

THE GREEK
MAGICAL PAPYRI
IN TRANSLATION

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THE GREEK
MAGICAL PAPYRI
IN TRANSLATION

INCLUDING THE DEMOTIC SPELLS

Edited by
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Shall we write about the things not to be spoken of?
Shall we divulge the things not to be divulged?
Shall we pronounce the things not to be pronounced?

Julian, *Hymn to the Mother of the Gods*

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Preface

This volume of translations of the Greek magical papyri has been a long time in the making. The project began in a planning colloquium at Claremont, California, May 31 to June 4, 1978. At this meeting, a team of scholars resolved to produce this translation volume as part of a research project on the Greek magical papyri, the project as a whole being designed as a contribution to the *Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti*.

The translations turned out to be more difficult and time-consuming than had been expected. Since it seemed desirable to expand the Preisendanz collection to include as many newly discovered and newly published magical papyri as possible, the number of papyri increased from 81 to 131. In this respect, the translation volume differs from the Preisendanz volumes. It differs also in that while Preisendanz reproduced only the Greek sections of bilingual Greek-Demotic papyri, this volume includes the full translations of all bilingual texts.

All translations are based on the Greek, Demotic, and Coptic texts. *PGM I–LXXXI* follow the Preisendanz edition, while *PGM LXXXII–CXXX* and *PDM Supplement* follow their critical editions, which are indicated in the notes. Translators were free to make changes in the texts when they thought it necessary; these changes are also indicated in the notes. Where earlier translations exist, they have been consulted, but all the translations included in this volume are new.

Unlike the Preisendanz edition, this new volume does not have an *apparatus criticus*. Instead, it has notes explaining difficulties in the text and the translation, and notes alerting readers to important information. It has been necessary to limit these notes to a degree which many readers may find drastic, but the team decided not to attempt what could only be a lengthy commentary on the papyri. Instead, they agreed that other research tools should be developed to encourage and assist further research on the papyri. The following research tools are presently being prepared:

1. An index of Greek words is being prepared by Professor Edward O'Neil.
2. A subject index based on the English translation is being worked out by Ms. Marjorie Menaul.
3. A collection of parallels between the magical papyri and early Christian literature is being prepared by the research team. This part of the project is most directly related to the task of the *Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti*, namely, the collection of parallels from ancient literature to the New Testament and the other Christian literature up to approximately A.D. 150.
4. A comprehensive bibliography, including editions and investigations of the magical papyri, is being assembled by Professor David Hellholm.

The present volume would not have come about without the generous support of institutions and individuals. The National Endowment for the Humanities has funded the entire venture from the beginning by substantial grants from 1978 to 1983. Without this financial assistance, the project would simply not exist; schol-

arly team projects of this magnitude cannot live on enthusiasm alone. Apart from the purely financial aspect, the officers of the NEH have helped more than they may realize by their quiet encouragement and confidence expressed over a number of years.

A great deal of assistance also came from the institutions where the project was initiated and where it is now based. These include the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity at Claremont, where the project was based during the years 1977 and 1978, and the Institute for the Advanced Study of Religion at the University of Chicago, where it has been from 1978 to the present. Thanks are especially due to the officers of these institutions, Professors James M. Robinson and James Brashler of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity; and Professors Joseph M. Kitagawa, formerly dean, and Franklin I. Gamwell, currently dean, of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, as well as to Martin E. Marty, program coordinator for the Institute for the Advanced Study of Religion of the University of Chicago.

The present project could not have succeeded without the unfailing loyalty and generosity of the members of the team, both contributors and consultants. Among these should be named Professors Jan Bergman, Walter Burkert, Franco Maltomini, and P. J. Sijpesteijn. The research specialists of the project, Professor William C. Grese (1977–80), and Mr. Roy Kotansky and Ms. Marjorie Menaul (1980–83), not only helped to carry the burdens of administration and editorship, but made substantial contributions to the project as well. To all of them sincere thanks are due.

H. D. Betz

Table of Spells

This list of spells presupposes the divisions in the texts and the identification of section titles made by the editor. In the Demotic spells, section titles are sometimes indicated by red lettering (but this is not done consistently). If no titles are given, this fact is stated (No title) and a short description of content is added.

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Translator</i>	<i>Short Title</i>
<i>PGM I</i>		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PGM I. 1–42</i>	E.N.O.	[Rite] for acquiring an assistant daimon
<i>PGM I. 42–195</i>	E.N.O.	The spell of Pnouthis (for acquiring an assistant daimon)
<i>PGM I. 195–222</i>	E.N.O.	Prayer of deliverance
<i>PGM I. 222–31</i>	E.N.O.	Invisibility spell
<i>PGM I. 232–47</i>	E.N.O.	Memory spell
<i>PGM I. 247–62</i>	E.N.O.	Spell for invisibility
<i>PGM I. 262–347</i>	E.N.O.	Apollonian invocation
<i>PGM II</i>		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PGM II. 1–64</i>	J.M.D. / E.N.O.	(No title) Spell for revelation
<i>PGM II. 65–183</i>	J.M.D. / E.N.O.	(No title) Alternative spell for revelation
<i>PGM III</i>		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PGM III. 1–164</i>	J.M.D.	(No title) Cat ritual for many purposes
<i>PGM III. 165–86</i>	J.M.D.	(No title) Oracular request (?)
<i>PGM III. 187–262</i>	J.M.D. / E.N.O.	(No title) Spell for revelation
<i>PGM III. 263–75</i>	W.C.G.	Foreknowledge charm
<i>PGM III. 275–81</i>	E.N.O.	[Horoscope]
<i>PGM III. 282–409</i>	W.C.G. / M.W.M.	(No title) Spell for foreknowledge
<i>PGM III. 410–23</i>	W.C.G.	(No title) Memory spell
<i>PGM III. 424–66</i>	W.C.G.	A copy from a holy book (spell for foreknowledge and memory)
<i>PGM III. 467–78</i>	W.C.G.	Memory spell
<i>PGM III. 479–83</i>	W.C.G.	Foreknowledge charm
<i>PGM III. 483–88</i>	W.C.G.	Another (foreknowledge charm to detect a thief)
<i>PGM III. 488–94</i>	W.C.G.	Another (spell to detect a thief?)
<i>PGM III. 494–611</i>	W.C.G. / E.N.O.	[Spell to establish a relationship with] Helios
<i>PGM III. 612–32</i>	J.M.D.	(No title) Spell for gaining control of one's shadow
<i>PGM III. 633–731</i>	M.W.M.	(No title) Spell for a direct vision
<i>PGM IV</i>		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PGM IV. 1–25</i>	M.W.M.	(No title) Spell for revelation
<i>PGM IV. 26–51</i>	H.M.	Initiation
<i>PGM IV. 52–85</i>	H.M. / M.W.M.	(No title) Spell for revelation
<i>PGM IV. 86–87</i>	M.W.M.	Phylactery against daimons

<i>PGM</i> IV. 88–93	W.C.G. / M.W.M.	Another, to Helios
<i>PGM</i> IV. 94–153	M.W.M.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 154–285	J.P.H. / E.N.O.	Nephotes to Psammetichos (letter concerning bowl divination)
<i>PGM</i> IV. 286–95	E.N.O.	Spell for picking a plant
<i>PGM</i> IV. 296–466	E.N.O.	Wondrous spell for binding a lover
<i>PGM</i> IV. 467–68	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
<i>PGM</i> IV. 469–70	H.M.	(Charm) to get friends
<i>PGM</i> IV. 471–73	H.M.	(No title) Verses from Homer
<i>PGM</i> IV. 474	H.M.	(No title) Verse from Homer
<i>PGM</i> IV. 475–829	M.W.M.	(No title) The “Mithras Liturgy”
<i>PGM</i> IV. 830	H.M.	(No title) Verse from Homer
<i>PGM</i> IV. 831–32	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
<i>PGM</i> IV. 833–34	H.M.	(Charm) to get friends
<i>PGM</i> IV. 835–49	W.C.G.	(No title) Astrological text
<i>PGM</i> IV. 850–929	W.C.G.	Charm of Solomon that produces a trance
<i>PGM</i> IV. 930–1114	W.C.G. / E.N.O.	Charm that produces direct vision
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1115–66	W.C.G.	Hidden stele (prayer)
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1167–1226	W.C.G.	Stele (spell for deliverance)
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1227–64	M.W.M.	Rite for driving out daimons
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1265–74	E.N.O.	Aphrodite’s name (love spell)
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1275–1322	W.C.G.	Bear charm
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1323–30	W.C.G.	Another (Bear charm)
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1331–89	W.C.G.	Bear charm
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1390–1495	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1496–1595	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1596–1715	M.S.	Consecration for all purposes
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1716–1870	E.N.O.	Sword of Dardanos (love spell)
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1872–1927	E.N.O.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> IV. 1928–2005	E.N.O.	King Pitys’ spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2006–2125	E.N.O.	Pitys’ spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2125–39	M.S.	A restraining seal
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2140–44	W.C.G.	Pitys the Thessalian’s spell for questioning corpses
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2145–2240	H.M.	Divine assistance from three Homeric verses
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2241–2358	E.N.O.	Document to the waning moon
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2359–72	R.F.H.	Business spell
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2373–2440	R.F.H.	Charm for acquiring business
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2441–2621	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2622–2707	E.N.O.	Slander spell to Selene
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2708–84	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2785–2890	E.N.O.	Prayer to Selene
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2891–2942	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2943–66	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> IV. 2967–3006	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell for picking a plant
<i>PGM</i> IV. 3007–86	W.C.G.	Charm of Pibechis for those possessed by daimons
<i>PGM</i> IV. 3086–3124	W.C.G.	Oracle of Kronos, called “little mill”
<i>PGM</i> IV. 3125–71	M.S.	(No title) Spell for favor
<i>PGM</i> IV. 3172–3208	W.C.G.	Dream-producing charm
<i>PGM</i> IV. 3209–54	J.P.H.	Saucer divination of Aphrodite
<i>PGM</i> IV. 3255–74	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell to induce insomnia
<i>PGM</i> V		(No title) Magical handbook

<i>PGM</i> V. 1–53	W.C.G.	Oracle of Sarapis
<i>PGM</i> V. 54–69	W.C.G.	Direct vision spell
<i>PGM</i> V. 70–95	W.C.G.	(No title) Spell to catch a thief
<i>PGM</i> V. 96–172	D.E.A.	Stele of Jeu the hieroglyphist (letter)
<i>PGM</i> V. 172–212	W.C.G.	Another way (spell to catch a thief)
<i>PGM</i> V. 213–303	M.S.	Hermes' ring
<i>PGM</i> V. 304–69	M.S.	(No title) Defixio
<i>PGM</i> V. 370–446	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell for revelation
<i>PGM</i> V. 447–58	M.S.	(No title) Instruction concerning a magical ring
<i>PGM</i> V. 459–89	D.E.A.	Another way (spell for many purposes)
<i>PGM</i> Va. 1–3	H.M.	(No title) Spell for direct vision
<i>PGM</i> VI. 1–47	E.N.O.	(No title) Prayer for encounter with Helios
<i>PGM</i> VII		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PGM</i> VII. 1–148	H.M.	Homer oracle
<i>PGM</i> VII. 149–54	W.C.G.	To keep bugs out of the house
<i>PGM</i> VII. 155–67	W.C.G.	Days and hours for divination
<i>PGM</i> VII. 167–86	R.D.K.	Demokritos' "table gimmicks"
<i>PGM</i> VII. 186–90	R.F.H.	Favor and victory charm
<i>PGM</i> VII. 191–92	E.N.O.	Spell for binding a lover
<i>PGM</i> VII. 193–96	J.S.	For scorpion sting
<i>PGM</i> VII. 197–98	J.S.	For discharge of the eyes
<i>PGM</i> VII. 199–201	J.S.	For migraine headache
<i>PGM</i> VII. 201–2	J.S.	Another (for migraine headache)
<i>PGM</i> VII. 203–5	J.S.	For coughs
<i>PGM</i> VII. 206–7	J.S.	Another (for coughs)
<i>PGM</i> VII. 208–9	J.S.	For hardening of the breasts
<i>PGM</i> VII. 209–10	J.S.	For swollen testicles
<i>PGM</i> VII. 211–12	J.S.	For fever with shivering fits
<i>PGM</i> VII. 213–14	J.S.	For daily fever and nightly fever
<i>PGM</i> VII. 215–18	H.M.	Stele of Aphrodite (spell for favor)
<i>PGM</i> VII. 218–21	J.S.	Phylactery for daily fever with shivering fits
<i>PGM</i> VII. 222–49	W.C.G.	Request for a dream oracle from Besas
<i>PGM</i> VII. 250–54	W.C.G.	Request for a dream oracle
<i>PGM</i> VII. 255–59	W.C.G.	Another to the same lamp
<i>PGM</i> VII. 260–71	J.S.	For the ascent of the uterus
<i>PGM</i> VII. 272–83	W.C.G.	(No title) Astrological calendar
<i>PGM</i> VII. 284–99	E.N.O.	Orbit of the moon (horoscope)
<i>PGM</i> VII. 300	W.C.G.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM</i> VII. 300a–310	E.N.O.	Love charm
<i>PGM</i> VII. 311–16	M.S.	Phylactery
<i>PGM</i> VII. 317–18	M.S.	Another phylactery
<i>PGM</i> VII. 319–34	W.C.G.	Charm for direct vision
<i>PGM</i> VII. 335–47	W.C.G.	Charm for direct vision
<i>PGM</i> VII. 348–58	W.C.G.	Divination by means of a boy
<i>PGM</i> VII. 359–69	W.C.G.	Request for a dream oracle
<i>PGM</i> VII. 370–73	W.C.G.	(Spell) against every wild animal
<i>PGM</i> VII. 374–76	R.F.H.	Charm to induce insomnia
<i>PGM</i> VII. 376–84	R.F.H.	Another (charm to induce insomnia)
<i>PGM</i> VII. 385–89	E.N.O.	Cup spell (love spell)
<i>PGM</i> VII. 390–93	R.F.H.	Victory charm for the races
<i>PGM</i> VII. 394–95	R.F.H.	Coercive spell for restraining
<i>PGM</i> VII. 396–404	R.F.H.	Spell for silencing, subjecting, and restraining

<i>PGM VII. 405–6</i>	E.N.O.	Love spell
<i>PGM VII. 407–10</i>	E.N.O.	(No title) Dream spell
<i>PGM VII. 411–16</i>	E.N.O.	Spell for causing talk while asleep
<i>PGM VII. 417–22</i>	M.S.	Restraining spell
<i>PGM VII. 423–28</i>	R.F.H.	To win at dice
<i>PGM VII. 429–58</i>	M.S.	Restraining spell
<i>PGM VII. 459–61</i>	E.N.O.	Love charm
<i>PGM VII. 462–66</i>	E.N.O.	Love charm
<i>PGM VII. 467–77</i>	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM VII. 478–90</i>	H.M.	(No title) Spell for dream revelation
<i>PGM VII. 490–504</i>	M.S.	(No title) Spell for protection
<i>PGM VII. 505–28</i>	H.M.	Meeting with your own daimon
<i>PGM VII. 528–39</i>	R.F.H.	Victory charm
<i>PGM VII. 540–78</i>	J.P.H.	Lamp divination
<i>PGM VII. 579–90</i>	M.S.	Phylactery
<i>PGM VII. 591–92</i>	W.C.G.	(No title) Prayer of invocation
<i>PGM VII. 593–619</i>	D.E.A.	Fetching charm
<i>PGM VII. 619–27</i>	E.N.O.	From the Diadem of Moses (spells for invisibility and love)
<i>PGM VII. 628–42</i>	M.S.	(No title) Rite involving a magical ring
<i>PGM VII. 643–51</i>	E.N.O.	Cup spell (love spell)
<i>PGM VII. 652–60</i>	R.F.H.	Spell to induce insomnia
<i>PGM VII. 661–63</i>	E.N.O.	Love spell
<i>PGM VII. 664–85</i>	E.N.O.	Request for dream revelations
<i>PGM VII. 686–702</i>	H.D.B.	Bear charm
<i>PGM VII. 703–26</i>	W.C.G.	Request for dream oracle
<i>PGM VII. 727–39</i>	W.C.G.	Charm for a direct vision of Apollo
<i>PGM VII. 740–55</i>	W.C.G.	[Request for a dream oracle]
<i>PGM VII. 756–94</i>	W.C.G.	Prayer
<i>PGM VII. 795–845</i>	J.P.H.	Pythagoras' request for a dream oracle and Demokritos' dream divination
<i>PGM VII. 846–61</i>	W.C.G.	Shadow on the sun (spell for revelation)
<i>PGM VII. 862–918</i>	E.N.O.	Lunar spell of Klaudianos
<i>PGM VII. 919–24</i>	R.F.H.	Hermes' wondrous victory charm
<i>PGM VII. 925–39</i>	R.F.H.	Another, charm to subject
<i>PGM VII. 940–68</i>	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger and to subject
<i>PGM VII. 969–72</i>	E.N.O.	A good potion (love spell)
<i>PGM VII. 973–80</i>	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction . . .
<i>PGM VII. 981–93</i>	E.N.O.	[Love spell of attraction]
<i>PGM VII. 993–1009</i>	W.C.G.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM VII. 1009–16</i>	W.C.G.	Divination by a dream
<i>PGM VII. 1017–26</i>	R.F.H.	[No title] Spell for favor and victory
<i>PGM VIII. 1–63</i>	E.N.O.	Binding love spell of Astrapsoukos
<i>PGM VIII. 64–110</i>	W.C.G. / E.N.O.	Request for a dream oracle of Besas
<i>PGM IX. 1–14</i>	R.F.H. / E.N.O.	(No title) Spell to subject and silence
<i>PGM X. 1–23</i>	E.N.O.	(No title [?]) Love spell
<i>PGM X. 24–35</i>	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
<i>PGM X. 36–50</i>	R.F.H.	Apollo's charm to subject
<i>PGM XIa. 1–40</i>	H.M.	Apollonius of Tyana's old serving woman
<i>PGM XIb. 1–5</i>	R.D.K.	(No title) "Table gimmick" (?)
<i>PGM XIc. 1–19</i>	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM xii (PGM XII)</i>		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PDM xii 1–5</i>	J.H.J.	(No title) Invocation
<i>PDM xii 6–20</i>	J.H.J.	A ring to cause praise

<i>PDM</i> xii 21–49	J.H.J.	(No title) Prayer for a revelation of a remedy for a disease
<i>PGM</i> XII. 1–13	H.M.	Rite (to produce an epiphany of Kore)
<i>PGM</i> XII. 14–95	H.M.	Eros as assistant daimon
<i>PGM</i> XII. 96–106	R.F.H.	Himerios' recipes
<i>PGM</i> XII. 107–21	W.C.G.	Charm of Agathokles for sending dreams
<i>PGM</i> XII. 121–43	R.D.K.	Zminis of Tentyra's spell for sending dreams
<i>PGM</i> XII. 144–52	W.C.G.	Request for a dream
<i>PGM</i> XII. 153–60	W.C.G.	Spell for a divine revelation
<i>PGM</i> XII. 160–78	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell to release from bonds
<i>PGM</i> XII. 179–81	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell for restraining anger
<i>PGM</i> XII. 182–89	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell for gaining favor
<i>PGM</i> XII. 190–92	W.C.G.	Request for a dream oracle spoken to the Bear
<i>PGM</i> XII. 193–201	J.S.	[To make] a tincture of gold
<i>PGM</i> XII. 201–69	M.S.	A ring
<i>PGM</i> XII. 270–350	M.S.	A little ring for success and favor and victory
<i>PGM</i> XII. 351–64	J.P.H.	Demokritos' "sphere"
<i>PGM</i> XII. 365–75	R.F.H.	Charm for causing separation
<i>PGM</i> XII. 376–96	R.F.H.	Charm to induce insomnia
<i>PGM</i> XII. 397–400	H.M.	To gain favor and friendship forever
<i>PGM</i> XII. 401–44	H.D.B. / J.S.	Interpretations
<i>PDM</i> xii. 50–61	J.H.J.	Spell for separating one person from another
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 445–48]		
<i>PDM</i> xii. 62–75	J.H.J.	Another (spell for separation)
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 449–52]		
<i>PDM</i> xii. 76–107	J.H.J. / R.F.H.	Another (spell for separation)
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 453–65]		
<i>PDM</i> xii. 108–18	J.H.J.	A spell [to] cause a woman to hate a man
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 466–68]		
<i>PDM</i> xii. 119–34	J.H.J. / E.N.O.	A spell for it (fetching spell?)
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 469–73]		
<i>PDM</i> xii. 135–46	J.H.J. / E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 474–79]		
<i>PDM</i> xii. 147–64	J.H.J. / E.N.O.	Another (love spell of attraction)
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 480–95]		
[<i>PGM</i> XII. 480–95]		
<i>PGM</i> XIII. 1–734	M.S.	A sacred book called "Unique" or "Eighth Book of Moses"
<i>PGM</i> XIII. 1–343	M.S.	[Part A: Initiation ritual and magical handbook]
<i>PGM</i> XIII. 343–646	M.S.	[Part B: A second, different version of the initiation ritual]
<i>PGM</i> XIII. 647–734	M.S.	[Part C: A third, different version of the initiation ritual]
<i>PGM</i> XIII. 734–1077	M.S.	(No title) A collection of miscellaneous spells
<i>PDM</i> xiv		(No title) Magical handbook
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1–92	J.H.J.	[A vessel divination]
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 93–114	J.H.J. / W.C.G.	(No title) Spell for revelation
[<i>PGM</i> XIVa. 1–11]		
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 115	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for vision (?)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 116	J.H.J.	Another spell for vision (?)

<i>PDM</i> xiv. 117–49	J.H.J.	A “god’s arrival”
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 150–231	J.H.J.	An inquiry of the lamp
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 232–38	J.H.J.	A “god’s arrival”
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 239–95	J.H.J.	The vessel inquiry of Khonsu
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 295–308	J.H.J.	[A] vessel [inquiry]
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 309–34	J.H.J.	A spell for causing favor
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 335–55	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 355–65	J.H.J.	Another love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 366–75	J.H.J.	The method (spell for separating man and woman)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 376–94	J.H.J.	(No title) Various recipes
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 395–427	J.H.J.	[A vessel divination]
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 428–50	J.H.J.	(No title) Two love potions
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 451–58	J.H.J. / R.F.H.	(No title) Spell for going before a superior
[<i>PGM</i> XIVb. 12–15]		
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 459–75	J.H.J.	(No title) Lamp divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 475–88	J.H.J.	(No title) Lamp divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 489–515	J.H.J.	Another (lamp divination)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 516–27	J.H.J.	Another (lamp divination)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 528–53	J.H.J.	(No title) Vessel divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 554–62	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for dog bite
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 563–74	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for removal of poison
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 574–85	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for removal of bone stuck in the throat
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 585–93	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for dog bite
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 594–620	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for sting
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 620–26	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for removal of bone stuck in the throat
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 627–35	J.H.J.	(No title) Vessel divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 636–69	J.H.J.	(No title) Love potion
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 670–74	J.H.J.	(No title) Introduction to a collection of spells (?)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 675–94	J.H.J. / R.F.H.	A spell (to cause “evil sleep”)
[<i>PGM</i> XIVc. 15–27]		
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 695–700	J.H.J.	(No title) Vessel divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 701–5	J.H.J.	(No title) Vessel divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 706–10	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell against “evil sleep”
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 711–15	J.H.J.	Prescription (to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 716–24	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 724–26	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 727–36	J.H.J.	A prescription (three prescriptions to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 737–38	J.H.J.	A prescription (to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 739–40	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 741	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 742	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 743–49	J.H.J.	Another (spell to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 750–71	J.H.J.	(No title) Lamp divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 772–804	J.H.J.	A method (love spells)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 805–40	J.H.J.	Another (vessel inquiry)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 841–50	J.H.J.	Another method (vessel inquiry)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 851–55	J.H.J.	Another (vessel inquiry)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 856–75	J.H.J.	(No title) Inquiry of the sun
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 875–85	J.H.J.	Here is another (inquiry of the sun)

<i>PDM</i> xiv. 886–96	J.H.J.	(No title) Recipes involving herbs
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 897–910	J.H.J.	(No title) List of herbs and minerals
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 912–16	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to cause “evil sleep”
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 917–19	J.H.J.	Prescription (to cause “evil sleep”)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 920–29	J.H.J.	(No title) Information concerning mineral
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 930–32	J.H.J.	A prescription (love spell)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 933–34	J.H.J.	(No title) Information concerning mineral
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 935–39	J.H.J.	(No title) Prescription for a watery ear
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 940–52	J.H.J.	(No title) Information concerning sala- mander and herbs
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 953–55	J.H.J.	A prescription (to stop blood)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 956–60	J.H.J.	(No title) Test of pregnancy
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 961–65	J.H.J.	A prescription (two prescriptions to stop blood)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 966–69	J.H.J.	(No title) Information concerning herbs
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 970–77	J.H.J.	A prescription (two prescriptions to stop liquid in a woman)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 978–80	J.H.J.	Another (prescription to stop liquid in a woman)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 981–84	J.H.J.	Another (prescription to stop liquid in a woman)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 985–92	J.H.J.	Gout (prescription)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 993–1002	J.H.J.	Another (prescription for gout)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1003–14	J.H.J.	(No title) Amulet for gout
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1015–20	J.H.J.	(No title) Prescription for unidentifiable ailment
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1021–23	J.H.J.	(No title) Prescription for a stiff foot
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1024–25	J.H.J.	(No title) Another prescription for a stiff foot
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1026–45	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1046–47	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1047–48	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1049–55	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1056–62	J.H.J.	(No title) Spells involving <i>voces magicæ</i>
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1063–69	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1070–77	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to send dreams and make a woman love
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1078–89	J.H.J.	(No title) Request for revelation
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1090–96	J.H.J.	(No title) Fetching spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1097–1103	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to heal an eye disease
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1104–9	J.H.J.	(No title) Recipe concerning eye ointment
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1110–29	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to open eyes for divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1130–40	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1141–54	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for lamp divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1155–62	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1163–79	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for vessel divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1180–81	J.H.J.	(No title) Fragment from invocation
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1182–87	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell to cause madness
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1188–89	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell (?)
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1190–93	J.H.J.	(No title) Another love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1194–95	J.H.J.	(No title) Another love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1196–98	J.H.J.	(No title) Another love spell
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1199–1205	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for lamp divination
<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1206–18	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell

<i>PDM</i> xiv. 1219–27	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for fever
<i>PGM</i> XV. 1–21	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to bind a lover
<i>PGM</i> XVI. 1–75	E.N.O.	(No title) Charm to bind a lover
<i>PGM</i> XVIIa. 1–25	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XVIIb. 1–23	E.N.O.	(No title) Prayer
<i>PGM</i> XVIIc. 1–14	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> XVIIIa. 1–4	J.S.	(No title) Amulet for headache
<i>PGM</i> XVIIIb. 1–7	J.S.	(No title) Fever amulet
<i>PGM</i> XIXa. 1–54	E.N.O. / R.D.K.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XIXb. 1–3	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XIXb. 4–18	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XX. 1–4	E.N.O.	[Spell for] headache
<i>PGM</i> XX. 4–12	E.N.O.	[The charm] of the Syrian woman of Gadara for any inflammation
<i>PGM</i> XX. 13–19	E.N.O.	The charm of the Thessalian Philinna, [for] headache
<i>PGM</i> XXI. 1–29	W.C.G.	(No title) Invocation
<i>PGM</i> XXIIa. 1–27	J.S.	(No title) Magico-medical recipes
<i>PGM</i> XXIIb. 1–26	D.E.A.	Prayer of Jacob
<i>PGM</i> XXIIb. 27–31	D.E.A.	Request for a dream oracle
<i>PGM</i> XXIIb. 32–35	D.E.A.	Request for a dream oracle
<i>PGM</i> XXIII. 1–70	E.N.O.	Fragment of the <i>Kestoi</i> of Julius Africanus
<i>PGM</i> XXIVa. 1–25	W.C.G.	(No title) Oracle
<i>PGM</i> XXIVb. 1–15	R.D.K.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PGM</i> XXVa–d	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulets (?)
<i>PGM</i> XXVI. 1–21	—	(No title) <i>Sortes Astrampsychi</i> (omitted)
<i>PGM</i> XXVII. 1–5	R.F.H.	Victory charm
<i>PGM</i> XXVIIIa. 1–7	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell for scorpion sting
<i>PGM</i> XXVIIIb. 1–9	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell for scorpion sting
<i>PGM</i> XXVIIIc. 1–11	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell for scorpion sting
<i>PGM</i> XXIX. 1–10	E.N.O.	(No title) Prayer (poem)
<i>PGM</i> XXX a–f	—	(No title) Oracle questions (omitted)
<i>PGM</i> XXXI a–c	—	(No title) Oracle questions (omitted)
<i>PGM</i> XXXII. 1–19	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXIIa. 1–25	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXIII. 1–25	J.S.	(No title) Fever amulet
<i>PGM</i> XXXIV. 1–24	E.N.O.	(No title) Fragment from a novel
<i>PGM</i> XXXV. 1–42	R.F.H.	Charm for favor and victory
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 1–34	M.S.	Charm to restrain
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 35–68	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger and to secure favor
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 69–101	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 102–33	E.N.O.	Divination by fire (love spell)
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 134–60	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 161–77	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger, and for success
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 178–87	M.S.	Charm to break spells
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 187–210	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 211–30	R.F.H.	Prayer to Helios: charm to restrain anger, and for victory and favor
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 231–55	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to inflict harm
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 256–64	M.S.	(No title) Charm to break enchantment
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 264–74	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 275–83	H.M.	Charm for gaining favor
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 283–94	E.N.O.	Pudenda key spell

<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 295–311	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 312–20	R.F.H.	Charm to open a door
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 320–32	J.S.	Contraceptive spell
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 333–60	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 361–71	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXVII. 1–26	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM</i> XXXVIII. 1–26	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XXXIX. 1–21	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> XL. 1–18	R.F.H.	(No title) Curse
<i>PGM</i> XLI. 1–9	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet (?)
<i>PGM</i> XLII. 1–10	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet (?)
<i>PGM</i> XLIII. 1–27	J.S.	(No title) Amulet against fever
<i>PGM</i> XLIV. 1–18	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet against fever (?)
<i>PGM</i> XLV. 1–8	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet (?)
<i>PGM</i> XLVI. 1–4	R.F.H.	(No title) Request for revelation (?)
<i>PGM</i> XLVI. 4–8	R.F.H.	Spell to silence and subject
<i>PGM</i> XLVII. 1–17	M.S.	(No title) Amulet against fever
<i>PGM</i> XLVIII. 1–21	M.W.M.	(No title) Amulet (?)
<i>PGM</i> XLIX	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> L. 1–18	R.D.K.	(No title) Oracle (?)
<i>PGM</i> LI. 1–27	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to inflict harm
<i>PGM</i> LII. 1–9	R.D.K.	(No title) Love spell (?)
<i>PGM</i> LII. 9–19	R.D.K.	(No title) Love spell (?)
<i>PGM</i> LII. 20–26	R.D.K.	Spell to induce insomnia
<i>PGM</i> LIII–LVI	—	(No titles) Spells (?) of uncertain purpose (omitted)
<i>PGM</i> LVII. 1–37	R.F.H.	(No title) Rite to acquire an assistant daimon (?)
<i>PGM</i> LVIII. 1–14	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell to inflict harm
<i>PGM</i> LVIII. 15–39	R.F.H.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM</i> LIX. 1–15	M.S.	(No title) Phylactery
<i>PGM</i> LX. 1–5	M.S.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 1–30	R.K.R.	(No title) Spell for revelation
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 30–41	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 42	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 43–48	J.H.J. / R.D.K.	Remedy for [an] ulcer (?) of the head
[<i>PGM</i> LXI. i–v]*		
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 49–57	J.H.J.	[Remedy for the] head (?)
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 58–62	R.D.K.	For an erection
[<i>PGM</i> LXI. xi, x]*		
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 63–78	J.H.J.	(No title) Spell for a dream revelation
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 79–94	J.H.J.	Way of finding a thief
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 95–99	J.H.J.	Spell of giving praise and love in Nubian
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 100–105	J.H.J.	The red cloth of Nephthys
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 106–11	J.H.J.	Prescription for a donkey not moving
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 112–27	J.H.J.	Prescription for making a woman love
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 128–47	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 148–58	J.H.J.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 159–96	E.N.O.	Love charm
[<i>PGM</i> LXI. 1–38]		
<i>PDM</i> lxi. 197–216	E.N.O.	Love spell of attraction
[<i>PGM</i> LXI. 39–71]		
<i>PGM</i> LXII. 1–24	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction

<i>PGM</i> LXII. 24–46	W.C.G. / J.P.H.	(No title) Saucer divination
<i>PGM</i> LXII. 47–51	M.S.	(No title) Oracle
<i>PGM</i> LXII. 52–75	R.D.K.	(No title) Horoscope
<i>PGM</i> LXII. 76–106	J.S.	(No title) Spell (or two spells), to inflict harm (?)
<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 1–7	E.N.O.	(No title) Love-potion (?)
<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 7–12	E.N.O.	[Spell to make a woman] confess the name of the man she loves
<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 13–20	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 21–24	E.N.O.	(No title) Spell of uncertain purpose
<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 24–25	J.S.	Contraceptive
<i>PGM</i> LXIII. 26–28	J.S.	Contraceptive
<i>PGM</i> LXIV. 1–12	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to inflict harm
<i>PGM</i> LXV. 1–4	J.S.	Spell to [prevent pregnancy]
<i>PGM</i> LXV. 4–7	J.S.	For migraine headache
<i>PGM</i> LXVI. 1–11	R.F.H.	(No title) Charm to cause separation
<i>PGM</i> LXVII. 1–24	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell (?)
<i>PGM</i> LXVIII. 1–20	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PGM</i> LXIX. 1–3	D.E.A.	(No title) Victory spell (?)
<i>PGM</i> LXX. 1–4	H.D.B.	Charm for favor, etc.
<i>PGM</i> LXX. 4–25	H.D.B.	Charm of Hekate Ereschigal against fear of punishment
<i>PGM</i> LXX. 26–51	H.D.B.	Against fear and to dissolve spells
<i>PGM</i> LXXI. 1–8	M.S.	Phylactery
<i>PGM</i> LXXII. 1–36	W.C.G.	[Rite concerning the Bear]
<i>PGM</i> LXXIII–LXXVI	—	(No titles) Oracle questions (omitted)
<i>PGM</i> LXXVII. 1–24	W.C.G.	(No title) Charm for getting a revelation
<i>PGM</i> LXXVIII. 1–14	E.N.O.	(No title) Love spell of attraction
<i>PGM</i> LXXIX. 1–7	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
<i>PGM</i> LXXX. 1–5	R.F.H.	Charm to restrain anger
<i>PGM</i> LXXXI. 1–10	W.C.G.	(No title) Greetings to deities
<i>PGM</i> LXXXII. 1–12	R.D.K.	(No title) Recipe for ingredients (fragment of formula?)
<i>PGM</i> LXXXIII. 1–20	R.D.K.	For fever with shivering fits
<i>PGM</i> LXXXIV. 1–21	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> LXXXV. 1–6	R.D.K.	(No title) For daimon possession
<i>PGM</i> LXXXVI. 1–2	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> LXXXVI. 3–7	R.D.K.	(No title) Rite
<i>PGM</i> LXXXVII. 1–11	R.D.K.	(No title) Fever amulet
<i>PGM</i> LXXXVIII. 1–19	R.D.K.	(No title) Fever amulet
<i>PGM</i> LXXXIX. 1–27	R.D.K.	(No title) Phylactery for fever, phantoms, daimons, etc.
<i>PGM</i> XC. 1–13	H.D.B.	(No title) Rite or phylactery
<i>PGM</i> XC. 14–18	H.D.B.	Salve for fever
<i>PGM</i> XCI. 1–14	R.D.K.	(No title) Fever amulet (?)
<i>PGM</i> XCII. 1–16	R.D.K.	[Charms] for favor
<i>PGM</i> XCIII. 1–6	R.D.K.	(No title) Sacrificial rite
<i>PGM</i> XCIII. 7–21	R.D.K.	(No title) Rite
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 1–3	R.D.K.	(No title) <i>Voces magicae</i>
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 4–6	R.D.K.	Drying powder made with saffron [for] sharp eyesight
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 7–9	R.D.K.	For excellent health
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 10–16	R.D.K.	A phylactery for [fever]

<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 17–21	R.D.K.	For those possessed by daimons
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 22–26	R.D.K.	For the eyes
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 27–35	R.D.K.	[For] tumors [and] . . .
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 36–38	R.D.K.	[For . . .] and strangury
<i>PGM</i> XCIV. 39–60	R.D.K.	Another, for migraine headache
<i>PGM</i> XCV. 1–6	R.D.K.	(No title) Spell for subjugation
<i>PGM</i> XCV. 7–13	R.D.K.	Concerning the mole-[rat]
<i>PGM</i> XCV. 14–18	R.D.K.	A remedy for all cases of . . . [epilepsy]
<i>PGM</i> XCVI. 1–8	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> XCVII. 1–6	H.D.B.	(No title) Spell against eye disease (?)
<i>PGM</i> XCVII. 7–9	H.D.B.	Another (spell)
<i>PGM</i> XCVII. 10–13	H.D.B.	Another (spell)
<i>PGM</i> XCVII. 15–17	H.D.B.	For every [disease]
<i>PGM</i> XCVIII. 1–7	H.D.B.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> XCIX. 1–3	H.D.B.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> C. 1–7	H.D.B.	(No title) Amulet
<i>PGM</i> CI. 1–53	H.D.B.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> CII. 1–17	H.D.B.	(No title) Request for a dream oracle
<i>PGM</i> CIII. 1–18	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> CIV. 1–8	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for fever with shivering fits
<i>PGM</i> CV. 1–15	R.D.K.	(No title) Invocation of Sarapis
<i>PGM</i> CVI. 1–10	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for fever with shivering fits
<i>PGM</i> CVII. 1–19	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> CVIII. 1–12	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> CIX. 1–8	H.D.B.	(No title) Love spell
<i>PGM</i> CX. 1–12	R.D.K.	(No title) Horoscope
<i>PGM</i> CXI. 1–15	R.D.K.	(No title) Instruction for making magical figures
<i>PGM</i> CXII. 1–15	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for scorpion sting
<i>PGM</i> CXIII. 1–4	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for scorpion sting
<i>PGM</i> CXIV. 1–14	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for attacks by daimons and for epilepsy
<i>PGM</i> CXV. 1–7	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet for fever with shivering fits
<i>PGM</i> CXVI. 1–17	H.D.B.	(No title) Invocation of Typhon-Seth
<i>PGM</i> CXVII. Fr. 1–23	R.D.K.	(No title) Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> CXVIII	—	(No title) Magical scroll (omitted)
<i>PGM</i> CXIXa. 1	R.D.K.	(No title) Fragment from formulary
<i>PGM</i> CXIXa. 2–3	R.D.K.	Love spell through touch
<i>PGM</i> CXIXa. 4–6	R.D.K.	Fetching charm
<i>PGM</i> CXIXa. 7–11	R.D.K.	Charm to subject
<i>PGM</i> CXIXb. 1–3	R.D.K.	(No title)
<i>PGM</i> CXIXb. 4–5	R.D.K.	[For fever with shivering fits]
<i>PGM</i> CXX. 1–13	R.D.K.	(No title) Amulet (for inflammation of the uvula?)
<i>PGM</i> CXXI. 1–14	R.D.K.	(No title) Phylactery for a variety of evils
<i>PGM</i> CXXII. 1–5	H.D.B.	An excerpt for enchantments
<i>PGM</i> CXXII. 5–25	H.D.B.	Enchantment using apples
<i>PGM</i> CXXII. 26–50	H.D.B.	(No title) Love spell (fetching charm?)
<i>PGM</i> CXXII. 51–55	H.D.B.	For headache
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 1–23	R.D.K.	(No title) <i>Voces magicae</i>

<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 24–47	R.D.K.	Erotylos
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 48–50	R.D.K.	For childbearing
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 51–52	R.D.K.	For sleep
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 53–55	R.D.K.	For strangury
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 56–68	R.D.K.	For a shivering fit
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIa. 69–72	R.D.K.	For victory
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIb	R.D.K.	(No title) <i>Voces magicæ</i>
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIc	R.D.K.	(No title) <i>Voces magicæ</i>
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIId	R.D.K.	(No title) <i>Voces magicæ</i>
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIe	R.D.K.	(No title) Parallel of CXXIIIa. 24–47
<i>PGM</i> CXXIIIf	R.D.K.	(No title) Parallel of CXXIIIa. 24–47
<i>PGM</i> CXXIV. 1–5	R.D.K.	(No title) Charm to inflict harm (?)
<i>PGM</i> CXXIV. 6–43	R.D.K.	Charm to inflict harm
<i>PGM</i> CXXVa–f	R.D.K.	(No title) Fragments of spells
<i>PGM</i> CXXVIa. 1–21	H.D.B.	(No title) Spell to cause separation
<i>PGM</i> CXXVIb. 1–17	H.D.B.	(No title) Spell to cause separation
<i>PGM</i> CXXVII. 1–12	R.D.K.	(No title) Fragment of formulary of magico-medical prescriptions
<i>PGM</i> CXXVIII. 1–12	R.D.K.	Phylactery for fever
<i>PGM</i> CXXIX. 1–7	R.D.K.	(No title) Fragment of unidentifiable spell
<i>PGM</i> CXXX. 1–13	H.D.B.	(No title) For a shivering fever
<i>PDM</i> Supplement 1–6	J.H.J.	{Spell for} sending a dream
7–18	J.H.J.	[Spell for] sending a dream
19–27	J.H.J.	Spell for sending a dream
28–40	J.H.J.	{Spell for} sending a dream
40–60	J.H.J.	Spell for sending a dream
60–101	J.H.J.	Spell for sending a dream
101–16	J.H.J.	Spell for sending a dream
117–30	J.H.J.	{Spell} for sending a dream
130–38	J.H.J.	A “god’s arrival” of Osiris
138–49	J.H.J.	Spell for . . . (subjection?)
149–62	J.H.J.	A “god’s arrival” of Thoth
162–68	J.H.J.	Spell for finding your house of life
168–84	J.H.J.	Spell for reciting a document
185–208	J.H.J.	(No title) Fragments of rites and formulæ

List of Papyri in Preisendanz

Reference	Location	Number	Date
I	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 5025	IV ^P /V ^P —
II	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 5026	IV ^P
III	Paris, Musée du Louvre	no. 2396 (P.Mimaut frags. 1–4)	IV ^P —
IV	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale	<i>P.Bibl.Nat. Suppl.</i> gr. no. 574	IV ^P —
V	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 46	IV ^P ?
Va	Uppsala, Victoriamuseet	<i>P.Holm.</i> , p. 42	
VI	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 47	II ^P or III ^P
VII	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 121	III ^P /IV ^P →
VIII	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 122	IV ^P or V ^P
IX	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 123	IV ^P or V ^P
X	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 124	IV ^P or V ^P
XIa	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 125 verso	V ^P
XIb	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 147	III ^P
XIc	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.</i> 148	II ^P /III ^P
XII	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	<i>P.Lugd.Bat.</i> J 384 (V)	IV ^P
XIII	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	<i>P.Lugd.Bat.</i> J 395 (W)	IV ^P —
XIV	London, British Museum	<i>P.Lond.demot.</i> 10070	III ^P
	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	<i>P.Lugd.Bat.</i> J 383	III ^P
XV	Alexandria, Muséc gréco- romain d'Alexandrie	<i>P.Alex.</i> inv. 491	III ^P
XVI	Paris, Musée du Louvre	no. 3378	I ^P
XVIIa	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque universitaire et régionale	<i>P.gr.</i> 1167	IV ^P
XVIIb	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque universitaire et régionale	<i>P.gr.</i> 1179	II ^P
XVIIc	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque universitaire et régionale	<i>P.gr.</i> 574	
XVIIIa	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>BGU</i> III 955	III ^P /V ^P
XVIIIb	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>BGU</i> III 956	III ^P /V ^P
XIXa	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 9909	IV ^P or V ^P
XIXb	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 11737	IV ^P
XX	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 7504 + <i>P.Amb.</i> ii, Col. II (A) + <i>P.Oxy. inedit.</i> (=Pack ² 1872)	I ^P
XXI	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 9566 verso	II ^P or III ^P
XXIIa	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>BGU</i> IV 1026 (inv. no. 9873)	IV ^P or V ^P
XXIIb	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 13895	IV ^P

XXIII	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 412	III ^P
XXIVa	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 886	III ^P
XXIVb	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 887	III ^P
XXVa	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 959	III ^P
XXVb	Freiburg i. Br., Universitätsbibliothek	<i>P.Un.Bibl.Freib.</i> (w/o no.)	VI ^P
XXVc	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	<i>P.Cairo</i> 10434	
XXVd	Florence, Società Italiana per la ricerca de papiri	<i>P.Flor.</i> (w/o no.)	
XXVI	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 1477	III ^P /IV ^P
XXVII	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 1478	III ^P /IV ^P
XXVIIa	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 2061	V ^P
XXVIIb	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 2062	VI ^P
XXVIIc	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 2063	VI ^P
XXIX	Oxford, Bodleian Library	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 1383	III ^P
XXXa–f	[omitted]		
XXXIa–c	[omitted]		
XXXII	London, University College Institute of Archaeology	<i>P.Haw.</i> 312	II ^P
XXXIII	Berkeley, University of California	<i>P.Tebt.</i> II 275	III ^P
XXXIV	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library	<i>P.Fay.</i> 5	II ^P /III ^P
XXXV	Florence, Università degli Studi, Istituto di Papirologia	PSI I 29	V ^P
XXXVI	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	<i>P.Osl.</i> I, 1	IV ^P
XXXVII	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	<i>P.Osl.</i> I, 2	IV ^P
XXXVIII	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	<i>P.Osl.</i> I, 3	IV ^P
XXXIX	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	<i>P.Osl.</i> I, 4	IV ^P
XL	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 1	IV ^P
XLI	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 339 = <i>P.Rain.</i> 4	V ^P /VI ^P
XLII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 331 = <i>P.Rain.</i> 8	VI ^P
XLIII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 335 = <i>P.Rain.</i> 9	V ^P
XLIV	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 328 = <i>P.Rain.</i> 10	NA
XLV	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 334 = <i>P.Rain.</i> 11	VI ^P /VII ^P
XLVI	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 332 = <i>P.Rain.</i> 12	V ^P
XLVII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	inv. no. 8034 = <i>P.Rain.</i> 2 [no. 526, Wessely]	NA
XLVIII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	inv. no. 8031 = <i>P.Rain.</i> 6 [no. 529, Wessely]	VI ^P /VII ^P
XLIX	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	inv. no. 8035 = <i>P.Rain.</i> 7 [no. 525, Wessely]	NA
L	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	inv. no. 8033 = <i>P.Rain.</i> [no. 527, Wessely]	VI ^P
LI	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 9.418	III ^P
LII	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 9.429	III ^P
LIII–LVI	[omitted]		
LVII	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	cryptogr. pap. [otherwise uncataloged]	I ^P /II ^P
LVIII	Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek	inv. no. 266 = <i>P. Iand.</i> 87	IV ^P
LIX	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	<i>P.Cairo</i> 10563	II ^P or III ^P
LX	Brussels, Fondation Egyp- tologique Reine Elisabeth	<i>P.Brux.</i> in. E 6390, 6391	VI ^P

LXI	London, British Museum	<i>P.Brit.Mus.</i> inv. 10588 (Egyptian Dept.)	III ^P
LXII	Leiden, Institutum Papyrologicum Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae	<i>P.Warren</i> 21	III ^P
LXIII	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 323	II ^P /III ^P
LXIV	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 29273	IV ^P
LXV	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek	<i>P.gr.</i> 29272	VI ^P /VII ^P
LXVI	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	<i>P.Cairo</i> 60139	III ^P /IV ^P
LXVII	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	<i>P.Cairo</i> 60140	NA
LXVIII	Cairo, Musée des antiquités égyptiennes	<i>P.Cairo</i> 60636	II ^P /III ^P
LXIX	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	inv. no. 1463 = <i>P.Mich.</i> III, 156	II ^P
LXX	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	inv. no. 7 = <i>P.Mich.</i> III, 154	III ^P or IV ^P
LXXI	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	inv. no. 193 = <i>P.Mich.</i> III, 155	II ^P or III ^P
LXXII	Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket	inv. no. 75 = <i>P.Osl.</i> III, 75	I ^P /II ^P
LXXIII–LXXVI	[omitted]		
LXXVII	Birmingham, Woodbroke College	<i>P.Harr.</i> 55	II ^P
LXXVIII	Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek	<i>P.Heid.</i> 2170	III ^P
LXXIX	Prague, National and University Library	<i>P.gr.</i> I, 18	III ^P or IV ^P
LXXX	Prague, National and University Library	<i>P.gr.</i> I, 21	III ^P or IV ^P
LXXXI	London, Egypt Exploration Society	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 1566	IV ^P

List of New Papyri Not in Preisendanz

Note: Bibliographical references are provided at the end of the translation of each spell.

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Date</i>
LXXXII	Warsaw, Uniwersytet Warszawski	<i>P.Vars.</i> 4	III ^P
LXXXIII	Princeton, Princeton Univer- sity AM 8963	<i>P.Princ.</i> II 107	
LXXXIV	Princeton, Princeton Univer- sity Garrett Dep. 7665	<i>P.Princ.</i> II 76	III ^P
LXXXV	Birmingham, Selly Oak Col- leges Central Library	<i>P.Harris</i> 56	I ^P /II ^P
LXXXVI	Paris, L'Institut de Papyrologie de l'Université de Paris	<i>P.Rein.</i> II 89 inv. 2176	IV ^P
LXXXVII	Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek	<i>P.Erlangen</i> 37	IV ^P
LXXXVIII	Princeton, Princeton Univer- sity AM 11230	<i>P.Princ.</i> III 15	III ^P or IV ^P
LXXXIX	Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket	<i>P.Lund Univ.Bibl.</i> IV 12 inv. no. 32	IV ^P
XC	Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore	<i>P.Med.</i> inv. no. 23	IV ^P /V ^P
XCI	Collection, G. A. Michailidis	<i>P.Michael.</i> 27	III ^P or IV ^P
XCII	Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	<i>P.Merton</i> II 58	III ^P
XCIII	London, Egypt Exploration Society	<i>P.Ant.</i> II 65	V ^P
XCIV	London, Egypt Exploration Society	<i>P.Ant.</i> II 66	V ^P
XCV	London, Egypt Exploration Society	<i>P.Ant.</i> III 140	V ^P /VI ^P
XCVI	Barcelona, Seminario di pa- pirologia . . . San Cugat del Valles	<i>P.Palau Rib.</i> inv. 126	IV ^P /V ^P
XCVII	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P.Köln</i> inv. 1886	III ^P /IV ^P
XCVIII	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P.Köln</i> inv. 1982	III ^P
XCIX	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P.Köln</i> inv. 2283	V ^P /VI ^P
C	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P.Köln</i> inv. 2861	V ^P /VI ^P
CI	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P.Köln</i> inv. 3323	V ^P

CII	London, Egypt Exploration Society	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 2753	IV ^P
CIII	Athens, Archaeological Society	<i>P.S.A. Athen.</i> 70	II ^P
CIV	Genoa, Università di Genova	<i>PUG</i> I 6	III ^P
CV	Berlin, Sammlung des Ägyptischen Museums	<i>P.Berol.</i> 21227	III ^P /IV ^P
CVI	Berlin, Sammlung des Ägyptischen Museums	<i>P.Berol.</i> 21165	III ^P /IV ^P
CVII	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P.Köln</i> inv. 5512	III ^P or IV ^P
CVIII	Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde	<i>P.Köln</i> inv. 5514	III ^P or IV ^P
CIX	London, Egypt Exploration Society	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 50.4 B23 J(1–3)b	ca. A.D. 300
CX	Washington, Washington University	<i>P.Wash. Univ.</i> inv. 181	II ^P or III ^P
CXI	Washington, Washington University	<i>P.Wash. Univ.</i> inv. 139	III ^P /IV ^P
CXII	Washington, Washington University	<i>P.Wash. Univ.</i> inv. 242	IV ^P /V ^P
CXIII	Amsterdam, Bibliotheek der Universiteit van Amsterdam	<i>P.Amst.</i> inv. 16	V ^P
CXIV	Yale, Yale University Library	<i>P.Yale</i> inv. 989	III ^P /IV ^P
CXV	Budapest, Collection of Erno Gaál	<i>P.(Mag.) Gaál.</i> ined.	IV ^P
CXVI	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	<i>P.Laur.</i> inv. 54	VI ^P
CXVII	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Handschriftenabteilung	<i>P.Mon.Gr.</i> inv. 216	I ^a
CXVIII	Barcelona, Seminario di papirologia . . . San Cugat del Valles	<i>P.Palau Rib.</i> inv. 200	before X ^P ?
CXIX	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	<i>P.Laur.</i> III 57 (PL II/52)	III ^P
CXX	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	<i>P.Laur.</i> III 58 (PL III/442)	III ^P
CXXI	Milan, Università Cattolica di Milano	<i>P.Med.</i> inv. 71.58	III ^P /IV ^P
CXXII	Berlin, Staatliche Museen	<i>P.Berol.</i> inv. 21243	I ^a /I ^P
CXXIIIa–f	Pisa, Università di Pisa	<i>P.Cazzaniga</i> , nos. 1–6	V ^P
CXXIV	Pisa, Università di Pisa	<i>P.Cazzaniga</i> , no. 7	V ^P
CXXVa–f	Pisa, Università di Pisa	<i>P.Cazzaniga</i> , nos. 8–13	V ^P –VI ^P
CXXVI	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	<i>P.Laur.</i> III/472	V ^P
CXXVII	Yale, Yale University Library	<i>P.Yale</i> inv. 1206	III ^P or IV ^P
CXXVIII	Heidelberg, Universitäts-Papyrussammlung	<i>P.Heid.G.</i> 1386	V ^P
CXXIX	Berlin, Sammlung des Ägyptischen Museums (?)	<i>P.Berol.</i> 21260	III ^P
CXXX	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan	<i>P.Mich.</i> inv. 6666	III ^P
<i>PDM</i> Supplement	Paris, Musée du Louvre	<i>P.Louvre</i> E3229	III ^P

Note on Editions

For the editions of the Greek papyri as cited, see the bibliography in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri, an Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 21980), pp. 154–77, with the following exceptions:

- PGM XC: A. Traversa, *Aegyptus* 33 (1953): 57–62
PGM XCVI: R. W. Daniel, *ZPE* 25 (1977): 150–53
PGM XCVII–CI: D. Wortmann, *BoJ* 168 (1968): 85–111
PGM CV–CVI: W. Brashear, *ZPE* 17 (1975): 25–33
PGM CVII–CVIII: R. Daniel, *ZPE* 19 (1975): 249–64
PGM CIX: P. Gorissen, *ZPE* 37 (1980): 199–200
PGM CX–CXII: Z. M. Packman, *BASP* 13 (1976): 175–80
PGM CXIII: P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 22 (1976): 108
PGM CXIV–CXV: R. W. Daniel, *ZPE* 25 (1977): 145–54
PGM CXVI: R. Pintaudi, *ZPE* 26 (1977): 245–48
PGM CXVII: P. Fabrini and F. Maltomini, in A. Carlini, ed., *Papiri Letterari Greci* (Pisa: Giardini, 1978), no. 34
PGM CXVIII: J. O'Callaghan, *StPapy* 17 (1978): 85–87
PGM CXIX–CXX: R. Pintaudi, *Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (P.Laur. III)*, *Papyrologica Florentina* 5 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1979), nos. 57–58
PGM CXXI: G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 33 (1979): 63–72
PGM CXXII: W. Brashear, *ZPE* 33 (1979): 261–78
PGM CXXIII–CXXV: F. Maltomini, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 29 (1979): 55–124
PGM CXXVI: F. Maltomini, in R. Pintaudi, ed., *Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (P.Laur. IV)*, *Papyrologica Florentina* 12 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 1983): 46–53
PGM CXXVII: G. M. Parássoglou, *Hellenica* 27 (1974): 251–53
PGM CXXVIII–CXXIX: F. Maltomini, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 31 (1981): 111–117
PGM CXXX: R. W. Daniel, *ZPE* 50 (1983): 147–54

For the Demotic magical papyri, see Janet H. Johnson's Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri below, pp. 00–00. The editions are accordingly:

- PDM xii: J. H. Johnson, *OMRM* 56 (1975): 29–64
PDM xiv: F. Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, 3 vols. (London: Grevel, 1904)
PDM lxi: Bell, Nock, and Thompson, *Magical Texts*
PDM Supplement: J. H. Johnson, *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 55–102

Explanation of References and Textual Signs

PGM I.
262–347

References cited thus refer to translations of the corresponding Greek text of Preisendanz's *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, with each roman numeral (including those with appended letters, e.g., *PGM* Va) corresponding to a separate papyrus manuscript. Roman numerals after *PGM* LXXXI refer to texts whose translations are based on editions published since, and sometimes overlooked by, Preisendanz. The bibliographies of these editions are mentioned in the introductory note (*) to each spell. Arabic numerals usually delineate the compass of individual spells within the papyrus manuscript. The use of the separate designations for each independent spell or charm represents a new feature designed to enable easy identification and ready reference to an individual spell.

PDM xxi. 6–20

References listed thus refer to Demotic (bilingual) spells corresponding to the texts whose editions are listed in the introductory note (*) to each spell. *PDM* stands for *Papyri Demoticae Magicae*, referring to this volume and not to be confused with *DMP*, an abbreviation for Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyri*, a work often referred to in the notes. Lowercase roman numerals are used simply to avoid confusion with spells labeled *PGM*. Arabic numerals are used as above.

[*PGM* XII.
445–48]

PGM references bracketed thus come immediately after references for bilingual Greek sections with the given spell. The references correspond to the appropriate Greek portions in Preisendanz, whose edition contained only the Greek sections of the Greek/Demotic spells. Since this translation volume contains all the Demotic spells, Preisendanz's numbering system is retained, but it is subsumed under the new Demotic collation.

A,b,c

Texts set in roman type represent spells and portions of spells whose original language was Greek.

A,b,c

Texts set with leader dots beneath represent spells and portions of spells whose original language was Demotic (Egyptian).

A,b,c

Texts with a thin underscore represent spells and portions of spells whose original language was Old Coptic. Coptic is found both in the Greek texts of Preisendanz's edition and as glosses in portions of the Demotic/Greek bilingual spells; however, the purely Coptic magical spells form a separate corpus not dealt with in this volume.

- * An asterisk introduces an independent spell or a spell that contains most of the constituent parts necessary to effect the whole charm, though organic connections with adjacent spells can be recognized (e.g., spells entitled “*Another . . .*,” or the like). The asterisk directs the reader to the contributor, whose name is given at the end of the spell. Some introductory comments may be found here as well. Bibliographical data, if appropriate, may also be listed.
- Tr.: This abbreviation stands for “translator” or “transcriber” (if the text contains no recognizable words that can be translated).
- Victory spell: Phrases set in roman boldface type refer to general titles of charms which usually stand at the beginning of the spell and which are often followed by one or more subtitles. Many spells do not possess a title, either because of a scribal omission or because it has been lost in a lacuna in the text.
- Spell to be spoken* Phrases set in italic boldface type refer to various subtitles and a number of types of rubrics (subsumed under the main title) that function in a titular sense to introduce a component feature of a spell. These may introduce ingredients, additional instructions, invocations, figures, magical names and characters, and so on, which are mentioned in the instructions in the text. In a long, multifunctional spell (cf. *PGM* IV. 2145–2240 and *PGM* XIII. 1–343), general titles are subordinate to the larger title, which describes an often elaborate ritual. In description, these general titles are identical to the main titles of most spells but are set as subtitles since they usually depend on a prior set of conditions to guarantee their efficacy.
- IAŌ SABAŌTH
ADŌNAI Small capital letters indicate magical names (*voces magicae*) which are usually untranslatable and often meaningless to the reader. In some instances, small capital letters preserve recognizable Greek, Egyptian, or Semitic words that merit special attention. Portions of texts whose fragmentary nature precludes the possibility of proper translation, but which may in fact have been readable in the original, are also set in small capitals.
- A diagonal slash indicates every fifth line of translated text, corresponding to the number given in the left-hand margin. Usually these are numbered consecutively until a new papyrus number is introduced.
- 35 [5] A bracketed number alongside the regular number refers to the line number of the original edition (in a Greek/Demotic text). Occasionally at the beginning the column number and line are also cited (e.g., [Col. III,5]).
- 30 (4) A number in parentheses refers to the original line of Preisendanz in a Greek/Demotic spell. The number corresponds to the *PGM* reference given within the bracketed number at the head of the spell.

- ... An ellipsis in the body of the text refers to a lost portion regardless of the size of the lacuna. Some punctuation (e.g., a comma or a period) may also be added at the end of the ellipsis.
- [spell] Brackets enclosing words indicate that the words are not preserved in the original text. These include (1) suggested restorations of lacunae; (2) editorial expansions of the text to elucidate the sense of the original language; and (3) phrases traditionally set off by pointed brackets ⟨ ⟩, namely, modern corrections to scribal omissions or errors. Scholars interested in determining which use the bracketed text refers to are recommended to consult the texts of the original editions. As a general rule, bracketed texts will not divide a word, but will surround the whole word if its reading is fairly uncertain.
- (add the usual) Parentheses enclosing words simply indicate material in the original texts best understood as parenthetical comments of the ancient authors and redactors.
- “Come to me . . .” Quotation marks enclosing words indicate material that is spoken (or intended to be spoken) or written (or intended to be written). Material not enclosed in quotation marks usually refers to parts of a formulary that contain instructions and directions apart from the material to be written or spoken. Such instructions are peculiar to the papyri that have preserved magical formularies, whereas the actual amulets and phylacteries found on papyrus usually contain simple invocations that have been transcribed as a result of following the instructions in such magical handbooks.
- Incantations originally written in Greek meter are set as verse, that is, they are indented *en bloc*, with the first letter of each line capitalized. In cases where the meter falters within such a hymnic portion, the original margin is restored to indicate prose.
- NN In the magical formularies, this abbreviation stands for a name or names to be inserted by the reader, the names of the persons against or for whom the magic is to be carried out. In the case of “(the) NN matter,” the reader understands that specific requests are to be named at this point.
- [R.K.R.] At the end of each footnote, the bracketed initials refer to the contributing scholar responsible for the material immediately preceding. Notes that carry no initials represent the joint efforts of the contributors and scholars.

Abbreviations of Periodicals, Series Titles, and General Reference Works

<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AKA</i>	<i>Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte</i>
<i>APAW</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der (K.) preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
<i>APAW.PH</i>	<i>Philosophisch-historische Klasse</i>
<i>ANET</i>	J. B. Pritchard, <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Related to the Old Testament</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969)
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
<i>ARW</i>	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>
<i>BASP</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
Bauer	W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979)
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire</i>
<i>BoJ</i>	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher</i>
Bonnet, <i>RÄRG</i>	Hans Bonnet, <i>Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte</i> (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1952)
<i>ByZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>CEg</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
Černý, <i>Coptic Etymological Dictionary</i>	J. Černý, <i>Coptic Etymological Dictionary</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1976)
<i>CIR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
Crum, <i>Coptic Dictionary</i>	W. E. Crum, <i>A Coptic Dictionary</i> (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962)
<i>DMP</i>	<i>Demotic Magical Papyri</i> (see Griffith and Thompson)
<i>EPRO</i>	<i>Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain</i>
Erman and Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch</i>	A. Erman and H. Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache im Auftrage der deutschen Akademien</i> 5 vols. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1971 repr.)
<i>GGA</i>	<i>Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen</i>
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miscellen</i>
<i>HR</i>	<i>History of Religions</i>
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>JAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>

<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute</i>
<i>KP</i>	<i>Der kleine Pauly</i>
Kropp, <i>Koptische Zaubertexte</i>	A. M. Kropp, <i>Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte</i> 3 vols. (Brussels: Fondation Reine Elisabeth, 1930–31)
<i>LCL</i>	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i>
<i>LdÄ</i>	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , ed. by W. Helck and E. Otto (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975–)
<i>LSJ</i>	Liddel-Scott-Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexikon</i> (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968)
<i>N.F.</i>	<i>Neue Folge</i>
<i>NHS_t</i>	<i>Nag Hammadi Studies</i>
<i>NT.S</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum, Supplements</i>
<i>OMRM</i>	<i>Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het rijksmuseum van oudheden te Leiden</i>
<i>Orph. Frag.</i>	<i>Orphicorum Fragmenta</i> , ed. O. Kern (Dublin and Zürich: Weidmann, ³ 1972)
<i>P.Oxy.</i>	<i>Papyrus Oxyrhynchus</i>
<i>PDM</i>	<i>Papyri Demoticae Magicae</i> (as cited in this volume only)
<i>PGM</i>	<i>Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri</i> , 2 vols., ed. K. Preisendanz, et al. (Stuttgart: Teubner, ² 1973–74)
<i>PRE</i>	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften</i>
<i>PRE.S</i>	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften, Supplementa</i>
Preisendanz	See <i>PGM</i> ; on Preisendanz, vol. III, see the Introduction below, n. 37
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RÄRG</i>	See Bonnet, <i>RÄRG</i>
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
Roscher	W. H. Roscher, <i>Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie</i>
<i>RVV</i>	<i>Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten</i>
<i>SCHNT</i>	<i>Studia ad Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti</i>
<i>SO</i>	<i>Symbolae Osloenses</i>
<i>StPapy</i>	<i>Studia papyrologica</i>
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
<i>TU</i>	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur</i>
<i>WSt</i>	<i>Wiener Studien</i>
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Abbreviations of Major Titles Used in This Volume

Ancient authors are cited with name and title, the latter following the customary abbreviations. In cases of doubt, see *LSJ*, pp. xvi–xxxviii: “Authors and Works.”

Abt, <i>Apologie</i>	A. Abt, <i>Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei</i> . Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Schrift <i>de magia</i> (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1908)
Audollent, <i>Defixionum Tabellae</i>	A. Audollent, <i>Defixionum Tabellae quotquot innotuerunt</i> . . . (Paris: Fontemoing, 1904)
Bell, Nock, and Thompson, <i>Magical Texts</i>	H. I. Bell, A. D. Nock, and Herbert Thompson, <i>Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933)
Bergman, <i>Ich bin Isis</i>	J. Bergman, <i>Ich bin Isis. Studien zum memphitischen Hintergrund der griechischen Isisaretologien</i> , <i>Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis</i> 3 (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1968)
Berthelot and Ruelle, <i>Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs</i>	M. Berthelot and C.-E. Ruelle, <i>Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs</i> (Paris: Steinheil, 1888)
Blau, <i>Das altjüdische Zauberverwesen</i>	L. Blau, <i>Das altjüdische Zauberverwesen</i> (Strassburg: Trübner, 1898)
Betz, “The Delphic Maxim”	H. D. Betz, “The Delphic Maxim ‘Know Yourself’ in the Greek Magical Papyri,” <i>HR</i> 21 (1981): 156–71
Betz, “Fragments”	H. D. Betz, “Fragments from a Catabasis Ritual in a Greek Magical Papyrus,” <i>HR</i> 19 (1980): 287–95
Betz, <i>Lukian</i>	H. D. Betz, <i>Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament</i> , <i>TU</i> 76 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961)
Bleeker, <i>Hathor and Thoth</i>	C. J. Bleeker, <i>Hathor and Thoth</i> (Leiden: Brill, 1973)
Bonner, <i>SMA</i>	C. Bonner, <i>Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian</i> (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950)
Borghouts, <i>Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts</i>	J. F. Borghouts, <i>Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts, Nisaba</i> 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1978)
Bousset, <i>Hauptprobleme</i>	W. Bousset, <i>Hauptprobleme der Gnosis</i> (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1907)

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E. A. Wallis Budge, *Amulets and Talismans* (New York: Dover, 1978)
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W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und Klassischen Epoche, Die Religionen der Menschheit* 15 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977)
- Cook, *Zeus*
A. B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914–40)
- Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris*
W. T. Darby et al., *Food: The Gift of Osiris*, 2 vols. (London, New York, and San Francisco: Academic Press, 1977)
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A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1978, repr.)
- Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*
A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, vol. I (Paris: Champion, 1927)
- Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles*
A. Delatte and Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1964)
- Dieterich, *Abraxas*
A. Dieterich, *Abraxas. Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des spätern Altertums* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1891)
- Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*
A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, ³1966)
- Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet*
F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (Leipzig: Teubner, ²1925)
- Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*
R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 3 vols. (Warminster, England: Aris and Phillips, 1973–78)
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A. J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, 4 vols. (Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres," ³1981)
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J. G. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism, Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series* 16 (Nashville and New York: Abingdon, 1972)
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A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947)
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L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 7 vols. (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909–38)
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F. Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson, eds., *The*

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 Leyden Papyrus: *An Egyptian Magical Book* (New York: Dover, 1974; repr. of 1904 ed.)
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 J. G. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (Cambridge: University of Wales Press, 1970)
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 J. G. Griffiths, *Apuleius of Madauros: The Isis-Book (Metamorphoses, Book XI), EPRO 39* (Leiden: Brill, 1975)
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 J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für Orientalforschung, 54* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961)
- Hopfner, *OZ*
 T. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber, 2 vols., Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde, 21, 23* (Leipzig: Haessel, 1921, 1924)
- Hornung, *Das Amduat*
 E. Hornung, *Das Amduat oder die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes, 3 vols., Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 7; 13* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1963–67)
- Johnson, "Dialect"
 J. H. Johnson, "The Dialect of the Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, January 12, 1977, ed. by J. H. Johnson and E. F. Wente (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1977), pp. 110–25
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 J. H. Johnson, *The Demotic Verbal System, Studies in Oriental Civilization 38* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1976)
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 H.-J. Klauck, *Herrenmahl und hellenistischer Kult. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum ersten Korintherbrief, NTA, N.F. 15* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1982)
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 S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (London: Methuen, 1973)
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 M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion, 2 vols.* (München: Beck, ³1967, ²1961)
- Nock, *Essays*
 A. D. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the An-*

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 Preisigke, *Namenbuch*
 Ranke, *Ägyptische Personennamen*
 Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*
 Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*
 Smith, *Jesus the Magician*
- cient World*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972)
 A. D. Nock and A.-J. Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste. Corpus Hermeticum*, 4 vols. (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1946–54)
 K. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* (Heidelberg: Selbstverlag des Herausgebers, 1922)
 H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, 2 vols. (Hamburg: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1932–52)
 R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres. Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1904)
 J. M. Robinson, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (Leiden: Brill, 1977)
 M. Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978)

Introduction to the Greek Magical Papyri

Hans Dieter Betz

“The Greek magical papyri” is a name given by scholars to a body of papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt containing a variety of magical spells and formulae, hymns and rituals. The extant texts are mainly from the second century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. To be sure, this body of material represents only a small number of all the magical spells that once existed.¹ Beyond these papyri we possess many other kinds of material: artifacts, symbols and inscriptions on gemstones, on ostraka and clay bowls, and on tablets of gold, silver, lead, tin and so forth.²

I

The history of the discovery of the Greek magical papyri is a fascinating subject.³ We know from literary sources that a large number of magical books in which spells were collected existed in antiquity. Most of them, however, have disappeared as the result of systematic suppression and destruction. The episode about the burning of the magical books in Ephesus in the Acts of the Apostles (Acts 19:10) is well known and typical of many such instances. According to Suetonius,⁴ Augustus ordered 2,000 magical scrolls to be burned in the year 13 B.C. Indeed, the first centuries of the Christian era saw many burnings of books, often of magical books, and not a few burnings that included the magicians themselves.

As a result of these acts of suppression, the magicians and their literature went underground. The papyri themselves testify to this by the constantly recurring admonition to keep the books secret.⁵ Yet the systematic destruction of the magical literature over a long period of time resulted in the disappearance of most of the original texts by the end of antiquity. To us in the twentieth century, terms such as “underground literature” and “suppressed literature” are well known as descriptions of contemporary phenomena. We also know that such literature is extremely important for the understanding of what people are really thinking and doing in a particular time, geographical area, or cultural context. Magical beliefs and practices can hardly be overestimated in their importance for the daily life of the people. The religious beliefs and practices of most people were identical with some form of magic, and the neat distinctions we make today between approved and disapproved forms of religion—calling the former “religion” and “church” and the latter “magic” and “cult”—did not exist in antiquity except among a few intellectuals.⁶

Thus the suppression of this magical literature has deprived us of one of our most important sources of ancient religious life. Modern views of Greek and Roman religions have long suffered from certain deformities because they were unconsciously shaped by the only remaining sources: the literature of the cultural elite, and the archeological remains of the official cults of the states and cities.

But not everything was lost.⁷ At the end of antiquity, some philosophers and theologians, astrologers and alchemists collected magical books and spells that were still available. Literary writers included some of the material in their works, if only

to make fun of it. It is known that philosophers of the Neopythagorean and Neoplatonic schools, as well as Gnostic and Hermetic groups, used magical books and hence must have possessed copies. But most of their material vanished and what we have left are their quotations.

The Greek magical papyri are, however, original documents and primary sources. Their discovery is as important for Greco-Roman religions as is the discovery of the Qumran texts for Judaism or the Nag Hammadi library for Gnosticism.⁸

Like these manuscript discoveries, the discovery of the Greek magical papyri was and often still is the outcome of sheer luck and almost incredible coincidences. In the case of the major portion of the collection, the so-called Anastasi collection, the discovery and rescue is owed to the efforts (and, if one may use the term, cooperation) of two individuals separated by more than a thousand years: the modern collector d'Anastasi and the original collector at Thebes.

In the nineteenth century, there was among the "diplomatic" representatives at the court in Alexandria a man who called himself Jean d'Anastasi (1780?–1857). Believed to be Armenian by birth, he ingratiated himself enough with the pasha to become the consular representative of Sweden.⁹ It was a time when diplomats and military men often were passionate collectors of antiquities, and M. d'Anastasi happened to be at the right place at the right time. He succeeded in bringing together large collections of papyri from Egypt, among them sizable magical books, some of which he said he had obtained in Thebes.¹⁰ These collections he shipped to Europe, where they were auctioned off and bought by various libraries: the British Museum in London, the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Louvre in Paris, the Staatliche Museum in Berlin, and the Rijksmuseum in Leiden. Another papyrus was acquired by Jean François Mimaout (1774–1837), also a diplomat, whose acquisition ended up in the Bibliothèque Nationale (*PGM* III).¹¹ Unfortunately, we know almost nothing about the circumstances of the actual findings. But it is highly likely that many of the papyri from the Anastasi collection came from the same place, perhaps a tomb or a temple library.¹² If this assumption is correct, about half a dozen of the best-preserved and largest extant papyri may have come from the collection of one man in Thebes. He is of course unknown to us, but we may suppose that he collected the magical material for his own use. Perhaps he was more than a magician. We may attribute his almost systematic collections of *magica* to a man who was also a scholar,¹³ probably philosophically inclined, as well as a bibliophile and archivist concerned about the preservation of this material.¹⁴

Although the person who collected the Anastasi papyri remains unknown, comparable figures are known from later Egyptian literature. In the Demotic Papyrus no. 30646 in the Cairo Museum, there appears Prince Khamwas, the fourth son of King Ramses II and high priest of Ptah in Memphis. This legendary figure belongs to the *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, published by Francis Llewelyn Griffith,¹⁵ stories that in many ways can serve as illustrative companions to the Greek magical papyri. Miriam Lichtheim has given this summary portrait in the third volume of her *Ancient Egyptian Literature*:

Prince Khamwas, son of King Ramses II and high priest of Ptah at Memphis, was a very learned scribe and magician who spent his time in the study of ancient monuments and books. One day he was told of the existence of a book of magic written by the god Thoth himself and kept in the tomb of a prince named Naneferkaptah (Na-nefer-ka-ptah), who lived in the distant past and was buried somewhere in the vast necropolis of Memphis. After a long search, Prince Khamwas, accom-

panied by his foster brother Inaros, found the tomb of Naneferkaptah and entered it. He saw the magic book, which radiated a strong light, and tried to seize it. But the spirits of Naneferkaptah and of his wife Ahwere rose up to defend their cherished possession. . . .¹⁶

The collection of the Anastasi papyri, if it was brought together by one person, may have been buried with him, either in his tomb or in the rubble of collapsed buildings. At any rate, when d'Anastasi came to Thebes and the papyri were offered to him, he sensed their value and acquired them, thus saving them from destruction.

It took almost another century, however, before scholars learned to appreciate the value of the papyri and started investigating them. It is noteworthy that the auction catalog of d'Anastasi's collection calls the material simply "fromage mystique."¹⁷ Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the papyri were stored in the museums simply as curiosities.

Scholarly investigations began when the great Dutch scholar Caspar Jacob Christian Reuvens (1793–1835) described some of the content of the Leiden papyrus J 395 (*PGM XIII*) in his *Lettres à M. Letronne* published in 1830.¹⁸ This work was reviewed almost immediately by the German historian of religion Karl Otfried Müller (1797–1840), who also translated Reuvens's excerpts into German.¹⁹ But Reuvens died before his edition of the Leiden papyri could appear. It was forty years before another Dutch scholar, the Egyptologist Conrad Leemans (1809–93), published the edition (*PGM XII, XIII*)²⁰ together with a Latin translation (1885).²¹

The first publication, however, is due to the efforts of the British scholar Charles Wycliffe Goodwin (1817–78), who published one of the papyri (*PGM V*) together with an English translation and commentary for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in 1853.²² Then the German philologist Gustav Parthey (1798–1872) edited the two papyri from Berlin in 1865 (*PGM I, II*).²³ A very important new phase began when the Viennese papyrologist Carl Wessely (1860–1931) published in 1888 a transcription of the great magical papyrus of Paris (*PGM IV*), the London papyrus (*PGM V*), and the Mimaut papyrus (*PGM III*),²⁴ followed in 1889 by corrections.²⁵ In 1893 both Wessely²⁶ and Frederick George Kenyon (1863–1952)²⁷ independently edited and published the magical papyri of London (*PGM VII–X*). The last major papyrus was published in 1925 by the Norwegian scholar Samson Eitrem (1872–1966),²⁸ who had acquired in Egypt a valuable magical scroll with many drawings (*PGM XXXVI*).

With these important publications, the major pieces of the Greek magical papyri known to this period had become available. It seems to have been a suggestion first made by the great scholar of Greek religion, Albrecht Dieterich (1866–1908), that all the available papyri should be published in a handy study edition. But this idea developed only gradually after Dieterich began teaching a seminar on the subject of the magical papyri at the University of Heidelberg in 1905.²⁹

Today it is astonishing to learn that teaching such a seminar at that time was quite a daring enterprise. Magic was so utterly despised by historians and philologists that the announcement of the seminar did not mention the word "magic" but was simply phrased as "Selected Pieces from the Greek Papyri."³⁰

How far the dislike of the magical papyri could go is illustrated by a remark made by Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff: "I once heard a well-known scholar complain that these papyri were found because they deprived antiquity of the noble splendor of classicism."³¹

Dieterich,³² however, was at the edge of a wave of interest generated by the new

discipline of history of religions. His seminar therefore had a surprising attraction for students, some of whom wrote their dissertations on related subjects and became contributors to the study edition. The plan for such a study edition was seriously threatened by Dieterich's sudden death on 6 May 1908, but the work was taken over by Dieterich's students, foremost of whom was Richard Wünsch, chief editor. Adam Abt, Ludwig Fahz, Adolf Erman, Georg Möller, and other contributors³³ stepped in to carry on the work.

When the body of the material of *PGM* I–IV was almost ready, World War I broke out and interrupted the work. Wünsch, Abt, and Möller were killed in the war. Despite these terrible losses and the desperate economic situation following the war, the publisher, B. G. Teubner of Leipzig, did not give up the project, but decided to start over. The edition was entrusted to Karl Preisendanz (1883–1968), another of Dieterich's former students.³⁴ Scholars at that time faced difficulties scarcely conceivable to us today, yet they persisted. In addition, a remarkable degree of international cooperation existed among the scholars.³⁵ Sam Eitrem from Oslo and Adolf Jacoby from Luxemburg joined the team, and British, French, and Dutch scholars gave their support to the effort. The *Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft* as well as other governmental agencies gave financial support, so that despite all the problems the first volume of the first edition of the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* could appear in 1928, with a second volume following in 1931.³⁶

While all this was happening, new magical papyri were being discovered and published. A third volume, which was also supposed to contain extensive indexes, therefore became necessary. But this volume never appeared, for World War II broke out.

Despite the war, the work had progressed to the actual production of galley proofs, with the preface dated "Pentecost, 1941,"³⁷ when on 4 December 1943 the publishing house of Teubner in Leipzig was bombed and everything was destroyed.³⁸ Fortunately, however, the galley proofs survived the war and are at present being used by a number of scholars in the form of xerox copies. When Karl Preisendanz, the editor of the first edition and tireless promoter of the study of the Greek magical papyri before and after World War II, died on 26 April 1968, the publishing house of Teubner, which had in part been relocated in Stuttgart, West Germany, decided to bring out a new edition. This new edition was prepared by Albert Henrichs, a papyrologist from Cologne, who has been on the faculty of Harvard University since 1973.³⁹ It appeared in two volumes in 1973–74.⁴⁰ The first volume is mostly a reprint of the first edition, though many corrections have been made. The second volume, however, is considerably different from the first edition. A number of papyri were reedited completely, and the papyri originally planned to appear in vol. III were added so that vol. II of the 1974 edition contains all pieces up to *PGM* LXXXI. The idea of a third volume containing the indexes was postponed because all indexes would have to be redone in view of the changes and additions in the material.

II

What is the significance of the Greek magical papyri? Scholars since Albrecht Dieterich have consistently pointed out the importance of the Greek magical papyri to the study of ancient religions; thus we can limit ourselves here to a summary of the issues.⁴¹

Historians of religion are intrigued by the Greek magical papyri for a number of reasons. If, as Dieterich rightly says,⁴² the papyri are a depository of a great reli-

gious literature over many centuries, the recovery of the sources becomes a task of primary interest. In fact, throughout these sources we find citations of hymns, rituals, formulae from liturgies otherwise lost, and little bits of mythology called *historiolae*. These older materials are now embedded in a secondary context, but by careful application of the methods of literary criticism they are often recoverable.⁴³

Taken as a whole, the material presents a plethora of interesting problems for modern scholarship. One must realize first that the material assembled under the name Greek magical papyri represents a collection of texts of diverse origin and nature. This collection includes individual spells and remedies, as well as collections made by ancient magicians, from the early Hellenistic period to late antiquity. Since the material comes from Greco-Roman Egypt, it reflects an amazingly broad religious and cultural pluralism. Not surprising is the strong influence of Egyptian religion throughout the Greek magical papyri, although here the texts nevertheless show a great variety. Expressed in Greek, Demotic, or Coptic, some texts represent simply Egyptian religion. In others, the Egyptian element has been transformed by Hellenistic religious concepts. Most of the texts are mixtures of several religions—Egyptian, Greek, Jewish, to name the most important.

The picture presented by the Greek magical papyri has been changed substantially by the inclusion of the translation of the Demotic magical papyri. In Preisendanz's edition, the Demotic material was deleted, even when it occurred in the same papyrus as Greek sections apparently written by the same scribe. The inclusion of the Demotic material in the present translation raises new and intriguing questions regarding the relationship between the Greek texts and the antecedent Egyptian sources. Further studies must clarify the process of transmission and transformation of these texts. Such studies will gain new insights into the complex phenomena of the hellenization of religious traditions. (See also the Introduction to the Demotic texts below.)

Another interesting problem is posed by the fact that this material from Greco-Roman Egypt contains many sections that are Greek in origin and nature.⁴⁴ How did this older Greek religious literature find its way into Egypt? We do not, and probably never shall, know. In this older material, the Greek gods are alive and well. But Zeus, Hermes, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, and others are portrayed not as Hellenic and aristocratic, as in literature, but as capricious, demonic, and even dangerous, as in Greek folklore.⁴⁵ The gods and their activities resemble those in the popular myths and local cults, as reported by mythographers or by Pausanias. Therefore, strange as it may sound, if we wish to study Greek folk religion, the magical papyri found in Egypt are to be regarded as one of the primary sources.⁴⁶

Questions similar to those appropriate to the study of Greek religion must be raised in view of the material (divine names as well as entire passages) that comes from some form of Judaism. Jewish magic was famous in antiquity,⁴⁷ and more sources have come to light in recent years; but the origin and nature of the sections representing Jewish magic in the Greek magical papyri is far from clear. Did this material actually originate with Jewish magicians? How did it get into the hands of the magicians who wrote the Greek magical papyri? What kind of transformation took place in the material itself? If the texts in question come from Judaism, what type of Judaism do they represent?

The historian of religion will be especially interested in the kind of syncretism represented in the Greek magical papyri.⁴⁸ This syncretism is more than a mixture of diverse elements from Egyptian, Greek, Babylonian, and Jewish religion, with a few sprinkles of Christianity.⁴⁹ Despite the diversity of texts, there is in the whole cor-

pus a tendency toward assimilation and uniformity. Such assimilation and uniformity, however, includes primarily the religious traditions already mentioned: the Romans, although in control of Egypt by the time most of the papyri were written, left only a few traces in the material. Thus the papyri represent a Greco-Egyptian, rather than the more general Greco-Roman, syncretism.

In this syncretism, the indigenous ancient Egyptian religion has in part survived, in part been profoundly hellenized.⁵⁰ In its Hellenistic transformation, the Egyptian religion of the pre-Hellenistic era appears to have been reduced and simplified, no doubt to facilitate its assimilation into Hellenistic religion as the predominant cultural reference. It is quite clear that the magicians who wrote and used the Greek papyri were Hellenistic in outlook.

Hellenization, however, also includes the egyptianizing of Greek religious traditions. The Greek magical papyri contain many instances of such egyptianizing transformations, which take very different forms in different texts or layers of tradition. Again, working out the more exact nature of this religious and cultural interaction remains the task of future research.

The papyri also provide many insights into the phenomenon of the magician as a religious functionary, in both the Egyptian and the Hellenistic setting. One must be cautious, however, in making generalizing statements in regard to the figure of the magician in the Greek magical papyri.⁵¹ Some of the magicians writing and using the spells may have been associated with temples of Egyptian and Greek deities. According to Egyptian practice, the magician was a resident member of the temple priesthood. Genuine understanding of the older Egyptian and Greek languages and traditions can be assumed in some of the material, but by no means in all instances.

There are texts reflecting perhaps a different type of magician, a type we know from the Greek religious milieu.⁵² This type of wandering craftsman seems keen to adopt and adapt every religious tradition that appeared useful to him, while the knowledge and understanding of what he adopted was characterized by a certain superficiality. This type of magician no longer understood the old languages, although he used remnants of them in transcription. He recited and used what must at one time have been metrically composed hymns; but he no longer recognized the meter, and he spoiled it when he inserted his own material. In the hands of magicians of this type, the gods from the various cults gradually merged, and as their natures became blurred, they often changed into completely different deities. For these magicians, there was no longer any cultural difference between the Egyptian and the Greek gods, or between them and the Jewish god and the Jewish angels; and even Jesus was occasionally assimilated into this truly "ecumenical" religious syncretism of the Hellenistic world culture.

We should make it clear, however, that this syncretism is more than a hodgepodge of heterogeneous items. In effect, it is a new religion altogether, displaying unified religious attitudes and beliefs. As an example, one may mention the enormously important role of the gods and goddesses of the underworld. The role of these underworld deities was not new to Egyptian religion or, to some extent, to ancient Greek religion; but it is characteristic of the Hellenistic syncretism of the Greek magical papyri that the netherworld and its deities had become one of its most important concerns. The goddess Hekate, identical with Persephone, Selene, Artemis, and the old Babylonian goddess Ereschigal, is one of the deities most often invoked in the papyri. Through the egyptianizing influence of Osiris, Isis, and their company, other gods like Hermes, Aphrodite, and even the Jewish god

Iao, have in many respects become underworld deities. In fact, human life seems to consist of nothing but negotiations in the antechamber of death and the world of the dead. The underworld deities, the demons and the spirits of the dead, are constantly and unscrupulously invoked and exploited as the most important means for achieving the goals of human life on earth: the acquisition of love, wealth, health, fame, knowledge of the future, control over other persons, and so forth. In other words, there is a consensus that the best way to success and worldly pleasures is by using the underworld, death, and the forces of death.

Apart from this fascination with the control of death and the underworld powers, there is an equally important fascination with the universe. The older gods of the Greco-Egyptian pantheon now mostly represent the forces of the universe. Thus the Greek god most often invoked is Apollo Helios, a fact consistent with the enormous expansion of the worship of the sun in the Greco-Roman era. Besides other astral deities such as Selene, the constellation of the Bear, and the like, abstract deities, new and old, demand attention. These abstract deities personify Nature (Physis), Time (Kronos, Chronos), Destiny (the Moirai), and most important, the All (Aion). Popular Egyptian gods and goddesses are, however, called upon just as often. Yet the god most often employed is Iao, the Jewish god.

The people whose religion is reflected in the papyri agree that humanity is incapable at the whim of the forces of the universe. Religion is nothing but taking seriously this dependency on the forces of the universe. Whether the gods are old or new, whether they come from Egyptian, Greek, Jewish, or Christian traditions, religion is regarded as nothing but the awareness of and reaction against our dependency on the unathomable scramble of energies coming out of the universe. In this energy jungle, human life can only be experienced as a jungle, too. People's successes and failures appear to be only the result of Chance (Tyche). Individuals seem to be nothing but marionettes at the end of power lines, pulled here and there with-out their knowledge by invisible forces.

If this world view takes hold of people, what hope can there be for human life? How could ordinary men and women in the small towns of Egypt get something out of their lives? It is at this point that the magician enters the picture. In a transitional culture like Greco-Roman Egypt, a religious functionary who operated as a crisis manager became a necessity to the lives of ordinary people. This role the magician was able to fulfill.

Applying his craft, the magician could give people the feeling that he could make things work in a world where nothing seemed to work the way it used to. He had handbooks of magic,⁵³ which contained the condensed wisdom of the past, wisdom made effective to solve the problems of the present. The magician claimed to know and understand the traditions of various religions. While other people could no longer make sense of the old religions, he was able to. He knew the code words needed to communicate with the gods, the demons, and the dead. He could tap, regulate, and manipulate the invisible energies.⁵⁴ He was a problem solver who had remedies for a thousand petty troubles plaguing mankind: everything from migraine to runny nose to bedbugs to horse races, and, of course, all the troubles of love and money.

In short, it was this kind of world in which the magician served as a power and communications expert, crisis manager, miracle healer and inflicter of damages, and all-purpose therapist and agent of worried, troubled, and troublesome souls.⁵⁵ To raise one final question: It is one of the puzzles of all magic that from time immemorial it has survived throughout history, through the coming and going of

entire religions, the scientific and technological revolutions, and the triumphs of modern medicine. Despite all these changes, there has always been an unbroken tradition of magic. Why is magic so irrepressible and ineradicable, if it is also true that its claims and promises never come true? Or *do* they? Do people never check up on the efficiency of magicians?

The answer appears to be that, in general, people are not interested in whether or not magicians' promises come true. People want to believe, so they simply ignore their suspicions that magic may all be deception and fraud. The enormous role deception plays in human life and society is well known to us.⁵⁶ In many crucial areas and in many critical situations of life, deception is the only method that really works. As the Roman aphorism sums it up, "Mundus vult decipi, ergo decipiatur" ("The world wishes to be deceived, and so it may be deceived"). To an immeasurable extent, people's lives carry on by what they decide they want to believe rather than by what they should believe or even know, by what appears to be real rather than by what is really real, by props and by fads, and by gobbledygook of this kind today and that kind tomorrow.

Magicians are those who have long ago explored these dimensions of the human mind. Rather than decrying the facts, they have exploited them. Magicians have known all along that people's religious need and expectations provide the greatest opportunity for the most effective of all deceptions. But instead of turning against religion, as the skeptics among the Greek and Roman philosophers did, the magicians made use of it. After all, magic is nothing but the art of making people believe that something is being done about those things in life about which we all know that we ourselves can do nothing.

Magic is the art that makes people who practice it feel better rather than worse, that provides the illusion of security to the insecure, the feeling of help to the helpless, and the comfort of hope to the hopeless.

Of course, it is all deception. But who can endure naked reality, especially when there is a way to avoid it? This is why magic has worked and continues to work, no matter what the evidence may be. Those whose lives depend on deception and delusion and those who provide them have formed a truly indissoluble symbiosis. Magic makes an unmanageable life manageable for those who believe in it, and a profession profitable for those who practice the art.

Notes

1. For a survey of the material, see the indispensable work by T. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Haessel, 1921, 1924); idem, "Mageia," *PRE* 14.1 (1928): 201–393; S. Sauneron, *Le papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn (Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970); idem, "Le monde du magicien égyptien," in *Le monde du sorcier, Sources Orientales VII* (Paris: Edition du Seuil, 1966) 27–65; J. F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (Leiden: Brill, 1971); idem, "Magical Texts," in *Textes et Langages de l'Égypte Pharaonique; Hommage à J.-F. Champollion* (Le Caire: Institut d'Égypte, 1974), 3: 7–19. See also J. F. Borghouts, "Magie," *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 1137–51; H. Altenmüller, "Magische Literatur," *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 1151–62. A wider range of literature is discussed by D. E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," *ANRW* II. 23. 2 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980) 1507–57.

2. See the collections by Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*, University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series XLIX (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950); idem, "Amulets Chiefly in the British Museum," *Hesperia* 20 (1951): 301–45, pls. 96–100; idem, "A Miscellany of Engraved Stones," *Hesperia* 23

(1954): 138–57; A. Delatte and P. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 1964). On the latter, see especially the reviews by H. Seyrig, *Syria* 42 (1965): 409–10; K. Preisendanz, *ByZ* 59 (1966): 388–92; M. Smith, *AJA* 71 (1967): 417–19; A. A. Barb, *Gnomon* 41 (1969): 298–307. On the relationship between gems and papyri see M. Smith, “Relations between Magical Papyri and Magical Gems,” *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 18 (1979): 129–36; J. Schwartz, “Papyri Graecae Magicae und magische Gemmen,” in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich*, *EPRO* 93 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 485–509. For the magical tablets, see A. Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae, quotquot innotuerunt . . . praeter Atticas . . .* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1904); K. Preisendanz, “Fluchtafel (Defixion),” *RAC* 8 (1972): 1–29.

3. See especially K. Preisendanz, “Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der spätantiken Magie,” in *Aus der Welt des Buches. Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Beiheft* 75 (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1951) 223–40.

4. Suetonius, *Augustus* 31.1. See Hopfner, *OZ* II, section 67; K. Preisendanz, “Dans le monde de la magie grecque,” *Chronique d’Égypte* 10 (1935): 336–37; W. Spycer, “Büchervernichtung,” *JAC* 13 (1970): 123–52, with bibliography.

5. PGM LVII and LXXII are even written in cryptography. See also my article “The Formation of Authoritative Tradition in the Greek Magical Papyri,” in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 3: *Self-Definition in the Graeco-Roman World*, ed. B. F. Meyer and E. P. Sanders (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), 161–70.

6. A definition of the notion of magic cannot be attempted here. In order to provide an adequate definition, the complexities of the notion, its relations with “religion” and “science,” and the rather frustrating history and literature of the problem would have to be discussed first. For a good introduction to the question, see A. A. Barb, “The Survival of Magic Arts,” in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. A. Momigliano (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963) 100–125; G. Widengren, *Religionsphänomenologie* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969) 1–19; cf. also Aune, *ANRW* II. 23.2, 1510–16 and G. E. R. Lloyd, *Magic, Reason and Experience*, *Studies in the Origin and Development of Greek Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

7. On the survival of magic, see Barb’s stimulating article mentioned in note 6 above. Also important for this question is the autobiographical account of the physician Thessalos and its discussion by J. Z. Smith, “The Temple and the Magician,” in his *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1978) 172–89.

8. For the circumstances connected with the discoveries of the Qumran texts, see F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961); for the Nag Hammadi Library, see J. M. Robinson, “The Jung Codex: The Rise and Fall of a Monopoly,” *Religious Studies Review* 3 (1977): 17–30.

9. C. J. C. Reuvenis, *Lettres à M. Letronne, sur les Papyrus bilingues et Grecs, et sur quelques autres Monuments Gréco-Égyptiens du Musée d’Antiquités de l’Université de Leide* (Leiden: Luchtmans, 1830), I: “M. le chevalier D’ANASTASY, vice-consul de Suède à Alexandrie.” For bibliographical information, see W. R. Dawson, “Anastasi, Sallier, and Harris and Their Papyri,” *JEA* 35 (1949): 158–66.

10. See the remark by F. Lenormant in his catalog of the Anastasi collection entitled *Catalogue d’une collection d’antiquités égyptiennes. Cette collection rassemblée par M. d’Anastasi, Consul général de Suède à Alexandrie, sera vendue aux enchères publiques Rue de Cléry, N° 76, les Mardi 23, Mercredi 24, Jeudi 25, Vendredi 26 & Samedi 27 1857 à une heure, etc.* (Paris: Maulde et Renou, 1857) 84: “M. Anastasi, dans ses fouilles à Thèbes avait découvert la bibliothèque d’un gnostique égyptien du second siècle, et une partie de cette bibliothèque avait passé avec sa première collection dans le musée de Leide; c’est de là que venait le fameux texte magique en écriture démotique et deux petits papyrus grecs pliés en forme de livres qui font plusieurs des plus beaux ornements de ce musée.”

11. See J.-F. Dubois, *Description des antiquités égyptiennes grecques et romaines, monuments coptes et arabes composant la collection de Feu M.J.-F. Mimaout* (Paris: Panckoucke, 1837) pp. Vff.

12. Cf. the report of another collector who speaks of his “residence of eighteen years at Thebes, entirely devoted to its objects of antiquity” (p. IX). This man, a Greek named Giovanni d’Athanasī, from the island of Lemnos, the son of a Cairo merchant, wrote his story at the suggestion of English travelers: Giovanni d’Athanasī, *A Brief Account of the Researches and Discoveries in Upper Egypt, made under the direction of Henry Salt, Esq., to which is added a detailed catalogue of Mr. Salt’s collection of Egyptian Antiquities; illustrated with twelve engravings of some of the most interesting objects, and an enumeration of those articles purchased for the British Museum* (London: John Hearne, 1836). As d’Athanasī reports, the papyri are found mostly in or near tombs; so he says about the Demotic papyri: “they are very rare, and are found not in the mummies, but in the terra-cotta urns which are found closed up and buried in the earth around the tombs” (p. 79). See also the *Catalogue of the Very Magnificent and Extraordinary Collection of Egyptian Antiquities, the Property of Giovanni d’Athanasī, which will be sold by auction by Mr. Leigh Sotheby, at his house, 3, Wellington Street, Strand, on Monday, March 13th, 1837, and the Six following Days (Sunday excepted), at One o’Clock precisely* (London: J. Davy, 1837) 23–24: “Manuscript Rolls of Papyrus, found in the tombs at Thebes.” On the whole subject, see Wolfgang Speyer, *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1970), esp. 44ff.: books placed as gifts in tombs.

13. PGM V.a is a loose page stuck into a work on chemistry, the *Papyrus graecus Holmiensis* in Stockholm. This indicates that the owner and collector of the magical material also possessed works on chemistry. See also B. Olsson, “Zwei Papyrusstellen besprochen,” *Aegyptus* 12 (1932): 355–56; Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung* 91–92.

14. See my article mentioned in note 5 above.

15. Francis Llewelyn Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900).

16. Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 3: *The Late Period* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980) 127; cf. also 8–9. See also Farouk Gomaā, *Chaemwese. Sohn Ramses’ II. und Hoherpriester von Memphis. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 27 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1973), esp. 70ff. The papyrus was found in a Christian (!) tomb in Thebes. It should be noted that the story dealing with the search for the secret book has a parallel in Pseudo-Democritus, who may be identical with Bolos of Mendes. According to this text, Democritus went to Memphis where he was received by Ostanēs and his students in the temple of Ptah, but Ostanēs died before he initiated Democritus into his mysteries and handed his secret books over to him. Democritus also brought up the shadow of Ostanēs from Hades and asked him about the books. Ostanēs replied that they were in the temple, where they were finally discovered. Both names occur also in PGM (Democritus: VII.167, 795; XII. 351; Ostanēs: IV.2006; XII.122). The text is given in J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés* II (Paris: Société d’édition “Les belles lettres,” 1938) 317–18; see J. H. Waszink, “Bolos,” *RAC* 2 (1954): 502–8; Speyer, *Bücherfunde* 26–27, 72–73.

17. Lenormant, *Catalogue* 87 about PGM IV: “En tête sont trois pages de copte, qui déburent par l’histoire d’un fromage mystique pour la composition duquel s’associent Osiris, Sabaoth, Iao, Jésus et tous les autres éons. Ce fromage n’est autre que la *gnose*.”

18. See note 9 above.

19. GGA, 56. Stück, den 9. April 1831, pp. 545–54. Müller remarks (p. 547): “Es gibt wohl keine Urkunde, die es so deutlich machte, wie die Magie, diese Seuche der Geister, vor allem in Aegypten sich entwickelt, und von dem alten Religionssystem dieses Volkes ausgehend, mit Hülfe metaphysischer Speculationen und verworrenere Naturkenntnisse, sich zu einem Schrecken erregenden Umfange ausgebildet habe.”

20. Leemans’s edition was based upon Reuven’s manuscript. See Preisendanz, “Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte,” 225 n.13.

21. C. Leemans, *Papyri graeci musei antiquarii publici Lugduni-Batavi. Regis augustissimi jussu edidit, interpretationem latinam, annotationem, indicem et tabulas addidit C. L.*, 2 vols. (Lugduni Batavorum: Brill, 1843, 1885). On Leemans, see *L’Égyptologue Conrade Leemans et son correspondance. Contribution à l’histoire d’une science, à l’occasion du cent-cinquantième an-*

niversaire du déchiffrement des hiéroglyphes et du centenaire des Congrès des Orientalistes (Leiden: Brill, 1973).

22. C. W. Goodwin, *Fragment of a Graeco-Egyptian Work upon Magic: From a Papyrus in the British Museum, Edited for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, with a Translation and Notes*. Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, no. II (Cambridge: Deighton, 1852).

23. G. Parthey, "Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museums," *Philologische und historische Abhandlungen der Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1865* (Berlin: Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1866) 109–80.

24. C. Wessely, "Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London," *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 36 (1888): 27–208. On Wessely's achievements in particular, see H. Gerstinger, *Aegyptus* 12 (1932): 250–55; Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde* 120–22.

25. K. Wessely, "Zu den griechischen Papyri des Louvre und der Bibliothèque nationale," *Fünfzehnter Jahresbericht des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals* (Wien: Verlag des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals, 1889) 3–23. See the review by A. Dieterich, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 11 (1891): 9–10.

26. "Neue griechische Zauberpapyri," *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften [Wien], philosophisch-historische Klasse* 42 (1893), II. Abhandlung.

27. F. G. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, vol. I (London: British Museum, 1893).

28. S. Eitrem, *Papyri Osloenses, I: Magical Papyri* (Oslo: Dybwad, 1925).

29. See A. Dieterich, *Abraxas* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1891), p. 164 n.1, and his remark in a review article, "Griechische und römische Religion," *ARW* 8 (1905): 486–87:

Es nimmt mich immer wieder wunder, dass der unermeßliche Gewinn, der aus den Zauberpapyri nach so vielen Seiten hin zu erlangen ist, nur so wenige Arbeiter lockt. Wie mancher, der religionsgeschichtliche Arbeit tun will, täte besser hier sich zu bemühen als um Probleme herumzureden, zu deren Lösung er doch nichts beitragen kann. Nach dem Schema der 'Papyrologie' gehören sie weder zu den Urkunden noch zu den literarischen Papyri; denn daß sich hier die große religiöse Literatur von Jahrhunderten niedergeschlagen hat, ist nur sehr wenigen deutlich. Die Unbekanntheit mit den magischen Papyri macht sich zum Schaden so mancher religionshistorischer Arbeiter, auch der letzten Jahre, bemerklich, und da die wichtigste Publikation von Wessely in den Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, philos.-hist. Klasse XXXVI Band 1888, allerdings ohne eigene recensio und emendatio kaum benutzbar ist, habe ich es mit einem meiner Schüler zusammen unternommen, zunächst wenigstens das kapitalste Stück dieser Literatur, das grosse Pariser Zauberbuch, in einer neuen Ausgabe vorzulegen.

See also K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri I* (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1928), p. VI.

30. S. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae I*, p. V.

31. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Reden und Vorträge* (Berlin: Weidmann, ²1902) 254–55. The remark in full reads as follows:

Ich habe einmal gehört, wie ein bedeutender Gelehrter beklagte, dass diese Papyri gefunden wären, weil sie dem Altertum den vornehmen Schimmer der Klassizität nehmen. Dass sie das thun, ist unbestreitbar, aber ich freue mich dessen. Denn ich will meine Hellenen nicht bewundern, sondern verstehen, damit ich sie gerecht beurteilen kann. Und selbst Mahadöh, der Herr der Erden,—soll er strafen, soll er schonen, muss er den Menschen menschlich sehn.

32. It should be noted, however, that Dieterich's doctoral dissertation was already devoted to the subject, a work that posed most of the pertinent problems. The dissertation was published in an expanded form under the title "Papyrus magicae musei Lugdunensis Batavi . . .," *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie*, Supplementband 16 (1888): 749–830; its prolegomena were reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1911) 1–47.

Dieterich's commentary on the Leiden papyrus J 395 (= PGM XIII) followed under the title *Abraxas. Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des spätern Altertums* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1891). Related is the work entitled *Nekyia. Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1893, ²1913; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969). Still indispensable is his commentary on PGM IV. 475–834, entitled *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903; ²1909 ed. R. Wünsch; ³1923 ed. O. Weinreich; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966). For biographical details and a bibliography see R. Wünsch, "Albrecht Dieterich," in Dieterich, *Kleine Schriften* pp. IX–XLII; H. J. Mette, "Nekrolog einer Epoche: Hermann Usener und seine Schule. Ein wirkungsgeschichtlicher Rückblick auf die Jahre 1856–1979," *Lustrum* 22 (1979–80): 5–106.

33. See Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae I* (1928) pp. VIII–IX.

34. *Ibid.*, p. IX.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. IX–XII.

36. *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, herausgegeben und übersetzt von Karl Preisendanz, vol. I (Leipzig: Teubner, 1928), vol. II (Leipzig: Teubner, 1931).

37. See the *Vorrede* to vol. III (Leipzig: Teubner, 1941), reprinted in the new edition of vol. II, ed. A. Henrichs (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1974), pp. VII–XVII.

38. See K. Preisendanz, "Zur Überlieferung der griechischen Zauberpapyri," in *Miscellanea critica Teubner* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1964) 215 n.1.

39. See the *Vorwort zur Neuauflage* by Henrichs in vol. I of the new edition (see n. 40 below), pp. XIII–XIV.

40. *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, herausgegeben und übersetzt von Karl Preisendanz. Zweite, verbesserte Auflage, mit Ergänzungen von Karl Preisendanz, durchgesehen und herausgegeben von Albert Henrichs (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973, 1974).

41. See A. Dieterich, "Der Untergang der antiken Religion," *Kleine Schriften* 449–539; A. D. Nock, "Greek Magical Papyri," *JEA* 15 (1929): 219–35, reprinted in his *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Z. Stewart (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), I: 176–94; A. J. Festugière, "La valeur religieuse des papyrus magiques," in his *L'Idéal religieux des grecs et l'évangile* (Paris: Gabalda, 1932) 281–328; M. P. Nilsson, "Die Religion in den griechischen Zauberpapyri," *Opuscula selecta* 3 (Lund: Gleerup, 1960) 129–66; S. Eitrem, "Aus Papyrologie und Religionsgeschichte: Die magischen Papyri," *Papyri und Altertumswissenschaft. Vorträge des 3. internationalen Papyrologentages in München vom 4. bis 7. September 1933*, hrsg. von W. Otto und L. Wenger, Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 19 (München: Beck, 1934) 243–63.

42. See note 29 above.

43. See, e.g., the attempt to recover ritual fragments from PGM LXX in my article "Fragments of a Catabasis Ritual in a Greek Magical Papyrus," *HR* 19 (1980): 287–95.

44. Cf. Nilsson's remark concerning the magical hymns, "Die Religion," 132: "Jedoch sind die Hymnen das Griechischste der Zauberpapyri. Ich kann mich des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, dass es ein älteres Zauberesen gegeben hat, das an die griechischen Götter angeschlossen, von dem die auf uns gekommene ägyptische Zauberpapyri Brocken sich einverleibt hat."

45. Since then fundamental changes have occurred in the interpretation of Greek religion, of which the success of the book by E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951) was symptomatic. See also on this point E. R. Dodds, *Missing Persons: An Autobiography* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977) 180–81. For recent developments, see W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977) 21ff.; idem, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*, Sather Classical Lectures 47 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

46. Cf. the comment made by A. A. Barb, "Three Elusive Amulets," *JWCI* 27 (1964): 4 n.16: "Much that we are accustomed to see classified as late 'syncretism' is rather the ancient and original, deep-seated popular religion, coming to the surface when the whitewash of 'classical' writers and artists began to peel off. . . ."

47. On Jewish magic and related bibliography, see L. Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberesen*

(Strassburg: Trübner, 1898, ²1914); J. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk-Religion* (New York: Behrman, 1939); G. G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkavah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, ²1965); J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia*, vols. 4 and 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1969, 1970); I. Grunwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1980).

48. See for surveys A. A. Barb, "Mystery, Myth, and Magic," in *The Legacy of Egypt*, ed. J. R. Harris (Oxford: Clarendon Press, ²1971) 138–69; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 520–43 and passim; K. Preisendanz, "Zur synkretistischen Magic im römischen Ägypten," *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer)*, Neue Serie, V. Folge, ed. H. Gerstinger (Wien: Rohrer/Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1956) 111–25.

49. On Jesus and early Christian magic, with related bibliography, see Morton Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978).

50. On Egyptian magic of the later periods, see the collection by Lichtheim (see note 16 above); G. Roeder, *Volks Glaube im Pharaonenreich* (Stuttgart: Spemann, 1952); idem, *Der Ausklang der ägyptischen Religion mit Reformation, Zauberei und Jenseitsglauben*, = *Die ägyptische Religion in Text und Bild*, vol. 4 (Zürich and Stuttgart: Artemis, 1961).

51. On the figure of the magician, see Smith, *Jesus the Magician*, pp. 81–89.

52. See W. Burkert, "Craft versus Sect: The Problem of Orphics and Pythagoreans," in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 3 (see note 5 above), 1–22.

53. Some of these handbooks are among the *PGM*. How they were made can still be seen from the partly unfinished, late Byzantine (16th c.) copy in the Gennadios Library in Athens (Codex Gennadianus 45), the text of which was published by A. Delatte, "Un nouveau témoin de la littérature so'omonique, le codex *Gennadianus* 45 d'Athènes," *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres*, 5^e série, tome 45 (1959): 280–321.

54. As I have tried to show, even the human self was regarded as a daimon which could be handled by the magician in the same way as all the other energies of the universe. See H. D. Betz, "The Delphic Maxim 'Know Yourself' in the Greek Magical Papyri," *HR* 21 (1981): 156–71.

55. A beautiful testimony of this self-understanding is cited by D. Wildung, *Egyptian Saints: Deification in Pharaonic Egypt* (New York: New York University Press, 1977) 84–85, where the great magician Amenhotep says about himself:

I am really magnificent among any people, one with a heaving heart when he is looking for a plan in some unknown problem, like one whose heart knows it already; who finds a sentence even if it was found destroyed; master of wisdom, friend of the ruler, who does useful things for the Horus, who makes his monuments splendid in order to cause everybody to remember him forever at the august place. Who guides the ignorant through the events since the primeval times, who shows their place to everybody who forgot about it; useful in his ideas, when he is looking for monuments to make immortal the name of his lord; who relates the proverb and acts with his fingers; leader of mankind, of engaging manners as a pleasant one. Who venerates the name of the king and his power, who praises his Majesty at any time of the day, who is on his guard in all his decisions. . . ."

56. A good illustration of the phenomenon is the social and psychological syndrome called "cognitive dissonance." The syndrome can be observed among persons of strong conviction who, when faced with evidence to the contrary of their convictions ("disconfirmation"), become more intense and close themselves off from their social context, rather than develop doubts about these convictions. See the study by Leon Festinger, Henry W. Riecken, and Stanley Schachter, *When Prophecy Fails: A Social and Psychological Study of a Modern Group that Predicted the Destruction of the World* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964). The authors of this study themselves may have become another instance of the syndrome: apparently they entered into the project armed with strong convictions about the origins of religion and, without ever becoming suspicious, found nothing but confirmation.

Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri

Janet H. Johnson

As important as the Greek magical papyri are to the understanding of Greco-Roman religion, as noted by Betz in his Introduction to the Greek magical texts, their full significance can be perceived only when it is realized that these texts written in Greek are part of a larger corpus that also includes texts written in that stage of the Egyptian language known as “Demotic,” and that the corpus as a whole derives in very large measure from earlier Egyptian religious and magical beliefs and practices. The interrelationship between the Greek and Egyptian aspects of these magical texts is emphasized by the fact that not only did the major find of such texts, the collection of Anastasi noted by Betz, occur in Egypt, in the ancient capital of Thebes (modern Luxor) and include both Greek and Egyptian documents, but it also included documents that were bilingual—some of the spells were written in Greek, others in Egyptian, all within the same texts and all for use by the same magician. Perhaps even more telling is the fact that even in the spells written in Greek, the religious or mythological background and the methodology to be followed to ensure success may be purely Egyptian in origin. Thus it is only with the inclusion of the Egyptian materials together with the Greek, and the study of the complete corpus, that the full ramifications of this extraordinary body of material can be studied and appreciated.

All four of the Demotic magical texts appear to have come from the collections that Anastasi gathered in the Theban area. Most have passages in Greek as well as in Demotic, and most have words glossed into Old Coptic (Egyptian language written with the Greek alphabet [which indicated vowels, which Egyptian scripts did not] supplemented by extra signs taken from the Demotic for sounds not found in Greek); some contain passages written in the earlier Egyptian hieratic script or words written in a special “cipher” script, which would have been an effective secret code to a Greek reader but would have been deciphered fairly simply by an Egyptian.

The longest of the four Demotic texts was at some time torn into two sections (*PDM* xiv; *PGM* XIV). The longer second section was acquired by the Leiden Museum of Antiquities in 1828; it now bears number *P.Lugd.Bat.* J 383 (formerly Anastasi 65). The shorter beginning section was purchased by the British Museum in 1857; it now bears number *P.Lond.demot.* 10070 (formerly Anastasi 1072). The definitive publication of the two sections, including hand copy, transliteration, and translation, with extensive commentary and glossary, is the work of F. Ll. Griffith and Herbert Thompson.¹ Attention was attracted to the Leiden section very early when Reuvens recognized the value that the glosses into Greek letters provided for the deciphering of Demotic script.² The entire preserved text (both the beginning and the end of the original manuscript are lost) consists of twenty-nine large columns on the recto and thirty-three smaller columns on the verso. All are in Egyptian with the exception of three short passages in three separate columns, which are written in Greek. Elsewhere occasional Greek words occur as glosses to Egyptian

words or are written in the Egyptian text in an alphabetic Demotic script apparently developed for writing magical and foreign words. Much more common than the Greek passages is the use of the older Egyptian hieratic script in the midst of Demotic passages (as if the scribe were transcribing from an earlier manuscript and occasionally forgot to update what he was copying) and glosses into Old Coptic, most frequently for the writing of magical names and presumably to indicate proper pronunciation (which would have been very difficult to do given the abbreviated nature and great age of the traditional Egyptian scripts). Each column of the recto is written within a frame of horizontal and vertical lines; chapter or section headings are written in red ink (a tradition in Egyptian literature from Old Kingdom times³). In some cases, the scribes, while writing the body of the text in black ink, left room for the heading to be added later in red ink but failed to do so. Such headings can easily be restored.

The same scribe who wrote the London and Leiden text also wrote a second manuscript in the Leiden Museum (*PDM* xii; *PGM* XII) that contains Demotic magical texts—the verso of P.Lugd.Bat.J 384 (formerly Anastasi 75).⁴ Of the nineteen columns of magical spells on the verso, the two columns at the beginning (the left end of the manuscript) are purely Demotic, the following thirteen columns are in Greek (although two headings are written in Demotic), the next two columns are again in Demotic, and the last two columns at the right end of the papyrus are largely in Demotic although they have short passages in Greek cited in the middle. (Note that the papyrus is broken at both ends, so it is impossible to determine how many more columns there were originally and in what language.) Within the Demotic sections of the manuscript are occasional passages written in the earlier hieratic script and in alphabetic Demotic as well as Old Coptic glosses. It appears that this text was written before the London and Leiden text since it is in this text that one can see the development of the Old Coptic script being used for glosses. In the columns at the left end of the papyrus, the Old Coptic glosses were written letter by letter above the corresponding Demotic letter. Since the Demotic runs right to left, the glosses run the same direction. This would have been quite confusing to someone reading what appeared to be Greek, so by the glosses in the second group of Demotic spells, at the right end of the papyrus, the scribe had taken to writing the glosses word for word, left to right, over the appropriate Demotic word. It is this latter system that is found throughout the papyrus of London and Leiden. In Leiden J 384, the scribe did not write within a frame or use red ink for headings. That both the papyri of London and Leiden and Leiden J 384 were written in Thebes, where they were found and sold to Anastasi, is indicated further by the fact that the dialect of Coptic to which the glosses and other alphabetic spellings most closely correspond has been identified as “archaic Theban.”⁵

The British Museum also contains a second bilingual Greek and Demotic magical text (*PDM* lxi; *PGM* LXI), P.Brit.Mus. inv. 10588.⁶ The recto contains eight columns of Demotic; two have occasional magical names written in Old Coptic and one has the names of some ingredients written in Greek in addition to two Greek sections within the Demotic. The verso contains two columns of Demotic with occasional Old Coptic and four columns of Greek. The Demotic sections use red ink for chapter headings (italicized in the translations), as in the papyrus of London and Leiden.

The fourth Demotic magical text is P.Louvre E3229 (formerly Anastasi 1061).⁷ The preserved fragments (*PDM Supplement*) contain seven columns of Demotic on the recto and one column on the verso; the papyrus is broken at both ends. Both

the earlier hieratic script and Old Coptic are used, together with the alphabetic Demotic script developed for writing magical names and attested in each of these texts except P.Brit.Mus. inv. 10588. Section headings are written in red ink on the recto (italicized in the translations); the columns on the recto are written within a red frame, as in the papyrus of London and Leiden.

In all four of these texts, all of which can be dated paleographically to the third century A.D. or only slightly later, there is every indication that all the various scripts were written by, and for, the same scribe, a bilingual person equally at home in Egyptian (old, current, and future) and Greek. The contents and the methodology are overwhelmingly Egyptian. Most of the material is completely Egyptian and its origins are easily traceable in earlier Egyptian religious and magical literature. The methods used are likewise standard Egyptian practices. Some of this is indicated in the notes to the translations.

By contrast, Egyptian divinities (in their own names or in the guise of their Greek counterparts) and Egyptian mythological references abound in the Greek texts and Egyptian methodology is also frequent. For example, although threats against gods who might fail to do what one wants go back to the earliest Egyptian religio-magic literature (Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts), but are unparalleled in classical Greece, they are frequent in the Greek magical texts as well as those written in Egyptian. Much of the Egyptian background of the Greek texts has been pointed out in the numerous textual notes added by Robert K. Ritner. The common source of the Greek and Egyptian language texts is also indicated by their frequent use of identical strings of invocation names, including, in addition to Egyptian and Greek divinities, western Asiatic divinities, "abracadabra" names, and what appear to the modern reader as gibberish.

Because the bulk of the texts is written in Greek, and because there are short passages of Greek in some of the Egyptian texts,⁸ it has been suggested that the Egyptian texts are translations from the Greek. But there are passages in Egyptian, written in Old Coptic, within many of the Greek texts and, as indicated above, the religious and magical background of many of the spells, both Greek and Egyptian, is decidedly Egyptian. In discussing the Egyptian texts, Griffith and Thompson concluded: "even where there are reasons for believing that the demotic is a translation from the Greek, the original source, in relation to magic at any rate, was probably Egyptian."⁹ The same may be true for much of the Greek material. One must, at any rate, be leery of overstating the Greek case and attributing too much to Greek influence.

The present collection of all the texts, Greek and Egyptian, in one easily usable volume, points this out conclusively. This will, in turn, allow and encourage the comparative study of the purposes, methods, props, magical names, and the like, of the Greek and Egyptian spells and encourage the study of the antecedents of the material in both cultures. This work will add greatly to our understanding of the cultural milieu in which these magical texts were produced and copied. Thus it is the hope of all those who have collaborated on the production of this volume that it will both further our knowledge of a dynamic period in the history of man and also encourage future study of cultural contact and cross-fertilization.

Notes

1. *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, 3 vols. (London: Grevel, 1904).
2. See n. 9 to Betz's Introduction, above.

3. See Georges Posener, "Sur l'emploi de l'encre rouge dans les manuscrits égyptiens," *JEA* 37 (1951): 75–80.

4. The recto contains a long Demotic literary composition known variously as the "Tefnut Legend" or the "Myth of the Sun's Eye"; for a short summary and bibliography, see Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 3, pp. 156–57. The magical spells on the verso were published by Janet H. Johnson, "The Demotic Magical Spells of Leiden J 384," *OMRM* 56 (1975): 29–64; for the identification of the scribe, see *ibid.*, pp. 51–53.

5. Janet H. Johnson, "The Dialect of the Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, ed. Janet H. Johnson and Edward F. Wente, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, vol. 39 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1977), pp. 105–32.

6. Published by H. I. Bell, A. D. Nock, and Herbert Thompson, *Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1933).

7. Published by Janet H. Johnson, "Louvre E3229: A Demotic Magical Text," *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 55–102.

8. But note that, e.g., one of the passages in Greek in London and Leiden concerns the purely Egyptian divinity Osiris and his burial in Abydos.

9. *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, vol. 1, p. 12.

THE GREEK
MAGICAL PAPYRI
IN TRANSLATION

INCLUDING THE DEMOTIC SPELLS

PGM I. 1–42

*[*Rite*]: A [daimon comes] as an assistant who will reveal everything to you clearly and will be your [companion and] will eat¹ and sleep with you.

Take [together, therefore,] two of your own fingernails and all the hairs [from] your head, and take a Circean² falcon / and deify it³ in the [milk] of a black [cow] after you have mixed Attic honey with the milk. [And once you have deified it,] wrap it⁴ with an undyed piece of cloth and place [beside] it your fingernails along with your hairs; and take [a piece of choice papyrus], and inscribe in myrrh the following, and set it in the same manner [along with the] hairs and fingernails, and plaster / it with [uncut] frankincense [and] old wine.

So, the writing on/[the strip] is: "A EE ĒĒ ĪĪ OOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ." [But write this, making] two figures:⁵

A	Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō
E E	Y Y Y Y Y Y
Ē Ē Ē	O O O O O
Ī Ī Ī Ī	Ī Ī Ī Ī
O O O O O	Ē Ē Ē
Y Y Y Y Y Y	E E
Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō Ō	A

/ And take the milk with the honey⁶ and drink it before the rising of the sun, and there will be something divine in your heart. And take the falcon and set it up as a statue in a shrine made of juniper wood. And after you have crowned the shrine itself, make an offering of non-animal foods and have on hand some old wine. And before you recline, speak directly to the bird itself after you have made / sacrifice to it, as you usually do, and say the prescribed *spell*:

"A EE ĒĒ ĪĪ OOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ, come to me, Good Husbandman,⁷ Good Daimon, HARPON KNOUPHI BRINTANTĒN SIPHRI BRISKYLMA AROUAZAR [BAMESEN] KRIPHI NIPOUMICHMOUMAŌPH. Come to me, O holy Orion, [you who lie] in the north, / who cause [the] currents of [the] Nile to roll down and mingle with the sea, [transforming them with life] as it does man's seed in sexual intercourse, you who have established the world on an indestructible . . .

1. For meals with deities see below, ll. 23–24, 85–89; III. 424–30; IV. 750–75; VII. 644–51. For the background and further material, see H.-J. Klauck, *Herrenmahl und hellenistischer Kult, Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen, N.F. 15* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1982), esp. 156–58, 190.

2. The adjective *κιρκαιος* is not attested elsewhere. Cf. LSJ s.v. "*κιρκος*," I: "a kind of hawk or falcon." See S. Eitrem, "Sonnenkäfer und Falke in der synkretistischen Magic," in *Pisciculi. Festschrift für F. Dölger* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1939) 94–101; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 178–80, s.v. "Falke."

3. The magical rite of drowning effects deification. See F. L. Griffith, "Herodotus II. 90: Apotheosis by Drowning," *ZÄS* 46 (1909): 132–34; W. Spiegelberg, "Zu dem Ausdruck *hṣj* 'Εστῆς,'" *ZÄS* 53 (1917): 124–25; A. Hermann, "Ertrinken," *RAC* 6 (1966): 370–409; idem, "Ertrinken, Ertränken," *LdÄ* 2 (1977): 17–19; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 273. See also PGM III. 1 and n. [R.K.R.]

4. The ritual suggests that the falcon is to be mummified. See Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.

5. The translation of the term *κλίματα* is uncertain here. The triangular formation, found also elsewhere in the PGM and called "grapelite," "heart-shaped" or "winged," may be an example of *technopaïgnion*, the technique of writing words pictorially in the shape of objects. See on this subject Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* 63–67; C. Lenz, "Carmina figurata," *RAC* 2 (1954): 910–12; Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte" 104; G. Wojacek, *Daphnis. Untersuchungen zur griechischen Bukolik* (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1969) 59ff., esp. 62 and n. 12.

6. For milk and honey in sacred meals, see Klauck, *Herrenmahl* 193–96; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 459–61, s.v. "Milch."

7. Cf. for the title also Anubis "the good oxherd": *PDM* xiv. 17; xiv. 35, 400. See Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 24 and n. [R.K.R.]

[foundation], who are young in the morning and [old in the evening], who journey through the subterranean sphere and [rise], breathing fire,⁸ you who have parted the seas in the first / month, who [ejaculate] seeds⁹ into the [sacred fig] tree of Heliopolis¹⁰ continually. [This] is your authoritative name: ARBATH ABAÖTH BAKCHABRĒ.”

[But] when you are dismissed, [go without shoes] and walk backwards¹¹ and set yourself to the enjoyment of the food [and] dinner and the prescribed food offering, [coming] face to face as companion [to the god]. / [This] rite [requires complete purity]. Conceal, conceal the [procedure and] for [7] days [refrain] from having intercourse with a woman.

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM I. 42–195

*The spell of Pnouthis, the sacred scribe, for acquiring an assistant:¹² . . . Pnouthios to Keryx,¹³ a god[-fearing man], greetings. As one who knows, I have prescribed for you [this spell for acquiring an assistant] to prevent your failing / as you carry out [this rite]. After detaching all the prescriptions [bequeathed to us in] countless books, [one out of all . . .] I have shown you this spell for acquiring an assistant [as one that is serviceable] to you . . . for you to take this holy [assistant] and only . . . O friend of aerial / spirits [that move] . . . having persuaded me with god-given spells . . . but [now] I have dispatched this book so that you may learn thoroughly. For the spell of Pnouthis [has the power] to persuade the gods and all [the goddesses]. And [I shall write] you from it about [acquiring] an assistant.

[The] traditional rite [for acquiring an assistant]: After the preliminary purification, / [abstain from animal food] and from all uncleanness and, on whatever [night] you want to, go [up] onto a lofty roof after you have clothed yourself in a pure garment . . . [and say] the first spell of encounter as the sun’s orb is disappearing . . . with a [wholly] black Isis band on [your eyes], and in your right hand / grasp a falcon’s head [and . . .] when the sun rises, hail it as you shake its head [and] . . . recite this sacred spell as you burn [uncut] frankincense and pour rose oil, making the sacrifice [in an earthen] censer on ashes from the [plant] heliotrope. And as you recite the spell there will be / this sign for you: a falcon will [fly down and] stand in front of [you], and after flapping its wings in [mid-air and dropping]

8. The section describes the voyage of the sun god, his changing age, and his journey through the underworld. See E. Hornung, *Das Amduat* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1963). For the forms of the sun god, see H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1883) 405–33. [R.K.R.]

9. The reference is to Ra-Atum emerging from the seas of chaos in the primal month and his creation of the gods by masturbation. In the Egyptian view of time this cosmic event occurs continually (*δηνεκέως*). Cf. also Pritchard, *ANET* 6. [R.K.R.]

10. Ancient religion knew of a large number of sacred fig trees, but little is known about the one in Heliopolis. The reference may point to another sacred tree as well, such as the *jsd* tree (see L. Kákosy, “Ischedbaum,” *LdÄ* 3 [1980]: 182–83) or the tree “in which is life and death” (idem, *LdÄ* 2 [1977]: 112). Or the tree is the *persea* tree sacred to Ra (see Herodotus 2. 73; and *LdÄ* 3 [1980]: 182–84; Bonnet, *RÄRG* 83–84, s.v. Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* 736–40). [R.K.R.]

11. Walking backwards as a magical rite. See *PGM* IV. 44, 2493; XXXVI. 273.

12. The term refers to an assistant daimon; see Glossary. Pnouthis and Pnouthios refer to the same person.

13. *Keryx*, which means “herald,” may refer to a real or to an ideal person of priestly or holy status. See W. Quandt, “Keryx,” *PRE* 21 (1921): 348–49.

an oblong stone,¹⁴ it will immediately take flight and [ascend] to heaven. [You] should pick up this stone; carve it at once [and engrave it later]. Once it has been engraved, bore a hole in it, pass a thread through and wear it around your neck. But in the evening, / go up to [your] housetop [again] and, facing the light of the goddess, address to her this [hymnic spell] as you again sacrifice myrrh troglitis¹⁵ in the same fashion. Light [a fire] and hold a branch of myrtle . . . shaking it, [and salute] the goddess. 70

At once there will be a sign for you like this: [A blazing star] will descend and come to a stop in the middle / of the housetop, and when the star [has dissolved] before your eyes, you will behold the angel¹⁶ whom you have summoned and who has been sent [to you], and you will quickly¹⁷ learn the decisions of the gods. But do not be afraid: [approach] the god and, taking his right hand, kiss him and say these words to the angel, for he will quickly respond to you about whatever you want. But you / adjure him with this [oath] that he meet you and remain inseparable and that he not [keep silent or] disobey in any way. But when he has with certainty accepted this oath of yours, take the god by the hand and leap down, [and] after bringing him [into] the narrow room where you reside, [sit him] down. After first preparing the house / in a fitting manner and providing all types of foods and Mendesian wine,¹⁸ set these before the god, with an uncorrupted boy¹⁹ serving and maintaining silence until the [angel] departs. And you address preliminary (?) words²⁰ to the god: “I shall have you as a friendly assistant, a beneficent god who serves me whenever I say, ‘Quickly, by your / power now appear on earth to me, yea verily, god!’” 80

And while reclining, you yourself quickly speak about what you propose.²¹ Test this²² oath of the god on [what] you wish. But when 3 hours have passed, the god will immediately leap up. Order the boy to run [to] the door. And say, “Go, lord, blessed god, / where you live eternally, as you will,” and the god vanishes. 85

This is the sacred rite for acquiring an assistant. It is acknowledged that he is a god; he is an aerial spirit which you have seen. If you give him a command, straightway he performs the task: he sends dreams, he brings women, men without the use of magical material, he kills, he destroys, he stirs up winds from the earth, he carries / gold, silver, bronze, and he gives them to you whenever the need arises. And 100

14. For the relationship between amulets and the magical papyri, see M. Smith, “Relations between Magical Papyri and Magical Gems,” *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 18 (1979): 129–36; J. Schwartz, “Papyri Graecae Magicae und magische Gemmen,” in M. J. Vermaseren, ed., *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich*, *EPRO* 93 (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 485–509.

15. This statement shows that something has fallen from the text, for this is the first extant reference here to myrrh *troglitis*. [E.N.O.] The name may be commonly referred to as “Ethiopian myrrh.”

16. This angel or messenger (ἄγγελος) is also referred to as “the god” throughout this spell.

17. The adverb, which occurs in *PGM* I. 76, 79, 91, 108, 111, 113, 116, 121, can mean “precisely” or “in detail.”

18. This is not to be confused with the famous Mendaean wine. Mendesian refers to the Egyptian city of Mendes in the Nile Delta. For a discussion of the confusion between the names, see Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* II, 600.

19. Apparently this boy serves as a child medium. Cf. for this form of medium *PGM* II. 56; V. 376; VII. 544, etc.

20. *πρόπεμπε* with an inanimate (and esp. abstract) object is poetic. Here the prefix seems to have its literal meaning: “first,” hence “preliminary words.” [E.N.O.]

21. *πρός ἃ φράζει* should be read as second-person middle (cf. I. 79) and not third-person active, as Preisendanz translates.

22. The position of the word “this” is awkward in the Greek text; perhaps “the oath itself” is preferable. Cf. I. 156: “the same spell.”

he frees from bonds a person chained in prison, he opens doors, he causes invisibility so that no one can see you at all, he is a bringer of fire, he brings water, wine, bread and [whatever] you wish in the way of foods: olive oil, vinegar—with the
 105 single exception of fish²³—and he will bring plenty of vegetables, / whatever kind you wish, but as for pork,²⁴ you must not ever tell him to bring this at all! And when you want to give a [dinner], tell him so. Conjure up in your mind any suitable room and order him to prepare it for a banquet quickly and without delay. At once he will bestow chambers with golden ceilings, and you will see their walls covered
 110 with marble—and you consider these things partly real / and partly just illusionary—and costly wine, as is meet to cap a dinner splendidly. He will quickly bring daimons, and for you he will adorn these servants with sashes. These things he does quickly. And [as soon as] you order [him] to perform a service, he will do so, and
 115 you will see him excelling in other things: He stops ships and [again] / releases them, he stops very many evil [daimons], he checks wild beasts and will quickly break the teeth of fierce reptiles, he puts dogs to sleep and renders them voiceless. He changes into whatever form [of beast] you want: one that flies, swims, a quadruped, a reptile. He will carry you [into] the air, and again hurl you into the billows / of the sea's current and into the waves of the sea; he will quickly freeze rivers
 120 and seas and in such a way that you can run over them firmly, as you want. And [especially] will he stop, if ever you wish it, the sea-running foam, and whenever you wish to bring down stars²⁵ and whenever you wish to make [warm things] cold
 125 and cold things / warm,²⁶ he will light lamps and extinguish them again.²⁷ And he will shake walls and [cause] them to blaze with fire; he will serve you suitably for [whatever] you have in mind, O [blessed] initiate of the sacred magic, and will accomplish it for you, this most powerful assistant, who is also the only lord of the air.
 130 And the gods will agree to everything, for without him / nothing happens. Share this great mystery with no one [else], but conceal it, by Helios, since you have been deemed worthy by the lord [god].

This is the spell spoken [seven times seven] to Helios as an adjuration of the assistant: “*ŌRI PI . . . AMOUNTE*²⁸ *AINTHYPH PICHAROUR*²⁹ *RAIAL KARPHIOUTH*
 135 *YMOU ROTHIRBAN OCHANAU MOUNAICHANAPTA/ZŌ ZŌN TAZŌTAZŌ PTAZŌ MAUIAS SOUŌRI SOUŌ ŌOUS SARAPTOUMI SARACHTHI A . . . RICHAMCHŌ BIRATHAU ŌPHAU PHAUŌ DAUA AUANTŌ ZOUZŌ ARROUZŌ ZŌTOUAR THŌMNAŌRI AYŌI PTAUCHARĒBI AŌUOSŌBIAU PTABAIN AAAAAAA AEĒIOYŌYŌŌIĒEA CHACHACH
 140 CHACHACH CHARCHARACHACH AMOUN Ō ĒI*³⁰ / *IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIHAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHON OMENERPHABŌEAI CHATHACH PHNESCHĒR PHICHRŌ PHNYRŌ PHŌCHŌCHOCH IARBATHA GRAMMĒ PHIBAŌCHNĒMEŌ.*” This is the spell spoken seven times seven to Helios.

23. For the taboo on fish in ancient Egypt, see Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* I, 380–404. [R.K.R.]

24. The prohibition against eating pork was well known in Egypt (see also IV. 3079). The pig was considered unclean because it was related to Seth/Typhon (see also IV. 3115, 3260). See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 690–91, s.v. “Schwein”; J. Bergman, “Isis auf der Sau,” *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis* 6 (1974): 81–109; Darby, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* I, 171–209; cf. also Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 8, 353F and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 281.

25. Pulling down stars was a feat for which the Thessalian witches were famous. See H. Reiche, “Myth and Magic in Cosmological Polemics,” *Rheinisches Museum* 114 (1971): 296–329.

26. This magical operation is similar to the table gimmick of Demokritos (see *PGM* VII. 177).

27. Cf. the table gimmick in *PGM* VII. 171–72.

28. This is Egyptian for Horus . . . Amon. [R.K.R.]

29. This is Egyptian *pikrour*, “the frog.” [R.K.R.]

30. This is Egyptian meaning “Amon the Great.” [R.K.R.]

*And engraved on the stone*³¹ is: Helioros³² as a lion-faced figure, holding in the left / hand a celestial globe and a whip, and around him in a circle is a serpent biting 145
its tail. And on the exergue of the stone is this name (conceal it): “ACHA
ACHACHA CHACH CHARCHARA CHACH.” And after passing an Anubian string³³
through it, wear it around your neck.

Spell to Selene: “INOUTHŌ³⁴ PTOUAUMI ANCHARICH CHARAPTOUMI ANOCHA
ABITHROU / ACHARABAUBAU BARATHLIAN ATEB DOUANANOU APTYR PANOR PAU- 150
RACH SOUMI PHORBA PHORIPHORBARABAU BŌĒTH AZA PHOR RIM MIRPHAR
ZAURA PTAUZOU CHŌTHARPARACHTHIZOU ZAITH ATIAU IABAU KANTANTOUMI
BATHARA CHTHIBI ANOCH.” Having said this, you will see some star gradually free
itself from [heaven] and become a god. / But you approach, take him by the hand, 155
kiss him and say the same spell: “ŌPTAUMI NAPHTHAUBI MAIOUTHMOU MĒTROBAL
RACHĒPTOUMI AMMŌCHARI AUTHEI A. . . TAMARA CHTŌBITAM TRIBŌMIS ARACHO
ISARI RACHI IAKOUBI TAURABERŌMI ANTABI TAUBI.” When you have spoken this,
/ a reply will be given. But you say to him: “What is your divine name? Reveal it to me 160
ungrudgingly, so that I may call upon [it].” It consists of 15 letters: SOUESOLYR
PHTHĒ MŌTH.³⁵

And this is spoken next: “Hither to me, King, [I call you] God of Gods, mighty,
boundless, undefiled, indescribable, firmly established Aion. / Be inseparable from 165
me from this day forth through all the time of my life.”

Then question him by the same oaths. If he tells you his name, take him by the
hand, descend and have him recline as I have said above, setting before him part of
the / foods and drinks which you partake of. And when you release him, sacrifice to 170
him after his departure what is prescribed and pour a wine offering, and in this way
you will be a friend of the mighty angel. When you go abroad, he will go abroad
with you; when you are destitute, he will give you money. He will tell you what
things will happen both when and at what time of the night or day. And if / anyone 175
asks you “What do I have in mind?” or “What has happened to me?” or even “What
is going to happen?” question the angel, and he will tell you in silence. But you
speak to the one who questions you as if from yourself. When you are dead, he will
wrap [up] your body as befits a god,³⁶ but he will take your spirit and carry it into
the air with him. / For no aerial spirit which is joined with a mighty assistant will 180
go into Hades, for to him all things are subject. Whenever you wish to do some-
thing, speak his name alone into the air [and] say, [“Come!”] and you will see him
actually standing near you. And say to him, “Perform this task,” and he does it at
once, and after doing it he will say to you, “What else do you want? For I am eager
for heaven.” If you do not / have immediate orders, say to him, “Go, lord,” and he 185
will depart. In this fashion, then, the god will be seen by you alone, nor will anyone
ever hear the sound of his speaking, just you yourself alone. And he will tell you

31. For gemstones with figures similar to the one described here, see Bonner, *SMA* 19–20, 151–53; nos. 233–37, 283; also the statue described by Nilsson, *GGR* II, 498–99. See furthermore Bonnet, *RAFG* 427–429, s.v. “Löwe.”

32. This is Helios-Horus. See Bonner, *SMA* 19–20, 153.

33. The precise nature of the Anubian cord is not clear. Anubis, the divine undertaker, may have had his name applied to thread used in mummification (see also IV. 1083, 2899; XXXVI. 237). See P. Wolters, “Faden und Knoten als Amulett,” *ARW* 8, Beiheft (1905): 1–22; Bonner, *SMA* 3.

34. INOUTHŌ corresponds to Egyptian *i ntr* ʿ3, “O great god,” and is the beginning of an invocation. [R.K.R.]

35. In Greek the name consists of fifteen letters.

36. This dressing up refers to the practice of mummification and the body’s subsequent deification. See B. Gunn, “The Decree of Amonrasenethēr for Neskhons,” *JEA* 41 (1955): 84–85. [R.K.R.]

190 about the illness of a man, whether he will live or die, even on what day and at what hour of night. / And he will also give [you both] wild herbs and the power to cure, and you will be [worshiped] as a god since you have a god as a friend. These things the mighty assistant will perform competently. Therefore share these things with no one except [your] legitimate son³⁷ alone when he asks you for the magic powers imparted [by] us. Farewell.

195 The address to the sun / requires nothing except the formula “IAEÖBAPHRENE-MOUN” and the formula “IARBATHA.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM I. 195–222

*This, then, is the prayer of deliverance for the first-begotten and first-born god: “I call upon you, lord. Hear me, holy god who rest among the holy ones, at
200 whose side the Glorious Ones³⁸ stand continually. I call upon you, / [fore]father, and I beseech you, eternal one, eternal ruler of the sun’s rays, eternal ruler of the celestial orb, standing in the seven-part region, CHAÖ CHAÖ CHA OUPH CHTHE-THÖNIMEETHËCHRINIA MEROUMI ALDA ZAÖ BLATHAMMACHÖTH PHRIXA ÈKE . . . PHYËIDRYMËÖ PHERPHRITHÖ IACHTHÖ PSYCHEÖ PHIRITHMEÖ ROSERÖTH /
205 THAMAstra PHATIRI TAÖCH IALTHEMEACHE; you who hold fast to the root, [who] possess the powerful name which has been consecrated by all angels. Hear me, you who have established the mighty Decans and archangels, and beside whom
210 stand untold myriads of angels. You have been exalted to heaven, and the lord / has borne witness to your wisdom and has praised your power highly and has said that you have strength in the same way as he, as much strength as he [himself] has.

“I call upon you, lord of the universe, in an hour of need; hear me, for my soul is [distressed], and I am perplexed³⁹ and in want of [everything]. Wherefore, come]
215 to me, you who are lord over all / angels; shield me against all excess of magical power of aerial daimon [and] fate.⁴⁰ Aye, lord, because I call upon your secret name which reaches from the firmament to the earth, ATHËZOPHÖIM ZADËAGËÖBËPHIA-
220 THEAA AMBRAMI ABRAAM THALCHILTHOE ELKÖTHÖÖËË ACHTHÖNÖN / SA ISAK CHÖËIOURTHASIÖ IÖSIA ICHËMËÖÖÖÖ AÖAEI, rescue me in an hour of need.”

Say this to Helios or whenever you are forced to do so.⁴¹

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. Since the character of this invocation shows no tangible connection with the preceding or foregoing spells, it is best understood as a separate charm. Although the purpose of this prayer (which at certain points is reminiscent of the language of the Psalms) is not exactly stated, ll. 215–16 and 221–22 suggest that deliverance from the onslaught of a demonic attack is requested.

37. Preisendanz’s reading *ἰσχυρῶ νιῶ* is doubtful because the term is nowhere else attested (see his apparatus ad loc.). The word may reflect an Egyptian or Semitic idiom (“son of your own loins”), an idiom formed in Greek from the word *ἰσχυιον* (hips). The Egyptian term is more general, however, and refers to “part of the body.” [J.B.] Cf. also Gn 35 : 11; 1 Kgs 8 : 19; Acts 2 : 30; Heb 7 : 5, 10. See furthermore PGM IV. 646, 2519, and Abt, *Apologie* 65–66.

38. *Doxai* is a name for angels. See also IV. 1051, 1202, and Bauer, s.v. “δόξα,” 4.

39. The translation of *ἄβου[λος]* follows Preisendanz (“ratos”). For the general language of prayer, cf. Ps 42 : 6, 12; 43 : 5; Jon 4 : 9 LXX; Sir 37 : 2; Mk 14 : 34 par.

40. The concept of Heimarmene is found in PGM here and XIII. 613, 635; cf. 709. See D. Amand, *Fatalisme et liberté dans l’antiquité grecque. Recherches sur la survivance de l’argumentation morale anti-fataliste de Carnéade chez les philosophes grecs et les théologiens chrétiens des quatre premiers siècles* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, ²1974); H. O. Schröder, “Fatum (Heimarmene),” *RAC* 7 (1969):524–636, esp. 567–68.

41. The translation is tentative at this point.

PGM I. 222–31

***Indispensable invisibility spell:** Take fat or an eye of a nightowl and a ball of dung rolled⁴² by a beetle and oil of an unripe olive⁴³ and grind them all together until smooth, and smear your whole / body with it and say to Helios: “I adjure you by your great name, BORKĒ PHOIOUR IŌ ZIZIA APARXEVOUCH THYTHE LAILAM AAAAAA IIIII OOOO IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ NAUNAX AI AI AEŌ AEŌ ĒAŌ,” and moisten it and say in addition: “Make me invisible, lord Helios, AEŌ ŌAĒ EIE ĒAŌ, / in the presence of any man until sunset, IŌ IŌ Ō PHRIXRIZŌ EŌA.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM I. 232–47

***Memory spell:** Take hieratic papyrus and write the prescribed names with Hermaic⁴⁴ myrrh ink. And once you have written them as they are prescribed, wash them off⁴⁵ into spring water / from 7 springs and drink the water on an empty stomach for seven days while the moon is in the east. But drink a sufficient amount.

This is the writing on the strip of papyrus: “KAMBRE CHAMBRE SIXIŌPHI HARPON CHNOUPHI BRINTATĒNŌPHRIBRISKYLMA ARAOUAZAR BAMESEN KRIPHI NIPTOUMI CHMOUMAŌPH AKTIŌPHI ARTŌSE BIBIOU / BIBIOU SPHĒ SPHĒ NOUSI NOUSI SIEGŌ SIEGŌ NOUCHA NOUCHA LINOUCHA LINOUCHA CHYCHBA CHYCHBA KAXIŌ CHYCHBA DĒTOPHŌTH II AA OO YY ĒĒ EE ŌŌ.” After doing these things wash the writing off and drink as is prescribed.

This is also the composition of the ink: myrrh troglitis, 4 drams; 3 karian figs, 7 pits of Nikolaus dates, / 7 dried pinecones, 7 piths of the single-stemmed wormwood, 7 wings of the Hermaic ibis,⁴⁶ spring water. When you have burned the ingredients, prepare them and write.

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM I. 247–62

***Tested spell for invisibility:** A great work. Take an eye of an ape or of a corpse that has died a violent death and a plant of peony (he means the rose). Rub these with oil of lily, and as you are rubbing / them from the right to the left,⁴⁷ say the spell as follows: “I am ANUBIS, I am OSIR-PHRE,⁴⁸ I am OSOT SORONOUIER, I am OSIRIS whom SETH destroyed.⁴⁹ Rise up, infernal daimon, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PHOBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ APOMPS; whatever I, NN, order you to do, / be obedient to me.”

And if you wish to become invisible, rub just your face with the concoction, and you will be invisible for as long as you wish. And if you wish to be visible again, move from west to east and say this name, and you will be obvious and visible to all / men.

42. The pellet (“that which is rolled”) of a scarab is sacred to the sun god Ra. See also PGM VII. 584. [R.K.R.]

43. The papyrus reads *φακκίνου*, which Preisendanz emends to *(ὄμ)φακκίνου*. For similar expressions, see PGM IV. 228–29, 3008. For a different reading, see Schmidt, GGA 1931, 445.

44. This is the myrrh ink of Hermes.

45. In order to transfer the magical powers of the names, they were washed off and consumed. For the widespread practice, see *Handbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 8 (1936/37): 1156–57.

46. The ibis was sacred to Hermes Thoth. [R.K.R.]

47. See on this point J. F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, Nisaba 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1978) 27, 30, 41, 56. [R.K.R.]

48. This is Osiris-Re.

49. The papyrus has *tako* where one expects the standard Coptic *takof*, “destroyed (him).” [M.W.M.] Cf. DMP col. I, 13, p. 23 (and n.) for Demotic parallels to part of this passage.

The name is: “MARMARIAÖTH MARMARIPHEGGË, make me, NN, visible to all men on this day, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly!” This works very well. *Tr.: E. N. O’Neil. Cf. PGM I. 222–31.

PGM I. 262–347

*Apollonian⁵⁰ invocation: Take a seven-leaved sprig of laurel and hold it in your right hand / as you summon the heavenly gods and chthonic daimons. Write on the
265 sprig of laurel the seven⁵¹ characters for deliverance.

The characters are these: *∪ΑΙΕΙ∪∩∩∩, the first character onto the first
270 leaf, then the second / again in the same way onto the second leaf until there is a matching up of the 7 characters and 7 leaves. But be careful not to lose a leaf [and] do harm to yourself. For this is the body’s greatest protective charm, by which all are made subject, and seas and rocks tremble, and daimons [avoid] the characters’
275 magical powers which / you are about to have. For it is the greatest protective charm for the rite so that you fear nothing.

Now this is the rite: Take a lamp which has not been colored red and fit it with a piece of linen cloth and rose oil or oil of spikenard, and dress yourself in a prophetic
280 garment and hold an ebony staff in your left hand and / the protective charm in your right (i.e., the sprig of laurel). But keep in readiness a wolf’s head so that you can set the lamp upon the head of the wolf, and construct an altar of unburnt clay near the head and the lamp so that you may sacrifice on it to the god. And immediately the divine spirit enters.

/ The burnt offering is a wolf’s eye, storax gum, cassia, balsam gum and whatever
285 is valued among the spices, and pour a libation of wine and honey and milk and rainwater, [and make] 7 flat cakes and 7 round cakes. These you are going to make completely [near] the lamp, robed and refraining from all / unclean things and
290 from all eating of fish⁵² and from all sexual intercourse, so that you may bring the god into the greatest desire toward you.⁵³

Now these are the names, [which] you are going to write on the linen cloth and which you will put as a wick into the lamp which has not been colored red: “ABER-
295 AMENTHÖULERTHEXANAXETHRENLYOÖTHNEMARAIBAI⁵⁴ / AEMINNAEBARÖ-
THERRETHÖBABEANIMEA.”⁵⁵ When you have completed all the instructions set out above, call the god with this chant:⁵⁶

50. This lamp divination is named after the god Apollo. Despite its syncretistic character, there are an unusual number of parallels with the cult of Apollo. See S. Eitrem, “Apollon in der Magic,” in *Orakel und Mysterien am Ausgang der Antike, Albae Vigiliae* 5 (Zürich: Rhen-Verlag, 1947): 47–52.

51. Eight characters are shown.

52. See PGM I. 104 and note.

53. For sexual union with Apollo attributed to the Pythia, see Plutarch, *De Pyth. or.* 405 C–D; Origenes, *C. Cels.* 7.3; John Chrysostom, *PG* 61, p. 242 (hence *Schol. Aristoph. Plut.* 39; Suda, *Lexicon*, p. 3120). See G. Wolff, *Porphyrii De philosophia ex oraculis haurienda* (Berlin: Springer, 1856) 160; W. Burkert, *Homo Necans, RVV* 32 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1972) 143. [W.B.]

54. The magical words begin with the name ABERAMENTHÖ, on which see J. Mahé, “Aberamentho,” in *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions, Festschrift for G. Quispel, EPRO* 91 (Leiden: Brill, 1981): 412–18. The formula should be read as a palindrome (see Glossary). Cf. also PGM III. 67–68, 117–18; XXXVIII. 20–21.

55. The magical word should be read as a palindrome. Cf. also IV. 196–97; XIV. 24; LIX. 7.

56. These lines contain dactylic hexameters (several of which are metrically faulty) through l. 311. In 312–14 the meter breaks down completely, yet because the tone and the apparent intent is hymnic, the translation continues in a verse pattern that is sometimes faulty. Ll. 297–311 (although the identification says 297–314) also form vv. 1–15 of the reconstructed Hymn 23, while vv. 16–18 are taken from PGM I. 342–45. See Preisendanz, vol. II. p. 262. [E.N.O.]

“O lord Apollo, come with Paian.⁵⁷
 Give answer to my questions, lord. O master
 Leave Mount Parnassos and the Delphic Pytho
 Whene’er my priestly lips voice secret words, /
 First angel of [the god], great Zeus. ΙΑΘ̄ 300
 And you, MICHAËL, who rule heaven’s realm,
 I call, and you, archangel GABRIËL.
 Down from Olympos, ABRASAX, delighting
 In dawns, come gracious who view sunset from
 The dawn, / ADŌNAI. Father of the world, 305
 All nature quakes in fear of you, PAKERBĒTH.
 I adjure God’s head,⁵⁸ which is Olympos;
 I adjure God’s signet, which is vision;
 I adjure the right hand you held o’er the world;
 I adjure God’s bowl containing wealth;
 I adjure eternal god, AIŌN of all;
 / I adjure self-growing Nature, mighty ADŌNAIOS; 310
 I adjure setting and rising ELŌAIOS:
 I adjure these holy and divine names that
 They send me the divine spirit and that it
 Fulfill what I have in my heart and soul.
 / Hear blessed one, I call you who rule heav’n⁵⁹ 315
 And earth and Chaos and Hades where dwell
 [Daimons of men who once gazed on the light].
 Send me this daimon at my sacred chants,
 Who moves by night to orders ’neath your force,
 From whose own tent this comes, and let him tell me /
 In total truth all that my mind designs, 320
 And send him gentle, gracious, pondering
 No thoughts opposed to me. And may you not
 Be angry at my sacred chants. But guard
 That my whole body come to light intact,
 For you yourself arranged these things among
 Mankind for them to learn. / I call your name, 325
 In number equal to the very Moirai,
 ACHAI PHŌTHŌTHŌAIĒIAĒIA
 AIĒIAĒIAŌTHŌTHŌPHIACHA.”⁶⁰

And when he comes, ask him about what you wish, about the art of prophecy,
 about divination with epic verses, about the sending of dreams, about obtaining
 revelations in dreams, about / interpretations of dreams, about causing disease, 330
 about everything that is a part of magical knowledge.

Cover a throne and couch with a cloth of linen, but remain standing while you

57. The words “Ἀναξ . . . σὺν Παιήῳ” form an iambic pentameter which may preserve a line from a longer hymn. The line belongs to Hymn 8 in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 244. For a similar expression, cf. PGM II. 7–8. [E.N.O.]

58. Or, “I adjure (you by) God’s head,” here and in the verses that follow.

59. The dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4: vv. 7–8, 12–17, 20, 18, 23–24. For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see PGM IV. 436–61, 1957–89; VIII. 74–80. (The identification of lines in Preisendanz is not correct, vol. II, p. 239: l. 18 is present, l. 19 is missing.) [E.N.O.]

60. The word should be read as a palindrome. One can see the word THŌTHŌ, written twice; it means “Thoth the great.” [R.K.R.]

sacrifice with the aforementioned burnt offering. And after the enquiry, if you wish / to release the god himself, shift the aforementioned ebony staff, which you are holding in your left hand, to your right hand; and shift the sprig of laurel, which you are holding in your right hand, to your left hand; and extinguish / the burning lamp; and use the same burnt offering while saying:⁶¹

335 “Be gracious unto me, O primal god,
O elder-born, self-generating god.
I adjure the fire which first shone in the void;
I adjure your pow’r which is greatest o’er all; /
340 I adjure him who destroys e’en in Hades,
That you depart, returning to your ship,
And harm me not, but be forever kind.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM II. 1–64

“. . . AKRAKANARBA KANARBA ANARBA NARBA ARBA RBA BA A” (speak the whole name thus, in wing formation).¹

“O Phoibos, helper through your oracles,
Come joyous, Leto’s son, who works afar,
Averter, hither come, hither, come hither.
Foretell, give prophecies amid night’s hour,²
5 ALLALALA ALLALALA SANTALALA TALALA”³ (speak this name too, / leaving off one letter in succession, so as to make a wing formation):⁴

“If e’er with vict’ry-loving laurel branch
Here from your holy peak you often voiced
Words of good omen, so may you now speed
Your way to me with truthful oracles,

LAËTONION and TABARAÖTH AEÖ EÖ, lord Apollo Paian, who control this night, who are master of it, who hold the hour of prayer too. Come, mighty daimons,
10 help me today / by truly speaking with the son of Leto and Zeus.”

Add also the following [spell], which is to be written on laurel leaves, and together with the strip of papyrus on which the Headless One is drawn, it is to be placed beside your head, rolled up. It is to be spoken also to the lamp, after you come in from the prayer, before going to bed, after you have placed a lump of frankincense in the wick of the lamp: “BOASOCH⁵ OËAË IAÖIË ÖIAË ÖIAË NICHAROPLEX / STHOM ÖTHÖ . . . Y IE IÖ ËI IAËL IRMOUCH ÖNOR ÖEYE IYÖ EAÖ SABAÖTH
15 THEÖTË PAÖMIACH SIEOU IAÖ IE IEÖ . . . IOY IEÖY IÖ IËI EÖ IËAI IEÖA A E Ë I O Y Ö.”

61. The following dactylic hexameters also form vv. 16–18 of the reconstructed Hymn 23 in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 262. [E.N.O.] In contrast to the preceding hymn, ll. 341–47 are Egyptian in character and refer to the sun god’s self-generation and daily travel in his ship. See Hornung, *Das Amduat*, passim. See also PGM I. 34. [R.K.R.]

1. On the wing formation, see PGM I. 11 and n. Here the formula seems to be incomplete. Supply (KRAKANARBA RAKANARBA AKARNABA) and (A) at the end. Cf. l. 65 below.

2. These lines, except for 4–5, are dactylic hexameters which are not always metrically correct; they are the reconstructed Hymn 9, Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 244. The first three lines appear, in slightly altered form, at PGM IV. 24–27 (Hymn 10, 4–6). [E.N.O.]

3. Presumably SANTALALA, but there is considerable corruption in the text.

4. The lines of the following hymn may have originally been written in some iambic meter. Cf. PGM I. 296–97.

5. In l. 32 the papyrus gives BOLSOCH in lieu of BOASOCH as the beginning of the incantation. One or the other is probably wrong.

In order to remember what is said: Use the following compound.⁶ Take the plant wormwood, a sun opal, a “breathing stone,” the heart of a hoopoe⁷ (also known as the “vulture cock”). Grind all these together, add a sufficiency of honey, and anoint your lips with the mixture, having first incensed / your mouth with a grain of frankincense gum. 20

This is the preparation: In the evening, just before retiring, purify your bed with ass’s milk, and then, holding in your hands twigs⁸ of laurel (the preparation for which is given below), speak the invocation given below. Let your bed be on the ground, either upon clean rushes or upon a rush mat, and lie on your right side, on the ground and in the open air. While performing the invocation, give answer to nobody, and as you are uttering it, make an offering of a lump of frankincense / and 25 twelve right-whorled⁹ pinecones and 2 unblemished [gizzard stones of a] rooster, one to Helios and one to Selene, on the first day [of the month], on a censer¹⁰ of bronze or of earth. On your right inscribe this character,¹¹ and go to sleep in line with the upper stroke of it. While praying, wear a garland of laurel of the following description: Take 12 laurel twigs; make a garland of 7 sprigs, and bind the remaining five together and hold them in your right hand while you pray, / and lie down 30 to sleep holding this, in the above-mentioned position. Inscribe the character with myrrh ink, such as is shown to you [below], with a . . . feather [or pen],¹² and hold it, along with the laurel, while you are uttering in prayer the words which begin “BOLSOCH,” etc.¹³

The names to be written on the sprigs, on each leaf: “YESSEMIGADŌN ORTHŌ BAUBŌ NOËRE SOIRE SOIRĒ SANKANTHARA ERISCHIGAL SANKISTĒ DŌDEKAKISTĒ AKROUROBORE KODĒRE” / (write 12 names). 35

The ink is as follows: In a purified container burn myrrh and cinquefoil and wormwood; grind them to a paste, and use them. Take a sprig of laurel and Ethiopian cumin and nightshade, and grind them together; take in a clay pot water from a new well, dug either 5 months previously or within the last 5 years, or any one you come across on the first day after its being dug, and throw the mixture into the water. Leave it for just 3 nights, and, as you are uttering the invocation, put a little of it into your / right ear. 40

To achieve a good memory: Write on a leaf of cinquefoil the following character, written with myrrh ink, and keep it in your mouth while you sleep.

*The character is:*¹⁴ ℓ

Start saying the aforementioned invocation at the 7th hour of the moon, until the god hearkens to you, and you make contact with him.

And these are the compulsive [procedures]: All of them may be brought before the moon after the first or second day. / If he does not appear, sacrifice the brain of 45

6. *σύνθεμα* as a variant of *σύνθημα* may also have the meaning of “token” or “sign.”

7. Cf. Horapollo, *Hier.* 1. 55, and the use of the hoopoe in a magical recipe in *PDM* xiv. 116. See Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 102, s.v. [R.K.R.]

8. *κλάδος* is normally to be translated “branch,” but that seems to convey the notion of something larger than can be envisioned here. “Twig” may be better, but it may sound too small. The reader must think of a small branch.

9. *δεξιούς* is either “right-turning” or simply “perfect in shape.” Cf. *PGM* III. 694; XIII. 10.

10. *θυμιατήριον* is properly an incense burner, but here perhaps simply a word for “altar.”

11. In the margin is the *ankh* sign (ⴚ), a symbol of life.

12. The papyrus reads *εν πιννηλι*. . . . Preisendanz suggests *πίννη λι[τῆ]*, “with a simple, or plain, pen” (taking *πίννη* as the equivalent of the Latin *penna*).

13. Cf. above, l. 14.

14. The sign is called *shenou*, an Egyptian symbol of protection. [J.B.]

a black ram, and on the third day the little nail of its right forefoot, the one nearest to the ankle; on the fourth, the brain of an ibis; on the fifth, write the figure sketched below¹⁵ on papyrus with myrrh ink, wrap it in a piece of clothing of one
50 who has died violently, and throw it into the furnace of a bathhouse¹⁶ / (some, however, [throw it] not into a furnace, for that is too extreme, but they suspend it over a lamp, or place it beneath one).

In another [text] I have found the following: If then, he does not hearken to this method, wrap up the figure in the same piece of cloth, and throw it into the furnace of a bathhouse on the fifth day, saying after the invocation: “ABRI and ABRO EXANTIABIL, God of gods, king of kings, now force a friendly daimon of prophecy to come to me, lest I apply worse tortures to you, the things written on the strips of papyrus.” /

55 If even after this he does not hearken, pour fine, pure oil of radishes over an uncorrupted boy, who has been tested,¹⁷ and having gathered it up again, prepare a lamp not painted red, and set it upon a lampstand fashioned from virgin soil (some authorities say to pour some of the oil on the altar also). If you feel a blow,¹⁸ chew up the cumin and drink it down with some unmixed wine.

60 Write the prescribed figure / as given above, along with the characters and the prescribed spell twice with myrrh ink on hieratic papyrus. And of these, one you should hold as you make your invocation, as you go to sleep grasping it in your right hand, and placing it under your head, while the other, if the necessity arrives for the compulsive [procedure], you should roll up in the aforementioned cloth and use as prescribed.

*Tr.: John Dillon and E. N. O’Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 2–4; 5–10)

PGM II. 64–183

65 **An alternative procedure:* Take a sprig of laurel and write the / 2 names on its leaves, the one: “[AKRAKANARBA] KRAKANARBA RAKANARBA AKANARBA KANARBA ANARBA NARBA ARBA RBA BA A”¹⁹; the other: “SANTALALA ANTALALA NTALALA TALALA ALALA LALA ALA LA A.”¹⁹

Take another sprig with twelve leaves on it, and inscribe on it the following heart-shaped name,²⁰ while you begin with a sacred utterance. *This is as follows:*
70 And make of the sprig inscribed with the two names / a garland for yourself, weaving about it a binding consisting of white wool, bound at intervals with red wool, and let this hang down as far as the collarbone. You shall hang a similar binding also from the twelve-leaved sprig, and present yourself to the god in the following manner: Take a completely white cock and a pinecone; pour wine upon it,
75 anoint yourself and remain praying / until the sacrifice²¹ is extinguished. Then rub

15. That is, the figure of the Headless One given at the end of the variant spell, PGM II. 64–183.

16. Properly, the hot-air space of a hypocaust. [J.M.D.] Bathhouses were important places for doing magic. See Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte* I, 51–52; II, 32; J.H. Johnson, *OMRM* 56 (1975): 44–45. See also *PDM* xii. 149. [R.K.R.]

17. *γυμναζόμενος* means literally “trained” or “practiced.” But cf. *PDM* xiv. 287 and esp. xiv. 68, where a boy’s sexual purity is stressed. Hence the accompanying use of *ἀφθόρω* here.

18. What seems to be envisioned is something akin to an electric shock. Cf. VII. 230. [J.M.D.] Cf. also 2 Sm 6:7.

19. Cf. above, ll. 1–5. Each name is to be uttered in “wing formation,” leaving off one letter from the beginning in sequence. See I. 11 and n.

20. The heart-shaped name is lost, but presumably it resembled the allegedly twelve-part inscription given at ll. 33–35 above. Cf. III. 70, “in the shape of a heart, like a bunch of grapes.”

21. Cf. above, ll. 24ff.

yourself all over with the following mixture: laurel bayberries, Ethiopian cumin, nightshade, and “Hermes’ finger.” You shall also speak into the lamp the following: “PERPHAËNŌ . . . DIAMANTHŌ . . . L DIAMENCHTHŌTH²² PERPERCHRĒ ŌANOUTH PHROUMEN THORPSOU.”

*The operative name*²³ is: “AKTI KARA ABAIŌTH, O lord god, servant of god, who are in control of this night, stand by me, Apollo Paian.”

Go to sleep with your head toward the south. / Use this at the time of sunrise,²⁴ 80
when the moon is in Gemini:

*Fourth Invocation:*²⁵

“Laurel,²⁶ Apollo’s holy plant of presage,
Whose leaves the scepter-bearing lord once tasted
And sent forth songs himself, Ieios,
Renowned Paian, who live in Kolophon,
Give heed to holy song. And quickly come
To earth from heaven and converse [with me].
Stand near and from ambrosian lips inspire
My songs; come, / lord of song, yourself; renowned
Ruler of song. Hear, blessed one, heavy
In wrath and stern. Now, Titan, hear our voice,
Unfailing one, do not ignore. Stand here,
Speak presage to a suppliant from your
Ambrosian mouth, quickly, all-pure Apollo.”

85

(Speak while the sun is rising).

*Greeting formula:*²⁷

“Hail, fire’s dispenser, world’s far-seeing king,
O Helios, with noble steeds, the eye
Of Zeus which guards the earth, all-seeing one,
Who travel lofty paths, O gleam divine,²⁸
Who move, through the heaven, bright, unattainable, /
Born long ago, unshaken, with a headband
Of gold, wearing a disk, mighty with fire,
With gleaming breastplate, winged one, untiring

90

22. MENCHTHŌTH is equivalent to *mnh Dhwtv*, “Thoth is excellent/beneficent.” [R.K.R.]

23. On the significance of the term *κύριον ὄνομα*, see Philo, *Leg. alleg.* 1. 75; *Det.* 22; 83; *Plant.*

74. For the doctrine of the sacred name, see also Iamblichus, *Myst.* 7.4–5.

24. The exact significance is not clear, but cf. *PGM* VI. 4–5, where a very similar hymn is to be recited at sunrise. See also Philo, *Vit. cont.* 89; Apuleius, *Met.* 11.20.

25. The basic form of the lines in this passage is metrical, but the dactylic hexameters are frequently interrupted by *voces magicae* and brief statements in prose. Ll. 81–102, 107, 132–40, 163–66 have been combined to reconstruct Hymn 11. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 245–46. Ll. 81–82 (Hymn 11. 1–2) appear also at *PGM* VI. 6–7 (Hymn 13. 1–2) and 81 also appears at *PGM* XII. 87–93. [E.N.O.]

26. For the role of laurel in magic, see L. Deubner, *Kleine Schriften zur Klassischen Altertumskunde* (Königstein: Hain, 1982) 401–3.

27. The papyrus reads *χαίρει*, “hail,” which Preisendanz understands as an abbreviation of *χαίρει-τισμός*, “greeting formula.” See on this A. Baumstark, “Chairetismos,” *RAC* 2 (1954): 993–1006. The hymn that follows is written in hexameters, although toward the end of the passage the meter falters. The hymnic section that begins in l. 101, “I call upon you . . .,” may be in prose; however, cf. *PGM* IV. 261ff., where *σέ* is used repeatedly as the first word of a hexameter and where *καλ(έ)ω* follows *σέ* three times.

28. *διωπετός* properly means “fallen from Zeus or heaven,” referring to water, but the term is widely used to mean simply “divine.” Here some of the original meaning seems appropriate. See Bauer, s.v. “*διωπετής*,” *Betz, Lukian* 168 n. 2.

With golden reins, coursing a golden path,
 And you who watch, encircle, hear all men.
 For you day's flames that bring the light give birth
 To Dawn, and as you pass the midmost pole,
 Behind you rosy-ankled Sunrise goes
 Back to her home in grief; in front, Sunset
 Meets you and leads your team of fire-fed steeds /
 95 Down into Ocean; Night darts down in flight
 From heav'n, whenc'er she hears the crack of whip
 That strikes with force around the horses' flanks,
 AAAAAAA EEEEEEE ĒĒĒĒĒĒ ĪĪĪĪĪ ŌŌŌŌŌŌ YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ;
 O scepter-bearing leader of the Muses,
 Giver of life, come now to me, come quickly
 To earth, Icios, hair wreathed with ivy.
 And, Phoibos, with ambrosian mouth give voice
 100 To song. Hail, fire's guard, / ARARACHCHARA
 ĒPHTHISIKĒRE, and hail, Moirai three,
 Klotho and Atropos and Lachis²⁹ too.
 I call you,³⁰ who are great in heav'n, airlike,
 Supreme ruler, you whom all nature serves
 Who dwell throughout the whole inhabited world,
 you [whose] bodyguard is the sixteen giants, you who are seated upon the lotus and
 who light up the whole inhabited world;³¹ you who have designated the various
 105 living things upon the earth, you who have the sacred bird / upon your robe³² in
 the eastern parts of the Red Sea, even as you have upon the northern parts the fig-
 ure of an infant child seated upon a lotus, O rising one, O you of many names,
 SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS; on the southern parts you have the shape of the sacred
 falcon, through which you send fiery heat into the air, which becomes LERTHEXA-
 110 NAX; / in the parts toward the west you have the shape of a crocodile, with the tail
 of a snake, from which you send out rains and snows; in the parts toward the east
 you have [the form of] a winged dragon, a diadem fashioned of air, with which you
 quell all discords beneath the heaven and on earth, for you have manifested yourself
 115 as god in truth, IŌ IŌ ERBĒTH / ZAS³³ SABAŌTH SMARTH ADŌNAI SOUMARTA IALOU
 BABLA YAM MOLĒENTHIŌ PETOTUBIĒTH IARMIŌTH LAILAMPS CHŌOUCH³⁴ AR-
 SENOPHRĒ EU PHTHA ĒŌLI. Hear me, O greatest god, Kommes, who lights up the
 120 day, NATHMAMEŌTH; you who rise as an infant,³⁵ / MAIRACHACHTHA; you who
 traverse the pole, THARCHACHACHAU: you who unite with yourself and endow

29. Lachis is probably metrical for Lachesis.

30. The following is an Egyptian section in contrast to the preceding Greek hymn. Ll. 102 and 106–7 contain an invocation of the sun god as a child sitting upon the lotus, enlightening the world. See S. Morenz and J. Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1954). [R.K.R.]

31. For the transformations of the sun god hour by hour, see PGM III. 500ff.; IV. 1596ff., and on the whole subject H. Brugsch, "Die Kapitel der Verwandlungen," ZÄS 5 (1867): 21–26. [R.K.R.]

32. Cf. Apulcius' description of the *Olympiaca stola* in *Met.* 11. 24, and Griffith's commentary, *The Isis-Book* 308–14. The bird may be the phoenix, for which cf. PGM XII. 231; XIII. 881. See on the Phoenix myth the chapter in M. Tardieu, *Trois mythes gnostiques: Adam, Éros et les animaux d'Égypte dans un écrit de Nag Hammadi (II, 5)* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1974) 231–62.

33. ZAS is an old name for Zeus. See also PGM XIXa. 44; *Orph. Frag.* no. 145 (p. 189); cf. Dieterich, *Abraxas* 130 n. 1.

34. CHŌOUCH is equivalent to Egyptian *kky*, "darkness." [R.K.R.]

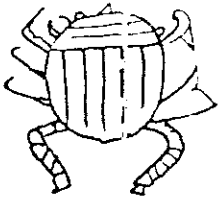
35. See on this point PGM II. 102 and n.

yourself with power, giver of increase and illuminator³⁶ of many things, SESEN-
 GENBARPHARANGĒS of waters, most powerful god, Kommcs, Kommcs IASPHĒ³⁷
 IASPHĒ BIBIOU BIBIOU NOUSI NOUSI SIETHŌN / SIETHŌN ARSAMŌSI ARSAMŌSI 125
 NOUCHA NOUCHA Ē ĒI OMBRI THAM BRITHIAŌTH ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLEKTHEX-
 ANAXETHRELUŌŌTHNEMAREBA, the most great and mighty god. I am he, NN,
 who have presented myself to you, and you have given me as a gift the knowledge of
 your most great name, of which the number is 9,999: IĒ IE IA IĀĒ IAE IEY IĒA IŌA
 IEY / IĒI ĒIA EA EĒ ĒE ŌĒ ĒŌ EĒE EĒĒ EĒĒ AAŌ ŌEA EAŌ ŌI ŌE ĒŌ EĒ EAE III OOO 130
 YYY ŌŌŌ IY EY OY ĒEA IĒEA EAE EIA IAIE IĒA IOY IŌE IOY IĒ IĒ IĒ IĒIE; Paian,³⁸
 Phoibos of Kolophon, Phoibos of Parnassos, Phoibos of Kastalia; IĒEA IĒ IŌ
 IY / IE IŌA IĒA EYA ŌEA EYĒA ŌEYA EYŌA EYIE EYIAE EYE EYĒ EYIE EYŌ IEYAE 135
 EYĒAE, I will hymn Phoibos Mentor . . . AREŌTH IAEŌTH IŌA IŌĒA AE OŌE AĒŌ
 ŌĒA ĒŌA AĒE IE IŌ IŌ IŌ IĒA IĀĒ IEŌY EOYŌ AA AĒŌ EE EĒY ĒĒ EĒA CHABRACH
 PHLIESKĒR PHIKRO PHINYRŌ PHŌCHŌBŌCH;³⁹ I summon you, Apollo of
 Klaros, / EĒY; Kastalian One, AĒA; Pythian, ŌAE; Apollo of the Muses, IEŌŌEI.” 140

Preparation for the rite: On the first day, [collect] nails of a sheep; on the sec-
 ond, the nails of a goat; on the third, the hair or knucklebone of a wolf. Use these as
 burnt offerings for the next 3 days. On the seventh day, in case he does not yet
 come, / make a lampwick out of a piece of cloth taken from one who has died vio-
 lently, and light a lamp from pure oil, and recite the prescribed formulas, beseech-
 ing and exhorting the god to come with good will; let your place be cleansed of all
 pollution, and having purified it, begin in purity the supplication to the god, for it
 is very great and irresistible. 145

/ *Rite:* Take mud and purify the doorposts of your bedchamber, in which you are 150
 observing ritual purity, and having thus smeared on the mud, write the following
 inscription with a bronze stylus on the right-hand doorpost.⁴⁰

What is to be written is as follows: “𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 2 ARSAMŌSI NOUCHA NOUCHA ✕
 ĒI ĒI IA IA IE ĒY / ABRASAX LERTHEMINŌTH.” Similarly on the left-hand doorpost: 155
 “𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 IŌE ĒŌA ĒĒEA IAIA IE IAIĒEA HARPON KNOUPHI” (formula).⁴¹



On the upper part of the door: “𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 AA EE 160
 MICHAĒL ĒIA EYŌ YAE EYŌ IAE.” Below the door, [inscribe]
 the scarab, as it stands / here,⁴² having anointed it with the
 blood of a goat, outside your bedchamber. Let the throne be
 purified, and upon it a linen cloth, and beneath it a foot-
 stool. Inscribe on the throne, on the underside: “IĒ IEA
 IOAY DAMNAMENEUS ABRAĒ ABRAŌ ABRAŌA; lord of the

36. The papyrus reads πολυφωτιστα (cf. LSJ, s.v. πολυφωτιστης), a reasonably well-formed word only attested here. However, in view of the genitive ὑδάτων following the vox magica, which seems to need a governing noun, Preisendanz emends to πολύφω(τε κ)τίστα.

37. For similar formulas see PGM V. 485; XII. 80; XIII. 805ff.; XXI. 25. The formula beginning “ABERAMEN . . .” (see Glossary) should be read in Preisendanz’s text as a long palindrome.

38. The following text has many epithets of the god Apollo. Cf. PGM II. 139–40; III. 251; VI. 24–25. See I. 263 and n.

39. The spacing of this formula has been changed to conform to the spacing of the same formula found elsewhere in the PGM (see I. 141–42; III. 77–78, 151–52, etc.).

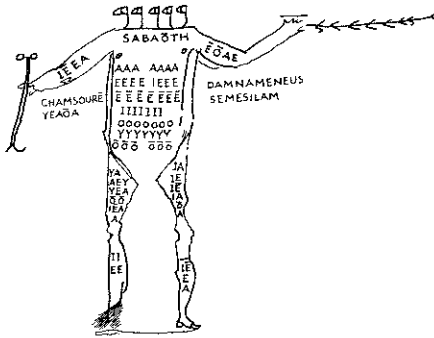
40. For the ritual concerning the doorposts cf. the Jewish mezuzah, for which see Ex 12:7, 22–23; Dt 6:4–9; 11:13–21. See Blau, Das altjüdische Zauberwesen 152; Schürer, History of the Jewish People II, 479–80 (with additional references).

41. For the whole formula, see PGM I. 27.

42. The papyrus has ωσπερισχει, which Preisendanz emends to read ὡς περιέχει, but the meaning is not clear.

165 Muses, / be gracious to me, your suppliant, and be benevo-
lent and merciful; appear to me with pure countenance.”

170



This figure is to be / in-
scribed on a piece of clothing
belonging to one who has died
violently, and is to be cast into
a pure lamp.

175 SENSENGEN BARPHARANGĒS / ŌĒIA IŌAE

After you have learned all you want, you will release him, doing honor to him in
a worthy manner. Sprinkle dove’s blood round about, make a burnt offering of
myrrh, and say, “Depart, lord, CHORMOU CHORMOU OZOAMOROIŔŌCH KIMNOIE
180 EPOZOI EPOIMAZOU / SARBOENDOBAIACHCHA IZOMNEI PROSPOI EPIOR; go off,
lord, to your seats, to your palace, leaving me strength and the right of audience
with you.”

*Tr.: John Dillon and E. N. O’Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 81–87; 88–101).

PGM III. 1–164

* [Take a] cat, and [make] it into an *Esiēs* [by submerging] its body in water. While
you are drowning it, speak [the formula] to [its] back.

The formula during the drowning [is as follows]:

5 “Come hither to me, you who are in control of the form of Helios, you the
cat- / faced god,¹ and behold your form being mistreated by [your] opponents,²
[them,] NN, so that you may revenge yourself upon them, and accomplish [the]
10 NN deed, because I am calling upon you, O sacred spirit. Take on / strength and
vigor against your enemies, them, NN, because I am conjuring you by your names,
BARBATHIAŌ BAINCHŌŌŌCH NIABŌAITHABRAB³ SESENGENBARPHARARGĒS . . .
PHREIMI; raise yourself up for me, O cat-faced god, and perform the NN deed”
(add the usual).

15 / Take the cat, and make [three] lamellae, one for its anus,⁴ one for . . . , and one
for its throat; and write the formula [concerning the] deed on a clean⁵ sheet of

1. The goddess addressed here is Sekhmet-Bastet, well known from Egyptian magical texts. See Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, nos. 5, 13–15, 18, 20, 124; Bergman, *Ich bin Isis* 264–67; E. Otto, “Bastet,” *LdÄ* 1 (1975): 628–30.

2. For this type of accusation, see *PGM* III. 113–14; IV. 2475 and n.

3. The letters BARBATHIAŌBAINCHŌŌŌCHNIABŌAITHABRAB form a palindrome. BAINCHŌŌŌCH (“soul of Khukh,” the god of darkness) is often read separately, but is adapted to this form for numerological reasons: the formula adds up to 3663.

4. That is, “one [to be placed] in its anus.” Preisendanz in the second case restores ἐν τῷ στόματι, but this is in conflict with the other restoration in l. 67 below: [. . . διὰ τῶν καμ[αρῶν], “through the carholes.”

5. “Clean” is meant regularly in *PGM* in a descriptive sense, i.e., previously unused or “free” from imperfections, etc. See LSJ, s.v. “καθαρός,” 3a. For detailed description regarding papyrus, see Pliny, *NH* 13. 68–89, and R. Wünsch, “Charta,” *PRE* 3 (1899): 2185–92.

papyrus, with cinnabar [ink], and [then the names of] the chariots and charioteers, and the chariot boards / and the racehorses.⁶ Wind this around the body of the cat and bury it. Light seven lamps upon [7] unbaked bricks, and make an offering, fumigating storax gum to it, and be of good cheer.⁷ / Take its body [and preserve] it by immuring it either in a tomb or in a burial place . . . with colors, . . . bury . . . looking toward the sunrise, pour out (?) . . . , saying:

“Angel, . . . [SĒMEA], chthonic / . . . lord⁸ (?), grant [safety?], . . . O chthonic one, in [the] horse race, IAKTŌRĒ;⁹ hold . . . restrain . . . , PHŌKENSEPSEUARE [K-TATHOUMISONKTAI],¹⁰ for me, the spirit . . . the daimon of [the] place . . . / and may the [NN deed] come about for me immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly, because I conjure you, at this place and at this time, by the implacable god . . . THACHŌCHA EIN CHOUCHEŌCH, and by the great chthonic god, / ARIŌR EUŌR, and by the names that apply to you; perform the NN deed” (add the usual).

Then take up the water in which the drowning took place, and sprinkle it [on] the stadium or in the place where you are performing [the rite].

The formula to be spoken, while you are sprinkling the drowning water, is as follows: “I call upon you, Mother of all men, / you who have brought together the limbs of Meliouchos, even Meliouchos himself, OROBASTRIA NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH, Entrapper,¹¹ Mistress of corpses,¹² Hermes, Hekate, [Hermes?], Hermekate,¹³ LETH AMOUMAMOUTERMYŌR;¹⁴ I conjure you, the daimon that has been aroused in this place, / and you, the daimon of the cat that has been endowed with spirit;¹⁵ come to me on this very day and from this very moment, and perform for me the NN deed” (add the usual, whatever you wish), “CHYCHBACHYCH BACHACHYCH BACH-AXICHYCH BAZABACHYCH BALACHACHYCH BAZĒTŌPHŌTH / BAINCHŌŌCH ANI-BŌŌ CHŌCHE . . . PHIŌCHEN GĒBRŌCHTHŌ MYSAGAŌTH CHEŌŌ . . . Ō¹⁶ SABAŌTH EULAMOSI ĒĒLAXIMA . . . [. . . THACHŌCH]AXIN CHOUCHEŌCH.”

On the [1st and 3rd leaves of metal] which you are to use for the conjuration, there should be this: “IAEŌ” /

6. *μονότωρ* is a late word for *μονόμπτυξ*, “horse with a single frontlet,” i.e., a racehorse. Presumably one drew crude representations of them, along with their names, on a sheet of papyrus. Cf. such figures on the so-called Sethian curse tablets in R. Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1899), esp. 51.

7. Cf. PGM IV. 2390 for a similar injunction to perform a rite with good cheer. See also Plutarch, *De tranq. an.* 20, p. 477E, and R. Bultmann, *TDNT* 2 (1976):772–75 s.v. “εὐφραίνω.”

8. The papyrus reads . . . ονε. Eitrem suggests *τύραννε*.

9. It is not clear whether *iaktore* is a magical word or something sensible. Preisendanz suggests *ακτωρε* as a Greek equivalent of Latin *actores*, “drivers,” but in that case the syntax is unclear.

10. Emended and restored with plausibility from PGM III. 78–79, 513–14, 545–46; IV. 339–40; LXVII. 13.

11. Although attested in LSJ, s.v. “ἀρκυία,” as an epithet of the goddess Hekate with uncertain meaning (with reference to Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* 38. 14 [third cent. A.D.]), “the netter” is a standard Egyptian underworld daimon. See D. Bidoli, *Die Sprüche der Fangnetze* (Glückstadt: Augustin, 1976); J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy* (Leiden: Brill, 1960) 226–34. [R.K.R.]

12. The term *νεκρία* is also attested in this sense only in PGM IV. 2781, but necessarily having some such meaning.

13. The name Hermekate is a combination of Hermes and Hekate. See Wünsch, *Defixionum Tabellae*, nos. 104–7. Here in the papyrus the name could also be read Hermekatēlēth, that is, with the typical ending *-ēth*; thus Eitrem in the apparatus to III. 37.

14. ΑΜΟΥ at the beginning is Coptic for “come!” [R.K.R.]

15. *πνευματώτος* is a form not otherwise attested; cf. PGM XIII. 525: *ἐμπνευματώδη*.

16. A plausible restoration is IAEŌ in that IAEŌ and SABAŌTH form a common pairing in the PGM.

60

[AEŌ]BAPHRENEMOUNOTH[ILARIKRIPTHNAI]-
YIANTHPHIRKIRALITH[ONYOMENER]-
PHABŌEA.

[ABLAN]ATHANALBA
[ABLAN]ATHANALBA.¹⁷

65

/ On [the 2nd] metal leaf, that is to be put [through the earholes],¹⁸ there should
be this: "TREBA ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLEAEXANAXETHRELTHYOŌETHNEMA-

70

REBA" / (in the shape of a heart, like a bunch of grapes).

Right skeletal figure:

[Left skeletal figure]:



"IŌ ERBĒTH

IŌ PAKERBĒTH

IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH

IŌ APOMPS

75

IŌ PATATHNAX

IŌ AKOUBIA

IŌ SĒTH

PHŌKENSEPSEU-

AREKTATHOUMISAKTAI,

80

Perform the NN deed"¹⁹

(add the usual, what-
ever you wish).

"I conjure you, the powerful and mighty angel of
this animal in this place; rouse yourself for me,
and perform the NN [deed] both on this very
day and in every hour and day; rouse yourself /
for me against my enemies, NN, and perform
NN deed" (add the usual), "for I conjure you
by IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI ABRASAX, and by the
great god, IAEŌ" (formula), "AEĒIOYŌ ŌYOIĒEA
CHABRAX PHNESKĒR PHIKO PHNYRO PHŌ-
CHŌ BŌCH / ABLANATHANALBA

AKRAMMACHAMARI SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS MITHRA NAMAZAR ANAMARIA
DAMNAMENEU CHEU CHTHŌ[NIE]¹⁹ THORTOEI, holy king, the sailor, [who steers]

17. After the second ABLANATHANALBA there appears an isolated "K" followed by a lacuna of uncertain size. The papyrus either reads *καί*, "and," or *κοινά*, "add the usual." For obvious reasons, it has been left untranslated.

18. See above, l. 16 and n.

19. This formula, repeated below l. 100, may well be garbled Greek for *Damnameneu, Zeu chthonic*, identifying Helios-Mithras with Hades. [J.M.D.]

the tiller of the lord god,²⁰ rouse [yourself] for me, great cat-faced one, steerer of the tiller [of God], perform the NN deed (add the usual), from this very day, / immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. Perform for me the NN deed (add the usual, as much as you wish), powerful Seth-Typhon,²¹ and act lawlessly through your strength and overturn the NN deed in this place . . . [in this very hour?], as I command your image, / for I conjure you, MASKELLI MASKELLŌ (formula). Perform for me this, the NN deed, by virtue of your visage, cat-faced spirit; perform for me the NN deed (add the usual), and what is written hereafter” (add your additional requests).²² Proceed toward the sunset²³ and, / taking the right-hand and left-hand whiskers of the cat as a phylactery, complete the rite by saying this formula to Helios.

Formula: “Halt, halt the sacred boat,²⁴ steersman of the sacred boat! Even you, Meliouchos, / I will bind to your moorings, until I hold converse with sacred Helios. Yea, greatest Mithra, NAMAZAR ANAMARIA DAMNAMENEU CHEU CHTHŌNIE THONTOEI, holy king, the sailor, he who controls the tiller of the lord god,²⁵ THONTOEI KATHEN KAI MENŌPHRIS²⁶ . . . KMEBAU KERKERYMI, before / [you attain to] the southwest of the heaven, before [you reach nightfall?] in flight from the outrages committed against you. Hearken to me as I pray to you, that you may perform the NN [deed], because I invoke you by your names BARBARATHAM CHELOUBRAM / BAROUCH[AMBRA] SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS AMPHI MIOURI . . . MIN. Perform the NN deed” (add the usual, whatever you wish), “for it is those same people who have mistreated²⁷ your holy image, they who have mistreated [the holy] boat, / wherefore for me . . . , that you may return upon them the NN deed (add the usual). Because I call upon you, IŌ ERBĒTH [IŌ] PAKERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH IŌ APOMPS IŌ PATATHNAX IŌ AKOUBIA IŌ ABERAMENTHŌOUTHLETHEXANAXETHRELTHYŌŌTHNEMAREBA. Perform the NN deed (add the usual), I conjure you in the Hebrew tongue²⁸ / and by virtue of the Necessity of the Necessitators,²⁹ MASKELLI MASKELLŌ. Accomplish this for me and destroy and ravage in the coming dawn, and let the NN deed befall them” (add the usual, whatever you wish), “immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly. Pleasant be your setting!”

When you have come to the place / in which you are performing the rite, then, taking hold of the long whiskers of the cat, both the right-hand and the left-hand, as a phylactery, go through the whole of this formula to Helios at his rising.

Formula: “Hither to me, O greatest in heaven, for whom the heaven has come into being as a dancing place, / SATIS³⁰ PEPHŌOUTH HŌRA, OITCHOU; of necessity

20. A reference to the solar bark of Re. See PGM III. 98–105. [R.K.R.]

21. Seth plays here the role of the defender of the bark of Re. See H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden: Brill, 1967) 99–108. [R.K.R.]

22. Or, “for other uses.” Cf. the list of uses at PGM XIII. 230–333.

23. A reference to a place from where the sunset can be viewed.

24. For the halting of the solar bark, cf. Iamblichus, *Myst.* 6.5 and B. Ebbell, *Papyrus Ebers* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937) 70–71. [R.K.R.]

25. Cf. PGM III. 81 and n.

26. Egyptian *mn-nfr*, “established and beautiful,” an epithet of Memphis. [J.B.]

27. For this type of accusation see PGM III. 5; IV. 2475 and n.

28. Probably the meaning is “by the Hebrew sound” and refers to the vowel combinations with IŌ. [J.B.] See also Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberesen* 128–37; O. Eissfeld, “Jahwe-Name und Zauberesen,” in his *Kleine Schriften* 1 (Tübingen: Mohr, Siebeck, 1962) 150–71. On the use of “barbaric language” (ῥῆσις βαρβαρικῆ) generally, see Hopfner, *OZ* I, sections 706–69; Betz, *Lukian* 153–54.

29. This peculiar expression is found also in PGM IV. 262; cf. VII. 302–4; XXXVI. 342–49 and perhaps IV. 1456; XIII. 291; XIXa. 11.

30. Probably referring to the Egyptian goddess Satis. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 670–71, s.v. “Satis.”

perform for me the NN deed, EĪ LAANCHYCH AKARBĒN LAAR MENTHRĒ SENE-
 135 BECHYCH, you who love prophecy, golden-visaged,³¹ gold-gleaming, / shining
 with fire in the night, valiant, valiant ruler of the world, who shine out early in the
 day, who set in the west³² of heaven, who rise up from the east, SL . . . IX,³³ circle-
 140 shaped, who run until midday and linger in Arabia, MOURŌPHO³⁴ / EMPHE . . . IR,
 the messenger of the holy light, the fiery circle, PERTAŌMĒCH PERAKŌNCHMĒCH
 PERAKOMPHTHŌAK KMĒPH,³⁵ the brilliant Sun, who shine throughout the whole
 inhabited world, who ride upon the ocean, PSOEI Ō PSOEI Ō PNOUTE NENTĒR
 145 TĒROU;³⁶ / I adjure you by the Egg.³⁷ I am Adam the forefather; my name is Adam.
 Perform for me the NN deed, because I conjure you by the god IAŌ, by the god
 ABAŌTH, by the god ADŌNAI, by the god MICHAĒL, by the god SOURIĒL, by the
 150 god GABRIĒL, by the god RAPHAĒL, / by the god ABRASAX ABLATHANALBA AK-
 RAMMACHARI, by the lord god, IAIŌL, by the god lord CHABRA(CH)³⁸ PHNESKĒR
 PHICHRO PHNYRO PHŌCHŌBŌCH ABĒIOYŌ ŌYOIĒEA; you who light up the day,
 155 NETHMOMAŌ; the child, / the riser, OROKOTOTHRO, augments of fire and of much
 light, SESENGENBARPHARAGGĒS. Come to me, hearken [to me], most just one of
 all, steward of truth, establisher of justice; I am he whom you met and granted
 160 knowledge and holy utterance of your greatest name, by which you control / the
 whole inhabited world; perform for me the NN deed” [(add the usual)].

This is the ritual of the cat, [suitable] for every ritual purpose: *A charm to restrain charioteers in a race, a charm for sending dreams, a binding love charm, and a charm to cause separation and enmity.*

*Tr.: J. M. Dillon. This elaborate spell, a charm suitable for a number of purposes (all of which are forms of malicious magic), is set forth with special reference to its use in chariot races; it is understood, however, that the additional functions, as stated at the end of the spell, also prove useful to the practitioner, provided that he supply in the required places the appropriate requests.

PGM III. 165–86

165 *Take [some] water cress,³⁹ 4 fingers in length, and make from it . . . and of the
 plant bugloss . . . construct . . . a strip of papyrus, and in the middle of the papyrus
 170 strip . . . throw it away, saying the / names: “AN . . . SAŌ IBR . . . EISIRO . . .
 OUSIREN [TECHTHA⁴⁰ . . .]L, I conjure you, lord gods, . . . do not, therefore, dis-

31. Neither φιλομαντοσύνης nor χρυσοπρόσωπος is attested elsewhere, according to LSJ.

32. Reading λιβυβόρω, a compound found nowhere else; it probably means “west.”

33. It is not clear whether this damaged word is a *vox magica* or a Greek word.

34. Mourōph is a name of the hour god in PGM IV. 1690 (the god of the eleventh hour, having the form of an ibis).

35. Forms of this *logos* occur in PGM IV. 1010; XII. 190; XIII. 780, 820. The final name Kmēph is an epithet of Osiris and is the equivalent of the Egyptian *hmf*, “his shrine.” Cf. SATRAPERKMĒPH in PGM XII. 185; XIII. 915.

36. The phrase is equivalent to the Egyptian *p3 šy ʿ3 p3 šy ʿ3 p3 ntr n3 ntr. w tr. w*, “Good Daimon, Good Daimon, O god of all the gods!” PSEOITŌ should be the usual PSALAS. [R.K.R.]

37. For the sun as an egg, cf. PGM XII. 100–106. On the cosmic egg, see J. Bergman, *Isis-Seele und Isis-Ei* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1970) 73–102; Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 177–79. [R.K.R.]

38. This formula has been misread and is here emended on the basis of PGM I. 141–42; II. 138–39; III. 77–78. Preisendanz has LABRA at the beginning. The lambda has been misread for a chi.

39. The papyrus has [.]α[.] δαμινον, which Preisendanz restores to read [κ]α[ρ] δάμινον, an unattested adjectival form of κάρδαμον, “nose-smart” (thus LSJ, s.v.; a mustardlike plant). However, Schmidt, GGA 1931, 450 suggests [β]α[λ]ά σάμινον, “balsam wood.” Cf. PGM XII. 364.

40. A variant of the name OSIRCHENTECHTHA. See also PGM VII. 257. The name corresponds to Egyptian *Osiris-khenty-khet*, a combination of Osiris and Khenty-khet, the local god of Athribis, who in the text is joined together with Osiris, Horus, and Apis. See Bonnet, RÄRG 131–33, s.v. “Chentrechtai.” [R.K.R.]

regard me; speak to me [clearly about] everything, accomplish everything . . . of / my prayer [and . . .] if god will, of this prayer [on the strip of papyrus] and of the important matter of mine.” 175

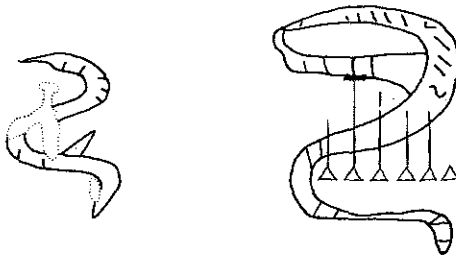
And you must make an offering in . . . [write] this [on a piece of priestly papyrus] with myrrh ink: . . . / [ouroboros]⁴¹ serpent . . . “ÖTE . . . IAM . . . GRASÖ-CHÖ . . . NÖPSITHER THERNÖPSI . . .” 180

*Tr.: J. M. Dillon. This fragmentary portion of PGM III begins another untitled spell which probably ends at line 186, since line 187 begins a new column (col. VIII) in the papyrus manuscript. Although the exact purpose of this short spell cannot be determined, its function may be similar to that of the spell to follow, viz., an oracular request.

PGM III. 187–262

* Pound up dry fruit (?)⁴² with a pestle (?)⁴³ and mix it to sufficiency with honey and [oil of] a date palm. Grind up a magnet. Boil all together and pulverize it. Make little rounds, as many as you wish, / but put an ounce of each element of the mixture into each of these, and proceed thus, singing a hymn of praise to the god. Then the deity will come to you, shaking the whole house and the tripod⁴⁴ before him. Then he will bring about⁴⁵ your enquiry into the future, being clear in his intercourse with you,⁴⁶ as long as you wish, / and then dismiss the god with thanks. 190
195

The drawing of the tripod:



*This is the prayer of encounter of the rite which is recited to Helios:*⁴⁷

“Keep silent, everyone, the voice that’s in
Your mouths; O circling birds of air, keep quiet; /
Cease frolicking, you dolphins, o’er the brine.
Stand for me, river streams and fountain [flows].” 200

41. Supplying [ούροβ]ορος in the lacuna. [R.D.K.]

42. τὰ ξυρά. Preisendanz translates on the basis of a gloss in Hesychius, ξυρόν, “cutting, dry, sharp.” But perhaps we are to understand simply ξύλα, “pieces of wood,” assuming a confusion of lambda and rho. The definite article, however, suggests the pieces of wood were previously mentioned, in which case this spell would be connected to the preceding (cf. l. 165).

43. The papyrus has σχομπανον, a word otherwise unattested and meaningless. Preisendanz emends to κομπανον, “strawberry tree,” a rather radical change. Perhaps we should read κοπάνου, “pestle,” the sigma being an error, and the mu intrusive, as it often is with pi. This, however, would have to be a genitive used instrumentally, which is troublesome.

44. This tripod has not been mentioned before, but it is obviously central to the ceremony (cf. ll. 291–96 below). Perhaps we can assume the tripod is a part of the magician’s basic equipment (see PGM IV. 1890–91; 1897; V. 200–201; XIII. 104, 661, etc.).

45. Reading future τελεῖ instead of imperative τέλει. The phrase that follows (τρανής τῆ ὀμι[λ]ίῃ) seems to make better sense if it refers to the god. Cf. PGM II. 83–84, where ὀμιλῶν is used of the god consorting with the magician.

46. On Apollo’s epiphany cf. Callimachus, Hy. 2.1–2. [W.B.]

47. The following dactylic hexameters are also the reconstructed Hymn 5. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 241–42. [E.N.O.]

- Now, birds of augury, stop everything
 Beneath the sky. Snakes in your dens, attend
 The cry and be afraid. May you in awe
 205 [Keep] silence, daimons 'mid the shades. / The world
 Itself's astonished by the secret words.
 King Semea,⁴⁸ [father] of the world, be gracious
 To me, O scarab; [I call you] immortal,
 Golden-haired god, O scarab, marvel great
 To ev'ry god and man, [be gracious, lord,
 Who hold the fiery vapor in your power], /
 210 Lord of the [sunrise], risen fiery,
 Titan, I call [you], flaming messenger
 Of Zeus, divine ΙΑΘ̄; and you, too,
 Who rule in heaven's realm, O [RAPHAËL],
 Who joy in sunrise, be a gracious god,
 O ABRASAX; and you, O greatest one,
 O heav'nly one, I call, and [you, MICHAËL], your helper,⁴⁹ /
 215 Who saves [his people's lives], the perfect eye
 Of Zeus, and who has both exalted⁵⁰ nature
 And brought forth nature in its turn from nature.
 And I call . . . of the immortals . . .
- ΟΡΑΣΕΕΠΑ SESE[NGENB]ARPHARAGGĒS:
 All-mighty is the god, but you are⁵¹ greatest,
 Immortal one; I beg you, shine forth now,
 220 Lord of the world, ΣΑΒΑΘ̄ΘΗ, / who veil⁵² sunset
 From dawn, ΑΔΩΝΑΙ, who, being a world,
 Alone among immortals tour the world, self-taught,
 Untutored, through the world's midst traveling
 To those who with a cry raise you at night.⁵³
- ΑΚΡΑΜΜΑΧ[ΑΡΙ], ΚΑ . . . Κ . . .
 225 Who joy in laurel offering, / in gates
 Of untamed Styx and Death the Arbiter.

48. The name Semea also appears at *PGM* III. 29, where it is fem., and at V. 429; *PDM* xiv. 214 among the *voces magicae*. Despite the designation "King" here, Semea elsewhere is a Syrian goddess whose name appears in various forms on numerous votive inscriptions. She is identified with several deities, e.g., Astarte, Athena, Hera. Semea does not appear in Greco-Roman literary writings except perhaps in Ps.-Lucian, *De Syr. Dea* 33 (yet the text is uncertain), where it is suggested she is Semiramis. There is also a Syrian god Seimios. See O. Höfer, in Roscher IV, 601; R. Dussaud, "Simea und Simios," *PRE*, second series 5 (1927): 137–40; W. Fauth, "Simia," *KP* 5 (1979): 200. [E.N.O.]

49. The papyrus reads ἄ[ρ]ωγόν σου Μ[ι]χαήλ, which is unmetrical. Heitsch would excise ἀρωγόν σου; Preisendanz would excise μέγιστε at the beginning of the line, and write Μιχαήλ σου ἀρωγόν, which would restore the meter. "Michael" is a restoration, but a probable one; cf. *PGM* I. 301.

50. ἀέξοντα, the emendation of Wunsch, is preferable to δείξαντα for two reasons: (1) it corrects the meter and (2) it restores the proper sense, for whatever is written must govern φύσιν in both clauses. In any case, ἀέξοντα must be taken as a zeugma. [E.N.O.]

51. Fahz reads ἔσσι in lieu of ἔστι, "you are almighty god."

52. ἐπισκεπάζω is properly "to cover over," hence "veil." It may, however, be a solecism for ἐπισκοπέομαι, "look upon," the sense required here (cf. Preisendanz: "beschaut"). Cf. *PGM* I. 303, ἐπισκοπιάζεις, which is at least metrical, though the verb is not elsewhere attested. [E.N.O.]

53. The readings of the papyrus are quite uncertain here. See the restoration by Heitsch in Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 241–42 (Hymn 5).

You I adjure, god's seal,⁵⁴ at whom all deathless
 Gods of Olympos quake and daimons who
 Stand forth preeminent, for whom the sea
 Is ordered to be silent when it hears.⁵⁵
 You I adjure by mighty god Apollo. /

ΑΕἸΙΟΥΩ.”

230

Also say this: “Send me the daimon who will give responses to me about every-
 thing which I order him to speak about.” And he will bring this about.

*This is also [another] hymn:*⁵⁶

“I⁵⁷ sing of you, O blessed one, O healer,
 Giver of oracles, / O all-wise one,
 O Delian [lord and Python-]slaying⁵⁸ [youth],
 Dodona's [king, foretell,] O Pythian Paian;
 I call you, [god who rule the tuneful lyre],
 Which you [alone] of gods [do hold and strike]
 [With sturdy hands] . . . [lord of the silver bow],
 [O well]-named Phoibos . . .

235

/ . . . ruler absolute . . .

240

Who roam the wooded peaks [of Mount Parnassos],
 Be silent, do not now unstring . . .
 O myrrh tree . . . / Lykian god,
 Cease grow . . .

245

A greater light, for he will learn . . .
 From lips divine; someone . . . to arouse
 The seer with plectrum⁵⁹ . . .
 But come you hither, prophesying; come,
 Come hither, prophet, who bring joy, O Smintheus,
 Give your response and / hearken, Pythian Paian;
 Undying shoot, hail, Delphic maiden, Daphne,
 For to you first did Phoibos strike up songs
 In contest with the Muses; Daphne, you
 Shake bough and urge on Phoibos. Then in hymns
 They praise your tunefulness from holy Delphi.
 O maiden who exult in tones divine
 And oracles / . . . heaven's runner,⁶⁰ light bearer,
 Earth shaker: gracious and obedient,

250

255

54. O, “I adjure you [by] the god's seal.” See PGM I. 306 and n.

55. In Hymn 5, Preisendanz concludes with ἀκούει, but the following words seem part of the hymn for two reasons: (1) they are almost metrically sound, and (2) they seem to have a poetic sense. [E.N.O.]

56. This hymn is extremely fragmentary in the papyrus. Here the suggested restoration by Heitsch is followed. See Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 247 (Hymn 12). [E.N.O.]

57. This passage contains what appears to be dactylic hexameters, many of which are fragmentary while others are completely missing. [E.N.O.]

58. The papyrus has]ωλετοκτυπε, which Preisendanz (vol. II, p. 247 [Hymn 12]) restores as [Πυθ]ολετοκτύπε. This, if correct, would be a unique epithet, a combination of two attested epithets: Πυθοκτόνος, “Python slayer,” and Πυθολέτης, “Python destroyer.”

59. On the instrument called πλῆκτρον, cf. Plutarch, *De def. or.* 436E; Clement Alex., *Protr.* I. 5. 3. [W.B.]

60. Read οὐρ(αν)οδρόμει for papyrus ουροδρομει, which is meaningless. For this epithet see I. 258 and LSJ, s.v.

Come to your prophet, but come now in haste,
O you who run through the air, O Pythian Paian.”

260 *Dismissal*: [“Hasten], O air-traversing Pythian Paian; return to your heavens, / leaving to me health together with all gratitude, benevolent and ready to hearken, a sure breastplate (?), and depart to your own heavens, and [dwell there.]”
*Tr.: John Dillon and E. N. O’Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 198–230; 234–58).

PGM III. 263–75

***Foreknowledge charm**: Take your finger and place it under your [tongue]⁶¹ before you speak to anyone.⁶² Say these things along with the [great name]: / “make me know in advance the things in each person’s mind, today, [because] I am TOM . . . IAŌ SABAŌTH IAŌ THĒAĒĒTH . . . M ADOUNAI BATHIAŌ . . . EA THŌĒ IABRABA ARBATHRAS[IAŌ] BATHIAŌŌIA ZAGOURĒ BARBATHIAŌ AĒI AAAAAAA EEEEEEE . . . ŌE . . . SOESĒSISIETH . . . SABAŌTH IAEŌ” (formula). If you wish, you will know
270 [all things in advance], . . . if you have [your finger] / under your tongue, according to [the command, and if you say] this formula to Helios.

And the formula is: “Lord, if you [wish me to know in advance], let the falcon [descend] onto the tree.” If it does not happen, also speak this formula to the four winds while you turn around [toward] the wind.⁶³ Whenever you say the formula,
275 also say to Helios the great name . . . and the great name . . . : AŌTH / SABAŌTH. The formula [is as] above.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 275–81

*[**Horoscope**]:⁶⁴ Moon in [. . . or] Virgo: anything is obtainable, perform bowl divination, as you wish; in [Cancer]: perform the spell of reconciliation, air divination . . . ; in Gemini: perform spells of binding, . . . ; [in] Libra: perform invocation . . . spell of release . . . necromancy; in Pisces . . . OTŌ or love charm; in Sagittarius: conduct business / . . . ; [in] Capricorn: do what is appropriate; in . . .
280

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM III. 282–409

*. . . words not to be spoken . . . beyond measure. . . .

Rite that brings foreknowledge, [which has] complete power and makes [all the passions] / subservient:⁶⁵ In the deep . . . of a river [or in] a tomb . . . after descending, throw into . . . [the] passion stops, and you will learn whatever you wish.

[But speak thus:] “Continue without deception, lord, the vision of every act, in accordance with the command of the holy spirit, the [angel]⁶⁶ of Phoibos, you
290 yourself being pliable because of these / songs and psalms.”

The preparation for the operation: For a direct vision, set up a tripod and a table of olive wood or of laurel wood, and on the table carve in a circle these characters:⁶⁷

61. For another example of placing something under the tongue, see *PGM IV.* 1745–46. Cf. also *V.* 253–54.

62. Cf. Smith, *Jesus the Magician* 116, who translates: “(in the morning) before you speak to anyone.”

63. The formula is spoken to each of the four winds as the officiant faces them successively.

64. κύκλος is supplied by Preisendanz, who translates it “Zodiakalkreis.” In the parallel passage in *PGM VII.* 284 papyrus has κύκλος Σελήνης, which Preisendanz translates “Kreislauf des Mondes.”

65. Cf. *PGM IV.* 1718–19, 1721 for such a use of κλίνω.

66. The term “angel” can also be read as “messenger.”

67. Among these characters a scarab is drawn.

ΖΖΓΓΘΔΔΛ. Cover the tripod with clean linen, / and place a censer on the tripod. 295
 It is advantageous⁶⁸ to place on the table a [hollow figurine] of Apollo out of laurel-wood. Engrave [on a lamella] of gold, of silver, or of tin these characters:
 ΘΣϞϙϚϛϜϝϞϟϠϡϢϣϤϥϦϧϨϩϪϫϬϭϮϯϰϱϲϳϴϵ϶ϷϸϹϺϻϼϽϾϿ. Place the lamella under the censer, near / the wooden image, 300
 which was set up [at the same time as the] censer, and place [next to] the tripod a beaker or a shell containing [pure] water. In the center of the shrine, surrounding the tripod, inscribe on the floor with a white stylus the following character. . . . It is necessary to keep yourself pure for three days in advance. The shrine and the [tripod] must be / covered. [If] you wish [to see], look inside, wearing clean [white] 305
 garments [and crowned] with a crown of laurel,⁶⁹ which on the head . . . wormwood . . . [before the] invocation, sacrifice laurel to him . . . [during the] sacrifice / honor the [god] with païans [directed to the sunrise]. . . ask . . . [cardamom] . . . holy god . . . [almond blossom] . . . from balsam . . . / . and taking . . . 310
 my thought . . . / a buttercup, after taking, taste . . . four-footed. . . . 315
 320

But the formula that is recited is . . . if you wish [to know], say these things which are in the . . . god and all such prophetic . . . worm in . . . as for ten days. Mixing . . . / the heart [with] honey. [Recite] this formula toward the sunrise, 325
 [and] you will know in advance during the hour [and during this] day. [After sacrificing,] make a drink offering with dark wine . . . middle . . . say: “Make me know in advance each of the . . . from . . . and . . . toward the sunrise early / [to know] 330
 each of the men [and] to know in advance [what things] each has in his mind [and] all their essence.”

Single-shooted wormwood, with a single stem, born of the sun, born of the moon⁷⁰ . . . fruit pulp of the lotus, houseleek, a turnip; [wait for] the sunrise in your house fasting. During the third hour finger . . . / [your] face, say: “[TH]Θ- 335
 ΟΥ[TH] ΠΙΘΠΙΘ⁷¹ ΑΥΑΡΣ ΤΗΘΟΥΤΗ . . . ΑΡΣ . . . ΚΕΝΟΝ ΘΟΥΝ ΠΑΧΕΝ ΝΟ . . . ΤΟΟΥ Ε . . . Τ ΑΡΣΑΣΟΤΑ ΥΝΑΣΠΟΡ . . . ΤΗΑ Ρ . . . ΜΝΗΦΗΕΛΟΚΝΗΜΕΘ, give to me from your effluence.”

[To] the rising of the moon on the thirtieth day [say:] “Come to me, greatest archangel; come to me ΧΑΣΡ ΧΑΜ [THΘ]ΟΥΤ . . . come to me, ruler / of reality, ΕΜΙ 340
 ΤΗΕ . . . ΒΑ ΤΗΘΟΥΤΗ ΤΗΘΕΡΕΙ . . . ΕΝΕΝ ΠΑΥΠΙΟΥ ΠΣΙΒΙΟΑΥ ΑΒΛΑΝΑΘΑΝΑΛΒΑ . . . ΑΜΟΑΜΜΑ. Give to me, ΝΝ, memory . . . σΘ . . . I may know all things and I may understand the things above the. . . .”

. . . toward the sunrise ΜΑΣΕΣ . . . saying thus: “I am [the lord] of the sea. Make all things . . . / all things [that will be, so that] I know in advance. Reveal this, the 345
 concerns of all men and what things will be . . . ΤΘΟΥΤ ΑΝΓ⁷² . . . ΣΑ . . . ΟΥΤ ΑΝΓ

68. Fahz and Preisendanz take *καλόν* as modifying *θυμιαστήριον*, “a beautiful censer.” Here *καλόν* has been taken with *ἔστιν κτλ.*, and the text has been punctuated accordingly. Cf. also PGM IV. 2520 and Bauer, s.v. “καλός,” 3.a.

69. The text at this point has many lacunae, and the reconstruction is uncertain. Fahz and Preisendanz take the reference to the garments and the laurel to refer to the god who is seen.

70. LSJ, s.v. *ἡλιόγονος*, *σεληνόγονος* translates these epithets accordingly. However, since *selēnagonon* is attested as a plant (peony) and since a plant name would be appropriate here, one should perhaps translate “peony.” “Sun-born” is not attested as a plant name.

71. ΤΗΘΟΥΤΗ ΠΙΘ ΠΙΘ (cf. also l. 340) is equivalent to Egyptian *Dhwtj p3 ʿ3 p3 ʿ3*, “Thoth the twice-great.” Cf. PGM IV. 19. For this title of Thoth, see J. D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1976) 158–60; R. K. Ritner, “Hermes Pentamegistos,” *Göttinger Miszellen* 49 (1981): 73–75. [R.K.R.]

72. Following G. Möller (see the apparatus in Preisendanz ad loc.) this short section can also be read as Coptic: “[I am] Thoth; I am Sa[.]jour; I am Em[.]je[. . .]on; I am Alabout[. . .]lōrai; I am (?) Natreko; [.]m[. . .] is your [true] name [.]” [M.W.M.]

EMĒS . . . ON ANG ALABOUL”
 . . . during the tenth hour . . . A . . . N . . . N precisely . . . IE PEKREN EM . . .
 350 ONEI E . . . PO . . . NGAL . . . / . just now. . . .”
 . . . and at the rising . . . third . . . the upper . . . at the rising . . . “CHÖLÖM
 355 CHÖL . . . MASKELLI [MASKELLŌ] / . . . ITHĒCHTHŌ . . . lord. . . .”
 360 . . . from the . . . at the same time . . . sun . . . and on . . . yet living . . . / . anoint
 . . . ABLATHANALBA . . . according to the second formula . . . seventh sunrise . . .
 365 you have. / But if [you] want . . . throat of asses . . . the animal . . . tail . . . often
 repeating the seventh formula . . . whatever [you wish] . . . from a human head . . .
 [the formula], the beginning of which is: “Cause me to know, in order that . . .”⁷³
 370 the ear whatever . . . on earth . . . heaven, / the [beginning] . . . the hand accord-
 ing to . . . formula.”

But if [you want] . . . and [to read] a written, sealed letter . . . the same seventh
 formula: “Do for me the things that are written. . . .”

To read the things that are written, take at [the rising] of the moon . . . carve . . .
 375 pieces of honeycomb. Put these in together with . . . / . fresh, pleasing, happily as
 . . . with the things that are written, after thoroughly mixing, [with] all power daily
 . . . to the sun . . . say [also] the prescribed . . . and that day . . . up to half of the
 egg . . . put into a small drinking vessel and rub with chalk the parts of the egg, in a
 380 place⁷⁴ or in a river / where the sun . . . to animals and to humans becomes inac-
 cessible . . . after bathing and . . . crowned with a crown of the season’s flowers . . .
 to an altar, sacrifice on the altar and then take, [as you know,] three loaves of white
 bread . . . olive oil, likewise new wine . . . and milk of a [black] cow; in the finest
 385 cloaks of shieldbearers and . . . / following. Rub first . . . the half of the egg . . . the
 lord . . . all things . . . and the substance . . . and after saying the following for-
 mula, this the seventh, to the sun thus . . . into a holy, small drinking vessel . . .
 after going away and sacrificing . . . say also to the sun . . . formula or hymn giving
 390 advance knowledge . . . [single-stemmed] wormwood into . . . / saying seven times
 . . . Take cardamom and say the holy names . . . for all things belong to the master
 . . . whenever you conjure the earth by saying the seventh [formula to the] earth
 and all the immortal [gods].

This is the formula: “Come to me, lord . . . holy spirit. . . .”

. . . in the ninth hour . . . after this the [formula]: “I conjure those with com-
 395 plete power . . . and I conjure [the] earth, the heaven, [the light, and] / him who
 [created the universe]” . . . formula spoken of god. While saying [this] formula [to]
 a holy . . .”⁷⁵

400 “. . . my name . . . / say that which . . . call . . . my name . . . my true name
 405 which . . . who makes . . . / . Gabriel, Michael, PYAOUËTE . . . NETETETET . . . the
god (?) TAAIAIAIAIAIALOP . . . ĒL.” Seven times you say . . . then say one time or
 three times.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese and M. W. Meyer (Coptic sections, ll. 399–409).

PGM III. 410–23

410 *Take a silver tablet and engrave it after the god⁷⁶ sets. Take cow’s milk and pour

73. At the beginning of l. 369 appears what could be an isolated Coptic name, Hor-Pre; cf. Möller, in the apparatus, who suggests Harpokrates. [R.K.R.]

74. This could also be rendered “a grave.” Cf. LSJ, s.v. “τόπος,” 5; also l. 285 above.

75. Because of the fragmentary character of this Old Coptic section, little can be given here in translation. [M.W.M.]

it.⁷⁷ Put down a clean vessel⁷⁸ and place the tablet under [it]; add barley meal, mix and form bread: twelve rolls in the shape of female figures.⁷⁹ Say [the formula] three times, eat [the rolls] on an empty stomach, and you will know the power.

[*It is*]: “BORKA BORKA PHRIX PHRIX RIX Ō . . . ACHACH AMIXAG OUCH THIP LAI LAI LAMLAI LAI LAM MAIL AAAAAAAA I IY EI AI ŌŌŌŌŌŌ MOUMOU ŌYIŌ NAK NAK NAX LAINLIMM LAILAM AEDA . . . LAILAM / AĒO ŌAĒ ŌAĒ ĒOĀ AŌĒ ĒOA ŌĒA, 415
enter, master, into my mind, and grant me memory, MMM ĒĒĒ MTHPH.” Do this
monthly, facing the moon, on the first day [of the month]. Prostrate
yourself before the goddess,⁸⁰ and wear the tablet as an amulet.



The name of the soul of god is: “EIKIZITELITHDE then PHYSOUSKAZĒTHZ
blood.” Write these things with a copper stylus: “I am KŌOU BŌOU PĀŌSM . . .
HOUIT⁸¹ . . . APRIĒFMLNIĒF . . . MANIŌĒSE NMANIĒFIHTENOHĒIT RENIRE RE- 420
NIM E GEINNA⁸² EOI . . . EFREF / NGŌOU DNI IĒSOUS PNETO.”⁸³ Speak into your
hand seven times in front of the sun, stroke your face, spit, move your thumb from
your nose up to your forehead. Facing the sun, speak seven times into your hand,
spit once, stroke your face, and go on to the procedure and gift: ⁸⁴ “SILIBANAGOU-
NACHAOUĒL. . . .”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 424–66

*A copy from a holy book. Charm that gives foreknowledge and memory:
Take a kakouphon,⁸⁵ / which in Egyptian is kakkou[phat, tear out] its heart, perforate 425
it with a reed, [cut] the heart [into pieces], and put them into Attic honey
when the goddess⁸⁶ approaches. Then grind the heart on the 1st of the goddess,⁸⁷
mix it with the honey, [and eat it] on an empty stomach while saying seven times,
once while tasting with the forefinger, this *formula*:

“Make me know in advance once and for all the things that are going to happen,
the things that are about to happen, the things that have been done, and all [to-
day’s] activities.”

Say the name seven times, and quickly say / the other usual formulas. . . .⁸⁸ 430

76. That is, Helios, the sun god.

77. The papyrus has *καταχεύσα[ς]*, “pour it,” which is not meaningful here. Schmidt, *GGA* 193 (1931): 451–52, suggests *καταλέζειν* on the basis of Hesychius’ *ἀλεάζειν*, “to heat up.” The translation here follows the text of Preisendanz.

78. Schmidt, *GGA* 193 (1931): 451, adds (*εἰς*), “into,” which seems necessary to complete the sense of the phrase, viz., “put it [into] a clean vessel.”

79. It seems only twelve pastry dolls are to be shaped and not an additional loaf and piece of pastry, as Preisendanz seems to take it. [R.D.K.]

80. That is, Selene, the moon goddess.

81. Probably Coptic *p̄ōsm* [*pe*]houit, “the first darkness.” [M.W.M.]

82. Probably read Gehenna. [M.W.M.]

83. Perhaps Coptic, meaning “Jesus our great one.” [M.W.M.]

84. The blessing given in response to the procedure. Cf. *PGM* IV. 198. See also A.-J. Festugière, “La Valeur religieuse des papyrus magiques,” in his *L’Idéal religieux des Grecs et l’Évangile* (Paris: Gabalda, 1932) 293; Bonner, *SMA* 178–79.

85. Cf. on this term *PGM* II. 18 and n.

86. That is, Selene, the moon goddess.

87. This refers to the first day of the lunar month.

88. Apparently the scribe forgot to add the formula for the second day; therefore an ellipsis has been inserted.

[While tasting] on the third, say the name LAILAM [SAN]KANTHARA (add the usual).⁸⁹ [On the] 4th of the moon say [the] 4th name, EPIMNŌ; on the 5th, the 5th name, saying seven times EKENTH . . . [on the 6th], the sixth name, AMOUN AMOUN; on the 7th of the moon, [the 7th name] . . . RA PREGXICHAROTH; on the 8th, the 8th name, EISI OUSIRI AMOUN [AMOUN;⁹⁰ on the 9th], the 9th name, PHORPHORBARZAGRA; [on the 10th], the 10th name, ZAZOUCHŌR DAMNIOTĒ; on the eleventh, the eleventh name, CHRYSA CHR[YSA] EYAE CHRYSOES EIRE CHRY-SOEGETHREL . . . RON; on the twelfth, the twelfth name, and taste twelve times, ATHAB . . . ENIGRAPSATHIR . . . PSANO . . . ASĒ; [on the 13th, say the 13th name],
 435 ARTEMI DAMNŌ DAMNO / LYKAINA;⁹¹ on the fourteenth, say the [fourteenth name]. This is the 14th name: HARPON [CHNOUPHI] BRINTATĒNŌPHRI BRISKYLMA ORE-OBAZAGRA. On the fifteenth, the fifteenth name, SESENGEN BARPHARAGGĒS AGAB . . . AEĒIOYŌ (add the usual formulas, as much as you want, saying it on each day).

When the moon [waned], say [the formula] in hexameter, saying it seven times until it is again the fourteenth of the goddess. But beware, lest it be in conjunction . . . each day . . . and the whole composition of the divine arrangement be undone. [For] the lord [god] speaks. A procedure greater than this one does not exist. It has
 440 been tested / by Manethon,⁹² [who] received [it] as a gift from god Osiris the greatest. Perform it, perform it successfully and silently.

Formula spoken . . . and . . . the sun: “Hail, absolute ruler, hail, hail, [forefather . . . DAMNAM]ENEU [ABRASAX] . . . K . . . ÊLĒL, one holy . . . SABĒLE SABĒLE KA . . .”

445 . . . [*Foreknowledge*] . . . *Moses* . . . and . . . / *for memory*, [say] the following [formula] each [day]: “. . . IMEA . . . ABRASAX . . . [to know] OEIIAO . . . IAŌ
 450 SABAŌ[TH] . . . great . . . IABE[ZEBYTH] . . . ABRAXAS TAE.” . . / . . .

But in this way draw a boy and you . . . later, and you will hear the birds chattering . . . seven of fennel and of sesame, of black cumin . . . / [rake] these and
 455 crush them, with spring water . . . the moon being second, and you will hear all things. . . .

“. . . I am IEĒ IOEĒ IE IAŌ ISI . . . [the things in the] minds of men, because I . . .”

460 . . . pray to him. But . . . / but a swallow⁹³ of this comes . . . this your formula repeat seven times . . . *formula*, which you say: “Hail, Helios, Mithras. . . .”

465 . . . this holy water . . . this one has in his mind . . . / that day [you] know . . . but if [you] touch, [you will have] a semiterian [fever].

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 467–78

470 ***Memory spell:** Take first . . . 2 calf’s snouts, “Hermes’ finger” . . . / taste, and prostrate yourself while saying three times to Helios: “[Enter,] MA . . . A KMĒPH ARSŌ ARSŌ THOUTH . . . O TIOI E.OI POMPOM PHRĒ [IARBATHA CHRAMNĒ] . . . upon my heart, [having granted] memory to my soul, to my eyes [SALBANACHAM-

89. As one can see from l. 436 below, the direction “add the usual” (*κωυά*) is to be understood after each day.

90. That is, Osiris, Amon in vocatives.

91. “She-wolf” is an epithet of the goddess Artemis. See also PGM IV. 2302–3; 2550.

92. The name Manetho probably refers to an Egyptian priest and historian of the third cent. B.C., the man who was instrumental in the setting up of the cult of Sarapis. Cf. also PGM XII. 23; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 28, 362A; Iamblichus, *Myst.* 8.1. See Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 78–82; H.-J. Thissen, “Manetho,” *LdÄ* 3 (1980): 1180–81.

93. The cliff, or chimney swallow. [J.S.]

BRĒ . . .] / monarch, the one who rules over all . . . ABLAN OOOO ADŌNIĒ AĒŌ . . . 475
 in order that, whatever I hear once, [I might remember it throughout] my lifetime.”
 *Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 479–83

***Foreknowledge charm:** Take [. . . parts] fleawort, [and say to] / the height of 480
 the heavenly circle: “The thief . . . the only great god, [come to me] from an assem-
 bly on the 6th day . . . to happen, Helios.”
 *Tr.: W. C. Grese. This and the two variant charms to follow serve as spells to “prognosti-
 cate” the identity or whereabouts of a thief.

PGM III. 483–88

**Another [copy]:* “. . . ALA.AANG XICHA MICHA ANG E . . . / EROTPITENPHĒT 485
 NPRŌME,⁹⁴ [having] a gold-colored [crown on the] head, turn to [the thief who
 took away the NN thing], kill, cleave him and . . . but if you behead. . . .”
 *Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM III. 488–94

**Another:* Take a wing . . . / “AŌŌ; then, according to the same . . . LŌ 490
 [PHNOU]KENT ABAŌTH . . . DO . . . ŌLEAIS . . . KA . . . TA K”
 *Tr.: W. C. Grese. This is presumably another spell to detect a thief; see the note appended
 to PGM III. 479–83, above.

PGM III. 494–611

*[**Spell to establish a relationship with Helios.** A procedure for every [rite], for 495
 [all things]. / For whatever you want, invoke in this way: “[Come,] come to me
 from the four winds of the world, air-transversing, great god. Hear me in every
 ritual which [I perform], and grant all the [petitions] of my prayer completely, be-
 cause I know your signs, / [symbols and] forms, who you are each hour and what 500
 your name is.⁹⁵

“In the first hour you have the form and character of a young monkey; [the tree]
 you produce is the silver fir; the stone, the *aphanos*;⁹⁶ the bird . . . your name is
 PHROUER.⁹⁷

“In the second hour you have the form of a unicorn; the tree you produce is the 505
 persea; the stone, the pottery stone;⁹⁸ / the bird, the halouchakon;⁹⁹ on land, the
 ichneumon; your name is BAZĒTŌPHŌTH.

“In the third hour you have the form of a cat; the tree you produce is the fig tree;
 the stone, the *samouchos*;¹⁰⁰ the bird, the parrot; on land, the frog; your name is
 AKRAMMACHAMAREI.

“In the fourth hour you have the form of a bull; the tree you produce / . . . the 510

94. This is Coptic and means “to the man.” [R.K.R.]

95. In his twelve-hour course through the heavens, the sun is identified here with ancient theriomorphic and totemistic forms. Also, the sun’s creative activities are identified with certain hours. See for this Gudel, *Weltbild und Astrologie* 5–6. Cf. PGM II. 104–15 and n.

96. The identification of *lithos aphanos* is uncertain; literally it means “invisible stone” (clear quartz?). [J.S.]

97. PHROUER is Egyptian for “Pre the great.” [R.K.R.]

98. On the pottery stone see Pliny, *NH* 37. 152.

99. Otherwise unidentified.

100. According to LSJ, this word is a hapax legomenon. Preisendanz identifies it with ψαμμούχος, a sandstone (not attested in LSJ).

101. Fahz reads γεννᾶς δένδρον [καὶ] λίθον, “you produce a tree [and] stone.” This should probably be understood to refer to holly oak and a brick-red opal. Cf. also n. 102. [J.S.]

stone,¹⁰¹ the amethyst;¹⁰² the bird, the turtledove; on land, the bull; your name is DAMNAMENEUS.

“In the fifth hour you have the form of a lion; the tree you produce is the prickly shrub; the stone, the magnet; [the bird] . . . on land, the crocodile; your name is PHŌKENGEPSEUARETATHOUMISONKTAIKT.

515 “In the sixth hour you have the form of a donkey; the tree / you produce is the thorn tree; the stone, lapis lazuli; in the sea, the jellyfish;¹⁰³ on [land, the white-faced cow]; your name is ELAU AKRI LYX. . . .

520 “[In the seventh hour] you have the form of a [crayfish; the tree you produce] . . . [you produce] . . . ; [the stone, the sun opal;¹⁰⁴ / the bird] . . . on land, the cat; [your name is]. . . .

“In the eighth [hour] you have the form . . . [the tree you produce] . . . [the stone] . . . the bird . . . [on land], the hippopotamus; [your] name [is]. . . .

525 “In the ninth [hour] you have the form of an ibis; [the tree / you produce] . . . [the stone] . . . on land, the chameleon; [your name]. . . .

“In the tenth hour [you have] the form . . . ; [the tree you produce] . . . the stone, one the color of a falcon’s neck; [the bird]. . . .

530 / “In the twelfth [hour you have the form] . . . [your name is] ADŌNAI . . . [and]. . . .

535 “. . . / GABRIĒL ALLŌEA . . . OURĒĒDYDIE THARABRACHIRIGX IARBATHACHRAMNĒPHIBAŌCHNYMEŌ¹⁰⁵ KAMPYKRIL . . . ELAMMARĒ.

“I have spoken your signs and symbols. Therefore, lord, do the NN deed by necessity, lest I shake heaven. Do the NN deed for me; you are the image, the whole of the universe, [you] who, after being selected,¹⁰⁶ guarded the holy place of
540 the / great king. Do the NN deed for me, the one who keeps the keys of the triangular paradise of earth, which is the kingdom. Do the NN deed for me, the fatherless child of an honored¹⁰⁷ widow, BŌIATHYRITH, lest they take away from me
545 the lord’s fatherland and so that all / good things happen by command, PHŌKENGEPSEUARETATHOUMISONKTAIKT MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUNKENTABAŌ AŌRIŌ ZAGRA RĒSICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYROSPARIPĒGANYS KAILAM IALMIŌ LILIMOUĒALABAĒNEREDEMŌU.”

550 “Come¹⁰⁸ to me in / your holy circuit of
The holy spirit, founder of the world,
O god of gods, lord of the world, who have
Divided by your own divine spirit
The universe; first from the firstborn you

102. Pliny identifies *παυδέρωσ* as an opal (*NH* 37. 84) or an amethyst (*NH* 37. 123). It has been rendered here as amethyst because in 37.80 Pliny says opals come only from India. See the note by D. E. Eicholz, *LCL* edition of Pliny’s *Natural History*, vol. 10, p. 230, n. a. [J.S.]

103. The term literally means “glass fish.” [M.S.]

104. The translation of *ἡλιοπάλιος* is uncertain.

105. Cf. for this name *PGM* I. 143 and n.

106. Following Preisendanz’s translation as “Auscrwähler.”

107. The papyrus reads *κατατετιμημένη[s]*, a verb not attested elsewhere. The meaning could also be “despised.” Preisendanz suggests that the widow is Isis and the magician identifies himself with Horus. Probably, the translation “dishonored” is to be preferred, because it would refer to the murder of Isis’ husband and her subsequent flight to the swamps of Chemmis to raise her son Horus. For Horus as orphan, see Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* 69, no. 92. [R.K.R.]

108. These dactylic hexameters, many of which are metrically faulty, are also the reconstructed Hymn 2, for which see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 238. [E.N.O.]

Appeared,¹⁰⁹ created carefully, from water
 That's turbulent, who founded all the world:
 Abyss, earth, / fire, water, air, and in turn
 Ether and roaring rivers, red-faced moon,
 Heaven's stars, morning stars, the whirling planets.¹¹⁰
 'Tis by your counsels they attend all things.²

555

"You who summon . . . AMOCHL . . . PHODOPH . . . M . . . ARPTHŌ . . .
 IBK / PSOUPHIS [TŌM] . . . OIŌTH ŌPHROUER CHMĒIB HARPONKNOUPHI BRIN- 560
 TATĒNŌPHRI BRISKYLMA HAROUAR ZARBAMESEG KRIPHI NIGTHOU MICHMOU-
 MAŌPH IAŌLI PRIN ASTRAPTĒS¹¹¹ AI CHEAOKIRTABAOZAALĒ ASRISKI . . . OU BRIT-
 HEI STOMA,¹¹² master. Come to me, / lord, you who sometimes raise the light, 565
 sometimes lower the darkness [with] your own power. Hear me, lord, me, NN,
 graciously, gladly and for a blessing, from every element from every wind, today,
 with your happy face, in the present hour, because / I invoke your holy name from 570
 every side. You who were begotten in every human body, inspire us.¹¹³ From the
 right of the axis your [name] is: 'IAŌ AŌI ŌAI [ŌYA] ŌŌŌŌŌ AAAAA IY . . . ŌAI,'
 but from the left of the axis: 'IAŌ AYŌ IŌAI / PIPI ŌŌŌ ŌŌ III AYŌ . . . ŌA ŌAI.' 575
 Come to me with a happy face to a bed of your choice, giving to me, NN, suste-
 nance, health, safety, wealth, the blessing of children, knowledge, a ready hearing,
 goodwill, sound judgment, honor, memory, grace, shapeliness, beauty to / all who 580
 see me; you who hear me in everything whatsoever, give persuasiveness with words,
 great god, to the EYAĒŌ IŌ IAŌ ŌAI ŌIŌ ĒAYI TAS ERCHIS AUXACHOCH HAR-
 SAMOSI. I beg, master, accept my entreaty, the offering to you which you com-
 manded. In order that you might now illuminate me with knowledge of things be-
 loved by you / even after the kind restoration of my material body, I pray, lord, 585
 accept this my request, [the] entreaty, the preliminary spell, the offering of my elo-
 quent spirit. Let it also come to you, the ruler of all, in order that / you fulfill all the 590
 petitions of my prayer, you who originated from gods.¹¹⁴ We give you thanks with
 every soul and heart stretched out to [you],¹¹⁵ unutterable name honored with [the]
 appellation of god and blessed with the [appellation of father], for to everyone¹¹⁶
 and to everything you have shown fatherly / goodwill, affection, friendship and 595
 sweetest power, granting us intellect, [speech,] and knowledge; intellect so that we
 might understand you, speech [so that] we might call upon you, knowledge so that
 we might know you.¹¹⁷ We rejoice because you showed yourself to us; we rejoice

109. This refers to the sun god's appearance from the waters of Nun, the primordial abyss. Cf. *PGM* I. 34–36. [R.K.R.]

110. There are three types of star referred to here: ἀστέρως (1) ἀερίους, (2) ἑώους, (3) περιδωπο-
 πλανήτας. On ἑώους as morning star, cf. Ptolemy, *Tetrab.* 3. 4 (114). [E.N.O.]

111. Or "before you hurl lightning."

112. Or "mouth is full."

113. ἐμπνευματίζω is not otherwise attested. Cf. *C.H.* 13.19 with Keil's conjecture πνευμάτιζε, cited by Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 208, in the critical apparatus to l. 17.

114. The section in ll. 591–609 has close parallels in Ps.-Apulcius, *Asclepius* 41 (ed. Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, pp. 353–55) and *NHC* VI, 7: 63, 33–65, 7. See Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* 298–99; P. Dirkse and J. Brashler, "The Prayer of Thanksgiving," in *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2–5 and VI, with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*, *NHS* 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1979) 375–87. Cf. also Iamblichus, *Myst.* 10. 8; *C.H.* 13. 18–20, with the discussion by Græce, *Corpus Hermeticum* XIII, pp. 183–88.

115. Following Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 353.

116. Following J.-P. Mahé, *Hermès en Haute-Égypte. Les textes hermétiques de Nag Hammadi et leurs parallèles grecs et latins*, vol. I (Québec: Les presses de l'université Laval, 1978) 160–61.

117. Following Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 354.

600 because while we are / [still] in bodies you deified us by the knowledge of who you
 are. The thanks of man to you is one: to come to know [you], O womb¹¹⁸ of all
 knowledge. We have come to know, O womb¹¹⁹ pregnant through the father's be-
 605 getting. We have come to know, / O eternal continuation of the pregnant father.
 After bowing thus before your goodness,¹²⁰ we ask no [favor except this]:¹²¹ will
 that we be maintained in knowledge of you; and one protection:¹²² that [we] not
 610 fall away from a [life] such as this. . . ."

*Tr.: W. C. Grese (ll. 494–549; 558–611) and E. N. O'Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 549–58).

PGM III. 612–32

*[If you make] an offering of wheaten meal and ripe mulberries and unsoftened¹²³
 (?) sesame and uncooked *thrion* and throw into this a beet, you will gain control of
 615 your own shadow¹²⁴ / so that it [will serve] you. Go at the sixth hour of the day,
 toward [the rising sun], to a deserted place, girt about with a [new] dark-colored
 palmfiber basket, and on your head a scarlet cord as a headband, behind your right
 620 ear / the feather of a falcon, behind your left that of an ibis.

Having reached the place,¹²⁵ [prostrate] yourself, stretch out your hands, and
 utter the following *formula*: "Cause now my shadow to serve me, because I know
 625 your sacred names [and] your signs and / your symbols, and [who you are at each
 hour], and what your name is."¹²⁶

Having said this, [utter] the formula given above,¹²⁷ and in case he does not
 [hearken, say]:¹²⁸ "I have uttered your sacred names and [your signs] and your sym-
 630 bols, wherefore, O lord,¹²⁹ cause / my [shadow] to serve me." [And] at the seventh
 [hour] it will come to you before [your] face, and you address it [and say]: "Follow
 me everywhere!" But [look] to it, that it not leave you.

*Tr. J. M. Dillon. See the introductory note on PGM III. 494–611. This unique spell to
 acquire control over one's shadow may be part of the whole *Encounter with Helios* con-
 tained in III. 494–731. The Coptic section to follow (PGM III. 633–731) belongs with this
 section, and the mention of the "signs and symbols" in l. 625 connects this spell to the pre-
 ceding; furthermore, the mention of the "formula given above" (l. 626) must refer to a for-
 mula given in the preceding spell, probably the formula found in III. 494ff. The appearance
 of one's shadow is thus the proof of Helios' appearance requested in PGM III. 494–731.

118. Following Nock and Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* II, p. 355.

119. On the role of the uterus in magic, see A. A. Barb, "Diva Matrix," *JWCI* 16 (1953): 193–238.
 Cf. also PGM V. 158.

120. Following Mahé, *Hermès* 164–65.

121. Ibid.

122. Following Mahé, *Hermès* 166–67, and Dirksc and Brashler, "The Prayer of Thanksgiving,"
 384–85.

123. Preisendanz reads ἀ[πέκ]χυρον, a word otherwise unattested. More likely would be the restora-
 tion ἀ[διά]χυρον, "not softened by cooking"; hence the translation here. [R.D.K.]

124. Cf. *DMP* col. IV, l. 23 for a spell for "lucky shadows" (*wd hyb.t*). [R.K.R.] See also Betz, "The
 Delphic Maxim," 163–64.

125. Literally, "treading about in the place."

126. Cf. ll. 499–501 for a similar expression. It seems that the deity invoked has a different appear-
 ance every hour. See also the introduction to this spell and its possible relationship with PGM III.
 494–611.

127. That is, the formula given in 494–536, particularly the section containing the signs and
 symbols.

128. Following Preisendanz's restoration. This hardly seems suitable, as one would rather expect,
 "And when you are finished, say. . . ." [J.M.D.]

129. The "lord" addressed in this spell is Helios, the sun god, mentioned in III. 494–611.

PGM III. 633–731

*Call . . . , “Great god . . . , you who are the sun, Re is your name / . . . the glowing flames . . . my nail (?) . . . Em . . . is your name, Em . . . [is your true name] . . . crown . . . my name . . . [AEĒĒ]ĒĒIIIIOOO[OOYYYYYŌ]ŌŌŌŌ[Ō]Ō / . . . / of the great god . . . [Nef] is my name, Nef is my true name . . . Praise¹³⁰ be to (?) SABAŌTH ADŌNAT ADŌN BARBARIOT . . . of Lo son of Ouer¹³¹ . . . / whose face is in the middle of . . . of Lo son of Ouer . . . whose face is in the middle of . . . in truth. For I am . . . For I am Lotus-Lion-Ram¹³² . . . / Lotus, reveal yourself . . . For [I] am . . . all (repeat).¹³³ I am Oh, I am AEĒIOY[Ō AEĒIOYŌ] A[ĒĒIOYŌ AEĒI] OYŌ [AEĒI] OYŌ AEĒIOYŌ AEĒI[OY]Ō AEĒIOY[Ō] . . . , and we are strong (?) . . . of Shmoun¹³⁴ . . . / until you offer incense to Horus. I am Oh, I know [your name] . . . little, every time, at every hour. Come, go . . . what you want (repeat). For Ei is your name, Ei is the name of you. I . . . Totf; Totf is my true name (add the usual [?]) as you wish, after . . . the (formula) I am Kat son of Kat, whom Kat has borne . . . / I am the [breath] of night . . . I am Abriabot, the . . . the great snake . . . [Thoth the great] of Shmoun . . . the god Horus . . . , ([add the usual] as you wish). For I am Iethor,¹³⁵ who wants to . . . I . . . who . . . / frog . . . is my name . . . the great god who will do . . . To son of To¹³⁶ is your name . . . father. / You are Earth-shaker,¹³⁷ the High One, the son of Re, the [great] god . . . in the abyss, who is in . . . all the earth . . . (add the usual, as you wish) . . . he who does . . . I am . . . I am the one who . . . in him . . . / For . . . I am Io . . . is [my] name [. . . is] my true name . . . To the great is my [true] name . . . ”

. . . this day . . . speak to Helios¹³⁸ . . . / on the third day, also to the moon¹³⁹ . . . at the third entrance of the goddess, go to an ever-flowing river . . . bathe, and go in pure garments . . . , having drunk . . . a solitary place, hold toward the rising sun a white rooster without blemish and twelve pinecones whorled¹⁴⁰ to the right. Offer milk and pour a libation of white wine, / and say the designated seven formulas [seven] times, requesting an encounter with [the] god . . . yourself. He will show . . . let him dwell (?)¹⁴¹ for seven days. Set up . . . toward the moon, with purity; and when you see the god in this place, feast [in an appropriate manner].¹⁴² So when you encounter the god, say the formula for a direct vision, and request foreknowledge from the master. / Go down to a pure and consecrated place, and

130. Cf. PGM IV. 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19.

131. For OUER cf. Egyptian *wr*, “the great one.” [R.K.R.]

132. This corresponds to SERPOT-MOUT-SRO. Cf. PDM xiv. 12 and the note by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus on DMP* col. I, l. 12. On the solar character of this designation of the sun in the morning, at midday, and in the evening, i.e., the universal sun in three manifestations (Re-Khepri-Atum), see M.-L. Rhyner, “A propos de trigrammes panthéistes,” *Revue d'Égyptologie* 29 (1977): 125–37. [M.W.M.]

133. Apparent instructions for the repetition of the formulas either forward or backward. Cf. ll. 667, 669, 682. But if this is the equivalent of Greek *κοινόν* (see Preisendanz's text at l. 682), we are to understand “(add the usual)”; thus the translation, as in several instances below.

134. Shmoun (Hermopolis, El-Eshmunen) is the city of the god Thoth. See on the name A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968) II, 79*–81*. See for the name also below, l. 672.

135. That is in Egyptian “eye of Horus.”

136. Possibly, *To* is “land”; hence at III. 687 “the great land.”

137. For *κμρτο* cf. PGM IV. 1323; PDM xiv. 192.

138. That is, the sun god Helios.

139. The moon goddess Selenc; see also l. 697.

140. See the note at PGM II. 25.

141. The text is uncertain at this point; perhaps *οικείτω* is to be read instead of *οικητω*. [M.W.M.]

142. Supplying in the lacuna *ἐπιτη*δές, following Schmidt, GGA 193 (1931): 456.

again sacrifice a rooster, and while in pure garments secretly [grasp the other things] which are necessary as symbols . . . god(dess) . . . third . . . , hold in your right hand a [single-stemmed] wormwood and in your left a snakeskin, and recite
 705 the [specified] formulas [and] what you wish, and it will happen. Recite often / . . . written down . . . to learn something, it is told to you by the god. And if you . . . , write . . . and wrap in linen from head to foot . . . , and on the ground draw Harpokrates holding [his finger]¹⁴³ to his mouth, and in his left hand clutching a flail and a crook¹⁴⁴ . . . then “ABLANATHANALBA”; in wing . . . ¹⁴⁵ / “ABRASAX”: near
 710 the back, “ΘĒAUA . . .,” and set the child on it, and write the 5th formula . . . : “ĒFĒINTOK¹⁴⁶ . . . TE UONĒFIOUOI.” Also use this treatment often: take away . . . from before him the linen, and let him behold, and he will see; and ask [him] . . .
 715 on the tenth day . . . in the morning of the first (formula?), then the / first for a second time in the morning of the . . . let these things be . . . two bricks . . . under papyrus . . . head . . . hole . . . / hold in your hands . . . this . . . and say the . . . in
 720 each . . . as . . . little . . . all . . . on these . . . great . . . / both . . . formulas before
 725 . . . formulas with the . . . and all . . . and . . . pit . . . you make / call the olive . . .
 730 pure. . . .

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer. For the connection of the spell with the preceding, see the introductory notes at PGM III. 494–611 and III. 612–32.

PGM IV. 1–25

*“SAPHPHAIOR BAEKOTA KIKATOUTARA EKENNK LIX, the great daimon and the
 5 inexorable one,¹ . . . IPSENTANCHOUCHEŌCH / DŌOU SHAMAI ARABENNAK ANTRAPHEU BALE SITENGI ARTEN BENTEN AKRAB ENTH OUANTH BALA SHOUPLA SRAHENNE DEHENNE KALASHOU CHATEMMŌK BASHNE BALA SHAMAI—on the day of Zeus² in the first hour, but on the [day] of deliverance³ in the fifth hour: a cat . . . / in the eighth: a cat.⁴ Praise⁵ be to Osiris, the king of the underworld, the lord of embalming, he who is at the south of This, who is honored at Abydos, he who is under⁶ the noubs tree⁷ in Merouse,⁸ whose glory is in Pashalom.⁹ Praise be to Althabot; bring unto to me Sabaoth. / Praise be to Althonai, great Eou, very
 10 valiant; bring unto to me Michael, the mighty (?) angel who is with God. Praise be to
 15

143. Supplying in the lacuna [τὸν δακτύλιον]. [M.W.M.]

144. For depictions similar to the one here see Budge, *Amulets and Talismans* 206–7; Bonner, *SMA*, p. IX, nos. 189–94.

145. Perhaps, “in wing formation.”

146. This is equivalent to Demotic *iw.fr in.t.k.*, “He shall bring you.” [R.K.R.]

1. See for this term Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 101; on the verb *παραιρέω*, see Betz, “Fragments,” 291.

2. That is, Thursday.

3. Perhaps Sunday.

4. These enigmatic phrases are instructions for the use of the spell.

5. This passage is parallel to PDM xiv. 627–35. See F. Ll. Griffith, “The Old Coptic Magical Texts of Paris,” *ZÄS* 38 (1900): 86–93. [R.K.R.]

6. Or “under the shade of the noubs tree.”

7. According to Griffith, *ZÄS* 38 (1900): 87, at Pnubs the noubs tree was sacred to Thoth. See on this point Brugsch, *Dictionnaire* 334–35.

8. Meroe is the capital of an ancient state in the Sudan. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 456–57, s.v. “Meroe.”

9. Cf. also PDM xiv. 627–29. Pashalom is the capital of the nome in which Abydos is also located. Situated to the south of This, Abydos is the holy city where the head of Osiris was buried. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 362 n. 1.

Anubis, of the nome of Hansiese,¹⁰ upon his mountain.¹¹ Praise be to the goddesses—Thoth the great, the great, the wise. Praise be to the gods, / ACHNOUI 20
 ACHAM ABRA ABRA SABAÖTH.¹² For Akshha Shha¹³ is my name, Sabashha is my true name; Shlot Shlot very valiant is my name. So let him who is in the under-
 world join him who is in the air; let them arise, come in, and bring me news / of 25
 the matter about which I ask them” (add the usual).

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer. This request for an oracle may be part of the larger spell contained in PGM IV. 1–85.

PGM IV. 26–51

*Initiation:¹⁴ Keep yourself pure for 7 days beforehand. On the third of the month, go to a place from which the Nile has recently receded, before anyone walks on the area that was flooded—or at any rate, to a place that has been inundated by the Nile. / On two bricks¹⁵ standing on their sides, build a fire with olive wood 30
 (that is, with a branch of it) when half of the sun is above the horizon; but before the sun appears, dig a trench around the altar. When the disk of the sun is fully above the horizon, / cut off the head of an unblemished, solid white cock which 35
 [you are to carry] under your left arm (and do dig the trench around¹⁶ the altar before the sun appears).¹⁷ When you are beheading the cock, fix it in place [with your knees]¹⁸ and hold it down all by yourself. / Throw the head into the river and 40
 drink up the blood, draining it off into your right hand and putting what’s left of the body on the burning altar. Then jump into the river. Immerse yourself in the clothes you have on, walk backwards¹⁹ out of the water, and, after changing into fresh garments, / depart without turning round.²⁰ After this, take bile from an owl, 45
 rub some of it over your eyes with the feather of an ibis, and your initiation will be complete. But if you can’t get hold of an owl, use an ibis’s egg and a falcon’s feather. / Bore a hole in the egg, insert the feather, break it open, and thereby get 50
 the fluid to rub on yourself.

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

10. The location is unknown. Cf. *Ha-si-ise-t*, “house of the son of Isis.” See A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968) II, 29* (no. 341A). One conjecture is that of Brugsch, *Dictionnaire* 659, who has identified Hansiese as a site (Chenoboskia?) near Koptos and Dendera in Upper Egypt.

11. This refers to an ancient title of Anubis. Cf. *PDM* xiv. 174. In this connection one should also note the relationship between mountain, desert, and cemetery in ancient Egypt.

12. Hebrew for “Lord, Lord of Hosts;” ABRA may be a variation of *arba* (Heb. “four”) designating the tetragrammaton. See Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* 126; Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* 64; A. Barb, “Abraxas-Studien,” in *Hommages à W. Deonna* (Bruxelles: Latomus, 1957) 67–86.

13. Or “JEAKSHHA SHHA”; but cf. PGM IV. 77, also III. 658, 659, 661, 667, 673, etc., for other examples of the common formula “for . . . is my name” or “for I am. . . .”

14. The purpose of this rite is not clear (cf. l. 48). It may have simply been a part of the longer ritual of the context.

15. On the magical use of bricks for both the living and the dead, see J. Monnet, “Les Briques magiques du Musée du Louvre,” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 8 (1951): 151–62. [R.K.R.]

16. Or “dig a trench around,” which may in fact mean “walk around” and refer to the ritual circumambulation. See W. Pax, “Circumambulatio,” *RAC* 3 (1957): 143–52.

17. See l. 33 above.

18. The phrase “with your knees” is a conjecture based on PGM IV. 227–28.

19. Cf. the injunctions to walk backwards at PGM I. 37; IV. 2493; XXXVI. 273.

20. Presumably, the initiate is to turn away from the river after he is out of the water and to depart without looking back at the river. Perhaps he is being instructed to depart by walking backwards. The text is not entirely clear; cf. for similar circumstances PGM VII. 439–40. For looking back and its consequences, cf. the story of Lot’s wife (Gn 19:17, 26) and the injunction in Lk 17:31–32; Mt 24:15–18 (cf. Lk 9:62).

PGM IV. 52–85

*Keep yourself pure for 7 days before the moon becomes full by abstaining from meat and uncooked food, by leaving behind during the prescribed days exactly
 55 half / of your food in a turquoise²¹ vessel, over which you are also to eat, and by
 60 abstaining from wine. When the moon is full, go by yourself to the eastern section
 of your city, village, or house and throw out / on the ground the leftover morsels.
 Then return very quickly to your quarters and shut yourself in before he²² can get
 there, because he will shut you out if he gets there before you. But before you throw
 out the morsels, fix in the ground at a slight angle a verdant reed that is about two
 65 cubits long, tie some hairs from a stallion about the midsection of a horned dung
 beetle, and suspend / the beetle from the reed by them. Then light a lamp that has
 not been used before and place it under the beetle in a new earthenware dish, so
 that the heat from the lamp barely reaches the beetle. Stay calm after you have
 70 thrown out the morsels, gone to your quarters, and shut yourself in; / for the one
 you have summoned will stand there and, by threatening you with weapons, will
 try to force you to release the beetle. But remain calm, and do not release it until he
 gives you a response; then release it right away. And every day during the period of
 purification when you are about to eat and to go to bed, speak the following spell 7
 75 times (you are to say them again / when you return to your quarters after throwing
 out the food). Keep it secret: “You with the wooden neck, you with the clay (?)
face,²³ come in to me, for I am Sabertoush, the great god who is in heaven.”

The phylactery for the foregoing: With blood from the hand or foot of a preg-
 80 nant woman, / write the name²⁴ given below on a clean piece of papyrus; then tie it
 about your left arm by a linen cord and wear it. *Here is what is to be written:*
 “SHTËIT CHIEN TENHA, I bind and loose.”

The dismissal: When you release the beetle, say: “Harko, Harko is my name;
Harko is my true name.”

85 Guard these instructions / well. *The rite:* an onion.²⁵

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr., and Marvin W. Meyer (Coptic sections, ll. 75–77, 81–82, 83–84).

PGM IV. 86–87

**Phylactery against daimons:*²⁶ “HOMENOS OHK KOURIËL IAPHËL, deliver” (add
 the usual), “EHENPEROOU BARBARCHAUCHE.”

*Tr.: Marvin W. Meyer. This brief spell seems to have no connection with the preceding or
 following spells.

21. A blue-green glazed pottery, almost certainly Egyptian faïence. See A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London: Arnold, 1962) 156–67, esp. 163–64. [R.K.R.]

22. “He” is the one summoned (l. 70), but “he” is never identified.

23. Probably referring to a clay or terracotta figurine on a wooden pedestal. [M.W.M.]

24. The “name” may have included not only *sabertoush* but also the attached epithets: in magical texts “name” often means “full title.” The Greek *προποκείμενον* normally means “given above,” but it can also be read as meaning “set forth below.” This latter interpretation (accepted by Preisendanz) would eliminate the apparent contradiction between this and the following sentence. However, the following sentence may be a deliberate contradiction by a glossator. [M.S.]

25. This is probably an abbreviated way of saying, “Use the procedure that involves an onion.”

26. Or “For those possessed by daimons,” which seems the better reading of the papyrus. The manuscript has *πρὸς δαιμονιαζόμενον(ς)*. See A. Erman, *ZÄS* 21 (1883): 99 (plate III, l. 25) and Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc. The invocation which begins with OHK is separated by a space and *-ζομενος* is written with the same Greek letter forms as the preceding ones. [R.D.K.]

PGM IV. 88–93

* **Another**,²⁷ to **Helios**: Wrap a naked boy in linen from head to toe,²⁸ then clap your hands. After making a ringing noise, place the boy opposite / the sun,²⁹ and standing behind him say the *formula*: 90

“I am Barbarioth; Barbarioth am I; PESKOUT YAHO ADŌNAI ELŌAI SABAŌTH, come in to this little one today, for I am Barbarioth.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese and Marvin W. Meyer (Coptic sections, ll. 91–93).

PGM IV. 94–153

* Isis is the one who comes from the mountain at midday³⁰ in summer, the dusty maiden; / her eyes are full of tears and her heart is full of sighs. 95

Her father, Thoth the Great, came in unto her and asked her, “O my daughter Isis, dusty maiden, why are your eyes full of tears, your heart full of sighs, and [the . . .] of your garment soiled? [Away with] the tears of your eyes!”

She said [to him], “He is not with me,³¹ O my father, Ape Thoth, Ape / [Thoth], my father. I have been betrayed by my female companion. I have discovered [a] secret: yes, Nephthys is having intercourse with Osiris . . . my brother, my own mother’s son.” 100

He said to her, “Behold, this is adultery against you, O my daughter Isis.”

She [said] to him, “It is adultery against you, O my father, / [Ape] Thoth, Ape Thoth, my father; it is pregnancy proper for me myself.”³² 105

He said to her, “Arise, O my daughter Isis, and [go] to the south to Thebes, to the north to Abydos.³³ There are . . . those who trample (?) there. Take for yourself Belf son of Belf, [the one whose] foot is of bronze and whose heels are of iron, / [that] he forge for you a double iron nail with a . . . head, a thin base, a strong point, and light iron. Bring it before me, dip it in the blood of Osiris,³⁴ and hand it over; we . . . this mysterious (?) flame to me.” 110

“ / Every flaming, every cooking, every heating,³⁵ every steaming, and every sweating that you [masc.] will cause in this flaming stove, you [will] cause in the heart, in the liver, [in] the area of the navel, and in the belly of NN whom NN has borne, until I bring her to the house of NN whom NN has borne³⁶ and she puts what is in / her hand into my hand, what is in her mouth into my mouth, what is in her belly onto my belly, what is in her female parts onto my male parts, quickly, quickly; immediately, immediately. Risc up to the kings of Alchah,³⁷ speak the truth (?) in Oupōke, arouse god [after] NN³⁸ whom NN has borne, and I shall send 120

27. Presumably this is another request for divination (cf. *PGM IV. 1–25, 52–85*). In fact, the spell is specifically a “divination using a boy,” for which cf. *PGM VII. 348–58*; also *Test. Sol. I. 3*.

28. Cf. for this phrase *PDM xiv. 96*.

29. That is, Helios, the sun god.

30. Cf. *PDM xiv. 1219*.

31. Or “It is not of my doing.”

32. This episode is also told in a different fashion by Plutarch, *De Is. et Os. 14, 356E–F*. See Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride 316–17*.

33. Cf. *PDM xiv. 628*.

34. Cf. *PDM xiv. 440–41*.

35. Or “sighing.”

36. Cf. *PDM xiv. 656–58*.

37. Alchah (Egyptian *‘rḳ-ḥḥ*, “Alxai”) and Oupōke (Egyptian *w-pkr*) are both sacred places at Abydos. Alchah designates the cemetery where the mummy of Osiris was buried. See *PGM XIVb, 12–15* (in the context of *PDM xiv. 451–58*). [R.K.R.]

38. Or “every god (after NN).”

125 her / to be with NN whom NN has borne. For I am To son of To;³⁹ I am the Great
son of the Great; I am Anubis, who bears the glorious crown of Re and puts it upon
King Osiris, King Osiris Onnophris, . . . who arouses the whole earth, that you
130 may arouse the heart of NN whom / NN has borne, that I may know what is in her
heart for me, for NN whom NN has borne, on this day.”

135 If a large amount of saliva forms in your mouth as you speak, understand that she
is distressed⁴⁰ and wants to talk with you; if you yawn frequently, she wants / to
come to you. But if you sneeze two times or more, she is in good health⁴¹ and is
returning to where she lives; if you have a headache and are crying, she is dis-
tressed⁴² or even dying.

140 “Rise up to heaven, and arouse the High One [masc.] after the Noble One [fem.].
Rise up to the abyss, and arouse Thoth after Nabin; arouse / the heart of these two
bulls, Hapi and Mnevis; arouse the heart of Osiris after Isis; arouse Re after the
light; arouse the heart of NN whom NN has borne, after NN whom NN has
borne.”

145 [Say] these things on behalf of women. But when [you are speaking] about
women, / then speak, conversely, so as to arouse the females after the males:

150 “When she drinks, when she eats, when she has intercourse with someone else, I
will bewitch her heart, I will bewitch the heart of her, I will bewitch her breath, I
will bewitch / her 365 members,⁴³ I will bewitch her inner part . . . wherever I de-
sire, until she comes to me and I know what is in her heart, [what] she does, and of
what she thinks, quickly, quickly; immediately, immediately.

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer.

PGM IV. 154–285

155 *Nephotes to Psammetichos, immortal king of Egypt. / Greetings. Since the great
god has appointed you immortal king and nature has made you the best wise man,⁴⁴
I too, with a desire to show you the industry in me, have sent you this magical
160 procedure which, with complete ease, / produces a holy power. And after you have
tested it, you too will be amazed at the miraculous nature of this magical operation.
You will observe through bowl divination⁴⁵ on whatever day or night you want, in
165 whatever place you want, beholding the god in the water and / hearing a voice from
the god which speaks in verses in answer to whatever you want. You will attain⁴⁶
both the ruler of the universe and whatever you command, and he will speak on
other matters which you ask about. You will succeed by inquiring in this way: First,
170 attach yourself to Helios in this manner: At whatever sunrise you want / (provided
it is the third day of the month), go up to the highest part of the house and spread a

39. Cf. above, PGM III. 679, 687 with n.

40. Or “lovesick.”

41. That is, “unafflicted” by the love charm.

42. Or “lovesick.”

43. For a close parallel, compare the lead tablet from Oxyrhynchus published by Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 108–9. See also the *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II, 1:19:2–14) on the construction of the human body by 365 angels. In PGM the number 365 is commonly associated with the name Abrasax and its numerical value (see Glossary, s.v. “Abrasax”), but also with 365 gods or even 365 knots (PGM VII. 452–53).

44. Or “an expert magician,” as σοφιστής applies to one skilled in his craft. See LSJ, s.v.; Betz, *Lukian* 10–11.

45. For bowl divination, see R. Ganszyniec, “Λεκανομαντεία,” *PRE* 12 (1925): 1879–89.

46. Preisendanz suggests that οἴσεις is a late future form of οἶδα. Perhaps one should emend the text to read ὄψεις, “you will see.” However, the future of φέρω can be defended here (see LSJ, s.v., VI. 2–3, where “carry off as a prize,” “win,” “gain,” etc., are given as meanings). [J.P.H.]

pure linen garment on the floor. Do this with a mystagogue. But as for you, crown yourself with dark ivy while the sun is in mid-heaven, at the fifth hour, and while looking upward lie down / naked on the linen and order your eyes to be completely covered with a black band.⁴⁷ And wrap yourself like a corpse, close your eyes and, keeping your direction toward the sun, begin these words. *Prayer*:⁴⁸

“O mighty Typhon, / ruler of the realm
Above and master, god of gods, O lord

ABERAMENTHŌOU (formula),

O dark’s disturber, thunder’s bringer, whirlwind,
Night-flasher, breather-forth of hot and cold,
Shaker of rocks, wall-trembler, boiler of
The waves, disturber of the sea’s great depth, /

IŌ / ERBĒT AU TAU MĒNI, 185

I’m He⁴⁹ who searched with you the whole world and
Found great Osiris, whom I brought you chained.
I’m he who joined you in war with the gods

(but others say, “’gainst the gods”).

I’m he who closed / heav’n’s double gates and put
To sleep the serpent which must not be seen,
Who stopped the seas, the streams, the river currents
Where’er you rule this realm. And as your soldier
I have been conquered by the gods, I have
Been thrown face down because of empty wrath. /
Raise up your friend, I beg you, I implore;
Thrown me not on the ground, O lord of gods,

AEMINAEBARŌTHERRETHŌRABEANIMEA,⁵⁰

O grant me power, I beg, and give to me
This favor, so that, whensoe’r I tell
One of the gods to come, he is seen coming /
Swiftly to me in answer to my chants,

200

NAINĒ BASANAPTATOU EAPTOU MĒNŌPHAESMĒ PAPTŌU MĒNŌPH AESIMĒ TRAU-
APTI PEUCHRĒ TRAUARA PTOUMĒPH MOURAI ANCHOUCHAPHAPTA MOURSA ARA-
MEI IAŌ ATHTHARAU MĒNOKER BORO/PTOUMĒTH AT TAU MĒNI CHARCHARA 205
PTOUMAU LALAPSA TRAU TRAUEPSE MAMŌ PHORTOUCHA AEĒIO IOY OĒŌA EAI
AEĒI ŌI IAŌ AEĒI AI IAŌ.”

After you have said this three times,⁵¹ there will be this sign of divine encounter,⁵² but you, / armed by having this magical soul, be not alarmed. For a sea falcon flies down and strikes you on the body with its wings, signifying this: that you should arise. But as for you, rise up and clothe yourself with white garments and burn on an earthen censer uncut / incense in grains while saying this:

“I have been attached to your holy form.
I have been given power by your holy name.
I have acquired your emanation of the goods,

215

47. See Glossary, s.v. “Isis band.”

48. The iambic trimeters (ll. 179–201), many of which are metrically faulty, also form the reconstructed Hymn 6. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 242–43. [E.N.O.]

49. See on this passage Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 92–93.

50. See for this formula PGM I. 295; XIV. 24 (abbreviated); LIX. 7.

51. For the triplicate repetition in magic see O. Weinreich, “Trisgemination als sakrale Stilform,” in his *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Amsterdam: Grüner, 1973) 250–58.

52. See on this point PGM IV. 168–69.

Lord, god of gods, master, daimon.

ATHTHOUIN THOUTHOUI TAUANTI LAŌ APTATŌ.”

220 Having done this, return / as lord of a godlike nature which is accomplished through this divine encounter.

*Inquiry of bowl divination and necromancy:*⁵³ Whenever you want to inquire about matters, take a bronze vessel, either a bowl or a saucer, whatever kind you wish. Pour water: / rainwater if you are calling upon heavenly gods, seawater if gods of the earth, river water if Osiris or Sarapis, springwater if the dead. Holding 225 the vessel on your knees, pour out green olive oil, bend over the vessel and speak / the prescribed spell. And address whatever god you want and ask about whatever you wish, and he will reply to you and tell you about anything. And if he has spoken dismiss him with the spell of dismissal, and you who have used this spell will be amazed.

235 *The spell spoken over the vessel is:* “AMOUN AUANTAU / LAIMOUTAU RIPTOU MANTAU IMANTOU LANTOU LAPTOUMI ANCHŌMACH ARAPTOUMI, hither to me, O NN god; appear to me this very hour and do not frighten my eyes. Hither to me, O NN god, be attentive to me because he wishes and commands this⁵⁴ ACHCHŌR 240 ACHCHŌR / ACHACHACH PTOUMI CHACHCHŌ CHARACHŌCH CHAPTOUMĒ CHŌRACHARACHŌCH APTOUMI MĒCHŌCHAPTOU CHARACHPTOU CHACHCHŌ CHARACHŌ PTENACHŌCHEU” (a hundred letters).⁵⁵

But you are not unaware, mighty king and leader of magicians, that this is the chief name of Typhon, / at whom the ground, the depths of the sea, Hades, heaven, 245 the sun, the moon, the visible chorus of stars, the whole universe all tremble, the name which, when it is uttered, forcibly brings gods and daimons to it. This is the name that consists of 100 letters. Finally, when you have called, whomever you 250 called will appear, god or dead man,⁵⁶ and he will / give an answer about anything you ask. And when you have learned to your satisfaction,⁵⁷ dismiss the god merely with the powerful name of the hundred letters as you say, “Depart, master, for the great god, NN, wishes and commands this of you.” Speak the name, and he will 255 depart. Let this spell, / mighty king, be transmitted to you alone, guarded by you, unshared.

There is also the protective charm itself which you wear while performing, even while standing:⁵⁸ onto a silver leaf inscribe this name of 100 letters with a bronze 260 stylus, and wear it strung on a thong from the hide / of an ass.⁵⁹

53. Following the emended punctuation by M. Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and the Secret Gospel of Mark* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973) 221.

54. The sudden shift to the third person in the words *θέλει και ἐπιτάσσει* seems strange at first, and one is tempted to think that the magician begins to refer to himself in the third person. But cf. ll. 253–54 below, where the same phenomenon occurs with the subject named.

55. That is, according to Greek letters.

56. That is, the spirit or soul of a dead man. See on this primitive concept J. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983) 70–124: “The Soul of the Dead.”

57. At this point the revelatory dialogic comes into the picture. Cf. Corp. Herm. I.3, 27, 30. Cf. P. Perkins, *The Gnostic Dialogue: The Early Church and the Crisis of Gnosticism* (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), where further literature can be found.

58. The Greek is obscure at this point. The translation follows Preisendanz: “auch wenn du stehend agierst.”

59. The ass is the animal associated with Seth/Typhon. See Glossary, s.v.

Divine encounter of the divine procedure: Toward the rising sun say:⁶⁰

“I call you who did first control gods’ wrath,⁶¹

You who hold royal scepter o’er the heavens,

You who are midpoint of the stars above,

You, master Typhon, you I call, who are

/ The dreaded sovereign o’er the firmament. 265

You who are fearful, awesome, threatening,

You who’re obscure⁶² and irresistible

And hater of the wicked, you I call,

Typhon, in hours unlawful and unmeasured,

You who’ve walked on unquenched, clear-crackling fire,

You who are / over snows, below dark ice, 270

You who hold sovereignty over the Moirai,⁶³

I invoked you in pray’r, I call, almighty one.

That you perform for me whate’er I ask

Of you, and that you nod assent at once

To me and grant that what I ask be mine

(add the usual), because I adjure you, GAR THALA BAUZAU THÖRTHÖR / KATHAU- 275

KATH IATHIN NA BORKAKAR BORBA KARBORBOCH MÖ ZAU OUZÖNZ ÖN YABITH,

mighty Typhon, hear me, NN, and perform for me the NN task. For I speak your

true names, IÖ ERBETH IÖ PAKERBETH IÖ BOLCHOSETH OEN / TYPHON ASBA- 280

RABÖ BIEAISË MË NERÖ MARAMÖ TAUËR CHTHENTHÖNIE ALAM BËTÖR MEN-

KECHRA SAUEIÖR RËSEIODÖTA ABRËSIOA PHÖTHËR THERTHÖNAX NERDÖMEU

AMÖRËS MEEME ÖIËS SYSCHIE ANTHÖNIE PHRA; listen / to me and perform the 285

NN deed.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 286–95

***Spell for picking a plant:**⁶⁴ Use it before sunrise. *The spell to be spoken:* “I am

picking you, such and such a plant, with my five-fingered hand, I, NN, and I am

bringing you home so that you may work for me for a certain purpose. I adjure you

by the undefiled / name of the god: if you pay no heed to me, the earth which 290

produced you will no longer be watered as far as you are concerned—ever in life

60. The following dactylic hexameters also form the reconstructed Hymn 7. See Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 243–44. Here and elsewhere *σέ* is considered long *metri gratia*, contrary to classical usage. [E.N.O.]

61. The papyrus reads *ὄργιλον*, which the editors of Hymn 7 have obelized. Here in IV. 262 Preisendanz has emended and reads *ὄπλον*, while others have suggested such words as *ὄρμον* (Wünsch), *κόσμον* (Dieterich), etc. The translation here has retained the reading of the papyrus. For *διέπω* and its meaning here, see Bauer, s.v. [E.N.O.]

62. The papyrus has *δῆλον*, which Preisendanz retains both here and in Hymn 7 where he obelizes it. Kroll’s emendation *ἄδηλον* is paleographically sound, for “A” could have been omitted before “Δ.” Second, *ἄδηλον* is a good parallel to *ἀμήχανον*, and third, the idea of *ἄδηλον* fits Seth/Typhon, who is regularly associated with darkness, shadows, etc. Cf., e.g., Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 2, 351F; 44, 368F, and Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 468. [E.N.O.]

63. Preisendanz reads at this point *ἐπ’ εὐκταίων Μοιρῶν*, “over the Moirai invoked in prayer.” In the reconstructed Hymn 7 (Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 244), Heitsch reads *ἐπευκταίων Μοιρῶν*, “of the longed-for Moirai,” originally a proposal by Dieterich (see the apparatus to PGM IV. 271).

64. For this type of ritual, see F. Pfister, “Pflanzenaberglaube,” *PRE* 19 (1938): 1446–56.

again, if I fail in this operation, MOUTHABAR NACH BARNACHŌCHA BRAEŌ MENDA
 295 LAUBRAASSE PHASPHA BENDEŌ; fulfil⁶⁵ for me / the perfect charm.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 296–466

***Wondrous spell for binding a lover:** Take wax [or clay] from a potter’s wheel
 and make two figures, a male and a female. Make the male in the form of Ares fully
 300 armed, holding a sword / in his left hand and threatening to plunge it into the right
 side of her neck. And make her⁶⁶ with her arms behind her back and down on her
 knees. And you are to fasten the magical material on her head or neck. Write on the
 305 figure of the woman being attracted as follows: On the head: / “ISEĒ IAŌ ITHI
 OUNE BRIDŌ LŌTHIŌN NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH”; on the right ear: “OUER MĒCHAN”;
 on the left ear: “LIBABA ŌIMATHOTHŌ”; on the face: “AMOUNABREŌ”; on the right
 310 eye: / “ŌRORMOTHIO AĒTH”; on the other: “CHOBŌUE”; on the right shoulder:
 “ADETA MEROU”; on the right arm: “ENE PSA ENESGAPH”; on the other: “MEL-
 315 CHIOU MELCHIEDIA”; on the hands: / “MELCHAMELCHOU AĒL”; on the breast:
 the name, on her mother’s side, of the woman being attracted; on the heart: “BAL-
 AMIN THŌOUTH”; and below the lower belly: “AŌBĒS AŌBAR”; on the pudenda:
 320 “BLICHIANEOI OUŌIA”; on the buttocks: “PISSADARA”; on / the sole of the right
 foot: “ELŌ”; on the sole of the other one: “ELŌAIAOE.”

And take thirteen copper needles and stick 1 in the brain while saying, “I am
 piercing your brain, NN”; and stick 2 in the ears and 2 in the eyes and 1 in the
 325 mouth and 2 / in the midriff and 1 in the hands and 2 in the pudenda and 2 in the
 soles, saying each time, “I am piercing such and such a member of her, NN, so that
 she may remember no one but me, NN, alone.”

330 And take a lead tablet⁶⁷ and write the same / spell and recite it. And tie the lead
 leaf to the figures with thread from the loom after making 365 knots while saying
 as you have learned, “ABRASAX, hold her fast!” You place it, as the sun is setting,
 beside the grave of one who has died untimely or violently, placing beside it also the
 seasonal flowers.

335 *The spell to be written / and recited is:* “I entrust this binding spell to you,
 chthonic gods, HYESEMIGADŌN and KORĒ PERSEPHONE ERESCHIGAL and ADONIS
 the BARBARITHA, infernal HERMES THŌOUTH PHŌKENTAZEPSEU AERCHTHA-
 340 THOUMI / SONKTAI KALBANACHAMBRĒ and to mighty ANUBIS PSIRINTH, who
 holds the keys to Hades, to infernal gods and daimons, to men and women who
 have died untimely deaths, to youths and maidens, from year to year, month to
 345 month, day to day, / hour to hour. I adjure all daimons in this place to stand as
 assistants beside this daimon. And arouse yourself for me,⁶⁸ whoever you are,
 whether male or female,⁶⁹ and go to every place and into every quarter and to every
 350 house, and attract / and bind her. Attract her, NN, whom NN bore and whose

65. The sudden shift to the plural *τελέσατε* is strange. Preisendanz suggests that *δαίμονες* is the subject, but no daimons appear in the spell. Can the subject be the *vores magicae* themselves? [E.N.O.]

66. A figurine similar to the one described here, together with a lead tablet containing an inscription nearly identical to that of ll. 335–406, has been found in Egypt. See S. Kambitsis, “Une nouvelle tablette magique d’Égypte, Musée du Louvre, Inv. E 27145, 3^e/4^e siècle,” *BIFAO* 76 (1976): 213–23 and plates.

67. For a parallel to this passage, see Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 56–58 (no. 1, ll. 6–16).

68. See on this point Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” 70–71.

69. Egyptian lists of demons and demon-induced diseases carefully distinguish between male and female. For a characteristic example, see S. Sauneron, *Le Papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn* (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1970) 6–11. [R.K.R.]

magical material you possess. Let her be in love with me, NN whom she, NN bore. Let her not be had in a promiscuous way,⁷⁰ let her not be had in her ass, nor let her do anything with another man for pleasure, just with me alone, NN, so that she, NN, be unable either to drink or eat, that she not / be contented, not be strong, 355 not have peace of mind, that she, NN, not find sleep without me, NN, because I adjure you by the name that causes fear and trembling, the name at whose sound the earth opens, the name at whose terrifying sound the daimons are terrified, / the 360 name at whose sound rivers and rocks burst assunder. I adjure you, god of the dead, whether male or female, by BARBARITHA CHENMBRA BAROUCHAMBRA and by the ABRAT ABRASAX SESENGEN BARPHARANGGĒS and by the glorious AŌIA / MARI and 365 by the MARMAREŌTH MARMARAUŌTH MARMARAŌTH MARECHTHANA AMARZA MARIBEŌTH; do not fail, god of the dead, to heed my commands and names, but just arouse yourself from the repose which holds you, / whoever you are, whether 370 male or female, and go to every place, into every quarter, into every house, and attract her, NN, to me and with a spell keep her from eating and drinking, and do not allow her, NN, to accept for pleasure the attempt of another man, / not even 375 that of her own husband, just that of mine, NN. Instead, drag her, NN, by the hair, by her heart, by her soul, to me, NN, at every hour of life, day and night, until she comes to me, NN, and may she, NN, remain / inseparable from me. Do this, bind 380 her for all the time of my life and help force her, NN to be serviceable to me, NN, and let her not frolic away from me for even one hour of life. If you accomplish this for me, I will quickly allow you your repose. / For I am BARBAR ADŌNAI 385 who hides the stars, who controls the brightly shining heaven, the lord of the world, ATHTHOUIN IATHOUIN SELBIOUŌTH AŌTH SARBATHIOUTH IATHTHIERATH ADŌNAI IA ROURA BIA BI BIOTHĒ ATHŌTH / SABAŌTH ĒA NIAPHA AMARACHTHI 390 SATAMA ZAUATHTHEIĒ SERPHO IALADA IALĒ SBĒSI IATHTHA MARADTHA ACHILHTHTEE CHOŌŌ OĒ ĒACHŌ KANSAOSA ALKMOURI THYR THAŌS SIECHĒ. I am THOTH OSŌMAI; / attract her, bind her, NN, filled with love, desire and yearning 395 for NN (add the usual), because I adjure you, god of the dead, by the fearful, great IAEŌ BAPH RENEMOUN OTHI LARIKRIPHIA EYEAIPHIRKIRALITHON YOMEN ER PHABŌEAI, / so that you attract her, NN, to me and join head to head and fasten lip 400 to lip and join belly to belly and draw thigh close to thigh and fit black together with black, and let her, NN, carry out her own sex acts / with me, NN, for all eter- 405 nity.

Then write on the other side of the tablet the heart and the characters as they are below:

IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKI

“IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌEAI
 AEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌEA 410
 AŌ EŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌE III
 EA ŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHABŌ OEŌ
 IŌ BAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHAB OIEE
 YO APHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHA OEYI
 IO APHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPHA OEYI
 OE PHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPHIAEYEAIPHIRKIRALITHONYOMENERPH IAYY 415
 IŌAE YYAA
 EOĒI OIII
 YAOU YAAE
 IAŌI EŌAY
 AĒAĒ OOYI 420

70. See on this point Wortmann, “Neue magische Text,” 72.

	ĒIOI	ĒĒEA
	ŌIYA	AAIA
	AŌOE	IIIŌ
425	YIŌĒ	EEAŌ
	EOAŌA	ĒĒAŌ
	YAYA	ĒĒĒĒ
	IOĒIĒĒ	OAĒI
	IAŌI	ĒIYI
430	AOAO	ĒĒOI
	YYOI	YAAI
		ĒĒIA
		AAŌŌ”

435 *Prayer that belongs to the procedure:* At sunset, while holding / the magical material from the tomb, say:

“Borne⁷¹ on the breezes of the wandr’ing winds,
Golden-haired Helios, who wield the flame’s
Unresting fire, who turn in lofty paths
Around the great pole, who create all things
Yourself which you again reduce to nothing, /
440 From whom, indeed, all elements have been
Arranged to suit your laws which nourish all
The world with its four yearly turning points.
Hear, blessed one, for I call you who rule
Heaven and earth, Chaos and Hades, where
Men’s daimons dwell who once gazed on the light, /
445 And even now I beg you, blessed one,
Unfailing one, the master of the world,
If you go to the depths of earth and search
The regions of the dead, send this daimon,
From whose body I hold this remnant in my hands,
To her, NN, at midnight hours,
To move by night to orders ’neath your force, /
450 That all I want within my heart he may
Perform for me; and send him gentle, gracious
And pondering no hostile thoughts toward me,
And be not angry at my potent chants,
For you yourself arranged these things among
Mankind for them to learn about the threads
Of the Moirai, and this with your advice. /
455 I call your name, Horus,⁷² which is in number
Equivalent to those of the Moirai,

ACHAIPHŌ THŌTHŌ PHIACHA AIĒ ĒIA IAĒ ĒIA THŌTHŌ PHIACHA.

Be kind to me, forefather, scion of
The world, self-gendered, fire-bringer, aglow
Like gold, shining on mortals, master of
460 The world, / daimon of restless fire, unfailing,
With gold disk, sending earth pure light in beams.

71. The following dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4 (Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 239–40): v. 1–17, 20, 22–28. For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see PGM I. 315–27; IV. 1957–89; VIII. 74–80. [E.N.O.]

72. For Horus equated with Helios, cf. PGM IV. 989.

Send the daimon, whomever I have requested, to her, NN” (add the usual).

In another version, the name is: “ACHAI PHŌTHŌTHŌ AIĒ ĒIA IAĒ ĒIO THŌ THŌ
PHIACHA.” / *In another it is:* “ACHAI PHŌTHŌTHŌ AIĒ IĒA ĒAI IAĒ AĒI ĒIA ŌTHŌ- 465
THŌ PHIACHA.”

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 467–68

*Charm to restrain anger: “Will you dare to raise your mighty spear against Zeus?”⁷³

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The same spell occurs at PGM IV. 831–32.

PGM IV. 469–70

*To get friends:

/ “Let . . . seize, lest we become a joy to our enemies.”⁷⁴

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. The same charm using a verse from Homer (*Iliad* 10. 193) occurs in PGM IV. 833–34. Since there the single verse alone serves as a charm to get friends, and since the papyrus manuscript separates all verses with paragraph marks, it seems likely that the following four verses served as separate charms, though the original titles have been lost. Furthermore, since the three verses (*Iliad* 10.564, 10.521, and 10.572) that follow form a natural grouping in PGM IV. 2145ff. (cf. IV. 821–23), we have preserved that grouping in PGM IV. 471–73, below, though it is not clear whether the copyist inserted these verses here by mistake or whether the reader was to understand from PGM IV. 2145ff. that the spell served as a “divine assistance from three Homeric verses.”

470

PGM IV. 471–73

* . . .

“After saying this, he drove the solid-hoofed horses through the ditch.”⁷⁵

“and men gasping out their lives amid the terrible slaughter.”⁷⁶

“and they washed off in the sea the sweat that covered them.”⁷⁷

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. This untitled charm contains three verses of Homer that also occur in PGM IV. 821–23 and IV. 2145ff. It is presumed that these verses served the same functions as those listed in ll. 2145ff. See the introductory note on the previous spell. The verses all come from the tenth book of the *Iliad* and presumably could be read together.

PGM IV. 474

*“ . . . Ares endured, when Otos and mighty Ephialtes . . . him.”⁷⁸

*Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr. Cf. the introductory note on PGM IV. 469–70, and see PGM IV. 830, with n.

73. Homer, *Il.* 8. 424. For the use of single Homeric verses as charms and amulets, see R. Heim, “Incantamenta magica graeca latina.” *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, Supplementband* 9 (1893), section X: *Versus Homericus et Vergilianus* (pp. 514–20).

74. Homer, *Il.* 10. 193.

75. Homer, *Il.* 10. 564. The referent of “he” is Odysseus in the original context.

76. Homer, *Il.* 10. 521. Again, the papyrus quotes only a portion of the Homeric text. “Men” is the object of “saw” in l. 520, and it is a kinsman of the slaughtered Rhesus who saw.

77. Homer, *Il.* 10. 572. In Homer, the referent of “they” is Odysseus and Diomedes.

78. Homer, *Il.* 5. 385. The papyrus quotes only a single verse and leaves the syntax of “him” unaccounted for. In Homer, “him” is governed by “bound” in l. 386.

PGM IV. 475–829

475 *Be gracious to me, O Providence and Psyche,⁷⁹ as I write these mysteries handed
down [not] for gain but for instruction; and for an only child I request immor-
480 tality, O initiates of this our power (furthermore, it is necessary for you, O daugh-
ter, to take / the juices of herbs and spices, which will [be made known] to you at
the end of my holy treatise), which the great god Helios Mithras ordered to be
485 revealed to me by his archangel, so that I alone may ascend into heaven as an in-
quirer / and behold the universe.

This is the invocation of the spell:

“First origin of my origin, AEËIOYŌ, first beginning of my beginning, PPP SSS⁸⁰
490 PHR[E], spirit of spirit,⁸¹ the first of the spirit / in me, MMM, fire given by god to
my mixture of the mixtures in me, the first of the fire in me, ĒY ĒIA EĒ, water of
water, the first of the water in me, ŌŌŌ AAA EEE, earthy material, the first of the
495 earthy material in me, / YĒ YŌĒ, my complete body, I, NN whose mother is NN,
which was formed by a noble arm and an incorruptible right hand in a world with-
out light and yet radiant, without soul and yet alive with soul, YĒI AYI EYŌIE: now
500 if it be your will, METERTA / PHŌTH (METHARTHA PHĒRIĒ, in another place)⁸²
IEREZATH, give me over to immortal birth and, following that, to my underlying
nature, so that, after the present need which is pressing me exceedingly, I may gaze
505 upon the immortal / beginning with the immortal spirit, ANCHREPHRENESOU-
PHIRIGCH, with the immortal water, ERONOUI PARAKOUNĒTH, with the most
steadfast air, EIOAĒ PSENABŌTH; that I may be born again in thought, KRAOCHRAX
510 R OIM ENARCHOMAI, / and the sacred spirit may breathe in me, NECHTHEN AP-
OTOU NECHTHIN ARPI ĒTH; so that I may wonder at the sacred fire, KYPHE; that I
may gaze upon the unfathomable, awesome water of the dawn, NYŌ THESŌ ECHŌ
515 OUCHIECHŌA, and the vivifying / and encircling aether may hear me, ARNO-
MĒTHPH; for today I am about to behold, with immortal eyes—I, born mortal
from mortal womb, but transformed by tremendous power and an incorruptible
520 right hand / and with immortal spirit, the immortal Aion and master of the fiery
diadems—I, sanctified through holy consecrations—while there subsists within
me, holy, for a short time, my human soul-might, which I will again / receive after
525 the present bitter and relentless necessity which is pressing down upon me—I, NN,
whose mother is NN, according to the immutable decree of god, EYĒ YIA EĒI AŌ
530 EIAY IYA IEŌ. Since it is impossible for me, born / mortal, to rise with the golden
brightnesses of the immortal brilliance, ŌĒY AEŌ ĒYA EŌĒ YAE ŌIAE, stand, O per-
ishable nature of mortals, and at once [receive] me safe and sound after the inexor-
535 able and pressing / need. For I am the son PSYCHŌN DEMOU PROCHŌ PRŌA, I am
MACHARPH[.]N MOU PRŌPSYCHŌN PRŌE.”

540 Draw in breath from the rays, drawing up 3 times as much as you can, and you
will see yourself being lifted up and / ascending to the height, so that you seem to
be in midair. You will hear nothing either of man or of any other living thing, nor in
that hour will you see anything of mortal affairs on earth, but rather you will see all

79. The goddess Psyche, “Soul.” Some scholars read Tyche, “Fortune.” On the problem see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 2, 49–52, 70–72, 230–32. On the “Mithras Liturgy,” see M. W. Meyer, *The Mithras Liturgy* (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1976).

80. For the meaning of popping and hissing noises in magic, see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 40–43, 228–29; R. Lasch, “Das Pfeifen und Schnalzen und seine Beziehung zu Dämonenglauben und Zauberei,” *ARW* 18 (1915): 589–93. See also ll. 561–62, and 578–79 below, and elsewhere in the *PGM*.

81. “Spirit,” “breath,” “wind” (*πνεῦμα*) is one of the four elements.

82. This is evidence that the scribe had at least one other copy of the spell. See Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 4, 221.

immortal things. For in that day / and hour you will see the divine order of the
 skies: the presiding gods rising into heaven, and others setting. Now the course of
 the visible gods will appear through the disk of god, my father; and in similar fash-
 ion the so-called pipe, / the origin of the ministering wind. For you will see it hang-
 ing from the sun's disk like a pipe. You will see the outflow of this object toward the
 regions westward, boundless as an east wind, if it be assigned to the regions of the
 east—and the other (viz., the west wind), similarly, toward its own / regions. And
 you will see the gods staring intently at you and rushing at you.

So at once put your right finger on your mouth⁸³ and say:

“Silence! Silence! Silence!

Symbol of the living, incorruptible god! /

Guard me, Silence, NECHTHEIR THANMELOU!”

Then make a long hissing sound, next make a popping sound, and say:

“PROPROPHEGGĒ MORIOS PROPHYR PROPHEGGĒ NEMETHIRE ARSENTEN PI-
 TĒTMI MEÖY ENARTH PHYRKECHŌ PSYRIDARIŌ / TYRĒ PHILBA.”

Then you will see the gods looking graciously upon you and no longer rushing at
 you, but rather going about in their own order of affairs.

So when you see that the world above is clear / and circling, and that none of the
 gods or angels is threatening you, expect to hear a great crash of thunder, so as to
 shock you. Then say again:

“Silence! Silence! (the prayer) I am a star, wandering about with you, and shin-
 ing forth out of / the deep, OXY O XERTHEUTH.”

Immediately after you have said these things the sun's disk will be expanded. And
 after you have said the second prayer, where there is “Silence! Silence!” and the
 accompanying words, make a hissing sound twice and a popping sound twice, and
 immediately you will see / many five-pronged stars coming forth from the disk and
 filling all the air. Then say again: “Silence! Silence!” And when the disk is open, you
 will see the fireless circle, and the fiery doors shut tight. /

At once close your eyes and recite the following prayer. *The third prayer:*

“Give ear to me, hearken to me, NN, whose mother is NN, O lord, you who
 have bound together with your breath the fiery bars of the fourfold / root,⁸⁴

O Fire-walker, PENTITEROUNI,

Light-maker (others: Encloser), SEMESILAM,

Fire-breather, PSYRINPHEU,

Fire-feeler, IAŌ,

Light-breather, ŌAI,

Fire-delighter, ELOURE,

Beautiful light, AZAI,

Aion, ACHBA,

/ Light-master, PEPPER PREPEMPIPI,⁸⁵

Fire-body, PHNOUĒNIOCH,

Light-giver, . . .

83. For examples of this common depiction on stones, see the engraved gem showing Harpokrates with his finger to his mouth, in F. M. and J. H. Schwartz, “Engraved Gems in the Collection of the American Numismatic Society, I: Ancient Magical Amulets,” *The American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes* 24 (1979) no. 3, p. 159. See also the bronze statue in G. S. Gasparro, *I culti orientali in Sicilia*, *EPRO* 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1973), plate XLV, fig. 66.

84. Reading *τετραλιζώματος* with Hopfner (see apparatus ad loc.) rather than *τετραλιζώματος*. The reading of the manuscript, on the other hand, suggests *διαζώματος* (cf. *C. H.*, *Frag.* 26.8). [W.B.]

85. For *PIPI* as a permutation of the tetragrammaton, the Hebrew divine name, see S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1942) 120 n. 38;

Fire-sower, AREI EIKITA,
 Fire-driver, GALLABALBA,
 Light-forcer, AIŌ,
 Fire-whirler, PYRICHIBOOSĒIA,
 Light-mover, SANCHERŌB,
 600 Thunder-shaker /, IĒ ŌĒ IŌĒIŌ,
 Glory-light, BEEGENĒTE,
 Light-increaser, SOUSINEPHIEN,
 Fire-light-maintainer, SOUSINEPHI ARENBARAZEI MARMARENTEU,
 Star-tamer . . .

605 Open for me, PROPROPHEGGĒ EMETHEIRE MORIOMOTYRĒPHILBA,
 because, / on account of the pressing and bitter and inexorable necessity, I invoke
 the immortal names, living and honored, which never pass into mortal nature and
 610 are not declared in articulate speech by human tongue or mortal speech / or mortal
 sound: ĒĒŌ ŌĒĒŌ IŌŌ ŌĒ ĒĒŌ ĒĒŌ ŌĒ EŌ IŌŌ ŌĒĒĒ ŌĒĒ ŌŌĒ IĒ ĒŌ ŌŌ ŌĒ IĒŌ ŌĒ
 ŌŌĒ IĒŌ ŌĒ IĒĒŌ ĒĒ IŌ ŌĒ IŌĒ ŌĒŌ EŌĒ ŌĒŌ ŌIĒ ŌIĒ EŌ ŌI III ĒŌĒ ŌYĒ ĒŌŌĒĒ
 615 EŌ ĒIA AĒA ĒĒA / ĒĒĒĒ ĒĒĒ ĒĒĒ IĒŌ ĒĒŌ ŌĒĒĒŌĒ ĒĒŌ ĒYŌ ŌĒ EIŌ ĒŌ ŌĒ ŌĒ ĒĒ
 ŌŌŌ YIŌĒ.”

620 Say all these things with fire and spirit, until completing the first utterance; then,
 similarly, begin the second, until you complete the / 7 immortal gods of the world.⁸⁶
 When you have said these things, you will hear thundering and shaking in the sur-
 rounding realm; and you will likewise feel yourself being agitated. Then say again:
 625 “Silence!” (the prayer). Then open your eyes, and you will see the doors / open and
 the world of the gods which is within the doors, so that from the pleasure and joy
 of the sight your spirit runs ahead and ascends.

630 So stand still and at once draw breath from the divine into yourself, while you
 look intently. Then when / your soul is restored, say:

“Come, lord, ARCHANDARA PHŌTAZA PYRIPHŌTA ZABYTHIX ETIMENMERO
 PHORATHĒN ERIĒ PROTHRI PHORATHI.”

635 When you have said this, the rays will turn toward you; look at the center of
 them. For when / you have done this, you will see a youthful god, beautiful in ap-
 pearance, with fiery hair, and in a white tunic and a scarlet cloak, and wearing a
 fiery crown.⁸⁷ At once greet him with the fire greeting:

640 “Hail, O lord, Great Power, Great Might, / King, Greatest of gods, Helios, the
 Lord of heaven and earth, God of gods: mighty is your breath; mighty is your
 strength, O lord. If it be your will, announce me to the supreme god, the one who
 645 has begotten and made you: that a man—I, NN,⁸⁸ whose mother is NN, / who was
 born from the mortal womb of NN and from the fluid of semen, and who, since he

M. Philonenko, “L’Anguipède alectorocéphale et le dieu IAŌ” *Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres, comptes rendus des séances de l’année 1979* 297–304, where further material is collected and discussed. In PGM see also III. 575; IV. 1984; XVIIa. 1–2; cf. also III. 335.

86. For the following section of the ritual, cf. the combination of the seven grades of the initiation, the planetary gods, and the ascension in the mysteries of Mithras. See esp. R. Beck, “Interpreting the Ponzia-Zodiac: II,” *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 2 (1978): 120–35; R. Merkelbach, *Weihgrade und Seelenlehre der Mithrasmysterien* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1982) 13–21; also J. Bergman, “*Per omnia vectus elementa remeavi*. Réflexions sur l’arrière-plan égyptien du voyage de salut d’un myste isiaque,” in U. Bianchi and M. J. Vermaseren, eds., *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell’ impero romano*, EPRO 92 (Leiden: Brill, 1982): 671–708.

87. Cf. the well-preserved fresco from the Mithras temple in Capua. For a color photo, see Merkelbach, *Weihgrade* 34.

88. For the interpretation of this self-presentation, see Betz, “The Delphic Maxim,” 170.

has been born again from you today, has become immortal out of so many myriads in this hour according to the wish of god the exceedingly good—resolves to worship / you, and prays with all his human power, that you may take along with you the horoscope of the day and hour today, which has the name THRAPSIARI MOR-IROK, that he may appear and give revelation during the good hours, EÖRÖ RÖRE ÖRRI ÖRIÖR RÖR RÖI / ÖR REÖRÖRI EÖR EÖR EÖRE!”

After you have said these things, he will come to the celestial pole, and you will see him walking as if on a road. Look intently, and make a long bellowing sound, like a horn, releasing all your breath and straining your sides; and kiss / the phylacteries and say, first toward the right: “Protect me, PROSYMĒRI!”

After saying this, you will see the doors⁸⁹ thrown open, and seven virgins⁹⁰ coming from deep within, dressed in linen garments, and with the faces of asps.⁹¹ They are called the Fates / of heaven, and wield golden wands. When you see them, greet them in this manner:

“Hail, O seven Fates of heaven, O noble and good virgins, O sacred ones and companions of MINIMIRROPHOR, O most holy guardians of the four pillars!⁹² / Hail to you, the first, CHRESENTHAËS! Hail to you, the second, MENESCHEËS! Hail to you, the third, MECHRAN! Hail to you, the fourth, ARARMACHËS!⁹³ Hail to you, the fifth, ECHOMMIË! Hail to you, the sixth, TICHNONDAËS! Hail to you, the seventh, EROU ROMBRIËS!”

There also come forth another seven gods,⁹⁴ who have the faces of black bulls, in linen / loincloths, and in possession of seven golden diadems. They are the so-called Pole Lords of heaven, whom you must greet in the same manner, each of them with his own name:

“Hail, O guardians of the pivot, O sacred and brave youths, who turn / at one command the revolving axis of the vault of heaven, who send out thunder and lightning and jolts of earthquakes and thunderbolts against the nations of impious people, but to me, who am pious and god-fearing, you send health and soundness of body / and acuteness of hearing and seeing, and calmness in the present good hours of this day, O my lords and powerfully ruling gods! Hail to you, the first, AIERÖNTHI! Hail to you, the second, MERCHEIMEROS! Hail to you, the third, ACHRICHIOUR! / Hail to you, the fourth, MESARGILTÖ! Hail to you, the fifth, CHICHRÖALITHÖ! Hail to you, the sixth, ERMICHTHATHÖPS! Hail to you, the seventh, EORASICHË!”

Now when they take their place, here and there, in order, look in the air and you will see lightning bolts going down, and lights flashing /, and the earth shaking,

89. Cf. the seven gates of the mosaic of the *Mitreo delle sette sfere* at Ostia and the inscribed term ἐπτάπυλος, “seven-gated.” See M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, vol. I (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1966) 137, fig. 82; Merkelbach, *Weibegrade* 65.

90. For the seven virgins, see the discussion by Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 69–72, who also refers to the seven Hathors of Egyptian religion.

91. This seems to be an Egyptian idea, where three serpents stand for the word “goddess.” One Egyptian Fate, *Rmnwtet* (Thermuzis), is known to have a serpent face. See Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch* II, 362. [R.K.R.]

92. For this Egyptian cosmology, see H. Frankfort et al., *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946) 45–47; D. Kurth, *Den Himmel stützen. Die “Tꜣꜣ pt”-Szenen in den ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche* (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1975) 90, 98. [R.K.R.]

93. Cf. the Egyptian *harmachis*, “Horus who is on the horizon.”

94. For a discussion of the seven young men, see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 70–75. In the Mithras mysteries the seven grades of initiates were each under the tutelage of a planetary deity. See Merkelbach, *Weibegrade* 13–14.

and a god descending, a god immensely great, having a bright appearance, youthful, golden-haired, with a white tunic and a golden crown and trousers,⁹⁵ and holding in his right hand a golden / shoulder of a young bull: this is the Bear which moves and turns heaven around, moving upward and downward in accordance with the hour.⁹⁶ Then you will see lightning bolts leaping from his eyes and stars from his body.

705 And at once / make a long bellowing sound, straining your belly, that you may excite the five senses; bellow long until out of breath, and again kiss the phylacteries, and say:

710 “MOKRIMO PHERIMO PHERERI, life of me, NN: stay! Dwell in / my soul!⁹⁷ Do not abandon me, for ENTHO PHENEN THROPIÓTH commands you.”

And gaze upon the god while bellowing long; and greet him in this manner:

715 “Hail, O Lord, O Master of the water! Hail, O Founder of the earth! Hail, O Ruler of the wind! O Bright Lightener /, PROPROPHEGGĒ EMETHIRI ARTENTEPI THĒTH MIMĒO YENARŌ PHYRCHECHŌ PSĒRI DARIŌ PHRĒ PHRĒLBA! Give revelation, O lord, concerning the NN matter. O lord, while being born again, I am passing away; while growing and having grown, / I am dying; while being born from a life-generating birth, I am passing on, released to death—as you have founded, as you have decreed, and have established the mystery. I am PHEROURA MIOURI.”

720 After you have said these things, he will immediately respond with a revelation. /
725 Now you will grow weak in soul and will not be in yourself, when he answers you. He speaks the oracle to you in verse, and after speaking he will depart. But you remain silent, since you will be able to comprehend all these matters by yourself; for
730 at a later time / you will remember infallibly the things spoken by the great god, even if the oracle contained myriads of verses.

735 If you also wish to use a fellow initiate, so that he alone may hear with you the things spoken, let him remain pure with you for [seven] / days, and abstain from meat and the bath. And even if you are alone, and you undertake the things communicated by the god, you speak as if prophesying in ecstasy. And if you also wish
740 to show him, then judge whether he is completely worthy as a man /: treat him just as if in his place you were being judged in the matter of immortalization, and whisper to him the first prayer, of which the beginning is “First origin of my origin,⁹⁸
745 ΑΕΪΟΥΘ.” And say the successive things as an initiate, over his / head, in a soft voice,⁹⁹ so that he may not hear, as you are anointing his face with the mystery. This immortalization takes place three times a year. And if anyone, O child, after the
750 teaching, wishes to disobey, then for him it will no longer / be in effect.

95. The description of the god Mithras agrees with extant pictures. See esp. the frescoes from Dura Europos, published in M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithriacae* (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1956, 1960); see also the discussion in Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 76–78.

96. For the interpretation of this passage, see Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 76–78, 234; R. Beck, “Interpreting the Ponza Zodiac,” *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 1 (1976): 1–19, esp. 2; 2 (1978): 87–147, esp. 120–27; R. L. Gordon and J. R. Hinnels, “Some New Photographs of Well-known Mithraic Monuments,” *ibid.* 2 (1978): 213–19. Cf. also Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus*, col. V. 1 with note; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* 86–89.

97. The combination of ζωή “life,” and ψυχή “soul,” suggests erotic overtones (see Juvenal, *Sat.* 6. 195 for ζωή καὶ ψυχή, and the note on PGM IV. 377). [E.N.O.] In fact, sculptures portraying Eros and Psyche were found in the Mithras sanctuaries at Capua and under the Church of S. Prisca in Rome. See Merkelbach, *Weihgrade* 22–24, and photos on pp. 68–69.

98. For this prayer, see PGM IV. 486–537.

99. Cf. on this point Firmicus Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.* 22. 1: *lento murmure susurrat*, “he whispers with a soft murmur”; Apuleius, *Met.* 1.3. See also G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 2nd 1965) 58.

Instruction for the rite: Take a sun scarab which has twelve rays, and make it fall into a deep, turquoise cup, at the time when the moon is invisible;¹⁰⁰ put in together with it the seed of the fruit pulp of the lotus, / and honey; and, after grinding it, prepare a cake. And at once you will see it [viz., the scarab] moving forward and eating; and when it has consumed it, it immediately dies. Pick it up and throw it into a glass vessel of excellent rose oil, as much as you wish; and / spreading sacred sand in a pure manner, set the vessel on it, and say the formula over the vessel for seven days, while the sun is in midheaven:

“I have consecrated you, that your material may be useful to me, to NN alone, IE IA ĒĒĒ O Y ELA, that you may prove useful to me / alone, for I am PHŌR PHORA PHŌS PHOTIZAAS” (others: “PHŌR PHŌR OPHOTHEI XAAS”).

On the 7th day pick up the scarab, and bury it with myrrh and Mendesian wine¹⁰¹ and fine linen; and put it away in a flourishing bean field. / Then, after you have entertained and feasted together, put away, in a pure manner, the ointment for the immortalization.

If you want to show this to someone else, take the juice of the herb called *ken-tritis*, and smear, it, along with rose oil, over the eyes of the one you wish; / and he will see so clearly that he will amaze you. I have not found a greater spell than this in the world. Ask the god for what you want, and he will give to you.

Now the encounter with the great god is like this: Having obtained the above-mentioned herb / *ken-tritis*, at the conjunction [of the sun and the moon] occurring in the Lion,¹⁰² take the juice and, after mixing it with honey and myrrh, write on a leaf of the persea tree the eight-lettered name, as given below.¹⁰³ And having kept yourself pure for 3 days in advance, come at morning to face the sunrise; / lick off the leaf while you show it to the sun, and then he [the sun god] will listen to you attentively. Begin to prepare [the scarab] on the new moon in the lion, according to the god’s [reckoning].¹⁰⁴

Now this is the name: “I EE OO IAI.” Lick this up, so that you may be protected; and rolling up the leaf /, throw it into the rose oil. Many times have I used the spell, and have wondered greatly.

But the god said to me:

“Use the ointment no longer, but, after casting it into the river, [you must] consult while wearing the great mystery / of the scarab revitalized through the 25 living birds,¹⁰⁵ and consult once a month, at full moon, instead of 3 times a year.”

The *ken-tritis* plant grows from the month of Payni, in the regions of the / black earth, and is similar to the erect verbena. This is how to recognize it: an ibis wing is dipped at its black tip and smeared with the juice, and the feathers fall off when touched. After the lord / pointed this out, it was found in Menelaitis in Phalagry, at the river banks, near the *besas* plant. It is of a single stem, and reddish down to the root; and the leaves are rather crinkled and have fruit / like the tip of wild asparagus. It is similar to the so-called *talapēs*, like the wild beet.

100. Literally, “at the seizure of the moon,” probably designating the new moon.

101. Cf. PGM I. 85–86 and n.

102. That is, at the new moon.

103. See PGM IV. 788.

104. The new moon of god, according to the heavens, in contrast to the new moon of man, according to the calendar.

105. The allusion to the twenty-five birds is obscure; it may be related to the hours, so that the scarab Khepri is reborn in the first hour of a new day, after the passage of twelve hours of day and twelve hours of night during the previous day.

815 Now the phylacteries require this procedure: copy that for the right [arm] onto
the skin / of a black sheep, with myrrh ink, and after tying it with sinews of
the same animal, put it on; and copy that [for] the left [arm] onto the skin of a
white sheep, and use the same procedure. The left one is very full of "PROSTHY-
820 MĒRI" /, and has this memorandum:¹⁰⁶

"So speaking, he drove through the trench the single-hoofed horses."¹⁰⁷

"And men gasping among grievous slaughters."¹⁰⁸

"And they washed off their profuse sweat in the sea."¹⁰⁹

"You will dare to lift up your mighty spear against Zeus."¹¹⁰

825 / Zeus went up the mountain with a golden bullock and a silver dagger. Upon all he
bestowed a share, only to Amara did he not give, but he said:¹¹¹

"Let go of what you have, and then you will receive, PSINŌTHER NŌPSITHER
THERNŌPSI" (add the usual).¹¹²

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer.

PGM IV. 830

830 * . . . "Ares endured, when Otos and mighty Ephialtes . . . him."¹¹³
Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM IV. 831–32

* Charm to restrain anger: "Will you dare to raise your mighty spear against
Zeus?"¹¹⁴

Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM IV. 833–34

* To Get Friends: "Let . . . seize, lest we become a joy to our enemies."¹¹⁵

Tr.: Hubert Martin, Jr.

PGM IV. 835–49

835 * From 53 years and 9 months on Hermes took the period up to 10 years and 9
months, from which he assigned to himself 20 months, which would be 55 years 5
840 months; then to Aphrodite 8 months, / which would thus be 56 years 1 month;

106. The relationship of the poetic quotations in the following, which repeat those in ll. 468–74, and the Mithras liturgy is obscure. They seem unrelated; see Wessely, *Griechische Zauberpapyrus* (see above, Introduction, n. 24), which shows a blank after l. 820 and a sign indicating a new paragraph. For a different view, cf. Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* 84. [M.S.]

107. Homer, *Il.* 10. 564.

108. Homer, *Il.* 10. 521.

109. Homer, *Il.* 10. 572.

110. Homer, *Il.* 8. 424. See PGM IV. 467–68 above and 830–31 below. Probably this verse served as a spell to restrain anger, but it may be misplaced here.

111. That these verses are part of the *ὑπόμνημα* ("the memorandum," l. 821) seems unlikely. More probably, a heading has been lost, and the verses contain an altogether independent spell. Story spells (*historiolae*) were ancient (see Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, nos. 7, 75, 148, 154, 157, 158, etc.). They usually tell of a happening such as they are meant to produce (cf., e.g., PGM VII. 199–201; IV. 1471–79). This story tells of a person compelled or bribed to give up something; it could have been used to make a person give up anger. Hence it may have been attached to the Homeric verse for that purpose and was interpolated here. The name Amara is obscure; it could mean "the bitter woman" (Hebrew or Latin; cf. Ru I:20, Vulgate).

112. Cf. *Pistis Sophia* 136 and 142, also with permutations of ΙΑΘ. PSINŌTHER is Egyptian for "the sons of god." [R.K.R.] See also PGM III. 186 and n. See Glossary, s.v. "THERNŌPSI formula."

113. Homer, *Il.* 5. 385. The same verse occurs in PGM IV. 474.

114. Homer, *Il.* 6. 424, quoted also PGM IV. 468, 824.

115. Homer, *Il.* 10. 193. See PGM IV. 470, where the same verse is quoted.

then to Helios 19 months, which would be 57 years 8 months. In this period assigned to Helios, that is to the 19 months, devote yourself to what you seek. After this he assigned to Ares 15 months, which would be 58 years 11 months. This is a hostile period. / Then to Selene 25 months, which would be 61 years. They are good. Then to Zeus 12 months, which would be 62 years. They are good. Then to Kronos 30 months, which would be 64½ years. They are bad for the body; within them also are the dangerous points.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese. The section appears to be a fragment from an astrological work about the influence of the planets upon the periods of life.

PGM IV. 850–929

***Charm of Solomon that produces a trance**¹¹⁶ (works both on boys and on adults): I swear to you by the holy gods and the heavenly gods not to share the procedure of Solomon with anyone and certainly not to use it for something questionable¹¹⁷ / unless a matter of necessity forces you, lest perchance wrath be preserved for you.

Formula to be spoken: “OURIŌR AMĒN IM TAR CHŌB KLAMPHŌB PHRĒ¹¹⁸ PHRŌR PTAR OUSIRI SAIŌB TĒLŌ KABĒ / MANATATHŌR ASIŌRIKŌR BĒEINŌR AMOUN ŌM MĒNICHTHA MACHTHA CHTHARA AMACHTHA AOU ALAKAMBŌT BĒSINŌR APH-ĒSĪŌR PHRĒPH AMĒI OUR LAMASIR CHĒRIŌB PITRĒM / PHĒŌPH NIRIN ALLAN-NATHATH CHĒRIŌCH ŌNĒ BOUSIRI NINOUNO AMANAL GAGŌSARIĒR MĒNIAM TLĒR OOO AA ETNĒ OUSIRI OUSIRI OURISI OURISI MĒNĒMB MNĒM / BRABĒL TNĒKAIŌB. Hear me, that is, my holy voice, because I call upon your holy names, and reveal to me concerning the thing which I want, through the NN man or little boy, for otherwise I will not defend your holy and undefiled / names. Come to me, you who became Hesies and were carried away by a river; inspire the NN man or boy concerning that which I ask you: BARBĒTH MNŌR ARARIAK TARĒRIM ŌAR TĒRŌK SANIŌR MĒNIK PHAU EK / DAPHORIOUMIN LARIŌR ĒTNIAMIM KNŌS CHALAKTHIR KRŌPHĒR PHĒSIMŌT PRĒBIB KNALA ĒRIBĒTIM GNŌRI. Come to me through the NN man or little boy and tell me accurately since / I speak your names which thrice-greatest Hermes¹¹⁹ wrote in Heliopolis with hieroglyphic letters: ARBAKŌRIPH MĒNIAM ŌBAŌB ABNIŌB MĒRIM BAIAX CHENŌR PHĒNIM ŌRA ŌRĒ-SIOU OUSIRI¹²⁰ PNIAMOUSIRI / PHRĒOUSIRI HŌRIOUSIRI NAEIŌROUSIRI MĒN-IMOUSIRI MNĒKOUSIRI PHLĒKOUSIRI PĒLĒLOUSIRI ŌNIŌ RABKOUSIRI ANIŌB-OUSIRI AMĒAOUSIRI ANŌROUSIRI AMĒNĒPHĒOUSIRI / AMĒNIUSIRI XŌNIŌR ĒOUROUSIRI. Enter into him and reveal to me concerning the NN matter.”

After you have purified the designated man [by keeping him] from intercourse for 3 days, you yourself also being pure, enter together with him.¹²¹ After you have taken him up / to an open place, seat him on unbaked bricks, dress him and give him an anubian head of wheat¹²² and a falconweed plant so that he will be protected. Gird yourself with a palm fiber of a male date palm, extend your hands / up

116. Literally, the title means “Solomon’s Collapse,” an indication of ecstatic seizure.

117. Or “for trivial reasons.”

118. The names include the gods Prē, Osiris, and Amon.

119. That is, Hermes Trismegistos. For this name, see PGM VII. 551 and n.

120. The following list, after “Osiris,” contains a series of compound deities whose second element is the god Osiris, but only some can be identified: Pre-Osiris, Horus-Osiris, Onnuris-Osiris, Amenophis-Osiris, and Amon-Osiris. [R.K.R.]

121. The following account has a parallel in *Test. Sol.* I. 3, ed. McCown, p. *8, ll. 5–15.

122. The meaning of Anubis’s head of grain is not known. On the god Anubis, see J.-C. Grenier, *Anubis Alexandrin et Romain*, EPRO 57 (Leiden: Brill, 1977), esp. p. 139 for ear of grain. [R.K.R.]

to heaven, toward the rays of the sun, and say the formula 7 times. Next make an offering of male frankincense after pouring out wine, beer, honey, or milk of a black
 910 cow onto grapevine wood. Then say the formula 7 times just into the ear / of the NN man or little boy, and right away he will fall down. But you sit down on the bricks and make your inquiry, and he will describe everything with truth. You
 915 should crown him with a garland of indigenous wormwood, / both him and you, for god delights in the plant.

Dismissal of the lord: into the ear of NN: “ANANAK ARBEOUËRI AEËIOYÖ.”

If he tarries, sacrifice on grapevine charcoal a sesame seed [and] black cumin
 920 while saying: / “ANANAK ÖRBEOUSIRI AEËIOYÖ, go away, lord, to your own thrones and protect him, NN, from all evil.” You learned thoroughly; keep it secret.

*The awakening*¹²³ [of the man or boy] is as follows: Stand away from the boy or
 925 man, having your / palms spread on your buttocks, your feet together on the ground, recite [the following] often until he is moved either toward the right or toward the left: “AMOUN ËEI¹²⁴ ABRIATH KICHÖP ÖTEM PITH.” Then as a dog.¹²⁵
 *Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 930–1114

930 *Charm that produces a direct vision:¹²⁶ *Prayer for divine alliance*, which you are to say first toward the sunrise, then the same first prayer is to be spoken to a lamp. Whenever you seek divinations, be dressed in the garb of a prophet, shod
 935 with fibers of the doum palm and / your head crowned with a spray from an olive tree—but the spray should have a single-shooted garlic tied around the middle. Clasp a pebble numbered 3663¹²⁷ to your breasts, and in this way make your invocation.

*Hymn:*¹²⁸

940 “Hail,¹²⁹ serpent, and¹³⁰ stout lion, natural
 Sources of fire.¹³¹ / And hail, clear water and
 Lofty-leaved tree,¹³² and you who gather up

123. The translation of this difficult term follows Preisendanz (see apparatus ad loc.).

124. AMOUN ËEI is equivalent to Egyptian “Amon comes” (?), with Greek ηει standing for Egyptian iy. [R.K.R.]

125. Probably referring to barking; cf. PGM IV. 1006.

126. This is equivalent to the type of Demotic spell called *ph-ntr*-spell, literally, a “god’s arrival” spell. See J. H. Johnson, “Louvre E 3229: A Demotic Magical Text,” *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 90–91.

127. According to Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet* 184, the mystical number is 3663 and refers to BAIN-CHÖÖCH (the numerical value of the Greek letters being 2 + 1 + 10 + 50 + 600 + 800 + 800 + 600 = 3663).

128. Preisendanz ends the hymn at l. 948, but the petition to the god continues through l. 955. Ll. 949–54 include references to the spell for a direct vision, the lamp divination, and the prayer for divine alliance. Thus the present form of these lines comes from the time when the spell was put together. Ll. 949–54 contain vestiges of verse and originally may have been part of the hymn which was composed by the final author; or they may be a prose addition to part of an earlier hymn, perhaps substituting for, or expanding the petition in, the original hymn. [W.C.G.]

129. These dactylic hexameters also form the reconstructed Hymn 3; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 238.

130. τε, though necessary to the sense, mars the hexameter. [E.N.O.]

131. A possible echo of a pre-Socratic expression, but to the author of this spell this phrase must have had a much different meaning. Preisendanz wants to emend and read Φύσι και πυρός αρχή (“O Nature and fire’s origin”), but the emendation is more clever than persuasive. For Physis as a goddess, see PGM I. 310 and n. [E.N.O.]

132. An adaptation of Homer, *Od.* 4. 458, which in the context of the spell indicates that the author knew not only the Homeric verse but the whole passage as well. [E.N.O.]

Clover from golden fields of beans,¹³³ and who
 Cause gentle foam to gush forth from pure mouths.
 Scarab, who drive the orb of fertile fire,
 O self-engendered one,¹³⁴ because you are
 Two-syllabled, AĒ, and are the first-
 Appearing one, / nod me assent, I pray,
 Because your mystic symbols I declare,

945

ĒŌ AI OY AMERR OOUŌTH IYIŌĒ MARMARAUŌTH LAILAM SOUMARTA.

Be gracious unto me, first-father, and
 May you yourself send strength as my companion.

Stay allied, lord, and listen to me / through the charm that produces direct vision
 which I do today, and reveal to me concerning those things I ask you through the
 lamp divination for direct vision which I do today, I, NN, IY EYĒ OŌ AEĒ IAEĒ ALAĒ
 E AI EY ĒIE ŌŌŌŌ EY ĒŌ / IAŌAI” (repeat).¹³⁵

950

955

Light-bringing charm: Crown your head with the same spray, stand in the same
 fashion facing the lamp, close your eyes and recite this spell 7 times.

Spell: “I call upon you, the living god, / fiery, invisible begetter of light, IAĒL
 PEIPTA PHŌS ZA PAI PHTHENTHA PHŌSZA PYRI BELIA IAŌ IAO EYŌ OEĒ A ŌY EOI A
 E Ē I O Y Ō give your strength, rouse your daimon, / enter into this fire, fill it with a
 divine spirit, and show me your might. Let there be opened for me the house of the
 all-powerful god ALBALAL,¹³⁶ who is in this light. / Let there be light, breadth,
 depth, length, height, brightness, and let him who is inside shine through, the lord
 BOUĒL¹³⁷ PHTHA PHTHA PHTHAĒL PHTHA ABAI BAINCHŌŌŌCH, now, now; imme-
 diately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

960

965

970

Light-retaining spell that is spoken once / in order that the light-magic might
 remain with you, for sometimes when you invoke the god-bringing spell darkness
 is produced. Therefore, you should conjure in the following way.

975

Spell: “I conjure you, holy light, holy brightness, breadth, depth, length, height,
 brightness, by the holy names / which I have spoken and am now going to speak.
 By IAŌ SABAŌTH ARBATHIAŌ SESENGENBARPHARAGGĒS ABLANATHANALBA AK-
 RAMMACHAMARI AI AI IAO AX AX INAX, remain by me in the present hour, until I
 pray to the god / and learn about the things I desire.”

980

985

God-bringing spell to be spoken three times with your eyes open: “I call upon
 you, the greatest god, sovereign HŌROS HARPOKRATĒS ALKIB HARSAMŌSI IŌAI
 DAGENNOUTH RARACHARAI / ABRAIAŌTH, you who enlighten the universe and by
 your own power illumine the whole world, god of gods, benefactor, AO IAŌ EAĒY,
 you who direct night and day, AI AŌ, handle and steer the tiller,¹³⁸ restrain the ser-

990

133. This refers to the Egyptian bean from the Nymphean lotus mentioned in PGM IV. 1110. Thus the reference is again to Horus atop the lotus. [R.K.R.]

134. “Self-generation” is a common epithet of Khepri (see Glossary, s.v. “Scarab”) and is a pun on his name which means “to come into being.” [R.K.R.] See also J. Whittaker, “Self-generating Principles in Second-century Gnostic Systems,” in B. Layton, ed., *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*, vol. I: The School of Valentinus, *Studies in the History of Religions (Supplements to Numen)* 41 (Leiden: Brill, 1980) 176–93.

135. Here the papyrus has the sign //, perhaps signifying doubling. See below, ll. 973 and 1046 (in the papyrus).

136. For this name, see T. Hopfner, “Orientalisch-Religionsgeschichtliches aus den griechischen Zauberpapyri Ägyptens,” *Archiv Orientalni* 3 (1931): 341.

137. This name is not attested elsewhere.

138. A reference to the solar bark of Re and the serpent Apophis, who attempts daily to devour the sun. Cf. Pritchard, *ANET* 6–7; E. Hornung and A. Badawy, “Apophis,” *LdÄ* I (1975): 350–51. [R.K.R.]

995 pent, / you Good, holy¹³⁹ Daimon, whose name is HARBATHANÖPS IAOAI, whom
 sunrises and sunsets hymn when you arise and set. You who are praised among all
 1000 gods, angels and daimons, come and appear to me, god of gods, HÖROS / HARPO-
 KRATĒS ALKIB HARSAMÖSI IAÖ AI DAGENNOUTH RARACHARAI ABRAIAÖTH. En-
 ter, appear to me, lord, because I call upon you as the three baboons¹⁴⁰ call upon
 1005 you, who speak / your holy name in a symbolic fashion, A EE ĒĒ IIII OOOO
 YYYYY ÖÖÖÖÖÖ (speak as a baboon). Enter in, appear to me, lord, for I speak
 your greatest names: BARBARAI BARBARAÖTH AREMPOUS PERTA, ÖMÉCH PERA /
 1010 KÖNĒTHCH IAÖ BAL BĒL BĒL BE SRÖ IAOĒI OYEĒI EĒI EOYEI AĒI ĒI IAO ĒI. You
 who are seated on the top of the world and judge the universe, surrounded by the
 1015 circle of truth and honesty, / IYAĒ IÖAI, enter in; appear to me, lord, to me, the one
 who is before fire and snow and in the midst of them, because my name is BAIN-
 CHÖÖÖCH. I am the one who is from heaven; my name is BALSAMĒS. Enter in, ap-
 1020 pear to me,¹⁴¹ / lord, you who have a great name, you whom we all have each in our
 own heart; your name is BAPHANNĒTH RALPHAI NINTHER CHOUCHEI. You who
 break apart rocks and change the names of gods, enter in, appear to me, lord, you
 1025 who have in fire your power / and your strength, SESENGENBARPHARAGĒS. You
 who are seated within the 7 poles, AEĒIOYÖ, you who have on your head a golden
 crown and in your hand a Memnonian staff¹⁴² with which you send out the gods,
 1030 your name is BARBARIĒL BARBARAIĒL god / BARBARAĒL BĒL BOUĒL. Enter in,
 lord, and answer me with your holy voice in order that I might hear clearly and un-
 1035 erringly concerning the NN matter, IYĒYĒ ÖÖAEĒ (formula) IAEĒ ALAĒ EAI EYĒIE /
 ÖÖÖÖÖ IYĒÖ IAÖ AI.”

Charm of compulsion: If somehow he delays, say in addition this following incantation (say the incantation one or 3 times): “The great, living god commands you, he who lives for eons of eons, who shakes together, who thunders, who created every / soul and race, IAÖ AÖI ÖIA AIÖ IÖA ÖAI. Enter in, appear to me, lord, happy, kind, gentle, glorious, not angry, because I conjure you by the lord, IAÖ AÖI ÖIA AIÖ IÖA ÖAI APTA PHÖIRA ZAZOU / CHAMĒ. Enter in, lord, appear to me happy, kind, gentle, [glorious,]¹⁴³ not angry” (repeat).¹⁴⁴

Salutation said once after the god enters. While holding the pebble, say: “Hail, lord, god of gods, benefactor, HÖROS HARPOKRATĒS ALKIB HARSAMÖSI IAÖ AI DA/GENNOUTH RARACHARAI ABRAIAÖ; let your Hours which you traverse be welcomed; let your Glories¹⁴⁵ be welcomed forever, lord.”

139. The occurrence of “holy” between “good” and “daimon” makes it doubtful that the familiar Good Daimon is meant. See Glossary, s.v.; see also the apparatus ad loc.

140. Baboons were thought to praise the sun when they chattered at it. For a representation, see A. Piankoff, *Mythological Papyri* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1957), vol. I, 39, fig. 22 and pl. I. See also Bonnet, *RÄRG* 7–8, s.v. “Affc.” [R.K.R.] On the magician’s imitation of the “language” of animals, see Hopfner, *OZ* I, sections 778–80. Understanding this language of animals belongs to the traditional phenomenology of the “divine man” and magician. See, e.g., Porphyry, *De abst.* 3. 3, and on the whole topic H. Güntert, *Von der Sprache der Götter und Geister* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1921); Betz, *Lukian* 28–38.

141. Preisendanz has *εάνη θίμοι*, which should be read as *εάνηθι μοι*, as in PGM IV. 1001, 1006, 1015, 1024, 1041, 1045. [W.C.G.]

142. For Memnon as a deified hero in Egypt, see A. Baraille, *Les Memnonia* (Cairo: L’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1952) 1–21; as recipient of worship, see D. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1977) 299, no. 82. [R.K.R.]

143. An addition by Preisendanz in order to conform to PGM IV. 1042. But such consistency is not always to be expected. Cf. ll. 1063–65 with 1079–80.

144. See the note above on PGM IV. 955, regarding the sign for doubling.

145. Cf. PGM I. 199 and n.

Charm to retain the god: When he comes in, after greeting him, step with your left heel on the big toe of his right foot, and he will not / go away unless you raise your heel from his toe¹⁴⁶ and at the same time say the dismissal. 1055

Dismissal: Close your eyes, release the pebble which you have been holding, lift the crown up from your head and your heel from his / toe, and, while keeping your eyes closed, say 3 times: “I give thanks to you lord BAINCHÖÖCH, who is BALSAMĒS. Go away, go away, lord, into your own heavens, into your own palaces, into your own course. Keep me healthy, unharmed, not plagued by ghosts, free from calamity and without terror. Hear me during my / lifetime.” 1060 1065

Dismissal of the brightness: “CHÖÖ CHÖÖ ÖCHÖÖCH,¹⁴⁷ holy brightness.” In order that the brightness also go away:¹⁴⁸ “Go away, holy brightness, go away, beautiful and holy light of the highest god, AIAÖNA.” Say it one time with closed eyes, smear yourself / with Coptic kohli;¹⁴⁹ smear yourself by means of a golden probe. 1070

Phylactery for the rite, which you must wear for the protection of your whole body: On [a strip]¹⁵⁰ from a linen cloth taken from a marble statue of Harpokrates in any temple [whatever] / write with myrrh these things: “I am HOROS ALKIB HARSAMÖSIS IAÖ AI DAGENNOUTH RARACHARAI ABRAIAÖTH, SON OF ISIS ATHTHA BATHTHA and of OSIRIS OSOR[ON]NÖPHRIS; keep me healthy, unharmed, not plagued by ghosts and without terror during my / lifetime.” Place inside the strip of cloth an everliving plant;¹⁵¹ roll it up and tie it 7 times with threads of Anubis.¹⁵² Wear it around your neck whenever you perform the rite. / 1075 1080

Preparation: Take broad cords of papyrus, tie them to the four corners of the room so that they form an X. In the middle of the X attach a ring-shaped mat made from single-stemmed wormwood. Provide / a glazed lamp¹⁵³ with a wick called reed grass, and rub the wick itself with fat of a black, male, firstborn and first-reared ram. Fill the lamp with good olive oil, and place it in the middle, / on the mat. Light the lamp and stand in the previously mentioned fashion, facing the sunrise, whenever you perform the rite, without distinguishing the days.¹⁵⁴ Purify yourself / from everything three days in advance, and rub the wick beforehand with the fat of a black, male, firstborn and first-reared ram. 1085 1090 1095 1100

Signs of the lamp: After saying the light-bringing spell, open your eyes and you will see / the light of the lamp becoming like a vault. Then while closing your eyes say (*differently*: 3 . . .¹⁵⁵ after saying 3 times), and after opening your eyes you will see all things wide-open and the greatest brightness within, but the lamp shining nowhere. Then you will see the god / seated on a lotus,¹⁵⁶ decorated with rays, his 1105 1110

146. The translation follows the interpretation by Preisendanz; see the apparatus ad loc.

147. CHÖÖ CHÖÖ ÖCHÖÖCH corresponds to Coptic KÖ KÖ Ö KAKE, “depart, depart, O darkness.” [R.K.R.]

148. An attempt on the part of the redactor of the papyrus text to explain the need for a second dismissal.

149. Powdered antimony used as cypaint.

150. Addition by Eitrem on the basis of I. 1081.

151. A general name for plants that seem to live a long time. See R. Strömberg, *Griechische Pflanzennamen, Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* 46 (Göteborg: Elanders, 1940) 103.

152. On the Anubian thread, see PGM I. 147 and n.

153. On this type of faïence, see PGM IV. 55 and n.

154. That is, the charm can be performed on any day. For charms that can be used only on certain days, cf. PGM III. 275–81; VII. 155–67, 284–89.

155. The text is obscure at this point but seems to include alternative instructions. See apparatus ad loc.

156. The deity seated on the lotus flower is Harpokrates, invoked here in ll. 989, 999–1000, and 1074–75. This standard depiction of Harpokrates is found in all the media during the Greco-Roman

right hand raised in greeting and left [holding] a flail, while being carried in the hands of 2 angels with 12 rays around them.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese (ll. 930–38; 949–1114) and E. N. O’Neil (hymnic sections, ll. 939–48). This spell is a composite, made by combining a lamp divination with a charm for a direct vision and including an introductory prayer for divine alliance. The repetition in the present charm (note especially the two dismissals in ll. 1057ff. and 1065ff. and the explanation in ll. 1066ff.) is a result of the inclusion of similar elements from both of the charms here combined.

PGM IV. 1115–66

- 1115 ***Hidden**¹⁵⁷ **stele**:¹⁵⁸ “Hail, entire system of the aerial spirit,¹⁵⁹ PHŌGALŌA. Hail, spirit who extends from heaven to earth, ERDĒNEU, and from earth which is in the
1120 middle chamber of the / universe unto the borders of the abyss, MEREMŌGGA.¹⁶⁰
1125 Hail, spirit who enters into me, convulses me, and leaves me kindly according to the will of god, IŌĒ ZANŌPHIE. / Hail, beginning and end of the immovable nature, DŌRYGLAOPHŌN. Hail, revolution of untiring service by heavenly bodies, RŌGYEU ANAMI PELĒGEŌN ADARA EIŌPH. Hail, radiance of the universe subordinate / to the solar ray, IEO YĒŌ IAĒ AI ĒŌY OEI. Hail, orb of the night-illuminating, unequally shining moon, AIŌ RĒMA RŌDOUŌPIA. Hail, all spirits of the aerial images / RŌMIDOUĒ AGANASOU ŌTHAUA. Hail to those to whom the greeting is given with blessing, to brothers and sisters, to holy men and holy women. O great, greatest, round, incomprehensible figure of the universe, heavenly ENRŌCHES-
1140 YĒL; / in heaven, PELĒTHEU; of ether, IŌGARAA; in the ether, THŌPYLEO DARDY; watery, IŌĒDES; earthy, PERĒPHIA; fiery, APHTHALYA; windlike, IŌIE ĒŌ AYA; luminous, ALAPIE; dark-looking, / IEPSERIA; shining with heavenly light, ADAMALŌR; moist, fiery, and cold spirit. / I glorify you, god of gods, the one who brought order to the universe, AREŌ PIEUA; the one who gathered together the abyss at the invisible foundation of its position, PERŌ MYSĒL / O PENTŌNAX; the one who separated heaven and earth and covered the heaven with eternal, golden wings, RŌDĒRY OYŌA; the one who fixed the earth on eternal foundations, ALĒIOŌA; the one who hung up / the ether high above the earth, AIE ŌĒ IOYA; the one who scattered the air with self-moving breezes, ŌIE OYŌ; the one who put the water roundabout, ŌRĒPĒLYA; the one who raises up hurricanes, ŌRISTHAUA; / the one who thunders, THEPHICHYŌNĒL; the one who hurls lightnings, OURĒNES; the one who rains, OS-
1160 IŌRNI PHEUGALGA; the one who shakes, PERATŌNĒL; the one who produces living creatures, ARĒSIGYLŌA; the god of the Aions; you are great, lord, god, ruler of the

period. Harpokrates holds the flail, the symbol of royalty, here interpreted as a whip. See A. M. El-Kachab, “Some Gem-Amulets Depicting Harpokrates Seated on a Lotus Flower,” *JEA* 57 (1971): 132–45, esp. 133–34. For the gesture of greeting, a modification under the influence of Helios instead of the more common gesture of finger sucking, see S. Morenz and J. Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1954). [R.K.R.]

157. The exact meaning of ἀπόκρυφος is uncertain here. LSJ, s.v., II, gives as possible meanings “obscure, recondite, hard to understand.” More likely is the meaning “secret,” for which see Baucr, s.v.; cf. also *PGM* XIII. 344, 731, 732, 1057, 1078.

158. The term *stēlē* occurs in the *PGM* with several meanings. Originally it refers to a plate of stone or metal on which texts could be inscribed (e.g., VIII. 42), but most of the time the term is a literary device suggesting the text was copied from a stone slab. It can also refer to an amulet in the shape of a *stēlē* (as in *PGM* VII. 215; see the picture *Tafel I, Abbildung 1* in Preisendanz, vol. II).

159. The prayer is addressed to the god Aion (see l. 1164). Cf. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 277–78; Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 200, 208–10. See also *PGM* I. 309 and n.

160. For this imagery, see H. O. Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris* (Copenhagen: Høst, 1927) 74; furthermore, *DMP* col. XX, l. 28 (p. 133); *PGM* IV. 1210. [R.K.R.]

All, ARCHIZŌ / NYON THĒNAR METHŌR PARY PHĒZŌR THAPSAMYDŌ MARŌMI CHĒLŌPSA.” 1165

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 1167–1226

*Stele that is useful for all things; it even delivers from death. Do not investigate what is in it.

Formula: “I praise you,¹⁶¹ the one and blessed of the eons and / father of the world, with cosmic prayers. Come to me, you who filled the whole universe with air, who hung up the fire from the [heavenly] water and separated the earth from the water. Pay attention, form, spirit, / earth and sea, to a word from the one who is wise concerning divine Necessity, and accept my words as fiery darts, because I am a man,¹⁶² the most beautiful creature of the god in heaven, made out of spirit, / dew, and earth. Heaven, be opened; accept my words. Listen, Helios, father of the world; I call upon you with your name AŌ EY ĒOI AIOĒ YEŌA OUORZARA LAMANTHATHRĒ KANTHIOPER / GARPSARTHĒ MENLARDAPA KENTHĒR DRYOMEN THRANDRĒTHRĒ IABE ZELANTHI BER ZATHRĒ ZAKENTI BIOLLITHRĒ AĒŌ OYŌ ĒŌ OŌ RAMIATHA AĒŌ ŌYŌ OYŌ ŌAYŌ: the only one having the original / element. You are the holy and powerful name considered sacred by all the angels; protect me, so- and-so, from every excess of power and from every violent act. Yes, do this, / lord, god of gods, IALDAZAŌ BLATHAM MACHŌR PHRIX AĒ KEŌPH EĒA DYMEŌ PHERPHRITHŌ IACHTHŌ PSYCHEŌ PHIRITHMEŌ RŌSERŌTH THAMASTRAPHATI RIMPSAŌCH IALTHE MEACHI ARBATHANŌPS, / creator of the world, creator of the universe, lord, god of gods, MARMARIŌ IAŌ. I have spoken of your unsurpassable glory,¹⁶³ you who created gods, archangels, and decans. The ten thousands of angels stood by [you] and exalted / the heaven, and the lord witnessed to your Wisdom,¹⁶⁴ which is Aion, IEOYĒŌĒ IAĒAIĒŌĒYŌEI, and said that you are as strong as he is. I invoke your hundred-lettered / name¹⁶⁵ which extends from the sky to the depth of the earth; save me, for you are always ever rejoicing in saving those who are yours, ATHĒZE PHŌI AAA DALAGTHI THĒOBIS PHIATH THAMBRAMI ABRAŌTH / CHTHOLCHIL THŌE OELCHŌTH THIOŌĒMCH CHOOMCH SAĒSI ISACHCHOĒ IEROUTHRA OOOOO AIŌAI (100 letters). I call upon you, the one on the gold leaf,¹⁶⁶ before whom the unquenchable lamp continually burns,¹⁶⁷ / the great God, the one who shone on the whole world, who is radiant at Jerusalem, lord, IAŌ AIĒ IŌĒ ŌIĒ ŌIĒ IĒ AIŌAI AI OYŌ AŌĒ ĒEI IEŌ ĒYŌ AĒI AŌ AŌA AĒĒI YŌ EIĒ / AĒŌ IBY AĒĒ IALA IAŌ EY AEY IAĒ EI AAA III ĒĒĒ IŌ IŌĒ IAŌ (100 letters), for a blessing, lord.” 1170
1175
1180
1185
1190
1195
1200
1205
1210
1215
1220
1225

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

161. The prayer is addressed to the god Aion. See Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 198, who compares the prayer with the older form in I. 196–221.

162. For different interpretations and translations, see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 279, who thinks of the god Anthropos, “Man”; cf. also Betz, “The Delphic Maxim,” 169: “I am a human being, the heavenly deity’s most beautiful creation. . . .”

163. Preisendanz prints Δόξα, as if to suggest a divine hypostasis. See also PGM I. 199.

164. The notion of “Wisdom” (Sophia) is here identified with Aion, a unique instance in the PGM. Cf. PGM I. 210, and Bousset, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 198–99.

165. Cf. I. 1225.

166. This protective prayer presumes a section describing a gold lamella to be worn as a phylactery. The phylactery contained the hundred-letter name of the god and was worn as protection against “every excess of power” and the “very violent act” mentioned in ll. 1193–94.

167. For the light miracle at Jerusalem, see PGM IV. 3070 and n. See also PDM xiv. 490 and K. Preisendanz, “Zum grossen Pariser Zauberpapyrus,” *ARW* 17 (1914): 347–48.

PGM IV. 1227–64

* **Excellent rite for driving out daimons:** *Formula* to be spoken over his head:
1230 Place olive branches before him, / and stand behind him and say:

“Hail, God of Abraham; hail, God of Isaac; hail, God of Jacob; Jesus Chrestos,¹⁶⁸
1235 the Holy Spirit, the Son of the Father, who is above¹⁶⁹ the Seven, / who is within
the Seven. Bring Iao Sabaoth; may your power issue forth from him, NN, until
1240 you drive away this unclean daimon Satan, who is in him. I conjure you, daimon,
/ whoever you are, by this god, SABARBARBATHIÖTH SABARBARBATHIOUTH SABAR-
BARBATHIÖNĒTH SABARBARBAPHAI. Come out, daimon, whoever you are, and stay
1245 away from him, NN, / now, now; immediately, immediately. Come out, daimon,
since I bind you with unbreakable adamantine fetters, and I deliver you into the
black chaos in perdition.”

1250 *Preparation:* take 7 olive branches; for six of them / tie together the two ends of
each one, but for the remaining one use it like a whip as you utter the conjuration.
Keep it secret; it is proven.

After driving out the daimon, hang around him, NN, a phylactery, which the
patient puts on after the expulsion of the daimon—a phylactery with these things
1255 [written] on / a tin metal leaf: “BÖR PHÖR PHORBA PHOR PHORBA BES CHARIN
BAUBÖ TE PHÖR BÖRPHORBA PHORBABOR BAPHORBA PHABRAIĒ PHÖRBA
1260 PHARBA PHÖRPHÖR PHORBA / BÖPHOR PHORBA PHORPHOR PHORBA BÖBOR-
BORBA PAMPHORBA PHÖRPHÖR PHÖRBA, protect him, NN.” But *another version*
has a phylactery on which this sign¹⁷⁰ occurs: §

*Tr.: M. W. Meyer. This Greek and Coptic exorcistic spell is discussed by Tambornino,
RGVV VII 3, 9; 10. For additional literature, see Preisendanz, *PGM* vol. I, 114 and idem,
APF 8 (1927): 115.

PGM IV. 1265–74

1265 * **Aphrodite’s name** which becomes known to no one quickly is NEPHERIĒRI¹⁷¹—
this is the name. If you wish to win a woman who is beautiful, be pure for 3 days,
1270 make an offering of frankincense, / and call upon this name over it. You approach
the woman and say it seven times in your soul as you gaze at her, and in this way it
will succeed.¹⁷² But do this for 7 days.

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 1275–1322

1275 * **Bear-charm**¹⁷³ which accomplishes everything: *Formula:* “I call upon you, the
greatest power in heaven” (*others:* “in the Bear”) “appointed by the lord god to
1280 turn with a strong / hand the holy pole, NIKAROPLĒX. Listen to me, Helios, Phre;¹⁷⁴
hear the holy [prayer], you who hold together the universe and bring to life the

168. On *Chrēstos*, “excellent one,” rather than *Christos*, “anointed one,” see K. Weiss, *TDNT* 9 (1974): 484–85; B. Layton, *The Gnostic Treatise on Resurrection from Nag Hammadi* (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1979) 44–45; Smith, *Jesus the Magician* 63.

169. Or “below.”

170. This sign is familiar from the so-called Chnoubis amulets. See Bonner, *SMA* 54–55; Delatte and Derchain, *Les Intrailles magiques* 54–57; A. Jacoby, “Ein Berliner Chnoubisamulett,” *ARW* 28 (1930): 269–70. The translation of the sentence is according to the interpretation by R.D.K.

171. Nephherieri is the Egyptian *Nfr-iry.t*, “the beautiful eye,” a suitable epithet for Aphrodite/Hathor. See G. Möller, in Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc. [J.B.; R.K.R.]

172. Or “you will succeed,” the subject being the spell itself.

173. The spell invokes the astral constellation of the Bear and its powers. See *PGM* IV. 700, 1331; VII. 687; XXIII. 10.

174. That is, Helios-Prē.

whole world, THŌZOPITHĒ EUCHANDAMA ŌCHRIENTHĒR / OMNYŌDĒS CHĒMIO- 1285
CHYNGĒS IEŌY” (perform a sacrifice) “THERMOUTHER PSIPHIRIX PHROSALI KAN-
THIMEŌ ZANZEMIA ŌPER PEROMENĒS RŌTHIEU ĒNINDEU KORKOUNTHO EUMEN
MENI KĒDEUA KĒPSĒOI” (add the usual).

Petition / to the sun at sunset. Formula: “THĒNŌR, O Helios, SANTHĒNŌR, I 1290
beseech you, lord, may the place and lord of the Bear devote themselves to me”
(while petitioning, sacrifice armara.¹⁷⁵ Do it at sunset). 1295

Charm of compulsion for the 3rd day: “ANTEBERŌYRTŌR EREMNETHĒCHŌR 1300
CHNYCHIROANTŌR MENELEOCHEU ĒESSIPO DŌTĒR EUARĒTŌ GOU PI PHYLAKĒ
ŌMALAMINGOR MANTATONCHA / do the NN thing.”

The first formula in a different way: “THŌZOPITHĒ, Bear, greatest goddess, 1305
ruling heaven, reigning over the pole of the stars, highest, beautiful-shining god-
dess, incorruptible element, composite of the all, all-illuminating, / bond of the
universe AEĒIOYŌ (square),¹⁷⁶ you who stand on the pole, you whom the lord god
appointed to turn the holy pole with a strong hand: THŌZOPITHĒ (formula).”

Offering for the procedure: 4 drams of frankincense, 4 drams of myrrh, 2 ounces 1310
each of cassia leaf and / of white pepper, 1 dram of bdellion, 1 dram of asphodel
seed, 2 drams each of amomon, of saffron, of terebinth storax, 1 dram of worm-
wood, . . . of vetch plant, priestly Egyptian incense, the complete brain of a black
ram. / Combine these with white Mendesian wine¹⁷⁷ and honey, and make pellets 1315
of bread.

Phylactery for the procedure: Wear a wolf knucklebone, mix juice of vetch and of 1320
pondweed in a censer, / write in the middle of the censer this name: “THERMOU-
THEREPSIPHIRIPHI¹⁷⁸ PISALI” (24 letters),¹⁷⁹ and in this way make an offering.
*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 1323–30

**Another:* “KOMPHTHO KOMASITH KOMNOUN¹⁸⁰ you who shook and shake the 1325
world, you who have swallowed the ever-living serpent and daily / raise the disk of
the sun and of the moon, you whose name is ITHIOŌ ĒI ARBATHIAŌ Ē, send up to
me, NN, at night the daimon of this night to reveal to me concerning / the NN 1330
thing.”

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 1331–89

Powerful spell of the Bear*¹⁸¹ **which accomplishes anything: Take the fat of a 1335
black ass, the fat of a dappled she-goat, the fat of a black bull, and Ethiopian cumin,
mix all together / and make an offering to the Bear, having as a phylactery hairs

175. For the recipe, see below, ll. 1308–16, and Hopfner, *OZ* I, section 803. Cf. *PGM* IV. 1990.

176. According to Preisendanz, *πλωθιον* (square) inserted here means that the letters are to be ar-
ranged in a series of lines forming a square. For this form of pictorial writing, see V. Gardthausen,
Griechische Paläographie II (Leipzig: Veit, 1913) 59. For a similar piece, see A. Gracienhagen, *Schmuckar-
beiten in Edelmetall, II: Einzelstücke* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikenab-
teilung, 1975) 98 n. 11; cf. also *PGM* XIII. 905–11.

177. Cf. *PGM* I. 85 and n.

178. Thermouth is Rennutet, the Egyptian harvest goddess and Fate. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 803–4,
s.v. “Thermutis.” See also *PGM* IV. 664 and n.

179. That is, in Greek letters.

180. Preisendanz suggests this line may contain Coptic, which according to F. Li. Griffith, “The Old
Coptic Magical Text of Paris,” *ZÄS* 38 (1900): 93, means “earth-shaker, ground-shaker, abyss-shaker.”
[R.K.R.] Cf. *PGM* III. 680.

181. For the meaning of the constellation of the Bear, see *PGM* IV. 1275.

from the same animals which you have plaited into a cord and are wearing as a diadem around your head. Anoint your lips with the fats, smear your whole body with storax / oil, and make your petition while holding a single-shooted Egyptian onion. Speak concerning whatever you wish. Gird yourself with a palm fiber of a male date palm, kneel down, and speak the following *formula*:

1345 / "I call upon you, holy, very-powerful, very-glorious, very-strong, holy, auto-
1350 chthons, assistants of the great god, the powerful chief daimons, you who / are in-
habitants of Chaos,¹⁸² of Erebos, of the abyss, of the depth, of earth, dwelling in the
recesses of heaven, lurking in the nooks and crannies of houses, shrouded in dark
1355 clouds, watchers of things not to be seen, guardians of secrets, leaders of those in
the underworld, administrators / of the infinite, wielding power over earth, earth-
shakers, foundation-layers, servants in the chasm, shudderful fighters, fearful minis-
1360 ters, turning the spindle, freezing snow and rain, air-transversers, causing / summer
heat, wind-bringers, lords of Fate, inhabitants of dark Erebos, bringers of compul-
sion, sending flames of fire, bringing snow and dew, wind-releasers, disturbers of
1365 the deep, treaders on the calm sea, mighty in courage, grievors / of the heart, pow-
erful potentates, cliff-walkers, adverse daimons, iron-hearted, wild-tempered, un-
ruly, guarding Tartaros, misleading Fate, all-seeing, all-hearing, / all-subjecting,
1370 heaven-walkers, spirit-givers, living simply, heaven-shakers, gladdening the heart,
those who join together death, revealers of angels, punishers of mortals, sunless
1375 revealers, rulers of daimons, / air-transversers, almighty, holy, unconquerable
AŌTH¹⁸³ ABAŌTH BASYM ISAK SABAŌTH IAŌ IAKŌP MANARA SKORTOURI MOR-
TROUM EPHRAULA THREERSA; do the NN matter."

1380 / Then write on a piece of papyrus the hundred-lettered name of Typhon,¹⁸⁴
curved as a star, and bind it in the middle of the core with the letters showing.

1385 *This is the name:* / ACHCHŌR ACHCHŌR ACHACHACHPTOUMI CHACHCHŌ
CHARACHŌCH CHAPTOUMĒ CHŌRA CHŌCH APTOUMIMĒ CHŌCHAPTOU CHA-
RACHPTOU CHACHCHŌ CHARA CHŌCH PTENACHŌCHEOU.

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

PGM IV. 1390–1495

1390 *Love spell of attraction performed with the help of heroes or gladiators or
those who have died a violent death: Leave a little of the bread which you eat;
break it up and form it into seven bite-size pieces. And go to where heroes and
1395 gladiators and those who have died a violent death were slain. / Say the spell to the
pieces of bread and throw them. And pick up some polluted dirt from the place
where you perform the ritual and throw it inside the house of the woman whom
you desire, go on home and go to sleep.

The spell which is said upon the pieces of bread is this:

1400 "To¹⁸⁵ Moirai, Destinies, / Malignities,
To Famine, Jealousy, to those who died

182. For these names referring to the underworld places of Greek mythology, see *Orph. Frag.* 1 and 54; Homer, *Il.* 16. 327; *Od.* 10. 528; Hesiod, *Theog.* 515; etc. See W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London: Methuen, 1952) 92.

183. The magical words contain some garbled Aramaic. On BASYM, see PGM LXX. 3 and n.; XIII. 147, 593. For an explanation from the Hebrew *ba-shem*, see G. Alon, *Jews, Judaism and the Classical World* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1977) 235–51, esp. 237, 240.

184. The association of Typhon with the constellation of the Bear (cf. PGM IV. 1331, 1335) is Egyptian. The Bear represents the soul of Typhon, the murderer of Osiris. See Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 21, 359D, and Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 373.

185. These iambic trimeters (which are sometimes rather clumsy) have been adapted to form the reconstructed Hymn 25, for which see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 263. [E.N.O.]

- Untimely deaths and those dead violently,
 I'm sending food: Three-headed Goddess, Lady
 Of Night, who feed on filth, O Virgin, thou
 Key-holding Persephassa,¹⁸⁶ Kore out
 Of Tartaros, grim-eyed, dreadful, child girt /
 With fiery serpents, he, NN, has mixed 1405
 With tears and bitter groans leftovers from
 His own food, so that you, O luckless heroes
 Who are confined there in the NN place,
 May bring success to him who is beset
 With torments. You who've left the light, O you
 Unfortunate ones, / bring success to him, 1410
 NN, who is distressed at heart because
 Of her, NN, ungodly and unholy.
 So bring her wracked with torment—and in haste!
- EIOUT ABAŌTH PSAKERBA ARBATHIAŌ LALAOITH / IŌSACHŌTOU ALLALETHŌ 1415
 You too as well, Lady, who feed on filth¹⁸⁷
- SYNATRAKABI BAUBARABAS ENPHNOUN MORKA¹⁸⁸ ERESCHIGAL NEBOUTOSOUA-
 LĒTH, and send the Erinys ORGOGORGONIOTRIAN,¹⁸⁹
 Who rouses up with fire souls of the dead, /
 Unlucky heroes, luckless heroines, 1420
 Who in this place, who on this day, who in
 This hour, who in coffins of myrtlewood,
 Give heed to me and rouse / her, NN, on 1425
 This night and from her eyes remove sweet sleep,
 And cause her wretched care and fearful pain,
 Cause her to follow after my footsteps,
 And / for my will give her a willingness 1430
 Until she does what I command of her.
 O mistress Hekate¹⁹⁰
- PHORBA PHORBŌBAR BARŌ PHŌRPHŌR PHŌRBAI
 O Lady of the Crossroads, O Black Bitch.”
- When you have done / these things for 3 days and accomplish nothing, then use 1435
 this forceful spell: just go to the same place and again perform the ritual of the
 bread pieces. Then upon ashes of flax offer up dung / from a black cow and say this 1440
 and again pick up the polluted dirt and throw it as you have learned.
- The words spoken over the offering are these:*
 “Chthonic Hermes and chthonic Hekate and chthonic Acheron¹⁹¹ and chthonic /

186. A poetic form of Persephone.

187. These words with some changes are included as part of Hymn 25 (ll. 14–16), and they seem to scan, but without a translation possible for the formulaic terms nothing can be gained by inserting them in the verse section. [E.N.O.]

188. A. Jacoby has proposed (see Preisendanz, apparatus ad loc.) that the name is that of the Babylonian deity Omorka. See O. Höfer, in Roscher 3/1 (1897–1902) 868–69, s.v. “Omorka.”

189. The epithet “the Orgogorgoniotrian” signifies one of the Furies (Erinys). According to LSJ, s.v., it is found only here in Greek.

190. The meter breaks down at this point and only by rearranging and omitting words can Hymn 25 (l. 28) accommodate the concluding phrases here. [E.N.O.]

191. The name Acheron refers to the mythical river or sea in the underworld. There is also a connection with the river Acheron in Epirus, where the famous underworld oracle of Ephyra was located. See E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979) 252. The oracle of Ephyra has been excavated; see S. I. Dakaris, “Das Tau-

- 1445 flesh-eaters and chthonic god and chthonic Amphiaraos¹⁹² and chthonic attendants
 1450 and chthonic spirits and chthonic sins and chthonic dreams / and chthonic oaths
 and chthonic Ariste¹⁹³ and chthonic Tartaros and chthonic witchery, chthonic
 Charon and chthonic escorts and the dead and the daimons and souls of all men: /
 1455 come today, Moirai and Destiny; accomplish the purpose with the help of the love
 spell of attraction, that you may attract to me her, NN whose mother is NN, to me
 NN, whose mother is NN (add the usual), because I am calling
 1460 O¹⁹⁴ primal Chaos, / Erebos, and you
 O awful water of the Styx, O streams
 O Lethe, Hades' Acherousian pool,
 O Hekate and Pluto and Kore,
 And chthonic Hermes, Moirai, Punishments,
 1465 Both Acheron and Aiakos,¹⁹⁵ / gatekeeper
 Of the eternal bars, now open quickly,
 O thou Key-holder, guardian, Anubis.¹⁹⁶
 Send up to me the phantoms of the dead
 Forthwith for service in this very hour. /
 1470 So that they may go and attract to me, NN, her, NN, whose mother is NN" (add
 the usual).
 "Isis¹⁹⁷ came, holding on her shoulders her brother who is her bedfellow,¹⁹⁸ and
 1475 Zeus came down from Olympus and stood awaiting the phantoms / of the dead as
 they were being led to her, NN, and were performing the NN business (add the
 usual). All the immortal gods and all the goddesses came to see the phantoms of
 1480 these dead. Do not, therefore, delay; / do not loiter, but dispatch, O gods, the
 phantoms of these dead, so that having gone to her NN they may perform the NN
 1485 deed (add the usual) because I adjure you by IAŌ / SABAŌTH and ADŌNAI PAT-
 RAXILYTRA BOURREPHAŌMI ASSALKĒ AIDOUNAX SESENGEN (formula) BALIABA
 1490 ERECHCHARNOI ABERIDOUA SALBACHTHI EISERSE / RATHŌ EISERDA ŌMI SIS-
 IPHNA SISAEDOUBE ACHCHARITŌNĒ ABERIPHNOUBA IABAL DENATHI ITHROU-
 1495 PHI. Send up the phantoms of these dead to her NN / whose mother is NN, so that
 they may perform the NN deed" (add the usual).
 *Tr.: E. N. O'Neil.

benorakel von Dodona und das Totenorakel bei Ephyra," *Antike Kunst*, Beiheft 1 (1963): 35–55; Burkert, *Griechische Religion* 185–86.

192. The name refers to an old underworld god who had an incubation oracle at Oropos. See R. Herzog, "Amphiaraos," *RAC* 1 (1950): 396, with further literature.

193. For this epithet of Artemis and Demeter, see Jessen, "Ariste," *PRE* 2 (1895): 876.

194. These dactylic hexameters also form the reconstructed Hymn 26, for which see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 264. The reconstruction is even more extensive than usual, for in places only faint vestiges of verse remain. [E.N.O.]

195. Aiakos was one of the judges of the underworld, along with Minos and Rhadamanthys. See Plato, *Apol.* 41a; *Gorg.* 523c, and W. Schmid, "Aiakos," *PRE* 1 (1893): 923–26.

196. On Anubis with the key, see S. Morenz, "Anubis mit dem Schlüssel," in his *Religion und Geschichte des Alten Ägypten* (Köln and Wien: Böhlau, 1975) 510–20. [R.K.R.]

197. These lines, which contain vestiges of dactylic hexameters, have been arranged in an awkward verse pattern and accepted as the reconstructed Hymn 27; see Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 264. Nonetheless, the translation is prose because the lines have no more of a metrical pattern than many other passages scattered through these documents. [E.N.O.]

198. Isis aroused desire within the dead Osiris and by him conceived Horus. [R.K.R.]

PGM IV. 1496–1595

***Love spell of attraction over myrrh which is offered:** While offering it over coals, recite the spell.

Spell:

“You are Myrrh, the bitter, the difficult, who reconciles / combatants, who sears 1500
and who forces those to love who do not acknowledge Eros. Everyone calls you
Myrrh, but I call you Flesh-eater and / Inflamer of the heart. I am not sending you 1505
to far-off Arabia; I am not sending you to Babylon, but I am sending you to her
NN, whose mother is NN, so that you may serve me on the mission to her, so
that / you may attract her to me. If she is sitting,¹⁹⁹ let her not keep sitting; if she is 1510
chatting with someone, let her not keep chatting; if she is gazing at someone, let
her not keep gazing; if she is going to someone, let her not keep going; if she is
strolling about, let her not / keep strolling; if she is drinking, let her not keep 1515
drinking; if she is eating, let her not keep eating; if she is kissing someone, let her
not keep kissing him; if she is enjoying some pleasure, let her not keep enjoying it;
if she is sleeping, let her not keep sleeping. Rather, let her hold me / NN alone in 1520
her mind; let her desire me alone; let her love me alone; let her do all my wishes.
Do not enter through her eyes or through her side or through her nails / or even 1525
through her navel or through her frame, but rather through her ‘soul.’ And remain
in her heart and burn her guts, her breast, her liver, / her breath, her bones, her 1530
marrow, until she comes to me NN, loving me, and until she fulfills all my wishes,
because I adjure you, Myrrh, by the three names,²⁰⁰ / ANOCHŌ²⁰¹ ABRASAX TRŌ,
and by the more coercive and stronger names KORMEIŌTH IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI,
so that you may carry out my / orders, Myrrh. As I burn you up and you are po- 1540
tent, so burn the brain of her, NN, whom I love. Inflamm her and turn her guts in-
side out, / suck out her blood drop by drop, until she comes to me, NN, whose
mother is NN. I adjure you by the MARPARKOURITH NASAARI NAIEMARE PAI- 1545
PARI / NEKOURI. I throw you into the burning fire and adjure you by the almighty
god who lives forever: Having adjured you, I now also adjure you, / ADŌNAI BAR- 1550
BAR IAŌ ZAGOURĒ HARSAMŌSI ALAOUS and SALAŌS. I adjure you who strength-
ened man for life: Hear, hear, / great god, o Adonaios, ETHYIA, self-gendering,
everlasting god, EIŌĒ IAŌ AIŌ AIŌ PHNEŌS SPHINTĒS ARBATHIAŌ IAŌ IAĒ IŌA / 1560
AI, who are OUĒR²⁰² GONTHIAŌR RARAĒL²⁰³ ABRA BRACHA SOROORMERPHERGAR
MARBAPHRIOUIRIGX IAŌ SABAŌTH MASKELLI / MASKELLŌ (the formula) AMON- 1570
SŌĒ ANOCH RIGCH PHNOUKENTABAŌTH SOUSAE PHINPHESĒCH MAPHI / RAR
ANOURIN IBANAŌTH AROUĒR CHNOUPH ANOCH BATHI OUCH IARBAS BABAUBAR
ELŌAI; attract for me her NN, whose mother is NN, to me / NN, whose mother is 1580
NN, on the very day, on this night, at this very hour, MOULŌTH PHOPHITH PHTHŌ-
ITH PHTHŌYTH PENIŌN. I call upon you also who hold / the fire, PHTHAN ANOCH; 1585
give heed to me, O one, only-begotten, MANEBIA BAIBAI CHYRIRŌOU THADEIN
ADŌNAI EROU NOUNI / MIŌNCH CHOUTIAI MARMARAUŌTH. Attract her, NN,
whose mother is NN, to me NN, whose mother is NN, now, now; immediately,
immediately; quickly, quickly.”

And say also the spell for all / occasions. 1595

Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

199. For parallels to this passage, cf. P. Smither, “A Coptic Love-Charms,” *JEA* 25 (1939): 175–76.

200. On this passage, see C. Bonner, “Liturgical Fragments on Gnostic Amulets,” *HTR* 25 (1932): 362–67; idem, “The Transcendency of Divine Attributes,” *ibid.* 37 (1944): 338–39.

201. This means in Egyptian “I am great.” [R.K.R.] Cf. *PGM I*. 149.

202. OUĒR corresponds to Egyptian ꜥꜣ, “great.” [R.K.R.]

203. RARAĒL occurs only here; perhaps Raphael should be read. [E.N.O.]

PGM IV. 1596–1715

*This is the consecration for all purposes: *Spell to Helios*: “I invoke you, the
 1600 greatest god, eternal lord, world ruler, / who are over the world and under the
 1605 world, mighty ruler of the sea, rising at dawn, shining from the east for the whole
 1610 world, / setting in the west. Come to me, thou who risest from the four winds,
 joyous²⁰⁴ Agathos Daimon, for whom heaven has become the processional way. I
 1615 call upon your holy / and great and hidden names which you rejoice to hear. The
 earth flourished when you shone forth, and the plants became fruitful when you
 1620 laughed; the animals begat their young / when you permitted. Give glory and honor
 and favor and fortune and power to this, NN, stone which I consecrate²⁰⁵ today (or
 1625 to the / phylactery being consecrated) for NN.²⁰⁶ I invoke you, the greatest in
 heaven, ΕΙ LANCHYCH AKARĒN BAL MISTHRĒN MARTA / MATHATH LAILAM MOU-
 1630 SOUTH SIETHŌ BATHABATHI IATMŌN ALEI IABATH ABAŌTH SABAŌTH ADŌNAI, the
 great god, ORSENOPHRĒ ORGEATĒS / TOTHORNATĒSA²⁰⁷ KRITHI BIŌTHI IADMŌ
 1635 IATMŌMI METHIĒI²⁰⁸ LONCHOŌ AKARĒ BAL MINTHRĒ BANE BAI(N)CHCHYCHCH
 OUPHRI NOTHEOUSI THRAI / ARSIOUTH ERŌNERETHER, the shining Helios, giving
 1640 light throughout the whole world. You are the great Serpent, leader of all²⁰⁹ the
 gods, who control the beginning / of Egypt and the end of the whole inhabited
 1645 world, who mate in the ocean, PSOI PHNOUTH I NINTHĒR.²¹⁰ You are he who be-
 comes / visible each day and sets in the northwest of heaven, and rises in the south-
 1650 east.²¹¹ In the 1st hour you have the form of a cat; your name is PHARAKOUNĒTH.
 / Give glory and favor to this phylactery. In the 2nd hour you have the form of a
 1655 dog; your name is SOUPHI. Give strength and honor to this phylactery, [or] to this
 stone, / and to NN. In the 3rd hour you have the form of a serpent; your name is
 1660 AMEKRANEBECHĒO THŌYTH. Give honor to the god NN. In the 4th hour you have
 the form of a scarab; your name is / SENTHENIPS. Mightily strengthen this phylac-
 1665 tery in this night, for the work for which it is consecrated. In the 5th hour you have
 the form of a donkey; your name is / ENPHANCHOUPH. Give strength and courage
 and power to the god, NN. In the 6th hour you have the form of a lion; your name
 1670 is BAI SOLBAI, the ruler of time. Give / success to this phylactery and glorious
 victory. In the 7th hour you have the form of a goat; your name is OUMESTHŌTH.
 1675 Give sexual charm to this ring / (or to this phylactery, or to this engraving). In the
 8th hour you have the form of a bull; your name is DIATIPHĒ, who becomes visible
 1680 everywhere. Let all / things [done] by the use of this stone be accomplished. In the
 9th hour you have the form of a falcon; your name is PHĒOUS PHŌOUTH, the lotus
 1685 emerged from the abyss.²¹² Give success / [and] good luck to his phylactery. In
 the 10th hour you have the form of a baboon; your name is BESBYKI. In the 11th

204. “Joyous” can also mean “benevolent” or “lucky,” meanings appropriate and probably intended here. In the writer’s mind the three were probably not distinguished. [M.S.]

205. Cf. on this point PGM IV. 2179 and n.

206. Or “for use in relation to NN.”

207. Reading (ὁ) *οργεατης τ’ ὁ θορναιης*. Both nouns seem unattested formations; perhaps the former should be corrected to *οργιαστῆς*, “participant in orgiastic rites,” which were often secret and connected with Dionysos. [M.S.]

208. From ΕΙ onward the words repeat in variations the formula with which the series begins.

209. Reading *πάντων* for *τούτων*, with Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 29. [M.S.]

210. This is equivalent to the Egyptian “the Agathodaimon, the god (of) the gods.” [R.K.R.] Cf. PGM III. 144–45.

211. On the forms of the sun god, see PGM II. 104 and nn.

212. On the lotus flower, see PGM IV. 1111; PDM xiv. 45; and Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* 179–80. [R.K.R.]

hour you have the form of an ibis; your name is / MOU RŌPH.²¹³ Protect this great phylactery for lucky [use] by NN, from this present day for all time. In the 12th hour you have the form of a crocodile; your name / is AERTHOË. You who have set at evening as an old man,²¹⁴ who are over the world and [under] the world, mighty ruler of the sea, hear my voice in this present day, / in this night, in these holy hours, and let [all things done] by this stone [or] for this phylactery, be brought to fulfilment, and especially NN matter for which I consecrate it. Please, / lord KMĒPH LOUTHEOUTH ORPHOICHE ORTILIBECHOUCH IERCHE ROUM IPERITAŌ YAI. I conjure earth and heaven and light and darkness and the / great god who created all, SAROUSIN, you, Agathon Daimonion the helper, to accomplish for me everything [done] by the use of this ring or [stone].”

When / you complete [the consecration], say, “The one Zeus is Sarapis.”²¹⁵
*Tr.: Morton Smith.

PGM IV. 1716–1870

***Sword**²¹⁶ of Dardanos:²¹⁷ Rite which is called “sword,” which has no equal because of its power, for it immediately bends and attracts the soul²¹⁸ of whomever you wish. / As you say the spell, also say: “I am bending to my will the soul of him NN.”²¹⁹

Take a magnetic stone which is breathing and engrave Aphrodite sitting astride Psyche²²⁰ / and with her left hand holding on her hair bound in curls. And above her head: “ACHMAGE RARPEPSEI”; and below / Aphrodite and Psyche engrave Eros standing on the vault of heaven, holding a blazing torch and burning Psyche.²²¹ And below Eros these / names: “ACHAPA ADŌNAIE BASMA CHARAKŌ IAKŌB IAŌ Ē PHARPHARĒI.” On the other side of the stone engrave Psyche and Eros embracing / one another and beneath Eros’ feet these letters: “ssssssss,” and beneath Psyche’s feet: “ĒĒĒĒĒĒĒĒ.” Use the stone, when it has been engraved and conse-

213. Here, and again below after the twelfth hour, the prayer for a gift to the phylactery or stone has presumably been skipped by a copyist.

214. This is a reference to Arum, the form of the sun god at setting. See Bonnet, *RÄRG* 731. [R.K.R.]

215. On this formula, see O. Weinreich, *Neue Urkunden zur Sarapisreligion* (Tübingen: Mohr, Siebeck, 1919; reprinted in his *Ausgewählte Schriften* I [Amsterdam: Grüner, 1969] 410–42); Nilsson, *GGR* II, 574; W. Hornbostel, *Sarapis. Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte und Wandlungen der Gestalt eines Gottes*, *EPRO* 32 (Leiden: Brill, 1973) 353, n. 2; 396.

216. The designation “sword” apparently serves as a kind of title for certain types of formulas, here presumably the formula in l. 1813. See K. Preisendanz, “Xiphos,” *Roscher* 6 (1924–37) 526–28; Nock, *Essays* I, 190. The classical work of this kind is the so-called Sword of Moses, for which see M. Gaster, *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology* I (London: Maggs, 1925) 288–337. See also PGM IV. 1813 and n.

217. Dardanos was believed to have founded the mysteries of Samothrake. See A. Hermann, “Dardanus,” *RAC* 3 (1957): 593–94.

218. Since the operator does not want spiritual love, ψυχῆ here is probably the female pudenda. Against this interpretation is τῆν ψυχὴν τοῦ δεῖνα (l. 1721), but since the rest of the spell is concerned with attracting a woman, we should probably emend here and read τῆς δεῖνα. [E.N.O.]

219. It is not clear whether this spell concerns a male or a female lover. Cf. ll. 1720, 1807, 1828–29.

220. The best treatment of this image is that by R. Mouterde, *Le Glaive de Dardanos. Objets et inscriptions magiques de Syrie*, *Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph* 15/3 (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1930) 53–64. See also R. Reitzenstein, “Noch einmal Eros und Psyche,” *ARW* 28 (1930): 42–87; A. Rumpf, “Eros (Eroten) II. in der Kunst,” *RAC* 6 (1966): 312–42, esp. 330–31.

221. For this theme and literature, see R. Helm, “Psyche,” *PRE* 23 (1959): 1434–38; S. Binder and R. Merkelbach, *Amor und Psyche* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968) esp. 433–34. See also PGM XII. 20.

- 1745 crated, / like this: put it under your tongue and turn it to what you wish and say
this *spell*:
- “I²²² call upon you, author of all creation, who spread your own wings over the
1750 whole / world, you, the unapproachable and unmeasurable who breathe into every
1755 soul life-giving / reasoning, who fitted all things together by your power, firstborn,
founder of the universe, golden-winged, whose light is darkness, who shroud reason-
1760 able / thoughts and breathe forth dark frenzy, clandestine one who secretly in-
1765 habit every soul. You engender an unseen fire / as you carry off every living thing
without growing weary of torturing it, rather having with pleasure delighted in
1770 pain²²³ from the time when the world came into being. You also come / and bring
pain, who are sometimes reasonable, sometimes irrational, because of whom men
1775 dare beyond what is fitting and take refuge in your light which is darkness. / Most
headstrong, lawless, implacable, inexorable, invisible, bodiless, generator of frenzy,
1780 archer, torch-carrier, master of all living / sensation and of everything clandestine,
dispenser of forgetfulness, creator of silence, through whom the light and to whom
1785 the light travels, infantile when you have been engendered within / the heart, wisest
when you have succeeded; I call upon you, unmoved by prayer, by your great name:
1790 AZARACHTHARAZA²²⁴ LATHA / IATHAL²²⁵ Y Y Y LATHAI ATHALLALAPH IOIOIO AI
1795 AI AI OUERIEU OIAI LEGETA RAMAI AMA RATAGEL,²²⁶ first-shining, night-/shining,
night rejoicing, night-engendering, witness, ERĒKISITHPHĒ²²⁷ ARARACHARARA
1800 ĒPHTHISIKĒRE²²⁸ IABEZEBYTH IO, you in the depth,²²⁹ BERIAMBŌ / BERIAMBEBŌ,
you in the sea, MERMERGOU, clandestine and wisest, ACHAPA ADŌNAIE BASMA CHA-
1805 RAKŌ IAKŌB IAŌ CHAROUĒR AROUĒR LAILAM / SEMESILAM SOUMARTA MARBA
KARBA MENABŌTH ĒIIA. Turn the ‘soul’ of her NN to me NN, so that she may love
me, so that she may feel passion for me, so that she may give me what is in her
1810 power.²³⁰ / Let her say to me what is in her soul because I have called upon your
great name.”
- 1815 And on a golden leaf inscribe this sword:²³¹ “One²³² THOURIĒL / MICHAĒL

222. The hymn to Eros has been called “notably elegant and literary” (Nock, *Essays* I, 183). Cf. the hymn to Eros among the *Orphic Hymns* (no. 58). See Binder and Merkelbach, *Amor und Psyche* 150, 386–87.

223. The words ὀδύνηρᾶ τέρψει make little sense, esp. without a verbal form in the clause. Because there are traces of poetic language here, we should perhaps read ὀδύνη ῥᾶ τέρψας, and this is what the translation renders. [E.N.O.]

224. An imperfect palindrome.

225. The spacing of this *vax magica* has been arranged to show the palindrome.

226. Again, the spacing has been arranged to show the palindrome.

227. Again, the *vax magica* has been arranged to show the palindrome.

228. This often attested *vax magica* can be read as Greek φθισικηρε (φθίω, κήρ), perhaps “destroying evil demons” (cf. φθισήνωρ, φθισίμβροτος, φθισίφρων). [W.B.] See also R. Merkelbach, “ΦΘΙΣΙΚΗΡΕ,” *ZPE* 47 (1982): 172, commenting esp. on *PGM* II. 100.

229. Here, βύθειε, “you in the deep,” as well as πελάγυε, “you in the sea” (l. 800), and κρύφιε και προεβύτατε, “clandestine and wisest” (ll. 1801–2) are recognizable Greek words, inserted into this series of magical palindromes. Cf. the similar formulas on a lead piece, P. Rein. II. 88, ll. 17–20. See P. Collart, *Les Papyrus Theodore Reinach*, vol. II, *BIFAO* 39 (1940): 29–32. [R.D.K.] Cf. also the figure of Bythos in Valentinian gnosticism.

230. This means “power to give”; lit., “what is in her hands.”

231. See also on l. 1717, above. This “sword” or magical formula may be so named because the words to be written on the gold lamella were to be engraved in the shape of, or enclosed by, a “sword.” For a magical gold leaf with a sword, see the facsimile in S. Reinach and E. Babelon, “Recherches archéologiques en Tunisie (1883–1884),” *Bulletin Archéologique* 1886, p. 57. [R.D.K.]

232. For a discussion of this monotheistic formula, see Bonner, *SMA* 175–76; cf. H. D. Betz, *Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* I (1978): 969–71, s.v. “εἶς.”

1905 hisses [or barks], and if it hisses, she is not coming.²³⁹ Therefore address the spell to
 it again, / and if it barks, it is attracting her. Then open the door, and you will find
 1910 her whom you wish at your doors. Let a censer stand beside the dog, and let frankincense be placed upon it / as you say the spell.

Spell: “Barking dog, I adjure you, Kerberos, by those who have hanged themselves, by the dead, by those who have died violently: / attract to me her, NN, whose mother is NN. I adjure you, Kerberos, by the holy head of the infernal gods. Attract to me her, NN, whose mother is NN, ZOUCH / ZOUKI TO PARY YPHĒ-BARMŌ ENŌR SEKEMI KRIOUDASEPHĒ TRIBEPSI: attract to me her, NN, whose mother is NN, to me, NN, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

1925 And you are also to say / the spell for all occasions. But you are to do these things in a level, pure place.

*Tr.: E. N. O’Neil.

PGM IV. 1928–2005

1930 **Spell of Attraction of King Pitys over any skull cup. His / prayer of petition to Helios*: Stand facing the east and speak thus:

1935 “I call upon you, lord Helios, and your holy angels on / this day, in this very hour: Preserve me, NN, for I am THĒNŌR, and you are holy angels, guardians of the ARDIMALECHA. And ORORŌ / MISRĒN NEPHŌ ADŌNAI AUEBŌTHI ABATHARAI THŌBEUA SOULMAI SOULMAITH ROUTREROUTĒN ŌPHREŌPHRI ŌLCHAMAŌTH
 1940 OUTE SOUTĒATH MONTRO ELAT / CHOUMIOI LATHŌTH ŌTHETH, I beg you, lord Helios, hear me NN and grant me power / over the spirit of this man who died a violent death, from whose tent I hold [this], so that I may keep him with me, [NN] as helper and avenger for whatever business I crave from him.”

1955 / *At sunset the same man’s prayer to Helios*:

“Borne²⁴⁰ on the breezes of the wand’ring winds,
 Golden-haired Helios, who wield the flame’s
 Unresting fire, who turn in lofty paths
 1960 Around the great pole, / who create all things
 Yourself which you again reduce to nothing.
 From you, indeed, come elements which are
 Arranged to suit your laws which nourish all
 The world with its four yearly turning points.
 Hear, blessed one, I call you who rule heav’n
 And earth and Chaos and Hades, where dwell /
 1965 Daimons of men who once gazed on the light.
 And even now I beg you, blessed one,
 Unfailing one, the master of the world,
 If you go to the depths of earth and reach
 The regions of the dead, this daimon send
 To move at midnight hours perforce at your
 1970 Commands, / from whose tent I hold this. And let

239. As the text stands, it makes no sense. We should probably follow the suggestion of Preisendanz, who inserts “or he barks” (“oder bellt”), and add to the Greek some such phrase as ἡ ὑλακτεῖ which may have fallen out by haplography. For similar alternative conditions, cf. PGM IV. 131–37; VII. 613–16. [E.N.O.]

240. The dactylic hexameters are part of the reconstructed Hymn 4 (Preisendanz, vol. II, pp. 239–40): vv. 1–17, 20–22, 18, 25, 23–24. For other versions and sections of Hymn 4, see PGM I. 315–27; IV. 436–61; VIII. 74–81. [E.N.O.]

tifully, accomplishes dream revelations marvelously and in its many / demonstrations 2445
has been marveled at for having no failure in these matters.

Burnt offering: Pachrates,³¹⁰ the prophet of Heliopolis, revealed it to the em- 2450
peror Hadrian, revealing the power of his own divine magic. / For it attracted in
one hour; it made someone sick in 2 hours; it destroyed in 7 hours, sent the em-
peror himself dreams as he thoroughly tested the whole truth of the magic within
his power. And marveling at the prophet, / he ordered double fees to be given 2455
to him.

Take a field mouse³¹¹ and deify it in spring water. And take two moon beetles³¹²
and deify them in river water, and take a river crab and fat of a dappled goat that
is virgin and dung of a dog- / faced baboon, 2 eggs of an ibis, 2 drams of storax, 2460
2 drams of myrrh, 2 drams of crocus, 4 drams of Italian galingale, 4 drams of uncut
frankincense, a single onion. Put all these things onto a mortar with the mouse
and the remaining items / and, after pounding thoroughly, place in a lead box and 2465
keep for use. And whenever you want to perform a rite, take a little, make a char-
coal fire, go up on a lofty roof, and make the offering as you say / this spell at
moonrise, and at once she comes. 2470

Spell:³¹³ “Let all the darkness of clouds be dispersed for me, and let the goddess
AKTIŌPHIS shine for me, and let her hear my holy voice. For I come / announcing 2475
the slander³¹⁴ of NN, a defiled and unholy woman, for she has slanderously brought
your holy mysteries to the knowledge of men. She, NN, is the one, [not] I, who
says, ‘I have seen the greatest / goddess, after leaving the heavenly vault, on earth
without sandals, sword in hand, and [speaking] a foul name.’ It is she, NN, who
said, ‘I saw [the goddess] drinking blood.’ She, NN, said it, not I, AKTIŌPHIS 2480
ERESCHIGAL / NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH PHORPHORBA SATRAPAMMŌN CHOIRIXIĒ,
flesh eater. Go to her NN and take away her sleep and put a burning heat in her
soul,³¹⁵ punishment and frenzied passion in her thoughts, / and banish her from
every place and from every house, and attract her here to me, NN.” 2490

After saying these things, sacrifice. Then raise loud groans and go backward as
you descend. And she will come at once. But pay attention to the one being at-
tracted / so that you may open the door for her; otherwise the spell will fail.³¹⁶ 2495

For causing illness: Use these spells, adding, “Make her, NN, whom NN
bore, ill.”

And for destroying: Say, “Draw out her breath, Mistress, from the nostrils of her,
NN.”

except for *μονοήμερος* which is rendered in analogy to *μονόωρος* in ll. 2450–51. Cf. also the parallels
in PGM IV. 2071–72; XXXVI. 361.

310. The prophet Pachrates may be identical with Pankrates described by Lucian, *Philops.* 34. See
K. Preisendanz, “Pachrates,” *PRE* 18 (1942): 2071–74; Nock, *Essays* I, 183–84.

311. On the role of the mouse in magic, see W. R. Dawson, “The Mouse in Egyptian and Later
Medicine,” *JEA* 10 (1924): 83–86.

312. On the moon beetle and its association with the moon, see Abt, *Apologie* 126–27.

313. Although only the general term for “spell” is used here (*λόγος*), the contents show clearly that
the passage is a “slander spell” (*διαβολή*). Cf. PGM IV. 2622 in the title of a spell. [E.N.O.]

314. For this slander, cf. ll. 2574–2621, below. The projection of a ritual violation onto the party to
be affected by the spell, esp. the statement, “It is NN who said that. It is not I who said that,” is also
found in numerous older Egyptian texts. See F. Lexa, *La Magie dans l’Égypte antique* I (Paris: Geuthner,
1925) 56–58; Pritchard, *ANET* 327 and note b. In PGM cf. also III. 5, 114–15; VII. 593–619. On
the whole subject, see S. Eitrem, “Die rituelle ΔΙΑΒΟΑΗ,” *SO* 2 (1924): 43–61. [R.K.R.]

315. On the “burning of the soul,” see R. Ganszyniec, “Das Märchen der Pythia,” *Byzantinisch-
Neugriechische Jahrbücher* I (1920): 170–71. Cf. also Glossary, s.v. “Soul.”

316. Differently Preisendanz, who understands: “otherwise she will die.”

she wants. I will not let god or goddess give oracles until I, NN, know through and
 290 through what is in the minds of all men, Egyptians, / Syrians, Greeks, Ethiopians,
 295 of every race and people, those who question me and come into my sight, whether
 they speak or are silent, so that I can tell them / whatever has happened and is hap-
 300 pening and is going to happen to them, and I know their skills and their lives and
 their practices and their works and their names / and those of their dead, and of
 everybody, and I can read a sealed letter³⁷ and tell them everything [in it] truly.”

*Tr.: Morton Smith. How to carve, consecrate, and use a scarab; with the spell to be said when using it. Though the scarab is engraved with Isis and the spell is addressed to Helios, the ring is said to be “of Hermes” because the spell first identifies the magician with Hermes-Thoth. As Thoth he invokes Osiris (the Nile) from the underworld waters, to reveal to him all facts relevant to all men, and he threatens that, unless he receives this knowledge, he will destroy the remains of Osiris’ body, reveal his mysteries, and generally upset the divine order.

PGM V. 304–69

305 *Taking hieratic papyrus or a / lead lamella and iron ring, put the ring on the pa-
 pyrus and with a pen draw the outlines of the ring, inside and outside, then tint the
 310 outlined area with myrrhed ink, then write on this outlined area / of the ring—
 writing on the papyrus—the name,³⁸ and write the characters outside [the area],
 then, [in the circle] inside it, what you want not to happen, and “Let so-and-so’s
 315 thoughts be bound so that he may not do NN thing.” Then / putting the ring on
 its outline, which you made, and turning up the [areas of the papyrus] outside the
 outline, wrap up the ring until it is completely covered. Piercing [the package]
 320 through the characters / with the pen and tying it, say, “I bind NN with regard to
 NN [thing]. Let him not speak, not be contrary, not oppose; let him not be able to
 325 look me in the face nor speak against me; let him be subjected / to me, so long as
 this ring is buried. I bind his mind and his brains,³⁹ his desire, his actions, so that he
 330 may be slow [in his dealings] with all men.” / And if it be a woman: “In order that
 she, NN, may not marry him, NN” (add the usual). Then, taking it [the package]
 away to the grave of someone untimely dead, dig [a hole] four fingers deep and put
 335 it in and say, “Spirit of the dead, who[ever] / you are, I give over NN to you, so that
 he may not do NN thing.” Then, when you have filled up the hole, go away. Better
 do it when the moon is waning.

The things to be written inside the circle [bounded by the inner side of the ring’s
 340 outline] *are these*: “AROA / MATHRA ERESCHIGALCH EDANTA LABOU NĒ AKĒ IAŌ
 DARYKNŌ MANIĒL, let NN thing not be done so long as this ring is buried.” Bind
 345 [the package] with ties, [using] cords you have made, / and thus deposit it. The
 [wrapped] ring may also be thrown into an unused well, or [into the grave] of
 [anyone dead] untimely. After the characters, write also the following, under the
 350 [outline of the] ring, as a rectangle: “ARCHOOL LAILAM / SEMESILAMPH AMMO-
 PHORIŌN IŌAĒ PHTHOOTH EŌ PHRĒ, the greatest daimon, IAŌ SABAŌTH AR-
 BATHIAŌ LAILAM OSORNŌPHRI EM PHRĒ PHRĒ PHTHA CHRŌIŌ IAŌ BABOURĒ
 355 THIMAM EN PHRĒ RE/NOUSI SABAŌTH BARBARTHIAŌ THACHRA OUCHEETH

“ἀνομιῆς”; Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* 522, 523, 536 for the ritual of the “Opening of the mouth.”

37. For the magical ability to read sealed letters, see the talc of Khamwas in Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* III, 142–51. [R.K.R.]

38. Given below, ll. 339–41.

39. In Greek, “the midriff,” representing the classical term for the supposed location of the thinking element of the body. [M.S.]

ress,¹²² BAUBŌ L¹²³ . . . I AUMŌR AMŌR AMŌR . . . IĒA [shooter] of decr¹²⁴ AMAM[A-
 695 MAR] APHROU . . . MA, universal queen, queen of wishes, / AMAMA, well-bedded,¹²⁵
 Dardanian, all-seeing, night-running, man-attacker, man-subduer, man-summoner,
 man-conqueror, LICHRISSA PHAESSA, O aerial one, O strong one,¹²⁶ O song and
 700 dance, guard,¹²⁷ spy, delight, delicate, protector, adamant, adamantine, O / Dam-
 namencia, BREXERIKANDARA, most high, Taurian,¹²⁸ unutterable, fire-bodied,
 light-giving, sharply armed. Do such-and-such things” (add the usual).

*Tr.: H. D. Betz. The purpose of the spell is not given, although directions to insert requests
 come at the end. Cf. the Bear spells in PGM IV. 1275–1330, 1331–89; LXXII. 1–36.

PGM VII. 703–26

*Request for a dream oracle: Write [with myrrh] on clean papyrus:

705 “I call you, the one who shines on the whole inhabited / and uninhabited world,
 whose name is composed of 30 letters, in which are the seven vowels, through
 which you name [the] universe, gods, lords, RARAPAE ABRAIĒ IRARA PAUOYŌ
 710 ARAŌACH (30 letters)¹²⁹ IEŌYŌĒ AIĒ IAŌĒ YŌEI: Reveal [to me], / lords, concern-
 ing the NN matter, dependably and through memory, PSICHOM¹³⁰ MORAIOUCH
 PSICHOM ARASKELLITH ĒCHOMMORAKAUPS PSICHOMMO ARATOPOTH. Lords of
 glory, reveal to me concerning the NN matter tonight, THŌOUTH PHEUBĒ CHAR-
 715 PHRAUTHI / PHRĒ¹³¹ (add the usual, as you wish). Also write the name composed
 of 30 letters in two wing formations,¹³² thus: RARAPAEABRAIĒIRARAPAOUŌA-
 BRAŌACHRARAPAEABRAIĒIRARAPAOUŌABRAŌACH: A

Ō
 CHAŌARBAŌYOAPARARIĒIARBAEAPARAR
 / RAR A A R
 Ō Ō
 IEŌYŌĒ[AIĒIAŌĒYŌEI]
 R E E R

725 Write also the [“heart”] as indicated [if] you want, and after placing the strip of
 papyrus / under the lamp, go to sleep in a pure condition. Give answer to no one,
 ENTYTHLCH.¹³³

*Tr.: W. C. Grese.

122. The rendering of *προκυνη* is uncertain. See also PGM VII. 885–86; P. Reinach II, 88 which has *προκυνητε*. For similar epithets, see LSJ, s.v. “*κυναγέτης, προκυνναγός, προκυνηγίς, προκύνων*.” The epithet “earthbreaker” has usually in PGM been transcribed *RĒXICHTHŌN*.

123. The following list of divine epithets comes from the cult of Artemis; it contains old material, but not all is explainable and some renderings are quite tentative. Cf. for parallels PGM IV. 1301–8, 1345–79; also P. Reinach II, 88 (ed. P. Collart, *Les Papyrus Théodore Reinach, BIFAO* 39 [1940]: 29–32).

124. For this epithet, see Homeric Hymn 27. 2 and K. Wernicke, “Artemis,” *PRE* 2 (1895): 1384.

125. The rendering of *ἐνναία* is uncertain. See Euripides, *Hippol.* 160, also Burkert, *Griechische Religion* 236.

126. Preisendanz translates, “O goddess of Erymna.”

127. On this epithet of Artemis, see also PGM IV. 1298; *Orph. Frag.* 42.

128. The meaning of this epithet is uncertain; for similar expressions, see K. Wernicke, *PRE* 2 (1895): 1399–1400.

129. The name is given below, ll. 716–18; cf. 708–9.

130. PSICHOM is Egyptian *p3 sbm*, “the image/power.” [R.K.R.]

131. THŌOUTH PHEUBĒ . . . PHRĒ corresponds to Egyptian “Thoth the ibis . . . Prē.” [R.K.R.]

132. For the wing formation of magical words, see PGM I. 11 and n.

133. This is Demotic *mtw.f.ti bl.k* (?), “and he makes you fly” (?). [R.K.R.]

[II, 17] lotus flower which came forth from †the †lotus bud †of †PNYSTOR which makes light for the entire land! Hail, Anubis! Come to me! †O †high †one, O mighty one, O master of secrets for those in the Underworld, O Pharaoh of those in Amenti,³³ O Chief Physician, O good [son] of Osiris, he whose face is strong among the gods, you should appear in the Underworld before the hand of Osiris. You should serve the souls of Abydos in order that they all live through you, these souls, the ones of the sacred Underworld. Come to the earth! Reveal yourself to me here today! You are Thoth. You are the one who went forth from the heart of the great
50 Agathodaimon,³⁴ the father of the fathers of all the gods. Come to the mouths / of
[II, 22] my vessel today and tell me an answer in truth concerning everything about which I am inquiring, without falsehood therein, for I am Isis the Wise, the sayings of whose mouth come to pass” (*formula: seven times*).

You should say to the youth, “Speak to Anubis, saying, ‘Go forth; bring the gods in!’”

When he goes after them and brings them in, you should question the youth, saying, “Have the gods already come in?” If he says, “They have already come,” and if you [*sic*] see them, you should recite before them.

Formula: “Awaken to me, awaken to me! PSHAI!³⁵ Awaken, †MERA, †the †Great †One †of †Five,³⁶ †TSITSY †TENNDJIY! Do justice to me! Thoth, may creation fill
55 the earth with light; O ibis³⁷ in / his noble countenance, noble one who entered
[II, 27] the heart,³⁸ create truth, O great god whose name is great!” (*Say seven times*).

You should say to the youth,³⁹ “Speak to Anubis, saying, ‘Bring in a table for the gods! Let them sit.’”

When they are seated, you⁴⁰ should say, “Bring in a wine jar; open it for the gods! Bring in some bread! Let them eat, let them drink, (let them eat, let them drink),⁴¹ let them make merry.”

When they have finished, you⁴² should say to Anubis, “Will you make inquiry for me?”

If he says, “Immediately,” you⁴³ should say to him,⁴⁴ “The god who will make my inquiry today, let him stand up.” When he⁴⁵ says, “He has stood up,” you⁴⁶ should say to him, “Say to Anubis, ‘Carry off the things from the midst!’”⁴⁷

60 You⁴⁸ should recite / before him instantly, saying, “Agathodaimon of today, lord
[III, 3] of today, the one to whom these moments belong.”⁴⁹

33. Literally, the west; i.e., the necropolis and, by extension, the realm of the dead.

34. See n. 22 above.

35. See n. 22 above.

36. Probably an epithet of Thoth; originally the title of the high priest of Thoth in Hermopolis, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 30, n. to l. II. 26.

37. I.e., Thoth.

38. I.e., who pleases.

39. A similar passage, but without the youth, is found in *PDM* xiv. 550–54.

40. I.e., the youth.

41. Dittography in going from column II to column III.

42. I.e., the youth.

43. See n. 42 above.

44. I.e., Anubis.

45. I.e., the god who will make the inquiry.

46. I.e., the youth.

47. I.e., of the gods seated at the table, as noted by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 32, n. to l. III. 2.

48. I.e., the youth.

49. I.e., Anubis.

PDM xiv. 232–38

*A “god’s arrival”¹⁸⁰ at the request of Paysakh, the priest of Cusae,¹⁸¹ who says that it has been tested nine times: “I am RAMSHY SHY RAMSHY son of PSHY of his mother she of PSHY. If such-and-such a thing is going to happen, do not come to me in your face of Pekhe.¹⁸³ You should come to me in your form of a priest, / in your figure of a man of the temple. If it will not happen, you should come to me in your form of a soldier, for I am RAMSHY SHY RAMSHY, the son of PSHY, of his mother she of PSHY.”

235
[col. VIII,
15]

[Say it] opposite Ursa Major on the third day of the lunar month, there being a clove of three-lobed white garlic with three iron needles piercing it; recite this to it seven times, and put it before you. He sees you and speaks with you.

*Tr.: Janet H. Johnson, following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, recto, col. VIII/12–18. Words preceded by † are written in the text in Demotic with Old Coptic glosses inserted above.

PDM xiv. 239–95

*The vessel inquiry of Khonsu: “[Hail] to you, Khonsu in Thebes Nefc-hotep, the noble child who came forth from the lotus,¹⁸⁵ Horus, lord of time,¹⁸⁶ he is †one. . . / O silver,¹⁸⁷ lord of silver, o circuit of the underworld, lord of the circuit of the underworld,¹⁸⁸ lord of the disk, the great god, the vigorous bull, the Son of the Ethiopian,¹⁸⁹ come to me. O noble child, the great god who is in the disk, who pleases¹⁹⁰ . . . , †POMO¹⁹¹ who is called the bull, the great bull, the great god who is in the sound-eye,¹⁹² who came forth from the four . . .¹⁹³ of eternity, the avenger of flesh, whose name cannot be known, whose form cannot be known, whose manner cannot be known.”

240
[col. IX,
2]

180. See n. 62 above.

181. A town in Middle Egypt; see Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 77*, #374. As Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 64, n. to l. VIII. 12, there is no determinative to show that Paysakh is a personal name, but it is hard to suggest an alternative interpretation.

182. Although SHY is written phonetically in the Demotic, this may well be the Egyptian god Shu, the god of the air. The first element of the name is written with the Egyptian word *r*, “mouth,” and the whole name could possibly mean “mouth of Shu.” If this is the god Shu, the *p* of PSHOU is the definite article, which is also found with *r* “the sun (god)” in the late form Pre.

183. A lion-headed goddess worshiped especially in Middle Egypt; see Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 65, n. to l. VIII. 14.

184. Restoring *ind*.

185. *Nfr-htp* means “beautiful of setting” (of the sun and moon). Khonsu (son of Amoun and Mur and preeminently a Theban god) is a moon god, here identified with Horus (also a moon god) in the form of the “noble child who came forth from the lotus,” i.e., *Nrf-tm*; see R.K.R.’s note to PGM IV. 1110.

186. The moon regulating the days of the month, as Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 66, n. to l. IX. 2.

187. The color of the moon, as noted by Griffith and Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus* 66, n. to l. IX. 2.

188. As suggested by Griffith and Thompson, *ibid*.

189. Amoun, who in the late period was considered the god of Meroc; cf. l. 1097 and see Griffith and Thompson, *ibid*.

190. Or does this involve the verb *hm* “to command,” “to entrust”? Then the rendering would be “to whom is commanded” (*hm.w n.f*). [R.K.R.]

191. Perhaps “the great one of/among the great one(s).” [R.K.R.]

192. The *wꜥ3.t*-eye, the sound-eye of Horus. See Bonnet, *RARG* 854–56, s.v. “Uzatauge.”

193. The identical epithets occur below, PDM xiv. 250–51. The word *hm* which is to be restored here means literally “vessel.” The plural means “things” and the Coptic derivative means not only “vessel” or “pot” but any material “thing.” Griffith and Thompson translate “boundaries” in 241 and 250 and “cycle” in 246. R.K.R. suggests that the idea of “four eternal things” is an Egyptian rendering of the Greek concept of the four elements.

NOË N . . . K BORNATH LOUBEINE AOUËR OUEIRE ITIN LOTOL. Recite the secrets of the many-named goddess, Isis.”⁶

[The] compulsive spell in order to show you whether the matter has been carried out: / Burn cypress with the strip of papyrus and say: “[Isis,] holy maiden, give me a sign of the things that are going to happen, reveal your holy veil, shake your black [Tyche] and move the constellation of the bear, holy [IŌTHĒ] PNOUN GMOËRMENDOUMBA⁷ great-named [IAKŌ] / PHTHOËRI, THERMOËR, PHTHAŌ,⁸ great-named IOTHĒ [PHNOU]THOUËR BŌB HELIX, great-named IAKŌ.”

When you have said this and at the same time have opened your hands, the goddess will remove the [edge] of your hand from your breast. For you will see [a star being led] of necessity [to you], at which you are to look / [intently], as it flashes [a picture] while rushing [toward you], so that you become stricken of God. [Wear the] above picture [for protection]. [For], in the name of [the goddess], it is a [picture] of Kronos who encourages you. After you have received this sign, rejoice / at your [fortune] and say once: “CHAITHRAL.” For when you have said this, she will cooperate with you [in whatever] you pray for. And immediately say these words, [lest] there occur a removal of the stars and your lucky day: “THA . . . OUSIR⁹ PHNOUCH MELLANCHIŌ KERDŌ MELIBEU . . . KASP . . . NEBENTHTRIX GARN . . . Ō THRAŌ SAU TRAIS TRAIS / BASYM; immediately, immediately, accomplish this, within this moment. Very glorious Pronoia,¹⁰ make the one who yesterday was [unlovable] beautiful [in the sight of all], make . . . [former]. . . .”

*Tr.: R. F. Hock.

PGM LVIII. 1–14

*. . . [Spell to bind . . . (?)]:¹ / Take a lamella [made of lead] . . . : “I say to you, you who died prematurely and who were [called and taken] away by the wicked [Typhon. Commanding you] is / the great god who has [dominion above and rules over the lower [gods]. Take into custody this wicked [and impious] man,² because this [is the one who burned the papyrus boat of Osiris]³ and who [ate⁴ the sacred fish].⁵ Take into custody [him, NN, whom NN bore . . .].”⁶

*Tr.: R. F. Hock. The exact purpose of this spell is not known, though it is clearly a type of curse.

6. On Isis with a myriad of names see PGM LIX. 13; Apuleius, *Met.* 11. 22, p. 284, l. 9: *deae multinominis*; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 53, 372E: *μυριάωνυμος*. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 502–3.

7. PNOUN GMOËR is equivalent to Egyptian, “Nun (the Abyss), great power.” [R.K.R.]

8. The sequence of PHTHOËRI . . . PHTHAŌ is equivalent to Egyptian *Pth wr* and *Pth ʿ3*, “Ptah the great.” [R.K.R.]

9. This is Osiris.

10. On the identification of Isis and Providence (Pronoia), see Apuleius, *Met.* 11. 15, p. 277, l. 4; and on this see Griffiths, *The Isis-Book* 241–44, 323.

1. The full title is not preserved. The opening line may have read *κατά[δεδουμένος]*. Cf. Preisendanz, *apparatus ad loc.*

2. Or “such-and-such a wicked and impious man.” [R.D.K.]

3. The restoration is based on the parallel in Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, no. 188, reprinted in Preisendanz, vol. II, p. 187. See on this point Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 18, 358A, where the burning of the boat is not mentioned, however. See for further references Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 339–40.

4. The filling of the lacuna is based on the parallel in Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, no. 188.

5. For sacred fish, see PGM V. 270–80, and J. F. Borghouts, “The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I. 348,” *OMRM* 51 (1971):26 (a similar sacrilege), and *Excursus III* 210–17. See Bonnet, *RÁRG* 191–94, s.v. “Fische, heilige.” [R.K.R.]

6. Assuming the restoration in Preisendanz as correct. However, it seems more likely to restore the parallel phrase from above, “take into custody [this wicked and impious . . . man].” [R.D.K.]

PGM XCVII. 15–17

/ **For every* [*disease*: Take] a scarab . . . κ . . . IO . . . THEN . . .

15

*Tr.: H. D. Betz.

PGM XCVIII. 1–7

*“A Victorious² in everything is
 EE the nourisher³ of
 ĒĒĒ the whole inhabited
 IIII world, lord Sarapis;
 OOOOO deliver⁴
 YYYYYY Artemidora.”
 ŌŌŌŌŌŌ¹

5

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1969): 107–8.

PGM XCIX. 1–3

*“God is one who heals every sickness.”

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968): 105.

PGM C. 1–7

*“A /// EE ĒĒĒ IIII OOOOO YYYYYY ŌŌŌŌŌŌ¹ ABLANATHAMALA² . . . EŌ AKRAM-
 MACHAMARI KAI CHA K AI; lord god of gods,³ heal everything with Thaēs . . . E . . .
 ECHĀIMA / ĒLO . . . OYEA dissolve.⁴ The name of the father of Christ⁵ BB [BBBB]⁶
 ✕ ✕ ✕ ✕ ✕ ✕ Heal Thaēs, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.”

5

*Tr.: H. D. Betz, following the edition and commentary by D. Wortmann, “Neue magische Texte,” *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968): 102–04.

PGM CI. 1–53

*“I bind you¹ with the indissoluble fetters of the underworld Fates and mighty Necessity, for I conjure you, daimons, who lie here² and who move about here and who keep busy here; and the boys here who have died prematurely.³

“I conjure you by the invincible god, IAŌ BARBATHIAŌ BRIMIAŌ CHERMARI, to rise up, O daimons who are lying / here, and to search for Euphemia, whom Dorothea bore, [for] Theon, whom Proechia bore. During the whole night let her not find sleep, but fetch her until she comes before his feet and loves him with mad love and affection and intercourse. For I have bound her brain and her hands and her intestines and her genitals, and her heart to love me, Theon.

5

1. For this formation of the vowels in form of a grape, cf. *PGM* I. 13 and n.; C and n. 1.
 2. For this important epithet of Sarapis, see Wortmann’s commentary, 107.
 3. This epithet of Sarapis also occurs in *PGM* XIII. 638–39; XII. 244; XIII. 772–73; XXI. 7–10.
 4. Probably from daimons; cf. *PGM* IV. 86–87; V. 125–26.
 5. This series of vowels is called κλίμα. See *PGM* I. 13 and n.; XIXa. 33, etc. On the whole, see C. Lenz, “Carmina figurata,” *RAC* 2 (1954): 910–12.
 6. Misspelled for the common palindrome ABLANATHANALBA.
 7. So the restoration by Wortmann on the basis of *PGM* II. 53; IV. 180.
 8. Probably referring to the disease.
 9. This Christian influence shows the syncretism of the spell.
 10. The BBBB have been lined out in the manuscript.
 11. The second-person singular, apparently referring to Euphemia; the daimons are addressed in the second person plural.
 12. Cemeteries are the preferred dwelling places of the daimons.
 13. The spirits of infants of premature death are preferred mediums of the magicians.

