

Compositional Patterns in *PGM* IV (= *P.Bibl.Nat.Suppl.* gr. no. 574)¹

The magical formularies of *PGM* almost all date from late antiquity, but probably represent a long tradition, one which can sometimes be demonstrated through fragments of applied magic or in literary depictions of magical activity. Within the formularies themselves, this history is also sometimes to be glimpsed, through interesting patterns of content and manuscript layout. Analysis of these patterns might give us some sense of the exemplars from which the large formularies were copied, and the levels of transmission that they may reflect,² and through this it may be possible to learn more about the social, geographical, and temporal contexts in which this material is most usefully understood.

The question of context is of enormous importance for the interpretation of these materials and for understanding them within the overall category of religion in antiquity, and yet there is very little certainty with regard to fundamental points of orientation. Does the fact that these documents were made in the third and fourth centuries CE indicate broad interest in these activities at that particular time, or were they compiled for or by an individual or tiny group at that time for literary, scientific or antiquarian purposes? Does the fact that they come from Egypt mean that we should un-

¹ Many thanks to Roger Bagnall, Timothy Renner, Raffaella Cribiore and all the other members of Roger Bagnall's Papyrology Seminar for help with early stages of this project. I also thank John Gager, Bob Kraft, and Ben Wright.

² For discussion of recension and levels of transmission in *PGM* XIII, see Morton Smith, "P.Leid. J 395 (*PGM* XIII) and Its Creation Legend," in A. Caquot, M. Hadas-Lebel and J. Riaud (eds.), *Hellenica et Judaica: Hommage À Valentin Nikiprowetzky* (Leuven-Paris 1986) 491-8; *eund.*, "The Eighth Book of Moses and How It Grew," *Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di papirologia* (Naples 1984) 683-93; William Brashear, "The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey," *ANRW* II. 18.5 (1995) 3380-684, with a discussion of textual history at 3412-9.

derstand them mainly in relation to the temple or priestly tradition of Egypt,³ or do they reflect a particular witness to a pan-Mediterranean tradition?⁴ It is difficult to approach either of these questions, because they work together like roads in Looking-Glass Land, where the traveler continually ends up back at the starting point: to flesh out a discussion of date, one would like to know more about the "community"; but to study the community, if any, we need to know where to look in space and in time.

In the approach to the question of historical context, work has been done in two main areas: 1) the point of departure, the dates and/or origins of particular spells, or of motifs and phrases within them; and 2) the point of arrival, the date and provenance of the surviving formularies themselves. The former area of investigation has demonstrated a broad variety of cultural sources for materials in *PGM*, and the great antiquity of some of their elements. However, to discover the origin of a thing does not always tell us what it meant to those who used it or discussed it hundreds of miles away, or hundreds of years later. Also, to trace a ritual or an element to a particular culture, for example Egyptian priestly culture, does not always help us understand what a thing might have meant to those from outside that culture who used it—even if they lived in the same town. Nevertheless, it is important to understand the ultimate origin of motifs and phrases, to begin tracking them from these points of origin to the points at which we see them in magical formularies.

Work upon the formularies themselves is generally focused upon Egypt of the fourth century CE, specifically upon the ritual world of Upper Egyptian temples. In this work, great importance is laid upon the fact that the larger formularies that survive for us

³ As in, e.g., David Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton 1998); Robert Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, SAOC 54 (Chicago 1993); *id.*, "Egyptian Magical Practice Under the Roman Empire: The Demotic Spells and Their Religious Context," *ANRW* II.18.5 (1995) 3333-79; Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Princeton 1993²).

⁴ As in, most recently, Christopher A. Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic* (Cambridge MA 1999) esp. 1-40; Fritz Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World*, trans. Franklin Philip (Cambridge 1997) esp. 5-6 and general tendency throughout.

were bought or collected by a single individual, M. Anastasi, who himself was told that several of his manuscripts had been found together in a single tomb in Thebes.⁵ That there is a relationship between at least two of Anastasi's manuscripts is indicated paleographically, the same scribe having written both.⁶ Several scholars therefore argue that the formularies are thus to be interpreted with reference to each other, as components of an intentionally collected library, the existence of which is taken as an indication that such practices were prominent in fourth-century Thebes. These studies focus upon the point of arrival, the completed texts of the large formularies as they now stand.⁷

Between the points of departure and of arrival there is a long history of individual and cultural transmission of this material. How did the individual elements of PGM formularies make the journey from their original cultures, and in what forms did they travel? What is the textual pre-history of the surviving formularies?

It is clear from many features that at least some PGM formularies are composite in origin, and therefore may themselves represent libraries, or at least the deliberate collecting activity of a particular individual or group. These libraries may now appear as single books, just as the Biblical book we call "Minor Prophets" does—a small library of materials of related content that was even-

⁵ For full discussion of this collection and its history, see Brashear, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 3398-412; *eund.*, "Magical Papyri: Magic in Bookform," in Peter Ganz (ed.), *Das Buch als magisches und als Repräsentationsobjekt* (Wiesbaden 1992), 25-34; also Fowden, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 168-76. Brashear is careful to distinguish between materials that are more or less firmly associated with each other, and those that simply derive from the same nineteenth-century collector. Morton Smith rejected the broad application of the Theban-grave story to PGM materials other than PGM V, XII, XIII and PDM; see his "Relations Between Magical Papyri and Magical Gems," *Actes du XV^e Congrès International de Papyrologie*. Pap.Brux. 18 (Brussels 1979) 133 n. 1.

⁶ PGM XII (*P.Lugd.Bat.* J 384 (V)) and PGM XIV (*P.Lond.demot.* 10070 + *P.Lugd.Bat.* J 383); Brashear, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 3402-3.

⁷ For more detailed discussion of the Anastasi problem, see L. LiDonnici, "The Disappearing Magician: Literary and Practical Questions About the Greek Magical Papyri," in Benjamin G. Wright (ed.), *A Multiform Heritage: Studies on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Robert A. Kraft* (Atlanta 1999), 227-43.

tually combined into a single object. As its name suggests (βιβλία, "books"), the Bible itself was a library with a fairly open-ended catalog for a great deal of its history. Each individual formulary represents a collection of sources that some individual or group determined to copy for itself, either for use or for reference. This paper investigates what evidence there is for the forms of the documents that came to be included in these new one-volume "libraries," and what can be learned from the ways in which they were combined and passed down. In order to pursue this question, it is important to consider 1) the thematic and linguistic patterns of the content of text-blocks; and 2) the patterns of writing of the surviving manuscripts themselves, which may suggest shapes or conditions of the exemplars from which they were copied.

PGM IV, the so-called "Great Magical Papyrus of Paris," is a fourth-century codex of more than 3200 lines that contains a wide variety of materials. The manuscript also has blocks of repeated text that also appear in other sources, and several large areas of blank space. These features make *PGM IV* ideal for thematic and linguistic analysis and for pursuit of the question of context, sources, and compositional history. Consideration of *PGM IV* in terms of the three criteria described above immediately suggests a long compositional process for this text. There are several discrete thematic blocks and many unusual textual and manuscript features that are difficult to understand in any other way.

Many scholars have commented on the composite nature of this text,⁸ and several have remarked on the fact that, while the manuscript itself dates from the fourth century (probably early fourth century),⁹ some of the material it contains appears to be second century¹⁰ and to be arranged in some kind of thematic order. Patterns

⁸ E.g., Brashear, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 3415-6.

⁹ E.g., A.D. Nock, "Greek Magical Papyri," *JEA* 15 (1929) 219-35, reprinted in Zeph Stewart (ed.), *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World I* (Oxford 1972) 176-94, esp. 179, 183-4; Bruno Kuster, *De tribus carminibus papyri Parisinae magicæ* (Königsberg 1911) 11-4; Marvin W. Meyer, *The Mithras Liturgy* (Missoula, MO 1976) vii.

¹⁰ E.g., Bruno Kuster, *op.cit.* (above, n. 9) 12. Many scholars cite Kuster, who argued that the present *PGM IV* was copied from a damaged second century exemplar, but I have not encountered any more modern specific discussion of what

of thematic organization were noted by both Morton Smith¹¹ and Arthur Darby Nock,¹² but without discussion of the state of the precursor (or precursors) to PGM IV. Was the codex compiled from loose materials sorted (badly) at the time of copying, or did older, smaller compilations exist that have been transferred into the current document? While the idea of multiple loose spells may be the best explanation for the material at the end of PGM IV,¹³ it leaves many other features unexplained, especially where we have categories that appear more than once throughout the manuscript. These features can best be explained by the use of other, pre-existing smaller formularies, sometimes themselves already thematically organized, to compile PGM IV or its immediate predecessor.

This study examines thematic and papyrological features of the manuscript, which both converge with and deviate from each other in ways often suggestive of such pre-existing sub-formularies. As will be seen below, for some groups the indications of this are strong, and more than one level of copying or transmission can be seen. Of particular interest is the repeated occurrence of a pattern in which a group of more or less thematically linked spells is followed by two or three much smaller spells, either for an entirely different purpose or in a very different style; followed in turn by a group of long, thematically linked spells. This pattern sometimes occurs in ways that are very suggestive of a small scroll's owner

is second-century about these materials. Some spells do appear to have very old roots (see discussion of lines 286-95 below), but this is by no means true for all of them. For one case, see Eugene N. Lane, "On the Date of PGM IV," *The Second Century* 4:1 (1984) 25-7. Lane's suggestion is based on a scribal error at line 2664, which he associates with Rome in the period 374-390 CE, so it is a manuscript feature and not an actual spell for which the date is suggested. Brashear said it had "the character of a text composed two hundred years earlier;" *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 3419.

¹¹ Morton Smith, "The Hymn to the Moon, PGM IV 2242-2355," *Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Papyrology*. Am.Stud.Pap. 23 (Chico 1981) 643-54, esp. 643-4.

¹² Nock, *op.cit.* (above, n. 9) 179.

¹³ This itself may be an example of blank pages at the end of a manuscript filling up with miscellaneous material. As discussed below, however, this would apply to the exemplar for PGM IV, since the current manuscript is in a uniform hand, except for the Coptic material at the beginning.

writing in fresh material on the blank space left at the end (or on the verso) of his original scroll, all of which is then recopied, in order, into a larger document and followed by the copying of another small formulary, which relates to the main matter of the previous text (now a "block") but not to the lines of its immediate predecessor, the add-ons.

Physical Features of *PGM IV*

PGM IV (*P.Bibl.Nat.Suppl. gr. no. 574*), is a papyrus codex with a long and narrow shape, Turner's Aberrant Type 1, Group 8.¹⁴ It consists of a single quire,¹⁵ made up of large sheets of papyrus folded in half. It is clear from at least three leaves that the quire was folded all at once and the writing was either done before the folding and cutting, or with careful reference to keeping the pages in order. This is not clear in every case but certainly, as Preisendanz noted, in the case of 6 recto-verso and 31 recto-verso, where the extreme right edge of the magical figure of 6 verso appears in the extreme right margin of 31 recto.¹⁶ Also, there are dark bands running across the upper portions of 2 verso and 35 recto, and of 18 recto and 19 verso, by which each of these pairs is shown to be a continuous "face" of a single sheet of papyrus. This all-at-once folding is also suggested by the pattern of fibers, which is, horizontal on the rectos and vertical on the versos for the first half of the manuscript, and (where I can tell), vertical on the rectos and horizontal on the versos for the second half, as would happen if large sheets were folded, and then kept in order. The pages are not all exactly the same size. Preisendanz gives measurements of height ranging between 30.5 and 27 cm., and of width ranging between 13 and 9.5 cm.¹⁷ *Kollesis* is usually ignored, but is used as the right margin of

¹⁴ Eric G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia 1977) 21.

¹⁵ Preisendanz, *PGM I*, 64; Turner, *op.cit.* 58.

¹⁶ Preisendanz, *PGM I*, 64.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

19 verso and perhaps as the left margin of 3 recto.¹⁸ The text uses two kinds of *paragraphoi* to highlight important points, although not every spell is marked. The marks are not used absolutely consistently, but in general it seems¹⁹ that a forked paragraphos (*diple obelismene*) more often indicates the beginning of a new spell, and a horizontal bar more often indicates a division within a particular spell, e.g., a dismissal, a phylactery, or a variation.²⁰

The fact that the very "top" of the sideways-written magical figure of 6 verso is visible on 31 recto would appear to suggest that this one leaf at least was written out before the pages overall were folded and/or cut, as Preisendanz noted.²¹ However, the spell in which the figure occurs (ll. 296-466)²² begins on 5 recto and continues onto 7 recto, and the material on 31 recto is the middle portion of a very long invocation (ll. 2785-890) that began on 30 verso. In other words, page 6/31 is not a free-standing, self-contained sheet that could be folded and inserted anywhere and still make sense; the material is continuous with that from surrounding pages.²³ In addition to this, the average number of characters per line clearly decreases as one approaches the center of the present codex (see chart 1 below), suggesting that an experienced scribe understood

¹⁸ On some pages, there is avoidance of what looks like a papyrus flaw or a thick *kollesis*; this occurs on faces with vertical fibers, and so creates the effect of false columns. This is noticeable on 14 verso, 15 verso, 18 verso (this one may be a *kollesis*), 19 recto (the other side of 18 v); and 21 recto. There can be more than one division on a page, as on the bottom of 14 verso where two vertical gaps divide the text roughly into thirds. I think that papyrus flaws are the most likely explanation for this pattern.

¹⁹ The manuscript leaves, when photographed, were in some sort of frames that make it impossible to see the margins on some of the versos; therefore one cannot always tell which *paragraphos* is being used, or anything else that may be going on in the margins (though the rectos show no marginal notes).

²⁰ Despite this, no published material that I have been able to find discusses the hand; Preisendanz does note the Coptic names on 1 verso, which were probably added later; PGM, vol. 1, p. 64.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² For an overall spell, I use the very helpful content divisions introduced in H.D. Betz (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*. Vol. 1. *Texts* (Chicago 1986²), later cited as GMP.

²³ A new spell does, however, begin on 32 recto.

that in a single quire codex, the middle of the book would end up with narrower pages once the sheets were folded and trimmed to a uniform width, and planned for this.²⁴ The indications thus seem to be clear that the present codex was carefully planned, laid out and written in mirror-image pairs of leaves that, when folded and cut, formed the present order of material in *PGM* IV. This is summarized in the following chart:²⁵

Chart 1

Original Sheet:	Average letters per line:			
1r/v - 36v/r	na	na	na	na
2r/v - 35v/r	na	na	29	32
3r/v - 34v/r	37	na	34	31
4r/v - 33v/r	39	39	28	34
5r/v - 32v/r	37	35	34	30
6r/v - 31v/r	na	na	24	23
7r/v - 30v/r	na	29	25	23
8r/v - 29v/r	31	34	25	28
9r/v - 28v/r	35	33	27	31
10r/v - 27v/r	33	30	29	24
11r/v - 26v/r	27	30	29	26
12r/v - 26v/r	33	33	26	28
13r/v - 24v/r	30	30	31	28
14r/v - 23v/r	30	26	32	26
15r/v - 22v/r	34	26	28	19
16r/v - 21v/r	na	na	19	20
17r/v - 20v/r	24	25	20	21
18r/v - 19v/r	22	22	20	20

²⁴ This phenomenon, according to Turner, is common and to be expected; *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 73-4.

²⁵ In this chart, the average characters per line have been estimated only for pages that are completely in Greek, and considering only lines that are full. Pages in multiple languages are excluded and marked "na." 7 recto is completely in Greek, but it is excluded here because its top portion, the hexametric Hymn to Helios (lines 435-66) is written in a much more compressed form (@ 56 characters per line) than the bottom half of the page, lines 467-88 (@ 35 characters per line). In addition, with a few exceptions, for all leaves, the pages that form the first half of the codex have a larger average number of characters per line than the second half.

From this pattern alone, it seems likely that the present *PGM* was understood in its entirety at the outset of copying, because the scribe seems to have known how many leaves it would involve, which ones would be in the center, and how the text would lie on the pages, in order to be able to design and construct one of these original 4-page sheets of discontinuous text with the appropriate line lengths for the edges or the middle of the codex. Direct, first-time compilation from loose materials seems clearly excluded.

The manuscript is not completely continuous from beginning to end, having several blanks of varying size.²⁶ Some of these, such as 1/36 recto-verso, may have been designed to be blank, representing some sort of protective "covers" for the overall manuscript.²⁷ In two cases, blanks may have been left for the later insertion of a magical drawing which was never put in.²⁸ It is interesting to note that the large sideways amulet of 6 verso was in fact included. This was therefore probably the task of the same scribe or kind of scribe who

²⁶ The most notable skips are on 1 recto (completely blank), 3 recto, 6 recto, 14 verso, 15 verso (tiny but suggestive), 16 recto-verso (completely blank); 21 verso, 23 verso, 26 verso, and 36 recto-verso (completely blank).

²⁷ Excluding the 4 lines on 1 verso; see n. 18 above.

²⁸ The first case is on 14 verso, between lines 1264-5, between a Greek and Coptic spell for exorcism and "Aphrodite's Secret Name," a spell with little thematic relationship to its neighbors. Interestingly, lines 1245-64 and 1275-88 are written with the same orientation, separated by a substantial blank space and lines 1265-74 ("Aphrodite's Secret Name"), which appear to be written by the same or a similar hand, but with a very slightly different orientation. It is possible that "Aphrodite's Secret Name" became available to the scribe at a later time, and were inserted into a convenient blank area, possibly after the leaves were folded, cut or sewn, causing a different writing posture and the resulting slight shift in orientation; if so, the blank area originally left, perhaps for a drawing, was originally larger than it is now. The exorcistic spell ends with a description of an amulet with a specific sign, well known from other gems; references from Meyer in Betz, *GMP*, p. 62 with n. 170. The intention may have been to use the blank space to draw the sort of figures also seen on those gems. The second of these blanks, on 21 verso, follows the lengthy "Sword of Dardanos" (lines 1716-870) which describes an amulet engraved with Aphrodite riding Psyche and various other figures, and which concludes by manipulation of a figure described shortly before this blank; see below. The third case is the large skip of 23 verso, in the middle of a long spell ("Pitys' Spell of Attraction," lines 2006-125) but preceded and followed by discussion of images that are to be revealed and drawn.

could copy a text manuscript, but not a magical drawing.²⁹ There is a long tradition in Egyptian scribal practices of different individuals completing various portions of a particular roll in accordance with their abilities, training and equipment. Magical drawings in general in *PGM* formularies are extremely varied in quality; those in the deluxe *PGM* III (P.Louvre inv. 2391) are beautiful enough to suggest a skilled, artistic scribe; while those of many others, e.g., *PGM* XXXVI (P.Osl. I 1) are childlike and crude.³⁰ In the latter examples, possibly "writing scribes" have gone ahead and tried to copy the drawings, implying possibly a more low-end copying job. Some of the blanks of *PGM* IV, if left for drawings, might suggest an original intention for this manuscript to be fancier, more professional.³¹ Other than the figure on 6 verso and a second occasion of magical characters on 30 recto (lines 2706-07), the manuscript is devoid of drawings. As will be discussed below, these blanks are significant not only because they do not reflect normal scribal practice (leaving blanks for no reason), but also because each of them corresponds to a suggestive break in the thematic flow of the text itself.

One of the larger blanks, 16 recto-verso, very likely has a codicological explanation. As Turner noted, the only way to add space to the latter half of a single quire codex is to add another leaf, which would leave a blank page at the corresponding spot in the first half of the manuscript.³² An alert scribe who began to feel that he was going to need more space, could have noticed that 15 verso is the end of a spell,³³ and 17 recto is the beginning of one, making this an ideal location for the insertion of a blank page. The material of 21 r/v (the other side of 16 r/v) is completely continuous with its sur-

²⁹ The figure on 6 verso also creates a blank on 6 recto, between the explanation of the figure and its representation; like the two discussed above, this is a rational and explicable blank, since the large figure could not be broken up.

³⁰ See William Brashear, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4).

³¹ This impression is confirmed by a variety of other features, discussed below.

³² Turner, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 73.

³³ And the scribe had also left a little bit of space to note this at the bottom of 15v: it has 48 lines of text, as opposed to 53 on 15 r. The average number of lines per page for pages without blanks is 52.2.

rounding leaves. It is not a free-standing insertion. Therefore, the scribe would have noticed this when he was scarcely more than halfway through his copying, because 18/19 is the present center of the codex. This may also be the explanation for the fact that the first two spells of the next block each occupies an entire leaf, 17 recto-verso and 18 recto-verso; that this was a deliberate choice is indicated by the fact that the second of the two, the invocation to myrrh (1496-595) which is slightly shorter than the first, is written in expanded form on 18 verso, in order to bring it down to the bottom of the page. To simplify, 16 r/v, 17 r/v, and 18 r/v are disconnected from their surroundings, while their other sides, 21 r/v, 20 r/v, and 19 r/v are in fact part of a more or less continuous stream of writing. However, while 16/21 does appear to have been added to create extra space in the codex, I do not believe that this is also the case for 17/20 or 18/19. Matters are complicated by these being the very leaves on which the reduced average number of characters per line, noted in the chart above, is most noticeable. The question remains whether this event of needing more space occurred during the construction of the present PGM IV, or its predecessor. As noted earlier, the distribution of text across pages for the present PGM IV seems carefully planned.

Block 1: 1-153

Many discussions of the prehistory of PGM IV center around this first and most clear-cut block of text.³⁴ Block I of PGM IV is characterized by several features that suggest that its spells were already a discrete document, possibly with a small pre-history of its own, at the time it was copied into the larger formulary in which it is now found. This block contains 4 basic "spells" in Greek and Coptic: a long initiation with two versions of its *praxis* (5-85), a short phylactery (86-7), a short boy-divination (88-93), and a long erotic spell (94-153). These four spells appear on two leaves of the papyrus codex: 2 r/v, and 3 recto. The text on 3 recto ends with a forked

³⁴ See Marvin W. Meyer, "The Love Spell of PGM IV.94-153: Introduction and Structure," in *Acts of the 2nd International Congress of Coptic Studies. Rome, 22-26 September, 1980* (Rome 1980) 193-201.

paragraphos and a much larger than usual lower margin, approximately one-third of the writing surface of the page. 3 verso is blank, and a new series of spells (Block 2) begins again at the top of 4 recto. The spells are preceded by four lines at the top of 1 verso, consisting of magical names using Coptic letters, and Greek epithets. Further magical names in Coptic letters appear at the beginning of this block at the top of 2 recto, but it seems that they do not form part of the invocation that begins there with ΔΩΟΥ, and that the 4 lines on 1 verso were written onto the available blank sheet at some later time, perhaps because of their similarity to the material of 2 recto. If this is so, then this formulary began with a completely blank leaf; since it also ends with a blank page, these perhaps represent covers, as noted above. However, whether or not these are covers, it is clear that a deliberate separation is being left between this material and what begins at the top of 4 recto. A preference for beginning this new block on a recto may suggest the preservation of a separate text or exemplar at some stage of redaction. Such a preference may also explain other manuscript features, discussed below.

Block 2: 154-1389

This block of text is extremely varied in content, and the doublings and repetitions within it suggest that it was already a significant formulary when copied into the current *PGM* IV, and that it itself had a prehistory of internal organization and of accretion of material and variant readings.

A very long block from 154-1389 is suggested by manuscript features. The block is preceded by the blank page 3 verso, and followed by the blank leaf 16 recto/verso. Within these pages the text is written straight through with no inexplicable blanks, except at the bottom of 6 recto, which may be necessitated simply by the large size and sideways layout of 6 verso, the "heart"³⁵ shaped palindromic figure. The very bottom of 15 verso, where the block ends,

³⁵ Line 408 of the manuscript refers to the figure as τὴν καρδίαν.

is slightly expanded and a small bit of blank space has been left,³⁶ followed by the entirely blank 16 r/v. That a text block or exemplar begins with line 154 and ends with line 1389 is therefore strongly indicated by manuscript features. However, the contents of this block and its internal groupings and repetitions strongly suggest that it was also created from a library of numerous smaller texts. These smaller blocks are indicated by thematic and content features, and break down roughly to: 1) 154-466; 2) 467-849; 3) 850-1226; and 4) 1227-1389. These smaller blocks also present interesting features of internal structure that may derive from their *own* exemplars.

Block 2 section A: 154-466

In this block, we find a relatively elaborate bowl divination (154-285) framed in a letter "from Nephotes to Psammetichos," and an extremely elaborate erotic binding spell (296-466) separated by a simple spell for the picking of plants for rituals (286-95). The first point to be noted is that the two major spells of this block are not in fact particularly dependent upon plants for their rituals, and in neither case is ritual preparation of any plant demanded. The bowl divination of "Nephotes" requires that the practitioner *στεψόμενος* *κικκῶ μέλανι*, "having crowned [himself] with dark ivy;" (172-3) and this is the only recipe ingredient that needed to be picked.³⁷ The erotic spell requires *τὰ τοῦ καιροῦ ἄνθη*, "seasonal flowers," (334) which may in fact have needed to be gathered by the practitioner, but if so, this is not mentioned in the text. The flowers are laid upon the grave of an untimely dead person, along with the lead lamella.³⁸ It is not clear whether they are intended as an effective or compul-

³⁶ The page has only 48 lines; as noted earlier, the average for pages without skips is 52.2 lines. It is not a huge skip; the increase in letter size and spacing is much more noticeable.

³⁷ The other ingredients are: incense (a market-place item), various kinds of water, olive oil, silver lamella, bronze stylus, and ass-hide.

³⁸ The other ingredients are: wax or clay, "magical material" from the victim, copper needles, lead lamella, and thread from a loom.

sive ritual element (as the lamella clearly is), or as a simple gift for the spirit that is being used to address the underworld powers.

The main interest in lines 286-95 is in the formula with which the plant picking spell concludes: *τελέσατε*³⁹ *μοι τὴν τελείαν ἐπαοιδὴν* (l. 294). This line is the end of a frequently occurring formula that appears again later in line 2939⁴⁰ and is also found in at least six other magical texts.⁴¹ Of these, two⁴² are dated as early as the first century BCE; two further fragments are also very early.⁴³ The formula also appears in *PGM VII*, third and/or fourth century; twice in *PGM IV*, fourth century, and in *Suppl.Mag.* 45, dated to the fifth century CE⁴⁴—this last is extremely precious, as it is a used text, found with embracing wax figures.⁴⁵ This phrase is also used in literary depictions, several in the Hellenistic period, where traditional magical practices are being represented.⁴⁶ The formula thus would appear to be a consistent element of magical prayer that is attested, in varying forms, over a very long period of time. It appears most often in erotic spells,⁴⁷ and it may be significant that here in *PGM IV* it is immediately followed by the huge erotic spell

³⁹ The formula is most often addressed to a deity and expressed in the singular; here the practitioner is addressing the plural holy names just uttered, conceived as independent powers, as also in R.W. Daniel and F. Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum*. Pap.Colon. 16.1-2 (Opladen 1990, 1992) no. 45, line 53 (henceforth cited as *Suppl.Mag.*).

⁴⁰ The form there is *τὸ δὲ Κυπρογένεια θεά, τέλει τελέαν ἐπαοιδὴν*.

⁴¹ *PGM VII* 992; *XX* 4, 19; *Suppl.Mag.* no. 45 (= Betz, *GMP CI*), line 53; no. 71, fr. 2, fr. 21; no. 72, lines 13-4, 27, 36, 52; no. 73, col. ii, 18 (very fragmentary).

⁴² *PGM XX* (the "Philinna Papyrus"); *Suppl.Mag.* 71 = *P.Monac.* II 28 = Betz, *GMP CXVII*, both dated to the first century BCE.

⁴³ These two fragments range from the first century BCE through perhaps the early second century CE: *Suppl.Mag.* 72 = *P.Berol. inv.* 21243 = Betz, *GMP CXXII*; *Suppl.Mag.* 73 = *P.Athen.* 70 = Betz, *GMP CIII*. Discussion of dating and essential commentary on all of these fragments in *Suppl.Mag.* I, pp. 95-131.

⁴⁴ *Suppl.Mag.* 45 = *P.Köln inv.* 3323, pp. 162-73.

⁴⁵ Figure 14 in John G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York 1992) 102. The text itself is no. 30 in that volume, pp. 101-06.

⁴⁶ Faraone, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 64; 74; 78; 139; 142-3.

⁴⁷ Only this instance and *PGM XX*, spells against headache, are not erotic.

296-466, variations of which also appear on a variety of tablets and formulary fragments, as David Martinez has demonstrated.⁴⁸ Possibly at some stage, this phrase was not part of the plant picking spell, but was noted at the beginning of the erotic spell as another formula useful for that purpose. If this notation were closer to the plant picking spell, a scribe may well have incorporated it there during some episode of recopying. Perhaps this is an explanation of the confusing change to the plural for this phrase.⁴⁹

Both of the longer spells of the block involve the preparation of metal lamellae, and they may already have been combined for thematic reasons before their copying into *PGM IV*. Such a pre-combination would also help explain the location of 286-95 as an addendum at some stage. A short roll with one really good divination and one really good erotic binding spell might have been a desirable item in many households.⁵⁰ Consideration of *PGM* overall suggests that the major goals of practitioners were revelation and seduction, and unless one were a "professional magician" (a problematic category),⁵¹ these would be sufficient for practical and personal use. Of course, if formularies were compiled for antiquarian purposes, there is no basis for thinking that given individuals desired both revelation and seduction, but that there were individuals in pursuit of each, whose texts are now in magical handbooks together. From the perspective of thematic and compositional patterns, it is not so much that these longer spells belong together, as that they do not belong with either 1-153, or with 467-829.

⁴⁸ David G. Martinez, *P.Mich. 757: A Greek Love Charm From Egypt*. Am.Stud.Pap. 30 (Atlanta 1991). In fact, Martinez often refers to *Suppl.Mag.* 45 (called by him *W₄*), although he does not appear to discuss the phrase in question.

⁴⁹ O'Neil, in Betz, *GMP* 44 n. 65 suggests that suddenly the *voces magicae* themselves are being invoked; Preisendanz understands it to refer to δαίμονες, understood.

⁵⁰ This is what *PGM VIII* is, according to its *lemmata*; but the supposed erotic spell of 1-63 is actually a good business spell. Various small rolls represent different tastes and needs—compare, for example, the compact and useful (and elegant) *PGM II*, two spells, both divinatory; and the short and poignant *PGM LXV*, one spell against migraine and another against pregnancy, copied onto the verso of a household recipe text (Preisendanz dates text to the 6th or 7th century).

⁵¹ See n. 7 above.

Block 2 section B: 467-849

This block consists of three repetitions of lines of Homer that are used for beneficial purposes (467-74; 820-24; 830-34), a very long and elaborate visionary initiation often referred to as "The Mithras-Liturgy" (475-830 or 834)⁵² and a fragmentary horoscope (835-49). The Homer phylacteries begin the block and are then repeated twice⁵³ at the end of the initiation, and at least the first of these two repetitions (817-24) appear to have been directly linked to the initiation itself,⁵⁴ and to have been part of its *praxis*, at least at some stage of its development. Marvin Meyer noted a consistency of punctuation throughout lines 475-834,⁵⁵ which would tend to support the idea of at least one real redaction of the initiation with the second two Homer sections already included.

Whether or not the initiation is an actual liturgy from the worship of Mithras, it certainly does name him and describe his iconography. The initiation itself is preceded by a brief invocation including a parenthetical instruction to a daughter, regarding juices that are needed for the ritual. This parenthetical instruction has itself suggested several levels of transmission between *PGM IV* and whatever can be considered "the original" of this text, especially because the initiation itself uses masculine rather than feminine pronouns; as noted by Morton Smith, the "daughter" is thus being sent by a previously existing text, not a fresh composition by the "father."⁵⁶ The problem of the relationship between the Homeric

⁵² Voluminous references by Marvin Meyer in Betz, *GMP*, 48-54 and in *The Mithras Liturgy* (above, n. 9). I eagerly await the forthcoming volume by Hans Dieter Betz, *The "Mithras Liturgy": Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum / Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity 18 (Tübingen 2003), and I thank the anonymous reader for alerting me to it.

⁵³ I separate the Homer lines at the end of the initiation (821-34) into two separate blocks, 821-9 and 830-4, because of the fact that *Iliad* 8.424 appears twice there (824 and 832).

⁵⁴ The second occurrence of this little Homer-block.

⁵⁵ Marvin Meyer, *op.cit.* (above, n. 9) vii.

⁵⁶ Morton Smith suggested at least three levels in "Transformation By Burial," *Eranos-Yearbook* 52 (1983) 109 and more directly in 109 n. 40.

verses and this initiation is a difficult one, further complicated by the fourth appearance of some of these verses in PGM IV 2145-51. For the purpose of the thematic discussion, I am going to consider all four of these sections together, and return later to the compositional discussion of the first three sections only.

The three Homeric sections in this block, and the fourth one later on (2145-50), utilize a total of six lines, all from the *Iliad*, although only the first section includes them all.⁵⁷ In two blocks, specific *lemmata* are attached to two individual lines; and in one case a general *lemma* is attached to a set of three lines,⁵⁸ which is then followed by a long discussion of the specific powers of the lines in various situations. The single lines with specific *lemmata* are:

PGM IV 467-8 and 831-2 (*Iliad* 8.424):

θυμοκάτοχον
τολμήσεις Διὸς ἄντα πελώριον ἔγχος ἀεῖραι;

PGM IV 469-70 and 833-4 (*Iliad* 10.193):

πρὸς φίλους
αἰρεῖτω, μὴ χάρμα γενώμεθα δυσμενέεσσιν

These two lines appear twice in the same order and with the same *lemmata*. *Iliad* 8.424 also appears a third time by itself at PGM IV 824, without *lemma*. Material concerned with the goals of gaining friends⁵⁹ and averting anger appears frequently in the PGM corpus,⁶⁰ and many of these examples are also phylacteries. The "solo appearance" of *Iliad* 8.424 occurs in the context of written phylacteries, as is clear from the instructions that precede it, lines 812-20.

⁵⁷ *Iliad* 5.385; 8.424; 10.193, 521, 564, 572.

⁵⁸ The lines are *Iliad* 10.564, 521, and 572.

⁵⁹ "Friends" in this context means alliances or good working relationships with persons of influence and/or higher status; "connections" is the modern term closest in meaning.

⁶⁰ For friends or favor: PGM VII 186-90, 215-18; XII 270-350, 397-400. Against anger: PGM VII 925-39, 940-68; X 24-35; XII 179-81; LXXIX 1-7; LXXX 1-5. For both purposes: PGM XXXVI 35-68, 161-77, 211-30.

The literary context⁶¹ of *Iliad* 8.424 is what makes it appear to be useful for the restraint of anger. The mighty Athena, armed and in her chariot, is ready to take on Hector once and for all, but is deflected without apparent argument by a sternly-worded message from Zeus (delivered by Iris), that concludes with this line, which implies the entire set-up, speech, and aftermath, with Athena retreating to her couch on Olympos. It is, however, more difficult to understand the relationship between *Iliad* 10.193 and the gaining of friends or favor. In this line, Nestor praises the Greek sentries that he has found dutifully awake and on guard, and he basically urges them to keep up the good work. I think that the operative principle here may be "superiors pleased with their subordinates," but it is not clear why this particular line would be chosen as emblematic of this. Perhaps the unusual feature is that a great figure is also awake in the middle of the night, to see and appreciate that the work is being done.

Three lines are grouped into a unit that itself appears three times, the last of which is preceded by a general lemma and followed by a long discussion of what the lines can accomplish. The lines are:

PGM IV 471-73, 821-23, 2146-51 (*Iliad* 10.564, 521, 572):

ὥς εἰπὼν τάφοιο διήλασε μώνυχας ἵππους
 ἄνδρας τ' ἄσπαιροντας ἐν ἀργαλέῃσι φονῇσι
 αὐτοὶ δ' ἰδρῶ πολλὸν ἀπενίζοντο θαλάσῃ

⁶¹ Several examples from literature and medical literature of lines from Homer used as phylacteries and as ritual recitations over wounds and diseases were collected by R. Heim, *Incantamenta Magica Graeca Latina* (Leipzig 1892) 496-520. In all of these cases, the content of the line, and often its literary context as well, relate directly to the problem at hand. In all of Heim's examples, then, the use of a line of Homer involves knowledge of the text of Homer; the lines are relevant because of the *story* and not, i.e., gematria, etc. Neither this nor any of the other five lines exhibits any unusual features that would make them of interest to practitioners for other reasons: they are not lines that, e.g., contain all the letters of the Greek alphabet, yield a particular pattern of vowels, or contain any kind of numerological significance, at least that I have been able to discover through a wearisome series of calculations, all with negative result. It should be noted that none of the examples compiled by Heim from outside PGM use the particular lines under discussion here. Heim does not discuss the Homer oracle of PGM VII 1-48 or the Homer medical cures/phylacteries of PGM XXIIa 1-17.

In all three places, the lines are in the same order, which is out of narrative sequence. They are from an episode in the latter portion of *Iliad* 10, in which Odysseus and Diomedes slaughter some Thracians and their king, steal their horses, and then go swimming (and offer sacrifice to Athena). It is in no way a heroic battle, as the Thracians are apparently killed in their sleep. Although many verses depict greater courage and mightier strength, the benefit of these verses for the ordinary person in hope of success may be exactly that they do *not* require courage or strength, but rather depict easy victory over a powerless opponent, which is achieved through stealth and the possession of inside information (in the *Iliad*, acquired from Dolon).⁶² As with the verses above, however, this "message" is contained in the overall context of the lines, which is implied.

At the third occurrence of this group, they are preceded by a general *lemma* (line 2145): τρίςτιχος Ὀμήρου πάρεδρος. This *lemma* stresses that the lines "work" as a group of three, and the long description that follows refers repeatedly to plural "lines." The *lemma* also tells us the purpose of the group, "[magical] assistance." There is much elaboration on the extraordinary usefulness of the lines, and for almost all of these goals, the lines are to be inscribed upon a lamella and either simply worn or manipulated in some way. The list of applications begins with runaway slaves who will not be caught, and continues through dozens of different benefits, with more or less specific instructions for the use of the verses and/or lamella. Now, I do not want to make too much of this list, because there is some kind of textual problem there, with the Homer applications somehow being merged with an apparently different consecration ceremony for lamellae of other types,⁶³ and it is not clear that these applications belong to the Homeric section at all. But it is important that these Homeric verses have at some point been

⁶² In analysis of a very different problem, Jonathan Z. Smith suggested that religious approaches to a critical problem sometimes represent an ideal situation, in which the opponent is tied up, friendly and tame or otherwise incapacitated; "The Bare Facts of Ritual," in *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago 1982) 53-65.

⁶³ At 2190-2240, where the lamellae are clearly different, being inscribed with magical names or words.

collected by someone with an interest in lamellae, and combined with other texts about them.⁶⁴

The last of the six lines appears only twice, both times without lemma and associated with different lines:

PGM IV 474, 830 (Iliad 5.385):

τλῆ μὲν Ἄρης, ὅτε μιν ὦτος κρατερὸς τ' Ἐπιάλτης

The first occurrence of the line comes after the group of three discussed above, but it is not an addition to them.⁶⁵ The manuscript has a small *paragraphos* just above the beginning of 474; this *paragraphos* also occurs at line 830, and sets the line off from what precedes it. It should not therefore be understood under the lemma πρὸς φίλους at line 469. At line 830, the line precedes the two verses that appear with *lemmata*, and therefore clearly does not fall under πρὸς φίλους. In both places, the line appears without instructions or context and appears to be a miscellaneous add-on that came to mind—two separate times—when Homer phylacteries were being discussed.

In the absence of context or instructions, is it possible to determine why this line was included in these places, and what it might have been good for? Its literary context in *Iliad* 5 is the wounding of Aphrodite. She is being comforted by her mother, Dione, who tries to get her to bear up by enumerating instances of suffering of the gods at the hands of mortals. Two out of three examples also concern wounded gods, but this particular verse comes from an episode of bondage: Ares is chained in a cauldron for thirteen months before he is rescued by Hermes. Ares usually has a free and aggressive role in magical materials,⁶⁶ but this particular line would not be suggestive of that. The line might have been thought useful for endurance, but it is probably even more useful as a θυμοκάτοχον, a

⁶⁴ *PGM IV 2146-51* is written with slightly larger characters than the main text, and with very large initial characters, which is why each verse has two lines in the text: the last word is carried over to a new line and centered. In the other two occurrences of the group, each verse fills one line.

⁶⁵ It does not reappear with the fourth group of Homer at lines 2145 ff.

⁶⁶ For example, in the preceding spell *IV 296-466*, where he appears as a threatening figurine in combination with a figure of the intended victim, a pierced and bound female figurine.

spell for the restraint of anger directed toward the practitioner, usually by superiors. What better to remember than the god of war helpless and in chains?⁶⁷ If the verse was for restraint of anger, this might explain its appearance at line 830, immediately preceding the *lemma* θυμοκάτοχον that introduces *Iliad* 8.424, discussed above. At some point in transmission, an individual with the two lemmatized phylacteries learned of another θυμοκάτοχον, and wrote it in *ad loc.* It precedes the *lemma* because either 1) there was space before it, therefore the *lemma* might have been at the top of a sheet or column; or 2) the new θυμοκάτοχον may have been written in a side margin, and later transferred to its present position before the *lemma* at some stage of copying. It is possible that this was done at the time of the making of PGM IV, and that this is the reason for the small horizontal stroke at the beginning of 474.

The first occurrence of the lines, at 467-74, was probably the last to be added to the text we now see. As noted above, the second two blocks were probably already associated with the phylacteries for the rite at a relatively early stage. If this is the case, then some individual who had already read the initiation and knew that these Homeric verses played a role, may have run across another version of these Homeric phylacteries, which he or she then copied back onto the text, inserting them at the beginning rather than the end. This would suggest blank space left at the beginning of this earlier document, to make this possible. It is strange that the "new version," in this scenario lines 467-74, would not have been copied onto blank space at the *end* of the manuscript, close to the other two Homer blocks 821-34. That there was blank space available here at some point is suggested by the inclusion at this point of the astrological fragment, which does not share the consistency of punctuation noted by Meyer, and is therefore probably an addition made at some later time.⁶⁸ One possibility is that the astrological fragment

⁶⁷ Again, this particular detail comes from the following line, and the resonance of 385 depends upon knowledge of 386.

⁶⁸ Although this fragment is separated from the initiation, I think that an individual with an interest in Mithras would very likely be interested in astrology as well. As Alan Segal noted, this initiation is framed as a new birth and may pre-suppose a new horoscope; see "Heavenly Ascent in Hellenistic Judaism, Early Christianity and Their Environment," *ANRW* II 23.2 (1980) 1381. The fragment

had already been added to the foot of this earlier document at the time when the owner discovered the new version of the Homeric lines, and so they were either 1) copied at the beginning, where there was blank space for some unknown reason; or 2) copied on to a loose sheet that was pasted or otherwise appended to the beginning rather than the end, also for an unknown reason. When this document was then copied again, all three Homeric occurrences and the astrological fragment were combined into the relationships we now see.

The basic picture that I derive from all this detail is as follows. Whatever the origin of the Mithraic visionary text, at some point it began to be expanded, or at least to accumulate additional, more or less related material. The initiation probably always involved some sort of phylacteries (660) and these⁶⁹ were continually annotated, as readers of the text incorporated other useful or lucky phrases. Line 819 says that the phylactery to be worn on the left is *πρὸς θυμῷ πληρέστατον*, καὶ τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἔχει, followed by the three Homeric lines that travel as a group. The text as we have it indicates that at some point in transmission, a scribe may have been collating at least two manuscripts,⁷⁰ and this statement may mean that in at least one of them, the three Homeric lines were "notated" near the description of the left-hand phylactery. Two manuscript traditions were thus collated to create a new one that included the three Homeric lines as part of its main text, along with the introductory clause. The new combined version then itself began to accumulate notes and material, a further Homeric line (824/*Iliad* 8.424), a small historiola about Zeus (825-9), another Homeric line (830/*Iliad* 5.385), and a second version of two good Homeric phylacteries, appended because of their *lemmata*—the annotator of the text already had the first of the two (824/*Iliad* 8.424), but without the informa-

is not a new natal chart, but it is not impossible that it relates in some way to configurations favorable for initiation and therefore rebirth.

⁶⁹ 660 refers to a phylactery "on the right" and the invocation of a word *πρὸς θυμῷ* (*sic*) which may be written upon it. Later (313-20), right and left phylacteries are mentioned, and the left one is said to be *πρὸς θυμῷ* (*sic*) *πληρέστατον*, having more of this word—this may mean it was written more times on the left than on the right.

⁷⁰ Indicated here (819-20) and also at line 500.

tion about what it was for. This line came already associated with the second lemmatized verse (834/*Iliad* 10.193) and so that was annotated in as well. After this, the astrological fragment was either copied into empty space left at the end of it all, or the whole thing was re-copied, now with all notes drawn down into the main text and with the astrological fragment incorporated from a loose text. I think the former is more likely, though, because at another, even later time, a fresh version of the Homeric lines was discovered and copied in, but at the *beginning* of the text, suggesting that there was not enough empty space after the astrological fragment to copy in eight lines of text, as would be the case if at the time this third version of the Homer phylacteries was discovered, the third block (850-1229) already followed immediately upon the astrological fragment, as it does in the present PGM IV.

All of this boils down to the possibility of five or six episodes of redaction for this small block of text alone:

1. Original text, date unknown; at least 2 manuscripts
 2. Text (2 mss consulted) plus daughter letter and additional material (Dieterich) and description of phylacteries; this supplemented text generated at least two versions which were used to make:
 3. Collated text with room at the end, which began to accumulate Homeric lines;
 4. The block combined with overall Block 2, for manuscript reasons;
 5. All of Block 2 combined with the rest of PGM IV or its predecessors.

Block 2 section C: 850-1226 or 1264

The next block of text consists of four visionary spells (850-929, 930-1114, 1115-66, 1167-226), the last two of which are very clearly related to each other. These four may have been followed by a bilingual exorcistic spell in a group of five later incorporated into *PGM* IV, but except for one manuscript feature,⁷¹ the indications of pre-collected grouping may almost as well be explained by the efforts of a more than usually organized compiler.

Within the block, the strongest relationships are between the third and fourth visionary spells, both of which 1) have the term "stele" in their *lemmata*, and 2) involve the god Aion. It is likely that these two were already together when linked to other texts.

This pair also links thematically with 850-929 ("Solomon's Collapse"), in that the first of the pair mentions the god entering into the practitioner (1122-3), which is also the goal of 850-929, although there the god enters into a medium, not the actual practitioner. There may also be a weak association between the second of the pair that makes symbolic use of the continually burning lamp of the Temple of God in Jerusalem, which in a way implies Solomon, who is associated with the building of that Temple. Therefore, it is possible that all four can be seen as linked thematically, and perhaps as a single document containing material relevant to a single type of visionary initiation, not unlike, e.g. the multiple versions of the *Eighth Book of Moses* contained in *PGM* XIII.⁷²

The use of the term *τέλη* in the *lemmata* of the second pair of texts is not unique in *PGM*, but is sufficiently unusual to cause surprise when found in two successive spells. The term is used in *PGM* to describe both words to be recited⁷³ and material to be in-

⁷¹ An inexplicable blank space is left on 14 verso after line 1264.

⁷² Which itself has a fondness for the term *τέλη* to designate writings and recitations.

⁷³ Only recitation mentioned: *PGM* IV 2572; XIII 61, 425, 684.

scribed,⁷⁴ and in one case, both.⁷⁵ The two spells here both use the term apparently with reference to spoken material only, but because neither appears with any kind of *praxis*, a lost instruction about writing cannot be ruled out.

The manuscript of PGM IV presents some unusual features where these blocks appear. These features are not unusual in themselves, but they are not characteristic of PGM IV overall. "Solomon's Collapse" is preceded by a small space and a forked *paragraphos*. To make such a separation is not the usual practice in PGM IV.⁷⁶ The text then proceeds straight through to 929 without break or feature. The "Direct Vision" text that begins at 930 is preceded by a rather large space of about two blank lines and another forked *paragraphos*, which is again not unusual, but not generally characteristic of this manuscript overall. Within the invocation section, the text twice skips to the beginning of the next line when shifting from instructions or magical names into Greek verse (938, 947), even though the verses themselves are written straight through without break, something that, again, PGM IV does not ordinarily do. This particular visionary spell has a variety of appendices or applications beginning at line 955,⁷⁷ of which several are marked in a variety of ways, including straight⁷⁸ and forked *paragraphoi* (1052, possibly 1057); others have no marks whatsoever (e.g., 1035). This use of *paragraphoi* to mark internal divisions within a spell is again not consistently characteristic of PGM IV. Though some of these papyrological features may appear elsewhere, it is noticeable to find so many of them together here in this block.

⁷⁴ Only writing mentioned: PGM V 96 (probably), 423; VII 215, 941; XIII 54, 127, 132, 568, 688.

⁷⁵ PGM IV 3209-54, where the practitioner first copies a *στήλη* (line 3249), and then recites it (line 3252).

⁷⁶ It does, however, occur sporadically. My point is not that this is a unique event, but that it and many other such patterns on PGM IV are not applied consistently or logically, and therefore may represent some sort of effort to follow patterns on divergent exemplars, that exhibit different scribal choices.

⁷⁷ Preisendanz prints a symbol, //, here, but this is not visible in my photographs.

⁷⁸ Possibly line 960 (not visible on my photographs), definitely 975, 977, 1057, 1066, 1077, 1085, 1103.

After this, the first of the *στήλη* texts is preceded by a forked *paragraphos* and no space (1115), and the second is preceded by a simple *paragraphos* (1167). The occurrence of a small group of possibly thematically-linked spells inside a large manuscript which suddenly exhibits different scribal choices is suggestive of a discrete exemplar being used and faithfully copied by the scribe of PGM IV or its exemplar. The last feature, the differential marking of the two "stele" spells, could also suggest that those two spells were together, with the second noted as a variant, at an earlier stage of transmission.

The uncertainty about the end of the block involves a bilingual Coptic-Greek exorcistic spell (1227-64) that names the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, as well as Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit. This spell is introduced with a forked *paragraphos* (1227) and differs significantly in purpose from the previous four spells. However, it is weakly linked to them thematically, through its use of the Israelite (and Christian) God and the patriarchs in a way that is consciously recognizable. It is possible to see this latter spell as an add-on to an original Solomonic-visionary text, but the main point is that after this block, there is a significant empty space left in the manuscript, and a thematic turn back to utilitarian purposes, and intelligibly Graeco-Roman deities.⁷⁹

Block 2 section D: 1227 or 1265-1389

The fourth group within Block 2 consists of a beneficent erotic technique (1265-74) and two or three⁸⁰ visionary⁸¹ or divine-assis-

⁷⁹ While the Bear texts that follow do contain a few elements that may ultimately trace back to some or another Jewish source, I personally doubt that anyone but a scholar of magic in antiquity with excellent modern training would be sensitive to this. While it is possible that our magical formularies were compiled by scholarly persons for antiquarian reasons, I do not think that their approach included the kind of linguistic analysis that is so useful to us today. For this reason, I am confining my thematic distinctions to shifts and emphases that I think would be understandable to anyone using or reading the spell.

⁸⁰ This depends on how one divides the text. There are *lemmata* and paragraph marks in lines 1275 and 1331, making two overall spells if we subsume 1323-30 under the applications and variations of 1275-1322, as does Preisendanz.

tance spells involving "The Bear" (1275-322; 1323-30; 1331-89), which may suggest either a pre-collected free-standing document or an editor or scribe who was much more organized than usual. The beginning of the block is unclear, due to the ambiguous situation of 1227-64, discussed above, although the unexplained large space on 14 verso (between lines 1264 and 1265) suggests that this spell belongs with the previous group. The end of the block, however, is clearly marked by the entirely blank leaf 16 recto-verso.

The Bear-spells relate to each other thematically, and it is easy to understand why they would be grouped together, either from loose texts by a very organized editor at the time of the writing of the precursor to this part of PGM IV (Block 2 overall), or by some person previous to this who compiled a short "book" with two Bear texts. These texts are both utilitarian in the sense that they aim to accomplish something, although the goals are not stated. It is difficult to understand a thematic relationship between them and the Aphrodite charm, which appears *before* this overall group of three rather than at its end.

"Aphrodite's Secret Name" is not preceded by any kind of *paragraphos*. Both of the Bear texts, however, are set off by a forked *paragraphos*. 1265-74 are also very slightly closer to each other than are the rest of the lines on that page, and have a very slightly different orientation, lacking the somewhat upward slant of the other lines on the page. However, 1265-74 are still written in the same hand as the rest of the papyrus. This situation opens up the possibility that lines 1265-74 were added *shortly after* the completion of at least this page of PGM IV, probably by the same scribe, and were copied in here because of the opportunity presented by the large space left after the exorcistic spell; if this is so, then that space would originally have been much larger than it appears to be

However, 1323 (which begins with ἄλλο) does show a tiny marginal tick, and this is probably why it is translated as a discrete spell in Betz, *GMP*, p. 63). However, since the first Bear spell already includes several variant invocations, because there is no *paragraphos*, and because there is no real skip at the end of line 1322, I prefer to see 1323-30 as its continuation, and break the text into two Bear spells, separated by *paragraphoi*.

⁸¹ Only lines 1323-30 directly mention divination.

now.⁸² Why new material would be added here and not at the end remains a mystery. Perhaps the feminine gender of the constellation invoked in the first of the two Bear texts suggested a thematic linkage to Aphrodite and the addition of her spell at the bottom of the blank, near the Bear texts, rather than at the top of the blank, near the exorcistic spell. Both of these texts also require frankincense, though this is probably too common a recipe ingredient to have dictated the grouping of the two spells. The second Bear text is directed toward plural deities, and concludes with the "hundred-lettered" name of Typhon. According to Plutarch, Egyptians did associate the constellation Ἀρκτος with Typhon;⁸³ the first Bear text, however, appears to involve Helios and/or Pre (or a single god, Helios-Pre), rather than Typhon.⁸⁴ After this second Bear text, the end of a block is dramatically indicated by the entirely blank leaf 16 recto-verso. As noted, while the leaf may be there for codicological reasons, it does appear to have been placed in that spot with regard to the logical break and perhaps exemplar change, that happens after 15 verso.

Block 3: 1390-1927

This block consists of two lengthy erotic spells, each of which occupies an entire leaf of the manuscript (1390-495, 1496-595),⁸⁵ a

⁸² If this is so, then it would appear that it was not felt to be important to keep that space blank, which actually makes it harder to understand why the blank was left in the first place.

⁸³ *Isis and Osiris*, 359 D.

⁸⁴ Texts involving the Bear also appear in *PGM* VII 686-702 and the very fragmentary *LXXII* 1-36. Betz notes the use of many ancient epithets for Artemis in the invocation to the Bear in *PGM* VII, and both of them, like the two under discussion, directed toward some unspecified action ("do the NN thing"); see Betz, *GMP*, 137-8 and 138 nn. 123-7. The Bear is also invoked briefly in *PGM* XXIII 31, a passage from the *Kestoi* of Julius Africanus (= *P.Oxy.* III 412), which also invokes many of the powers involved in the two Bear spells of *PGM* IV.

⁸⁵ 1390-1495 = 17 r/v; 1496-1595 = 18 r/v. Even though the spells of 17 r/v and 18 r/v are free-standing, they are strongly linked thematically with the material that follows them, in the second half of the manuscript through the latter portion of 22 recto, after which there is a break.

consecration text for a ring or a stone (1596-715), a long erotic text called "The Sword of Dardanos" that also involves a stone and also a wooden figure of Eros (1716-870),⁸⁶ and an apparent erotic spell involving the wax figure of a dog (1872-927).⁸⁷ Of these five, the first and last require as recipe ingredients the death-places or body parts (respectively) of persons who have died violently, and both of these address the souls of these figures in their invocations. The second and third are also closely related, and may possibly be a single spell with appended phylactery, since the second erotic spell concludes by requesting the "spell for all occasions," and the third begins with the *lemma* "Consecration for all purposes." It then goes on to create a stone (1619) or ring (1714) with protective power and many other strengths, including "sexual charm" (1674). If these two are regarded as a unit, then all of the spells in the block are erotic. This thematic connection is paralleled by the stylistic similarity of the texts, all of which are very long and, except for the fifth, have lots of invocation and very little *praxis*.

Both of the full leaf spells seem clearly to have been deliberately laid out on a full page each. The first of the two has relatively more lines per page (55/52).⁸⁸ The second of the two has fewer words per line than the first, and 18 verso is written in slightly expanded form to compensate and fill the entire page. The top of the next page marks the consecration (1596-1715). This consecration is followed by the "Sword of Dardanos" without break other than a forked *paragraphos*. After the "Sword," there is another forked *paragraphos* and a fairly large blank space on 21 verso, before the wax dog text. This blank comes directly after a section in the "Sword" that describes in detail an image of Aphrodite, Eros and

⁸⁶ Nock, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 190 and nn. 88 and 89. There is at least one extant amulet that is thought to derive from this text; see P. René Mouterde, S.J., *Le Glaive de Dardanos: Objets et inscriptions magiques de Syrie* (Beirut 1930) 55-64, with other related examples throughout.

⁸⁷ Another wax dog effigy appears at 2943-66, but the spells do not seem otherwise related.

⁸⁸ As noted earlier, the average is 52.2 for pages without skips. The frames that obscure the margins on the versos in my photographs make it unclear whether 17 verso extends further down into the bottom margin than usual as well.

Psyche that is to be inscribed upon a magnetic stone, and it is possible that the blank was left after the text for the image to be drawn in, which for some reason was never done. Thematically, the wax dog spell relates very well to the others in this group, in that it is erotic and depends upon an image, in this case in three dimensions. It relates poorly to the rather tightly knit block of spells involving "Pitys" that follows.

Block 4: 1928-2240

In this block of five texts—two called "Pitys' Spell of Attraction," 1928-2005 and 2006-125, both of which involve skull cups; a "Restraining Seal for Skulls," 2125-39; "Pitys the Thessalian's Spell for Questioning Corpses," 2140-44; and Homer verses, 2145-240—there are very strong thematic links among the first four, and a less clear but still interesting link to the *praxis* of the fifth. All four Pitys texts involve the creation of a written lamella, either on actual leaves or on metal or papyrus. Of these, three give specific ink recipes,⁸⁹ and two discuss effective drawings and figures, one of which may have been intended to be drawn in.⁹⁰

As before, the end of the block is indicated most strongly by the apparent beginning of a new block at 2241. This block provides a very good example of the pattern Thematic Group + Addendum = exemplar, when followed by New Thematic Block. In this case, the exemplar would be three or four texts about Pitys and body parts, to which has been appended the additional occurrence of the Homer verses, here with a long description of the verses' utility. In the present manuscript this is followed by the beginning of another clear, thematically related block or document,⁹¹ which does not relate either to Pitys or to the Homer verses.

The first Pitys spell is marked by a forked *paragraphos*, and inside the spell the poetic invocation is marked with *paragraphoi* at

⁸⁹ Ink recipes: 1928-2005, 2006-125, 2140-44.

⁹⁰ Drawings and figures: 2006-125, 2125-39 (engraved). A blank at 2067 may have been left to draw the first of these.

⁹¹ Invocations addressed to mainly lunar deities.

its beginning and end. The second Pity's spell is also marked by a forked *paragraphos* and the text continues unmarked to 2067, after which there is a large blank area which may have been left for the drawing of a goddess and a spell in the form of a circle, which had just been described in 2048-50.⁹² After the skip, the text continues without mark until the *paragraphos* that marks the invocation at 2088. I enumerate these to note that this is the usual frequency and occasion of *paragraphoi* in this manuscript. After this, abruptly and confusingly, comes 24 recto/verso, where the scribe has used a flurry of *paragraphoi*, mainly simple, to mark off every single shift from *logos* to *praxis*, and almost every mention of new people or functions for which the lines are useful—for a total of 8 on 24 recto and 16 on 24 verso, totally out of step with the rest of the manuscript. As the text continues onto 25 recto, despite the fact that a laundry list of applications for the lines is presented, there are no more *paragraphoi* of any kind. Why a scribe would suddenly do this would appear inexplicable. While each *paragraphos* in the cluster does mark something of note, there are other things of note that are not marked. I can only say that, since the increased marking is noticeable in both the last Pity's text and the Homer verses with applications, it is possible that both of these may have been added on to the end of an exemplar containing the first three Pity's spells, by someone with a more obsessive interest in being able to quickly find the uses of these verses, though not in the specifics of how to accomplish those purposes (the unmarked material on 25 verso). When this document was brought over into PGM IV or its exemplar, the marks were retained along with the text.⁹³

Block 5: 2241-2942

Although this block is very large, it consists of relatively few spells, of which several are extraordinarily long due to their inclu-

⁹² 23 verso.

⁹³ The Homer verses may have been combined with the Pity's material simply for convenience. There is, however a possible thematic link in that both mention an iron lamella (a fairly unusual medium) and the use of this lamella with dying or dead people for the purpose of divination.

sion of elaborate poetic invocations to Selene (2241-358), to Artemis-Selene (2521-67; 2574-612, 2642-676, 2785-870), to Hekate (2714-64), and to Aphrodite (2891-942). That the block represents a pre-existing source copied into *PGM* IV is indicated by several features. These spells are linked thematically through their involvement of female powers (all "lunar" except for the Aphrodite spell, and even she is "celestial"), although these deities certainly do appear frequently enough throughout *PGM*. It is also important to note that, while a great deal of material in *PGM* IV overall might have been folk knowledge at some stage, these literary and expensive spells suggest the world of educated people with time and resources; their interest in Hekate-Selene may further suggest the atmosphere of theurgy.⁹⁴

Block 5 section A: 2241-2440

Within the overall block are certain features suggestive of even smaller collections. The first of these features is the pattern Large Spell-addenda in lines 2241-440,⁹⁵ followed by another Large Spell (2441-621) which relates thematically to the *first* member of the previous block, not to the spells that immediately precede it. As noted earlier, this suggests an "original" copy of the larger spell (2241-358), which gained various accretions over time. In the first stage of this, the apparent change of subject in line 2355 from *ἄνακκα*, "mistress," to the male figures Harken-techtha and the archangel Michael appear to suggest an addition at this point that

⁹⁴ There have been many discussions of the relationships and identities among these deities, their functions, and the epithets they share. See Theodor Hopfner, "Hekate-Selene-Artemis und Verwandte in den griechischen Zauberpapyri und auf den Fluchtafeln," in Th. Klauser and A. Rucker (eds), *Pisciculi: Studien zur Religion und Kultur des Altertums* (Münster in Westfalen 1939) 125-45; Sarah Iles Johnston, *Hekate Soteira: A Study of Hekate's Roles in the Chaldean Oracles and Related Literature*. American Classical Studies 21 (Atlanta 1990).

⁹⁵ This portion of the pattern was noticed by Morton Smith, though he comments only on the isolation of the spell from its immediate neighbors, not on the larger patterns of the whole section; *op.cit.* (above, n. 11) 644-5.

creates the grammatical shift.⁹⁶ On recopying, those lines were included with the hymn, leaving no line or demarcation between them and the metrical text but perhaps leaving after them an indeterminate amount of open space. This blank space was then used for the two unrelated good-business spells, lines 2359-440. When this version was itself copied, either into the present PGM IV or its predecessor, the additional material was again preserved, this time with a small space to distinguish it from what the scribe thought of as the hymn—which seemed to him to *include* lines 2355-8. This newer, larger formulary then continues with the rest of the block, material that relates to the Selene hymn and not to these various addenda.

1) "Document to the Waning Moon"

2) "Document to the Waning Moon" + 2355-8

3) "Document to the Waning Moon" +
2355-8 + good business spells

4) Ultimate copying into
PGM IV or its predecessor

Block 5 section B: 2441-2891 or 2942

The second part of the block has four spells using hymns to Selene-Hekate-Artemis-Persephone. The first of these (2441-621), actually contains three hymns, the third of which is lemmatized "Coercive" (2574-604). This is followed by a "Slander Spell" (2622-707) which also uses a hymn (2643-74). These two hymns are so close as to be considered variant examples of a single hymn or spell, and it is of great interest that magical names and their placement are shared as well as poetic, metrical elements. This would suggest that the developed spell, and not only the hymn, was in circulation

⁹⁶ Morton Smith described 2355-8 as a "fragment introducing a protective rite evidently for some other spell now lost," and says they begin with a "pseudoepistolary formula." These lines are also not in meter, further suggesting that the words on the far side of the magical names do not form an original continuation of the overall hymn; *ibid.* 645.

long enough to develop significant variations and to be collected and combined by someone who could clearly see that they belonged together in his own document. Both of these hymns involve slander of the intended victim, informing the goddess that the victim is blaspheming against her, although each has many other sections, both metrical and prose, that are more or less unique. Also, each of these spells begins with a very similar public relations or advertising section, stressing the speed and multipurpose utility of the spell and the need for a protective amulet for the practitioner, although the first of the two is more elaborated in this regard. The two spells require similar but not identical ingredients for their recipes, most of which, such as a mouse, moon beetles, and the fat of a virgin dappled goat, also appear in the poetic sections. Other ingredients are also mentioned by both spells, including various kinds of incenses, flowers and fruits. Taken together, these features suggest different versions of a particular ritual, brought together into a single document in a way that recalls *PGM XIII*, which contains multiple versions of *The Eighth Book of Moses* as well as other material related to Moses in various ways. These two versions were ultimately combined with the following two hymns, creating what could almost be called a "Moon Book," full of long hymns and elaborate rituals for erotic purposes, involving the lunar goddess in many forms.⁹⁷ Then, the overall Moon Book eventually attracted the Aphrodite hymn which, while not lunar, is extremely close to the others, in function (erotic summoner) and in style (poetic sections).

1) "Slander Spell of Attraction" (two versions)

2) Slander Spell of Attraction" (two versions) + two additional Artemis *et al.* texts

3) These four with Aphrodite text added;

4) Ultimate copying into *PGM IV* or its predecessor

⁹⁷ And also including Aphrodite, related by function (erotic) and also, weakly, by being also a celestial body.

The End of the Manuscript: 2943-3274

The preceding block brought the scribe to the bottom of 32 recto. What follows to the end of the manuscript presents an extremely varied group of materials in which, as far as I can see, no thematic or manuscript patterns suggestive of pre-existing formularies can be seen. The first spell to appear, the erotic bats'-eyes ritual involving Hekate (2943-66) is functionally and thematically linked to the preceding block, but is stylistically very different.

The planning of the codex that is evident in the relative numbers of characters per line would seem to suggest that the scribe did not leave the last nine pages of his codex blank, so that this material could accrete; and the apparent consistency of hand confirms this. The question is open, however, whether this material presented itself to the scribe as loose materials or as a small handbook, which was unusually poorly organized (relative to the ones hypothesized in this paper). If loose, it would have been harder for the scribe to predict how many pages he would require unless he already had the exact number of characters per line that would be needed for their place in the codex. This may make a single collection more likely, but there really is nothing I can see in the text to suggest a preference for either scenario.

Conclusions, Possibilities, Desiderata

To begin with the needs: *PGM IV* needs and deserves a new edition using all the skills and tools of a modern papyrologist, on the model of R. W. Daniel's essential study of *PGM XII* and *XIII*, *Two Greek Magical Papyri in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden*.⁹⁸ The present study used microfilm acquired from the Bibliothèque Nationale, the quality of which could be greatly enhanced by modern techniques.

This study of manuscript features suggests that the current *PGM IV* was copied directly from an exemplar that was already in a similar form, as shown by the forethought that seems to have gone

⁹⁸ *Pap.Colon.* 19 (1991).

into the average number of lines per page, discussed above and in Chart 1. That exemplar itself would seem to have been created through the combination of a variety of smaller formularies into one object. It is thus the exemplar scribe who has probably left the inexplicable blank sheets, especially 3 verso and 16 recto/verso, and it is to that copying event that the considerations described above apply. As discussed above, the blank leaf 16 recto/verso may have been added to create extra space in the second half of the codex, but it also occurs at a content break which is minimally marked at the foot of 15 verso. 16 recto may therefore have been deliberately left blank, to emphasize something that was important to the scribe or to preserve a feature of the exemplar he was using, perhaps a blank back cover for a source formulary running up to 1389, in other words, Block 2 discussed above.

The evidence of *defixiones* (papyrus and durable), figurines, etc. demonstrates that some people at least did do things like (some of) those described in formularies in the fourth and fifth centuries and beyond. That some of them probably used formularies is demonstrated by David Martinez's work, which shows the consistency not only of certain phrases but also of writing-forms and figurines, etc., over a long period of time; use of formularies is also frequently stated in literary references. But it does not follow from this that the formularies they used were like the present *PGM* IV in structure and included all the types of materials contained there—in other words, the ancient category for "magic"⁹⁹ in different centuries may not have included everything that *PGM* IV, in the fourth century, includes. The patterns discussed here suggest discrete interests, and perhaps backgrounds, behind the groupings within the manuscript. This is most evident in Block 5, a hypothesized sub-formulary that draws mainly upon Greek imagery, prayer and poetic forms for erotic rituals involving a Graeco-Roman constellation of goddesses, and which discusses stones and phylacteries for the practitioner, but relies most on recitation for the activation of the magic, and does not create a *defixio*. Block 2, with its many divisions, mainly appears to reflect the interests of learned persons in-

⁹⁹ I refer to the conceptual category, not the terminology used, on which see Graf, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) esp. 20-60.

terested in ascent and transformation. Do these two disparate witnesses describe discrete areas of interest within one specific group, or discrete *groups* that may, in context, have had little interest in or use for each other? The former position was argued by David Frankfurter, who attributed the combination to a circle of Egyptian priests in the Roman and Christian eras, who functioned as religious experts for their communities at the same time as they preserved very ancient temple traditions. Such individuals might well have had command of all the types of materials contained in PGM IV; in fact, one of the good-business spells in PGM IV specifically mentions making a temple prosper greatly (3125-71). The patterns discussed in this paper, however, suggest that even if some religious experts used or knew all such types of material in the fourth century, prior to that time there seems to have been sufficient differentiation of interests that within the larger blocks (books) the overlap is rarely to be seen.

The understanding of ancient magic is greatly complicated by the need, presented by PGM IV and other complex formularies, to try and include within that category all that these huge collections contain. If, however, manuscript features can be used to distinguish smaller collections with different principles of organization, the current trend toward rejection of "magic" as a useful category for the study of ancient religion may need to be rethought.¹⁰⁰

Chart 2: Overview of Blocks

Block 1: 1-153

Block 2: 154-1389

section A: 154-466

section B: 467-849

section C: 850-1226 or 1264

section D: 1227 or 1265-389

Block 3: 1390-927

Block 4: 1928-2240

¹⁰⁰ The analysis of various ancient categories for which the term "magic" may in fact be useful is the subject of my work in progress, "The Magic Word: Religious Language and Language in Religious Studies" (approximate title).

Block 5: 2241-942

section A: 2241-440

section B: 2441-942

Block 6: 2943-3274

LYNN LIDONNICI

Vassar College



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