

SHAPING THE TEXT: INNOVATION AND AUTHORITY IN GRAECO-EGYPTIAN MALIGN MAGIC

RICHARD GORDON

The corpus of the Graeco-Egyptian 'magical papyri', first created by Karl Preisendanz in the late 1920s, abounds in contrasts.¹ We can distinguish between texts in Demotic, Coptic, Aramaic and Greek, between pagan and Christian texts, between protective, divinatory, erotic, vindicative and malign (or aggressive) magic, all of which have their own generic rules. We can also distinguish on the one hand between highly elaborate recipes, of which the finest examples are perhaps the three variants of the same *praxis* put together in the 'Eighth Book of Moses' (*P.Leid.* J 395 = *PGM* XIII),² or the 'Ritual of the Cat' in *P.Mimaut* (*P.Louvre* 2396 = *PGM* III 1–164),³ but which are characteristic of most of the magical texts acquired by Giovanni Anastasi in the course of his activities as a collector,⁴ and, on the other, the rather perfunctory, or at any rate brief and unelaborated,

¹ Preisendanz 1928–31 published and translated 121 texts or fragments, including 18 Christian ones, distributed under 52 + 12 numbers; the ill-fated vol. 3, whose plates were destroyed by bombing in 1940, contained a further 21 (+ 4 Christian) texts, 5 ostraka and 2 texts on wooden plaques. All 146 texts/fragments were included in the revised edition published by A. Henrichs (Preisendanz and Henrichs 1973–4), to which reference is made in this article. Preisendanz-Henrichs' non-Christian texts on papyrus, listed under 81 entries, together with 49 new texts and the three major collections of recipes in Demotic, are translated into English by diverse hands in Betz 1986/1993. I use the abbreviation *PGM* to denote the Greek texts in Preisendanz and Henrichs 1973–4, and *PDM* to denote the translations of Demotic texts by Janet Johnson in Betz 1986/93.

² On the composition of this document, see Smith 1984; 1986. Daniel 1991, x–xi notes that a second scribe or compiler took over from around line 935.

³ On this text see Harrauer 1987, 12–53; Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 81–102; Fauth 1995, 56–74.

⁴ Recent accounts in Fowden 1986, 168–71; Brashear 1995, 3402–05. The cache found in Egyptian Thebes, which Anastasi acquired before March 1828, included the 'Great Paris' codex (= *PGM* IV), *P.Brit.Mus.* XLVI (= *PGM* V), *P.Brit.Mus.* *P.Leid.* J 383 + *P.Brit.Mus.* 10070 (the London-Leiden Demotic papyrus = *PDM* xiv), *P.Leid.* J 384 and 395 (= *PGM* XII–XIII), but also two alchemical papyri. Anastasi's other texts, one at least of which came from Memphis, but whose provenances are mostly unknown, include: the two Berlin papyri (*PGM* I–II), the Mimaut papyrus (*PGM* III), *P.Brit.Mus.* CXXI (*PGM* VII), and two further Demotic papyri, *P.Brit.Mus.* 10588 (*PGM* LXI/*PDM* lxi) and *P.Louvre* E 3229 (*PDM* Supplement).

spells which seem to be typical of the fragmentary receptaries recovered later and (re-)published as *Supplementum Magicum* nos. 70–100.⁵ Another contrast again may be drawn between the receptaries or formularies on the one hand, which contain a whole variety of bare or ‘inert’ exemplary texts,⁶ and applied magic on the other, that is, mainly malign or erotic texts which have been written out onto a material surface, a *Textträger*, and, after being ‘activated’ by means of a ritual, buried or otherwise disposed of at a place of some symbolic significance in order to effect specific changes in the real world.⁷ With the well-known exception of a single elaborate *agogimon*, a recipe for bringing a woman to a man for sexual purposes, which is now known in five versions, the surviving activated texts in the Graeco-Egyptian tradition are not based directly on recipes known from the receptaries.⁸ There is, however, a clear family resemblance between

⁵ Daniel and Maltomini 1990–92, 2: 91–275. These texts are assigned dates ranging from II/Ist cent. BC to V/VIth. It must of course be allowed that many of these are very lacunate, and that e.g. their nos. 96–98 (V/VIth) may have been on a considerable scale. Moreover, perfunctory texts are not unknown in the Anastasi texts, e.g. those assembled in *PGM* III 467–94; IV 467–74/830–34 (Homeric citations); 2140–44; 2943–66; V 54–59; *PDM* xiv 706–49, and virtually all those between 911–1218 (many of them medico-magical).

⁶ Frankfurter 1997, 116f. rightly emphasises the variety of recipes to be found in just one receptary, *P.Leid.* J 384^v = *PGM* XII.

⁷ Preisendanz makes no reference to this distinction in the preface to the first edition, probably because of the project’s origin in A. Dieterich’s projected re-edition of the Great Paris magical codex (*PGM* IV) for the Teubner series, which was never published because of his sudden death in 1908 (Preisendanz and Henrichs 1973–4, 1: viii). But it clearly underlays his organisation of the materials available prior to 1931, and he used it explicitly in his account of the texts in the Preface to vol. 3 (Preisendanz and Henrichs 1973–74, 2: ix).

One of the oddest features of these studies is the distinction, which solely has relevance to modern sub-disciplinary boundaries, between (activated) texts on papyrus and those on more durable surfaces, mainly lead: Preisendanz intended ‘*Papyri Graecae Magicae*’ quite literally (except that he eventually included a number of ostraka, i.e. texts on sherds, and on wood [see n. 1]), and therefore excluded many relevant activated texts, which happen to have been written on lead, the decipherment of which counts as ‘epigraphy’ not ‘papyrology’ (cf. Bodel 2001, 2f., taking a relaxed view of the matter). The same practice is (understandably) followed by Betz 1986/1993, but rightly discontinued by Daniel and Maltomini 1990–92; cf. Brashear 1995, 3443–46. To be fair to Preisendanz, however, it must be said that he was quite aware of the artificiality of the separation, and had intended himself to (re-)edit the defixiones on lead—even though many of them derived from traditions of cursing very different from that associated with the practice of the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri (Preisendanz 1930; 1935; 1969; cf. Jordan 1985). In this article, I include texts on papyrus and on other materials equally.

⁸ *PGM* IV 296–466 with the parallels discussed by Martinez 1991; note esp. his table in Fig. 1, p. 17. One other clear case of an activated text almost identical to

them, attested above all by the types of divine powers invoked, the use of similar *onomata barbara* (the 'meaningless' words, mainly in sunken Egyptian, employed as sacred names), and the recourse to *charaktêres* (letters or perhaps 'words' denoted in non-standard script).

Any of these contrasts could be the focus of closer enquiry. But in this article I wish to examine some of the evidence for innovation in the corpus in relation to an issue recently raised in a learned and wide-ranging article by David Frankfurter on the impact of Hellenistic culture upon religious life in late antique Egypt, and in particular the class or group of ritual experts.⁹ I am glad to offer something on a magical theme to this collection of essays in honour of Professor Henk Versnel, who has contributed so much to the recent renaissance of the topic, in relation to the issue of generic rules for *defixiones*,¹⁰ to the language of curses,¹¹ and not least to the theoretical issue of the relation between magic and religion.¹²

Stereotype appropriation

Starting from the modern perception of culture-contact between Greeks and Egyptians as a dynamic process of selective assimilation or appropriation, Frankfurter argues that the corpus of magical papyri enables us to glimpse new developments in priestly activity and priestly self-conception, singling out two areas in particular. It is well-known that the largest single group of recipes in the magical papyri is for divination, mainly dreams, lecanomancies ('reading' a shallow dish filled with water and a little olive-oil) and *phw-ntr* (direct encounters with a god). The compilers of the receptaries developed new techniques of revelation specifically for private enlightenment. Whereas the classic Egyptian *ph-ntr* was pursued as part of a defined priestly role, the new techniques offered the consultant more abstract and elevated spiritual goods, wisdom, or mystical experience.¹³ The

a surviving receptary is Audollent 1904, No. 188 ~ *PGM* LVIII (Jordan 1976, 129), which is interesting, since the receptary was found in Egypt, the activated text in Rome or Latium.

⁹ Frankfurter 2000; an earlier version of the points that concern me here appeared in *id.* 1997, 130–35; 1998, 198–237.

¹⁰ E.g. Versnel 1987, 1991a.

¹¹ Versnel 1996, 1998.

¹² Versnel 1991b.

¹³ Frankfurter 2000, 180–82.

second area is erotic magic. As with divination, this belonged to the traditional expertise of Egyptian lector-priests (*hry-hbt*, meaning '(he who) possesses—the ritual book'), but the number of erotic spells in the corpus of 'magical papyri' suggests that there was a very lively market in erotic magic in the Roman period to which the priests catered by presenting themselves as 'masters of love magic'.¹⁴ In creating these innovations and adaptations in their ritual practice, the priests were responding not so much to an objectively changed situation as to their own idea of their new situation.¹⁵ This idea was essentially a reception of the Graeco-Roman view of the Egyptian priest as a wonder-worker, a guru, a fount of wisdom and power.¹⁶ It was this reception or appropriation of a Graeco-Roman stereotype which more than anything inspired the reconstruction of the traditions of the 'House of Life' so as to become simultaneously more exotic and more familiar to an alien clientele. 'Stereotype appropriation is a dynamic process of buying into, internalizing, and exploiting the roles offered by a dominant culture'.¹⁷ From this perspective, the Egyptian priests who imparted information to Herodotus were merely early exponents of a widespread skill in exploiting Egyptomania, that can be traced through Manetho, the creation of the cult of Sarapis and Chaeremon's account of the Egyptian priest as lover of wisdom. The Egyptian priesthood joins a company well-represented in the modern world, the peddlers of oriental wisdom more or less subtly adapted to the requirements of the western groups liable or willing to be recruited.¹⁸

There is no doubt that the notion of stereotype appropriation has attractions as a means of accounting for the changes that seem to

¹⁴ Ibid. 177–80. See also Faraone 1999, 25f., 33f. (where he wrongly states that there is no evidence for love magic in Egypt prior to the Hellenistic period).

¹⁵ In this article I take over Frankfurter's identification of the practitioners who created the magical papyri with the priests of the 'House of Life' (following Koenig 1994, 19f. he identifies them more precisely with the (*hry-hbt*) *hry-tp*, the chief lector-priests, for which I see little justification). The main reason for doing so is the highly literate, learned, quality of many of the recipes in the corpus. But one should remember Sauneron's point that in classical Egypt magical skills were so widespread in the population that it is difficult to identify 'the' magician: two general words were available, *hk³y* 'he who disposes of the force of *heka*', and *s³w*, 'enchanters, those who dispense *sa*, magical protection' (1966, 33f.).

¹⁶ On images of late-antique magicians, see now Janovitz 2001.

¹⁷ Frankfurter ibid. 174.

¹⁸ See the useful overview in Reller et al. 1993, 617–818. Frankfurter himself evokes the staged authenticity of various Native American and Amazonian groups (ibid. 173f.).

have taken place in the practice of Egyptian magic, as these are represented to us in the magical papyri. Most immediately, it starts from the premise that these priestly actors—Greek-speaking actors—were familiar with the concrete realities of their cultural environment in Graeco-Roman Egypt, which are recognized as those of a colonial situation. It gives these actors a certain solidity, a profile. Secondly, it locates the temple clergy in a negotiated space between their own priestly traditions and market niches which they are able to exploit. Thirdly, it tries to address the striking differences between the spells of the magical papyri compared with the evidence for earlier periods: whole areas of traditional Egyptian magic, above all medical practice (snake-bites, scorpion stings) and exorcism, the ritual maintenance of cosmic order, the ritual destruction of enemies, the protection of the dead, protection from dangerous spirits in the form of crocodiles, hippopotamuses and so on, have disappeared virtually without trace. What survive into the Graeco-Roman period are mainly the magical techniques.¹⁹

Though it cannot be proved that the self-image of the creators of the magical papyri was not due to the assimilation of Graeco-Roman expectations of Egyptian magicians, some scepticism is nevertheless in order. Frankfurter presents the situation as if there were only one significant stereotype, the stereotype of the powerful *magos* reflected in a variety of texts, mostly rather late, from the esoteric to the romance. But the dominant external view of Egyptian religion in the Principate was negative, and focused upon the absurdity of the cult of animals, and the corruption and deceit of the Egyptian priesthood. It is

¹⁹ Cf. Sauneron 1966, 36–48, more fully in Ritner 1993. I do not intend here to thematize the issue of whether, or in what degree, we are justified in applying the term ‘magic’ to this corpus. Tacitly following Gardiner (1915), for whom Egyptian magic denoted religious acts performed for personal or private rather than public ends, Preisendanz took them as evidence of a late-antique syncretistic form of this tradition (1950; 1956). Some more recent writers, notably Ritner (1995, 59f.) and Frankfurter (1997, 119–21; 1998, 219–21; 2000, 166–74), have urged that we should not use the word ‘magic’ in connection with Egypt because of its largely pejorative associations. In my view, we are entitled to use the term ‘magical’ (if not ‘magic’) in much the same way as we use ‘oriental cults’, to signify a body of material traditionally so termed, without necessarily assenting to the preconceptions which gave rise to these terms at the beginning of the last century. The English word ‘magic’ after all has a much wider semantic range than the narrow denotations represented by Enlightenment rationalists and the armchair anthropologists. For good balanced discussion of Egyptian *hk³*, see Kákossy 1977, Ritner 1993, 14–28, Koenig 1994, 269–305; Étienne 2000.

generally accepted that it was the Graeco-Roman hostility to the temple cult of animals which led the Egyptians to insist upon it as the particular mark of their separate identity, and an important rallying-point in negotiations with the ruling power. Colonial stereotypes could indeed be resisted.²⁰ Three other examples also suggest that in other respects Egyptian attitudes to Graeco-Roman culture were not necessarily as compliant as Frankfurter suggests. One, the case of the Graeco-Egyptian terracottas, is quoted by Frankfurter himself: though Greek iconographic stereotypes rapidly pushed out traditional forms of e.g. Isis suckling Harpocrates, the subjects that continued to be represented are overwhelmingly Egyptian—not merely in the choice of divinities but also in the representation of cult and dance.²¹ An analogous case is that of the magical amulets in semi-precious stone: in this case, the manufacture of traditional Egyptian amulets, for example scarabs, pilasters and Isiac knots, virtually ceases in the Late period; and when Greek choices of stones, amuletic forms and cutting techniques were taken over by temple craftsmen in the Principate, they created new, almost exclusively Egyptian types.²² At a different level, the example of Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* suggests that a highly complex negotiation between conceptions of divinity, myth and cult took place which can hardly be reduced to the formula of stereotype appropriation: if Greek narrative expectations of myth were positively taken over by Egyptian clergy, it is no less true that the latter were never satisfied unless they had the last word in the matter of interpretation.

Moreover, there is good evidence that the temple clergy, like other magical practitioners, were no strangers to innovation and adaptation.²³ One example is that of astrology, which, by routes now impossible to recover, was rapidly assimilated from Babylonia in the Late Period and under the first two Ptolemies, with very little sign of having been mediated by the Greeks. Though the early astrological handbooks, which are but fragmentarily preserved in later treatises, imply the public institutions of the Ptolemies, these are scarcely

²⁰ Smelik and Hemelrijk 1984, 1860–64; 1955–62.

²¹ Cf. Weber 1914; Dunand 1990; Török 1995.

²² Cf. Bonner 1952; Delatte and Derchain 1964; Philipp 1986; Śliwa 1989. The language employed is of course also Greek.

²³ 'Magicians do make a pretence of observing with scrupulous care what they like to maintain are ancient rituals. In reality, magic is innovative and dynamic': Dickie 1999, 184; see now Dickie 2001.

different from the world of kings and palace-temple bureaucracies typical of the Fertile Crescent.²⁴ The central role played in this transfer by the temple clergy is clear from the number of early pseudepigraphic treatises under the names of Hermes Trismegistos, Nechepso and Petosiris.²⁵ The second innovation is that of lecanomancy, an originally Babylonian technique which seems to have been borrowed during the Late Period. But in the course of the transfer a decisive change took place. Instead of the fixed meanings for specific classes of persons associated in the Babylonian texts with particular whorls and shapes assumed by the floating oil—as in the example, ‘Wenn das Öl viel Blasen bildet: für den Kranken: (Weh)geschrei; für das Heer auf dem Feldzuge: (Weh)geschrei’²⁶—the Egyptian diviners created a surface intended to be seen *through*, down to spirits who would themselves provide answers, positive or negative, to specific questions. There is no reason to suppose that either of these innovations during the Late Period and the early Ptolemaic period were responses to a pre-existing colonial stereotype: but they do suggest that the priests of the House of Life were very much aware of the advantage of new types of divination as adjuncts to their traditional magical resources. Frankfurter suggests that what the priests offered during the Roman period was ‘mystical’ experience; but can point to no evidence for this save the very exceptional case of the ‘Mithras Liturgy’ (PGM IV 475–829) and the hardly relevant description of Lucius’ first initiation in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* (11.23). The normal run of divinatory recipes, for example receiving dreams, oracular answers or direct visitations from a god, have nothing to do with elevated private experiences but with the practitioner’s own requirements for (fore-)knowledge, for insight, to enable him to cope with the demands of clients. Related to these are recipes for acquiring spirit assistants. Moreover, there existed in Egypt, in the form of the stories of Djadjaemonkh and Djidi in the Westcar papyrus, Meryê in P. Vandier, or Si-Osire, Horus-son-of-Paneshe in the story of Setne-Khamwas, and several others, an indigenous model of the powers and capacities of the great magician, which clearly played an

²⁴ Cumont 1937, 25–59.

²⁵ W. and H.G. Gundel 1966, 9–40. Several Hellenistic Egyptian texts show familiarity with Babylonian astronomic and divinatory procedures, and there is clear evidence of contacts between Babylonian and Egyptian priest-diviners already in the Late Period, cf. Gordon 1997a, 140f.

²⁶ Pettinato 1966, 2: 65 + 72, Text II §51.

important part in forming the claims we find in the magical papyri.²⁷ To my mind, the 'stereotype' sketched by Frankfurter, insofar as it was a unified one, was at least as much the creation of the priests of the House of Life as it was of Graeco-Roman culture, and employed by them as a tool in an attempt to assert at any rate their continuing magical power even if they could no longer ordinarily enjoy much socio-political power.²⁸ Despite the current fashion for post-colonial theory, Edward Saïd's 'orientalism' is not the only model we might think of; and the *bricoleur* may know exactly what he is looking for.

In the remainder of this paper I want to pursue this theme of the claim to magical power, which in my view did not have to be, indeed could hardly be, directed towards the magicians' clientele. It was rather a self-regarding matter, if one likes, a personal re-assurance of the individual's prowess, a re-assurance which may (though I do not insist on this) have become more necessary as the institutional framework of the 'House of Life' grew less secure and the priests were more often likely to practice their craft privately. I propose to look at two quite different aspects of the matter, the interest of (some) practitioners in reflecting upon the source of their power, and the creation of new techniques for adding to the force of activated texts. In relation to the first, the only evidence that I know of is speculation about the power of names, in the special sense of *onomata barbara*.

The magical power of names

Speculation about how incantation might work is doubtless as old as attempts to use language to help effect marvellous changes in the world. The most explicit account in the Classical period of how incantation might work is of course Gorgias' in the *Helen*. His explicitly psychological account, 'inspired incantations consisting of words (αἱ ἐνθεοὶ διὰ λόγων ἐπωδαί) bring on pleasure, dissipate pain', seems to abandon any claim to be able to explain how incantation might halt bleeding: it envisages the problem of incantation exclusively as

²⁷ See Sauneron 1966, 34; Koenig 1994, 38–47; Gordon 1997b, 70–78.

²⁸ On the distinction between social and magical power as considerations for magicians, Lieban 1967, 36f.

one of persuasion, which is intended to alter a mental state.²⁹ It implies a process of rationalisation, which implicitly denies the possibility of words—‘mere words’—affecting changes directly in the world: words require an audience, and the audience is the mind of the individual patient. Incantation becomes a special form of rhetoric, intended to ‘persuade the mind’.³⁰ Whether or not practitioners of magical medicine would have agreed, and whether or not indeed they could even provide an explicit account of incantation, from the fifth century BC the dominant view within Greek, and Roman, society seems to have been that incantation was directed towards the mind, though not necessarily to the intellect, rather to some faculty capable of being affected by heightened phonic effects. This view was based on the assumption that the primary form of incantation was in the loose sense medical, and that it was performed in the presence of a patient.

This essentially acoustic view continued, in a form specifically limited to powerful ‘names’ (*onomata*), to be available into Late Antiquity.³¹ Thus we find Origen appealing to a similar theory in attempting to account for the possible benefit of apparently pointless lists of city-names in the Old Testament, in this case *Joshua* 15.13–63, which consists very largely of obscure Hebrew names, which no contemporary Christian could have made much of. Origen’s answer to the question, what can be the value of such lists for the ordinary listener?, is that the sounds themselves have a beneficial effect upon the listener:

Just as incantations have a certain physical influence (δύναμιν τινα . . . φυσικήν), and the person to whom it is directed, even if he is unconscious of it, is somehow affected by the spell, according to the character of its sounds, either for evil or for healing the body or mind, so you must understand that the utterance of proper names of the Bible is more potent than any incantation. For there are certain powers within us, of which the better sort are nourished by such ‘incantations’, being naturally related (συγγενείς) to them, and, even though

²⁹ DK 82 F11 §10, the best discussion of which remains, in my view, Verdenius 1981.

³⁰ Cf. earlier [Aeschylus], *PV* 172f., where the Titan declares that Zeus will not enchant him ‘with the honey-tongued incantations of persuasion’, καὶ μ’ οὔτι μελιγλώσσοις πειθοῦς/ἐπαοιδαῖσιν θέλξει.

³¹ See in general Hirschle 1976; Dillon 1985; Janovitz 1990, 360–65; Graf 1997, 127–32. ‘Names’ include main names and epithets, in any tongue.

we are not aware of it, these powers apprehend what is uttered—their ability to assist us in our lives increases within us.³²

This view seems to assume that individual sounds, irrespective of language, have an acoustico-moral quality, which is transformed directly on apperception by the ear into a corresponding physical effect. While it seems to draw upon the ultimately Theophrastan claim that pleasure and pain alike arise from sense perception, and that the one and the other arise in accordance with the degree of correspondence between stimulation and the organ of sense,³³ it goes beyond this position in according incantation a special position independent of direct sense-perception, since Origen specifically claims that the patient/victim need not be aware of what is going on. Plotinus' roughly contemporary claim, that incantation works through mundane *sympatheia* and can affect solely the irrational part of the soul, is analogous.³⁴

But elsewhere Origen has a different account of the force of the magical word, sometimes in combination with the acoustico-moral theory. The argument seems to show awareness of contemporary Platonic speculation about the magical efficacy of divine names, which in part goes back ultimately to the *Cratylus*,³⁵ but is certainly also indebted to speculation by ritual experts in the different traditions of the high Near-Eastern cultures. Human languages do not have a purely natural origin but also a divine one. Part of the proof of this is the incantatory practice of magicians. For they claim that if the names 'whose nature it is to be powerful in some particular language' are translated into another language, they cease to have the effect they had in their original form:

Thus, if we were to translate the name 'Israel' into Greek or another language, we would effect nothing. But if we keep it as it is, linking it on to those words with which experts in these matters have thought fit to connect it, then something would happen in accordance with the

³² Origen, *Hom. 1–26 in Jos.* 20.1 (Greek text in *Philocalia* 12, p. 388 ed. Harl). Dillon (1985, 214) takes *κατεπαδόμενος* in the first sentence as middle, 'he who utters (incantations)', but this seems to make nonsense of the rest of the sentence. I follow Harl in taking it as passive.

³³ *Sens.* 32–3, with Lippman 1964, 165.

³⁴ Plotinus, *Enn.* 4.4.43.

³⁵ Origen cites Plato, *Phlb.* 12c (Socrates on the names of the gods) both at *Cels.* 1.25 and 4.48; Damascius, *In Phlb.* 24 Westerink cites Plato, *Cra.* 391 de in the same connection. Note also Proclus, *In Parm.* p. 853.1–3; *In Crat.* 71, p. 29–35 Pasquali.

power which such invocations are said to possess when a formula of this kind is pronounced.³⁶

It seems clear that in such passages Origen, who believed that the original (Adamic) language was Hebrew,³⁷ is alluding to (but also misrepresenting) mystical claims about the inherent power attached to sacred names in the Jewish tradition, with which he had extensive familiarity:

The names of the [three fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob] are so powerful when linked with the name of God that the formula 'the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob' is used not only by members of the Jewish nation in their prayers to God and when they exorcise demons, but also by almost all those who deal in magic and spells. For in magical spells it is often to be found that God is invoked by this formula, and that in spells against daemons His name is used in close connection with the names of these men.³⁸

No distinction is made between 'use' and 'mention': such names are powerful and effective in an unlimited sense.³⁹ Elsewhere, however, he cites analogous views among Egyptian experts in so-called magic, ἡ καλουμένη μαγεία.⁴⁰ One of their doctrines is that names acquire, or are able to unleash, their power, if they are repeated in an imbricated or complex sequence;⁴¹ another that each language disposes of words which are the names of daemonic powers which have power to perform certain highly specific tasks: the Egyptian language for example contains words which are the names of powers specific to Egypt, the Persian language powers specific to Persia and so on.⁴²

³⁶ Origen, *Cels.* 5.45; 1.25; cf. the injunction of the Chaldaean Oracles *ὀνόματα βάρβαρα μή ποτ' ἀλλάξῃς*, 'under no circumstances are you to alter the *onomata barbara*' (§150 des Places), with Michael Psellos' commentary on the phrase in *Exeg.orac. Chald.* (= Migne, *PG* 122, 1132c, repr. des Places p. 169f.).

³⁷ Origen, *Hom.* 1–28 in *Num.* 11.4.

³⁸ *Cels.* 4.43. For Origen's contacts with Jewish mystical milieux, de Lange 1976; Blowers 1988; on Jewish belief in the power of the divine name, note Lauterbach 1930/1; Urbach 1987, 124–34; Rohrbacher-Sticker 1991/2; on Hebrew as a sacred language in antiquity, Sawyer 1999.

³⁹ Janowitz 1990, 362.

⁴⁰ *Cels.* 1.24. On the tacit rules governing sequences of *onomata*, which of course also occur in the Hermetic corpus and the Nag Hammadi texts, see recently Miller 1986; Crippa 1995; Fauth 1995, 34–120; in Arabic magic, Winkler 1930, 29f., 1935; in Buddhist practice, Hauer 1927. The list compiled by Brashear 1995, 3576–603, though extremely useful, is by no means complete either with regard to individual words nor with modern suggestions as to their 'real' meaning.

⁴¹ Reading *συνυφοῦς* with Früchtel and Borret.

⁴² *Ibid.* This turns out to be a reference to the decans in charge of each part

That Egyptian magical practitioners were interested in names of power from other, particularly Jewish, traditions is familiar enough from the use they made of them.⁴³ Celsus implies that this cultural borrowing also led to, or was accompanied by, a desire to make explicit the rôle of *onomata* in their own practice rather than simply acquire a technique of using them (*onomata* play a much greater part in the technique of the Greek papyri than either in traditional Egyptian magic or in the Demotic papyri). And he also suggests that Egyptian magical practitioners thereby became aware of themselves as members of an international élite of ritual experts.

About half a century later, Iamblichus, replying to Porphyry's rejection of theurgic divination in the *Letter to Anebo*, developed two arguments in the same connection, arguments which have every appearance of being derived from an Egyptian priestly milieu.⁴⁴

First, he claims that there are two classes of 'meaningless names', those whose meanings have been revealed, and those which have not. The gods know the true meaning of all 'meaningless names', but they know it in ways ungraspable by human beings, apprehending their meanings directly, without recourse to the sign- and sound-conventions required by human beings—the meanings of many *onomata barbara* are simply beyond us, simply too majestic. But the second class, whose meanings have been revealed to us, both give us an insight into the essence and power of the gods, and allow us to reach outward towards spiritual union with them. The second argument relates to the fact that the most powerful 'names' are barbaric, foreign, not Greek. The reason for this is that some peoples, such as the Babylonians and the Egyptians, are holy peoples, and their languages are truly primitive, aboriginal, and so especially appropriate for worshipping the gods. It is therefore only right and proper to address them thus. These languages moreover preserve the original names of the gods in an unchanged form. These arguments owe something to the neo-platonist view that the religions of the 'wise

of the body, 'by invoking whom they heal the sufferings of the various parts', that is, the doctrine of astral melothesia: *Cels.* 8.58.

⁴³ Preisendanz 1955; Fernández Marcos 1985; cf. also the claim to know names in Hebrew, e.g. *PGM* III 119; IV 3085. The Syrian name *Bêl/Bal* is found occasionally, e.g. *PGM* IV 1010; Daniel and Maltomini 1990–92 no. 39 l. 9 (with comm.) (Egypt); Jordan 1996, 117 §IIIb2 with p. 119 (Carthage).

⁴⁴ Iamblichus, *Myst.* 7.4f. (pp. 254.12–256.17). Iamblichus assumed his second persona, that of the Egyptian Abammon, for this work (see Michael Psellos' preliminary note, p. 38 des Places).

nations' come closest to the *Urreligion* which most faithfully worships God,⁴⁵ but they share with some of the tractates of the *Corpus Hermeticum* the view that Egyptian religion is as superior to others just as the land is dearer to the gods.⁴⁶

These claims, refracted as they are through neo-platonist sources, undoubtedly present a distorted view of Egyptian priestly speculation.⁴⁷ And 'names' constitute only part of the incantatory practice of Egyptian magic.⁴⁸ But it is certain that *onomata* are frequently said to be the 'true' or 'authentic' (genuine, authoritative) names of divinities or powers, which tends to confirm Origen and Iamblichus in general terms.⁴⁹ But I think it is fair to conclude that, at any rate in relation to the use of *onomata*, the priests were not interested in producing themselves in terms of a Greek stereotype, but in discussion, in contributing their own perceptions of the power of names, and adjusting, even extending, them in the light of others' views. They see themselves as experts on their own ground, even if, as is obvious, Iamblichus' presentation of the case is permeated by the language of late Platonism. Secondly, the role of the Greeks in this discussion was a minor one: the Egyptian priests' preferred horizon of comparison ignored the names of the *Greek* gods entirely, in favour of the more relevant experience of other ritual experts, magicians, in Israel, Babylonia and 'Persia'. Their magical practice may have drawn in varying degrees on Greek religious sources, above all hymns, but subjectively they inhabited a sort of Foucauldian heterotopia, composed of the learned ritual experts of the Wise Nations.

⁴⁵ See now G. Boys-Stones 2001.

⁴⁶ On Iamblichus and Hermeticism, see Fowden 1986, 131–41; on Hermetic 'nationalism', *ibid.* 13–44.

⁴⁷ Traditionally, *hk³* was often directly associated with the spoken word, and spells might be termed *mdw-ntr*, words of god. In one of the accounts of creation in the Coffin texts, Heka emerges from the mouth of Re-Atum before Hu (the creative Word), §17.

⁴⁸ Neither Origen nor Iamblichus says anything about some other obvious features of incantation, e.g. the more or less elaborate cosmological and horological schemes, or the deployment of mythological references in *historiolae*. Moreover, even with respect to phonic and acoustic resources, they omit not only the intonation of vowels, which was a standard and time-consuming occupation of the Egyptian priesthood, but also the range of animal and other noises, the popping and hissing, bellying and roaring, which are sometimes prescribed in the receptaries, notably in the Mithras Liturgy and in the '8th Book of Moses' (PGM XIII). Graf 1997, 129 seems to take these also as a form of *onomata*.

⁴⁹ PGM I 36; V 115; IX 13f.; XIII 621f. (both words); PDM xiv 686 = PGM XIVc 21; Daniel and Maltomini 1990–92 no. 45 l. 28; with Graf 1997, 128.

The creation of new techniques

It seems clear that Egyptian priestly interest in the functioning of *onomata*, insofar as we have any authentic knowledge of it through Origen, Iamblichus, Proclus and the Chaldaean Oracles, relates to a purely 'internal' matter, the explanation of the power of magical incantation. Such speculation provided an implicit justification for the arduous task of learning to combine nominally fixed phrases in sunken Egyptian (*logoi*), regular epithets for specific divinities, which may include Greek, and extempore, 'spontaneous' utterances, which are the main elements of the sequences we find in the papyri, as in the 'third-day compulsion' to invoke the power of the constellation of the Great Wain in a recipe in the Great Paris codex: ἀντιβερῶνρτω ερεμνεθηχωρ/χνυχιροαντωρ μενελεοχευ· ηεσ/σιπο δωτηρ ευαρτω γου πι φυλακή/ωμαλαμινγορ μαντατονχα.⁵⁰ Such questions have nothing to do with a Greek stereotype of the magician. No less internal to the private world of the magician are the innovations in practice to which we now turn.

Despite the clear evidence for generic differences, spells in the magical papyri generally contain two elements. They consist of (1) the preparation of *materia magica*, and (2) an accompanying incantation, whose function is either to activate the inherent properties of the material, or to invoke a named divinity and his or her metamorphs. Although the balance between these elements is variable, we may call this the tacit or implicit model of good practice, a model whose appropriateness was learned by practitioners in the course of their training.⁵¹

As an illustration, we may take a forcible erotic spell from the Demotic London-Leiden papyrus, PDM xiv 636–69, which is apparently intended to cause a prostitute to fall in love with a client, assumed to be identical with the practitioner. It involves the ritual preparation of a scarab-beetle, which is to be held in the hand up to the Sun, drowned in the milk of a black cow, and then dried.⁵²

⁵⁰ PGM IV 1296–99.

⁵¹ 'Généralement ces formules "à dire" sont suivies de quelque chose qui est "à faire", c'est-à-dire le rite manuel': Koenig 1994, 57; cf. Étienne 2000, 46–51. Ritner 1993, 67, goes too far in claiming, 'It is in the rite—and not the spell—that the essence of Egyptian magic is to be sought'; compare Borghouts 1978, ix, 'The spells are the *verbalized* core matter of the rite'.

⁵² Recto col. XXI, lines 10–43; briefly discussed by Richman (1940/46, 54). On

The practitioner severs the scarab longitudinally and manufactures a pill from the right half, pounded up with apple-seeds and his urine or sweat and the heated nail-parings of his right hand and foot. The left half of the scarab is then made into an amulet, which is to be bound to one's left arm. When all is ready, the pill is slipped into a cup of wine, and given the woman to drink down before sexual intercourse takes place. But these ritual steps are in themselves meaningless. Each significant stage of the process, the presentation of the beetle, the drowning, the cooking, the dropping into the wine, is accompanied by a specific incantation which refers the action to a divine context, mainly by means of *historiolae*, allusions to mythical events, but also incorporating subsidiary devices such as 'false accusation' or 'slander'.⁵³

Although some details of the ritual preparation of the *materia magica*, particularly the apple-seeds, the heating of the nail-parings in a vessel without oil or water, and the right-left contrast,⁵⁴ have a clear semantic or ostensive value within an erotic context, the aim of the rite is properly signalled by the incantations: 'I am sending you against NN whom NN bore, to strike her from her heart to her belly, from her belly to her intestines, from her intestines to her womb'; 'until fire is put after her heart, the flame after her flesh, until she goes to NN'; 'in order that every burning, every heat, every fire in which you are today, you will make them in the heart, the lungs, the liver, the spleen . . . of NN . . . until she goes to . . .'; 'put madness after her heart, fever after her flesh . . .'.

We may take this bipartite construction as an ideal form realised in many extant spells, but it is in fact merely one favoured option among many. Demotic and Graeco-Egyptian spells can be placed on a continuum between the notionally contrastive poles of exclusive use of material on the one hand, and utterance on the other.

the relation between scarab (*hpr*) and the various manifestations of the Sun, esp. Khopri, (and Osiris, as here) in the late period and the magical papyri, see Hopfner 1913, 158f.; Sicherl 1937, 60–73.

⁵³ On *historiolae*, see recently Frankfurter 1995; on slander as a generic device in the magical papyri, see still Eitrem 1924.

⁵⁴ I take it that the separation of left from right is intended to signify the creation of a lack or absence, which can only be made good by the fulfilment of the spell. At the same time, the practitioner/client's retention of the left-hand parings (left is usually associated with the female) implies the man's total domination over the woman's will. By ingesting material from the right (the male side), she loses her specific identity as an autonomous (female) person.

These options are however unequally represented in our surviving texts. Whereas a few simple recipes consist solely of *materia magica*,⁵⁵ there is a marked tendency in the more elaborate Graeco-Egyptian spells for reference to *materia magica* to become perfunctory or even to be omitted entirely in favour of elaborate incantations and/or 'hymns'.⁵⁶ The implication of this unequal distribution is that language was tacitly taken to be the major determinative element in elevated or ritual magical practice.⁵⁷ Although this assumption is linked to generic rules, it must have been grounded on two considerations. First, that it is almost entirely through language that sufficient weight of mythical reference can be accumulated to give a spell the force required to bring about changes in the world. *Materia magica* has only the looser force of connotation. Second, that knowledge of divine names, which is crucial to the effectiveness of *hk*³, can only be displayed by utterance, or its fixed analogue, writing.

The nature of our texts, composed as they are of materials from various earlier sources and no doubt different temple (and other) locations, means that it is extremely difficult to trace innovations in magical technique.⁵⁸ But there are additional features of the spells in the papyri, which cannot be caught by the image of the continuum between substance and incantation, which have suggestive implications. I take first the formal devices.

⁵⁵ E.g. PDM xiv 1090–96; 1130–40 (frg.); 1182–87; 1190–93; 1206–18; xli 58–62; 128–47 (all amatory); 716–49; xli 43–48–57 ('medical'); PGM VII 186–96.

⁵⁶ E.g. PGM I 42–195; 195–222; III 282–409; IV 94–153; 154–285; 850–929; 930–1114; 1115–66; 1167–1226; 1390–1495; 1496–1595; 1716–1870; 2241–2358; 2622–2707; 2708–84; 2785–890; 3007–86; V 96–172; 370–446; VI 1–47; VII 981–93; 1017–26; VIII 1–63; the three *praxeis* of XIII. Some, but by no means a majority, of these recipes are for divinatory purposes, a genre which evidently required little in the way of *materia magica*.

⁵⁷ Although Ritner rightly warns against the modern tendency to identify Egyptian magic with the written spells (1993, 35–38), the implication of the elaborate ritual *praxeis* of the papyri is that the House of Life priests themselves tended to do so in the Roman period. To what extent this development might be related to the influence of theurgy it is impossible to say.

⁵⁸ Of *materia magica* it may be true that 'what governs the invention of new recipes is by and large a fairly simple type of analogical reasoning' (Dickie 1999, 184), but incantations are much more difficult to analyse.

The manipulation of text

Formal devices in the magical papyri are virtually always means of representing *onomata*, and gain part of their effect by rejecting the normal rule by which such 'names' are written out from left to right according to the conventional orthographic rules in Greek, a rule which was undoubtedly held to replicate their recitation in a particular sequence of a certain duration. Formal devices regularly found in the magical papyri include palindromes and (much more rarely) anagrams, *charaktêres* (letters in non-standard script), and a variety of devices which are, like those word-games, wholly visual in their effect: most commonly, lists of individual *onomata* arranged vertically (like a shopping-list), called a 'rectangle' (*plinthion*, lit. 'little brick'); 'slope' (*klîma*), a vowel-sequence or palindrome in the form of a triangle; 'heart' or 'bunch of grapes' (*kardia*, *botrys*), the same type of figure inverted; and 'wing' (*pterygion*), which is, as it were, half a 'hearts' cut off down the centre line—a right-angled triangle standing on its smallest angle (Fig. 1).⁵⁹ Very occasionally other forms occur, such as the diagram at the head of col. XIX of *P.Leid.* J 395 of sequences of vowels to be recited in the six different cardinal directions (including heavenward and earthward).⁶⁰

κ ι σ ι φ θ η	ι	ε ρ ε κ ι σ ι φ θ η	ε ρ ε κ ι σ ι φ θ η
κ ι σ ι φ θ η	σ ι φ	ρ ε κ ι σ ι φ θ	ρ ε κ ι σ ι φ θ η
κ ι σ ι φ θ η	ι σ ι φ θ	ε κ ι σ ι φ	ε κ ι σ ι φ θ η
κ ι σ ι φ θ η	κ ι σ ι φ θ η	κ ι σ ι	κ ι σ ι φ θ η
κ ι σ ι φ θ η	ρ ε κ ι σ ι φ θ η	ι σ	ι σ ι φ θ η
κ ι σ ι φ θ η	ε ρ ε κ ι σ ι φ θ η	ι	σ ι φ...

1. The four main types of magical figure (from 1.): 'rectangle', 'slope', 'heart', 'wing'.

⁵⁹ On formal devices, see briefly Dornseiff 1925, 63–67. Later writers, including Deonna 1944, do not add significantly to his points. Interestingly enough, Hopfner did not see fit to discuss them at all in Hopfner 1921/1974, though he devoted a great deal of space to the *onomata*. The terms for the formal shapes are conveniently listed by Kotansky 1994, 202f. on no. 37. Most recently on *charaktêres*, Maltomini 1998, 73–80 with the bibliography in n. 239; in Arabic magic: Winkler 1930.

⁶⁰ *PGM XIII* 836–42 with Daniel 1991, 68f.; cf. Hopfner 1921/1974 §774. Though they are printed by Preisendanz-Henrichs in an interesting 'offset' form, the subsequent vowel sequences at the end of col. XX (lines 905–911) in the same text are in fact written as quite ordinary 'bricks' in three columns: see photo and text in Daniel 1991, 70f.

Virtually nothing is known of the origins of these devices. From the facts that palindromes do not occur in Egyptian magic, and there are only three examples of palindromes in the surviving Demotic magical papyri, all of which are in fact 'Greek', we can conclude that the idea of constructing *onomata* as palindromes was Greek. This is also the likeliest inference from the cumbersome manner in which the instruction is given in one of these Demotic cases: 'You should utter this great name after all these; you should utter it from beginning to end and from end to beginning, four times'.⁶¹ None of the scraps of the earliest surviving receptaries (late first century BC–first century AD) contain any such devices.⁶² The earliest example, which combines a palindrome (*Ablanathanalba*) with a 'heart', occurs on an ostrakon from Medinet Madi in the Fayyûm, dated I/II^p, possibly in a medical connection.⁶³ The earliest surviving complex palindrome (Ιαωβαφρ...) is written in the form of a 'rectangle' in the instructions for making a *lamella* against pain in the bones and sinews, dated II^p.⁶⁴ The same palindrome occurs as an evidently optional superscription in one of the Matrona *agôgima* (forcible erotic spells) now in Cologne University Museum, which Daniel and Maltomini have down-dated to II–III^p, but which, in my view, their first editor, Dirk Wortmann, more correctly dated somewhat later.⁶⁵ A very similar superscription prefaces a judicial subjugation text on lead from Alexandria attributed to the same date by Daniel and Maltomini but to III^p by Audollent: here the palindrome is ερηκισθφη...⁶⁶ No

⁶¹ PDM xiv 873f. (Johnson's tr. altered slightly). This palindrome is found elsewhere, in *PGM* IV 1941f. and on a gem in the British Museum (56398), Bonner 1952, 203f. The other cases are *Ablanathanalba* in PDM xiv 16, and the *Aberamenthou*-palindrome in a Greek sequence (*PGM* XIVc 24 = PDM xiv 689). In their surviving form, all the Demotic magical papyri are of course fourth-century AD.

⁶² On the notable diversity of these earliest texts, and the possibility that at least Daniel and Maltomini 1990–92 no. 72 = Brashear 1979, was deliberately constructed in the light of both Greek and Egyptian expectations, see now Faraone 2000.

⁶³ Daniel and Maltomini 1990–92 no. 67, who rightly reject Vogliano's idea that the *Schwindelschema* was a 'wing' (Vogliano 1937, 50). The text on the reverse seems to be a list of ingredients for some medical purpose.

⁶⁴ Daniel and Maltomini 1990–92 no. 74 ll. 11–16. The palindrome is broken up into sections, 2 lines of 9 letters, 2 lines of 13, 1 of 10, one of 5. The editors do not note that it is, so far, the earliest known example of a complex palindrome, or a 'rectangle' for that matter. The term 'rectangle' (πλινθιον) appears in *PGM* IV 1304f. with Preisendanz' comment.

⁶⁵ Daniel and Maltomini 1990–92 no. 49 l. 1 with Wortmann 1968, 57f.

⁶⁶ Audollent 1904 no. 38 = Daniel and Maltomini 1990–92 no. 54. The later date is supported by David Jordan.

fewer than four, called 'four fair gods of good repute', are invoked in an unusual spell of the same period to protect a mummy.⁶⁷ Since the same practitioners both provided both medical and malign magical services, we cannot conclude that the practice of creating formal devices spread from one to the other.⁶⁸ Most of the devices appear in the palaeographically earliest surviving complete receptary, *P.Brit.Mus.* CXXI (late III^p), but they are never referred to by means of the concrete terms, 'heart', 'wing' etc. that become available in later papyri. Instead the practitioner provides long-winded instructions to explain what is intended, e.g. 'putting one (*onoma*) on top of the other like a brick' or 'subtracting as you go down'.⁶⁹ A stimulus from Hellenistic 'concrete poetry', the so-called *technopaignia* of Sim(m)ias of Rhodes and others, has often been suspected, but seems on the whole unlikely.⁷⁰

It seems likely that the origin of the practice of constructing (and learning) palindromic *onomata* lay in one of the techniques for creating strings of *onomata* which I have already referred to, the ritual-magical practice of 'babbling', that is, the extempore utterance of words with no known referent. Even in the fixed form of these preserved in the receptaries, we can occasionally find unintended palindromes, which have no significance as such, for example the sequence αθαλλαθα within the 'phrase' αλθακα ειαθαλλαθα σαλαιοθ.⁷¹ Given that, in the stress of extemporaneous composition, practitioners must unconsciously have had recourse to one of the primary techniques of literacy, the lists of syllables that as young men they had had to learn by heart, and the obvious value of reversing such sequences in creating continuous utterance, unintended palindromes must have been frequent. Once this feature had been noted, the deliberate creation of palindromes was an obvious step. But they were never common: there are less than thirty relatively complex examples in the corpus, and the great majority of examples are of one of the five

⁶⁷ *PGM* LIX 5–10, from the Fayyûm (II–III^p).

⁶⁸ It is commonly, though mistakenly, thought that the 'heart' is intended to denote the disappearance of the fever, disease etc. At best, this is a secondary evocation, for example in the fever charms Daniel and Maltomini 1990–92 nos. 3 ll. 7–13; 9 l. 1–9; 11 ll. 1–8, or the highly original schema against sore throat: *ibid.* no. 1 with their excellent commentary (all dated by them III^p or III–IV^p).

⁶⁹ *PGM* VII 656 and 220, in each case S. Eitrem brilliantly provided the required emendation (resp. 1923, 16; 15).

⁷⁰ Cf. Lenz 1954; Wojaczek 1969; Ernst 1991.

⁷¹ *PGM* XXXVI 107.

'great' palindromes, which occur well over one hundred times and are often abbreviated to 'the so-and-so *logos*'.⁷²

Although at least the 'grand' palindromes, and probably the others, were learned by heart, they cannot have been composed as palindromes in the head: the reverse half of any palindrome, and certainly any as complex as these examples containing up to 59 letters, must have been created by being written out and inspected. Since the palindrome cannot be verified aurally, they were in the first place visual devices and only secondarily acoustic ones. The palindrome is one clear sign of a growing dominance of the written over the spoken incantation. The geometric formal devices are another sign: they can only be appreciated on the page. In this case too, we may suspect that their ultimate origin lies in the ritual utterance of vowel sounds, sequences of which are so common among the *onomata* (and which once again could only be written down—as opposed to learned by imitation—in Greek). 'Slopes' are only found in relation to dynamic vowel sequences (each vowel from α repeated once more than its predecessor).⁷³ 'Rectangles' may have been inspired by the figure of anaphora, which often occurs in these texts,⁷⁴ and which is a device of 'natural' rhetoric as well as of art; but its great advantage when used as a written device was that it laid out the several *onomata* to view instead of setting them in a conventional sequence across the page.

Invented scripts, in this case primarily *charaktères* (Fig. 2), are among the commonest devices of literate and quasi-literate magicians everywhere. Sometimes their use simply registers the gap between the cultural prestige of ordinary local writing and its social dissemination: in these cases cabbalistic signs merely mark the exclusion of magical practitioners from competent literacy. But that is not the case with the Graeco-Egyptian papyri, whose practitioners were certainly in general literate and in some cases learned members of a traditional religious caste. These signs seem also to have emerged during the late second-early third century AD (they are at any rate

⁷² E.g. *PGM* IV 181; 1999f.; 3071f.

⁷³ E.g. Daniel and Maltomini 1990–92 no. 7 (III^p), protective amulet; *PGM* V 79–90 (to catch a thief), where the vowels are called 'fearsome'.

⁷⁴ Good examples in the 'Great Angelic hierarchy' amulets: *PGM* XXXV; Kotansky 1994 no. 52 (the Beirut amulet); the recently-published *lamella Bernensis* (Gelzer et al. 1999). Kotansky aptly cites the sequence of angels invoked in *P.Paris.* 2316 ap. Reitzenstein 1904, 297f.



2. Uterus-amulet (II–IIIrd) with an *ouroboros* enclosing 10 *charaktères*.
From: Zwierlein-Diehl 1992, no. 23, pl. 16.

absent from the earliest papyri), and constitute an 'open' series.⁷⁵ One can distinguish between a small number—around a dozen—which occur in virtually the same form very widely, in amulets, receptaries and 'activated' texts, and which were certainly learned as part of the practitioners' training, and a wider group of around thirty basic shapes. The great majority of individual signs—and there are well over one thousand—occur only once or twice, where the repetition is generally in the same context. In other words, the great majority are signs invented *ad hoc*, on the basis of a knowledge of Greek, hieratic and demotic. The practitioners learned how to apply a small number of techniques of 'Verfremdung' to the basic thirty shapes, but were also free to make up their own signs. Once again, the significance of *charaktères* is that, irrespective of whether in each case they constitute a code and could therefore have been read back by the practitioner who composed them, they can only be appreciated visually. They imply a magical text that is interesting and powerful in itself, as a document and not merely as a record of a rite.

This notion of a text powerful in its own right can be illustrated by means of a number of interestingly original productions, of which I here select four. In two examples on lead sheet from North Africa, both *defixiones* against charioteers, the entire text has been composed so as to create an allusion to formal operations.⁷⁶ The first (Fig. 3) is one of a series created by the same practitioner found in a grave at Bir ez Zitoun at Carthage, and, like them, is a long curse written in Greek so as to recall a 'wing', but on a massively larger scale than any surviving from Egypt itself.⁷⁷ The 'wing' has been creatively

⁷⁵ As far as I can tell, the earliest *charaktères* yet found occur at the end of Daniel and Maltomini 1990–92 no. 38, which they date to II^p, but this may be yet another case in which their dating is too low—the original editor dated it III–IV^p. *Charaktères* appear in none of Kotansky's amulets on metal dated by him prior to III^p, with two exceptions, nos. 46 (Syria) and 62 (Tunisia), both dated II–III^p. The dating of amulets on stone is not precise enough to allow conclusions on this point.

⁷⁶ I do not pursue here the question of the relation between the practitioners in the North African cities, and elsewhere in the Mediterranean (e.g. Athens, Corinth, Rhodes, Amathous in Cyprus) and the ritual experts of Egyptian temples. Jordan 1994, 123f. has indeed urged that the formularies used outside Egypt probably in fact originated there. For my purposes, it is enough to say that the practice of ritual magic outside Egypt shares many features with the magical papyri.

⁷⁷ *CIL* VIII 12508 = Audollent 1904 no. 237, which belongs to the series nos. 234–42. The date is probably III^p. Kotansky 1994, 202 no. 37 (II–III^p) is an interesting amulet from Ephesus, in which a 'wing' has been created on the basis of an initial string of 17 vowels, to create a figure whose main interest may have been that it includes 153 vowels.

ΕΞΟΡΚΙΖΩΣCENEKYΔΑΙΜΩΝΑΥΡΕΟCΤΙCΠΟΤΟΥΝΕΙΚΑΤΑΤΩΝΚΡΑΤΑΙΩΝ
 ΟΝΟΜΑΤΩΝCΑΛΒΑΛΒΑΘΒΑΛΑΥΘΓΕΡΩΤΑΒΑΛΒΑCΥΘΑΤΕΩΑ/////////
 ///ΧΑΤΑΔΗCΟΝΤΟΥCΙΠΠΟΥCΩΝΤΑΟΝΟΜΑΤΑCΟΙΚΑΙΤΑC
 ///ΙΔΑΙΑCΕΝΤΟΥΤΩΤΩCΚΕΥΕΙΠΑΡΑΚΑΤΑΤΙΘΗΜΕΡ////ΕΙΛΟΥΑΝΟΝ
 CΕΡΟΥΑΤΟΝΔΟΥΕΖΕΦΥΡΟΝΒΑΑΝΔΟΝΙΜΒΡΑΙΟΝΔΕΙCΥΙΤΕΜΑΡΙCΚΟΝ
 ΡΑΠΙΔΟΝΟΡΙΕΝΤΕΑΡΒΟΥCΤΟΝΤΩΝΟΥΕΝΕΤΙΑΝΩΝΗΜΗ/////////
 ΑΗΝΩΝΕΠΑΙΖΟΝΤΕΧΡΥCΑCΠΙΝΑΡΓΟΥΤΟΝΔΗΡΕΙCΩΡΕ
 ΦΡΟΥΓΙΦΕΡΟΝΕΥΦΡΑΤΗΝCΑΝΤΟΝΑΙΘΙΟΠΕΠΡΑΙΚΛΑΡΟΝΚΑ
 ΤΑΔΗCΟΝΑΥΤΟΙCΤΟΝΔΡΟΜΟΝΤΗΝΔΥΝΑΜΙΝΤΗΝΤΥΧΗΝΤ
 ΗΝΟΡΜΗΝΤΗΝΤΑΧΥΤΗΤΑΑΦΕΛΕΑΥΤΩΝΤΗΝΝΕΙΚ
 ΟΝΑΥΤΟΙCΤΟΥCΠΟΔΑCΕΚΚΟΥΟΝΕΚΝΕΥΡΩCΟΝ
 ΑΥΤΟΥCΙΝΑΜΗΔΥΝΑCΘΩCΙΝΤΗΑΥΡΙΟΝΗΜΕΡΑΕΝΤ
 ΩΙΠΠΟΔΡΟΜΩΜΗΔΕΤΡΕΧΕΙΝΜΗΔΕΠΕΡΙΠΑΤΕΙΝΜΗΔ
 ΕΝΕΙΚΗCΑΙΜΗΔΕΕΒΕΛΘΕΙΝΤΟΥCΠΥΛΩΝΑCΤΩΝΙΠ
 ΠΑΦΙΩΝΜΗΤΕΠΡΟΒΑΙΝΕΙΝΤΗΝΑΡΙΑΝΜΗΤΕΤΟΝ
 CΠΑΤΙΟΝΑΜΑΠΕCΕΤΩCΑΝCΥΝΤΟΙCΙΔΙΟΙCΗΝΙΟΧΟΙC
 ΕΥΠΡΕΠΗΤΕΤΟΥΤΕΛΕCΦΟΡΟΥΤΟΝΚΑΙΓΕΝΤΙΟΝΚΑΙ
 ΦΗΛΕΙΚΕΚΑΙΔΙΟΝΥCΙΟΝΤΟΝΑΡΔΑΚΝΟΝΤΑΚΑΙΛΑ
 ΜΥΡΟΝΕΠΙΤΑCCΟΥCΙΝΦΑΡCΟΙΑΜΥΗΚΑΡΚΤΗΡΕΡ
 ΧΟΝCΟΙΡΑΖΑΑΒΥΑΔΡΥΕΝΕΦΙCΙΝΟΙΝΙCΘΕΡΓΑ
 ΒΗΦΥΡΟΡΒΗΘΚΑΤΑΔΗCΟΝΤΟΥCΙΠΠΟΥCΩΝΤΑΟΝΟΜ
 ΑΤΑCΟΙΚΑΙΤΑCΙΔΑΙΑCΠΑΡΑΚΑΤΑΤΕΘΗΚΑ
 ΕΝΤΟΥΤΩΤΩCΚΕΥΕΙΡΟCΘΕΟΝCΙΛΟΥΑΝΟΝCΕΡ
 ΟΥΑΤΟΝΔΟΥΕΖΕΦΥΡΟΝΒΑΑΝΔΟΝΙΜΒΡΑΙ
 ΟΝΔΕΙCΥΙΤΕΜΑΡΙCΚΟΝΡΑΠΙΔΟΝΟΡΙΕΝΤΕΑΡΒΟ
 ΥCΤΟΝΚΑΙΤΩΝΟΥΕΝΕΤΙΑΝΩΝΗΜΙΟΝ
 ΤΕΔΙΓΝΟΝΑΗΝΩΝΕΠΑΙΖΟΝΤΕΧΡΥCΑCΠΙΝ
 ΑΡΓΟΥΤΟΝΔΗΡΕΙCΩΡΕΦΡΟΥΓΙΦΕΡΟΝΕΥΦ
 ΡΑΤΗΝCΑΝΚΤΟΝΝΑΙΘΙΟΠΕΠΡΑΙΚΛΑΡΟΝΚΑΤΑ
 ΔΗCΟΝΑΥΤΟΙCΤΟΝΔΡΟΜΟΝΤΗΝΔΥΝΑ
 ΜΙΝΤΗΝΤΥΧΗΝΤΗΝΟΡΜΗΝΤΗΝΤΑΧΥΤΗ
 ΤΑΑΦΕΛΕΑΥΤΩΝΤΗΝΝΕΙΚΗΝΕΜΠ
 ΟΔΙCΟΝΑΥΤΟΙCΤΟΥCΠΟΔΑCΕΚΚΟΥΟΝΕ
 ΚΝΕΥΡΩCΟΝΑΥΤΟΥCΙΝΑΜΗΔΥΝΑCΘΩ
 CΙΝΤΗΑΥΡΙΟΝΗΜΕΡΑΕΝΤΩΙΠΠΟΔΡΟΜ
 ΩΜΗΔΕΤΡΕΧΕΙΝΜΗΔΕΠΕΡΙΠΑΤ
 ΕΙΝΜΗΔΕΝΕΙΚΗCΑΙΜΗΔΕΕΒΕΛ
 ΘΕΙΝΤΟΥCΠΥΛΩΝΑCΤΩΝΙΠΠΑ
 ΦΙΩΝΜΗΤΕΠΡΟΒΑΙΝΕΙΝΤΗΝΑ
 ΡΙΑΝΜΗΤΕΚΥΚΛΕΥCΑΙΤΟΥCΚΑΜ
 ΠΤΗΡΑCΑΜΑΠΕCΕΤΩCΑΝCΥΝ
 ΤΟΙCΙΔΙΟΙCΗΝΙΟΧΟΙCΕΥΠΡΕ
 ΠΗΤΕΤΟΥΤΕΛΕCΦΟΡΟΥΓΕΝΤΙΟΝ
 ΚΑΙΦΗΛΕΙΚΕΚΑΙΔΙΟΝΥCΙΟΝΤΟ
 ΝΑΠΟΔΑΚΝΟΝΤΑΚΑΙΛΑΜΥΡΟΝ
 ΚΑΤΑΔΗCΟΝΑΥΤΟΙCΤΑCΚΕΙ
 ΡΑCΑΦΕΛΕΑΥΤΩΝΤΗΝΝ
 ΕΙΚΗΝΤΟΝΑΠΟΒΑCΙΝΚΑΙ
 ΤΗΝΟΡΑCΙΝΙΝΑΜΗΔΥΝΑC
 ΘΩCΙΝΒΛΕΠΕΙΝΤΟΥ
 CΙΔΙΟΥCΑΝΤΙΠΛΑΟΥC
 ΗΝΙΟΧΟΥΝΤΕCΑΜΑ
 ΜΑΛΛΟΝΑΡΜΑCΟΝΑΥ
 ΤΟΥCΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝ
 ΑΡΜΑΤΩΝΚΑΙCΤ
 ΡΕΥΟΝΕΠΙΤΗΝΓ
 ΗΝΙΝΑΠΕCΕΤΩ
 CΑΝΜΟΝΟΙΕΜ
 ΠΑΝΤΙΤΟΠΩΤΟΥ
 ΙΠΠΟΔΡΟΜΟ
 ΥCΥΡΟΜΕΝΟΙ
 ΜΑΛΙCΤΑΔ
 ΕΕΝΤΟΙCΚΑΜ
 ΠΤΗΡCΙΝ
 ΜΕΤΑΒΛΑ
 ΒΗCΤΟΥ
 CΩΜΑΤΟ
 C CΥΝ
 ΤΟΙCΙΠΠ
 ΟΙC ΟΥC
 ΕΛΑΥΝ
 ΟΥ
 CΙΝΗΔΗ
 ΤΑ
 ΥΑ

3. Curse against charioteers from Carthage (III^p) composed in the form of a 'wing': Audollent 1904 no. 237.

misunderstood: instead of being constructed by omitting one letter from the same *onoma* or palindrome in each succeeding line, a normal curse-text has been written out to create a wedge-shape, presumably so as to transfer the power associated with the 'wing' to the text as a whole. The second *defixio* (Fig. 4) is also one of series, this time from Hadrumetum (Sousse in E. Tunisia), again evidently created by the same practitioner.⁷⁸ In this case *charaktêres* have been arranged so as to form 'knots' so as visually to bind or 'catch' the horses and their charioteers, thus secondarily reproducing the intention of the explicit maledictions. The curse is broken into distinct blocks of text: first the principals, Privatianus Superstianus and his six co-charioteers, and then 43 horses, each named and pursued by the word *cadant*. In the centre of the lead tablet, the *charaktêres* isolate two lines of text, which return to some of the principals who must have been considered particularly dangerous by the client. The whole is surrounded, as in a knot, by another version of the main curse: *Obligatē et gravatē equos venetī et russei, ne currere possint nec frenis audire possint nec se mo(v)ere possint, set cadant, frangant, dis[f]rangantur . . .* (ll. 29–31). Although *charaktêres* were indeed considered powerful, and are sometimes arranged on either side of a central motif, this is again an original transposition of the dominant conception of their use so as visually to reinforce the message.⁷⁹

The other two texts, whose compositions consist wholly of formal designs, are also written on lead sheets, but are somewhat later. The first, which 'prefaces' a version of the well-known *philtrokatadesmos* in PGM IV 296–466, combines three of the four commonest formal devices.⁸⁰ A massive 'heart' of 30 lines based on the palindrome

⁷⁸ Audollent 1904 no. 275, dated cautiously by him to II^p; the others in the series are nos. 276–84, and AE 1907: 68f. Hadrumetum, like Carthage, was a well-known centre of chariot-racing: a well-known mosaic found in 1960 shows over 100 named horses: Foucher 1964, 163 (b 550).

⁷⁹ Examples of *charaktêres* arranged alongside a central motif include PGM IV 409–34 (omitted by Preisendanz), VII 930–39 (immediately above the coffin of Osiris, Fig. 5 below); XXXVI 50–66; XLIX; Kotansky 1994, 370 no. 62 (fig. 61); Audollent 1904 no. 245; arranged horizontally with text between: Kotansky 1994, 83 no. 18 (fig. 20); *ibid.* 334 no. 58 (fig. 57); Jordan 1996, 116f. no. 2 (malign magic). There are several similar texts at Carthage, albeit with *onomata* not *charaktêres*, e.g. Audollent 1904 nos. 233, 244, 252.

⁸⁰ Martínez 1991 = Daniel and Maltomini 1990–92 no. 48. They date it to II–III^p on unspecified palaeographic grounds; in my view Martínez' date, III/IV^p, is more likely to be correct. Daniel and Maltomini do not observe that their proposed date would make this complex figure by far the earliest example known—all the others are (late) III^p, mainly IV^p.

[illegible][illegible]

5. Complex formal design from the forcible love spell (*agogimon*) in *PMich.* 6925 (?III–IV^p); Daniel and Maltomini 1990–92 no. 48.

ευλαμω
υλαμωε
λαμωευ
αμωεϋλ
μωεϋλα
ωεϋλαμ

ναί, κύριε, *εικισρω ειει* φερμου Χνουωρ Αβρασαξ Φγουννοβοηλ

οχλοβαζαρω

διὰ τὸ ἅγιον	ερηκισιθφηαραραχααραηφθισικηρε	
ὄνομα Ιωβεξεβυθ	ρηκισιθφηαραραχααραηφθισικηρ	
βύθιε Ζεῦ	ηκισιθφηαραραχααραηφθισικη	
ιωβαριαμβω	κιισιθφηαραραχααραηφθισικ	οπλομυρτιλοπλη[ξ]
μερμεριου Αβρασαξ	ισιθφηαραραχααραηφθισι	εξανακερωγ[ιθα]
ευλαμω	ικηρεαραραχααραηφθισ	λαμψαμερω
ευλαμ ωμαλυε	ικηρεαραραχααραηφθισ	λαμψαμαζων
ευλα μαλυ ευλαμω	κηρεαραραχααραηφθ	βαρυμ Ιαω [?
[ευ]λ αλ υλαμω	φηαραραχααραηφ	οπλομυρτιλοπληξ
[ε]υ α λαμω	ηαραραχααραη	αναχαζα
ε αμω	αραραχααρα	εξανακερωνιθα
μω	αραραχααρα	αναξαρναξα
ω	αραχααραρρ	κερασφακερωνας
κατάσχεται τὸν θυμόν, τὴν	αχααρα	φαμεταθασμαξααρανα
ὀργὴν Παωμίου, ὃν ἔτεκεν	ρχαρ	βαρυμ Ιαω ιακινθου
ἡ Τιςᾶτε, ἥδη ἥδη,	α	κατάσχεται τὴν ὀργήν, τὸν
ταχύ ταχύ.		θυμόν Παώμιτος, ὃν ἔτεκεν
		ἡ Τιςᾶτε, ἥδη ἥδη, ταχύ ταχύ.

6. Complex formal design from an Egyptian 'restrainer' (thumokatochon), IV^B):
Daniel and Maltomini 1990–92 no. 57.

ιαεωβαφρε . . . is flanked by two symmetrical 'wings' composed of the most popular of all *logoi*, *Ablanathanalba achrammachamarei*.⁸¹ Near each of these is a much smaller 'heart' composed of the seven vowels, running from l. to r. on the left, and inversely on the right. This core composition is flanked on either side by extremely elongated 'rectangles'; that on the l. is mainly composed of 4–5 vowel permutations, the two on the r. of vowel pairs, many of them 'twins' (the same vowel repeated).⁸² The incantation itself, which commences with the αβεραμενθω-palindrome, occupies the block of text below this 'preface', but carries on into the smaller block on the upper r. of the lead tablet. The core of the second design, which forms the centre-piece, not the 'preface', to a *thumokatochon*, a spell to prevent a man named Paômis from successfully prosecuting the client, is also a large 'heart', composed of the ερηκισιθφη-palindrome.⁸³ It is surmounted by a ευλαμω-'rectangle'; the same 'name' recurs, in different variants, in the small 'heart' and 'wings' on the l. The block of text on the r., which accompanies the receding slope of the main 'heart', is composed entirely of *onomata*. The design incorporates résumés of the request, which has already been expressed at the beginning, and is repeated twice at the end of the text, r. and l. at the base.

Although such complex designs cannot compare with the enormously elaborate drawings of Arabic and Hindu magic, they are clearly comparable efforts. It may well be that they are ways of re-inventing in a Greek medium the irrecoverable 'total textuality' of hieroglyphic rites, with their fusion of writing, drawing and showing. Their main interest in the present context, it seems to me, is that they refuse the ordinary rule that what can be written can be read (aloud). There are no possible rules for the correct phonic reproduction of such designs: they are a means precisely of 'imbricating' *onomata* in the manner referred to by Iamblichus, of so combining different utterances with geometrical shapes that a kind of choral

⁸¹ It is worth noting that the version of the spell in the great Paris codex also contains a large 'heart', but it is an altogether simpler affair, flanked by vocalic 'rectangles' and *caractères* (PGM IV 409–34). None of the other surviving versions contains such figures.

⁸² The 'rectangles' on the r. also contain two consonants, if they have been correctly read.

⁸³ Collart 1930 = Daniel and Maltomini 1990–92 no. 57. The illustration is reproduced from Collart's publication.

polyphony is generated, each shape insisting as it were on its own melody but also contributing to the overall 'sound'.⁸⁴

Except in the case of protective amulets in semi-precious stone, which were carried on the person as rings or round the arm, neck or thigh, the impulse to develop these formal devices owed nothing to popular conceptions of the magician. For they were not visible: they were employed in the composition of written documents which were intended only to be seen or 'read' by their divine recipients—all of these instances I have cited were buried. In my view, they are again devices purely internal to the magician's quest to increase and refine his magical power within the context of his preconceptions and self-image. Their deployment is an expression of the desire to fill out, to dominate, the space that alone belonged utterly to the ritual practitioner, the empty sheet of papyrus or metal on which he wrote. They are answers to a constantly recurrent question: how can I most effectively influence my addressee?

Images

The second type of innovation I wish to discuss here relates to images. Many of the prescriptions in the Graeco-Egyptian receptaries call for diagrams, drawings, engravings or the manufacture of figurines.⁸⁵ The images are almost invariably those of divinities or powers invoked in the spell or rite. To take an example of each type: a cropped spell probably for a prophetic dream in the longest of the magical papyri in the British Museum indicates the lay-out of an incantation to be written on the palm of the hand in a spiral extending outwards from a sacred ibis (*hby* ~ *Dhwty*, Thoth, as sender of dreams) at the centre.⁸⁶ The 'agôgê of Pitys' in the Great

⁸⁴ Perhaps the finest of all these designs is that in *PGM* XIXa 16–48.

⁸⁵ The fullest discussion is still Hopfner 1921/1974 §§802–18.

⁸⁶ *PGM* VII 300 with plate I fig. 2 = 299 Kenyon (but omitted by him on typographic grounds from his text, p. 94 fn., and shown only in the volume of plates). For the ibis, Sicherl 1937, 167f.; ibises facing in the same direction as here occur on magical amulets, of uncertain purpose, cf. Delatte and Derchain 1964, 150f. nos. 195f.; Philipp 1986, 85f. nos. 119–21 with refs. to other examples. The same receptary contains two other diagrams to show how amulets are to be designed: VII 215–17 (= plate I fig. 1); 930–39 and 940–51 (= pl. I fig. 3), whose appearance in the text is more effectively presented by Kenyon 1893, 91 and 114. Other examples of diagrams are *PGM* X 29–35, again an amulet; and XIII 835–41 and 905–11.

Paris codex requires no less than three drawings of divinities or powers on different materials, ass-hide, a flax-leaf, papyrus, to function as 'spirit carriers'.⁸⁷ The 'Sword of Dardanos' in the same codex requires the figures of Aphrodite, Psyche and Eros to be engraved on a 'magnetic' stone, i.e. a magnetite or a haematite, with an inherent or natural power to attract.⁸⁸ The modelling of a hippopotamus in red wax, into which other items can be inserted, is required by an *oneiopompon*, a spell to send a specific type of dream to a named individual.⁸⁹ These images, whether in two or three dimensions, in some sense laid the divinity or power represented under necessity, and evoke the tradition of Egyptian 'mouth-opening' rituals, by means of which the temple images of the gods were daily brought to life for their tendance. The images concretise the divinity or power (or a metamorph) whose intervention is required by the spell or rite.⁹⁰

Their normal use can be illustrated by means of two examples. The first is a clumsy fusion between two types of spell, for a revelatory dream and for a direct vision of a god.⁹¹ It requires the preparation of a particular perfumed ink, with which the practitioner is to draw a figure on his left hand. This figure (Fig. 7) is to be of a

⁸⁷ *PGM* IV 2006–2125 at 2111–25. The images are not provided in the receptary, but were more or less standard in the Graeco-Egyptian iconographic repertoire, cf. Hopfner 1924/1983–90 §368f. Other recipes requiring drawings of divinities include *PGM* VII 249 (Bes, picture now missing); XII 121–28 (Pantheos); 145f. (Thoth); see further Hopfner 1921/1974 §818.

⁸⁸ *PGM* IV 1722–33. Recipes requiring engravings are common e.g. I 143–47 (Heliôros within an ouroboros on a stone dropped by a passing hawk); IV 2631–33 (Hekate on a magnetic stone); V 238–43 (scarab and an Isis on an emerald); XII 201–07 (Selene within an ouroboros on a blue jasper); see further Hopfner 1921/1974 §817; Bonner 1952, 14f.; Smith 1979; Sfameni forthcoming.

⁸⁹ XIII 308–13. The red hippopotamus may allude to Seth (cf. Griffiths 1970, 490 on Plutarch, *De Iside* 50, 371c8), or to Ipet/Taweret, who was associated in the late period with the protection of sleep. Further examples of the manufacture of figurines are *PGM* IV 1842–52 (Eros of mulberry wood); 1877–93 (wax dog); 2359–67 (wax Hermes); 2378–88 ('little beggar' in wax); VII 866–73 (Egyptian 'Selene' of clay); XII 17–20 (wax Eros and Psyche); for others see Hopfner 1921/1974 §816. Ciruolo 1995, 286f. rightly notes that one might also include other objects here, e.g. a drowned falcon, prepared skulls, even a metal lamella, all of which are prescribed as the vehicle for the production of a divine *paredros*, or agent. Such divine statuettes are quite different from the Egyptian execration images discussed by Ritner 1994, 112–80.

⁹⁰ Hopfner 1921/1974 §805; Koenig 1994, 100–30 ('Pour l'Égyptien, la statue est réellement l'être ou la chose qu'elle représente').

⁹¹ *PGM* VIII 64–110. Another version exists in VII 222–49, cf. Hopfner 1924/1983–90, 288 §185.



7. Drawing of Bes from *P.Brit.Mus.* gr. CXXII, col. 3 = *PGM* VIII 110 seq. (IV^p).

naked man wearing a *basileion*, a royal crown, who in his right hand is holding a sword up against his head, and in his left a staff (*rhabdos*).⁹² The title of the recipe, 'Dream request from Bes', confirms that this is intended as a figure of that deity. Now terracotta figurines of an armed Bes, the dwarf god associated not merely with the protection of childbirth but also, in the late period, with power over the very source of life, are common enough, and our drawing is clearly related to this type, which was created at some time in the Ptolemaic period.⁹³ In the figurines, the god wears a triple ostrich-feather crown, of which the three-pronged '*basileion*' in the drawing is a crude simplification, and his sword is usually long enough to pass in front of the crown, which again the drawing misrepresents. Though some of these figures wear a Roman-type cuirass, the type is generally naked except for a breech-clout, as in the drawing. But the major deviation of the latter from the terracotta type of Bes as warrior is the absence of the round or oval shield held in the left hand, for which the drawing deliberately substitutes a staff of an unrecognisable kind, but which is certainly intended as a *w's* (or a *d'm*) sceptre, often carried by pantheistic Bes images of the late period.⁹⁴ The drawing thus derives its force from its reproduction of one of the central divinities in popular (but not only popular) religion: terracotta figurines of Bes most likely stood in virtually every house, even if they were not regularly used to procure visions or dreams. The practitioner appropriates the power inherent in the figure by drawing it onto his own hand and covering it with the black 'cloth of Isis';⁹⁵ he might well (though this is not in fact here stipulated) have been required to ingest the ink, by licking it off his hand, or washing it off and then drinking the water.⁹⁶

⁹² Lines 105–08; the instructions actually state that the sword is to rest on the neck or throat.

⁹³ The relation between drawing and the terracottas was noted by Hofner 1924/1983–99 §187. Compare Weber 1914, 162 nos. 256–60 with pl. 25; Bayer-Niemeier 1988, 196–98 nos. 427–34; Dunand 1990, 38–41 nos. 30–40; Török 1995, 34–37 nos. 14–18. Although the type is Ptolemaic, Bes as a warrior emerges from the leonine dwarf of the Middle Kingdom whose sobriquet was *w'w* (*Aha*), 'soldier'. The sword connotes the power to ward off evil, and then power *tout court*, cf. Altenmüller 1973.

⁹⁴ E.g. by the pantheistic Bes of the upper register of the reverse of the Metternich stele (IV cent. BC) and the Brooklyn papyrus (see Kákossy and Roccati 1985, 61 fig. 13; 113 fig. 1; also Koenig 1994, 103 and 127), where the *w's* sceptre is also held in the left hand.

⁹⁵ 'Black cloth': cf. Plutarch, *De Iside* 39, 366e2 with Griffiths 1970, 451.

⁹⁶ On ingesting ink in earlier Egyptian magic, see Ritner 1993, 92–102, though

The second example of a drawing occurs in the context of a *thumokatochos*, a spell for allaying someone's wrath, which has been re-edited into a *hypotaktikon*, a spell to subject another to one's will.⁹⁷ The brief incantation, directed to the god Seth, is prefaced by a series of *onomata barbara* enclosing a rectangular box, resting on a snake, and surmounted by two animal heads (Fig. 8). The box almost certainly represents the coffin of Osiris, Plutarch's *lamax*, the box in which he was killed by Seth, and later buried, or which, according to an alternate version, Isis found in Byblos.⁹⁸ The two animal heads are probably those of asses, the animal of Seth, which have been substituted for the images of Re which usually appear on Egyptian images of the coffin (Osiris, the sun-by-night, being his counterpart).⁹⁹ Already in the New Kingdom Seth ceased to be considered exclusively evil, and became a member of the 'crew' of Re's barque, defending Re against the serpent Apophis, the concrete form of the forces of darkness which threaten the Sun on its daily course through the two skies.¹⁰⁰ It is in this capacity that he is often invoked in the magical papyri.¹⁰¹ The snake beneath the coffin is certainly Apophis, so that the drawing evokes the long Egyptian tradition of execrations upon the forces of disorder (which include subjecting Apophis to violent assault and indignity).¹⁰² Indeed, since one of the names of Apophis was *Nk w*, the Vanquished One, we may suspect that the enemies to be subjugated and suppressed by this spell are in a sense represented by the snake, just as in earlier temple ritual spells against Apophis were explicitly directed not just against the Pharaoh but against private enemies.¹⁰³

There are however a number of cases in which this merely evocative use of a divine image gives way to a 'performative' image, as

in my view the form(s) found in the magical papyri are not a mere continuation of these earlier practices.

⁹⁷ PGM VII 940–968.

⁹⁸ Cf. Plutarch, *De Iside* 13, 356bc; 15, 357a; 18, 357f–358a; 39, 366d; found by Seth: 8, 354a. The word σορός, coffin, is elsewhere used for it: 15, 357a6; 16, 357d2; 44, 368d10.

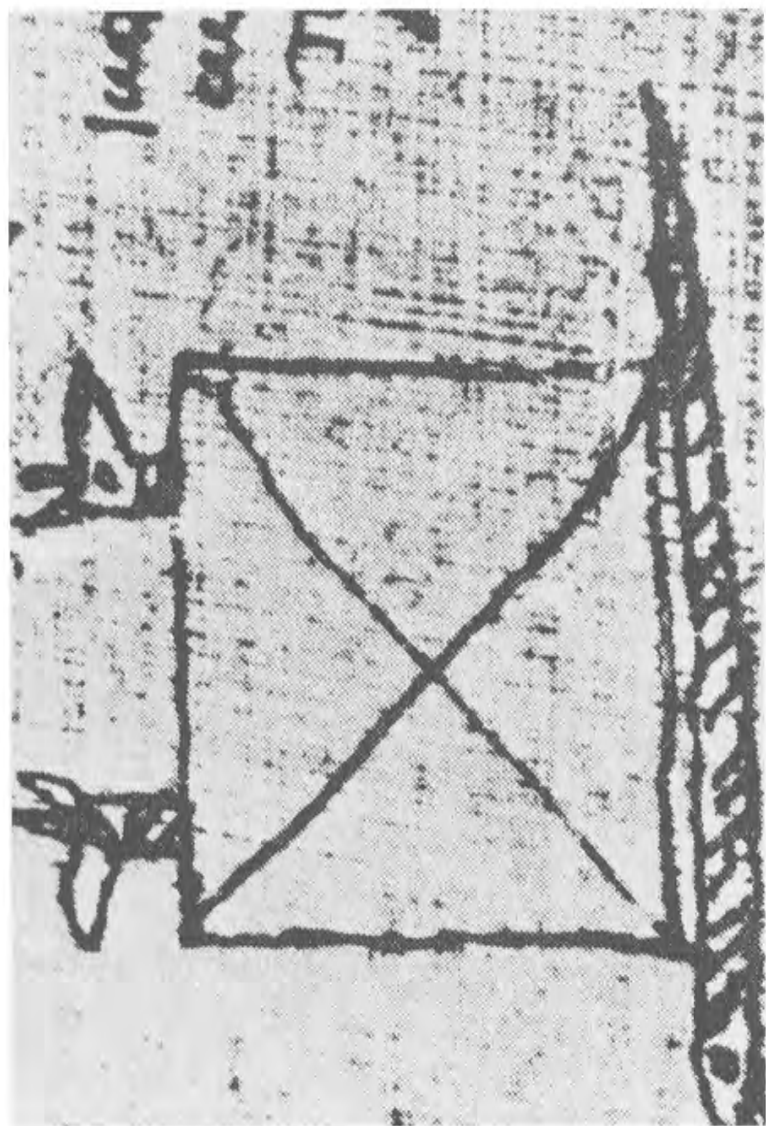
⁹⁹ Cf. Hopfner, 1924/1983–90, 230 §142; Grumach 1970, 170f. This is more likely than the possibility that they represent jackals (Anubis).

¹⁰⁰ Nagel 1929; te Velde 1977, 100f.

¹⁰¹ Fauth 1995, 48.

¹⁰² Koenig 1994, 144–49; Ritner 1995, 161 n. 748, 210–12 (on the last section of the Bremner-Rhind papyrus).

¹⁰³ Ritner 1995, 184f.



8. Drawing of the coffin of Osiris from *P.Brit.Mus.* gr. CXXI, col. 27 = *PGM* VII 942-51 (III/IV^p).

it were, an image which tells the power invoked what he has to do, which proleptically sets in motion the malign intention of the *praxis*. The practitioners who chose to use such images did so in two ways: they either imagined the *daemon* at work on his victim, or they imagined the victim 'caught', either by words or by 'knots'. Good examples of the first option are found in the illustrations to *P.Oslo* 1, which was acquired by Sam Eitrem in 1920 in the Fayyûm, and is the last important and complete magical papyrus to have come to light. One of these, flanked by two large 'hearts', represents an 'angelos' (a *daimôn*), dressed rather like a gladiator, apparently with a cock's head, and walking to the l. (Fig. 9).¹⁰⁴ In his r. hand he carries a large sword upright, in the manner of late antique executioners; in his l., he holds by the hair a human head, attached to a tiny body. The legs are squirming helplessly, trying to reach the ground. This scene surely is inspired indirectly at least by public executions,¹⁰⁵ but its force here is to give guidance to the 'angels' who have been invoked to 'dry up' the body of the victim. In the second, which illustrates a spell for erotic magic, a large squat *daimôn*, apparently headless, again flanked by formal devices ('wings'), walks to the l. (Fig. 10).¹⁰⁶ In his r. hand he seems to hold a whip (not illustrated), and in his l., once again, the victim, all head and hair, helplessly hanging. Here again, the illustration picks up elements of the spell: the woman is to come speeding to the client ἀεροπετουμένην, 'speeding through the air', dried out, hungry, sleepless (the victim's eyes are staring wide).

The second possibility can be illustrated briefly by means of two drawings showing victims without *daimones*: the practitioner's mind is here fully engaged upon the victim, not upon the machinery. One of them, from the Isthmus at Corinth, is from a curse against athletes (Fig. 11).¹⁰⁷ On one side, it depicts four men, Kronion, Seleukos, Epilenaïos and Marcion, each of them overwritten by his name and the word κάτῃχε, 'catch!' or 'seize!', an injunction to the power

¹⁰⁴ *PGM* XXXVI 241–45. The original is in the Oslo University Library. Another of the illustrations, to XXXVI 69–101, certainly shows a cock-headed *daimôn*, but it is an erotic spell.

¹⁰⁵ The *praxis* (231–55) calls for a frog to be slit open, the inscribed lead *lamella* to be folded up and stuffed inside, the frog to be sewn up again and hung up on a reed to dry out in the sun. This must also have some relation, I think, to contemporary executions and the exposure of corpses on gibbets.

¹⁰⁶ *PGM* XXXVI 115–33.

¹⁰⁷ Jordan 1994, 116 no. 5.



9. *Daimôn* invoked for malign magic, carrying off the victim, from *P.Oslo* 1 = *PGM* XXXVI 241–45 (Fayyûm, IV^p).



10. *Daimôn* invoked for erotic magic, dragging the woman, from *P.Oslo* 1 = *PGM* XXXVI 115–33.



11. Drawing of four athletes, overwritten with their names and the word *κάρτεγε*, 'catch' or 'seize', from the Isthmus (?IIIrd); Jordan 1994, 116 no. 3.

invoked (there is a visually-dominant *εὐλαμω*-‘wing’ between the two central runners). The second, from the circus at Carthage, shows a charioteer twisted up and encumbered by ‘knots’, the circles representing diagrammatically the curse being directed at the victim.¹⁰⁸

Once again, these proleptic images were secret, unseen by anyone except the practitioner and his addressee(s). They suggest that it was precisely in malign magic, generally considered the most difficult to perform, that special efforts were felt necessary to increase the force of the text. Whatever interests the priests of the ‘House of Life’ and their imitators elsewhere may have had in social power, in their own self-definition it was their magical power which was crucial, and which they ceaselessly sought, by a variety of means, some of which I have examined here, to increase.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Altenmüller, H., s.v. ‘Bes’, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 1 (1973) 720–24.
 Audollent, A., *Defixionum tabellae* (Paris 1904).
 Bayer-Niemeier, E., *Griechisch-römische Terrakotten. Liebighaus-Museum alter Plastik. Bildwerke der Sammlung Kaufmann*, 1 (Melsungen 1988).
 Betz, H.-D. (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, including the Demotic spells* (Chicago 1986, ²1993).
 Blowers, P., Origen, the Rabbis and the Bible: towards a picture of Judaism and Christianity in third-century Caesarea, in: C. Kannengießer and W. Petersen (eds.), *Origen of Alexandria: his world and his legacy* (South Bend, Indiana 1988) 96–116.
 Bodel, J. (ed.), *Epigraphic Evidence: ancient history from inscriptions* (London 2001).
 Bonner, C., *Studies in Magical Amulets, chiefly Egyptian* (Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series 49, Ann Arbor 1952).
 Borghouts, J.F. (ed., tr.), *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* (Nisaba 9, Leiden 1978).
 Boys-Stones, G.R., *Post-Hellenistic Philosophy: a study in its development from the Stoics to Origen* (Oxford 2001).
 Brashear, W., Ein Berliner Zauberpapyrus, *ZPE* 33 (1979) 261–78.
 —, The Greek Magical Papyri: an introduction and survey; annotated bibliography (1928–94), in: *ANRW* II,18,5 (1995) 3379–3684.
 Ciraolo, L.J., Supernatural Assistants in the Greek Magical Papyri, in: Meyer and Mirecki 1995, 279–95.
 Crippa, S., Entre vocalité et écriture: les voix de la Sibylle et les rites vocaux des magiciens, in: C. Batsch, U. Egelhaaf-Gaiser, R. Stepper (eds.), *Zwischen Krise und Alltag. Conflit et normalité* (Stuttgart 1999) 95–110.
 Cumont, F., *L’Égypte des astrologues* (Paris 1937).
 Daniel, R., *Two Greek Magical Papyri in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden: a photographic edition of J 384 and J 395 (= PGM XII and XIII)* (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Papyrologica Coloniensia 19, Opladen 1991).

¹⁰⁸ Jordan 1988, 129 no. 3 (fig. 2).

- Daniel, R. and Maltomini, F. (edd., comm.), *Supplementum Magicum* (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Papyrologica Coloniensia 16.1–2, Opladen 1990–92).
- Delatte, A. and Derchain, P., *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques (Paris 1964).
- Deonna, W., ABRA, ABRACA: la croix-talisman de Lausanne, *Genava* 22 (1944) 131–33.
- Dickie, M., The Learned Magician and the Collection and Transmission of Magical Lore, in: D.R. Jordan, H. Montgomery, E. Thomassen (eds.), *The World of Ancient Magic: Papers from the first International Samson Eitem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute, Athens 4–8 May 1997* (Bergen 1999) 163–93.
- , *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World* (London and New York 2001).
- Dillon, J., The Magical Power of Names in Origen and Later Platonism, in: *Origeniana tertia. Third Colloquium for Origen Studies, Rome 1981* (Rome 1985) 203–16.
- Dornseiff, F., *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (Στοιχεία: Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Weltbildes und der griechischen Wissenschaft 7, Leipzig and Berlin 1925).
- Dunand, F., *Catalogue des terres cuites gréco-romaines d'Égypte*, Musée du Louvre, Département des antiquités égyptiennes (Paris 1990).
- Eitrem, S., *Les papyrus magiques de Paris* (Skrifter utg. av Videnskapsselskapet i Kristiania, Hist-filos. Kl., 1923, 1, Kristiania 1923).
- Eitrem, S., Die rituelle διαβολή, *SO* 2 (1924) 43–61.
- Ernst, U., *Carmen figuratum. Geschichte des Figurengedichts von den antiken Ursprüngen bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Cologne 1991).
- Étienne, M., *Heka: magie et envoûtement dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Les dossiers du Musée du Louvre 57, Paris 2000).
- Faraone, C., *Ancient Greek Love Magic* (Cambridge, Mass. 1999).
- Faraone, C.A., Handbooks and Anthologies: the collection of Greek and Egyptian incantations in late Hellenistic Egypt, *ARG* 2 (2000) 195–214.
- Fauth, W., *Helios megistos: Zur synkretistischen Theologie der Spätantike* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 125, Leiden 1995).
- Fernández Marcos, N., Motivos judíos en los papiros mágicos griegos, in: Fr. Javier Lomas (prol.), *Religion, Superstición y magia en el mundo romano* (Cadiz 1985) 101–27.
- Foucher, L., *Hadrumetum* (Paris 1964).
- Fowden, G., *The Egyptian Hermes: a historical approach to the late pagan mind* (Cambridge 1986).
- Frankfurter, D., Narrating Power: the theory and practice of the magical *historiola* in ritual spells, in: Meyer and Mirecki 1995, 457–76.
- , Ritual Expertise in Roman Egypt and the Problem of the Category 'Magician', in: Schäfer and Kippenberg (1997) 115–35.
- , *Religion in Roman Egypt: assimilation and resistance* (Princeton 1998).
- , The Consequences of Hellenism in Late Antique Egypt: religious worlds and actors, *ARG* 2 (2000) 162–94.
- Gardiner, A.H., s.v. 'Magic (Egyptian)', in: *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* 8 (1915) 262a–269a.
- Gelzer, Th., Lurje, M., Schaublin, Chr. (edd., comm.), *Lamella Bernensis. Ein spätantikes Goldamulett mit christlichem Exorzismus* (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1999).
- Gordon, R.L., "Quaedam veritatis umbrae": Hellenistic magic and astrology, in: P. Bilde et al. (eds.), *Conventional Values of the Hellenistic Greeks* (Studies in Hellenistic Civilization 8, Aarhus 1997a) 128–58.
- , Reporting the Marvellous: private divination in the Greek magical papyri, in: Schäfer and Kippenberg (1997b) 65–92.
- Graf, F., *Communis loquendi cum dis: Magie und Kommunikation*, in: G. Binder and K. Ehrlich (eds.), *Stätten und Formen der Kommunikation im Altertum 6: Religiöse Kommunikation—Formen und Praxis vor der Neuzeit* (Bochumer altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium 26, Trier 1997) 119–39.

- Griffiths, J.G. (tr., comm.), *Plutarch: De Iside et Osiride* (Cardiff 1970).
- Gundel, W. and H.G., *Astrologumena. Die astrologische Literatur in der Antike und ihre Geschichte* (Sudhoffs Archiv, Beiheft 6, Wiesbaden 1966).
- Harrauer, C., *Meliouchos: Studien zur Entwicklung religiöser Vorstellungen in griechischen synkretistischen Zaubertexten* (Wiener Studien, Beiheft 11, Vienna 1987).
- Hauer, J.W., *Die Dhāraṇī im nördlichen Buddhismus und ihre Parallelen in der sogenannten Mithrasliturgie* (Stuttgart 1927).
- Hirschle, M., *Sprachphilosophie und Namenmagie im Neuplatonismus* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 96, Meidenheim 1976).
- Hopfner, T., *Der Tierkult der alten Ägypter nach den griechischen und lateinischen Berichten und den wichtigsten Denkmälern, Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften* 57, Abhandlung 2 (Vienna 1913).
- , *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* 1 (Amsterdam 1974). (Typographic rescension of the handwritten edition, Leipzig 1921).
- , *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* 2 (Amsterdam 1983–90). (Typographic rescension of the handwritten edition, Leipzig 1924).
- Janovitz, N., *Theories of Divine Names in Origen and Pseudo-Dionysius*, *HR* 30 (1990) 359–72.
- , *Magic in the Roman World* (London and New York 2001).
- Jordan, D.R., *CIL* VIII 19525 B2, QPVULVA = *q(uem) p(eperit) vulva*, *Philologus* 120 (1976) 127–32.
- , A Survey of Greek Defixiones not Included in the Special Corpora, *GBRS* 26 (1985) 151–97.
- , New Defixiones from Carthage, in: J.H. Humphrey (ed.), *The Circus and a Byzantine Cemetery at Carthage I* (1988) 117–134.
- , Inscribed Lead Tablets from the Games in the Sanctuary of Poseidon, *Hesperia* 63 (1994) 111–26.
- , Notes from Carthage, *ΣPE* 111 (1996) 115–23.
- Kákósy, L., s.v. 'Heka', in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 2 (1977) 1108–10.
- Kákósy, L. and Roccati, A., *La magia in Egitto ai tempi dei Faraoni* (Modena 1985).
- Kenyon, F.G. (ed.), *Greek Papyri in the British Museum, I* (London 1893).
- Koenig, Y., *Magie et magiciens dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris 1994).
- Kotansky, R., *Greek Magical Amulets. The inscribed gold, silver, copper and bronze lamellae 1: Published texts of known provenance* (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Papyrologica Coloniensia 22, Opladen 1994).
- Lange, N.R.M. de, *Origen and the Jews: studies in Jewish-Christian relations in third-century Palestine* (Cambridge 1976).
- Lauterbach, J.Z., Substitutes for the Tetragrammaton, *PAAJR* 2 (1930–1) 39–67.
- Lenz, C., s.v. 'Carmina figurata', in: *RfAC* 2 (1954) 910–12.
- Lieban, R., *Cebuano Sorcery: Malign magic in the Philippines* (Berkeley 1967).
- Lippmann, E.A., *Musical Thought in Ancient Greece* (New York 1964).
- Martinez, D.G., *A Greek Love Charm from Egypt (P.Mich. 757)* (P. Michigan 16, Atlanta, Ga. 1991).
- Mastrocinque, A., *Studi sul Mitraismo (il Mitraismo e la magia)* (Rome 1998).
- Merkelbach, R. and Totti, M. (edd., comm.), *Abrasax: Ausgewählte Papyri religiösen und magischen Inhalts 1: Gebete* (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Papyrologica Coloniensia 17,1, Opladen 1990).
- Meyer, M. and Mirecki, P. (edd.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 129, Leiden 1995).
- Miller, P.C., In Praise of Nonsense, in: A.H. Armstrong (ed.), *Classical Mediterranean Spirituality: Egyptian, Greek, Roman* (London 1986) 481–505.
- Nagel, G., Seth dans la barque solaire, *BIFAO* 28 (1929) 33–39.
- Pettinato, R., *Die Ölwahrsagung bei den Babyloniern* (Studi Semitici 21–2, Rome 1966).
- PGM = Preisendanz, K. and Henrichs, A. (eds.), *Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart 1973–74).

- Philipp, H., *Mira et Magica: Gemmen im Ägyptischen Museum der Staatlichen Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Charlottenburg* (Mainz 1986).
- Preisendanz, K. et al. (edd.), *Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2 vols. (Leipzig and Berlin 1928–31).
- , Die griechischen und lateinischen Zaubertafeln: 1, *APF* 9 (1930) 119–54.
- , Die griechischen und lateinischen Zaubertafeln: 2, *APF* 11 (1935) 153–64.
- , Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der spätantiken Magie, in: *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Beiheft 75 (Festgabe für Georg Leyh) (Leipzig 1950) 223–40.
- , Zur synkretistischen Magie im römischen Ägypten, in: *Akten der 8. internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie* (Vienna 1955) 111–25. [= Mitteilungen aus der Papyrusammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, n.s. 5 (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer), Vienna.]
- , s.v. 'Fluchtafeln', in: *RfAC* 8 (1969) 1–29.
- Preisendanz, K., and Henrichs, A. (eds.), *Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart 1973–74).
- Reitzenstein, R., *Poimandres. Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig 1904).
- Reller, H., Kießig, M. and Tschoerner, H. (eds.), *Handbuch: religiöse Gemeinschaften* (Gütersloh 1993⁴).
- Richman, W., *Tiere in den Zauberpapyri* (Unpubl. PhD. Diss., Berlin 1940/46).
- Ritner, R.K., *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Oriental Institute, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 54, Chicago 1993).
- , Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire: the Demotic spells and their religious context, in: *ANRW* II,18,5 (1995) 3333–78.
- , The religious, Social, and Legal Parameters of Traditional Egyptian Magic, in: Meyer and Mirecki 1995, 43–60.
- Rohrbacher-Stücker, C., Die Namen Gottes und die Namen Metratons. Zwei Genizah-Fragmente zur *Hekalot*-Literatur, *FJB* 19 (1991–2) 95–168.
- Sauneron, S., Le monde du magicien égyptien, in: G. Condominas (ed.), *Le monde du sorcier* (Sources orientales 7, Paris 1966) 27–65.
- Sawyer, J., *Sacred Languages and Sacred Texts* (London and New York 1999).
- Sfameni, C., Magia e potere delle immagini: il caso dei soggetti egiziani, in: A. Mastrocinque (ed.), *Gemme gnostiche e cultura ellenistica* (Rome, forthcoming).
- Sicherl, M., *Die Tiere in der griechisch-ägyptischen Zauberei* (Unpubl. PhD. Diss., Prague 1937).
- Śliwa, J., *Egyptian Scarabs and Magical Gems from the Collection of C. Schmidt-Ciążński* (Studia z Archeologii Śródziemnomorskiej 11, Cracow 1989).
- Smelik, K.A.D. and Hemelrijk, E.A., 'Who knows what monsters demented Egypt worships?' Opinions on Egyptian animal worship in Antiquity as part of the ancient conception of Egypt, in: *ANRW* II,17,4 (1984) 1852–2000.
- Smith, M., Relations between Magical Papyri and Magical Gems, in: *Actes XV^e Congrès international de Papyrologie, Bruxelles 1979* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 18, Brussels 1979) 3: 129–37.
- , The Eighth Book of Moses and How it Grew (*P.Leid.* J 395), in: *Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di Papirologia, Napoli 1984* (Naples 1984) 683–93.
- , *P.Leid.* J 395 (PGM XIII) and its creation legend, in: A. Caquot et al. (edd.), *Hellenica et Judaica: Hommages à V. Nikiprowetzky* (Leuven and Paris 1986) 491–8.
- Velde, H. te, *Seth, God of Confusion: a study of his role in Egyptian mythology and religion* (Probleme der Ägyptologie 6, Leiden 1977).
- Török, L., *Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas from Egypt* (Bibliotheca Archaeologica 15, Rome 1995).
- Urbach, E.E., *The Sages: their concepts and beliefs* (Cambridge, Mass. 1987).
- Verdenius, W.J., Gorgias' Doctrine of Deception, in: G.B. Kerferd (ed.), *The Sophists and their Legacy* (Hermes Einzelschriften 44, Wiesbaden 1981) 116–28.

- Versnel, H.S., Les imprécations et le droit, *RD* 65 (1987) 5–22.
- , Beyond Cursing: the appeal to justice in judicial prayers, in: C.A. Faraone and D. Obbink (eds.), *Hiera magika: Ancient Greek magic and religion* (New York and Oxford 1991a) 60–106.
- , Some Reflections on the Relationship Magic—Religion, *Numen* 38 (1991b) 177–97.
- , Die Poetik der Zaubersprüche, in: T. Schabert and R. Brague (eds.), *Die Macht des Wortes* (Munich 1996) 233–97.
- , καὶ εἴ τι λοιπὸν τῶν μερ[ῶ]ν [ἔσ]ται σώματος ὅλ[ο]υ[...] (... and any other part of the entire body there may be...). An essay on anatomical curses, in: F. Graf (ed.), *Ansichten griechischer Rituale: Geburtstagssymposium für Walter Burkert, Castelen 15–18 März 1996* (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1998) 217–67.
- Vogliano, A., *Secondo rapporto degli scavi condotti dalla missione archeologica d'Egitto della Reale Università di Milano nella zona di Medinet Madi* (Milan 1937).
- Weber, W., *Die ägyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten*, Königliche Museen zu Berlin (Berlin 1914).
- Winkler, H.A., *Siegel und Charakter in der mohammedanischen Zauberei* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients 7, Berlin and Leipzig 1930).
- , Die Aleph-Beth-Regel: eine Beobachtung an sinnlosen Wörtern in Kinderversen, Zaubersprüchen und verwandtem, in: E. Paret (ed.), *Studien für E. Littmann* (Leiden 1935) 1–24.
- Wojaczek, G., *Daphnis: Untersuchungen zur griechischen Bukolik* (Beiträge zur klass. Philologie 34, Meisenheim 1969).
- Wortmann, D., Neue magische texte, *Bj* 168 (1968) 56–111.
- Zwierlein-Diehl, E., *Magische Amulette des Instituts für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln* (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Papyrologica Coloniensia 20, Opladen 1992).