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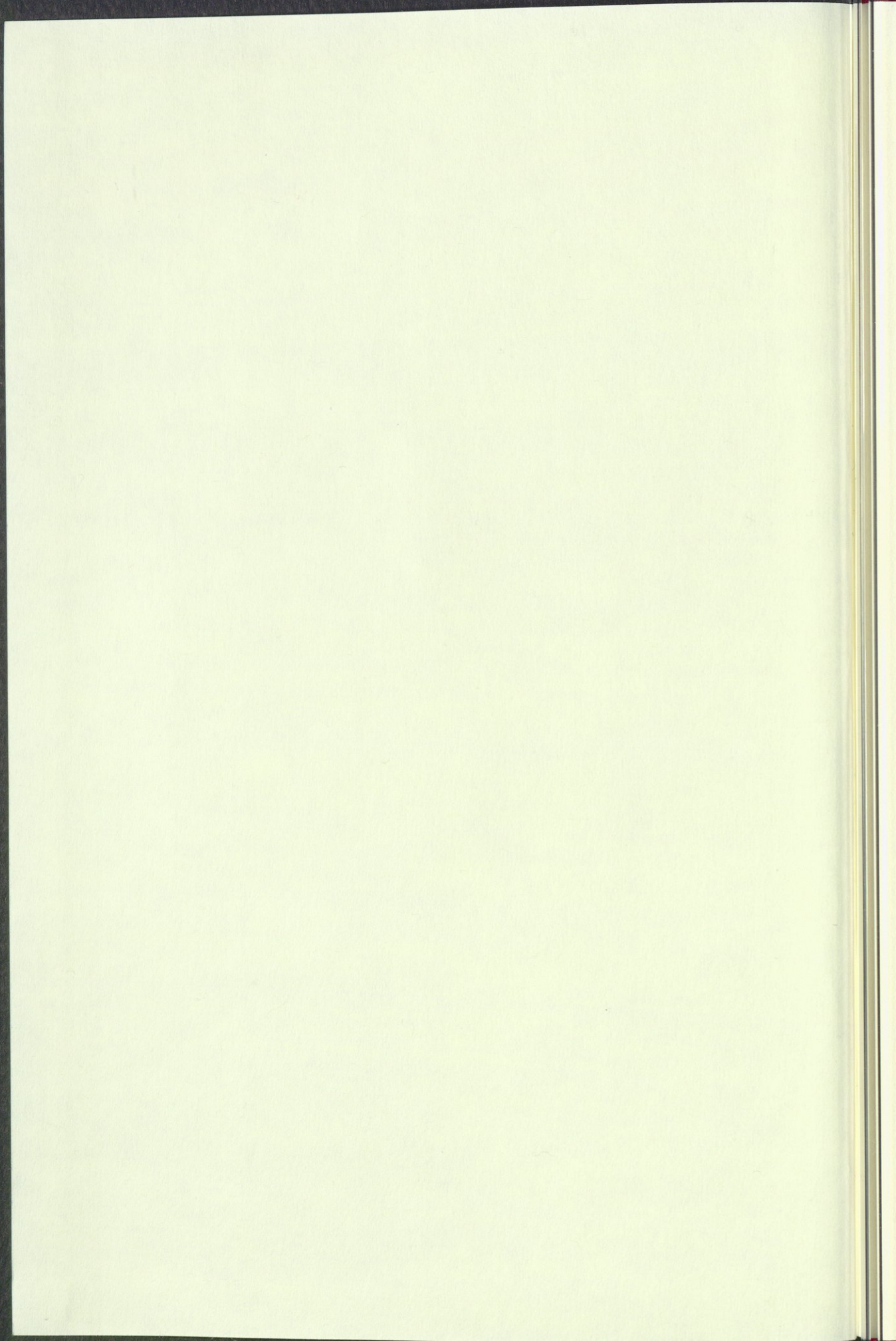
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A GREEK LOVE CHARM FROM EGYPT
(P. MICH. 757)

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A GREEK LOVE CHARM FROM EGYPT
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Number 30
P. MICHIGAN XVI

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Edition and Commentary
by
D.G. Martinez

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Table of Contents

List of Figures and Plates	IX
Preface	XI
Editorial Sigla	XIII
I. Introduction	1
Lead in Magical Documents	2
The Parallels: Handbook and Tablet	6
The Parallels: <i>Logos</i> and <i>Praxis</i>	8
II. Text of <i>P. Mich. 757</i>	21
§ A	21
§§ B-H	23
§§ J-K	
Text.....	24
Translation	30
III. Commentary	33
Section J	33
line 1: αβεραμεν--νεμαρεβα	33
lines 2-4: Deposition with the Underworld Gods	34
line 4-6: Deposition with and Adjuration of the δαίμονες	45
lines 6-10: First Command to the νεκυδαίμων.....	51
lines 10-14: Continuation of the First Command	61
lines 14-19: First Threat against the νεκυδαίμων	67
lines 19-26: Second Command to the νεκυδαίμων	83
Section K	88
lines 29-40: <i>Voces Magicae</i> and Iteration of Parts of § J (M_2)	88
lines 40-47: Second Threat against the νεκυδαίμων	92
Sections A-H: <i>Voces Magicae</i> and Vowel Combinations	105
Textual Appendix	113

Addenda	119
List of Abbreviations and Bibliography	123
1. Books, Articles, and Reference Works	123
2. Abbreviations Pertaining to <i>P. Mich. 757</i> , the Parallel Texts, and Other Magical Texts	131
3. Other Abbreviations	132
Indices	133
I. Greek Indices of <i>P. Mich. 757</i>	133
A. Names of Persons	133
B. Divine Names	133
C. <i>Logoi</i>	133
D. <i>Nomina BarbaralVoces Magicae</i>	134
E. Palindromes	134
F. Vowels and <i>Characteres</i>	135
G. General Index of Words	135
II. Subject Index	137
A. English	137
B. Greek	145
III. Index Locorum	147
A. Magical Texts	147
1. Greek and Latin	147
2. Egyptian, Demotic, Coptic	153
B. Other Papyri and Inscriptions	154
1. Papyri	154
2. Inscriptions	154
C. Literature	155
1. Greek	155
2. Latin	157
D. Biblical and Related Literature	158
1. Old Testament	158
2. New Testament	159
E. Egyptian and Coptic Literature	159

List of Figures and Plates

Figures:

1. Table of Correspondences Between P and Five Tablets 17
2. Arrangement of Text on Tablet 22
3. PGM XIXa 16ff. 106
4. Wing-shaped *Schwindeformen* in PGM XXXVI 115-133 107
5. Egg and Heart-shaped *Schwindeformen* in PGM XVIIa 1ff. (a)
and XXXIII 1ff. (b) 109
6. Comparison of M §§ B G H and P 412ff. 111

Plate:

- P. Mich. 757*..... 161

101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200
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PREFACE

This study is an extensive revision of my University of Michigan dissertation, *P. Mich. 6925: A New Magical Love Charm*, accepted by the Department of Classical Studies in August, 1985. The text, translation, and a brief commentary, based on the dissertation and early proofs of the present work, have recently been published by R.W. Daniel and F. Maltomini in *Supplementum Magicum* (see bibliography, p. 130). There are divergences between my edition and that of Daniel-Maltomini, some of which are discussed in the commentary.

I wish here to clarify the method by which I present in the following pages *P. Mich. 757* and the five "parallel" documents (see below p. 6). The text of the former is given in full on p. 22 as it appears on the tablet, preceded and followed by transcripts of its individual sections. After the translation of §§ J and K, each of the various divisions of the commentary begins with the appropriate passage of *P. Mich. 757* followed by the corresponding portions of the parallel texts. Here and in the *lemmata* I normalize the spelling of the Michigan tablet to provide a standard; the readings of the parallels are presented without normalization. Important advances have recently been made in establishing the texts of the parallels by D.R. Jordan (*ZPE* 72 [1988] 245ff.; a new edition of the first Wortmann tablet with corrections for two others) and R.W. Daniel and F. Maltomini (*Supplementum Magicum*, already mentioned). Daniel and Maltomini kindly allowed me access to the galleys of their editions which I utilized in the final corrections to this volume. Points at which the reader should consult the addenda (pp. 119-121) are marked by an asterisk (*).

I could not have completed this volume without generous financial assistance from various funding agencies of the University of Colorado at Boulder, namely, the Council on Research and Creative Work, the Council on University and Scholarly Publications, and the IMPART program. I am especially grateful to the first mentioned organization for the Jr. Faculty Development Award which allowed me to spend the summer of 1988 in Ann Arbor, where much of the important work of revision was done.

Ancient magic has commanded the attention of a number of distinguished scholars past and present, and the pages which follow will sufficiently reveal my debt to them. I would like here to mention a few who have directly contributed to my work by way of conference and/or correspondence, namely H.D.Betz, W.M. Calder III, R.W. Daniel, C.A. Faraone, D.N. Freedman, J.F. Gannon, A.E. Hanson, M.W. Haslam, A. Henrichs, D.R. Jordan, P. Keyser, R. Kotansky, F. Maltomini, K.A. Mathews, B.M. Metzger, L. Miller, C.R. Phillips, K. Rudolph, P.J. Sijpesteijn, E. Schütrumpf, G. Schwendner, M. Smith, Ch. Witke. These have generously shared with me their erudition but have no part in the remaining mistakes, which are my responsibility. I am grateful to Margret Koenen for her superior work in composing the camera-ready copy of a frustrating manuscript and for her patience in working with an even more frustrating author. S. Adler has proofread the galleys twice and saved me from many errors. My parents, Angel and Robbie Martinez, and my parents-in-law, Thomas and Irma Longley, have on several occasions provided much-needed moral support.

Among all who have helped me in this project I must make special mention of two. L. Koenen, who directed my dissertation, has continued to encourage and assist me as a friend and scholarly mentor. Most of what is said here that is of any value is either directly or indirectly a result of his influence. My wife Meredith has done far more than merely tolerate an academic's idiosyncrasies and work habits. She has created a familial atmosphere which is both loving and compelling, an ideal place to live and work. I dedicate this book to her with affection and appreciation.

Boulder, Colorado

May, 1990

D.G.M.

Editorial Sigla

The editorial *sigla* employed in this study are those commonly used in editions of papyri.

[]	lacuna in text
()	resolution of an abbreviation or symbol
{ }	superfluous letter or letters
˘ ˘	additions above the line
⌊ ⌋	deletion in the original
< >	omission in the original

A dot placed beneath a letter indicates that the letter is doubtful. Within square brackets dots indicate the estimated number of missing letters.

I. INTRODUCTION

P. Mich. 757 (inv. no. 6925) is one of many magical spells inscribed on lead tablets from the 3rd/4th century A.D.¹ In this document a certain Ailourion, son of Kopria, by means of magical names and formulae² invokes the chthonic deities and *daimones* to bring him his beloved, whose name, as it happens, is also Kopria.³ The plate is well preserved and, aside from a crack slightly off center to the left, undamaged. Sand and calcium deposits obscure very little of the writing in parts of the lower edge and upper right hand side. The creases running vertically at regular intervals indicate that the tablet was rolled up.⁴ The script resembles W. Schubart's *P. Berol. 43a* (4th cent. A.D.) and the hand of the Bodmer Menander texts (3rd/4th cent. A.D.; cf., e.g., the specimens of *Dyskolos* in R. Seider, *Palaeographie der griechischen Papyri* II # 51, pl. XXVI). As is usual in lead documents, the reverse is blank.⁵

¹ The handbook version of this charm in *PGM* IV 296ff. (see below p. 8ff.) more specifically designates it as a *φιλτροκατάδεσμος*, "erotic binding spell." The 3rd/4th century date is based solely on paleographic grounds.*

² Such formulae take various shapes; e.g., the palindrome (a word or name which reads the same from the beginning as from the end, often with a central converging point, as in our text §§ A, C, J 1; cf. below pp. 21, 23, 24); the *Schwindeform/Schwindschema* ("diminishing" word, as §§ A, C, D, E, F); the *logos*, i.e., a group of magical words or names which commonly occur together (such as the *φωκενψεψ-*logos** § J 3, the *βαρβαριθα-*logos** § J 16; some *logoi* consist of a single long and often palindromic word, such as the *ιαεω-*logos** [§ A] and the *αβεραμεν-*logos** [§ J 1]). This meaning of *logos* is not to be confused with the more general sense, "spell," "incantation" (cf. below p. 8).

³ For *Κοπρία* and Copronyms in general, see P. Perdrizet, *Revue des Études Anciennes* 23 (1921) 85-94; S.B. Pomeroy in *Studies in Roman Law in Memory of A. Arthur Schiller*, edd. R.S. Bagnall and W.V. Harris (Leiden 1986) 147-62.

⁴ Among the parallels to our text (see below p. 6), cf. the photograph of L in Kambitsis' edition (pl. XXXI).

⁵ The two Wortmann texts (see List of Abbreviations s.vv. *W*₁ and *W*₂) are exceptions.

Lead in Magical Documents

It is well known that specific metals were regularly prescribed for certain objects used in magical rites.⁶ In this context, lead became a standard writing surface for various kinds of forceful, practical spells, generally termed *defixiones*, including love charms and cursing spells.⁷ Audollent's collection⁸ of over 300 such documents, dating from the 5th century B.C. to the 4th century A.D.,⁹ contains only 21 examples of tablets made from other materials.¹⁰ The instructions of

⁶ E.g., one must use a bronze sickle or scythe to cut magical herbs (Ovid *Met.* VII 227; Verg. *Aen.* IV 513 [with R.G. Austin's commentary *ad loc.*] and cf. Macrobius' discussion of this passage in *Sat.* V 19. 8-14); iron is specifically forbidden for this purpose (Pliny *NH* XXIV 12 and 103). The clashing of bronze (less frequently iron) cymbals or implements prevents the moon from being drawn down or eclipsed (Plut. *Mor.* 944b; Ovid *Met.* VII 207f.; Tib. I 8.21-22; Juv. 6.442f.; Livy XXVI 5.9; Stat. *Theb.* VI 686f.; Mart. XII 57.16f.; Tacit. *Ann.* I 28; cf. J.E. Lowe, *Magic in Greek and Latin Literature* [Oxford 1929] 27-28) and wards off harmful deities and spirits (Theoc. 2.36 and Gow's note *ad loc.*; Lucian *Philops.* 15; Ovid *Fasti* V 441f.). Bronze was also frequently used for needles in magic (Ovid *Fasti* II 577f. with J.G. Frazer's commentary *ad loc.* [vol. II p. 451f.]; *PGM* IV 321f. [see below p. 9]; VII 442; XXXVI 236).

⁷ In general see Aud. pp. xlviiff.; Kagarow 9f.; Hopfner, *OZ* I § 608; Jordan, "Well" 226f. By "practical" I mean spells prepared by magicians for the actual use of clients as opposed to handbook recipes (see below pp. 6ff.). "Forceful" magic is that which seeks to influence the attitudes, actions, or circumstances of one against his/her will; thus love charms fit this category. They generally demand that the beloved endure great misery until he/she fulfills the lover's desires. This point is well illustrated by our text (e.g., §J 9-10, 23; see below pp. 24ff.) and by the sympathetic process delineated in *PGM* IV 296ff. (below pp. 8f.). The latter prescribes the constructing of two effigies, the one a bound, kneeling female figure, representing the girl to be charmed, the other an armed image of Ares, threatening the girl with a sword. Next follow instructions to write magic words on the female doll, pierce it with needles, and bind both figurines to a lead tablet inscribed with a love spell similar to ours. Thus the term *defixio/κατάδεσμος* applies to any spell which has the *binding* of a victim as its intent.

⁸ See List of Abbreviations s.v. Aud. Audollent's volume, which comprises Attic and non-Attic Greek tablets as well as Latin tablets, was designed to supplement the earlier edition of exclusively Attic *defixiones* by R. Wünsch (List of Abbreviations s.v. Wünsch). For Greek *defixiones* which do not appear in these two corpora, see now the exhaustive survey by D.R. Jordan in *GRBS* 26 (1985) 151-97. For Latin tablets not in Audollent, see Jordan, *op. cit.* 151-52 nn. 3 and 4. The best general treatments of these documents are K. Preisendanz in *RAC* VIII 1-29 and Kagarow (see List of Abbreviations s.v.).

⁹ See Audollent's chronological table, p. 556. Some tablets date from as late as the 6th cent. A.D. (Jordan, "Well" 227).

¹⁰ Aud. p. xlviif.: 11 ostraka; 4 mica; 2 bronze; 2 gold; 1 tin; 1 marble.

magical handbooks, such as *PGM* X 36f., provide further evidence: λαβῶν λάμναν ἢ πέταλον μολιβοῦν ἀπὸ ἡμιόνων γράφε τὰ ὑποκείμενα ὀνόματα.¹¹ Most magical lead tablets are not nearly so lengthy or complex as our text. Many, in fact, preserve only a list of names of those to be cursed or a single name.¹² The ancients also used lead for other kinds of writing, both religious (e.g., oracular questions, amulets) and secular (private letters, identification tags).¹³

Practical considerations probably helped establish the use of lead for spells. It is soft, pliant, and easy to roll up or fold. Other properties, such as its relative worthlessness (Lucian *Sat.* 20), coldness (Plutarch *Mor.* 567c, 691b), pallid, death-like color (Pliny *NH* XI 274),¹⁴ and weight,¹⁵ contribute to the general im-

¹¹ Cf. *PGM* IV 328ff. (see below pp. 9f.); V 304ff.; VII 397f., 432f.; XXXVI 1f. (=P. Oslo I 1.1f. on which see S. Eitrem's n.); *ibid.*, 231f. On magical handbooks, see below pp. 6-8.

¹² List of names: Wunsch 2-17, 19-26, 28-31, 33-39; Aud. 46, 53, 57-59. One name: Wunsch 1, 18, 27, 32. Audollent (pp. 107ff.) includes in the latter category the horde of 499 lead strips from Styra, each bearing one name. D.R. Jordan, however, advises me that two points militate against the identification of these documents as *defixiones*: their extremely early date and their uniformity of size and shape, which suggests mass production for a specific purpose (cf. the Attic cavalry tablets, next note). On these tablets see also Miller, *Studies* 8, who cites L.H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961) 86. Professor Jordan also informs me that the 38 tablets which Audollent (pp. 80ff.) describes as being from the Piraeus actually belong to the group from Styra.

¹³ For the principal bibliography on the Dodonean oracular lead strips, see H.W. Parke, *The Oracles of Zeus* (Oxford 1967) 126 nn. 2 and 18; cf. *ibid.* 259-73, where Parke has printed and translated some of the texts. The lead amulets are late and of Jewish-Christian origin; see Jordan, "Well" 227 and n. 12. K. Braun (*MDAI*, Ath. Abt. 85 [1970] 198ff.) discusses and catalogues 574 lead strips from a well in the Athenian Kerameikos which identify horses of the Attic cavalry as to color, brand, price, and owner's name. J.H. Kroll (*Hesperia* 46 [1977] 83ff.) treats 111 similar documents from a well in the Athenian Agora. For the private letters, see Miller, *Studies* 9-16 and Jordan, "Well" 226 with n. 9. The fullest general account known to me of different kinds of documents written on lead is that of Miller, *Studies* 1-29; Jordan's later survey ("Well" 226-29) both summarizes and supplements her material. See also the older discussions by Dziatzko in *RE* III 1.564f. s.v. Bleitafeln and by Besnier in *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* IV 1.514Bf. s.v. Plumbum.

¹⁴ Pliny here attributes to Aristotle the opinion that one who has a *plumbeus color* will die young. Coldness is also associated with death (cf. LSJ s.v. ψυχρός I).

¹⁵ For the heaviness of lead as a chthonic property, see Aud. 98.2ff.: *sic comidi* (i.e., *quomodo*) [*pl]um[b]um subsidet, sic Sintonem et Martialem Sint[on]is et Adiu-torium Sintonis --- defero ad infero(s)*. *Subsidet* = "sinks," *pace* Audollent. It is well known that many lead tablets have been found in wells, springs, cisterns, etc. (see D.R. Jordan, *Hesperia* 54 [1985] 207 n. 3 for a list of these). Although the

pression of the chthonic quality of the metal and its appropriateness for forceful magic.¹⁶ This may be illustrated by the following sympathetic formulae¹⁷ from Wünsch's collection of *defixiones*: ὡς οὐ[το]ς ὁ μόλυ[βδ]ος ψυχρὸς καὶ ἄ[θ]υμο¹⁸ς [οὕτως καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐνταῦθα γεγ]ραμμένων ψυχρ[ὰ καὶ ἄθυμα ἔ-τω] καὶ ἔπη καὶ ἔργα κτλ. (105b.1-2); καὶ ὡς οὗτος ὁ μόλυβδος ἄχρητος, ὡς ἄχρητα εἶναι τῶν ἐνταῦθα γεγραμμένων καὶ ἔπη καὶ ἔργα (106b.1-2).¹⁹

Also important in this regard is the fact that astrological speculation associated lead with Kronos/Saturn; e.g., according to Proclus (*Ad. Tim.* 14b=vol. I 43, 5ff. Diehl), the emanations of the planets produced the various metals on earth:

above-cited text is not in this category, it seems nevertheless to allude to the practice of submerging *defixiones*, which W.S. Fox (*AJP* 33 [1912] 301ff.) explains as a sympathetic ritual against the enemy, competitor, etc. (i.e., as lead sinks, so should the victim sink or, as in Aud. 98, be offered to the *inferi*). A similar idea is probably implicit in the famous passages in the *Iliad* where Zeus weighs the κῆρε of the Greeks and Trojans (VIII 68ff.) or of Hektor and Achilleus (XXII 208ff.). In both cases it is the owner of the heavier κῆρ who is doomed to failure or destruction. Scholiasts on both passages (see W. Leaf's commentary *ad locc.*) and Plutarch *Mor.* 17a cite Aeschylus' *Ψυχοστασία*, in which Zeus weighs the souls of Achilleus and Memnon. Cf. also Soph. *OC* 1508, where Oedipus describes his imminent death as the "sinking point of life" (ῥοπή βίου; for parallels see R.C. Jebb's commentary *ad loc.*). The image of the sinking lead tablet inscribed with the victim's name belongs to the same sphere of Greek religious feeling as the older image of the ill-fortuned κῆρ or ψυχή sinking in the scales.*

¹⁶ In general see Aud. p. xlix; Wünsch p. 8; Kagarow pp. 9f.

¹⁷ The general type of spell which follows, usually termed *similia similibus*, is well described and illustrated by C.A. Faraone, *ZPE* 72 (1988) 280-82.

¹⁸ For ψυχρὸς cf. the imprecations which occur in several *defixiones* discovered in a well in the Athenian Agora; e.g., κραταιὲ Βετπυ, παραδίδωμί σοι τὸν δεῖνα, ἵνα καταψύξῃς αὐτόν, and ὡς ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ψύχεται, οὕτως ψυχέσθω ὁ δεῖνα (D.R. Jordan, *Hesperia* 54 [1985] 236, 238). Jordan (*op. cit.*, 207 and 241f.) explains these formulae as the coldness of the lead (and perhaps also of the water in the well) sympathetically transferred to the victim. He cites, among other parallels, Aud. 155b.20ff.: ὀρκίζο --- ἀγίους χ[αρα]κτῆρες οὐσπερ γεγραμμένους ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πετάλῳ τῷ ψυχρωφώρῳ, εἶνα --- καταψύξῃτε τ[ῆν] ἱε[ρ]οῦ τούδ' ἀθυμοῦς κτλ.

ἄθυμος is probably a mistake (or misreading?) for ἄτιμος in the light of the closely similar 107a.4f.: καὶ ὡς οὗτος ὁ βόλυβδος (i.e., μόλυβδος) ἄτιμος καὶ ψυχρὸς, οὕτω --- τὰ ἐκε(ί)νω ἄτιμα [κ]αὶ ψυχρὰ ἔτω. ἄθυμος usually means "spiritless" or "despondent" rather than "lifeless."

¹⁹ In general, cf. also Wünsch 97 (= Dittenberger, *Syll.* III 1175) 21ff.: ἡ γ[λ]ῶσσα αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ ψυχή μόλυβδος γένοιτο καὶ μὴ δύναιντο φθένγεσθαι[ι] μηδὲ ποῆσαι.

λέγεται γοῦν Ἡλίου μὲν ὁ χρυσός, Cελήνης δὲ ὁ ἄργυρος, Κρόνου δὲ μόλυβδος καὶ Ἄρεως ὁ κίδηρος. ταῦτα δὴ οὖν γεννᾶται μὲν ἐκεῖθεν, ὑφίσταται δὲ ἐν γῆ καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἐκείνοισι τοῖς τὰς ἀπορροίας ἀφιείειν (cf. Hopfner, OZ I § 605).

Other planet/metal lists consistently connect lead to Saturn,²⁰ which, significantly, is often described as an ill-boding planet of harmful or evil influence, both in literature (*stella nocens*, Lucan I 652)²¹ and in magical texts (e.g., PGM XIII 1026ff.: πειρῶ δὲ κατασκευάζειν αὐτὸν (Cελήνης) οὔσης ἐν ἀνατολῇ καὶ συναπτούσης ἀγαθοποιῶ ἀκτέρι ἢ Διὶ ἢ Ἀφροδίτῃ, καὶ ἐπιμαρτυροῦντος μηδενὸς κακοποιῶ, Κρόνου ἢ Ἄρεως²²). Also, an astrological treatise (CCAG VIII 2.149) advises that on the first hour of the seventh day, the hour and day in which Saturn rules, ποιήσεις βλάβην τοῦ ἐχθροῦ.²³

In a recent correspondence, D.R. Jordan suggested to me that a distinction might be made between an earlier period, when practical considerations established lead as the medium for *defixiones*, and a later period, when chthonic properties and astrological significance were ascribed to the metal as a more meaningful rationale for its almost exclusive use.²⁴ Indeed, the astrological material is late; but given that sympathetic formulae based on lead's "negative" qualities appeared quite early in these documents²⁵ and that prescription of certain metals for spe-

²⁰ Such lists are given by Hopfner, OZ I § 606; Roscher in Roscher III 2.2533-34 s.v. Planeten. Cf. also CCAG II 161.15f. Saturn, like lead (cf. above pp. 3, 4), is called "cold": *frigida Saturni* --- *stella*, Verg. *Georg.* 1.336; cf. Lucan I 651f.; Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* II 119 and A.S. Pease's commentary *ad loc.* (vol. 2 p. 850).

²¹ Cf. *grave Saturni sidus in omne caput*, Prop. IV 1(b), 84; *haec tamen ignorat quid sidus triste minetur Saturni*, Juv. 6.569-70; similarly, Persius 5.50; Hor. *Od.* II 17. 22f. Cf. also CCAG II 160.5ff.: τὸν Κρόνον φασι --- βαρκανίας ποιητήν, τύφου τε καὶ μερίμνας καὶ μογοτροπίας καὶ ὑποκρίσεως, φειδωλίας, ἀνστηρίας, μελανειμοσύνης, ἀύχμηρίας, κακοπαθείας, κτλ.

²² With this text cf. esp. Cic. *de Div.* I 85 and for further parallels A.S. Pease's commentary *ad loc.* (*University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature* VI [1920], no. 2 and 3, pp. 246f.). In general, for good and evil planets, see Gundel, H.G., *Weltbild* 48-52; Roscher in Roscher III 2.2530 s.v. Planeten.

²³ On the general topos of planets as day- or hour-rulers, cf. W. Hübner, *ZPE* 49 (1982) 53ff. and literature cited in n. 1.

²⁴ C.A. Faraone will in fact argue for such a distinction in the forthcoming Oxford press book, *Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, edited by him and D. Obbink.*

²⁵ Wunsch 107, cited above p. 4 n. 18, is dated by Wunsch to the beginning of the 4th cent. B.C.

cific magical objects was a long and well-established tradition, I suspect that lead became integral for reasons beyond the merely practical at a very early date.

The Parallels: Handbook and Tablet

The spell of *P. Mich.* 757 (hereafter abbreviated M) closely resembles that of five other magical texts (collectively referred to as "parallels"), one a magical papyrus (*PGM* IV 296-433, abbrev. P), the others lead tablets (abbrev. C, L, W₁, W₂). For publication data, provenances, and dates of these documents, see List of Abbreviations, below pp. 131f. *PGM* IV (3274 lines) and certain other of the longer papyri in Preisendanz's collection (e.g., I, II, III, VII, XII, XXXVI) are considered magical handbooks, i.e., the working copies from which professional magicians transcribed incantations on lead tablets or other objects for their clients.²⁶ Among the ancient references to such handbooks²⁷ is the account in NT Acts 19.19 of the Ephesian sorcerers who renounced their art in response to their conversion under Paul: ἱκανοὶ δὲ τῶν τὰ περίεργα (= *artes magicas*) πραξάντων συνενέγκαντες τὰς βίβλους κατέκαιον ἐνώπιον πάντων.²⁸ In a different vein, Lucian (*Philops.* 31) relates how a certain Arignotos purges a haunted house by reciting formulae from Αἰγύπτια βίβλοι.²⁹

The handbooks contain spells for every occasion and often provide optional wordings for the same recipes;³⁰ e.g., a prescription (πρόγνωσις, *PGM* III 479) is followed by "another copy" (ἄλλη ἀντιγραφὴ, 483) and then "another" (ἄλλη,

²⁶ Cf. A.D. Nock, *JEA* 15 (1929) 220f. (*Essays* I 177ff.); K. Preisendanz, *Gnomon* 2 (1926) 191f.

²⁷ See A. Dieterich, *Jahrbücher für klass. Philol., Suppl.* 16 (1888) 751 (*Kleine Schriften* [Leipzig/Berlin 1911] 3).

²⁸ See the commentaries by E. Haenchen (Göttingen 1965; Eng. Oxford 1971) and F.F. Bruce (Grand Rapids 1951). Cf. Paul. *Sent.* V 23.18 (*Fontes Juris Romani Antejustiniani* II p. 410): *Libros magicæ artis apud se neminem habere licet: et penes quoscumque reperti sint, bonis ademptis, ambustis his publice, in insulam deportantur, humiliores capite puniuntur.* Cf. also Augustus' burning of over 2000 soothsayers' books (Suet. *Aug.* 31). In general, for the prohibition and destruction of magical books among pagans and Christians, cf. W. Speyer, *Büchervernichtung und Zensur des Geistes bei Heiden, Juden und Christen* (Stuttgart 1981) 54 and n. 60; 130ff.; 169ff.

²⁹ Cf. *ibid.* 12: a Babylonian *magus* summons snakes, ἐπειπὼν ἱερατικά τινα ἐκ βίβλου παλαιᾶς ὀνόματα ἑπτὰ.

³⁰ Cf. esp. M. Smith, *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Naples 1984) II 683ff., on the three versions of *The Eighth Book of Moses* in *PGM* XIII. See also A.D. Nock, *JEA* 15 (1929) 220-21 (*Essays* I 177-78).

489).³¹ The fact that a handbook could offer a number of variations on a single spell is significant for our purposes, since, as we shall see, our five tablets differ considerably from P and from each other. Discerning textual relationships among them (and among other *defixiones*) is extremely difficult, since the magical books functioned as practical guides rather than fixed exemplars to be reproduced faithfully, and thus a *magus* in preparing a tablet could modify the handbook spell on the authority of the book itself or at his own initiative.³²

One of the most common stylistic features of the handbooks is their use of vague, generic terminology³³ which permitted the *magus* to tailor a spell to the specific needs of his client. The following parallel passages from P and M illustrate: κατάδησον· ἄξον τὴν δεῖνα, ἣν (ἔτεκε ἢ) δεῖνα, ἣς ἔχεις τὴν οὐσίαν, φιλοῦσάν με τὸν δεῖνα, ὃν ἔτεκεν ἢ δεῖνα (P 350f.); κατάδησον Κοπρίαν, ἣν ἔτεκε μήτηρ Ταῆσις, ἣς ἔχεις τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς, Αἰλουρίωνι, ᾧ ἔτεκε μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία (M § J 7f.). This process of course led to errors; e.g., W₁ 20f.: ἣς ἔχεις τὴν οὐσία(ν) — ἐ τρίχεσ τῆς [κεφ]αλῆς αὐτῆς — ταύτην. Here it seems that the magician copied from his handbook the generic τὴν οὐσίαν and then, realizing his mistake, ungrammatically filled in the specific substance to be used before he wrote ταύτην.

We also find that material could be abbreviated or augmented in accordance with the situation; e.g., in the command to the spirit of the dead as to where it should go to seek the beloved, all the texts have the three items εἰς πάντα (or πᾶν) τόπον, εἰς πᾶν ἄμφοδον, εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν. W₁ 19 and W₂ 19 add εἰς πᾶν καπηλεῖον, on which Wortmann (p. 71) remarks that either the *magus* knew the girl to be a prostitute or he was simply trying to cover every possibility.

³¹ See also ἄλλωσ, e.g., in *PGM* IV 29, 463, 465, 1300; X 36; XIII 270; etc. (cf. *PGM* vol. 3 s.v.); this word often signals an optional phrase, name, *praxis* (see below p. 8), or entire spell, which may be used instead of the previously mentioned. Similarly in Egyptian magical texts, we often have, e.g., "a spell ...," "another one ...," "likewise another one ...," Borghouts, *AEMT* 14-17 and *passim*. Cf. ἄλλο in medical literature for suggesting optional cures (e.g., Galen, *περὶ εὐπορίτων*, vol. 14 p. 382 Kühn; *P. Oxy.* VIII 1088 (Marganne, pp. 240-44), col. iii 52, 56; *SB* XIV 11964.11; others in Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* I 59 s.v. ἄλλοσ) and ἄλλο/ἄλλη in alchemy (*Les Alchimistes Grecs* I [Paris 1981], ed. R. Halleux, pp. 97-101, 107-108, and *passim*).

³² On this point in general, see also below p. 12 n. 50 (on κοινόν) and p. 113; more specifically on the two Wortmann tablets, p. 19.

³³ For a similar usage of generic terms in business and civic documents, cf., e.g., *P. Mich.* II 122, pp. 81ff. (practice drafts for drawing up grapheion reports).

The distinctive formats of handbooks and tablets become more clearly defined when we understand the basic scheme of magical spells. It is to this point that we now turn.

The Parallels: *Logos* and *Praxis*

A magical ceremony often comprises two elements: *logos* (the "incantation" or "spell" addressed to the underworld deities and spirits, urging them to perform the wishes of the spell-operator) and *praxis* (the "act" accompanying the *logos*). For example, in Dido's magical rite (*Aeneid* IV 504ff.) she lays on the altar some of Aeneas' personal belongings and an effigy of him to be burned (*praxis*), after which the Massylian priestess *ter centum tonat ore deos, Erebumque Chaosque tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae*, 510-11 (*logos*). Similarly, Horace relates that the witches Canidia and Sagana, having performed a ceremony involving the blood of a black lamb and two effigies (*Sat.* I 8.23ff.), utter invocations to Hekate and Tisiphone (33-34).³⁴ In *Theoc.* 2, Simaitha burns barley, bay leaves, bran, wax effigies, etc. (18-63), and then, in what may be called a romanticized *logos*, addresses to Selene a long lament concerning how she lost Delphis (64-166).³⁵

Our five tablets, designed for the practical use of their respective clients, contain only the *logos*. These should be compared with the handbook version of P, which, serving the needs of the *magus*, presents the full scheme of *praxis* and *logos*. The text and translation, which I have keyed to the synopsis on pp. 15f., are as follows:³⁶

(I.A 1) Φιλτροκατάδεσμος θαυμαστός· λαβὼν κηρὸν (ἢ πηλὸν) ἢ
ἀπὸ τροχοῦ κεραμικοῦ πλάσων ζῶδια δύο,³⁷ ἀρρηνικὸν καὶ θη-

³⁴ Cf. Hor. *Epod.* 5: Canidia and Sagana perform a *praxis* (15ff.); the former then utters an invocation to Nox and Diana in order to revive Varus' love (49ff.).

³⁵ The *praxis* itself may include *logoi*, often *similia similibus* (see above n. 17), to facilitate the sympathetic power of the ceremony; e.g., also in this poem Simaitha, during her *praxis*, says *χὼς αὐτὰ λακεῖ μέγα καππυρίσασα --- οὔτω τοι καὶ Δέλφικ ἐνὶ φλογὶ κάρκ' ἀμαθῶνοι* 24-26; cf. 28-31 and Gow's comments *ad loc.*; cf. also Verg. *Ec.* 8.77ff. and P 321ff.

³⁶ I print the text of Preisendanz with a few minor changes, some of which I treat in the nn. below.

³⁷ With the two effigies, cf. esp. Delatte/Derchain 330 (discussed below pp. 107f. on § A). Cf. also Hor. *Sat.* I 8.30-33, Verg. *Ec.* 8.80f., and C.A. Faraone's analyses of these texts in a recent article (*Class. Phil.* 84 [1989] 294ff.). For further exam-

- λυκόν· τὸν μὲν ἄρσενα ὡς Ἄρεα | καθωπλισμένον ποίησον τῇ
 300 ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ || κρατοῦντα ξίφος, καταπλήσσοντα αὐτῆς εἰς
 τὴν | κατακλείδα τὴν δεξιάν, αὐτὴν δὲ ὀπιεθάγγωνα | καὶ
 ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα καθημένην, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν³⁸ | ἐπὶ τῆς κεφα-
 (I.A 2) λῆς ἄψεις ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ τραχήλου. | γράψον δὲ εἰς τὸ πλάσμα τῆς
 305 ἀγομένης· ἐπὶ μὲν || τῆς κεφαλῆς· ἴση Ἰαω ἰθι οὐνε βριδω |
 λωθίων Νεβουτοσουαληθ· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς δεξιᾶς ἀκοῆς· οὐερ μη-
 χαν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς εὐωνύμου· λιβαβα ωἴμαθοθο· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὀ-
 310 ράκεωσ· αμουναβρεω· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ὀφθαλλμοῦ· ωρορμο-
 θιο αηθ· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου· | χοβουε· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς δεξιᾶς κλει-
 δός· αδετα | μερου· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ βραχίονος· | ενε ψα
 ενεγαφ· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου· μελχιου μελχιεδια, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν
 315 χειρῶν· || μελχამελχου αηλ· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ στήθους τὸ ἴονομα τῆς
 ἀγομένης μητρόθεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς | καρδίας· βαλαμιν Θωουθ· καὶ
 ὑπὸ τὸ ὑπογάστριον· | αοβης αωβαρ· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς φύσεωσ· βλιχι-
 320 ανει | ουαῖα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς πυγῆς· πιццаδαρα· ἐπὶ δὲ || τῶν πελ-
 (I.A 3) μάτων τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ· ελω· τοῦ δὲ ἄλλο[υ]· | ελωαιοε. καὶ
 λαβῶν δεκατρεῖς βελόνας | χαλκᾶς³⁹ πῆξον α' ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐγ-
 κεφάλου λέγων· | "περονῶ σου, ἢ δεῖνα, τὸν ἐγκέφαλον." καὶ
 β' εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς | καὶ β' εἰς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ α' εἰς τὸ στό-
 325 μα καὶ β' || εἰς τὰ ὑποχόνδρια καὶ α' εἰς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ β' |
 εἰς τὰς φύσεις καὶ β' εἰς τὰ πέλματα καθ' ἅπαξ λέγων·
 "περονῶ τὸ ποιὸν μέλος τῆς δεῖνα, ὅπως μηδενὸς μνησθῆ πλὴν
 (I.B 1) ἐμοῦ μόνου, τοῦ δεῖνα." καὶ λαβῶν πλάτυμμα μολυβοῦν γρά-
 (I.B 2) 330 ψον τὸν λόγον τὸν || αὐτὸν καὶ δίωκε καὶ συνδήσας τὸ πέτα-
 λον τοῖς | ζωδίοις μίτω ἀπὸ ἱστοῦ ποιήσας ἄμματα τξε,⁴⁰ | λέ-

ples of magical figurines, see H.S. Versnel, *ZPE* 72 (1988) 288ff., and Faraone's contribution to the forthcoming *Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (see above p. 5 n. 24).

³⁸ i.e., the "substance" or "property" of the one to be charmed, such as hair, clothing, etc.; cf. below p. 56 and D.G. Martinez, *Classical Journal* 84 (1989) 169f.

³⁹ For bronze as a standard metal for needles and other objects used in magic, see above p. 2 n. 6.

⁴⁰ Cf. Ovid *Fasti* II 575, where a witch, as part of a *praxis*, says *cantata ligat cum fusco licia plumbo*. R. Wunsch (*Rh. Mus.* 56 [1901] 403) argues that if *plumbo* here meant "lead tablet," Ovid would have described it in greater detail; he thus understands by it a lead effigy which is wrapped with magical thread, comparing it with an object in his private collection. In P, effigies and tablet are wrapped together, but there are examples of a doll wrapped without a tablet (*Verg. Ec.* 8.73-75) and of a tablet without a doll (*PGM* VII 452ff.). Pace Wunsch, I think that the Ovid

- (I.B 3) γων, ὡς οἶδα· "Αβρααξ, κατάσχεσ." τίθεσσι | ἡλίου δύνοντος
παρὰ ἄωρου⁴¹ ἢ βιαίου θήκην, παραλιθῶν αὐτῶ καὶ τὰ τοῦ
335 καιροῦ ἄνθη.⁴² λόγος ὁ γραλλόμενος καὶ διωκόμενος·
- (II.A) παρακατατίθεμαι⁴³ | ὑμῖν τοῦτον τὸν κατάδεσμον, θεοῖς
χθονίοις | υεσεμιγαδων καὶ Κούρη Περσεφόνη Ερεσχιγαλ | καὶ
'Αδώνιδι τῶ βαρβαριθα, (καὶ) 'Ερμῆ καταχθονίῳ | Θουθ
340 φωκενταζεψευ αερχθαθου μιλλκονκταικ αλβαναχαμβρη καὶ
'Ανούβιδι κραταιῶ ψιρινθ, τῶ τὰς κλεῖδας ἔχοντι τῶν καθ'
(II.B) 'Αιδου, καὶ δαίμοσι καταχθονίοις θεοῖς⁴⁴ ἄωροις τε | καὶ ἄω-
ραις, μέλλαξι τε καὶ παρθένοις, ἐνιαυτοῦς | ἐξ ἐνιαυτῶν, μῆ-
345 νας ἐκ μηνῶν, ἡμέρας ἐξ ἡμελλῶν, ὥρας ἐξ ὥρων. ὀρκίζω
πάντας δαίμονας | τοὺς ἐν τῶ τόπῳ τούτῳ συνπαρασταθῆναι

passage represents the latter. The Greek equivalent of *plumbum*, μόλιβος/μόλυβδος, can mean "lead tablet" (Wünsch 105b.1, 106b.1, 107a.4 [see above p. 4 n. 18]; Aud. 189a.3 [text uncertain]) but not, to my knowledge, "lead doll." — The 365 knots, one for each day of the year, indicate that the binding force of the love spell, sympathetically represented by the knots, is to be constant and permanent (similarly *PGM* VII 452ff., but not necessarily erotic). The idea is reinforced by the following Αβρααξ, κατάσχεσ, especially since the numerical value of the letters of Αβρααξ is 365 (see *PGM* XIII 156, 466; Hopfner, *OZ* I § 705 [p. 431]; Dornseiff, *Alphabet* 105 [and cf. 42f.]; further on Αβρααξ below pp. 77f. 365 is an important number in magic, corresponding not only to the number of days of the year but also to the deities who preside over them and (in Gnostic speculation) to the number of heavens and aeons. It thus signifies the concept of totality in various contexts (cf., e.g., the cursing of the "365 members and sinews" of certain athletes in *W*₁₂ 15f. with Wortmann's n., p. 109). In general, for tying magical knots as a rite of erotic binding, see Verg. *Ec.* 8.77f.: *necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarylly, colores; necte, Amarylly, modo et "Veneris" dic "vincula necto,"* on which cf. Abt, *Apol.* 74-76.

⁴¹ Gravestones would often indicate that the dead was an ἄωρος; see *SB* I 309, 313, 339, and the numerous other references and discussion in Lattimore, *Epitaphs* 184-87 (§ 47); cf. B. Boyaval, *ZPE* 23 (1976) 225-30 (esp. charts on 226-27). Those who die violently (βίαιοι) are a special case of ἄωροι; cf. below pp. 48f.

⁴² For flowers as an offering for the dead, cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 618 and Ovid *Fasti* II 539. On the latter, see R. Wünsch, *Rh. Mus.* 56 (1901) 403.

⁴³ That the *logos* is in the first person and refers to the client throughout seems to indicate that it is the client, not the *magus*, who writes and recites the *logos* and performs the above *praxis* (in the *praxis* cf. the first person line 327f. above). Such an arrangement, however, would have been impossible in many cases, given the large number of *agrammatoi* in Greco-Egyptian society. The complex issue of the precise roles of *magus* and client in the execution of a spell cannot be explored in detail here. It seems that at times responsibilities were shared, as in Dido's ceremony (see above p. 8).

⁴⁴ καὶ δαίμοσι καταχθονίοις θεοῖς, ms.; θεοῖς καὶ δαίμοσι καταχθονίοις, Preisendanz; see below p. 47.

- (II.C 1) τῷ δαίμονι τούτῳ· καὶ ἀνέγειρέ μοι σαντόν, ὅστις ποτ' εἶ |
εἶτε ἄρρην εἶτε θήλυς, καὶ ὕπαγε εἰς πάντα τόπον | καὶ εἰς
350 πᾶν ἄμφοδον καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν καὶ ἄξον || καὶ κατάδη-
con· ἄξον τὴν δεῖνα, ἦν (ἔτεκεν ἦ)⁴⁵ δεῖνα, ἥς ἔχεις τὴν οὐ-
κίαν, φιλοῦσάν με τὸν δεῖνα, ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα· μὴ βινηθῆτω,
μὴ πυγισθῆτω μηδὲ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ποιή[σ]η μετ' ἄλλου ἀνδρός, εἰ
μὴ μετ' ἐμοῦ μόνου, τοῦ δεῖνα· | ἴνα⁴⁶ μὴ δυνηθῆ ἡ δεῖνα μήτε
355 πεῖν μήτε φαγεῖν, μὴ || στέργειν, μὴ καρτερεῖν, μὴ εὐσταθῆσαι,
(II.C 2) μὴ ὕπνου | [τ]υχεῖν ἢ δεῖνα ἐκτὸς ἐμοῦ, τοῦ δεῖνα, ὅτι σε ἐξορ-
κίζω κατὰ | τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ φοβεροῦ καὶ τρομεροῦ, οὗ ἢ γῆ
ἀκούσαι[σ]α τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀνοιγίγεται, οὗ οἱ δαίμονες | ἀκού-
360 σαντες τοῦ ὀνόματος ἔνφοβοι⁴⁷ φοβηθήσονται, || οὗ οἱ ποταμοὶ
καὶ < >⁴⁸ αἱ πέτραι ἀκούσαντες τὸ ὄνομα | ῥήσσονται. ὀρκί-
ζω σε, νεκύδαιμον, εἶτε ἄρρης | εἶτε θήλυς, κατὰ τοῦ βαρ-
βαριθα χενμβρα βαλρουχαμβρα καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Αβρατ Αβρασαξ
365 | σεενγεν βαρφαραγγης καὶ κατὰ τοῦ αωια || μαρι ἐνδόξου
καὶ κατὰ τοῦ μαρμα(ρ)εωθ | μαρμαραυωθ μαρμαραωθ μα-
(II.C 3) ρεχθανα | αμαρζα· μαριβεωθ· μὴ μου παρακούσης, | νεκύδαι-
μον, τῶν ἐντολῶν καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων, | ἀλλ' ἔγειρον μόνον σε-
370 αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐχούσης || σε ἀναπαύσεως, ὅστις ποτὲ εἶ, εἶτε
ἄρρης εἶτε θήλυς, καὶ ὕπαγε εἰς πάντα τόπον, εἰς πᾶν ἄμφο-
δοδον, | εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν καὶ ἐνεγκόν μοι τὴν δεῖνα, καὶ κα-
τάσχεσ ἀυτῆς τὴν βρῶκιν καὶ τὴν πόκιν, καὶ | μὴ ἑάσης τὴν
375 δεῖνα ἄλλου ἀνδρός πείραν λαβεῖν || πρὸς ἡδονὴν, μηδὲ ἰδίου
ἀνδρός, εἰ μὴ ἐμοῦ | μόνου, τοῦ δεῖνα, ἀλλ' ἔλκε τὴν δεῖνα
τῶν τριχῶν, τῶν | σπλάγγων, τῆς ψυχῆς⁴⁹ πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸν δεῖ-

⁴⁵ <ἔτεκεν ἦ> Haslam. The omission occurred through haplography (ἦν...ἦ).

⁴⁶ ἴνα seems imperatival here (Mandilaras §§ 585-589 [esp. 589]; Turner, *Syntax* 94f.; BDR § 387.3a); I thus place a heavier stop before it than Preisendanz's comma. The corresponding ἴνα in C could be either imperatival or final. The word is lacking at this point in the other parallels, which have either the negatived imperative or prohibitive subjunctive (see below p. 59).

⁴⁷ ἐνφόβου ms.

⁴⁸ For the omitted material, see below p. 69 and critical apparatus below p. 116 n. on line 21.

⁴⁹ Preisendanz here cites *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 1 (1920) 170f., where R. Ganszyniec argues that in some magical texts (he considers the present passage "unklar") ψυχή means αἰδοῖα, especially the female organ (cf. φύσις). I find only one of his examples convincing: γράφε εἰς πιττάκιον ἱερατικὸν τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας--- καὶ ἐπίθεσ ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπερώτα· καὶ

- να, πάκιη ώρα τοῦ αἰῶνος, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, μέλχιρ οὐ ἔλθη
 380 πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸν δεῖνα, καὶ ἀχώριστός ἢ μου μείνη ἢ δεῖνα. ποιή-
 στον, κατάδησον εἰς τὸν ἴ ἅπαντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς μου καὶ
 συνανάγκασον τὴν δεῖνα ὑπουργὸν εἶναί μοι, τῷ δεῖνα, καὶ
 μὴ ἴ ἀποκιρτάτω ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ὥραν μίαν τοῦ αἰῶνος. ἐάν μοι τοῦ-
 (Π. C 4) 385 το τελέσης, ἀναπαύσω σε ταχέως· ἢ ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι Βαρβαρ
 Αδωναι, ὁ τὰ ἄστρα κρύβων, ὁ λαμπροφεγγῆς οὐρανοῦ κρα-
 τῶν, ἴ ὁ κύριος κόσμος αἰθουῖν ἴαθουῖν σελιβιουωθ· Αωθ καρ-
 390 βαθιουθ ιαθθιεραθ ἴ Αδωναι ἴα ρουρα βια βι βιοθη αθωθ ἢ Κα-
 βαωθ ηα νιαφα αμαραχθι· σαταμα· ἴ ζαυαθθειη σερφω ἴαλα-
 δα ἴαλη ἴ σεβησι· ιαθθα· μαραδθα· αχιλθθεε ἴ χωω ση ηαχω·
 κανσαοσα· αλκμουρι· ἴ θυρ· θαωος· σεχη· εἰμι Θωθ σεωμαι·
 (Π. C 5) 395 ἢ ἄξον, κατάδησον τὴν δεῖνα φιλοῦσαν, ἐρῶικαν, τὸν δεῖνα πο-
 (Π. C 6) θοῦσαν (κοινόν),⁵⁰ ὅτι ὀρκίζω σε, ἴ νεκῦδαμον, κατὰ τοῦ φοβε-
 ροῦ, μεγάλου ἴ ἴαεω βαφρενεμον οθι λαρικριφια ἴ ευεαῖ φρ-
 400 κираλιθον υομεν ερ φαβωεαι,⁵¹ ἢ ἴνα μοι ἄξης τὴν δεῖνα καὶ
 κεφαλὴν κεφαλῇ ἴ κολλήση καὶ χεῖλεα χεῖλεσι συνάψη καὶ
 γαστέρι γαστρὶ κολλήση καὶ μηρὸν μηρῷ πειλάση καὶ τὸ μέ-
 λαν⁵² τῷ μέλανι συναρμόση καὶ τὰ ἀφροδισιακὰ ἐαυτῆς ἐκ-
 405 τελέση⁵³ ἢ ἴ δεῖνα μετ' ἐμοῦ, τοῦ δεῖνα, εἰς τὸν ἴ ἅπαντα χρό-
 νον τοῦ αἰῶνος.

πάντα σοι ἐξομολογήσει (PGM VII 412ff.; from a spell to induce talking in sleep). I would add PGM IV 1522ff.: μὴ εἰσέλθης αὐτῆς διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων, μὴ διὰ τῶν πλευρῶν, μὴ διὰ τῶν ὀνύχων, μηδὲ διὰ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ μηδὲ διὰ τῶν μελῶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ ἐμμεῖνον αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ καῦσον αὐτῆς τὰ σπλάγχνα --- ἕως ἔλθη πρὸς ἐμέ, κτλ. (Preisendanz translates ψυχῆς "Scham"). See now also PGM Eng. p. 339 s.v. Soul.

⁵⁰ κοινόν and κοινά ("etc.") became technical terms indicating that the *magus* could proceed with the formula as he wished, or as was "commonly" known; cf., e.g., PGM IV 829; VII 358; s.v. κοινός in PGM vol. 3 and LSJ (III 4).

⁵¹ For the *ιαεω*-logos palindrome (ιαεω = Yahweh) see below on § A pp. 105ff.

⁵² Cf. κολλῶσα καὶ τὸ μέλαν αὐτῆς τῷ ἐμῷ μέλανι ἠδυτάτω, PGM XVIIa 23; cf. also P. Münch. II 28, fr. 5.2 with F. Maltomini's n. *ad loc.*; Ar. Vesp. 1374; Henderson, *Muse* 142-43 (§§ 163, 163a).

⁵³ τὰ ἀφροδισιακὰ ἐαυτῆς ἐκτελέση probably means "satisfy her sexual desires" rather than "carry out her sex acts," as PGM Eng. renders (similarly Preisendanz's German). Cf. εἰ ἐκτελέσαιμεν τὸν ἔρωτα (Pl. *Smp.* 193c); αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τελέσαι (Ach. Tat. II 13.3); also Hdt. I 32.6; NT Gal. 5.16; W₁ 22 (see above pp. 52 and 59). Cf., however, Hom. *Od.* XI 246, αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἐτέλεσε θεὸς φιλοτήσια ἔργα, where the meaning of ἐτέλεσε is obviously "finished."

(III) εἶτα γράψον εἰς ἕτερον μέρος ἰ τοῦ πλατύματος τὴν καρδίαν⁵⁴ καὶ τοὺς χαίρακτῆρας, ὡς ὑπόκειται·

[[αεωβαφφρενεμοννοθιλαρικριφιαενεαιφιρικρι]] (χαράκτῆρες)	ιαεωβαφφρενεμοννοθιλαρικριφιαενεαιφιρικρι	
	αεωβαφφρενεμοννοθιλαρικριφιαενεαιφιρικρι	
	εωβαφφρενεμοννοθιλαρικριφιαενεαιφιρικρι	ιι
	αω βαφφρενεμοννοθιλαρικριφιαενεαιφιρικρι	οεω
	εα βαφφρενεμοννοθιλαρικριφιαενεαιφιρικρι	οἶεε
	ιω αφφρενεμοννοθιλαρικριφιαενεαιφιρικρι	οεϋῖ
	υο φφρενεμοννοθιλαρικριφιαενεαιφιρικρι	οενυ
	ιο	ιανυ
	οε	νυαα
	ιωαε	οιι
	εοηι	υαεε
	υαου	εωαν
	ιαωῖ	οουῖ
	αηαη	ηηεα
	ηῖοῖ	ααῖα
	ωῖνα	ιιω
	αωοε	εεαω
	υῖωη	ηηαω
	εοαωα	ηῖηε
	υαυα	οαηῖ
ιοηιη	ηῖνῖ	
ιαωι	ηηοῖ	
αοαο	υααι	
νυοι	ηια	
	αάωω	

Translation:

(I.A 1) A marvelous love spell that binds. Take wax (or clay) from a potter's wheel and mold two figurines, a male and a female. Make the 300 male as an armed Ares, holding in his left hand a sword, striking

⁵⁴ i.e., heart-shaped magical word. See below pp. 19 and 105.

- her in the right clavicular region. Make her with her arms behind her back and kneeling, and attach the substance to her head or neck.
- (I.A 2) 305 Write on the figurine of the woman to be drawn: upon her head (mw + Iao); upon her right ear (mw); upon her left (mw); on her face
310 (mw + Amoun); on her right eye (mw); on the other (mw); and on her right collar-bone (mw); on her right arm (mw); on the other
315 (mw); on her hands (mw); on the breast write the name of the one to be drawn and her mother's name; on the heart (mw + Thoth); and under the abdomen (mw); on the vagina (mw); on the buttocks (mw);
- (I.A 3) 320 on the sole of the right foot (mw); of the other (mw). And take 13 bronze needles and stick one in the brain while saying, "I pierce your brain, NN"; and stick two in the ears and two in the eyes and
325 one in the mouth and two in the abdomen and one in the hands and two in the vagina and two in the soles of the feet, saying each time, "I pierce such and such part of NN, that she may think of no one except me NN only." And take a lead plate and write and recite the
- (I.B 1) same incantation and bind the tablet to the figurines with thread
(I.B 2) 330 from a loom making 365 knots, saying, as you know, "Abrasax, restrain," and at sunset place it by a grave of one who suffered a premature or violent death, placing beside it also flowers of the sea-
(I.B 3) 335 son. The incantation which is written and recited is:
- (II.A) "I deposit with you this binding spell, gods of the underworld, *Yesemigadon* and Koure Persephone Ereschigal and Adonis, who is
340 (mw), (and) Hermes-Thoth of the underworld (mw) and mighty Anoubis (mw), who holds the keys to the (gates) of Hades, and (with you,) chthonic spirits, gods and goddesses who suffered an untimely death, lads and maidens, year after year, month after month, day after
345 day, hour after hour. I adjure all spirits who are in this place to help this spirit. And rouse yourself for me, whoever you are, whether male or female, and go into every place and into every quarter
(II.C 1) 350 and into every house, and bring and bind; bring NN, whom NN bore, whose substance you have, loving me, NN, whom NN bore. Let her not submit to vaginal nor anal intercourse nor do anything with another man for pleasure, except with me, NN, only; NN should be able
355 neither to drink, nor eat, nor show affection, nor have strength or

- (II.C 2) health, nor get sleep apart from me, NN. Because I adjure you by the fearful and dreadful name of him at the hearing of whose name the earth will open, at the hearing of whose name the demons will
 360 greatly fear, at the hearing of whose name the rivers and the rocks are cleft. I adjure you, *nekydaimon*, whether male or female, by the
 365 name (mw), and by (mw) *Abrasax* (mw), and by the glorious (mw),
 (II.C 3) and by (mw). Do not disobey, *nekydaimon*, the commands and the
 370 names, but just rouse yourself from the rest which holds you, whoever you are, whether male or female, and go into every place, into every quarter, into every house, and bring me NN and keep her from eating and drinking, and do not allow NN to experience another
 375 man for pleasure, not even her own husband, except me, NN, only; but drag NN by the hair, by the bowels, by the vagina, to me, NN, at every moment of her life night and day, until she comes to
 380 me, NN, and she, NN, abides inseparable from me. Do this, bind her for the entire period of my life and compel NN to be subject to me, NN, and may she not rebel from me for a single moment of her
 (II.C 4) 385 life. If you accomplish this for me, I will quickly give you rest. For I am *Barbaradonai*, who conceals the stars, the bright ruler of heaven,
 (II.C 5) 395 the lord of the cosmos (mw + I am *Thoth*, 7 lines). Bring, bind NN
 (II.C 6) loving, adoring, longing for NN etc., because I adjure you, *nekydai-*
 400 *mon*, by the fearful, great *Iaeo* (mw) that you bring NN to me, and that NN join head to head, and bind lips to lips, and join belly to belly, and bring thigh to thigh, and fit the black with the black, and
 405 satisfy her sexual desires with me, NN, for all her life."
- (III) Then write on another part* of the tablet the heart and the signs as below: (mw for 24 lines).

Synopsis

I. *Praxis* (296-335)

A. The effigies (296-328)

1. Making and positioning of 2 effigies (296-303)
2. Writing magical formulae on female effigy (304-21)
3. Piercing female effigy with needles (321-28)

B. The tablet (328-35)

1. Writing *logos* on tablet and reciting (328-30)
2. Binding tablet to effigies (330-32)
3. Depositing tablet beside grave (332-34)

II. *Logos* (335-406)

- A. Deposition with the underworld gods (335-42)
- B. Deposition with and adjuration of the δαίμονες (342-47)⁵⁵
- C. Conjunction of the νεκυδαίμων (347-406)
 1. First command to bind the beloved (347-56)
 2. First threat: "the fearful name" (356-67)
 3. Second command (367-84)
 4. Second threat: *Barbaradonai* (385-94)
 5. Third command (395-96)
 6. Final adjuration: *ιαεω-logos* (396-406)

III. Continuation of *praxis* (406-33)⁵⁶

- A. *ιαεω-logos* *Schwindeform*
- B. χαρακτῆρες

The chart on p. 17 (Fig. 1) and the following remarks (both keyed to the synopsis) compare the tablets with the full version of P as regards general structure and content. They are not meant to suggest textual relationships nor to provide detailed comparisons, for which see the commentary and textual appendix.

Although the tablets as such preserve only the *logos*, they betray evidence of what their handbooks must have prescribed for the *praxis* (I). For example, only L, as far as we know, was associated with a kneeling effigy (A 1) pierced with 13

⁵⁵ M.W. Haslam proposes a different division of A and B to reflect what he considers to be two separate groups of δαίμονες belonging to different parts of the magical process: A. Deposition with underworld gods and spirits (335-45); B. Adjuration of local spirits (to assist *nekydaimon*; 345-47). The suggestion is attractive, but I do not think that there is a rigid distinction between the chthonic spirits and local spirits. In fact the ἄωροι, who are the δαίμονες καταχθόνιοι with whom the spell is deposited, are also without doubt among οἱ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ; cf. in the *praxis* (line 334) where the operator is to leave the tablet by the grave of an ἄωρος (on the ἄωροι, see below pp. 48f.).

⁵⁶ The lines which follow (434-66) contain a hexametric prayer to Helios which is probably meant to be part of this spell. Its position, however, in the process is difficult to determine and it has no relevance for M or the other tablets.

Fig.1

Table of Correspondences Between P and Five Tablets (to p. 16)

P	C	L	W ₁	W ₂	M
I.A 1		-			
I.A 2					
I.A 3		+			
I.B 1	+	+	+	+	+
I.B 2					
I.B 3	+	+	+	+	+
			*	*	*
II.A	+	+	+	-	+
II.B	+	+	+	-	+
II.C 1	+	+	+	-	+
					*
II.C 2	+	+	+	-	+
II.C 3	+	+	-	+	-
			*		*
II.C 4					+
II.C 5					
II.C 6					
III.A			-		+
III.B					+
					*

+ closely corresponds to P

- differs significantly from P

* incorporates material not in P

needles (A 3) similar to that described in P.⁵⁷ Unlike the latter, only a female figure is involved and without magical words inscribed on it. It was excavated

⁵⁷ According to Edgar (p. 43) no figurines were excavated with C. The wax images described recently by D.R. Jordan (*ZPE* 72 [1988] 247) as belonging to the tablet must have been attached to it later by museum personnel. Edgar does say, however, that the two pairs of holes in the tablet were probably designed for attachment of effigies, which did not survive.

with the rolled-up tablet in a clay vase. Whether the two objects were bound together as prescribed in P 330-31 (B 2) is uncertain (see Kambitsis 215 and n. 2). The internal evidence of all the tablets points to their being placed beside a grave as in P 332-33 (B 3). The references to "all the spirits in this place" (C 6; W₁ 15; L 5f.; M 5f.) and "this spirit" (C 6; W₁ 16; W₂ 11; L 6) or *nekydaimon* (M 6) refer respectively to all the ghosts of the cemetery and the specific ghost by whose grave the tablet is placed.

With respect to the *logos*, tablets C and L, as far as they go (II. A, B, C 1-3), follow the scheme of P most closely. The two Wortmann texts and M are more idiosyncratic. W₁ begins with a five-line introduction consisting of the *ιαεω-*logos** and other magic words. It continues (6-38) with the deposition with the gods (II.A), the deposition with and adjuration of the *δαίμονες* (B), the first command to the *nekydaimon* and the first threat (C 1-2), similar to P 335-67. After only the introduction to the second command (C 3), μή μου παρακούσης νεκυδέμων, ὅστις ποτ' οὖν [εἶ, κ]αὶ ἔχειρέ μοι σεαυτόν (38-39), W₁ proceeds with adjurations of and by Artemis-Hekate (39-83), which occur neither in P nor the other tablets.

After a four-line introduction, W₂ continues with the deposition with the gods and deposition with and adjuration of the *δαίμονες* (II.A-B), abbreviated by the absence of magical names and in other respects (5-11). Line 12 begins the address to the *nekydaimon* with the first command (C 1), which is interrupted by a shortened version of the beginning of the first threat (C 2), ἐξορκίζω σε γὰρ κατὰ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματος, οὐ φρίσσει τὰ ὄρη καὶ τρέμι τὰ δεμόνια (14-16). The first command then continues (17-32; different from P in brevity and otherwise) and is followed by the rest of the first threat with magical names somewhat different from those of the other texts (32-48). W₂ ends with the second command (48-72), which is basically consistent with the order and structure of P (C 3).

The *logos* of M (§§ J and K) is introduced by the magical palindrome *αβεραμεν* etc. It proceeds (§ J 2-10) with the deposition with the gods (II.A), deposition with and adjuration of the *δαίμονες* (B), and the first command to the *nekydaimon* (C 1) similar to P. After this point there is an additional section (10-14), most of which is not found in the other five texts. Next follows the first threat (14-19), closely corresponding to P (C 2), and the second command (C 3). The first half of the latter (19-22) is similar in structure to P 367-72; the second

half (22-26) repeats parts of M 8-14. § J is concluded by a combination of letters and magical symbols (26-28). § K, after some introductory magical formulae (29-30), repeats § J 19-26 with various additions and omissions (30-40). Then follows the second threat (ἐγὼ εἶμι βαρβαδωναι + magical words and names), slightly more abbreviated and with a few variations from P 385-94 (C 4). Although none of the tablets contains P's third command and final adjuration (C 5 and 6), there are phrases similar to parts of the former in M and L (cf. below pp. 62f. on ἔλθη --- ἐρῶσα).

Following the *logos* the continuation of the *praxis* (III) begins, εἶτα γράψον εἰς ἕτερον μέρος τοῦ πλατύματος τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας ὡς ὑπόκειται (P 406). καρδίαν refers to the heart-shaped diminishing *logos* (*Schwindeform/Schwundeschema*) which is formed by dropping the first and last letter of the ιαεω-palindrome with each repetition. This, with the vertical rows of letters and magical symbols (χαρακτῆρες), is to be written in "another part" of the plate. Of the five tablets, only M preserves these formulae (§§ A, B, G, H, J 26-28)⁵⁸ and adds others (§§ C, D, E, F). W₁ also has the ιαεω-palindrome, not heart-shaped, but begun on the first line and continued (with other magical names) in the third. As to the reason for this strange position, perhaps, as Wortmann (p. 68) suggests, the *magus* had completely filled his tablet, but because he did not wish to disobey the instructions of his handbook by omitting this powerful name, he wrote it in the only space available to him, before and after the first line.

In conclusion, C and L, although differing considerably in particulars, most closely resemble each other in structure, containing the depositions with the gods and *daimones* and the first command and threat and the second command to the *nekydaimon*, all very similar to P. The two Wortmann texts, written by the same hand but much varied in content and structure, may be a case in point of how magical handbooks specify optional wording for the same spell (see above pp. 6f.); these differences may, however, simply represent liberties taken by the

⁵⁸ In P the rows of letters and χαρακτῆρες flank the heart-shaped *Schwindeform* (see above p. 13); in M the rows of letters occupy basically the same position, but the χαρακτῆρες, which are quite different from those in P, follow the main part of the *logos* (§ J 26-28; see below pp. 22 and 28). For the exact form of the χαρακτῆρες in P, cf. the *editio princeps* by C. Wessely, *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* (Denkschrift. Wien. Ak. 36, 1888) p. 55.

magician himself to suit his or his client's purpose. The new Michigan tablet, the only one of the five containing the ἐγώ εἰμι formula (II.C 4) and the *Schwindeform* and rows of vowels prescribed in the continuation of P's *praxis* (III), offers the most complete parallel to the full spell of P, despite its considerable differences from the latter at various points. In the commentary, which follows the text and translation, I will treat the sections of M in the order in which they parallel P, beginning with § J (majority of *logos*), then § K, finally §§ A-H. The text and translation of §§ J and K are keyed to the synopsis (above pp. 15f.).

II. TEXT OF P. MICH. 757

Inv. no. 6925

29.5 x 20 cm.

3rd/4th cent. A.D.

Egypt (exact site unknown)

Figure 2 (p. 22) illustrates the arrangement of §§ A-K on the tablet.

§ A

ιαεωβαφρενεμουνοθιλαρικριφιαευεαιφιρκιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι
αεωβαφρενεμουνοθιλαρικριφιαευεαιφιρκιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεα
εωβαφρενεμουνοθιλαρικριφιαευεαιφιρκιραλιθονυομενερφαβωε
ωβαφρενεμουνοθιλαρικριφιαευεαιφιρκιραλιθονυομενερφαβω
βαφρενεμουνοθιλαρικριφιαευεαιφιρκιραλιθονυομενερφαβ
αφρενεμουνοθιλαρικριφιαευεαιφιρκιραλιθονυομενερφα
φρενεμουνοθιλαρικριφιαευεαιφιρκιραλιθονυομενερφ
ρενεμουνοθιλαρικριφιαευεαιφιρκιραλιθονυομενερ
ενεμουνοθιλαρικριφιαευεαιφιρκιραλιθονυομενε
νεμουνοθιλαρικριφιαευεαιφιρκιραλιθονυομενε
εμουνοθιλαρικριφιαευεαιφιρκιραλιθονυομε
μουνοθιλαρικριφιαευεαιφιρκιραλιθονυο
ουνοθιλαρικριφιαευεαιφιρκιραλιθονυο
υνοθιλαρικριφιαευεαιφιρκιραλιθονυ
νοθιλαρικριφιαευεαιφιρκιραλιθον
οθιλαρικριφιαευεαιφιρκιραλιθ
θιλαρικριφιαευεαιφιρκιραλιθ
ιλαρικριφιαευεαιφιρκιραλι
λαρικριφιαευεαιφιρκιραλι
αρικριφιαευεαιφιρκιρα
ρικριφιαευεαιφιρκι
ικριφιαευεαιφιρκι
κριφιαευεαιφιρκ
ριφιαευεαιφιρ
ιφιαευεαιφι
φιαευεαιφ
ιαευεαι
αευεαι
ευε
υ

§ B	§ G	§ H	§ C
αω	ριο	εω	αβλαναθαναλβα
εα	θι	εο	αβλαναθαναλβ
ιω	αε	ιι	αβλαναθαναλ
υο	οε	οο	αβλαναθανα
ιο	υα	υυ	αβλαναθαν
εο	υυ	αα	αβλαναθα
ιωαε	οι	ιι	αβλαναθ
εοηι	υα	εε	αβλανα
υαου	εω	αυ	αβλαν
ιοωι	οο	υι	αβλα
αηαη	ηη	εα	αβλ
ηιου	αα	ια	αβ
ωινα	ιι	ιω	α
αωοε	εε	αω	
υιωη	ηη	ιε	§ E
εοαωα	ηι	ηι	ακραμμαχαμαρει
υαυαιο	ωα	υι	κραμμαχαμαρει
υοηιη	ηι	ου	ραμμαχαμαρει
ιαουα	ηη	υα	αμμαχαμαρει
ιαωι	ηε	ιο	μμαχαμαρει
ιαοαο	ηι	ια	μαχαμαρει
υυοι	αα	ωω	αχαμαρει
ιιυι			χαμαρει
			αμαρει
			μαρει
§ D	§ F		αρει
αεηιουω	ωουιηεα		ρει
εηιου	υοιηε		ει
ηι	οιη		ι
ι	ι		

Diplomatic Transcription

§ J

- 1 αβεραμενθουλερθεξαναξεθρελυοωθνεμαρεβα
 Π.Α παρατιθημι υμιν τον καταδεσμον τουτον θεοις καταχθονιοις
 πλουτωνι τε και κορη νεσεμμειγαδων και κουρη περσε-
 φονη
 ερεσχειγαλ και αδωνιζι τω και βαρβαριθα και ερμη κατα-
 χθονιω θωουωθ φωκενσεψευ εαρεκταθου μiconκταιχ και
 ανουβιδι
- Π.Β 4 κρατεω ψηριφθα τω τας κλιδας εχοντι των κατ αδουc και
 δεμοσι χθονιοιc θεοιc αωροιc τε και αωρεc μελλαξι τε και
 παρθενοιc ενιαυ-
 τουc εξ ενιαυτων μηναc εξ μηνων ημεραc εξ ημερων νυκταc
 εξ νυκτων ωραc εξ ωρων εξωρκιζω ce πανταc τουc δαι-
 μοναc τουc εν τω τοπω τουτω cυνπαραcταθηνε τω νεκυδαι-
 μονι οcτιc ποτε ει ητε αρχηc ειτε θηλια και υπαγε ειc παν
 τοπον
 ειc παν αμφοδον ειc παcαν οικιαν και καταδηcον κοπριαν ην
 ετεκε μητηρ ταηcιc ηc εχιc τας τριχαc τηc κεφαληc αιλου-
 ριωνι
- 8 ω ετεκε μητηρ ονοματι κοπρια οπωc μη βινηθη μεδε πυγιcθη
 μητε ηδονην ποιηcη ετερω νεανικω η αλλω ανδρι
 ει μη μονω αιλουριωνι ω ετεκε μητηρ ονοματι κοπρια αλλα
 μητε δυνηθη μητε φαγιν μητε πιν μητε υπνου τυχιν δια
 παν-
 τοc μητε ευcταθιν η ιcυχαζιν τη ψυχη η τεc φρεcι επιζητουcα
 ελουριωνα ον ετεκε μητηρ κοπρια εωc ου εκπηδηcη εκπη-
 δη-
 cη εκ παντοc τοπου και παcηc οικιαc κοπρια ην ετεκε μητηρ
 ονοματι ταηcιc ηc εχιc τας τριχαc πυρουμενη και ερθη προc
 ελουριωνα
- 12 ον ετεκε μητηρ ονοματι κοπρια φιλουcα ερωcα εξ οληc ψυχηc
 εξ ολου πνευματοc φιλτροιc ακαταπαυcτοιc και αδιαλιπ-
 τοιc

Edited Text

- § J
 1 αβεραμενθουλερθεξαναξεθρελυοθνεμαρεβα
 Π.Α παρατίθημι ὑμῖν τὸν κατάδεσμον τοῦτον θεοῖς καταχθονίοις
 Πλούτωνί τε καὶ Κόρη υεσεμμειγαδων καὶ Κούρη Περσε-
 φόνῃ
 Ερεσχειγαλ καὶ Ἀδώνιδι τῷ καὶ βαρβαριθα καὶ Ἑρμῇ κα-
 ταχθονίῳ Θωουωθ φωκενσεψευ εαρεκταθου μiconκταιχ
 καὶ Ἀνούβιδι
- Π.Β 4 κραταιῷ ψηριφθα, τῷ τὰς κλείδας ἔχοντι τῶν καθ' Ἄδους,
 καὶ δαίμοσι χθονίοις θεοῖς ἄωροις τε καὶ ἄωραις, μέλλαξι
 τε καὶ παρθένοις, ἐνιαυ-
 τοὺς ἐξ ἐνιαυτῶν, μῆνας ἐκ μηνῶν, ἡμέρας ἐξ ἡμερῶν, νύκ-
 τας ἐκ νυκτῶν, ὥρας ἐξ ὥρῶν. ἐξορκίζω σε πάντα τοὺς
 δαί-
 μονας τοὺς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ συμπαρασταθῆναι τῷ νεκυδαί-
 μονι· (ἔγειρέ μοι σεαυτὸν, νεκυδαίμων,) ὅστις ποτὲ εἶ εἴτε
 ἄρην εἴτε θήλεια, καὶ ὑπαγε εἰς πᾶν τόπον,
 εἰς πᾶν ἄμφοδον, εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν, καὶ κατάδησον Κοπρία,
 ἣν ἔτεκε μήτηρ Ταῆσις, ἥς ἔχεις τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς,
 Αἰλουρίωνι,
- Π.С 1 8 ᾧ ἔτεκε μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία, ὅπως μὴ βινηθῆι μηδὲ πυγιθῆι
 μήτε ἠδονῆν ποιήσῃ ἐτέρῳ νεανίσκῳ ἢ ἄλλῳ ἀνδρὶ
 εἰ μὴ μόνῳ Αἰλουρίωνι, ᾧ ἔτεκε μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία, ἀλλὰ
 μηδὲ δυνηθῆι μήτε φαγεῖν μήτε πιεῖν μήτε ὑπνου τυχεῖν διὰ
 παν-
 τὸς μήτε εὐσταθεῖν ἢ ἠχυράζειν τῇ ψυχῇ ἢ ταῖς φρεσὶ ἐπι-
 ζητοῦσα Αἰλουρίωνα, ὃν ἔτεκε μήτηρ Κοπρία, ἕως οὗ ἐκ-
 πηδήσῃ (ἐκπηδή-
 σῃ) ἐκ παντὸς τόπου καὶ πάσης οἰκίας Κοπρία, ἣν ἔτεκε μή-
 τηρ ὀνόματι Ταῆσις, ἥς ἔχεις τὰς τρίχας, πυρουμένη καὶ
 ἔλθη πρὸς Αἰλουρίωνα,
- 12 ὃν ἔτεκε μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία, φιλοῦσα ἐρῶσα ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς,
 ἐξ ὅλου πνεύματος, φίλτροις ἀκαταπαύστοις καὶ ἀδια-
 λείπτοις

- 13 και παραμονιμοις ερωτικοις ελουριωνα ον ετεκε μητηρ ονοματι κοπρια ερωτι θιω απο της σημερον ημερας απο της αρτι
- II.C 2 ωρας επι τον λοιπον της ζωης ατης κοπρια χρονον οτι σε εξωρκιζω νεκυδαιμων κατα του ονοματος του φοβερου και τρο-
- 16 μερου ου η γη το ονομα ακουσαα ανυγησετε ου οι δαιμονες το ονομα ακουσαντες εμφοβοι τρεμουσιν ου οι ποταμοι και εθαλασσε το ονομα ακουσαντες ταρασσοντε ου ε πετρε το ονομα ακουσαντες ρησωντε κατα του βαρβαριθαμ βαρβαριθαμ
- χελομβρα βαρουχαμβρα αδωναιου και κατα του αμβραθ αβρασαξ σεενγεν βαρφαραγγης και κατα του ιαω σαβαωθ ιαεω
- πακενψωθ πακενβραωθ σαβαρβατιαωθ σαβαρβατιανη σαβαρβαφαι μαρι ενδοξου μαρμαραωθ και κατα του ουσερβεν-
- II.C 3 τηθ και κατα του ουεερπατη και κατα του μαρμαραυωθ μαρμαραχθα μαρμαραχθαα αμαρδα μαριβεωθ μη μου παρακουσης των
- 20 εντολων νεκυδαιμων οστις ποτ ι ειτε αρρης ειτε θηλια αλ εγειρε μοι σεαυτον και υπαγε εις παν τοπον εις παν αμφοδον
- εις πασαν οικιαν και καταδησον κοπριαν ην ετεκε μητηρ ταησις ης εχικ τας τριχας της κεφαλης αιλουριωνι ω ετεκε
- μητηρ ονοματι κοπρια οπως μη βινηθη μηδε πυγιεθη μητε ηδονην ποιηση αλλω νεανικω η ετερω ανδρι αλλα μητε δυνηθη μητε φαγιν μητε πιν μητε υπνου τυχιν μητε ησυχαζιν τη ψυχη η τη διανοια επιζητουσα δια παντος ημε-
- 24 ρες κε νυκτος ελουριωνα ον ετεκε μητηρ ονοματι κοπρια φιλουσα ερωσα εξ ολης καρδιας εξ ολου πνευματος ως την εαυ-

- 13 καὶ παραμονίμοις ἐρωτικοῖς, Αἰλουρίωνα, ὃν ἔτεκε μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία ἔρωτι θείῳ ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας, ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρτι
- II.C 2 ὥρας ἐπὶ τὸν λοιπὸν τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς Κοπρία(ς) χρόνον. ὅτι σε ἐξορκίζω, νεκυδαίων, κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ φοβεροῦ καὶ τρομεροῦ, οὗ ἢ γῆ τὸ ὄνομα ἀκούσασα ἀνοιγέσεται, οὗ οἱ δαίμονες τὸ ὄνομα ἀκούσαντες ἔμφοβοι τρέμουσιν, οὗ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ αἱ
- 16 θάλασσαι τὸ ὄνομα ἀκούσαντες ταράσσονται, οὗ αἱ πέτραι τὸ ὄνομα ἀκούσαντες ῥήσονται, κατὰ τοῦ βαρβαριθαμ βαρβαριθααμ
 χελομβρα βαρουχαμβρα Ἀδωναίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ αμβραθ Αβρασαξ σεσενγεν βαρφαραγγης καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ιαω Καβαωθ Ιαεω
 πακενψωθ πακενβραωθ καβαρβατιαωθ καβαρβατιανη καβαρβαφαι μαρι ἐνδόξου μαρμαραωθ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ ουσερβεν-
 τηθ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ ου(ς)ερπατη καὶ κατὰ τοῦ μαρμαραυωθ
 II.C 3 μαρμαραχθα μαρμαραχθαα αμαρδα μαριβεωθ μή μου παρακούσης τῶν
- 20 ἐντολῶν, νεκυδαίων, ὅστις ποτ' εἶ εἴτε ἄρρην εἴτε θήλειαν, ἀλλ' ἔγειρέ μοι σεαυτὸν καὶ ὑπάγε εἰς πᾶν τόπον, εἰς πᾶν ἄμφοδον,
 εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν, καὶ κατάδησον Κοπρίαν, ἣν ἔτεκε μήτηρ Ταῆσις, ἣς ἔχεις τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς, Αἰλουρίωνι, ᾧ ἔτεκε
 μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία, ὅπως μὴ βινηθῆ μηδὲ πυγιθῆ μήτε ἠδονὴν ποιήσῃ ἄλλω νεανίσκῳ ἢ ἐτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ δυνηθῆ μήτε φαγεῖν μήτε πιεῖν μήτε ὑπνοῦ τυχεῖν μήτε ἠσυχάζειν τῇ ψυχῇ ἢ τῇ διανοίᾳ ἐπιζητοῦσα διὰ παντὸς ἡμέ-
- 24 ρας καὶ νυκτὸς Αἰλουρίωνα, ὃν ἔτεκε μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία, φιλοῦσα ἐρώσασα ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας ἐξ ὅλου πνεύματος ὡς τὴν ἑαυ-

- 25 τῆς ψυχὴν Κοπρία, ἧς ἔχεις τὰς τρίχας, φιλοῦσα ἔρωτι θείῳ
μέχρι θανάτου Αἰλουρίωνα, ὃν ἔτεκε μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κο-
πρία· ἤδη
ἤδη ταχὺ ταχύ (26-28 γράμματα καὶ χαρακτῆρες).²

§ K

- 29 αεο...ωαηωαιυαυεωιαεωμαρζα
μαριβεωθ. μή μου παρακούσης τῶν ἐντολῶν,
νεκυδαίμων, ὅστις ποτ' εἶ, ἀλλ' ἔγειρέ μοι σεαυτὸν
32 καὶ ὑπάγε εἰς πᾶν τόπον εἰς πᾶν ἄμφοδον
εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν καὶ ἄξον Κοπρίαν, ἣν ἔτε-
κε μήτηρ Ταῆσις, ἧς ἔχεις τὰς τρίχας, Αἰλουρι-
ῶνι, ᾧ ἔτεκε μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία, πυρου-
36 μένην καιομένην τηκομένην τὴν ψυχὴν
τὸ πνεῦμα τὴν γυναικείαν φύσιν, φιλοῦσαν
ἐρώσαν ἔρωτι θείῳ Αἰλουρίωνα, ὃν ἔτεκε
μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία, μέχρι θανάτου· ἤδη
II.C 4 40 ἤδη ταχὺ ταχύ. ἐγὼ εἰμι βαρβαδωναιαί
βαρβαδωναί ὁ τὰ ἄστρα κρύβων, ὁ τὸν οὐ-
ρανὸν κρατέων, ὁ τὸν κόσμον ἀληθεύων·
ιατθεουν ιατρεουν καλβιουθ Αωθ
44 Αωθ αβαθιουθ ιατ'θεραθ Αδωναιαί
ικαρ κυρια βιβιβε βιβιουθ νατθω

² Beginning approximately 22 cm. into line 27, a deep stroke extends, slanting upward, to the right edge of the tablet between lines 23 and 24. Another lighter stroke begins at the bottom left edge of the tablet beneath line 28, slopes upward, intersecting the line, and runs above it, ending just after the 18th cm. The original function of these lines may have been to indicate where a larger lead sheet was to be cut for this tablet.

46 αβαωθ αιαναφα αμουραχθη καταμα
 ζευς αθερεςφιλαυω

Translation: § J

- 1 *aberamenthooulerthexanaxethreluoothnemareba*
 II.A I deposit with you this binding spell, gods of the underworld, Pluto
 and Kore *yeseimmeigadon* and Koure Persephone Ereschigal and A-
 donis, who is also *barbaritha*, and underworld Hermes-Thoth *phoken-*
 4 *sepseu earektathou misonktaich* and mighty Anubis *pseriphtha*, who
 II.B holds the keys to the (gates) of Hades, and (with you,) chthonic spir-
 its, gods and goddesses who suffered an untimely death, boys and
 maidens, year after year, month after month, day after day, night af-
 ter night, hour after hour. I adjure you, all spirits in this place, to
 II.C 1 assist the *nekydaimon*. (Rouse yourself for me, *nekydaimon*,) who-
 ever you are, whether male or female, and go into every place, into
 every quarter, into every house, and bind Kopria, whom her mother
 8 Taesis bore, the hair of whose head you have, for Ailourion, whom
 his mother named Kopria bore, that she may not submit to vaginal
 nor anal intercourse, nor gratify another youth or another man ex-
 cept Ailourion only, whom his mother named Kopria bore, and may
 she not even be able to eat nor drink nor ever get sleep nor enjoy
 good health nor have peace in her soul or mind for her desire of Ai-
 lourion, whom his mother Kopria bore, until Kopria, whom her
 mother Taesis bore, whose hair you have, spring up from every
 place and every house, burning with passion, and come to Ailouri-
 12 on, whom his mother named Kopria bore, loving, adoring Ailouri-
 on, whom his mother named Kopria bore, with all her soul, with
 all her spirit, with unceasing and unremitting and constant loving
 affection, with a divine love, from this very day, from the present
 II.C 2 hour, for the rest of her, Kopria's, life. For I adjure you, *nekydai-*
mon, by the fearful and dreadful name of him at the hearing of
 whose name the earth will open, at the hearing of whose name the
 spirits tremble with fear, at the hearing of whose name the rivers
 16 and seas are tossed, at the hearing of whose name the rocks are cleft,

- 46 Cαβαωθ αιαναφα αμουραχθη καταμα
 Zeûc αθερεςφιλαω.

by the name *barbaritham barbarithaam chelombra barouchambra* Adonai and by the name *ambrath* Abrasax *sesengen barpharanges* and by the name Iao Sabaoth Iaeo *pakenpsoth pakenbraoth sabarbatiaoth sabarbatiane sabarbaphai mari* glorious *marmaraoth* and by the name *Ouserbenteth* and by the name *Ouserpate* and by the name *marmarauoth marmarachtha marmarachthaa amarda maribeoth*. Do not disobey my commands, *nekydaimon*, whoever you are, whether male or female, but rouse yourself for me and go into every place, into every quarter, into every house, and bind Kopría, whom her mother Taesis bore, the hair of whose head you have, for Ailourion, whom his mother named Kopría bore, that she may not submit to vaginal nor anal intercourse, nor gratify another youth or another man; and may she not even be able to eat nor drink nor get sleep nor be at peace in her soul or mind because of her constant longing, day and night, for Ailourion, whom his mother named Kopría bore, loving, adoring him as her own life, with all her heart, with all her spirit, Kopría, whose hair you have, loving Ailourion, whom his mother named Kopría bore, with a divine love until death. Now now quickly quickly! (26-28 letters and magical symbols).

§ K

- 29 *aeo...oaeoaiuaueoiaeomarza*
 maribeoth. Do not disobey my commands, *nekydaimon*, whoever
 32 you are, but rouse yourself for me and go into every place, into
 every quarter, into every house and bring Kopría, whom her mother
 Taesis bore, whose hair you have, to Ailourion, whom his mother
 36 named Kopría bore, burning, blazing, melting away in her soul, her
 spirit, her feminine part, loving, adoring with a divine love until
 40 death Ailourion, whom his mother named Kopría bore. Now now

II.C 4 quickly quickly! I am *Barbadonaiai Barbadonai* who conceals the
stars, who preserves heaven, who establishes the cosmos in truth.
44 *iattheoun iatreoun salbiouth aoth aoth sabathiouth iat'therath* Ado-
naiai *isar suria bibibe bibiouth nattho Sabaoth aianapha amourach-*
the satama Zeus atheresphilauo.

III. COMMENTARY

Section J¹

1 αβεραμεν --- νεμαρεβα: This palindrome, as Preisendanz (*Wien. Stud.* 41 [1919] 12) notes, is frequently associated with Typhon-Seth and/or magical epithets often connected with him (esp. *ιω ερβηθ ιω πακερβηθ* etc.); cf. *PGM* III 67f., 117f.; XIV 24; XXXVI 7f., 10-14; LVIII 36; *P. Laur.* IV 148. 14-16 with F. Maltomini's n. *ad loc.* (p. 50); abbrev. αβεραμενθωου λό(γος), *PGM* IV 181, 3272 (cf. below on *ιαεω*-palindrome p. 105). The formula does not, however, refer to this deity in our text, nor in *PGM* LIX 6 (listed with three other palindromes, the four being οἱ καλοὶ θεοὶ καὶ ἔνδοξοι); *PGM* V 178f. (Hermes); two amulets mentioned by Bonner 203 (Harpocrates). The fact that in *PGM* I 294 it occurs in an invocation to Apollo (Horus), the enemy of Seth, is perhaps not as surprising as Bonner (*loc. cit.*) thinks, since in various strands of Egyptian theology the two gods were reconciled and syncretised (R.W. Daniel, *ZPE* 50 [1983] 151f.; H. Te Velde, *Seth God of Confusion* [Leiden 1967] 63-73; J.G. Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth* [Liverpool 1960] 12, 35-37, 148); cf. also *PGM* II 125f., where the palindrome is preceded by Sethian *ιω ιω ερβηθ* in 115 and followed by an Apollo invocation in 132ff.

The syncretism of both Yahweh and Jesus with Typhon-Seth (Daniel, *loc. cit.*; R. Wunsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom* [Leipzig 1898] 108-113, 116) is probably what accounts for Αβεραμενθω as a name for Jesus in *Pistis Sophia* (IV 136, 139, 140, Schmidt/MacDermott pp. 354 [with n. 1], 360, 367; cf. Eitrem on *P. Oslo* I 1 [= *PGM* XXXVI], 5ff.; Maltomini *loc. cit.*; W. Fauth, *Oriens Christianus* 57 [1973] 106-120*). Conversely, for Seth as Satan, see below on *καταμα* (p. 104).

¹ The commentary is arranged as it corresponds to P (see above p. 20).

2-4: Deposition with the Underworld Gods

M² παρατίθημι ὑμῖν τὸν κατάδεσμον τοῦτον θεοῖς καταχθονίοις, Πλούτωνί τε καὶ Κόρη νεσεμμεϊγαδων καὶ Κούρη Περσεφόνη | Ερεσχειγαλ καὶ Ἀδώνιδι τῷ καὶ βαρβαριθα καὶ Ἑρμῆ καταχθονίῳ Θουουθ φακενσεψευ εαρεκταθου μiconκταιχ καὶ Ἀνούβιδι |⁴ κραταιῷ ψηριφθα, τῷ τὰς κλείδας ἔχοντι τῶν καθ' Ἄδους.

P³³⁵ παρακατατίθεμαι | ὑμῖν τοῦτον τὸν κατάδεσμον θεοῖς χθονίοις | νεσεμμεϊγαδων καὶ Κούρη Περσεφόνη Ερεσχειγαλ | καὶ Ἀδώνιδι τῷ βαρβαριθα, Ἑρμῆ καταχθονίῳ | Θουουθ φακενταζεψευ αερχθαθου μι³⁴⁰conκταικ ἀλβαναχαμβρη καὶ Ἀνούβιδι κραταιῷ ψιρινθ, τῷ τὰς κλείδας ἔχοντι τῶν καθ' Ἄιδου.

C¹ παρακατα(θ)τίθομαι ὑμῖν θεοῖς καταχθον[ίοις] καὶ θεαῖς καταχθονίαις, Πλούτωνι | νεσεμμεϊγαδωθ καὶ Κούρη Περσεφόνη Ερεσχειγαλ καὶ Ἀδώνιδι τῷ καὶ βαρβαριθα καὶ Ἑρμῆ | καταχθονίῳ Θουουθ καὶ Ἀνούβιδι κραταιῷ ψηριφθα, τῷ τὰς κλείδας ἔχοντι τῶν καθ' Ἄδ[ου].

W₁⁶ παρακατατίθημι ὑμῖν τοῦτον τὸν κατάδεσμον θεοῖς καταχθονίοις καὶ Πλούτωνι νεσεμμεϊγαδων ορθω Βαυ¹⁸βω, Κόρη Περσεφονή Ερεσχειγαλ καὶ Ἀδώνιδι τῷ βαρβαριωνηθ καὶ Ἑρμῆ καταχθονίῳ Θουουθ φακενταζεψευ καὶ Ἀνούβιδι καρτερῷ ψηριχθα κανχενε[...]^θ τῷ | τὰς κλείδας ἔχοντι τῶν καθ' Ἄδους πυλῶν.

W₂⁵ παρ[α]κατατίθημι ὑμῖν τὸν κατάδεσμον τοῦτον θεοῖς καταχθονίοις Πλούτωνι καὶ Κόρη |⁸ καὶ Περσεφόνη.

L¹ παρακατατίθεμαι ὑμῖν τοῦτον τὸν κατάδεσμον θεοῖς καταχθονίοις, Πλούτωνι καὶ Κόρη Περσεφόνη | Ερεσχειγαλ καὶ Ἀδώνιδι τῷ καὶ βαρβαριθα καὶ Ἑρμῆ καταχθονίῳ Θουουθ φακενσεψευ ερεκταθου μiconκταικ καὶ Ἀνούβιδι κραταιῷ ψηριφθα τῷ τὰς κλείδας ἔχοντι τῶν κατὰ Ἄδους.

The chthonic deities are invoked by their normal Greek or Egyptian names followed by magical names and *logoi*; cf. esp. Aud. 38.2ff., 6ff., 15ff., 32ff.: Ἑρμῆ

χθόνιε αρχεδαμα φωχενσεψευσ αρερταθου μiconκαικτ καὶ Πλούτων νε-
 σεμμιγαδων μααρχαμα καὶ Κόρη Ερεσχιγαλ ζαβαρβαθουχ καὶ Φερσεφόνη
 ζαυδαχθουμαρ. Such obscure combinations of vowels and consonants appear
 constantly in magical papyri, tablets, and gems. Both popular and literary sources
 designate them as βάρβαρα/βαρβαρικά ὀνόματα; e.g., *PGM VIII* 20f. οἶδά σου
 καὶ τὰ βαρβαρικά ὀνόματα· φαρναθαρ βαραχηλ χθα; cf. βαρβάρους τε
 καὶ ξενίζουσι τὴν ἀκοὴν ὀνόμασι (*Heliod. Aeth.* VI 14.23f. *Colonna* = VI 14.4
Rattenbury-Lumb); βαρβαρικά τινα καὶ ἄσημα ὀνόματα καὶ πολυκύλλαβα
 (*Lucian Nec.* 9; cf. *D. Meretr.* 4.5). Cf. also φωνὰς βαρβαρικάς (*Xen. Eph.* I
 5.7); βάρβαρα μέλη (*Eur. Iph. Taur.* 1337-38); *barbaro carmine* ([*Quint.*] *Decl.*
Maior. X 2 p. 190,25 *Lehnert*); *externa verba atque ineffabilia* (*Pliny NH XXVIII*
 20); cf. *Dodds, Greeks and Irrat.* 204f. n. 95.

βαρβαρικά refers to the non-Greek (often Semitic/Egyptian) nature of these
 words; the magical papyri occasionally specify the languages to which they sup-
 posedly belong: ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε κατὰ μὲν Αἰγυπτίους· Φνω εαι Ιαβωκ,
 κατὰ δ' Ἰουδαίους· Ἄδωναίε Καβαωθ, κατὰ Ἑλληνας· ὁ πάντων μόν-
 αρχος βασιλεύς (*PGM XII* 263f.); ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἐπικαλούμενός σε Κυριτὶ θεὸν
 μέγαν ζααλαηριφου. καὶ σὺ μὴ παρακούσης τῆς φωνῆς, Ἑβραϊκῆ· αβλα-
 ναθαναλβα αβρακιλωα (*V* 472f.). Such statements, however, are not always
 to be taken seriously; e.g., *Hopfner (OZ I § 708)* notes that in *PGM V* 114f., the
 name Osiris combined with his Egyptian epithet *Unnofer* (Οσοροννωφρις) is in-
 terpreted as Hebrew: τοῦτό ἐστιν σοῦ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἀληθινὸν τὸ παραδιδόμενον
 τοῖς προφήταις Ἰσραήλ. Nevertheless, belief in the power and efficacy of the
 magical names profited considerably from the aura of antiquity and sacredness
 associated with the Semitic languages. In addressing the question διὰ τί --- τὰ
 βάρβαρα (*sc.* ὀνόματα) πρὸ τῶν ἐκάστῳ οἰκείων προτιθῶμεν, *Iamblichus*
 answers, διότι γὰρ τῶν ἱερῶν ἔθνῶν, ὥσπερ Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων,
 οἱ θεοὶ τὴν ὅλην διάλεκτον ἱεροπρεπῆ κατέδειξαν, --- καὶ διότι πρῶτος
 καὶ παλαιός ἐστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος τρόπος τῆς φωνῆς, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπειδὴ οἱ
 μαθόντες τὰ πρῶτα ὀνόματα περὶ τῶν θεῶν, --- παραδεδώκασι ἡμῖν
 (*de Myst.* VII 4, *Parthy* 256, 3-13 [p. 192f. *Des Places*]). With his last reason cf.
Hdt. II 50.1: σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντων τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου
 ἐλήλυθε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. διότι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦκει, πυνθανό-
 μενος οὕτω εὐρίσκω ἕν· δοκέω δ' ὦν μάλιστα ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπῆχθαι.

Since the *nomina barbara* were the most ancient, it is not surprising that they were also regarded as the gods' "true" or "authentic" names (Τυφῶν μέγιστε, ἄκουσόν μου --- λέγω γάρ σου τὰ ἀληθινὰ ὀνόματα ιωερβηθ ιωπακερβηθ, *PGM* IV 277f.; cf. V 114f.; VIII 41, 43; XIII 621f.; XXXIIa 24f.) and as those whose power was irresistible (ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε τοῖς ἀγίοις σου ὀνόμασιν --- ὦν οὐ δύνη [παρα]κοῦσαι, *PGM* VII 690f.; cf. Hopfner, *OZ* I § 688). Thus, Iamblichus warns against attempts to translate them: κἂν εἰ οἶόν τε αὐτὰ μεθερμηνεύειν, ἀλλὰ τήν γε δύναμιν οὐκέτι φυλάττει τὴν αὐτήν (*de Myst.* VII 5 Parthey 257, 13-14 = p. 193 Des Places); cf. *Oracula Chaldaica* fr. 150 Des Places: ὀνόματα βάρβαρα μήποτ' ἀλλάξῃς. For skeptical reaction against the foreign names, see Plutarch *Mor. (de Sup.)* 166b; Porphyry *Epist. ad Anebonem* 33 Parthy (p. XL, 11ff. in his ed. of *de Myst.* = p. 22 Sodano); Hopfner, *OZ* I §§ 716ff.

On the βαρβαρικὰ ὀνόματα in general, see Kopp III pp. 110-28 (§§ 106-23); Abt, *Apol.* pp. 226-31; Kropp III pp. 116-122 (§§ 195-200); and esp. Hopfner, *OZ* I §§ 706-31. In addition to the present passage, magical names occur in § J 1 (cf. above p. 33), 16-19 (below pp. 76ff.), § K 40-47 (below pp. 92ff.), and §§ A, C, and E (below pp. 105ff.).

2 παρατίθημι: The active occurs elsewhere in magical papyri, but not in this technical sense of depositing a spell. It may be a mistake for one of the forms more commonly used with this meaning, either the middle of this verb (Aud. 29.25f., τὴν παραθήκην ὑμῖν παρατίθομε [i.e., -ομαι]; cf. 22.39; 26.27f.; 27.23; 30.31; 31.25; 32.27; 35.26) or παρακατατίθεμαι/ομαι (P, C, L, *PGM* VII 449) or παρακατατίθημι (W₁ and W₂; cf. the various versions of the formula κατάδησον τοὺς ἵππους ὧν τὰ ὀνόματά σοι παρακατατίθημι/παρακατατέθηκα in Aud. 234.30ff.; 237.3f., 21f.; 238.6f.; 239.4f., 18f.; 240.4f., 20f.). In the case of the above cited Aud. 29.25f. *et al.*, Audollent (index p. 474 and intro. lvii) incorrectly restores the first pl. παρατίθομεν of an uncontracted thematic active παρατίθω (on the analogy of 22.39); the contexts and sense require -μαι (cf. Harrauer, *Meliouchos* 59 n. 62). In light of the active forms of παρακατατίθημι in the Wortmann and Audollent texts, it may not be necessary to assume παρατίθημι incorrect.

παρατίθεσθαι and (to a lesser extent) παρακατατίθεσθαι mean "deposit" in various commercial and legal contexts: πρὸ τούτου παρεθέμην σοι [...] χρυκίου νομιματία δόκιμα (*BGU* III 941.8f.); ἠνάγκασεν τὴν δι' ἐναντία παρακατάθεσ[θα]ι τὰ δύο τάλ[α]ντα παρὰ κοινῷ μερείτῃ Κολλούθῳ (*P. Stras.* I 41.14). See Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* s.vv.; *idem*, *Fachwörter* s.v. παρατίθημι; K. Kaster, *Die zivilrechtliche Verwahrung des gräko-ägyptischen Obligationenrechts im Lichte der Papyri* (Nürnberg 1962), *passim*, esp. evidence collected on pp. 86ff.; W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten* [Leipzig and Berlin 1905] I 319f. on *P. Grenf.* I 14). Cf. esp. the above cited *Aud.* 29.25f. *et al.*, where the curse tablet is itself called a παραθήκη, the thought being, as in our text, that the invoked deities and *daimones* are the guarantors of the spell and responsible for its execution (cf. Harrauer, *Meliouchos* 58f.).

Πλούτωνί τε καὶ Κόρη νεσεμμειαδων: E. Kuhnert (*Rh. Mus.* 49 [1894] 49 n. 11) and F. Legge (*PSBA* 22 [1900] 121f.) have pointed out the connection of *yesehmeigadon* with Pluto in *Aud.* 38 (Wessely, *Ephesia Grammatika* 244): Πλούτων νεσεμμειαδων μααρχαμα καὶ Κόρη Ερεχιγαλ (3, 7f., 17f., 33f.); similarly in C 1f. (Πλούτωνι νεσεμμειαδωθ) and W₁ 7 (Πλούτωνι νεσεμμειαδων ορθω Βαυβω). Pluto, however, is lacking in P 336f. (θεοῖς χθονίοις νεσεμμειαδων) and *yesehm.* in W₂ and L. M's Κόρη νεσεμμειαδων suggests a female deity, as do parts of the common magical *logos* where *yesehm.* occurs most frequently: νεσεμμειαδων ορθω Βαυβω νοηρε σοιρε σοιρη κανκανθαρα Ερεχιγαλ κανκιση δωδεκακιση ἀκρουροβόρε κοδηρε (*PGM* II 32ff.; cf. V 424ff.; VII 680ff.; XIII 923ff.; W₁ 46ff. [in Artemis-Hekate adjuration]; *Aud.* 295.1ff.; *DMPVII* 25; J.M.R. Cormack, *HTR* 44 [1951] 26, col. IV 3ff. and nn. pp. 31ff.; the first three words occur in W₁ 7 cited above). The following elements indicate a particular connection with Hekate and her circle:

- a) ορθω: possibly a variation of Artemis' name Ὀρθία or Ὀρθωσία (see Höfer in Roscher III 1.1210ff. s.v.; Cormack, *op. cit.* 32). For Artemis' identification with Hekate/Selene, see, e.g., Theoc. 2.33; *PGM* IV 2523, 2720f., 2816; W₁ 39ff. with Wortmann's nn. (pp. 75ff.); cf. F. Maltomini's n. on *P. Münch.* II 28, fr. 13.1-2.

- b) Βαυβω: This name, originally associated with Demeter's myth and cult (F. Wehrli, *ARW* 31 [1934] 79ff.; N.J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* [Oxford 1974] 80ff.; 215f.), came to represent Hekate (h. to Hekate 59, 13.2 Heitsch [*PGM* IV 2715]; *PGM* IV 2958 [ms. Βαυβω]; VII 886 [Hekate/Selene]; inscription from Paros cited and discussed by O. Kern, *MDAI*, Ath. Abt. 16 [1891] 6-7 with n. 2). For Βαυβω in general, see T. Hopfner, *AO* 13 [1942] 183; Rohde *Psyche* II 408 (Eng. 591); F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (RGVV 33, Berlin/New York 1974) 168ff.; Schultz in Roscher I 1.752f. s.v. Βαυβω; Kern in *RE* III 150f. s.v.; Fauth in *Kleine Pauly* I 843ff. s.v.
- c) vonηpe: probably for Coptic ΝΟΥΡΕ, "vulture" (Crum 228B), a bird which was thought to be only of the female sex and was thus sacred to a number of goddesses, including Hekate-Selene (see R.W. Daniel, *ZPE* 19 [1975] 261 on P. Köln inv. no. 5512.7).
- d) Ερεχχιγαλ: Babylonian goddess equated with Hekate-Persephone; cf. below p. 40 on Κούρη Περσεφόνη Ερεχχιγαλ.
- e) ἀκρουροβόρε (*sc.* δράκων): "serpent swallowing the end of its tail"; cf. the more common ούροβόρος. The diagram of a serpent forming a circle by biting its tail occurs in magical papyri (*PGM* VII col. xvii, vol. 2 Taf. I 4; P. Berol. 21165 [ed. Wm. Brashear, *ZPE* 17, 1975, 28]) and especially in amulets (Bonner 250; Delatte/Derchain index p. 364). As a symbol of eternity, resurrection, and the underworld, the image is mainly connected with Helios-Osiris (i.e., Pluto; cf., e.g., Dittenberger, *Syll.* 996.20f. cited below p. 39), but on a secondary level may also be associated with the moon and thus Hekate, as is the case in the following invocation: Κόρη --- Ἐκάτη ἀκρουροβόρη Σελήνη (Aud. 41a.6). On ούροβόρος, see Delatte/Derchain p. 48 with lit. cited in nn. 2 and 3; M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte d. griechischen Rel.* II (München² 1961) 499 n. 7, 502f.; F. Maltomini, *SCO* 29 (1979) 92; L. Koenen, *ICS* 1 (1976) 135 with n. 32.

In addition, Kore, usually connected with Persephone (see below p. 40), is associated also with Hekate, sometimes called Persian (Nausik. fr. 2 Meineke [vol. IV 575] = fr. 2 Kock [vol. II 295]; A.R. IV 1020; Nonnos *Dion.* XIII 401;

Porphyry, *De Philosophia ex Oraculis haurienda* II 167 p. 151c Wolff; *Orph. h.* 1.9 Quandt; h. to Hekate 59, 13.4 and 22 Heitsch = *PGM* IV 2719, 2746; *PGM* XII 6 [on which see T. Hopfner, *AO* 13, 1942, 169]; W_1 60-61; ἀγάλματα Πλούτωνος Ἡλίου καὶ Κούρης Κελήνης in Dittenberger, *Syll.* III 996.20-21 and cf. F.J. Dölger, *Sol Salutis* [Münster, Westf., 1925] 347 with nn. 1 and 4; Aud. 41a.6 [cited above]; Κούρα τριώνυμος in Aud. 22.41, 23.1, 24.24, etc. [index p. 462; cf. Wortmann p. 79 note h]).

It is therefore possible to interpret νεεμμειγαδων in our text as an epithet of Kore Hekate, but it may also function with Pluto, since no other magical name occurs with him. The different versions of M and the parallels probably reflect a chthonic invocation which originally began with the great king and queen of the dead, Pluto with the magical name *yese*m. and Persephone preceded by the common Kore and followed by her Babylonian counterpart Ereschigal (so C; adopted in the hypothetical archetype below p. 114). Problems developed, however, over *yese*m., which was also felt to be connected with Artemis-Hekate-Selene. This perception may have generated the τε καὶ Κόρη expansion in our text and the ορθω Βαυβω addition in W_1 ; it may also explain the omissions of Πλούτωνι in P and *yese*m. in L. Since W_2 in this section omits most *nomina barbara*, it cannot provide reliable evidence on this point. One may note, however, that its reading Πλούτωνι καὶ Κόρη καὶ Περιφόνη envisions, like M, a chthonic trinity rather than dyad; so also in Aud. 38, Πλούτων --- καὶ Κόρη --- καὶ Φερσεφόνη (fuller citation above pp. 34f.).

Our difficulties with νεεμμειγαδων are compounded by the lack of any adequate etymology. J.M.R. Cormack (*HTR* 44, 1951, 32 [citing Eisler]) suggests Hebrew *hu'a* (used in glosses for *id est*) + *semo* ("his name") + a corruption of *gadol* ("great") thus, "i.e., his name is great." The element *-meigadon* has also been connected with *adon* (אדון) "Lord," or with the name Μιχάδων, one of the twenty-four elders (Rev. 4.4 *et al.*) mentioned in a Byzantine charm (A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina* [Moscow 1893] 342; see *PGM* vol. 3 p. 232), or with Ἄρ Μαγεδών, Mt. Magedon of Rev. 16.16, the site of the final conflict between Christ and the demonic powers (cf. Baudissin, "Adonis" 444f. n. 2; Drexler in Roscher II 2.2647 s.v. *Meliuchos*; F. Legge, *PSBA* 22 [1900] 121f.). In connection with the last, νεεε may be associated with the Phosteres [I]ECCEΥC and [IECCE]ΔΕΚΕΥ[C] of the Gnostic *Apoc. of Adam* (CG V 85.19ff. [*NHLib. Eng.* 264]),

whose names seem to be variations of the name of Jesus (cf. L. Koenen in *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism* II [Leiden 1981] 751f. with n. 73). The entire name, "Jesus of Magedon," would thus denote Christ as apocalyptic victor. $\nu\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ could also be a play on various spellings of Isis; e.g., Copt. $\text{H}\epsilon\epsilon$; Gk. $\text{E}\epsilon$ -, $-\eta\epsilon\iota$; (see *Lex. Äg.* III 186f.; Gignac I 242 n. 2). The advantage of this interpretation is that the underworld affiliations of Isis (Drexler in Roscher II 1. 462ff. s.v.), her syncretism with Hekate (*ibid.* 468; *P. Oxy.* XI 1380.113; Griffiths, *Isis Book* 152f.), and her occasional epithet $\text{K}\acute{\omicron}\rho\eta$ (*P. Oxy. ibid.*, 72, 105) are very congenial to our context. The problem, however, is that we are left without a suitable explanation of $-\mu\epsilon\iota\gamma\alpha\delta\omega\nu$.

2-3 $\text{K}\acute{\omicron}\rho\eta$ $\text{P}\epsilon\rho\sigma\epsilon\phi\acute{\omicron}\nu\eta$ $\text{E}\rho\epsilon\chi\iota\gamma\alpha\lambda$: in all parallels (with spelling variations) exc. W_2 , which has $\text{K}\acute{\omicron}\rho\eta$ καὶ $\text{P}\epsilon\rho\sigma\epsilon\phi\acute{\omicron}\nu\eta$. Magical texts associate the Babylonian underworld goddess Ereschigal with Persephone as here (*PGM* VII 984; Drexler in Roscher II 1.1584f. s.v. Ereschigal), but more frequently with Hekate; e.g., *PGM* LXX 4, 5, 9; most likely $\text{K}\acute{\omicron}\rho\eta$ $\text{E}\rho\epsilon\chi\iota\gamma\alpha\lambda$ in Aud 38 (cited above pp. 34f.; cf. also p. 39). The combination ($\text{A}\kappa\tau\iota\omega\phi\iota$) $\text{E}\rho\epsilon\chi\iota\gamma\alpha\lambda$ $\text{N}\epsilon\beta\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\sigma\omicron\upsilon\alpha\lambda\eta\theta$ (Delatte/Derchain 254 bis; Aud. 38.13, 242.42; *DMP* XXIII 16 p. 146; *PGM* IV 1417f., 2484f., 2749f., 2913f.; VII 317f.) is also Hekatean, $\text{N}\epsilon\beta\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\sigma\omicron\upsilon\alpha\lambda\eta\theta$ being one of her names (K. Preisendanz in *RE* XVI 2158f. s.v.; Delatte/Derchain p. 192 [on # 254 bis] and p. 338 [on # 517]). For Ereschigal in general, cf. Delatte/Derchain p. 192 (on # 254 bis); *DMP* VII 26 and n. (p. 61); Bonner 86, 197. See above p. 38f. for $\text{K}\acute{\omicron}\rho\eta$ as a name for both goddesses. On the Hekate/Persephone/Selene syncretism, see Steuding in Roscher I 2.1898 s.v. Hekate; Bloch *ibid.* II 1.1335 s.v. Kora; D. Wortmann, *ZPE* 2 (1968) 158.

3 $\text{A}\delta\acute{\omega}\nu\iota\delta\iota$: so spelled in L P W_1 (om. W_2); $\text{A}\delta\acute{\omega}\nu\iota\zeta\iota$ M. Confusion of A and Λ is a frequent error in manuscripts (examples in Renehan, *Gk. Text. Crit.* 45-47 [§§ 38, 42, 43] 56-59 [§ 49]; West, *Text. Crit.* 27; H.C. Youtie, *TAPA* 83 [1952] 102 [*Scriptiunculae* I 236]) and magical amulets (Bonner 13). The interchange between δ and ζ is late (2nd/3rd cent. on, cf. Gignac I 75f.; no examples in Ptolemaic pap. given by Maysner/Schmoll) and especially rare in Attic (Threatte 549f.). With $\text{A}\delta\acute{\omega}\nu\iota\zeta\iota$ cf. $\text{C}\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\zeta\iota$ (for $\text{C}\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\delta\iota$) *PSI* XIII 1332 (*SB* V 7992), 5-6 and 13; $\text{E}\upsilon\epsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota$ (for $\text{E}\upsilon\epsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota\delta\iota$) *BGU* I 94.2.

In our standard editions of magical papyri, tablets, and amulets the name Adonis occurs only (besides in P) in the threat against Aphrodite of *PGM* IV 2903:

οὐκ ὄψη τὸν Ἄδωνιν ἀνερχόμενον Ἄϊδαο. The operator continues the threat by asserting that he will bind Adonis in Hades. He then commands Aphrodite to bring him his beloved and adjures her by Ἐρεχχιγαλ Νεβουτοκουαληθ (Hekate-Persephone [see preceding n.]), i.e., the one who indeed has the power either to suppress or allow Adonis' return. Elsewhere in magic, Adonis appears within the same mythic context but with the obscure name Μελιοῦχος (see H.J. Thissen, *ZPE* 73, 1988, 304, against Ch. Harrauer's recent etymology). In texts discussed by Harrauer, *Meliouchos* 53-63, the god becomes closely identified with Osiris and is seen in connection with Hekate-Persephone (sometimes *Neboutosouaeth*), who reconstitutes his limbs (*PGM* III 45; prob. Aud. 27.19), brings them down to Hades (Aud. 22.32), and brings them up again (*sc.* to Aphrodite; Aud. 38.11f.). In general for the chthonic aspects of Adonis' myth and cult, see Lucian *de Syria Dea* 6-8; Baudissin, "Adonis" 442ff.; W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley 1979) 105-11, esp. 109f.; further bibliography in W. Atallah, *Adonis* (Paris 1966) 332-34. M and its parallels are unique, in that Adonis is not mentioned as a subordinate to the great underworld goddesses in adjurations by them, but is invoked with them as a chthonic deity in his own right and given the lofty but inappropriate *supernomen* βαρβαριθα.

τῶ καὶ βαρβαριθα: same in C and L; καὶ omm. P W₁. To my knowledge, the ὁ καὶ form is not elsewhere connected with deities in magical texts, the normal practice being to append epithets and *nomina barbara* asyndetically (see A.D. Nock, *JEA* 15 [1929] 223 [in an excursus not in *Essays*]). In inscriptions, cf., e.g., Χνούβει τῶ καὶ Ἄμμωνι, Κάτει τῆ καὶ Ἥρα, Ἀνούκει τῆ καὶ Ἐκτία, Πετεμπαμέντει τῶ καὶ Διονύσῳ, κτλ. (Dittenberger, *OGIS* I 130.7ff.; cf. also *ibid.*, index III [vol. 2, pp. 598ff.] s. vv. Ἄμμων, Διόνυκος, Ἐρμῆς, Ἐκτία; similarly ὁ καὶ in Vanderlip hymn IV 26 p. 63); in papyri: Σοκνεπτύνεως τ[ο]ῦ καὶ Κρόνου, *P. Tebt.* II 294.5 (=W.Chr. 78). For this and other conventions of attaching second names (variously termed *signa*, *agnomina*, *supernomina*), cf. M. Lambertz, *Glotta* 4 (1913) 78-143, 5 (1914) 99-170; Kubitschek in *RE* (ser. 2) II 2448-52 s.v. *signum*; R. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 21 (1941) 221ff., esp. 226-35; more recently, I. Kajanto, *Supernomina* (*Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* 40 [1] 1966) 7f.; L.C. and H.C. Youtie and U. and D. Hagedorn, *Das Archiv des Petaus* (Cologne and Opladen 1969) p. 54ff.; P. Thrans, *ZPE* 9 (1972) 140 and n. 5; Horsley, *New Docs.* I 89-96 (§ 55).

Barbaritha is most likely a Hebrew epithet (see below pp. 76f.) which usually occurs in a *logos* containing other Hebrew elements (see below p. 76). Both in and apart from the *logos* it is usually connected with Adonai (אֲדֹנָי "Lord"), one of the many names of the great God of the Jews. The name Adonis is most likely derived from the same Semitic root (cf. Baudissin, "Adonis" 423-42 [esp. 429]; W. Atalla, *op. cit.* 303ff., 335; W. Burkert, *op. cit.* 105f. with 192 n. 3 [n. 4 for opposing views]). It is probably for no reason other than the similarity of the two names that *barbaritha*, properly belonging to Adonai, is here applied to Adonis.

Ἑρμῆ καταχθονίῳ Θεουθ: This spelling of Thoth (cf. Θεουθ P W₁ L; Θεουθ C) reflects a tendency in magical texts to make divine names palindromic (ου counted as one sound); cf. esp. Θεουθουθ in W₄ 25 with Wortmann's n. p. 99. For various spellings of the month name Θεουθ, see Gignac I 95, 186. This Egyptian god was equated with Hermes, e.g., in his principal underworld role as ψυχοπομπός (P. Boylan, *Thoth the Hermes of Egypt* [Oxford 1922] 140f.; A. Rusch, *RE* [ser. 2] VI 1.367, 383ff. s.v. Thoth; Bonnet 812A s.v. Thoth; cf. also below on Anubis), and as the inventor and giver of spoken and written language (*PGM* V 402, 407; VII 669f.; XVIIb 2, 4; Plato *Phdr.* 274c-d and *Phlb.* 18b-d; L. Kakośy, *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 15, 1963, 124 and nn. 3, 7, 8; J. Černý, *JEA* 34 [1948] 121f.). The latter aspect is closely associated with the status of Hermes-Thoth as a god of magic, since among his linguistic accomplishments is the creation of magical language and magical books (δεῦρό μοι --- ἐπεὶ σου λέγω τὰ ὀνόματα, ἃ ἔγραψεν ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει ὁ τριμέγιστος Ἑρμῆς ἱερογλυφικοῖς γράμμασι, *PGM* IV 883ff.; cf. XIII 14ff.; XXIVa 2f.; Hopfner, *OZ* I § 707; Bonnet 808-09 s.v. Thoth; cf. also the general discussion of *voces magicae* above pp. 34ff.). In general, for Hermes-Thoth as a god of magic and his role in magical texts, cf. Hom. *Od.* X 281-306 (Hermes gives Odysseus the magical plant μῶλυ to counteract Circe's spell; see H. Rahner, *Griechische Mythen in christlicher Deutung* [Zürich 1957] 169ff. [Eng., *Greek Myths and Christian Mystery*, London 1963, 190ff.]); Borghouts *AEMT* # 5 (p. 2), # 91 (p. 65); J.G. Griffiths, *ZPE* 26 (1977) 287; N.O. Brown, *Hermes the Thief* (New York 1969) 11-21 (and index s.vv. "magic" and "Hermes as magician"); T. Hopfner, *AO* 3 (1931) 129-31.

φωκενσεψευ εαρεκταθου μιονκταιχ: om. C; φωκενταζεψευ only, W₁ 9f.; φωκενσεψευ ερεκταθου μιονκταικ L 2f.; φωκενταζεψευ αερ-
χθαθου μιονκταικ αλβαναχαμβρη P 339f. M and L prove that the last two
words of P should be so printed rather than Preisendanz's μιονκται καλβανα-
χαμβρη. Since Preisendanz did not have this evidence, the articles in *PGM* vol. 3
s.vv. καλβ αναχ αμβρη (p. 259B), αλβαναχαμβρη (p. 245A), and καλβα-
ναχαμβρη (p. 269B) reflect this misreading. For αλβαναχαμβρη, cf. *PGM* XII
471 and below on αβλαναθαναλβα (p. 108f.).

The *φωκενσεψ-*logos** is applied to Hermes-Thoth also in *PGM* LXVII 11-12
(on which see L. Koenen, *ZPE* 8 [1971] 205) and Aud. 38.2, 6f., 16, 33 (cited
above p. 34f.). Karl Fr. Schmidt (*GGA* 193 [1931] 452) explains φωκενγεψ
(spelling in *PGM* III 513) from the Egyptian *p3-hkr-n- hps̄*, "der mit dem Schwert
Geschmückte." The sword in question here is more specifically the scimitar (*hps̄*),
which one of the gods presents to the reigning Pharaoh as a symbol of victory
and royal power (Rosetta Stone line 39 Grk. [= 23 Demot., R6 Hierogl.]; A.H.
Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* [Oxford 1957] 584; W. Wolf, *Die Bewaffnung des
altägyptischen Heeres* [Leipzig 1926] 66-68). Due to its sickle shape, it may be
connected with the crescent moon, which is the knife (*ds̄*) used by the moon god
Thoth to behead the wicked (Bonnet 807B; H. Kees, *ZÄS* 60 [1925] 2ff.; for the
lunar associations of Hermes-Thoth, see *PGM* V 400f.; VIII 46; Plutarch *Is. et
Os.* 12 [355d] and 41 [367d] with Griffith's comments *ad locc.* [pp. 293f.; 458];
Rusch in *RE* [ser. 2] VI 1.354ff. s.v. Thoth; Roeder in Roscher V 845f. s.v.
Thoth; as noted above, the element αλβανα [Heb. "moon"; cf. below p.
109] is connected with this *logos* in P). On the Greek side, Hermes uses the scim-
itar to decapitate Argos (Ovid *Met.* I 717f. and cf. Lucan IX 662ff.; cf. also a gem
noted by Höfer in Roscher II 1.275).

The scimitar or sickle (ἄρπη) is also connected with other deities, e.g., Seth
(Massart, *Leid. Mag. Pap.* Recto II 2f. [p. 52] and Recto X 13f. [p. 81]); Zeus
([Apollod.] *Bibliotheca* I 6.3; *PGM* IV 3116); Kronos (*PGM* IV 3093; Hesiod
Theog. 175 and M.L. West's n. *ad loc.* [p. 217f.], where he argues that the ἄρπη
is the normal weapon in Greek myth for dismembering monsters and is not the
scimitar but the agricultural sickle; cf. M.P. Nilsson, *Annual of the British
School at Athens* 46, 1951, 122ff. [*Opuscula Selecta* III 215ff.]). In connection
with the first two, see *PGM* III 78f. (left) where the *φωκενσεψ-*logos** occurs

with common magical epithets of Seth; in *ibid.* 513f., 545f. it is associated with Helios (i.e., Zeus; see, e.g., *PGM* V 4).

3-4 Ἀνούβιδι κραταιῶ: thus also parallels (καρτερῶ W₁ 10). The Egyptian god Anubis is associated with Thoth in his underworld roles as ψυχοπομπός and judge of the dead (cf. above on Ἑρμῆ καταχθονίῳ Θουουῶθ; B. Altenmüller in *Lex. Äg.* I 328 s.v. Anubis; S. Morenz, *RG* 516; cf. also the representations of Anubis on linen discussed by Morenz in *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Forschungen und Berichte* I [1957] 52-70, Abb. 1, 8, 9 [*RG* 231-47 Abb. 3, 9, 10]). For Anubis in magical texts, see Hopfner, *AO* 3 (1931) 129; *ibid.* 7 (1935) 97ff.; Delatte/Derchain pp. 89-103; Bonner index p. 327 s.v.

4 ψηριφθα: so spelled in C 3, L 3; ψηριχθα W₁ 10; ψιρινθ P 341. In this *nomen barbarum* of Anubis, the elements ρι φθα probably represent Re Ptah. ρι also occurs in the combinations ωρι *PGM* I 133 ("Gross ist Re," Schmidt *GGA* 193 [1931] 443) and σουωρι I 135 ("Gross leuchtend ist Re" *ibid.* 444); Ρα and Φρη are preferred spellings in *PGM* (cf. φρι XIXa 4; *PGM Eng.* p. 338 s.v. Ra). Ptah was a creator god (see below on § K 42 pp. 98f.) and patron of all crafts (thus equivalent to Hephaistos; cf. *PGM* IV 1584f. with Hopfner's comment in *AO* 3, 1931, 327 with nn. 15 and 16; Höfer in Roscher III 2.2470f. s.v. Ptah). Later Egyptian theology (i.e., Middle/New Kingdom) closely associated Re and Ptah, and Amon-Re-Ptah were an important triad (cf. Leiden h. to Amon, cited by E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt* [Ithaca 1982] 219; H. te Velde in *Lex. Äg.* IV 1178 s.v. Ptah; cf. also M. Holmberg, *The God Ptah* [Lund 1946] 150-54). In *PGM* Ptah usually occurs with Re: Φθα Ρα Φθα ιη Φθα (XII 155); Ἡλιε Τιτάν, [ἐλθὲ καὶ] Ιαα καὶ Φθα καὶ Φρη (XXIII 5-6); Οσορωφρι Εμ Φρη Φρη Φθα (V 353); Φρηυ Φθα (VII 362); Αρκενοφρη ηυ Φθα ηωλι (i.e., ἡλίῳ, II 118; cf. *PGM* vol. 3 p. 232 s.v. Φθα. K.Fr. Schmidt's interpretation of the first word is *wršj-nfr-R* ', "the good watcher Re" [*GGA* 196, 1934, 173]; for others see H.J. Thiessen, *ZPE* 73, 1988, 305).

It is difficult to account for ψη-. It may represent Shai (Ψοῖ in *PGM*; equivalent to Greek Ἀγαθοδαίμων), the Egyptian god of destiny, sometimes associated with Re (*PGM* IV 1643; XXXVIII 16; "Son of Re" in Coptic invocation, III 680; cf. φηρ ψοι IV 2411 [= φρη ψοῖ? See *PGM* vol. 3 p. 233 s.v. ψοῖ]; see also J. Quaegebeur, *Le Dieu Égyptien Shai* [Leuven 1975] 76-80, 100f.; Bonnet 671f. s.v. Schai; T. Hopfner, *AO* 3 [1931] 149ff. With our word cf. esp. χα-

ριφθα, *PGM* IV 3013 [Preisendanz divides χαρι φθα]; χα, i.e., Shai?). On the other hand, ψηρι is very similar to Copt. ωΗΡΕ/ωΗΡΙ, "son" (Crum 584f.), but I find no evidence for Anubis as a son of Ptah. In some accounts, however, he is son of Re (Bonnet 42B s.v. Anubis; Budge, *Gods* II 261), and if we take ψη as ωε, a frequent abbreviation for ωΗΡΕ in Coptic magical texts (cf. Kropp I index p. 111), we have "son of Re-Ptah."

τῶ τὰς κλειδας ἔχοντι τῶν καθ' Ἄδου: Ἄδου P 341-342; Ἄδου W₁ 10f., L 3 (for the sigma, see Mayser/Schmoll I 1.183); Ἄδ[C 3. After τῶν καθ' Ἄδου, sc. πυλῶν, which is explicit in W₁ 11 (cf. Wortmann p. 70f.). This relatively rare use of κατά c. gen. denotes position at or in rather than motion downward; e.g., Diod. Sic. V 79.2: δικαστήν αὐτὸν ἀποδεδειχθαι καθ' Ἄδου, "He (Rhadamanthys) has been appointed judge in Hades." Cf. *idem* I 92.5; IV 26.1; κατὰ νηδύος, "in the womb" (of the *Argo*), A.R. IV 1328, 1354, 1373; κατὰ νότου, "at the rear," Thuc. IV 32.4, 33.1, 36.2 (see KG 1.476).

For Anubis with keys, see *PGM* IV 1466f. (κλειδοῦχέ τε Ἄνουβι φύλαξ); Delatte/Derchain 122; Wortmann p. 70 n. (f); Morenz, *Äg. Rel.* 262 with n. 79, Eng. 247f. with n. 8 (article cited in this n. also appears in *RG* 510ff.); J. Jeremias in *TDNT* III 745f. s.v. κλείς; *PGM Eng.* p. 332 s.v. Anubis. Similarly, Christ says, ἔχω τὰς κλείς τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ Ἄδου, *NT Rev.* 1.18; cf. 9.1, 20.1, Bauer s.v. Ἄδης.

4-6: Deposition with and Adjuration of the δαίμονες

M⁴ καὶ δαίμοσι χθονίοις θεοῖς ἄωροις τε καὶ ἄωραις, μέλλαξι τε καὶ παρθένοις, ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐξ ἐνιαυτῶν, μῆνας ἐκ μηνῶν, ἡμέρας ἐξ ἡμερῶν, νύκτας ἐκ νυκτῶν, ὥρας ἐξ ὥρῶν. ἐξορκίζω σε πάντας τοὺς δαίμονας τοὺς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ συμπαρασταθῆναι τῷ νεκυδαίμονι.

P³⁴² καὶ δαίμοσι καταχθονίοις θεοῖς ἄωροις τε | καὶ ἄωραις, μέλλαξι τε καὶ παρθένοις, ἐνιαυτοὺς |³⁴⁴ ἐξ ἐνιαυτῶν, μῆνας ἐκ μηνῶν, ἡμέρας ἐξ ἡμερῶν, ὥρας ἐξ ὥρῶν. ὀρκίζω πάντας δαίμονας | τοὺς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ συνπαρασταθῆναι τῷ δαίμονι τούτῳ.

C⁴ καὶ δαίμοσι καταχθονίοις ἄωροις τε καὶ ἄωραις, μέλλαξι τε καὶ παρθένοις, ἐννιαυτοὺς [ἐξ ἐν]νιαυτῶν, μῆνας ἐκ μηνῶν, ἡμέρας ἐξ ἡμερῶν, νύκτας ἐγ νυκτῶν, ὥρας ἐξ ὥρων. ὄρκ[ί]ζω | πάντας τοὺς δαίμονας τοὺς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ, συνπαράστατε τῷ δαίμονι τούτῳ.

W₁¹¹ κα[ὶ δεμ]ο[ς] [κα] |¹²ταχθονίοις θεοῖς τε καὶ ἄωροις, μέλλαξι τε [καὶ παρ]θένοις, ἐνιαυσίους ἐξξ ἐνιαυτῶν, μήνες ἐκ μ[ην]ῶν, ἡ[μ]έραις ἐξξ ἡμερῶν, νύκτε[κτε] < > ἐκ νυκτῶν, ὥρεσιν [ἐξ]ξ ὥρ[ω]ν. | [ὄρ]κίζω πάντας τοὺς δέμονας τοὺς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τ[ού]τῳ συμ¹⁶[{συμ}]?παρασταθῆναι τῷ δέμονι τούτῳ.

W₂⁸ καὶ δέμονες κα⁹ταχθονίοις νεκροῖς τε καὶ ἄωροις, παρθένοις καὶ μέλλαξιν, συνπαρασταθῆναι τῷ δέμονι τούτῳ.

L³ καὶ δαίμοσι κατα⁴χθονίοις θεοῖς ἄωροις τε καὶ ἄωραις, μέλλαξι καὶ παρθένοις, ἐνιαυτοῖς ἐξ ἐνιαυτῶν, μήνασι | ἐκ μηνῶν, ἡμέραις ἐκ ἡμερῶν, ὥρασι (ἐξ) ὥρων, νύκτες ἐκ νυκτῶν. ὄρκίζω πάντας τοὺς δαίμονας τοὺς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ συνπαρασταθῆναι τῷ δαίμονι τούτῳ Ἄντινόφ.

The word δαίμων covered so broad a spectrum of meaning that Aeschylus (*Pers.* 620) could use it for "spirit of the dead" (i.e., of Darius) and, a few lines later (628), "gods" (Ge, Hermes). The former, which is the sense in our text, appears as early as Hesiod *Op.* 122 (cf. West *ad loc.*) and is especially frequent in Lucian; e.g., *Philops.* 17, 29; *Peregr.* 27, etc. (in general, see Foerster in *TDNT* II 6ff. and Andres in *RE Supp.* III 275ff.; for δαίμων meaning "god" see below pp. 47f.). The more specific νεκυδαίμων is late and apparently confined to magic (Preisendanz in *RE XVI* 2240f. s.v. *nekydaimon*). Two points are especially important both for what follows and what has preceded. First, Greek thought distinguished between the spirits of the blessed and wretched dead, describing the former as μάκαρες, μακάριται, etc. (e.g., of Alcestis, αὐτὰ ποτὲ προὔθαν' ἀνδρός, νῦν δ' ἐστὶ μάκαιρα δαίμων, Eur. *Alc.* 1002f.; cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 633; Xen. *Ages.* 11.8; Theoc. 2.70 with K.J. Dover's n. [*Theocritus*, Basingstoke and London 1971, p. 105]; see Rohde, *Psyche* I p. 308 n. 1 [Eng. p. 246 n. 10]). Such stand in contrast to the ἄταφοι, βιοθάνατοι, and in our text ἄωροι, "the premature dead" (see below pp. 48f.). Second, the δαίμονες were viewed as the

subjects and attendants of the great underworld gods (ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ Πλούτωνι ὁ θεός [*sc.* Κάραπις], καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιτα δαιμόνων ἄρχων, Porphyry, *De philosophia ex oraculis haurienda* II p. 147c Wolff), esp. Hekate ('Ἐκάτην --- ψυχαῖς νεκῶν μέτα βακχεύουσιν, *Orph. h.* 1.1f. Quandt; 'Ἐκάτη --- φάσματ' ἔχουσα --- σε καλῶ σὺν ἀποφθιμένοισιν ἄωροι, *PGM* IV 2727ff.; cf. Porphyry, *op. cit.* p. 150b Wolff). Thus our spell, having first addressed the gods, proceeds to the lower rung of the chthonic hierarchy (cf. *PGM* IV 1443ff.; Aud. 22.35ff.; *et al.*). One should also note that while it is the underworld deities who are first invoked, it is the *nekydaimon*, assisted by the *daimones*, who accomplishes the spell. We see here reflected the principle stated by Plato (*Symp.* 202e), and further developed in Stoic and later Platonic theology, that the *daimones* as minor divinities function as mediators between the gods and men (see Foerster in *TDNT* II 3ff.).

4 καὶ δαίμοσι χθονίοις θεοῖς ἄωροι τε καὶ ἄωραι: thus also P (exc. καταχθονίοις) and L. The other readings may reflect theological difficulties posed by θεοῖς (see below), which C and W₂ omit. Wortmann (p. 69) proposes the following emendations for his tablets: κ[αὶ τοῖς] κ[α]ταχθονίοις θεοῖς τε καὶ (δαίμοσι), ἄωροι (τε καὶ ἄωραι) (W₁ 11f.); καὶ δαίμοσι καταχθονίοις νεκροῖς, (ἄωραι) τε καὶ ἄωροι (W₂ 8f.). With respect to the former, however, I choose to read with Koenen κα[ὶ δέμ]οσι κ[α]ταχθονίοις θεοῖς (ἄωροι) τε καὶ ἄωρ(α)ις.

δαίμοσι χθονίοις is normal word order for such anarthrous phrases (BDR § 474.1, see nn. to this section and Schwyzer 2.181 for exceptions); similarly, δαίμων καταχθόνιε (*PGM* I 253).^{*} In apposition to these words are θεοῖς ἄωροι τε καὶ ἄωραι, "gods and goddesses who suffered a premature death" (for the polarism, see below p. 53). It seems inconsistent that our spell (with P, L, and perhaps W₁) clearly distinguishes between the great chthonic gods and the lesser δαίμονες χθόνιοι, but yet designates the latter also as θεοί (thus Preisendanz's acceptance of Weinreich's emendation of P: θεοῖς καὶ δαίμοσι καταχθονίοις, ἄωροι τε καὶ ἄωραι; cf. A.D. Nock, *JEA* 15 [1929] 233 and n. 3 [in an excursus not in *Essays*]; Kambitsis p. 220). Two points, however, must be considered. First, there is a long history of interchangeability between θεός and δαίμων; e.g., δαίμων is equivalent to θεός in Homer (*Il.* I 222; VI 115; XXIII 595; *Od.* III 166 [Zeus]), *h. Hom.* IV 343 (Hermes), Aesch. *Pers.* 628 (χθόνιοι δαίμο-

νεε, i.e., the great underworld gods), Theoc. 2.28 (Hekate), esp. in the *Orphic hymns* (Quandt Πρὸς Μουσαίου 12; 17.8; 32.13; 34.5; further examples in Hopfner, OZ I § 166). In general, see A.D. Nock, *HTR* 23 (1930) 260ff. with n. 39 (*Essays* I 260f. with n. 39); Hopfner, OZ I §§ 11-12. Second, in various strands of religious thought the spirits of the blessed dead acquire divine status and constitute a secondary class of deities; cf. Lat. *Di Manes* (Steuding in Roscher II 2. 2316f.); Egyptian *3ḥw* (Griffiths, *Is. et Os.* p. 383f.; A. Erman, H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der äg. Sprache* I 15f.).

The real difficulty is that the *daimones* which are here called gods are not those of the blessed dead (see above p. 46) but of the ἄωροι, "the premature dead," i.e., those who die before fulfilling their allotted fate. The qualification of the ἄωροι in our text with μέλλαξι τε καὶ παρθένους, "boys and maidens," emphasizes that the group especially included those who die unmarried and/or without children, a fact which we already know from ancient grave inscriptions (e.g., κλαύσατ' ἄωρον ἐμὴν ἡλικίαν ἄγαμον, *SB* III 6706.16; παρθένος ἄωρος, *SB* I 2028; ἄορε ἄτεκνε, *SB* I 2642, III 6170 and 6231, IV 7296; cf. the curse formulae in Hom. *Il.* III 40 and *Od.* XVII 476). With this concept of the ἄωροι as a special chthonic class, cf. the more general topos, common to both literature and epitaphs, of early death as especially pathetic (e.g., Soph. *Ant.* 810-16; further material in Lattimore, *Epitaphs* 184-99, §§ 48-52).

Like the unburied (ἄταφοι) and those who die violently (βίαιοι/βιοθάνατοι), the ἄωροι cannot enter Hades, but must remain in a state of restless waiting and wandering until their destined time is fulfilled, a fact which makes them especially valuable for the purposes of magic, because of both their availability and hostility (Rohde, *Psyche* II 411ff., 424f. [Eng. 593ff., 603f.]; J.H. Waszink, *Tertulliani de anima* [Amsterdam 1947] pp. 564-86, on *de An.* chh. 56-57 [and cf. A.D. Nock's review in *Vigiliae Christianae* 4, 1950, 129ff. = *Essays* II 712ff.]; *idem*, *RAC* II 391ff. s.v. *Biothanati*; Norden, *Aen.* VI pp. 10-16, 41-43; R.W. Daniel, *ZPE* 19 [1975] 255f. and cited lit.). These categories of wretched spirits are sometimes grouped together, as in Aud. 29.19f.: ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς, δέμονας πολυάνδριοι κὲ βιοθάνατοι κὲ ἄωροι κὲ ἄποροι τάφης (cf. 22.30f.; 25.4f.; 26.20f.; *et al.*). Lucan merges the concepts of untimely and violent death in a description of one of Erichtho's rites: *viventis animas et adhuc sua membra regentis / infodit busto, fatis debentibus annos / mors invita subit* (VI 529ff.). In Verg.

Aen. IV 620, Dido prays upon Aeneas the fate of both ἄωρος and ἄταφος: *sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena.*

The problem of calling these unglorified souls θεοί becomes all the more acute when we take into account the widely accepted Egyptian idea that the spirits of the blessed dead (i.e., those who died having fulfilled their fates) become underworld deities by becoming Osiris. This transformation is sometimes described as occurring when the dead partake of Osiris through drinking water, which represents the Nile (S. Morenz, *Eranos Jahrbuch* 34 [1965] 420f., 428f. [=RG 197f., 206f.]; *idem*, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Forschungen und Berichte* 1 [1957] 52ff. [=RG 231ff.]; *idem* in *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine* [Colloque de Strasbourg 1967, Paris 1969, 75ff. = RG 248ff.]; Bonner 115 and n. 47; Wortmann 94f.; on Osiris as water, see *PGM* XII 234; Hopfner, *OZ* I §§ 455, 461 [p. 251]). Since the ἄωροι, the spirits which are invoked in our text, are not among the blessed dead, they have not yet become Osiris and so technically have not yet become gods (Wortmann 95; cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn's comment on πανάτιμος [*ZPE* 4, 1969, 190f.], which in the text under discussion seems to mean a spirit "without any honor," i.e., one which has not been glorified and become Osiris). Our spell, however, does not begrudge them the privilege of being called θεοί in anticipation of their future status, perhaps as a further means of persuading them to fulfill the wishes of Ailourion.

4-5 ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐξ ἐνιαυτῶν --- ὥρων: om. W_2 ; νύκτας ἐκ νυκτῶν om. P; L reverses the order of the last two phrases. C and W_1 have the same five elements as M in the same order, but spelling varies widely (see also textual appendix below pp. 114f.); e.g., M has ἐξ instead of ἐκ before μηνῶν and νυκτῶν (cf. ἐξ μέρη in *SB* I 4284.18; ἐξ νότου *P. Oxy.* XIV 1631.26; Gignac I 172f.); C has the common assimilated spelling ἐγ before νυκτῶν (Threatte 583f.; Mayser/Schmoll I 1.200; Gignac I 174); for W_1 's ἐξξ, cf. Threatte 555 with n. 1; Gignac I 162. In M, P, and C the first noun of each pair is accusative. W_1 and L have an odd mixture of datives and accusatives; both cases expressed "extent of time" in *koine* (BDR § 201). On the late -ec accusatives in both tablets, cf. Gignac II 46f.

Such phrases are elsewhere singular; e.g., ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας (Eur. *Rhes.* 445; Henioch 5.13 Kassel-Austin [*PCG* V]); NT 2Pet. 2.8; LXX Gen. 39.10, Ps. 60.9, 95.2, Is. 58.2, *al.*); ἐνιαυτὸν ἐξ ἐνιαυτοῦ (LXX Lev. 25.53; Deut. 15.

20); μῆνα ἐκ μηνός (LXX Paralip. I 27.1; Num. 28.14); in series: μῆνα ἐκ μηνός καὶ κάββατον ἐκ καββάτου (LXX Is. 66.23); ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας καὶ μῆνα ἐκ μηνός (LXX Est. 3.7); see M. Johannessohn, *Der Gebrauch der Präpositionen in der Septuaginta* (Berlin 1925) 289f.; Bauer s.v. ἡμέρα 2; and esp. W. Headlam's commentary on Herodas 5.85 (Cambridge 1922, pp. 268ff.). There seems to be a flexibility in Greek between singular and plural in certain time idioms, esp. with respect to νύξ; cf. ἐκ νυκτός (Xen. *Cyr.* I 4.2) and ἐκ νυκτῶν (Eur. *Rhes.* 13, 17) "after nightfall" (R. Renehan, *Greek Lexicographical Notes [Hypomnemata 45, 1975]* s.v. νύξ; W. Havers in *Festschrift für Paul Kretschmer* [Wien 1926] 49f.). With the datives in L and W₁, cf. ὥραις ἐξ ὥρᾶν νόμον ἀεὶ τόνδε κέβοντα, "always revering this law for all time" (i.e., time after time), Isyllos 25 (ed. I.U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, p. 133); on the grounds of this text, Wilamowitz emends ὥραε ἐξ ὥραε in Plutarch *Lycurg.* 6.2 to ὥραις ἐξ ὥρᾶν (*Isyllos von Epidauros* [Philologische Untersuchungen 9, 1885] 11).

In M the phrases modify παρατίθημι, "I deposit with you ... year after year, etc."; i.e., the effect of the deposition, Kopria's love, should last for all time. Although I find no examples of this wording in other magical texts besides M and parallels, the thought is common: ποιήσων αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀμώνειον --- (φιλεῖν) αὐτὸν Σεραπιακόν --- πᾶσαν ὥραν καὶ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν καὶ πᾶσαν νύκτα (*PGM XXXIIa* 16ff.); μὴ ἐάσει αὐτὸν λαλήσειν (i.e., -σαι) αὐτῷ μήτε νύκταν (sic!) μήτε ἡμέραν μήτε μίαν ὥραν (*PGM O* 1.9ff.). Cf. also below p. 67 on ἀπὸ τῆς --- χρόνον line 13f.

5-6 ἐξορκίζω σε πάντα τοὺς δαίμονας: om. W₂; ὀρκίζω *cett.* Only our text has σε, resulting in a confusing progression from plu. (δαίμοσι line 4) to sing. (σε) to plu. (δαίμονας). In each instance where strange shifts in number occur in magical texts, we must discern whether they arise from mere carelessness in the use of common formulae or from other causes, such as religious orientation. M displays the former tendency, as is evident by way of comparison with Youtie-Bonner, "Beisan" obv. frag. 1.19f.: ὀρκίζω σε (mw) κύριοι ἄγγελοι φιμώσ[ατε] κὲ ὑπατάξατε κτλ.; cf. also ἀνάκτηθι, δαίμων καταχθόνιε, (mw), ὃ ἐὰν ἐπιτάξω ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὁ δεῖνα, ὅπως ἐπήκοοί μοι γένησθε, *PGM I* 253ff.; ταχέω[c] ἄξων (mw + Greek formulae) ἄξατε κτλ., P. Köln inv. no. 5512.10ff. (ed. R.W. Daniel, *ZPE* 19 [1975] 258). In these texts the circumstances are different: the initial adjuration/invocation of the *daimon* in the

singular is followed by *nomina barbara* and/or *voces magicae* so that by the time he is addressed again, the one has become the many through the multiplying of magical names (cf. *PGM Eng.* p. 44 n. 65 on *PGM IV* 294). In such cases, carelessness may have caused the shift, but it is more likely that we are dealing with syncretistic ideas of a multiplicity of gods viewed as a single deity and *vice versa* (cf. Youtie/Bonner, "Beisan" 59f./625f.; Daniel, *op. cit.* 264; *idem*, *ZPE* 50 [1983] 153f.). Closer to the situation of M is Aud. 38. 4, where ὀρκίζω εἰ is applied to several gods for no apparent reason other than negligence.

6 *συνπαρασταθῆναι*: thus also P 346, W₁ 15f., W₂ 10f.; *συνπαρασθῆναι* L 6; *συνπαράστατε* (= -σθητε?) C 6. The verb is used elsewhere of divine aid; cf. ἅπαντι δαίμων ἀνδρὶ συμπάρισταται εὐθὺς γενομένῳ (Men. fr. 714 K.); τὸν --- συμπαρασταντα αὐτῷ μέγιστον θεόν (Dittenberger, *OGIS I* 194. 18f.; cf. Lampe s.v.).

τῷ νεκυδαίμονι: only M; τῷ δαίμονι τούτῳ *cett.*; both refer to the specific ghost by whose grave the operator places the tablet and whom all the other spirits in the same cemetery (πάντας τοὺς δαίμονας τοὺς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ) are commanded to assist in drawing his beloved to him. On the word νεκυδαίμων, see above p. 46.

6-10: First Command to the νεκυδαίμων

M⁶ (ἔγειρέ μοι σεαυτόν, νεκυδαίμων,) ὅστις ποτὲ εἴ εἴτε ἄρρην εἴτε θήλειαν, καὶ ὑπαγε εἰς πᾶν τόπον, ἢ εἰς πᾶν ἄμφοδον, εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν, καὶ κατάδησον Κοπρίαν, ἣν ἔτεκε μήτηρ Ταῆσις, ἣς ἔχει τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς, Αἰλουρίωνι, ¹⁸ ᾧ ἔτεκε μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία, ὅπως μὴ βινηθῆ μηδὲ πυγισθῆ μήτε ἡδονὴν ποιήσῃ ἑτέρῳ νεανίσκῳ ἢ ἄλλῳ ἀνδρὶ ἢ εἰ μὴ μόνῳ Αἰλουρίωνι, ᾧ ἔτεκε μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ δυνηθῆ μήτε φαγεῖν μήτε πιεῖν μήτε ὑπνοῦ τυχεῖν διὰ παντὸς μήτε εὐσταθεῖν ἢ ἡσυχάζειν τῇ ψυχῇ ἢ ταῖς φρεσὶ ἐπιζητοῦσα Αἰλουρίωνα, ὃν ἔτεκε μήτηρ Κοπρία.

P³⁴⁷ καὶ ἀνέγειρέ μοι σεαυτόν, ὅστις ποτ' εἴ ¹³⁴⁸ εἴτε ἄρρην εἴτε θήλυς, καὶ ὑπαγε εἰς πάντα τόπον ἢ καὶ εἰς πᾶν ἄμφοδον καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν καὶ ἄξον ἢ καὶ κατάδησον· ἄξον τὴν δεῖνα· ἣν (ἔτεκεν ἢ) δεῖνα, ἣς ἔχει τὴν οὐκίαν, φιλοῦσάν με τὸν δεῖνα, ὃν ἔτε-

κεν ἢ δεῖνα· μὴ βινη¹³⁵²θήτω, μὴ πυγιθήτω μηδὲ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ποι-
ή[*c*]η μετ' ἄλλου ἀνδρός, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἐμοῦ μόνου, τοῦ δεῖνα· ἵνα μὴ
δυνηθῆ ἢ δεῖνα μήτε πεῖν μήτε φαγεῖν, μὴ ἰ στέργειν, μὴ καρτερεῖν,
μὴ εὐσταθῆσαι, μὴ ὕπνου ¹³⁵⁶ [τ]υχεῖν ἢ δεῖνα ἐκτὸς ἐμοῦ, τοῦ δεῖνα·

C ⁶ διέγλιρέ μοι σεαυτόν, νέκυς δαίμων, ὅστις ποτὲ εἶ, εἴτε ἄρσης
εἴτε θήλια, καὶ ὕπαγε {*ι*c}ίς πάντα τόπον καὶ ¹⁸ εἰς πᾶν ἄμφοδον
καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν καὶ κατάδησον Ἑρωνοῦν, ἣν ἔτεκεν Πτολε-
μαίς, ἐμοὶ Ποσιδωνίῳ, ὃν ἔτεκεν Θεουβάθις, ὅπως μὴ βεινηθῆ, μὴ
πυγιθῆ, μὴ λεικάσῃ, μηδὲν πρὸς ἰ ἡδονὴν ποιήσῃ ἄλλω ἀνδρὶ εἰ μὴ
ἐμοὶ μόνω Ποσιδωνίῳ, ἵνα μὴ δύνηται Ἑρωνοῦς μὴ ἰ φαγεῖν, μὴ πεῖν,
μὴ στέργειν, μὴ καρτερεῖν, μὴ εὐσταθεῖν, μὴ ὕπνου τυγχάνειν ἐκτὸς
ἐμοῦ ¹² Ποσιδωνίου·

W₁ ¹⁶ ἔγειρέ μοι σεαυτόν ἰ [ἀπὸ τ]ῆ[*c*] ἐχούσης σε ἀναπαύσεως
καὶ ὕπαγε εἰς πᾶν ἰ [τό]πον καὶ εἰς πᾶν ἄμφοδον [*ε*] καὶ εἰς πᾶ-
σαν οἰκίαν ἰ [καὶ π]ᾶν καπηλίον καὶ ἄξον, κατάδησον Ματρῶναν,
²⁰ [ἣν ἔτ]εκεν Ταγένη[*c*], ἣς ἔχῃς τὴν οὐσία (i.e., -αν)—ἐ τρίχες
τῆς ἰ [κεφ]αλῆς αὐτῆς—ταύτην, ὅπως μὴ βινηθῆ, μὴ πυγιθῆ, μὴ ἰ
[λα]κάσῃ μήτε ἀφρο(δι)σιακὸν ἐπιτελέσῃ μεθ' ἑτέρου, μὴ ἰ [ἄλ]λω
ἀντρὶ συνέλθῃς (i.e., -θη) εἰ μὴ Θεοδώρῳ, ὃν ἔτεκεν Τεχῶσις, ²⁴
[ἄλλ]ᾶ μὴ [δυ]νηθῆτω πάποτε Ματρῶνα χωρὶς Θεοδώρο' υ' ἰ [μὴ
καρτε]ρίν, μὴ εὐσταθῖν, μηδὲ ὕπνου τυχεῖς (i.e., -εῖν) νυκτὸς ἰ [ἣ
ἡμέρας Ματ]ρῶνα, ἣν ἔτεκεν Ταγένη, οὗ ἰσιν ἐ τρίχες ἰ [τῆς κε-
φαλῆς] αὐτῆς, χωρὶς Θεοδώρου, ὃν ἔτεκε Τεχῶσις·

W₂ ¹² ὅστις ποτὲ εἶ, Ἐκαμῆ[]*c*' νεκυδαίμων, ἔγειρέ μοι σεαυτόν
ἀπὸ τῆς ἐχούσης ἰ σε ἀναπαύσεως. --- ¹⁷ οἴπαγε εἰς [ου] πᾶν τό-
πον καὶ εἰς ἰ π' ἄν ἰ ἄμφοδον καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν ἰ καὶ εἰς πᾶν
καπηλίον καὶ κατά²⁰δησον Ματρῶναν, ἣν ἔτεκεν ἰ Ταγένη, ἣς
ἔχῃς τὰς τρίχες τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς, ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ Θεοδώρου, ἰ ὃν ἔτε-
κεν Τεχῶσις. ποιήσον τὴν ²⁴ Ματρῶναν ὑποταγῆναι Θεοδώρῳ, ἰ μὴ
δαμῆ ἐκτὸς Θεοδώρῳ μη(δεν) ἰδὲ ὕπνου τυγχάνῃ Ματρῶνα ἰ νυκτὸς
καὶ ἡμέραις, ἕως ἔλθῃ ²⁸ Ματρῶνα πάσῃ ὥρᾳ πρὸς Θειόδωρον
φιλοῦσα αὐτόν.²

² For the interruption of the first command in lines 14-16 cf. above p. 18. For
μὴ δαμῆ, 25f. see ZPE 83 (1990) 235-36.*

L⁶ διέργειραί μοι σελαυτὸν καὶ ὑπαγε εἰς πᾶν τόπον, εἰς πᾶν ἄμφοδον, εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκείαν καὶ κατάδησον Πτολεῖ⁸μαΐδα, ἣν ἔτεκεν Ἄϊας, τὴν θυγατέρα Ὠριγένους, ὅπως μὴ βινηθῆ, μὴ πυγιθῆ, μηδὲν πρὸς ἡδονὴν ποιήσῃ ἑταίρω ἀνδρὶ εἰ μὴ ἐμοὶ μόνω τῷ Καρπάμμωνι, ὃν ἔτεκεν Ἀρέα, καὶ μὴ ἀφῆς αὐτὴν φαγεῖν, μὴ πεῖν, μὴ στέγειν μήτε ἐξελεθεῖν μήτε ἵπνου τυχεῖν ἐκτὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ Καρπάμμωνος, οὗ ἔτεκεν Ἀρέα.*

For the repetition of much of this material in the second command, see below pp. 85f. The entire passage, as well as the preceding (lines 4-6; cf. above pp. 45ff.), achieves intensity through various stylistic devices, esp. polar expression (i.e., the exhaustion of a concept by the juxtaposition of two contrasting words or ideas, such as male/female, young/old, day/night, etc.; cf. esp. E. Kemmer, *Die polare Ausdrucksweise in der griechischen Literatur* [Beiträge zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache 15, ed. M. Schanz] Würzburg 1903; also KG 2. 587f. [Anm. 2]; J.B. Hofmann, *Glotta* 15 [1927] 45ff.; H. Zilliacus, *Zur Abundanz der spätgriechischen Gebrauchssprache* [Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 41.2, 1968] pp. 32ff.; G.E.R. Lloyd, *Polarity and Analogy* [Cambridge 1966] 90ff.; M.L. West, *Hesiod Works and Days* [Oxford 1978] p. 197 [on line 175]). E.g., θεοῖς ἀώροις τε καὶ ἀώραις (line 4; cf. ὀμνύω ὑμῖν θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας, Xen. An. VI 1.31; εὐχεσθε τοῖς θεοῖσι τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις καὶ ταῖς Ὀλυμπιάσι, Ar. Thes. 331f.; see also Kemmer, *op. cit.* p. 146; Höfer in Roscher III 1.1551ff. s.v. *pantes theoi*); μέλλαξί τε καὶ παρθένοις (4; cf. κόρω καὶ κόρη, Plato *Legg.* 785a); εἶτε ἄρσης εἶτε θήλεια (6; cf. περὶ τελευτήσαντας δὴ, εἶτε τις ἄρρην εἶτε τις θήλυς ἦ, *ibid.* 958d and cf. below pp. 54f.); ἡμέρας ἐξ ἡμερῶν, νύκτας ἐξ νυκτῶν (5, cf. νύκτες τε καὶ ἡμέματα, Hom. *Od.* XI 183; νύκτες ἡμέραι τε, Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 398); ὅπως μὴ βινηθῆ μηδὲ πυγιθῆ (8); μήτε φαγεῖν μήτε πειεῖν (9; for polarism with various verbs, see Kemmer, *op. cit.* 209ff.). It is not surprising that many of the above parallels occur either in legal or religious contexts, since there were similar tendencies in both toward meticulousness and emphasis, as also in magic (cf. below p. 56 on Κοπρίαν --- Ταῆσις; Zilliacus, *op. cit.* p. 33).

6-7 ὅστις --- Κοπρίαν: Although this section makes sense as it stands (καὶ ὑπαγε --- καὶ κατάδησον), the parallels, esp. C 6f., make probable the following haplography: --- νεκυδαίμωνι. (ἔγειρέ μοι σεαυτὸν νεκυδαίμων)

ὅστις ποτὲ εἶ κτλ. (cf. νεκυδαίμων ὅστις in line 20 and parallel sections of C and W₁ [below pp. 83f.]).

ὁ ὅστις ποτὲ εἶ εἴτε ἄρσιν εἴτε θήλεια: addressed to the *nekydaimon*, the identity of its corpse being unknown (as in P 347f., C 7; om. W₁). In L 6 (above p. 46) the name of the dead (Ἀντίνοος) is known and applied to his spirit (see Kambitsis 216f.; Rohde *Psyche* II 425 [Eng. 604]). According to Daniel - Maltomini, in W₂ 12 the scribe added the name Καμῆ[[v]c after ὅστις ποτὲ εἶ (*Suppl. Mag.* p. 209). Similar phrases occur in Greek and Latin prayers when the petitioner, wishing to avoid calling the gods by inappropriate names, resorts to generalities and to mentioning several options. In general, cf. ὦ γῆς ὄχημα κἀπὶ γῆς ἔχων ἔδραν | ὅστις ποτ' εἶ κύ, δυστόπατος εἰδέναι | Ζεός, εἴτ' ἀνάγκη φύσεος εἴτε νοῦς βροτῶν | προσηυξάμην σε, Eur. *Tro.* 884ff.; in *Capitolio fuit clipeus consecratus, cui inscriptum erat "genio urbis Romae, sive mas sive femina." et pontifices ita precabantur: "Iuppiter optime maxime, sive quo alio nomine te appellari volueris"; nam et ipse (Verg. *Aen.* IV 576) ait: "sequimur te, sancte deorum, quisquis es." Servius ad *Aen.* II 351 (Thilo-Hagen I 277; Harvard II 416); cf. esp. Lucius' prayer to Isis (Apul. *Met.* XI 2 on which see Griffiths, cited below p. 55): *regina caeli, sive tu Ceres --- seu tu caelestis Venus --- seu Phoebi soror --- seu --- Proserpina --- quoquo nomine, quoquo ritu, quaquam facie te fas est invocare: tu meis iam nunc extremis aerumnis subsiste*; with the last text cf. Anchises' greeting of Aphrodite in *h. Hom.* V 92ff.*

More specifically, for ὅστις ποτ' (οὖν) εἶ (and related phrases), usually applied to *daimones* in magical texts, cf. *PGM* IV 1240, 1244; V 334f.; Aud. 234.1; 235.1; 237-240 (first line); 242.1; 249a col. 1, 1; first line of most of Aud.'s Cyprus tablets (22, 25-26, 28-35); applied to gods: Hom. *Od.* V 445; Aesch. *Ag.* 160 (with E. Fraenkel's commentary *ad loc.* [vol. II pp. 99f.]); Plato *Cra.* 400e (further Platonic parallels in J. Burnet's commentary on *Phaedo* [Oxford 1911], p. 111 [n. on 100d 6]); Catul. 34.21f.; Livy I 2.6; Ovid *Met.* I 32. εἴτε --- εἴτε, similarly, of *daimones* in magic: ὀρκίζω σε πᾶν πνεῦμα δαιμόνιον --- εἴτε ἐπίγειον εἴτε ὑπόγειον ἢ καταχθόνιον (*PGM* IV 3037ff.); βιοθάνατοι εἴτε ξένοι ἴτε ἐντόπιοι ἴ[τε ἄωροι ἴτε ἄποροι τάφης] (Aud. 25.4-6); applied to gods: A.R. IV 1411ff., 1597ff.; Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 15f.; hymn to Attis, 44.2.1f. Wolbergs: εἴτε Κρόνου γένος εἴτε Διὸς μάκαρ | εἴτε Ῥέας μεγάλας, χαῖρε. For distinguishing male and female, cf. πᾶν ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα ἄρσεν καὶ

θηλυ in the amulet of Cod. Paris. 1316, 318^v ss. (R. Reitzenstein, *Poim.* 298); Aud. 198.4-5; 25.2 (cf. also above p. 53 on polar expression).

For other examples, interpretations, and literature on such predications as the above, see esp. Norden, *Ag. Th.* 144-47; Griffiths, *Isis Book* 119ff. (on Apul. *Met.* XI 2 cited above); see also Kagarow 41; Kopp III § 114 (pp. 120ff.); H. Usener, *Götternamen* (Frankfurt/Main 1948) 336 with n. 11; C. Ausfeld, *De Graecorum precationibus quaestiones in Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Supp. 28 (1903) 517f.; H.S. Versnell in *Faith, Hope, and Worship* (ed. Versnell), Leiden 1981, 14-16.

ἄρκην: tab. ἄρκης, as also in C; ἄρρην P; cf. ἄρρης M 20 and P 361, 370. For ἄρκης cf. also *P. Oxy.* III 465.147; Jeremiah 30.6 Symmachus (see *Origenis Hexapla*, ed. F. Field [Oxford 1895] II p. 653 with n. 12; cf. also J.F. Schleusner, *Novus Thesaurus Philologico-criticus* [Glasgow² 1822], s.v. ἄρκης). The final -c spellings of both stems may reflect an interchange of final -c and -v, which tended to be silent letters (Gignac I 131f.; e.g., in W₁ οὐσίαc for ουσίαv 20; τυχείc for τυχείv 25; examples also in 23, 54, and 70).

6f. ὕπαγε εἰς πᾶν τόπον --- κατάδησον Κοπρίαν: identical to L 7, where also the phrases are asyndetic. C 7f. differs only in the addition of καί's (καί's also in W₁ 17f., W₂ 17ff., P 348ff.; for πᾶν/πάντα τόπον, see next note). W₁ and W₂ add εἰς πᾶν καπηλίον to the sequence (see above p. 7). ἄξον (καί) precedes κατάδησον in P 349f. and W₁ 19. These two words are joined elsewhere (e.g., P 395; *PGM* XXXII 14; ἄξαι καὶ καταδησαι *ibid.* 4f.); see also in our text § K 33, where ἄξον replaces κατάδησον in a reiteration of these formulae.

For the thought cf. ἔγειρε σεαυτήν, Ζμύρνα, καὶ ὕπαγε εἰς πᾶν τόπον καὶ ἐκζήτησον τὴν δεῖνα καὶ ἄνοιγον αὐτῆς τὴν δεξιὰν πλευρὰν καὶ εἴσελθε ὡς βροντὴ --- ἕως --- ἔλθη πρὸς ἐμέ (*PGM* XXXVI 353ff.). The structure of these "binding" spells closely resembles that of certain "loosing" spells, the difference being a heavenly rather than an earthly sphere of operation in the latter: χώρει, κύριε, εἰς τὸν ἴδιον κόσμον καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους θρόνους, εἰς τὰς ἰδίας ἀψίδας καὶ διατήρησόν με καὶ τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον ἀπημάντους (*PGM* V 41ff.); cf. II 181f.; IV 920ff., 3122f.; see also J.H. Niggemeyer, *Beschwörungsformeln aus dem "Buch der Geheimnisse"* (Judaistische Texte und Studien III [New York 1975]) 97f.

πᾶν τόπον: thus W₁ 17f., W₂ 17, L 7; πάντα P 348, C 7. For πᾶν as the accusative sing masc./fem., see Gignac II 134 with n. 2; Mayser I 2.32; in the LXX πᾶν πόνον (Paralip. II 6.28); πᾶν λόγον (*ibid.* 19.11); see R. Helbing, *Grammatik der Septuaginta* (Göttingen 1907) 51.

ἄμφοδον: "Street" is the more restricted sense; more often, "quarter," "ward," "block of houses surrounded by streets." See C.D. Buck, S.J. Case, *Classical Philology* 17 (1922) 116 n. 1; s.v. in Bauer; Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* III Abs. 22; *idem*, *Fachwörter*. Thus, the three phrases represent a narrowing circumference ("place --- block --- house") as the *nekydaimon* "closes in" on Kopria. For a similar rhetorical effect, cf. Cicero's triad *Italia --- urbes --- tecta* (*In Cat.* I 11.29).

7 Κοπρίαν ἦν ἔτεκε μήτηρ Ταῆσις: Only M has μήτηρ. Cf. P 315f. (*praxis*; above p. 9), where the instructions specify to write on the effigy τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ἀγομένης μητρόθεν. Such is the common practice in Greco-Egyptian magic, probably because the mother was the indisputable parent (L 6, however, gives both parents' names [see Kambitsis *ad loc.* and F. Maltomini, *Aegyptus* 59, 1979, 282]). On τὸ μητρόθεν ὄνομα in general, cf. F. Maltomini, *loc. cit.*; D.R. Jordan, *Philologus* 120 (1976) 128ff., esp. 130 n. 8; R. Wunsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln*, p. 9 (on # 2, line 3). The practice is indicative of the meticulous, legalistic nature of ancient prayer language in general and of magic in particular. Spells, like contracts, had to be precise, in order to avoid both predictable and unpredictable misunderstandings between the parties involved (in our case, between Ailourion and the *nekydaimon*); cf. below p. 57 on ὅπως μὴ --- μηδὲ etc. and R.W. Daniel, *ZPE* 50 (1983) 147 with n. 2.

ἦς ἔχει τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς: most similar to W₂ 21f.: ἦς ἔχει τὰς τρίχες τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς; for P and W₁ see above p. 7; omm. C and L. The hair functions as the οὐσία, the "element" or "property" of the beloved which allows the invoked spirits to identify her (in Eur. *Hipp.* 514 it is called σημεῖον, "token"). Cf. Lucian *D. Meretr.* 4.4f. (the different possibilities are enumerated, ἰμάτια ἢ κρηπίδας ἢ ὀλίγας τῶν τριχῶν ἢ τι τῶν τοιούτων); Apul. *Met.* III 16 (hair); Theoc. 2.53 (clothing). See also above p. 9 n. 38; F. Maltomini on *P. Münch.* II 28, fr. 10; B. Kötting in *RAC* 13, 179f. s.v. Haar; Wortmann 68-69 n. (c); Abt, *Apol.* 181f.; Hopfner, *OZ* I §§ 669-77; *idem*, *RE* XIV 332f. s.v. *mageia*.

8-9 ὅπως μὴ βινηθῆι μηδὲ πυγιθῆι μήτε ἡδονὴν ποιήσῃ --- Αἰλουρίωνι: For μήτε following μηδέ, see Denniston 510 and KG 2.289, who cite, among others, Pl. *Chrm.* 171c: οὐ δῆτα. οὐδέ γε ἄλλος οὐδεὶς --- οὔτε δὴ ὁ κόφρων. M's reading may be a simple case of the indiscriminate use of negatives which sometimes occurs in tablets (and in manuscripts); e.g., Aud. 234. 18ff. (curse on race horses): ἵνα μὴ δυνασθῶσιν --- μήτε τρέχειν μήτε περιπατεῖν μήτε νεικῆσαι μηδὲ ἐξελθεῖν τοὺς πυλῶνας τῶν ἵππαφίων μήτε προβαίνειν τὴν ἀρίαν μήτε τὸν σπάτιον μηδὲ κυκλεῦσαι τοὺς καμπτήρας. Almost identical formulae occur several times in the family of tablets to which 234 belongs with varying patterns of negatives: μὴ - μηδὲ - μηδὲ - μηδὲ - μηδὲ - μήτε - μήτε (Aud. 237.12ff.); μὴ - μήτε - μήτε - μήτε - μηδὲ - μηδὲ - μηδὲ (240.10ff.); μὴ - μήτε (6 times) 236.9ff. Parallels: μὴ - μὴ - μηδὲ (P 351f.); μὴ - μὴ - μηδὲν (L 8f.); μὴ - μὴ - μὴ - μηδὲν (C 9f.); μὴ - μὴ - μὴ - μήτε - μὴ (W₁ 21f.). W₁ is difficult, since the beginning of line 22 is damaged; I prefer Daniel-Maltomini's reading μὴ | [λαι]κάσῃ μήτε (21f.) to the readings of the earlier editors.* W₂ 23f. replaces the entire section with ποίησον τὴν Ματρῶναν ὑποταγῆναι Θεοδώρῳ.

As in magic, we find also in legal and commercial writing a tendency to multiply prohibitions, so as to leave no doubt as to the situations covered by the language; e.g., receipts: καὶ μηθὲν [ἐγ]καλεῖν --- μηδ' ἐπελεύσεσ(α)σθα[ι] Θερμούθ[ι]ον μηδ' ἄλλον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῷ Δι[ο]σκοῦτι μηδὲ τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ μήτ(ε) περὶ τούτων μηδὲ περὶ μηδενὸς ἀπλῶς μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστῶσης ἡμέρας, *P. Mich.* III 194.20ff. Cf. *P. Soter.* 7.18ff.; H.-A. Rupprecht, *Studien zur Quittung im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri* (Münch. Beitr. 57 [1971]) 16f. Our text is especially reminiscent of the style of marriage contracts, where the forbidden activities are specifically sexual: καὶ μὴ ἐξέστω Φιλίσκῳ γυναῖκα ἄλλην ἐπ[α]γ[α]γεσθαι ἀλλὰ Ἀπολλωνίαν μηδὲ παλλακὴν μηδὲ π[αιδ]ικὸν ἔχειν μηδ[ὲ] τέκνο]ποιεῖσθαι ἐξ ἄλλης γυναικὸς --- κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ μηδὲ Ἀπολλωνία ἐξέστω ἀπόκοιτον μη[δὲ] ἀφήμερον γίνεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Φιλίσκου οἰκίας --- μηδ' ἄλλῳ ἀνδρ[ι] συνεῖναι (*P. Tebt.* I 104.18-20, 27-29; cf. *BGU* IV 1100.20ff., 31ff.; *ibid.* 1051.18ff., 28ff.; *ibid.* 1098.31ff.; *P. Eleph.* 1.8f.; *P. Oxy.* III 497.3ff.). Conversely, in divorce agreements it is stated positively that the woman is now allowed συνοικεῖν ἑτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ (*P. Dur.* 31.9ff.; *P. Mil. Vogl.* III 185.19f.; cf. E.M. Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*

[New Haven 1967] 64 for the relationship between Jewish legal divorce formulae and Mandaic spells).

8 ὅπως μὴ βινηθῆῖ μηδὲ πυγιθῆῖ: thus L (exc. μὴ inst. μηδὲ); om. W₂; μὴ βινηθήτω μὴ πυγιθήτω P; C and perhaps W₁ (see above p. 57) add to the sequence μὴ λαικάκη (λεικάκη C) (cf. lines 4f. of a Geneva lead tablet: μήτε βινηθῆναι μήτε πυγιθῆναι μήτε ληκάζειν [V. Martin, *Genava* 6, 1928, 56ff. = *Suppl. Mag.* I 38]). The forms of βινεῖν are spelled with the root βιν- in all the parallels except C, which has βεινηθῆῖ. In a paper presented at the 1983 APA Convention, Prof. J.F. Gannon concluded that βειν- is the original spelling, since it most satisfactorily explains βεν- of the early Attic graffiti (cf. Thraette 138) and predominates in the literary papyri (e.g., *P. Oxy.* I 11 col. i, 1 = Adesp. Com. fr. 254 Austin; *P. Oxy.* III 413 verso col. ii, 108 (Wiemken p. 82); *P. Oxy.* XVIII 2174 fr. 16 col. ii, 16 = Hippon. fr. 84 West [normalized to βιν-]; *al.*). βιν- gradually supplanted βειν- because of the common ι/ει interchange (Gignac I 189f.) and the association of the word with κινεῖν and perhaps also, by way of an ancient etymology (Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 740), with βίος (see W. Süß, *Aristophanes Frösche mit Scholien* [Bonn 1911] = *Kleine Texte* 66, p. 51).

βινεῖν is passive when a woman is the subject (Henderson, *Muse* 152, § 207). I find the passive of the rare πυγίζειν only in our text (+ parallels) and in the above-cited Geneva tablet (cf. *pedicari* Mart. VI 56.6). For heterosexual anal intercourse, see K.J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (London 1978) 99-101 and 188; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases. The Archaic Period* (London 1975) fig. 219.

μήτε ἡδονὴν ποιήσῃ ἐτέρω νεανίκαῳ ἢ ἄλλω ἀνδρί: a generalization to include any other possible sexual gratification not covered by the former two terms. ἡδονὴν ποιεῖν τι, "cause someone pleasure" (*voluptate aliquem afficere*, Stephanus s.v. ἡδονή), occurs elsewhere in nonsexual contexts; e.g., μὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἡδονὴν ποιῶσι, Demos. 19.298; cf. *ibid* 299; Aesch. *Supp.* 1008f. Similar to M are C 9f. and L 8f.: μηδὲν πρὸς ἡδονὴν ποιήσῃ ἄλλω (ἑταίρω L) ἀνδρί, "May she do nothing for another man's pleasure." Cf. the idiom πρὸς ἡδονὴν τι λέγειν, "to say something for (another's) pleasure," i.e., "flatter." (Thuc. II 65.8; Dittenberger, *Syll.* III [p. 396] 1268.19 [right] with n.). P 352f., however, may focus more on the woman's fulfillment: μηδὲ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ποιήσῃ μετ' ἄλλου ἀνδρός, "May she do nothing for pleasure with another man"; so

also W₁ 22: μήτε ἀφο(δι)κιακὸν ἐπιτελέσῃ μεθ' ἑτέρου (see P 404, above p. 12 and n. 53).

ἑτέρῳ νεανίσκῳ ἢ ἄλλῳ ἀνδρί: first 3 wds. not in parallels (cf. preceding n.). No distinction between ἑτέρῳ and ἄλλῳ is intended here (Turner, *Syntax* 197; Mayser II 2.88f.; A.T. Robertson, *A Gram. of the Greek NT* [Nashville 1934] 746ff.); cf. line 22, where the order of the two is reversed.

9 φ --- Κοπρία: see above p. 56 on line 7 Κοπρίαν --- Ταῆσις.

9-10 ἀλλὰ μηδὲ (tab. μήτε) δυνηθῆ μήτε φαγεῖν --- φρεσί: In a continued series, ἀλλά is often progressive ("further," "again") rather than adversative, and as such is often followed by adverbial οὐδέ/μηδέ (thus, "and not even"; cf. Alc. 1.71 Page; Lys. 10.10; esp. *P. Tebt.* I 27.38; Denniston 21f.; Mayser II 3.118 δ) but not to my knowledge by οὔτε/μήτε (for confusion between μήτε and μηδέ, see above p. 57).

The parallels vary with respect to beginning formula (ἵνα μὴ δυνηθῆ ἢ δεῖνα, P 354; ἵνα μὴ δύνηται Ἡρωνοῦς, C 10; [ἀλλ]ὰ μ[ὴ δυ]νηθῆτω πάποτε, W₁ 24; καὶ μὴ ἀφῆς αὐτήν, L 10; om. W₂), the arrangement of the subsequent negatives (μήτε - μήτε - μὴ - μὴ - μὴ - μὴ, P 354f.; μὴ 6 times, C 10f.; [μὴ] - μὴ - μηδὲ, W₁ 25; μὴ - μηδὲ, W₂ 25; μὴ - μὴ - μήτε - μήτε, L 10), and the things prohibited (P and C have the same six elements: φαγεῖν - πειν [π. φ. P] - στέργειν - καρτερεῖν - εὐσταθεῖν [εὐσταθῆναι P] - ὕπνου τυχεῖν [τυγχάνειν C]; W₁ has only the last three, W₂ the last two [subjunctives rather than infinitives], both add νυκτὸς καὶ [or ἢ] ἡμέρας; L adds ἐξελεθεῖν after στέργειν and om. καρτερεῖν and εὐσταθεῖν; M om. στέργειν and καρτερεῖν and adds at the end of the sequence ἢ ἡσυχάζειν τῇ ψυχῇ ἢ ταῖς φρεσί). Only M and W₂ continue with some form of ἕως κτλ., which usually follows formulae of this type (see below).

This set of prohibitions extends the demand of the former group (i.e., that Κοπρία have no other lover) to the point that she not even be able to enjoy basic health and necessities until she unite with Ailourion (ἕως οὖ --- ἔλθῃ πρὸς Αἰλουρίωνα κτλ. below lines 10bf., p. 61). Cf. καὶ μὴ δυνηθῆ μήτε πειν μήτε φαγεῖν ἄχρι οὖ ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμέ (*PGM LXI* 17f.); ἄξον ἐμοὶ τῷ δεῖνα τὴν δεῖνα --- πεινώσαν, διψῶσαν, ὕπνου μὴ τυγχάνουσαν, φιλοῦσαν ἐμέ

--- ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ (XXXVI 110ff.; similarly, *ibid.* 147ff., 356ff.; IV 1425ff., 1515ff., ἕως κτλ. not until 1531; W₄ 6f., 45ff. [cited below pp. 61f.]; P. Köln inv. no. 5514.8ff., ed. R.W. Daniel, *ZPE* 19 [1975] 251 with n. p. 254).

Wasting away through sleeplessness and not eating or drinking are all symptoms of love-sickness. Cf. esp. Longus *Daph. et Chl.* II 7.4, where Philetas relates his past suffering over his love for Amaryllis: οὔτε τροφῆς ἐμεμνήμην οὔτε ποτὸν προσεφερόμην οὔτε ὕπνου ἠρούμην; similarly elsewhere in the romances: *ibid.* II 8.2; Ach. Tat. I 5.3; 6.1-2; 9.1; Heliod. *Aeth.* IV 7.32-40 Colonna [IV 7.7 Rattenbury/Lumb]. Cf. also Eur. *Hipp.* 135ff.; Galen, *In Hipp. Progn. comment.* I 4.18 [Corpus Medicorum Graecorum V 9.2 p. 206f.]; *idem, Prog.* VI 2ff. [Corpus Medicorum Graecorum V 8.1 p. 100ff.]; for love-sickness in ancient and medieval medicine, cf. H. Crohns, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 3 (1905) 66ff.; see also, with special reference to ancient humoral theory, P. Keyser, *Philologus* 133 (1989) 75ff.

Thus, as A.E. Hanson has suggested to me, the real intention of μήτε φαγεῖν μήτε πιεῖν κτλ. may be that the beloved be infected with this well-known malady. These formulae, however, have applications other than the erotic; e.g., NT Acts 23.12: οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀνεθεμάτισαν ἑαυτοὺς λέγοντες μήτε φαγεῖν μήτε πιεῖν ἕως οὗ ἀποκτείνωσιν τὸν Παῦλον. The self-cursing represented here is a variation on that commonly found in oaths, where one condemns oneself to some suffering *if* certain terms *are not* fulfilled (see W. Burkert, *Gk. Religion* [Cambridge, Mass. 1985] 251f.). In the Biblical text, the Jews condemn themselves to abstinence from food and drink *until* certain terms *are* fulfilled. The thought, although not the exact form, is as old as Homer *Il.* XIX 199-214, where Achilles asserts that until he kills Hektor (cf. πρίν 209 and surrounding context) neither drink nor food (οὐ πόσις οὐδὲ βρῶσις 210) will enter his stomach. Cf. also OT 1Sam. 14.24ff., where Saul puts the Israelites under oath not to eat until he has avenged himself on the Philistines. Our formula also finds close parallels in various "judicial prayers" of some *defixiones*. I cite one example, a tablet from Roman Britain (edd. M.W.C. Hassal and R.O.S. Tomlin, *Britannia* 10 [1979] 341f.): (*Cenacus*) *erogat deum Mercurium ut ne ante sanitatem habeant nis(s)i [nis(s)i] repraese[n]taverint mihi iumentum quod r[a]puerunt* (side A, 6-side B, 5). With *nec* --- *sanitatem habeant* cf. M's μήτε εὐσταθεῖν. For an excellent

analysis of this tablet and others similar to it, cf. H.S. Versnel's contribution in the forthcoming *Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (see above p. 5 n. 24).

A full investigation of the "neither eat nor drink until..." prescription and its variants is not feasible here. For the present we may simply say that it was an ancient curse formula employed in different contexts, and that the topos of love-sickness probably facilitated its frequent use in the later Greco-Egyptian erotic magic.*

πειῖν: tab. πιν, i.e., πείν; a common late contraction (BDR §§ 31. 2; 101 # 70; Gignac I 295f.; Preisendanz's n. on P 353).

10 εὐταθεῖν ἢ ἡκυχάζειν: tab. ευταθιν η ιχυχαζιν; for η > ι see Gignac I 335f.

εὐταθεῖν --- φρεσί: See below p. 63 on φιλοῦσα ἐρώσα for intensification through synonyms and pp. 63f. on ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς etc. for psychological terms in erotic magic.

ἐπιζητοῦσα Αἰλουρίωνα: instead of ἐκτὸς ἐμοῦ NN, P 356, C 11f., L 11; χωρὶς Θεοδώρου W₁ 27.

10-14: Continuation of the First Command

Μ¹⁰ ἕως οὗ ἐκπηδήσῃ {ἐκπηδήσῃ} ἐκ παντὸς τόπου καὶ πάσης οἰκίας Κοπρία, ἣν ἔτεκε μήτηρ ὀνόματι Ταῆσις, ἥς ἔχεις τὰς τρίχας, πυρουμένη καὶ ἔλθῃ πρὸς Αἰλουρίωνα, |¹² ὃν ἔτεκε μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία, φιλοῦσα ἐρώσα ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς, ἐξ ὅλου πνεύματος, φίλτροις ἀκαταπαύτοις καὶ ἀδιαλείπτοις | καὶ παραμονίμοις ἐρωτικοῖς, Αἰλουρίωνα, ὃν ἔτεκε μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία ἔρωτι θείῳ ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρτι | ὥρας ἐπὶ τὸν λοιπὸν τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς Κοπρία(ς) χρόνον.

All the parallels lack this section except W₂ 27ff., which preserves it in very compressed form: ἕως ἔλθῃ Ματρῶνα πάσῃ ὥρᾳ πρὸς Θεόδωρον φιλοῦσα αὐτόν. For similar material in the second command of the parallels, see below pp. 62f. We have seen from the texts cited above (pp. 59f.) that ἕως/ἄχρι κτλ. is often the natural continuation of μὴ δυνηθῆ μήτε φαγεῖν μήτε πιεῖν κτλ. and similar formulae. With the whole cf. esp. W₄ 45ff.: καὶ μὴ ἐάσητε αὐτὴν φα-

γίν μη πίν μηδὲ ὕπνου τυχῖν ---, ἀλλὰ ποιήσατε αὐτὴν ἐκπηδήσαι ἀπὸ παντὸς τόπου καὶ πάσης οἰκίας --- ἕως ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμέ, Θεώνα, φιλοῦ- κά{v} με, ἐρωκά{v} με, Θόον (i.e., Θεώνα), ἔρωτα ἀκατάπαυστον καὶ φιλίαν μανικὴν. Without preceding μήτε φαγεῖν κτλ., cf. *PGM* XIXa 50ff.: ἄξον --- [και]ομένην, πυρουμένην, κέντει (βα)κανιζομένην τὴν ψυχὴν, τὴν καρδίαν τῆς Κάρωσα --- ἄχρις ἂν ἐκπηδήσασα [ἔλ]θῃ πρὸς Ἀπαλῶς --- ἐπὶ ἔρωτι καὶ φιλίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἄρτι ὥρα. Cf. also XXXVI 82; W₄ 32f.

10-11 ἐκπηδήση {ἐκπηδή|ση}: Magical texts, like prayers, display extensive repetition, but usually within the confines of certain types of words and constructions; e.g., divine names (Aud. 38.14, 151.7ff.), stereotyped phrases such as ἦδη ἦδη ταχύ ταχύ (see below p. 88), and imperatives (*PGM* IV 1060af.; VII 330) or quasi-imperatives such as ὀρκίζο ὑμᾶς --- εἶνα (i.e., ἴνα) κατήχητε κατήχητε κτλ. (Aud. 169.11ff.). In the absence of any convincing parallel for M's repetition of ἐκπηδήση, it seems merely dittographic. Such errors often occur at line-end (e.g., W₂ 25 above p. 52; W₂ 55-56, 56-57 below p. 85), and in this case, as M.W. Haslam points out to me, the mistake was facilitated by the following ἐκ παντός.

11 μήτηρ --- **τρίχας**: see above p. 56 on line 7.

πυρουμένη: The verb is used of various fervent emotions, e.g., anger (NT 2Cor. 11.29; Philo *Vit. Mos.* II 280); grief (LXX 3Mac. 4.2); pious devotion (Philo *Leg. Al.* I 84; *Spec. Leg.* III 126); and, as in our text, erotic arousal: "Ἐρωσ, εὐθέως με πύρωσον (*Anacreontea* 11.14f.); κρεῖττον γάρ ἐστιν γαμῆσαι ἢ πυροῦσθαι (NT 1Cor. 7.9). In magic, active: *PGM* XIXa 50; O 2. 27f.; LXI 23; passive: XIXa 50; XXXVI 111, 128f., 195, 200 (cf. also below pp. 63f. on ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς κτλ. and p. 90 on § K 35f.; s.v. in Bauer and *TDNT* VI 948ff.). For the general topos of *eros* as a consuming fire, the *locus classicus* is A.R. III 286-98, on which see M. Campbell, *Studies in the Third Book of Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica* (Hildesheim 1983) 27f. with nn. p. 104. Cf. also the rich literary material and bibliography collected in A.S. Pease, *Virgil Aeneid IV* (Cambridge, Mass. 1935) p. 86f. (s.v. *igni*). For the various images in Aristophanes, see Henderson, *Muse* 177f.

11-12 ἔλθῃ --- **ἐρωκά**: Four of the parallels contain similar material in the "second command" (part of which occurs in our text at 19ff.; see above pp.

18f. and below pp. 83f., 85): μέχρι οὗ ἔλθη Ἡρωνοῦς πρὸς ἐμὲ Ποσιδώνιον (C 24); ἕως ἔλθη πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν Καραπάμμωνα ὃν ἔτεκεν Ἀρέα --- φιλοῦσάν με, ἐρῶσάν μου (L 21, 27); μέχρι οὗ ἔλθη πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα (P 378f.); ἕως ἔλθη πρὸς ἐμὲ Θεόδωρον (W₂ 65f.); similarly, in the third command (only in P), κατάδησον τὴν δεῖνα φιλοῦσαν ἐρῶσαν τὸν δεῖνα ποθοῦσαν (P 395f.). Cf. also below on φιλοῦσα ἐρῶσα.

ἔλθη: tab. ερθη (λ > ρ mainly fayumic; Gignac I 103ff., esp. 105).

12 φιλοῦσα ἐρῶσα: cf. in M φιλοῦσα ἐρῶσα --- φιλοῦσα below lines 24f., φιλοῦσαν ἐρῶσαν below § K 37f.; cf. also P 395 and L 27 (cited above); φιλοῦσά με ἐρῶσά με (W₄ 48). Similarly, ἐρῶντα μαινόμενον βακανιζόμενον ἐπὶ τῇ φιλίᾳ καὶ ἔρωτι καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ (Aud. 271.40f.; cf. *ibid.* 6f., 14f., 30f.); ἄχρις ἂν --- [ἔλ]θη --- ἐπὶ ἔρωτι καὶ φιλίᾳ (PGM XIXa 51f.; cf. VII 888f.; XVI 5f., 14, 22, 30; XIXa 53; W₁ 56 with Wortmann's n. p. 77).

Intensification through accumulation of synonyms is also common in documentary (esp. legal and commercial) texts (H. Zilliacus, *Zur Abundanz der spätgriechischen Gebrauchssprache* [Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 41.2, 1968] 37ff.). E.g., the participial style of the "Gesundheitsklausel" in wills, τάδε διέθετο νοῶν καὶ φρονῶν, "He made this will being of good and sound mind." Cf. (with minor variations) *P. Pet.* 15.11 (= *Cunn. Mem.* VIII p. 45); *SB* I 4637.14, 5294.3; *P. Oxy.* III 494.2; asyndetic and with other elements added: τάδε διέθετο ὑγιαίνων νοῶν φρονῶν (*P. Grenf.* I 21.1); παρεθέμην --- νοῶν φρονῶν ἐρρωμένην ἔχων τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ἐπ' ἀκριβείας πολλῆς φέρων τὸν λογισμόν (*M. Chr.* 319.10f., p. 370f.); cf. also *P. Lond.* V 1727.17ff.; *P. Cair. Masp.* III 312.11ff. Similarly, also in wills, ἔκοντες καὶ πεπεισμένοι, *P. Lond.* V 1724.12; *ibid.* 1727.22 (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* II s.v. πείθω 8). For other clusters of synonyms in our text, cf. above line 10, εὐσταθεῖν ἢ ἡσυχάζειν τῇ ψυχῇ ἢ ταῖς φρεσί· below 12f., φίλτροις ἀκαταπαύστοις καὶ ἀδιαλείπτοις καὶ παραμονίμοις ἐρωτικοῖς (and see n. *ad loc.*); below § K 35f., πυρουμένην καιομένην τηκομένην. In tablets, cf. also κατήχητε καὶ συνδήχητε καὶ καταδήχητε (Aud. 163. 29f.; 169.14ff.; *al.* [Kagarow 35f.]).

ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς, ἐξ ὅλου πνεύματος: In line 24 below, καρδίας replaces ψυχῆς; cf. τὴν ψυχὴν τὸ πνεῦμα, § K 36f. "Heart" and/or "soul" are often described as the *loci* which erotic magic affects, e.g., by "burning" (PGM VII

472; XXXIIa 3f., 7f.; XXXVI 80f.; O 2.27f.; cf. πυρουμένη(ν) above line 11, below § K 35f.), "melting" (*PGM XVI* 13f., 21; τηκομένην below § K 36), "goadng" (*PGM XIXa* 51), or even "making fly through the air" (ἀεροπέτησον τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν Λεοντίας, P. Köln inv. no. 5514.6f. in *ZPE* 19 [1975] 251 with R.W. Daniel's comments, pp. 249f. and 254).

The specific wording of this common sentiment in our text resembles phrases in the Jewish *Shema*: ἄκουε, Ἰσραηλ --- ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς δυνάμεώς σου (*LXX Deut.* 6.4f.); cf. ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου (*Deut.* 11.13); ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς ὑμῶν (*Josh.* 22.5); ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου κτλ. (*NT Mk.* 12.30; in *Mat.* 22.37 and *Lk.* 10.27 mostly ἐν τῇ ὅλῃ κτλ.; cf. *LXX 4Regn.* 23.25). Two points on variant readings: first, mss. often omit the articles after ὅλης, as in our text; second, wherever καρδία occurs, other mss. read διανοία and *vice versa*; thus ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας/διανοίας σου both render ככל-לבבך (see Behm in *TDNT* IV 966 n. 11 s.v. διά-νοια). I find no examples of our ἐξ ὅλου πνεύματος as a variant for this or any of the other phrases, but given the flexibility of the tradition and the interchangeability of Hebrew anthropological terms, it is not surprising (on the latter point see Jacob in *TDNT* IX 629f. with n. 85 s.v. ψυχή; E. Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek* [Oxford 1889] 94-109; see also below pp. 90ff. for πνεῦμα/ψυχή). Similar phrases occur in religious documents likely to be influenced by the *Shema* (e.g., *LXX 4Mac.* 7.18, *Wisd.* 8.21; *1Clement* 33.8). Although secular literature offers a few parallels, they are not in series as in the *Shema* and our text (e.g., ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας, *Epict. Gnom.* II 2.13; ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς, *ibid.* II 23.42; ὅλη τῇ ψυχῇ, *Xen. Mem.* III 11.10; cf. also ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ νοῦ --- φίλος γενέσθαι, *Plato Grg.* 510b; similarly *Hdt.* VIII 97.2).

The *Shema* was one of the portions of Holy Scripture which many Jews believed to have magical power. One rabbinical treatise maintains it to be especially useful against fevers (*Jewish Encyclopedia* III 203 s.v. Bibliomancy), and the Talmud vouches for its effectiveness as a night prayer to ward off demons (J. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition* [New York 1939] p. 156 with n. 5 p. 298). Parts of it occur in magical documents, both Jewish and non-Jewish (Peterson, *EIC* ΘEOC 295 n. 2). Thus, the ἐξ ὅλης/ὅλου phrases, used in our text to

express a common topos of erotic magic in a very uncommon (to my knowledge, unique) form, most likely owe their presence in M to the influence of the *Shema* at some point in M's tradition.

12-13 φίλτροις ἀκαταπαύστοις καὶ ἀδιαλείπτοις καὶ παραμονίμοις ἐρωτικοῖς: φίλτρον means "love charm" (*PGM* IV 2227; VII 293, 405, 459, 462, 661; XII 306; XIII 319; LXI 35) or "spell" in general (LSJ s.v. I 2) or, as here, simply "love," "affection" (the dominant sense in Patristic lit., see Lampe s.v.). Cf. φιλή με Νῖλος φίλτρον αἰώνιον, "Let Nilos love me with an eternal love," *PGM* XV 21; for the plu. φίλτρα as "love," see *Anth. Graec.* VII 623. Against LSJ s.v. I 3, P.T. Stevens on Eur. *Androm.* 540 (Oxford 1971, p. 161f.) doubts this meaning for the classical period. The rare κτέργηθρον has a similar ambiguity of "love"/"love spell" (LSJ s.v.).

With respect to the entire phrase, I offer three options: 1. supply καὶ before ἐρωτικοῖς, making it the last in a series of adjectives modifying φίλτροις (similarly, in a love charm edited by P.J. Sijpesteijn [*ZPE* 24, 1977, 89f.] lines 12f.: ἔρωτι μανικῶ καὶ ἀκατα[πα]ύστῳ ἀφ' ἑ'ίρω· he translates, "...mit einer manischen und unablässigen und unvergänglichen Liebe."); 2. take ἐρωτικοῖς as a substantive (e.g., as often in Plato, normally with art.) modified by παραμονίμοις, thus, "with unceasing and unremitting affection and constant acts of love"; 3. (suggested by M.W. Haslam) take φίλτροις --- ἐρωτικοῖς as a conceptual unit enclosing three adjectives. I prefer the last, because it gives the best sense ("with unceasing and unremitting and constant loving affection") and is well suited to the penchant for groups of three elsewhere in the text (e.g., above lines 6-7, 8; below § K 35f., etc.). This pattern of a noun and adjective "bracketing" three other adjectives also occurs in Cicero *Fam.* V 8.5, where he urges Crassus to write him *de omnibus minimis maximis mediocribus rebus*; similarly, Plaut. *St.* 737: *Mea suavis amabilis amoena Stephanium*. With φίλτρα ἐρωτικά, cf. in philosophic discussion the pairing of φιλία with adjectives such as ἐρωτική, ἑταιρική, and συγγενική to denote the specific kind of love intended (Stählin in *TDNT* IX 149 with n. 27 s.v. φιλία).

ἀκαταπαύστοις καὶ ἀδιαλείπτοις καὶ παραμονίμοις well illustrate intensification through piling up synonymous adjectives (for participles, see above p. 63), often with alliteration through similar prefixes such as *alpha privativum*. So also in business and legal style: τὴν δεσποτίαν --- ἀκέραιον καὶ ἄτρωτον,

P. Oxy. XVI 1890.14; ὁμολογῶ χαρίζεσθαι σοὶ χάριτι ἀναφαιρέτῳ καὶ ἀμετανοήτῳ, *P. Grenf.* II 68.4f.; ἀδιαιρέτῳ καὶ ἀμετανοήτῳ καὶ ἀμετα- [τρέπτῳ λογισμῶ], *SB* I 4669.11 (see H. Zilliacus, *op. cit.* [above p. 63] 47-52). In both legal and magical contexts, the device often reinforces the notions of permanence and/or completeness (in M, of the spell's effect on Kopria). Cf. the banishment formulae and other material discussed by E. Fraenkel on *Aesch. Ag.* 412 (vol. 2 p. 217 with n. 1).—For ἀκατάπαντος see Horsley, *New Docs.* II 46.

13 ἔρωτι θείῳ: cf. below line 25 and § K 38. Like the preceding φίλτροις --- ἐρωτικοῖς, these words depend on φιλοῦσα ἐρῶσα, further compounding the pleonasm so characteristic of this text. Biblical Greek grammarians often attribute to Semitic influence the frequency of the "cognate dative" instead of the cognate accusative in the NT and LXX (e.g., ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα, *Lk.* 22.15; ἀναθέματι ἀνεθεματίσαμεν, *Acts* 23.14); but even in these contexts such usage is unusual in the case of nouns with adjectives, as our ἔρωτι θείῳ (e.g., χαρᾶ χαίρει, *Jn.* 3.29; but ἐχάρησαν χαρὰν μεγάλην, *Mat.* 2.10; see Turner, *Syntax* 241f.; BDR § 198.6; C.F.D. Moule, *An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek* [Cambridge 1968] 32, 177f.). Cf. however, ἐξέκτησαν ἐκτάσει μεγάλη, *Mk.* 5.42; δόξη μεγάλη ἐδόξασαν, *1Mac.* 14.29; *P. Grenf.* II 68.4f. cited above. There is also some classical precedent: θάνον οἰκτίτῳ θανάτῳ, *Hom. Od.* XI 412; βιαίῳ θανάτῳ ἀποθνήσκειν, *Xen. Hiero* IV 3; *al.* (KG 1.308; Schwyzer 2.166). In magic, cf. φιλοῦσάν με ἔρωτι --- ἔρωτι μανιώδει (*W*₄ 30f.); the accusative construction, however, prevails: φιλήσεις με --- θεῖον ἔρωτα (*PGM* XV 2f.); φιλείτω με ἢ [δεῖνα] τὸν δεῖνα θεῖον [ἔρωτα] (*X* 7f.); ἐρῶσα ἔρωτα μανιώδη (*W*₄ 7f.); φιλοῦσά με, ἐρῶσά με Θεῶνα ἔρωτα ἀκατάπαντον καὶ φιλίαν μανικὴν (*W*₄ 48f.); cf. *PGM* XV 21 cited above p. 65.

With θεῖον ἔρωτα in *PGM* XV 3 A.D. Nock (*HTR* 27 [1934] 66 [*Essays* I 367f.]) compares Verg. *Aen.* VIII 373, where Venus arouses "divinum amorem" in her husband Volcanus. The sense of θεῖος in our text is not too far removed from μανιώδης/μανικὴ of the above-cited *W*₄ 7, 48; both describe a love which is superhuman and totally obsessive (the adjective has a similar force in *Xen. Hell.* VII 2.21, ὡς δὲ τάχιστα ἐκηρύχθη, θεία τινὶ προθυμία καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι ταχὺ ἐξέδραμον). This desire that the beloved have ἔρωσ θεῖος for the lover is expressed elsewhere through the classic Egyptian paradigm: φιλίτω με ἢ δεῖνα --- ὡς ἐφίλησεν ἢ Ἰεῖς τὸν Ὁσίριον (*PGM* XXXVI 288f.; cf. *W*₃ 8). Sim-

ilarly with respect to Christian *agape*, οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀγαπάτε τὰς γυναῖκας, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἠγάπησεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (NT Eph. 5.25).

13-14 ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας --- χρόνον: triad of prep. phrases as above 6f. In 25 and § K 39 below, these are replaced by μέχρι θανάτου. For the thought, cf. εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τοῦ αἰῶνος (P 405f.), and esp. W₁ 79f.: φιλοῦσα(ν) αὐτὸν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέραις (*lege* -ας) πάσα ὥρα τοῦ αἰῶνος αὐτῆς (see also above pp. 49f. on line 4f., ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐξ ἐνιαυτῶν κτλ.).

The wording here resembles pleonastic formulations used in business transactions, esp. sales, of the Roman and Byzantine periods: ὁμολογοῦμεν --- πεπρακέναι σοι σήμερον καὶ καταγεγραμέναι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν αἰεὶ καὶ ἐξῆς ἅπαντα χρόνον τὴν --- οἰκίαν (P. Lond. V 1722.8ff.); cf. BGU I 153. 14, 282.5, 319.9; P. Mich. XIII 659.234f., 662.14f., 664.9f., 665.12f.; P. Cair. Masp. I 97.56f.; for further illustration and discussion, see Zilliaccus, *op. cit.* (above p. 63) 34f.

14 αὐτῆς Κοπρία: tab. ἀτῆς Κοπρία (αυ > α Gignac I (226)-227 with n. 1; omission of final *c* *ibid.* 124f.). The meticulous style of the documentary papyri also frequently employs both a proper name and forms of αὐτός when either would have sufficed.

14-19: First Threat against the νεκυδαίμων

M¹⁴ ὅτι σε ἐξορκίζω, νεκυδαίμων, κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ φοβεροῦ καὶ τρομεροῦ, οὗ ἡ γῆ τὸ ὄνομα ἀκούσασα ἀνοιγέσεται, οὗ οἱ δαίμονες τὸ ὄνομα ἀκούσαντες ἔμφοβοι τρέμουσιν, οὗ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ αἱ ἑ¹⁶θάλασσαι τὸ ὄνομα ἀκούσαντες ταρασσονται, οὗ αἱ πέτραι τὸ ὄνομα ἀκούσαντες ῥήσσονται, κατὰ τοῦ βαρβαριθαμ βαρβαριθαμ | χελομβρα βαρουχαμβρα Ἄδωναίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ αμβραθ Αβρασαξ σεσενγεν βαρφαραγγῆς καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ιαω Σαβαωθ ιαεω | πακενψωθ πακενβραωθ σαβαρβατιαωθ σαβαρβατιανη σαβαρβαφαι μαρι ἐνδόξου μαρμαραωθ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ ουσερβενιτηθ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ ου(ς)ερπατη καὶ κατὰ τοῦ μαρμαραυωθ μαρμαραχθα μαρμαραχθα αμαρδα μαριβεωθ.

P³⁵⁶ ὅτι σε ἐξορκίζω κατὰ | τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ φοβεροῦ καὶ τρομεροῦ, οὗ ἡ γῆ ἀκούσα[ς] τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀνοιγέσεται, οὗ οἱ δαίμονες | ἀκούσαντες τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐνφόβου φοβηθήσονται, I³⁶⁰ οὗ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ αἱ πέτραι ἀκούσαντες τὸ ὄνομα | ῥήσσονται. ὀρκίζω σε, νεκύ-
 δαιμον, εἴτε ἄρρης | εἴτε θήλυς, κατὰ τοῦ βαρβαριθα χενμβρα βαι
 ρουχαμβρα καὶ κατὰ τοῦ αβρατ Αβρασαξ I³⁶⁴ σεεενγεν βαρφα-
 ραγγης καὶ κατὰ τοῦ αωια | μαρι ἐνδόξου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ μαρ-
 μα(ρ)εωθ | μαρμαραυωθ μαρμαραωθ μαρεχθανα | αμαρζα·
 μαριβεωθ·

C¹² ὅτι ὀρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ φοβεροῦ καὶ τρομεροῦ, οὗ ἡ γῆ ἀκούσα | τὸ ὄνομα ἀνοίγεται, οὗ οἱ δαίμονες ἀκούοντες τὸ ὄνομα ἔμφοβοι τρέμουν, οὗ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ | θάλασσαι ἀκούουσαι τὸ ὄνομα ἔμφοβοι φοβοῦνται, οὗ αἱ πέτραι ἀκούουσαι τὸ ὄνομα ῥήσσονται. ὀρκίζω σε, νέκυσ δαίμων, ὅστις ποτὲ εἶ εἴτε ἄρρης εἴτε θήλια, κατὰ τοῦ βαρβαθαμ χελουμβρα I⁶ βαρουχαμβρα Ἀδωναίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ αβραθ Αβρασαξ σεεενγεν βαρφαραγγη καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ιαω ιωα πακεπτωθ πακεβραωθ σαβαρβαριαωθ μαρει ἐνδόξου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ μαρμαραιωθ καὶ | κατὰ τοῦ μαρμαραωθ μαρμα-
 ραυωθ μαρμαραχθα αμαρζα μαρειβαιωθ.

W₁²⁸ [ὅτι ἐξορκίζω] σε, νεκυδέμων, κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ τροι[μεροῦ κ]αὶ φοβεροῦ, οὗ ἡ γῆ ἀκού(ο)ουσα τὸ ὄνομα ἀνύγετε {[αν]υ[γε]τε συν οι δεμονες} οὗ οἱ δέμονες ἀκούοντες τὸ ὄνομα ἔμφοβοι τρέμουν, οὗ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἡ θάλασσα, ἀκού[32]ο[ν]τες τὸ ὄνομα ἔμφοβοι τρέμουν, (οὗ αἱ πέτραι ἀκούουσαι τὸ ὄνομα) ῥήσσονται. ὀρ[κί]ζω σε, νεκυδέμων, ἴτε ἄρρης ἴτε θήλια, κατ[ὰ τοῦ] | βαρβαθαμ χαλουμβρα βαρουχ Ἀδωναίου | θεοῦ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Αβρασαξ βραωα ἄβα βαρβαριαωθ I⁶ σαβαρβαριαωθ σεεενγε βαρβαραφαργ' γης μαριονιοξας καὶ κατὰ τοῦ μαρμαραχθα μαλ-
 μαρζα μαριβα[ρι]ωθ.

W₂¹⁴ ἐξορκίζω σε γὰρ | κατὰ τοῦ ἀγίου ὀνόματος, οὗ φρί¹⁶ci τὰ ὄρη καὶ τρέμι τὰ δεμόνια. --- I³² ἐξορκίζω σε γὰρ κατὰ τοῦ ἐνδόξου ὀνόματος | [[οβ]] οβαχ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ βαρβαθαθαμ βαρουχ βα-
 ρουχα I³⁶ βαρουχ Ἀδωναίου θεοῦ | σαβαρααμ χαβαριααμ | σαβαρα-

αμ χαβαρααμ [] I⁴⁰ Ἀδωναιίου Αβρααξ | σεενγε φαραγγης Ιαω |
 Ιαω μεμβρεωθι τεφρλωθι ιαρβατιαω αρβατιαοθ I⁴⁴ ακραμμαχα-
 μαρει ακραμμαλχαμαρει ενδόξω μαμαραλωθ μαρμαριουωθ μαρμα-
 λιοθ μαρμα[[ρ]]ι'α'οθ χθαμα I⁴⁸ αμαζε μαριβαριοθ.³

L¹¹ έξορκίζω σε, νεκύδαιμον I¹² Ἀντίνοε, κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος
 [τοῦ] τρομεροῦ καὶ φοβεροῦ, οὗ ἢ γῆ ἀκούσασα τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀνυγή-
 ρεται, οὗ οἱ δαίμονες ἀκούσαντες τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐνφόβως φοβοῦνται, |
 οὗ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ πέτραι ἀκούσαντες ῥήσ[οντα]ι· ὀρκίζω σε, νε-
 κύδαιμον Ἀντίνοε, | κατὰ τοῦ βαρβαραθαμ χελουμβρα βαροῦ[χ]
 Αδωναι καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Αβρααξ καὶ I¹⁶κατὰ τοῦ Ιαω πακεπτωθ
 πακεβραωθ σαβαρβαφαει καὶ κατὰ | τοῦ μαρμαραουωθ καὶ
 κατὰ τοῦ μαρμαραχθα μαμαζαγαρ.

For detailed comparisons between the parallels, cf. the critical apparatus, below pp. 116f., nn. on lines 18ff. In general, the original version probably contained some form of the four clauses οὗ ἢ γῆ --- οὗ οἱ δαίμονες --- οὗ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ αἱ θάλασσαι --- οὗ αἱ πέτραι. With the exception of W₂'s abbreviated version, all of our texts contain the first two, only M and C have the last two in full.

In this adjuration Ailourion threatens the *nekydaimon* and compels it to obey by the power of "the name fearful and dreadful." Threats against a divinity occur in ancient prayer (F. Heiler, *Das Gebet* [München/Basel 1969] 83ff.; H.S. Versnel in *Faith Hope and Worship* [ed. Versnel, Leiden 1981] 37ff., esp. 40 with n. 162) and are constantly employed in magic; e.g., τέλεσον, δαίμον, τὰ ἐνθάδε γεγραμμένα. τελέσαντι δέ σοι θυσίαν ἀποδώσω, βραδύναντι δέ σοι κολάσεις ἐπενεγκῶ, ἃς οὐ δύνασαι ἐνεγκεῖν (*PGM* IV 2094ff.; cf. Hopfner, *OZ* I §§ 787-801; B. Olsson in *ΔΡΑΓΜΑ Martino P. Nilsson --- dedicatum* [Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom, Acta Series Altera I, 1939] 374ff.; Versnel, *loc. cit.*). Sometimes the operator warns that if his wishes are not performed, the processes of nature will be disturbed or destroyed by his magic: ἐὰν δὲ παρακούσητε καὶ μὴ ταχέως τελέσητε ὃ λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐ δύναται ὁ ἥλιος ὑπὸ γῆν, οὔτε ὁ Ἄρης οὔτε ὁ κόσμος οὐκ ἔστιν (W₄ 9ff. with Wortmann's n. *ad loc.* p. 92f.; similarly *PGM* XII 55ff.; cf. XXXIV 1ff.; LVII 2ff.). This type of threat is

³ For the beginning of the first threat in W₂ 14 and its continuation in 32, see above p. 18.

implicit in two other contexts: when, as in the passage under consideration, the operator claims to know the great god's secret name which can confound the elements and make demons tremble, or when he through the *ἐγὼ εἰμι* formula professes actually to be the all-powerful demiurge on whom the continuity of the cosmos depends (cf. below p. 94 on *ἐγὼ εἰμι*, esp. Kropp III §§ 251ff. and Wortmann p. 92f.). We will again turn to this theme of cosmic disruption after some further observations on the general topos of threats.

The concept of human beings threatening gods through magic raises theological problems concerning divine power and freedom, well expressed by Lucan (VI 492ff.):

quis labor hic superis cantus herbasque sequendi
 spernendique timor? cuius commercia pacti
 obstrictos habuere deos? parere necesse est,
 495 an iuvat? ignota tantum pietate merentur,
 an tacitis valuere minis? hoc iuris in omnis
 est illis superos, an habent haec carmina certum
 imperiosa deum, qui mundum cogere quidquid
 cogitur ipse potest?

Iamblichus defends the practice, which he considers chiefly Egyptian, by asserting that threats are directed against demons, not gods (*de Myst.* VI 5-7, esp. p. 246, 2ff. and p. 249, 2ff. Parthey [pp. 186 and 188 Des Places; much of this section cited below p. 74]; cf. Olsson, *op. cit.* p. 375 with n. 4). Although (as in our text) such is often the case, gods too are threatened; cf. *PGM* IV 2903 and above pp. 40f.; XII 117ff. and below p. 75; Lucan VI 730ff. cited below p. 73; further examples collected by Hopfner in *Über die Geheimlehren von Jamblichus* (Leipzig 1922) p. 247ff. and *OZ* I §§ 787ff. The authority of threats often rests on a powerful name. In some cases the name is used to legitimate a particular threat (e.g., *PGM* XII 137ff.). In our text the threat itself consists in the effect of uttering the supreme name; the name *is* the threat (cf. Lucan VI 730ff. [cited below p. 73], esp. 732f. and 744f.).

Magical documents often celebrate the immense power of the supreme name and the deity who bears it in a manner similar to that in M and its parallels; e.g., *PGM* XII 239ff.: *ἐπάκουσόν μου, κύριε, οὗ ἐστιν ἡ τὸ κρυπτόν ὄνομα ἄρρητον, ὃ οἱ δαίμωνες ἀκούσαντες πτοοῦνται, οὗ καὶ ὁ ἥλιος βαρβαρεῖχ ἢ αρσεμ-*

φεμφρωθου τὸ ὄνομα (ἀκούων ἴσταται), οὐ ἡ γῆ ἀκούσασα ἐλίσσεται, ὁ Ἄδης ἀκούων ταρασσεται, ἢ ποταμοί, θάλασσα, λίμναι, πηγαὶ ἀκούουσαι πῆγνυται, αἱ πέτραι ἀκούσασαι ῥήγνυται ((ἀκούων ἴσταται) Koenen; cf. *PGM* XIII 872f.). Similarly, *PGM* IV 3069ff.; XII 117ff.; XIII 871ff.; XXI 1ff.; Aud. 242.43ff.; 271.32ff.; amulet in Cod. Par. 2316, 316^f ss. [Reitzenstein, *Poim.* p. 295]; Pradel 24.6f.; further parallels and bibliography in Wortmann p. 73; Hopfner, *OZ* I § 689. Two stylistic features are especially striking. First, later religious feeling, as expressed, e.g., in the hymns of Proclus and the *Orphic hymns*, popularized such accumulation of relative sentences as one means of accrediting deities with as many epithets as possible (cf. NT Heb. 1.2ff.). Classical authors employed this technique with more restraint (Norden, *Ag. Th.* 168-72). Second, our text (and its parallels) and many of the other above-cited passages stress the pervasive authority of the mighty name over all nature by enumerating the various parts of the cosmos which tremble before it (or as in the case of the δαίμονες, the inhabitants of a certain part, i.e., Ἄδης). E.g., in our text: γῆ, δαίμονες, ποταμοί, θάλασσα, πέτραι; in the above-cited *PGM* XII 239ff.: δαίμονες, ἥλιος, γῆ, Ἄδης, ποταμοί, θάλασσα κτλ.; cf. Aud. 242.43f.: εἶπω σοὶ καὶ τὸ ἀληθινὸν ὄνομα ὃ τρέμει Τάρταρα γῆ βυθὸς οὐρανὸς Φορβαβορφορβαβορφ κτλ. On the Egyptian side, we may compare Borghouts *AEMT* # 127 (p. 87f.): "If his name is pronounced on the border of the river, then it will dry up. If his name is pronounced on the earth, then it will produce a flame." While this device cannot strictly be called polar expression (see above p. 53), it includes polar elements (e.g., γῆ-θάλασσα and γῆ-οὐρανός, see Kemmer *op. cit.* [above p. 53] p. 160f.), and has the same purpose of exhausting a concept (in this case, "cosmos").

With this thought of the divine name disrupting and terrifying all of nature we may compare descriptions of the power of *carmina* ("spells") in Roman poetry: *carmina sanguineae deducunt cornua lunae, | et revocant niveos solis euntis equos; | carmine dissiliunt abruptis faucibus angues, | inque suos fontes versa recurrit aqua* (Ovid *Am.* II 1.23-26; cf. *ibid.* I 8.5-18; Verg. *Ec.* 8.69-71; Tib. I 8.19-21; Prop. I 1.19-24; Hor. *Epod.* 5.45-46; Lucan VI 499-506; Petron. 134.12). It is on this point that the author of the Hippocratic treatise *περὶ ἱερῆς νόσου* condemns magicians for impiety in that by claiming to control nature with their spells, they usurp what belongs only to gods: *δυσσεβέειν ἔμοιγε δοκέουσι καὶ θεοὺς οὔτε εἶναι νομίζειν οὔτ' ἐόντας ἰχθύειν οὐδὲν --- εἰ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος μαγεύων τε καὶ θύων κελήνην τε καθαιρήσει καὶ ἥλιον ἀφανιεῖ καὶ χειμῶνα καὶ*

εὐδίην ποιήσει, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγέ τι θεῖον νομίσαιμι τούτων εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπινον, εἰ δὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ δύναμις ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου γνώμης κρατέεται καὶ δεδούλωται (Littre vol. 6 p. 360; for an excellent discussion of this and other texts which condemn as impious any human claim of power over the elements, see Wilamowitz, *Euripides Heracles* [Darmstadt³ 1959] on line 1232 [vol. 3 pp. 248ff.]).

That governing and intimidating the cosmos is indeed the divine prerogative is evident, e.g., in the opening lines of Lucretius (*Aeneadum genetrix --- quae mare --- quae terras --- concelebras --- te, dea, te fugiunt venti, te nubila caeli | adventumque tuum --- quoniam rerum naturam sola gubernas* etc. [1-21]) and especially in descriptions of Yahweh in Jewish apocalypse, which bear striking similarities to our text: ἀπειλῶν θαλάσσης καὶ ξηραίνων αὐτὴν καὶ πάντα τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἐξηρημῶν --- τὰ ὄρη ἐεείθησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ βουνοὶ ἐκαλεύθησαν· καὶ ἀνεστάλη ἡ γῆ ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ --- αἱ πέτραι διεθρύβησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (LXX Nahum 1.4-6; cf. Is. 13.9-10; Ezek. 32.7-8; Joel 2.10; 3.3-4 quoted in NT Acts 2.19-20; Amos 8.9; cf. in NT, Mk. 13.24; 2Pet. 3.10; Rev. 6.12-17). Similarly, when Jesus, having cried out, died on the cross, ἡ γῆ ἐεείθη, καὶ αἱ πέτραι ἐσχίσθησαν (Mat. 27.51; not in other gospels). For further parallel material, see Pradel 40-42. One aspect of Iamblichus' justification of threats in Egyptian religion (cf. above p. 70) hinges on the middle/late Platonic doctrine that the gods have given the *daimones* custody over the various spheres of nature, and thus it is actually the latter group who are affected by threats against it (*de Myst.* VI 6, p. 247,5ff. Parthey = p. 187 Des Places). His argument, of course, presupposes an objection similar to that of *περὶ ἱερῆς νοῦσου*.

Central to this concept of assuming authority over nature through the great name is the Egyptian technique of threatening invoked deities and *daimones* with the disclosure of divine secrets; cf. esp. this Egyptian spell, where, in the context of threats against Osiris, the operator says:

As for that chest of acacia-wood, which is in charge of Horus, the lord of Letopolis, the name of whose contents one does not know how to pronounce—that tongue, those eyes, that wind-pipe departing from the pharynx, those vital parts of Osiris—it is not I who have said it, it is not I who have repeated it. It is this magic that comes for NN born of NN that has said it,

that has repeated it. And it has told the mysteries of Osiris, it has told the nature of the gods, and the Ennead is its servant in the great place.

(Borghouts, *AEMT* # 10, p. 8f.)

In Lucan VI 730ff. similar themes are cast into Greek and Roman myth:

- 730 Tisiphone vocisque meae secura Megaera,
non agitis saevis Erebi per inane flagellis
infelicem animam? iam vos ego nomine vero
eliciam Stygiasque canes in luce superna
destituam; per busta sequar per funera custos,
735 expellam tumulis, abigam vos omnibus urnis.
teque deis, ad quos alio procedere voltu
ficta soles, Hecate pallenti tabida forma,
ostendam faciemque Erebi mutare vetabo.
eloquar inmenso terrae sub pondere quae te
740 contineant, Hennaea, dapes, quo foedere maestum
regem noctis ames, quae te contagia passam
noluerit revocare Ceres. tibi, pessime mundi
arbiter, inmittam ruptis Titana cavernis,
et subito feriere die. paretis, an ille
745 compellendus erit, quo numquam terra vocato
non concussa tremit, qui Gorgona cernit apertam
verberibusque suis trepidam castigat Erinyn,
indespecta tenet vobis qui Tartara, cuius
vos estis superi, Stygias qui perierat undas?

In this passage Erichtho warns that, by saying the true name(s) of the Erinyes, she will expose the hounds of Styx to the sunlight (732-34; similarly also Pluto, 742f.) and reveal other secrets of the underworld gods (e.g., the true appearance of Hecate 736ff., the secret food of Proserpina 739ff.; cf. in the Egyptian text magic revealing "the nature of the gods"). In 744ff., Erichtho describes as the greatest mystery the supreme god who inhabits a Tartarus so deep and inaccessible that the normal *inferi* are *superbi* by comparison,* whose name causes the earth to tremble, but who himself need not fear any underworld power.

Significantly, Iamblichus argues that the continuity and serenity of the cosmos depends on such secrets remaining concealed; thus the demons, who have custody over nature, fear even the suggestion of their disclosure: μένει δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν ὅλων ζωὴ καθαρὰ καὶ ἀδιάφθορος, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἀπόκρυφα ζωογόνα τῶν λόγων κάλλη τῆς Ἰσιδος οὐ κάτειναι εἰς τὸ φαινόμενον καὶ ὀρώμενον κῶμα. ἀκίνητα δὲ διατελεῖ πάντα καὶ ἀειγενῆ, διότι οὐδέποτε ἴσταται ὁ τοῦ ἡλίου δρόμος· τέλεια δὲ καὶ ὀλόκληρα διαμένει πάντα, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ἀπόρρητα οὐδέποτε ἀποκαλύπτεται· οἷς οὖν ἔχει τὴν σωτηρίαν τὰ ὅλα (λέγω δὲ ἐν τῷ τὰ ἀπόρρητα κεκρυμμένα ἀεὶ διατηρεῖσθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ τὴν ἀφθεγκτον τῶν θεῶν οὐσίαν μηδέποτε τῆς ἐναντίας μεταλαμβάνειν μοίρας), τοῦτο οὐδ' ἄχρι φωνῆς ἀνεκτόν ἐστι τοῖς περιγεῖοις δαίμοσιν ἐπακούειν ὡς ἄλλως ἔχον ἢ βέβηλον γινόμενον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔχει δύναμιν τινα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ τοιοῦτος τρόπος τῶν λόγων (*de Myst.* VI 7, p. 248, 5ff. Parthey [p. 187f. Des Places]).

Magical texts employ similar language in describing the true name(s) as mystery (e.g., κρύπτον *PGM* I 217; XXIIb 20; IV 1610; κρύπτον ἄρρητον XII 237, 240; XIII 763; ἀφθεγκτον XIII 1000; VII 560; see in general Blau 124).

Thus, by revealing the name of the supreme god, the operator assumes the power of the supreme mystery which carries with it the most potent threat of cosmic disaster. For the name to have its desired effect, however, his knowledge of it must be precise and complete: ἐπικαλοῦμαί σου τὸ ὄνομα, τὸ μέγιστον ἐν θεοῖς· ὃ ἐὰν εἴπω τέλειον, ἔσται σεῖσμός, ὃ ἥλιος στήσεται, καὶ ἡ σελήνη ἔνφοβος ἔσται (*PGM* XIII 871ff.). Concern to say the name perfectly generates the impulse to multiply names and epithets; in our text, e.g., the "name" is actually six names (each preceded by κατὰ τοῦ), further augmented and amplified by magical *logoi*.

One general comment should be offered concerning the etymologies of the magical names in 16ff. Several contain the element *arba* or by metathesis *abra*, which is probably the transliteration of אַרְבַּע, "four." *Arba* became a euphemism for the Tetragram, the Hebrew divine name with the four letters יהוה, and as such compounds with other names of Yahweh, such as Adonai, אֲדֹנָי (see below pp. 94f. on Βαρβαδωναι § K 40f.), EI, אֵל (Αβραηλ, Delatte/Derchain 10, 469 with n.), and esp. Iao, יְהוּ (αρβαθιαω/αβραθιαω, which A. Jacoby inter-

prets as "die Vierzahl des [Namens] Jao" [*HDA* I 568 s.v. Arbatel; cf. *idem*, *ARW* 28, 1930, 273 n. 8]; *PGM* IV 1414; V 117f., 479; VI 35; XIII 79, 146, 452, 592; XXXVI 350; Bonner # 284, p. 300; see Perdrizet 77f.; J.M.R. Cormack, *HTR* 44 [1951] 33; esp. Fauth 65ff. Cf. also βαρβαθιαω [W₄ 4 and n. p. 92; *PGM* V 355; III 267; Delatte/Derchain 460 (βαρβαθηαωθ); Robinson, *Fest. Rand* 245 line 3 with n. p. 249], and in our text αβαρβατιαωθ [below p. 81]). S. Eitrem (*Forhandlinger i videnskapsselskapet i Kristiania* 1921, 1, p. 15) explains the second word of the combination αβρα μαροια (*PGM* IV 3022) as possibly Μαρία (cf. also *PGM* vol. 3 p. 238B s.v. Μαρία; T. Hopfner, *AO* 3 [1931] 347f.). It is more likely a variation of μαρι, ܡܪܝ, the Aramaic "(my) Lord" (cf. below p. 81 on μαρι ἐνδόξου). For other variations on *arba*, cf. F. Maltomini, *SCO* 29 (1979) 79 (on line 36). See also nn. below on βαρβαριθαμ line 16, pp. 76f.; βαρουχαμβρα 17, p. 77; αμβραθ Αβρασαξ 17, pp. 77f. Fauth (71f., 79ff., 97, and *passim*) observes that in connection with various designations for Yahweh, *arba* refers not only to the *Vierheit* of his supreme name, but also to that of his nature as solar *pantocrator*, the number "4" often expressing the idea of cosmic totality (e.g., in phrases such as the four corners of the earth, the four sectors of heaven, the four στοιχία, etc.).

14 ὅτι σε ἐξορκίζω κατὰ κτλ.: a common form for adjurations; cf. ὅτι ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ ὑπὸ γῆν ἀνανεάζοντος, Aud. 155a.40f.; similarly Aud. 155b.16f.; 159a.14f.; 161.38f.; etc. (cf. Aud. index p. 534 s.v. ὅτι ὀρκίζω *sine verbo praecedente*; *PGM* vol. 3 p. 92 s.v. ἐξορκίζω).

15 οὗ οἱ δαίμονες --- τρέμουν: similarly NT James 2.19: οὐ πιστεύει ὅτι εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ θεός; καλῶς ποιεῖς· καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια πιστεύουσιν καὶ φρίσσουσιν (on which see M. Dibelius, *Jakobusbrief* [Göttingen 1964] *ad loc.*, 196f. [Eng., Philadelphia 1976, 159f.]; A. Deissmann, *Bib. Stud.* 288). However, not only the demons fear the name of the great god: ἐπάκουσόν μου, ὅτι μέλλω τὸ μέγα ὄνο(μα) λέγειν· Αωθ, ὃν πᾶς θεός) προσκυνεῖ καὶ πᾶς δαίμων φρίσσει, ᾧ πᾶς ἄγγελος τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἀποτελεῖ (*PGM* XII 117ff.). In general cf. also *Pist. Soph.* IV 143 (Schmidt/MacDermot p. 373); Proclus *hymn* I 27f. Vogt; Enoch 69.14; Iamblichus' arguments, above pp. 70, 72, and 74.

16 αἱ πέτραι --- ἀκούσαντες: similarly *PGM* XXXVI 263. There was an increasing tendency in later Greek to use masculine for feminine par-

tiples; cf. esp. Kapsomenakis 40ff. n. 2; also Gignac II 130f.; Mandilaras § 877; BDR § 136.3. W.S. Barrett (*contra* Wilamowitz) doubts the evidence for this phenomenon in the classical period (*Euripides Hippolytos* [Oxford 1964] 366ff.).

16-17 κατὰ τοῦ βαρβαριθαμ βαρβαριθααμ χελομβρα βαρουχαμβρα Ἄδωναίου: parallels: κατὰ τοῦ βαρβαριθα χενμβρα βαρουχαμβρα (P 362f.); κατὰ τοῦ βαρβαραθαμ χελουμβρα βαρουχαμβρα Ἄδωναίου (C 15f.); κατ[ὰ τοῦ] βαρβαραθαμ χαλουμβρα βαρουχ Ἄδωναίου θεοῦ (W₁ 33ff.); κατὰ τοῦ βαρβαραθαμ βαρουχ βαρουχα βαρουχ Ἄδωναίου θεοῦ (W₂ 34ff.); κατὰ τοῦ βαρβαραθαμ χελουμβρα βαρου[χ] Ἄδωναί (L 15). Ἄδωνάιος (אֲדֹנָי, "Lord"; om. P) is the first of the six names; it is preceded by various forms of the *βαρβαριθα-logos*. Cf. κατὰ τοῦ βαρβαραθαμ βαρουχ βαρουχα Ἄδωναίου θεοῦ (W₃ 2f.); κατὰ τῶν ἄνω ὀνομα[άτων βα]ρβαραθαμ χελουμβρα βαρουχ [Ἄδωναίου] (PGM III 108ff.); κατὰ τοῦ βαρβαραθαμ βαροχ Αβρααμ (W₆ 4ff.); cf. also Ιαω Καβαωθ Ἄδων[αι βαρβαραθαμ] βαρουχα βαρουχ[βα]χ (W₃ 11f.). The following magical gems in Delatte/Derchain preserve various parts of the formula: χελουμβρα (502); βαρουχ αβραα αβρααμ (507); βαρβαραθειω --- χελουμβραμ βαρουχαβραμ (516); βαρβαραθειω --- χελουμβρα βιαουχ αβραμ --- χελουμβρα βαρουχα (520); βαρουχαβραμ (521); cf. also βαρβαρ[αθαμ Ἄ]δωναίου (PGM LXVII 10). In most of these texts (exc. L, W₆, gems 502 and 507) some form of *sesengen barpharanges* (see below pp. 78f.) follows either immediately or after other formulae.

The Hebraic character of the *barbaritha-logos* is evinced by its connection with Adonai in most instances, by its individual elements (see below), and perhaps by PGM III 119, ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τῆς ἑβραϊκῆς φωνῆς, which seems to refer to the above cited III 109f.; see Preisendanz's n. on 110.

16 βαρβαριθαμ: see preceding n. for the parallels. Apart from its use in the *barbaritha-logos*, this word occurs above line 3 (p. 41) as a *signum* of Adonis and in PGM LXVII 10 with the Hebrew *Adonai(os)*. *Barbar*, a common element in magical words, is probably a play on Hebrew אַרְבַּע, *arba*, "four" (see above pp. 74f.). Thus βαρβαριθα(μ)/βαρβαραθα(μ) is perhaps אַרְבַּע אַתָּה, "Thou art *arba*." Another possibility is *arba* + Aramaic אָרְבָּא which may be interpreted either "*Arba* has come" or "Come *arba*" (cf. μαρναναθα, NT 1Cor. 16.22; Kuhn in TDNT IV 466ff.; cf. also μ[α]ριθα, Xer. Corp. inv. 51/4740 DUO, line 5f. [ed. by C.A. Faraone, R. Kotansky, ZPE 75, 1988, 258 with n. p. 261]). Cf. al-

so the Hebrew-Kabbalistic divine name *Ar-ar-i-ta*, an acrostic abbreviation for seven words which mean, "One, the beginning of his unity, the beginning of his uniqueness, his change is one" (A. Jacoby, *HDA* I 567f. s.v.; S. Seligmann, *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* 20 [1921] 11).

17 βαρουχαμβρα: so P and C; W₁, W₂, and L omit -αμβρα, linking βαρουχ directly with *Adonai(os)* (see below). For these and other parallels, see above (p. 76) on κατὰ τοῦ βαρβαριθα etc. βαρουχ is most likely ברוך, "blessed" (so A. Jacoby, n. on P 362f.). αμβρα (similarly αμβραθ with Αβρααξ below) seems to be a variation of ארבע, "four" = (the name of) Yahweh (see above pp. 74f.); thus, "Blessed be *arba*" (in general see F. Maltomini, *SCO* 29 [1979] 110; cf. also βαρβαρουχ [Kropp II 6.24, p. 17], a contraction of αρβα βαρουχ?).

βαρουχ (variously spelled) also compounds with other Hebrew divine names: βαρουχ Αδωναι (W₁ W₂ L; *PGM* V 480; W₁ 3 [cf. also *PGM* XLV 3f.]); βαρουχ Ιαω (Xer. Corp. inv. 51/4740 DUO, line 1, ed. Faraone/Kotanski *op. cit.* [see above p. 76] 258 with n. p. 259, but I disagree with their conclusion that βαρουχ is usually independent; cf. (β)αραχ Ιαω Bonner # 284.3f., p. 300 with n.) βαρουχηλ (*Test. Sol.* VIII 6, p. 33, 1; probably אלה ברוכי, "blessed of God"; cf. βαρακηλ discussed by E. Peterson, *Rhein. Mus.* 75, 1926, 399 and other angel names ending in *-iel* which he lists, 393ff.); Καβαω βαρυχ (Southesk gem # 56 cited by A. Delatte, *Amulettes mithriaques* [*Musée Belge* 18, 1, 1914] p. 35); βαρουχα (Delatte/Derchain 520; part of the *barbaritha-logos* in W₂ 35, W₃ 3 and 12 [-α is perhaps יה, "God"; cf. βαρου --- χα, pap. 1.4 in Maltomini, *op. cit.* p. 64 with nn. on lines 2-4 p. 70 and line 4 p. 71]. For *baroucha* in Coptic texts, cf. Stegemann XXVIII 2 [p. 52]; Kropp II 43.93 [with n. p. 159] and 128. Similarly *Baruchia*, *ibid.* 72 col. 2.3 [p. 239]; *Baracha* [ברכה, "blessing"], *ibid.* 40.33 [p. 136]; cf. also the dekan name *Baroche* in the *Tabula Aristobuli* # 18 [Gundel, W., *Dekane* 406f.]). βαρουχ also occurs apart from any of the above compounds; e.g., pap. 7.6 in Maltomini, *op. cit.* p. 99; *P. Bad.* V 140.3 (p. 405). For various combinations with ברוך in the Hebrew Bible, see BDB 138B s.v. [ברך] 2a.

αμβραθ Αβρααξ: first word lacking in W₁, W₂, L. The etymology of Αβρααξ is uncertain (in general see *Jewish Encyclopedia* I 129f. s.v.; Dornseiff, *Alphabet* 42f.; for its numerical value see P 332 above p. 10 with n. 40). The

name, like other magical words (cf. above pp. 74f.), may be derived from Heb. ארבע, "four", i.e., (the name of) Yahweh (A.A. Barb in *Hommages à Waldemar Deonna* [Col. Latomus 28, 1957] 68ff.; A. Jacoby, *HDA* I 99 s.v. Abrasax; K. Rudolph, *Die Gnosis* [Göttingen 1980] 332f. = Eng. [Edinburgh 1983] 311). The same word precedes Αβρααξ in P 363 (αββατ; probably the fem. construct form ארבעת, as often with Iao [above pp. 74f.; cf. Fauth 71]), C 16 (αβραθ; same form with metathesis), and our text (αμβραθ; with metathesis and, as in βαρουχ αμβρα above, development of μ before labial β [cf. Gignac I 118; Threutte 488ff.]). It is not surprising to find *arbalabra*, which is usually joined to the different names of Yahweh, here attached to Abrasax, since Iao-Adonai-Abrasax are frequently invoked together as designations of the supreme solar god; cf., e.g., *PGM* III 76f.; VII 221, 649; XXXVI 42; XII 74; Delatte/Derchain 128, 149, 211, 362, 379; Kropp II 48.38f.; Fauth 74 with n. 76. For the Abrasax/Yahweh syncretism in Basilidian Gnosis, see K. Rudolph *loc. cit.*

σεσενγεν βαρφαραγγης: so spelled in P 364; σεσενγεν βαρφαραγγη (C 16); σεσενγε βαρβααραφαργ'γης (W₁ 36); σεσενγε φαραγγης (W₂ 41, σεσενγενφαρανγης Bonner # 357 [p. 314], σεσενγενφαρανγη # 233 [p. 292]); om. L. For other spelling variations, cf. Kopp III § 671. These common *voces magicae* often occur with or near the *barbaritha-logos* or similar formulae (so M; cf. *PGM* III 110; W₃ 4; Delatte/Derchain 516, 520, 521), with αβλαναθαναλβα ακραμμαχαμαρει (*PGM* III 79f.; IV 981f.; VII 312; *An. Ath.* 550. 14f.; Youtie/Bonner "Beisan" obv. frag. 1.25 [p. 55/621]; Perdrizet 73, lines 4-6), in solar connections, including that of Horus-Apollo (*PGM* II 108, 122, 174; III 155, 217; IV 1025; Bonner p. 201f.), and in other contexts. Various forms of it occur in Coptic and Aramaic/Jewish magic; see Kropp II p. 271; Scholem 85, line 10 with n. p. 89; 99f. The latter (p. 98 and n. 16) also cites an Aramaic incantation bowl edited by J.A. Montgomery (*Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* [Philadelphia 1913] 146), which reads, "In the name of Pharagin bar Pharagin, before whom trembles the sea and behind whom the mountains tremble" (cf. our text above lines 14-16). On the grounds of the Jewish evidence, Scholem (97f. with n. 15) explains our words as the name of a demon with an Aramaic patronym: "Sesengen son (*bar*) of Pharanges." He (p. 100) and more recently W. Fauth (*ZDMG* 120 [1970] 254f.) have compared the formula with *Ssm bn Pdršša*, a divine/demonic name found in various Semitic magical texts, which displays the following similarities: 1. *Ssm* is most likely the same name

or of the same root as *κεεν*(γεν) (m/n interchange is common in certain Semitic languages [Fauth, *op. cit.* 252 with n. 266 and cf. below p. 104 on *καταμα*]); 2. the second name is a patronym, but with the Hebrew form *bn* rather than Aramaic *br*; 3. *Ssm bn Pdršša* has strong solar affiliations, especially with regard to Horus-Apollo (Fauth, *op. cit.* 246-55). The provenances and meanings of the actual names *κεενγεν* and *φαραγγης* remain obscure. Scholem (97 n. 15) has rightly discounted earlier proposals for Hebrew and Greek etymologies (Heb. *šišim gibborim* [see OT Song of Songs 3.7] + Pharaoh, Perdrizet 79; "the ravine [*φάραγγς*] of Baaras," which, according to Josephus [*Bel. Jud.* VII 180ff.], produced a magical plant; see Hopfner, OZ I §§ 507, 754; Kopp III p. 672f.; Kropp III § 211).

Ιαω Καβαοθ: This Greek version of the common Hebrew **יהוה צבאות** "Lord of hosts," is fairly frequent in our literature (*PGM* IV 1538; V 479; XII 207; *al.*). *Sabaoth*, which is lacking at this point in M's parallels, originally in the OT designated Yahweh as lord of the armies of Israel and (later) of the heavenly hosts, i.e., stars, angels, etc. (BDB s.v. **צבא** 4). Aquila translates it *τρατιῶν*, LXX often *δυναμέων*. In much of the LXX, however (esp. the Minor Prophets), it is interpreted more generally as an ascription of Yahweh's might and rendered *παντοκράτωρ* (Thackeray 8f.). In this light, it is not difficult to see how in magic *Sabaoth* often ceased to function as an appendage to various Yahweh names and became a divine/magical name in its own right (*PGM* VII 605, 1012; IV 3052f.; IX 7; III 219; M § K 46 below; etc. Cf. Bonner 136; M. Smith, *JANES* 16/17 [1984/85] 210).

Iao is actually not the transcription for **יהוה**, but for a shorter form, **יהו**, which does not occur in the Hebrew Bible (except as an element in proper names) but in Jewish magic, Aramaic ostraca, and elsewhere; cf. Ganschinietz in *RE* IX 699 s.v. *Iao*; L. Blau in *Jewish Encyclopedia* XII 119A-20A s.v. Tetragrammaton; Hopfner, OZ I § 743; Fauth 68f. It is one of the most (if not the most) frequently used names of power in Greco-Egyptian magical texts (see Ganschinietz, *op. cit.* 698ff. [esp. 709-13] and O. Eissfeldt, *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft* 42 [1927] 161ff. [*Kleine Schriften* I 150ff.]). For *Iao* in non-magical Hellenistic, Greco-Jewish, and Patristic literature, see Deissmann, *Bib. Stud.* 322; Eissfeldt, *op. cit.* 180f. (*Kl. Sch.* I 166f.); E. Norden in *Festgabe von Fachgenossen und Freunden A. von Harnack* (Tübingen 1921) 298ff.; *PGM*

Eng. p. 335 s.v. There were other Greek versions of the Tetragram; cf. next n. on $\iota\alpha\epsilon\omega$ and below p. 103 on $\alpha\dot{\iota}\alpha$. The form $\iota\omega$ (often a prefix) has been taken as a variation of $\text{I}\alpha\omega$ or as Egyptian/Coptic *eiō*, "ass", i.e., Seth (W. Fauth, *Oriens Christianus* 57 [1973] 106-120, and for *eiō/io* in particular, *ibid.* 113f.; R.W. Daniel, *ZPE* 50 [1983] 151; Youtie/Bonner "Beisan" obv. frag. 1.7f., 25f. with n. p. 61/627; Griffiths on *Is. et Os.* 30 [p. 409f.]; cf. Eissfeldt, *op. cit.* p. 183 [*Kl. Sch.* I 168]. For Seth's identification with Yahweh, see above p. 33; Griffiths, *loc. cit.* and n. 5; thus with $\beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\theta\iota\alpha\omega$ (above, p. 75) cf. $\beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\text{-}\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\omega$ Delatte/Derchain 520.

$\text{I}\alpha\epsilon\omega$: lacking in the parallels; cf. *PGM* VII 584, 598, 608; VIII 96; LIX 4(?); cf. also the *ιαεω-logos* palindrome (below pp. 105ff.). According to Ganschietz (*RE* IX 700 s.v. *Iao*), this is a more precise transcription of יְהוָה than $\text{I}\alpha\omega$, the ϵ being the normal way of representing Heb. η . The form possibly arose from the impulse to make the transcription have four letters as does YHWH (A. Jacoby, *ARW* 28 [1930] 276 n. 3).

18 $\pi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\nu\psi\omega\theta$ $\pi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\nu\beta\rho\alpha\omega\theta$: lacking in P, W_1 , W_2 ; $\pi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\pi\tau\omega\theta$ $\pi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\beta\rho\alpha\omega\theta$ (C 17, L 16); cf. $\pi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\pi\tau\omega\theta$ $\pi\alpha[\kappa\epsilon\pi\theta\omega\theta]$ (*PGM* XII 186 with Eitrem's supplement; more likely $\pi\alpha[\kappa\epsilon\beta\rho\alpha\omega\theta]$ on the basis of our text and parallels); $\pi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\rho\beta\alpha\omega$ (VII 328). Cf. also the common $\pi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\rho\beta\eta\theta$ which, as our words, is associated with Yahweh in formulae such as $\text{I}\alpha\omega$ $\pi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\rho\beta\eta\theta$ (*PGM* VII 646; cf. I 304; note similarity of $-\beta\eta\theta$ with Heb. בֵּית , "house"). Similarly, $\omega\epsilon\rho\beta\eta\theta$ $\omega\pi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\rho\beta\eta\theta$ (*PGM* III 71f., 116f., etc.), but these words primarily belong to Seth; cf. above on ω esp. Daniel *loc. cit.*; also R. Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom* (Leipzig 1898) 88 and 90; for $\pi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\rho\beta\eta\theta$ see further F. Maltomini, *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 281. In M the element $-\epsilon\nu\beta\rho\alpha\omega\theta$ resembles $\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\omega\theta$ (*PGM* IV 1214, 3020; V 133; cf. $\alpha\mu\beta\rho\alpha\theta$ for $\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\theta$ above p. 78), which may be a play on $\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\theta\iota\alpha\omega$ or $\text{C}\alpha\beta\alpha\omega\theta$ (cf. above pp. 74f. and p. 79 respectively, and for $\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\omega\theta$ see P. Moraux, *Une défixion judiciaire au musée d'Istanbul* [Mem. Ac. Roy. Belge LIV 2, 1960] 33f.).

$\alpha\beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\tau\iota\alpha\omega\theta$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\tau\iota\alpha\nu\eta$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\phi\alpha\iota$: om. P. Variations of only the first word occur in three of the parallels: $\alpha\beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\omega\theta$, C 17; $\beta\alpha\beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\omega\theta$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\omega\theta$, W_1 35f.; $\iota\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\tau\iota\alpha\omega$ $\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\tau\iota\alpha\omega\theta$, W_2 43. $\alpha\beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\rho\phi\alpha\epsilon\iota$ in L 16 resembles the third. With the entire formula, cf. esp. *PGM* IV 1241ff.: $\alpha\beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\theta\iota\omega\theta$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\theta\iota\omega\theta$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\theta\iota\omega\nu\eta\theta$

καβαρβαρβαφαϊ. The element καβαρβα, common to all three words in our text, is perhaps Καβαωθ + αρβα (see above p. 79 and pp. 74f. respectively).

καβαρβατιαωθ: cf. Καβ Αβρα Ιαω (Delatte/Derchain 30); Ζαβαρβαθιαω (PGM VIII 96, X 6); καβαθιουθ, below § K 44 (p. 101) and the corresponding καρβαθιουθ, P 388; cf. also βαρβαθιαω (above p. 75). The element -ιαωθ equals Ιαω; the final θ may have developed on the analogy of Καβαωθ (Baudissin "Iao" 194f.; cf. esp. Ιαωθ Καβαωθ, PGM V 479). On this point and for various other interpretations of the significance of medial and final θ in magical words, see Peterson, *EIC ΘEOC* 97-103. Thus, καβ(αωθ)-αρβατ-ιαωθ (for αρβατ as the fem. construct of *arba*, see above p. 78).

καβαρβατιανη: perhaps καβ(αωθ)-αρβ(α)-ατιανη, the final element probably a corruption of Αδωναι (Heb. "Lord"); cf. in our text βαρβαδωναι, § K 40f. (below p. 94); βαρβαραιωνη (PGM XIII 768).

καβαρβαφαι: cf. βαρβαφαϊ (PGM IV 1008). αι may stand for αϊα, a palindromic form of the Heb. Tetragram (see below on § K 46, p. 103). It could also be the possessive morpheme "my," as in *Adon-ai* (lit. "my Lord"); cf. Ιαω αι (PGM IV 1035, 1076; Ganschinietz in *RE* IX 701 s.v. Iao).^{*} I am not sure how to account for the preceding φ.

μαρι ενδόξου: so P 365 (and see Preisendanz's n.); μαρει ενδόξου, C 17; ακραμμαχαμαρει ενδόξω, W₂ 44f.; μαριονιοξας, W₁ 36f. (-ονιοξας is a case of a Greek word corrupted to a *nomen barbarum*; cf. below pp. 104f. on αθερεφιλανω); lacking in L. Cf. μαρι μαρι αρι, *An. Ath.* 581.13-14; μαρμαριμαρι, Kropp II 15.3 (p. 57); μαρι μαριη μαρει, *Pist. Soph.* IV 142 (Schmidt/MacDermot 370.18); ω ΠΕΧC Δ ΜΔΡΙ, Stegemann XLV 1.6 (p. 70). μαρι is probably Aramaic ܡܪܝ, "(my) Lord" (cf. Heb. *Adonai*).

18 μαρμαραωθ - - - 19 κατὰ τοῦ μαρμαραυωθ: Only in M are the *marmar*- words separated by the two Osiris names. Parallels: κατὰ τοῦ μαρμαρεωθ μαρμαραυωθ μαρμαραωθ (P 365f.); κατὰ τοῦ μαρμαραιωθ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ μαρμαραωθ μαρμαραυωθ (C 17f.); μαμαραωθ μαρμαριουωθ μαρμαιωθ μαρμα[ρ]ι'ά'οθ (W₂ 45ff.); κατὰ τοῦ μαρμαραουωθ (L 16f.); lacking in W₁. In other magical texts, μαρμαραωθ: PGM XII 187; Kropp II 47.4,7 (p. 178); Aud. 242.17; Delatte/Derchain 222; *Test. Sol.* XVIII 28 and 33 (new fragments of these passages edited by R.W. Daniel in *P. Rainer Cent.* 39, p.

298f. and nn. p. 300); μαρμαραυωθ: *PGM* IV 946f., 1591; XII 231; Delatte/Derchain 212, 460. For the Aramaic etymology מר מר"וה, "lord of lords" and others, see C. Brockelmann, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 104 (1899) 193; Hopfner, *OZ* I § 746; Bonner 154.* In the *Test. Sol.* μαρμαραωθ is the name of the 24th and 29th dekan angel (Gundel, W., *Dekane* 79). In our spell, in the context of Iao, Adonai, and Abrasax, it is probably intended as another name for Yahweh and as such occurs in Syrian liturgy (cf. Kropp III § 206). For Yahweh as "Lord of lords" in the Bible, see Deut. 10.17; Ps. 136.3 (MT); cf. also Enoch 9.4; NT I Tim. 6.15.

18f. ουσερβεντηθ: I find no other attestations. ουσερ is Osiris (for Osiris in magical texts, cf. Hopfner, *AO* 3 [1931] 120ff.; R.W. Daniel, *ZPE* 19 [1975] 263). I owe to Mr. R. Kotansky the suggestion that βε may represent the Egyptian *ba*, "life," "being," often with the idea of self-manifestation or disclosure; thus, "Gestaltfähigkeit" (see E.M. Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes "b3" anhand der Überlieferung der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches* [Diss. Basel 1968] 7-9). *Ba* occurs as an element in magical words in its Coptic form *bai* (βαινοφουου, *PGM* XIII 809; βαινωωωωχ, IV 973; see L. Koenen, *ZPE* 8 [1971] 203; R.W. Daniel, *ZPE* 19 [1975] 253; Crum 28A s.v. βαλ; further below p. 102. *Bai* is phonetically equivalent to our βε [Gignac I 191ff.]). In Egyptian texts the word compounds with names of gods as an epithet formula (e.g., Osiris is the "ba of Re," Re is the "ba of Nun," etc.; see L.V. Zabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts* [Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 34, Chicago 1968] 11-15; cf. *κύ εἶ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ δαίμονος τοῦ Ὀσίρεως*, *PGM* IV 2987). Thus, ουσερβεντηθ may be *wsir-b3-ntr*, "Osiris is the *ba* of God," or perhaps "ba of the gods," understanding the last element as Coptic plural *ēntēr*, "gods" (Crum 230B s.v. ΝΟΥΤΕ; cf. φουουθι νινθηρ, "God of gods," in *PGM* IV 1643 and XXXVIII 16; see *PGM* vol. 3 p. 229B s.v. πνουτε). In either case, ρ is replaced by θ, a common appendage to magical words; see above p. 81.*

19 ουσερπατη: tab. ουσερπατη; ε/ς is a standard letter confusion (F.W. Hall, *Companion to Classical Texts* [Oxford 1913] 158; H.C. Youtie, *The Textual Criticism of the Documentary Papyri, Prolegomena* [London² 1974] 68.). The element -πατη is perhaps Egyptian *phty*, "strength." Crum (284B) notes that the Coptic equivalent ΠΔΞΤΕ appears in various Greco-Egyptian proper names; e.g., Ἀπάθης, Ψεναπάθης (or -της), Σεναπάθης (or -της); cf. s.vv.

in Preisigke, *Namenbuch* and D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum*. With the interpretation of ουσερπατη as "Osiris is strength," cf. the etymology of Osiris' name in Plutarch *Is. et Os.* 37 as ὄβριμος, "mighty" (Egyptian *wsr*; see the comments of Hopfner [vol. II p. 174] and Griffiths [p. 442] *ad loc*).

μαρμαραχθα: repeated only in our text; so spelled in C 18, W₁ 37, L 17; μαρεχθανα (P 366); χθαμα (W₂ 47). The name is applied to God in Jesus' prayer in *Pist. Soph.* IV 142 (Schmidt/MacDermot 370.13). Cf. also compounds involving the Egyptian solar figure Harachte, e.g., in M, αμουραχθη (§ K 46) and its parallel αμαραχθι in P 390 (see below p. 103); thus our word may mean "Lord (Aramaic *mar-*; cf. above pp. 81f.) Harachte." This explanation does not contradict the connection with Yahweh in *Pist. Soph.*, since magical names and formulae often evince an underlying syncretism of sun deities with Yahweh (see below on βαρβαδωναί lines 40f. [pp. 94f.]; § A, the *ιαεω-Logos* [pp. 105-08]; §§ C and E, αβλαναθαναλβα ακραμμαχαμαρει [pp. 108-10 esp. Peterson ref. on p. 110]; cf. also Fauth 72-75).

αμαρδα: αμαρζα (P 367, C 18, and *PGM* XII 178); αμαζε (W₂ 48); μαλμαρζα (W₁ 37); μαμαζαγαρ (L 17); cf. μαρζα below § K 29 (p. 89).

μαριβεωθ: so in P 367; μαρειβαιωθ (C 18); μαριβα[ρι]ωθ (W₁ 37f.); μαριβαριοθ (W₂ 48); lacking in L. Here also the Aramaic *mari* may be involved (see above on μαρι ενδόξου p. 81).

19-26: Second Command to the νεκυδαίμων

M¹⁹ μή μου παρακούσης τῶν ^{l20} ἐντολῶν, νεκυδαίμων, ὅστις ποτ' εἶ εἶτε ἄρρην εἶτε θήλεια, ἀλλ' ἔγειρέ μοι σεαυτὸν καὶ ὑπαγε εἰς πᾶν τόπον, εἰς πᾶν ἄμφοδον, ἢ εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν, καὶ κατάδησον Κοπρίαν, ἣν ἔτεκε μήτηρ Ταῆσις, ἥς ἔχεις τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς, Αἰλουρίωνι, ᾧ ἔτεκε ἢ μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία, ὅπως μὴ βινηθῆῃ μηδὲ πυγιθῆῃ μήτε ἡδονὴν ποιήσῃ ἄλλω νεανίσκῳ ἢ ἐτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ δυνηθῆῃ μήτε φαγεῖν μήτε πιεῖν μήτε ὑπνοῦ τυχεῖν μήτε ἡσυχάζειν τῇ ψυχῇ ἢ τῇ διανοίᾳ ἐπιζητοῦσα διὰ παντὸς ἡμέ^{l24}ρης καὶ νυκτὸς Αἰλουρίωνα, ὃν ἔτεκε μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία, φιλοῦσα ἐρῶσα ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας ἐξ ὅλου πνεύματος ὡς τὴν ἑαυτῆς ψυχὴν Κοπρία,

ἥς ἔχεις τὰς τρίχας, φιλοῦσα ἔρωτι θείῳ μέχρι θανάτου Αἰλουρίωνα, ὃν ἔτεκε μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία· ἤδη | ἤδη ταχύ ταχύ.

P³⁶⁷ μή μου παρακούσης, |³⁶⁸ νεκύδαιμον, τῶν ἐντολῶν καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων, | ἀλλ' ἔγειρον μόνον σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐχούσης | σε ἀναπαύσεως, ὅστις ποτὲ εἶ, εἴτε ἄρρης εἴτε θῆλυς, καὶ ὑπαγε εἰς πάντα τόπον, εἰς πᾶν ἄμφοδον, |³⁷² εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν καὶ ἔνεγκόν μοι τὴν δεῖνα, καὶ κατὰσχεσ αὐτῆς τὴν βρῶσιν καὶ τὴν πόσιν, καὶ | μὴ ἐάσης τὴν δεῖνα ἄλλου ἀνδρὸς πείραν λαβεῖν | πρὸς ἠδονήν, μηδὲ ἰδίου ἀνδρὸς, εἰ μὴ ἐμοῦ |³⁷⁶ μόνου, τοῦ δεῖνα, ἀλλ' ἔλκε τὴν δεῖνα τῶν τριχῶν, τῶν | σπλάγχων, τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸν δεῖνα, πάσις ὥρα τοῦ αἰῶνος, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, μέλχι οὗ ἔλθη πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸν δεῖνα, καὶ ἀχώριστός |³⁸⁰ μου μείνη ἡ δεῖνα. ποιήσον, κατάδησον εἰς τὸν | ἅπαντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς μου καὶ συνανάγκασον τὴν δεῖνα ὑπουργὸν εἶναί μοι, τῷ δεῖνα, καὶ μὴ | ἀποσκιρτάτω ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ὥραν μίαν τοῦ αἰῶνος. |³⁸⁴ ἐὰν μοι τοῦτο τελέσης, ἀναπαύσω σε ταχέως.

C¹⁸ μή μου παῖρακούσης, νέκυς δαίμων, ὅστις ποτὲ εἶ, καὶ ὑπαγε εἰς πάντα τόπον καὶ εἰς πᾶν ἄμφο|²⁰δον καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν καὶ ἔνεγκέ μοι Ἑρωνοῦν, ἣν ἔτεκεν Πτολεμαίς, καὶ κατὰσχεσ αὐτῆς | τὸν βροτὸν καὶ τὸν ποτόν, μὴ ἐάσης Ἑρωνοῦν ἄλλου ἀνδρὸς πείραν λαβεῖν εἰ μὴ ἐμοῦ | μόνου Ποσιδωνίου, ὃν ἔτεκεν Θεσενουβάσθις, ἔλκε ται(ν) (i.e., τὴν)* Ἑρωνοῦν τῶν τριχῶν καὶ τῶν | σπλάγχων αὐτῆς πρὸς ἐμέ Ποσιδώνιον πᾶσαν ὥραν τοῦ αἰῶνος, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, |²⁴ μέχρι οὗ ἔλθη Ἑρωνοῦς πρὸς ἐμέ Ποσιδώνιον καὶ ἀδιαχώριστόν μου αὐτὴν ποιήσης μέλχι θανάτου, ἵν' ἔχω αὐτὴν Ἑρωνοῦν, ἣν ἔτεκεν Πτολεμαίς, ὑποτεταγμένην ἐγὼ Ποσιδώνιος, ὃν ἔτεκεν Θεσενουβάσθις, εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς μου. ἤδη | ἤδη ταχύ ταχύ· ἐὰν τοῦτό μοι ποιήσης, ἀπολύσω σε.

W₁³⁸ μή μου παρακούσης, νεκυδαίμων, ὅστις ποτ' οὖν | [εἶ, κ]αὶ ἔγειρέ μοι σεαυτόν, ὅτι ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τῆς κυρίας |⁴⁰ [Ἐ]κάτης Ἀρτέμιδος κτλ.*

W₂⁴⁸ ὀρκίζω | σε, μὴ παρακούσης τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀλλὰ ἐξέγειρε σεαυτὸν καὶ ὑπαγε εἰς πᾶν τόπον, |⁵² ὅπου ἐστὶ Ματρῶνα, ἣν ἔτεκεν Ταγένη, ἥς ἔχισ τὴν οὐσίαν, καὶ ἀπελθε πρὸς αὐτὴν |

καὶ κατὰσχεσ αὐτῆς τὸν ὕ[πν'ον']¹⁵⁶πνον,* τὸ ποτόν, τὸν βρο-
 {τὸν}ἰτὸν καὶ μὴ ἀφῆς Ματρῶναν, | ἦν ἔτεκεν Ταγένη, ἥς ἔχικ | τὴν
 οὐσίαν, ἄλλου ἀντρὸς ¹⁶⁰φιλίαν ἔχιν καὶ στοργήν, | εἰ μὴ Θεοδώρω,
 ὄν {ετ}ἔτεκεν Τεχῶσις. ἔλκε τὴν | Ματρῶναν τῶν τριχῶν, ¹⁶⁴
 τῶν σπλά(γ)χνων, τῆς ψυχῆ'ς', | τῆς καρδίας, ἕως ἔλθη πρὸ'ς' |
 Θεόδωρον, καὶ ἀχώριστον | αὐτὸν ποίησον μέχ(ρ)εῖς θαι¹⁶⁸νάτου
 νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέραις | πάσα ὥρα τοῦ αἰῶνος. | ἦδη ἦδη ταχὺ ταχὺ
 ἄρτι ἄρ'τι'. | ἄμ μοι τοῦτο τελέσης, ¹⁷²λύσω σε ταχέως.

L ¹⁷μὴ παρακούσης, νεκύδαιμον Ἀντίνοε, ἀλλ' ἔγειραί μοι
 σεαυτὸν καὶ ὕπαγε εἰς πᾶν τόπον, εἰς πᾶν ἄμφοδον, εἰς πᾶσαν
 οἰκείαν καὶ ἄγαγέ μοι τὴν Πτολεμαΐδα, ¹²⁰ἦν ἔτεκεν Ἀϊᾶς, τὴν
 θυγατέρα Ὠριγένους· κατὰσχεσ αὐτῆς τὸ βροτόν, | τὸ ποτόν, ἕως
 ἔλθη πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν Καραπάμμωνα, ὄν ἔτεκεν Ἀρέα, | καὶ μὴ ἐάσης
 αὐτὴν ἄλλου ἀνδρὸς πείραν λαβεῖν εἰ μὴ ἐμοῦ μόνου | τοῦ Καρα-
 πάμμωνος. ἔλκε αὐτὴν τῶν τριχῶν, τῶν σπλάγγνων, ¹²⁴ἕως μὴ
 ἀποστῆ μοι τοῦ Καραπάμμωνος, οὗ ἔτεκεν Ἀρέα, καὶ ἔχω | αὐτὴν
 τὴν Πτολεμαΐδα, ἦν ἔτεκεν Ἀϊᾶς, τὴν θυγατέρα Ὠριγένους, | ὑπο-
 τεταγμένην εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς μου, | φιλοῦσάν με,
 ἐρῶς[ά]ν μου, λέγουσάν μοι ἃ ἔχει ἐν νόφ. ἐὰν τοῦτο ¹²⁸ποιήσης,
 ἀπολύσω σε.

All the parallels at this point incorporate material similar to part of the first command (above pp. 51ff.). Thus, with P 369-72 (ἔγειρον μόνον --- τὴν δεῖνα) cf. 347-50 (ἀνέγειρέ μοι --- ἄξον τὴν δεῖνα); with C 19-20 (νέκυς δαίμων --- Πτολεμαΐς) cf. 7-8 (νέκυς δαίμων --- Πτολεμαΐς); W₁ 38ff. repeats only ἔγειρέ μοι σεαυτὸν from the earlier part (16-21) and then proceeds with the adjuration of Artemis/Hekate (cf. above p. 18); with W₂ 50-54 (ἐξέγειρε --- οὐσίαν) cf. 12-22 (ἔγειρέ μοι --- αὐτῆς [with ἐξορκίζω --- δεμόνια interrupting; see above p. 18]); with L 18-20 (νεκύδαιμον --- Ὠριγένους) cf. 6-8 (τῶ δαίμονι --- Ὠριγένους); with M 20-26 (νεκυδαίμων --- ταχύ) cf. 6-14 ((ἔγειρέ μοι) --- χρόνον). M prolongs the repeated material with ὅπως μὴ βινηθῆ κτλ., omitting the rest of the second command as it occurs in P, C, L, and W₂. Since W₁ also omits most of this material and W₂ includes it, it is likely that the handbook(s) of these two texts and perhaps some of the

other handbooks offered optional spells at this point (on such options, see above pp. 6f.).

In the following synopsis of variations between the two corresponding sections of our text, the present passage is labeled M_2 and the earlier M_1 (so also in the textual appendix, below pp. 113ff.). Much of M_2 is iterated in § K 30ff. (below pp. 88ff.). The comments which follow the chart treat a few points where M_2 differs from M_1 .

M_1	M_2
om.	19 μή μου παρακούσης τῶν ἐντολῶν
8 ἑτέρῳ --- ἄλλῳ	22 ἄλλῳ --- ἑτέρῳ
9 εἰ μή --- ὀνόματι Κοπρία	om.
9f. διὰ παντός	23f. transposed after ἐπιζητοῦσα with ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός added
10 εὐσταθεῖν ἦ	23 om. (possibly haplography before ἡσυχάζειν)
ταῖς φρεσὶ	τῇ διανοίᾳ
μήτηρ Κοπρία	μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία
ἕως οὗ --- (12) ὀνόματι Κοπρία	om. (perhaps haplography caused by ὀνόματι Κοπρία before φιλοῦσα)
12 ψυχῆς	24 καρδίας
12f. φίλτροις --- ἐρωτικοῖς	24f. ὡς τὴν ἑαυτῆς ψυχὴν
13 Αἰλουρίωνα --- Κοπρία	25 transposed after θανάτου Κοπρία --- φιλοῦσα
13f. ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον --- χρόνον	μέχρι θανάτου
om.	25f. ἤδη ἤδη ταχὺ ταχύ

19f. μή μου παρακούσης τῶν ἐντολῶν: L 17f. has the shortest version, μή παρακούσης; cf. μή μου παρακούσης (C 18f., W_1 38); μή παρακούσης τῶν ὀνομάτων (W_2 49f.); μή μου παρακούσης, νεκύδαιμον, τῶν ἐντολῶν καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων (P 367f.). Magical texts employ παρακούειν with the late meanings "fail to heed," "disobey," for commands or threats. The former some-

times, as in M, takes the form of a μή + subjunctive prohibition followed by ἀλλά and an imperative (μή μου παρακούσης, ἀλλὰ ἀνάπεμψον, *PGM XIVa* 10; μή μου παρακούσητε, ἀλλὰ τάχιον ποιήσατε, *W₄* 22f.; cf. F. Maltomini, *SCO* 29 [1979] 110f. [on line 8]); the latter is often expressed as a condition (ἐὰν δέ μου παρακούσης, κατακαήσεται ὁ κύκλος [*sc.* τοῦ ἡλίου], καὶ κότος ἔσται καθ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην, *PGM XII* 55f.; ἐὰν με παρακούσης --- ἐρῶ τῷ μεγάλῳ θεῷ --- καὶ τὰ κρέατά σου δώσει φαγεῖν τῷ ψωριῶντι κυνί, *XII* 140f.; similarly, *W₄* 9f.; *PGM IV* 290f.; cf. also *PGM VII* 691f., 893; *XIV* 22; *paretis* in *Lucan VI* 744 (cited above p. 73). For threats in general, see above pp. 69ff.

24f. ὡς τὴν ἑαυτῆς ψυχὴν: Tab. has ΨΥΧΗΝ. The scribe, having first written ψυχῆς under the influence of ἑαυτῆς, corrected it to ψυχὴν. This use of ψυχὴ as a near-equivalent of a personal or reflexive pronoun has some classical precedent, e.g., in expressions meaning "to gratify oneself": χαίρει', ἐν κακοῖς ὅμως | ψυχῇ διδόντες ἡδονὴν καθ' ἡμέραν (*Aesch. Pers.* 840f.); τὴν (δ') ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἐγὼ | οὐ πάυσομαι δρῶν εὔ (*Eur. Cycl.* 340f.); cf. κελεύει σε βασιλεὺς ἐκ μὲν τούτου τοῦ χρυσίου εὐφραίνειν τὴν σεαυτοῦ ψυχὴν, ἐπεὶ καὶ σὺ τὴν ἐκείνου εὐφρανᾶς (*Ael. Var. Hist.* I 32); *pater nunc intus suo animo morem gerit* (*Plaut. Amph.* 131); further examples in Gow's n. on *Theoc.* 16.24 (II p. 310); Dodds, *Greeks and Irrat.* 138. Cf. also μηδεὶς κρατεῖτω τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ποτε (*Soph. OC* 1207 with R.C. Jebb's n. *ad loc.*); ἡ δ' ἐμὴ ψυχὴ πάλαι | τέθνηκεν (*Ant.* 559f.); ψυχὴ γὰρ ἧῦδα πολλὰ μοι μυθουμένη (*Ant.* 227); similarly, the Homeric θυμός in *Il.* XI 407 *et al.*

The expansion of this idiom in later times probably owes much to Semitic influence, as in Hebrew, where עַצְמִי often means "self" (Jacob in *TDNT* IX 620 s.v. ψυχὴ). E.g., in the LXX: προσάγωγέ μοι [*sc.* τὴν βρῶσιν] - - -, τέκνον, ἵνα εὐλογῆσιν σε ἡ ψυχὴ μου (*Gen.* 27.25); ἐδικαίωσεν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ Ἰσραηλ (*Jer.* 3.11). Compare Luke's version of Jesus' famous maxim (9.25, τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖται ἄνθρωπος κερδήσας τὸν κόσμον ὅλον ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἀπολέσας ἢ ζημιωθείς;) with that of Mark (8.36, τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖ ἄνθρωπον κερδήσαι τὸν κόσμον ὅλον καὶ ζημιωθῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ;). For other NT examples, parallels, and discussion, see Bauer s.v. ψυχὴ 1 sect. f; Turner, *Syntax* 43; C.F.D. Moule, *An Idiom Book of NT Greek* (Cambridge 1968) 185; G.B. Winer, P.W. Schmiedel, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms* (Göttingen⁸ 1898) § 22.18b with n. 33 (p. 214f.). In papyri this meaning of ψυχὴ is espe-

cially common in letters: τῷ δεσπότη μου καὶ ἀδελφῷ καὶ κυρίῳ τῆς ψυχῆς μου Κοπρέα, *P. Lond.* III 1244.1 (p. 244) = G. Ghedini, *Lettere Cristiane* (Milan 1923) p. 215 with n. p. 217 (same text also published in M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto* [Florence 1968] p. 250 and cf. p. 50 with n. 5); cf. also Bonner 185; J.H. Moulton, G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (London 1930) s.v. ψυχὴ 3.

25 μέχρι θανάτου: also in § K 39. The purely temporal meaning "until the time of death" is appropriate in this context, but otherwise rare (cf. C 24f. and W₂ 67f. [above pp. 84f.]; Pseud. Luc. *Amor.* 47; cf. also Plutarch *Numa* 10.2; Philo *Decal.* 114). The phrase μέχρι/ἄχρι θανάτου normally denotes degree, not time (see Bauer, s.v. μέχρι).

25f. ἤδη ἤδη ταχὺ ταχύ: This common formula either marks the end of a spell (*PGM* IV 1924; VII 248, 254, 259; X 50; XII 143; XIXa 54; XXXVI 84, 114; P. Köln inv. no. 5514.11f., 5512.18f. [ed. R.W. Daniel, *ZPE* 19, 1975, 251, 259]; etc.) or the closing of a section of a spell (so our text; cf. § K 39-40 below; *PGM* III 35, 85; IV 2037; VIII 52; XII 58; XIXa 15; etc.).

The remainder of § J (26-28) consists of a combination of letters and obscure magical signs known as χαρακτήρες. On the χαρακτήρες in general cf. Youtie/Bonner "Beisan" 75/641; Hopfner in *RE Supp.* IV 1183ff.; *idem*, *OZ* I §§ 819f. For the χαρακτήρες in P, see above p. 19 n. 58.

Commentary § K

Synopsis: Following a series of vowels and *voces magicae* (29-30), lines 30-40 iterate with some alteration and abbreviation § J 19-26, which in turn corresponds to § J 6-14 (i.e., M₂ and M₁ respectively; cf. above pp. 85f.). In lines 40-47 the Michigan tablet (alone of the five) preserves the second threat, corresponding to P 385-94 (see above pp. 16f. and the general discussion of structure, pp. 18ff.).

29-40: *Voces Magicae* and Iteration of Parts of § J (M₂)

²⁹αεο ... ωαηωαιναυεωιαεωμαρζα | μαριβεωθ. μή μου παρα-
κούσης τῶν ἐντολῶν, | νεκυδαίμων, ὅστις ποτ' εἶ, ἀλλ' ἔγειρέ μοι

σεαυτόν¹³² καὶ ὑπαγε εἰς πᾶν τόπον εἰς πᾶν ἄμφοδον | εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν καὶ ἄξον Κοπρίαν, ἣν ἔτεκε μήτηρ Ταῆσις, ἣς ἔχεις τὰς τρίχας, Αἰλουριῶνι, ᾧ ἔτεκε μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία, πυρουλι³⁶μένην καιομένην τηκομένην τὴν ψυχὴν | τὸ πνεῦμα τὴν γυναικείαν φύσιν, φιλοῦσαν | ἐρώσαν ἔρωτι θεῖῳ Αἰλουρίωνα, ὃν ἔτεκε | μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία, μέχρι θανάτου· ἤδη¹⁴⁰ ἤδη ταχύ ταχύ.

29 αεω --- ιαεω: for the significance of vowels in magic, see below on §§ B G H, p. 110. The series ends with the Hebrew divine name ιαεω, on which see above p. 80.

29-30 μαρζα μαριβεωθ: similarly, αμαρδα μαριβεωθ before μή μου παρακούσης above § J 19, and see nn. p. 83. With μαρζα cf. also μαραδθα P 392 (see above p. 12); μαρατα PGM XVI 10; μ[α]ριθα (cf. above p. 76 n. on 16); Μαρζουνη (or Μαρζουν ἠ) IV 2547.

30-40: The variations between M₂ (see synopsis above) and the present passage (labeled M₃) are summarized as follows:

M ₂	M ₃
20 εἶτε ἄρρην εἶτε θήλεια	om.
21 κατάδησον τῆς κεφαλῆς	33 ἄξον om.
22 ὅπως μὴ --- (24) Κοπρία	35 πυρουμένην (cf. § J 11) --- (37) φύσιν
24 ἐξ ὅλης --- (25) φιλοῦσα	om.
25 μέχρι θανάτου	39 transposed after ὀνόματι Κοπρία

33 ἄξον: cf. κατάδησον, § J 21 (and 7). The sigmatic aor. of ἄγειν is rare in the classical language (KB 2.347; Veitch s.v.) and occurs mainly in compound in the NT (BDR § 75) and LXX (Helbing 90f.; Thackeray 233). Mayser (I 2, 144) gives one compound form, διαξῆη{cθε} (*P. Tebt.* I 22.16), from the Ptolemaic papyri. The simplex is much more common in the Roman and Byzantine periods, esp. in the magical papyri, where it is used considerably more than ἡγαγον (Barber 61f.; Gignac II 290(-91) with nn. 5 and 6; PGM vol. 3 p. 49A and B); cf. PGM IV 1591, 1915; VII 305, 309; XIXa 50; XXXVI 110, 311; etc.).

35-37 πυρουμένην --- φύσιν: This section seems to replace ὄπασ μὴ βινηθῆ --- Κοπρία of § J 22-24. In general, for the effect of erotic magic on the soul or heart ("burning," etc.) see above on ἐξ ὄλης ψυχῆς κτλ. § J 12, pp. 63f. For the specific wording here, cf. ναί, κύριε δαίμον, ἄξον, καύσον, ὄλεσον, πύρωσον, εκότωσον [και]ομένην, πυρουμένην, κέντει βασιανίζομένην τὴν ψυχὴν, τὴν καρδίαν τῆς Κάρωκα (PGM XIXa 50f.); ἄξετέ μοι --- τὴν δεῖνα --- καιομένην, πυρουμένην, ἀεροπετουμένην (XXXVI 125ff.); cf. *ibid.* 110f.; 200. Intensification through accumulation of synonyms is common; see above p. 63.

36f. τὴν ψυχὴν τὸ πνεῦμα τὴν γυναικείαν φύσιν: with the last cf. PGM XXXVI 82f.: ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ φιλοῦσα ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὴν θηλυκὴν αὐτῆς φύσιν τῆ ἀρσενικῆ μου κολλήσῃ (also *ibid.* 113f. and 150). φύσις (or φύσεις) can in fact mean αἰδοῖα, esp. the female organ, without a qualifying adjective (P 318, 326 [see above p. 9]; PGM XXXVI 324; LXII 103; etc. See LSJ s.v., VII 2; Henderson, *Muse* 5). The three items together recall Paul's trichotomy, τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα, in 1Thess. 5.23 (see esp. A.J. Festugière, *L'Idéal Religieux des Grecs et l'Évangile* [Paris 1932] 196ff.), with our τὴν γυναικείαν φύσιν representing τὸ σῶμα. Cf. also Aud. 41a.8f.: τούτους ἀναθεμα[τί]ζομεν σῶμα πνεῦμα ψ[υ]χὴν [δι]άνοιαν φρόνησιν κτλ. (Audollent places a high dot after ἀναθεματίζομεν and apparently assumes a verb in the lacunae which follow in lines 12f.); Youtie/Bonner "Beisan" obv. frag. 1.23 (p. 55/621); Kagarow 36 s.vv. *Asyndeta und Polysyndeta*.

We have seen that the grouping of words like "soul," "heart," "mind," "spirit," etc., often serves the purposes of stylistic intensification, and thus such terms are frequently interchangeable (e.g., in the parallel groups of M₁ and M₂ [see above p. 86], διανοία line 23 replaces φρεσί 10; καρδία 24 replaces ψυχῆς 12). The union of πνεῦμα and ψυχὴ at this point in our spell (cf. also line 12) deserves special consideration because of the importance of these ideas in various philosophical and theological systems which at times treat the two words as synonyms and at times sharply discriminate between them. In Presocratic and Stoic thought, ψυχὴ became closely associated with πνεῦμα, the former being conceived as air or breath (with Anaximenes frag. 2 Diels-Kranz [I p. 95] cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 530-34; see also G.S. Kirk, J.E. Raven, M. Schofield, *The Presocratic Philosophers* [Cambridge² 1983] 158f.; H. von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* II

[Leipzig 1903] p. 217ff. [fragg. 773ff.]; Dodds, *Greeks and Irrat.* 174 n. 112; Kleinknecht in *TDNT* VI 336 s.v. πνεῦμα). Similarly in later periods, New Testament authors and magical texts at times scarcely differentiate between πνεῦμα and ψυχή (μεγαλύνει ἡ ψυχή μου --- καὶ ἠγαλλίασεν τὸ πνεῦμά μου, NT Lk. 1.46f.; ἀκούω --- ὅτι κτήκετε ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι, μιᾷ ψυχῇ, Phil. 1. 27; τὸ πνεῦμά σου --- σου ἡ ψυχή, *PGM* IV 627, 630; for Hebrew and the LXX, see Jacob, *loc. cit.* [above p. 64] and Hatch, *op. cit.* [above p. 64] p. 104 respectively). Thus either *cōma*/ψυχή (NT Mat. 6.25; cf. Kemmer, *op. cit.* [above p. 53] p. 161f.) or *cōma*/πνεῦμα (1Cor. 7.34; cf. *PGM* I 177f.) function as a polarism to circumscribe the whole person (cf. also *cōmata* --- νοός NT Rom. 12.1f.).

Paul often employs πνεῦμα as he and other writers use ψυχή (cf. above pp. 87f.) as a near-equivalent to a personal or reflexive pronoun (ἀνέπαυσαν γὰρ τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὑμῶν [i.e., με καὶ ὑμᾶς], 1Cor. 16.18; similarly 2Cor. 2.13, 7.13; Gal. 6.18; Phil. 4.23; Philem. 25; see R. Bultmann, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments* [Tübingen³ 1958] 207 [Eng. vol. I, New York 1951, 206]). In other Pauline contexts πνεῦμα approaches the Greek concept of νοῦς or the modern idea of "conscience" (τίς γὰρ οἶδεν ἀνθρώπων τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰ μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ, 1Cor. 2.11; cf. Rom. 8.16; Bultmann *op. cit.* 208f. [Eng. vol. I 207]). For Origen's conception of πνεῦμα as *cυνειδός* see A. Henrichs, L. Koenen, *ZPE* 5 [1970] 186 n. 223). In 1Cor. 14.14f., however, νοῦς is contrasted with πνεῦμα, the latter signifying the emotive/ecstatic element expressed through *glossolalia*. Sometimes Paul elevates πνεῦμα to a position superior to ψυχή (ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος Ἀδὰμ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν· ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζῶσαν, 1Cor. 15.45, implied also in the ψυχικός and πνευματικός terminology in this passage and 2.13ff.; see Bultmann, *op. cit.* 205 [Eng. vol. I 204]). Similarly Didymus the Blind, in his allegory of the almond in Eccles. 12.5 (based on the above-cited 1Thess. 5.23), interprets the outer and inner husks as *cōma* and ψυχή, and the innermost edible part as πνεῦμα (*Kommentar zum Ecclesiastes* [Eccl.T.] 357.26-358.8, ed. G. Binder, L. Liesenborghs VI, [PTA 9, 1969] 214f.). Elsewhere Didymus speaks of the identity of πνεῦμα and ψυχή (*Psalmenkommentar* [Ps.T.] 139.6-9, ed. M. Gronewald III [PTA 8, 1969] p. 50; see also *Der Psalmenkommentar von Tura Quaternio IX* [Papyrologica Coloniensia I, 1964], ed. A. Kehl, p. 84, with commentary, p. 161ff.).

It is uncertain whether we should assign some particular connotation to πνεῦμα in our text, such as νοῦς, or simply take it and ψυχή together as a periphrasis of the inward life (in contrast to φύσιν). The basic point, however, is obvious enough: our spell demands that the ἔρως θεῖος overtake Kopria's entire being, which here, as elsewhere (cf. § J 10, 12, 23, 24), is analyzed into various anthropological categories.

40-47: Second Threat against the νεκυδαίμων

M ⁴⁰ ἐγὼ εἰμι βαρβαδωναιαι | βαρβαδωναι, ὁ τὰ ἄστρα κρύβων, ὁ τὸν οὐρανὸν κρατέων, ὁ τὸν κόσμον ἀληθεύων· | ιατθεουν ιατρεουν καλβιουθ Αωθ |⁴⁴ Αωθ καβαθιουθ ιατ'θεραθ Αδωναιαι | ικαρ κυρια βιβιβε βιβιουθ νατθω | Καβαωθ αιαναφα αμουραχθη καταμα | Ζεύς αθερεσφιλαυω.

P ³⁸⁵ ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι βαρβαρ Αδωναι ὁ τὰ ἄστρα κρύβων, ὁ λαμπροφεγγῆς οὐρανοῦ κρατῶν, | ὁ κύριος κόσμου αθθουῖν ἰαθουῖν σελι³⁸⁸βιουωθ· Αωθ καρβαθιουθ ιαθθιεραθ | Αδωναι ια ρουρα βια βι βιοθη αθωθ | Καβαωθ ηα νιαφα αμαραχθι· καταμα· | ζαυαθθειη σερφω κτλ.

40 ἐγὼ εἰμι: Magical literature employs this common formula with names of the great gods (Κρόνος, *PGM* XII 233; Ἑρμῆς, IV 2999; Ἀφροδείτη, XII 232; Ἴσις, XII 234; Ὀσίρις, XII 234; Ἥλιος, XII 232; Ὠρος, IV 1075; Θουθ, V 247 and cf. IV 394; Ερεσχιγαλ, LXX 5; Αβρασαξ, LXIX 2; πρόσωπον of Iao Sabaoth Adonai, Kropp II 47.11,11 [p. 183]), with more general words for deity (ὁ θεός, *PGM* XII 230; [ὁ κύρ]ιος, III 343f.; ὁ υἱός, IV 535), with deified abstractions (ἡ ἀλήθεια, *PGM* V 148 and cf. NT Jn. 14.6; ἡ πίστις, XII 228; ἡ χάρις, V 156), with Biblical characters (Αδαμ, *PGM* III 145f.; Μωυσεῖς, V 108f.), with magic words/*nomina barbara* (*PGM* XXIIb 34f.; XXXVI 169f.), and with divine attributes in the form of adjectives (ὁ ἰσχυρότερος, *PGM* XIII 202f.; ὁ μέγας, XII 110), participles (ὁ ποιῶν, *PGM* XIII 281; ὁ γεννῶν, V 154f.) and relative sentences (οὗ ἐστιν ὁ ἰδρὼς ὄμβρος, *PGM* V 151f.; ᾧ συνήνητας, XII 92). The formula occurs at times in series one after the other (*PGM* V 145ff.; XII 227ff.), at times in isolated instances (IV 2999; XXIIb 34f.). The common magical word ανοχ/ανοκ, which represents the Coptic first pers. personal

pronoun (Crum 11B; cf. Heb. **אני**), sometimes stands for ἐγώ (εἶμι); e.g., *ανοκ πε βαινχωωωχ*,* "I am the soul of darkness," PGM LXXIX 2 (see A.A. Barb, *Hommages à Waldemar Deonna* [Col. Latomus 28, 1957] 74f.; A. Jacoby, *ARW* 28 [1930] 271ff.).

On the usage and interpretation of "I am" in various religious traditions, see Norden, *Ag. Th.* 183-201, 210-20; Stauffer in *TDNT* II 343-54 s.v. ἐγώ; R.E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John* vol. I (Garden City NY, 1966) 533ff.; and esp. R. Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes* (Göttingen 1950) 167f. n. 2 (Eng. [Oxford 1971] 225f. n. 3). For our purposes we may note two broad categories, the first being when a deity employs it as a formula of self-revelation by which he communicates his name, attributes, activities, etc. Cf., e.g., in the LXX the periphrasis of the divine name as ἐγώ εἶμι ὁ ὄν (Ex. 3.14) and the numerous "I (am)" sayings of Yahweh in Isaiah (43.3,11,15; 44.6,24; 45.5; 48.12; *et al.*). In the NT cf. the Christological ἐγώ εἶμι in the Fourth Gospel (6.35,48; 8.12; 14.6; 15.1; etc.) and Revelation (1.8,17; 21.6; etc.). Outside Judaism and Christianity, this use of ἐγώ εἶμι occurs frequently in the Greek Isis hymns (e.g., the Memphite aretology from Cyme [J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis*, *Hist. Relig.* 3, Uppsala 1968, p. 301f.] vv. 3a, 5-10, 41-42, 49, *et al.*) and occasionally in the *Hymni Homerici* (e.g., III 480 [Apollo]; VII 56 [Dionysus]; εἶμι only in II 268 [Demeter]) and other Greek literature (Hom. *Od.* XI 252; Ar. *Pl.* 78). Norden (*Ag. Th.* 183) characterizes the formula as basically "unhellenisch."

According to A.D. Nock (*Gnomon* 21 [1949] 224 [*Essays* 706f.]), there is no genuine native example of the purely revelatory "I am" in ancient Eg. literature (similarly D. Müller, *Ägypten und die griechischen Isis-Aretologien*, *Abh. Leipzig*, Aka. Berlin, *Philol.-hist. Kl.* 53.1, 15-17). However, Eg. funerary and magical texts and the later Greco-Egyptian magic abound in examples of what we may designate as the second type, the formula of identification (Bultmann, *loc. cit.*), in which a mortal equates himself with a god; e.g., *Bk. of the Dead* 17.1: "I am Atum, who made the sky and created what exists while I existed alone in the deep. I am Re," etc. (ed. T.G. Allen, *The Univ. of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications* 82, 1960, 88). Norden (*Ag. Th.* 218f.) interprets these statements as apotropaic; i.e., the dead, by identifying himself with a great god as he approaches the underworld, repels harmful *daimones*. Morenz, however, believes that the de-

ceased through the "I am" predication magically usurps divine power and so gains immortality (*Äg. Rel.* 242 [Eng. 230f.]). In Greek magical texts the sense is occasionally apotropaic: ἐὰν ἐξέρχεται (*sc.* ὁ κολακτής), λέγε (αὐ)τῷ· ἐγὼ εἰμι Ερερχιγαλ --- καὶ οὐδὲ ἐν δύναται κακὸν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι (*PGM LXX* 5f.). Usually, however, as in M and P, a spell-operator uses ἐγὼ εἰμι in the context of adjurations/invocations (ἐξορκίζω σε, ἐπικαλῶ σε, etc.) and/or commands (ἔλθε, ἔγειρε, etc.) to legitimate his claim of power over the invoked demons and to threaten them into submission (e.g., *PGM XII* 226-38; V 139ff., 247ff.; *LXIX* 2; on threats in general cf. above on § J 14ff. pp. 69ff.). For parallels from Coptic and Eg. magic, see Kropp III §§ 251-52; Massart, *Leid. Mag. Pap.* 63f. n. 38 respectively.

The distinction, however, between the two main types of "I am" predication becomes less rigid when we realize that we are concerned with a religious milieu in which man becoming god, e.g., as in the deification of the Eg. king and the previously discussed transformation of the dead into Osiris (above p. 49), was regarded as sacred reality and not mere role-play. On this basis Bergman (*op. cit.*, 219-24) rejects Müller's and Nock's characterization of the revelation formula as non-Egyptian. He in fact maintains, I think correctly, that the "I am" of identification, as used by kings in royal proclamations, by the dead in funerary texts, and by spell-operators in magic, functioned also as a revelation formula, i.e., a means by which the gods manifested themselves in men. For the popular practitioner of magical spells, the practical (legitimizing/threatening) dimensions of "I am" no doubt played the dominant role; but in its deeper significance and in its origins within Eg. religious experience, the formula of identification was perhaps primarily an instrument of divine self-disclosure.

40f. βαρβαδωναιαι βαρβαδωναι: for -αιαι see below on Αδωναιαι line 44 p. 101. P's spelling βαρβαρ Αδωναι also in *PGM XII* 90. Cf. χαρχαρ Αδωναι, *PGM IV* 2772; Αραθ Αδωναι, *XIII* 147, 453, 592; Αραθυ 'Αδωναίε, *ibid.* 80. Αραθ and χαρχαρ have been explained as the dekan names Aroth and Charcham respectively (Gundel, W., *Dekane* 77 [# 5], 48, 289 n. 4; Gundel, H.G., *Weltbild* 21, 23; denied by A. Jacoby [for Αραθ], *PGM* vol. 3, 215C and Preisendanz [for χαρχαρ], *GGA* 201, 1939, 140). Our βαρβ- (βαρβαρ- P) may be a variation of one of these names. More likely βαρβαδωναι is a play on αρβα- Αδωναι; *arba* = Heb. "four" = (the name of) Yahweh. Adonai

is the common יהוה, "Lord," a frequent surrogate for the Tetragrammaton. *Arba* is often connected with words denoting Yahweh; cf. above pp. 74f. and esp. the form βαρβαθιαω there cited. The participial epithets which follow make obvious that *Barbadonai* is the sun god; for the syncretism of Yahweh with solar deities, see above p. 83.

41f. ὁ --- κρύβων, ὁ --- κρατέων, ὁ --- ἀληθεύων: These phrases display both characteristics which, according to Norden (*Ag. Th.* 202-03), distinguish the oriental/Semitic style of participial predication from the more purely Gk., namely 1. the use of the article with the participles; 2. a penchant for parallel construction which results in strings of participial clauses used like relative sentences (ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός --- ἐγὼ ὁ κατασκευάσας φῶς καὶ ποιήσας κότος, ὁ ποιῶν εἰρήνην --- ὁ ποιῶν πάντα ταῦτα, LXX Is. 45.6f.; εὐλόγει --- τὸν κύριον --- τὸν εὐιλατεύοντα --- τὸν ἰώμενον --- τὸν λυτρούμενον κτλ., LXX Ps. 102 [MT 103].1ff.; cf. *ibid.* 103 [MT 104].2-4; NT Rev. 3.7; *PGM* I 205ff.; IV 3048ff.; Norden, *Ag. Th.* 204f., 380-83. See *ibid.* p. 202 n. 1 and 167 n. 1 for examples of the more classical style).

41 ὁ τὰ ἄστρα κρύβων: same as P 325f. On the late κρύβειν for κρύπτειν (back-formed from the 2 aor. pass. ἐκρύβην) see Gignac II 284 and n. 2; BDR § 73.1; s.v. κρύπτω in Bauer. We have already seen the motif of "hiding" or "concealing" the stars in the common topos of witches drawing down the moon and stars by spells (cf. Hor. *Epod.* 5.45f. and other material cited above p. 2 n. 6 and p. 71) and in the Jewish apocalyptic image of the darkening of the heavenly bodies on judgment day: καὶ κατακαλύψω --- οὐρανὸν καὶ συσκοτάσω τὰ ἄστρα αὐτοῦ, LXX Ezek. 32.7; cf. NT Lk. 23.44f. and other Biblical parallels cited above p. 72. Κρύπτειν/κρύβειν is not used in these texts. It is, however, a common astronomical term for the "concealing" or (in passive) "disappearing" of the stars either through heliacal setting (Ptolemaeus *Phas.* 5, vol. II p. 8 Heiberg) or eclipse: ἡ μὲν κελήνη, προσγειοτάτη οὖσα, --- πάντα τὰ πλανώμενα, τινὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀπλανῶν, κρύπτει, ἐπειδὴν μεταξύτινος αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ὄψεως ἡμῶν ἐπ' εὐθείας καταστῆ, αὐτὴ δὲ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἄστρου κρύπτεται (Theon Smyrnaeus, ed. E. Hiller [1878], 193, 2ff., as cited by Oepke in *TDNT* III 959 s.v. κρύπτω; cf. LSJ s.v. κρύπτω and κρύψις); similarly in a magical invocation to Selene: καὶ κρύψει σὸν φῶς Ἥλιος πρὸς τὸν νότον, *PGM* IV 2312f. Thus, the sense may be that *Barbadonai* causes

the stars to set, occulting them by his greater glory. This solar-astronomical interpretation does not preclude the apocalyptic background mentioned earlier. Images from the two spheres are sometimes mingled; e.g., Chrysostom *hom.* 14.10 *in Rom.*, Migne *PG* 60.538: (the return of Christ will be such) ὡς καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ ἅπαν κρύπτεσθαι φῶς ὑπὸ τῆς αὐγῆς ἐκείνης καταλαμπόμενον (see Lampe 781A s.v. κρύπτω).

41f. ὁ τὸν οὐρανὸν κρατέων: for other examples of non-contracted -εω verbs, cf. [ὑμᾶς ἐπικά]λέομε, *Aud.* 189a.1; καλέω, 15.52; καλέουσι, *PGM* IV 2770f.; μεσουρανέοντος, *ibid.* 173 (but μεσουρανοῦντος, 762). Similarly in Romanos' *Cantica*, καλέεις, 50 ιη' 3 (Maas/Trypanis p. 436); τρομέοντες, 43 λα' 1 (*eidem* p. 350). Scholars explain tendencies toward non-contraction in Romanos and other late Greek authors as poeticism and/or ionicism (K. Mitsakis, *The Language of Romanos the Melodist* [Byzantinisches Archiv 11, Munich 1967] §§ 31-32, 340; cf. P. Maas, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 16 [1907] 572 [*Kleine Schriften* p. 333f.]). Gignac (I 311) notes that in general, ε sometimes develops before a back vowel (e.g., μεταβαλεόμενος, *P. Oxy.* XII 1470.12; ποστη-εώ [for ἀποστήσω], *P. Tebt.* II 397.32), and according to L.R. Palmer (*Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, p. 12), this tendency is especially evident following a liquid or nasal (thus the preference in late Greek for the open genitives ὀρέων and χειλέων). It is therefore possible that such a phonological environment may account for the presence of ε rather than non-contraction, especially in cases such as καλέω and μεσουρανέοντος; one at least suspects that the two processes helped each other along.

κρατεῖν with the accusative normally means "defeat," "conquer"; with the genitive (and occasionally accusative, e.g., *Aesch. Supp.* 254f.) "rule," "be master of" (in general, see *KG* 1.368f. [Anm. 16]; S. Witkowski, *Glotta* 6 [1915] 20). Thus, the parallel reading of P 386: ὁ λαμπροφειγῆς οὐρανοῦ κρατῶν, "the bright ruler of heaven." In later times the verb with accus. (less often with gen.) frequently denotes "hold (in one's hand)," "possess," and thus, "have in one's power," "maintain," "preserve" (e.g., in a cosmological vein much like our text, the epithet of Christ in *NT Rev.* 2.1: ὁ κρατῶν τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἄστερας ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ [cf. also 1.16,20]). Cf. κατέχειν: καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οὐράνιον κόσμον κατέχοντα, *Μιχαηλ*, *PGM* I 300f. (cf. III 212); ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ κατέχοντος τὸν κόσμον, XII 58f., cf. 71; with both verbs (hymn to Christ by

Mary): Ἡλιε, Υἱέ, --- πῶς σε χερσὶ κατέχω, τὸν κρατοῦντα τὰ κύμπαντα, Pitra XXIX 2, λζ' p. 229; cf. *ibid.* 1, ιζ', p. 225. In legal language, κρατεῖν and κατέχειν are used synonymously with the meaning "have right of ownership over" (*P. Oxy.* II 237, viii 22, 34 with nn. *ad locc.* [pp. 175, 179]; *ibid.* I 131.5; J.H. Moulton, G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* [London 1931] s.v. κρατέω).

In the Egyptian context, the sun god must repeatedly defeat Apophis, the serpent-like enemy of the gods, who daily tries to impede the progress of the solar bark. By so doing he "maintains" heaven as his domain and "preserves" it from the forces of chaos which Apophis personifies (for the various versions of the myth, see *P. Bremner-Rind* 22.1ff., trans. by R.O. Faulkner, *JEA* 23 [1937] 166-85, 24 [1938] 41-53; Morenz, *Äg. Rel.* 81 [Eng. 77]; E. Hornung and A. Badawy in *Lex. Äg.* I 350f. s.v. Apophis; Bonnet 52Bf. s.v. Apophis; cf. also J.F. Borghouts, *JEA* 59 [1973] 114ff.; Griffiths on *Is. et Os.* 36 [p. 440]).

42f. ὁ τὸν κόσμον ἀληθεύων ιατθεουν ιατρεουν καλβιουθ κτλ.: cf. ὁ κύριος κόσμου αθθουῖν ἰαθουῖν κελβιουθ κτλ., P 387f. In M we must attempt to explain: 1. the peculiarity of ἀληθεύων; 2. the omission of αθθουιν, the first word of the magical *logos* which follows (this *logos* is also attested in *PGM* LXII 21f.: αθουιν αθουιν αθουιν ιαθαουιν κιβελθιουθ ιατητ ατατητ Αδωνε). With regard to the second problem, the similarity of ἀληθεύων and αθθουιν probably caused the omission of the latter through haplography. The reverse may have occurred in the tradition of P, and if so, a subsequent scribe may have tried to make sense of the resultant ὁ τὸν κόσμον αθθουιν κτλ. by changing the Greek phrase to the rather safe, generalizing ὁ κύριος κόσμου. In the case of M, it is also possible that the original participle was lost and ἀληθεύων represents a scribe's attempt to recover it from αθθουιν. It seems, however, unlikely that αθθουιν would have been "normalized" into a word which in this phrase is inexplicable from a Greek point of view. To understand its usage, we must turn to Near Eastern/Egyptian cosmological ideas.

ἀληθεύειν is usually intrans., "tell the truth," "speak truthfully." Among the rarer transitive meanings are "rightly foretell" (τὰς δέκα ἡμέρας ἠλήθευσε Xen. *An.* V 6.18), "prove something true," "verify" (ὡς ἀληθεύοις τοὺς ἐπαίνοους αὐτῶν, Lucian *Ind.* 20; πῶς γὰρ [*sc.* ὁ φιλόανθρωπος] ἂν τοῦνομα ἀληθεύοι, "--- make good his name," Themistius *Or.* I 4c). None of these basic

senses of the word helps explain its usage in our text, where it seems to describe some activity of creating or governing the cosmos. ἀληθεύων may in fact represent a Greek rendering of an essentially Semitic conception. A small number of Hebrew verbs mean both "establish" (i.e., "found" or "create") and, in an ethical sense, "verify"; e.g., Heb. כוּן (po'lel of [כין]; BDB 466bf.): "Confirm the work of our hands" (Ps. 90.17); "The Lord *established* the heavens" (Prov. 3.19). Similarly the niph. of [אם] (BDB 52Bf.) may mean "verified" (e.g., words, Gen. 42.20) or "established" (e.g., a house and kingdom, 2Sam. 7.16). In our text ἀληθεύων may thus reflect an attempt to translate such an idiom so as to preserve the implicit notion of truth, viz., "who establishes the cosmos in accordance with truth." Cf. esp. in this regard Is. 44.26, where the LXX translates ישרים (hiph. of שרם, BDB 1022B) with ἀληθεύων in the phrase τὴν βούλην τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ ἀληθεύων, "(sc. Yahweh) verifying the will of his messengers" (or "angels"). The root meaning of שרם is "be complete," "be finished" (e.g., the work of building the temple, 2Chron. 5.1, LXX συνετελέεθη) and thus the hiph. means "perform," "accomplish." The LXX translators, however, perceived here an ethical force in the hiph. form; perhaps through ἀληθεύων they meant to convey "performing the counsel of his messengers, and thus verifying it" or "proving it true," i.e., as being in accordance with his own βούλη (cf. J.F. Schleusner, *Novus Thesaurus Philologico-criticus* [Glasgow² 1822] I 119, s.v. ἀληθεύω, where he compares the German *wahr machen*). Such an understanding of the word would be easily adapted to a Hebrew cosmological context; the Genesis account has Yahweh affirming the ethical quality of each creative act with the statement, "He saw that it was good."

ἀληθεύειν may also imply various aspects of Eg. creation theology and cosmology. Since the word is basically concerned with speaking truth, it may suggest in our text the concept common to many ancient Near Eastern cultures of creation through speech (for the Eg. versions, see J. Zandee in *Verbum: Essays on Some Aspects of the Religious Function of Words dedicated to H.W. Obbink* [Studia Theologica Rheno-Traiectina 6, 1964] 33ff.; G. Maspéro, *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes* II, 260ff., 373ff. [*non vidi*; cited in W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten* I, Leipzig/Berlin 1905, p. 15 n. 3]). Cf. esp. the Memphite creation narrative of the "Shabaka stone," where Ptah is said to create through his heart (thought) and tongue (speech): "The mighty Great One is Ptah, who transmitted [life to all gods], as well as (to) their *ka*'s

through this heart ... and through this tongue" (J.B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* [Princeton 1969] p. 5, § 53). Similarly, "All the divine order ... came into being through what the heart thought and the tongue commanded" (*ibid.* p. 5, § 55). Also, Ptah creates things by pronouncing their names: "Whereas the Ennead of Atum came into being by his semen ... the Ennead (of Ptah), however, is the teeth and lips in his mouth, which pronounced the name of everything, from which Shu and Tefnut came forth" (*ibid.*). A similar concept is involved in a creation account involving Atum (*ibid.*, p. 4 and n. 8). ἀληθεύειν τὸν κόσμον may therefore mean creating the world order through speaking what is in the heart or by uttering the true name.

Basically the same idea is expressed in the concept of creation through *maat* (Eg. *m3't*), variously rendered "truth," "rightness," "order," etc. At an early date *maat* acquired a particular connection with the creator-god (Amon-)Re (Bonnet 430Af.; W. Helck in *Lex. Äg.* III 1111 s.v. *maat*; H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom*, [Lund 1947] 46, 50f.). In her personified form, *Maat* accompanies Re in his trek across heaven and as his navigator (with Thoth) plots out the course of the solar bark (Ringgren, *op. cit.* 46 and n. 6; Budge, *Gods* I 417f.). Re frequently bears the title "Lord of *maat*" (e.g., J. Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* [Zürich/München 1975] # 87C.62 [p. 201]; Morenz, *Äg. Rel.* 136f. [Eng. 129f.]) and is in fact her creator, who established her as the ordering principle of the cosmos (Assmann, *op. cit.* 87G.197 [p. 206]; Morenz, *Äg. Rel.* 120, 137 [Eng. 113, 130]). Since, however, the cosmic order is constantly threatened by the forces of chaos personified in the serpent monster Apopis (see above p. 97), Re must daily subdue these powers to maintain *maat* as the universal canon (Ringgren, *op. cit.* 50). Such is the "establishing" or "verifying" expressed by our ἀληθεύων.

Thus, by way of summary, the three participial clauses portray the sun god *Barbadonai* as the one who conceals the stars by the glory of his rising, who preserves the heavens by defeating Apophis, and who by this victory establishes the cosmos in truth.

43f. *ιατθεουν* --- *Αδωναιαι*: with M's and P's versions of this *logos*, cf. that of *PGM* LXII 21f. (cited above p. 97).

ιατθεουν ιατρεουν --- ιατ'θεραθ: ιατ/ιαθ introduce several magical words; e.g., ιατμωμι, *PGM* IV 1631; ιατμων, IV 1626f.; ιαθθα, P 392; ιαθαφθω, XIII 919 (Preisendanz divides differently); ιαθιν, IV 275. With our ιατθεουν cf. ιαθουιν, P 387; ιαθαουιν, *PGM* LXII 22. The second element in each of these words (-θεουν, -θουιν, -θαουιν) closely resembles Θιοϋιν, Copt. TI-ΟΥΙ, Eg. *t3 w'.t*, "the one," a common name for Isis and other deities; cf. Vanderlip 31 (on hymn I 23); Griffiths, *Isis Book*, 167. I find no parallels for ιατρεουν; possibly a corruption of ιατρεύων, "healer"; cf. Apollo's epithet ιατρός (Drexler in Roscher 2.1, 90 s.v. *Iatros*). -θεραθ in the third word ιατ'θεραθ resembles the common element -θαρα- (see F. Maltomini, *SCO* 29 [1979] 84); e.g., ζαρακαθαρα Aud. 267.10; κανκανθαρα, *PGM* II 33; βαθαρα, I 153; esp. similar to our word, θατθαραθαυθωλθαρα, XXXIX 1. The apostrophe between double consonants becomes common at the beginning of the third cent. A.D. (E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* [*Institute of Classical Studies Bulletin Supp.* 46, 1987²] 11 with n. 50); in magical texts cf., e.g., ἀναγ'καθῶ, *PGM* XII 143; γλωτ'τῶν, VIII 34; σεσεγ'γεν, XXXVI 244; βαρφαραγ'γης, VII 979 (*PGM* vol. 2 p. 269 s.v. Doppelkonsonanten); and specifically with our word cf. ιατ'θαννουιτα, *PGM* VII 327.

43 καλβιουθ: cf. σελβιουωθ, P 387f.; σελβιουο, *PGM* XII 102; κιβελθιουθ, LXII 22; καλβαθβαλ, Aud. 237.2. σελ/καλ introduce many magical words: σελετηα, *PGM* XII 103; σελεπηλ, XII 104; καλβαναχαμβρη, VIII 83f.; καλβαχθι, IV 1489; etc. For -βιουθ cf. βιβιουθ, line 45 below and n. *ad loc.* (pp. 101f.); cf. also βιου there cited.

43f. Αωθ Αωθ: only once in P 389. The word usually occurs, as here, in connection with names for Yahweh and/or other Hebrew names; e.g., the *Αωθ-logs*: Αωθ Αβαωθ βακυμ Ιακκ Καβαωθ Ιαω Ιακωπ, *PGM* IV 1376f.; similarly V 134f. See also Aud. 271.1ff.: Αωθ Αβαωθ, τὸν θεὸν τοῦ Αβρααν καὶ τὸν Ιαω τὸν τοῦ Ιακου, Ιαω Αωθ Αβαωθ --- ἄκουσον τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐντεῖμου καὶ φ[οβ]εροῦ καὶ μεγάλου· cf. *ibid.* 38-39; Delatte/Derchain 416, 487. For Αωθ in other contexts, cf. *PGM* IV 3030; VII 567; XII 118; and esp. XIXa 1-2, where (as in our text) it is followed by βιβιου(θ): καμι καμις οφορ ανουιφω χθεθωνι νουηριωθ Αωθ ουωρ τενοχ τενοχ βιβιου βιβιου κτλ. Blau (p. 105) explains the word as an abbreviation of Καβαωθ (on which see n. on Ιαω Καβαωθ, § J 17 p. 79 above).

44 **καβαθιουθ**: cf. **καρβαθιουθ**, P 388; **καβαρβαρβαθιουθ**, *PGM* IV 1241f.; see also above on **καβαρβατιαωθ**, § J 18 p. 81.

ιατ'θεραθ: cf. above on **ιατθεουν ιατρεουν** p. 100.

Αδωναιαι: the final **-αι** may stand for **ε** (Gignac I 193), in which case we would have the vocative of the declinable **Ἄδωναίος** (*PGM* VII 979; VIII 61; etc.). **Αδωναιαι**, however, could also be one of the many plays on the indeclinable **Αδωναί**; e.g., **Αδωναιει**, *PGM* XXVIIIb 4; **Αδωναια**, XLV 4, 5; **Αδωνεαι**, XII 63; etc.; cf. esp. above line 40 **βαρβαδωναιαι**, which cannot be vocative, and the n. on that word (pp. 94f.) for the meaning of *Adonai*.

45 **ιαρ κυρια**: cf. **ια ρουρα**, P 389. **κυρια** may refer to the θεός **Κυρία**, i.e., **Ἀταργάτις**, a Syrian earth goddess and mother of the gods closely related to the Phoenician Astarte, Aramaic Atar, and Babylonian Istar. Some such name may be intended by our **ιαρ**. To my knowledge, the *Dea Syria* is not invoked in this form in other magical texts. She is addressed as **κυρία θεὰ Κυρία** in a *defixio* from Delos (ed. Ph. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Delos* [Paris 1970] 649-53). She also appears with the name **Κημέα** (see in general Roscher IV 660-62, where Höfer cites inscriptional and literary evidence; for magic, see F. Maltomini, *SCO* 29 [1979] 120 on pap. 13.3; [**Κη**]μέα **χθονία**, *PGM* III 29; and the *Κημέα-logos*, *PGM* V 428ff., *DMP* VII 28 [p. 62], Bonner 196f. **Κημέα βασιλεῦ** in *PGM* III 206 [see Preisendanz's n. *ad loc.*] is problematic). The μήτερα θεῶν in Aud. 72.17 may also refer to her (A. Abt, *ARW* 14 [1911] 148f., esp. 149 n. 2; Kagarow 63). The Syrian Goddess is identified with Hera, Aphrodite, Isis, and others (Lucian, *de Syria Dea* 32; Griffiths on *Is. et Os.* 15 [p. 326f.]; Cumont in *RE* IV 2236ff. s.v. *Dea Syria*; Höfer in Roscher IV 1631f. s.v. *Syria*).

βιβιβε βιβιουθ νατθω: cf. **βια βι βιοθη αθωθ**, P 389, so Preisendanz; but the words should probably be divided **βια βιβιοθ ηαθωθ**, since the second word corresponds to our **βιβιουθ**. Cf. also **βιβιου**, which occurs, e.g., in the *κειπη-logos* (**ανοχ αιεφε κακτιετη βιβιου βιβιου ρφη ρφη νουσι νουσι κτλ.**, *PGM* XIII 806f.; similarly II 123f.; I 239f.) and in other combinations (doubled: **Οὔσειρι --- Φθα --- Ἴσις --- βιβιου βιβιου ρφη ρφη κτλ.**, *PGM* XII 80f.; **Αωθ ουωρ τενοχ τενοχ, βιβιου βιβιου, μουαυ μουαυ κτλ.**, XIXa 2. Not doubled: **βιβιου ουηρ αψαβαρα**, *PGM* XIII 325; **βιου βιου βιβιου**, P. Köln inv.

no. 5512.3-4 [ed. R. Daniel, *ZPE* 19, 1975, 258]; cf. Aud. 269a.14; *DMP* VI 26 [p. 54] and VIII 6 [p. 64]). For final θ in magical words, see above p. 81.

Karl Fr. W. Schmidt (*Philologische Wochenschrift* 55 [1935] 1183) explains $\beta\iota\beta\iota\upsilon\sigma$ as Eg. $b3-b3.w$, "soul of souls" (cf. also Hopfner, *OZ* I § 694 and II § 224; on $b3$, "ba" see below). It may also be connected with the *vox magica* and dekan name $\text{Β}\iota\upsilon\sigma$ (cf. above cited P. Köln inv. no. 5512.3-4, on which see Daniel, *op. cit.*, 260; *PGM* V 484f. [*κιεπη-logos*]; XIII 1058; XVI 63) or with the related dekan $\text{Π}\tau\iota\beta\iota\upsilon\sigma$; see K. Preisendanz, *GGA* 201 (1939) 143f.; Daniel, *loc. cit.*; Gundel, W., *Dekane* 77 (## 34 and 36) and 233f.; Gundel, H.G., *Weltbild* 21f.

I find no parallels for $\beta\iota\beta\iota\beta\epsilon$ and $\nu\alpha\tau\theta\omega$. The former may be $b3\ b3\ b3$, "three times *ba*." Cf. *vores magicae* consisting of repetitions of $\beta\lambda\iota$, the Coptic form of *ba*: $\beta\iota\alpha\ \beta\alpha\iota\beta\alpha\iota$, *PGM* IV 1587 ($\beta\iota\alpha$ [also in P] is probably metathesis for $\beta\alpha\iota$, and thus we would have $b3\ b3\ b3$); $\beta\alpha\iota\beta\epsilon\iota\zeta\omega\theta$ ($\eta\beta\alpha\iota\ \beta\epsilon\beta[\omicron]\theta$), V 7 (so Preisendanz divides the words, but the suggestion in his note, that η is η' , is probably correct; thus two optional Grecizations of $b3-b3.w$ are offered); $\beta\alpha\iota\ \beta\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\kappa\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\omega\pi\tau\omicron$ --- $\beta\alpha\iota$, IV 2697f.; $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha\iota\beta\alpha\iota$, *Pist. Soph.* IV 142 (Schmidt/MacDermot 370.14). The Eg. concept of $b3$ (*ba*, "essence," "soul"), when applied to divinities, designates the manifestation of their divine being and power (L.V. Zabkar in *Lex. Äg.* I 590f. s.v. *Ba*; cf. above p. 82). The import, therefore, of $\beta\iota\beta\iota\upsilon\sigma\theta$ and $\beta\iota\beta\iota\beta\epsilon$ may resemble predications such as "lord of lords" (cf. $\mu\alpha\rho\mu\alpha\rho\omega\theta$ above p. 82) and $\tau\rho\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$ respectively.

46 $\text{C}\alpha\beta\alpha\omega\theta$: Heb. קִבְּצָ cf. above on § J 17 (p. 79).

46f. $\alpha\iota\alpha\nu\alpha\phi\alpha\ \alpha\mu\omicron\rho\alpha\rho\chi\theta\eta\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\alpha\ \text{Z}\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\varsigma\ \alpha\theta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma\phi\iota\lambda\alpha\upsilon\omega$: cf. $\eta\alpha\ \nu\iota\alpha\phi\alpha\ \alpha\mu\alpha\rho\alpha\chi\theta\iota\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\alpha\ \zeta\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\theta\epsilon\iota\eta\ \kappa\epsilon\rho\omega\ \kappa\tau\lambda.$, P 390f. These formulae resemble a *logos* preserved mainly in magical gems (in the following examples I italicize the words most like those in our text): *Αιαναχφα Αμοραχοι Καλαμαζα Βαμαιαζα*, Delatte/Derchain 473; *Αιαναγβα Αμοραχθει Καλαμαξα Βαμεαζα*, 472; *Αιαναγβα Αμοραχει Καδαμαζα Βαμεαζα*, Le Blant 232 (cited by Delatte/Derchain p. 322); *Αιανακβα Αμοραχθει Καλαμαξα Βαμεαζα φύλαξον* (see discussion below p. 105) 477; cf. also 475, 476, 478, 479; Bonner p. 95f. and # 284.5 p. 300; H. Philipp, *Mira et Magica* (Mainz 1986) 118 (n. on # 190). For an analysis of the different spellings of the individual words, cf. Delatte/Derchain p. 322. Some of the elements occur also in Bonner ## 217, 271,

396 (pp. 289, 298, 321f.) and Delatte/Derchain 367, 516 rev. The resemblance between this *logos* and our formula ends after *καταμα*. The -ζα, which forms the ending of *Καλαμαζα/Καδαμαζα*, is *Ζεύς* in our text and the first syllable of *ζαναθθειη* in P (the ms. of P has a colon between *καταμα* and *ζαναθθειη* showing that the scribe understood them as separate words). Since *Καλαμαζα* and its variants are well established in the *logos* of the amulets, possibly *καταμα* (M and P) and probably *Ζεύς* (M only) represent a tendency to normalize this obscure *nomen barbarum* into more recognizable forms.

46 αϊαναφα: cf. *ηα νιαφα*, P 390. *Αϊα* (Heb. "I am," Exodus 3.14) is attested as a form of the Hebrew divine name by both Origen and Theodoret (Baudissin "Iao" 184 and n. 3; *Jewish Encyclop.* XII 119A s.v. Tetragrammaton; Deissmann, *Bib. Stud.* 326). Cf. *Αϊα αϊνρυχαθ*, PGM XIII 331 with n. *ad loc.* (see also addendum to this passage in vol. 2 p. 268). I have no explanation for -*ναφα*.

αμουραχθη: similarly *αμοραχθι/-ει* Bonner # 284.5, p. 300; Delatte/Derchain 284, 472, 476, 477; *αμοραχοι*, 473; *αμαραχθι/-ει*, P 390; PGM XVI 9; Delatte/Derchain 478 (-εις), 479; *αμαρχθα*, PGM XIII 987. The element -*ουραχθη* and the corresponding elements in the parallels probably represent Eg. *Hr-3h.t*, *Harachte*, "Horus of the Horizon," a Heliopolitan designation for Re-Horus (Bonnet 269A s.v. *Harachte*; Eitrem's translation of P's *αμαραχθι*, "Hor im Horizont" [PGM vol. 3 p. 216A] seems rather to be based on *Harmachis* [*Hr-m-3h.t*], the name of the great sphinx of Giza, which represented *Harachte* [Bonnet 269B]). See also above on *μαρμαραχθα* p. 83.

Harachte also came to be used of other deities, esp. Amon, to emphasize their solar-cosmic aspects (J. Assmann in *Lex. Äg.* II 959f. s.v. *Harachte* and the texts cited in nn. 32-35). It is thus important to note that in the three cases of the word in PGM (cf. above), as also in our tablet, the context is that of a world creator or κύριος κόσμου (see Delatte/Derchain p. 322). In our text the prefix *αμ-* probably represents Amon. Cf. *Ἰκις αχθι*, PGM XII 81; *ααραχθι*, I 136 and *ζαραχθω*, VII 511 (Sar(apis)-achte?).

καταμα: same as P 390; cf. Preisendanz's n. *ad loc.*, where *Κατανᾶ* (voc. of *Κατανᾶς*), "Satan" is suggested (for decl. see BDR § 55(1)b; Bauer s.v.). For the possibility that *καταμα* evinces a normalizing tendency, see above. There

are very few cases of $\nu > \mu$ which cannot be explained as assimilation (cf. Threatte 491; Schwyzer, "Vulgärsprache" 252; Gignac I 119, and his "improper" category p. 167). E.g. μόμων (i.e., νόμων), *P. Aberd.* 16.6f.;* Μελαμθίου (i.e., Μελανθίου), *Aud.* 70.2f.; ἐπήμ (i.e., αἰπὸν) ἀφ', *PGM* VII 119 (Homeric quote); (αὐ)τὸμ καί, *Wünsch* 84b.2. In the case of Καταμᾶ for Κατανᾶ, F. Legge (*PSBA* 23 [1901] 47 n. ¶) suggests Coptic influence where the interchange is common; cf. W. Worrell, *Coptic Sounds* (Ann Arbor 1934) 114; he notes (as does Threatte, *loc. cit.*, for Greek) that some examples are due to copying mistakes. For *m/n* in Aramaic, see W. Fauth, *ZDMG* 120 (1970) 252 with n. 266.

With respect to magic, Satan occurs most frequently in Coptic texts, usually in the context of being exorcised (*PGM* IV 1238; *Kropp* II 47.8, 16 [p. 181]) but occasionally as an invoked deity (*Kropp* II 8.14-21 [p. 21], 9.2 [p. 23], and see III §§ 14-15, 165-66); cf. a Greek formula on a gold tablet: ἐξορκίζω σε, ὦ καταναῖ (ed. F. Lénormant, *Mélanges d'archéologie* III, 1853, 150 [cited by Preisendanz in n. on *PGM* IV 1238]). For the development of Seth as a Satan figure, see H. C. Youtie, *Studies ... in Honor of A.C. Johnson* (Princeton 1951) 189-92 (*Scriptiunculae* I 525-28); Griffiths on *Is. et Os.* 27, p. 389.

47 Ζεύς αθερεσφιλανωσ: We could also interpret Ζεῦ αθερεσφιλανωσ; cf. ζαναθηειη σερωφω, *P* 391 (ζαν, i.e., Ζεῦ?). For the likelihood that Ζεύς here is a normalization of the last syllable of Καλαμαζα, see above p. 103. In *PGM* Zeus is associated with Helios-Sarapis (II 89; IV 1715; V 4f.; XXXIc 1f.; LXXIII 1; LXXIV 1), with Iao-Adonai-Abrasax (I 300ff.; V 471f.; IV 2773), with the chiefly solar figure Damnameneus (IV 2773; III 81 and 101 [χευ for Ζεῦ? see *PGM* vol. 3 p. 221A]), and others. His name also appears in more traditionally Greek/Homeric contexts and phrases (e.g., [after a Homeric quote] ἀνέβη Ζεὺς εἰς ὄρος χρυσοῦν, IV 825; τῷ τῆς Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς υἱῷ, II 10; cf. IV 1473; VI 46).

I can find no parallels for the word(s) following Zeus. The element αθερ may be the Eg. goddess Hathor, as in other formulae (Αθερνεβουνι, *PGM* VII 495 and *Delatte/Derchain* 345; Αθερνεκλησιχ, *PGM* VII 494 and cf. *Delatte/Derchain* 335, 345). Possibly αθερεσ- is a corruption of Zeus' epithet αἰθήριος (e.g., *Aristotle Mu.* 401a 17; cf. C.F.H. Bruchmann, *Epitheta Deorum* [Suppl. *Roscher*, Leipzig 1893] 123B s.v. For an example of how a Greek epithet may degenerate into a *nomen barbarum*, cf. Preisendanz's n. on Βαρζου φερβα, *PGM*

IV 2693, where it is suggested that these words arose from Μαρζουνη φοβερά in line 2547. Similarly, our φιλαυω may be a corruption of φύλαξον which follows the *αιαναφα-logos* in Delatte/Derchain 477 (cited above p. 102); cf. above p. 81 on W₁ 36 (s.vv. μαρι ἐνδόζου).

§§ A-H: *Voces Magicae* and Vowel Combinations

These formulae as a whole resemble the continuation of the *praxis* section of P 406ff. (above p. 13; cf. p. 19) with considerable additions, some of which occur also in *PGM* XIXa 16ff. (see below p. 106 fig. 3).

§ A: The *ιαεω-logos* palindrome is also written as a heart-shaped *Schwindeform* in P 409ff. (7 lines only; see above p. 13) and *PGM* XIXa 16ff. (below p. 106 fig. 3; see above p. 1 n. 2 for the *Schwindeform* in general). The formula (with peculiar spelling) is divided into four wing-shaped *Schwindeformen* (cf. §§ C and E) in *PGM* XXXVI 115-33 (see below, p. 107 fig. 4).

In addition to the *Schwindeform*, the *ιαεω-logos* is connected with other magical figures and drawings; e.g., within the *ouroboros*, "tail swallowing serpent" (cf. above p. 38) in *PGM* VII col. 17 (see vol. 2, Taf. I Abb. 4) and between the two concentric circles of a magical ring made from tracing a chain link in *PGM* V 357 (see vol. 1, Taf. III Abb. 6). It is sometimes abbreviated (esp. in *praxis*), e.g., *PGM* VII 1022: γράψον (γράμματα) νθ', *ιαεω-λόγον* ("the *iaeo* formula" or "*iaeo* etc." [K. Preisendanz, *Philologische Wochenschrift* 33, 1913, 510ff.]); cf. *ιαεω λό(γος)*, *PGM* III 77, 269; V 361f., 366; *ιαεωβαφρευεμουν λό(γος)*, I 195; IV 3071f.

The formula most often appears in specifically solar contexts (*PGM* I 140f., part of ὁ λόγος ὁ λεγόμενος --- πρὸς ἥλιον, which begins in 132; τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον πρὸς ἥλιον οὐδὲν ζητεῖ εἰ μὴ *ιαεωβαφρευεμουν λό(γος)*, I 194f.; after χαῖρε Ἥλιε [1017] in VII 1022; with Helios-Sarapis: Delatte/Derchain 100; Kropp II 13.8-10? [p. 31]; with the chiefly solar figure Damnameneus: Kropp *ibid.* 9-10; Delatte/Derchain 432. Cf. in general also Bonner 204; Kropp III § 210) and in invocations/adjurations of *Ιαω* (of which *ιαεω* is a variation; cf. above p. 80) and other Jewish divine names (ὅτι ὀρκίζω σε *Ιαω*, *Καβαωθ*, *Αδω-*

Fig. 4: Wing-shaped *Schwindeformen* in *PGM XXXVI 115-133*
(to p. 105)

115	ιαεω	νοθειλαριιαη
116	ιαε	οθειλαριιαη
	ια	ειλαριιαη
	ι	ιλαριιαη
	βαφρενδεμονν	λαριιαη
120	βαφρενδεμο	αριιαη
	βαφρενδεμ	ριαη
	βαφρενδε	ιαη
124	βαφρενδ	αη
	βαφρεν	η
	βαφρε	φιρκιαλι
	βαφρ	ιρκιαλι
128	βαφ	ρκιαλι
	βα	κιαλι
	β	ιαλι
		αλι
		λι
		[ι]

Between the two columns is a drawing of a demon, the *sesengen-logos*, and an erotic spell (see *PGM* vol. 2, Taf. III Abb. 16).

ναι, Αβρασαξ, καὶ κα(τὰ) τοῦ μεγάλου θεο[ῦ] Ιαεω λό(γος), *PGM* III 76f.; cf. III 269; VII 584f.; LXI 9; Delatte/Derchain 516, 521; Kropp II 13.10 [p. 31 and see line 6]; cf. also *PGM* IV 3071f.). It is sometimes associated with ἀβλαναθαναλβα ακραμμαχαμαρει, as in our text (*PGM* III 77; VII 1022; LIX 9; Kropp II 13.10 [p. 31; see line 6]; cf. Delatte/Derchain 432; *PGM* III 59f. [both ἀβλαναθ. only]) and with *cecenyen βαρφαραγγης* (*PGM* III 77; XXXVI 115ff.; Delatte/Derchain 516, 521; Kropp II 13.10 [p. 31]). For its occurrence in various other associations, cf. P 398f. (above p. 12); Delatte/ Derchain 122 (Anubis and Isis), 194 (Thoth).

Especially significant for our text and parallels is an amulet (Delatte/Derchain 330) which depicts Ares armed and holding Aphrodite bound by a chain; on the reverse is the *ιαεω-λογος* (spelled *ιαηω* etc. and lacking the final five letters). This portrayal closely resembles the instructions of P's *praxis* (296ff.; cf. above pp. 8f. with n. 37) which prescribes the making of two effigies, one of Ares with

a sword, the other of a bound woman (representing the one to be charmed) kneeling before him.

Karl Fr. W. Schmidt (*GGA* 196 [1934] 177f.) explains the word as the Jewish divine name $\iota\alpha\epsilon\omega$ (cf. above p. 80) + Egyptian $f3j. f-rn-îmn 'd mr (= rw)-R' (m-) k3r. f$, "Iaeo is the bearer of the secret name, the lion of Re secure in his shrine" (cf. also *idem*, *GGA* 193 [1931] 443f.; T. Hopfner, *AO* 7 [1935] 119). This etymology accommodates two of the more important contexts where the name occurs, the solar and the Hebraic. The two, of course, are often identical (on the syncretism of Yahweh and solar gods, see above p. 83).

§§ C and E: The palindrome $\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha\nu\alpha\text{-}\theta\text{-}\alpha\nu\alpha\lambda\beta\alpha$ occurs most often in close connection with $\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\chi\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota$. As in our text, the two words are in *Schwindeform* in *PGM* XIXa 29 left, 30 right ("wing shaped"; see fig. 3 above p. 106), XVIIa 1ff. right ("egg shaped") and XXXIII 1ff. ("heart shaped" [with peculiar spelling]; for both see p. 109 figure 5). Not in *Schwindeform*, $\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha\nu$. $\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\mu$. occur most commonly with $\text{I}\alpha\omega$, $\text{C}\alpha\beta\alpha\omega\theta$, $\text{A}\delta\omega\nu\alpha\iota$, and other Hebrew names; e.g., *PGM* III 79, 150; IV 982, 3030; V 63; VII 311f., 647f., 1020f.; VIII 61; XXXV 23f.; XXXVI 43; LIX 2f.; Kropp II 13.6 (p. 31); 43.121 (p. 153); 50.12f. (p. 211); 53 (p. 214); Youtie/Bonner "Beisan" obv. frag. 1.25 (p. 55/621; $\iota\omega = \text{I}\alpha\omega?$); Perdrizet 73, lines 4ff.; Robinson, *Fest. Rand* 245f. (lines 2, 7f.); P. Berol. inv. 21165.1 (ed. Wm. Brashear, *ZPE* 17 [1975] 28); etc. For less Hebraic or non-Hebraic associations, cf., e.g., *PGM* XII 112, 157, 183; XVIIc 1; XXXVI 227f. For the frequent connection of $\alpha\beta\lambda$. $\alpha\kappa\rho$. with *sesengen-barpharanges*, cf. above p. 78.

The two words also occur apart from each other; $\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\alpha\nu\alpha\lambda\beta\alpha$: *PGM* III 341; V 476; XII 63; XIII 818; Kropp II 47.1,9 (p. 176); 48.64 (p. 202); Delatte/Derchain index p. 351 (16 examples); Aud. index p. 500 (8 examples); $\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\chi\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota$: *PGM* III 223, 508; VII 217f., 220-220b; Kropp II 34.14 (p. 116); Delatte/Derchain 284, 416, 460, 510; Aud. 242.7f. ($\theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\ \tau\omega\nu\ \sigma\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\ \sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu\ \delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\eta\varsigma$); *Pist. Soph.* IV 136 (p. 354, 12 Schmidt/MacDer-mot).

The etymology of the two words remains obscure; cf. the explanation of F. J. Dölger (*Sol Salutis* [Münster in Westf. 1925] 361) of $\alpha\lambda\beta\alpha\nu\alpha\chi\alpha\mu\beta\rho\eta$ (*PGM* VIII 83f., 102; III 474) as $\alpha\lambda\beta\alpha\nu\alpha$ (Heb. הַלְלֵה , "the moon") + $\chi\alpha\mu\alpha$ (חַמַּם , "sun") + $\rho\eta$ (Eg. god Re). The same elements may account for our $\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha\nu\alpha$ (me-

Fig. 5: "Egg" and "Heart-shaped" *Schwindeformen*
in *PGM XVIIa* 1ff. (a) and *XXXIII* 1ff. (b)

(to p. 108)

(a)

α α
 βα ακ
 λβα ακρ
 αλβα ακρα
 ναλβα ακραμ
 αναλβα ακραμμ
 θαναλβα ακραμμα
 αθαναλβα ακραμμαχ
 ναθαναλκα ακραμμαχα
 αναθαναλβα ακραμμαχαμ
 λαναθαναλβα ακραμμαχαμα
 βλαναθαναλβα ακραμμαχαμαρ
 αβλαναθαναλβα ακραμμαχαμαρι
 βλαναθαναλβα ακραμμαχαμαρ
 λαναθαναλβα ακραμμαχαμα
 αναθαναλβα ακραμμαχαμ
 ναθαναλβα ακραμμαχα
 αθαναλβα ακραμμαχ
 θαναλβα ακραμμα
 αναλβα ακραμμ
 ναλβα ακραμ
 αλβα ακρα
 λβα ακρ
 βα ακ
 α α

(b)

αβλαναθαναβλαναμαχααραμαραχααραμαρα[χ
 βλαναθαναβλαναμαχααραμαραχααραμαρα
 λαναθαναβλαναμαχααραμαραχααραμαρ
 etc. until μαχα
 αχ
 α

tathesis) - χαμα - ρει, the difficulty being that ακραμμα is left unsolved. Scholem (p. 97) interprets ακρα as imperative of the Aramaic *aqar* (ܩܪܥ), "uproot," often used in spells with regard to destroying evil spirits (see his n. 13 for

examples); μαχαμαρει, מכמר, "nets," which in Aramaic magical texts came to mean captivating spells (cf. κατάδεσμοι). Thus, "Uproot magical spells."

Other attempts at Hebrew etymologies are as follows. αβλαναθαναλβα: אב לנו אזה, "You are our father" or, "Father, come to us" (Kopp III § 581; cf. Hopfner *OZI* § 732; Robinson, *Fest. Rand* 250; Scholem p. 94 and n. 3; cf. also *Abba Abba Ablanathanaphla akramachamari*, Kropp II 50.12 [p. 211], which suggests that אב, "father," may be [or at least was thought to be] involved); αβλα acrostic for אזה ברוך לעולם אדני, "You are blessed forever, Lord," then να-θαν for the palindromic Biblical name Nathan (M. Ginsburger in Perdrizet 78; cf. Robinson, *Fest. Rand* 250f.; *PGM* vol. 3, p. 212A s.v.); for further bibliography on the word, see F. Maltomini, *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 280; for its solar/Jewish applications see Peterson, *EIC* *ΘEOC* 98f. and in general cf. above p. 83 on μαρμαραχθα. ακραμμαχαμαρει: Kopp (IV §§ 681, 749) analyzes it either as κραμαχαμαρι (קרם החמרי), "*liga amuletum meum*," or ακραμνι καμαρι (קרמני) "*protegit me amuletum meum*" (cf. Hopfner, *OZI* § 735). A. Barb suggests אקרא ממעמקים, "I call from the depths" (*Klassische Hexenkunst* [1933] 15 [*non vidi*, cited in Scholem 97 n. 12]).

§§ B G H: The seven vowels, representing the seven planets, were thought to have magical significance and were used as magical formulae in various combinations and groups (cf. tables in Roscher III 2.2533f. s.v. Planeten; Dornseiff, *Alphabet* 35ff., 82f.; Hopfner, *OZI* §§ 150-51, 770-75; R.W. Daniel, *ZPE* 50 [1983] 153; Blau 141ff.; e.g., *PGM* XIXa 25ff. right and 17ff. left [see fig. 3 above p. 106]; VII 307ff.; XIII 890ff., 988ff.; etc. [see *PGM* vol. 3 reg. XIV, pp. 281-84]). These sections of M correspond to P as shown in Figure 6 (see below p. 111).

§§ D and F: The two groups of the seven vowels are written together as a palindrome, αηιουω-ουοιηεα, e.g., in *PGM* I 139; III 152; X 29ff. (in a diagram). As such they occur as a heart-shaped *Schwindeform* in P. Mich. inv. no. 6666.7ff. (ed. R.W. Daniel, *ZPE* 50 [1983] 150) as follows:

αηιουωουοιηεα
εηιουωουοιηε
ηιουωουοιη
ιουωουοι
ουωουο
υωου
ωω

In our text the two groups are separated into two heart-shaped structures and flank the *ιαεω-Schwindeform*. Cf. the wing-shaped structures in *PGM XIXa* 35ff. (left) and 21ff. (right) surrounding *ιαεω* etc. (fig. 3 above p. 106); cf. also *PGM LXII* 96-102; *XIII* 557-559, 905-11.

Figure 6
Comparison of M §§ B G H and P 412ff.⁴
(to p. 110)

P 412ff. (lft)	M§B	P 412ff. (rt)	M§§ G & H ⁵
αω	αω	ιι*	} ριιο-εω
εα	εα	οεω*	
ιω	ιω	οιεε*	θι-εο
υο	υο	οευι*	αε-ιι
ιο	ιο	οευυ*	οε-οο
οε*	εο	ιαυυ*	υα-υυ
ιωαε	ιωαε	υυαα	υυ-αα
εοηι	εοηι	οιιι	οι-ιι
υαου	υαου	υαεε	υα-εε
ιαωι*	ιοωι	εωαυ	εω-αυ
αηαη	αηαη	οουι	οο-υι
ηιοι*	ηιου	ηηεα	ηη-εα
ωιυα	ωιυα	ααια	αα-ια
αωοε	αωοε	ιιιω	ιι-ιω
υιωη	υιωη	εεαω	εε-αω
εοαωα	εοαωα	ηηαω*	ηη-ιε
υαυα*	υαυαιο	ηηε*	ηι-ηι
ιοηιη*	υοηιη	οαηι*	ωα-υι
_*	ιαουα	ηωι*	ηι-ου
ιαωι	ιαωι	ηηοι*	ηη-υα
αοαο*	ιαοαο	υααι*	ηε-ιο
υυοι	υυοι	ηιια	ηι-ια
_*	ιιυιι	ααωω	αα-ωω

⁴ In this table the asterisk (*) marks variation between M and P.

⁵ In M, § G is separated from § H, being at a slightly lower point on the tablet (see above p. 22). §§ G and H combined correspond to P's right column.

TEXTUAL APPENDIX

When we speak of proposing an hypothetical archetype for our six texts, we mean the archetype of however many handbooks¹ were involved. For reasons already mentioned (above p. 7), such a procedure is extremely complicated. As the *magus* sat before his handbook, he had to consider his client's particular needs and also, perhaps, how much he wanted to pay.² The *magus* could thus augment or abbreviate material in accordance with his judgment concerning the most effective formulae for the situation; the magical books themselves encouraged such liberties (cf. above pp. 6f. with n. 30). Since therefore practical considerations could override the impulse to preserve the exact form of the text, we can never be entirely certain that any tablet faithfully represents its exemplar. I do not therefore set forth the following archetype (abbrev. ω) and critical apparatus with any pretense of suggesting an "original text." I offer it rather as a helpful study in detailed comparison and as a tool for discerning possible textual relationships.

For ω I utilize only material which covers points II.A (M 2-4), II .B (M 4-6), II.C 1 (M 6-10), part of II.C 2 (M 14-16), and part of II.C 3 (M 20-22) in the synopsis of P on pp. 15f. above, since these portions are common to all six texts. I have not included the second half of II.C 2, since it consists almost entirely of *nomina barbara*, which are not helpful for our purposes. In II.A I note only the more interesting spelling variations of divine and magical names.

As explained above (p. 85), all the texts repeat in the second command the section of the first command corresponding to M 6-8. Only M, however, also repeats (in abbreviated form) 8-14 in 22-26, of which 8-10 (abbrev. M_1) and 22-24 (M_2 ; M = their agreement) correspond to ω 14 ($\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$) --- 18 ($\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha$). In the apparatus I note the beginning and end of this section in which M and M_2 are taken

¹ P is a handbook; the 5 tablets were copied from handbooks; in general, see above pp. 6ff.

² Scribes were paid by the line (see E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* [Univ. of London, *Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin Supp.* 46, 1987²] p. 1); the same may have been true for *magi*. The fact that our five tablets vary considerably in length may thus reflect financial considerations.

into account with ♦. I have used Jordan's new text of W_1 and his corrections of W_2 and C and compared (and occasionally preferred) Wortmann's *editio princeps* and readings suggested by L. Koenen. In the final proofs I also had access to R.W. Daniel and F. Maltomini's recent editions of these texts and L.³ In listing the evidence from all the texts, I resolve itacism and other spelling variations only where I think necessary.

Hypothetical Archetype

- (II.A) παρακατατίθεμαι ὑμῖν τοῦτον τὸν κατάδεσμον θεοῖς καταχθονίοις, Πλούτωνι νεσεμιαδων καὶ Κόρη Περσεφόνη Ερερχιαλ καὶ Ἀδώνιδι τῷ καὶ βαρβαριθα καὶ Ἑρμῆ καταχθονίῳ
- 4 Θωουθ φωκενεψευ αρεκταθου μiconκταικ καὶ Ἀνούβιδι κραταιῷ ψηριφθα τῷ τὰς κλειδας ἔχοντι τῶν καθ' Ἄδου, ἰκαὶ δαίμοσι καταχθονίοις θεοῖς ἄωροις τε καὶ ἄωραις, μέλλαξι τε καὶ παρθένους, ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐξ ἐνιαυτῶν, μῆνας ἐκ μηνῶν, ἡμέ-
- (II.B)

1 παρακατατίθεμαι (-ομαι C) CLP : παρακατατιθημι W : παρατιθημι M τουτον τον καταδεσμον LPW₁ : τον καταδεσμον τουτον MW₂ : om. C 1-2 καταχθονίοις: χθονιοις P και θεαις καταχθονιαις post καταχθονιοις add. C 2 Πλούτωνι : και Πλ. W₁ : om. P νεσεμιαδων P : νεσεμιαδωθ C : νεσεμιαδων ορθω Βαυβω W₁ : τε και Κορη νεσεμιαδων M : omm. LW₂ και om. W₁ Κορη και Περσεφονη W₂ 2-5 Ερερχιαλ --- Αδουc om. W₂ 3 Αδωνιζι M και₂ omm. PW₁ βαρβαριωνηθ (sic Jordan: ηρα... πυωνηθ Wortmann) W₁ και₃ om. P Ερμια W₁ 4 Θωουθ C : Θωουθ M φωκενεψευ LM : φωκενταζεψευ PW₁ : om. C αρεκταθου μiconκταικ LMP : omm. CW₁ αλβαναχαμβρη post μiconκταικ add. P 4-5 καρτερω W₁ 5 ψηριφθα: ψηριχθα κανχενε[...]θ W₁ : ψηρινθ P Αδου P (Αδ[C) : Αδουc πυλων W₁ 6 [δεμ]ορ[ι in W₁ (sic Koenen : [τοι]c Jordan : [τοις] Wortmann : δεμονες W₂ καταχθονίοις: χθονιοις M θεοις LMPW₁ : νεκροις W₂ : om. C αωροις CLMP : om. W αωραις CLMP : αωροις W 6-7 μελλαξι τε (τε om. L) και παρθενους CLMPW₁ : παρθενους και μελλαξι W₂ 7-9 ενιαυτους --- τοπω τουτω om. W₂ 7 ενιαυτους W₁ : ενιαυτοις L μῆνας: μηνες W₁ (Wortmann) : μηναις L 7-8 ἡμέρας : ημεραις LW₁

³ See "List of Abbreviations" (p. 131f.) s.vv. C, L, W₁ and W₂. Professor Koenen and I have had access to photographs of the two Wortmann tablets provided by the University of Cologne, West Germany. As is evident from the following apparatus, many questions concerning the readings of these difficult documents remain. W = the agreement of W₁ and W₂.

- 8 ρας ἐξ ἡμερῶν, νύκτας ἐκ νυκτῶν, ὥρας ἐξ ὥρῶν. ὀρκίζω
 πάντα τοὺς δαίμονας τοὺς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ συναρασταθῆ-
 ναι τῷ δαίμονι τούτῳ. | διέγειρέ μοι σεαυτόν, νεκυδαίμων, ὅ-
 τι ποτὲ εἶ, εἴτε ἄρης εἴτε θήλεια, καὶ ὑπαγε εἰς πᾶν τόπον
 (II.C 1)
 12 καὶ εἰς πᾶν ἄμφοδον καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν καὶ κατάδησον
 τὴν δεῖνα, ἣν ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα, ἣς ἔχει τὴν οὐσίαν, ἐμοὶ τῷ δεῖ-
 να, ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα, ὅπως μὴ βινηθῆ, μὴ πυγισθῆ, μηδὲν πρὸς
 ἡδονὴν ποιήσῃ ἄλλῳ ἀνδρὶ εἰ μὴ ἐμοὶ μόνῳ τῷ δεῖνα, ὃν ἔτε-

8 νυκτας εκ νυκτων CMW₁, post ωρων transpos. L : om. P νύκτας : νυκ-
 τετε L : νυκτετε W₁ ωρασι L : ωρεσι W₁ ἐξ₂ om. L εξορκίζω σε M
 9 τους₁ om. P 9-10 συναρασταθῆναι L : συναραστατε C 10 δαίμονι :
 νεκυδαιμονι M τούτῳ : τουτω Αντινω L : om. M εγειρε μοι σεαυτον
 post οστις ποτε ει `καμη[]c' νεκυδαιμων transpos. W₂ : om. M διεγειρε
 CL : εγειρε W (cf. M 20) : και ανεγειρε P post σεαυτον add. απο της εχου-
 σης σε αναπαυσεως W νεκυδαίμων : νεκυς δαιμων C : `καμη[]c' νεκυ-
 δαιμων in transpos. supra indicata W₂ : omm. LMPW₁ 10-11 οστις ποτε (ποτ
 P) ει CMPW₂ : omm. LW₁ 11 ειτε αρης (αρρην P) ειτε θηλεια (θηλυς P)
 CMP : omm. LW και om. W₂ πᾶν : παντα CP 12 και₁ et και₂
 omm. LM και εις παν καπηλιον post οικιαν add. W αζον και (κ. om.
 W₁) ante καταδησον add. PW₁ αζον post καταδησον add. P 13 την
 δεινα P : Ηρωνουν C : Πτολεμαιδα L : Κοπριαν M : Ματρωναν W ετε-
 κεν om. P ἡ δεῖνα : δεινα P : Πτολεμαις C : Αιας L : μητηρ Ταησις M :
 Ταγενη W ἣς --- οὐσίαν : την θυγατερα Ωριγενους L : om. C την ου-
 σιαν P : τας τριχας της κεφαλης αυτης (α. om. M) MW₂ ε τριχες της κε-
 φαλης αυτης ταυτην post ουσιαν add. W₁ 13-14 ἐμοὶ τῷ δεῖνα : ἐμοι Πο-
 σιδωνιω C : Αιλουριωνι M : φιλουσαν με τον δεινα P : επι φιλια Θεοδωρω (lege-
 ρου) W₂ : omm. LW₁ 14 ον --- δεινα omm. LW₁ ὃν : ω M η δει-
 να P : Θεενουβαθις C : μητηρ ονοματι Κοπρια M : Τεχωσις W₂ ♦ 14-
 17 ὅπως --- εὐσταθεῖν : ποιησον την Ματρωναν υποταγηναι Θεοδωρω μη
 δαμη (μη δαμη scripsi : μηδαμη Jordan et Daniel-Maltomini : μη εὐστα[θ]η
 Wortmann) εκτος Θεοδωρω W₂ 14 voce ὅπως omissa μη βινηθητω μη
 πυγισθητω P μη₂ : μηδε M post πυγισθη add. μη λαικαση C et
 ut vid. W₁ μηδεν CL : μηδε P : μητε M et fortasse W₁ 14-15 προς (πρ.
 om. M) ηδονην ποιηση CLMP : αφο(δι)σιακον επιτελεση W₁ 15 αλ-
 λω (εταιρω L) CL : μετ αλλου ανδρος P : ετερω νεανικω η αλλω ανδρι (αλλω
 --- ετερω M₂) M : μεθ ετερου μη [αλ]λω αντρι συνελθις (lege ανδρι συνελθη)
 W₁ 15-16 ει --- η δεινα₁ om. M₂ 15 εμοι (εμ. om. M₁) μονω
 CLM₁ : μετ εμου μονου P : om. W₁ τῷ δεῖνα : του δεινα P : Ποσιδωνιω
 C : τω Σαραπαμμωνι L : Αιλουριωνι M₁ : Θεοδωρω W₁ 15-16 ον --- η
 δεινα₁ omm. CP 15 ὃν : ω M₁

- 16 κεν ἢ δεῖνα, ἵνα μὴ δυνηθῆ ἢ δεῖνα μήτε φαγεῖν μήτε πιεῖν, μὴ
 (Π. C 2) στέγειν, μὴ καρτερεῖν, μὴ εὐσταθεῖν, μὴ ὕπνου τυχεῖν ἐκτός ἐ-
 μοῦ τοῦ δεῖνα, ἢ ὅτι σε ἐξορκίζω, νεκυδαίμων, κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόμα-
 τος τοῦ φοβεροῦ καὶ τρομεροῦ, οὗ ἢ γῆ ἀκούσασα τὸ ὄνομα ἀνοι-
 20 γήσεται, οὗ οἱ δαίμονες ἀκούσαντες τὸ ὄνομα ἔμφοβοι τρέμουν, οὗ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ αἱ θάλασσαι ἀκούσαντες τὸ ὄνομα ταράσσον-

16 ἢ δεῖνα₁ : Ἀρεα L : μητηρ ονοματι Κοπρια M₁ : Τεχωσις W₁ ἵνα μη CP :
 και μη L : ἀλλὰ μητε (lege μηδε) M : [αλλ]α μη W₁ (sic Koenen : [αλλ]α μ[η]
 Daniel-Maltomini : [ιν]α μ[η] Wortmann : [κά]ι μη Jordan) δυνηθη MP : δυ-
 νηται C : [δύ]νηθητω ποποτε W₁ : αφης L ἢ δεῖνα₂ P : Ἡρωνος C : Μα-
 τρωνα χωρις Θεοδωροῦ W₁ : αυτην L : om. M μήτε (μη C : om. L) φαγειν
 μητε (μη CL) πειν (πειν - φαγ. P) CLMP: om. W₁ 16-17 μη στεγειν L :
 μη στεργειν CP : omm. MW₁ 17 μὴ καρτερεῖν : μητε εξελθειν L : om. M
 μη ευσταθειν CW₁ : μητε ευσταθειν post τυχειν δια παντος M₁ (ad δ. π. v.
 infra) : μη ευσταθησαι P : omm. LM₂ post ευσταθειν (τυχειν M₂) add. η
 (M₁ : μητε M₂) ησυχαζιν τη ψυχη η τεσ φρεσι (τ. φρ. M₁ : τη διανοια M₂) M
 μη₃ CP : μητε L M : μηδε (μηδειδε aut μηδεῖδε W₂)* W τυχειν LMPW₁ :
 τυγχανειν C : τυγχανη W₂ post τυχειν (vel τυγχανη) add. η δεῖνα P, δια
 παντος M₁, νυκτος [η ημερας Ματ]ρωνα ην ετεκεν Ταγενη ου ιειν ε (lege ης
 ειειν αι) τριχες [της κεφαλης] αυτης W₁, Ματρωνα νυκτος και ημεραις (lege
 -ρας) W₂ 17-18 ἐκτός --- δεῖνα : επιζητουσα δια παντος ημερας και
 νυκτος (δια --- νυκ. om. M₁) Αιλουριωνα ον ετεκεν μητηρ ονοματι (ονομ. om.
 M₁) Κοπρια M : εκτος Θεοδωρω (lege -ρου) post μηδαμη (v. supra ad 14-17)
 transpos. W₂ εκτος εμου CLP : χωρις W₁ 18 του δεῖνα P : Ποσι-
 δωνιου C : του Σαραπαμμωνος ου ετεκεν Ἀρεα L : Θεοδωρου ον ετεκε Τεχω-
 σις W₁ ♦ οτι CMP et W₁ ut vid. (in lacuna rest. Jordan) : om. W₂ σε
 post εξορκίζω (ορκίζω C) transpos. CLW νεκυδαιμων MW₁ : νεκυδαιμον
 Αντινοε L : γαρ W₂ : omm. CP 18-19 κατα --- φοβερου και τρομερου
 (τρ. κ. φο. LW₁) CLMPW₁ : κατα του αγιου ονοματος W₂ 19-20 ου ---
 ανοιγησεται om. W₂ 19 ακουσασα LPW₁ M (in M post ονομα) : ακουου-
 σα C το ονομα CMW₁ : του ονοματος LP 19-20 ανοιγησεται LMP :
 ανοιγεται CW₁ 20-22 οὗ --- ῥήσσονται : ου φριτσι τα ορη και τρε-
 μει τα δεμονια W₂ 20 ακουσαντες LPM (in M post ονομα) : ακουοντες
 CW₁ το ονομα CMW₁ : του ονοματος LP ενφοβου P : ενφοβως
 L τρεμουσι(v) CMW₁ : φοβουνται L : φοβηθησονται P 21-22 αι
 θαλασσαι --- ταρασσονται omm. LP 21 αι om. C ακουσαντες
 M (post ονομα) : ακουσαι C : ακουοντες W₁ post ονομα add. εμφοβοι
 CW₁ 21-22 ταρασσονται M : φοβουνται C : τρεμουσιν W₁

- ται, οὐ αἰ πέτραι ἀκούσασαι τὸ ὄνομα ῥήσσονται. ὀρκίζω σε, νε-
 (Π. C 3) κυδαίμων, εἴτε ἄρης εἴτε θήλεια, κατὰ τοῦ (mw) --- ἰ μή μου
 24 παρακούσης τῶν ἐντολῶν, νεκυδαίμων, ὅστις ποτὲ εἶ, εἴτε ἄρ-
 ρης εἴτε θήλεια, ἀλλ' ἔγειρέ μοι σεαυτὸν καὶ ὑπαγε εἰς πᾶν
 τόπον, εἰς πᾶν ἄμφοδον, εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν, καὶ ἔνεγκόν μοι τὴν
 δεῖνα ἣν ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα.

22 ου --- ονομα om. W₁ ου omm. LP αι om. L ακουουσαι C :
 ακουσαντες LPM (in M postονομα) το ονομα om. L 22 εξορκίζω
 W₂ γαρ post σε add. W₂ 22-23 ορκίζω --- θηλεια om. M νε-
 κυδαιμων W₁: νεκυς δαιμων C: νεκυδαιμων P: νεκυδαιμων Αντινοε L: om.
 W₂ post νεκυδαιμων add. οστις ποτε ει C 23 ειτε αρρης ειτε θηλεια
 (αρρης---θηλυς P) CPW₁: omm. LW₂ post του add. ενδοξου ονοματος W₂
 ante μη add. ορκίζω σε W₂ μου omm. LW₂ 24 των εντολων M: των
 ονοματων W₂: των εντολων και των ονοματων post νεκυδαιμων transpos.
 P: omm. CLW₁ νεκυδαιμων MW₁: νεκυς δαιμων C: νεκυδαιμων P: νεκυ-
 δαιμων Αντινοε L: om. W₂ 24-25 οστις --- θηλεια (ειτε --- θηλεια
 omm. CW₁) MCW₁: omm. LW₂: ante και υπαγε transpos. P 24 ποτε :
 ποτ ουν (ποτ [ου] Daniel-Maltomini) W₁* 25 θηλυς P αλλ ---
 σεαυτον om. C ἀλλ' : και W₁ εγειρον P: εξεγειρε W₂ μοι :
 μονον P: om. W₂ απο της εχουσης σε αναπαυσεως post σεαυτον add.
 P 25-27 και --- η δεινα om. W₁ 25 παν LMW₂: παντα CP
 26 και post τοπον et αμφοδον add. C 26-27 εις πᾶν --- ἡ δεῖνα : οπου
 εκτι Ματρωνα ην ετεκεν Ταγενη ης εχις την ουσιαν και απελθε προς αυτην
 W₂ 26 ενεγκον P: ενεγκε C: αγαγε L: καταδησον M μοι om. M
 26-27 την δεινα P: Ηρωνουν C: την Πτολεμαιδα L: Κοπριαν M 27 ην
 --- δεινα om. P ἡ δεῖνα : Πτολεμαιοι C: Αιας την θυγατερα Ωριγε-
 νους L: μητηρ Ταησις ης εχις τας τριχας της κεφαλης Αιλουριωνι ω ετεκε
 μητηρ ονοματι Κοπρια M

The first of these is the fact that the... (faint text)

The second of these is the fact that the... (faint text)

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ADDENDA

p. 1 n. 1: Daniel and Maltomini prefer a 2nd/3rd cent. date for this tablet and the parallel tablets (see pp. 131f.).

p. 4 n. 15: For other scenes of *psychostasia*, see E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1979) 160-62.

p. 5 n. 24: The precise title of this volume, which has now appeared, is *MAGICA HIERA: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (Oxford 1989).

p. 15: ἕτερον μέρος is rendered by Preisendanz "die andere Seite" and in *PGM Eng.* "the other side." Such translations are apparently based on a strict interpretation of ἕτερον which, as we have seen (below p. 59), is not necessary, especially in Greek of this period. The new Michigan tablet, which most likely reflects similar handbook instructions, shows that the phrase is best translated "another part."

p. 33: Fauth, however, admits the Seth-Yahweh synthesis for magical texts of the third cent. and later but denies it for *Pistis Sophia* and other gnostic literature. M. Tardieu (*Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions* [Fest. Quispel, EPRO 91, edd. R. van den Broek, M.J. Vermaseren, Leiden 1981, 412-18] argues that Jesus *Aberamentho* reveals an underlying parallel between Jesus and Hermes-Thoth, whose name he finds in the θωου(θ) element of the palindrome.

p. 47: The same principle is, of course, illustrated by the above θεοῖς καταχθονίοις (p. 34). For abundant illustration of that phrase, see Lattimore, *Epitaphs* 96 n. 70.

p. 52 n. 2: see below, on p. 84f.

p. 53: On κτέγειν (line 10) see F. Maltomini, *ZPE* 78 (1989) 95-97.

p. 57: μ[ῆ] | [ἐ]κ ἡδονῆς Wortmann : μῆ | [λαί]κακθ[ῆ] μήτε Jordan; the first is paleographically, the second linguistically, difficult. H.D. Jocelyn (*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 206 [n.s. 26], 1980, 12-66) has

sought to confirm the view of A.E. Housman that *λαϊκόζειν* means *fellare* but never *cunnum lingere*. Among the evidence he cites are the readings of C and L (cf. p. 20f.). In general I have reservations about Jocelyn's conclusions. His evidence does, however, prove to my satisfaction that *λαϊκόζειν* refers to a sexual act performed for a male by either a woman or another male, and thus Jordan's aor. passive is unlikely.

p. 61: H.D. Betz has called my attention to Jesus' declaration at the Last Supper, ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ πῖω ἐκ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ (NT Mk. 14.25; cf. Mt. 26.29; esp. Lk. 22.16, 18, where he renounces both food and drink). J. Jeremias describes these sayings in terms of the Hebrew formula known as the *issar*, "vow of abstinence," and provides rich parallel material from Jewish and Christian sources (*Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu*, Göttingen³ 1960, 199-210 [Eng. *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, Philadelphia 1977, 207-218]; the 4th German edition was not available to me).

p. 73: Lucan may be thinking of Homer's four-story universe, in which Tartarus is the lowest part, deep below Hades: τόσσον ἔνερθ' Ἄϊδεω ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης (*Il.* VIII 16; cf. Aesch. *Pr.* 152ff.); cf. M.L. West's comment on Hes. *Theog.* 720f. (p. 338).

p. 81: There is, however, some controversy concerning the nature of *-ai* in Adonai (Eissfeldt in *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* I 63ff.).

p. 82, on line 18: W. Fauth (*Oriens Christianus* 73 [1973] 80-84) notes this etymology (basing it on Syriac), but expresses skepticism about it and other explanations of *bar-* and *mar-* forms, since they are subject to endless plays and often seem to be variations upon each other. In this connection he cites *nomina barbara* such as *barbariel*, *barbarioth*, *barbariao*, compared with *marmarel*, *marmarioth*, *marmaraoth*/*marmariao*, and notes that the name of the female aeon Βαρβελω has both βαρ- and μαρ- variants. It is my opinion that there is usually a discernible difference between such words which are standard and frequent, for which we may seek etymologies, and those which are plays upon them.

p. 82, on lines 18f.: ουσερβεντηθ also resembles Osiris names such as Οσερχενθε (*PGM* XIII 814; οθερ- pap.) and Οσερχενθεμενθει (815f.). K. Fr. W. Schmidt (*Philologische Wochenschrift* 41/42 [1935] 1183) interprets the latter

word as *wšir-ḥntj-ḫmntj.w*, "Osiris, Erster der Westlichen (= Gestorbenen)." Cf. also *PGM VII 445*.

p. 84, on C: cf. ἔλκε τὴν Ματρῶνα, *W₂ 62f.*; η > αι is not frequent, but occurs (*Gignac I 247f.*, and cf. 111f. for omission of final ν). Daniel-Maltomini suggest either ἔλκετε or ἔλκε τε (*Suppl. Mag. p. 176*). τε is possibly for δέ (cf. *Mayer II 3. 156-158; Gignac I 80-83*).

p. 84f., on *W₂*: Daniel and Maltomini interpret the supralinear strokes at the end of *W₁ 38* and *W₂ 25, 55, 56* as examples of a very rare method of indicating cancellation (thus [ου], *W₁ 38*; μη[δε]ιδε, *W₂ 25f.*; ὕ[πν'ο']πνον, 55f.; βρο[το]πτον, 56f.; *Suppl. Mag. pp. 200 and 209*). Such strokes, however are a common means of writing ν at the end of lines, which makes good sense in all instances except perhaps *W₂ 25*. Here, however, the stroke is not clear and could easily be a scratch (so Koenen; Wortmann and Jordan do not mention it). Even if the mark exists, it could be understood as superfluous ν (cf. *Gignac I 112f.*). Thus in *W₂* the dittography remains uncorrected. In *W₁ 38f.* we have ὅτις ποτ' οὖν | [εἶ], for which cf. *PGM IV 1240, 1244; Aud. 234. 1, 235.1, al.* The οὖν further reinforces the indefiniteness of ὅτις ποτ' ("hypercharakterisierend"; see Schwyzer 2.585). Cf. *Aesch. Supp. 392f.*, μή τί ποτ' οὖν γενοίμαν ὑποχείριος κράτεσιν ἀρτέων with *KG 2.160*.

p. 93: For bibliography on βαινχωωχ see now Wm. Brashear, *ZPE 78* (1989) 123 n. 3.

p. 104: J. Scherer, however, has proposed λο(γί)μων as a correction to μόμων (*P. Phil. p. 14 n. 1*).

pp. 116 and 117: see above, on p. 84f.

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1. Books, Articles, and Reference Works

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- AO *Archiv Orientalní*
- ARW *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*
- Aud. Audollent, A., *Defixionum Tabellae*, Paris 1904 (cited by number of *defixio* unless otherwise indicated)
- Barber Barber, F., *A Linguistic Study of the Greek Magical Papyri* (M.A. Thesis, University of London, Birkbeck College), 1954
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- Baudissin, "Iao" *idem*, "Iao," *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte I*, Leipzig 1876, pp. 181ff.
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¹ Numbers following abbreviations in the text refer to pp. unless otherwise specified in this list. For abbreviations of papyrus editions, see Oates, J.F.; Bagnall, R.S.; Willis, W.H., *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*. 3rd. ed., 1985 (an update appears on PHI Demonstration ROM #2, The Packard Humanities Institute 1988); I enter in this list abbreviations for volumes published since 1985.

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- BDR Blass, F.; Debrunner, A.; Rehkopf, F., *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, Göttingen¹⁵ 1976
- BIFAO *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*
- Blau Blau, L., *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, Berlin 1914
- Bonner Bonner, C., *Studies in Magical Amulets* (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series 49), Ann Arbor 1950 (cited by page or amulet number, the latter indicated by #)
- Bonnet Bonnet, H., *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin 1952
- Borghouts, AEMT Borghouts, J.F., trans., *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* (NISABA 9), Leiden 1978 (usually by text and page number)
- Budge, *Gods* Budge, E.A.W., *The Gods of the Egyptians I and II*, London 1904
- CCAG *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, 1898ff.
- CG *Codex Cairensis Gnosticus*
- Crum Crum, W.E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford 1939
- Cunn. Mem.* *Cunningham Memoirs* (pub. by Royal Irish Academy)
- Daniel-Maltomini see *Suppl. Mag.* I
- Deissmann, *Bib. Stud.* Deissmann, A., *Bible Studies*, transl. by A. Grieve, Edinburgh 1901
- Delatte/Derchain Delatte, A.; Derchain, P., *Les intailles magiques greco-égyptiennes*, Paris 1964 (cited by amulet number unless otherwise indicated)
- Denniston Denniston, J.D., *The Greek Particles*, Oxford² 1954
- Dittenberger, *OGIS* Dittenberger, G., *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae I and II*, Leipzig 1903-05
- Dittenberger, *Syll.* Dittenberger, G., *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum I-IV*, Leipzig³ 1915-24

- DMP* *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, edd. F.L. Griffith and H. Thompson, London 1904
- Dodds, *Greeks and Irrat.* Dodds, E.R., *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1951
- Dornseiff, *Alphabet* Dornseiff, F., *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ VII), Leipzig² 1925
- EPRO Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain
- Fauth Fauth, W., *Oriens Christianus* 67 (1983) 63-103
- GGA *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*
- Gignac Gignac, F.T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, I Phonology, II Morphology (Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità LV 1 and 2), Milano 1976 and 1981
- Gow Gow, A.S.F., *Theocritus*, Cambridge² 1952
- Griffiths, *Isis Book* Griffiths, I.G., *The Isis Book, Apuleius Metamorphoses Book XI* (EPRO 39, Leiden 1975)
- Griffiths, *Is. et Os.* Griffiths, J.G., *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, Univ. of Wales Press 1970
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- Gundel, W., *Dekane* Gundel, W., *Dekane und Dekansternbilder*, Glückstadt/Hamburg 1936
- Harrauer, *Meliouchos* Harrauer, C., *Meliouchos*, Arbeiten zur antiken Religionsgeschichte I (Wiener Studien, Beiheft 11), 1987
- HDA *Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens*
- Heitsch Heitsch, E., *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philol.-hist. Klasse, 3rd series 49, 1961
- Helbing Helbing, R., *Grammatik der Septuaginta*, Göttingen 1907
- Henderson, *Muse* Henderson, J., *The Maculate Muse*, New Haven/London 1975

- Hopfner, *Is. et Os.* Hopfner, T., *Plutarch über Isis und Osiris*, I and II (Monographien des Archiv Orientální 9), Prague 1940 and 1941
- Hopfner, OZ Hopfner, T., *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* I and II (Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde, ed. C. Wessely, XXI and XXIII, in Wessely's handwriting 1921 and 1924, repr. in typescript Amsterdam 1974 (I) and 1983 (II, pt. 1 only)
- Horsley, *New Docs.* I-II Horsley, G.H.R., *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* I (Maquarie 1981); II (1982)
- HSCP *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
- HTR *Harvard Theological Review*
- ICS *Illinois Classical Studies*
- JANES *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society*
- JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
- Jordan, "Well" Jordan, David, "Two Inscribed Lead Tablets from a Well in the Athenian Kerameikos," *MDAI*, Ath. Abt. 95, 1980, 225ff.
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- KB 1 and 2 Kühner, R.; Blass, F., *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* I 1 and 2, Hannover 1890, 1892
- KG 1 and 2 Kühner, R.; Gerth, B., *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* II 1 and 2, Hannover/Leipzig 1898, 1904
- Kopp Kopp, U.Fr., *Palaeographica Critica* III and IV, Mannheim 1829
- Kropp Kropp, A.M., *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte* I-III, Brussels 1930-31
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- Mayser/Schmoll Mayser I 1, bearb. von H. Schmoll, Berlin² 1970
- MDAI Ath. Abt.* *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Athenische Abteilung
- Morenz, *Äg. Rel.* Morenz, S., *Ägyptische Religion*, Stuttgart 1960; Eng. trans. Ithaca/London 1973
- Münch. Beitr. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte
- NHLib. Eng.* *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, ed. J.M. Robinson, New York etc. 1977
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- PSBA* *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeologists*
- PTA* Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen

- RAC *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
- RE *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1894-1980
- Reitzenstein, *Poim.* Reitzenstein, R., *Poimandres; Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur*, Leipzig 1904
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- RG Morenz, S., *Religion und Geschichte des alten Ägyptens*, Köln/Wien 1975
- RGVV Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
- Rh. Mus. *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
- Robinson, *Fest. Rand* Robinson, D.M., "A Magical Text from Beroea in Macedonia," *Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of E.K. Rand*, New York 1938, pp. 245ff.
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- SB Preisigke, F., et al., edd., *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, Berlin/New York I-, 1915-
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- SCO *Studi Classici e Orientali*
- Scriptiunculae Youtie, H.C., *Scriptiunculae I and II*, Amsterdam 1973
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- TAPA *Transactions of the American Philological Association*
- TDNT *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, Grand Rapids 1964-1976, translation of *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, ed. G. Kittel
- Test. Sol.* *The Testament of Solomon*, ed. C.C. McCown, Leipzig 1922
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- Wiemken Wiemken, H., *Der griechische Mimos. Dokumente zur Geschichte des antiken Volkstheaters*, Bremen 1972
- Wien. Stud.* *Wiener Studien*
- Wolbergs Wolbergs, Th., *Griechische religiöse Gedichte der ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte I, Psalmen und Hymnen der Gnosis und des frühen Christentums*, Beitr. z. klass. Philologie 40, Meisenheim 1971

Wünsch	IG III, pars 3, Appendix, <i>Defixionum Tabellae</i> , ed. R. Wünsch, Berlin 1897 (cited by number of <i>defixo</i> unless otherwise indicated)
Youtie/Bonner, "Beisan"	Youtie, H.C.; Bonner, C., "Two Curse Tablets from Beisan," <i>TAPA</i> 68 (1937) 43ff. (<i>Script. post.</i> II, 609ff.). When cited, the <i>TAPA</i> and <i>Script. post.</i> pp. are separated by a slash.
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

2. Abbreviations Pertaining to P. Mich. 757, the Parallel Texts², and Other Magical Texts

C = Cairo text	Edgar, C.C., "A Love Charm from the Fayoum," <i>Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie</i> 21 (1925) 42ff. (<i>Suppl. Mag.</i> I 46; <i>SB IV</i> 7452; <i>SEG</i> 8 [1937] 574); from Hawaret el Maqta, Fayoum; 3rd cent. A.D. (Edgar), 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. (Daniel-Maltomini in <i>Suppl. Mag.</i>). Corrections by D.R. Jordan appeared in <i>ZPE</i> 72 (1988) 247 n. 4.
Edgar	C.C. Edgar's comments on C (q.v.).
Kambitsis	S. Kambitsis' comments on L (q.v.).
L = Louvre text	Kambitsis, S., "Une Nouvelle Tablette Magique d'Égypte," <i>BIFAO</i> 76 (1976) 213ff. (<i>Suppl. Mag.</i> I 47; Horsley, <i>New Docs.</i> I 8 [pp. 33ff.]; <i>SEG</i> 26 [1976/77] 1717); from Antinoopolis; 3rd/4th cent. A.D. (Kambitsis), 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. (Daniel -Maltomini in <i>Suppl. Mag.</i>).
M = Michigan text	P. Mich. 757 (<i>Suppl. Mag.</i> I 48); provenance unknown; 3rd/4th cent. A.D. (present editor), 2nd/3rd cent. A. D. (Daniel-Maltomini in <i>Suppl. Mag.</i>); for M ₁ , M ₂ and M ₃ , see above pp. 86 and 89.

² On "the parallels" see above p. 6. The abbreviations of the texts are based on their present locations, except the two Wortmann tablets, which are at the University of Cologne.

P = Paris text (Bibliothèque Nationale)	<i>PGM</i> IV 296-433; from Thebes; 4th cent. A.D.
W ₁ , and W ₂ = Wortmann, texts 1 and 2	Wortmann, D., "Neue Magische Texte," <i>Bonner Jahrbücher</i> 168 (1968) 56-80, Nr. 1 and 2 (<i>Suppl. Mag.</i> I 49 and 50); from Oxyrhynchus; 3rd/4th cent. A.D. (Wortmann), 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. (Daniel-Malomini in <i>Suppl. Mag.</i>); edition of W ₁ by D.R. Jordan, <i>ZPE</i> 72 (1988) 245ff.; corrections on W ₂ <i>ibid.</i> 246 n. 3.
W ₃ , W ₄ , W ₆ , and W ₁₂	Wortmann, D., <i>loc. cit.</i> , 80-102, nos. 3 (<i>Suppl. Mag.</i> 51; Oxyrhynchus; 3/4th cent. A.D. [Wortmann], 2/3rd cent. A.D. [Daniel-Malomini]) and 4 (<i>Suppl. Mag.</i> 45; Upper Egypt north of Assiut; 5th cent. A.D), pp. 104-105, no. 6 (<i>Suppl. Mag.</i> 2; Oxyrhynchus; 4th cent. A.D. [Wortmann], 3rd cent. A.D. [Daniel-Malomini], and 108-109 (no. 12).
Wortmann	D. Wortmann's comments on the texts edited by him (see above).

3. Other Abbreviations

Eg.	Egyptian
Eng.	English
LXX	<i>Septuaginta</i>
MT	Masoretic Text
mw	magical word(s)
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
tab.	tablet

INDICES

I. GREEK INDICES OF P. MICH. 757

Plain faced numbers refer to lines of sections J and K. Bold-faced numbers indicate page(s) in the commentary. Section symbols (§) followed by letters refer to the parts of the text besides J and K (see above p. 22). Letters A-G in parenthesis mean see/see also the appropriate section of this index. Π A/B in parenthesis means see/see also the appropriate section of index II.

A. Names of Persons

Αἰλουρίων 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 21, 24, 21, 22, 24, 25 (bis), 33, 35, 39 1
25, 34f., 38 n. 3
Κοπρία 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, Ταῆσις 7, 11, 21, 34

B. Divine Names

Ἄδης 4
Ἀδωναιαι 44 101 (IIA)
Ἄδωναῖος 17 (IIA)
Ἄδωνις 3 40f.
Ἄνουβις 3 44
Ἐρεχειγαλ 3 (IIA)
Ἐρμῆς 3 (see: Θουωθ)
Ζεύς 47 104 (IIA)
Θουωθ 3 42 (IIA)
Ἰαεω 17, 29 80
Ἰαω 17 79f. (IIA)
Ἰααρ (= Istar?) 45 101
Κόρη 2 38f.
Κούρη 2 40
Περσεφόνη 2 39, 40
Πλούτων 2 (IIA)
Καβαωθ 17, 46 79 (IIA)
καταμα (= Κατανᾶ?) 46 103f. (IIA)
κυρια (= θεὸς Κυρία?) 45 101

C. Logoi

See also D for individual elements

αβλιαναθαναλβα ακραμμαχαμαρει §§ C, E (IIB)
[αθθουιν] ιατθεουν ιατρεουν καλβιουθ Αωθ Αωθ καβαθιουθ ιατ'θεραθ
Αδωναιαι 43f. 97, 99-101
αιαναφα αμουραχθη καταμα Ζεύς αθερεσφιλανω 46f. 102-05

βαρβαριθαμ βαρβαριθααμ χελομβρα βαρουχαμβρα 16f. 76-77
 εεεενγεν βαρφαραγγης 17 76, 78-79
 φωκενσεψευ εαρεκταθου μιονκταιχ 3 43f.

D. Nomina Barbara/Voces Magicae

αβλαναθαναλβα § C (C) (E)	μαριβεωθ 19, 30 83, 89
Αβρααξ 17 (IIA)	μαρμαρανωθ 19 81f.
αιαναφα 46 103 (C)	μαρμαραχθα 19 83
ακραμμαχαμαρει § E (C)	μαρμαραχθαα 19
αμαρδα 19 83	μαρμαραωθ 18 81f.
αμβραθ 17 77f. (IIA s.v. <i>Arba</i>)	μιονκταιχ 3 (C)
αμουραχθη 46 103 (C)	νατθω 45
Αωθ 43, 44 100 (C)	ουσερβεντηθ 18f. 82
βαρβαδωναι 41 94f.	ου(ς)ερπατη 19 82f.
βαρβαδωναιαι 40 94f.	πακενβραωθ 18 80
βαρβαριθα 3 41f.	πακενψωθ 18 80
βαρβαριθααμ 16 (C)	αβαθιουθ 44 101
βαρβαριθαμ 16 76f. (C)	αβαρβατιανη 18 80f.
βαρφαραγγης 17 (C)	αβαρβατιαωθ 18 80f.
βαρουχαμβρα 17 77 (C)	αβαρβαφαι 18 80f.
βιβιβε 45 101f.	αλβιουθ 43 100
βιβιουθ 45 101f.	αταμα 46 (B)
εαρεκταθου 3 (C)	εεεενγεν 17 (C)
ιατθεουν 43 100	κυρια 45 (B)
ιατ'θεραθ 44 100	υεσεμμειγαδων 2 (IIB)
ιατρεουν 43 100	φωκενσεψευ 3 43f. (C)
ιαρ 45 (B)	χελομβρα 17 (C)
μαρζα 29 89	ψηριφθα 4 44f.
μαρι 18 81	

E. Palindromes

αηγιουω-ωουιηα §§ D and F 110f.
 αβεραμενθουλερθεξαναξεθρελυοωθνεμαρεβα 1 33
 αβλαναθαναλβα § C 108f. (C)
 ιαεωβαφρενεμουνοθιλαρικριφιαευεαιφιρκιραλιθονυομενερφαβωεαι §A
 105-08

F. Vowels and *Characteres*

26-28, 29 88; §§ B, G, H, D, F 110f.

G. General Index of Words

- ἄγειν 33 89
 ἀδιάλειπτος 12 65
 ἀκατάπαυστος 12 65f.
 ἀκούειν 15 (bis), 16 (bis)
 ἀληθεύειν 42 97-99
 ἀλλά 9, 20, 22f., 31 59
 ἄλλος 8, 22 59
 ἄμφοδον 7, 20, 32 56
 ἀνὴρ 8, 22
 ἀνοιγνύναι 15
 ἀπό 13 (bis)
 ἄρρην 20
 ἄρσιν 6 54, 55
 ἄρτι 13
 ἄστρον 41 95f.
 αὐτός 14 67
 ἄωρος 4 (bis) 48f. (IIB)
 βινεῖν 8, 22 58
 γῆ 15
 γυναικεῖος 37
 δαίμων 4, 5f., 15 46-48 (IIB)
 διά 9, 23
 διάνοια 23 86, cf. 64
 δύνασθαι 9, 23
 ἑαυτοῦ 26f.
 ἐγείρειν 6 (restored), 20, 31
 ἐγώ 19, 20, 30, 31, 40 92ff.
 εἰ 9
 εἶναι 6, 20, 31, 40
 εἰς 6, 7 (bis), 20 (bis), 21, 32 (bis), 33
 εἶτε 6 (bis), 20 (bis) 54
 ἐκ 5 (five times), 11, 12 (bis), 24
 (bis)
 ἐκπηδᾶν 10 (bis) 62
 ἔμφοβος 15
 ἐν 6
 ἔνδοξος 18
 ἐνιαυτός 4f., 5 49f.
 ἐντολή 20, 30
 ἐξορκίζειν 5, 14 75
 ἐπί 14
 ἐπιζητεῖν 10, 23 61
 ἐρᾶν 12, 24 63
 ἐρχεσθαι 11
 ἔρωσ 13, 25, 38 66
 ἐρωτικός 13 65
 ἐσθίειν 9, 23 59ff.
 ἕτερος 8, 22 59
 εὐσταθεῖν 10
 ἔχειν 4, 7, 11, 21, 25, 34
 ἕως οὗ 10
 ζωή 14
 ἦ 8, 10 (bis), 22, 23
 ἦδη 25, 26, 39, 40 88
 ἡδονή 8, 22 58
 ἡμέρα 5 (bis), 13, 23f.
 ἡκυχάζειν 10, 23
 θάλασσα 16
 θάνατος 25, 39
 θεῖος 13, 25, 38 66
 θεός 2, 4 47, 48, 49
 θῆλυς 6, 20 54f.
 θρίξ 7, 11, 21, 25, 34 56
 καίειν 36 63f.
 καρδία 24 (IIB)
 κατά 4, 14, 16, 17 (bis), 18, 19
 (bis) 45

- καταδεῖν 7, 21
 κατάδεσμος 2 2 n.7
 καταχθόνιος 2, 3
 κεφαλή 7, 21
 κλεις 4 45
 κόσμος 42 98, 99
 κραταιός 4
 κρατεῖν 42 96f.
 κρύπτειν 41 95f.
 λοιπός 14
 μέλλαξ 4 48
 μέχρι 25, 39 88
 μή 8, 9, 19, 22, 30
 μήν 5 (bis)
 μηδέ 8, 22 59
 μήτε 8, 9 (four times), 10, 22, 23
 (five times) 59
 μήτηρ 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 21, 22,
 24, 25, 34, 35, 39 56
 μόνος 9
 νεανίσκος 8, 22
 νεκυδαίμων 6, 14, 20, 31 46, 51
 νύξ 5 (bis), 24
 ὁ καί 3 41
 οἰκία 7, 11, 21, 33
 ὄλος 12 (bis), 24 (bis)
 ὄνομα 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 (bis),
 16 (bis), 22, 24, 25, 35, 39
 ὄπως 8, 22
 ὅς 7, 8, 10, 11 (bis), 12, 13, 15 (three
 times), 16, 21 (three times), 24, 25
 (bis), 33, 34, 35, 38
 ὅστις 6, 20, 31 54
 ὅτι 14
 οὐρανός 41f. 97
 οὗτος 2, 6
 παρακούειν 19, 30 86f.
 παραμόνιμος 13 65
 παρατιθέναι 2 36f.
 παρθένος 4 48
 πᾶς 5, 6, 7(bis), 9f., 11 (bis), 20
 (bis), 21, 23, 32 (bis), 33
 πέτρα 16
 πίνειν 9, 23 59ff.
 πνεῦμα 12, 24, 37 (IIB)
 ποιεῖν 8, 22
 ποταμός 15
 ποτέ 6, 20, 31
 πρός 11
 πυγίζειν 8, 22 58
 πυροῦν 11, 35f. 62, 90
 ῥήσσειν 16
 σεαυτοῦ 20, 31
 σήμερον 13
 κύ 2, 5, 14
 συμπαραιστάναι 6 51
 ταράσσειν 16
 ταχύ 26 (bis), 40 (bis) 88
 τε καί 2, 4 (bis)
 τήκειν 36 64
 τίκτειν 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 21
 (bis), 24, 25, 33f., 35, 38
 τόπος 6 (bis), 11, 20, 32
 τρέμειν 15 75
 τρομερός 14f.
 τυγχάνειν 9, 23
 ὑπάγειν 6, 20, 32
 ὕπνος 9, 23 59ff.
 φιλεῖν 12, 24, 25, 37 63
 φίλτρον 12 65
 φοβερός 14
 φρήν 10
 φύσις 37 90
 χθόνιος 4
 χρόνος 14
 ψυχή 10, 12, 23, 25, 36 (IIB)
 ὥρα 5 (bis), 14
 ὡς 24

II. SUBJECT INDEX

A. English

- Abbreviations
of divine names/epithets 45, 77,
100
of magical words 33, 105
- Abrasax
as solar deity 78
associated with Yahweh 78
etymology 77f.
numerical value of name 10 n. 40
- Accusative
cognate 66
plu. of 3rd decl. in -εc 49
with κρατεῖν 96
- Adjurations, form of 75
- Adon*
and Adonis 42
in νεσεμμειγαδων? 39
- Adonai*
and Abrasax 78
and *arba* 74, 94f.
and βαρβαριθα-*logos* 42, 76
ατιανη corruption of? 81
declinable and indeclinable 101
meaning of 94f.
plays on 101
- Adonis 40f.
- Agnomina* 41
- Alchemistic texts
ἄλλη/ο in 7 n. 31
- Alliteration 65f.
- Alpha privativum 65f.
- Amon 44, 103
- Anal intercourse (heterosexual) 58
- Anthropological terms
heart and soul affected by magic
63f., 90
interchangeability of 64, 90
soul and spirit 90f.
- Anubis
and *ιαεω-logos* 107
in magical texts 44
ψηριφθα 44
ψυχοπομπός 44
with keys 45
- Aorist (sigmatic of ἄγειν) 89
- Aphrodite
and Adonis 40f.
and Ares 107
and Hephaistos 66
syncretism with Dea Syria 101
threatened 40f.
- Apocalyptic ideas 40, 72, 95, 96
- Apollo 100
see also: Horus
- Apophis
enemy of sun god 97
personifies chaos 99
- Apostrophe (between double conso-
nants) 100
- Apotropaic magic
cymbals in 2 n. 6
"I am" in 93f.
- Ar-ar-i-ta* 77
- Arba*
arbat, fem. construct of 78, 81
abra, metathesized form of 78
barbar play on 76
element in Abrasax 78
meaning of 75

- Arba* (cont.)
 name/epithet of Yahweh 74f., 76,
 77, 78, 81, 94f.
- Archetype (hypothetical) 39, 69, 113
- Ares
 and Aphrodite 107
 as effigy 2 n. 7
- Argos 43
- Artemis
 in W_1 18, 85
 Ὀρθία/Ὀρθωσία 37
 syncretism with Hekate 37
- Ass, animal of Seth 80
- Astarte 101
- Asyndeton 41, 55, 63
- Athletes (curses against) 10 n. 40
- Augustus
 destroyed magical books 6 n. 28
- Ba*
bai (Coptic form) 82, 102
 in Egyptian divine epithets 82
 meaning of 82, 102
- Banishment formulae 66
- Baubo 38
- Bn* (Heb. "son") 79
- Br* (Aramaic "son") 78f.
- Bronze (in magic) 2 nn. 6, 10; 9 n. 39
- Business/civic language
 parallel to magical 7 n. 33, 67
see also: Legal language
- C, structure of, compared with P 18
- Carelessness in magical texts 7, 50f.
see also: Scribal error
- Chaos
 invoked as chthonic deity 8
 overcome by sun-god 97, 99
- Coldness (chthonic property)
 of lead 3, 4 n. 18
 of Saturn 5 n. 20
- Contraction, lack of 96
- Creation (Semitic/Egyptian)
 by Ptah 98f.
 through *maat* 99
 through speech 98f.
- Cymbals (in magic) 2 n. 6
- Damnameneus
 and *ιαεω-*logos** 105
 and Zeus 104
- Dating
 of *defixiones* 2
 of *P. Mich.* 757 1
- Dative
 cognate 66
 extent of time 49
- Dea Syria 101
- Death
 blessed 46, 48
 wretched 46, 48f.
- Defixiones*
 consisting only of name(s) 3
 dating of 2
 defined 2
 editions and bibliography 2 n. 8
 Latin 2 n. 8
 love spells as 2
 placed by/on graves 18
 practical nature of 2, 8
 submerged as sympathetic rite 3f.
 n. 15
 use of lead for 2
 use of metals other than lead for 2
- Dekans
 Aroth 94
 Baroche 77
 Biou 102
 Charcham 94
 Marmaraoth 82
 Ptibiou 102
- Demeter
 and Baubo 38
 use of "I am" 93
- Di Manes* 48

- Divorce agreements
style of, compared to magic 57f.
- Effigies, use of in spells 2 n. 7, 8,
9f. n. 40, 16, 17 n. 57, 56, 107f.
- Eighth Book of Moses* 6 n. 30
- El 74, 77
- Ereschigal 40
Neboutosoualeth 40, 41
syncretism with Hekate/ Persephone 40
- Fire, love as 62, 90
- Flowers (as offerings for dead) 10 n. 42
- Genitals, terms for
μέλαν (pubic hair) 12 n. 52
φύσις 11 n. 49, 90
ψυχή 11f. n. 49
- Genitive
with κρατεῖν 96
"open" after liquid or nasal 96
- Glossolalia 91
- Gnosis 10 n. 40, 78
- Grave monuments
indicating kind of death 10 n. 41
- Greek language
see: Accusative, Contraction, Dative, Genitive, Imperative, Negatives, Number, Participles, Phonology, Style
- Hair, as οὐρία 9 n. 38, 56
- Handbooks
see: Magical handbooks
- Harachte
element in magical words 103
name of Re-Horus and others 103
with Aramaic *mar*? 83
- Harmachis 103
- Hathor 104
- Heart
see: Anthropological terms
- Heaviness (as chthonic property) 3f. n. 15
- Hekate
and Adonis 41
and οὐροβόρος 38
and vulture 38
Baubo 38
Kore 38f.
moon goddess 38
Neboutosoualeth 40, 41
Persian 38f.
queen of δαίμονες 47
syncretism with Artemis 37
syncretism with Ereschigal 40, 41
syncretism with Isis 40
syncretism with Persephone 40, 41
mentioned 18
- Helios 16 n. 56, 38, 44, 104, 105
- Hephaistos
and Aphrodite 66
syncretism with Ptah 44
- Hermes
see: Thoth
- Horus (Apollo)
and ερενγεν βαρφαραγγης 78
and the *αβεραμεν-*logos** 33
called Harachte 103
syncretism with Seth 33
- "I am" 92
- Iao
and *αβλαναθαναλβα*
ακραμμαχαμαρει 108
and *arba* 74f., 81
and *barouch* 77
and *ιαεω-*logos** 105
and *πακερβηθ* 80
and Sabaoth 79
Ιαωαι 81
ιω variation of? 80
transcription for *יְי*? 79
- Impiety of magic 71f.

- Imperative (expressed by ἵνα) 11 n. 46
 Iron (in magic) 2 n. 6
 Isis
 and *ιαεω-logos* 107
 Ἰσις ἀχθί 103
 called Θεοῦιν 100
 in *νεσεμμεϊγαδων*? 40
 Kore 40
 love for Osiris paradigmatic 66
 syncretism with Dea Syria 101
 syncretism with Hekate 40
 use of "I am" in aretalogies 93
 Istar 101
 Jesus
 in *νεσεμμεϊγαδων*? 40
 power of death-cry 72
 syncretism with Seth 33
 use of "I am" 93
 Knots (magical) 10 n. 40
 Kronos
 and scimitar (or sickle) 43
 L
 excavated with effigy 16f.
 structure of, compared with P 18
 Lead
 connection with Saturn 4, 5 n. 20
 used for defixiones 2-6, 9f. n. 40
 negative/chthonic properties 3, 4, 5
 practical properties 3, 5
 used for non-magical writing 3
 Legal language, paralleled by magical
 accumulation of synonyms 63, 65f.
 κρατεῖν and κατέχειν 97
 multiplicity of prohibitions 57
 παρατίθημι 37
 polar expression 53
 τὸ μητρόθεν ὄνομα 56
 Logos
 groups of magic words 1 n. 2
 Αὐθ etc. 100
 $\text{C}\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ etc. 101
 $\text{C}\iota\epsilon\pi\eta$ etc. 102
 νεσεμμεϊγαδων etc. 37f.
 verbal part of magic 1 n. 2, 8
 Love
 "divine" 66
 as fire 62, 90
 exemplified by Isis and Osiris 66
 exemplified by Christ and Church 67
 kind designated 65
 Love-sickness 60
 M
 dating of 1
 physical condition of 1
 structure of
 compared with P 18
 compared with "parallels" 85
 uniqueness 19, 20
 Maat 99
 Magical handbooks 6-8
 allowed liberties 6f., 19f., 85f., 113
 defined 6
 destruction of 6 n. 28
 literary references to 6
 prescribe lead for defixiones 3
 style of 6-7
 Thoth-Hermes as author of 42
 mentioned 16
 Magical signs 88
 Magical words
 see: Nomina barbara
 Male and female in magical formulae 54f.
Mar(i) 75, 81, 82, 83
Maranatha 76
 Marriage contracts
 style of compared to magic 57
 Medical language (and magic) 7 n. 31, 60

- Metals
 emanated by planets 4
 use of in magic 2
see also: Bronze, Iron, Lead
- Metathesis (in magical words) 75, 78, 102, 108f.
- Moon
 and οὐροβόρος 38
 drawn down by magic 2 n. 6, 71, 95
 Hekate goddess of 38
 Thoth god of 43
- Mother's name in magic 56
- Nature
 disrupted by magic 69f., 71, 72, 74, 95
 governed by supreme God 72
- Neboutosoualeth (Hekate) 40, 41
- Needles in magic 2 n. 6, 16f.
- Negatives
 Following ἀλλά 59
 indiscriminate use of 57
- New Testament
 Semitic influence on 66, 87
 thought/language of, paralleled by magic 60, 67, 72, 75
- Nomina barbara* 34-36
 appended asyndetically 41
arba in 74f.
 as gods' "authentic" names 36
 corruptions of familiar words 81, 100, 105
 normalized 97, 103, 104f.
 not to be translated 36
 power of 36
 prefixes of 100
 Semitic/Egyptian nature of 35
 skepticism concerning 36
 Thoth-Hermes as author of 42
 types of formulae used in 1 n. 2
 with "I am" 92
- Number (grammatical)
 sing. and plu. in time idioms 50
 strange shifts of 50
- Numerals in magic
 "4" 74f., *see also*: *Arba*
 "365" 10 n. 40,
see also: *Tricola*
- Oaths 60
- Oracles (on lead) 3 n. 13
- Osiris
 "ba of god(s)"? 82
 and οὐροβόρος 38
 dead become by drinking water 49, 94
 etymology of name 83
 in magical texts 82
 loved by Isis 66
 "strength"? 83
 syncretism with Adonis 41
 syncretism with Pluto 38
 threatened 72
 Unnofer 35
- Palindrome
 defined 1 n. 2
 name of Thoth as 42
 seven vowels as 110
 Yahweh's name as 81
- Papyrus documents, language of
 compared to magic
see: Divorce agreements, Marriage contracts, Practice drafts, Private letters, Receipts, Sales, Wills
- Parallel texts to *P. Mich.* 757 6, 113
paretis 87
- Participles
 masculine for feminine 75f.
 predication of gods by 95
- Patronymics 45, 78f.
pedicari 58
- Persephone
 and Pluto 39

- Persephone (cont.)
 syncretism with Ereschigal 40
 syncretism with Hekate 40
- Persian (name for Hekate) 38f.
- Phonology
 αι > ε 36, 82
 αυ > α 67
 δ > ζ 40
 ε developed before back vowel 96
 ε > αι 101
 ει >, ι 58
 η > ι 61
 λ > ρ 63
 μ developed before labial 78
 ν > μ 104
 ς > ν 55
 ς (final) omitted 67
 τ > θ 4 n. 18
 ἐξ > ἐξξ 49
 πιεῖν > πῖν 61
- Planets
 as day/hour rulers 5 n. 23
 emanate metals 4
 good and evil 5 n. 22
 represented by vowels 110
see also: Saturn
- Pleonasm 66, 67
- Pluto
 and οὐροβόρος 38
 and Persephone 39
 and νεσεμμεϊγαδων 37, 39
 syncretism with Osiris 38
- Polar expression 47, 53, 55, 71, 91
- Praxis* (ritual part of magic) 8
- Practice drafts (papyrus document)
 style of, compared to magical
 handbooks 7 n. 33
- Prayer 56, 60, 62
 generalities in 54
 threats in 69
- Predication (of gods)
 "I am" 92
- participial 95
 relative clause 71
 ὅστις ποτ' (οὐν) εἶ 54
- Private letters
 on lead 3
 style of, compared to magic 88
- Ptah
 creator 98f.
 Re associated with 44
 syncretism with Hephaistos 44
- Re
 and Maat 99
 called Harachte 103
 Grecizations of name 44
 mentioned 82, 94
 name of, in magical words 44, 108
 Ptah associated with 44
 victory over Apophis 97, 99
- Receipts (papyrus document)
 style of, compared to magic 57
- Repetition
 of material in spells 53, 62, 85, 88
 of nomina barbara 83, 102
- Sabaoth
 abbreviated Αωθ ? 100
 and other magical names 81
 as independent name 79
 Greek translations of 79
 meaning of 79
 with Yahweh 79
- Sales (papyrus document)
 style of, compared to magic 67
- Sarapis
 and *ιαεω-*logos** 105
 and Zeus 104
 with αχθι? 103
- Satan
 and Seth 33, 104
 in magical texts 104
- Saturn
 association with lead 4-5

- Saturn (cont.)
 planet of evil influence 5
- Schwindeform
 αβλαναθαναλβα ακραμμαχα-
 μαρει 108
 defined 1 n. 2
*ιαεω-*logos** 19, 105
 seven vowels as 110
 shapes of 13 n. 54, 19, 105, 108,
 110
- Scimitar (or sickle) 43
- Scribal error
 A > Λ 40
 caused by handbook language 7
 dittography 62
 haplography 11 n. 45, 53f., 97
 μ/ν 104
 c > ε 83
 scribal corrections of 87
see also: Carelessness
- Scripture, magical power of
see: Shema
- Secrets
 concealment necessary 74
 disclosure of in threats 72f.
 name of supreme god 74
- Selene 8
see also: Moon, Hekate
- Semitic languages
 influence on koine 66, 87, 98, 104
 influence on style of magical texts
 95
nomina barbara based on 35, 76
- Serpent
 Apophis 97
 οὐροβόρος 38
- Seth (Typhon)
 and ass 80
 and *φωκενσεψ-*logos** 43f.
 and scimitar (or sickle) 43
 as Satan figure 33, 104
nomina barbara of 33, 80
 syncretism with Horus 33
 syncretism with Yahweh/Jesus 33,
 80
- Sexual acts
 βινεῖν 58
 λαικάζειν 57, 58
 πυγίζειν 58
 τελεῖν 12 n. 53
 women's pleasure in 58f.
- Shai 44
- Shema, in magic 64
- Signa* 41
- Similia similibus* 4 n. 17, 8 n. 35
- Solar bark 97, 99
- Spells
 "binding" 1 n. 1, 10 n. 40, 55, 110
 disrupt nature 71
 end with ἦδη ἦδη ταχὺ ταχύ 88
 general structure of 8
 "loosing" 55
 role of client and magus in 10 n.
 43
 to induce talking in sleep 12 n. 49
see also: *Similia similibus*
- Ssm bn Pdrssa* 78f.
- Style of magical texts
see: Alliteration, Anthropological
 terms, Asyndeton, Business/civ-
 ic language, Legal language,
 Magical handbooks, Medical
 language, New Testament, Papy-
 rus documents, Pleonasm, Polar
 expression, Predication, Repeti-
 tion, Semitic languages, Syn-
 onyms, Tricola, Word order
- Sun god (*Barbadonai*) 95-99
see also: Helios, Horus, Osiris, Re,
 Sarapis, Yahweh, Zeus
- Supernomina* 41
- Sympathetic magic
 and effigies 2 n. 7

- Sympathetic magic (cont.)
 and knots 10 n. 40
 based on lead's negative properties
 4, 5
 mentioned 8 n. 35
- Syncretism
 Artemis and Hekate 37
 Dea Syria and Greek goddesses 101
 Hekate and Isis 40
 Hekate and Persephone 40
 one and many 51
 Osiris and Adonis 41
 Ptah and Hephaistos 44
 Seth and Horus 33
 Seth and Yahweh/Jesus 33, 80
 Yahweh and solar gods 83, 95
- Synonyms, intensification expressed
 by 61, 63, 65f., 90
- Syrian goddess
see: Dea Syria
- Tetragrammaton 74
 Adonai surrogate for 95
 Grecizations of 79f.
see also: Iao
- Textual study of magical texts 7, 113
 θ, in magical words 81, 83, 102
- Thoth (Hermes)
 and Anubis 44
 and *φωκενψεψ-*logos** 43
 and *ιαεω-*logos** 107
 god of magic 42
 inventor of language 42
 moon god 43
 name palindromic 42
 navigator of solar bark 99
 ψυχοπομπός 42
 with scimitar 43
- Thread (in magic) 9f. n. 40
- Threats 69-74
 "I am" in 70, 94
 against demons 70, 72, 74, 75
 against gods 40f., 70, 72, 75
 disclosure of secrets in 73-75
 importance of names in 70, 73
 in prayer 69
 justified 70, 72
 kinds of 69f.
 nature disrupted by 69f.
 παρακούειν in 86f.
 problems raised by 70
- Tricola 56, 65, 67, 90
- Unnofer (Osiris epithet) 35
- Voces Magicae*
see: Nomina barbara
- Vowels
 in magic 89, 110
 represent planets 110
 written as palindrome 110
 written as Schwindeform 110
- Vulture (sacred to Hekate) 38
- W₁, structure of, compared with P 18
- W₂
 omits many nomina barbara 18
 structure of, compared with P 18
- Water (Osiris as) 49
- Wills
 style of, compared to magic 63
- Word order
 anarthrous noun-adjective pairs 47
 "bracketing" 65
- Yah (Hebrew divine name) 77
- Yahweh
 and Zeus 104
arba as name/epithet 74f.
 associated with Abrasax 78
 names of 74f., 80, 82, 94f., 101,
 103
 palindromic 81
 with *barouch* 77
 ruler of nature 72

Yahweh (cont.)

- syncretism with Seth 33, 80
 syncretism with solar gods 83, 95
 use of "I am" 93
see also: Iao, Adonai, *Arba*, Tetra-

grammaton, Sabaoth

Zeus

- and scimitar (or sickle) 43
 as solar god 104
 αἰθέριος 104

B. Greek (see also I)

- Αβερραμενθω 33
 ἀβλαναθαναλβα ακραμμα-
 χαμαρει 108-10
 and εεεενγεν βαρφααραγγης 108
 and *ιαεω-logos* 107
 etymology of 108-10
 with Hebrew names 108
 αβρα μαροια 75
 Αβραηλ 74
 αβραωθ 80
 Ἄγαθοδαίμων 44
 Αθερνεβουνι 104
 Αθερνεκλησιχ 104
 ἄθυμος 4 n. 18
 Αἴα 103
 αἰδοῖα 11f. n. 49, 90
 αἰθέριος (epithet of Zeus) 104
 ἀκρουροβόρε 38
 αλβανα 108
 ἀλλά (progressive) 59
 ἄλλη, ἄλλο, ἄλλως 7 n. 31
 αμαραχθι/-ει 103
 αμοραχθι/-ει 103
 αμοραχοι 103
 ανοχ/ανοκ 92f.
 ἄξον 55, 89
 Αραθ 94
 αρβα *see*: *Arba* II A
 αρβαθιαω/αβραθιαω 74f., 80, 81
 Αρκενοφρη 44
 ἄτιμος 4 n. 18
 ἀφοροδισιακά 12 n. 53

- αχθι 103
 ἄωροι
 and other δαίμονες 10 n. 41, 16
 n. 55, 48
 defined 48
 on grave monuments 10 n. 41, 48
 significance of for magic 48
 βαινφουν 82
 βαινωωωω 82, 93
 βαρβαθιαω 75, 80
 βαρβαρ 76, 95
 βαρβαραθειω 80
 βαρβαρουχ 77
 Βαρζου φερβα 104f.
 βαρουχ 77
 Βαυβω 38
 βίαιοι/βιοθάνατοι 10 n. 41, 48
 βίος 58
 Βιου 102
 βόλυβος (for μόλυβος) 4 n. 18
 δαίμονες
 and chthonic gods 47
 as gods 47
 classes of 10 n. 41, 16 n. 55, 48
 fear supreme name 75
 meaning of δαίμων 46f.
 mediators 47
 repelled by Shema 64
 threatened 70, 72
see also ἄωροι, βίαιοι/βιοθάνατοι
 δυναμέων (= Sabaoth) 79
 εἴτε --- εἴτε 54

- ἐκτελεῖν (sexual) 12 n. 53
 ἐτέρω and ἄλλω 59
 ζαραχθω 103
 ἡδονή, idioms of 58
 -θαρα- 100
 θατθαραθαυθωλθαρα 100
 θεὸς Κυρία 101
 Θιοῦν, name for Isis 100
 θυμός (as personal/reflexive pronoun)
 87
 Θωθουθωθ 42
Ιαεω-logos 105-08
 etymology of 108
 in Hebraic contexts 105, 107
 in solar contexts 105
 mentioned 18, 19
 ιατ/ιαθ 100
 ιατ'θαννουιτα 100
 ἰατρός (epithet of Apollo) 100
 ἴνα (imperative) 11 n. 46
 ιω
 as Coptic ειο, "ass," 80
 as variation of Ιαω 80, 108
 ιωερβηθ ιωπακερβηθ 33, 80
 καρδία
 "heart-shaped" *Schwindeform* 13 n.
 54, 19
 affected by magic 63f., 90
 κατά c. gen. 45
 κατέχειν, syn. of κρατεῖν 96f.
 κινεῖν 58
 κοινόν/κοινά (=etc.) 12 n. 50
 Κόρη
 Hekate 38f.
 Isis 40
 Persephone 40
 λαικάζειν 57, 58
 μαραναθα 77
 μαρατα 89
 μαρι 75, 81, 83
 μ[α]ριθα 77, 89
 Μαρουνη 89
 μέλαν (=pubic hair) 12 n. 52
 Μελιούχος 41
 μηδέ/μήτε, confusion of 57
 μήτε φαγεῖν μήτε πιεῖν etc. 59
 μήτηρ θεῶν 101
 μητρόθεν 56
 νοηρε 38
 νοῦς 91, 92
 ορθω, Ὀρθία, Ὀρθωσία 37
 ὅστις ποτ' (οὖν) εἶ 54
 οὔροβόρος
 and *ιαεω-logos* 105
 and moon (Hekate) 38
 and sun (Osiris-Pluto) 38
 οὐσία 9 n. 38, 56
 πακερβαω 80
 πᾶν (for πάντα) 56
 πανάτιμος 49
 παντοκράτωρ (=Sabaoth) 79
 παραθήκη 37
 παρακούειν 86f.
 πνεῦμα 63f.
 and ψυχή 90-92
 as personal/reflexive pronoun 91
 πνευματικός 91
 πνουτε 82
 Πτιβιου 102
 Ρα 44
 ρι 44
 καλβαναχαμβρη 108
 αραχθι 103
 Σημέα 101
 σημείον 56
 σουωρι 44
 στρατιῶν (=Sabaoth) 79
 συνειδός 91
 cōμα 91

- τελειν 12 n. 53
 τριμεγιστος 102
 υεσεμμειγαδων 37-40
 associations
 Hekate 37, 39
 Pluto 37, 39
 etymology 39f.
 yeseem-logos 37-38
 Φθα 44
 φιλτροκατάδεσμος 1 n. 1
 φνουθι νινθηρ 82
 Φρη 44
 φύλαξον 105
 φύκις (=genitals) 12 n. 49
 χαρακτήρες 19 n. 58, 88
 χαρχαρ 94
 Ψοϊ 44
 ψυχή
 and πνεύμα 90-92
 as personal/reflexive pronoun 87,
 91
 meaning "genitals" 11f. n. 49
 ψυχικός 91
 ψυχοπομπός
 Anubis 44
 Thoth (Hermes) 42
 ψυχρός 4 n. 18
 ωρι 44

III. INDEX LOCORUM

For abbreviations used in this index, see List of Abbreviations (pp. 123ff.) or *ad loc.* The principle parallel texts (C L P W₁ W₂; see p. 6) are quoted at the beginning of each major section of the commentary and thus excluded from this index.

A. Magical Texts

1. GREEK AND LATIN

<i>An. Ath.</i>	Aud. (cont.)	Aud. (cont.)
550. 14f. 78	25.4-6 54	38.4 51
581.13-14 81	26.20f. 48	38.6f. 43
Aud.	26. 27f. 36	38.6ff. 34
15.52 96	27.19 41	38.7f. 37
22.1 54	27.23 36	38.11f. 41
22.30f. 48	28-35 (first lines) 54	38.13 40
22.32 41	29.19f. 48	38.14 62
22.35ff. 47	29.25f. 36	38.15ff. 34
22.39 36	30.31 36	38.16 43
22.41 39	31.25 36	38.17f. 37
23.1 39	32.27 36	38.32ff. 34
24.24 39	35.26 36	38.33 43
25-26 (first lines) 54	38.2 43	38.33f. 37
25.2 55	38.2ff. 34	41a.6 38, 39
25.4f. 48	38. 3 37	41a.8f. 90

- | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| Aud. (cont.) | Aud. (cont.) | Delatte/Derchain (cont.) |
| 46 3 n. 12 | 271.1ff. 100 | 475 102 |
| 53 3 n. 12 | 271.32ff. 71 | 476 102, 103 |
| 57-59 3 n. 12 | 271.38-39 100 | 477 102, 103, 105 |
| 70.2f. 104 | 271.40f. 63 | 478 102, 103 |
| 72.17 101 | 295.1ff. 37 | 479 102, 103 |
| 98.2ff. 3 n.15 | Bonner | 487 100 |
| 151.7ff. 62 | 217 102 | 502 76 |
| 155a.40f. 75 | 233 78 | 507 76 |
| 155b.16f. 75 | 271 102 | 510 108 |
| 155b.20ff. 4 n. 18 | 284 75 | 516 76, 78, 107 |
| 159a.14f. 75 | 284.3f. 77 | 516 rev. 103 |
| 161.38f. 75 | 284.5 102, 103 | 520 76, 77, 78, 80 |
| 163. 29f. 63; | 357 78 | 521 76, 78, 107 |
| 169.11ff. 62 | 396 103 | Maltomini, <i>SCO</i> 29 |
| 169.14ff. 63 | Cod. Paris. 2316, amu- | p. 64, pap. 1.4 77 |
| 189a.1 96 | let 316r. ss. 55 71 | p. 99, pap. 7.6 77 |
| 189a.3 10 n. 40 | Delatte/Derchain | <i>P. Bad.</i> V 140.3 77 |
| 198.4-5 55 | 10 74 | <i>P. Berl.</i> inv. no. |
| 234.1 54 | 100 105 | 21165 38 |
| 234. 18ff. 57 | 122 107 | 21165.1 108 |
| 234.30ff. 36 | 128 78 | Perdrizet |
| 235.1 54 | 149 78 | p. 73, lines 4-6 78 |
| 236.9ff. 57 | 194 107 | p. 73, lines 4ff. 108 |
| 237-240 (first line) | 211 78 | <i>PGM</i> |
| 54 | 212 82 | I 133 44 |
| 237.2 100 | 222 81 | I 135 44 |
| 237.3f., 21f. 36 | 254 bis 40 | I 136 103 |
| 237.12ff. 57 | 284 103, 108 | I 139 110 |
| 238.6f. 36 | 330 8 n. 37, 107 | I 140f. 105 |
| 239.4f., 18f. 36 | 335 104 | I 153 100 |
| 240. 4f., 20f. 36 | 345 104 | I 177f. 91 |
| 240.10ff. 57 | 362 78 | I 194f. 105 |
| 242.1 54 | 367 103 | I 195 105 |
| 242.7f. 108 | 379 78 | I 205ff. 95 |
| 242.17 81 | 416 100, 108 | I 217 74 |
| 242.42 40 | 432 105, 107 | I 239f. 101 |
| 242.43f. 71 | 460 75, 82, 108 | I 253 47 |
| 242.43ff. 71 | 469 74 | I 253ff. 50 |
| 249a col. 1, 1 54 | 472 102, 103 | I 294 33 |
| 267.10 100 | 473 102, 103 | |
| 269a.14 102 | | |

PGM (cont.)

I 300f. 96
 I 300ff. 104
 I 304 80
 II 10 104
 II 32ff. 37
 II 33 100
 II 89 104
 II 108 78
 II 115 33
 II 118 44
 II 122 78
 II 123f. 101
 II 125f. 33
 II 132ff. 33
 II 174 78
 II 181f. 55
 III 29 101
 III 35 88,
 III 45 41
 III 59f. 107
 III 67f. 33
 III 71f. 80
 III 76f. 78, 107
 III 77 105, 107
 III 78f. 43
 III 79 108
 III 79f. 78
 III 85 88
 III 101 104
 III 108ff. 76
 III 109f. 76
 III 110 78
 III 116f. 80
 III 117f. 33
 III 119 76
 III 145f. 92
 III 150 108
 III 152 110
 III 155 78
 III 206 101

PGM (cont.)

III 212 96
 III 217 78
 III 223 108
 III 267 75
 III 269 105, 107
 III 341 108
 III 343f. 92
 III 474 108
 III 479 6
 III 483 6
 III 489 7
 III 508 108
 III 513 43
 III 513f. 44
 III 545f. 44
 III 680 44
 IV 29 7 n. 31
 IV 173 96
 IV 181 33
 IV 277f. 36
 IV 290f. 87
 IV 294 51
 IV 394 92
 IV 463 7 n. 31
 IV 465 7 n. 31
 IV 535 92
 IV 627 91
 IV 630 91
 IV 762 96
 IV 825 104
 IV 829 12 n. 50
 IV 883ff. 42
 IV 920ff. 55
 IV 946f. 82
 IV 973 82
 IV 981f. 78
 IV 982 108
 IV 1008 81
 IV 1025 78
 IV 1035 81

PGM (cont.)

IV 1060af. 62
 IV 1075 92
 IV 1076 81
 IV 1214 80
 IV 1238 104
 IV 1240 54
 IV 1241f. 101
 IV 1241ff. 80
 IV 1244 54
 IV 1300 7 n. 31
 IV 1376f. 100
 IV 1414 75
 IV 1417f. 40
 IV 1425ff. 60
 IV 1443ff. 47
 IV 1466f. 45
 IV 1473 104
 IV 1489 100
 IV 1515ff. 60
 IV 1522ff. 12 n. 49
 IV 1538 79
 IV 1584f. 44
 IV 1587 102
 IV 1591 82, 89
 IV 1610 74
 IV 1626f. 100
 IV 1631 100
 IV 1643 44, 82
 IV 1715 104
 IV 1915 89
 IV 1924 88
 IV 2037 88
 IV 2094ff. 69
 IV 2227 65
 IV 2312f. 95
 IV 2411 44
 IV 2484f. 40
 IV 2523 37
 IV 2547 105
 IV 2693 105
 IV 2697f. 102

PGM (cont.)

IV 2715 38
 IV 2719 39
 IV 2720f. 37
 IV 2746 39
 IV 2749f. 40
 IV 2770f. 96
 IV 2772 94
 IV 2773 104
 IV 2816 37
 IV 2903 40, 70
 IV 2913f. 40
 IV 2958 38
 IV 2987 82
 IV 2999 92
 IV 3013 45
 IV 3020 80
 IV 3022 75
 IV 3030 100, 108
 IV 3037ff. 54
 IV 3048ff. 95
 IV 3069ff. 71
 IV 3071f. 105, 107
 IV 3093 43
 IV 3116 43
 IV 3122f. 55
 IV 3272 33

 V 4 44
 V 4f. 104
 V 7 102
 V 41ff. 55
 V 63 108
 V 108f. 92
 V 114f. 35, 36
 V 117f. 75
 V 133 80
 V 134f. 100
 V 139ff. 94
 V 145ff. 92
 V 148 92
 V 151f. 92

PGM (cont.)

V 154f. 92
 V 156 92
 V 178f. 33
 V 247 92
 V 247ff. 94
 V 304ff. 3 n. 11
 V 334f. 54
 V 353 44
 V 355 75
 V 357 105
 V 361f. 105
 V 366 105
 V 400f. 43
 V 402 42
 V 407 42
 V 424ff. 37
 V 428ff. 101
 V 471f. 104
 V 472f. 35
 V 476 108
 V 479 75, 79, 81
 V 480 77
 V 484f. 102

 VI 35 75
 VI 46 104

 VII 119 104
 VII 217f. 108
 VII 220-220b 108
 VII 221 78
 VII 248 88
 VII 254 88
 VII 259 88
 VII 293 65
 VII 305 89
 VII 307ff. 110
 VII 309 89
 VII 311f. 108
 VII 312 78
 VII 317f. 40
 VII 327 100

PGM (cont.)

VII 328 80
 VII 330 62
 VII 358 12 n. 50
 VII 362 44
 VII 397f. 3 n. 11
 VII 405 65
 VII 412ff. 12 n. 49
 VII 432f. 3 n. 11
 VII 442 2 n. 6
 VII 449 36
 VII 452ff. (bis) 10 n.
 40
 VII 459 65
 VII 462 65
 VII 472 63f.
 VII 494 104
 VII 495 104
 VII 511 103
 VII 567 100
 VII 584 80
 VII 584f. 107
 VII 598 80
 VII 605 79
 VII 608 80
 VII 646 80
 VII 647f. 108
 VII 649 78
 VII 661 65
 VII 669f. 42
 VII 680ff. 37
 VII 690f. 36
 VII 691f. 87
 VII 886 38
 VII 888f. 63
 VII 893 87
 VII 979 100, 101
 VII 984 40
 VII 1012 79
 VII 1020f. 108
 VII 1022 105, 107

<i>PGM</i> (cont.)	<i>PGM</i> (cont.)	<i>PGM</i> (cont.)
VIII 20f. 35	XII 157 108	XIII 806f. 101
VIII 34 100	XII 178 83	XIII 809 82
VIII 41 36	XII 183 108	XIII 818 108
VIII 43 36	XII 186 80	XIII 871ff. 71, 74
VIII 46 43	XII 187 81	XIII 872f. 71
VIII 52 88	XII 207 79	XIII 890ff. 110
VIII 61 101, 108	XII 226-38 94	XIII 905-11 111
VIII 83f. 100, 108	XII 227ff. 92	XIII 919 100
VIII 96 80, 81	XII 228 92	XIII 923ff. 37
VIII 102 108	XII 230 92	XIII 987 103
X 6 81	XII 231 82	XIII 988ff. 110
X 7f. 66	XII 232 92	XIII 1000 74
X 29ff. 110	XII 233 92	XIII 1026ff. 5
X 36 7 n. 31	XII 234 49, 92	XIII 1058 102
X 36f. 3	XII 237 74	XIV 22 87
X 50 88	XII 239ff. 70, 71	XIV 24 33
XII 6 39	XII 240 74	XIVa 10 87
XII 55f. 87	XII 263f. 35	XV 2f. 66
XII 55ff. 69	XII 306 65	XV 3 66
XII 58 88	XII 471 43	XV 21 65, 66
XII 58f. 96	XIII 14ff. 42	XVI 5f. 63
XII 63 101, 108	XIII 79 75	XVI 9 103
XII 71 96	XIII 80 94	XVI 13f. 64,
XII 74 78	XIII 146 75	XVI 14 63
XII 80f. 101	XIII 147 94	XVI 21 64
XII 81 103	XIII 156 10 n. 40	XVI 22 63
XII 90 94	XIII 202f. 92	XVI 30 63
XII 92 92	XIII 270 7 n. 31	XVI 63 102
XII 102 100	XIII 281 92	XVIIa 1ff. 109
XII 103 100	XIII 319 65	XVIIa 1ff. right 108
XII 104 100	XIII 325 101	XVIIa 23 12 n. 52
XII 110 92	XIII 331 103	XVIIb 2, 4 42
XII 112 108	XIII 452 75	XVIIc 1 108
XII 117f. 70	XIII 453 94	XIXa 1-2 100
XII 117ff. 71, 75	XIII 466 10 n. 40	XIXa 2 101
XII 118 100	XIII 557-559 111	XIXa 4 44
XII 137ff. 70	XIII 592 75, 94	XIXa 15 88
XII 140f. 87	XIII 621f. 36	
XII 143 88, 100	XIII 763 74	
XII 155 44	XIII 768 81	

PGM (cont.)

XIXa 16ff. 105
 XIXa 25ff. right and
 17ff. left 110
 XIXa 29 left and 30
 right 108
 XIXa 35ff. left and
 21ff. right 111
 XIXa 50 62, 89
 XIXa 50f. 90
 XIXa 50ff. 62
 XIXa 51 64
 XIXa 51f. 63
 XIXa 53 63
 XIXa 54 88
 XXI 1ff. 71
 XXIIb 20 74
 XXIIb 34f. 92
 XXIII 5-6 44
 XXIVa 2f. 42
 XXVIIIb 4 101
 XXXIc 1f. 104
 XXXII 4f. 55
 XXXII 14 55
 XXXIIa 3f. 64
 XXXIIa 7f. 64
 XXXIIa 16ff. 50
 XXXIIa 24f. 36
 XXXIII 1ff. 108,
 109
 XXXIV 1ff. 69
 XXXV 23f. 108
 XXXVI 1f. 3 n. 11
 XXXVI 7f. 33
 XXXVI 10-14 33
 XXXVI 42 78
 XXXVI 43 108

PGM (cont.)

XXXVI 80f. 64
 XXXVI 82 62
 XXXVI 82f. 90
 XXXVI 84 88
 XXXVI 110 89
 XXXVI 110f. 90
 XXXVI 110ff. 60
 XXXVI 111 62
 XXXVI 113f. 90
 XXXVI 114 88
 XXXVI 115-33 105
 XXXVI 115ff. 107
 XXXVI 125ff. 90
 XXXVI 128f. 62
 XXXVI 147ff. 60
 XXXVI 150 90
 XXXVI 169f. 92
 XXXVI 195 62
 XXXVI 200 62, 90
 XXXVI 227f. 108
 XXXVI 231f. 3 n.
 11
 XXXVI 236 2 n. 6
 XXXVI 244 100
 XXXVI 263 75
 XXXVI 288f. 66
 XXXVI 311 89
 XXXVI 324 90
 XXXVI 350 75
 XXXVI 353ff. 55
 XXXVI 356ff. 60
 XXXVIII 16 44, 82
 XXXIX 1 100
 XLV 3f. 77
 XLV 4, 5 101
 LVII 2ff. 69
 LVIII 36 33
 LIX 2f. 108

PGM (cont.)

LIX 4 80
 LIX 6 33
 LIX 9 107
 LXI 9 107
 LXI 17f. 59
 LXI 23 62
 LXI 35 65
 LXII 21f. 97, 99
 LXII 22 100
 LXII 96-102 111
 LXII 103 90
 LXVII 10 76
 LXVII 11-12 43
 LXIX 2 92, 94
 LXX 4 40
 LXX 5 40, 92
 LXX 5f. 94
 LXX 9 40
 LXXIII 1 104
 LXXIV 1 104
 LXXIX 2 93
 O 1.9ff. 50
 O 2.27f. 64
 O 2.27f. 62
 Philipp, *Mira et Magica*
 190 102
 P. Köln inv. nos.
 5512.3-4 102
 5512.7 38
 5512.10ff. 50
 5512.18f. 88
 5514.6f. 64
 5514.8ff. 60
 5514.11f. 88
 P. Laur. IV 148.14-16
 33

P. Mich. inv. no. 6666.7ff. 110	Wortmann (cont.) W ₃ 2f. 76	Wünsch (cont.) 2-17, 19-26, 28-31, 33-39 3 n. 12
P. Münch. II 28	W ₃ 3 and 12 77	84b.2. 104
fr. 5.2 12 n. 52	W ₃ 4 78	97.21ff. 4 n. 19
fr. 10 56	W ₃ 8 66	105b.1 10 n. 40
fr.13.1-2 37	W ₄ 22f. 87	105b.1-2 4
<i>Suppl. Mag.</i> I	W ₄ 30f. 66	106b.1 10 n. 40
2 see: W ₆	W ₄ 32f. 62	106b.1-2 4
10 see: P. Berl. inv. no. 2165	W ₄ 4 75	107a.4 10 n. 40
11 see: P. Mich. inv. no. 6666.7	W ₄ 45ff. 61	107a.4f. 4 n. 18
38 58	W ₄ 48f. 66	Xer. Corp. inv. 51/4740
43 see: P. Köln inv. no. 5514	W ₄ 6f., 45ff. 60	DUO
44 see: P. Köln inv. no. 5512	W ₄ 7, 48 66	1 77
45 see: W ₄	W ₄ 7f. 66	5f. 76
51 see: W ₃	W ₄ 9f. 87	Youtie/Bonner "Beisan"
Wortmann	W ₄ 9ff. 69	obv. frag. 1
W ₃ 11f. 76	W ₆ 4ff. 76	7f. 80
	W ₁₂ 15f. 10 n. 40	19f. 50
	Wünsch	23 90
	1, 18, 27, 32 3 n.	25 78, 108
	12	25f. 80

2. EGYPTIAN, DEMOTIC, COPTIC

Borghouts, <i>AEMT</i>	<i>DMP</i> (cont.)	Kropp II (cont.)
5 42	XXIII 16 40	47.1,9 108
10 73	Kropp II	47.4,7 81
14-17 7 n. 31	6.24 77	47.8,16 104
91 42	8.14-21 104	47.11,11 92
127 71	9. 2 104	48.38f. 78
Leid. Mag. Pap.	13.6 108	48.64 108
Recto II 2f. 43	13.8-10 105	50.12 110
Recto X 13f. 43	13.9-10 105	50.12f. 108
<i>DMP</i>	13.10 107	53 108
VI 26 102	15.3 81	72 col. 2.3 77
VII 25 37	34.14 108	Stegemann
VII 26 40	40.33 77	XXVIII 2 77
VII 28 101	43.93 77	XLV 1.6 81
VIII 6 102	43.121 108	

B. Other Papyri and Inscriptions

1. POPYRI

- BGU*
 I 94.2 40
 I 153.14, 282.5,
 319.9 67
 III 941.8f. 37
 IV 1100.20ff., 31ff.
 57
- M. Chrest.* 319.10f. 63
P. Aberd. 16.6f. 104
P. Bad. V 140.3 *see*
above III A 1
P. Berol. inv. 21165 *see*
above III A 1
P. Cair. Masp.
 I 97.56f. 67
 III 312.11ff. 63
P. Dur. 31.9ff. 57
P. Eleph. 1.8f. 57
P. Grenf.
 I 14 37
 I 21.1 63
 II 68.4f. 66
P. Köln inv. no. 5512
 and 5514 *see above*
 III A 1
P. Lawr.
 IV 148.14-16 *see*
above III A 1
- P. Lond.*
 III 1244.1 88
 V 1722.8ff. 67
 V 1724.12 63
 V 1727.17ff. 63
- P. Mich.*
 II 122 7 n. 33
 III 194.20ff. 57
 XIII 659.234f., 662.
 14f., 664.9f.,
 665.12f. 67
- P. Mich. inv. no.* 6666
see above III A 1
- P. Mil. Vogl.* III
 185.19f. 57
- P. Münch.* II 28I *see*
above III A 1
- P. Oxy.*
 I 11 col. i, 1 = Adesp.
 Com. fr. 254
 Austin 58
 I 131.5 97
 II 237, viii 22, 34 97
 III 413 verso col. ii,
 108 58
 III 465.147 55
 III 494.2 63
 III 497.3ff. 57
 VIII 1088 col. iii 52,
 56 7 n. 31
- P. Oxy. (cont.)*
 XI 1380.72, 105,
 113 40
 XII 1470.12 96
 XIV 1631.26 49
 XVI 1890.14 66
 XVIII 2174 fr. 16
 col. ii, 16 = Hip-
 pon. fr. 84 West
 58
P. Pet. 15.11 63
- PSI*
 XIII 1332 (SB V
 7992).5-6, 13 40
- P. Soter.* 7.18ff. 57
P. Stras. I 41.14 37
- P. Tebt.*
 I 27.38 59
 I 104.18-20, 27-29
 57
 II 294.5 41
 II 397.32 96
- SB*
 I 4284.18 49
 I 4637.14 63
 I 4669.11 66
 I 5294.3 63
 V 7992 *see above*
PSI XIII 1332
 XIV 11964.11 7 n.
 31

2. INSCRIPTIONS

- Dittenberger, *OGIS* I
 130.7ff. 41
 194. 18f. 51
- Dittenberger *Syll.* III
 996.20-21 38, 39
 1175.21ff. 4 n. 19
- Dittenberger *Syll.* III
 (cont.)
 1268.19 58

SB

I 309 10 n. 41
I 313 10 n. 41
I 339 10 n. 41
I 2028 48
I 2642 48

SB (cont.)

III 6170, 6231 48
III 6706.16 48
IV 7296 48
Rosetta Stone
line Gr. 39 43

Inscript. from Paros, O.

Kern, *MDAI*, Ath.
Abt. 16 [1891]
6-7 38

C. Literature

1. GREEK

Adespota

Analecta Sacra (Pitra)
XXIX 1, ις' 97
2, λς' 97

CCAG

II 160.5ff. 5 n. 21
II 161.15f. 5 n. 20
VIII 2.149 5

CGFPR 254 *see: P.*
Oxy. I 11

hymns

to Attis 44.2 Wolb.
1f. 54
to Hekate 59.13
Heitsch
2 38
4 and 22 39
see also: Isidorus,
Orph. h., Proclus,
Anal. Sacra, Ro-
manos, and C 4

Isis aretalogy, Cyme
3a, 5-10, 41-42, 49
93

Isis, invocation to *see:*
P. Oxy. XI 1380

medical recipes *see:*
P. Oxy. VIII 1088

Oxyrh. mime *see: P.*
Oxy. III 413

Ach. Tat.

I 5.3; 6.1-2; 9.1 60
II 13.3 12 n. 53

Ael. Var. Hist. I 32 87

Aesch.

Ag. 160 54
412 66
Pers. 618 10 n. 42
620 46
628 46, 47
633 46
840f. 87

Psychostasia 4 n. 15

Supp. 254f. 96
1008f. 58

Alcm. 1.71 59

Anacreontea 11.14f. 62

Anaximenes frag. 2 90

Anth. Graec. VII 623 65

[Apollod.] *Bibliotheca* I
6.3 43

A.R.

III 286-98 62
IV 1020 38

A.R. (cont.)

IV 1328, 1354, 1373
45
IV 1411ff., 1597ff.
54

Ar.

Pl. 78 93
Vesp. 1374 12 n. 52
Thes. 331f. 53

Aristotle

Mu. 401a 17 104

Chrysostom

hom. 14.10 *in Rom.*
96

Corpus Hippocraticum

VI Littré p. 360 72

Demos. 19.298 58

Didymus the Blind

Comm. on Eccl.
357.26-358.8 91

Comm. on Psalms

139.7-9 91

Diod. Sic.

I 92.5 45
IV 26.1 45
V 79.2 45

- Epict. *Gnom.*
 II 2.13 64
 II 23.42 64
- Eur.
Alc. 1002f. 46
Androm. 540 65
Cycl. 340f. 87
Hipp. 135ff. 60
 514 56
Iph. Aul. 398 53
 1337-38 35
Rhes. 13, 17 50
 445 49
Suppl. 530-34 90
Tro. 884ff. 54
- Galen
Prog. VI 2ff. 60
In Hipp. Progn.
comment. I 4.18
 60
 περὶ εὐπορίστων
 XIV p. 382 Kühn
 7 n. 31
- Hdt.
 I 32.6 12 n. 53
 II 50.1 35
 VIII 97.2 64
- Heliod. *Aeth.*
 IV 7.32-40 60
 VI 14.23f. 35
- Henioch
 5.13 (PCG V) 49
- Herodas 5.85 50
- Hesiod
Op. 122 46
Theog. 175 43
- Hom. *Il.*
 I 222 47
- Hom. *Il.* (cont.)
 III 40 48
 VI 115 47
 VIII 68ff. 4 n. 15
 XI 407 87
 XIX 199-214 60
 XXII 208ff. 4 n. 15
 XXIII 595 47
- Hom. *Od.*
 III 166 47
 V 445 54
 X 281-306 42
 XI 183 53
 XI 252 93
 XI 412 66
 XVII 476 48
- h. Hom.*
 II 268 93
 III 480 93
 IV 343 47
 V 92ff. 54
 VII 56 93
- Isidorus, hymns
 Vanderlip
 I 23 100
 IV 26 41
- Iamb. *de Myst.*
 VI 5-7 70
 VI 6 72
 VI 7 74
 VII 4 35
 VII 5 36
- Isyllos 25 50
- Longus *Daph. et Chl.*
 II 7.4 60
 II 8.2 60
- Lucian
D. Meretr. 4.4f. 56
 4.5 35
- Lucian (cont.)
Ind. 20 97
Nec. 9 35
Philops. 12 6 n. 29
 15 2 n. 6
 31 6
 17, 29 46
Sat. 20 3
de Syr. D. 32 101
 6-8 41
- Pseud. Luc.
Amor. 47 88
- Lys. 10.10 59
- Men. fr. 714 K. 51
- Nausik. fr. 2 38
- Nonnos *Dion.*
 XIII 401 38
- Oracula Chaldaica*
 fr. 150 36
- Orph. h.* 1.1f. 47
 1.9 39
 17.8 48
 32.13 48
 34.5 48
 Πρὸς Μουσαῖον 12
 48
- Philo
Decal. 114 88
Leg. Al. I 84 62
Spec. Leg. III 126 62
Vit. Mos. II 280 62
- Plato
Chrm. 171c 57
Cra. 400e 54
Grg. 510b 64
Legg. 785a 53
 958d 53

- Plato (cont.)
Phaed. 100d 6 54
Phdr. 274c-d 42
Phlb. 18b-d 42
Symp. 193c 12 n. 53
 202e 47
- Plutarch
Mor.
 17a 4 n. 15
 166b 36
Is. et Os. 12 43
 15 101
 27 104
 36 97
 37 83
 41 43
 567c, 691b 3
 944b 2 n. 6
Vitae
Lycurg. 6.2 50
Numa 10.2 88
- Porphyry, *De phil. ex orac. haur.*, ed. Wolff
 II p. 147c 47
 II p. 150c 47
 II 167 p. 151c 39
Epist. ad Anebonem
 33 36
- Proclus
Ad. Tim. 14b 4
hymn I 27f. Vogt 75
- Ptolemaeus *Phas.* 5 95
- Romanos *Cantica*
 43 λα' 1 96
 50 η' 3 96
- Schol. *Ar. Ran.* 740 58
- Soph.
Ant. 227 87
 559f. 87
 810-16 48
OC 1207 87
 1508 4 n. 15
- Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*
 II fragg. 773ff. 90
- Test. Sol.*
 VIII 6 77
 XVIII 28 and 33 81
- Themistius *Or.* I 4c 97
- Theoc.
 2.18-63 8
 2.24-26 8 n. 35
- Theoc. (cont.)
 2.28 48
 2.28-31 8 n. 35
 2.33 37
 2.36 2 n. 6
 2.53 56
 2.64-166 8
 2.70 46
 16.24 87
- Theon Smyrnaeus, ed.
 193, 2ff. Hiller 95
- Thuc.
 II 65.8 58
 IV 32.4, 33.1, 36.2
 45
- Xen. Athen.
Ages. 11.8 46
An. V 6.18 97
 VI 1.31 53
Cyr. I 4.2 50
Hell. VII 2.21 66
Hiero IV 3 66
Mem. III 11.10 64
- Xen. Eph.
 I 5.7 35

2. LATIN

- Apuleius
Met. III 16 56
Met. XI 2 54
- Catull. 34.21f. 54
- Cicero
de Div. I 85 5 n. 22
de Nat. Deor. II 119
 5 n. 20
Fam. V 8.5 65
- Cicero (cont.)
In Cat. I 11.29 56
- Horace
Carm. Saec. 15f. 54
Epod. 5.15ff. 8 n. 34
 5.45-46 71
 5.45f. 95
 5.49ff. 8 n.
 34
- Horace (cont.)
Od. II 17.22f. 5 n.
 21
Sat. I 8.23ff. 8
 I 8.30-33 8 n. 37
 I 8.33-34 8
- Juv.
 6.442f. 2 n. 6
 6.569-70 5 n. 21

- Livy
I 2.6 54
XXVI 5.9 2 n. 6
- Lucan
I 651f. 5 n. 20
I 652 5
VI 492ff. 70
VI 499-506 71
VI 529ff. 48
VI 730ff. 70, 73
VI 744 87
IX 662ff. 43
- Lucret. I 1-21 72
- Macrob. *Sat.*
V 19.8-14 2 n. 6
- Mart.
VI 56.6 58
XII 57.16f. 2 n. 6
- Ovid
Am. I 8.5-18 71
II 1.23-26 71
Fasti II 539 10 n. 42
II 575 9 n. 40
- Ovid *Fasti* (cont.)
II 577f. 2 n. 6
V 441f. 2 n. 6
Met. I 32 54
I 717f. 43
VII 207f. 2 n. 6
VII 227 2 n. 6
- Paul. *Sent.* V 23.18 6
n. 28
- Persius 5.50 5 n. 21
- Petron. 134.12 71
- Plaut.
Amph. 131 87
St. 737 65
- Pliny, *NH*
XI 274 3
XXIV 12 and 103 2
n. 6
XXVIII 20 35
- Prop.
I 1.19-24 71
IV 1(b).84 5 n. 21
- [Quint.] *Decl. Maior.* X
2 35
- Servius *ad Aen.* II 351
54
- Suet. *Aug.* 31 6 n. 28
- Stat. *Theb.* VI 686f. 2
n. 28
- Tib.
I 8.19-21 71
I 8.21-22 2 n. 6
- Verg.
Aen. IV 504ff. 8
IV 510-11 8
IV 513 2 n. 6
IV 576 54
IV 620 48
VIII 373 66
Ec. 8.69-71 71
8.73-75 10 n. 40
8.77f. 10 n. 40
8.77ff. 8 n. 35
8.80f. 8 n. 37
Georg. 1.336 5 n. 20

D. Biblical and related Literature

1. OLD TESTAMENT

- Septuagint**
Gen. 27.25 87
39.10 49
Ex. 3.14 93
Lev. 25.53 49
Num. 28.14 50
Deut. 6.4f. 64
11.13 64
15. 20 49
Josh. 22.5 64
4Regn. 23.25 64
Paralip. I 27.1 50
- Paralip. (cont.)
6.28 56
19.11 56
Est. 3.7 50
1Mac. 14.29 66
3Mac. 4.2 62
4Mac. 7.18 64
Ps. 60.9 49
95.2 49
102.1ff. 95
103.2-4 95
Eccles. 12.5 91
- Wisd. 8.21 64
Is. 45.6f. 95
58.2 49
66.23 50
Jer. 3.11 87
Ezek. 32.7 95
Amos 8.9 72
Nahum 1.4-6 72
- Symmachus**
Jer. 30.6 55

MT		Ps. 90.17 98	Is. (cont.)
Gen. 42.20 98		136.3 82	45.5 93
Ex. 3.14 103		Prov. 3.19 98	48.12 93
Deut. 10.17 82		Song of Songs 3.7 79	
1Sam. 14.24ff. 60		Is. 43.3,11,15 93	Apocryphon
2Sam. 7.16 98		44.6,24 93	Eth. Enoch 9.4 82
2Chron. 5.1 98		44.26 98	69.14 75

2. NEW TESTAMENT

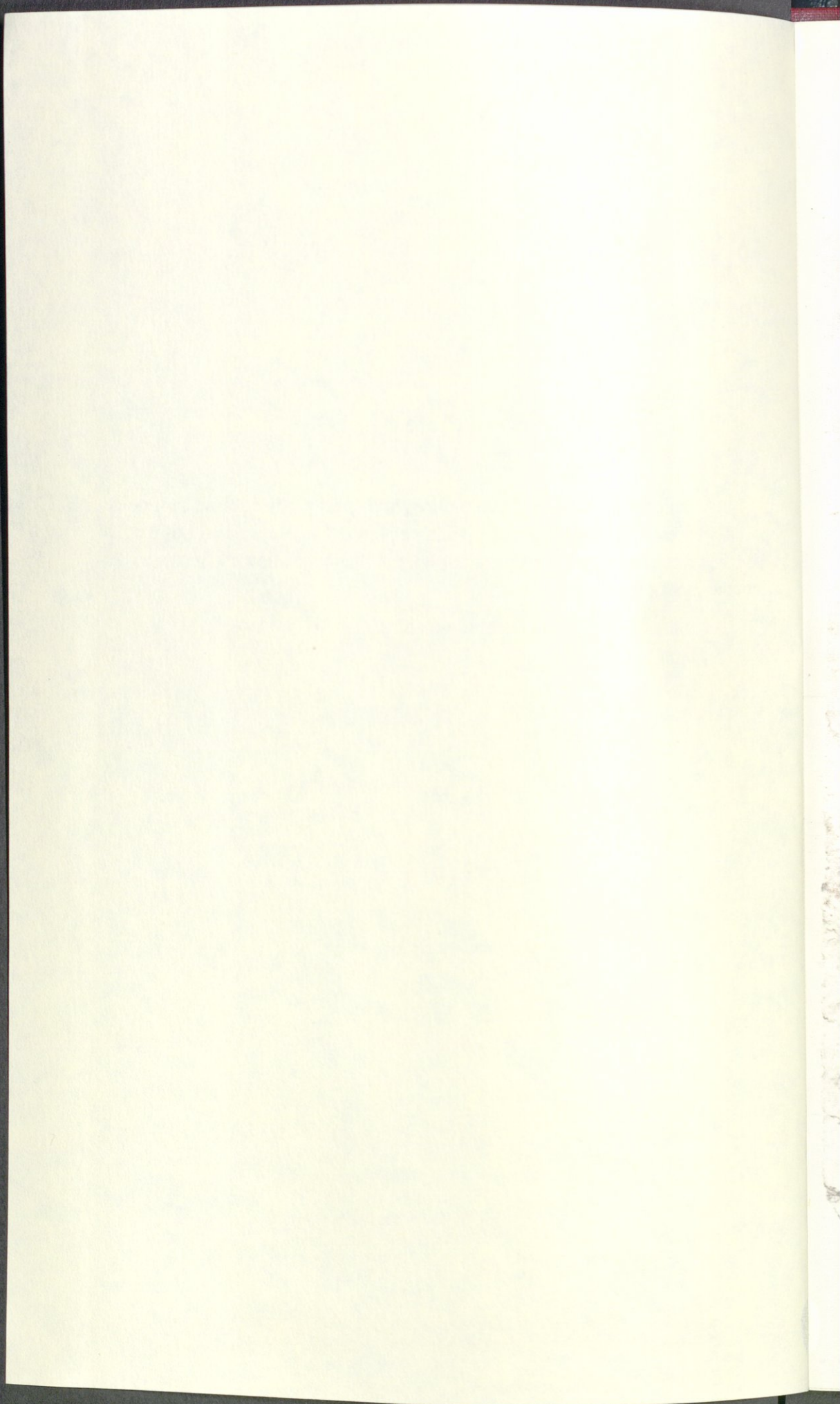
Mat. 2.10 66	Acts (cont.)	Phil. (cont.)
6.25 91	23.12 60	4.23 91
22.37 64	23.14 66	1Thess. 5.23 90, 91
27.51 72	Rom. 8.16 91	Philem. 25 91
Mk. 5.42 66	12.1f. 91	Heb. 1.2ff. 71
8.36 87	1Cor. 2.11 91	James 2.19 75
12.30 64	2.13ff. 91	2Pet. 2.8 49
13.24 72	7.9 62	3.10 72
Lk. 1.46f. 91	7.34 91	Rev. 1.8 93
9.25 87	14.14f. 91	1.16 96
10.27 64	15.45 91	1.17 93
22.15 66	16.18 91	1.18 45
23.44f. 95	16.22 76	1.20 96
Jn. 3.29 66	2Cor. 2.13 91	2.1 96
6.35,48 93	7.13 91	3.7 95
8.12 93	11.29 62 n. 53	4.4 39
14.6 92 93	Gal. 5.16 12 n. 53	6.12-17 72
15.1 93	6.18 91	9.1 45
Acts 2.19-20 72	Eph. 5.15 67	16.16 39
19.19 6	Phil. 1.27 91	20.1 45
		21.6 93

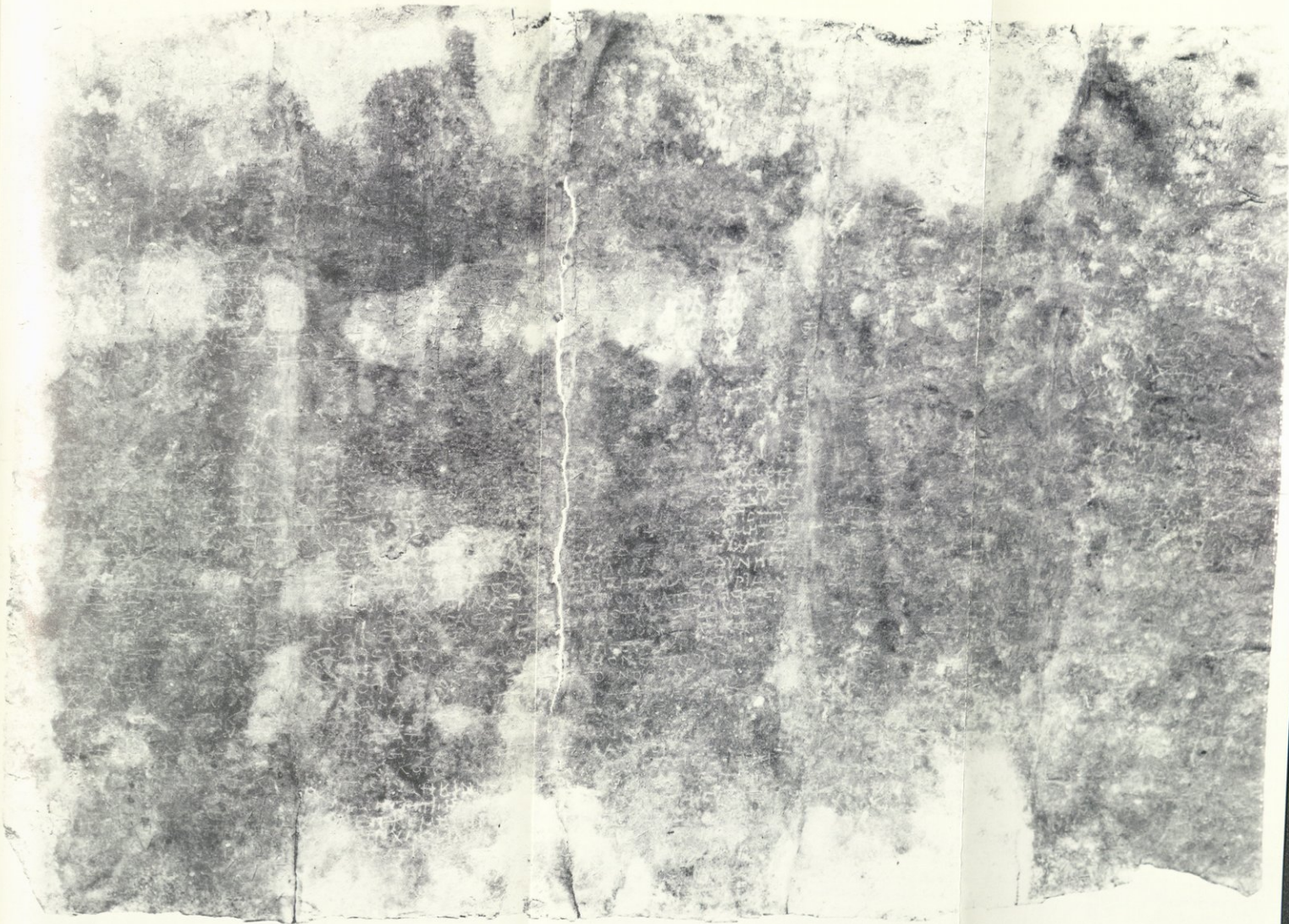
E. Egyptian and Coptic Literatur

Assmann, <i>Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete</i>	<i>Apoc. of Adam</i> (CG V 85.19ff.) 39
87C.62 99	<i>Pist. Soph.</i>
87G.197 99	IV 136 33, 108
<i>Bk. of the Dead</i> 17.1 93	IV 139, 140 33
<i>P. Bremner-Rind</i> 22.1ff. 97	IV 142 81, 83, 102
	IV 143 75

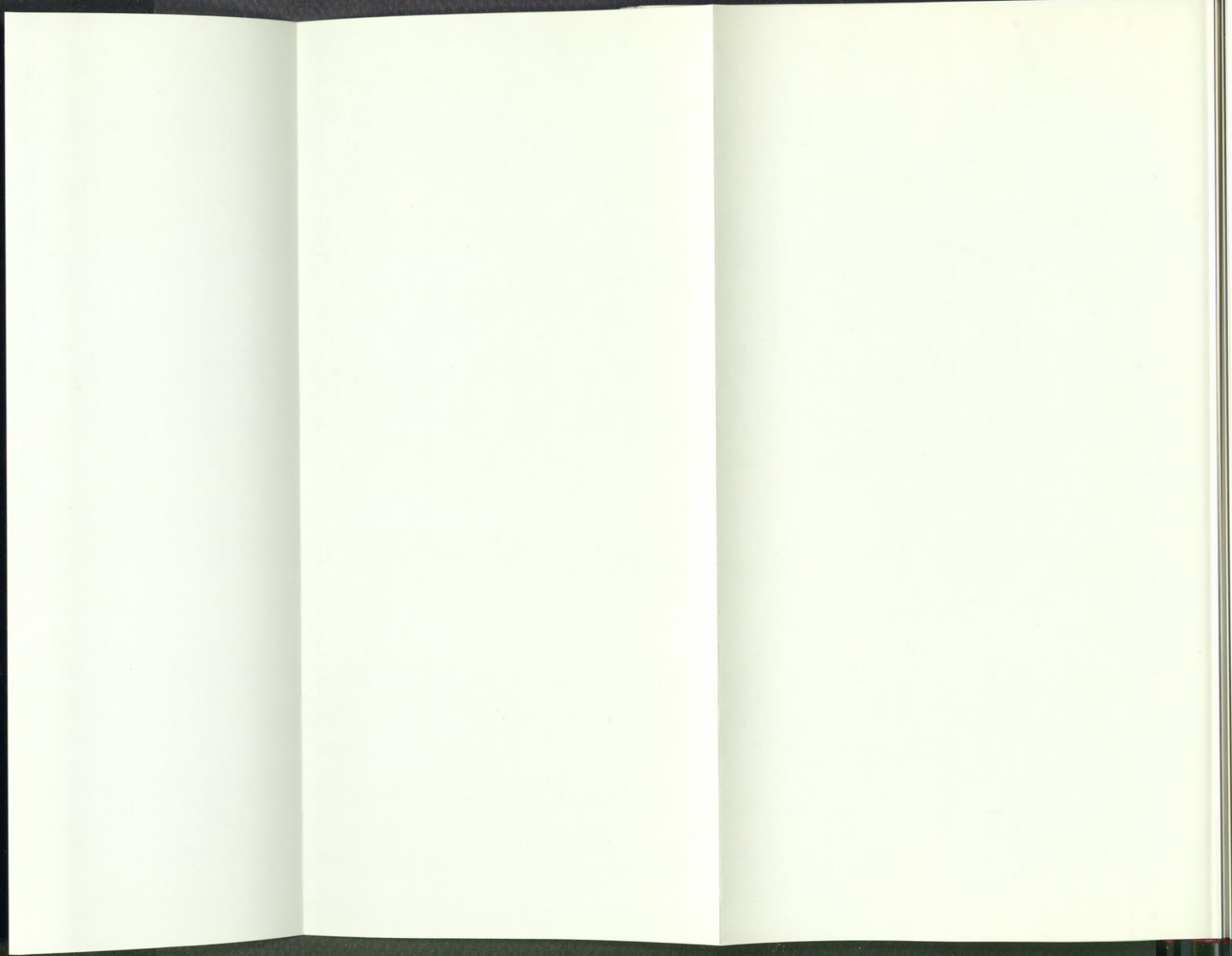
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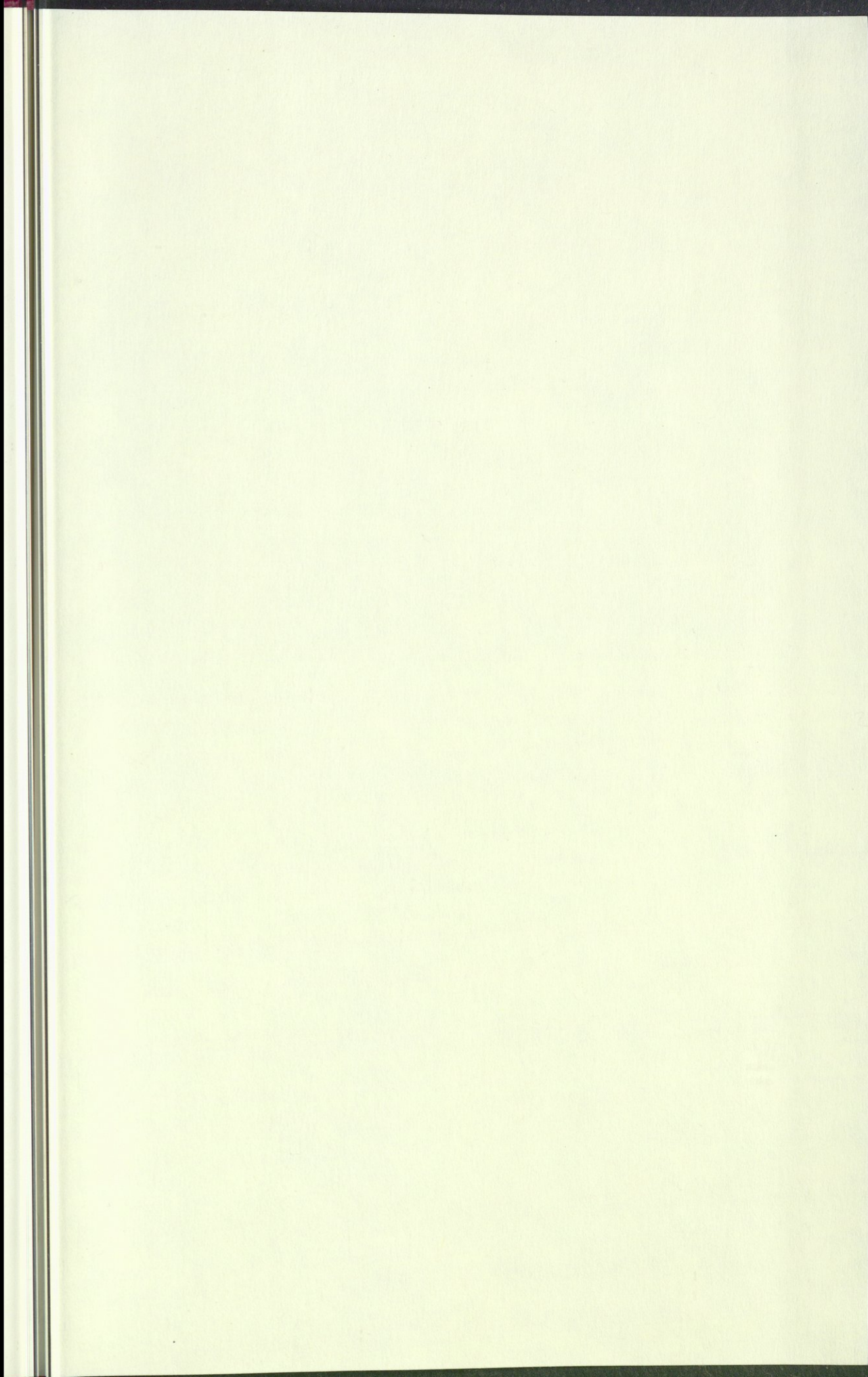
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