cf. Coptic βα „*Bock*“, Abrasax I 63. Cf. PHILONENKO, CRAI 1985, 446; DMP 8.6, 29.6; PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 143; MARTINEZ 102. V. βιου.

βιε βεσνετι (PGM XIII 311) Egypt. *bj³-(n) b³ntj.w* „*Metall der Erzarbeiter*“, cf. PGM IV 108: βεσ νηθ. SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1181.

βιθουραρα (PGM VII 356) combines elements of βυθός and οὐρανός. SZEPES, AAASH 24 (1976) 212.

βιου (PGM XVI 63, V 83) GUNDEL, Dekane 233, 429; PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 143.

βιχυχ (PGM XIII 813) Egypt. „*Seele (Widder) in Finsternis*“, Abrasax I 241.

βιχω (PGM IV 3158) „*großer Sperber*“, ZUCKER 363.

βλασαλωθ (PGM V 477) Coptic βαα, βαα «*délier*»? PHILONENKO, CRAI 1985, 444.

βοαχοση μιακουβ Hebrew: *boa ho zi miakob* «*viens ici, sors de Jacob*», CH. BRUSTON, Rev. arch. 1923, 111–116, interpreting a gem inscription, and probably misreading βολχοση.

βολβεσρω Egypt. βολ „*Herr*“, βε (βαι) „*Seele*“, σρω „*Widder*“, „*Bock*“, JACOBY, ap. PGM III p. 218. Cf. decan Srō, GUNDEL, Dekane 284.2; PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 139 f. JACOBY (PGM III, p. 218) rejects this connection. Cf. HOPFNER, AO 3, 335; MORAUX, Défixion 34 f. SICHREL 208 translates σρω as „*Widder*“ instead of „*Bock*“. Cf. σρω.

βολφαι (PGM IV 2060) Egypt. *bn-f-h j* „*sein jubelnder Pavian*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 173.

βολχωσθη “Baal who strikes Seth”, MORAUX, Défixion 34–38.

βορβοροφορβα v. φορβαφορφορβα and JORDAN, Hesperia 54 (1985) 240–241.

Βουηλ = Harpokrates, TOTTI, ZPE 73 (1988) 299.4.

Βους (PGM T 2a,b, SB 3573) decan, BRASHEAR, ZPE 50 (1983) 102; not βοϋς “bull”.

βρειθ (PGM II 125, IV 2139) a *vox magica* with solar character; M. TOTTI, ZPE 67 (1987) 263 f.; E. BERNAND, Inscriptions métriques de l’Egypte, Paris 1969, no. 168; BONNER, Studies 293, no. 243. According to BONNER, AJA 49 (1945) 442, it is a corruption of φρη + θ.

βρια Hebrew? “creation”, BONNER and YOUTIE, TAPA 68 (1937) 64.

βριαω, βριμιαω (SM 49.44, 45.4) Βριμω + Ιαω, WORTMANN, Texte 76, 92. Brimō is an appellation for Hekate; MALTOMINI, SCO 29 (1979) 81, cites examples.

Βρινθαω (PGM 13 a.3) cf. βριθω (Wisdom 9.15) “the Preponderant One”, MACCOULL, Tyche 2 (1987) 96.

Βριντατηνωφρις: ? + *nefer*. PERDRIZET in: Mél. Maspero II 137–144 cites exx. from papyri; DELATTE and DERCHAIN, Intailles 73, cite further exx. A cognomen or translation of Chnum? DMP 16.7.

γηβ ρωχθω (PGM III 56) god Geb? HOPFNER, AO 7 (1935) 104.13.

gerwb (DMP 14.29) Hebrew *krob* “cherub”? GRIFFITH and THOMPSON ad loc.

δαγεννουθ (PGM IV 1075 f., 988 f.) Dagon, a Semitic god + Egypt. *ntr* “god”, HOPFNER, OZ II § 216.

Δαμναμενευς (PGM, gems passim) one of the Idaean Dactyls and one of the original *Ephesia grammata*. P. HUVELIN (v. supra s. v. ασκι) 50 ff., derives it from δάμνω. Cf. BONNER,

- Studies 201; B. HEMBERG, *Die idaiischen Daktylen*, *Eranos* 50 (1952) 41–59; O. CRUSIUS, s. v. *Damnameus*, in: *Roschers Lexikon* I,1 (1884–1886) 946.3–15; FARAONE and KOTANSKY, *ZPE* 75 (1988) 264. V. *ασκι*.
 δανουπ (PGM XIII 198, 529, 549, 587 etc.) cf. Babylonian name for Jupiter, *Dapinu*, KOENEN, *ZPE* 8 (1971) 203.
 δαρδανω (*defixio*) Cf. PGM IV 2612: *Δαρδανία* 'Εκάτη. YOUTIE, BONNER, *TAPA* 68 (1937) 66.
 δαρυνω (gems, papyri) secret name of Hermes, BONNER, *Studies* 196–197; Id., *AJA* 53 (1947) 271. Cf. DELATTE, *Mus. Belge* 17 (1913) 331; MERKELBACH, *Mithras*, Königstein 1984, 393.
 δελκω (*lamella*) Hebrew *dlk* = καταδιώκετε. SCIACCA, *Phylakterion* 94.
 δικων (*lamella*) Hebrew *dk* '→ *dika'on* „*oppressione*“, SCIACCA, *Phylakterion* 94.
 δωδεκακιστη (SM 42.30, 49.47; Argive inscription) „*die du am meisten zwölf bist*“ or „*die du die Zwölfgötter umfaßt*“, WORTMANN, *Texte* 76. Cf. DELATTE, *Mus. Belge* 17 (1913) 331. DMP 7.26. RICHARD GORDON (n. 502) chap. 4 note 29: noun or adjective meaning “one who is twelve-times-in-action-as-governor” reminiscent of Hekate who governs the twelve arcs of the cosmos (Proclus, *in Rem pub.* 614 d, II p. 121.9 f. KROLL = OF no. 316).
 εβεχε (PGM IV 1656) Copt. *εβεχε* „*Schlange*“, Abraxas I 118.
 εγκυκλιε (SM 45) „*allumfassender*“? WORTMANN, *Texte* 98.
 εθμουρησινι (PGM V 483 ff.) Coptic *et + mour* „*lier*“ + *seini* «*médecin*» = «*Celui qui lie le médecin*». PHILONENKO, *CRAI* 1985, 448.
 εθοου Coptic „*cattivo*“? MALTOMINI, *SCO* 29 (1979) 75.
 εισι ω βουβαστι (PGM VII 385 f.) Egypt. “Isis, O Bubastite”, RITNER in: *GMP* 128.52.
 ελεσαβατανι (P. Ryl. 699.4) Aramaic “my lord, why have you forsaken me” – spoken by Jesus on the cross (Matt. 27.46, Mark 15.34). Common in Coptic magic; cf. KROPP, *KZT* III §§ 100, 218. Is P. Ryl. 699 therefore Greek or Coptic?
 ελλιον αννωρα αγγιβωρ ... βαρουχ αθθα ουβαρουζ ουδηχα αει ωλαμ λε ωλαμ (gold *lamella* found in Great Britain) Hebrew: “Elyon the terrible, the mighty (cf. Deut. 10.17, Neh. 9.32). Blessed thou and blessed thy glory forever (ἀει) ever forever”. H. C. YOUTIE ap. COLLINGWOOD and WRIGHT, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain* I, Oxford 1965, p. 144 no. 436.
 ελωειν (XII 285) Hebrew *elohim* “God”, RIESS 55.
 εμ μαι (PGM VII 447) Egypt. “in truth”, RITNER in: *GMP* 129.59.
 εμερ Ισι (PGM VII 446) Egypt. “whom Isis loves”, RITNER in: *GMP* 130.60.
 εμι (PGM V 254) Egypt. *ʿm* „*wissen*“; *ꜥꜥꜣ* „*Steuermann*“; *ḥm* „*Majestät*“ are all possible, SCHMIDT, *GGA* 1931, 456–457, *GGA* 1937, 149.
 εμπτοκομ (PGM LXX 3) Egypt. *ḥm kmꜣ-p-t* „*Em, Erschütterer der Erde*“, SCHMIDT, *GGA* 1937, 1499.
 εμφρη (SM 42; PGM V 353, 354) Egypt. *n pꜣ R'*, Copt. *ⲙⲫⲣⲏ* Re. SM 42.53 n.
 εν φθα νουθι (PGM VII 340) Egypt. “Come, Ptah, god”, RITNER in: *GMP* 126.43.
 εναθιαω “*Anath des Jahweh*”, DONNER, *ZÄS* 100 (1974) 91; only on DELATTE and DERCHAIN, *Intailles*, no. 460.
 εναμορω Coptic?: *ⲏⲛ ⲙⲡⲣⲟ* “ape of the gate”? BONNER, *Studies* 197; only on gems.
 ενεσ ... εθουλ ... (PGM LXI 27) relative + imperf. 3 sg. fem., “she who did ... something to ...”, THOMPSON, *PBA* 17 (1931) 268.
 ενθερινι (PGM VII 344) Egypt. *nṯr* “god”, RITNER in: *GMP* 126.45.
 ενθο (PGM IV 711, VII 556, 576, VIII 7) Egypt. *ʿndw* „*Glänzender*“, SCHMIDT, *GGA* 1934, 183.
 εντφωλх (PGM VII 726) Demotic *mtw.f.ti bl.k?* “and he makes you fly”, RITNER in: *GMP* 138.133.
 επι (PGM IV 3028) Egypt. „*fliegen*“, SCHMIDT ap. PREISENDANZ, *Magie* 120.75 and PGM vol. III 253.

- επνεβαι (SM 44) cf. *p nb* by “the lord of souls” in DMP 28.1. Neb- is reminiscent of the decan Nebu. DANIEL, ZPE 19 (1975) 261–262. SM 44.7 n.
- ερβηθ (PGM IV 2213, 2225) „Übeltäter“, HOPFNER, OZ II § 143. Cf. ιωερβθη, πακερβηθ.
- ερενψ (PGM IV 2418) Coptic ερενψ „ist sein Name“, MÖLLER in PGM vol. III 254.
- Ερεσχίγαλ (PGM IV 1417, 2484, 2749 *lamellae*, gems) Babylonian underworld goddess associated with Hekate and Kore-Persephone. DMP 7.26. Cf. NILSSON, Religion 133; CORMACK HThR 44 (1941) 33; HOPFNER, AO 3 (1931) 333 f.; BONNER, Studies 30, 86, 197; PREISENDANZ s.v. Nebutosualeth, in: RE XVI,2 (1935) 2158–2160; DELATTE and DERCHAIN, Intailles, nos. 254, 517; BONNER and YOUTIE, TAPA 68 (1937) 68; Götter u. Mythen im Vorderen Orient (= Wörterbuch der Mythologie I), Stuttgart 1965, s. vv. Ereškigal, Nergal and Ereškigal; DREXLER, s. vv. Kure, Persephone, Ereschigal, in Roschers Lexikon 2,1 (1890–1897) 1584 f., Id., s. v. Meliuchos, in: Roschers Lexikon 2,2 (1894–1897) 2647.
- επιπωω (PGM XIII 811) Egypt. *irj-wp w.t-ʿ3*, „großer Botschafter“, Thoth-Hermes, SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1183.
- ερμυωρ (PGM III 48) Hermes-Horus, WORTMANN, Kosmogonie 100.273.
- ερου (PGM IV 672 a, 1589) decan? cf. Orig., *c. Cels.* 8.58; GUNDEL, Dekane 45, 373.
- ερουρομβριης (PGM IV 672 a) cf. the decans Ero and Rombromare, GUNDEL, Dekane 77; PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 141.
- ερυμναια ιω (PGM VII 697) Copt. ρω “king”, JACOBY ap. PGM III p. 220. Cf. ερου.
- εσορτιλης (PGM IV 2667) cf. Εσορταις, „Isis ist gekommen“, PGM vol. III 254.
- ετε βεηωητ (PGM VIII 12) Copt., Egypt. ετε „seiend“; βεηωητ from βωηζωητ „Olivebaum“: βω = *b3.t* „Busch, Gebüsch“, ζωητ = *qdtw* „Oelbaum“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 183.
- ετον φβαι φρηα (gem) Copt. „Welcher ist die Seele des Re des Großen“, JACOBY, ARW 28 (1930) 273.9.
- ευλαμος (papyri, gems, *lamellae*) Assyrian “eternal”. GANSCHINIETZ, ARW 17 (1914) 343, ID., s. v. Iao, in: RE IX,1 (1914) 706; and ID., s. v. Eulamo, in: RE Suppl. 3 (1918) 448. PREISENDANZ, Akephalos 35 f., cites earlier attempts at derivation. MALTOMINI, SCO 29 (1979) 71, cites extensive bibliography. Cf. WASER, s. v. Eulamon, in: RE VI,1 (1907) 1064: = σῶμα λῦε. JACOBY, ARW 28 (1930) 283: western Semitic for “eternal”. PREISENDANZ, s. v. Palindrom, in: RE XVIII,3 (1949) 137: = σῶμα λῦε.
- Εωνεβωθ (SM 45) αἰών + βυθαθ? WORTMANN, Texte 95.
- ζαβαρ βαθιαω (PGM VIII 96) Hebr. *za be arba oth Jahwe* „Dies mit den vier Buchstaben vom Jahwe“, DORNSEIFF 175.
- ζαγουρη (PGM XXXVI 10, 64) Aramaic „dessen Docht (oder Feuer) leuchtet“, JACOBY ap. PGM III p. 221. Aramaic *zak-ūrah* «pure lumière, pureté de la lumière», TARDIEU, in: Mél. Delcor, Neukirchen 1985, 403–407. BONNER, Studies 198, associates it not with Seth (cf. HOPFNER, AO 3, 1931, 343), but rather with Harpocrates and solar names. Cf. EITREM, P. Osl. I 1.37 n.
- ζαλαμοιρλαλιθ (PGM VII 814) «*Salut, lumière de Lilit*», SCHWAB, Angél. 400.
- ζαραχθω (PGM VII 510) Persian? A corruption of Zoroastres? BOUSSET (n. 116) 203.34, who compares Pistis Sophia (SCHMIDT 232.11, 244.4) = PGM XIII 959 f., II 118 ff., III 153 ff., and suggests a connection with Zorochthora Melchisedek of Gnostic literature (BETZ, GMP 132.79).
- ζαρζαρκαθ v. λουλου
- Ζηνοβιωθιζ (SM 45) Zeus + βίος? WORTMANN, Texte 98.
- ζιζαυθω, ζιζαβου cf. GUNDEL, Dekane 62, 79 (no. 17), 277.
- ζουρω (PGM IV 2932) PREISENDANZ, s. v. Mazuroth, in: Roschers Lexikon 6 (1924–1937) 763–764; ID., s. v. Mazuroth, in: RE XV,1 (1931) 7; HOPFNER, AO 3 (1931) 356. V. ρουζω.
- ζουχ (PGM IV 1919, 1983) Hebrew *zkh* «pure»? PHILONENKO, Semitica 31 (1981) 49. A decan – PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 143. Aramaic *zk'wt* – NAVEH and SHAKED, Amulets p. 67,

- who find a similar word in their Syriac text on a silver *lamella*. JACOBY in PGM vol. III p. 255 recalls Apoc. Abrah. (Bonw. 1897) 17: Zucheus, Zuch, Zuchij.
- ζωθαξαθωζ (PGM XIII 138, 213) v. ζωξαθαζω.
- ζωνταζωταζω (PGM I 135) Copt., Egypt. $\pi\omega = d\dot{s}d\dot{s}$ „Haupt“; $\tau\alpha\pi\omega = d\dot{j}t\text{'}\dot{d}\dot{s}$ „richten“, „Haupt (Oberster) der Richter“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 444.
- ζωξαθαζω This word which occurs in the “Ogdoad and Ennead” 56.17 (Nag Hammadi Library VI⁶) reminds ΜΑΗΕ, Hermès I, 106–107, of PGM XIII 138, 213. He suggests the word is composed of ζωή – θάνατος + ξα + θάνατος – ζωή.
- ζωοθ (*lamella*) Hebrew *zôth* „queste“. SCIACCA, Phylakterion 99.
- ’H (PGM XXI 19, XIII 788) Egyptian primal deity Heh or Huh. Abrasax I 152, 241.
- η ω χω χουχ, νουν, ναυνι, αμιουν, αμαυνι (PGM XIII 788) Egypt. *Hh, Hh.t, Kk, Kk.t, Nwn, Nwn.t, Imn, Imn.t* “Expansiveness, Female Expansiveness; Darkness, Female Darkness; Abyss, Female Abyss; Hidden, Female Hidden”, RITNER in: GMP 191.118.
- ηθουατ (SM 6) Egypt. *h3tj wd3* “sound heart”, THISEN in: SM 6.4.
- ’HI (PGM XII 82, IV 1621, 1630, XIII 878, etc.) Coptic $\eta\eta$ „Sonne“, Abrasax I 117, 241. Ad PGM XII 150: Coptic $\eta\eta$ „Haus“, JACOBY, ARW 28, 273. Epithet for Horus, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 444 and Ph. Wo. 1935, 1175. SM 44.8 n.
- ηι ιεου (PGM XII 237 ff.) Egypt. *i i3w* “O hail”, RITNER in: GMP 165.86.
- ηι ιεου Egypt. *i i3w* „Willkommen“, THISEN, Ägypt. Beitr. z. d. gr. mag. Papyri 299.
- ηλολλα ετεβεν θωητ (PGM VIII 12) Coptic ελοολε ετε βωη $\pi\omega\tau$ „Die Traube, die da ist die Olive“, PGM vol. III 255.
- ησενεφερο (PGM XII 235) Egypt. *š.t nfr.t-hr* „Isis mit schönem Gesicht“, SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1178, emending the reading of the papyrus: ησενεφυς. Cf. HOPFNER, AO 3, 123.
- ησενεφυς (PGM XII 235) Egypt. “Isis the beautiful”, RITNER in: GMP 162.75.
- ηυ φθα νουθι (PGM VII 340) Egypt. “come, Ptah, god”, *ibid.* 126.43.
- ηω (PGM IV 2291) Egypt. „die Große“, SCHMIDT ap. PGM III p. 222.
- ηϣηιητοκ (PGM III 712) Demotic *iuf r in.t.k* “he shall bring you”, RITNER in: GMP 36.146.
- θαθ, θατ, τατ (PGM passim) variants of Thoth, HOPFNER, AO 7 (1935) 99. DMP passim. HOPFNER, OZ II § 219: „Osirispfiler“, das „Rückgrat des Osiris“.
- Θαθ Ιωθη, Τατιουθ, Ιωθαθ (SM 45) Iao + Thoth. WORTMANN, ZPE 2 (1968) 230.
- θαθω v. θωθω
- θερμουθερεψιφιριφι (PGM IV 1321) Egypt. “Thermouth is Rennutet”, RITNER in: GMP 63.178.
- θηνωρ (PGM IV 1291, 1937, XIII 918) Cf. DMP 7.20: „Thes Tenor, der Vater der Ewigkeit ohne Ende, der Gott, der über der ganzen Erde ist“, HOPFNER, AO 7 (1935) 109. Hebrew „Geber des Lichts“, RIESS, TAPA 26 (1895) 46.2; SM I 42.52 n.: Hebrew *tēn* ’or “give light”.
- θηουρις (PGM XII 113) Egypt. *T3-wr.t*, Thoeiris, RITNER in: GMP 157.32.
- θοηρυσερις (PGM IV 2184) Egypt. „Thoeiris und Osiris“, HOPFNER, OZ II § 371; *Id.*, AO 3 (1931) 114.9, 329.
- Θουηρ, θουρι, θηουρις (PGM passim) Thoeiris. PGM vol. III.
- θουθ φιοφαω (PGM XXXVI 367) Egypt. “Thoth the great, the great”, RITNER in: GMP 278.53.
- θραφιαρι (PGM VI 652) Cf. *trpsdk* in an Aramaic text. NAVEH and SHAKED, Amulets 68.
- θωβα ρεα ιαω ιωσεβη (gem inscription) Hebrew « *Bonheur à l’ami de Iaho qui demeure près de l’Unique* », BRUSTON, Rev. arch. 1920, 47–49.
- θωβαρραβαυ (PGM VII 977, XIII 963; AUDOLLENT, Defix. 242.18, 267.11; gems) most likely the great god, DANIEL, ZPE 19 (1975) 251–252. PETERSON, Εἰς Θεός, Göttingen 1926, 31.1, cps. Aramaic *thob* “good”, and the name of the Palmyrenian chief god.
- Θωζοπιθη (PGM IV 1283) BÖKER ap. H. GUNDEL, s. v. Ursa, in: RE IX A,1 (1961) 1045: *t3 d3-pt* „Göttin des Nordhimmels“. Cf. PREISENDANZ, s. v. Thozopithe, in: RE VI A,1 (1936) 389.

- θωθουθωθ (SM 45) Thoth, WORTMANN, Texte 98; SIJPESTEIJN, ZPE 4 (1969) 189.
- θωθω, θαθω (PGM XIII 810) Egypt. *Dhwṭj-ʕ* „großer Thoth“, SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1183; JACOBY, ARW 28, 272.1; HOPFNER, AO 7 (1935) 99; RITNER in: GMP 157.32.
- θωουθ πωπω (PGM III 335) Egypt. *Dḥwṭy pʕ ʕ pʕ ʕ* “Thoth the twice-great”, RITNER in: GMP 27.71.
- θωουθ φευβη ... φρε (PGM VII 714–715) Egypt. “Thoth the ibis ... Pre”, *ibid.* 138.131.
- θωουθιθωθ (SM 66.7) “twice great Thoth”, SIJPESTEIJN, ZPE 4 (1969) 189. Cf. BRASHEAR, APF 36 (1990) 59.
- θωουωθ (SM 48) Thoth. MARTINEZ 42.
- ια variant of Iao. MORAUX, Défixion 29; JORDAN, Hesperia 54 (1985) 245.
- ια ια ωθ ιατ[ι]βαωθ (*lamella*) Hebrew *yah ay' oth yah tibhaoth* „*segni divini, arche divine*“. SCIACCA, Phylakterion 97.
- ια γι βιτιβα (*lamella*) Hebrew *yah gebhohah tebhah* „*divina arca sublime*“, *ibid.* 98.
- ιαβαθ (PGM IV 1627) “*Jahwe*”, ABRASAX I 117, 241.
- ιαβας, ιαβαι, ιαβε (PGM *passim*) Samaritan rendition of the *tetragrammaton* YHWH – BETZ, GMP p. 335, citing S. LOWY, The Principles of Samaritan Bible Exegesis, Leiden 1977, 273–274. JACOBY, ARW 28 (1930) 274.3.
- ιαβεξεβυθ (PGM IV 1798, VII 419, etc.) Hebrew *Jahweh Sabaoth*, DEISSMANN, Bibelstudien (n. 116) 14–15; Iao Sabaoth, F. LEGGE, PBSA 23 (1901) 49.
- ιαβουχ ιαβωχ (PGM IV 2204) „*wohl Tetragramme*“ JACOBY, *app. crit. ad loc.*
- ιαεω (PGM VII 584: *lamella*) Hebrew „*Jahweh*“. A more precise rendition of the Hebrew than Iao, GANSCHINIETZ, RE IX 700. The four-letter rendition coincides with the four letters in the Hebrew. JACOBY, ARW 28 (1930) 276.3; MARTINEZ 80.
- ιαεωβαφρενεμουνοθιλαρικριφιαευνεαιφιρικραλιθονομενερφαβωεαι (PGM I 190, 195, etc.; gems) BLANCHET, CRAI 1923, 232, connects it with love charms. BONNER, Studies 204, is not convinced. ZAZOFF, Arch. Anz. 80 (1965) 101, fails to recognize it. WORTMANN, BonnJbb 175 (1975) 81, connects it with the sun – cf. PGM I 140 f. SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 177 f.: Iao + Egypt. *ḥj.f-rn-ḥm* ‘*d mr (= rw)-R’ (m-) kʕr.f* “Iao is the bearer of the secret name, the lion of Re secure in his shrine”. Cf. *Id.*, GGA 193 (1931) 443 f.; HOPFNER, AO 7 (1935) 119; MARTINEZ 108. Cf. οθιλαρικριφι.
- ιαη a form of Iao. MORAUX, Défixion 27–28.
- ιαια = *tetragrammaton*; Yahweh. JORDAN, Hesperia 54 (1985) 245 (on a *defixio*). DELATTE, Mus. Belge 18 (1913) 329 f.
- ΙΑκουβια Jacob + Iao. MORAUX, Défixion 28–29.
- ιαλδαβαωθ (PGM IV 1195 in the corrupt form ιαλδαζω as sole attestation in the papyri; on one gem, Bonner, Studies 135, 284 no. 188) SCHOLEM in: Mél. Puech, Paris 1974, 405–421, discusses and rejects the numerous and varied etymologies which have been proposed. He suggests (p. 421) “begetter of (S)abaoth”. Cf. SCHOLEM, Gnosticism² 71.23; BONNER, Studies 137.70.
- ιαλδαζω (v. supra s. v. Ιαλδαβαωθ) QUISEPEL, Vig. Chr. 15 (1961) 119: a mystical name with no etymology.
- ιανασ (PGM IV 2414) Latin *janua*? PGM vol. III p. 207.
- ιαπθθα (Book of Jeu c. 50, SCHMIDT 320) Hebr. „*Schönheit*“, DORNSEIFF 175.
- ιαρβαθαγραμνηφιβαωχνημεω: invocation of the sun in PGM I 142, 194–195; on solar amulets, BONNER, Studies 205–206. DANIEL, ZPE 50 (1983) 148, cites parallels and summarizes the etymologies: 1) ιαρβαθ = αρβαιθη “Horus the falcon”, BONNER, Studies 206; 2) = ιαρβας (PGM IV 1578); = ιαβας, Samaritan *tetragrammaton*, JACOBY, ARW 28 (1930) 274.3; 3) = ιωερβηθ (q. v.) αγραμνη = αχραμμα/χαμαρι, DANIEL, *op. cit.*, 152; φιβλω Egyptian *pʕ-hb* “the ibis”, *ibid.*; χνημεω “Chnum”, *ibid.*, 153. RITNER in: GMP 335, suggests φιβαωχνημεω is Egypt. *pʕ hib ʕ Ḥnm ʕ* “the great lamb, Khnum the great”. Cf. SM 3.1 and 6 nn.
- ιαρμιωθ (PGM II 116) „*Horos-Löwe*“, ABRASAX I 241.

ιαρφε (XXXVI 287) = ιαφρη "Jahweh is Re", MOKE 340, 351.

ιασφη (PGM II 123) Egypt. *ḥj-p.t* „den Himmel hochheben“ SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 448. Equivalent of ιασφη, MORAUX, *Défexion* 32–33. Cf. Egypt. *sfi* „Widder“, *sf.t* „majestätisch, angesehen, mächtig“, Copt. ⲩⲑⲉ, ⲩⲑⲏ, Abrasax I 63.

ιαθεουν (SM 48 K 43, PGM LXII 22, IV 25) Cf. Θιοδιν, Copt. ⲧⲓ-ⲟⲩⲓ, Egypt. *tʃ w ˈt* "the one", epithet for Isis and other deities. MARTINEZ 100. Cf. V. VANDERLIP, *The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis*, Toronto 1972, 31.

ιατουητι (PGM XIII 902, 914) ⲓⲁⲧ „Auge“, OYHTI = οὐατι(ov), qualitative of ογϑⲁ „gesund“, Abrasax I 217, 241.

ιατρεουν (SM 48 K 43) Greek ιατρεύων? MARTINEZ 100.

Ιαω Hebrew deity. Cf. BAUDISSIN (n. 115) I 197 ff.; DEISSMANN, *Bibelstudien* (n. 116) 3 f.; GANSCHINETZ s. v. Iao, in: RE IX,1 (1914) 698–721; J. HALEVY, *Rev. Et. Juives* 9, 162; BLAU, *Zauberwesen* 123–146; MORAUX, *Défexion* 23 f.; PROCOPÉ-WALTER, ARW 30 (1933) 34 ff.; G. A. VINCENT, *La religion des judéo-araméens d'Elephantine*, 1937, 25 ff.; DUPONT-SOMMER, CRAI 1947, 175 f. DMP passim. Cf. W. FAUTH, s. v. Iao, in: *Der kleine Pauly* 2 (1975) 1314–1319; GMP, p. 335; MARTINEZ 79.

ιαωθ (PGM V 479) decan. GUNDEL, *Dekane* 60, 61, 79, 383.

Ιαωσαρασβωθαβαξ. Iao + Sab(a)oth + Abrasax, BONNER, *Studies* 192.

ιβι αβι βι ο βη, αβειβιθιοβη (gem) Coptic ϣⲓⲃ "Ibis god", WORTMANN, *Kosmogonie* 98; BONNER, *Studies* 68, says it is nonsense. Cf. SM 6.2 n.

ιδⲁⲁ (*lamella*) Hebrew *yeda* '„conosce“. SCIACCA, *Phylakterion* 100.

ιεθενθηρ (PGM XIII 923) Egypt. *it-nṯr.w* „Vater der Götter“, SCHMIDT, *Ph. Wo.* 1935, 1183.

ιεθωρ (PGM III 673, XIII 111) Egypt. *ir.t-Ḥr* „Auge des Hor“, SCHMIDT, *Ph. Wo.* 1935, 1180; GGA 1931, 455.

ιεου (PGM V 97, 141, XII 111, XIII 810; DMP 16.3) „Jahwe“, JACOBY, ARW 25, 272; Egypt. *iw*, a name for Thoth, SCHMIDT, *Ph. Wo.* 1935, 1183. Cf. C. SCHMIDT, *Die Pistis Sophia*, die beiden Bücher des Jeu, Berlin 1959.

ιεω (PGM V 477) Coptic ⲓⲱ, ⲓⲱ «*âne*» = Seth. PHILONENKO, CRAI 1985, 444.

ιεω βελφ εν ω (PGM VII 332) Egypt. *iw bn-f-i 'nj- ʒ.iw* „sein Pavian, der große Affe (Thoth)“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 173. Hebrew «*Dieu en notre cœur*», SCHWAB, *Angél.* 404.

ιθι ουνε (PGM IV 305) Egypt. *itj-t-ūn.t* „Fürstin von Dendera“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 175.

ιθρος (*lamella*) Hebrew *nome del suocero di Moses*. SCIACCA, *Phylakterion* 99.

ινβα (PGM IV 2139) permutation of βαιν, JACOBY, app. crit. ad loc.

ινουθω (PGM I 148) Egypt. *i nṯr ʒ* „O great god“, RITNER in: GMP 7.34.

ἱπόχθων (PGM, *defixiones*) ΡΙΤΟΟΚ, AAASH 26 (1978) 440, summarizes: AUDOLLENT (following WÜNSCH), *Defix.*, p. 72, derives it from "Ἰππα χθονία; EITREM, *P. Osl.* I, p. 73: "Lord of horses in the depth of the earth"; PREISENDANZ, *Akephalos* 28: ἱπόχθων „Belästlerin, Presserin der Erde“; ΡΙΤΟΟΚ associates it with Hekate. Cf. HERMANN, s. v. Erdbeben, in: RAC 5 (1962) 1082 f.; W. DREXLER, s. v. Kure, Persephone, Ereschigal, in: *Roschers Lexikon* II,1 (1890–1897) 1584 f. = ὑπόχθων. AUDOLLENT, *Defix.* 251.4–8. Cf. HARRAUER, *Meliouchos* 22.18.

ισαρ συρια (*lamella*) a Syrian goddess? MARTINEZ 101.

ισηη (PGM IV 305) = Hesies? LINDSAY, *Men* 298, and WADDELL, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 297.

IX (PGM XXI 1, XIII 766) Coptic ϣⲉ „Dämon“, Abrasax I 143, 212. Cf. SM 6.6–7 n.

ιω: Coptic ⲓⲱ „Esel“ = Seth. Cf. HOPFNER, OZ I § 455; BONNER, *Studies* 198; GANSCHINETZ, s. v. Iao, in: RE IX,1 (1914) 702, 716, for possible confusion with Iao. Inconsistently used in an invocation to Apollo-Horus in PGM II 114. MORAUX, *Défexion* 19 ff.; WÜNSCH, *Seth. Verfluchungstafeln* (n. 340) pp. 88 ff.; ELDERKIN, *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 48; BONNER and YOUTIE, *TAPA* 68 (1937) 61. BAUER, *ZAW* n. F. 10 (1933) 92–94 derives it from Io, Iau, a divinity at Ras Shamra (XIV–XII c. B.C.). According to VISCHER, *RHR* 139 (1951) 19.3, ASTORRE PELLEGRINI, *D'una Abraxa inedita*, Bergamo 1874, was the first to suggest a connection between Coptic ⲓⲁ and Ιαω. HARRAUER, *Meliouchos* 24.19, 66.67: „Kultruf, Interjektion“. She notes the word is not exclusive to Sethian contexts but also appears in connection with Apollo or Horus.

ωβεζεβουθ (PGM IV 1798, 2000) Hebrew *yhwḥ sb'wt* “*Jahweh Sabaoth*”? NAVEH and SHAKED, Amulets 67. Cf. BONNER and YOUTIE, TAPA 68 (1937) 64; LENORMANT, RhM n.F. 9 (1854) 374.1; DEISSMANN, Bibelstudien (n. 116) 330 f., for earlier attempts at interpretation.

ωερβηθ (PGM, gems, *defixiones*) DANIEL, ZPE 50 (1983) 151, summarizes: Ιαω + ερβηθ = Ιαω + Hebrew “four” – (MORAUX, *Défixion* 22 f.; CORMACK, HThR 44, 1951, 33). More usual is the interpretation: Egyptian for “ass + evil doer” = Seth. (EITREM, P. Osl. I 1.5 n.; HOPFNER, OZ I, p. 455; PROCOPE-WALTER, ARW 30 (1933) 53 f.). Cf. ωαρβαθα the “authentic name of Orion” in PGM I 36.

ιωθαθ (SM 45) „*der hermetische Thath/Thoth*“, WORTMANN, Texte 97.

ιωσφι v. ιασφι

ΚΑΘ ΑΥ ΚΑΘ (PGM XII 275) Egypt. *ḳd-iw'ḳd* „*Kat, Erbe des Kat*“, SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1178.

καλβαναχαμβρη (PGM IV 340, XII 471) Aramaic *galb* “heart” + Egyptian: *anach* “living” + *m pR* “of the sun”? THOMPSON, PBA 17 (1931) 247. Various associated with the cynocephalous ape, Harpocrates on a bird, Horus and Osiris. Cf. BONNER, Studies 68, 199; AUDOLLENT, *Defix.* 242.8: κ. = τὸν θεὸν τὸν χθόνιον τὸν δεσπύζοντα παντὸς ἐν ψύχῳ. Cf. σαλβαναχαμβρη.

κανθεσουλε (not in PGM; only on gems with depictions of lizards) FESTUGIÈRE, CP 46 (1951) 83–84: κανθέ σ' οὐλε(ῖ) = “eye, (lizard) cures you”. Cf. BONNER, Studies 198.

κανθοπερ (PGM IV 1184) κάνθαρος + *hpr*? HOPFNER, AO 3 (1931) 144, 152.

κανθωρα (Argive magical relief) DELATTE, Mus. Belge 17 (1913) 333, cps. similar words for solar and planetary deities. M. SMITH ap. PATTERSON, HThR 78 (1985) 441: = κανθαρα, a lunar epithet? Cf. BRASHEAR, HThR 83 (1990) 337.

καρφιουθ (PGM I 134) Egypt. *ḥrp* „*erster*“, *it, itf* „*Vater*“ = „*erster Vater*“, „*Urvater*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 444.

καστυ („*laminetta di rame*“, VOGLIANO, Acme 1, 1948, 73) Hebrew *keseth* „*Schreibzeug, atramentarium, Tinte*“, PETERSON, Aegyptus 33 (1953) 172–178 = ID., Frühkirche 346 ff. Cf. VOGLIANO and PREISENDANZ, Acme 1 (1948) 73 f.

Κατ (PGM XII 288, III 669, IV 2, 275). Egyptian god, cf. Κόθος. HOPFNER, OZ I § 641; WESSELY, Gott Kothos, Studien z. Palaeographie u. Papyruskunde 17, Leipzig 1917, repr. Amsterdam 1967, 52–53; SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 454; ID., Ph. Wo. 1935, 1178.

κατασκι v. ασκι

Κατουτ (PGM XII 288) Egypt. *ktwj-tj* „*Name des Sonnengottes*“, cf. personal names such as Καθυτ, Καθύτης, Κατοίτης, Κατύτις, Ὀρκατύτις, Θοτκατύτις. SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1178.

κεμηφ, κμηφ (PGM passim) Chnum. Cf. REITZENSTEIN, Poimandres (n. 114) 29; RIESS 52; W. DREXLER, s. v. Kamephis, in: Roschers Lexikon II,1 (1890–1897) 944, s. v. Knuphis, ibid. 1250–1264; K. F. W. SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 449: Καμηφίς „*Stier seiner Mutter*“ or „*sein eigener Erzeuger*“? Cf. JACKSON, Lion 103; B. H. STRICKER, Camephis (= Mededelingen d. Koninkl. Nederlandse Ak. v. Wetens. Afd. Letterkunde, n. R. 38.3), Amsterdam 1975; BONNET, Reallexikon 378–379.

κενταβωθ (PGM IV 3176, IX 10 f., XIX a.19 f., III 90, etc.) Greek κεντάω „*stechen, quälen*“ + Egypt. *bšw* „*Seelen*“ (?), HARRAUER, Meliouchos 22. Coptic ⲙⲛⲧ „*zürnen, wüten*“ + (Σ)αβωθ, Abrasax I 99. Cf. φνουκενταβωθ.

κεφ (PGM V 253 f.) Egypt. *gf, gif, gwf* „*Affe*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 456. HOPFNER, AO 3 (1931) 131: l. (κυνο)κεφ(άλου).

κημι (PGM XII 110) Egypt. *kmj* „*der Schwarze*“, epithet of Osiris, SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1174; RITNER in: GMP 157.31, 131.70.

ΚΙ ΚΑΤ ΟΥΤΑ ΡΑ (PGM IV 2) „*Abbild des Kat, Verschwiegener*“, SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1178.

κμεβαυ (PGM III 104) Copt. κμε „*schwarz, unterweltlich*“ + *bšw* „*Seele*“ = „*Machterweis, Gewalt, Zorn eines Gottes*“, HARRAUER, Meliouchos 29.26. Egypt. *qm-bšw* „*der die Seelen schafft*“, THISSEN, ZPE 73 (1988) 305, who says it is another form of κομμι βίου.

- Κμηφ (PGM III 142, 471, IV 1705, 2094; AUDOLLENT, Defix. 242.7) Egypt. *k3-mw.t-f* „Stier seiner Mutter“ (Abkürzung von Kamephis) or else *km3-f* „sein eigener Erzeuger“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 449, ID., GGA 1934, 177. Cf. JACKSON, Lion 101–108 nn. 78–79. Egypt. *km-3.t-f* „der seinen Augenblick vollendet“, THISSEN, ZPE 73 (1988) 305. Egypt. *km-3t.f* „der seine Zeit beendet hat“, KÁKOSY, s. v. Uroboros, in: LÄ VI (1986) 890. Cf. FESTUGIÈRE, Corpus Hermeticum III, Paris 1954, pp. clxiv ff. RITNER in: GMP 22.35: Egypt. *hm ʿ* „his shrine“.
- Κοκ, Κουκ, Κουλ (PGM XXXIII 19, 24) decan, GUNDEL, Dekane 59.
- κομασιθ (PGM IV 1323) Copt. „Bodenschöpfer“, GRIFFITH, JACOBY, app. crit. ad loc.
- κομασιθ (PGM IV 1323) Egypt. *qm3 3st* „Schöpfer des Erdbodens“, THISSEN, Ägypt. Beitr. z. d. gr. mag. Papyri 302.
- Κόμμης (PGM II 118, XVI 63) Cf. PREISENDANZ, GGA 201 (1939) 143. Coptic: „Stier (Gott) in Wahrheit“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 448. HOPFNER, AO 3 (1931) 147: decan Komme. DMP 12.15. HOPFNER, AO 7 (1935) 104.
- κομμιβιου (XVI 63, cf. II 123) decan; PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 143; GUNDEL, Dekane 77, 79 no. 27. Egypt. *k3 n-m3' .t* „Stier in Wahrheit“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 448. Cf. PGM XIII 326, 1058, V 483. DMP 6.26. V. κμεβω.
- κομνουν (PGM IV 1323) Copt. „AbgrundsSchöpfer“, GRIFFITH, JACOBY, app. crit. ad loc.; Egypt. „Schöpfer des Urgewässers“, THISSEN, Ägypt. Beitr. z. d. gr. mag. Papyri 302.
- κομφο Egypt. *qm3 t3* „Schöpfer der Erde“, *ibid.* 301.
- κομφο (PGM IV 132) Coptic κμφο „Weltschöpfer“, MÖLLER in PGM vol. I, p. 61.8. JACOBY, ARW 28, 272.1: κομφο „Schöpfer der Erde“. SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 448: Coptic κμτο „Erdbeben“; cf. SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 171 f.
- Κοντε ον (PGM XII 288) Egypt. *hntj-wnw* „der Erste von Heliopolis“, cf. PGM IV 2003 and XXII b.29: αρχεντεχθα „Hor, Erster von Athribis“, VII 445: ουσερκεντεμενθ „Osiris, Erster der Westlichen (Verstorbenen)“, SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1178.
- κουπερα (lamella) Hebrew *kuṣ-rah* „fu purificata“ or „e sarā purificata“, SCIACCA, Phylakterion 99.
- Κουριηλ (PGM IV 86) NAVEH and SHAKED, Amulets p. 79, cite examples in Aramaic magic.
- Κουφιω (PGM XIII 921) Egypt. *guf- 3* „großer Affe“, SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1183.
- κοχ (SM 28.6) „beschwörende Rede“, KROPP, KZT III, p. 138.2 H. LANGE (n. 293) 165, doubts this interpretation. Cf. SM 87.9: χοχ ; P. Carlsberg 52.17: κοχνεωτι (BRASHEAR, Magica Varia, p. 49). Rare in Greek texts, more common in Coptic magic.
- Κράτης (PGM XII 229: σοκρατης, XII 231: κρατης) Egypt. *chrat* „child“; cf. ορχραθ, χρατωρ, REITZENSTEIN in: Festschrift f. Fr. C. Andreas, Leipzig 1916, 37.1. Cf. χρατης.
- Κρατουαθ Egypt. *hrd wa ʿty* „the unique child“, but cf. PGM XII 299 f.: ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ Χράτης ὁ πεφωκὺς ἐκ τοῦ οὐατίου (*wd3t* „eye of Horus“, e.g. PGM V 75, 91), BONNER, Studies 198–199.
- κριφι v. πεκρηφ, οθιλαρικριφι
- κοσουρ (PGM XII 201) Egypt. „Ring“. Abrasax I 168.
- λαβα (PGM III 151, Copt. λαβα, „Löwe“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 450.
- λαιλाम (PGM VII 830, III 430; gems) Hebrew *la' olam* „forever“, JACOBY, ARW 28 (1930) 282–283. Cf. HOPFNER, AO 3, 335. CAQUOT, CRAI 1985, 451: Aramaic *la'alam*, rather than Hebrew *la' olam*. DMP 12.10.
- λακι λακι ω, λακι μου (PGM VII 303 f.) Coptic „der Strafende, der große Strafende“, „der strafende Löwe“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 169 ff.
- λακι ωδε, λακι ωυδε (PGM XXXVI 345), „der Strafende“, „der große Strafende“, „der Frevler Strafende“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 169 ff., Egypt. *nkj* „strafen“, *d3.w* „Frevler“. Cf. HOPFNER, AO 7 (1935) 119.
- λαμπουρη (PGM V 62, LXII 27, VIII 82; SM 38) Aramaic „dessen Licht leuchtet“, JACOBY ap. PGM vol. III, p. 225. PREISENDANZ, Uroboros 203.42: name of the sun god.
- λαρι v. οθιλαρικριφι
- λαυ λου (PGM V 483 ff.) Copt. *lelou* „jeune fille“. PHILONENKO, CRAI 1985.

- λερθεμινω (PGM IV 3258, 3269) Hebrew «*pluie ou rosée du Dieu*», SCHWAB, Angél. 401.
 λιλιλιλαμ λιλιλιλ (PGM XIII 939, 989) JACOBY, ARW 28, 282: cantillating variation on λιλιλαμ.
 λιλωου (PGM XIII 939, 990) „*Kleiner*“, Abrasax I 242.
 λιξ v. ασκι
 λο v χω (PGM IV 1632) Egypt. *rw-m-h'-3* „*Löwe im großen Lichtglanz*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 177.
 λο σι οσηρ (PGM III 654, 656), Egypt. „*Löwe, Sohn des Großen*“, *ibid*.
 λου (PGM CXXIII a.2, VII 494, CVI) SCHMIDT, GGA 196, 1934, 175 cps. Coptic αλοϣ „*maiden*“. MALTOMINI, SCO 29 (1979) 70, and BRASHEAR, CdE 58 (1983) 297.1, cite parallels. Cf. TREU, APF 32 (1986) 27 and P. Berol. 21332 edited by P. SARISCHOULI, Berliner Griechische Papyri (= Serta Graeca 4), Wiesbaden (forthcoming): λευλευ (in Christian prayers), and PGM XIII 194 f., 109, 666: ιλιλλου ιλιλλου ιλιλλου ιλιλλου.
 Λουλοενηλ Copt. αοϣ „*Mädchen*“. SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 175; WORTMANN, Texte 98.
 λουλου βαρβαρβαρ (WÜNSCH, Zaubergegerät) Babylonian *lû bitrar* „*er, es möge glänzen, erscheinen*“ (third person masculine *ifteal* form of *barâru* „*hell sein, hell werden*“), WEITZ (n. 30) 361.
 λουλου ζαρζαρκαθ (WÜNSCH, Zaubergegerät) = Babylonian *lû šarbat* „*sie möge gerufen werden*“ or „*rufen*“ (third person feminine permansive of *šarâhu*), WEITZ (n. 30) 361. Cf. C. and H. HARRAUER, WS 100 (1987) 198.8.
 λουριγγ (PGM V 483 f.) Cf. ργγ. Coptic. «*jeune fille est ton nom*». PHILONENKO, CRAI 1985, 449. Cf. PGM VII 493–494: τὸ ὄνομά σου λου: λουλου.
 λυκυσυντα (gems; PGM V 429; DMP 2.13, 18.13) archon, DELATTE, Mus. Belge 17 (1913) 330; PATTERSON, HThR 78 (1985) 439–443; BRASHEAR, HThR 83 (1990) 337.
 λυσιφθα (PGM VII 640) Egypt. ... s³ *Pth* „*son of Ptah*“, RITNER in: GMP 136.112.
 μαιραχαχθα (PGM II 118–120, XIII 960) Aramaic *mar-hayyuta* «*seigneur de la vie*», TARDIEU, Mél. Delcor (v. supra s. v. ζαγουρη) 403–407, who cps. Pistis Sophia 353.8–12, 370.9–18; AUDOLLENT, Defix. 242.29–31, 267.9–11.
 Μανε ουσιρι μανε ησι (PGM VII 547 f.) Egypt. *mnw Wsir. mnw Š.t* „*Abbild (Sohn) des Osiris, der Isis = Hor = Helios*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 177.
 μανε (PGM VII 547, XII 217) Egypt. *mrj.n* „*beloved one of*“, BERGMAN in: GMP 133.91. „*Mit-tag*“ cf. μηνε „*Tag*“, Abrasax I 169.
 μαντω (PGM VII 518) Egypt. *m'nd.t* „*Morgenbarke*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 176; BERGMAN, Ancient Egyptian Theogony (v. p. 3532) 30; RITNER in: GMP 132.83. DMP vso. 26.6 JACOBY in: PGM vol. III, p. 261: „*Ort der Erde*“.
 μανχλωβις (PGM VII 327) „*Wahrheit des Chnum*“, JACOBY, ARW 28 (1930) 270.6.
 μαραδθα (PGM IV 392) cf. Hebrew *mar attha* „*Herr bist du*“, JACOBY, app. crit. ad loc.
 μαρανα (PGM IV 1378) Aramaic „*unser Herr*“, JACOBY, app. crit. ad loc.
 μαρζουν (PGM IV 2547) Egypt. *mrš. t ún.t* „*Die Lichttrote, die von Tentyra*“, SCHMIDT, ap. PREISENDANZ, PGM vol. III p. 226. Cf. IV 2693: βαρζου φερβα.
 μαρι (SM 48; PGM) Aramaic „*my lord*“. MARTINEZ 83.
 μαριβεωθ (SM 48; PGM IV 367) Aramaic *mari?* *ibid*.
 μαριθα (*lamella*: ZPE 75, 1988, 261) Aramaic *mry t'* „*(my) lord come!*“
 μαριωδαμ (PGM V 127) l. μαρι ωλαμ Hebrew „*Herr + ewig*“, JACOBY, ap. PGM vol. III, p. 277, s. v. ωδαμ.
 Μαρμαραωθ Aramaic „*Lord of lights*“, SCHWAB, Angél. 410; Syriac „*Lord of lords*“, J. KRALL, Koptische Amulette, MPER 4 (1892) 120. C. BROCKELMANN, BonnJbb 104 (1899) 193. A name with solar associations for Iao Sabaoth. FAUTH, Oriens Christ. 57 (1973) 82, tentatively suggests a derivation from Barbelo. Cf. E. PETERSON, Εἰς Θεός, Göttingen 1926, 307; PREISENDANZ, s. v. Marmaraoth, in: RE XIV,2 (1930) 1881; JACOBY, ARW 28 (1930) 279; MALTOMINI, SCO 29 (1979) 70, 93; MARTINEZ 81–82. FRANZ, Benediktionen II 56, finds it in medieval Latin prayers: *mermeut, mermeunt* (cf. PGM VII 482: μεριουτ μερμεριουτ, 487: μαρμαριουτι). The Syriac expression first appears in a 6th-c. MS of the liturgy

published by G. BICKELL, ZDMG 27 (1873) 609, line 29. Marmaraoth also appears in Aramaic in NAVEH and SHAKED, Amulets, p. 57, lines 24–25. Cf. FAUTH, ZPE 98 (1993) 67–68.

μαροια (PGM IV 3022) = Μαρία? MARTINEZ 101.

Μαρσαβου (PGM XII 165) Egypt. *mrš-šbj* “red panther”, SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1176.

Μασεντορι (PGM VII 554) Egypt. *ms-ntr.t* „Kind der Göttin (Isis)“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 177.

μασκελλι μασκελλω (PGM, gems, *lamellae*) ΡΙΤΟΟΚ, AAASH 26 (1978) 437 f., summarizes: EITREM, P. Osl. I, pp. 72–73, connects it with fire; H. SCHRECKENBERG, Ananke, Munich 1964, 142, calls it a ὕμνος δέσμιος; ΡΙΤΟΟΚ 438 calls it sing-song. Cf. PREISENDANZ, s. v.; Maskelli Maskello, in: RE XIV,2 (1930) 2120; AUDOLLENT, Defix. 251.4 f.: *mascelli mascello*; DMP vso. 15.2; Pistis Sophia, p. 239 ff. Abrasax I 99: *μας „jung“* and *καη, κελ „Katze“*. Hebr. *mskil* „Bezeichnung einer Psalmenart ..., Huldigungsglied“, also „mein Hymnus, sein Hymnus“, SCHRECKENBERG, Ananke 142. Hebr. *skl* „wiegen“ „der mich wiegt, wiegt (auch) ihn“, oder „der Waagemann wiegt ihn“, I. KOTTSIEPER apud THISSEN, Ägypt. Beitr. z. d. gr. mag. Papyri 298.

ματερα (PGM V 182) Latin *materna*? PGM vol. III p. 207.

μαυιας (PGM I 135) Egypt. **mʿwj-isw* „neu alt“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 444.

μαων (*lamella*) Hebrew *ma'on* „abitazione di Dio, luogo di rifugio“. SCIACCA, Phylakterion 98–99.

μεαθαδωδ (gem) Hebrew «*de la part de Hadad*», BARB, Syria 29 (1952) 278.3.

μελιγενέτωρ (PGM V 6) „der das Glied zeugt“, HOPFNER, AO 3 (1931) 124.

μελιουχος (PGM I 45, 99, VI 144) „der das Zeugungsglied hat“, HOPFNER, AO 3 (1931) 124; GÖBEL, s. v. Meliuchos, in: RE XV,1 (1931) 554–555; W. DREXLER, s. v. Meliuchos, in: Roschers Lexikon II,2 (1894–1897) 2645–2648. Cf. COPT. *μελλαι* „Fessel, Band“, „demzufolge wohl eigentlich die personifizierte 'lichtvolle Zaubermacht', der 'Zaubermächtige, der fesseln (d. h. niederhalten und bestrafen) kann' ... ein solarer Strafdämon ähnlich dem Njkw, dem 'Bestrafer'“, HARAUER, Meliouchos 71. H. summarizes previous interpretations on pp. 86–87.

Μελχιωρ (P. Yale inv. 1792) one of the three wise men; *vox magica* in a Coptic papyrus. BRASHEAR, CdE 58 (1983) 297 f.

μεννουθ (PGM VII 820) Greek *μηνι Θωθ*? WORTMANN, Kosmogonie 96.242.

μενχθωθ (PGM II 77) Egypt. *mnḥ Ḍḥwty* “Thoth is excellent / beneficent”, RITNER in: GMP 15.22; Abrasax I 242.

μενωφρι (PGM VII 633) Egypt. *mnw-nfr* „schönes Götterbild“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 179.

μενωφρις (PGM III 104) Egypt. *mn-nfr* “established and beautiful”, epithet for Memphis, BERGMAN in: GMP 21.26. Egypt. „schönes Götterbild“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 179. „Der schöne Anlegeplatz“ = Memphis, *mn-nfr* (?), HOPFNER, AO 3 (1931) 140.10.

μερου (PGM XXXVI 366) Egypt. *mrw.t* “love”, RITNER in: GMP 278.52.

μεσενκριφι (PGM I 28, IV 2201) Egypt. *ms-m-kʿr.f* „Kind in seiner Kapelle“, SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1176; Id., GGA 1934, 177–178. An invocation of the sun god, PERDRIZET in: Mél. Maspero II, 137 ff. DMP 7.21

μεσεντριφι (PGM XXXVI 220) Egypt. “born of Triphis”, an epithet of Isis, RITNER in: GMP 274.25.

μεχαν (PGM IV 671) decan Machram. GUNDEL, Dekane 80 no. 28; PREISENDANZ, GGA 201 (1939) 141.1.

μηι μηι (PGM CVII 9) Fayumic and Bohairic “truth”, DANIEL, ZPE 19 (1975) 262.

Μηνοκερ (PGM IV 204): Egypt. *mʿ- n-ikr*, „gerechtfertigt vor Thor“, SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1178.

μιντηρ (PGM VII 790) Egypt. „Geliebe der Götter“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 180; HOPFNER, AO 7 (1935) 120: epithet of Selene.

μνηχ σακμηφ (PGM XII 189) Egypt. “beneficent, son of Agathodaimon”, RITNER in: GMP 160.57.

μορμοροντοκουμβαι (gem) μορμορο *non liquet* + *πτοκ* Coptic “thou” + *νεβ βαι* Coptic “Lord of Souls”, BONNER, Byz.-Neugr. Jbb. 9 (1930–1931) 375–378. DELATTE, Musée Belg. 18

- (1914) 87, derives it from Marmaraoth; PREISENDANZ, Ph. Wo. 52 (1932) 1045–1052, compares it with μόρμορος; BARB, JWCI 16 (1953) 201, with *komba*, (*kymbe*, *kumba*) = “womb”. BONNER, Studies 188, cps. PGM IV 2755, IX 14.
- μοροθοηναμ (SM 45) cf. PGM XII 350: μοροθ; DELATTE, Anec. Athen. I 13.17: μορωθ – „meine Herrin“ (GRÜNEWALD, Byz. Zeits. 2, 1893, 293).
- Μορωθ (PGM XII 350) „Herrin“, „meine Herrin“, GRÜNEWALD, op. cit.; DELATTE, op. cit.
- μου (PGM passim) Egypt. *m3j* “lion”, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 172.
- μου δρα (PGM VII 304) Coptic *ⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲟ* „starker Löwe“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 172; HOPFNER, AO 7 (1935) 119.
- μουθ (LXI 21) the goddess Mut. THOMPSON, PBA 17 (1931) 267.
- μουλοχ (PGM VII 418, XIII 956) Moloch? HOPFNER, AO 3 (1931) 347. Cf. NÉVÉROV (v. p. 3567 ad PGM CVI) 847.47: μουλαχ.
- μουρωφ (PGM III 19, IV 1688) Hebrew « *sans crainte* », SCHWAB in PGM vol. III, p. 127. Coptic *ⲙⲟⲩ* (Nebenform von *ⲙⲟⲩ*) „füllen“ and *ⲣⲱϥ* „deinem Mund“; cf. *ⲕⲁⲣⲱϥ* „Maulfüller“, THISEN ap. Abrasax I 120.
- μου σαθε (PGM VII 305) Egypt. *m3j-sd* „zerbrechender, lähmender Löwe“ or „Löwe-Feuer, Feuerlöwe“ (*m3j-sd.t*), SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 172; HOPFNER, AO 7 (1935) 119.
- μουσηθ = Μουσης, *ⲙⲟⲩⲩ* + *Ⲛⲉⲩⲑ*? MALTOMINI, SCO 29 (1979) 72–73.
- μουχ Egypt. *mh* „voller“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 183.
- μουωρ (PGM VII 304) Egypt. *m3j-Hr* „Löwe Hor“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 172.
- μωσρῳμ (*lamella*) Hebrew *mʿšarīthim* „*voi che fungete (da mediatori presso Dio)*“. SCIACCA, Phylakterion 98.
- ναβις βιεννουθ (only on Chnubis gem amulets) Hebrew “bound by chains”, WORRELL ap. BONNER, HThR 25 (1932) 362–367. Hebrew *nṯbsh b’noth* “bound with incantations”, KOPP, Pal. Crit. IV 158 ap. BONNER, Studies 199. Egypt. *nḥp* + *b3 n nṯr* « *le tour à potier* » + « *âme de dieu* », DERCHAIN, CdE 39 (1964) 179–180.
- ναιενχηρη (PGM VII 251) Greek ναί (?) + Egypt. ‘*n ḥ R*’ „*Re ewiglebend*“, ZUCKER, Byz. Zeits. 36 (1936) 400 f.
- ναμα (PGM III 80, 101) „Verehrung“, Abrasax I 242; MERKELBACH, Mithras, Königstein 1984, 106.
- ναμισφρητι (PGM V 16) Cf. the Mithraic invocation: *nama* (Latin: *vivas*), „Verehrung, Heil“, HARRAUER, Meliouchos 78.80, who cites MERKELBACH, Mithras, Königstein 1984, 106.
- νεβεννουι (PGM XIII 1054) Egypt. „*Herr im Urgewässer*“, Abrasax I 222, 242. V. φνεβεννου-vi.
- νεβουητι (PGM V 478, XIII 984) Egypt. „*Herr des Auges*“, JACOBY ap. PREISENDANZ, s. v. Nebutosualeth, in: RE XVI,1 (1935) 2159; PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 131. Egypt. „*Herr des gesunden Auges*“, Abrasax I 242.
- νεβουθ (PGM V 477) Egypt. Demotic *nb*, Coptic, *neb* « *maitre* », PHILONENKO, CRAI 1985, 444.
- νεβουν (PGM VII 901) either a repetition of l. 495: Αθερνεβουνι „*Hathor, Herrin von Den-dera*“ or else Egypt. *nb-iwnw* „*Herr von On (Heliopolis)*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 181.
- νεβουτοσουαληθ (papyri, *defixiones*) Various explained as Babylonian or Egyptian. Nebo is a Babylonian deity; cf. PREISENDANZ, s. v. Nebutosualeth, in: RE XVI,2 (1935) 2158–2160; PGM vol. II, p. xv n. 3. SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 175, however, derives it: Egypt. *nb.t-w3d.t, n3w.j.t-i’ r.tj* „*Herrin von Uto, Königin der beiden Königsschlangen*“. I. ZUNDEL (n. 212) 484, 486: Egypt. *neb n to sual* + *ηθ* “Lord of the Underworld”. DMP 7.26, 14.29, 23.16. W. CRUM, JEA 28 (1942) 31: *Neboutos* + *oueri*. Cf. W. DREXLER, s. v. Kure, Persephone, Ereschigal, in: Roschers Lexikon II,1 (1890–1897) 1584 f., Id., s. v. Meliuchos, ibid. II,2 (1894–1897) 2647; A. KEHL, s. v. Hekate, in: RAC 14 (1988) 310–338; WM. BRASHEAR, APF 36 (1990) 59.
- νεθμομαωθ (PGM II 118–120, III 153–154, VII 988) Aramaic « *le caché* », TARDIEU, in: Mél. Delcor (v. s. v. ζαγουρη) 403–407, who cps. Pistis Sophia 353.8–12, 370.9–18. AUDOL-LENT, Defix. 242.29–31, 267.9–11.

- νετηρ (PGM III 144) Egypt. „Götter“, Abrasax I 242.
- νευθι (*lamella*) Νεφθυ = ΝΕΘΩ, etc. Egypt. *nb.t-h.t* «Nephthys», MORAUX, Défixion 30–31, with bibliography.
- νεφερητηρ (PGM IV 1266) Egypt. *nfr.t - ir.t* „Schönauge“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 174. Nefret-ere, HOPFNER, AO 3 (1931) 328, with ref. to ERMAN, Religion 92 and EITREM, P. Osl. I, p. 61; HOPFNER, OZ I, p. 178; RITNER in: GMP 62.171.
- νηιθ (PGM VII 341), Egypt. Neith, RITNER in: GMP 126.44.
- νηθ (PGM IV 108) Egypt. „Erzarbeiter“, „Schmied“, SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1181.
- Νηφ (PGM XII 288) Egypt. *nfw* „Schiffer“, here referring to the god in the ship of the sun. Cf. PGM III 652. SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1178; ID., GGA 1931, 453 f.
- ΝΗΦ ΠΙ ΠΑΡΑΝ ΝΜΗΤ (PGM III 652) Egypt. „Nef (Schiffer) ist mein wahrer Name“, cf. 396, 671. SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 453 f.; Ph. Wo. 1935, 1178.
- νινθερ (PGM IV 1022) Egypt. „die Götter“ MÖLLER, app. crit. ad loc., ref. to ERMAN, ZÄS 1895, 47.
- νιχαροπληξ (gems and papyri passim) A generalized word of power with solar associations, BONNER, Studies 201. BARB, Gnomon 41 (1969) 305: an anagram of *πληξον χάριν „sporne Gunst an“*.
- νοηρε σουρε (PGM II 33) „zwei Bezeichnungen des Re“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 446. Cf. Coptic *noyρε* „vulture“, MARTINEZ 38.
- Νουθ (PGM XII 81, XIX a.31, LXI 30) Egypt. „Mutter des Wassers“, PGM vol. III s. v. DMP 6.19. THOMPSON, PBA 17 (1931) 267.
- νουθι = νουσι = NOYTE „Gott“, HOPFNER, OZ I § 694; MORAUX, Défixion 32.
- νουρι (PGM CVII 7) Coptic „vulture“. DANIEL, ZPE 19 (1975) 162.
- νουσι (PGM V 483 ff., II 123, XXI 27, XIII 807) Demotic *nsu* «roi», therefore in PGM V 483 ff.: «roi des rois», PHILONENKO, CRAI 1985, 447. Egypt. „Gott“ (?), Abrasax I 63, 153.
- νουφιηρ (PGM VII 902) Egypt. *nfr-ir.t* „Schönauge“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 181.
- νουχα νουχα (PGM II 123 f., XIII 807 ff.) Egypt. *nkʿ*, Coptic *naake* «douleur», «douleurs de l'enfantement». PHILONENKO, CRAI 1985, 449.
- Νοφιρωθ (SM 45) Egypt. *nfr-htp* „benevolent“, THISEN in: SM 45.12 n.
- νηρωε (III 485) Copt. „to the man“, RITNER in: GMP 31.94.
- ντοκονβαι v. μορποροντκουμβαι
- Oamoutha (PREISENDANZ, s. v. O., in: RE 17.2, 1937, 1675): SCHMIDT ap. PREISENDANZ suggests it is Egyptian: *outha* = *wḏ3.t* „das unbeschädigte Auge des Horos d. i. der volle Mond“; *oam* = „fressen, verzehren“.
- οβαχ (SM 50) Egypt. *bʿh* „flood“, cf. PGM VII 461: οβακιου.
- ΟΒΑΚΙΟΥ (PGM VII 461) Egypt. *ʿb-ḥg.jw* „Großer der Toten“, „Türhüter der Toten“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 175. Cf. οϣαϣϣ „to be white (or) shining“, THISEN in: SM 2.4 n.
- οεν Τυφων (PGM IV 279) Coptic οϣν τ „er ist Typhon“, PGM vol. III 265.
- οη (PGM IV 393) Coptic „einziger“, HOPFNER, AO 7 (1935) 120.
- οθιλαρι κριφι (PGM VII 585, I 140, IV 398, LIX 9) Egypt. *ʿd.mr-Rʿ*, (*m*-)*k3r.f* „wohl behalten Vorgesetzter (d. i. Löwe) in seinem Schreine / in seiner Kapelle“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 177; HOPFNER, AO 7 (1935) 119.
- ολαμητηρ (SM 97) cf. Hebrew *ʿolam* „eternal“, MALTOMINI, SCO 29 (1979) 110.
- omorka: DREXLER, s. v. Omorka, in: Roschers Lexikon III,1 (1897–1909) 868–869.
- ονυρ (PGM XXXVI 195, X 12) Egyptian deity Onouris, RITNER in: GMP 149.2, 274.21.
- οπηθι (PGM V 15) decan. PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 144; GUNDEL, Dekane 77 no. 33. HAR-RAUER, Meliouchos 82.88: = Petbe (the Egyptian Nemesis or avenger). Cf. PERNIGOTTI, SCO 29 (1979) 41; LANGE (n. 293) 161–162; A. ERMAN, ZÄS 33 (1895) 47; PETTAZZONI, Kronos (n. 415); BRASHEAR, Magica Varia no. 1, introd.; VAN DER VLIET, L'image du mal en Egypte: Etudes de démonologie copte (forthcoming); ID., Spätantikes Heidentum in Ägypten; PERNIGOTTI, Aegyptus 73 (1993) 93 ff.

- ορβηθ (PGM VII 903) Hebrew « *lumière opportune* », SCHWAB, Angél. 415.
- ορεοβαζαγαρ (PGM, *defixiones*) WÜNSCH, Antike Fluchtafeln (n. 222) 6, connects it with Artemis „*welche die Berge beschreitend jagt*“. Cf. ΡΙΤΟΪΚ, AAASH 26 (1978) 439. DMP 27.22.
- ορθω (papyri, *lamellae*) variation of Artemis' name Ὀρθία, Ορθωσία? MARTINEZ 37.
- ορκορθαθα (PGM VII 510) Persian? Cf. PGM III 153 ff.: οροκοτοθορο, BOUSSET (n. 116) 203.34.
- ορνεοφαο (SM 45) ὄρνις + φάος or φάγειν?
- ορσενοφερη (PGM IV 1628) Egypt. „*Horus, der gute Gefährte*“, Abrasax I 243.
- ορωριουθ (almost exclusively on the reverse of uterine amulets). BONNER, Studies 199: a secret name for Artemis-Selene-Hekate. STRICKER, De Geboorte van Horus I, Leiden 1963, 81.331: vaguely reminiscent of *w'r.t*, dual form: *w'r.tj* = uterus. BARB, JWCI 16 (1953) 202: A. J. H. VINCENT, Essai d'explication de quelques pierres gnostiques, Mém. de la Soc. des Antiquaires de France n.s. 20 (1850) 450, proposed the meaning “Light of Lights”, which BARB still finds acceptable.
- οσεργαρι αχνουμαφι (PGM XIII 37) Egyptian *wsr k3 r'* „*stark ist der Ka des Re, Chnum, Hapi*“, WORTMANN, Kosmogonie 94.
- Οσεργαριαχ (PGM VIII 43) αχ = Egypt. *i'h* „*Mond*“, HOPFNER, AO 3 (1931) 130. ID., Plutarch I p. 130, cps. Coptic οοε, ιοε and Hebrew *iareach* „*Mond*“.
- οσερχενθεμενθει (PGM XIII 815) Egypt. „*Osiris, Erster des Westens*“, Abrasax I 243.
- Ὁσιρις κμηφι σρω (PGM IV 2094) Egypt. “Osiris, Good Daimon, great prince” (or “ram”), RITNER in: GMP 75.255.
- οσορνούφε (PGM VII 444) Egypt. *wsir nfr* “Osiris, the good”. *ibid.*, 129.56.
- Οσορωνφρις (PGM XIX a.6, V 353) Egypt. *wnn-nfr* “benefactor”; GRIFFITHS (n. 15) 460; HOPFNER, OZ I § 157; THOMPSON, PBA 17 (1931) 284. Cf. WORTMANN, Texte 93–94; BRASHEAR, SAK 19 (1992) 95. V. Ωσορνοφριξ.
- οσταουα (PGM IV 2031) Latin *octava*? PGM vol. III p. 207.
- ουα (PGM XII 201) Egypt. „*eins*“. Abrasax I 168.
- ουαι Egypt. *w'j* „*fern sein*“; cf. Horapollo I 29: ουαιε „*entfernte Stimme*“, ROEDER, s. v. Horapollon, in: RE VIII, 2 (1913) 2316. PGM vol. III, p. 266.
- ουασθεν (PGM VIII 7) Egypt. *wsjn* „*freiausschreitender*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 183.
- ουερτο (PGM XII 265) Egypt. “the great one of earth”, RITNER in: GMP 163.79.
- ουζαθι (PGM VII 448) *udjat-eye*? EITREM ap. PGM vol. III p. 228; HOPFNER, AO 10 (1938) 136: Egypt. *wd3.t* „*Vollmond*“.
- ουημαντουρ (PGM VII 578) Latin *vehementer*? PGM vol. III p. 207.
- ουηρ (PGM XII 346, XIII 1061) Egypt. „*groß*“. PGM vol. III.
- ουηρι (PGM VII 497, 496) Egypt. *wr.t* „*Große*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 175; RITNER in: GMP 67.202, 131.72.
- ουιδε (PGM XIX a.1) Latin *vide*? PGM vol. III p. 207.
- ουμεσθωθ (PGM IV 1673) „*ein Junges des Thoth*“, Abrasax I 243.
- ουννεφερ (PGM VII 448) if aspirated: Egypt. *hwn-nfr* “beautiful youth”, RITNER in: GMP 130.61; HOPFNER, AO 10 (1938) 136.
- ουραιοι ουηρ (PGM XIII 1059) Egypt. “great ureai” (sic), RITNER in: GMP 195.143. JACOBY in PGM vol. III 266: „*dreimal groß*“.
- ουριωρ Hebrew “arise, Light”. RIESS 53.
- ουρ να ουρ (PGM V 59) Egypt. *wr n urw* „*Großer der Großen*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 456.
- ουριχ (SM 6) Egypt. *wr 3h* “Great spirit”, THISEN in: SM 6.7 n.
- ουσερβαννουφι (PGM VII 444) Egypt. *wsjr-un-nfr* „*Osiris, gutes Wesen*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 174. Egypt. *wsjr ran nfr* „*Osiris, schöner Name*“, HOPFNER, AO 10 (1938) 136.
- ουσερβεντηθ (SM 48) Egypt. “Osiris is the *ba* of the gods”. MARTINEZ 82.
- ουσερκεντεμενθ, ουσερχεντεμενθ (PGM VII 445) Egypt. „*Osiris, erster der Westlichen (Verstorbenen)*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 175; HOPFNER, AO 10 (1938) 136, AO 3 (1931) 120.1, 125; RITNER in: GMP 191.120. QUAEGBEUR, P. Lugd.-Bat. XIX, p. 253: I. ουσερ-σετεμενθ, Egypt. *Wsir hntj imntj* “Osiris, foremost in the West”. Cf. χεντεμματεφριχεν.

- ουσερπατη (SM 48) Egypt. *wsr phty* "Osiris is strength". MARTINEZ 82–83.
- ουσερσετεμενθ (PGM VII 445) Egypt. "Osiris ... the West (the underworld)", RITNER in: GMP 129.58.
- Οουσρεντεχθα (PGM III 171, VII 257) Egypt. *Osiris-khenty-khet*; Osiris and Khenty-khet, the local god of Athribis, *ibid.*, 22.40.
- ουφωρ (PGM VII 335) Egypt. *wp.t-rʿ* „Mundöffnung“, VERGOTE, *Bibl. Or.* 18 (1961) 213–214; THISSEN, *Ägypt. Beitr. z. d. gr. mag. Papyri* 300.
- ουχιωχ (PGM VII 443) Egypt. cf. *wh* „dunkel“, *wh.t* = ογχι „Nacht“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 174.
- ουωθι (PGM VIII 7) Egypt. *wdʒ.t* „unverletztes Auge des Hor, Vollmond“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 182; Egypt. *wdʒ* „heil, gesund“, *Id.*, *Ph. Wo.* 1935, 1175, (ad PGM XII 150).
- πααρμιαθον (PGM XII 111) *pa-Hr-m-athu* „Hor im Sumpfe“, WIEDEMANN ap. HOPFNER, *Plutarch* I 90.
- παγουρη (PGM VII 616, XIX a.37) Aramaic „dessen Licht schwindet, abnimmt“, JACOBY ap. PGM vol. III p. 229.
- παθενι (PGM XIII 922) Egypt. *pʒ-tnj* „der Erhabene“, SCHMIDT, *Ph. Wo.* 1935, 1183.
- πανκουθεν (gem: WORTMANN, *BonnJbb* 175, 1975, 80) Greek πανακουσθέν?
- παλμαεζχ ησε (PGM IV 76) Egypt. *pʒ-p.mʒh-n-h.t* „Der mit dem Feuerkranze“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 171.
- παταθναξ (PGM XII 371, XIX c) PREISENDANZ, *Akephalos* 21.1, suggests a connection with πατάξαντα.
- παφθα (PGM V 22) Egypt. „mein Ptah“, HOPFNER, *AO* 3 (1931) 154; HARRAUER, *Meliouchos* 81. Egypt. „der des Ptah“ = Thot, THISSEN *ZPE* 73 (1988) 305.
- παχνουφι (AUDOLLENT, *Defix.* 270.13 f.) Coptic „zu Chnuphi gehörig“, PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 139, who cites MASPERO, *Bibl. Eg.* 2 (1893) 300. A. JACOBY, *ARW* 28 (1930) 271: „Pahnuphi, der Weisheit gibt“.
- πεκρανεβεχεο (PGM IV 1656) Egypt. „dein Name ist die große Schlange“, *Abrasax* I 253.
- πεκρηφ (PGM XII 165) Egypt. *pʒ-m-kʒr.f* „der in seiner Kapelle“, SCHMIDT, *Ph. Wo.* 1935, 1176, who cps. PGM XII 65: πεκριφ; I 140, IV 398, VII 585: κριφ; PGM I 28, IV 2201, VI 32: μεσενκριφ.
- περακομφω (PGM III 142) Egypt. „Haus des Schöpfers der Erde“, THISSEN, *Ägypt. Beitr. z. d. gr. mag. Papyri* 302.
- περκμημ (SM 44) Egypt. "lord of darkness" or "house of darkness", DANIEL, *ZPE* 19 (1975) 260. Cf. THISSEN, *op. cit.* 302.
- περω μυσηλ (PGM IV 1149) Coptic „der König“ + Hebrew „der Herrscher“ JACOBY ap. PGM vol. III 267.
- πετιανουπ (PGM XIX b.6) Egypt. "he whom Anubis has given", cf. RANKE, *Ägyptische Personennamen* I 122 no. 11, RITNER and BERGMAN in: GMP 258.5.
- πεφθα φωξα φνεβεννουι (PGM XXXVI 43–44) Egypt. "He is Ptah the healthy, the lord of the Abyss", RITNER in: GMP 270.2. Cf. WÜNSCH, *Zaubergerät* pp. 30–31: παι Φθα φωξα and PGM IV 961; NAVEH and SHAKED, *Amulets*, p. 109: φθα φωξαχωτ. Cf. φνεβεννουι.
- πεφωουθ (PGM III 130, X 12) Coptic „die große Schlange“, cf. Egypt. *hfw* „Schlange“, *wt* „alt, groß“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 449, who cps. PGM IV 1683: Φωουθ.
- πιβηχis (PGM IV 3007) Egypt. *pʒ-bk* "the falcon", RITNER in: GMP 96.386.
- πιηθ (PGM IV 511) Egypt. „das Herz“, WIEDEMANN ap. ZUCKER 362.
- πιπι (PGM IV 595) Coptic "cock"; confused with the Hebrew Tetragrammaton, MEYER in: GMP 49.85, citing S. LIEBERMANN, *Greek in Jewish Palestine*, New York 1942, 120.38; M. PHILONENKO, CRAI 1979, 297–304. Occurs in Latinized form PIP in the gold amulet published by M. VERMASEREN, *A Magical Time-God*, in: J. HINNELLS, ed., *Mithraic Studies* I, Manchester 1975, 446–456 (R. KOTANSKY, *per litt.*, Aug. 13, 1990).
- πιχαρουρ (PGM I 133) cf. Copt. κρογρ, χρογρ, Egypt. *krr* „Frosch“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 444.

- πνητε (PGM VII 346) Egypt. *p³ ntr* “O, the god”, RITNER in: GMP 126.45.
 πνουθ, πνουτε cf. πνητε, φνουθ.
 πνουθεντηρ (PGM XII 150, XXXVIII 16) Egypt. *p-ntr-n²-ntr.w* „der Gott der Götter“, SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1175.
 πνουν γμοηρ (PGM LVII 18) Egypt. “Nun (the Abyss), great power”, RITNER in: GMP 285.7.
 πουτοουθω (PGM XIII 1076) Coptic *ΠΟΥΤΟΥΕΤΩ* „der große Grünende, die große Pflanze“? JACOBY, ARW 28 (1930) 273.3.
 προμσαχ (PGM XII 484) Egypt. *p-rmn-šh* „der Träger des Sternbildes Horion“, SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1182. JACOBY ap. PGM vol. III p. 229, notes the Coptic word *κσαχ* “Krokodil”.
 Παρχνουμεος (PGM L 7) l. Πχαρ; decan Charchnumis – GUNDEL, Dekane 66; Denkschrift Akad. Wien. 1917, 59; SCHMIDT ap. PGM vol. III p. 229; PREISENDANZ, GGA 201 (1939) 140.
 πυριπηγανυξ, -ναξ ΡΙΤΟΟΚ, AAASH 26 (1978) 442 summarizes: EITREM, P. Osl. I, p. 73: “Lord of the fountains of fire” (referring only to the form in -αναξ, and leaving the form in -ανυξ unexplained). ΡΙΤΟΟΚ cites the verb *νύσσω* and suggests „Feuerquellstampfende(r)“ or „Feuerquellschlagende(r)“, referring to the stamping of horses’ hooves (i.e. Hekate in equine form). Cf. PREISENDANZ, s. v. *Pyripeganyx*, in: RE XXIV (1963) 52; Id., *Akephalos* 28.1; LIDDELL, SCOTT, JONES, Greek-English Lexicon s. v.; ZÜNDEL (n. 212); AUDOLLENT, *Defix.* 251.4 f.: *oreopeganyx*.
 πυροβορυπ (WORTMANN, Texte 98) *πῦρ + βορός?* Palindrome.
 ραβουνι (P. Ryl. 699.3) Hebrew “my teacher”, “my master”, cf. Mark 10.51, John 20.16.
 Ραβχλου (XXXVI 175, angel) “Master of Power” (*rab Helu*), common in Samaritan magic. M. GASTER, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1927, 400–402.
 PE I BET (PGM V 117) Copt. „Östlicher Re“, cf. Egypt. *šbtj* „östlich“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 456.
 ρηξιχθων, ρησι-, ρηζι- “cleaver of the earth”, describing Hekate; cf. Lucian, *Philops.* 24, quoted in BONNER, *Studies* 170 and ΡΙΤΟΟΚ, AAASH 26 (1978) 440. DMP vso 15.3. Cf. A. COOK, *Zeus III*, Cambridge 1940, 4–5; ZÜNDEL (n. 212); HOPFNER, *AO* 3 (1931) 124.12; A. D. NOCK, *JEA* 11 (1925) 158.
 ριγχ (PGM IV 1572, V 483 ff.) Demotic *rn-k*, „ton nom“, PHILONENKO, CRAI 1985, 447. “Phoenix”, JACOBY, ARW 28, 274.2.
 ριντ (SM 44) Coptic “my name”, DANIEL, *ZPE* 19 (1975) 262. SM 44.8 n.
 ριξ (PGM XIII 938, 971, 986) „dein Name“, *Abrasax I* 244.
 ρουζω (PGM IV 2923) V. ζουρω.
 ρουω (PGM XIII 623, 645) decan, GUNDEL, Dekane 58, 59, 77 no. 25; PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 136.
 σαβαθιουθ (SM 48; PGM IV 388, 1241 f.) cf. σαβαρβατιαωθ. MARTINEZ 101.
 σαβαρβα (*defixiones*; PGM) *Σαβαωθ + αρβα*. *ibid.*, 80–81.
 σαβαρβατιαωθ (*defixiones*; PGM) Hebrew *σαβ(αωθ)*, *αρβατ* (feminine construct of *arba*), *Ιαω(θ)*. *ibid.*, 81.
 σαβαρβατιανη (SM 48) Hebrew *Σαβ(αωθ)*, *αρβ(α) ατιανη* (= *Αδωναι*)? *ibid.*
 σαβαρβαφαι (SM 48) cf. the preceding entries. The termination might be for *αια*, or the possessive morpheme “my”, *ibid.*
 σαβαωθ instead of the usual etymology (Hebrew “of hosts”), PERDRIZET, *REG* 41 (1928) 79, points out: Hebrew *seba’ōth* = *ἐπτά γράμματα*.
 σαβερρα (PGM XI a.3) Egypt. for Anubis (*sšb*, “jackal”), Horus, Re, BERGMAN in: *Mél. Gutbub* (v. p. 3536) 1–11.
 σαβριαμ (PGM V 142) Hebrew *shōbhēr yam* “breaker of the sea”, RIESS 54.
 σαγηναμ (PGM XII 286) cf. GUNDEL, Dekane 78, no. 26: *Sagen*.

- σαθρεν (VII 520) isopsephistic value is 365, BERGMAN, *Ancient Egyptian Theogony* (v. p. 3532) 36.
- σακτιετη (PGM V 483) Egypt. *s3k*, Demotic *sk*, Coptic *sok* « *se contracter* » + Demotic *t(i)t*, Coptic *oote* « *utérus* ». Therefore: « *Celle qui fait se contracter l'utérus* », alluding to the deity Ipet and her beneficent influence. PHILONENKO, CRAI 1985, 448.
- σαλβαναχαμβρη (PGM VIII 83 f., III 474) Hebrew *hlbnh* “the moon” + *bmb* “the sun” + Egypt. Re. DÖLGER, *Sol Salutis* 361.5; MARTINEZ 108. Cf. *καλβαναχαμβρη*.
- σαλβιουθ (SM 48, PGM XII 102, IV 387 f.) Cf. βιουθ. MARTINEZ 100.
- Σαμας (PGM XIX a.13) Hebrew: “sun” or Egypt. “oldest”, THOMPSON, PBA 17 (1931) 15; HOPFNER, AO 3 (1931) 134.
- σαμασφρηθ (PGM V 47) Hebrew *šmš* „*Sonne*“ + PIPA (ΠPH) „*der Re*“, HOPFNER, OZ I § 753. SCHWAB, Angél. s. v. *sm hmpres*; BLAU, *Zauberwesen* 126: *sm' pris*.
- σανχερωβ (PGM IV 599) *σαν χερουβ*? JACOBY, app. crit. ad loc.
- σαραχθι (PGM I 136) Egypt. *sr šhtj* „*Fürst der beiden Horizonte*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 444.
- σαρουσις (PGM IV 1711) *Sar(apis)* + *Us(ir)is* in accusative, ABRASAX I 121, 244. Egypt. *sr wšr* „*großer Fürst*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 444.
- σταταμα (SM 48, PGM IV 390) I. Σατανᾱ PREISENDANZ ad loc.; F. LEGGE, PSBA 23 (1901) 47; MARTINEZ 104.
- σατις (PGM II 130) Egypt. *šd.t* „*Flamme, Feuer*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 449.
- σατουχεος ψατουχεος (PGM XLVII 5,6) names of gods or demons? the first might be an epithet (“loaded, burdened”?); BETZ, GMP 282.2.
- σατραπερκμηφ (PGM XII 185) Egypt. “great satrap Kneph”, BONNER, *Studies* 25; WORTMANN, *Kosmogonie* 86 f. DMP 17.19.
- σαχμ ουον ονο (PGM VII 300) Egypt. *šhm - w3d*, ‘d-ʔ “*Mächtig-Gesunder, Strahlend-Großer*” (*der Sonnengott*), SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 171.
- σαχμουνε (PGM VII 365) Egypt. *šḥ-ḥwnj* „*stark ist der Gott von Heliopolis*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 173.
- σελβιους βαθινι (PGM XII 103) Hebr. *sel biath adonai* „*die Torsegenformel Benedictus qui intrat in nomine domini*“, DORNSEIFF 175.
- σεμ (PGM V 483 ff.) Coptic *sem* « *jeune* ». PHILONENKO, CRAI 1985, 448.
- σεμεσιλαμ, -λαμψε *aut sim.* (papyri, gems, *lamellae*, *defixiones* passim) Hebrew *šmš ʾolam* “eternal sun”, WEIDEMANN, *BonnJbb* 79 (1879) 226; HOPFNER, OZ I § 457. The Greeks evidently associated it with *λάμπειν*. See also JACOBY, ARW 28 (1930) 277. However, SCHOLEM, *Gnosticism*² 134, rejects this long-standing etymology in favor of Aramaic: *shemi shelam* “my name is peace”.
- σεννεφθς (PGM XII 235) „*Schwester Nephthys*“, ABRASAX I 244.
- σεραπομνευις Osiris-Apis-Mnevis, BONNER, *Studies* 167.
- σερβιθ (*lamella*) Hebrew *šar bḥt* „*scettro*“. SCIACCA, *Phylakterion* 101.
- σερπωτ μουι σρω (PGM VII 499, 557, XII 80) Egypt. *srp.t mšy sr* “lotus, lion, ram”, variously associated with Eros and Harpocrates (cf. PGM III 659, VII 499). RITNER in: GMP 131.74; BONNER, *Studies* 200; HOPFNER, AO 3 (1931) 145; DANIEL, ZPE 19 (1975) 262; SM 44.7–8 n. Already attested in 1100 B.C.: MÖLLER ap. PGM vol. I, p. 61.3. Cf. M.-L. RYHINER, *Rev. d'Égyptologie* 29 (1979) 123–137. SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 176: *šrpot* = ΣΕΡΠΟΤ „*Lotos*“; *mšj* = ΜΟΥΙ „*Löwe*“, *sr* = ΣΡΟ „*Bock*“.
- σεσεγγενβαρφαραγγης KOPP, *Pal. Crit.* III 672–673, connected it with the aglaophotis plant which grew in the Baaras ravine (Josephus, *de bello Jud.* 8.6). PERDRIZET, REG 41 (1928) 79: = *sisim gibborim* + *Pharaoh*? Cf. HOPFNER, OZ I § 507, 754. SCHOLEM, *Gnosticism*² 97–100, discusses and rejects all previous hypotheses. Perhaps Sesengen bar (son of) Pharranges is the name of a mythical figure, the possessor of magical power, like SSM BN PDRS, whose magical curse is on a 7th-c. B.C. Canaanite or Hebrew inscription (TORCYZNER, JNES 6, 1947, 18–29; GASTER, *Orientalia* 6, 1942, 41–79; BARB, JWCI 27, 1964, 14–15). The name still awaits elucidation, says SCHOLEM, who cites early and late (i.e. medieval Jewish magic) occurrences. DMP 16.10. DELATTE, *Bull. Classe d. Lettres*.

- Ac. Roy. Belg. 5 sér., t. 45 (1959) 297.1, notes an occurrence in a 16th-c. manual of Greek exorcisms. Cf. FAUTH, ZDMG 120 (1970) 229; MARTINEZ 78.
- Σημεα (PGM III 29, 207, V 429) See the literature cited in n. 228; HARRAUER *Meliouchos* 16–17; DELATTE *Mus. Belge* 17 (1913) 330 f.; HOPFNER AO 7 (1935) 109, *Id.*, OZ I §§ 692, 729, 786, 876; MERKELBACH (v. s. v. ναμα) 393.
- σθομβολη ... (common on gems; two examples in the papyri: SM 96A,E). BONNER, *Studies* 206, says it is solar. WÜNSCH, *Seth. Verfluch.* (n. 340) 4.34: Σθομβλον is lord of sleep.
- σιεθο (PGM V 485) Egypt. *s3-t* «*fil*s de la terre», «*serpent*». Cf. Demotic *st*, Coptic *sit*; AUDOLLENT, *Defix.* 269.16–17: *σιεντε* *σιεντε*; GUNDEL, *Dekane* 77.11: *σιτ*, *ibid.*, 79.24: *σιετο*. Therefore here: «*serpent des serpents*» = Agathodaimon. PHILONENKO, CRAI 1985, 447, who cps. Papyrus Salt 825 and DMP 29.6. Abrasax I 154.
- Σιεθω *aut sim.* (PGM XIII 808, XII 101, II 123, I 240, V 485) decan, PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 144; GUNDEL, *Dekane* 79 no. 24.
- σιεπη (PGM V 483) Demotic *s3* «*fil*s» + Ipet, Opet. Cf. GUNDEL 77.14 ηπη, 79.14: ιπι, επει. PHILONENKO, CRAI 1985, 448.
- σιλθαχουχ (PGM V 477) Old Coptic *seleet* «*fiancée*», *khookh* «*ténèbres*» = *fiancée des ténèbres*. PHILONENKO, CRAI 1985, 444.
- σισηθ (SM 96) Egypt. «son of Seth», MALTOMINI, SCO 29 (1979) 73.
- σισισρω (PGM, gems, *lamellae*) Egypt. *sro* «ram». WORTMANN, *Kosmogonie* 81.123; HOPFNER, AO 3 (1931) 147; BONNER, YOUTIE, TAPA 68 (1937) 61–62; JACOBY, ARW 28 (1930) 271.15. PREISENDANZ, *Akephalos* 26.2, would associate it with the Egyptian decans *sisrat* and *srat*; cf. GUNDEL, *Dekane* 77; GUNDEL, *Weltbild* 23. BARB, JWCI 27 (1964) 15.87, says it reminds one of *sesengenbarpharanges*. Cf. SM 42.49–50 n.
- σιτενγι αρτεν βεντεν (PGM IV 6) Egypt. *s3-tnj-h.t*, *irw-tnj*, *wn-tnj* „Sohn des von erhabener Gestalt, erhabenes Geschöpf, erhabenes Wesen“, SCHMIDT, *Ph. Wo.* 1935, 1183.
- σκιαθι (PGM VII 518) Egypt. *sk.t.t*. „Abendbarke“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 176. Cf. BERGMAN, *Ancient Egyptian Theogony* (v. p. 3532) 30.
- σοιρε, σοιρη, συρε (PGM XIII 924) Egypt. *hj-hrj* „der in der Höhe“, SCHMIDT, *Ph. Wo.* 1935, 1183. SCHWAB, *Angél.* 420: «*fuyez, fuyez*». GUNDEL, *Dekane* 379: Syro. Abrasax I 244: „*Schai-Re*“. DMP 7.25: *Sere Sere*.
- σορκραθωμ (PGM XIII 900 app. crit.) HAUER (n. 234) 25, considers and rejects the possibility that this word might derive from Sanskrit *svargaratham*.
- σοροομερφεργαρβαμαφριουριγ (on gem uterine amulets; in PGM only three occurrences: IV 1567, VII 172 f., XIX a.10) RITNER, JNES 43 (1984) 218–219: formula for opening the womb. Cf. AUDOLLENT, *Defix.* 252.23, 253.34.
- ΣΟΥΒΡΟΜ (gem) Latin *morbus*. HARRAUER, *Tyche* 7 (1992) 39.
- σουηρι (PGM VII 496) Egypt. *ś.t-wr.t* „große Isis“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 175.
- σουμαρθα (PGM, gems) Hebrew for „custodi, custodias“, KOPF ap. HOPFNER, OZ I § 755; cf. GOODENOUGH, *Symbols* II 260. BARB in: *Fs. G. Eis*, Stuttgart 1968, 485–493, notes a late occurrence in a medieval Latin charm. Cf. L. W. DALY, *AJPh* 103 (1982) 95–97. SCHOLEM, *Gnosticism*² 86, 89, 94 ff., notes it on an Aramaic phylactery. LE GLAY, s. v. Abrasax, in: *LIMC* I (1981) 2–7, cps. Hebrew *šmr* «*veille sur*», «*protège*». PHILIPP, pp. 52–53.
- ΣΟΥΩ ΠΙ, ΣΟΥΩ (PGM I 135) Egypt. *š.w-3* „großer Lichtglanz Re, großer Lichtglanz“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 172.
- σρω (v. σερπωτμουισρω) decan. PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 14; GUNDEL, *Dekane* 77–79; HOPFNER, AO 3 (1931) 145, 147; PREISENDANZ, s. v. Tro, in: *RE* VII A,1 (1939) 524. V. βολβεσρω.
- σφη (PGM V 483, XIII 786) Egypt. *nšw.t p.t* „König des Himmels“ SCHMIDT, *Ph. Wo.* 1935, 1183; Demotic *sf3* «*seigneur*», therefore σφη σφη «*seigneur des seigneurs*», PHILONENKO, CRAI 1985, 447. Egypt. *šfi* „Widder“, Abrasax I 63. V. ιασφη.
- σως (PGM VII 345, IV 1571) PGM vol. III 231 s. v. refers to Josephus, *contra Apionem* 1.14, where according to Manetho it means “shepherd”; and to A. WIEDEMANN, *Sammlung altägypt. Wörter* (1883) 41.

ταννητις (PGM I 3204) decan? PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 135; GUNDEL, Dekane 447 s. v. Tannen. Egypt. *Ta-nt-N.t* "she of Neith", RITNER in: GMP 96.390.

τασβερεβρετας usually associated with Bes, guardian of infants. BONNER, Studies 200. Only on gems.

ταυροπολιτ cf. ταυροπόλος WORTMANN, Texte 98.

τετραξ v. ασκι

thebal gut guttani: Hebr. „*du magst bringen/tragen* (oder: *sie mag bringen/tragen*) *gutes Los, gutes Schicksal, gutes Los in bezug auf mich*“ JÜRGEN KEGLER ap. REINHOLD MICHELLY, Der Spandauer Thebal-Ring. Neues zum Problem der Thebal-Ringe, in: ADRIAAN VON MÜLLER und KLARA VON MÜLLER-MUČI, Ausgrabungen und Funde auf dem Burgwall in Berlin-Spandau, Berlin 1987, 64–81. Cf. PGM IV 2929: γωθητινι; F. PRADEL, Griechische ... Gebete, Beschwörungen und Rezepte (RGVV 3.3), Giessen 1907, 32.3: γωτουνη γωτανη γωβωρραννη.

Τθαττασια (P. Yale inv. 1792) one of the three wise men; *vox magica* in a Coptic papyrus. BRASHEAR, Cde 58 (1983) 297 f.; VAN DER VLIET, Aegyptus 71 (1991) 242.

τρω v. σρω

τυφι (PGM XII 232) Tefnut, Abrasax I 244. Egypt. *Tʒ-rpy.t* "the maiden", "Triphis", RITNER in: GMP 162.73.

υεσεμμιγαδων (papyri, *defixiones*) Hebrew *hu'a semo gadol* "That is: his name is great", COR-MACK, HThR 44 (1951) 32. Cf. DREXLER, s. v. Hyesemmigadon, in: Roschers Lexikon I,2 (1886–1890) 2771, and s. v. Kure, Persephone, Ereschigal, *ibid.* II,1 (1890–1897) 1584 f. DMP 7.25. MARTINEZ 39–40, cites further bibliography and attempts at interpretation.

υονιεγυμοσθοβ (gem) retrograde inscription; l. βοηθός μου γείνου BRASHEAR, ZPE 56 (1984) 65.

φαρναθαρ (PGM VIII 20) Iran. „*Glücksbringer*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 183.

φαφιερι (VII 387) Egypt. *p'p'.t-irt* „*leuchtenden Auges*“, synonym for νεφεριτηρι Egypt. *nfr.t-irt* „*Schönauge*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 174.

φηουαβ (PGM LXI 26) Egypt. "the holy one", THOMPSON, PBA 17 (1931) 267.

Φθα (PGM LXI 26) Egypt. deity Ptah, HOPFNER, AO 3, 327; MARTINEZ 44.

φθααχε (PGM LXI 26) Egypt. "Ptah", THOMPSON, PBA 17 (1931) 267. DMP 16.2.

φθα φοωζα (PGM XIII 1056) Egypt. "Ptah, health", RITNER in: GMP 195.143.

φθαω M. SMITH ap. NAVEH and SHAKED, Amulets 103, derives this word on a silver *lamella* written in Aramaic: "Ptah with an ending".

φθισικηρε (PGM II 100) Greek „*Vernichter des Todesloses*“, MERKELBACH, ZPE 47 (1982) 172. Cf. PREISENDANZ, s. v. Palindrom, in: RE 18.3 (1949) 135.

φθοηρι ... φθαω (PGM LVII 20) Egypt. *pth wr ... pthʒ* "Ptah the Great", RITNER in: GMP 285.8.

ΦΘΟΥΘ(Ξ)ΕΛΦΗ (PGM V 351, cf. 253, 353) Egypt. „*Der Thot, Steuermann des Re*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 457.

φθωθω (PGM LXI 21) Egypt. "Thoth the great", THOMPSON, PBA 17 (1931) 267.

φιασαδων ιαω (PGM XII 103) Hebr. *biath adon Jahwe* „*Eingang des Herrn Jahwe*“, DORNSEIFF 175.

φιαχα (PGM IV 456–457) Egypt. *pj-izhw* „*der Sonnenglanz*“, SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1180.

φιβλω cf. ιαρβαθαγραμμηφ. Egypt. *pʒ-hb* "the ibis"? SM 3.1 n.

φιμοιου (PGM LXI 27) Bohairic Coptic Φιμοου "the water", THOMPSON, PBA 17 (1931) 268.

φιριμνουν (PGM XII 345) Egypt. "He who comes forth from Nun", RITNER in: GMP 165.87. DMP 28.2: *phirim-phuni*; Egypt. *prj-m-Nun* „*der aus dem Nun kommt*“ THISEN, Ägypt. Beitr. z. d. gr. mag. Papyri 299.

φιριμνουν ανοχ (PGM XXI 20) Egypt. "I am he who came forth from Nun", cf. PGM XII 345, III 549–558, RITNER in: GMP 259.5.

φνεβεννουθ Egypt. "the Lord of the gods", KOTANSKY, JPMGJ 11 (1983) 173, who says it appears only on two *lamellae*; not on gems, not in PGM. KOTANSKY cites "R. G. COLLINGWOOD and R. P. WRIGHT, Roman Inscriptions of Britain I, Oxford 1965, no. 706, 236 f., where a slightly different interpretation is also given; cf. also (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in England), An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York I: Eboracum, Roman York, London, 1962, nos. 139, 133, pl. 65, which provides earlier literature on the interpretation of this word".

φνεβεννουθι (PGM XXXVI 44) Egypt. „Herr des Urwassers“, HOPFNER, AO 10 (1938) 133. Cf. πεφθα φωζα φν.

φνεσκηρ (PGM I 142, III 78, 151, II 139?) Egypt. *p³-nb-šgr* „der Herr der Stille“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 444.

φνου (PGM CVII 1) Copt. *πνουν* "the Abyss", DANIEL, ZPE 19 (1975) 259.

φνουθ (PGM XIII 809) Egypt. *p.ntr* „der Gott“, SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1183.

φνουκενταβαωθ (PGM, *defixiones*) ΡΙΤΟΟΚ, AAASH 26 (1978) 438, cps. PGM IX 11: φνουνοβοη; PGM VII 401: φνουβε; AUDOLLENT, Defix. 242.29: φνουφοβοη; PGM XII 290: τὸν φνου τὸν κενταβαωθ, *inter alia*, and notes the common element φνου, which contains according to HOPFNER, OZ I § 751, „das Urwasser, der Abyss der ägyptischen Mythologie“. DMP vso. 15.2. AUDOLLENT, Defix. 251.4 f. Egypt. *phnwgeni* *b³-ʕ* „Nun, erster der Väter“, φνουv st. cstr. for Nun „als Gottheit und als Urgewässer“, κεντ Egypt. *hntj* „erster“; αβαωθ Hebr. *aboth*. THISEN, Ägyptologische Beitr. z. d. gr. mag. Papyri 298.

Φνουνηβηηλ (Test. Salomonis c. 9) Egypt. and Hebr. „Der Nun + ηβηηλ (Hebr. *bi'l* „Vater Gottes“) THISEN, Ägypt. Beitr. z. d. gr. mag. Papyri 298.

φνουνοβοηηλ (SM42.50; PHILIPP no. 191) Cf. the decan Phnunebiel (GUNDEL, Dekane 59), which G. interprets as Ptah-Nun-El. Cf. HARRAUER, Meliouchos 86.93; WÜNSCH, Antike Fluchtafeln (n. 222) p. 18; AUDOLLENT, Defix. no. 243.9; BRASHEAR, CdE 58 (1983) 297.1.

φνουνοχθονιος (PGM V 250) Egypt., not Greek. THISEN, Ägypt. Beitr. z. d. gr. mag. Papyri 300.

φορβαφορφορβα (or βορβοροφορβα) Greek „die sich vom Kote nährt“, WÜNSCH, Zaubergegerät 27.

φορβηξ (PGM VIII 82) Egypt. „Falkenhaus“ or „Hor der Falke“, JACOBY in PGM vol. III p. 274. φραινφιρι (Argive magical relief) DELATTE, Mus. Belge 17 (1913) 332 f., suggests a derivation from Phre and cites numerous similar words. M. SMITH ap. PATTERSON, HThR 78 (1985) 441: φρε + a cryptogram for Nephtheri. Otherwise, maybe φραιv = φρήv, hence "heart-bearer"? Cf. BRASHEAR, HThR 83 (1990) 337.

Φρε (PGM VII 715: χαρφαυθιφρε) Egypt. „der Obere“, „oberster Gott“, referring to the sun god, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 180.

φρεω (PGM XII 53) Egypt. "Pre the great", RITNER in: GMP 155.15; Abrasax I 244.

φρη (gem: BONNER, Studies 184; PGM XV 14) Egypt. „der Re“, JACOBY, ARW 28 (1930) 273.9, 274.5. Cf. BONNER, Studies 188.

φρηθωουθ (PGM LXI 21) Egypt. „Re-Thot“, THOMPSON, PBA 17 (1931) 267.

φρηυ (PGM VII 362) Egypt. *p.hrw* „der in der Höhe“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 173, who emends: φρηι.

φρουερ (PGM III 503) Egypt. "Pre the great", RITNER in: GMP 31.97.

φωζα (PGM XIII 1055) „der Gesunde“, Abrasax I 222, 244.

φωζαχωτ M. SMITH ap. NAVEH and SHAKED, Amulets 103, cps. PGM XXXVI 44, 228; φωζα.

φωκενγυεφ (PGM III 32, 513, 545) Egypt. *p³-hkr-n-hpš* „der mit dem Schwert Geschmückte“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 452; MARTINEZ 43.

φωουθ (PGM IV 1683) Egypt. „große Schlange“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 449. V. πεφωουθ.

χαβραχ (PGM II 138, III 78; gems) = 9999. BONNER, Studies 192; Id., JEA 16 (1930) 6–9.

χαε v σουω (PGM VII 300) Egypt. *h'j-m-šw-ʕ* „aufgehend im großen Lichtglanz“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 172.

- χακε πωφοπι καχε ανοχ (PGM XIX b.14) Egypt. "Darkness, Apophis, darkness I am", RITNER and BERGMAN in: GMP 258.5.
- χανθαρ (PGM VII 791) cf. GUNDEL, Dekane 77 nos. 21, 35; 79 nos. 21, 34: Chonthar.
- χασουχ χωουχ (PGM XIX a.5) cf. *ibid.*, 77 no. 4: χαν χωου.
- χαρι (PGM IV 3013) decan, cf. *ibid.*, 81 no. 4.
- χαρμιωθ: χαρ is a common prefix (cf. χαραβιατ, χαρχνουμις) + Egypt. *mioth* "lion", BARB, Syria 49 (1972) 369.2.
- χαρχαρ (PGM IV 2771) decan, GUNDEL, Dekane 289.4. PREISENDANZ, GGA 1939, 140, is against this interpretation, claiming χαρχαρ is a mistake for βαρβαρ.
- χαρχνουμις: χαρ + Chnum, BARB, Syria 49 (1972) 369. Cf. JACKSON, Lion 86.58.
- χαχ (SM 42) Egypt. *ḥḥ* "countless", THISSEN in: SM 42.53 n.
- χωωχαουφ (PGM I 203) Egypt. *ḥ'j* „aufgehen, erscheinen“, ʕ „groß“, *ip.t* „Theben“ = „groß Aufgehender, Aufgehender in Theben“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 445.
- χεντεμματεφρειχεν (*lamella*; U. SCHMOLL, Die vorgriechischen Sprachen Siziliens, Wiesbaden 1958, 44.2) Egypt. *ḥntj imntjw* „Totengott“. Cf. ουσερκεντεμενθ.
- χεντεχθαι Egypt. „*der im Bauch*“, HOPFNER, OZ II § 209.
- χεχφω (PGM IX 2, XI 3) «*grâce de sa bouche*», SCHWAB ap. PGM vol. III 253; Coptic: ξεε ψι ω „*die große Finsternis*“, HOPFNER, AO 10 (1938) 134.
- χθεθωνι (PGM V 485, VII 368, IV 1982) Demotic *tḥn.t* «*le canal*». Cf. Coptic *hone, thone*. Χθε is Egypt. «*à la tête*». Therefore: «*(Celui qui est) à la tête du canal*» = Sobek. PHILO-NENKO, CRAI 1985, 447–448. Cf. DMP 28.2, 27.20; AUDOLLENT, Defix. 252.4: θνυχθεθωνι ρινγχ οσεσρω, 253.5: θναξχθεθωνι ρινγχ οσεσρω.
- χιμνουθι (PGM IV 2024) „*Geist, Dämon Gottes*“, JACOBY ap. PGM III p. 233.
- χιουουχλαουσρω (gem) Hebrew: *his u k la'u* ... «*hâte-toi et comme un (homme) fatigué, crie*», CH. BRUSTON, Rev. arch. 1923, 111–116.
- χμουωρ (SM 42, 45) Chnum-Horos, WORTMANN, Texte 101.
- χνεωμ: δνομα όργής (PGM XII 180) l. χνωωμ Coptic „*Zorn, Groll*“, HOPFNER, AO 10, 132.2; = Chnum, RITNER in: GMP 160.56.
- χνουβ ουηρ (PGM XIII 1058) Egypt. "Chnum the great", RITNER in: GMP 195.143; JACOBY, ARW 28 (1930) 271.
- Χνουβις, Κνουφι, Χνουμ, etc. (PGM passim, gems passim) Egyptian demiurge Ḥnmw, JACOBY, ARW 28 (1930) 270; JACKSON, Lion 101–103 n. 78.
- χνουωρη (PGM IX 8, SM 45) Chnum-Horus-Re, WORTMANN, Kosmogonie 81.
- χουχ (PGM XXI 19) Egyptian primal deity, Abrasax I 245.
- XOXI (PGM XIII 922) „*Finsternis*“, Abrasax I 217.
- χωω (PGM V 73) Coptic κω "hand over" or "put"? RITNER in: GMP, 102.9. Var. of χωωχ „*Finsternis*“, JACOBY in PGM vol. III 276.
- χραβ Semitic *hrb* "sword", MOUTERDE (v. s. v. *abracadabra*) 116; only on the *defixio* published by him.
- χρατης (PGM XII 229) Egypt. *hrd* „*Kind*“, WORTMANN, Kosmogonie 73.61. Cf. κρατης.
- χρατωρ, χραντορ (PGM XIII 198, 529, 549, 587) Egypt. *hrd* + *r* „*Kind* + *Horus*“, JACOBY, ap. PGM vol. III p. 233.
- χρεψενθασις (PGM IV 670) PGM vol. III, p. 233, cps. PREISIGKE, Namenbuch, Heidelberg 1922: Ψενθαση et al.
- χρουρ → πιχαρουρ
- χυριρωου (PGM IV 1588) = χφῶρις φῶϋ, PREISENDANZ, Uroboros 203.
- χυρις = ΚΩΒ + Ὠρος „*der Verdoppler*“ (oder „*Vervielfältiger*“, i. e. „*eine Vervielfältigung*“) *des Horos*“, JACOBY ap. PREISENDANZ, *ibid.* 203; „*Selbstgeschaffener*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 177. Cf. JACKSON, Lion 101–103 note 78; SM 38.8 n.
- ΧΩΝΣΟΥ ΟΧ ΧΑΕ Ν ΣΟΥΩ (PGM VII 300) Egypt. *Ḥnsw. i'h, ḥ'j-m-šw ʕ* „*Wanderer Mond, aufgehend in großem Lichtglanz*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1934, 172.
- χωουκ (PGM VII 361) Egypt. "darkness", RITNER in: GMP 127.48.
- χωωχωωωχωωχ (PGM IV 1066) Egypt. „*Finsternis*“, JACOBY, app. crit. ad loc. Coptic κω κω ω κακε "depart, depart, O darkness", RITNER in: GMP 59.147.

- ψεμψοι (SM 42) Egypt. *pš-šrj-n-pš-ššj*, Copt. πσεν-ψοις “the son of Shai”, SM 42.53 n.
- ψηριθα (SM 48) Egypt. “son of Re-Ptah”, MARTINEZ 44–45.
- ψινωθ (PGM VII 316) Egypt. “son of the female falcon”, RITNER in: GMP 125.38.
- ψεναβωθ (PGM IV 508) ψεν „*der Sohn des*“ + αβωτ „*Monat*“ WIEDEMANN, app. crit. ad loc.
- ψεντεβηθ (IV 2367) Egypt. “Son of the female falcon” = Horus, RITNER in: GMP 81.300; JACOBY ap. PGM vol. III 233: „*Sohn eines Falkens*“,
- ψι (PGM V 8) Egypt. *pš sš* „*der Sohn*“, THISSEN, ZPE 73 (1988) 305. V. αμελχιψι θιουθι.
- ψινωθερνωψιθερνωψι (PGM IV 828, VII 316, etc.) Egypt. ψι „*höchst*“ + *ntr* „*Gott*“ HOPFNER, OZ I, p. 456; Pistis Sophia 244.3 ff. RITNER in: GMP 54.112, Egypt. “the sons of God”.
- ψιχομ (PGM VII 711) Egypt. *pš šhm* “the image/power”, RITNER in: GMP 138.130.
- ψοι φνουθι νινθηρ (PGM IV 1643) Egypt. „*der in der Höhe, der Gott der Götter*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 446. QUAEGBEUR, Shai (v. p. 3516) 169.2: « *Psais, le dieu (par excellence) des dieux* ». Cf. JACOBY, ARW 28 (1930) 272.1; HOPFNER, OZ I § 408, II § 133; ID., AO 7 (1935) 100.7, 105 f. DMP 2.5, 25, vso. 22.14.
- ψοιεω ψοιεω πνυουτε νεντηρ τηρου (PGM III 144) Egypt. „*in der Höhe Großer, in der Höhe Großer, der Gott aller Götter*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 449. QUAEGBEUR, Shai (v. p. 3516) 169: « *le grande Psais (bis), le dieu (par excellence) de tous les dieux* ». Cf. RITNER in: GMP 22.36; THISSEN, ZPE 73 (1988) 305.
- ψυχοπομοιαψ (PGM CI 28) cf. ψυχοπομπός, WORTMANN, Texte 98.
- ω (PGM passim) Egypt. ʾ “*groß*”. Appears everywhere accompanying the names of deities and demons. Hauchet, an Egyptian primal deity, Abrasax I 245.
- ωαπ (SM 45) Egypt. *w b* “to clean, to be clean”, Copt. ογοπ “temple”, WORTMANN, Texte 97. DMP 29.6. SM 45.20 n. BRASHEAR, SAK 19 (1992) 99.
- ωνθηρ (PGM XIII 956) Egypt. ʾntr-w „*Großer unter den Göttern*“, SCHMIDT, Ph. Wo. 1935, 1184; Abrasax I 218, with ref. to JACOBY, ARW 28 (1930) 272.1.
- ωπολλορφε (PGM VI 35) ὦ Ἀπολλων Φρῆ, HARRAUER, Meliouchos 74.
- ωρβεουσιρι „*die Seele des Osiris*“, JACOBY ap. HOPFNER, Plutarch I, 87.4.
- ωρθμενχινιαβων associated with scorpion gems. BONNER, Studies 200.
- ωρι πι[ρνε]μου (PGM I 134) Egypt. *Hr pšrn inn* „*Groß ist Re, der mit dem verborgenen Namen*“, SCHMIDT, GGA 1931, 443. RITNER in: GMP 6.28; Egypt. Horus ... Amun.
- ωσπορνωριξ (*lamella*) Egypt. “Osiris, the good + ξ”, YOUTIE and BONNER, TAPA 68 (1937) 62. Cf. οσορνωριξ.
- ωυδα cf. λακι
- ϣαιϣωρα (P. Yale inv. 1792) one of the three wise men; *vox magica* in a Coptic papyrus. BRASHEAR, CdE 58 (1983) 297f.; VAN DER VLIET, Aegyptus 71 (1991) 241–242.

III. Annotated Bibliography (1928–1994)

The following bibliography lists books and articles which mention and discuss the magical papyri, ostraca or *lamellae* from Egypt published since PREISENDANZ' bibliography in APF 8 (1927) 104–167, covering the first hundred years of literature on these texts. Also included in the present bibliography is the occasional omission from PREISENDANZ' list as well of books and articles which by the sound of their titles could have conceivably contained matter on the magical texts but which upon inspection proved not to. Not included are editions of papyri, ostraca and *lamellae* from Egypt. These editions are listed in II 1. Included is the occasional gem publication or non-Egyptian *lamella* only

as I have chanced on them (for these see *L'Année Philologique* s. v. *Magica*). A systematic survey of the articles in the lexica such as *RAC*, *DACL*, *HDA*, *LÄ*, *RE*, etc. was not undertaken.

After each title is noted either the presence or absence of a reference to the magical papyri (N. B.: *PGM in this section only* generally designates magical papyri *grosso modo*, and not necessarily PREISENDANZ' publication ordinarily designated by the same letters). For more detailed information on the content of a particular book or article the reader should consult the line-by-line commentary above in II 6 (pp. 3507–3576).

Annual bibliographies of magical literature are published in *L'Année Philologique* s. v. *Magica*, and in *Aegyptus*. *Rivista italiana di egittologia e papirologia*: *Bibliografia metodica*, under no. 713.

Earlier bibliographies containing pertinent material are E. MCCARTNEY and R. CRUM, *Classical Weekly* 40 (1946–1947) 99–101, 42 (1948) 234–236 (on magic and folklore in classical literature); K. PRÜMM, *Religionsgeschichtliches Handbuch für den Raum der altchristlichen Umwelt*, Freiburg i. Br. 1943 (reprint Rome 1954), 366–462; A.-M. TUPET, *La magie dans la poésie latine*, Paris 1976 (Roman magic only); F. PFISTER, *Religion der Griechen und Römer* (= *Bursians Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswiss.* Suppl. Bd. 229), Leipzig 1930, 302–347 (extensive bibliography on magic and the occult sciences); J. ANNEQUIN, *Recherches sur l'action magique et ses représentations*, Paris 1973, 201 ff.

Abbreviations:

occ. = occasional

ref. = reference

disc. = discussion, discusses

cpd., cps. = compared, compares

descr. = description, describes

gen'l = general

Ger. = German

Fr. = French

Span. = Spanish

Ital. = Italian

Engl. = English

tr. = translation

A. E. K., *The Gnosis and Gnostic Gems: A Sketch*, *The Antiquarian Quarterly* 11 (London 1927) 71–81: no PGM.

ABEL, K., s. v. *Akephalos*, in: *RE Suppl.* 12 (1970) 9–14: PGM *passim*.

ABRAHAMSE, D. DE F., *Magic and Sorcery in the Hagiography of the Middle Byzantine Period*, *Byzant. Forsch.* 8 (1982) 3–17: no PGM.

AGOSTINIANI, L., *Studi Etruschi* 44 (1976) 307: brief mention of PGM in a discussion of an enigmatic list of words on a clay tablet from Prizzi, Sicily.

AGRELL, S., *Die spätantike Alphabetmystik und die Runenreihe* (= *Kgl. Humanist. Vetenskaps-samf. i Lund. Årsberättelse 1931–1932*, VI): no PGM.

Id., *Runornas Talmystik och des antika förebild* (= *Skrifta utg. av Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund* 6), Lund 1927: pp. 8–9: numerological explication of PGM X 29 ff.

Id., *Die pergamenische Zauberscheibe und das Tarockspiel*, *Kgl. Humanist. Vetenskapssamf. i Lund. Årsberättelse 1935–1936*, IV, 61–190: PGM *passim*.

Id., *Studier i senantik bokstavsmystik*, *Eranos* 26 (1928) 1–51: numerological interpretation of PGM.

Id., *Senantik mysteriereligion och nordisk runmagi*, Lund 1931: pp. 34 f., occ. gen'l ref. to PGM.

Id., *Lapptummor och runmagi*, Lund 1934: no PGM.

- AIGNER, HERBERT, Zum Hexenwesen im Altertum, in: H. VALENTINISCH, ed., *Hexen und Zauberer I*, Graz–Vienna 1987, 175–181: p. 177, brief ref. to DMP.
- ALBERGAMO, F., *Mito e magia*, Naples 1970: no PGM.
- ALEXANDER, P., The Historical Setting of the Hebrew Book of Enoch, *JJS* 28 (1977) 156–180: p. 179.48, brief ref. to PGM.
- Id., Comparing Merkavah Mysticism and Gnosticism, *JJS* 35 (1984) 1–18: p. 9.19, brief ref. to PGM.
- Id., Incantation and Books of Magic, in: E. SCHÜRER, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, G. VERMES, F. MILAR and M. GOODMAN, edd., Edinburgh 1986, vol. III, 1, 42–79: (non vidi).
- ALFARIC, P., *REA* 35 (1935) 116–117: reviews several of TH. HOPFNER's works; brief ref. to PGM.
- ALFIERI, V. E., *Gli atomisti. Frammenti e testimonianze*, Bari 1936: pp. 303–305, Ital. tr. of PGM VII 167 f., XII 351 ff.
- ALFONSI, L., L'epistola I clementina, i papiri magici, i ludi saeculares, *Aegyptus* 27 (1947) 111–114: takes exception to SCHERMANN's interpretation (*Griech. Zauberpapyri und das Gemeinde- und Dankgebet im 1. Klemensbrief*, Leipzig 1909); occ. ref. to PGM.
- ALLIER, R., *Magie et Religion*, Paris 1935: pp. 369–370, short Fr. tr. of PGM.
- ALON, G., *Jews, Judaism and the Classical World*, Jerusalem 1977, pp. 235–251: on *ba-shem*, a common *vox magica* in PGM. In many instances it is to be interpreted as a separate entity and not merely Hebrew for "in the name of", e.g. PGM XIII 146, 478 (*besen*), etc.
- Id., *Ba Shem*, *Tarbiz* 21 (1950) 30–39: occ. brief ref. to PGM.
- ALPERS, K., *Untersuchungen zum griechischen Physiologos und den Kyraniden*, *Vestigia Bibliae*. Jb. d. Deutschen Bibel-Archivs Hamburg 6 (1984) 13–88: p. 63.73, brief ref. to PGM.
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