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

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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who answered questions about papyri in their collections, sent me off-prints, xerox-copies, occasional odd articles, unpublished manuscripts and translations from languages I would not otherwise have had access to.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, Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts (= NISABA 9), Leiden 1978.
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt / Rise and Decline of the Roman World, Berlin–New York 1972 ff.
AO	Archiv Orientalni, Prague 1921 f.
Athen. Mitt.	Athenische Mitteilungen, 1893 f.
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo 1902 f.
BKT	Berliner Klassikertexte, Berlin 1904 f.
BonnJbb	Bonner Jahrbücher, Bonn 1842 f.
BSAC	Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte
BSFE	Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie, 1949 f.
CCAG	Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum I–XIII, Brussels 1898–1953
CdE	Chronique d'Égypte, Brussels 1925 f.
DACL	F. CABROL, H. LECLERQ, Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie
DMP	F. LL. GRIFFITH and H. THOMPSON, The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden I–III, London 1904–1921
GMP	H.-D. BETZ, The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Chicago 1986. (All references are to page numbers.)
HDA	H. BÄCHTOLD-STÄUBLI and E. HOFFMANN-KRAYER, edd., Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens, Berlin–Leipzig 1927–1942, repr. Berlin–New York 1986
HERE	J. HASTINGS' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, repr. Edinburgh 1961–1966
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae, Berlin 1873 f.
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het vooraziatisch-egyptisch genootschap „Ex Oriente Lux“, Leiden 1938 f.
JPGMJ	The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal, Malibu 1974 f.
LÄ	Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Wiesbaden 1975 f.
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Kairo, 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-westfälischer Akad. d. Wissens. Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensis 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, Zauberverwesen	L. BLAU, Altjüdisches Zauberverwesen, 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.
WILLIAM BRASHEAR, *Magica Varia* (= *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 25), Brussels 1991.
W. BUDGE, *Amulets and Talismans*, New York 1961. This is a reprint of his *Amulets and Superstitions*, Oxford–London 1930.
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- Graeco-Coptica
- GRANT
- GRIFFITHS, Atlantis
GUNDEL, Weltbild
- GUNDEL, Dekane
- HANSE
HARRAUER, Meliouchos
- HEIM
- HENGSTL
- HOPFNER, Fontes
- Id., Mageia
Id., Nekromantie
- Id., Plutarch
- HORAK
- HULL, Magic
- HUNT and EDGAR, Select Papyri I
- KÁKOSY, Magia
- KAMBITIS
- KEYSSNER, Gottesvorstellung
- KOPP, Pal. crit.
- KROPP, KZT
- Leben
- LEIPOLDT and MORENZ, Schriften
LEWIS, Life
- P. NAGEL, ed., *Graeco-Coptica*. *Griechen und Kopten im byzantinischen Ägypten* (= *Martin-Luther-Univ. Wissenschaftl. Beitr.* 48 [1 29]), Halle (Saale) 1984.
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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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- ONIAN, Origins
PACK²
PFISTER, Religion
PHILIPP
PREISENDANZ, Akephalos
Id., Magie
Id., Nekydaimon
Id., Papyrusfunde
Id., Paredros
Id., Überlieferung
Id., Überlieferungsgeschichte
Id., Uroboros
RAVEN, Papyrus
RIESS
RIVAL, Amulettes
ROCCATI, SILIOTTI, Magia
ROEDER, Ausklang
ROHLAND
SCHOLEM, Gnosticism
SCHWAB, Angél.
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S. SCIACCA, Phylakterion con iscrizione magica greco-ebraica, *Kokalos* 28–29 (1982–1983) 87–104.
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ID., Relations
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- TRACHTENBERG, Magic
J. TRACHTENBERG, Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion, New York–Cleveland 1939, 1961².
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EAD.,
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ID., Typology
E. TURNER, Greek Papyri: An Introduction, Princeton 1968.
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- ID., Marrow
E. TURNER, The Marrow of Hermes, in: *Images of Man in Ancient and Medieval Thought. Studia Gerardo Verbeke ab amicis et collegis dicata*, Louvain 1976, 169–173.
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OSCAR VON LEMM, Koptische Miscellen (= *Subsidia Byzantina XI*), Leipzig 1972.
- WEITZMANN, Illumination
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- ID., Illustrations
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- WORTMANN, Kosmogonie
DIERK WORTMANN, Kosmogonie und Nilflut. Studien zu einigen Typen magischer Gemmen griechisch-römischer Zeit aus Ägypten, BonnJbb 166 (1966) 62–112.
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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. 3603ff.

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. Gnostische 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 μητιόεντα
ἔσθλά, τά οἱ Πολύδαιμονα πόρεν, Θῶνος παράκοιτις
Αἴγυπτιή, τῇ πλεῖστα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἔσθλά μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρὰ. *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 49 b: "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. KAPÉLUD, *The Interrelationship between Religion and Magic in Hittite Religion*, *Numen* 6 (1959) 32 f.; W. GUTKUNST, s.v. *Zauber*, 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, *Égypte 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. BORGHOUTS s.v. *Magie*, in: LÄ III (1980) 1137–1151; BONNET, *Reallexikon*, s.vv. *Magie*, *Zauber*, *Hike*, *Beschwörung*, *Liebeszauber*, *Fluch*; ERMAN, *Religion* 295–313; LEXA, *Magie*; A. H. GARDINER s.v. *Magic*, in: *HERE* 8 (1915) 262–269; J. BORGHOUTS, *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'Ecole 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, *Ausklank* 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* (RGVV 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 dé baptisés 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, *Ausklank* 184; J. G. GRIFFITHS, *Plutarch de 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: ἀναγγινώσκειν μεγάλη φωνή; v. n. 242.

²¹ AEMT 123 (p. 84); ROEDER, *Ausklank* 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 1969³, 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 Abor* 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. HENRICHs, 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 Mandaeen 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, ZÄS 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), *Florance* 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, *Ausklänge*; AEMT passim; here I 2 g.

³⁰ Hocus-pocus: This charm is cited by ERMAN and RANKE, *Aegypten 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 dghn idsn / sm t'kil' idsn / durhs qn bs*. Cf. J.-C. GOYON, BIFAO 75 (1975) 368: *ir3k3 ir3k3, ihyr3k3 hyr3k3 ... ih-bnni (al. Thn-b3yirky)*; LEXA, *Magie* I 116; K. SETHE, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den Ägyptischen Pyramidentexten I*, Hamburg 1962, 214–215: *bj-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'Egypte 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'Etude* 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: *Isidore 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, *Becherwahrung 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 lv–lviii; E. BRESCHIANI, 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 epaetheia* which M. MÜLLER, *Recueil de Travaux* 8 (1886) 178, demonstrated are Greek: ἀφώβως 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, *Abrahadabra 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 *voces 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 Gesellschaften 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. FURTWÄNGLER, 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 (RGV 2,3), Giessen 1904.

⁵⁹ Papyri 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 griekse 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 griechischer 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. DI 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 1972; W. DAWSON, JEA 38 (1949) 158–160; O. LAGERCRANTZ, P. Graecus Holmiensis Recepte für Silber, Steine und Purpur, Uppsala–Leipzig 1913, 46; A. KLASSENS, OMRC 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. Reuvsens 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 columns 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, CRIPPEL 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 *voces 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 cophtes 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 ποίησον τὴν βίβλον (233), ἐπιγνοὺς γὰρ τῆς βίβλου τὴν δύναμιν κρύπτεις (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. FARAOE 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 LEEMANS' 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. Jahresher. Staatsgymn. Hernalis–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", ZAS 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. CROISSET, 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 XIa).

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 papyri. 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. Mimaout (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 Luxembourg.

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 Mimaout 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, Astrampsycho, 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 theoretic-

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 'Philonna 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 1926, 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 „*purezza 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 *voces 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 *voces 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 proscribed 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 *voces 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 ἄλλοις ἀντιγράφοις ἐγγράπτο ὅτι πληθοῦσης “however, in other copies is written ‘by full moon’”. PGM vol. III s. v. ἄλλος lists numerous examples of such phrases as ἐν ἄλλῳ (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 φρὴ ανωι φωρχω φυσυ ρορ ψις οροχωοι, ὡς δὲ ἐν τῷ χάριτῃ 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’ ἀλλάξης¹⁴⁵ – 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 ἀκοή οὐρανοῦ the word ἀκοή is not the Greek word for “hearing” but Egyptian *ḥk3-w* “sole ruler”. In PGM IV 3028: ἐπὶ Ἀμμων is not Greek ἐπί, but rather Egyptian *ʿpj* = “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 *πρᾶξις* 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: τῶν δαίμονι τούτῳ Ἀντινόφ; 11, 14, 18: νεκυδαίμων Ἀντινόφ). *Nekydaimones* usually remain anonymous in these charms (PGM IV 346: ὅστις ποτ' εἴ, 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'Antinoopolis*», 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 XXXIIa $\equiv$ 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 XXVIIIa, b, c, as well as nos. 2, 3 and 6a, all seem to have been patterned after a common formula. PGM 15a $\equiv$ 15b. PGM T 2a, b, c; ZPE 42 (1981) 112 and SB I 3573 may derive from a common formulary.¹⁶¹ PGM 3.7–8 and XCVI 1f. also display the same text.¹⁶² PGM XXXIIa $\equiv$ LXVIII. Both these texts and XXXII were written by the same person.

PGM 6d $\equiv$ 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 81f.

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

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

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

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

¹⁶² R. DANIEL, ZPE 25 (1977) 150–151. Cf. R. KOTANSKY, in: Magika Hieria 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 W.M. BRASHEAR, Magica Varia, no. 2.

¹⁶⁴ WORTMANN, Texte 57ff., 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 Hieria 23.11; R. KOTANSKY in: Magika Hieria 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 285f. 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 385f. 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 XXXb 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 13a was penned by the poetaster Dioscoros of Aphroditon who lived and wrote in the VI c. A.D. PGM 15a, b were apparently written after the Henotikon of Zeno in 482. PGM XXVIIIa–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, XVIIb; 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 hauienda' 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 harken 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 Babylonia, 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. NÖCK, *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 NÖCK, *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. PROCOPE-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

a) 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 païenne, 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. NÖCK¹⁹⁹ 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), Ostanos (PGM XII 122) and Astrampsykos (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. CLAUS, 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. w3d.t. nšwj.t-i'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 βαρβαρθα).

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 magicae* (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 σεμσιλμ as Hebrew for "eternal sun" is apparently no longer valid. G. SCHOLEM says it is not Hebrew

WALD, Neue Spuk- und Zauberliteratur, 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 shelam* "my name is peace".²²⁷

Other frequently appearing Semitic roots are Baal "Lord" (spelled in the papyri as Bol, Bal, Bel) in various combinations such as Βαλσαμης, Βαλχαμ, Αβελβελ, and Melek "king" in such *voces magicae* as μελχιου, μελχαμελχου, μελχιεδεα. 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. Semea, in: RE III A,1 (1927) 137–140; S. RONZEVALLE, *Sima-Athēna-Némēsis*, *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 σμεία. 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, *ZAS* 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 Leusiborae 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 ἑσφαλῶς καὶ αἰνιγματωδῶς

²³⁴ J. HAUER, *Die Dhāraṇī 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. GRIFITHS, *Atlantis* 266–290; Wm. 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 ἐπιγράφονται 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 τετραξ 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 ἀλεξιφάρμακα) 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 ἀλεξιφάρμακα; Anaxilas as quoted by Athenaeus XII 548 c: ἐν σκυταρίοις βαπτοῖσι φορῶν / Ἐφεσῆια γράμματα κάλα; Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 1337: ἀναλόλυξε 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. NÖCK, 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 *voces 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 αηιουω, 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 *homoiooteuton*, *homoiarcton* and general rhyme and rhythm,²⁴⁵ e.g. PGM VII 379, 384: μελιβου μελιβου μελιβουβαν; XIII 809

²⁴¹ Cf. Gregory Nazianzenus (MIGNE PG 36.318 A and *scholium* 907 B–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, *Zauberwesen* 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, *Mithrasliturgie*², 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 Johannis* (MIGNE PG 87.3, p. 3521 B); 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 DERCHAIN, *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. HAUER (n. 234) discusses the same phenomena in Buddhist 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 (*voces 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, *Abraxa*, *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 ὑπερ-
 κύε; W. TILL, *ZAS* 77 (1942) 102: θογγαα, μογγαα, βογγαα. Except for the

Varia 41–42; J. L. HELLER, *Nenia*, *παίνιον*, *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 Zauberswesen 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* (Rektorsrede), 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. VYICHL, *Die Aleph-Beth-Regel im Demotischen u. Koptischen*, *Archiv f. ägypt. Archaeologie* 1 (1938) 224–226; W. VYICHL, *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. HAYERS, *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 Lautstilistik*, *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, μαρπτεσφιγκλωψζβυχθηθον, and κναξζβιχθυπητςφλεγμαοδρω²⁴⁷ 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 (περυγοειδῶς 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 XVII a), 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 HAELEST)“. 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. Wm. 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: Συριστι θεὸν μέγαν ζααλαηριφου ... Ἑβραϊστὶ ἀβλα-ναθαναλβα αβρασιλωα; XIII 82 = 594: ὀρνεογλυφιστὶ²⁵⁴ αραϊ, ἱερογλυφιστὶ λαιλαμ, ἄβραϊστὶ ανοχ Βιαθιαρβαθ βερβιρ ..., αἰγυπτιστὶ Ἀλδαβαιμ, κυνο-κεφαλιστὶ αβρασαζ, ἱερακιστὶ χι χι χι χι ... ἱερατιστὶ μενεφωιωθ χα χα χα ...; V 115: Οσοροννωφρις· τοῦτ' ἔστι σοῦ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἀληθινὸν τὸ παραδι-δόμενον τοῖς προφήταις Ἰσραήλ — 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, υλαμων, 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. FRIESENHAIN, *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, *Zauberwesen* 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 *Hippiatr.*, 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. ἐλλίων. 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, *OZI* §§ 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, ZAS 59 (1924) 149 sees Arabic in an ancient Egyptian spell.

²⁶⁹ BONNER, *Studies* 187; NILSSON, *Religion* 133; R. DANIEL, ZPE 50 (1983) 152; F. MALTOMINI, 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. Βελλων IV 3022, ιαννα IV 2414, αμωρ IV 283?, αματωρ VII 535?, αχχεριμα IV 2027?, ουημαντουρ = *vementer*?, VII 578. Cf. PGM vol. III, p. 207, *Register II: Lateinische 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: *nebouts 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 *abamentho* in the papyri. Most of them occur in the palindrome αβεραμενθουλερθεξεαναξεθρελυο-ωθνεμαρεβα which he translates as Hebrew for « *Puissant des eaux, Thot, dieu de pluie, O souverain* (ἀναξ): *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: YONIEΓYOMΣOΘOB. 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: ἦκέ μοι, ἀγαθὲ γεωργέ Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων, Ἀρπον [Κνου]φι, 237: Ἀρπον Χνουφι, I V 2428, 2433: Ἀρπεν Χνουβι. Ἀρπον Χνουφι = Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων = Ἀρποκράτης). Ἀρπον 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 "*nbp*" (pottery wheel), "*b3 n ntr*" (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 μελλαλ. 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 magicæ* μαχίως, τῶατταρα, and φαθισμωρα 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, τῶατταρια and φαθισωρα 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 magicæ*, 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 magicæ* 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 Egyp-

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, Mageia 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.

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 magicæ* cf. II 7: Glossary s. vv. σουμαρθα, μαρμαραωθ, σεσεγγενβενφαρ-αγγης.

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'Égypte 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. SJPES-TEIJN, 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 WM. 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*; WM. 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: *Ἀκέφαλος 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 Euboia*, *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 Audolent, 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 (= Veröffentlich. 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, OZI §§ 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 τετραρταῖον 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, OZI §§ 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 *voces 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, *Magie in Early Christianity*, ANRW II 23.2, ed. W. HAASE, Berlin–New York 1980, 1507–1557; TH. VAN BAAREN, *Gerüststellungsriten. 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, *Magie and Methodology*, *Numen* 17 (1970) 45–59; L. DEUBNER, *Magie und Religion*, Freiburg 1922; J. DE VRIES, *Magie 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 – *haruspicium*, *augurium*, *auspicium*, hepa-

Religion and Magic – Frazer, Söderblom, and Hägerström, *Ethnos* 21 (1956) 1–10; S. ERTREM, s. v. *Magie*, in: *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford 1949, 528–530; ID. and J. H. CROON, s. v. *Magie*, *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. GUTEKUNST, s. v. *Zauber*, in: *LÄ VI* (1986) 1320 ff.; I. HAMPP, *Beschwörung, Segen, Gebet*, Stuttgart 1961; HERE, s. vv. *Demons, Magic*. etc.; J. W. HAUSER, *Die Religion, ihr Werden, ihr Sinn, ihre Wahrheit I: Das religiöse Erlebnis auf den untersten Stufen*, Berlin 1923; J. JASTROW and R. M. WENLEY, *Magie und 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-STAUB, *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, *Magie, 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, *Preaministic 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 pudge stone facons 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 ff.; 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, ZAS 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. LEBOVICI (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'archivio 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 responso scritto*, EVO 2 (1979) 57 ff. – all addressed to Suchos. 12 from Soknopaiu Nesos: E. BRESCIANI, *L'archivio 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 Teephobis – 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: *Syntheleia V. Arancio-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. HENRICH, *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 πλευντέον, εἰ δανειστέον*. In fact, we read in some of the Greek oracle questions: *εἰ οὐ διδοταί μοι συμβῆσαι* (PGM XXX b), *εἰ δέδοται μοι γαμήσαι* (PGM LXXIII), *ἢ κρίνεται αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἐς πόλιν* (PGM XXXIa). 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: prodosis 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 HENRICH (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, HENRICH 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 8a 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. ALX, *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. HEINEVEITER, *Würfel- und Buchstaben-orakel 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, *ZAS* 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 (= PAK² 2493): Χάρης Σούχων τῷ αὐτοῦ θεῷ.
- 2) ?, II B. C., M. GRONEWALD and D. HAGEDORN, *ZPE* 41 (1981) 289 ff. (= SB XVI 12677).
- 3) Oxyrhynchus, II–I B. C., P. XVII Congr. 14: κυρία Θοήρει καὶ Θωώνει καὶ Ἀρπεβήκει καὶ Ἀρποχράτη.
- 4) Tebtynis, I B. C., P. Tebt. II 284, private letter referring to an oracle answer from Σεκνεβτύνιος ὁ κύριος θεός.

Roman:

- 5) ? I (P. München III 117): Εἴσι θεᾶι με(γίστη) καὶ Διοσκ(ούροις) κα[ί] Σαρᾶπι θεῶι ᾧ με(γάλῳ).
- 6) Bacchias, I (PGM XXX a): Σοκωννωκωννὶ θεῶ με{γα}λο με(γάλῳ).
- 7) Soknopaiu Nesos, 6 A. D. (PGM XXX b): τῷ μεγίστῳ κραταίῳ θεῶ Σοκνοπαί[ω].
- 8) Soknopaiu Nesos, I (PGM XXX c): Σοκνοπαίω καὶ Σοκονπιεῖος θεοὶ με(γάλοι με(γάλο[ι] – 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 Ἀρπηνηῆσι.
- 11) Fayum, I/II, (PGM XXXI a): κύριοι Διόσκοροι.
- 12) Soknopaiu Nesos, I, P. Berol. inv. 21716: [κυρί]ω Σοκνοπ(αίω) καὶ Ἀμμωνι.³⁷⁸
- 13) Soknopaiu Nesos, II, P. Berol. inv. 21712: κυρίω Σοκνοπαίω θεῶ με(γάλῳ) καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς.
- 14) Soknopaiu Nesos, II, P. Berol. inv. 21713: Σοκνοπαίου θεοῦ ᾧ με(γάλῳ), με(γάλῳ) καὶ Ἀμμων Θεοῦ Σοκκοπια.
- 15) Soknopaiu Nesos, II, P. Berol. inv. 21714: κύρι Σοκνοπαίου.
- 16) Soknopaiu Nesos, II, P. Berol. inv. 21715: κυρίω [Σοκνοπαίω θεῶ] με(γάλῳ) καὶ Ἀμμωνι θεοῖς με(γάλοις).
- 17) Soknopaiu Nesos, II, P. Berol. inv. 21875: κυρίω Σοκνοπ[αίω] καὶ Ἀμμωνι θεοῖς με(γάλοις).
- 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]ν[ο]παίω θεῶ καὶ Ἀμμωνι Σουκου [...]. καὶ τοῖς συννά[οις] θεοῖς
- 21) Oxyrhynchus ?, II, P. Köln IV 202: κύρι Θῶνι.
- 22) Oxyrhynchus, II, P. Oxy. 2613: [κ]ύρι[ε] μοι 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]νπιαίει 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 Σωκωπιεῖ (HAGEDORN, op. cit., p. 218).
- 28) Soknopaiu Nesos, II (PGM XXX e): Σοκνοπ(αίω) θεῶν μεγάλωι καὶ Ἄμμωνι θεοῖς μεγίστοις.
- 29) Soknopaiu Nesos, II (PGM XXX f): κυρίω Σοκνοπ(αίω) καὶ Ἄμμωνι θεοῖς μεγάλοις.
- 30) Soknopaiu Nesos, II (PGM XXX d): θεῶν μεγάλων μεγάλων Σοκνοπαίω καὶ Σοκονπειῶι.
- 31) Soknopaiu Nesos, II (PGM LXXV): κύριε μέγιστε. Σοκνοπαίωι θεῶι μεγάλωι.
- 32) Fayum, II (PGM LXXVI): Σούξει θεῶν μεγάλω μεγάλω.
- 33) Oxyrhynchus, II (PGM LXXIII): [Διὶ Ἡ]λίω μεγάλω Σαράπιδι [καὶ] τοῖς συννάοις.
- 34) Oxyrhynchus, II (PGM XXXI c): Διὶ Ἡλίωι μεγάλωι Σεράπιδι.
- 35) Soknopaiu Nesos, II (HENRICHs, ZPE 11, 1973, 118 = SB XII 11227 = Hengstl, no. 66): κυρίω Σοκνοπαίω καὶ Ἄμμωνι ἀνικήτῳ.
- 36) Soknopaiu Nesos?, II (P. Heid. IV 335): κύρι Σεκνπάεως καὶ Ἄμ[ωνι] Σούχου καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτοῖς[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[v]ι.
- 40) Oxyrhynchus, II–III (PGM LXXIV): [Διὶ Ἡ]λίωι μεγάλω[φ 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 θε(ε)ς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἀληθινὸς φιλόανθρωπος 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, θεε παντοκράτωρ, καὶ ἅγιε Φιλόξενε, πρόστατά μου = no. 47; cf. NDIEC 2, p. 40; VAN HAELEST no. 963; H. C. YOUTIE, ZPE 18 (1975) 253ff.
- 49) Oxyrhynchus, VI (PGM 24) = VAN HAELEST no. 915.
- 50) Antinoe, VI (P. XVII Congr. 20): [Κολ]λοῦθε μάρτυς χ(ριστιανό)ς.
- 51) Antinoe, VI (P. XVII Congr. 21): ὁ θε(ε)ς τῇ [ς θ]εοδόκος Μαρία.
- 52) Kom Fares, VI–VII (P. Berol. 21269, APF 32, 1986, 29): ὁ θε(ε)ς 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 δυσι 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.

Iarpebekis: no. 3.

Harpocrates: 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) 252f.; J. KOLLESCH APF 26 (1978) 146f. (for texts published between 1964 and 1976); K. MARESC, 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 Lüdeckens, 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, γββ, γβς..., 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	
AGA	AGAH	AGAHΛ	
AAA	AAAH	AAAHΛ	
AE	AEH	AEHΛ	etc., up to AMA AMAH AMAHΛ.

However, the concluding portion reveals it to be a charm: AMANOYHA BOIOI, 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: AAHΛ, BAHΛ, ΓAHΛ, ΔAHΛ ... ΦAHΛ, XAHΛ, ΨAHΛ, ΩAHΛ; as well as BKU I 17; KROPP, KZT III §§ 225 ff. Somewhat similar are the *voces magicae* in WÜNSCH, *Zaubergerät* 13: αλαλα ελελελ ηληληλ, etc., ασασας εσεσεσ ησησησ etc., αναναψ ενεψεν 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 ὄμου, κυνὼν and the repetitive ωμθ suggested the text might be magical. More probably the board contains a single account, ὄμου and ωμθ being misspellings and abbreviations for ὄμοῦ. Κυνὼνδε is an illiterate rendition of γίνονται, 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 papirologica* 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 papirologica* 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	πεντοι	βιουθ	...	κρησδιωννι	Ἰυνς
..κη	αωκαι	...		προσεφε	Ἰβα
..κα	Λ τανωρ	...		ανοκας	γζ
Ἰβυκη	και	σενο	...		
Ἀυξη.	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 Papp*, *Allgem. Anzeiger f. Buchbinderei* 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; Wm. 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 described by A. STÖHLER-ZIMMERMANN and H. HARRAUER, *Restaurator* 85 (1979) 315–319; A. STÖHLER-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 ἀθανάτοις θεοῖσιν.
 ἢ ἂν δῶ μήλω τε βάλω μήλω τε πατάξω
 πάντα δ' ὑπερθεμένη μαίνονται ἐπ' ἐμῇ φιλότῃ
 ἢ τ' ἐν χειρὶ λαβοῦσα φάγοι — — —
 ἐν κόλπῳ καθίσαι καὶ μὴ παύσαιοι φιλῶν με
 Κυπρογένεια † (θεά, σὺ) τέλει τέλει ἐπασιδῇ.

fied Version of the Enzyme-Method, in: *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia I*, Neapel 1984, 45–49; M. FACKELMANN, *Restaurierung 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. KAKOSY, *Das Ende des Heidentums in Ägypten*, in: *Graeco-Coptica* 76, with reference to G. WIER, *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:

ἐλαβόν σου [τὸ] ὄμμα· ὁ δεῖ(ν)α· ἐλαβόν σου [τὴν] ψυχὴν· ὁ δεῖ(ν)α· ἐπα-
σάμην σου τοῦ αἵματος· [ὁ δε(ε)ῖ(να)]· ἐχρησάμην [ν] ὁ δε(ε)ῖ(να)· κατέφα[ν]
γόν] σου τὸ ἥπαρ· ὁ [δε(ε)ῖ(να)] ± 5]σάμην σου τ[ὸ δε]ρμα· ὁ δε(ε)ῖ(να)·
ἐποίησα· ἡ θεὰ ἡ ἐν τῷ οὐρ[αν]ῶι αὐτὸν προκ[άτ]ιδε καὶ ἐ[γ]ένετο αὐτῶ[ι]
πάντα 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 κατάσειε λέγω[ν...] χρῆς ἴδη πρὶν ἥλιον [l. χρῆς πρὶν εἶδῃς 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 ἀνατέλλον, χαίρετέωσαν δὲ οἱ σὺν ἐοῖ ἀνατέλλοντες θεοί, χαίρετέω 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· ἐκερνοφόρησα· 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 μήτε [] ὥσαι 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 τέλει ἐπασιδῇν.

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 iambs. 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 "Αδη θεοί)⁴¹² make an appearance. Other references, such as Διοσκοροί, ἀναστάτεια and πότνια ἀθανάτη are tantalizingly obscure. Nocturnal rites are intimated 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 J. ακρα could conceivably begin several *voces magicae*, e.g., ακραμαμαχαμαρει, 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. LEIBOVITCH, 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. GRIFFITHS, 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, 'Εσθής, 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 "Αδη θεοί also appear in B. BOYAVAL, 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 stauograms (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 γεννώσαν ἔξελθε 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 stauogram 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 Ἐλισάβετ τὸν Πρόδρομον ἔξελθε, 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 ἔξελθε 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, *ZAS* 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 exeas*“ (FRANZ, *Benediktionen* 200 no. 4); ὡς ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Ἰῶνας ἀπὸ τοῦ κήτους καὶ ὁ Λάζαρος ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου, ἔξελθε 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 aha 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 diu gegant. 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, JWC 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 ἀληθεύεται τοῦτο τὸ πιττάκιον, οὕτως στρέψον τὸν ἐγκέφαλον. καὶ τὴν κηδῖαν καὶ πᾶσαν διάνοιαν ζήτου 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 Kalemara. 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; Protevange. Jacobi (TISCHENDORF, *Evangel. Apoc.* 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 Θεοῦ; L. KOENEN, ZPE 8 (1971) 199 ff. = PGM LXVII 11: Ἑ[ρμ]οῦ χθονίου Θεοῦ; 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 νεκροδαίμων.

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. PREIDENDANZ, *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 Achori, 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-BERGSTRÖM s. vv. Hingerichteter, Armsünder, Hinrichtung, ibid., IV (1932) 37–58; D. JORDAN, Athen. Mitt. 95 (1980) 234; R. LASCH, Die Verleibs-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 bēbēs, 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, Niemandland, 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. LECOUEUX, Geschichte der Gespenster und Wiedergänger im Mittelalter, Vienna 1987, 33; J. DELUMEAU, La peur en occident (XIVe–XVIIIe siècles), Paris 1978; E. LEROY LADURIE, Montaignou, 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 *voces 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. BOYAVAL, *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* (vornals 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.; W. M. 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 W. M. 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 Samaan (Deir el Gharbieh) showing 24 seated figures, each one designated by a name: Aael, Bael, Gael, Dael, Eael ... Phael, Chael, Psaal, 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 Bainchooch, Abrasax, Semesilam, Damnameficus 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

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

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'Égypte*, Sisteron 1978, 77. For some, still inexplicable, reason, the Copts consistently employ the forms *απετο* and *οτεπα*. 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) 107 f.

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 3 c); 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 77 f., XIV 12 f., XV 46, XXXII 60 f.; cf. W. CRUM, *JEA* 20 (1934) 197.

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; W. M. 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*, *Mittel. d. Anthropol. Ges.* in Wien 82, 1953, 17.119; BUDGE, *Amulets*, 447–449; TRACHTENBERG, *Magic* 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. BORGHOOTS, 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. altoriental. 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: *mermeunt, mermeunt* – cf. PGM VII 482: μεριουτ, μερμεριουτ, 483: μερμεριουθ, 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 *Schwindeschema* on P. Köln inv. 851 (VII c. A.D.) as in an 18th-c. Greek manuscript also in *Schwindeschema* 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. PARÁSSOGLU, 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-Hakim*, London 1986. – Supposedly the name *Picatrix* derives from Hippiocrates 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 = PACK² 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.