

PAPYROLOGICA COLONIENSIA · Vol. XVI.1

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Supplementum Magicum

Vol. I

(Suppl. Mag. I)

edited with translations and notes by
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WESTDEUTSCHER VERLAG

Panopolis (?)

II AD¹

T.Heid. Arch. Inst. inv. F 429 a and b.

ED.PR.: F.Boll, *Griechischer Liebeszauber aus Ägypten* (Sitzb. Heid. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., 1910, 2. Abh.).REPubL.: SB III 6224-6225; B.Borell, *Statuetten, Gefässe und andere Gegenstände aus Metall. Katalog der Sammlung antiker Kleinkunst des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg* III.1 (Mainz 1989), p. 53 f., no. 56 (*non vidimus*).COMM.: ed.pr.; R.Wünsch, *Berl. phil. Wochenschrift* 30 (1910) 688 f.; F.Pfister, *Wochenschrift f. klass. Phil.* 30 (1913) 1049 f.; S.Eitrem in P.Oslo II, p. 33 note 1; K.Preisendanz, *Akten des VIII. Int. Kongresses für Papyrologie* (MPER N.S. 5, 1956), p. 114 note 33.TRANSL.: ed.pr.; Borell, *loc.cit.*PHOTO: ed.pr., plates 1 and 2; Borell, *op.cit.*, plate 25 a and b.

REF.: Jordan, "Survey," nos. 158-159.

DESCR.: two lead tablets, each with a width of 10.1 cm and a height of 8.8 cm. Content, format and handwriting show that the two tablets formed a diptych. With the two written surfaces facing each other, the diptych was pierced by nails in four places. The tablets have been damaged by corrosion since they were first published; the photos in the ed.pr. are now more legible than the diptych itself.

LOC.: Archäologisches Institut, Universität Heidelberg.

Whereas normally the souls of the dead are adjured anonymously, here the spirit is addressed by his name: Horion, son of Sarapous; cf. 47, 6, 12, 14, 18; 50, 12; PGM XXXII 1 ἐξορκίζ[ω] σε, Εὐάγγελε κτλ.; and the formula PGM IV 2180 ὁ δεῖνα, λε(ί)πας τὸ γλυκὺ φῶς; for examples in the curse tablets, see *RE* XVI.2, col. 2248 f. (K.Preisendanz).

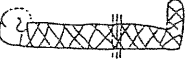
The present diptych will have been deposited in Horion's grave, and it must be his mummy that is depicted on Tab. A. For other cases of several

¹ Palaeographic analysis has varied: as early as the first century BC (Preisendanz); first century AD (Boll); rather second century (Wilcken *apud* Boll; Jordan).

texts used for the same magical action, cf. 49-51 and see D.Wortmann, *Bonner Jahrb.* 168 (1968) 57 f.

Wilcken (*apud* Boll, p. 6 f. note 6) pointed out that the name Tmesios is especially common on mummy labels from Achmim (Panopolis) and that this might be the provenance of the diptych (see A 12 comm.).

Tab. A

- 1 Ὠρίων Σαραποῦτος,
ποίησον καὶ ἀνάγκα-
4  σον
Νίκην
Ἀπολ-
λωνοῦ-
τος ἐ-
8 ραρθῆ-
ναι Παι-
τοῦτ[oc,]
ἦν ἔτ[εκ-]
12 ε Τμεσιῶς.

A 11 et B 4 ὄν

(Tab. A) Horion, son of Sarapous, make and force Nike, daughter of Apollonous, to fall in love with Paitous, whom Tmesios bore.

(Tab. B) Make Nike, daughter of Apollonous, fall in love with Pantous, whom Tmesios bore, for five months.

Tab. A.

2-3 ἀνάγκαλσον Eitrem : ἀναποι[η]λσον Boll : ἀναπόδ[ι]λσον
Wünsch : ἀνάπειλσον Preisendanz. Cf. PGM IV 1498-501 cὲ εἰ ἡ Ζμύρνα
--- ἀναγκάζουσα φιλεῖν κτλ.

9-10 Παιτοῦτ[oc]: cf. B 3-4 Παντοῦτος. The former is not listed in the papyrological onomastica. The latter is listed only for this text in Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

11 and B 4 ἦν: confusion of gender; cf. 49, 26 (οὐ for ἦς); 50, 2; Audollent, *DT*, 188, 13; D.Wortmann, "Neue magische Gemmen," *Bonner Jahrb.* 75 (1975) 76-81, no. 15 (line 9).

12 Τμεσιῶς: T[μ]ec ed.pr. Only the ω is truly difficult to make out. The Egyptian name Tmesios means 'the midwife' and is written with a god-determinative. The frequency of the name at Achmim probably reflects the local cult of the goddess of childbirth, Heqet; see K.P.Kuhlmann, *Materialien zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Raumes von Achmim* (Mainz 1983), p. 28 note 127 and p. 37 (H.J.Thissen).

Tab. B.

4 ἦν : ὄν ed.pr., noting that o was corrected "ziemlich unzulänglich" from η. However, the first leg of η was made with two vertical incisions that do not coincide exactly (it thus looks like a tall, very narrow loop). The short horizontal to the upper right of this looped leg is not an incision, but a discoloration. See above on A 11.

5-6 ἐπὶ εἰ μῆνας with F.Bilabel in SB III 6225 (ἐπὶ εἰ μῆνας). Boll printed ἐπὶ ἐ(πτά) μῆνας in his transcription (in the commentary he stated that to the upper right of ε is an incision that could be reconciled with π or τ). Preisendanz' ἐπὶ Ἑλληνας is clearly wrong. The photograph shows that before the break there is most of a double slash to indicate that ε is a numeral-letter. There can no longer be any doubt about the sense (cf. 45, 36-37): Nike should love Pantous for a period of five months. One can only speculate as to why.

Provenance
unknown

II AD¹

T.Genav. inv. 269.

ED.PR.: V.Martin, "Une tablette magique de la Bibliothèque de Genève," *Genava* 6 (1928)
56-64.

COMM.: ed.pr.; K.Preisdanz, *Forsch. u. Fortschr.* 4 (1928) 342 f.

TRANSL.: ed.pr.; (partial transl.) Preisdanz, *loc.cit.*

PHOTO: ed.pr., p. 57; a drawing of the figures in the ed.pr., p. 59.

REF.: Jordan, "Survey," no. 161.

DESCR.: lead tablet; 19.4 × 11 cm. Inscribed on one side only.

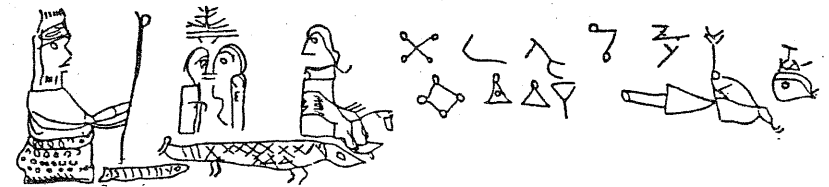
LOC.: Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Geneva.

- 1 καταδεσμεύω και, ἡ Θεόδοτις Εὐς, εἰς τὴν οὐρανὸν τοῦ ὄψεως καὶ
εἰς
τὸ στόμα τοῦ κορκοδείλου καὶ τοῖς κέρασι τοῦ κρείου καὶ τῷ ἰῶ
τῆς ἀσπί-
δος καὶ ταῖς θριξὶ τῆς ἐλούρου καὶ τῷ προσθέματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἵνα
μὴ δυ-
4 νηθῆς ἑτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ συνμιγῆναι πώποτε μήτε βινηθῆναι μήτε
πυγι-
εθῆναι μήτε ληκάζειν μηδὲ καθ' ἡδονὴν (ποιήσης) μεθ' ἑταίρω
ἀνθρώπῳ

1 σε 2 κορκοδείλου κρείου ἰω Tab. 3 αἰλούρου ἵνα Tab. 4
συνμιγῆναι 5 λαικάζειν εταίρω: α ex ο, l. ἑτέρου ἀνθρώπου

¹ III-IV AD according to the first editor.

- εἰ μὴ μόνος ἐγώ, ὁ Ἀμμωνίων Ἑρμιταρίς. Ἐγὼ γὰρ μόνος ὑπάρ-
χω
Λαμπουρη' οθικαλακ' αἰφνωσαβαω' στησεων' νελλαφοντα/
8 κανικιστη' χφυρις' ων. τελείωσον τὸ τοῦ φίλτροκαταδέσμου
– τοῦτο ἐχρήσατο ἡ Ἴσις – ἵνα ἡ Θεόδοτις Εὐς μηκέτι λάβῃ
πεῖραν ἐταί-
ρου ἀνδρὸς ἢ ἐμοῦ μόνου, τοῦ Ἀμμωνίωνος, δεδουλαγωγημέ-
νη, ὑ-
ετρωμένη(ν), ζητοῦσα ἀεροποτουμένη τὸν Ἀμμωνίωνα Ἑρμι-
ταρίς καὶ
12 μηρὸν μηρῷ πελάσῃ καὶ φύσει[ι]ν φύσει πρὸς συνουσίαν ἀεὶ εἰς
τὸν ἀεὶ χρό-
νον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς. ἔστιν δὲ τὰ ζώδια ταῦτα.



- 7-8 lineolae in Tab. 8 φόν ? ὦν ? 9-10 ἑτέρου 10-11 οἰετρωμένη
11 ἀεροπετουμένη ? 12 φύσιν 13 in eisthesi

I bind you, Theodotis, daughter of Eus, to the tail of the snake and to the mouth of the crocodile and the horns of the ram and the poison of the asp and the whiskers of the cat and the forepart of the god so that you cannot¹⁴ ever have intercourse with another man nor be fucked nor be buggered nor fellate and not do anything for pleasure with another man, if it is not me alone, Ammonion, son of Hermitaris. For only I am *Lampsourê othikalak aiphnôsbaba stêseôn yellaphonta*¹⁸ *sankistê chphyris* egg (?). Fulfill the content of this binding love-spell – this is the one that Isis used – so that Theodotis, daughter of Eus, may no longer have experience of another man than me alone, Ammonion, she being enslaved, driven mad, flying through the air in search of Ammonion, son of Hermitaris, and¹² so that she bring thigh to thigh and sexual organ to sexual organ for intercourse always, for the entire time of her life. These are the figures: (drawings).

1 ἡ Θεόδοτις Εὖς : ἡ Θεοδοτικεὺς ed.pr. To our knowledge the name Θεόδοτις is elsewhere unattested, but it appears to be formed from Θεοδοτ- (whence the common Θεόδοτος, Θεοδότη) and the suffix -ις, -ιδος. The Egyptian name of the mother, Εὖς, is here undeclined. ἡ Θεόδοτις is nominative for vocative.

1-3 εἰς τὴν οὐρανὸν τοῦ ὄφεως - - - τῷ προσθέματι τοῦ θεοῦ: cf. Griffith-Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, XIX 26 f. (here we cite the translation of J.H.Johnson in Betz, *Translation*, p. 227, l. 579 f.) "for I am a lion's forepart, I am a ram's horn, I am a panther's tooth," which is said in a charm to scare a swallowed bone out of a person's throat. In both texts we are dealing with a threat, and so one should probably not follow Martin in regarding the animals as representing various Egyptian gods. Most or all of the creatures mentioned in 1-3 are depicted in the drawing below the text.

2 κορκοδείλου : κροκοδείλου ed.pr.

5 λαικάζειν: for the meaning (*fellare*), see H.D.Jocelyn, *Proc. Cambr. Phil. Soc.* N.S. 26 (1980) 12-66. Here (ληκάζειν) and in 46, 9 (λεικάει) the spellings may indicate the influence of λείχω, which was occasionally used in a similar sense; see G.P.Shipp, *Antichthon* 11 (1977) 2; Jocelyn, *loc.cit.*, 20 f.

μηδὲ καθ' ἡδονὴν (ποιήσης) μεθ' ἐτέρου ἀνθρώπου: cf. PGM IV 352 f. μηδὲ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ποιή[ς] μετ' ἄλλου ἀνδρός.

6 εἰ μὴ μόνος ἐγώ, ὁ Ἀμμωνίων: the first editor normalized to εἰ μὴ μόνῳ ἐμοὶ Ἀμμωνίωνι, but we are probably dealing with an elliptical expression.

ὁ Ἀμμωνίων : Ἀμμωνίων ed.pr.

Ἑρμιταρίς: undeclined like Εὖς in 1. The name is not in the papyrological onomastica. To our knowledge it is attested elsewhere only in the Roman inscription (*Hermitaris*) edited by A.Ferrua, *Rendiconti Lincei*, Cl. Sc. Morali, s. 8, 36 (1981) 109, no. 5. This publication prompted a study of female names in -αρίς by H.Solin and O.Masson, "Hermitaris, ein neuer Frauennamen aus Rom," *Epigraphica* 46 (1984) 155-158. To the few examples of the names that they cite with this ending (*Athenaris*, *Demaris*, *Timaris*, *Ψυχάρης*, *Δαμαρίς*), may be added *Λυκαρίς* of IK XXXI 15, 2 and the Ἑρμιταρίς mentioned in the present charm.

7 Λαμπουρη: also in PGM V 62; LXII 27; VIII 82 (Λαμπουρη); Audollent, *DT*, 267, 13. According to A.Jacoby, Aramaic "dessen Licht leuchtet;" see PGM, Vol. 3 (Index), p. 225.

αἰφνωαβαω: perhaps -αβαω is from *Caβαωθ*.

υελλαφοντα : υελλαφοντα ed.pr.

8 *σανκιστη*: frequent as part of the *Υεσεμιγαδων*-logos; see PGM, Vol. 3 (Index), p. 242; cf. here 49, 47.

χφυρις: from Egyptian *hpr* 'scarabaeus beetle', Coptic *χφογρις* and *χφυρι* (see Westendorf, p. 382 s.v. *σφογρις*); cf. PGM VII 584 and the drawing in col. 17 with *χφυρι*; XII 100; XIII 326, 624; XXXVI 170.

ων: probably *φόν*; cf. PGM XII 100 f. *χφυρις φόν*, and see K. Preisendanz in: *Brauch und Sinnbild. E.Fehrle zum 60. Geburtstag* (edd. F.Herrmann-W.Treutlein, Karlsruhe 1940), p. 202 f. One cannot exclude *ὦν* 'being'; cf. e.g. PGM IV 1564 f. *Ιαω ιαη ιωα αι ὁ ὦν*; XII 111 *Ιαου ιαη Ιεου αηωι ὁ ὦν ἐπάνω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*; XIII 1021, 1048. Martin's *ὦν*, however, must be rejected.

9 τοῦτο ἐχρήσατο ἡ Ἰσις: Preisendanz noted that the formulary from which this charm was drawn probably contained these words as a recommendation of its efficacy, and that the phrase was mistakenly copied by the writer (as is certainly so in 13 *ἔστιν δὲ τὰ ζώδια ταῦτα*); cf. PGM IV 2373-77 *καταπρακτικὸν καὶ κατακλητικὸν - - - τοῦτο γὰρ ἐποίησεν Ἑρμῆς Ἰσιδι πλαζομένη καὶ ἔστιν θαυμαστὸν*, and XII 120 f. *τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο. τοῦτῳ καὶ Ἀπολλώβηξ ἐχρᾶτο*. Note however that the former comes before a logos and that the latter comes after one, whereas in the present text the phrase appears in the middle of a logos. Therefore, even if the phrase had its origin in the instructions of a formulary, here it appears to function as a historiola dealing with the love of Isis for Osiris; cf. e.g. 51, 8; 72 II 4-6; PGM XXXVI 288 f. *φιλείτω με ἡ δεῖνα - - - ὥς ἐφίλησεν ἡ Ἰσις τὸν Ὀσίριν*; Griffith-Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, XV 13-18 (cf. Betz, *Translation*, p. 220 f.).

τοῦτο: either a misspelling of *τοῦτῳ* or an instance of *χράομαι* with acc.; for the latter, see Blass-Debrunner-Funk, *Grammar*, § 152.4; Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. 1b.

ἡ Θεόδοτις Εὖς : ἡ Θεοδοτικεὺς ed.pr. See line 1 comm.

10-11 *ὕλτρωμένην* (r. *οἰστρωμένην*) : *ὕλτρωμένη* ed.pr.

11 *ἀεροποτουμένη*: possibly a misspelling of *ἀεροπετουμένη* (so Martin, app.cr.); *ἀεροπετέομαι* is attested in PGM XXXVI 111, 129 f. and 147 f.; as a causative active it occurs in 43, 6. However, because the language of the magical papyri is not infrequently affected by poetisms, the form used here might be based on epic *ποτέομαι* (see LSJ, s.v. *ποτάομαι*).

12 μηρὸν μηρῷ πελάσῃ καὶ φύσιν φύσει: cf. PGM IV 400-404 ἵνα - - - κεφαλὴν κεφαλῇ κολλήσῃ καὶ χεῖλεα χεῖλεσι συνάψῃ καὶ γαστέρα γαστρὶ κολλήσῃ καὶ μηρὸν μηρῷ πελάσῃ καὶ τὸ μέλαν τῷ μέλανι συναρμόσῃ; XVIIa 22 f. μηρὸν μηρῷ καὶ κοιλίαν κοιλίᾳ κολλῶσα καὶ τὸ μέλαν αὐτῆς τῷ ἐμῷ μέλανι (also XXXVI 83, 113 f., 150; and see 73 II 7-8 comm.). This sort of polyptoton had a long tradition in erotic poetry; cf. Arch. 119, 1 f. West κατὰ γαστρὶ γαστέρα προσβαλεῖν μηρούς τε μηροῖς; Anacr. 124 Gentili; *Anth. Pal.* V 128, 1-3; 171, 3; 252, 1 f.; 272, 1; IX 362, 9; Lucil. 8, 305 f. Marx; Tib. 1, 8, 26; Ovid., *Am.* 1, 4, 43 f. See F.Maltomini, *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 275.

13 ἔστιν δὲ τὰ ζῳδια ταῦτα: mistakenly copied from a formulary (see 32, 1 comm. on εἰς τὴν ἄν θέλει). One finds similar instructions in PGM VII 477; VIII 109 f.; XII 383 f.

Below the text are incised some or all of the beings to which the beloved is to be magically bound: to the left, the god holding a staff; at his feet, the snake; to the upper right of the snake, the crocodile; at the extreme right, the cat (?); above the crocodile, two figures, presumably the ram (though we do not recognize it) and the woman; yet more magical signs and letters, and drawings that remain obscure.

Provenance
unknown

III AD

T.Berol. inv. 13412.

ED.PR.: G.Plaumann, "Ein antiker Liebeszauber aus Ägypten," *Ägyptische Berichte aus den königlichen Kunstsammlungen* 35.6 (1914) 203-210.

REPUBL: SB I 4947.

COMM.: ed.pr.; (line 1) C.C.Edgar, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* 21 (1925) 47; (lines 9-10) J. Quaegebeur, *Enchoria* 4 (1974) 19-29.

TRANSL.: ed.pr.; *Leben im ägyptischen Altertum. Katalog der ständigen Ausstellung der Papyrussammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin im Bode-Museum* (Berlin 1977), p. 86, (1986²), p. 85.

PHOTO: ed.pr., plate 117; W.Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern* (Berlin-Leipzig 1921²), p. 27, plate 7.

REF.: Jordan, "Survey," no. 160.

DESCR.: lead tablet; 16 × 28 cm. The tablet is damaged at the upper left and the upper right. Inscribed on one side only. The letters are not incised, but written with ink. The tablet is accompanied by a metal nail that once pierced it in the middle of its upper half.

LOC.: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Papyrus-Sammlung, Berlin-DDR.

DRAWING

- 1 ἐξορκίζω σε, νεκύδαιμον, καὶ δ(ι)εγείρω [τὸν]
δαίμονά σου· διακόνησόν μοι εἰς Ἀπλωνοῦν,
ἣν ἔτεκεν Ἀρσινόη, καὶ ἀγριανθήτω ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῆς
- 4 εἰς τὸ παραλλαγήναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῆς καὶ κλι-
θῆναι εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν, ἵνα με φιλήῃ καὶ ὁ
ἐὰν αὐτὴν αἰτῶ ἐπήκοός μοι ᾖ, ἐμοὶ Πτολε-

- 8 μαίω, ᾧ ἔτεκεν Θασεῖς· ὅτι ἐξορκίζω τὸν πάν-
τα συνέχοντα κύριον θεὸν Ιαω ιαμελου
ιαι βαραι ιανβελαχι Βηλ Βαλ Ιωηλ Τειλου-
τειλου· σὺ ἴ ὁ μέγας θεὸς Ιαταβαωθ τοργιατης.
12 ποίησον Ἀπλωνοῦν, ἣν ἔτεκεν Ἀρσινόη,
φιλεῖν με, ἐμὲ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ὃν ἔτε-
κεν Θασεῖς, εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον,
ἵνα με φιλῇ καὶ ὃ ἐὰν αὐτῇ εἴπω δοῖ μοι
καὶ μὴ ἐπεχέτω μίαν ὥραν, ἕως ἔλθῃ πρὸς
16 ἐμὲ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ὃν ἔτεκεν Θασεῖς,
εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον.

10 εἶ

I adjure you, corpse-daemon, and I awaken your daemon. Serve me in regard to Apionous, whom Arsinoe bore, and let her soul be roused¹⁴ so that her soul be deranged and incline towards my soul, so that she love me and so that whatever I demand of her, she obey me, me Ptolemaios, whom Thaseis bore. For I adjure the¹⁸ lord god who embraces everything, *Ιαὼ ιαμελου ιαι βαραι ιανβελαχι Βέλ Βαλ Ιὼὲλ Τειλουτελου*; you are the great god, *Ιαταβαὼθ τοργιατῆς*. Make Apionous, whom Arsinoe bore,¹² love me, me Ptolemaios, whom Thaseis bore, for all time, so that she love me and so that whatever I tell her, she give it to me, and let her not delay for a single hour until she comes to¹⁶ me Ptolemaios, whom Thaseis bore, for all time.

Above the text is a drawing. It is not reproduced here, because we are unable to make out most of it. According to the first editor, it is a human face (presumably that of the beloved) with lips in a grimace; left and right arms are visible; the face is struck through with one or more strokes of ink, the intent having been to torture the woman.

1 ἐξορκίζω (confirmed by G.Poethke on the original) : ὀρκίζω ed.pr.
δ(ι)εγείρω Edgar : δ' ἐγείρω ed.pr.

1-2 δ(ι)εγείρω [τὸν] δαίμονά σου: the first person indicative is used also in Audollent, *DT*, 233, 27 f. *excito [t]e demon*. Usually the spirits of the dead are commanded to awake in the imperative; cf. e.g. 45, 4; 47, 18.

2 διακόνησόν μοι εἰς Ἀπλωνοῦν: cf. PGM IV 1508 f. ἵνα μοι δια-
κονήσῃς πρὸς αὐτήν; XIXa 49 f. ποίησον αὐτὸν διακονῆσαι πρὸς τὴν
Κάρωσα.

Ἀπλωνοῦς = Ἀπολλωνοῦς.

3 ἀγριανθήτω ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῆς: the verb is used here of the rousing of
the passions; cf. Ach. Tat. 2, 7, 7 μὴ - - - πάλιν ἀγριάνῃς τὸ τραῦμα
(the wound of love).

4 εἰς τὸ παραλλαγῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῆς: "daß sich ihr Herz ändere"
ed.pr., but the verb is probably used of mental derangement; cf. Eur., *Hipp.*
934 f. σοὶ γὰρ ἐκπλήσσουσί με λόγοι, παραλλάσσοντες ἔξεδροι φρενῶν;
Iambl., *V. Pyth.* 25, 111 πρὸς τε τὰς ὀργὰς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θυμοὺς καὶ
πρὸς πᾶσαν παραλλαγὴν τῆς τοιαύτης ψυχῆς.

4-5 κλιθῆναι εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν: cf. PGM IV 1718-21 κλίνει γὰρ
καὶ ἄγει ψυχὴν ἀντικρυς, οὗ ἂν θέλῃς, λέγων τὸν λόγον καὶ ὅτι·
"κλίνω τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δεῖνα."

5-6 and 14 ὃ ἐὰν for ὃ ἄν; cf. Blass-Debrunner-Funk, *Grammar*, § 107.

6 ἦν: on this common third person singular subjunctive form, see
Gignac, *Grammar* II, p. 405.

7-8 τὸν πάντα συνέχοντα κύριον θεόν: cf. PGM IV 1281 f. "Ἦλιε
Φρη - - - ὃ τὰ ὅλα συνέχων; VII 529; XIII 843; and see F.Cumont, *Die
orientalischen Religionen im römischen Heidentum* (Germ. transl., Darmstadt
1959), p. 58 and p. 230 note 57; Kittel, *Theol. Wb.* VII, p. 875 f.

8-10 Ιαω - - - Τειλουτελου: the number of letters is 49 (the square of
7); cf. PGM XIII 184-186 (= 505-507).

9 Βηλ Βαλ : Βελλ Βαλ ed.pr., but the η is made like the two η's in 14.
Cf. PGM IV 1010 Βαλ Βηλ. These are various forms of the name of the
god Baal, which means 'lord'. Cf. also PGM XXI 3 Βααλ; O 2, 6 Βαλ;
and the many magical words beginning with βαλ- listed in PGM, Vol. 3
(Index), p. 249. See Th.Hopfner, *Archiv Orientalni* 3 (1931) 335 and, in
general, J.C.De Moor, M.J.Mulder in: G.J.Botterweck-H.Ringgren (edd.),
Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament I, coll. 706-727.

Ιωηλ: cf. PGM IV 3010; V 132; XXXVI 173; see J.Michl, *RAC* V, col.
218, no. 113.

9-10 Τειλουτελου: Quaegebeur treats the similarity of this name with
the upper Egyptian personal name Τηρουτηρου and variants. He discusses
several etymologies that were proposed earlier, and concludes that none is
completely satisfactory. The lambdas in the magical name as opposed to the

rhos in the personal name, he suggests, may be due to the influence of Fayumic Coptic, and for this reason he proposes a possible Fayumic provenance for the tablet.

14 δοῖ: a common form of the second aor. subj.; see Gignac, *Grammar* II, p. 388; Mandilaras, *Verb*, § 535.1.

Provenance
unknown

Plate VIII

III AD

P.Princ. II 76.

ED.PR.: E.H.Kase, P.Princ. II (Princeton 1936), p. 73 f., no. 76.

COMM.: ed.pr.

TRANSL.: D.F.Moke, *Eroticism in the Greek Magical Papyri. Selected Studies* (Diss., University of Minnesota, 1975), p. 378; R.Kotansky in Betz, *Translation*, no. LXXXIV.

REF.: Preisendanz, "Überlieferung," no. LXXXII.

DESCR.: papyrus; 8 × 14 cm. The text is virtually complete. The writing runs with the fibers on the recto, and the verso is blank. There is an upper margin of 1 cm and a lower one of 2.5 cm. One vertical and five horizontal folds.

LOC.: Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey. Inv. GD 7665.

A lock of hair (the *ousia* of the beloved) was originally attached to the papyrus, and some of it still remains on the verso.

1	ακραχαμιφωνχωθψαυς
	κραχαμιφωνχωθψαυ
	ραχαμιφωνχωθψα
4	αχαμιφωνχωθψ
	χαμιφωνχωθ
	αμιφωνχω
	μιφωνχω
8	ιφωνχ
	φων
	ω

- 12 ἄξον τὴν Πτολεμαΐδα, ἣν
ἔτεκεν Ἑλένη, τῷ Πτολε-
μαίῳ, ὃν ἔτεκεν Διδύ-
μη. πύρωσον τῆς αὐτῆς τὸ
16 ἥπαρ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν
καρδίαν καὶ τὴν ψ[υ]χὴν ἕως
ἄν' ἐκπηδήσας[α]
ἔλθῃ ἡ Πτολεμ[α]ΐς, ἣν ἔτε-
20 κεν Ἑλένη, πρ[ὸς] τὸν Πτολεμαῖον,
ὃν ἔτεκεν Διδύμη, ἥδη, ταχύ.

12 πτολεμαΐδα Pap. 14 ἐτε κεν Pap. 19 πτολεμ[α]ΐς Pap.

Akrachamiphônchôdôthpsaus (etc.) (mag. signs). Drive Ptolemais, whom Helene bore, to Ptolemais, whom Didyme bore. Inflamm the liver and the spirit and the heart and the soul of this woman until she rushes forth and comes, Ptolemais, whom Helene bore, to Ptolemais, whom Didyme bore, now, quickly.

1-10 ἀκραχαμιφωνχωθψαυς κτλ.: the ed.pr. gives line 1 as κο]α-
χαμιφωνχωθψαχε. In 2 we begin with κρ- and end with -αυ, where the
ed.pr. has κο- and -αχ. In 3 we begin with ρ (ο ed.pr.), and we see part of
the second α and of φ.

ἀκραχαμι- looks like a shortened form of Ακραμμαχαμαρι, on which
see 10, 1 comm.

11. Six or seven magical signs : about ten according to the ed.pr.

14 ἐτε κεν Pap.: the space was left probably because of damage on the
surface of the papyrus.

17 ἕως: with or without ἄν, the sense can also be final 'so that' in the
present passage as well as in 42, 61; 45, 6, 32, 48; 47, 24; 50, 65. See
especially Ljungvik, *Beiträge zur Syntax*, pp. 43-45; also LSJ, s.v. I 4;
Mayser, *Grammatik* II.1, p. 270 with note 4.

18 ἄν': ἄ]ν ed.pr.

19 ἔλθῃ : ἔλ]θῃ ed.pr.

21 Διδύμη : Διδ[ύ]μη ed.pr.

Provenance
unknown¹

III-IV AD²

T.Leid. Demarée.

ED.PR.: P.J.Sijpesteijn, "Liebeszauber," *ZPE* 24 (1977) 89 f.

REPubL.: SB XIV 12103; SEG XXVII 1243; Horsley, *New Documents* 2, no. 11.

COMM.: ed.pr.; Horsley, *loc.cit.*

TRANSL.: ed.pr.; Horsley, *loc.cit.*

PHOTO: ed.pr., plate XII a.

REF.: Jordan, "Survey," no. 189.

DESCR.: lead tablet in triangular form; lower edge 7 cm; upper edge 2 cm; height 5 cm.

The top of the tablet may be lost, but the text appears to be complete. Four horizontal
folds. Inscribed on one side only.

LOC.: Papyrologisch Instituut, Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden. Inv. V 34 (on loan from the
private collection of R.J.Demarée).

1 αἰ̄ ` κουμ
αἰουω ιηαη
ιηω υο ιεω
4 αἰου εϋ ιαη ια
ω αεϋια ιωα ιηω
ηα ιαω ωαι. ἄξιῶ καὶ
παρακαλῶ τὴν δοίνα-
8 μὴν σου καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν
σου, ἡκίανου αἰωρ αἰκατανθρι.

7-8 δύνανμιν 8 ἐξουσίαν: ξ ex δ ?

¹ The ed.pr. states, "die Herkunft ist unbekannt," and others have therefore assumed
that the tablet's provenance is entirely uncertain. We have been informed, however, that the
tablet definitely comes from Egypt.

² So dated by Jordan; the ed.pr. provided no date.

Provenance
unknown

Plate VII

IV AD

P.Köln inv. 5514.

ED.PR.: R.W.Daniel, "Two Love-Charms," *ZPE* 19 (1975) 249-255.

REPubL.: SB XIV 11534.

COMM.: ed.pr.; R.W.Daniel, *ZPE* 74 (1988) 249-251.

TRANSL.: ed.pr.; R.Kotansky in Betz, *Translation*, no. CVIII.

DESCR.: papyrus; 9.3 × 9.5 cm. The writing runs against the fibers on the verso. On the recto, illegible traces of a washed out text that ran with the fibers. The papyrus was folded four times from right to left and four times from top to bottom.

LOC.: Institut für Altertumskunde, Universität zu Köln.

The charm itself is pagan, but the personal names (Leontia, Eva and Thekla) suggest that we are dealing with members of a Christian community; in this respect 13 and PGM XXXV (for a Paulus Julianus) are comparable.

- 1 Θωβαραβαν τευθραιαιαω βακαω
φλεν νοφ εφοφθε αμου αμιμ
βαιν· βααρα ααλω β· νααρα
4 ααααααα εεεεεε ηηηηηη
ιιιιι οοοοοοο υυυυυυ ωωωωωω
ἀεροπέτησον τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν
καρδίαν Λεοντίας, ἣν ἔτεκεν μήτρα·
8 Εὐα, καὶ μὴ ἐάσης αὐτὴν φαγῖν
μήτε πῖν μήτε ὑπνοῦ τυχεῖν
ἕως δὲ ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμὲ Διός-
κ[ο]υρον, ὃν ἔτεκεν Θέκλα, ἥδη ἥδη,
12 τ[α]χὺ ταχύ. | — +

3 βαιν· Pap. 8 Εὐα: nom. pro gen. φαγεῖν 9 πείν τυχεῖν

Thôbarabau teuthraiaiaiaô bakaô phlen noph ephophthe amou amim bain baara aalô bainaara (?) aaaaaa eeeeeê êêêêêê iiiiio ooooooooo yyyyyy ôôôôôôô. Make fly through the air the soul and the heart of Leontia, whom the womb of Eva bore, and do not let her eat or drink or get sleep until she comes to me, Dioskouro, whom Thekla bore, now now, quickly quickly. (mag. signs).

1 Θωβαραβαν: the ω is damaged but certain; above it, the remnants of a stroke. Θωβαραβαν (with variants) is a commonly occurring magical name, most likely for the great god. Cf. 42, 41, 27 (θαβαψραβου); PGM VII 977; XIII 963; XIXa 42 (left); for other references and secondary literature see the ed.pr.

τευθραιαιαω: cf. PGM VII 204 τε[υ]θραιω θραιτευ θραιτω θα-βαρβαωρι.

2 αμου: probably the Coptic imperative αμογ 'come'; cf. Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte* I, D 94, F 2, H 57, M 16; and here 6, 3; 42, 31. Parallels from PGM are given in the first edition, where other possible interpretations are also discussed.

αμιμ: possibly from the Coptic word for mouse (εμιμ, αμμη), which played a role in erotic magic. For details see the first edition.

3 βαιν: cf. the same word in PGM I 138. It might come from βάϊν or βάϊον, 'palm tree' or 'palm leaf', which derive from Coptic βαι. For further details, see the first edition.

β· νααρα: perhaps βαινααρα.

6 ἀεροπέτησον: see 38, 11 comm.

7 Λεοντία: a typically Christian name, probably because one of the forty martyrs of Sebaste was named Leontios (see Daniel, *ZPE* 74, 1988, 250 with note 1).

7-8 ἣν ἔτεκεν μήτρα | Εὐα : ἣν ἔτεκεν μήτρα | Ἐλία (r. Αἰλία) ed.pr. Cf. the two unpublished curse tablets from the Athenian agora (inv. IL 74 and IL 93; III AD) mentioned by D.R.Jordan (*ZPE* 74, 1988, 240), in which men are identified by the formula ὃν ἔτεκε μήτρα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ (cf. also inv. IL 64: ὃν ἐγέννησεν ἡ μήτρα). Jordan convincingly explains μήτρα τῆς μητρὸς in the agora tablets and similar expressions (cf. Audollent, *DT*, 264, 12-14 *Victoria, quam peperit sua vulva*; 265 A 4-6; 241, 7 ὃ[ν] ἔτεκεν γ[ῆ] μήτηρ παντὸς ἐμψύχου) as substitutions for the unknown name of the mother. Our papyrus, however, as well as PGM XXXII

and XXXIIa use the 'womb-formula' *with* the mother's name. Excellent discussions by D.R.Jordan, *loc.cit.* and *Philologus* 120 (1976) 127-132.

8 Εὔα: the name is not listed in the papyrological onomastica. In *ZPE* 74 (1988) 249-251, Daniel argued that the name was rarely, but actually used by Christians. We are now entertaining the possibility that, when Eve is the name of a mother in a magical charm, we may be dealing with a substitute for the unknown name of the real mother. Perhaps ὃν ἔτεκεν Εὔα was the equivalent of ὃν ἔτεκεν γῆ μήτηρ παντὸς ἐμψύχου which we have in the above-cited Audollent, *DT*, 241, 7.

9 πῖν (r. πεῖν = πιεῖν): for the Hellenistic contraction of ιεῖ to εῖ, see Blass-Debrunner-Funk, *Grammar*, §§ 31.2, 101; Gignac, *Grammar* I, p. 295.

10 δάν: for this particle in place of ἄν, see Tabachovitz, *Études sur le grec de la basse époque*, pp. 26-29; H.C.Youtie, *TAPA* 78 (1947) 116 (= *Scriptiunculae* I, p. 184).

10-11 Διόσκουρος: a name borne both by pagans and Christians.

11 ὄν : ὄν' ed.pr.

Θέκλα: a clearly Christian name, because of the martyr best known from the *Acts of Paul and Thekla*.

Provenance
unknown

III-IV AD

P.Köln inv. 5512.

ED.PR.: R.W.Daniel, "Two Love-Charms," *ZPE* 19 (1975) 255-264.

REPubL.: SB XIV 11535.

COMM.: ed.pr.

TRANSL.: ed.pr.; R.Kotansky in Betz, *Translation*, no. CVII.

PHOTO: ed.pr., plate VI b.

DESCR.: linen; 11.6 × 16.8 cm. The ink is faded in the center of line 1, where the writing is further obscured by a brownish stain. 1 and 2 cm from the right edge are two thick vertical stripes in the weave; each consists of two warp threads under a single weft ('self-stripes', a common decorative device in Coptic textiles).

LOC.: Institut für Altertumskunde, Universität zu Köln.

The scrap of linen on which the charm is written might have been part of the clothing, shroud or mummy-wrapping of the dead man, through whose spirit the god is supposed to act, or it might have been belonged to the beloved. Whether or not it was *ousia*, simply the fact that it is a piece of linen may have had magical significance: flax and the cloth made from it were considered to be religiously pure and to stand in sympathetic relationship to the heavens and the sun.¹

¹ See Hopfner, *Offenbarungszauber* I, § 519; *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* III, col. 999 f., s.v. Leinen (W.Guglielmi). References to the use of the linen in PGM are given in the ed.pr.

- 1 Ἰωχο + σιμ ∠ Φνου h
φθονθων 2B 2 + L - M
3 L L 2 περκμημ Βιου Βι-
4 ου Βιβιου 3 3 L 3 + M + h +
h + 6 + 3 + 3 + 3 + 3 + 3 + 3 +
h 3 + ∠ B 2 + 2 h οχερο M
νouri επνεβαῖ σερωτ' μου-
8 ῖ ρο ριντ' μηῖ μηῖ η[ῖ] ου Ου-
σιρι σερφουθ μουῖ ρο μη[ῖ]
μηῖ. ταχέω[c] ἄξον ὄδε [Τα-]
πιάδαν, ἦν ἔ[τε]κεν Δη-
12 μητρία, Ἀχ[ιλ]λάτι, ὄν
ἔτεκεν Ἑλένη, διὰ
τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ ἀώ[ο]ρου,
Βακαξιχυχ, τοῦ τὰ
16 πάντα πεπιστευμέ-
νου, Εὐλαμω. ἄξατε τὴν
Ταπιάδα τῷ Ἀχιλλᾷ, ἥδη
ἥδη, ταχὺ ταχὺ.

7 σερωτ' Pap. 8 ριντ' Pap.

(Mag. sign) *iocho* (mag. sign) *sim* (mag. sign) *Phnou* (mag. sign) *phthonthôn* (mag. signs) *perkmēm Biou* ¹⁴ *Biou Bibiou* (mag. signs) *ochero* (mag. sign) *nouri epnebai serpôt moui* ¹⁸ *sro rint mêi mêi êi ou Ousiri serphouth moui sro mêi mêi*. Quickly bring here Tapias, whom Demetria bore, ¹² to Achilles, whom Helene bore, by means of the soul of the untimely dead man, *Bakaxichych*, the one ¹⁶ who is entrusted with everything, *Eulamô*. Bring Tapias to Achilles, now now, quickly quickly.

1 ἰωχο: cf. ἰωχα in 10, 5; E.Peterson (*Rhein. Mus.* 75, 1926, 405) refers to ἰωχω inscribed on a magical gem in the Rollet collection (*Arch. epig. Mitt.* 1886, 128, no. 37), which he compares to the angel's name Ἰώχθ in *Cat. Cod. Astr. Gr.* VIII.2, p. 150, 4.

Φνου: the first two letters are obscured by a stain. Φνου is a magical name of the great god in PGM XII 290. See also 42, 50 comm. on Φνουνοβοηλ. The element φνου in magical names and words may come from Coptic νογν 'abyss' preceded by the definite article (see Hopfner, *Offenbarungszauber* I, § 751 and cf. Crum, p. 226 b), and perhaps Φνου has the same origin.

2 φθονθων: the two nys are about twice the size of the other letters in this word.

3 περκμημ: probably Egyptian 'house of darkness'. For -κμημ, cf. Coptic κμηε 'darkness' (cf. Crum, p. 110 b). περ- appears to be identical with the Coptic prefix that means 'house of' (cf. Crum, p. 267 a).

3-4 Βιου Βιου Βιβιου: for Βιου, cf. PGM V 484 (βιου βιου); XIII 1058; XVI 63. For Βιβιου, cf. PGM I 239 f.; II 123; XII 81; XIII 325; XIXa 2; Audollent, *DT*, 269, 14; Griffith-Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, VI 26; VIII 6; XXIX 6.

Βιου may come from the name of an Egyptian decan (W.Gundel, *Dekane*, pp. 45 f., 233 f.; K.Preisendanz, *GGA* 201, 1939, 143 f.; H.G. Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, p. 21). The meaning 'soul of souls' (from Egyptian *b3* 'soul') has been assigned to Βιβιου (see Hopfner, *Offenbarungszauber* II, § 224; Griffith-Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, VI 26). Further discussion and literature in the first edition.

4-6. The 36 magical signs are probably to be regarded as corresponding with the number of the decans; discussion in the first edition.

6 οχερο M or οχερουι.

7 νouri: Bohairic and Fayumic Coptic 'vulture' (cf. Crum, p. 228 b).

επνεβαῖ: cf. PGM XVI 46 νεβαῖ. Probably from Egyptian *p nb b3*, Coptic ΠΕΝΕΒΒΑΙ 'the lord of souls' as in Griffith-Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, XXVIII 1 (cf. Crum, p. 28 a); επ instead of πε or π could be due to a prothetic vowel (literature in the ed.pr.). Also possible is ε-Π-ΝΕΒΒΑΙ 'to the lord of souls'. The Egyptian phrase corresponds with ὁ κύριος τῶν πνευμάτων (cf. PGM V 467, LXII 26), which is of Jewish origin (cf. LXX Num. 16, 22; 27, 16; and see Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, p. 355).

7-8 σερωτ μουῖ ρο: repeated in 9 with σερφουθ instead of σερωτ. For the latter, rarer spelling, cf. Coptic σερωτ in PGM III 659. From an Egyptian formula *srpt m3i srw* 'lotus lion ram' that goes back to c. 1100 BC (see PGM, Vol. 1, p. 61 note 2, and M.-L.Ryhiner, *Revue d'Égyptologie* 29, 1977, 125-137). In the Greek magical papyri, μουι and ρο (or ρω)

tend to be joined as a single word that is distinct from $\sigma\epsilon\rho\phi\omicron\upsilon\theta$ (cf. PGM VII 499 and 557 $\sigma\epsilon\rho\phi\omicron\upsilon\theta$: $\mu\omicron\upsilon\iota\varsigma\pi\omega$), and $\mu\omicron\upsilon\iota\varsigma\pi\omega$ also appears alone (e.g. PGM IV 2772; XIXa 5; XXXVI 351). Each element in the formula represents a solar attribute; see Griffith-Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, I 12 with note; Ryhiner, *loc.cit.* See also the literature cited in PGM, Vol. 3 (Index), p. 230 s.v. $\sigma\epsilon\rho\phi\omicron\upsilon\theta$, and in the first edition of the present text.

8 $\rho\iota\nu\tau$: Coptic 'my name'; cf. PGM IV 83 f. $\chi\alpha\rho\kappa\omicron$ [χ] $\alpha\rho\kappa$ [$\omicron$] $\epsilon\rho\iota\nu\tau$ 'Harko Harko is my name' (on the prothetic ϵ in $\epsilon\rho\iota\nu\tau$ see F.Ll.Griffith, *ZÄS* 38, 1900, 89), also 20 f.; III 652, 686; LXXIX 3 and LXXX 2 with the new readings in the re-editions P.Prag. I 4 and 5. Cf. $\rho\iota\gamma\chi$ (PGM IV 1572; V 485, 487) and $\rho\iota\nu\gamma\chi$ (XIXa 5), corresponding to $\rho\iota\nu\kappa$ and $\rho\iota\nu\tau$ 'your name'; the latter is not a remnant of $\phi\omicron\tau\iota\gamma\chi$ = phoenix, *pace* A.Jacoby, *ARW* 28, 1930, 274 note 2 (H.J.Thissen).

$\mu\eta\tilde{\iota}$: also in 9 f.; Coptic 'truth' (cf. Crum, p. 156 b).

$\eta\tilde{[i]}$: the diaeresis survives above the lacuna. Various proposals have been made for this word. $\eta\tilde{[i]}$ appears to be a name in PGM III 667 $\eta\tilde{[i]}$ $\phi\iota\nu\kappa$ $\eta\tilde{[i]}$ $\pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\kappa\rho\alpha\nu$ 'Ei is your name, Ei is the name of you', and it is also possible that it could be the Coptic word for 'house' (cf. Crum, p. 66 a, and see A.Jacoby, *ARW* 28, 1930, 273). Here, however, as in most cases, we are probably dealing with the Coptic interjection $\eta\tilde{[i]}$ 'oh'; cf. Crum, p. 66 b; Griffith-Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, VII 24 and XVI 9; and see the remarks of R.K.Ritner in Betz, *Translation*, p. 165 note 86, on repeated $\eta\tilde{[i]}$ in PGM XII 336-350.

8-9 $\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\tau\iota$: this is the Coptic spelling of the name of the god. On the origins of the name, its spellings and pronunciation, see J.Gw.Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult* (Leiden 1980), p. 87 ff. Identical and similar spellings e.g. in PGM IV 868; VII 547; XII 80 f.

10 $\tau\alpha\chi\acute{\epsilon}\omega[c]$ $\acute{\alpha}\xi\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon$: the reading $\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon$ is uncertain, but cf. PGM IV 2491 $\acute{\alpha}\xi\omicron\nu$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\nu$ $\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon$ $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}$, $\tau\omicron\nu$ $\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha$.

$\acute{\alpha}\xi\omicron\nu$ and 17 $\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\tau\epsilon$: cf. PGM XXXVI 110 $\acute{\alpha}\xi\omicron\nu$ and 117 $\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\tau\epsilon$. 48 J 5 has $\sigma\epsilon$ where $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ is expected; cf. also 46, 22 $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\kappa\epsilon\tau\epsilon$, if it is not $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\kappa\epsilon\tau\epsilon$; and see 19, 23-24 comm. "In all likelihood, the indifference to number in pronouns and verbs can be traced to the syncretistic background of Hellenistic religion and magic. The god might be envisaged in his proper person or might be lost in the multiplicity of gods whom he resembled," Youtie-Bonner, "Two Curse Tablets from Beisan," p. 59 f.

10-11 [$\tau\alpha$] $\pi\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\nu$: cf. 18 $\tau\alpha\pi\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha$. The papyrological onomastica do not list $\tau\alpha\pi\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, but cf. $\tau\alpha\pi\iota\acute{\alpha}$. For third declension words and names forming accusatives in $-\alpha$ and $-\alpha\nu$, see Gignac, *Grammar* II, pp. 45 f., 58.

12 $\acute{\alpha}\chi[\iota\lambda]\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota$: cf. 18 $\acute{\alpha}\chi\iota\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$. The dative of names in $-\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ fluctuates between $-\acute{\alpha}$ and $-\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota$; see Gignac, *Grammar* II, pp. 16-18.

13-14 $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\alpha}\omega\rho\omicron\nu$: cf. 42, 11 f. $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\nu\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\omicron\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$.

15 $\beta\alpha\kappa\alpha\chi\iota\chi\upsilon\chi$: parallels in PGM, Vol. 3 (Index), p. 217. The name is generally interpreted as Egyptian 'soul of darkness', 'son of darkness'; see Th.Hopfner, *Archiv Orientalní* 7 (1935) 114 f.; R.K.Ritner in Betz, *Translation*, p. 202 note 76.

17 $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\omega$: for the occurrences of this magical name and its variants ($\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\alpha\mu(\mu)\omega\nu$, $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\omega\varsigma$ etc.), see F.Maltomini, *SCO* 29 (1979) 71 f. A.Jacoby (*ARW* 28, 1930, 283 f.) suggested that it is a transliteration of a west-Semitic adjective meaning 'eternal', and this has been generally accepted (further literature in Maltomini, *loc.cit.*).

North of Assiut

VAD

P.Köln inv. 3323.

ED.PR.: D.Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte. Nr. 4: Liebeszauber," *Bonner Jahrb.* 168 (1968) 85-102.COMM.: ed.pr.; (line 21) D.Wortmann, *ZPE* 2 (1968) 227-230; (line 36) H.C.Youtie, *ZPE* 16 (1975) 260 f. (= *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* I, p. 164 f.).TRANSL.: ed.pr.; D.F.Moke, *Eroticism in the Greek Magical Papyri. Selected Studies* (Diss., University of Minnesota, 1975), pp. 375-378; Betz, *Translation*, no. CI.

PHOTO: Papyrus: ed.pr., plates 10-11; Pot: ed.pr., plate 7; Puppets: ed.pr., plates 8-9.

DESCR.: papyrus; 22.5 × 55 cm. It was found inside a clay pot together with a blank sheet of papyrus (22 × 10 cm). To judge from the structure of the fibers and from other physical phenomena, the blank sheet was cut off from the bottom of the larger one. The writing runs against the fibers on the recto ("verso," ed.pr. mistakenly), and so we have another example of a Byzantine document written *transversa charta*. No kollesis is visible either along the 55 cm that are the height of the inscribed sheet or along the 10 cm of the blank piece. When intact, the full sheet will have had a length of 65 cm or more.¹ On the verso, numerous traces of ink that are the impressions of writing from the recto that resulted from the rolling of the papyrus. The first editor regarded these traces as remnants of a washed out text.

LOC.: Institut für Altertumskunde, Universität zu Köln.

The papyrus was found inside a clay vessel, the opening of which had been sealed with plaster. A pair of wax puppets (h. 7 cm) melted together in erotic embrace was found wrapped inside the papyrus.² The figure of the man is dark brown, that of the woman slightly lighter.

¹ Rolls constructed with broad kollemata of 50 to 100 cm were an apparently Byzantine innovation in papyrus manufacture; see E.G.Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso: The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 16, 1978), p. 62.

² On such puppets, see 47 intr. For simile magic with wax figures, cf. Theocr. 2, 28 f.; Ovid., *Am.* 3, 7, 29 f., and the other examples collected by Audollent, *DT*, p. lxxviii ff.

- 1 δεσμεύω και δεσμοῖς ἀλοῖτοις Μοῖρε χθόνιοι και την κραταιαν
 Ἀνάγκην, ὅτι ἐξορκίζω
 ὑμᾶς, δέμονες, τοὺς ἐνθάδε κιμένους και ἐνθάδε διατραφομέ-
 νους και ἐνθάδε δια-
 τρίβοντες και τοὺς ἐνθάδε κούρους ἄώρους. ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς
 κατὰ τοῦ ἀνικητο-
 4 υ θεοῦ Ἰᾶω: Βαρβαθιαῶ: βριμιαῶ: χερμαρι: ἐγείρεσθαι δέμονες, οἱ
 ἐνθάδε
 κίμενοι, και ζητήσατε Εὐφημίαν, ἣν ἔτεκεν Δωροθέα, Θεῶν(ι),
 ᾧ ἔτεκεν Προεχία·
 δι' ὅλης νυκτός ὑπνω μὴ δυνηθῇ τυχῖν, ἀλλὰ ἄξατε αὐτήν, ἕως
 ἔλθῃ εἰς πόδας
 αὐτοῦ ἐρῶσα ἔρωτα μανιώδη και στοργὴν και συνουσία(ν). ἔδη-
 8 κα γὰρ αὐτῆς
 τὸν ἐγκέφαλον και τὰς χῖρας και τὰ ὑποχόνδρια και τὴν φύσιν
 και τὴν
 καρδίαν πρὸς φιλίαν ἐμοῦ Θεῶνος. εἰ δὲ παρακούσητε και μὴ
 ταχέ-
 ως τελέσεται ὃ λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐ δύνατε ὁ ἥλιος ὑπὸ γῆν, οὔτε ὁ
 Ἄδης
 οὔτε ὁ κόσμος οὐκ ἔστιν. εἰ δὲ ἄξηται μοι Εὐφημίαν, ἣν ἔτεκεν
 Δω-
 12 ροθήα, ἐμοὶ Θεῶνι, ᾧ ἔτεκεν Προεχία, δώσω ὑμῖν Ὀσιριν Νοφρι-
 ωθ:
 τὸν ἀδελφὸν τῆς Ἰσιδος, και ἔρι τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ και ἀναπαύ-
 8 ηται
 ὑμῶν τὰς ψυχάς. ἐ[ὰ]ν δέ μοι μὴ τελέσητε ἃ λέγω ὑμῖν, κατα-
 12 καύσει ὑμᾶς
 ὁ Εἰωνεβυθ: ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς, δέμονες, οἱ ἐνθάδε κίμενοι ιεω:

- 1 σε ἀλύτοις Μοίρας χθονίου και τῆς κραταιᾶς Ἀνάγκης? 2 δαί-
 μονες κείμενους διατραφομένους 2-3 διατρίβοντας 4 dicola in
 Pap. ἐγείρεσθε δαίμονες 5 κίμενοι 6 ὕπνου τυχεῖν 7 στοργῇν
 8 χεῖρας 10 τελέσητε δύναται Ἄδης 11 ἄξητέ 11-12 Δωροθέα
 12 νοφριωθ: Pap. 13 αἶρει ἀναπαύεται 14 κατακαύσει 15
 dicola in Pap. δαίμονες κίμενοι

- 16 ιιαία: ηία: ιαω: ιαη: ιαω: αλιλαμψ: κατατίθημι ὑμῖν εἰς τὴν γῆν
τῶν κυνῶν· Εὐφημίαν πρὸς φιλίαν ἐμοῦ Θεώνος δεσμεύσατε,
δέμονες· ἐναρῶ ὑμῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν θεῶν στήλην, ἐναρῶ ὑμῖν κατὰ
τῶν ἐν ἀδύ-
τω{ν}, ἐναρῶ ὑμῖν κατὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων τοῦ παντεπόπτου θεοῦ
ἰα: ἰα:
- 20 ἰα: ἰω: ἰω: ἰω: ἰε: ἰε: ἰε: ουωα: Αδωναί. ἐξορκίζω τὸν ἐν ωαπ εὐ-
δοκήσας καὶ τὸ αἶμα, ὃ ἔλαβεν ὁ μέγας θεὸς Ἰωθαθ: ἐξορκίζω
ὑμᾶς κα-
τὰ τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τῶν τεσσάρων κέντρων ἀνέμων. μή μου
παρα-
κούσεται, ἀλλὰ τάχιον ποιήσατε, ὅτι ἐπιτάσσει ὑμῖν Ακραμμα-
χαμαρι:
- 24 Βουλομενοθερεβ: Γενιομουθιγ: Δημογενηδ: Ἐνκύκλιε: Ζηνοβιωθιζ:
Ησκωθωρη: Θωθουθωθ: Ιαεουωῖ: Κορκουνοωκ: Λουλοενηλ:
Μοροθοηπναμ: Νερξιαρξιν: Ξονοφοηναξ: Ορνεοφαο: Πυροβορυπ:
Ρερουτοηρ: Σεσενμεγουρεσ: Ταυροπολιτ: Υπεφενουρυ: Φιμεμα-
μεφ: Χεννεοφεοχ: Ψυχοπομοιαψ: Ὠρίων ἀληθινέ. μή
28 πάλιν ἀναγκασθῶ τὰ αὐτὰ λέγειν ἰωη: ἰωη: ἄξατε Εὐφημίαν, ἣν
ἔτεκεν
Δωροθήα, Θεώνι, ᾧ ἔτεκεν μήτηρ Προεχία, φιλοῦσάν με ἔρωτι
καὶ πό-
θω καὶ στοργῇ καὶ συνουσίᾳ, ἔρωτι μανιώδη· καύσατε αὐτῆς τὰ
μέλη,
32 τὸ ἦπαρ, τὸ γυνεκίον σῶμα, ἕως ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμέ, φιλοῦσά με καὶ
μὴ παρα-
κούσά{ν} μου. ὅτι ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τῆς κρατεᾶς Ἀνάγ-
κης Μασκελ-
λι Μασκελλω Φνουκενταβαωθ ορεοβαζαγρα ῥηξιχθων
ἱππόχθων πυρίχθων πυριπηγανυξ λεπεταν λεπεταν μαντουνοβοηλ:

16 dicola in Pap. 18 δεμονες: δε in marg. ante lineam additum, l. δαίμονες
19-21 dicola in Pap. 20-21 εὐδοκήσαντα 22 κέντρων: ρ et alterum ν ex corr.,
κέντρων (τῶν) ? 22-23 παρακούσητε 23-29 dicola in Pap. 24 Ἐγκύκλιε
28 ἀληθινε: Pap. 29 λέγειν 30 Δωροθέα 31 μανιώδει 32 γυναικεῖον
33 κραταιᾶς 35 μαντουνοβοηλ: Pap.

- 36 εἶνα καταδήσατέ μοι Εὐφημίαν, ἐμοὶ Θεώνι, φιλίᾳ καὶ ἔρωτι καὶ
πόθῳ ἐπὶ
χρόνων μηνῶν δέκα ἀπὸ σήμερον, ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἀθὺρ κε β̄ <ι>νδι-
κ(τίωνος).
καὶ πάλιν ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος ὑμῶν, εἶνα μή
μου
παρακούσητε· καὶ πάλιν ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ ἔχοντος τὸν
ἀέρα· καὶ
40 πάλιν ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τῶν ἐπτὰ θρόνων αχλαλ: λαλαφε-
νουρφεν(:)
βαλεω: βολβεω: βολβεωχ: βολβεσρω: υφθω: καὶ κατὰ τοῦ ἀ-
παρετή-
του θεοῦ Χμουωρ: Αβρασαξ: ιψενθανχουχαῖνχουχεωχ: συνλάβε-
τε Εὐφημίαν καὶ ἄξατέ μοι αὐτήν, ἐμοὶ Θεώνι, φιλοῦσαν ἔρωτι
μανιώδη·
44 καὶ καταδήσατε αὐτήν δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις, ἰχυρῶς, ἀδαμαντίνοις
πρὸς
φιλίαν ἐμοῦ, Θεώνος, καὶ μὴ ἐάσητε αὐτήν φαγῖν, μὴ πῖν μηδὲ
ὑπνου
τυχῖν μηδὲ πῆξε μηδὲ γελάσαι, ἀλλὰ ποιήσατε αὐτήν ἐκπηδῆσαι
ἀπὸ
παντὸς τόπου καὶ πάσης οἰκίας καὶ καταλίψε πατέρα, μητέρα,
ἀδελφούς,
48 ἀδελφάς, ἕως ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμέ, Θεώνα, φιλοῦσά{ν} με, ἐρῶσά{ν}
με θῖον
ἔρωτα ἀκατάπαυστον καὶ φιλίαν μανικὴν· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἕτερο{ν} ἔχι
ἐν κόλ-
ποισ, ἐκῖνον μὲν ὑπερθέσθω καὶ {καὶ} ἐπιλαθέσθω καὶ μισήσῃ,
ἐμὲ δὲ
φιλήσῃ καὶ ἀγαπήσῃ καὶ στοργήσῃ, καὶ τὰ αὐτῆς ἐμοὶ χάρισητε,
καὶ μη-

36 ἵνα 37 χρόνον 38 ἵνα 40-42 dicola in Pap. 41-42 ἀπαραιτήτου
42-43 συλλάβετε 43 μανιώδει 44 ἰχυροῖς 45 φαγεῖν 46
τυχεῖν παῖσαι 47 καταλεῖψαι 48 θεῖον 49 ἔχει 50 ἐκεῖνον
51 χάρισηται

52 δὲν παρὰ ἐμήν{ν} γνώμην πράξει. τὰ ἅγια ὀνόματα ταῦτα καὶ ἐ
δυνάμει
αὐταὶ ἐπὶ{c}χυρήσατε καὶ τελεῖτε τελίαν τὴν ἐπαυδὴν, ἥδη ἥδη,
ταχὺ ταχύ.

52 αἱ δυνάμεις 53 ἐπικυρήσατε τελεῖτε τελίαν ἐπαυδὴν

I bind you with the indissoluble bonds of chthonic Fate and mighty Necessity, for I adjure you, daemons, you who lie here and who are nourished here and who pass your time here, and the untimely dead youths here. I adjure you by the unconquerable ¹⁴ god *Iaô Barpathiaô brimiaô chermari*; rouse yourselves, daemons, you who lie here, and seek Euphemia, whom Dorothea bore, for Theon, whom Proechia bore. Through the entire night let her not be able to get sleep, but drive her, until she comes to his feet, loving with mad love and affection and intercourse. For I have bound her ¹⁸ brain and hands and abdominal organs and genitals and heart to love me Theon. If you disobey and do not quickly fulfill what I tell you, the sun will not sink below the earth, and neither Hades nor the cosmos will exist. If you drive to me Euphemia, whom Dorothea bore, ¹² to me Theon, whom Proechia bore, I will give to you Osiris *Nophriôth*, the brother of Isis, and he draws cold water and will relieve your souls. If you do not fulfill for me what I tell you, *Eônebyôth* will burn you up. I adjure you, daemons, you who lie here, *ieô* ¹⁶ *iiiiiaia eia iaô iaê iaô alilamps*. I deposit (this charm) with you in the land of the dogs. Daemons, bind Euphemia to love me, Theon. I adjure you by the stele of the gods, I adjure you by those in the innermost shrine, I adjure you by the names of the all-seeing god, *ia ia* ²⁰ *ia iô iô iô ie ie ie ouôa Adônai*. I adjure (you) by the one who takes delight in purity and by the blood which the great god *Iôthath* received. I adjure you by him who sits over the four cardinal points of the winds. Do not disobey me, but act quickly, because you are commanded by *Akrammachamari* ²⁴ *Boulomenthoreb Geniomouthig Dêmogenêd Enkyklie Zênobiôthiz Êskôthôre Thôthouthôth Iaeouôî Korkounoôk Louloenêl Morothoêpnam Nerxiarxin Xonophoênax Orneophao Pyroboryp Rheroutoêr Sesenmenoures Tauropolit Ypephenoury Phimemameph* ²⁸ *Chenneopheoch Psychopompoiaps ôriôn*, true one. Let me not be again compelled to say the same, *iôê iôê*. Drive Euphemia, whom Dorothea bore, to Theon, whom his mother Proechia bore, loving me with desire and yearning and affection and intercourse, with mad desire. Burn her limbs, ³² liver, female body, until she comes to me, loving me and not disobeying me. For I adjure you by mighty Necessity, *Maskelli Maskellô Phnoukentabôth oreobazagra rhêxichthôn hippochthôn pyrichthôn pyripêganyx*

lepetan lepetan mantounoboêl. ³⁶ Bind for me Euphemia, for me Theon, with love and desire and yearning, for the time of ten months as of today, which is Hathyr the 25th of the 2nd indiction. And again I adjure you by the one who rules you in order that you do not disobey me; and again I adjure you by the one who controls the air; and ⁴⁰ again I adjure you by the seven thrones, *achlal lalaphenourphen baleô bolbeô bolbeôch bolbesrô yypthô*, and by the inexorable god *Chmouôr Abrasax ipsenthanchouchainchoucheôch*; seize Euphemia and drive her to me, to me Theon, loving with mad desire. ⁴⁴ And bind her with indissoluble, strong, adamantine bonds, so that she love me, Theon, and do not allow her to eat, to drink, to get sleep, to jest, to laugh, but make her rush forth from every place and every house and abandon father, mother, brothers, ⁴⁸ sisters, until she comes to me, Theon, loving me, desiring me with divine, ceaseless desire and mad love. And if she has another at her breast, let her put him off and forget him and hate him, but me she should love and cherish and feel affection for, and she should grant me her possessions, and she should do nothing ⁵² against my will. You here, holy names, you here, powers, enforce and fulfill this charm completely, now now, quickly quickly.

1 δεσμεύω σε δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις: probably in reference to the beloved; cf. 38, 1.

Μοῖρε χθόνιοι καὶ τὴν κραταιὰν Ἀνάγκην: the alteration to Μοίραχ χθονίου καὶ τῆς κραταιᾶς Ἀνάγκης is the suggestion of the first editor. Normally, however, the present writer's mistakes are the usual phonetic confusions. Jordan (*ZPE* 74, 1988, 238) attempted to defend the text by positing both confusion of number (σε for ὑμᾶς) and fluctuation of the vocative and accusative. Perhaps one should rather reckon with one or more omissions and/or falsely inserted text.

2 ἐνθάδε διατρεφομένους: not "who move about here" (Betz). The dead are sustained by burial offerings and libations of water (see below on 12-13).

3-4 ἀνικήτοισι : ἀνικάτοισι ed.pr.

4 Βαρβαθιαω: also in PGM V 355. The name is probably based on Αρβαθιαω 'tetrad of Iao', on which see now W.Fauth, *Oriens Christianus* 67 (1983) 65-75.

βριμιαω: quite possibly based on βριμω and Ιαω; cf. 49, 44 βριαω. χερμαρι: cf. PGM XLV 7 χερμαιω.

5 Προεχία: not in the papyrological onomastica, but cf. Προέχιος (see RE XXIII.1, col. 104 s.v.); also Ὑπερεχία, Ὑπερέχιον and Ὑπερέχιος in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, s.vv.

6 δυνηθῆ τυχῖν : δύνηται ἐντυχῖν ed.pr., which is not idiomatic. Where Wortmann indicated six uncertain letters, there is hardly room for more than four of this writer's normal letters, and here the writing happens to be larger than usual. Between two faint, but nearly certain etas, is a large smudge that we cannot read, but which ought to be theta.

ἔω: for the possible final sense here as well as in 32 and 48, see 40, 17 comm.

9-11 εἰ δὲ παρακούσῃτε - - - ὁ κόσμος οὐκ ἔστιν: see the ed.pr., p. 92 f., for discussion of the threat of disrupting the order of the kosmos; also Martinez, Diss., pp. 93-100.

10-11 οὐ δύνεται ὁ ἥλιος ὑπὸ γῆν, οὔτε ὁ Ἄδης οὔτε ὁ κόσμος οὐκ ἔστιν: for οὔτε - - - οὔτε double-negated by οὐκ and verb, cf. NT Apoc. 21, 4 καὶ ὁ θάνατος οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι, οὔτε πένθος οὔτε κραυγὴ οὔτε πόνος οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι (cf. also Petron. 58, 5 *nec sursum nec deorsum non cresco*). On such double negations, see especially J.Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax II* (Basel 1924), p. 302.

δύνεται - - - ἔστιν: the present in the apodosis probably emphasizes the certainty of the fulfilment of the threat.

12-13 δώσω ὑμῖν Ὁσίριν Νοφριώθ - - - καὶ αἴρει τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ: the thirst of the spirits of the dead must be quenched; see the ed.pr., p. 94 f., and, for a more general treatment, A.Parrot, *Le "Refrigerium" dans l'au-delà* (Paris 1937), *passim*, pp. 84-130 for Egypt. The formula δοῖν σοι ὁ Ὁσίρις τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ *vel sim.* is commonly found in Greek epitaphs; cf. e.g. Inscr. Mus. Alex. 332, 341 and 375. For a list of such inscriptions from Egypt (chiefly Alexandria), Rome and Carthage, see R.A.Wild, *Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis and Sarapis* (EPRO 87, 1981), p. 248 f., notes 154 and 155; to these may be added A.Łukaszewicz, "An Osiris 'Cool Water' Inscription from Alexandria," *ZPE* 77 (1989) 195 f. An Egyptian expression similar to δώσω ὑμῖν Ὁσίριν was written on royal mummy wrappings in the 21st dynasty; see L.Kákosy, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 2 (Budapest 1976), 173 f.

12 Νοφριώθ: from Egyptian *nfr-ḥtp* 'benevolent', here an epithet of Osiris (H.J.Thissen).

13 ἔρι (r. αἴρει): of 'drawing' water; cf. PGM III 40 f. ἄρας δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ, and already Aristoph., *Ran.* 1339. The tentative conjecture of (φ)έρει (ed.pr., p. 95) is unwarranted.

ἀναπαύσεται: the future middle is transitive also in Apoc. Esr. 1, 12 καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· ἐγὼ τοὺς δικαίους ἀναπαύσομαι ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ.

14 κατακαύσει: for a similar threat, cf. Pradel, *Gebete*, p. 21, 11-13 εἰ δὲ καὶ παρηκούσατε, ἐντελεῖται κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἀγγέλοις ἀποτόμοις καὶ παραδώσουσιν ὑμᾶς ἀγγέλοις ταρταρούχοις καὶ ἐμβαλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρὸς (NT Matth. 13, 42) τὴν καιομένην; cf. also cod. Parisin. 2316, fol. 318^v, ed. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 298, lines 7-9 εἰ δὲ καὶ παρακούσης μου τοὺς ὅρκους τούτους, ἐντελεῖ κύριος Καβαὼθ ἄγγελον ἀποτομῆς βασανίζοντά σε καὶ βάλλοντά σε εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρὸς τὴν καιομένην.

16 αλιλαμψ: probably from Λαιλαμψ, on which see PGM, Vol. 3 (Index), p. 225.

16-17 κατατίθημι ὑμῖν εἰς τὴν γῆν τῶν κυνῶν: also in 46, 1 παρακατατίθημι appears to be used absolutely; cf. also Audollent, *DT*, 74, 1; 75 A 1 f. The first editor assumed omission of <τοῦτον τὸν κατάδεσμον>.

γῆ τῶν κυνῶν: the cemetery. The dog/jackal was the sacred animal of the god of the dead and of burial, Anubis; see *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I, coll. 327-333 (B.Alténmüller). The cemeteries in Egypt were on occasion ridden by jackals; cf. UPZ II 187, 17-21, where a choachyte complains about a result of a grave-robbery: συνέβη δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀχα[νῆ] τὴν θύραν ἀφεθῆνα[ι] ὑπὸ λύκων λυμανθῆ[ναι] ἄταφα σώματα κ[ατ]αβρωθέντα.

17-18 δεσμεύσατε, δαίμονες· ἐναρῶ κτλ. seems preferable to the first editor's δεσμεύσατε· δαίμονες, ἐναρῶ κτλ.

Apparently δεσμεύσατε | μονες was first written by a kind of haplography, and then δε was added in the margin in 18. Wortmann regarded 18 as written in *ekthesis* so as to mark the beginning of a new section of the charm.

18 ἐναρῶ: the active form is noteworthy; the middle ('I swear to you by') is attested twice in the Zenon archive: PSI IV 416, 7 f. ἐναρῶμαί σοι τὴν ὑγίειαν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν κτλ. and PCZ III 59474, 2 in a phrase that has been restored similarly.

εἰς τὴν τῶν θεῶν στήλην: here quite possibly of a stele that actually existed (cf. PGM VIII 42); on the meanings of στήλη in the magical papyri, see 23, 10-11 comm.

18-19 ἑναρῶ εἰς - - - ἑναρῶ κατὰ - - - ἑναρῶ κατὰ. The change of construction is noteworthy, but it is not a sufficient reason to diagnose an omission such as that proposed by the first editor: ἑναρῶ ὑμῖν (κατὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένων) εἰς τὴν τῶν θεῶν κτήλην. Cf. e.g. PGM III 36 f. ὅτι ὀρκίζω σε τὸ[ν τό]πον [τ]οῦτον, τὴν ὥραν ταύτην, κατὰ τοῦ ἀπα[ρ]αιτήτου θεοῦ, where accusatives of swearing give way to κατὰ and genitive.

τῶν ἐν ἀδύτῳ{v} : τῶν ἐν ἀδύτῳ ed.pr. But genitive for dative seems unlikely here. The present writer's "mistakes" are phonetic, not grammatical; for the superfluous -v, cf. 32 f. παρακούουσα{v}; 48 φιλοῦσα{v} and ἐρῶσα{v}. Note that ἐν with genitive is hardly attested in papyri: only two examples are cited by Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen*, p. 111 f. note 3; and F.Th.Gignac informs us that the other potential examples he knows of are better explained phonetically (usually ου for ω, or superfluous -c).

19 παντεπόπτου θεοῦ: cf. PGM IV 1369, an address to chthonic παντεπόπτου; PGM P 13a, 2; SB I 4127, 18 (= Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, no. 166) ἥλιον τὸν παντεπόπτην δεσπότην; Audollent, *DT*, 271, 35 f. (Hadrumetum); SEG VII 839 (Burj by Sûf, north of Gerasa) παντεπόπτη Ἡλίῳ; see also Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.; Lampe, s.v.

20-21 ἐξορκίζω τὸν ἐν ωαπ - - - καὶ τὸ αἶμα - - - Ἰωθαθ: assuming that the accusatives are direct objects, the first editor stated that the present sentence is an insertion that interrupts the adjuration of the spirits of the dead. We believe that ὁμᾶς has fallen out or is simply to be understood and that we have accusatives of swearing; cf. PGM IV 3069 ὀρκίζω (σε) τὸν ἐν τῇ καθαρχῇ Ἱεροκολύμφ.

20 ωαπ: Egyptian *wcb*, Coptic ογοπ (Achmimic ογαπ), probably 'purity' or 'holiness' rather than 'temple' (cf. Crum, pp. 487 b - 488; Westendorf, p. 267 s.v. ογHHB); in any case not 'innermost shrine', as was suggested by J.Bergman in Betz, *Translation*, p. 308 note 8 (H.J.Thissen).

21 τὸ αἶμα, ὃ ἔλαβεν ὁ μέγας θεός: on this passage, see Wortmann, *ZPE* 2 (1968) 227-230. For further material on blood in Egyptian mythology, see *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I, s.v. Blut, col. 841 (W.Westendorf).

Ἰωθαθ: probably based on the name of Thoth; cf. Θαθ in PGM VII 557; XII 292 f.; XIII 759.

22 τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τῶν τεσσάρων κέντρων ἀνέμων: Wortmann printed κέντρων (τῶν) ἀνέμων, but it could also be that κέντρων and ἀνέμων are variants. For mention of the four winds, cf. PGM III 496; IV

1606 f.; XII 59 f., 87, 238; XIII 761; and see H.G.Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, p. 13 f. For Egyptian religious conceptions about the winds, see the ed.pr. (p. 97 f.) and *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VI, s.v. Winde, coll. 1266-72 (D.Kurth). On the formula ὁ καθημενος ἐπὶ, see 2, 2-3 comm.

23 τάχιον: comparative for positive or for relative superlative; cf. θαρττον in PGM II 87; IV 199, 1466; VI 43; and see Blass-Debrunner-Funk, *Grammar*, § 244.1; Moulton, *Grammar* III, p. 30.

23-28 Ακραμμαχαμαρι - - - Ὠρίων ἀληθινέ: 24 names in alphabetical order; cf. the remnants of a probable acrostic in PGM IV 1363 f. (αβγ only). All of the names except the first and the last begin and end with the same letter. In line 26, Πυροβορυπ is a perfect palindrome; other names approximate to palindromes: 24 Δημογενιδ, 25 Θωθουθωθ, 26 Νερξιαρξιν, 27 f. Φιμεμαμεφ. On acrostics, see Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet*, pp. 146-151; *RAC* I, coll. 235-238 (A.Kurfess-Th.Klauser); other literature cited in the ed.pr., p. 98; P.Köln IV, p. 38 note 12; R.W.Daniel, *ZPE* 49 (1982) 43 note 3.

Ακραμμαχαμαρι: see 10, 1 comm.

24 Βουλομενθορεβ : Βουλομεντορεβ ed.pr.

Ἐγκύκλιε: 'round', 'revolving' or 'all-encompassing'. Cf. PGM IV 1137-39 ὦ μέγα, μέγιστον, ἐγκύκλιον, ἀπερινόητον σχῆμα κόσμου.

Ζηνοβιωθιζ: perhaps based on Ζεύς and βίος.

25 Θωθουθωθ: based on Θωθ.

Κορκουνοωκ: cf. PGM IV 1289 κορκουνθο.

Λουλοενηλ: for the element λου, cf. 10, 7, and see 96 A 2-3 comm.

26 Ορνεοφαιο: based on ὄρνις and φάος or possibly φαγεῖν ?

Πυροβορυπ: based on πῦρ and βορός ?

27 Σεεενμεγουρεc: cf. the commonly occurring Σεεεγγεν.

Ταυροπολιτ: cf. ταυροπόλος, used of Artemis (e.g. Eur., *IT* 1457) and Hekate (*Orph. hymn.* 1, 7).

28 Ψυχοπομποιαψ: cf. the epithet of Hermes ψυχοπομπός.

Ὠρίων: the constellation Orion; cf. PGM I 29; IV 2768; and see D.Wortmann, *Bonner Jahrb.* 166 (1966) 101; H.G.Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie*, p. 56 f.

28-29 μὴ πάλιν ἀναγκαθῶ τὰ αὐτὰ λέγειν: cf. PGM XII 143 ἵνα μὴ ἀναγκαθῶ ταῦτα ἐκ δευτέρου λέγειν.

32 τὸ γυναικείον cῶμα: cf. PGM O 2, 29; XII 477; LXXVIII 6 as read and supplemented by F.Maltomini, *Civ. Class. Crist.* 1 (1980) 373.

33 μου : με ed.pr. The o and υ are faint, but certain.

33-35. On the Maskelli logos, see 12, 3-5 comm.

36 ἵνα καταδήκατε: apparently an example of ἵνα with the imperative; cf. PGM XXXV 25 ἵνα δότε (if this is not misspelled δῶτε) and P 12, 8 ἵνα τάθητι; see Youtie, *ZPE* 16 (1975) 260 f. (= *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* I, p. 164 f.); Ljungvik, *Beiträge zur Syntax*, p. 49 f.; Mandilaras, *Verb*, § 728.

36-37 ἐπὶ χρόνον μηνῶν δέκα: see 37 B 5-6 comm.

37 ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἀθὺρ κ̅ε: 21 November. Only a few other applied charms are provided with dates like the present one: cf. 52, 24 comm.; PGM XXVIIIa 6 f., b 9, c 9; P 2, 10. Hathyr 25 followed shortly after a four-day festival (Hathyr 17-20) that ended with the celebration of the resurrection of Osiris (cf. Plutarch, *De Iside* 366E, and see the remarks in Griffiths' edition, pp. 65 and 448 ff.), and so the first editor suggests that it could have been on this occasion that Theon met Euphemia.

40-41 τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ θρόνων ἀχλαλ, λαλαφενουρφεν, βαλεω, βολβεω, βολβεωχ, βολβερω, υφθω: to our knowledge this is the only complete list of the names of the seven thrones; incomplete or fragmentary lists in Audollent, *DT*, 15, 51; 16 II-III 8; 240, 2 f. A synoptic survey is given by Wortmann in the ed.pr.

For βολβερω cf. PGM IV 1010 with app.cr. and the literature cited in PGM, Vol. 3 (Index), p. 218.

41-42 κατὰ τοῦ ἀπαραιτήτου θεοῦ: the same phrase is to be found in PGM III 37 and IV 2032 f.

42 Χμουωρ Αβρααξ: cf. e.g. PGM IX 8 χνουωρ Αβ(ρ)ααξ; on Χμουωρ, see 42, 49-50 comm.

υπενθανχουχαῖνχουχεωχ: see 42, 19 comm.

44 δεμοῖς ἀλύτοις, ἰχυροῖς, ἀδαμαντίνοις: cf. PGM IV 1246 f., 3100 f.; Audollent, *DT*, 252, 26 f., 33 f.; 253, 36 f., 47 f.

47-48 καταλεῖψαι πατέρα, μητέρα, ἀδελφούς, ἀδελφάς: cf. PGM IV 2756-59; XV 4 f.; LXI 29 f.; Audollent, *DT*, 266, 15 f.; and the Coptic VBP V 131, 58 f.

48 θῖον (r. θεῖον) : Θεον (r. Θεώνα) ed.pr. The iota was misread as omicron, because it was made with two thin, slightly curving verticals.

48-49 θεῖον ἔρωτα: for the nexus, cf. 48 J-K 13, 25, 38; PGM X 7 f.; XV 3. It is found already in Plato, *Phaedr.* 266A θεῖον δ' αὖ τινα ἔρωτα. Cf. Menander's θεῖον μῖκος (*Epitr.* 433 Sandbach).

49-51 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἕτερο[ν] ἔχει ἐν κόλποις, ἐκείνον μὲν ὑπερθέσθω καὶ {καὶ} ἐπιλαθέσθω καὶ μισήσῃ, ἐμὲ δὲ φιλήσῃ: cf. PGM IV 2740-42 εἰ δὲ τιν' ἄλλον ἔχουσ' ἐν κόλποις κατάκειται, κείνον ἀπωσάσθω, ἐμὲ δ' ἐν φρεσὶν ἐγκαταθέσθω; also Theocr. 2, 44-46 εἴτε γυνὰ τήνῳ παρακέκλινται εἴτε καὶ ἀνὴρ, / τόσσον ἔχοι λάθας ὅσσον ποκὰ Θερέα φαντί / ἐν Δία λαθῆμεν ἐνπλοκάμω Ἀριάδνα.

50 ὑπερθέσθω : ὑπεκθέσθω ed.pr. The ρ is certain. There was never a doubt about the sense required ("soll sie jenen verstoßen" ed.pr.; "move her to push him away" Betz), but this follows naturally from the well-attested use of ὑπερτίθεσθαι as 'to put off' or 'defer' a matter or situation (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. 2; LSJ, s.v. II.5), whereas it would be entirely new for ὑπεκτίθεσθαι.

50-51. Imperatives and jussive subjunctives are here used side by side; other examples in Mandilaras, *Verb*, § 554.1

51 στοργέω is listed in the lexica only for Hesychius στοργῆσαι· φιλησαι (IV, p. 82 Schmidt).

τὰ αὐτῆς ἐμοὶ χαρίσεται: "soll - - - sich mir schenken" Wortmann, similarly Betz. But 42, 18, 39 παρέχουσα(ν) καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῆς κτήματα πάντα suggests rather "should - - - grant me her possessions."

52-53. For the direct invocation of the ὀνόματα, cf. PGM XII 134; Bonner, *SMA*, p. 215 with D 317.

53 ἐπιχυρίζω: registered only by Lampe for *Acta Andreae et Matthaei* 28 (II.1, p. 108, 6 Lipsius-Bonnet; v.l. ἐνιχυ-); cf. also Them., *Or.* 2, 32B.

τελεῖτε τελείαν τὴν ἐπασιδὴν: cf. 71, fr. 21 I 3 + fr. 2, 6; 72 I 13 f., 27, II 8, 25; PGM IV 294 f., 2939; VII 992; XX 4 f.; P.Oxy. III 412, 17 (Julius Africanus, *Kestoi*; cf. the edition of J.R. Vieillefond, p. 285); also Aristoph., fr. 29, 2 (Kassel-Austin, *PCG* III.2).