

The Greco-Egyptian Magical Papyri

Jacco Dieleman

1 Introduction

The dry sands of Egypt's deserts have preserved for us a large number of papyri dating to the late Ptolemaic and Roman periods, that are inscribed with ritual texts used for purely private, pragmatic ends. Ranging in date from about the first century BCE to the sixth century CE, they are testament to what once was a flourishing tradition of Greco-Egyptian private ritual along the Nile. Some are formularies with detailed instructions for ritual specialists on how to perform rituals; others are curses and amulets that ritual specialists produced, often relying on such formularies, for clients who felt the pressing need for supernatural assistance in resolving matters of health and interpersonal conflict. Most are written in koine Greek, but several are written primarily, or include significant sections, in Demotic Egyptian and Old-Coptic. One fragmentary manuscript preserves even a column of incantations in Formal Egyptian transcribed in Old-Coptic letters, and two recipes claim to give an incantation in Meroitic in Demotic transcription.

Today scholars refer to these papyri with the modern names of 'Greek Magical Papyri' (*PGM*) and 'Demotic Magical Papyri' (*PDM*)—or in combination, 'Greek and Demotic Magical Papyri.' These labels suggest that the manuscripts can be divided neatly by their primary language of inscription into two discrete corpora. This is, however, over-simplistic—if not outright mistaken and misleading. It is true that many manuscripts are written entirely in Greek, but there are no manuscripts that are inscribed exclusively in Demotic. All five manuscripts that contain recipes in Demotic include also recipes, or embed incantations, in Greek. Several other manuscripts contain sections in Old-Coptic next to, or as part of, Greek recipes. Moreover, most recipes and manuscripts are ostensibly the result of multiple inextricable stages of composition, compilation, redaction, and translation of source texts and copies in both Greek and Egyptian. The conventional *PGM/PDM* labels fail therefore to do justice to the multilingual and multicultural nature of the rituals as well as the manuscripts that preserve them. Instead, in this chapter, the manuscripts will be treated irrespective of their language of inscription as manifestations of Greco-Egyptian private ritual, a highly eclectic form of ritual and scribal

practice that emerged first in the cosmopolitan cities of late Ptolemaic Egypt. Whoever composed, copied, and used these ritual texts, they coined a new verbal and visual idiom of ritual power by adapting freely from Egyptian, Greek, and Jewish rituals, texts, and authoritative traditions.

All manuscripts have been recovered in Egypt, where, thanks to the arid climate, materials written on papyrus, ostraca, and wooden tablets stand a better chance of survival than anywhere else in the former regions of the Roman Empire. Yet, similar materials circulated throughout the Roman Empire, as we know from ancient accounts as well as engraved gems and inscribed metal tablets that have been recovered in regions outside Egypt (some of which parallel texts in the papyri from Egypt). Therefore, with about 350 individual manuscripts, the Greco-Egyptian Magical Papyri represent one of the most important sources for the study of private ritual in late Hellenistic and Roman times—in *and* outside Egypt. They preserve a perplexing variety of views and methods on how to mobilize assistance from the divine in everyday life.

2 Greco-Egyptian Private Ritual

'Greco-Egyptian private ritual' is used here as a generic term for a set of ritual practices from late Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt that aimed at acquiring assistance from deities, demons, and the dead for overcoming uncertainty, misfortune, illness, and conflict in everyday life.¹ Typologically, the practices range from protection and healing to cursing, divination, and divine visions. Rites were small in scale, required little expense, and were usually to be performed in a domestic space (or outdoors, out of view). Its associated material culture consists of papyri, silver and gold lamellae, gems of semi-precious stone, and lead tablets. Its primary language was always Koine Greek (interspersed occasionally with Egyptian terms), but in the course of the Roman period, it also found expression in local languages such as Demotic and Coptic (in Egypt) as well as Hebrew and Aramaic (in Egypt and Palestine). Mirroring the demographic realities of the cities and towns of late Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, the phenomenon was overtly and deliberately cosmopolitan and syncretistic in character, as is well illustrated by the range of deities, authoritative figures, and ritual procedures. Egyptian, Greek, and Jewish traditions were mixed and adapted. This multicultural mix was likely the result of increasing

1 For more details, see J. Dieleman, "Coping with a Difficult Life. Magic, Healing, and Sacred Knowledge," in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, ed. Christina Riggs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 337–61.

competition, as the Ptolemaic period drew on, between ritual specialists for a clientele whose lives became culturally more diverse with every generation through intermarriage, careers in the Ptolemaic army and administration, and socio-cultural interactions. Ritual specialists who continued to work in their distinct Egyptian, Greek, or Jewish traditions were outsmarted by competitors who knew how to combine the three, by reinterpreting them for usage in a changed society and casting them into a more universal, Hellenized form. In the Roman period, when Greco-Egyptian private ritual started to flourish and mature, it found its way out of the Hellenized cities and towns into the Egyptian *chora*, and even out of Egypt into the Roman provinces.²

The rites worked on a verbal and visual idiom of ritual power, that was both novel and distinctive in the way it manipulates speech and writing.³ These techniques are rooted in Greek phonemics and therefore, could be expressed properly only in Greek alphabetic writing—which demonstrates the primacy of Greek over Egyptian in the genesis of this type of private ritual. As for speech, it relied on an idiosyncratic and eclectic repertoire of artificial names of power, known collectively as *voces magicae* or *nomina barbara*, which, according to the practitioners, were the secret, authentic names of the deities and demons addressed. None have meaning in any human language, yet many derive etymologically from divine epithets and set phrases in Egyptian and Semitic. Garbled in Greek transcription, they were esteemed as a speech register that transcends human language. Most were used impromptu as individual units in ever-changing series, but some were combined into fixed name formulae, such as the MASKELLI-MASKELLŌ and SĒMEIA-KANTEU formulae. The seven Greek vowels were similarly treated as sounds of power, to be uttered or inscribed in various combinations (most often in the ascending series AEËIOUŌ). Alphabetic writing was likewise exploited as a technology for capturing power, enabling scribes to make the ordered sequence of sounds visible and malleable. Palindromes such as ABLANATHANALBA were favored for *voces magicae*, while name formulae and vowel sequences were often written in geometric patterns (squares and wing shapes). An artificial script called *charaktēres* served as a set of mystical symbols that enable direct communication with the supernatural world, unadulterated through human speech and writing.

2 J.F. Quack, "Zauber ohne Grenzen. Zur Transkulturalität der spätantiken Magie," in *Rituale als Ausdruck von Kulturkontakt. 'Synkretismus' zwischen Negation und Neudefinition*, ed. Andreas Pries, Studies in Oriental Religions 67 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013), 177–99.

3 See below, Frankfurter, Chapter 23. Richard Gordon, "Shaping the Text: Innovation and Authority in Graeco-Egyptian Malign Magic," in *Kykeon. Studies in Honour of H.S. Versnel*, ed. H.F.J. Horstmanshoff, RGRW 142 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2002), 69–111.

These techniques are obviously inventions of a scribal mindset. Whoever devised them privileged the written over the oral and found symbolic meaning in the basic principles of alphabetic writing.⁴ The scribal nature of Greco-Egyptian private ritual is further apparent in its reliance on *Vorlagen* and translations, both real and imagined. The formularies include comments on alternative ingredients and procedures as found in older copies, while recipes are often framed as translations of ancient hieroglyphic texts found inscribed on statues and temple walls, or as transmitted from celebrated authors of the past. Moreover, it was always an act of writing that ultimately charged gems, lamellae, and curse tablets with ritual power. Accordingly, the formularies are preoccupied with scribal tools and technologies. They prescribe a wide range of writing surfaces (from papyrus to metal, eggs, and bat's wings) and various inks (from carbon-based ink to myrrh, honey, gold rust, and blood).⁵ Greco-Egyptian private ritual was clearly the product of a scribal class.

3 The Manuscripts

3.1 *Modern Corpora*

The numerous manuscripts that constitute the *Greco-Egyptian Magical Papyri* are today conveniently accessible in three modern text corpora: the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (PGM), the *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (GMPT—including the Demotic spells), and the *Supplementum Magicum* (Suppl. Mag.).⁶ Each has its uses and limitations, which are best appreciated in light of the history of scholarship.⁷

4 Cf. Fritz Graf, "Magie et écriture: quelques réflexions, and Michaël Martin, Parler la langue des oiseaux: les écritures barbares et mystérieuses des tablettes de défexion," in *Écrire la magie dans l'antiquité*, ed. Magali De Haro Sanchez, Papyrologica Leodiensia 5 (Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2015).

5 Kirsten Dzwiza, *Schriftverwendung in antiker Ritualpraxis anhand der griechischen, demotischen und koptischen Praxisanleitungen des 1.–7. Jahrhunderts* (PhD diss., Erfurt-Heidelberg University, 2013).

6 French translations: M. Martin, *Les papyrus grecs magiques* (Paris: Le Manuscrit, 2002). Spanish translations: J.L. Calvo Martínez and D. Sánchez Romero, *Textos de Magia en Papiros Griegos* (Madrid: Gredos, 1987). Recent German translations (selections): J.F. Quack and A. Jördens, in: *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Neue Folge. Bd. 4. Omina, Orakel, Rituale und Beschwörungen*, eds. B. Janowski and G. Wilhelm (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2008) 331–85 and 417–45.

7 For more details, see W.M. Brashear, "The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928–1994)," ANRW II 18.5 (1995): 3398–3412 and J.L. Calvo Martínez, "Cien años de investigación sobre la magia antigua," MHNH 1 (2001): 7–60.

The first effort to collect and edit uniformly all available manuscripts with spells in Greek from Egypt, an international project directed by Karl Preisendanz in the first half of the twentieth century, resulted in the still indispensable two volumes of *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri* (PGM 1 and II; published in 1928 and 1931 by Verlag B. G. Teubner in Leipzig). The third volume, including additional spells, reconstructed hymns, and extensive indices, was projected to appear in 1941, but never saw the light of day due to the destruction of the print plates during the air raid on Leipzig on the night of December 3 to 4, 1943.⁸ The ill-fated third volume was eventually published, excluding the indices, as part of the second volume of the re-edition of the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* by Albert Henrichs (1973–74).⁹

The *Papyri Graecae Magicae* provide standardized transcriptions, critical apparatus, and a German translation. Spells in Old-Coptic are included, whereas those in Demotic were left out. The unfortunate absence of the latter did not only violate the integrity of the ancient manuscripts, but may also partly explain why the Greek spells were for the longest time privileged over the Demotic ones in the study of Greco-Egyptian private ritual—and why the latter has often been treated as a form of Greco-Roman magic rather than as an Egyptian phenomenon.

The imbalanced situation was redressed in 1986 with the publication of *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation including the Demotic Spells* (GMPT), a joint effort by an international group of scholars directed by Hans Dieter Betz. The volume offers English translations of all manuscripts already found in *Papyri Graecae Magicae I–III*—now with the Demotic spells included—as well as translations of additional spells discovered after 1941, all provided with short explanations in footnotes, but without critical apparatus. A projected second volume with indices and comprehensive bibliography was never produced.¹⁰ The volume remains the standard English translation to date.

Robert W. Daniel and Franco Maltomini collected and re-edited all Greek spells that had been edited in scattered publications between 1941 and 1989, in the two volumes of *Supplementum Magicum* (*Suppl. Mag.*; 1990–92). Unlike GMPT, *Suppl. Mag.* offers transcriptions, critical apparatus, papyrological and

8 Its projected structure is laid out in K. Preisendanz, “Zur Überlieferung der griechischen Zauberpapyri,” in *Miscellanea Critica*, ed. Johannes Irmscher, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1964), 203–17. Note that several manuscripts were renumbered at a later stage. I thank Rosario Pintauro for sharing with me a scan of the proofs of PGM III.

9 A PDF of the indices (scanned from the original proofs) can now be consulted at <http://hum2.leidenuniv.nl/pdf/communicatie/PGMIIL.pdf>.

10 The second edition of 1992 contains corrections to the translations and an expanded bibliography.

palaeographical information, and detailed line-by-line commentary to the spells. In this regard, *Suppl. Mag.* is the first of the three corpora to respect the manuscripts as both text documents and physical artefacts.

The adopted numbering system is somewhat confusing, ever more so since the publication of the additional corpora. Originally, Preisendanz made a distinction between papyri of a pagan and a Christian nature and between materials on papyrus, ostraca and wood. According to this system, pagan papyri have Roman numerals, while Christian papyri come with Arabic numerals; for both, the acronym *PGM* is used and line numbers are counted in Arabic numerals (e.g. *PGM* IV.154–285 and *PGM* 3.1–4). Materials on ostraca are given the acronym *O* with an Arabic numeral and wooden tablets are counted as *T* with Arabic numerals. Preisendanz also assigned *PGM* line numbers to spells transcribed in Old-Coptic (despite the use of the word “Greek” in the acronym; e.g. *PGM* IV.1–25), but not to those in Demotic as he left those spells out altogether. This partial treatment of the materials was remedied with the inclusion of the associated Demotic spells in *GMPT*, where they are identified and numbered as *PDM* with Roman numerals in lower case (e.g. *PDM* xiv). The editors of the *Suppl. Mag.* have rightly given up on the earlier distinctions. All spells, whether pagan or Christian, written on papyrus, an ostrakon or a metal tablet, are numbered *SM* with Arabic numerals. As *Suppl. Mag.* includes those manuscripts that were identified after 1941 and translated in *GMPT*, spells *PGM* LXXXIII–CXXX (as numbered in *GMPT*) now have an additional *Suppl. Mag.* number.¹¹

The number of manuscripts collected in these corpora is considerable. *Papyri Graecae Magicae* I contains 7 individual manuscripts (*PGM* I–VI). The first edition of *Papyri Graecae Magicae* II contains 115 individual documents, of which 75 were considered pagan papyri (*PGM* VII–LX), 31 Christian papyri (*PGM* 1–20), 5 ostraca (*O* 1–5) and 4 wooden tablets (*T* 1–2c). The third volume was to add another 21 pagan (*PGM* LXI–LXXXI) and 4 Christian papyri (*PGM* 21–24), which can now be consulted in the second edition of *PGM* II. This brings the total to 147 individual manuscripts. *GMPT* includes another 48 manuscripts (*PGM* LXXXII–CXXX and *PDM* Suppl.). *Suppl. Mag.* contains editions of all additional *GMPT* spells (except for *PGM* LXXXII) and adds another 53 (*Suppl. Mag.* 1–100). The grand total of the combined corpora is thus 248 items (147 + 48 + 53). Since the publication of *Suppl. Mag.*, about another

11 For a convenient concordance, see *Suppl. Mag.* II, 367–68.

100 manuscripts have been identified and edited.¹² Therefore, to date, about 350 individual manuscripts are available for study in scholarly editions.¹³

3.2 *Formularies and Activated Materials*

Instead of dividing the manuscripts by language and so creating a division that was not meaningful to the compilers and users of the manuscripts, it is more useful to distinguish between, on the one hand, texts that give instructions and list the required implements and ingredients and, on the other hand, materials that are the result of these rites. The former are recipes, which were collected in formularies; the latter are applied or activated materials that were either used in the course of a ritual and activated for its duration, such as divination materials,¹⁴ or were charged through ritual and meant to yield results after the completion of the rite, such as amulets, curse tablets, and figurines. They can easily be distinguished. Being custom-made, activated materials include the name of the client, patient, beneficiary, or victim, such as “Ptolemais to whom Aias gave birth” (*Suppl. Mag.* 47 *passim*), and occasionally further details relevant to the situation. Recipes give a template text to be filled in at the moment of activation, referring to the persons involved as “So-and-so to whom So-and-so gave birth” and allowing for contextualization of, and elaboration upon, a prescribed invocation with boilerplates such as “concerning the such-and-such matter” and “add the usual as you want”.

Of the extant 350 manuscripts, the majority are activated amulets and curses. Most are very short in length, written on scraps of papyrus or metal, and show signs of folding and piercing. The number of formularies is relatively low, but due to the length and varied content of some of them, they feature prominently—perhaps disproportionately—in the study of ancient magic. They differ substantially in length, organization, and quality of execution. In their form and content, they continue a longstanding scribal practice of compiling, classifying, preserving, and transmitting spells for healing, protection, and divination in ancient Egypt and the Near East. Most are miscellanies of recipes for various applications, but a few collect exclusively recipes for

12 I thank Franziska Naether (TM-Magic) for providing me with this number (June 2018).

13 Discarded from the corpus due to misidentification: *PGM* xxvi (fragment of the *Sortes Astrampsychi*); *PGM* xxxvii (Greek translation of Egyptian priestly oath as contained in the *Book of the Temple*); *PGM* xxxa–f, xxxia–c, lxxiii, lxxvi, P1, P8a–b, and P24 (oracle tickets). See further Brashear, “The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey,” 3456–59.

14 For examples of applied divination materials, see *Suppl. Mag.* 65 and 66.

healing.¹⁵ Some are carefully laid out and skillfully written on scrolls or codices, others are scribbled on loose leaves. The former are clearly products of professional scribes, who may have worked for paying customers, whereas the latter may well be the working papers of individual ritualists who jotted down recipes as they came across them, collecting them into folders. Single recipes may also have been carried as amulets in themselves. Despite these overt differences, the occasional references to mother copies, the use of a shared technical vocabulary, and the recurrence of close parallels in invocations and hymns between formularies, demonstrate that the formularies and their recipes are products of a text community whose members shared scribal habits and standards and exchanged manuscripts across Egypt.

Amulets and curse tablets have been recovered from all areas of the Roman Empire, but formularies have only been discovered in Egypt to date.¹⁶ Nonetheless, formularies were also used outside Egypt, as literary sources demonstrate. For example, Acts 19:19 seems to relate how sorcerers, now converted to Christianity, collected and publicly burned what were presumably formularies.¹⁷ More instructive evidence for the use of formularies is provided by close correspondence between activated materials and instructions in extant formularies as well as by marked parallels between formulas and designs on activated materials from different times and places. Although evidence for the former is very low in number, four cases confirm that the preserved formularies are of a type that was in active use.¹⁸ A recipe for binding a lover by producing a female clay figurine with 13 needles piercing her body (PGM IV.296–434) provides the template for four assemblages of curse materials that

15 Attempts to identify principles of organization in the formularies: L. LiDonnici, "Compositional Patterns in PGM IV (= P.Bibl.Nat.Suppl. gr. No. 574)," *The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 40 (2003): 141–78; R.G. Edmonds III, "At the Seizure of the Moon. The Absence of the Moon in the Mithras Liturgy," in *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World*, ed. S. Noegel, J. Walker, and B. Wheeler (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 223–39, esp. 234–35; R. Martín-Hernández, "A Coherent Division of a Magical Handbook. Using Lectional Signs in PGM VII," *Segno e testo* 13 (2015): 147–164; K. Dosoo, "The Creation of the Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden," (forthcoming).

16 The Jewish *Book of Mysteries* (*Sefer ha-Razim*) and *Sword of Moses* (*Harba de Mosheh*), as well as the Christian *Testament of Solomon*, which are dated to the early Byzantine period, are reconstructed from medieval copies; see below, Bohak, Chapter 16.

17 See also Lucian of Samosata, *Philopseudes* 31 (second century CE), Ammianus Marcellinus 29, 2.4 (371 CE). Cf. Sanzo, above, Chapter 10, for a critical reading of Acts 19:19.

18 For more examples, see Brashear, "The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey," 3416–19 and D. Jordan, "Inscribed Lead Tablets from the Games in the Sanctuary of Poseidon," *Hesperia* 63.1 (1994): 111–26, see 123–25.

have been recovered in Egypt (*Suppl. Mag.* 46–51).¹⁹ It is noteworthy that none of the assemblages agrees in every detail with the instructions of the extant recipe—or with each other, for that matter. Similarly, the design and *voces magicae* engraved on a gem found in Beirut, Lebanon, matches closely the instructions given in *PGM* IV.1716–1870, a recipe entitled “Sword of Dardanos.”²⁰ Thirdly, a lead tablet from Rome (DT 188) is inscribed with a curse against a certain Nikomedes, that parallels the text given in *PGM* LVIII.1–14, a fourth century formulary from Egypt. Lastly, a textual amulet found in House 3 in Kellis (P. Kellis Gr. 87) was in all likelihood copied from a formulary found in the very same dwelling (P. Kellis Gr. 85).²¹ It is notable, and perhaps only accidental, that no physical evidence for the application of the recipes in the Demotic formularies has so far been identified.

More numerous are examples of applied materials that reveal evidence for being produced according to instructions from formularies that have not been preserved. Several engraved gems and inscribed metal tablets contain phrases from formularies, such as headings and instructions, which were mistakenly copied together with the actual words of magic, either out of negligence, ignorance, or reverence for the mother copy.²² Obvious similarities between formulas on two or more items are also indicative of scribes consulting formularies, as can be observed in comparing an attraction spell on papyrus from Egypt (*PGM* XIXa) with a silver phylactery from the Levant.²³ Particularly telling are two unrelated assemblages, each discovered in an earthen vessel, of a

19 See below, Wilburn, Chapter 18 for references.

20 R. Mousterde, “Le Glaive de Dardanos. Objets et inscriptions magiques de Syrië,” *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 15.3 (1930): 53–136, see 53–64.

21 M. de Haro Sanchez, “Les Papyrus iatromagiques grecs de Kellis,” *Lucida Intervalla* 37 (2008): 79–98, 88.

22 For an insightful example, see D. Jordan, “Magica Graeca Parvula,” *ZPE* 100 (1994): 321–35, 325–33. See also Jordan, “Notes on two Michigan Magical Papyri,” *ZPE* 136 (2001): 183–93; Jordan, “Intrusions into the Text of the Amulet P. Kellis G. I 87?,” *ZPE* 137 (2001): 34; Jordan, “Three Notes,” *ZPE* 152 (2005): 155–56, no. 2. For further references, see C.A. Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999) 33, fn. 137–40 and *Suppl. Mag.* II, 352 s.v. ‘formularies.’

23 F. Heintz, “A Greek Silver Phylactery in the MacDaniel Collection,” *ZPE* 112 (1996): 295–300. Further examples: 1) two gold lamellae, one from Rome (II CE) and the other from York (III–IV CE), whose *charaktères* and inscription are almost identical and may be paralleled in *PGM* XIII.1057; Sergio Giannobile, “Il dio Ptah nella documentazione magica: amuleti e papyri,” *ZPE* 152 (2005): 161–67; 2) curse tablets from the Athenian agora: D. Jordan, “Defixiones from a Well near the Southwest Corner of the Athenian Agora,” *Hesperia* 54.3 (1985): 205–55, see 233–49 and Jordan, “New Archaeological Evidence for the Practice of Magic in Classical Athens,” in *Praktika of the 12th International Congress of Classical Archaeology* (Athens: The Congress, 1988), 273–77.

pair of wax figurines in embrace wrapped inside a sheet of papyrus inscribed with an erotic curse.²⁴ The similarity in applied techniques, materials, and curse formulae demonstrates that the ritualists followed instructions from a formulary.

3.3 *Ancient Archives*

Most manuscripts are unprovenanced and without archaeological context. This unfortunate situation deprives us of valuable information about the physical locations and social milieus of their manufacture, use, and deposition. Amulets and curse tablets are generally isolated finds, but the most extensive formularies were found as part of archives. To date, four such archives can be reconstructed through a combination of codicology, paleography, and archival research; one dossier comprises texts found together in-situ in a residential dwelling in Kellis (Dakhleh Oasis).²⁵ Unlike the modern corpora, these groups were constituted in antiquity. A comparison of the make-up of these archives has the potential of providing insight into the social, cultural, and institutional backgrounds of the ancient collectors.

The so-called *Theban Magical Library* (3rd–4th c. CE) is by far the most important archive for the number of its manuscripts, their length, and varied content.²⁶ Purportedly purchased in Luxor (ancient Thebes), the diplomat and collector Jean d'Anastasy sold them to European museums and libraries between 1828 and 1857. The library consists of three scrolls of the late second/early third century CE, written primarily in Demotic (with a few embedded incantations in Greek), and eight scrolls and codices of the fourth century CE that are written in Greek (with a few sections in Old-Coptic in *PGM* IV).

24 The assemblage from Assut is now in Cologne (5th c. CE; *Suppl. Mag.* 45, *GMPT* CI): D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseum in Bonn* 168 (1968): 56–111, 85–102 (no. 4); see also J.G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 101–106 (no. 30). The assemblage of unknown provenance is now in Munich (4th c. CE): W.M. Brashear, "Ein neues Zauberensemble in München," *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 19 (1992): 79–109.

25 K. Dosoo, "Magical Discourses, Ritual Collections: Cultural Trends and Private Interests in Egyptian Handbooks and Archives," in *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology*, ed. Tomasz Derda (Warsaw: The Faculty of Law and Administration of the University of Warsaw, the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Warsaw, and Fundacja im. Rafała Taubenschlaga, 2016), 699–716.

26 Most recently: K. Dosoo, "A History of the Theban Magical Library," *The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 53 (2016): 251–274. Its 10 formularies take up 193 of 327 pages of translation in *GMPT*. Accordingly, they feature disproportionately in discussions on ancient magic as type texts, but we may well be dealing with the idiosyncratic collecting needs or tastes of a particular individual or group.

The sophisticated intermingling of Demotic and hieratic cursive in the early bookrolls suggests that they are the products of scribes trained in an Egyptian temple scriptorium.²⁷ If the final, fourth-century collector of the library was a member of such a priestly milieu remains open to question. The library exhibits a pronounced interest in divination and alchemy.

	Manuscript	TM	Type	Format	Language
<i>PGM XII/PDM xii</i>	Leiden I 384	55954	formulary	scroll	Dem + Gr
<i>PGM XIV/PDM xiv</i>	Leiden I 383 + BM 100070	55955	formulary	scroll	Dem + Gr
<i>PDM Suppl.</i>	Louvre E3229	64218	formulary	scroll	Dem + Gr
<i>PGM I</i>	Berlin 5025	88396	formulary	scroll	Gr
<i>PGM VI + II</i>	London 47 + Berlin 5026	60673+88397	formulary	scroll	Gr
<i>PGM IV</i>	Bibl. Nat. suppl. gr. 574	64343	formulary	codex	Gr + Old-Coptic
<i>PGM V</i>	London 46	64368	formulary	codex	Gr
<i>PGM XIII</i>	Leiden I 395	64446	formulary	codex	Gr
<i>PGM Va</i>	Holmiensis p. 42	64429	recipe for divination	loose leaf	Gr
Ø	Leiden I 397	61300	formulary, alchemy	codex	Gr
Ø	Holmiensis	64429	formulary, alchemy	codex	Gr

27 Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites: The London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100–300 CE)*, RGRW 153 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2006), 48–62 and 285–94.

The two formularies that constitute the *Fayum Magical Archive* (4th c. CE) were acquired in 1920 for the University of Oslo by Samson Eitrem.²⁸ They probably come from Theadelphia in the Fayum.²⁹

	Manuscript	TM	Purpose	Format	Language
<i>PGM XXXVI</i>	Oslo I, 1	64479	formulary	scroll	Gr, Coptic
<i>PGM XXXVIII</i>	Oslo I, 3	64480	formulary	fragm.	Gr

The British Museum purchased the three manuscripts that form the *Hermonthis Magical Archive* (4th c. CE) from an Egyptian “native” in 1888.³⁰ *PGM XIa* is written on the back of a reused account of 336 CE that concerns an estate in the area of Hermonthis (TM 33213).

	Manuscript	TM	Type	Format	Language
<i>PGM VII</i>	London 121	60204	formulary	scroll	Gr
<i>PGM VIII</i>	London 122	59324	formulary	scroll	Gr
<i>PGM XIa</i>	London 125	64578	recipe for parhedros	scroll	Gr

The *Kellis Magical Archive* (late 4th c. CE) is a dossier of texts that were found dispersed with many other texts (in Greek, Coptic, Latin, and Syriac), domestic items, and tools in a multi-room residential dwelling in Kellis in the Dakhleh Oasis (House 3 of Area A). The house was inhabited by members of a Manichaean community.³¹

28 Dosoo, “Magical Discourses, Ritual Collections,” 711, fn. 33.
 29 Even if Theadelphia were not their provenance, a provenance from the Fayum seems secure. *PGM XXXVI*.312–20 embeds a Coptic sentence in the Fayumic dialect (line 315).
 30 Dosoo, “Magical Discourses, Ritual Collections,” 711, fn. 34; Dosoo, “A History of the Theban Magical Library,” 265–66. The British Museum purchased *PGM IX* and *X* in the same year; they may thus also belong to the archive: *Catalogue of Additions to the MSS in the BM (1888–1893)* (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1894), 390–91 (pap. 123 and 124).
 31 Dosoo, “Magical Discourses, Ritual Collections,” 711, fn. 35; K.A. Worp, *Greek Papyri from Kellis: I* (Oxford: Oxbow, 1995); A. Alcock, I. Gardner, and P. Mirecki, “Magical

Publication	TM	Type	Format	Language
Kellis I, 82	109540	calendar, hemerology	wooden tablet	Gr
Kellis I, 83	113752	calendar, hemerology	sheet	Gr
Kellis I, 84	97894	horoscope	wooden tablet	Gr
Kellis I, 85a+b	64442	formulary	scroll, fragm.	Gr
Kellis I, 86	64440	fever amulet	sheet	Gr
Kellis I, 87	64441	fever amulet	sheet	Gr
Kellis I, 88	64435	formulary	wooden tablet	Gr
Kellis Copt., 35	85886	private letter, with separation spell	sheet	Coptic

The *Multilingual Magical Archive* (5th–6th c. CE) consists of multiple, very fragmentary manuscripts (without provenance).³² The archive is significant for its combination of Greek, Coptic, and Aramaic.

	Manuscript	TM	Type	Format	Language
<i>Suppl. Mag.</i> 96A/ <i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa	Mil. Vogl. 1245	65847	formulary	rotulus	Gr
<i>Suppl. Mag.</i> 96B <i>PGM</i> CXXIIIb	Mil. Vogl. 1246	65847	formulary	fragm.	Gr
<i>Suppl. Mag.</i> 96C/ <i>PGM</i> CXXIIIc	Mil. Vogl. 1247–48	65847	formulary	fragm.	Gr
<i>Suppl. Mag.</i> 96D/ <i>PGM</i> CXXIIId	Mil. Vogl. 1249	65847	formulary	fragm.	Gr
<i>Suppl. Mag.</i> 96E/ <i>PGM</i> CXXIIIe	Mil. Vogl. 1250	65847	formulary	fragm.	Gr
<i>Suppl. Mag.</i> 96F/ <i>PGM</i> CXXIIIf	Mil. Vogl. 1252–53	65847	formulary	fragm.	Gr
<i>Suppl. Mag.</i> 97/ <i>PGM</i> CXXIV	Mil. Vogl. 1251	65848	formulary	rotulus	Gr
<i>Suppl. Mag.</i> 98/ <i>PGM</i> CXXVa–f	Mil. Vogl. 1254–62	65849–54	formularies	fragm.	Gr, Aramaic
Ø	Mil. Vogl. Copt. 16	102252	formulary	codex	Coptic

Spell, Manichaean Letter,” in *Emerging from Darkness to Light. Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources*, ed. P. Mirecki and J. BeDuhn (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 1–32.

32 Dosoo, “Magical Discourses, Ritual Collections,” 711, fn. 36; G. Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 167–68.

4 The Formularies

4.1 *Classification of Recipes*

The formularies are compilations of an assortment of recipes. In essence, they center around four basic concerns: knowledge, control over others, protection, and healing. Most recipes can accordingly be classified under one of these four labels. In the following survey, the 13 sub-categories are based both on recipe titles and objectives as stated in the recipe proper.³³ Most recipes have a straightforward title and one particular purpose, but a few recipes claim to have multiple applications, ranging from regular cursing and protection to marvelous feats, including freezing rivers and seas, serving sumptuous banquets, and flying in the air.³⁴ Such fantastical aspirations inform us about the ritualists' self-perception and of what they believed the powers and function of their brand of private ritual could be.³⁵

4.1.1 Knowledge

4.1.1.1 *Acquiring Esoteric Knowledge, i.e. Divination*

Recipes for divinatory practices (*manteion*) are remarkably numerous and complex in the formularies of the *Theban Magical Library*, but occur also in some other manuscripts. Archaeological evidence for their application is however scant.³⁶ Four basic modes of inquiry can be distinguished: interpreting given signs, producing a face-to-face encounter with a deity or ghost, putting a medium in a trance, and putting two possible answers to a deity.

The first technique consists of throwing a dice to generate a number that leads to a pre-existing oracular answer, such as a Homeric verse (*PGM* LXII.47–51; *Homeromanteion*: *PGM* VII.1–148; *Suppl. Mag.* 77; *P. Oxy* LVI 3831)³⁷

33 Compare my categories with Brashear, "The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey," 3499–3506 and Dosoo, "Magical discourses, ritual collections."

34 For example: *PGM* I.98–126 and 172–92; III.161–64; IV.2152–78 and 2205–40; XII.270–73, 277–82, 301–06; XIII.234–341 (the latter reads as a table of contents to the entire corpus).

35 These issues are well addressed in R. Gordon, "Reporting the Marvelous: Private Divination in the Greek Magical Papyri," in *Envisioning magic: A Princeton seminar and symposium*, ed. P. Schäfer and H.G. Kippenberg (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 65–92 and Gordon, "Shaping the Text."

36 Examples are *Suppl. Mag.* 65–66 and the famous magic apparatus from Pergamum; R. Wünsch, *Antikes Zaubergerät aus Pergamon* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1905).

37 Franco Maltomini, "P. Lond. 121 (= *PGM* VII), 1–221: *Homeromanteion*," *ZPE* 106 (1995): 107–22; D. Collins, *Magic in the Ancient World* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 122–31; G. Schwendner, "Under Homer's Spell. Bilingualism, Oracular Magic, and the Michigan Excavation at Dimê," in *Magic and Divination in the Ancient World*, ed. L. Ciraolo and J. Seidel, *Ancient Magic and Divination* 2 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2002), 107–18.

or of calculating a quotient from a given set of numbers (*PGM* XII.351–64; LXII.47–51).³⁸ The second technique, performed with or without a (child) medium,³⁹ produces a true encounter (*sustasis*; *ph-ntr*)⁴⁰ or direct vision of a deity (*autoptos*, *autopsia*; *ph-ntr*) in the flame of a lamp (*lychnomanteia*; *šn n p*; *hbs*), in the reflections of light in a bowl of water with oil slick (*lekanomanteia*; *šn hn*), or in a dream (*oneiromanteion*, *oneiraitêton*).⁴¹ In their prescribed actions, these rites mimic Egyptian statue cult: in a dark, secluded, and purified room (like the sanctuary in an Egyptian temple), the ritualist, often attired in priestly garb, invokes the physical presence of a deity with hymns and offers up food, libations, and incense.⁴² Additional recipes instruct how to make eye-ointments that enhance perception. Rites for raising a ghost from its corpse for consultation (*nekuomanteia*, *nekuoagōgē*) are relatively rare.⁴³ The third

38 F. Graf, "Rolling the Dice for an Answer," in *Mantikê: Studies in Ancient Divination*, ed. S.I. Johnston and P. Struck (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2005), 51–97; F. Naether, *Die Sortes Astrampsychi. Problemlösungsstrategien durch Orakel im römischen Ägypten*, *Orientalische Religionen in der Antike* 3 (Berlin: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 311–57. Cf. the Demotic Isis Divination Handbook: M.A. Stadler, *Isis, das göttliche Kind und die Weltordnung. Neue religiöse Texte aus dem Fayum nach dem Papyrus Wien D. 12006 Recto* (Vienna: Verlag Brüder Hollinek, 2004), 242–52 and Stadler, "Isis würfelt nicht," *Studi di Egittologia e di Papirologia* 3 (2006): 187–203. A dice inscribed in Demotic with the name of an Egyptian deity on each of its 20 sides: M. Minas-Nerpel, "A Demotic Inscribed Icosahedron from Dakhleh Oasis," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 93 (2007): 137–48.

39 Stadler, *Isis, das göttliche Kind*, 207–14; S.I. Johnston, "Charming Children: The Use of the Child in Ancient Divination," *Arethusa* 34.1 (2001): 97–117.

40 Of the Egyptian terms mentioned in this paragraph, *ph-ntr* may historically be the name of the overarching category. Due to the paucity of instructive sources *ph-ntr* remains an elusive category, but it is clear that it refers to a set of rituals to provoke contact with a deity with the aim to interrogate him; "to reach the god," i.e. to consult him. The rite can be a public or private affair, be concerned with issues that are relevant to the community at large or those that only pertain to a sole individual, and, depending on its purpose, can be considered an acceptable and lawful form of enquiry or acquire an illicit character; J.M. Kruchten, *Le grand texte oraculaire de Djéhoutymose*, *Monographies Reine Élisabeth* 5 (Brussels: Brepols, 1986), 328–31 and R.K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 54 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1993), 214–20.

41 These categories are often fused in the actual spells.

42 Likewise, the use of bricks to demarcate ritual space in an otherwise domestic space mirrors the Egyptian temple foundation ritual: S. Nagel, "Was im Tempel passiert, bleibt nicht (mehr) im Tempel. Transformationen von ägyptischem Tempelritual und rituellem Raum in den Praktiken der demotischen und griechischen magischen Papyri," in *Der ägyptische Tempel als ritueller Raum*, ed. S. Baumann and H. Kockelmann, *Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion* 17 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2017), 507–536.

43 See lead tablet *Suppl. Mag.* 66; necromancy is referenced in *PGM* III.275–81 and VII.284–99 (calendars of suitable and unsuitable days) and *PDM* xiv.84. For necromancy in veiled terms: C.A. Faraone, "The Collapse of Celestial and Chthonian Realms in a Late Antique

option is inducing a medium into a trance (*kataptōsis*), who thereupon serves as the mouthpiece of the deity being interrogated. With the fourth technique, the practitioner poses a yes-or-no question to the deity and asks him to appear in one of two pre-determined shapes relative to the answer (VII.250–54, 255–59; XXIIb.27–31, 32–35; xiv.232–38).

4.1.1.2 *Acquiring Foreknowledge and Memory*

Related to divination rites are requests for foreknowledge (*prognōsis*, *prognōstikē*) and memory (*mnēmōnikē*). As follows from the recipe title “charm for foreknowledge and memory” (PGM III.424), they were considered conceptually related. Foreknowledge charms allow the ritualist to know in advance what is in people’s minds and what will happen in the future (III.263–75, 282–409, 424–66; v.213–303). Resembling direct-vision rites in procedure, they do not aim for a consultation with a deity, though. Instead, the deity is asked to grant the ritualist overall and unmediated foreknowledge. They also allow for reading sealed letters (III.371 and v.301; cf. PDM Suppl. 168–84). Memory spells enable the ritualist to remember what he heard and saw during a divine consultation or dream vision (I.232–47; II.16–20, 40–42; III.424–66, 467–78); other spells advise keeping a writing tablet at hand to write down what the deity says (e.g. VIII.89–90).

4.1.1.3 *Identifying a Thief*

Spells for catching a thief represent a specialized form of divination (*kleptēn piasai*, *ky n gm ʿde*). They determine by ordeal whether a person is guilty or innocent. For example, the person whose eye swells up while the ritualist strikes a drawing of an eye with a hammer (v.70–95), or who does not swallow the potion offered (v.172–212), or who speaks up when drawing a knot (PDM lxi.79–94)⁴⁴ betrays himself as the thief.⁴⁵

Apollonian Invocation (PGM I 262–347),” in *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in late Antique Religions*, ed. R.S. Boustán and A.Y. Reed (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 213–32 and Faraone, “Necromancy goes Underground: The Disguise of Skull and Corpse Divination in the Paris Magical Papyri (PGM IV.1928–2144),” in *Mantikē*, 255–82. For an Egyptological perspective, see R.K. Ritner, “Necromancy in Ancient Egypt,” in *Magic and Divination in the Ancient World*, ed. L. Ciraolo and J. Seidel (Groningen: E.J. Brill, 2000), 91–98.

44 A. von Lieven, “Osiris, der Dekan Ḥšw und der Tod. Zur Deutung des Spruches zum Finden eines Diebes in pPM 10588,” *Enchoria* 27 (2001): 82–87 and T.S. Richter, “Der Dieb, der Koch, seine Frau und ihr Liebhaber. Collectanea magica für Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert,” *Enchoria* 29 (2004/2005): 67–78, see 67–71.

45 Clusters of thief spells are *Suppl. Mag.* 86 and possibly PGM III.479–94.

4.1.1.4 *Seeking Community with the Divine*

A few spells are not aimed at resolving a practical matter, but concerned with establishing intimate contact between the ritualist and the supreme deity. *PGM* IV contains an elaborate tractate that gives detailed instructions for, and descriptions of, an ascent through the seven planetary spheres and an encounter with the highest god, Helios Mithras (IV.475–820). The text refers to itself as “ritual of immortalization” (*apathanatismos*), but the ritual’s final goal, in the extant text at least, is receiving oracular revelations from the deity.⁴⁶ *PGM* XIII preserves three variant versions, given in succession, of a text entitled “Monad” and “Eighth Book of Moses” (*PGM* XIII.1–343, 343–646, 646–734).⁴⁷ The composition lays out the “rite of the Monad” (*teletē tēs Monados*), a ritual to produce an encounter with the highest god so as to ask him about one’s fate and to have future misfortune averted.⁴⁸ The invocation includes a theogonic account about god creating the major forces and principles of nature by laughing seven times, which must have been excerpted at some stage from another, unrelated composition. A self-contained prayer to the sun god (*PGM* III.494–611) concludes with a *Prayer of Thanksgiving* that is also known from the Latin version of the *Perfect Discourse* (*Asclepius*) and from Nag Hammadi Codex VI. In the latter codex the prayer serves as a conclusion to the *Hermetic Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth*, which is a conversation about initiation in the form of a heavenly ascent.⁴⁹ In the *PGM* prayer itself, the ritualist addresses the sun god

46 This ritual is often called the *Mithras Liturgy*, after Albrecht Dieterich’s pioneering work *Eine Mithras Liturgie* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903; 2nd ed. 1910; 3rd ed. 1923). The text is however neither a liturgy, nor concerned with a communal mystery rite such as the Mithras mysteries were. For a comprehensive study, see H.D. Betz, *The “Mithras Liturgy.” Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity 18 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003).

47 For a translation with important annotations, see *GMPT* [Morton Smith]. The redaction history of the three versions is complex. For an attempt to distinguish successive phases and identify editorial alterations, see M. Smith, The “Eighth Book of Moses and How it Grew (P. Leid J 395),” in *Atti del XVII congresso internazionale di papirologia* (Napoli: Centro internazionale per lo studio dei papiri ercolanesi, 1984), 683–93 and Smith, “P. Leiden J 395 (*PGM* XIII) and its Creation Legend,” in *Hellenica et Judaica: Hommage à Valentin Nikiprowetzky*, ed. A. Caquot, M. Hadas-Lebel, and J. Riaud (Leuven: Peeters, 1986), 491–8.

48 Version A concludes with a catalogue of practical applications that require the “Great Name” given by the deity in the course of the ritual. Comparison of all three versions reveals that the request for the Great Name is a secondary interpolation; Smith, “The Eighth Book of Moses,” 685–86.

49 P. Dirkse and J. Brashler, “The Prayer of Thanksgiving” in *Nag Hammadi Codex V, 2–5 and VI*, ed. D.M. Parrot, Nag Hammadi Studies 11 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1979), 375–87; J.-P. Mahé, “Introduction to the Prayer of Thanksgiving,” in *The Nag Hammadi Scriptures. The International Edition*, ed. M. Meyer (San Francisco: Harper, 2007), 419–21. A synoptic

with his secret names and manifestations for each of the twelve hours of the day and requests for a blessing, a procedure similar to the prayers IV.115–66, 1167–1226 and VII.756–94. In another spell, a prayer to the sun god is used to establish an encounter with one's personal daimon (VII.505–28).⁵⁰

These singular spells are clearly composites and betray several layers of redaction. Whatever the intentions of the original composers of the various parts may have been, the motivation for including them in the extant formularies was no doubt different. It is therefore difficult to classify the texts within the corpus and accordingly their interpretation remains a matter of contention. Some scholars regard them as liturgies for initiation rites, an interpretation possibly corroborated by the intertextual connections of the *Prayer of Thanksgiving*.⁵¹ Others see them as adaptations of texts that had their original function in unrelated religious communities, such as in mystery cults and Hermetic groups, but were turned by magicians into ordinary divination rituals.

4.1.2 Control

4.1.2.1 *Acquiring Control over Other Persons*

Numerous recipes are concerned with eliminating competition in interpersonal relationships and subjecting persons to one's will. This diverse group comprises binding spells (*katadesmos*), erotic binding spells (*philtrokatadesmos*; *r; n tī shmt mr hwṭ*),⁵² attraction spells (*agōgē*, *agōgimon*),⁵³ spells to enflame the heart (*empyron*),⁵⁴ separation spells (*diakopos*; *prḏ*), spells to

edition of the relevant texts is given in J.-P. Mahé, *Hermès en Haute-Égypte. Les textes hermétiques de Nag Hammadi et leurs parallèles grecs et latins*, Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi, Section: Textes 3 (Leuven: Peeters, 1978), 137–167.

50 For this spell, see J. Bergman, "Ancient Egyptian Theogony in a Greek Magical Papyrus," in *Studies in Egyptian Religion. Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee*, ed. M. Heerma van Voss, *Studies in the History of Religions, Supplements to Numen* 43 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1982), 28–37.

51 Fritz Graf views them as initiation rites in the formation of professional magicians, the highest stage reached with the acquisition of a supernatural assistant (*parhedros*) and encounter (*systasis*) with the supreme deity; F. Graf, "The Magician's Initiation," *Helios* 21 (1994): 161–77 and Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World*, 89–117. Reinhold Merkelbach sees them as priestly initiations originally used in the cult of the Alexandrian god Aion; R. Merkelbach, *Abrasax. Ausgewählte Papyri religiösen und magischen Inhalts. Band 3: zwei griechisch-ägyptische Weihzeremonien (Die Leidener Welterschöpfung, die Pschai-Aion-Liturgie)*, *Papyrologica Colonensia* XVII.3 (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1992).

52 The Egyptian paraphrase means "spell to make a woman love a man" and can be used for any type of love charm.

53 For this type of binding spell, see Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic*, 133–46.

54 This word is consistently mistranslated as "divination by fire" in *GMPT*; *PGM* VII.295, XXXVI.69, 102, and 295. In fact, it is a specialized term in reference to a type of attraction

induce insomnia (*akrupnētikon*), spells to send nightmares (*oneiopompos*, *oneiopompeia*; *r3 n hb rswet*, *r3 r tī hy nktk bn*), spells to cause illness (*katak-litikon*), spells to produce enmity (*misēthron*), and spells to subject (*katochos*, *hypotaktikon*). The instructions usually prescribe invoking a chthonic deity, depositing a curse tablet in a cemetery or bath house, and summoning a ghost to haunt the victim.

4.1.2.2 *Acquiring Charisma and Admiration from Others for Self-enhancement*

Rituals of this kind are a counterpart to the former type. Instead of targeting and harming others, favor charms (*charitēsion*; *r3 n tī hst mrt šfet*) aim at transforming the client's perception in the eyes of others by bestowing him or her with positive virtues such as charm (*charis*; *hst*), affection (*philia*; *mrt*), success (*epitychia*; *šfet*), victory (*nikē*), loveliness (*epaphrodisia*), and repute (*doksa*).⁵⁵ Most rites are consecrations of inscribed metal tablets, engraved gems, or other amuletic objects that are to be worn in one's clothing or in a ring on one's finger. An alternative, less lasting method requires anointing the face with myrrh or oil. Conceptually related are victory charms (*nikētikon*) and charms to restrain anger (*thymokatochos*) as indicated by rubrics to recipes (e.g. XXXVI.35–68). Charms to attract customers (*katapraktikon*, *katak-lētikon*) also belong in this category; however, they do not enhance the client's esteem but that of his workshop (IV.2373–2440, 3125–71; VIII.1–63). Certain ring spells (*daktylidion*; *gswr*) claim to achieve all of these objectives (e.g. PGM XII.201–69).

4.1.2.3 *Enhancing Male Potency and Female Libido*

Rites of this nature, perhaps best called aphrodisiacs, aim at overcoming either impotence in a man or reluctance to have sex in a woman. The former is most often treated with smearing a salve on the man's genitals, the latter with making the woman drink a glass of wine mixed with a drug. The recipes, usually very short and snappy, are written for a male clientele and presume in most cases that the woman is unaware of her suitor's intentions. The recipes also presume that the man and woman are already in contact; in this respect, the aphrodisiacs are fundamentally different from the love attraction spells (*agōgē*, *philtrokatadesmos*).

spell that ignites fire in the heart of a victim by means of a burnt offering (persuasive analogy). It is not coincidental that it occurs in combination with *agōgimon*, VII.295, and *agōgē*, XXXVI.69, 295. It has nothing to do with acquiring knowledge from a deity or ghost.

55 J.F. Quack, "From Ritual to Magic: Ancient Egyptian Precursors of the Charitesion and their Social Setting," in *Continuity and Innovation in the Magical Tradition*, ed. G. Bohak, Y. Harari and S. Shaked, *Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture* 15 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2011), 43–84.

4.1.2.4 *Acquiring a Supernatural Assistant*

These recipes are concerned with securing assistance from a supernatural being, either as an end in itself or as part of a larger ritual.⁵⁶ Such an assistant (*paredros*), either a deity, a demonic being, one's shadow, or even a material object, is supposed to act as a stand-by servant to the ritualist, fulfilling any assignment it is given. These assignments can range from the practical to the marvelous, from sending dreams and subjecting people to preparing sumptuous banquets.⁵⁷

4.1.2.5 *Escaping from Confinement and Escaping Notice*

In a list of variant applications, the objectives of loosening shackles, opening closed doors, and producing invisibility are mentioned in combination (*PGM* I.101; see also XII.162). They are also listed, though not in sequence, in the catalogue of applications of XIII.235–340. In other instances, two of the three are mentioned in various combinations.⁵⁸ The three types, i.e. *desmoluton*, *anoixis thuras*, and *amaurōsis*, *amaurōtikon*, occur as unrelated recipes elsewhere, but their frequent association suggests that they were conceptually connected and perhaps to be applied in similar situations. None of the recipes is very informative about the possible context of performance, though. One recipe calls it a spectacular feat and speaks about “freeing yourself from danger” and providing “a way of escape” (*PGM* XII.160–78). Possibly these spells were intended to enable one to escape from prison and to remain unnoticed⁵⁹ in case of arrest for performing *mageia*.⁶⁰

56 L.J. Ciruolo, “Supernatural Assistants in the Greek Magical Papyri,” in *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, ed. M. Meyer and P. Mirecki, RGRW 129 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2001), 279–95; A. Scibilia, “Supernatural Assistance in the Greek Magical Papyri: The Figure of the Parhedros,” in *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, ed. J. Bremmer and J. Veenstra (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 71–86; E. Pachoumi, *The Concepts of the Divine in the Greek Magical Papyri*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 102 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 35–61.

57 For a listing of possible uses of a *paredros*, see *PGM* I.98–126 and 172–92.

58 For example: V.488; XII.160–78; XII.279; XIII.1064; XXXVI.312–20.

59 L.R. LiDonnici, “The Disappearing Magician. Literary and Practical Questions about the Greek Magical Papyri,” in *A Multiform Heritage. Fs. Robert A. Kraft*, ed. B.G. Wright (Atlanta: Scholars’ Press, 1999), 227–43; R. Phillips, *In Pursuit of Invisibility: Ritual Texts from Late Roman Egypt*, American Studies in Papyrology 47 (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2009).

60 *Argonautika* IV.40 may corroborate this idea: Medea flees stealthily from the palace by using spells to open doors while remaining unnoticed.

4.1.3 Protection

4.1.3.1 *Protecting against All Sorts of Danger and Misfortune*

Rites of protection produce magically charged objects (*phylaktērion*; *sz*) that protect the wearer in daily life or for the duration of a potentially dangerous ritual, such as a face-to-face encounter with a chthonic deity or ghost.⁶¹ Most recipes order the inscribing of a gold, silver, bronze or copper lamella or strip of papyrus or cloth with a charm, Homeric verse,⁶² *voces magicae*, and/or magic letters and designs. After consecrating the amulet by verbal incantation, it is to be worn on the body. Activated amulets of this type have been recovered all over the Roman Empire.⁶³ Directions for consecrating engraved gems, which are so abundant in the archaeological record, are rare in the formularies.⁶⁴ As variants to consecrating and wearing an object amulet, a few rites are entirely oral in nature, such as prayers of deliverance (*rystikē*).⁶⁵

4.1.4 Healing

4.1.4.1 *Healing Physical Ailments*

Recipes for healing are usually short and straightforward.⁶⁶ Ailments most often addressed are fever, shivering fits, headache, eye diseases, scorpion sting, and women ailments.⁶⁷ Most recommend placing an inscribed amulet on the affected body part. Two spells in *PGM* IV (1227–64 and 3007–86) and several in *PDM* xiv give incantations to drive out demons from a patient's body, thus

61 See below, Chapter 19.

62 For the use of Homeric verses for protection and healing, see Collins, *Magic in the Ancient Greek World*, 104–22.

63 R. Kotansky, "Incantations and Prayers for Salvation on Inscribed Greek Amulets," in *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, ed. C.A. Faraone and D. Obbink (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 129, fn. 44: "nearly two-hundred magic *lamellae* are published or in private hands." Inscribed metal amulets of known provenance are collected in R. Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets: The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper, and Bronze Lamellae. Part I: Published Texts of Known Provenance*, *Papyrologica Coloniensia* 22/1 (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994). Textual amulets on papyrus are collected in *PGM* and *Suppl. Mag.* 1.1–36.

64 There are only 18 references to gems in the extant formularies. See below, Chapter 17, for references.

65 *PGM* I.195–222, IV.1115–66, 1167–1226; see also VII.311–16, 317–18, 490–504.

66 M.H. Raj, *Médecins et malades de l'Égypte romaine. Étude socio-légale de la profession médicale et de ses praticiens du Ier au IV^e siècle ap. J.-C.*, *Studies in Ancient Medicine* 32 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2006), 268–78 (pp. 347–51 offer a list of *PGM* healing recipes); M. de Haro Sanchez, "Between Medicine and Magic: the Iatromagical Formularies and Medical Receptaries on Papyri Compared," *ZPE* 195 (2015): 179–89. Clusters of healing recipes are: *PGM* VII.193–21; *PDM* xiv.554–626, 935–1025, 1097–1103, 1219–27; *PGM* XXIIa; *Suppl. Mag.* 94 (= *PGM* XCIV); *Suppl. Mag.* 96 (= CXXIII).

67 For further categories, see the index in *Suppl. Mag.* II, 354–55, s.v. 'medical matters.'

continuing a long-standing tradition of understanding internal, mental, and chronic diseases as resulting from demonic intrusion.

4.1.5 Miscellaneous

4.1.5.1 *Paignia* or *Table Gimmicks*

The formulary *PGM* VII contains a section of twelve short prescriptions entitled “Demokritos’ *paignia*” (*PGM* VII.167–86). It is a collection of conjuring tricks and spells for facilitating excessive drinking and sex at a symposium. Similar recipes occur in *Suppl. Mag.* 76 (= *PGM* CXXVII), 83, 91 and *PGM* XIb. *Paignia*, perhaps best translated as ‘jocular recipes’, are also known from references in Pliny the Elder’s *Natural History*, Athenaeus’ *Deipnosophistae*, and the *Cyranides*.⁶⁸ These are probably all remnants of an independent tradition of frivolous and naughty tricks.

4.1.5.2 *Reference*

The formularies are not only collections of prescriptions, but also incorporate encyclopedic knowledge required for successfully performing the rituals. This type of information is often integrated with the recipe’s instructions, but occasionally also treated in a self-contained section. Such sections deal with calendars of suitable and unsuitable days (III.275–81; IV.835–49; VII.155–67, 272–83, 284–99),⁶⁹ instructions on how to properly pick plants (IV.286–95; 2967–3006),⁷⁰ and explanations of pharmacological terminology. As regards the latter, there is a list of “interpretations” enumerating code names with their proper meaning (XII.401–44)⁷¹ and a set of encyclopedic entries containing succinct descriptions and translations of Greek terms into Demotic Egyptian (xiv.886–996).⁷²

68 D. Bain, “Salpe’s PAIGNIA: Athenaeus 322A and Plin. H.N. 28.38,” *The Classical Quarterly* 48.1 (1998): 262–68 and M.W. Dickie, *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World* (London: Routledge, 2001), 122–23.

69 For a general discussion, see still T. Hopfner, *Offenbarungszauber* I (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1990), §§822–35 (outdated in certain respects). An interesting parallel occurs in the *Isis Divination Handbook*, lines 1.5–8; Stadler, *Isis, das göttliche Kind*, 166–67.

70 A. Delatte, *Herbarius. Recherches sur le cérémonial usité chez les anciens pour la cueillette des simples et des plantes magiques*, 3rd ed, (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1961); Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 39f.

71 Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, 185–203; L.R. LiDonnici, “Beans, Fleawort, and the Blood of a Hamadryas Baboon: Recipe Ingredients in Greco-Roman Magical Materials”, in *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*, ed. M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2002), 359–77. On pharmacology in the *PGM*, see J. Scarborough, “The Pharmacology of sacred Plants, Herbs, and Roots,” in *Magika Hiera*, 138–74.

72 Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, 116–17.

4.2 *Scribal Features*

The extant formularies are evidently products of trained scribes. They also betray complex histories of deliberate compilation and redaction in their arrangement. For example, LiDonnici argues convincingly that the extensive codex *PGM* IV is a compilation of several smaller formularies, separated each by a short series of miscellaneous spells.⁷³ Likewise, many recipes are aggregates of alternative methods and variant incantations. It is therefore important to bear in mind that the extant recipes and formularies are the product of a complex history of textual transmission.

The Demotic formularies follow long-standing Egyptian scribal conventions. They exhibit the same scribal features as for example the contemporary hieratic and Demotic manuals from the Tebtunis Temple Library (active throughout 2nd c. CE).⁷⁴ Columns are framed by means of horizontal and vertical guidelines. Red ink is used for titles to recipes, for key words that structure longer recipes into subordinate units, and for quantities and measurements. Glosses are added to the main text with *ky dd* ("also called"), *ky dmr* ("another manuscript (says)"), and *dd r* ("which means"). Recipes follow two formats: compartmentalized and integrated recipes. The former is the common format in hieratic formularies. Such recipes are usually short and retain a strict division between the directions for use and the incantation. The latter is used for the multi-step divine consultation recipes (only in *PDM/PGM* XIV). They integrate the instructions and incantations, following the sequence of the actual proceedings, as is the case in most *PGM* recipes.

Several Demotic recipes retain traces of translation and transcription from Greek source texts.⁷⁵ Not only does *PDM* xiv include three Greek incantations that the compiler clearly lifted untranslated from his source, but also its *voces magicae*, vowel sequences, and palindromes were clearly transcribed from a source using Greek letters into an artificial alphabetic Demotic script. Noteworthy is also that the Greek abbreviation marks for *deina*, *helios* and *selēnē* occur in several Demotic recipes.⁷⁶ They demonstrate that the scribes,

73 LiDonnici, "Compositional Patterns in *PGM* IV."

74 J. Dieleman, "Scribal Practices in the Production of Magic Handbooks in Egypt," in *Continuity and Innovation in the Magical Tradition*, ed. S. Shaked, Y. Harari and G. Bohak, Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture 15 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2011), 85–117; K. Ryholt, "Scribal Habits at the Tebtunis Temple Library. On Materiality, Formal Features, and Palaeography," in *Scribal Repertoires in Egypt from the New Kingdom to the Early Islamic Period*, ed. J. Cromwell and E. Grossman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 153–83.

75 Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, 63–80 and 103–44.

76 On the use of the *deina* sign in the *PDM*, see J. Dieleman, "What's in a Sign? Translating Filiation in the Demotic Magical Papyri," in *The Multilingual Experience in Egypt from the Ptolemies to the Abbāsids*, ed. A. Papaconstantinou (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), 127–52.

despite being steeped in Egyptian scribal culture, were well acquainted with Greek scribal habits and regarded Greek-language formularies as authoritative source texts.

The Greek formularies are less uniform in their appearance. The page is organized with interlinear spaces, *paragraphos* (a horizontal stroke in the margin to indicate beginning or end of recipe), *ekthesis* (jutting out into the left margin), *eisthesis* (indenting), and occasionally *coronis* (an elaborate sign in the margin to indicate end of recipe)—all common scribal techniques in Greek literary and documentary papyri from Egypt. Recipes are further loosely subdivided into thematic units with controlled vocabulary, including *logos* (“formula”), *euchē* (“prayer”), *epanangos* (“coercive formula”), *diabolē* (“slander spell”), *didaskalia tēs praxeōs* (“explanation of the procedure”), *epithyma touto* (“this is the offering”). The metrical hymns are not distinguished from the ordinary text in their formal layout.⁷⁷ Given the high degree of metrical corruption, one may ask if the scribes recognized the hymns as metrical verse at all. Characteristic is also the use of a recurrent set of abbreviations and symbols for technical terms.⁷⁸

Several features betray influence from Egyptian scribal culture. For example, the heading *allo*, “another,” which is a label for successive recipes of the same kind, is a calque of *ky/kt*. Likewise, the gloss *allōs*, “otherwise,” for signaling alternative information found in a variant manuscript, translates *ky ḏd* and *ky ḏm*.⁷⁹ Further dependence is manifest in the phrase “now, now, quickly, quickly” (*ēdē ēdē tachy tachy*), which is a calque of *ys ys tkr tkr*.⁸⁰ Its spelling often mimics Egyptian orthography in using the numeral to indicate repetition of the word (*ēdē B' tachy B' < ys sp-2 tkr sp-2*; e.g. VIII.52). Similarly, the filiation formula “NN whom NN bore” (*deina hon/hēn eteken hē deina*) derives from *mn r-ms mnt*.⁸¹ These nondescript, conventional expressions make us realize that

77 L.M. Bortolani, *Magical Hymns from Roman Egypt: A Study of Greek and Egyptian Traditions of Divinity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

78 For two convenient lists, see *PGM* II, 2nd ed., 269–70 and *Suppl. Mag.* II, 338.

79 These also occur in contemporary medical and alchemical manuals in Greek. For references, see D.G. Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI: a Greek Love Charm from Egypt (P. Mich. 757)* (Atlanta: Scholars' Press, 1991), 7, fn. 31.

80 The earliest occurrence of the expression is in the *Apis Embalming Ritual* (*is sp-2 tkr sp-2*; extant version composed around 350 BCE); pZagreb 597–2, recto, col. o, line 10: P. Meyrat, “The First Column of the Apis Embalming Ritual (Papyrus Zagreb 597–2),” in *Ägyptische Rituale der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, ed. J.F. Quack (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 263–337. The expression was eventually also transcribed and translated from the Greek into Hebrew and Aramaic spells: Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, 282–83.

81 Dieleman, “What’s in a Sign?,” and D. Jordan, “CIL VIII 19 525(B).2 QPVVLA = q(uem) p(eperit) vulva,” *Philologus* 120 (1976): 127–32, esp. 130ff.

the scribes who composed the Greek recipes were intimately familiar with the scribal conventions of the Egyptian scriptorium.

Many recipes call for drawing, incising, molding and sculpting images and figurines. Most often the design is described in words, but occasionally the recipe includes a simple line drawing as illustration.⁸² Such sketches were, without exception, quickly and inexpertly executed and drawn with the same pen as used for writing the text. The four drawings included in the second/third century P. Leiden I 384 vo (*PGM XII/PDM xii*) are very much Egyptian in nature and design. They are quite similar in style and quality of execution to the crude vignettes found in some Egyptian funerary manuscripts of the Roman period, such as 'abbreviated' Books of Breathing, Books of Transformations, and Books of Traversing Eternity.⁸³ Like the formularly, these manuscripts come from Thebes. In the later formularies, however, the motifs and figures are less and less Egyptian in character and certainly less so in style. The demonic figures of the fourth century *PGM XXXXVI* from the Fayum represent an altogether different tradition of representing the human body.

4.3 *Bilingual Features*

An important feature of the formularies is their bilingual character. Not only do several manuscripts combine recipes in Greek and Egyptian, recipes also presume that the ritualist operates in a multilingual environment, as in the following request for favor and charm.

Every tongue and every language should listen to me, because I am
PERTAŌ [MĒCH CHACH] MNĒCH SAKMĒPH IAŌOUEĒ ŌĒŌ ŌĒŌ
IEOUŌĒIĒIAĒA IĒŌUOEI. Give [me graciously] whatever you want.

PGM XII.187–89

It is useful to make a distinction between factual and imagined bilingualism, for, although related, these two phenomena are different in nature and motivation. Factual bilingualism is true code switching, that is, the insertion of foreign-language words and the alternation between Greek and Egyptian in a single manuscript or even recipe.⁸⁴ Switching between Egyptian and

82 Gordon, "Shaping the Text," 97–107; J. Dijkstra, "The Interplay between Image and Text on Greek Amulets Containing Christian Elements from Late Antique Egypt," in *The Materiality of Magic*, ed. D. Boschung and J.N. Bremmer (Paderborn W. Fink, 2015), 271–92.

83 See further Mark Smith, *Traversing Eternity. Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

84 The following formularies exhibit Greek-Egyptian bilingualism. The earliest example is P. Oxy LXV 4468: Greek and Egyptian (transcribed in Greek letters; late 1 CE); the others

Greek was not so much motivated by socio-pragmatic concerns as resulting from manuscript interference. By copying from source texts in both Greek and Egyptian, scribes selected and combined words, recipes, and incantations in both languages into the new formulary. They were obviously proficient in both languages: switches are always deliberate and never affect a recipe's coherence.

Alternation between recipes in Greek and Demotic occurs in P. Leiden I 384 verso (*PGM/PDM* XII), P. BM EA 10588 (*PGM/PDM* LXI), and P. Louvre E3229 (*PDM* Suppl.). Switching between Greek and Demotic within a single spell occurs only in the associated P. Leiden I 384 verso (*PGM/PDM* XII) and P. London-Leiden (*PDM/PGM* XIV). In these few cases functional specialization is strictly maintained: Demotic is used for the instructions, Greek for the incantation. The following recipe, a request for a dream vision of Imhotep, may serve as an example.⁸⁵ The Demotic instructions contain some glosses in Greek, which betray that the scribe took inspiration from a *Vorlage* in Greek. In all likelihood, he copied the Greek incantation from this same *Vorlage*, but, out of fear for losing the sounds' intrinsic power, left it untranslated.

A casting for inspection (*sš-mšt*), which the great god Imhotep \made/.

Its preparation: You bring a stool (*tk*s : τραπεζην) of olive wood having four legs, upon which no man on earth has ever sat, and you put it near you, it being clean. When you wish to make a god's arrival (*ph-ntr*) with it truthfully without falsehood, here is its manner. You should put the stool in a clean niche in the midst of the place, it being near your head; you should cover it with a cloth from its top to its bottom; you should put four bricks under the table before it, one above another, there being a censer of clay before it (i.e. the table); you should put charcoal of olive wood on it; you should add wild goose (*srw.t* : χηνα{γ}ριου) fat pounded with myrrh and *ks-nh* stone; you should make them into balls; you should put one on the brazier; you should leave the remainder near you; you should recite this spell in Greek to it. Words to be said:

I call upon you (sing.) who are seated in impenetrable darkness and are in the midst of the great gods; you who, when you set, take with you the solar rays and send up the light-bringing goddess NEBOUTOSUALĒTH; great god BARZAN BOUBARZAN NARZAZOUZAN BARZABOUZATH Helios. Send up to me in this night your archangel ZEBOURTHAUNĒN,

are *PGM* XII/*PDM* xii: Greek and Demotic; *PDM* xiv/*PGM* XIV: Demotic and Greek; *PGM* LXI/*PDM* lxi: Greek and Demotic (III CE); *PGM* III: Greek and Coptic; *PGM* IV: Greek and Coptic; *PGM* XXXVI: Greek and Coptic (IV CE); *PGM* I: Greek and Coptic (IV or V CE).

85 For further details, see Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, 123–26.

respond with truth, truly, not falsely, unambiguously concerning such-and-such a matter, because I conjure you by him who is seated in the fiery cloak on the serpentine head of the Agathos Daimon, the almighty, four-faced, highest demon, dark and conjuring, PHŌX. Do not ignore me Do not ignore me, but send up quickly tonight <in accordance with> the command of the god.

(Say this three times)

You should lie down without speaking to anyone on earth; and you should go to sleep. You see the god, he being in the likeness of a priest wearing clothes of byssus on his back and wearing sandals on his feet. He speaks with you truthfully with his mouth opposite your mouth concerning anything that you wish. When he has finished, he will go away again. You place a tablet for reading the hours (πῖναξ *n š wnw*) upon the bricks, and you place the stars upon it, and you write your business on a new roll of papyrus, and you place it on the tablet (πῖναξ). It tells you your stars, whether they are favorable for your business.

P. London-Leiden ro IV.1–22 = PDM xiv.93–114 [PGM XIVa.1–11]

The same pattern can be observed in those two cases that a Demotic recipe includes an incantation in Meroitic (P. London-Leiden vo. XX.1–7 [PDM xiv.1097–1101] and P. BM EA 10588 ro. VII.1–5 [PDM lxi.95–99]).⁸⁶ In both cases, title and instruction are given in Demotic, while the incantation proper is explicitly labeled as Meroitic and phonetically transcribed in the same reduced set of Demotic characters that was devised specifically to transcribe *voces magicae*.

Spell of giving praise <and> love in Meroitic (*mt.t ʾlkš*): “SUMUTH KESUTH HRBAQA BRASAKHS LAT son of (?) NAPH son of (?) BAKHA”. Say these, put gum on your hand, kiss your shoulder twice, and go before the man whom you desire.

P. BM. 10588 VII.1–5 = PDM lxi.95–99

It remains a question whether the transcribed words represent truly Meroitic (factual bilingualism) or rather gibberish that was meant to sound like Meroitic to an Egyptian hearer (imagined bilingualism). The language has so far not been identified.

In the Greek formularies the relations are reversed. The instructions are always in Greek, but occasionally the incantation is partly or entirely in

86 For more detailed analysis, see Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, 138–43.

Egyptian and transcribed in Greek or Old-Coptic letters.⁸⁷ In this short recipe the language division is strictly maintained: the instructions are in Greek, the invocation is in Egyptian.

Another <encounter spell addressed> to Helios. Having wrapped in linen from head to feet a naked boy, clap your hands and after making a ringing noise, place the boy opposite the sun and say the formula, standing behind him: “*I am BARBARIŌTH, BARBARIŌTH am I; PESKOUT EĪAHO ADŌNAI ALŌAI SABAŌTH, come inside this lad today, because I am BARBARIŌTH.*”

PGM IV.88–93

The number of Egyptian loanwords in Greek spells is almost negligible and restricted to religious terms and flora and fauna. The Egyptian loanword for the hoopoe bird is twice provided with a gloss. In one instance, the gloss gives a Greek equivalent; in the other case, the proper Egyptian form is given, which reveals that the reader was expected to be familiar with Egyptian speech or, at least, to be living where Egyptian was spoken.

Take wormwood, sun opal, breathing stone, and heart of a *kokkoupas*, which is vulture-cock.

PGM II.17–18

Take a *kakouph[on]*, which is *kakou[phat]* in Egyptian, and tear its heart out.

PGM III.424–25

Greek loan words occur only in the Demotic spells of P. London-Leiden (PGM/PDM XIV).⁸⁸ Most of them are borrowings from the international pharmaceutical jargon of the day, which were copied from *Vorlagen* in Greek. The manuscript's reverse side contains a lexicographical section where several terms are translated into Demotic or juxtaposed with their Egyptian equivalent and followed by short identifications in Egyptian also translated from the

87 E.O.D. Love, *Code-Switching with the Gods. The Bilingual (Old Coptic-Greek) Spells of PGM IV (P. Bibliothèque Nationale Supplément Grec. 574) and their Linguistic, Religious, and Socio-Cultural Context in Late Roman Egypt*, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde—Beiheft 4* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016).

88 For more details, see Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, 110–20.

Greek. The language of the Demotic formularies is otherwise conspicuously free of Greek loanwords and is therefore by no means representative of contemporary Egyptian speech. On the contrary, the Demotic formularies are written in a speech register that is deliberately kept free of Greek influence, and thus continue the standards of the scribal tradition of the Egyptian temple.

Imagined bilingualism, that is, when the text falsely claims to switch into another language, occurs in the Greek formularies only. In the first example, the text does not switch to Aramaic and Hebrew as it claims, but in fact, gives *voces magicae*.

I am the one who calls upon you, great god, in the Syrian language:
ZAALAĒRIPPHOU. You should not ignore my voice. (in Hebrew: ABLA-
NATHANALBA ABRATHIAŌ)

PGM V.473–76

I know your foreign names (*barbarika onomata*), PHARNATHAR
BARACHĒL CHTHA; these are your foreign names.

PGM VIII.20–21

The motivation for imagined bilingualism is twofold. First, it is grounded in the belief that the supreme deity is beyond and above ethnic and linguistic divisions and answers to different names in different speech communities: “I call upon you who encompasses everything in every tongue and every dialect” (PGM XIII.138–9). Knowledge of the various names amounts to knowing the god’s true name and nature and accordingly guarantees sympathy from the deity for the ritualist’s request, as illustrated in the conclusion to a ring spell.

And again I call upon you,
according to Egyptians, PHNŌEAI IABŌK;
according to Jews, ADŌNAIE SABAŌTH;
according to Greeks, “the king of all, ruling alone”;
according to the high priests, “hidden, invisible, overseer of all”;
according to Parthians, OUERTŌ “master of all”.
Consecrate and empower this object for me, for the entire and glorious
time of my life!

PGM XII.263–67

This discourse mode is not limited to human languages, though. The sounds of animals and nature are equally well suited to supplicate the divine:

I call upon you, lord, in birdglyphic: ARAI; in hieroglyphic: LAÏLAM; in Hebrew: ANOCH BIATHIARBATH BERBIR ECHILATOUR BOUPHROUM-TROM; in Egyptian: ALDABAEIM; in baboonic: ABRASAX; in falconic: CHICHICHICHICHICHITIPH TIPHTIPH; in hieratic: MENEPHÖÏPHÖTH CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA CHA

PGM XIII.81–86, cf. 149–60, 454–70 and 593–98

I call upon you as you are addressed by the male gods [*vowel strings*]; I call upon you as you are addressed by the female gods [*vowel strings*]; I call upon you as the winds call <you> [*vowel strings*]; I call upon you as the east wind (looking to the east, <say>) [*vowel strings*]; I call upon you as the south wind (looking to the south, say) [*vowel strings*]; I call upon you as the west wind (looking to the west, say) [*vowel strings*]; I call upon you as the north wind (looking to the north, say) [*vowel strings*]; I call upon you as the earth (looking to the earth, say) [*vowel strings*]; I call upon you as the sky (looking to the sky, say) [*vowel strings*]; I call upon you as the cosmos (looking to the cosmos, say) [*vowel strings*]; fulfil for me the such-and-such matter quickly.

PGM XIII. 848–71

Further motivation for imagined bilingualism is the idea that certain languages, due to their antiquity, are better suited than others to address the divine.⁸⁹ By including words and phrases supposed to pass for Egyptian, Hebrew, and Aramaic, the formularies expose the aspirations of their producers and consumers to work in the traditions of ancient Egypt and Near East. Appropriating their associated jargon and names of power was furthermore a means to forge a chain of tradition.

4.4 *Authoritative Traditions*

Although of recent origin and radically innovative, the Greco-Egyptian formularies do not at all acknowledge their novel character. On the contrary, they are resolute in claiming ancient pedigrees that are without basis in historical reality. These claims are about the origin of the text, the authenticity of its message, proofs of efficacy, and the guarantee of secrecy.⁹⁰ The formation of this imagined authoritative tradition gives us clues as to the social and cultural

89 Iamblichus, *On the Mysteries of Egypt*, VII.4–5 (256–260); *Corpus Hermeticum* XVI.1–2; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, I.25. See below, Frankfurter, Chapter 22.

90 This section is based on Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, 254–80.

framework in which the practitioners aspired to be working. In this respect, it sheds partial light on the sense of group identity and self-definition of the producers and users of the formularies. Interestingly, the Greek recipes articulate a sense of self-definition that differs from the Demotic recipes.

As regards the origin of the text, some recipes claim to be god-given or are attributed to a famous author; the patron deities are almost exclusively Egyptian. For example, the following two passages claim a divine origin.

There is nothing greater than this procedure. It was tested by Manetho, [who] received [it] as a gift from Osiris, the greatest god. Perform it, perform it successfully and silently.

PGM III. 439–40

Isis uttered and wrote down [the formula given below], when she took up Osiris and fitted together his disjointed members. When Asklepius [saw] him, he admitted that he [could] not have [fitted together] the de[ceased] (even) with (the help of) Hebe or any[body else].

PGM VII.1000–1004

The selection of pseudepigraphic authors was guided by preconceived notions and stereotypes according to which ethnic identity and knowledge of the occult are intimately linked. The authors fall into four types: Egyptian priests, Jewish culture heroes, Persian magoi, and Greek philosophers and holy men. Titles include “A tested charm of Pibechis for those possessed by demons” (*PGM* IV.3007), “From the *Diadem of Moses*” (*PGM* VII.619), “Pythagoras’ request for a dream vision and Demokritos’ dream divination by astrology” (*PGM* VII.795), “Love binding spell of Astrampsouchos” (*PGM* VIII.1), “Apollonius of Tyana’s old serving woman” (*PGM* XIa.1), “The dream sending spell of Zminis from Dendera” (*PGM* XII.121), “Jacob’s prayer” (*PGM* XXIIb.1).

Claims to authenticity are packaged as letters sent between a ritualist and his colleague or patron, so as to make the reader believe that he is given access to the knowledge of true *magoi* and champions of old. Take for example this introduction to a divination spell, in which an Egyptian priest writes to king Psammetichus, ruler of Egypt from 664 to 610 BCE—many centuries before Greco-Egyptian ritual techniques came in use.

Nephotes greets Psammetichus, king of Egypt, who lives forever. As the great god has appointed you eternal king and nature has made (you) the best sage, I too, desirous to demonstrate you the industry in me, have sent you this procedure that, with complete ease, performs a holy action.

And after you have tested it, you too will be amazed at the miraculous nature of this operation.

PGM IV. 154–62

Alternatively, authenticity can be evoked through testimonies of the text's discovery in an Egyptian temple.⁹¹ This motif presupposes that the text is in fact a translation into Greek from an authentic—and much older, as is implied—Egyptian text. For instance, instructions for a divination procedure, named after the goddess Isis, are presented as if found in the temple of Thoth (Hermes in Greek): “*The Mistress Isis is Great: copy of a holy book*”⁹² that was found in the treasury of Hermes” [*PGM XXIVa.1–4*]. The following introduction to a list of encoded ingredients paired with their solutions claims that the listing is just such a translation. However, its historically incorrect reference to an Egyptian practice of inscribing such information on temple statues exposes the claim readily as false.⁹³

Interpretations from the temples, in translation, of which the temple scribes made use. Because of the curiosity of the masses, they (the temple scribes) wrote the (names of the) herbs and other things that they made use of on statues of gods in order that they (the masses), since they do not take precautions, do not meddle at all, due to the inevitable result of their mistake. However, we have collected the solutions from many copies, all of them secret.

PGM XII.401–7

The passage is not only of interest for its use of the motif of translation, but also for its situation of address, constructing a dichotomy between the world of the Egyptian temple and that of the formularies. The author and implied reader (“we”) are bonded in their desire to partake in the practices of the Egyptian priests (“they”) and also in realizing that they are not part of that world and have access only through the intermediacy of translation.

91 For other occurrences, see *Suppl. Mag.* 11, 111f; W. Brashear, “Ein Berliner Zauberpapyrus,” *ZPE* 33 (1979): 261–78, 266.

92 The phrase “holy book” (*hiera biblos*) is an idiomatic expression in the *PGM* for ‘temple book in Egyptian’. Whenever it occurs, translation from Egyptian into Greek is implied; J. Quaegebeur, “Sur la ‘loi sacrée’ dans l’Égypte gréco-romaine,” *Ancient Society* 11–12 (1980–81): 230–34, 233.

93 For further details, especially on the nature of the encoded ingredients, see Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, 185–203.

Claimed evidence of efficacy occurs in the form of interspersed endorsements such as “tested” or “the world has had nothing greater than this” (*PGM* XII.277). The following passage stands out as a very lively example, mimicking an Egyptian narrative format that situates the performance of marvelous feats at the king’s court (King’s Novel).

Pakhrates, the high priest of Heliopolis, revealed [it] to the emperor Hadrian, revealing the power of his very own divine magic. For it attracted in one hour; it made someone sick in 2 hours; it destroyed in 7 hours, sent the emperor himself dreams as he thoroughly tested the whole truth of the magic within his power. And marveling at the prophet, he ordered double fees to be given to him.

PGM IV.2446–55

Warnings for secrecy occur throughout the recipes.⁹⁴ On one level they bear witness to the reality that practicing magic was punishable in the Roman Empire. As a textual strategy, however, they have the dual function of mystifying the recipe and creating a highly productive sense of community between editor and reader.⁹⁵ When Nephotes warns king Psammetichus “Let this procedure, O mighty king, be transmitted to you alone, guarded by you, unshared” [*PGM* IV. 254–56], the reader realizes that the editor lets him in on confidential information. Yet, neither editor nor reader was ever supposed to know. They are only indirect descendants in the chain of tradition. Thus they are bonded as a group—yet remain apart from the ritual specialists they wish they were.

These mystification techniques were already common in formularies and manuals from pharaonic Egypt. The scribes of the Greco-Egyptian formularies continued a long-standing scribal tradition. However, they gave the motifs new content and applied them more liberally. Most salient are the international scope of the pseudepigraphic attributions and the objectification of Egyptian clergy. Whenever Egyptian priests are mentioned, they are cast as a professional group distinct from the producers and users of the formularies. In this regard, there is a critical difference between Greek and Demotic recipes. The latter are never framed by means of references to international authors, nor do they objectify Egyptian priests. In fact, of the mystification techniques, Demotic recipes make use only of the motif of proven efficacy. This suggests that they

94 H.D. Betz, “Secrecy in the Greek Magical Papyri,” in *Secrecy and Concealment. Studies in the History of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Religions*, ed. H.G. Kippenberg and G. Stroumsa, *Studies in the History of Religions* 65 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995) 153–75.

95 For an alternative interpretation, see Gordon, “Reporting the Marvelous,” 65–92, 81.

were composed with a group of users in mind different from the Greek recipes. Apparently, foreign ritual experts and alleged translations of hieroglyphic texts were of no concern to the intended users of the Demotic recipes.

4.5 *Historical Development*

The vast majority of magical papyri date to the second century CE and later. These spells exhibit a relative uniformity in language and ritual techniques, sharing a predilection for invoking deities and demons by long strings of epithets and *voces magicae* and for integrating as much resources of power as possible, including drawings, *characteres*, and geometrically arranged vowel strings and palindromes. The formularies are all very similar in their layout and make use of a very similar set of technical terms to indicate the types of spells and to describe the procedures. It seems warranted to conclude that, by this period, if not slightly earlier, Greco-Egyptian ritual had established itself as a distinct type and that there was a general awareness of genre rules and standards with respect to the format and content of individual spells and formularies. However, information on the formative period is scant. The number of preserved documents predating the second century CE is low and their state of preservation is poor. In all fairness, they do not allow determining when and how this innovative type of idiom and ritual came into being.

The earliest document of the corpus is PGM XL, found in the Serapeum at Memphis and better known today as the 'Curse of Artemisia.' It is dated by paleography to the late fourth century BCE.⁹⁶ It is a plea to Oserapis (the deceased or Osiris form of the Apis bull of Memphis) to intervene on Artemisia's behalf and punish her daughter's father for not providing the daughter with a proper burial. In seeking justice in a deadlocked dispute through divine intervention, Artemisia followed an established Egyptian procedure of writing a letter to a god and depositing it in the god's proximity, as in this case in the catacomb of the Apis bulls.⁹⁷ The text is testament to the encounter of Greek immigrant society and Egyptian religious and social practices, but, apart from being a translation in Greek of what is otherwise an Egyptian textual format, it does

96 For photo and dating, see R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* 111.1 (Stuttgart: A. Hierseemann, 1990) 141–45.

97 For a comprehensive discussion of the genre of 'Letters to Gods', attested in Demotic since the 6th century BCE, see M. Depauw, *The Demotic Letter. A Study of Epistolographic Scribal Traditions against their Intra- and Intercultural Background* (Sommerhausen: G. Zauzich, 2006), 307–13. The so-called 'Prayers for Justice' work on similar principles; H.S. Versnel, "Beyond Cursing: The Appeal to Justice in Judicial Prayers," in *Magika Hiera*, 60–106 (see pp. 68–69 for Artemesia's Curse). Similar documents are *Suppl. Mag.* 52 (I CE), PGM LI (III CE) and the Old-Coptic Papyrus Schmidt, *ACM* no. 1 (ca. 100 CE).

not exhibit any of the features of Greco-Egyptian ritual.⁹⁸ Its main relevance lies in signaling the emergence of an immigrant or culturally displaced clientele that is willing, when faced with a life crisis, to adopt, adapt, and combine practices and discourses that had heretofore developed and functioned in separate ethnic and cultural communities.

The next available manuscripts do not predate the first century BCE. Unlike the elaborate handbooks of the imperial period, these early (fragmentary) formularies were apparently collections of relatively short incantations accompanied by succinct ritual instructions. Recipes have one purpose only. Drawings and *charaktêres* are absent, while *voces magicae* do not appear before the first century CE (*PGM* XVI, CIII, *Suppl. Mag.* 52). The deities addressed have either Greek or Egyptian names.

One of the earliest manuscripts, the so-called Philinna Papyrus (*PGM* XX), preserves one column of a collection of short incantations for healing in dactylic hexameters. The verses are labeled *epaoidê*, using the uncontracted poetic form of the word for “charm” since Homer, a term which is otherwise rare in the *PGM*.⁹⁹ The second incantation is entitled “[*Epaoidê* of N], a Syrian woman from Gadara, for every inflammation” and the title of the third incantation reads “*Epaoidê* of Philinna from Thessaly for a headache”. In their hexametrical form, diction, and shortness they bear strong resemblance to the Bacchic gold tablets (fourth to first century BCE)¹⁰⁰ and the cluster of protective lead tablets from Himera (Sicily; fifth century), Phalasarna (Crete, fourth century), Locri (Calabria, early fourth century), and Selinous (Sicily; fourth century).¹⁰¹

98 The deity addressed is Oserapis, the Greek contracted transcription of Osiris-Apis, who otherwise never appears in the *PGM*. The language is not Koine but Ionic Greek interspersed with some Attic features.

99 On epodê as a poetic genre, see H. Pfister, “Epode” *Paulys Real-Enzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, Suppl.* 4 (1924) 323–44. On the Greek tradition of hexametrical charms, see C.A. Faraone, “Hexametrical Incantations as Oral and Written Phenomena,” in *Sacred Words: Orality, Literacy and Religion*. Orality and Literacy in the Ancient World 8, eds. A.P.M.H. Lardinois, J.H. Blok & M.G.M. van der Poel (Leiden: Brill, 2011) 191–204. On their use and function in Greek healing practices, see R. Kotansky, *Incantations and Prayers for Salvation on Inscribed Greek Amulets*, 108–14 and W.D. Furley, “Besprechung und Behandlung. Zur Form und Funktion von EPOIDAI in der griechischen Zaubermagie,” in *Philanthropia kai eusebeia. Fs. Albrecht Dihle*, ed. G.W. Most (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 80–104.

100 F. Graf and S.I. Johnston, *Ritual Texts for the Afterlife. Orpheus and the Bacchic Gold Tablets* (London: Routledge, 2007).

101 Himera tablet: D. Jordan, “Epheia Grammata at Himera,” *ZPE* 130 (2000): 104–7. Phalasarna tablet: D. Jordan, “The Inscribed Lead tablet from Phalasarna,” *ZPE* 94 (1992): 191–94. Lokroi Epizephyrioi: D. Jordan, “Three Texts from Lokroi Epizephyrioi,” *ZPE* 130 (2000): 95–103, 96–101. Selinous tablet: D.R. Jordan and R. Kotansky, “Ritual Hexameters in the

The principle of organization and the alleged female authorship suggest that the collection stands in a Greek tradition of metrical charms rather than represents the innovative trend of Greco-Egyptian private ritual.¹⁰² Influence from Egyptian mythology in the second charm's *historiola* cannot be excluded, however.¹⁰³ Moreover, as the incantations are without directions for use, it is quite possible that the collection was conceived as an anthology of poetry rather than as a formulary for practical use.

The transition from Greek to Greco-Egyptian notions and practices can best be observed in a Berlin manuscript of the Augustan period (*PGM CXXII = Suppl. Mag.* 72). The collection opens with:

Excerpt of incantations (*epōidōn*) from the <...> found in Heliopolis in the sacred book called 'Of Hermes' in the innermost sanctuary <written> in Egyptian letters and translated into Greek.

This introduction is innovative in claiming to be a translation of an authentic Egyptian formulary written by Thoth, the god of writing and ritual power *par excellence*, which was kept in the temple library at Heliopolis, the central cult place of the sun god in ancient Egypt. At the same time it retains the term *epodē* to classify its content. The first incantation is indeed in hexameters and without instructions for use like the incantations of the Philinna Papyrus. The others, however, follow a different format, as they give succinct directions and are composed in prose. Moreover, whereas the first incantation operates on the Greek notion of the apple spell, the others overtly invoke Egyptian mythology and cult.¹⁰⁴ It is therefore tempting to give some credence to the introduction and to regard the incantations as translations or adaptations of Egyptian spells. Whatever metrical form they might have had in Egyptian, it was lost in

Getty Museum. Preliminary Edition," *ZPE* 178 (2011): 54–62. C.A. Faraone and D. Obbink, eds., *The Getty Hexameters. Poetry, Magic, and Mystery in Ancient Selinous* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

102 C.A. Faraone, "Handbooks and Anthologies: The Collections of Greek and Egyptian Incantations in Late Hellenistic Egypt," *ARG* 2 (2000): 195–214, esp. 209ff.

103 Egyptian mythology: L. Koenen, "Der brennende Horusknaue: Zu einem Zauberspruch des Philinna-Papyrus" *Chronique d'Égypte* 37 (1962): 167–74 and R.K. Ritner, "The Wives of Horus and the Philinna Papyrus (*PGM XX*)," in *Egyptian Religion. The Last Thousand Years*, ed. Willy Clarysse, vol. 2, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 85 (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 1027–41. Faraone argues for a combination of Egyptian and Near Eastern influences: C.A. Faraone, "The Mystodokos and the Dark-Eyed Maidens: Multicultural Influences on a Late-Hellenistic Incantation," in *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, 297–333.

104 For apple spells as a type of Greek erotic magic, see C.A. Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic*, 69–78.

translation. To package them for Greek consumption, the translator labeled them *epōidai* and ended each with a variation on the traditional metrical stock phrase “bring to perfection a perfect incantation” (*telei telean epaoidēn*), which occurs twice in the Philinna Papyrus.¹⁰⁵ Thanks to these generic cues, a Greek audience would have recognized the spells as charms, despite their non-Greek form, content, and origin.

These shifts represent defining moments in the development of Greco-Egyptian private ritual. Ritual techniques, textual forms, and mythology of Egyptian, Jewish, and Greek origin were by now combined in spells written in Koine Greek. Verse had lost its relevance as a genre criterion and, accordingly, *epōidē* was eventually replaced by *logos* (“formulation”) as the generic term for incantation.¹⁰⁶ Also, the closing verse “bring to perfection a perfect incantation” was marginalized and, when used, was usually rendered in prose.¹⁰⁷ Several formularies of the imperial period still contain metrical sections, some of which are quite extensive with more than 30 or even 100 lines, but these are not descendants of the *epōidē* tradition.¹⁰⁸ Rather, they are cult songs that aim to please the deity addressed by means of their artistic quality so as to persuade him or her to grant the request.¹⁰⁹ They are modeled after the hymns and prayers sung in the context of official cult by a chorus during procession and at the moment of sacrifice.¹¹⁰ They are yet another example of the corpus’ tendency to appropriate, redefine, and ‘privatize’ practices and discourses of temple cult.

Following these processes of amalgamation and adaptation of older, local traditions, scribes developed new means to capture and mobilize ritual power in writing. The resulting *voces magicae*, name formulae, vowel permutations, and *charaktēres* start to appear on first-century CE manuscripts (P. Oxy. LXV 4468, *PGM* CIII = *Suppl. Mag.* 73, *PGM* XVI), since when they were generic

105 For metrical attestations of this phrase, see *PGM* XX.4, 19 (I BCE), *Suppl. Mag.* 71 fr. 2 + 21 (I BCE); *Suppl. Mag.* 72/*PGM* CXXII.13, 27, 36, 52 (I CE); *PGM* IV.2939 (IV CE).

106 For an illustrative example of this shift, see *Suppl. Mag.* 88, a fourth century CE formulary from Oxyrhynchus, which contains a reworked version of the *epaoidē* of the Syrian woman on the Phillina Papyrus (*PGM* XX). Instead of *epaoidē*, the incantation is here termed *logos*.

107 For non-metrical attestations of this phrase, see *Suppl. Mag.* 73.18 (I CE); *PGM* VII.992 (III CE); XII.307 (III CE); IV.295 (IV CE); *Suppl. Mag.* 45.53 (V CE).

108 The metrical hymns are usually labeled *eukhē* (“prayer”), occasionally also *logos*.

109 For reconstructed hymns, see *PGM* II, 2nd ed., 237–66; 26 hymns are distinguished. See also Brashear, “The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey,” 3420–22.

110 Bertolani, *Magical Hymns from Roman Egypt*; W.D. Furley and J.M. Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, vol. 1, *Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum* 9 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 47–48.

features of Greco-Egyptian private ritual.¹¹¹ The next stage in the development occurred when scribes started to write Greco-Egyptian spells in their local languages and scripts. The earliest evidence from Egypt dates to the second century CE (Demotic Egyptian, soon to be replaced by Coptic Egyptian), that from Palestine to the fifth century CE (Aramaic and Hebrew).¹¹²

The oldest extant Egyptian manuscript to exhibit Greco-Egyptian features is P. BM 10808 (Oxyrhynchus; 2nd c. CE).¹¹³ It preserves a column of incantations in Formal Egyptian transcribed into a Greco-Egyptian alphabet next to a large fragment of a preceding column with two recipes in Demotic, one for a *paredros* (transcribed *mgylws* in Demotic characters) and one for dream-sending, that embed the MASKELLI-MASKELLŌ formula and other *voces magicae* in Greek letters. This arrangement demonstrates that, by the second c. CE, Greco-Egyptian idiom and more traditional Egyptian texts were no longer two exclusive categories produced and put to practice in two distinct social and cultural worlds. On the contrary, they exist here side by side: the former incorporated in a Demotic spell, the latter recast in an experimental alphabetic script. The London-Leiden papyri (PGM/PDM XII and PDM/PGM XIV) offer the most vivid testimony to this development. Their Demotic spells betray several layers of redaction involving the consultation of both traditional Egyptian materials and Greco-Egyptian formularies. The scribes reworked older Egyptian spells into Demotic, translated Greek instructions into Demotic, and transcribed *voces magicae* from Greek into alphabetic Demotic and a Greco-Egyptian alphabet similar to the one used on P. BM 10808; occasionally the scribes even incorporated a Greek incantation into an otherwise Demotic recipe.

111 Roy Kotansky dates several Greek *lamellae* with *voces magicae* to the first century BCE: GMA 48, 39, 36 (all found outside Egypt). If his dating is correct, *voces magicae* were already introduced in the late Hellenistic period.

112 For the Hebrew and Aramaic materials, see Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, 149–83.

113 J. Osing, *Der spätägyptische Papyrus BM 10808*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 33 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1976); V.H. Sederholm, *Papyrus British Museum 10808 and its Cultural and Religious Setting* (Probleme der Ägyptologie 24 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2006); J. Dieleman, “Ein spätägyptisches magisches Handbuch: Eine neue PDM oder PGM?,” in *Res severa verum gaudia. Fs Zauzich* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 121–8; J.F. Quack, “Review of Sederholm, *Papyrus British Museum 10808*,” *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 104 (2009): 27–33; Quack, “The Last Stand? What remains Egyptian in Oxyrhynchus?,” in *Problems of Canonicity and Identity Formation in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia*, ed. G. Barjamovic and K. Ryholt, CNI Publications 43 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2016), 105–126.

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