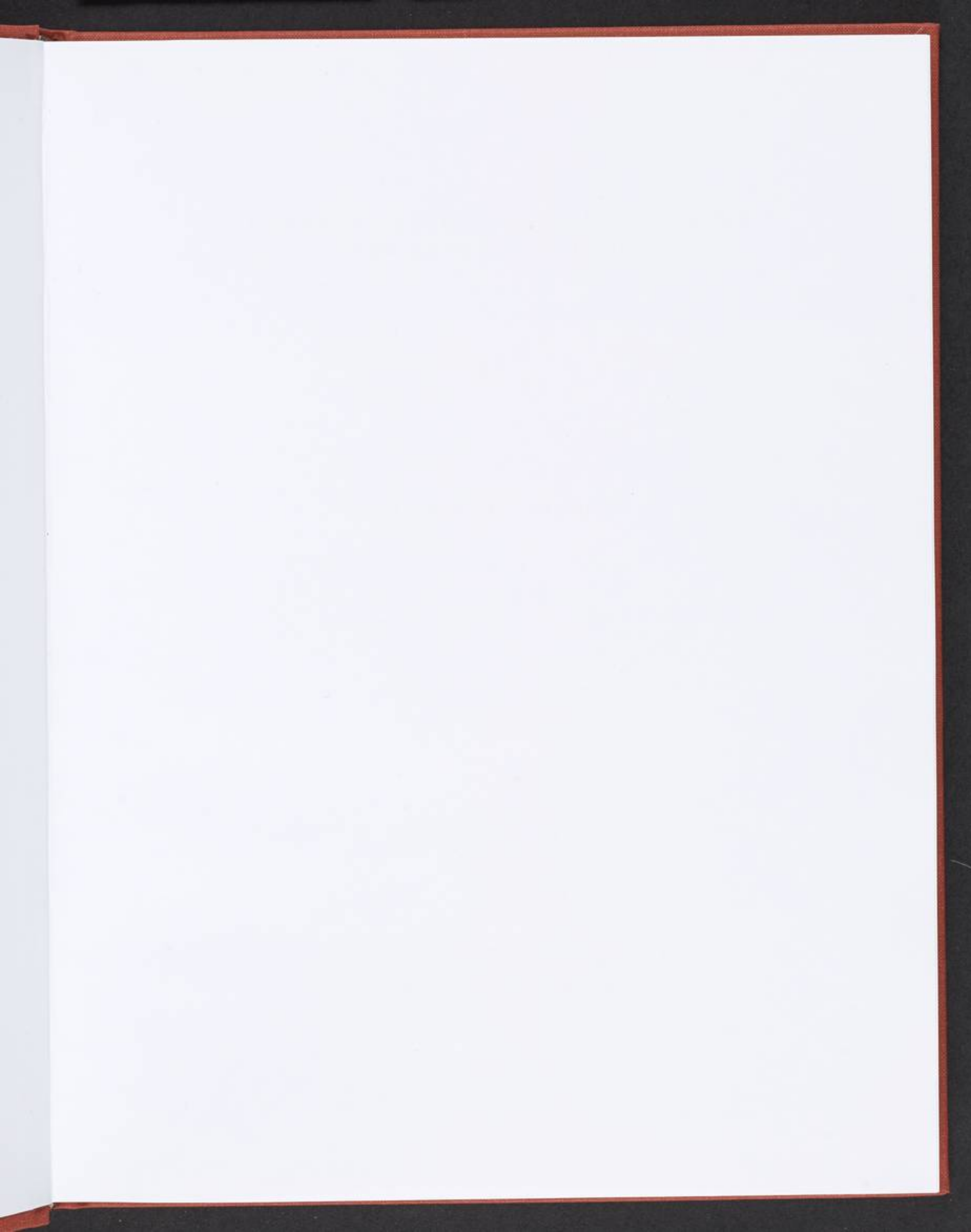


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IN PURSUIT OF INVISIBILITY: RITUAL TEXTS
FROM LATE ROMAN EGYPT

BY

RICHARD L. PHILLIPS

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF PAPYROLOGISTS
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

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In Pursuit of Invisibility: Ritual Texts
from Late Roman Egypt

by

Richard L. Phillips

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For Karrah, Kamden, Kyleigh, and Kaeson

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PREFACE

This book first began as a seminar paper for a course that I took with Hans Betz at the University of Chicago. Having just recently finished my M.A. in Greek at the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, I had decided to take a year away from the classroom in order to weigh my future as a teacher and a scholar. It was during this year that I took his seminar on the Greek Magical Papyri. In fulfillment of course requirements, I wrote a paper on the topic of invisibility. Although it was certainly lacking in many respects, I still remember the positive feedback I received and how Professor Betz encouraged me to pursue the topic further. Although my time under his tutelage was very brief, given that I returned to the University of Illinois the following year, I would again explore the topic for my dissertation.

At the core of the present study are a handful of ritual texts to acquire invisibility from Late Roman Egypt. As anyone who has ever dealt with these texts knows, they are anything, but easy to interpret and more often than not enigmatic. In the process of trying to place them into a historical context, I have gained a greater respect for those scholars who have preceded me in trying to do the same. My hope in writing this monograph is that readers will be able to explore invisibility rituals as one of many genres in the magical corpus and in doing so begin to better appreciate their complexities and function in Late Roman Egypt.

This work, however, did not come to fruition by my labors alone. Without the continued encouragement of numerous teachers and colleagues, I would have never had the fortitude and stamina to complete such a project. At the top of this list is Maryline Parca, my Ph.D. advisor, without whose help this work would never have been completed. She has devoted countless hours not only to this project, but also to my development as a teacher and scholar. I am also very grateful to the members of my dissertation committee (Michael Browne, Wayne Pitard, and Carl Springer) who read my initial treatment of this topic and offered valuable input as to the directions I might take for future research. I am saddened that Michael Browne is not here to see this project in its completed form. I also want to thank my colleagues at Virginia Tech, Andrew Becker and Terry Papillon, who made a special effort to help me arrange a teaching schedule that would allow me the time to continue with my research. They have been at every turn the best of colleagues. I would also like to acknowledge those individuals who offered their support in the aftermath of April 16th, 2007. Everyone at Virginia Tech was in some way deeply affected by these events and certainly the losses in our department were catastrophic. It is only through the support of family, friends, students and colleagues, and a community of faith that sustained me and my family through this period.

Of course, I must acknowledge the ongoing support and guidance of Ann Ellis Hanson, my editor, throughout this process. I first met Ann in 2003 when I was a participant in the American Society of Papyrologists summer seminar at Yale. Her timely encouragement and insightful criticism along the way has brought this work to where it presently stands. Without the revisions and ameliorations that she and the anonymous readers offered, this work would be lacking in so many respects. At the same time, I take full responsibility for the errors and omissions that still remain.

Many others have been kind enough to reply to my inquiries or offer suggestions after conference papers, including Hans Betz, David Frankfurter, John Gee, Albert Henrichs, Janet Johnson, Ludwig Koenen, and David Martinez. In addition to the interlibrary loan staff at Virginia Tech, I also want to thank Bruce Swann and Karen Dudas at the University of Illinois, who have been kind enough to send me copies and scans of items whenever I reached a dead end. I also appreciate the work of my undergraduate students Meghan Rickman and Frances Smith for re-reading sections of Latin texts cited within this study, my graduate student Michael Duncan for reading final drafts of my manuscript, and my colleagues Françoise Rousseau-Mizutani and Shoshana Slawny-Levitan for answering my questions regarding French and modern Hebrew.

I dedicate this book to my wife Karrah and our children Kamden and Kyleigh (and a third one on the way). They are truly the joy and inspiration of my life. The study of invisibility, though an interesting topic of research, is not the reason I wake up every morning. At the same time, as a family we owe a collective debt to parents, siblings, and extended family who have never failed in their encouragement and support. There is no way to repay the debt that is owed to each of them.

Blacksburg, Virginia
September 2009

Richard L. Phillips

LIST OF PLATES

PLATE

- I **1** = *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3931, front, cols. i and ii
 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
- II **1** = *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3931, back
 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
- III **2 and 3** = *PGMI* 222-231 and *PGMI* 247-262
 P.Berol. inv. 5025 B, col. iii, lines 70-79, and col. iv, lines 16-31, Ägyptisches
 Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer
 Kulturbesitz
- IV **2** = *PGMI* 222-231
 P.Berol. inv. 5025 B, col. iii, lines 70-79, Ägyptisches Museum und
 Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz
- IV **3** = *PGMI* 247-262
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- V **4** = *PGM* VII 619-622
 P.Lond. inv. 121, col. xviii, lines 28-31, British Library, London
- VI **5** = *PGM* XIII 234-237
 P.Leiden. inv. J 395, page 6, lines 22-25, Egyptian Department of the
 Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden
- VII **6 and 7** = *PGM* XIII 267-269 and *PGM* XIII 270-277
 P.Leiden. inv. J 395, page 7, lines 4-6 and 7-14, Egyptian Department of the
 Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden

ABBREVIATIONS

The following list provides abbreviations for works that appear during the course of this monograph. Unless otherwise noted, abbreviations for editions of papyri follow J.F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, <http://sciptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>, September 11, 2008. Journals and standard works are abbreviated as in *L'Année Philologique* and the *Journal of Biblical Literature* 107, 1988, 588-596. The names of ancient authors and works follow the abbreviations of Liddell, Scott, Jones et al., eds., *A Greek-English Lexicon with Revised Supplement*, Oxford 1996; Lampe, ed., *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961; and Glare et al., eds., *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1982.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>ACM</i> | M. Meyer and R. Smith, eds., <i>Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power</i> , San Francisco 1994. |
| Borghouts, <i>AEMT</i> | J.F. Borghouts, <i>Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts</i> , Leiden 1978. |
| <i>DT</i> | A. Audollent, <i>Defixionum tabellae</i> , Paris 1904. |
| Erman and Grapow, <i>Wb</i> | A. Erman and H. Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> , 7 vols., Leipzig, 1926-1963. |
| <i>FIRA</i> | S. Riccobono et al., <i>Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani</i> , 3 vols., 2 nd ed., Florence 1968-1972. |
| <i>GMA</i> | R. Kotansky, <i>Greek Magical Amulets: The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper, and Bronze Lamellae, Part I: Published Texts of Known Provenance, Pap.Colon. XX.1</i> , Opladen 1994. |
| <i>GMPT</i> | H.D. Betz, ed., <i>The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation</i> , 2 nd ed., Chicago 1992. |
| Kropp, <i>KZT</i> | A. Kropp, <i>Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte</i> , 3 vols., Brussels 1930-1931. |

- Kühn C.G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, 20 vols., Leipzig 1821-1833; Hildesheim 1965, reprint.
- LIMC *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, 8 vols. in 16 and 2 vols. indices, Zürich 1981-1999.
- LSJ Liddell, Scott, Jones et al., eds., *A Greek-English Lexicon with Revised Supplement*, Oxford 1996.
- NRSV *Holy Bible: New Revised Standard Version with Apocrypha*, Oxford 1990.
- OEAE D. Redford, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, 3 vols., Oxford 2001.
- PG J. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*, Paris 1857-1936.
- PGM K. Preisendanz, ed., *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2 vols., 2nd ed., A. Henrichs, ed., Stuttgart 1973-1974.
- PL J. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, Paris 1844-1900.

EXPLANATION OF SIGLA

The following editorial conventions are after E.G. Turner's *Greek Papyri: An Introduction*, Oxford 1980: 187-188.

αβγδ	Letters about the reading of which there is genuine doubt
....	Illegible letters, the approximate number of which is known
[....]	Missing letters, the approximate number of which is known
], or [], or [Missing letters, the number of which is unknown
[αβγδ]	Lacuna restored by the editor of the text
< >	Lacuna in the text (omissions of the scribe)
<αβγδ>	Additions made by the editor in order to fill such lacunae
(αβγδ)	Resolutions of abbreviations
{αβγδ} or { }	Interpolations (that is, letters or words wrongly added by the scribe, and canceled by the editor of the text)
[]	Erasures by the scribe
˘αβγδ˘	Interlinear additions
—	Paragraphos
3 rd -4 th	Third or fourth century A.D.
3 rd /4 th	Late third to early fourth century A.D.

PROLEGOMENA

...ἡ καλουμένη μαγεία οὐχ, ὡς οἴονται οἱ ἀπὸ Ἐπικούρου καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους, πρᾶγμα ἐστὶν ἀκύστατον πάντη ἀλλ' ὡς οἱ περὶ ταῦτα δεινοὶ ἀποδεικνύουσι, συνεστὸς μὲν λόγους δ' ἔχον σφόδρα ὀλίγοις γινωσκομένους. – Origen (to Celsus), *Against Celsus* 1.24

“...so-called magic is not, as the followers of Epicurus and Aristotle think, utterly incoherent, but, as the experts in these things prove, is a consistent system, which has principles known to very few.” (translation, Chadwick 1965, 23-24)

Kemp thought. “It’s horrible,” he said. “But what devilry must happen to make a man invisible?”
“It’s no devilry. It’s a process, sane and intelligible enough.” – H.G. Wells, *The Invisible Man*

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¹ For texts of the
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² Text 1 (P.Oxy. L
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also PGM XII 162, ca.

For additional bibliogr
³ For a host of exa
category entitled “Mag
(1968), Page 1942, 2

many other cultures, in
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century authors such as
problematic.

⁴ P. 359-360; cf.

⁵ Unless otherwise
of the Demotic magical

A 1.1 INTRODUCTION

In the past two centuries a number of Greek magical papyri¹ containing rituals for invisibility have come to light,² making it clear that interest in attaining invisibility and the power that comes with it sparked the imagination of the ancient Mediterranean world as it has impressed many other civilizations.³ No less than Plato himself considers the possible ethical dilemmas that a person in possession of such power might face.⁴ Yet, when discussing Plato's tale of Gyges' ancestor, Cicero clearly rejects the notion that such an invisibility ring could exist:

atque hoc loco philosophi quidam, minime mali illi quidem, sed non satis acuti, fictam et commenticiam fabulam prolatam dicunt a Platone; quasi vero ille aut factum id esse aut fieri potuisse defendant!...negant id fieri posse. nequaquam potest id quidem.

“And yet on this point some philosophers, who are not at all malicious, but not sharp enough, say that Plato is relating a story that is fictitious and imaginary – as if he would defend that it (i.e. Gyges' disappearance) happened or could happen!...They (i.e. the philosophers) say that it cannot happen. Indeed, by no means is it possible!” (*Off.* 3.37)⁵

In contrast to Cicero's skepticism, papyri from Late Roman Egypt offer an alternative perspective – that of the practitioner and perhaps believer. These texts, removed both chronologically and

¹ For texts of the Greek magical papyri see Preisendanz 1928 and 1931, and Henrich's second edition, 1973-1974 (= *PGM*) and Daniel and Maltomini 1990-1992 (= *Suppl. Mag.* I and II); for an English translation see Betz 1986 (= *GMPT*). For an overview of the closely related Demotic magical corpus, see Johnson 1975 and 1977, Bell, Nock and Thompson 1933, and Griffith and Thompson 1904-1909. When referring to Demotic magical texts, this study will cite them according to their *PDM* number, unless they are not a part of this corpus. The inventory numbers for these texts can be found in Index II. For abbreviations see Johnson 1994. For bibliographic overviews of each, see Brashear 1995, and Ritner 1995.

² Text 1 (*P.Oxy.* LVIII 3931), 3rd/4th century A.D.; text 2 and 3 (*PGM* I 222-231 and I 247-262), late 4th or 5th century A.D., and cf. also *PGM* I 102; *PGM* V 459-489, 4th century A.D. ?; text 4 (*PGM* VII 619-622), 3rd/4th century A.D.; cf. also *PGM* XII 162, ca. A.D. 300-350; texts 5, 6, and 7 (*PGM* XIII 234-237, 267-269, and 270-277), mid-4th century A.D. For additional bibliography on 1-7, see introductions to each text, and also **F 1.1**.

³ For a host of examples of magic objects that render individuals invisible in folk-literature of other cultures, see the category entitled “Magic object effects temporary change in person” in Thompson 1955-1958, 2.195-198 (section D 1360ff.). Pease 1942, 26 notes, “Similar objects, such as the ‘Tarnkappe’ and the magic cloak of Manannan, are found in many other cultures, including Germanic, Norse, Italian, and Kalmuck.” More recent is the example of Harry Potter's cloak of invisibility. In most cases the ability to attain invisibility is highly sought after, but in the works of 19th and 20th century authors such as Wells, Kafka, and Tolkien, the implications of attaining invisibility are portrayed as being more problematic.

⁴ *R.* 359c-360d; cf. also 612b.

⁵ Unless otherwise stated the translations in this study are my own, the one major exception being that the translations of the Demotic magical papyri are those of Johnson in the *GMPT*.

geographically from the world of Plato's Athens and Cicero's Rome, range in date from the 3rd to the 5th century A.D. and are Egyptian in provenance: text **1** is from Oxyrhynchus; texts **5**, **6**, and **7** are from Thebes, and part of the "Theban Magical Library," see **F 1.2**, as well as perhaps texts **2** and **3**.⁶ Given their Egyptian roots, it is not surprising that these texts at times reflect Egyptian influence, e.g. the usage of $\nu\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\beta\alpha\upsilon$ in **2** 223; the invocation of Anubis, Osiris-Re, and Osiris in Old Coptic in **3** 251-252; the grinding of ritual material from right to left in **3** 249-250; perhaps a reference to the primeval egg of Re in **5** 235, etc. Yet, even if it is likely that most of them came from the reed of an Egyptian priest and are steeped in Egyptian religious practice, we should be mindful that such texts did not develop in a vacuum apart from the religious and linguistic influence of other Mediterranean cultures.⁷

This diversity of Mediterranean influences is readily evident in the rhetorical strategies for advertising success found within the titles of many of these formularies – strategies that are especially common for such rituals as well as medical recipes in the Roman period.⁸ Ritner correctly ascribes the debt of these testimonials to Egyptian influence as "but the latest examples of the ancient scriptorium practice of appending to spells such remarks as: 'Truly effective, proved millions of times!'"⁹ Certainly, that such clichés reflect Egyptian practice should be understood. Yet, it is also evident that by the late Empire such rhetorical strategies had undergone significant change, reflecting a world far more diverse than that of the ancient Egyptian scriptorium.¹⁰ A brief survey of invisibility rituals indeed reveals suggestive titles, such as ἀμαύρωσις ἀναγκαία, "An indispensable invisibility spell," **2** 222; ἀμαύρωσις(ς) δοκίμη, "A tested spell for invisibility," **3** 247; ἡ θαυμασίος ἀμαυρά, "The marvelous (use for) invisibility," **5** 234-235; ἀβλεψίας, "(a spell) of invisibility," **6** 267; and ἀμαυρωτικὸν ἄνθρωπον ποιῆσαι, "To make a person invisible," **1** i 1.

⁶ See Brashear 1995, 3403-3404, who discusses the difficulties of including *PGM* II and VII in the Theban collection.

⁷ For the presence of items drawn from other Mediterranean cultures, see e.g. Graf 1997, 7-8, and 237, footnote 14; Faraone 1999, 32-36; Dieleman 2005, 19-20, and footnote 60, where he argues that the inclusion of Egyptian, Near Eastern, Jewish and Christian aspects of the corpus in recent conference volumes are a sign that "the linguistic and cultural diversity of the magical papyri [are] generally accepted nowadays." For arguments on behalf of the notion that such practices are purely Egyptian, see e.g. Ritner 1993, 99-100; or that they exhibit Greek and Roman aspects, see e.g. Graf 1997, Faraone 1999, and Betz 2003. Gee's highly negative review of Betz's *Mithras Liturgy* in 2005 underscores the continuing depth of the schism, see also **F 1.5**.

⁸ For a detailed analysis of such rhetorical strategies to promote rituals in the magical papyri, see Dieleman 2005, 254-284; cf. also Betz 1982, 168-169. Claims for efficacy in medical recipes are not frequent before the Roman period. Nielsen 1974, 81-82 notes that on *collyria*, see the note to text **2** 228, s.v. ὑγρὸν ποίει, such adjectives include "ambrosium/god-like, amimetum/incomparable, anicetum/invincible, isotheon/divine, theochristum/the ointment of the gods, and many others." See also A.E. Hanson's republication of *P.Tebt.* II 273 forthcoming in *Greek Medical Papyri 2*, I. Andorlini, ed.

⁹ 1995, 3367, footnote 174.

¹⁰ See Dieleman 2005, 254-284.

A 1.2 INVISIBILITY SPELLS IN SCHOLARSHIP

Despite the fortuitous recovery of these texts from the sands of Egypt, scholars of ancient magic have been relatively quiet over the years in commenting on the Greek (and Coptic) texts and discussing the corpus as a whole in relationship to the broader topic of human invisibility in ancient Mediterranean literature. Surveying the history of scholarship on these texts, one finds that nine of the ten extant invisibility spells were first published in the mid-to-late 19th century as part of larger ritual handbooks.¹¹ Such editions were pioneering in that they made these texts available to other scholars for the first time. Given the limited availability of ritual texts (or similar *comparanda*) at the time, however, the notes to these editions, when provided,¹² are not surprisingly more concerned with textual matters than placing invisibility texts into a broader literary or ritual context.¹³

In 1928 and 1931 Karl Preisendanz (et al.) published his groundbreaking collection of texts, the *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, and in doing so made the Greek magical papyri more readily available as a single corpus.¹⁴ Within it he included new critical editions of the aforementioned nine invisibility spells along with accompanying German translations. Yet line-by-line commentary was not his intent. Moreover, with clearer hindsight and greater perspective, some scholars have subsequently criticized Preisendanz's designation of the corpus as the *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, given that not all of the texts in his corpus are preserved on papyri or written in Greek. Scholars such as Ritner¹⁵ and Dieleman,¹⁶ noting the bilingual nature of some texts in the corpus, rightly draw attention to Preisendanz's omission of Demotic texts such as *PDM* xii and *PDM* xiv, and a prevailing Helleno-centric perspective on the magical papyri.¹⁷

In 1986 – more than half a century later – these same nine texts were included in the first English translation of the still expanding corpus of Greek magical papyri, this time with cursory notes.¹⁸ In

¹¹ *PGM* V 488 (Goodwin 1852); *PGM* I 102, 222-231, 247-262 (Parthey 1866); *PGM* XII 160-178 (Leemans 1885); *PGM* XIII 234-237, 267-269, 270-277 (Leemans 1885); *PGM* VII 619-622 (Kenyon 1893; Wessely 1893). *P.Oxy.* 3931 (1991) which is possibly written alongside other spells, is perhaps the one exception, see the introduction to text I.

¹² The following editors provide textual notes or commentary: Parthey 1866 (*PGM* I 102, 222-231, 247-262); Goodwin 1852, and Kenyon 1893 (*PGM* V 459-489); Wessely 1893, and Kenyon 1893 (*PGM* VII 619-622); Leemans 1885 (*PGM* XIII 234-237, 267-269, and 270-277). Wessely 1888 (*PGM* V 459-489) does not.

¹³ This does not mean that some of these scholars did not use all of the resources at their disposal. In particular, Brashear 1995, 3406-3407 notes that Parthey “went so far as to cite parallels from Egyptology, magical gems and *defixiones* and summoned the help of such renowned classicists of the day as Kirchhoff, Hercher and Haupt...”

¹⁴ For a brief introduction to the history of this text and its various contributors, see *GMPT*, xlv, and Brashear 1995, 3410-3411.

¹⁵ 1995, 3336-3337 and 3339.

¹⁶ 2005, 16-21.

¹⁷ The same scholars, however, have also been quick to note the neglect of these texts by Egyptologists. For example, citing two studies by Borghouts (1974, 7-19, and *AEMT*), Ritner 1995, 3336 observes that “contemporary discussions of Egyptian magic have often excluded all Demotic evidence.”

¹⁸ *GMPT* 6, 9, 109-110, 135, 159, and 179-180.

1991 the number of invisibility spells grew to ten – where it currently stands¹⁹ – when J.R. Rea and T. Bateson published an edition *with commentary* of *P.Oxy.* 3931, a previously unpublished invisibility spell, see the introduction to text 1 i 1-13. Other than this edition, all of the other commentaries to the Greek invisibility spells date to the late 19th century. Since then, however, scholarly interest in ancient magic has strongly increased, and in recent years there has been a veritable flood of books and articles devoted to the subject.

A 1.3 OVERVIEW OF *PROLEGOMENA* AND COMMENTARIES

The intent of this monograph is to offer commentaries for each of the invisibility spells in the *PGM*, and in the process of doing so provide a general introduction to the broader topic of human invisibility.²⁰ In this sense it follows in the footsteps of recent commentaries that focus on ritual texts from the Greek magical papyri as well as studies that examine individual genres of spells.²¹ Moreover, the present work seeks to explore the debt of such invisibility spells to Egyptian ritual and literary tradition, while at the same time highlighting contemporary Graeco-Roman literary evidence that can offer insight into the broader religious and social atmosphere in which such ritual acts flourished.

The *Prolegomena* to my *In Pursuit of Invisibility: Ritual Texts from Late Roman Egypt* introduce the extant invisibility spells and attempt to place them within a broader context of purportedly historical and fictional accounts of humans attaining invisibility deliberately. In the process of examining the relationship between ritual and literary texts more closely, the *Prolegomena* will

¹⁹ Brashear 1995, 3499 only lists nine invisibility spells, placing *PGM* XII 160ff. in the category of spells to open doors. Smith 1978, 120 and 200, however, writes, "There are dozens of spells of invisibility..." In his notes he merely lists "*PGM* I 102, 222ff., 247ff.; V 488; VII 620ff.; XII 160ff.; XIII 234ff., 267ff.; XXIIa 11ff.," excluding *PGM* XIII 270-277 and wrongly including *PGM* XXIIa 11ff., a magico-medical spell for contraception. See also Smith 1973, 225.

²⁰ Aspects of invisibility spells have been highlighted from time to time in scholarship. Pease 1942 addresses the topic of invisibility in the greatest depth, yet he only devotes page 25 to invisibility texts within the magical papyri. Other treatments are cursory: Reitzenstein 1906, 133, footnote 2 refers to invisibility spells in the context of the Egyptian tale of Setna Khaemwase. Abt 1908, 51 discusses shapeshifting as a way of becoming invisible and in the course of his discussion mentions text 7 (also in Hopfner 1924, vol. 1, section 43). Weinreich 1929, 347 mentions *PGM* I 102 while discussing ritual texts that open doors. More recent treatments that briefly address invisibility spells include the following: Hull 1974, 32 makes a passing reference to text 4 620; Smith 1978, 120-121, 200-201, and 1973, 225 comments on them briefly in the context of Jesus' escapes; Graf 1997, 24 does so when examining the term *magos* and discussing Helen's disappearance in Euripides, *Orestes* 1494ff.; Mirecki 2001, 173-180 addresses them in the context of Manichaean texts; and Ogden 2002, 272-274 includes a brief section on invisibility in his chapter on amulets.

²¹ For book length commentaries, see e.g. Betz 2003, and Martinez 1991. Enormously foundational have been the select commentaries of Daniel and Maltomini 1990-1992, Merkelbach and Totti 1990 and 1991, Merkelbach 1992, 1996, and 2001, and Kotansky 1994. For more recent genre studies on spells primarily found in the *PGM* corpus, see e.g., Faraone 1999; also Scibilia 2002, and Ciruolo 1995; Schwendner 2002; Winkler 1991, 214-243.

attempt to address a few salient, yet difficult, questions that relate to the function of such texts. For example, what is the relationship, if any, between invisibility spells and other literary motifs for acquiring invisibility? How do invisibility spells define or envision invisibility? To what other genres of spells are they comparable? In what realms of life and society might these texts have been employed? Who used them and what kinds of individuals were credited with the ability to disappear? The *Prolegomena* conclude with a brief overview of the history of the discovery of these texts as well as a summary of some of the major themes that appear within the commentaries proper. In the second half of the study, the texts themselves are considered and updated commentaries are provided for seven of the ten invisibility spells,²² each of which is preceded by bibliography, an introduction, a revised Greek text, and an English translation. Three rituals for invisibility (*PGM* I 102; V 459-489; XII 162) have been excluded from the text and commentary section (but not discussion), since they are not specifically designated as invisibility spells, but part of other rituals in which invisibility occurs as a secondary outcome: *PGM* I 102 is part of a ritual for acquiring a divine assistant, who among other things can render the practitioner invisible; *PGM* V 459-489 simultaneously functions as a ritual for loosening shackles, sending dreams, gaining favor, as well as making one invisible; *PGM* XII 162 is part of a ritual for releasing the practitioner from bonds.

A 1.4 A NOTE ON INVISIBILITY AND THE TERMINOLOGY OF "MAGIC"

The first editors of the ritual handbooks regularly defined such practices as "magic." To cite a couple of examples, Goodwin entitled his work *Fragment of a Graeco-Egyptian Work upon Magic*,²³ and Parthey "Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museums."²⁴ Following the same tradition, Preisendanz entitled his two volume corpus, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*.²⁵ Perhaps not surprisingly, as the topic of invisibility began to be treated in greater depth, a similar terminology was again applied. In his fundamental study on invisibility, Pease readily employs the terms "magic," "magical techniques," and "magical wonderworkers" without clearly defining them.²⁶ Although an absolute terminology is befitting a Frazerian or essentialist interpretation of magic, scholars – too numerous to

²² See B 2.2 and 2.3.

²³ 1852.

²⁴ 1866.

²⁵ Phillips 1991, 262 and 272, footnote 24 recommends that the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* be renamed: "Whether those papyri should, in fact, be called "magical" should be questioned..."; Gee 2005 writes, "Karl Preisendanz finally published a majority of the archive in 1928 and 1931 in his ill-titled work *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, the Greek Magical Papyri. Unfortunately for Preisendanz and those who have worked with the texts after him, the documents were neither Greek, nor magical, and in many cases not even papyri." Despite the problems implicit in the enshrined designation *PGM*, I have retained it in this study, with all of its shortcomings kept in mind, because it remains the most concise way to refer to these texts.

²⁶ 1942.

mention – have since highlighted the difficulties of using this kind of language in defining rituals from antiquity, given the historically negative connotations associated with such terms.²⁷

Taking a sociological approach, a number of scholars seek to understand “magic” in terms of its function in society and some in doing so suggest using an alternate terminology that reflects the marginalization of such rituals.²⁸ Phillips, for example, favors calling them “unsanctioned religious activities.”²⁹ In exploring accounts of invisibility in Greek and Latin literature, we will see that such an approach does have value for a study of this kind, especially in cases where invisibility is labeled as “magic” or portrayed as being outside the “traditional” religious system and practices, and hence exotic and dangerous. In Euripides’ *Orestes*, the disappearance of Helen is perhaps brought about by the τέχνηαι μάγων.³⁰ Pliny attributes invisibility rites to the *magi*, giving them very little credibility.³¹ The Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* portray Simon Magus as disappearing via *magica ars*.³² At the same time there are many cases of invisibility in literature which are not at all categorized by their authors as being “magic” or “magical,” as e.g. the disappearances of Elisha, Apollonius of Tyana, and Jesus of Nazereth, see **E 1.6** and **1.7**. These examples cannot be overlooked for a study of this kind, but nor should they automatically be labeled as “magical” acts.

Thus, in discussing accounts of invisibility one can either (1) reject the category of “magic” for being hopelessly mired in ancient polemic and Frazerian thinking, and in doing so, introduce a new terminology; or (2) follow in the footsteps of scholars like Graf and Versnel, who attempt to rehabilitate a terminology of “magic,” rejecting its negative implications and understanding that such terminology is subject to change over time.³³ In making this decision, scholars are correct to note that the word “magic” is employed within the Greek magical papyri and indeed in the larger handbooks in which some of our invisibility spells themselves are found: ὦ μα[κάρ]ιε μύστα τῆς ἱερᾶς μαγείας, “O blessed initiate of the sacred magic,” *PGM I 127*, and ...ὄ[ς]ων ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ μαγικῇ ἐμπει[ρί]ᾳ, κτλ., “about as many things as is in the magical craft, ...” *PGM I 331* – a fact that leads Ritner to assert (correctly) that the positive terminology of “magic” here reflects the Egyptian and hence indigenous concept of *heka* (ḥk3).³⁴ Ritner notes that “magic” in this sense refers to “the force and god Heka (ḥk3 / Ḥk3)” as “a primary and necessary element of creation, used naturally by the gods, and granted as a divine benefit to mankind.” Indeed, the very hieroglyphic symbol of Heka means “power.”³⁵ Thus, the appearance of such language in the magical papyri seemingly supports the use

²⁷ For a recent overview and bibliography of the debate, see Collins 2008, 1-26; Reimer 2002, 3-10; Graf 1997, 12-19; Versnel 1991; Segal 1981.

²⁸ For an overview and introduction, see Graf 1997, 17-18, and Aune 1981, 1510-1516. Such an approach also is not without criticism, on which see Ritner 1993, 12-13, and Versnel 1991, 183-184.

²⁹ 1991, 262.

³⁰ See **B 1.4**.

³¹ See **B 1.5**.

³² See **D 1.2**.

³³ Versnel 1991, 184 notes the dilemma of terminology that often leaves the scholar “confronted with an embarrassing mixture of essentialist definitions and functional alternatives.”

³⁴ 1995, 3363-3364. See also Betz 1982, 163-164.

³⁵ *ibid.*, 3353.

of these terms, as long as one can remember that “magic” did not hold the same negative connotations for the compilers of these ritual texts in Late Roman Egypt.

Moreover, one must be aware that in this study the Egyptian concept of “magic” is mingled with countless Greek and Latin literary examples where the connotation of “magic” is overtly negative. Hence, the possibility for confusion, let alone misrepresentation, is great. Again, Ritner draws the following distinction:

“As the concept of ‘magic’ was not opposed to ‘religion’ within Egyptian society, neither was it used to stigmatize foreign cults. The natural force of Ḥeka was felt to animate both native *and* foreign rites. Even the hostile Nubian ‘sorcery’ directed against Pharaoh in the tale of Sa-Osiris was designated *ḥk3* – as was the Egyptian magic used to defeat it. Egyptian philosophical speculation thus need not deny the ‘authenticity’ of foreign beliefs and practices could readily adopt and adapt them. Reductionistic categories were not devised to separate native from foreign beliefs, unlike the Graeco-Roman dichotomy posed between ‘religion’ (i.e. local, sanctioned, and genuine) and ‘magic’ (i.e. foreign, illegal, and false). Evolved from derogatory references to the foreign religious practices of the Persian Magi, the Greek category of μαγεία, and its Latin descendant *magia*, served to enforce cultural boundaries.”³⁶

Certainly, Ritner’s point is worth considering, keeping in mind that ritual texts could also be influenced by other non-Egyptian cultural forces.³⁷ But given that invisibility texts from late Roman Egypt are the focal point of this study, it should be remembered that any terminology of “magic” that might be applied to them is colored by their ties to Egyptian religion. Other scholars, however, following this same line of thought, abandon terms of “magic” altogether, favoring instead phrases like “ritual acts of power.”³⁸ Certainly, this kind of approach is perfectly understandable given the difficulties inherent in using terms of “magic,” and indeed at many junctures this study avoids words like “magic” and “magical,” primarily in the hope of communicating to the reader that such practices were viewed in positive terms. Yet, this approach too comes at its own price. Perhaps in many ways Versnel’s assertion that “you cannot talk about magic without using the term magic” is correct.³⁹ Even if one jettisons words like “magic” and “magical,” which is not entirely possible given their appearance in the scholarly literature, one must still decide whether or not to retain secondary terms like spells, *voces magicae* (“magic words”), etc., which are also under the influence of the language of “magic.”⁴⁰ This study will indeed use these secondary terms, but asks the reader who encounters them to keep in mind the Egyptian ancestry of these texts.

³⁶ *ibid.*, 3354-3355.

³⁷ See **A 1.2**, **E 1.2**, and footnote 211.

³⁸ e.g. Meyer and Smith 1994, 13-20.

³⁹ Versnel 1991, 181.

⁴⁰ In the case of Meyer and Smith 1994, they retain the term “spell,” but use phrases like “powerful utterances” in place of *voces magicae*, “magical words.”

B 1.1 ACQUIRING INVISIBILITY: LITERARY MOTIFS

*Pallas Athena took hold of the whip and reins
and straightway guided the single hooved horses towards Ares.
He was stripping huge Periphas of his armor,
by far the best of the Aetolians, the glorious son of Ochesius.
Blood-stained Ares was stripping him;
but Athena put on the cap of Hades so that mighty Ares would not see her.*

Homer, *Iliad* 5.840-845

Beginning with Homer, Greek and Latin literary texts offer rich and imaginative portrayals of both human and divine invisibility. In his fundamental article, "Some Aspects of Invisibility,"⁴¹ Pease, sifting through a remarkably large number of passages, carefully and admirably traces the motif of human invisibility in Greek and Latin literature. Following general observations about the invisibility of gods (including personified forces), ghosts, and other apparitions, he proceeds to outline broad categories of the portrayal of human invisibility. In summary, Pease notes that humans are portrayed as becoming invisible (1) because of unsought divine intervention, (2) by intentionally and mysteriously disappearing – without the use of magic – so as to encourage the belief that their invisibility is evidence of their divinity, and (3) by deliberately procuring invisibility through a variety of "magical techniques." Though by nature, categories such as these are inadequate,⁴² Pease's final category – the deliberate acquisition of invisibility by humans (in which he includes the magical papyri) – is the focal point of this discussion on invisibility spells.⁴³ Although the phrase "deliberate acquisition of invisibility" is appropriate for the present study, given that the practitioner in the *PGM* is initiating rites in hopes of achieving invisibility, it would perhaps be better to replace Pease's loosely defined phrase "magical techniques," with something like "ritual techniques," see **A 1.4**.

The employment of such techniques to procure invisibility deliberately is neither unique to the Greek magical papyri nor to ancient Mediterranean literature. An overview of tales spanning time and

⁴¹ See footnote 20.

⁴² For example, in the third category, Pease 1942, 26 discusses Athena's use of the cap of Hades, though she is a god, not a mortal. At times the lines between categories are blurred. For example, it is difficult to categorize instances where the gods bestow a device for acquiring invisibility upon an individual, e.g. Perseus receives the cap of Hades from nymphs in Apollod. *Bibliotheca* 2.4.2.

⁴³ In general, Pease's discussion of invisibility with regard to the Greek magical papyri is cursory. Pease 1942, 25 acknowledges the fact that he discusses only select texts: "Other recipes for invisibility are found in the magical papyri, of which I give but one or two samples." His brief treatment includes texts 4, 5, and 6, as well as *PGM* XII 160-178. It should also be noted that Pease does not address literary or ritual precedent from ancient Egypt.

space reveals a multitude of objects that are considered as intrinsically possessing the power of rendering a person invisible.⁴⁴ In fact, it is in this tradition of folkmotifs that scholars such as Pease have firmly planted the invisibility texts from the Greek magical papyri. But what relationship, if any, do such *literary* motifs have to *ritual* texts? This question must be addressed by anyone who hopes to place these texts into a historical context.

The value of literary sources for gaining a better understanding of ritual practices has been a point of discussion over the past years. Faraone,⁴⁵ highlighting scholarship that illustrates the connection between literary portrayals of love magic and ritual evidence as well as Apuleius' use of Greek and Latin literary texts in his *Apology*, argues enthusiastically for the close correspondence in the ancient world between life and letters in the case of magical rites. Similarly, Dickie, though initially voicing his skepticism about the value of literary accounts, proceeds to use numerous such accounts.⁴⁶ Among his expressed concerns is the fact that with the exception of Apuleius' *Apology*, almost all accounts regarding ancient magical practice are written from an outsider's perspective. Simply stated, do the authors of such literary reports really know what they are talking about when it comes to ritual practices in the *PGM*?⁴⁷ Or, as Faraone puts it, in the case of such sources, does art imitate life?

Certainly, any study of ancient ritual practice must in some way rely on literary texts. But whereas Faraone is able to cite numerous studies that highlight the interplay between literary and ritual accounts of ancient love magic, in the case of invisibility, there is a deficit of such treatments.⁴⁸ Thus, as the topic of invisibility is considered here, special effort must be made to view these texts and the broader topic of invisibility, not through the lens of literary accounts – though certainly it is impossible to ignore such evidence – but instead through that of the *PGM* and *PDM* texts themselves and related genres of ritual literature. Only after surveying such material, will this study turn its attention to parallels from literary texts. Though admittedly conservative, this approach is warranted, given the fact that especially in the case of invisibility spells, the imagination of literary authors is not to be trusted.

⁴⁴ Thompson 1955-1958, see footnote 3, lists the following items/objects that are said to make individuals invisible in literary texts around the world: a stone, ash tree, calabash, fernseed, flower, heart of an unborn child, serpent's crown, feather, herb, cloak, belt, hat/helmet, saint's cowl, sword, jewel, medicine, pills, salve, charm, drops, wand, staff, formula, light, mirror, animal's heart, bird-nest, song, mask, veil, bag, tiger's hair, trousers, shirt, boots, woman bearing a saint, cloth, cross, lampblack, mark on forehead, and ashes.

⁴⁵ 1999, 38; in particular, Faraone points to scholarship in six different areas: (1) Theocritus' *Idyll* 2; (2) Horace, *Epodes*; (3) Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*; (4) Lucian's comic sketches; (5) Icelandic sagas; (6) Renaissance drama. On Theocritus' *Idyll* 2, see also Petrovic 2004.

⁴⁶ 2001, 8-9.

⁴⁷ This concern has been expressed by numerous other scholars. See especially Phillips 1986, and 1994, who questions the reliability of accounts that depict "magical" practice given polemic and thematic agendas; Frankfurter 1998, 217-221, and Dieleman 2005, 221-254 also raise reasonable questions regarding the way in which Egyptian priests and religious practices are portrayed by Graeco-Roman literary sources.

⁴⁸ An example of one such study would be Mirecki 2001.

At the same time this is not to say that there is not a relationship between ritual and literary texts, and likewise, there is no guarantee that some of these ritual texts are not part of the same imaginative fabric reflected in other kinds of literature. One such example is the potential influence of shapeshifters found in literary and funerary texts on text 7. However, the intent of this study is to explore the invisibility spells themselves and by doing so to see what they can tell us about the practices they conceive, and the ways in which they are similar to, yet different than literary accounts. Before introducing the texts at the center of this study, however, a brief overview of “techniques” whereby human beings are depicted as attaining invisibility in literary texts might prove useful.

B 1.2 THE CAP OF HADES

Beginning with its epic origins (*Il.* 5.840-845),⁴⁹ the cap of Hades is one of the earliest implements used to attain invisibility deliberately. In this particular passage it is not a human who is seeking to become invisible, but none other than the goddess Athena. During an episode of the so-called ἀριστεία of Diomedes, his time of valor against the Trojans, the goddess joins Diomedes in his chariot and takes the reins in pursuit of Ares. Soon after, she puts on the cap of Hades in order to elude her foe.⁵⁰ Athena’s donning of the cap of Hades and Ares’ inability to see her no doubt draw on the assumed etymology of Hades as ἀ-φίδης, the unseen or invisible one.⁵¹

In the *ekphrasis* of Heracles’ shield in the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Scutum* (226-227), it is the hero Perseus who is depicted as wearing the cap of Hades, described as νυκτός ζόφον αἰνὸν ἔχουσα, “having the terrible gloom of night,”⁵² and fleeing under the same cloak of darkness that enabled him to slay the Gorgon. In the *Bibliotheca* attributed to Apollodorus (2.4.2-3), Perseus receives the cap of Hades from nymphs along with winged sandals and the *kibisis*, though we are not told how they received it.⁵³ In the same account we also learn more about the effect of the cap on its wearer. Perseus

⁴⁹ λάζετο δὲ μάστιγα καὶ ἠνία Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη / αὐτίκ’ ἐπ’ Ἄρηϊ πρώτῳ ἔχε μώνυχας ἵππους. / ἦ τοι ὁ μὲν Περίφαντα πελώριον ἐξενάριζεν, / Αἰτωλῶν ὄχ’ ἀριστον, Ὀχησίου ἀγλαὸν υἱόν / τὸν μὲν Ἄρης ἐνάριζε μαιφόνος· αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνη / δύν’ Ἄιδος κυνέην, μή μιν ἴδοι ὄβριμος Ἄρης. For a translation, see the opening of B 1.1.

⁵⁰ Kirk 1985, 2.147-148, the note to lines 5.844-845, considers the cap of Hades one of the “exotic” details for which book five is famous and a method at odds with the usual divine means for acquiring invisibility through a cloud or mist, as e.g. in Hom. *Od.* 7.14-17, 39-42, and 139-145.

⁵¹ e.g. Pl. *Cra.* 403a and 404b. See Frisk 1973, 3-4, s.v. Ἄιδης.

⁵² δεινὴ δὲ περὶ κροτάφοισιν ἀνακτος / κεῖτ’ Ἄιδος κυνέη νυκτός ζόφον αἰνὸν ἔχουσα, “The cap of Hades, awful to behold, having the terrible gloom of night, lay on the head of the hero.” For artistic representations of Perseus’ cap in ancient art, see Rocco, *LIMC*, VII, 1, 332-348, s.v. Perseus.

⁵³ Earlier Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.2.1 relates that the Cyclopes gave the cap to Pluto.

is able to see others, although they cannot see him. Using this to his advantage, Perseus beheads Medusa and escapes the pursuing Gorgons.⁵⁴

On the Greek stage the cap of Hades makes at least two appearances. In Sophocles' satyr-play *Inachus* fr. 269c, the chorus, frightened by the presence of an invisible person, reckons him to be Hades, god of the underworld, wearing his famed cap.⁵⁵ However, the invisible guest turns out to be Hermes, the messenger god, although it is not clear whether Hermes is wearing the cap in this passage or not. This image would be consistent with later traditions that depict Hermes as wearing the cap of Hades to slay Hippolytus in the battle of the gods and giants.⁵⁶ Though not the case here, earlier sources portray him as able to grant a kind of invisibility with his soporific wand.⁵⁷ Thus, in the *Iliad* Hermes does not make Priam vanish before the eyes of the Achaeans, but instead lulls the guards to sleep so that they are unable to perceive Priam.⁵⁸ Similarly, in the Greek magical texts we shall see that invisibility can entail affecting another's perception, see C 1.3 and 1.4. In the *Acharnians* (385-390) Aristophanes jokingly alludes to the cap of Hades in reference to humans, although no one is actually wearing it. In the course of the comedy, the chorus of elderly men addresses Dikaiopolis and in doing so refers to a dithyrambic and tragic poet by the name of Hieronymus who was known for his abundant hair,⁵⁹ comparing it to a kind of cap of invisibility: τί ταῦτα στρέφη τεχνάζεις τε καὶ πορίζη τριβάς; / λαβὲ δ' ἐμοῦ γ' ἔνεκα / παρ' ἱερωνύμου / σκοτοδακυπικνότηριχά / τιν' Ἄιδος κυνήν, "Why do you go on turning these plans about and using cunning and bringing about delays? For all I care take from Hieronymus a dark and shaggy thick-haired cap of Hades."

⁵⁴ Two lines from this same passage provide insight into how the cap works: ταύτην ἔχων αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἤθελεν ἔβλεπεν, ὑπὸ ἄλλων δὲ οὐχ ἑωρᾶτο, "Wearing this (cap) he himself saw whom he wished, but he was not seen by others"; ...cυνιδεῖν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἠδύναντο διὰ τὴν κυνήν. ἀπεκρύπτετο γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῆς, "they were not able to see him on account of the cap. For he was hidden by it."

⁵⁵ πολὺ πολυιδριδίας / ὅτις ὄδε προτέρων / ὄνομι' εὖ σ' ἔθροει, / τὸν Ἄιδουκυνέας / σκότον ἄ(β)ροτον ὑπαί. "Very, very knowledgeable was this one of former times who spoke your name well, under the immortal darkness of the cap of Hades." For the Greek text, see Krumeich et al. 1999, 324-325, fr. 269c.

⁵⁶ Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.6.2: Ἑρμῆς δὲ τὴν Ἄιδος κυνήν ἔχων κατὰ τὴν μάχην Ἴππόλυτον ἀπέκτεινεν, "Hermes, wearing the cap of Hades, killed Hippolytus in the battle."

⁵⁷ e.g. in *Il.* 24.343-344: εἴλετο δὲ ῥάβδον, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει / ὧν ἐθέλει, τοὺς δ' αὐτε καὶ ὑπνώοντασ ἐγείρει, "He took up his wand, with which he charms the eyes of whom he wishes, but those who are sleeping he awakens." See also the discussion on magic and sleep during prison escapes in D 1.4.

⁵⁸ 24.443-447: ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πύργους τε νεῶν καὶ τάφρον ἴκοντο, / οἱ δὲ νέον περὶ δόρπα φυλακτῆρες πονέοντο, / ποῖσι δ' ἐφ' ὑπνον ἔχευε διάκτορος Ἀργεῖφόντης / πασιν, ἄφαρ δ' ὤϊξε πύλας καὶ ἀπῶσεν ὄχῃας, / ἐς δ' ἄγαγε Πριάμον τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρ' ἐπ' ἀπήνης, "But when they came to the turreted walls of the ships and the trenches, and the guards were now busied about their evening meal, the messenger Argeiphontes poured sleep upon them all, and straightway he opened the gates and pushed back the bolts, and led in Priam and his splendid gifts upon a chariot."

⁵⁹ Olson 2002, 175, the note to 387-390, points to Hieronymus' "extraordinary abundant facial hair or the like," citing *Ar. Nu.* 348-349 where Hieronymus is also mocked for his hairy body.

In early Christian literature the cap of Hades also appears as an object for attaining invisibility. In his *Adversus haereses*,⁶⁰ Irenaeus (2nd century A.D.), criticizing the disciples of Marcus,⁶¹ himself a disciple of Valentinus, says that in addition to deceiving and defiling women, the disciples of Marcus proclaimed that because of “redemption” (ἀπολύτρωσις), they were free to act as they pleased and were above all powers (even divine!). If detained in the afterlife, they merely had to repeat a set prayer before their judge.⁶² As soon as this prayer was uttered, the Mother⁶³ supposedly would hear it and place the Homeric cap of Hades upon the detainee so that he could escape the judge’s notice. Then, she would lead the disciples to the bridal chamber and hand them over to their consorts.

In the third century Origen (*Cels.* 1.66.39-47) also briefly mentions the famed cap of Hades when responding to Celsus’ criticism – namely that if Jesus were truly God, he would not have fled as a child to Egypt. In reply, Origen writes that Jesus’ flight to Egypt was better than having divine providence inhibit Herod’s free-will or having him employ the poetic cap of Hades to escape.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ 1.13.6-14 (= PG 7.589-592). For a revised text and commentary, see Forster 1999, 138-158.

⁶¹ According to Irenaeus as well, Marcus used παίγνια, “table tricks,” to (1) make cups of wine red or purple while saying grace over them and thus, make it appear as if the χάρις of Christ had entered the cups (*Haer.* 1.7.1 = PG 7.511-514), and (2) fill a larger cup to overflowing from a smaller cup (*Haer.* 1.7.2 = PG 7.513-516). Dickie 1999, 165-166, exploring the influence of Anaxilaus of Larisa, notes that Irenaeus accuses Marcus “of combining the παίγνια of Anaxilaus with the wicked wiles of the so-called *magi* to strike amazement into his followers.” On Marcus see also Thee 1984, 346-353 and 419-420.

⁶² “ἰδοὺ ὁ κριτὴς ἐγγύς καὶ ὁ κηρύξ με κελεύει ἀπολογεῖσθαι· εὐ δέ, ὡς ἐπισταμένη τὰ ἀμφοτέρων, τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν λόγον ὡς ἓνα ὄντα τῷ κριτῇ παράστησον.” ἡ δὲ Μήτηρ ταχέως ἀκούσασα τούτων τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν Ἄιδος κυνέην αὐτοῖς περιέθηκε, πρὸς τὸ ἀοράτως ἐκφυγεῖν τὸν κριτὴν, καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀνασπᾶσασα αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν νυμφῶνα εἰσήγαγε καὶ ἀπέδωκε τοῖς ἑαυτῶν νυμφίοις, “...Behold, the judge is near and the herald orders me to make my defence; but you, as if knowing the affairs of both, present the case to the judge in behalf of both of us as if being one case.’ But the Mother hears these things and swiftly places the Homeric cap of Hades on them, so that they may escape the judge invisibly, and immediately she draws them up, leads them to the bridechamber, and gives them over to their consorts,” *Haer.* 1.13.6. It has been suggested that the judge here is the Demiurge and the escape refers to a return to the Pleroma. See Roberts and Donaldson 1951, 1.335, footnotes 3 and 6, and especially Forster 1999, 152-153.

⁶³ Here Sophia, on which see *ibid.*, 152. Pease 1942, 22, footnote 173, notes that elsewhere in Irenaeus redemption is called “the mother of things which are invisible and incomprehensible,” *Haer.* 1.21.1 (= PG 7.657-658).

⁶⁴ PG 7.783-786: καὶ βέλτιόν γε ἦν ὑπεκστῆναι τὸ παιδίον Ἰησοῦν τὴν Ἡρώδου ἐπιβουλήν καὶ ἀποδημῆσαι μετὰ τῶν τρεφόντων αὐτὸ εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἕως τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ ἐπιβουλεύοντος, ἢ τὴν περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πρόνοιαν κωλύειν τὸ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν Ἡρώδου ἀναρεῖν τὸ παιδίον θέλοντος, ἢ τὴν λεγομένην παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς Ἄιδος κυνέην, ἢ τι παραπλήσιον ποιεῖν εἶναι περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἢ πατάξει ὁμοίως τοῖς ἐν Κοδόμοις τοὺς ἤκοντας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτοῦ, “And it was better at any rate that the child Jesus avoid the plot of Herod and depart into Egypt with those who were raising him until the death of the one plotting against him, than that providence concerning Jesus keep the child among us from Herod who wanted to kill the child, or that it cause what is called by poets ‘the cap of Hades’ or anything similar to be around Jesus, or that it strike those who came to kill him similarly to those in Sodom.”

B 1.3 THE RING OF GYGES

In addition to mentioning the cap of Hades,⁶⁵ Plato, in the *Republic*, offers the most vivid literary account of an invisibility ring.⁶⁶ In Glaucon's well-known tale, an ancestor of Gyges, a shepherd, while tending a pasture, discovers a hollow bronze horse in a chasm which opened up as the result of a deluge followed by an earthquake. Inside the horse he finds a corpse wearing only a gold ring on its hand which he proceeds to remove. Shortly thereafter at a monthly meeting of shepherds, he inadvertently turns the bezel of the ring towards the inside of his hand and begins to notice that he is invisible to those sitting around him. By turning the ring outward, he becomes visible again. With the ability to acquire invisibility deliberately, simply by turning the bezel of the ring, the ancestor of Gyges uses his cloak of invisibility to seduce the king's wife and murder the king.

In the Roman era the ring of Gyges is also occasionally a topic for discussion. In *De officiis* 3.37-39,⁶⁷ Cicero introduces the story about it to discuss how Romans should avoid unjust actions, even if they can be concealed.⁶⁸ Cicero repeatedly emphasizes that Plato's story is fictitious, see A 1.1, noting that the intention of his story is not to explore the viability of such a ring to procure invisibility, but to discover how a person might act if given anonymity. A similar skepticism is present when Pliny the Elder in *Nat.* 33.4.8-9 alludes in passing to the so-called "ring of Midas" that also, when turned around, was supposed to make its wearer invisible.⁶⁹ Moreover, Lucian in *Nav.* 42, does not appear to take the acquisition of invisibility any more seriously, merely presenting it as the fulfillment of an unattainable wish discussed between friends.⁷⁰ His character Timolaus, after hearing what his friends would desire if granted one wish from the gods, declares that he would ask Hermes to provide him with six rings, including one that would make him invisible like the ring which Gyges possessed.

⁶⁵ In *R.* 612b Plato mentions the cap of Hades together with the ring of Gyges; cf. also *Luc. Bis Acc.* 21.

⁶⁶ *R.* 359c-360d.

⁶⁷ In Cicero's account Gyges, not his ancestor, discovers the ring.

⁶⁸ *satis enim nobis, si modo in philosophia aliquid profecimus, persuasum esse debet, si omnes deos hominesque celare possimus, nihil tamen avarae, nihil iniuste, nihil libidinose, nihil incontinenter esse faciendum*, "For if now we have progressed at all in philosophy, we ought to be sufficiently persuaded that, if we are able to conceal all gods and people, nevertheless, nothing must be done greedily, unjustly, wantonly, and immoderately," 3.37. Similarly, Ambrose, modeling his *De officiis* after Cicero's, examines Plato's story about the ring of Gyges from a Christian perspective, and even more than Cicero highlights its fictitious nature (3.29). See Davidson 2001, 2.827-828, the note to 3.29.

⁶⁹ *Midae quidem anulum, quo circumacto habentem nemo cerneret, quis non etiam fabulosiorem fateatur?*, "Indeed who would not acknowledge that the ring of Midas was even more mythical, since once it was turned around (on one's finger), no one would perceive the one holding it?" For a comparison of the ring of Midas and that of Gyges, see Smith 1902.

⁷⁰ See Herzig 1940, 29-32, and Betz 1961, 169-171.

B 1.4 INVISIBILITY AS A Τέχνη μάγων

In literary sources invisibility is not always portrayed as being attained through ritual *objects* like the cap of Hades or the ring of Gyges. In fact a couple of texts mention the ability to realize invisibility as the prerogative of the Persian *magoi*. One such passage in Euripides' *Orestes* cites the ability to render someone invisible as one of the τέχνηαι μάγων, "arts of the *magoi*."⁷¹ Frantically exiting the palace, a Phrygian slave delivers a monody in which he tries to describe Orestes' attempt to kill Helen (1494ff.). At the very moment Helen was to be struck down, she vanished, a fact that leaves the Phrygian slave to ponder how this disappearance has come about.

...ἄ δ' / ἐκ θαλάμων ἐγένετο διαπρὸ δωμαίων ἄφαντος, / ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ γᾶ καὶ φῶς καὶ νύξ, / ἦτοι φαρμάκοισιν ἢ μάγων τέχνηαις ἢ θεῶν κλοπαῖς.

"She (Helen) disappeared from the bedchamber through the roof, O Zeus and Ge and Light and Night, either by drugs or by arts of the *magoi* or by theft of the gods."⁷²

By attributing this perplexing act of disappearance to the exotic arts of Persian priests (ἐγένετο...ἄφαντος...μάγων τέχνηαις), the playwright is reflecting common perceptions of the *magoi* in 5th century B.C. Athens. Yet, the *magoi* were not always represented in a negative light. In Greek times Herodotus, Xenophon, and Plato all speak of their traditional role as Persian priests, and in Roman times Cicero paints a similar picture.⁷³ But it is this negative representation that Pliny the Elder picks up on when offering another such example known in his day. In his discussion of minerals in *Nat.* 37.50.165, the Roman writer notes a belief that he attributes to the *magi* that if someone joined a heliotrope plant to a heliotrope stone and uttered certain prayers, they could become

⁷¹ For an introductory discussion on the term μάγος, see Graf 1997, 20-29 and 37; Johnston 1999, 109-111; Dickie 2001, 14 and 33-43; Bremmer 2002a; de Jong 1997, 387-413.

⁷² On this passage see Willink 1986, the note to 1494-1497 and 1497: "The 'vanishing' is reminiscent of the Phantom-Helen's disappearance from a cave in *Hel.* 605ff..."; Collins 2008, 47 discusses this passage to highlight the flexible system of causality in the 5th century B.C., see the note to 3 255-256, s.v. ἄφαντος γενέσθαι.

⁷³ Cf. *Hdt.* 1.101, 107, 120, 128, 140; 7.19, 37, 43, 113, 191; *X. Cyr.* 8.3.11; *Pl. Alc.* 122a; Cicero, *Leg.* 2.26, and *Div.* 1.46, 91. Collins 2008, 175, footnote 139, cites J. Rive's forthcoming article in *Magical Practice in the Latin West*, R. Gordon and F. Marco, eds., noting that with the exception of Pliny the Elder, Latin prose authors use *magus* in this way.

invisible. With his typical skepticism, he then harshly discounts this tale as a blatant example of effrontery on the part of the *magi*.⁷⁴

B 1.5 INVISIBILITY SPELLS IN GREEK AND LATIN LITERATURE: *LOGOS* AND *PRAxis* IN PLINY THE ELDER

Yet it is in the spells mentioned by Pliny the Elder that we finally seem to find literary treatments of invisibility spells parallel to those found in the *PGM* – spells that are comprised of a *logos*, an “invocation” addressed to the divine being to help bring about a request, and *praxis*, a ritual act which accompanies the *logos*, or at least one of the two.⁷⁵ The aforementioned example from Pliny is one such instance. The coupling of a heliotrope plant to a heliotrope stone would represent the *praxis* or ritual act, and the enunciation of a specific prayer the *logos* or ritual utterance. This very combination of ritual action (*praxis*) along with spoken prayers (*logos*) begins to approximate the makeup of some of the texts found in the *PGM*. Even though the content of Pliny’s spells offers little in the way of parallels to any of the extant invisibility spells in the papyri, these examples provide the most tangible evidence that such invisibility spells were at the very least commonplace in the first century world of Pliny.

In yet another passage of the *Natural History* (38.39.115),⁷⁶ Pliny records a kind of magical recipe – encompassing *praxis* only – also reminiscent of invisibility spells from the Greek magical corpus. While highlighting the magical uses of the chameleon in his day,⁷⁷ Pliny relates the belief that if the left foot of a chameleon is roasted in a furnace with the chameleon plant and an unguent added, pastilles can be made which are said to render the practitioner invisible. This passage has affinities with texts 2 and 3, both of which involve the preparation of several ingredients, and are clearly used to anoint the body and forehead. If the ingredients in Pliny’s recipe are intended for ingestion instead

⁷⁴ *magorum impudentiae vel manifestissimum in hac quoque exemplum est, quoniam admixta herba heliotropio, quibusdam additis precationibus, gerentem conspici negent*, “In this also is even the most blatant example of the shamelessness of the *magi*, since with heliotrope plant included as an ingredient, with certain prayers added, they say that the one wearing them is not seen.” For a discussion of Pliny’s use of the term *magi* as authoritative sources invoked by Democritus, Pythagoras, and Zacharias. See Dickie 1999, 171-177, who points to three key passages in which Pliny discusses the *magi* (*Nat.* 26.9.20, 30.2.3-11, and 37.14.54).

⁷⁵ See Martinez 1991, 8.

⁷⁶ *sinistrum vero pedum torreretur in furno cum herba quae aequè chamaeleon vocetur, additoque unguento pastillos eos in ligneum vas conditos praestare, si credimus, ne cernatur ab aliis qui id habeat*, “the left foot, however, is roasted in an oven with a plant which is equally called chameleon, and when an unguent is added, they make pastilles which are stored in a wooden container so that, if we believe it, those who possess it may not be perceived by others.”

⁷⁷ The use of a chameleon in a ritual act for attaining invisibility seems natural given the ability of the chameleon itself to achieve invisibility. For various uses of lizards in ritual texts, see Nock 1931.

of as a balm, perhaps text 4, in which dog's head plant is to be placed under the practitioner's tongue, offers a better parallel to this ritual act.

This brief overview of Greek and Latin literary sources documents the skepticism and lore that surrounds the acquisition of invisibility. Various motifs for the deliberate acquisition of invisibility appear in a multitude of contexts. But what light does the content of such varied literary texts shed on the invisibility texts in the *PGM*? Keeping in mind the limited number of such texts as well as their Egyptian provenance, it is interesting to note that two of the primary mythical motifs – the cap of Hades and the ring of Gyges – are simply nowhere to be found in the Greek magical papyri.⁷⁸

Elsewhere both in the *PGM* and other ritual traditions, the use of rings is fairly common, but not for the acquisition of invisibility.⁷⁹ Outside of the papyri, however, we do find rings being used for achieving invisibility. In the *Cyranides*, a 4th century A.D. Greek tract in five books, listing the ritual powers of stones, plants, and animals, instructions are given for an onyx ring that confers invisibility.⁸⁰ It should also be noted that although the tales of invisibility rings recorded in the works of Plato, Cicero, Pliny, and Lucian seem to be more grounded in the realm of fairytale than the reality of the practitioner,⁸¹ in Plato's tale of Gyges, Faraone detects a hint of the tradition of Neo-Assyrian *egalkura* spells – a tradition also to be found in the Greek magical papyri – in which originally knotted or beaded cords and later rings as well as ointments and gems were used to attain favor before the eyes of one's superior.⁸²

Although there are no direct references to the Persian *magoi* as a group or the τέχνη μάγων in the magical papyri, we do find individual names of Persian *magoi*, such as Ostanes, Zoroaster, and Astrampsouchos,⁸³ being cited in spells – a fact that is not surprising given that ritual texts are

⁷⁸ Kieckhefer 1997, 59 considers both *PGM* V 447-458 and VII 628-642 to be rings for invisibility – perhaps because of their proximity to invisibility spells – though their intended function is never explicitly stated.

⁷⁹ e.g. in *PGM* V 213-303 (Hermes' ring), 447-458; VII 628-642; XII 201-269; XII 270-350 (A little ring for success and favor and victory), *PDM* xii 6-20 (ring to cause praise); xiv 380-381, 385-386 and 1217-1218. For magical rings in Hebrew texts, see Morgan 1983, 75 and 79-80. For later parallels, see also Smith 1902, 268-269, footnote 2.

⁸⁰ εἰς δὲ τὸν ὄνυχίτην λίθον γλύψον ὄρνυγα καὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ τὸν ὄρφον τὸν ἰχθύον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ συνθέματος τοῦ εἰς τὸν λύχνον ὑπὸ τὸν λίθον βάλε, καὶ οὐδεὶς σε ὄψεται, οὐδὲ εἰάν βαστάζῃς τι τῶν ὄντων· τὴν δὲ ὄψιν σου χρίσον ἐκ τοῦ συνθέματος καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον φόρει, καὶ οὐδεὶς σε ὄψεται ἢ τίς ἂν ἦς {καὶ} ἢ τί καὶ ἂν ποιῇς. "Engrave a quail onto the onyx stone, and the great sea-perch stone beneath its feet. Put under the stone some of the mixture for the lamp, and no one will see you, not even if you carry something off. Anoint your face with some of the mixture and wear the ring, and no one will see you, whoever you are and whatever you are doing," 1.15.33-37. See Kaimakis 1976, 79 for the Greek text, and Waegeman 1987, 115-117 for an English translation and commentary.

⁸¹ Anderson 2000, 20-22.

⁸² 1999, 102-105.

⁸³ Ostanes (*PGM* XII 122), Zoroaster (*PGM* XIII 967), and Astrampsouchos (*PGM* VIII 1). For select discussion of the Persian *magoi* in the *PGM*, see Dieleman 2005, 264 (footnote 197), 268, and 277-278.

notorious for their claims to authoritative traditions.⁸⁴ Moreover, in antiquity one commonly finds the belief that Persian priests possessed specialized ritual knowledge.

Additionally, in examining the encyclopedic collection of information in Pliny's *Natural History*, we discover that some of the rituals known to him are in broad terms reminiscent of the tone and content found within some of the invisibility spells. Such texts – combining ritual acts and utterances⁸⁵ as well as employing “magical” recipes⁸⁶ – were known long before the invisibility spells from the Greek magical papyri. Certainly, Pliny's *Natural History* reveals knowledge of such practices in the early Imperial period. Moreover, being indebted for his information regarding the *magi* to the works of Pythagoras, Democritus, Zachalias of Babylon (and perhaps Bolus of Mendes), Pliny's material appears to be representative of a longstanding tradition of such invisibility spells in the ancient Mediterranean world – perhaps influenced by earlier portrayals and perceptions of the *magi*.⁸⁷

B 1.6 INVISIBILITY SPELLS IN EGYPTIAN LITERATURE

Given the provenance of the Greek invisibility spells (Thebes and Oxyrhynchus), it is not surprising to find portrayals of invisibility and concealment, as well as invisibility spells, appearing in Egyptian literary texts that either pre-date or are contemporaneous with the general date of the *PGM*. Yet such accounts appear in rather fantastic folktales as well as in the midst of religious polemic – as is often the case with their Greek and Latin counterparts – and hence force us to question the value of such representations for understanding the invisibility spells from the *PGM*. Nevertheless, they offer a valuable glimpse of a part of the literary palette from which invisibility spells in the *PGM* were painted.

Prior to *all* of the Greek and Roman literary examples in which humans (and sometimes deities) are portrayed as attaining invisibility – whether by caps, rings, the τέχνη μάγων, or other ritual actions or invocations – we find an example in Egyptian folktale literature from the New Kingdom, paralleled by the example of the goddess Athena donning the cap of Hades, see B 1.2, in which the goddess Isis transforms her appearance by means of her “magic” (*hk3*). Within the text of the tale

⁸⁴ See A 1.1, and the note to 2 222, s.v. ἀναγκαία.

⁸⁵ Texts 2, 3, 4, and 5.

⁸⁶ Texts 2 and 3.

⁸⁷ See Dickie 1999, 174 (“The lesson to be drawn from the appendix on magical plants is that what Pliny means by the *Magi* here are the authorities cited by Pythagoras and Democritus or the tradition stretching back to the *Magi* represented by Pythagoras and Democritus.”), 176 (“More importantly for the purpose of this argument, Zachalias is in Pliny's eyes a purveyor of the empty doctrines of the *Magi*.”), and 182 (“It is likely that Bolus of Mendes is the source of a good deal of the magical lore that circulated in Classical antiquity.”). Cf. also Plato's implication in *R.* 380d that shapeshifting, as found in text 7, was within the grasp of the γόης.

Horus and Seth,⁸⁸ which dates to the reign of Ramses V (1160-1156 B.C.) and comes from Thebes, the provenance of some of our invisibility spells, the ancient story of the struggle between Horus and Seth for the kingship of Egypt is retold. In the midst of this well-known tale, the goddess Isis, while trying to gain access to the other gods (and, in particular, Seth), tricks the ferryman Nemty by transforming herself into an old woman who walks with a stoop. After bribing Nemty with a signet ring of gold, Isis is ferried across to the Island-in-the-midst where she proceeds to transform herself into a young girl with a beautiful body: *wn.in.s hr šnty m hk3.s iw.s ir.t hpr.w.s m w^c(.t) šri(.t) nfr.t m h^c.w.s*, "Then she conjured by means of her magic, and she made her transformation into a young girl with a beautiful body" (translation, Ritner 1993, 32). The transformation gets the attention of Seth. Although technically Isis' deception is achieved via transformation, we shall see that transformation in itself is a type of invisibility or concealment that the person who employs the invisibility spells from the *PGM* seeks to achieve, see **C 1.2**.

Examining Egyptian texts that are closer in time, we find similar examples of invisibility spells in Demotic folktales and Manichaean literature. In the Demotic tale *Setna and Sa-Osiris* (Setna II, P.Brit.Mus. inv. 604)⁸⁹ from the 1st or 2nd century A.D., Sa-Osiris, as embedded narrator, recounts the tale of a "classic" battle between two ritual experts, the Egyptian Horus-son-of-Paneshe⁹⁰ and Horus-son-of-the-Nubian-woman, a Nubian chieftain.⁹¹ This battle ensues only after the Nubian's attacks against Pharaoh are thwarted and he (with his mother) travels down to the Egyptian court where Horus-son-of-Paneshe gets the better of him. While trying to escape, the Nubian casts a big cloud (*hsys ʿ3*)⁹² on Pharaoh's court by means of a spell (*sp n hyq n sh*),⁹³ so that no man is able to see his brother or his companion.⁹⁴ However, Horus-son-of-Paneshe immediately uses a ritual formula and makes the cloud disappear. At last, when the Nubian chieftain sees that he is unable to contend with the Egyptian, he does a feat of sorcery (*sp n hyq sh*) in order to become invisible and escape to

⁸⁸ For the Egyptian text, see Gardiner 1932, 37-60a; for an English translation, see Lichtheim 1976, 2.214-223. See also Ritner 1993, 32, footnote 143.

⁸⁹ See Griffith 1900, 142-207, and Lichtheim 1980, 3.138-151. For an introductory bibliography, see Depauw 1997, 87-88, and Ritner 1993, 3344-3345. Hollis 1995, 2261-2262 provides a general overview of the tale. For a discussion of the text and its relationship to the *PGM*, see Dieleman 2005, 234-238. Ritner 1995, 3344 assigns this text to the area of Crocodilopolis, in the vicinity of Gebelein in Upper Egypt.

⁹⁰ Horus-son-of-Paneshe is called a "magician/ritual expert of the Pharaoh" (*hry-tp n Pr-ʿ3*) in Setna II 5/10-11. See *Chicago Demotic Dictionary*, h 211, s.v. *hr-tb*. For Egyptian terms identifying the figure of the magician, see Ritner 1993, 220-221, see also **E 1.2**.

⁹¹ Setna II 3/13 and *passim*; *Chicago Demotic Dictionary*, 3 105, s.v. *3te n igš* translates "Nubian rebel."

⁹² See *ibid.*, h 264, s.v. *hsys*, and Erichsen, *Glossar*, 332, s.v. *hsjs*. Griffith 1900, 197 translates "a great covering (?)," and Lichtheim 1980, 3.149 "a big cloud."

⁹³ On this phrase and similar ones, see Ritner 1993, 68-69 and footnote 311.

⁹⁴ In particular, see Setna II, 6/16 in Lichtheim 1980, 3.149: "The Nubian did another feat of sorcery (*sp n hyq n sh*): he cast a big cloud on the court, so that no man could see his brother or his companion." See also Griffith 1900, 196-197.

Nubia.⁹⁵ However, the Egyptian is able to reverse the spell allowing Pharaoh's court to see the Nubian, who apparently was attempting an escape in the guise of a wild gander (*hp*).⁹⁶ Cf. text 7. In the end, however, to achieve safe passage the Nubian chieftain agrees to stay out of Egypt for the next 1500 years. It is only after Sa-Osiris finishes telling this tale that he reveals to the court that he is in fact Horus-son-of-Paneshe who has been sent in the guise of Sa-Osiris by Osiris to expose and defeat the renewed threats of Horus-son-of-the-Nubian-woman. After disposing of his nemesis one last time, indeed Horus-son-of-Paneshe himself vanishes before the eyes of Pharaoh and Setna.⁹⁷

Perhaps most interesting here is that the text relates various ways in which concealment is achieved. Whereas the Nubian achieves concealment by casting a cloud on Pharaoh's court and by transforming himself into a wild gander, Horus-son-of-Paneshe simply vanishes. That the author mentions various spells of invisibility in this context seems to be in keeping with the rather fantastic elements typically present in these kinds of folktales. However, it also illustrates that the use of invisibility spells was again part of the literary tradition in the very region of Thebes where some of the invisibility texts in the *PGM* were discovered.

In the Coptic *Kephalaia* – a late 3rd-4th century A.D. Manichaean text that contains polemical statements regarding the teaching and practice of magic⁹⁸ – there again appear two such allusions to invisibility spells.⁹⁹ Here, however, invisibility spells appear to be involved in a much more complex narrative involving Manichaean myth. Comparing such allusions to invisibility spells from the *PGM*, Mirecki seeks to contextualize Manichaean perceptions regarding the intended use of these spells: “the one who performs the same ritual in the polemical *Kephalaia* texts...is rather the leading

⁹⁵ See Setna II 6/21-23 in Lichtheim 1980, 3.149: “Then the chieftain of Nubia knew that he could not contend with the Egyptian. He did a feat of sorcery so as to become invisible in the court, in order to escape to the land of Nubia, his home. Horus-son-of-Paneshe recited a spell against him, revealed the sorceries of the Nubian, and let him be seen by Pharaoh and the people of Egypt who stood in the court: he had assumed the shape of a wild gander and was about to depart.” See also Griffith 1900, 198-201.

⁹⁶ *Chicago Demotic Dictionary*, *h* 106, s.v. *hp* rereads as *ipt*, “bird,” following Erichsen, *Glossar*, 302, s.v. *hp*. Smith 1979, 112 contends that this is the only reference in Egyptian texts to living humans assuming non-human forms and suggests the possible influence of Greek Mythology, citing Kákosy 1971, 95, and Morenz 1975, 219, footnote 25.

⁹⁷ See Setna II 7/4-6 in Lichtheim 1980, 3.150-151: “Horus-son-of-Paneshe did a feat of sorcery (*sp n hyq sh*), while being in the shape of Si-Osire, against the chieftain of Nubia. He made a fire around him; it consumed him in the midst of the court, while Pharaoh saw it, together with his nobles and the people of Egypt. Si-Osire, vanished as a shadow (*sny n hyb*) from the presence of Pharaoh and Setna, his father, without seeing him.” See also Griffith 1900, 204-205.

⁹⁸ See Mirecki 2001, 173.

⁹⁹ See in particular *Kephalaia* 6 and 27 in *ibid.*, 177 with the following translations: ΠΓΑΠ ΕΤΕΖΗΕΩ ΦΑΔΕΠΙΚΑΛΕΙ [Δ]ΧΩΩ ΟΥΛΕΤΩ ΠΩΡΩΠ ΖΩ ΠΕΦΗΛΑΓΙΑ ΔΕΔΑ ΠΠΕΩΦΩΕ[ΡΕ] ΠΓΑΠ ΔΗ ΕΤ[ΕΖ]ΗΕΩ ΦΑΔΓΑΛΑΠΩ ΔΕΔΑ ΔΧΠ ΠΠΕΩΔΗ [ΠΩ]ΟΥΩΠΩ ΔΡ[ΔΥ], “When it pleases him, he can make an invocation over himself, and by his magic arts be hidden from his companions. Again, when it pleases him, he can be manifested over his powers and appear to him,” *Keph.* 6 (31.19b-22a); ΠΓΑΠ ΕΤΩ[ΟΥΩΦΕ ΦΑΔΕΠΙΚΑΛΕΙ ΔΧΩΩ ΟΥΛΕΤΩ] ΠΩΡΩΠ ΔΕΔΑ ΠΠΕΩΔΗ [ΠΓΑΠ ΔΗ ΕΤΕΖΗΕΩ] ΦΑΔΟΥΑΠΩΩ ΠΕΥ ΔΕΔΑ, “When he wishes, he shall make an invocation over himself, and hide from his powers. When he wants, he shall show himself to them,” *Keph.* 27 (78.14b-16). For the texts and issues of dating as well as an English translation, see Gardner, 1995, xix.

antagonist of Manichaean myth, the ominous 'King of Darkness' (*Keph.* 6 [31.24]). This king uses the ritual in an aggressive manner in order to deceive 'his companions' who are 'his powers,' as both he and his fellows are constantly at war with each other."¹⁰⁰ Despite being embedded in religious polemic, the primary means for attaining invisibility here is an invocation, which also happens to be one of the means for attaining invisibility found within the *PGM*, e.g. texts 6 and 7. Moreover, the perception of invisibility as an act of hiding also appears in text 6.

In conclusion, although the invisibility spells of the *PGM* are from the late Roman era and written for the most part in Greek, we cannot forget that their provenance is Egyptian and likewise an important part of their heritage. Certainly, this influence is evident in the texts themselves, see section **A 1.1**. Such practices have deep roots in Egyptian history. One finds numerous spells from ancient Egypt in which the practitioner seeks to be transformed whether in this life or the next. A spell on the so-called Armytage ostrakon (6-9) dating to the 19th or 20th dynasty, possibly from Der-el-Medinah, reveals how a person intends to transform into a fly and enter into his enemy's belly in order to cause him pain.¹⁰¹ In funerary texts, such as those found within the *Pyramid Texts*, the *Coffin Texts*, the *Book of the Dead*, and Demotic mortuary literature, one finds the concept of transformation to be very common.¹⁰² The primary question is whether or not such texts were used by the living to achieve transformation. Smith specifically argues that transformation spells from funerary texts were not used by the living.¹⁰³ Though not directly addressing this point, Ritner, while discussing the concept of "encircling" (*phr*) in the Setna I tale, suggests that such activities were not restricted to the realm of the dead: "Setna's spells are funerary spells used with equal facility by the living, and the *phr* involved is not simply figurative, but – as in the case of the mortuary literature from which it derives – represents a fusion of the magician with the god Re in his circuit."¹⁰⁴

Whatever is the case, by the late Roman era invisibility texts are certainly being mentioned in contemporaneous Demotic and Coptic literary texts. Indeed, although such references come from rather fantastic Egyptian tales as well as religious polemic, nonetheless mention is made of spells for acquiring invisibility. Moreover, they also foreshadow some of the ways in which invisibility is envisioned by the practitioner in the *PGM*. It is *how* such Egyptian, as well as Greek and Latin, literary texts relate to the invisibility spells in the *PGM* that will now be examined, after a brief overview of invisibility spells in the *PGM*.

¹⁰⁰ Mirecki 2001, 178.

¹⁰¹ Shorter 1936, 165-166, and Borghouts, *AEMT*, #3.

¹⁰² For an overview, see Smith 1979, 20, footnote 1. Cf. Faulkner 1994, Chapter 17 heading: "Here begins praises and recitations, going in and out of the God's Domain, having benefit in the beautiful West, being in the suite of Osiris, resting at the food-table of Wennefer, going out into the day, taking any shape in which he desires to be, playing at Senet, sitting in a booth, and going forth as a living soul by the Osiris Ani after he has died. It is beneficial to him who does it on earth."

¹⁰³ 1979, 29-30.

¹⁰⁴ 1993, 63.

B 2.1 ACQUIRING INVISIBILITY: RITUAL TEXTS AND THE EXTANT SPELLS

In his annotated bibliography of the Greek magical papyri, Brashear points to a variety of ritual texts (and parts thereof) that attempt to influence material objects, yet do not fall into other traditional categories of ritual.¹⁰⁵ Included in this list is the corpus of invisibility spells: **1** i 1-13, **2** 222-231, **3** 247-262, **4** 619-622, **5** 234-237, **6** 267-269, **7** 270-277, as well as *PGM* I 102 and V 488. See also footnote 19. Since this categorization is perhaps too broadly defined, merely constituting a basic paradigm for classifying ritual texts, it would be useful to further delineate the nuances among the invisibility spells themselves and set forth in detail the affinities which invisibility rituals share with other texts excluded from the list.

B 2.2 INVISIBILITY SPELLS WHOSE PRIMARY PURPOSE IS INVISIBILITY

Among the invisibility spells, texts **1** (3rd/4th century A.D.), **2** and **3** (both late 4th or 5th century A.D.) are by far the most complete spells intended for the primary purpose of realizing invisibility. Though text **1** is fragmentary, its first 13 lines indicate that it is a formulary or master copy for a spell to obtain invisibility, which is possibly written alongside other spells, given the writing in the fragmentary column to the right (perhaps part of the same spell). The text itself consists of a threatening invocation perhaps to Aion/Helios – Egyptian in inspiration – followed by a recipe with ingredients and instructions that may be part of the invisibility spell.¹⁰⁶ Texts **2** and **3** are formularies preserved in their entirety along with numerous other kinds of spells in a “recipe book,” as such collections are sometimes called. Both of these texts include invocations to Helios and a daimon as well as ritual. Text **3** is unique as an invisibility spell because it also includes a counter spell to become visible again. All three spells begin with a title indicating purpose.¹⁰⁷

Another category of invisibility spells whose primary purpose is invisibility is comprised of texts that bring about invisibility using a component – either *logos* or *praxis* – employed elsewhere for other purposes. For example text **4** (3rd/4th century A.D.), which claims to be a spell from a larger collection entitled ἐκ τοῦ Διαδήματος Μοῦσέως, “From *The Diadem of Moses*,” includes both ritual

¹⁰⁵ Brashear 1995, 3499 includes spells of exorcism (*PGM* IV 3007-3085; V 96ff.; XII 14ff.; XIII 243-245; XXIVb 10ff. (?), XXXVI 275-280; XCIV 17ff.; XCVIII; SB X 10702; *P.Ist.Vitelli* inv. 319) and spells to make a place prosper (*PGM* IV 2360-2371, 3125-3172), make sleeping people speak (*PGM* VII 412-417; LXIII 8-11), kill a winged creature (*PGM* XIII 247) and a snake (*PGM* XIII 261-264), stop a snake (*PGM* XIII 249), open a door (*PGM* XII 160ff.; XIII 288-296, 327-333, 1064-1075; XXXVI 312-320), resurrect the dead (XIII 278-282), cross a river on a crocodile (*PGM* XIII 282-288), change a goddess into an old servant woman (*PGM* XIa), win at dice (*PGM* VII 423-428), succeed in business (*PGM* XII 99-106), find a thief (*PGM* V 70-95, 173-180, 181-212; III 479-482, 483-488, 489ff.; *P.Oxy.* 3835), quench fire (*PGM* XIII 297-302), keep fire burning (*PGM* XIII 303-308), and purify gold (*PGM* XII 193-201).

¹⁰⁶ See text **1** i 1-13.

¹⁰⁷ Text **1** i 1-2, ἀμαυρωτικὸν ἀνθρώπων ποιῆσαι; **2** 222, ἀμαύρωσις ἀναγκαία; and **3** 247, ἀμαύρωσις(ς) δοκίμη.

and recitation of efficacious names, but these same names can also be used in a different ritual setting as a love spell. Texts 5, 6, and 7 are from the so-called βίβλος ἱερὰ ἐπικαλουμένη Μόνας ἢ Ὀγδὴ Μοῦσέως, “A sacred book called *Monad* or *Eighth Book of Moses*,” in *PGM XIII*, dating to the mid-4th century A.D. These three spells of invisibility depend upon the name, τὸ ὄνομα, mentioned in *PGM XIII* 210-211, which is used in a variety of spells. Text 5 provides directions for preparing an amulet that brings invisibility; text 6 is an invocation of darkness; and text 7 invokes Thoth to aid the practitioner in his metamorphosis. Finally, while *PGM V* 459-489 (P.Lond. inv. 46, 4th century A.D. ?) is similar, it falls into a slightly different category. Although the spell can be used for multiple purposes, e.g. loosening shackles, sending dreams, gaining favor, as well as making one invisible, unlike the previous examples, the complete invocation is used to accomplish each of the four ends without any alteration of the *logos*.

B 2.3 INVISIBILITY SPELLS IN WHICH INVISIBILITY IS NOT THE PRIMARY OBJECTIVE

A second category of spells consists of those in which invisibility is not the primary objective, but an indirect outcome of the ritual act. We find an example in *PGM XII* 160-178 (P.Leiden inv. J 384, ca. A.D. 300-350), an untitled spell to release the practitioner from bonds. After uttering the initial invocation for escape, the practitioner is required to stand in front of the door to be opened and utter the following: λυθήτω[ς]αν οἱ δεσμοὶ | τοῦ δεῖνα, καὶ ἀνοιγήτωσαν αὐτῷ αἱ θύραι, καὶ μηδεὶς αὐτὸν θεασάσθω, “Let the bonds of NN be loosened, and let the doors be opened for him, and let no one see him,” *PGM XII* 161-162. We find similar language in *PGM I* 42-195, a spell for acquiring a divine assistant, in which the abilities of the assistant are enumerated: λύει δὲ ἐκ δεσμῶν [ἀ]λύσει φρουρούμενον, θύρας ἀνοίγει, | ἀμαυροῖ, ἵνα μηδεὶς [κ]αθόλου σε θεωρήσῃ, “He loosens from bonds the one who is bound by chains, he opens doors, he blinds in order that no one may see you at all...,” *PGM I* 101-102. Among his portfolio of talents, the assistant is able to bring about invisibility for his master. In both spells invisibility is desired in situations relating to escape,¹⁰⁸ and it is acquired only as a secondary result of the practitioner’s primary intent to escape or to acquire a divine assistant.

Thus, the invisibility texts from the *PGM* show considerable diversity in form and content. Some are solely invisibility spells, of which some share components of *logos* and *praxis* with other kinds of spells, while yet others bring about invisibility as an indirect outcome of another spell. The findings of this second category help us to understand how invisibility is used within other genres of spells, e.g. those of escape or for acquiring a divine assistant, thus suggesting a possible context for such texts designated solely as invisibility spells. But before examining the various contexts in which invisibility spells might have been used, it would be useful to ask a question more fundamental to our understanding of invisibility texts themselves, namely, what is meant by the term “invisibility”?

¹⁰⁸ Spells of escape and rescue are not uncommon in the *PGM*, as e.g. I 101-102, 195-222; IV 2152-2154; V 488; XII 160-178, 279.

C 1.1 ENVISIONING INVISIBILITY IN THE GREEK MAGICAL PAPYRI

But Elisha after that called to God also to blind the eyes of the enemy and throw a mist about them through which they would be unable to see him. And when this was done, he came into the midst of the enemy.

Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 9.56

Any attempt to categorize invisibility spells and more accurately define their relationship to other kinds of magical literature requires that we first define the basic concept of invisibility – the intended outcome of these ritual acts. How does the practitioner envision invisibility? A closer examination of the texts reveals a number of passages that are open to multiple interpretations: **2** 229-230, ἀθεώρητόν με ποιήσων...|ἀπέναντι παντός ἀνθρώπου, “make me invisible...in the presence of every person”; **3** 257, καὶ ἄφαντος ἔσῃ, ἐφ’ ὅσον χρόνον θέλεις, “you will be invisible as long as you wish”; **4** 621-622, ἀθεώρητος | ἔσει πρὸς πάντας, “you will be invisible to everyone.” For if the goal of these spells is explicit – to make the practitioner invisible and thus, conceal him – exactly how is the practitioner to be made invisible? Is invisibility to be envisioned as a kind of vanishing act – à la Houdini or David Copperfield – or should it be envisioned in another way?

One should not interpret these texts merely through the lens of literary sources such as those presented in the previous section.¹⁰⁹ In *Jesus the Magician*,¹¹⁰ Smith, in the context of discussing the disappearing acts and escapes of Jesus,¹¹¹ correctly establishes a connection between spells of invisibility and escape – a point to be discussed later – noting that these kinds of rituals were often employed by practitioners in late Roman Egypt. To bolster this point, he introduces the famous disappearance and escape of Apollonius of Tyana from the courtroom of Domitian. Though no spell of any sort is mentioned, see **E 1.6**, Apollonius, upon acquittal, is depicted as vanishing immediately after Domitian requests a private audience with him: καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἠφανίσθη τοῦ δικαστηρίου, “and after saying these things, he disappeared from the courtroom.”¹¹² Unfortunately, however, due to

¹⁰⁹ For example, in Sophocles’ *Inachus* fr. 269c the chorus can perceive the presence of a person, without actually seeing him, see **B 1.2**. In Plato’s tale (*R.* 360a), the ancestor of Gyges apparently disappears while playing with his ring, see **B 1.3**. Horus-son-of-Paneshe in the guise of Sa-Osiris vanishes before Pharaoh and Setna, see footnote 97.

¹¹⁰ “Akin to walking on water are Jesus’ miraculous escapes and his becoming invisible or intangible. These were favorite feats of magicians: there are dozens of spells for invisibility and a generous supply for escaping from capture or from bonds. Escape tricks are still performers’ favorites – as demonstrated by the Great Houdini – but the interest of the papyri in such matters suggests that there was a criminal element in the magician’s clientele. However, the most famous of all disappearances and escapes was Apollonius’, from the courtroom of Domitian (*Life VIII.5 end*)” (120).

¹¹¹ *Ev. Luc.* 4.29ff.; 24.31; *Ev. Jo.* 7.30, 44; 8.20, 59; 10.39; 12.36 (?).

¹¹² Philostr. *VA* 8.5.

the emphasis he places on Apollonius' famous disappearance, Smith implies that the acquisition of invisibility in the context of the invisibility texts primarily connotes a vanishing act.

More recently, Graf has addressed the topic of invisibility spells in a cursory manner while discussing the Phrygian slave's monody in Euripides' *Orestes*, see **B 1.4**. Commenting on this passage, Graf notes that "occurrences of these 'wizard's tricks' capable of making a person disappear are isolated in the fifth century,"¹¹³ yet, as the magical papyri attest, they become more prevalent by the imperial era. To the beginning student of ancient magic, Graf's juxtaposition of Helen's vanishing act with his passing reference to invisibility spells again might leave the impression that invisibility as it is conceived in the Greek magical papyri is synonymous with a vanishing act.

This is not to say that the practitioner did not conceive of invisibility as a vanishing act. A number of lines within the invisibility spells are open to interpretation, see **C 1.1** above. Moreover, passages from literary texts – not always closely tied to the invisibility spells – suggest otherwise.¹¹⁴ But instead of relying upon ambiguities and literary evidence to argue on behalf of invisibility as a vanishing act, it is better to focus on what the invisibility spells themselves can tell us, i.e. how did practitioners envision invisibility? These texts suggest that invisibility in a ritual context can be defined more broadly, thus allowing us to see how perceptions of invisibility relate to ritual acts within other genres of spells and in turn how they are employed in literary texts – texts that both influence and display the influence of such ritual literature.

The invisibility spells reveal that invisibility, i.e. avoiding the perceptions of others, is attainable by (1) materially altering the body as in text 7, (2) invoking darkness as in text 6, and (3) physically affecting the eyes or perceptions of other people as in text 1. The conception of invisibility as a vanishing act is the most difficult to substantiate from the evidence, and perhaps not entirely unexpected, given that people normally do not vanish. Nonetheless, however conceived, "invisibility" in practice usually meant going unnoticed or unobserved. Although lines like those found in 2 229-230 (ἀθεώρητόν με ποιήσων...|ἀπέναντι παντός ἀνθρώπου, "make me invisible...in the presence of every person") are not clearly explained by the texts themselves, invisibility spells never specifically attribute the ability to "vanish" to the practitioner, though they do suggest that certain divine beings possess this kind of power, e.g. according to 7 270-273, the god Thoth has the power to create *ex nihilo* and likewise to make the material disappear.¹¹⁵ Moreover examination of this motif in other genres of spells fails to reveal explicit examples of a vanishing *person*. The best ones are those

¹¹³ 1997, 24.

¹¹⁴ e.g. the ambiguous lines already mentioned in 2 229-230, 3 257, and 4 621-622. Likewise, the phrase ἄφαντος γενέσθαι appears in literary passages where disappearance implies a vanishing, as e.g. the disappearance of Helen in E. *Or.* 1494ff., Jesus in *Ev. Luc.* 24.31, and Apollonius of Tyana in Philostr. *VA* 8.5. See also **B 1.6** and footnote 97.

¹¹⁵ ἐμὸν μόνον ἐπικαλοῦμαι, τὸν μόνον ἐν κόσμῳ διατάξασα θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις, τὸν {ἐαυτὸν} ἀλλάξαντα σεαυτὸν | μορφαῖς ἁγίαις καὶ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων εἶναι ποιήσαντα καὶ ἐξ ὄντων μὴ εἶναι, Θαυθ ἅγιος, κτλ., "I call on you alone, the only one in the universe who gave order to gods and humans, who transformed yourself into holy forms and created existence from things non-existent and non-existence from things in existence, holy Thoth, ..."

in which the practitioner is said to possess the ability to make divine beings invisible, such as in *PGM* I 95 where the divine assistant is dismissed and becomes invisible: καὶ ἀφανῆς ἔστιν ὁ θεός, “and the god is invisible.”¹¹⁶ By contrast, when we examine literary evidence, we find more viable examples.¹¹⁷

C 1.2 INVISIBILITY AS AN ACT OF TRANSFORMATION

In text 7 275-277 the practitioner conceives of invisibility as an act of metamorphosis or “shapeshifting”:¹¹⁸ ποιήσον με γενέσθαι ἐν ὀνόμασι πάντων κτισμάτων λύκον, κύνα, λέοντα, πῦρ, δένδρον, γῦπα, τεῖχος, ὕδωρ ἢ ὃ θέλεις, “make me become in the eyes of all created things – a wolf, or dog, or lion, or fire, or tree, or vulture, or wall or water (or whatever you want).”¹¹⁹ Elsewhere in the magical corpus, however, *humans* are not portrayed as undergoing transformation. In *PGM* XIa 1-40 from the 5th century A.D., a spell entitled γραῦς Ἀπολλωνίου Τυανέως ὑπηρέτις, “An old female servant of Apollonius of Tyana,” a goddess is summoned who is called keeper of the house (οἰκουρός). She appears, descends from an ass, and immediately turns into an old woman so that she may serve the practitioner.¹²⁰ Though not relating to the practitioner himself, this example reveals that gods hold the power over (and the ability to change) outward appearance – a motif that is pervasive in literary texts. Yet, the closest available parallel of a practitioner possessing such power is found in *PGM* I 117-119 where the practitioner’s command has the power to alter the form of the divine assistant: μεταμορφοῖ δὲ εἰς ἣν ἐὰν | βούλη μορφήν θη[ρίου] πετηνοῦ, ἐνύδρου, τετραπόδου, | ἔρπετοῦ, “He transforms into whatever form of beast you wish, one with wings, or

¹¹⁶ There are many dismissal spells within the *PGM*, e.g. IV 232-233, 251, 916, 1065, 3118; V 41; VII 333, 738; LXII 36, and also the *PDM*, e.g. xiv 84-85, 86-87, 421-423. Yet even in these cases, the manner in which invisibility is attained remains unstated.

¹¹⁷ See footnotes 109 and 114.

¹¹⁸ Here I am inclined to follow Brashear 1995, 3499, when he includes text 7 with the spells “to make invisible.” By contrast Eitrem 1940, 176 sees them as two different kinds of spells, see the note to text 7 270, s.v. ἄλλως.

¹¹⁹ The practitioner’s metamorphosis in text 7 is reminiscent of the Nubian chieftain’s transformation into a gander in his attempt to escape the Egyptian Horus-son-of-Paneshe in the Demotic tale *Setna and Sa-Osiris*, see **B 1.6** and footnote 95. Graeco-Roman examples include the transformations of Moeris into a wolf (*Verg. Ecl.* 8.95-99), a witch into weasels (*Apul. Met.* 2.25), Pamphile into an owl (*Apul. Met.* 3.21), and Lucius into an ass (*Apul. Met.* 3.24). Cf. also the transformation of Palaestra’s mistress in Pseudo-Luc. *Asin.* 11. For other examples of shapeshifters in Greek literature, see Irving 1990, 171-194.

¹²⁰ ἡ δὲ εὐθέως [κα]ταβήσεται ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄνου [καὶ ἀπ]οιδύσεται τὸ κάλλος καὶ ἔσται γραῦς. καὶ ἐρεῖ σοι ἡ γρα[ῦς]: ἐγὼ σοι ὑπηρέτης καὶ παρ[εδρ]εύσω, “Immediately she will descend from the ass and she will set aside her beauty and she will become an old woman. And the old woman will speak to you. ‘I shall serve you and be your helper,’” *PGM* XIa 17-18. In the New Kingdom tale *Horus and Seth*, Isis transforms herself into an old woman, only later to change herself into a beautiful woman by her magic, thus tricking Seth, see **B 1.6** and footnote 88.

living in water, or four-footed, or a reptile.”¹²¹ Of course, in the ritual context of text 7, one has to be skeptical as to the practitioner’s actual ability to transform himself, an act which like “vanishing” and numerous other magical acts, is seemingly impossible to accomplish, especially before a captive audience – yet at the same time one must remember that the practitioner thrives in the realm of the impossible, especially within a society of believers.

When in text 7 the practitioner says, “make me become in the eyes of all created things – a wolf, or dog, or lion, or fire, or tree, or vulture, or wall or water (or whatever you want),” one has to think that the one who believes that the practitioner possesses such a power can never quite be sure about the true nature of the animate or inanimate objects surrounding him. This very scenario unfolds in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* 2.1, when Lucius begins to see the world around him in Thessaly as if it had been transformed:

nec fuit in illa civitate quod aspiciens id esse crederem quod esset, sed omnia prorsus ferali murmure in aliam effigiem translata, ut et lapides quos offenderem de homine duratos, et aves quas audirem indidem plumatas, et arbores quae pomerium ambirent similiter foliatas, et fontanos latices de corporibus humanis fluxos crederem; iam statuas et imagines incessuras, parietes locuturos, boves et id genus pecua dicturas praesagium, de ipso vero caelo et iubaris orbe subito venturum oraculum.

“There was nothing in that city which appeared to me at first glance to be what it was. But I thought that absolutely everything had been transformed into another shape by a deadly murmur, with the result that I believed the rocks I stumbled upon were once humans who had been turned to stone, and the birds I was hearing were really humans with feathers, and the trees that encircled the city wall were similarly humans bearing foliage, and spring waters ebbed from human bodies; soon statues and images would walk, walls would talk, oxen and animals of that kind would deliver portents, indeed from the sky itself and the orb of light an oracle would suddenly come.”

Moreover, even Christians like Augustine, when commenting on such practices, had to acknowledge that transformation was within the practitioner’s reach. In a very famous and influential passage from

¹²¹ Cf. also Pall. *Lausiaca History* 17.6-9 (and *Historia Monachorum* 21.17) in which a magician (γόης) transforms a man’s wife into a mare. When she is led into the desert to holy Makarios, the saint chastises the husband saying, ἵπποι ὑμεῖς ἐστέ, οἱ τῶν ἵππων ἔχοντες τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς. ἐκείνη γὰρ γυνή ἐστι, μὴ μετασχηματιθεῖσα, ἀλλ’ ἢ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν ἠπατημένων, “You (pl.) are horses, who have the eyes of horses. For she is a woman, who has not been changed in form, but rather (has been changed in form) only in the eyes of those who have been deceived.” Such an interpretation of invisibility has implications when we consider invisibility as an act of blinding, see C 1.4. On this story in general, see Frankfurter 2001.

his *City of God* (18.18),¹²² Augustine expresses skepticism over Lucius' transformation in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*: *haec vel falsa sunt vel tam inusitata, ut merito non credantur*, "Either these things are false or so unusual that with good cause they are not believed." Yet he then proceeds to elaborate upon how demons are able to alter the *perceptions* of the person who transforms as well as the person who perceives this transformation.

C 1.3 INVISIBILITY AS AN INVOCATION OF DARKNESS

In text 6 268-269 the practitioner calls upon darkness to hide himself and thus become invisible to others: δεῦρό μοι, τὸ πρωτοφαῆς κότος, καὶ κρύψον με προστάγματι τοῦ ὄντος ἐν οὐρανῶ αὐτογενέτορος, "Come to me, first appearing darkness, and hide me by order of the one who is self-begotten in heaven." This kind of spell departs from the invisibility depicted in acts of vanishing or metamorphosis. Instead of claiming to alter the material being of the practitioner, the darkness is supposed to hide the practitioner and conceal him from others.¹²³ Here, invisibility does not imply vanishing or *physically* altering the eyes or perceptions of another, but instead implies affecting external conditions and thereby, hampering the ability of another to perceive the practitioner. Several invisibility spells invoke Helios,¹²⁴ Aion/Helios,¹²⁵ or the sun disk¹²⁶ – all deities that in some way relate to perception of light and darkness. Moreover, elsewhere, e.g. in *PDM* xiv 319-320, we find the practitioner summoning darkness via the sun: "[But as for my enemies?] the sun shall impede their hearts and blind | their eyes and create darkness in their faces..." see the note to 2 229, s.v. κύριε "Ἡλιε.

¹²² For a lucid explanation of this passage, see Veenstra 2002, 145-146; for a more cynical view of such transformations, see Lucian's dialogue between Menippus and Tiresias in the underworld (*DMort.* 9), as well as the one between Menelaus and Proteus (*DMar.* 4).

¹²³ In literature the motif of the individual who escapes by this kind of concealment is common, as e.g. Perseus in the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Scutum* 226-227 and in Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 2.4.3, see **B 1.2**. Moreover, in the Coptic *Kephalaia* the attainment of invisibility is conceived of in terms of "hiding," and in the Setna II tale, the Nubian chieftain obstructs everyone's vision by casting a cloud upon the court, see **B 1.6**. *Amm.Marc.* 30.1.17 relates the story of Papa, king of the Armenians, whom Danielus and Barzimeres (a general and tribune of the targeteers under Valens) accuse of using "incantations of Circe," *incentiones Circeas*, to spread darkness around themselves and thus, escape from them, see **D 1.4** and footnote 177. Similarly, in literature humans vanish by veiling themselves in a mist or cloud. Philostratus, *VA* 2.13 tells of Apollonius of Tyana's visit at the castle of the Hindu sages. Supposedly, in times past, Indians who resided on this hill were able to make themselves visible or invisible by means of a moving cloud.

¹²⁴ Text 2 225 and 229; perhaps also 5 235. Collins 2008, 128 notes the importance of Helios in Neoplatonic thought, especially as one who averts evil.

¹²⁵ Text 1 1-4.

¹²⁶ Text 6 269.

Concealment by means of darkness in other genres of spells is enjoyed by gods and daimons alike. *PGM XIV* 1, a spell for revelation, begins with an invocation to Helios (ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε, τὸν ἐν τῷ ἀοράτῳ σκότει καθήμενον, κτλ., “I call upon you who are sitting in the invisible darkness, ...”), while *PGM XXXVI* 138, a love spell of attraction, invokes daimons (ἐγείρεσθε, οἱ ἐν τῷ σκότει δαίμονες, “Rise up, you daimons who are in the darkness.”). Practitioners attempting to have power over darkness are encountered in a couple of spells. In *PGM XII* 55-56, entitled Π[ά]ρεδρος Ἔρωσ, “Eros’ divine assistant,” the practitioner threatens the divine and the entire universe: ἐὰν δέ μου | παρακούσης, κα[τα]καήσεται ὁ κύκλος, κ[α]ὶ σκότος ἔσται καθ’ ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην, κτλ., “If you disobey me, the sun’s orb will burn out, and there will be darkness throughout the whole world.” In *PGMLXII* 30 the practitioner does not attempt to summon darkness, but instead tries to dispel it in order to see an apparition. Cf. also *PGM IV* 2471-2473; *PDM xiv* 32, 539, and 855.

C 1.4 INVISIBILITY AS AN ACT OF BLINDING

Not far removed from this conception of invisibility is the belief that the practitioner can achieve invisibility by physically blinding his victims or clouding their sense perceptions.¹²⁷ This conception of invisibility is exemplified no more clearly than in text **1** i 7-8, where we read the exhortation, ἀμαύρωσον πάντ’ ὀφθαλμ[ὸ]ν | ἀνθρώπου ἢ γυναικός, “Dim the eyes of every man or woman.”¹²⁸ Moreover, the appearance of words like ἀμαύρωσις and ἀμαυρωτικός in the titles of spells, e.g. ἀμαύρωσις ἀναγκαία, “An indispensable spell of invisibility,” in text **2** and ἀμαύρωσι(ς) δοκίμη, “A tested spell for invisibility,” in text **3**, as well as the opening of text **1**, ἀμαυρωτικὸν ἄνθρωπον ποιῆσαι, “To make a person invisible,” are perhaps suggestive of the intent of the practitioner to blind.¹²⁹ Affecting another person’s perceptions, especially the eyes,

¹²⁷ A fact noted by the original editors of text **1**: “It is curious that the magician’s invisibility is to be produced as much by affecting the sight of others as by altering himself.” For a discussion as to whether blinding is to be conceived as physical or metaphorical, see the note to **1** i 7-8, s.v. ἀμαύρωσον πάντ’ ὀφθαλμ[ὸ]ν | ἀνθρώπου ἢ γυναικός.

¹²⁸ I discuss my reasons for including this spell in the corpus of invisibility spells in the introduction to the commentary on text **1**.

¹²⁹ See the note to text **2** 222, s.v. ἀμαύρωσις, and to **1** i 1-2, s.v. ἀμαυρωτικὸν ἄνθρωπον ποιῆσαι. One also finds the idea of invisibility as blinding in later Hebrew texts. See *Geniza* 13 in Naveh-Shaked 1993, 167-168, which includes a recipe for a safe journey that uses similar language: וְתַשְׁטֵן וְתַשְׁטֵן עַיִן כָּל הַאֲנָשִׁים הַרְוִאִים אֹתָי, “and you (pl.) shall blind and drive mad and shut the eye of all people who see me,” 13.2.3-4. Cf. also Trachtenberg 1939, 110, who notes the use of *Ge.* 19.10-11 as an invisibility spell in the *Sefer Gematriot* from the 14th century A.D.: “10. But the men inside reached out their hands and brought Lot into the house with them, and shut the door. 11. And they struck with blindness (בְּסִנְוִרִים) / ἐπάταξαν ἀορασίῃ) the men who were at the door of the house, both small and great, so that they were unable to find the door.” (*NRSV*)

however, is not unknown in the corpus of malicious magical acts. *PDM* xiv 376-377¹³⁰ reads as follows: “[The recipes] into which the shrew-mouse goes: If you bring a shrew-mouse, you drown it in some water, and you make the man drink it; [then] he is blinded in both eyes.” *PDM* xiv 741 reads, “If you put a nightjar’s blood to his eye, he is blinded,” and *PDM* xiv 742, “If you put bat’s blood, it is [in] this matter again.” Cf. *PDM* xiv 390-391. There are also healing rituals that have the opposite intent of making eyesight better.¹³¹

There is a fundamental difference, however, between rituals for invisibility and those for blinding. Though blinding is undoubtedly one of the goals of certain invisibility texts, it is not the primary end, but merely a means for the practitioner to avoid the perception of others.¹³² The intent to blind or affect eyesight also appears in other spells where it is not the primary goal. For example, in spells for catching thieves the practitioner at times attempts to alter the vision of others. *PGM* V 91-95 exhorts the practitioner to draw an eye on a wall and strike it with a hammer and utter invocations so that the thief’s eye will swell up and thus betray his crime: παράδος τὸν κλέπτην τὸν κλέψαντά | τι. ὅσον κρούω τὸ οὐ(τ)άτιον εφύρη ταύ|τη, ὁ τοῦ κλέπτου ὀφθαλμὸς κρουέσθω | καὶ φλεγμαινέσθω, ἄχρι οὗ αὐτὸν μη|ύσκη, “Hand over the thief who has stolen something. As long as I strike the eye with this hammer, let the eye of the thief be struck and become swollen, until it betrays him.”¹³³

In *defixiones* of an agonistic nature, the practitioner uses any means to achieve victory for a favored athlete or team, including blinding. For example, in *Suppl. Mag.* I, 53.28 (3rd century A.D.), a spell of Egyptian provenance directed against footracers, we read καὶ ἀμαύρωσον αὐτῶν τοὺς [ὀφθαλμοὺς,] ἵνα μὴ ἰσχύωσιν τραμῖν, “And blind their eyes so that they do not have strength to run,” – a reconstruction confirmed by parallel texts. A spell against a charioteer and his horses commands, ἀμαύρωσον αὐτῶν τὰ | ὄμματα ἵνα μὴ βλέπωσιν, “Blind their eyes in order that they

¹³⁰ Cf. also *PDM* xiv 743-749. *PGM* 10.35-39 (= *ACM* #20), a late Greek amulet, protects against spirits who make eyesight dim: ὀρκί|ζω...πνεύματα...ἀμαυρίαν ποιοῦντα, κτλ., “I adjure...the spirits...that cause blindness.” We find acts of blinding in literary texts, as in *Act. Ap.* 13.9-11 where Paul by the hand of the Lord is able to blind Bar-Jesus. Blindness, however, befalls Bar-Jesus through mist and darkness: παραχρῆμα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἀχλύς καὶ κότος, κτλ., “Immediately mist and darkness fell upon him.”

¹³¹ e.g. *PGM* VII 197-198; XCIV 1-6, 22-26; XCVII 1-6; *Suppl. Mag.* I, 26, 32, 78; *GMA* 31, 53; *ACM* #5 (Brashear 1975, 30-31), 43.196-199 (Worrell 1935, 26, 36), 127.59 (Kropp, *KZT*, 1.59 and 2.45), 128.31-35 (Kropp, *KZT*, 1.31-34 and 2.32); Bonner 1950, #112; Philipp 1986, #123; Michel 2001, #424. For ancient Egyptian antecedents, see Borghouts, *AEMT*, #58.

¹³² 2 229-230; 4 621-622; *PGM* I 102: ἀμαυροῖ, ἵνα μηδεὶς [κ]αθόλου σε θεωρήσῃ, κτλ., “he blinds in order that no one may see you at all, ...”; XII 162: ...καὶ μηδεὶς αὐτὸν θεασάσθω, “...and let no one see him.” In literature we find similar examples: in the *Jewish Antiquities* (9.51-59), Josephus retells the Hebrew account found in 2 *Ki.* 6.8-23 of how Elisha prayed to God to blind the Syrian army so that he could go unnoticed and escape, see the note to 2 222, s.v. ἀμαύρωσις. Similarly, in *Hyg. Fab.* 24.3 Medea places a mist over the eyes of the daughters of Pelias to keep them from understanding her will; cf. also when Aegeus recognizes and rescues Theseus, and Medea escapes, *Ov. Met.* 7.424.

¹³³ *Suppl. Mag.* II, 86 (col ii. 1-8), though fragmentary, seems to indicate that the thief will lose his eye; other spells to find a thief include *PGM* III 479-482, 483-488, 489-494; V 173-180, 181-212; *PDM* xiv 86, 1056; lxi 79-94; *P. Oxy.* LVI 3835.

may not see."¹³⁴ Another directed against a chariot team is even more forceful in its language: ἀπόκνισον αὐτῶν τὰ ὄμματα ἵνα μὴ βλέπωσιν, "Pluck out their eyes in order that they may not see."¹³⁵

A similar practice occurs in spells intended to bind a lover. In *PGM* IV 296-466, entitled Φιλτροκατάδεσμος θαυμαστός, "A marvelous binding love spell," the practitioner is to shape a doll from wax or clay into male and female figures.¹³⁶ The female is placed in a position submissive to the male figure, representing Ares. Next, copper needles are strategically placed in the female figurine, including in the right and left eyes. An invocation is eventually uttered: περονῶ τὸ ποιὸν μέλος τῆς δεῖνα, ὅπως μη|δενός μνησθῆ ἢ πλὴν ἐμοῦ μόνου, τοῦ δεῖνα, "I pierce such-and-such part of her NN, so that she may remember no one except me alone, NN," IV 327-328. Similarly, *PGM* IV 2943-2966, entitled Ἀγωγή ἀγρυπνητική, "An *agōgē* spell producing wakefulness," tells the practitioner how to make a dog figurine from dough or wax. Placing the eyes of a bat in it and piercing each, the practitioner is to say, ἐξορκίζω σὲ τρίς κατὰ τῆς Ἑκάτης | Φορφορβα βαιβω φωρβωρβα, ἵν' ἀποβά|ληται τὸ πυρινὸν ἢ δεῖνα ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ ἢ καὶ | ἀγρυπνῆ κατὰ νοῦν μηδένα ἔχουσα, εἰ μὴ | ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα μόνον, "I adjure you three times by Hecate *PHORPHORBA BAIBŌ PHŌRBŌRBA*, in order that she, NN, lose the fire in her eye, or also lie awake, having nothing on her mind, except me, NN, alone," *PGM* IV 2957-2961. Though these spells are only loosely connected with spells of invisibility, they demonstrate again how the notion of affecting or blinding another person's eyes or vision is pervasive in various kinds of spells.

Invisibility in the Greek magical corpus is clearly more than just a simple vanishing act. It encompasses a broad range of activities such as metamorphosis, invocation of darkness, and blinding. At the same time, there are a few spells, such as texts 2, 3, 4, and 5, in which the practitioner's conception of invisibility seems to be shrouded in darkness. Nonetheless, by more clearly delineating such nuances of invisibility and clarifying Brashear's broad categorization of such spells, one can begin to see how invisibility texts are related to a wider array of activity not only in ritual texts, but also in literary ones.

¹³⁴ *DT* 241.13-14 (Carthage, 3rd century A.D.); cf. with *PGM* I 102 where the object is implied, but not explicitly expressed.

¹³⁵ *DT* 242.57-58 (Carthage, 3rd century A.D.); cf. also the following phrase: ἀφελε...τὴν ὄρασιν ἵνα μὴ δυνα|σθῶσιν βλέπειν | τοὺς ἰδίους ἀντιπάλους | ἠνιοχοῦντες, "Take away...their sight in order that they cannot see their rivals holding their reins," *DT* 234.58, 60-63. Cf. also 235.41-49, 237.47-52, 238.40-44, 239.36-40, and 240.40-46.

¹³⁶ Louvre inv. E 27145 is a well known figurine of a woman who is pierced by 13 needles (including the eyes) that was discovered in a clay pot from Egypt along with a *defixio*. For a photograph, see Ritner 1993, 112, and Gager 1992, 98.

D 1.1 THE CONTEXT OF INVISIBILITY

But when the temple police went there, they did not find them in the prison; so they returned and reported, "We found the prison securely locked and the guards standing at the doors, but when we opened them, we found no one inside." Now when the captain of the temple and the chief priests heard these words, they were perplexed about them, wondering what might be going on. (NRSV)

Acts of the Apostles 5.22-24

Apart from the practitioner, only gods, daimons, and divine assistants are depicted as becoming invisible in the Greek magical papyri. For example, in *PGM I 95* it is a divine assistant who, upon being dismissed, becomes invisible: καὶ ἀφανῆς ἐστιν ὁ θεός, "And the god is invisible." In *PGM XIa 17-18* it is a goddess who descends from an ass and transforms into an old woman, see **C 1.2**. Finally, in *PGM XIV 1* and *XXXVI 138*, it is the god Helios and daimons that are depicted as residing *in darkness*. Each of these examples illustrates that a common attribute of the divine in the Greek magical papyri is the ability to be invisible or concealed.

Excluding titles, only two adjectives denote invisibility in the invisibility spells proper: ἀθεώρητος in **2 229**, **4 621**, and **5 236-237**, and ἄφαντος both in **3 255** and **257**. Though the adjective ἄφαντος does not appear in the magical papyri,¹³⁷ ἀθεώρητος appears elsewhere as a divine trait. In a spell to open doors from the so-called "*Monad or Eighth Book of Moses*," Aion is described as follows: αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Αἰὼν Αἰῶνος, ὁ μόνος καὶ | ὑπερέχων, ἀθεώρητος διαπορεύεται τὸν τόπον, "For Aion of Aion himself, the only and transcendent, passes through the place unseen," *PGM XIII 329-330*. In **5 236-237** from the same ritual handbook, a spell for attaining invisibility provides instructions in which this adjective describes the state of the practitioner after the successful completion of the ritual: τοῦτο φορῶν ἀθε|ώρητος ἔσῃ ἐπιλέγων τὸ ὄνομα, "While wearing this (egg), you will be invisible when you say the name." In ritual texts other than the invisibility spells, synonyms for ἀθεώρητος and ἄφαντος, such as αἰδής,¹³⁸ ἀόρατος,¹³⁹ and

¹³⁷ ἀφανῆς is used to describe gods (*Suppl. Mag.* II, 65.34) and divine assistants (*PGM I 95*).

¹³⁸ *PGM IV 1775-1777*: νεώτατε, | ἄνομε, ἀνίλαστε, ἀλιτάνευ|τε, αἰδῆ, ἀχώματε, κτλ., "Youngest, lawless, merciless, inexorable, unseen, incorporeal,"

¹³⁹ *PGM IV 959-960*: ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε, τὸν θεὸν τὸν ζῶντα, | πυριφεγγῆ, ἀόρατον φωτὸς γεννήτορα, κτλ., "I call upon you, the living god, fiery, invisible begetter of light..."; *V 121-123*: ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε, | τὸν ἐν τῷ κενῷ πνεύματι δεινόν | καὶ ἀόρατον θεόν, "I call upon you, awe-inspiring and invisible god in the empty air."; *VII 961-962*: δεῦρό μοι, ὁ ἐν τῷ στερεῷ πνεύματι, ἀόρατος, | παντοκράτωρ, κτίστης τῶν θεῶν, "Come to me, you who are in the unchanging air, invisible, almighty, creator of the gods."; *XII 265*: κρυπτέ, ἀόρατε, πάντα ἐφορῶν, κτλ., "Hidden, invisible, overseeing all."; *367-368*: ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε | τὸν ἐπὶ κενῷ πνεύματι δεινόν, ἀόρατον, μέγαν θεόν, κτλ., "I call upon you, awe-inspiring, invisible, great god in the unchanging air"; *454-455*: ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε, [τὸ]ν ἐ[ν] τ[ῷ] κ[ε]νῷ [πνε]ύ[μα]τι, δεινόν, ἀόρα[το]ν θεόν, κτλ., "I call upon you, the awe-inspiring, invisible god in the empty air..."; *XIII*

κρυπτός,¹⁴⁰ are commonly found modifying the names of divine beings, thus indicating that the practitioner perceives the divine realm as “invisible.”

Yet does this mean that the practitioner, by means of a ritual act, seeks invisibility in order to partake of the divine? Pease has suggested that this is the case: “We may, then, I think, contrast theophany, in which the god temporarily assumes a visible and quasi-material form, with disappearance, in which man is imagined as putting on the divine.”¹⁴¹ This perception of invisibility as “putting on the divine” appears in Greek literature as early as Plato’s tale of the ring of Gyges,¹⁴² in which the narrator Glaucon suggests that if a person were indeed to possess a ring of invisibility, he could use it for a variety of purposes, in essence, *being god-like* among people:

ἐξὸν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀδεῶς ὅ τι βούλοιο λαμβάνειν, καὶ εἰσιόντι εἰς τὰς οἰκίας συγγίγνεσθαι ὅτῳ βούλοιο, καὶ ἀποκτινύναι καὶ ἐκ δεσμῶν λύειν οὔστινας βούλοιο, καὶ τᾶλλα πράττειν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἰσόθεον ὄντα,

“... it is possible for him to steal whatever he wanted from the marketplace with impunity, and entering houses to lie with whomever he wanted, as well as to murder and release from bonds whomever he wanted, and to do other things among people, being equal to god.”

However, in the context of the *PGM*, the practitioner’s pursuit of invisibility is not necessarily an attempt on his part to achieve divinity, but instead an effort to have a “god-like” trait extended to himself. This fact is highlighted in many of the invisibility spells in which the practitioner clearly perceives the need for divine assistance in this process. Thus, in three different spells we find him invoking Aion/Helios (1 i 2-4), Helios (2 229), or Thoth (7 270-274). Although at times the practitioner uses the so-called initial presentative clause (“I am god X”) to rouse an infernal daimon to do his bidding, e.g. see text 3 251-255, this does not mean that the practitioner sees himself as a god. As Meltzer asserts, such a declaration “is not to be regarded as *hybris* or as an amoral, anarchic free-for-all in which anyone can coerce or bully the gods. This is, rather, an example of the practitioner playing the role of, and being for that duration and purpose an embodiment of, the divine being or power.”¹⁴³

303-305: ἐξορκίζω σε, | πῦρ, δαίμων ἔρωτος ἁγίου, τὸν ἀόρατον καὶ πολυ|μερῆ, κτλ., “I conjure you, fire, daimon of holy love, the invisible and manifold...”; XIVc 16-17: ἐ[πι]καλοῦμαι σε τὸν ἐ[ν] τῷ κενεῷ πνεύματι, δεινόν, ἀόρατον, | παν[τ]οκράτορα, θεὸν θεῶν, κτλ., “I call upon you who are in the empty air, awe-inspiring, invisible, almighty, god of gods...”; cf. also 20.20 and 21.48. Coptic uses the loan word ἀγοραστον, e.g. *ACM*, #70.14, 38, 46, and 111. See Crum 1905, 418-420, and Kropp, *KZT*, 1.22-28. The enchoric equivalent is ἀγορωιτῆ βρωα, on which see Crum, *Dict.*, 487b.

¹⁴⁰ *PGM* XII 265. For the Greek text and an English translation, see footnote 139.

¹⁴¹ Pease 1942, 13.

¹⁴² *R.* 360b-c.

¹⁴³ *ACM*, 17 follows the line of thought in Borghouts, *AEMT*, x, and Wolinski 1987, 22-29.

If, however, the practitioner's effort to cloak himself with a divine attribute is natural given the limitations of humans to perform such acts, more difficult to answer is, "Why is the practitioner seeking the ability to disappear?" or, posed a little differently, "In what contexts does he wish to conceal himself?" Are invisibility spells merely being employed as a tool for fulfilling a practitioner's wishes? If so, the possible contexts for such texts are infinite. At the same time, we must acknowledge the strong likelihood that invisibility texts were not uniform in purpose. Some of them might have been used for wish fulfillment, while others might have been employed for specific contexts.

D 1.2 "CRIMINAL ELEMENTS IN THE MAGICIAN'S CLIENTELE"?

Although scholars have generally been silent about the context of invisibility spells,¹⁴⁴ Smith, in his discussion of invisibility in the *New Testament*, asserts that "the interest of the papyri in such matters [of invisibility and escape] suggests that there was a criminal element in the magician's clientele."¹⁴⁵ Although he does not support his assertion with any textual evidence, upon first glance his pairing of invisibility spells with "a criminal element" seems reasonable, especially given the aforementioned passage regarding the ring of Gyges' ancestor.

Closer in time to the invisibility spells from the *PGM* are early Christian texts that portray Simon Magus, one of the more vilified figures of the early Church, as possessing the ability to vanish. Supposedly through his magic prowess (*magica ars*), Simon was able to contrive signs and prodigies, by means of which – according to Christian texts – he could exalt himself and attract followers; these feats included rendering himself invisible to those who wished to lay hold of him, and again to be visible when he wished to be seen, as in the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* 2.9:

*qui possum magica arte multa signa et prodigia ostendere, per quae possit vel gloriae vel sectae nostrae ratio constare. possum enim facere ut volentibus me comprehendere non appaream, et rursus volens videri palam sim...*¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ More recently Mirecki 2001, 178, when he is commenting on text 3 247-262, writes, "The ritualist who gladly follows the instructions of the didactic Greek text is there portrayed as a positive character who performs a positive action for himself and, presumably, for society, as there is no aggressive intent."

¹⁴⁵ 1978, 120.

¹⁴⁶ *PG* 1.1252. For an introduction to Simon Magus and his portrayal as a magician, see Luck 1999, 125-130; Dickie 2001, 196-198; and Marguerat 2003, 115-120. Filoramo 1990, 147 and 147-152, rather pessimistically, and perhaps rightly asserts that "When modern historians have tried, with the help of original source criticism, to reconstruct a historical Simon from the lifeless figure of heresiological interpretation, theological controversy and legendary embellishment, they find themselves confronted with a thankless task." For general discussions on the life of Simon Magus, see Theissen 2000; Zangenberg 2000; Schneider and Cirillo 1999, 559-570; Adamik 1998; Edwards 1997; Hanig 1997; Garrett 1989, 61-78; Rudolph 1977. See also Meeks 1977.

"I am able by my skill in magic to exhibit many signs and wonders, through which the reckoning of my glory and teaching is able to continue. For I am able to disappear before those who wish to take hold of me, and reappear again at will..."

Perhaps an example of this talent can be seen in the *Acts of Peter* (ca. A.D. 190), where the apostle Peter, relating how he drove Simon from Judaea, tells of how Simon had stolen from a distinguished woman named Eubola with whom he had been staying. He and his unseen accomplices then use magical spells that in some way allow them to steal and then disappear,¹⁴⁷ see also **D 1.5**.

In evaluating such literary sources, however, some difficulties arise. In the case of Plato's tale, can we presume that this account provides insight into our practitioner's desire for attaining invisibility – especially when it is quite removed from the period of the surviving magical papyri? Likewise, how reliable are literary accounts whose goal is to paint one's opposition as charlatan magicians engaging in criminal acts? Certainly, scholars of ancient magic have gone a long way in establishing the validity of using literary sources to shed light on ritual texts.¹⁴⁸ However, in the case of invisibility spells, intent is perhaps even more elusive than other genres of spells, since information regarding context is typically left unstated and the possibilities for such contexts are manifold – a number of which are suggested in literary passages.¹⁴⁹ But if we are to understand the ritual context and intentions of these texts, we must first begin by examining the magical papyri themselves.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ But even in this passage, it is unclear whether or not his invisibility is related to magical action. See *A. Petr. c. Sim.* 17 (Lipsius and Bonnet 1891, 1.63-64). (1) *subintravit hic Simon cum duobus sibi similibus. illos duo de familia nemo vidit, nisi solum Simonem. magia facta sustulerunt omnem aurum mulieris et non comparuerunt*, "This Simon entered by stealth with two individuals like him. No one of the household saw those two, just Simon himself. After performing their magic, they stole all of the woman's gold and disappeared." (2) *quae enim perierunt de domo Eubolae, Simonem magica arte usum fuis[s]e et fantasma facta cum aliis duobus abripuisse*, "Simon employed his skill in magic and after making an apparition, took away the items which were lost from the house of Eubola." (3) *ille autem introductis duobus iuvenibus quos nemo vestrum vidit, magico carmine facto et abreptis ornamentis tuis non comparuerunt*, "He led in two youths whom none of you saw and after making an incantation and taking your ornaments, disappeared." Herzeg 1998, 35 also notes that Simon used some form of magic to steal Eubola's pearls and gold image; see also Bremmer 2002b, 64.

¹⁴⁸ See **B 1.1**.

¹⁴⁹ See **D 1.5**.

¹⁵⁰ At the same time, we cannot summarily dismiss Smith's contention that invisibility spells in the *PGM* were used in a criminal context. After all, Smith only says "the interest of the papyri in such matters [of invisibility and escape] suggests that there was a criminal element in the magician's clientele." Indeed, in more open-ended invisibility spells, as we shall see, there is room to suggest that such spells might have been used in a criminal context. However, despite the fact that being labeled as a practitioner of magic in the time of the late Empire was synonymous with being called "criminal," not every practitioner seeking invisibility was determined to commit illegal acts under his cloak of invisibility.

D 1.3 *MAGICAL TESTIMONIA*: INVISIBILITY AS ESCAPE

If we examine invisibility spells whose primary purpose is invisibility, we find that the context for which the practitioner is pursuing invisibility often is anything but clear.¹⁵¹ In fact, only a few spells even hint at a context. If one accepts the reading of text **1** in the *editio princeps*, lines 9 and 10 seem to suggest that the number of contexts in which an invisibility spell might be used is infinite: ἐπιπορεύομαι ἄχρι ποιήσω [ὄ]κα θέλω. But the interpretation of this passage hinges upon the translation of ἐπιπορεύομαι, a word that does not appear in any other ritual texts. James Keenan¹⁵² translates, “I travel forth [until I do as much as I want]” and asserts that this line – and hence this spell – is in the spirit of the ring of Gyges.¹⁵³ Thus, just as the one who possessed the ring of Gyges could act with anonymity in numerous contexts, so too can the practitioner of this spell. By contrast the first editors translate ἐπιπορεύομαι as “I shall press hard” and interpret this line as a threat against the god or spirit being invoked.¹⁵⁴ Although the tone of the original editors’ translation seems more fitting,¹⁵⁵ Keenan’s interpretation would suggest the kind of all-purpose invisibility spell that could encompass escape or criminal acts. My reading of the text here takes the interpretation in a different direction, see the note to text **1** i 6-13.

Both Smith’s assertion of “criminal clientele” and Keenan’s reading of *P.Oxy.* 3931 seem to be supported by a passage from the *Cyranides* (1.15.33-37), see **B 1.5** and footnote 80.¹⁵⁶ Within this work a description is offered as to how one can make an onyx ring that confers invisibility. Most interesting in these directions is the line that reads οὐδεὶς σε ὄψεται, οὐδὲ ἐὰν βακτάζῃς τι τῶν | ὄντων, “no one will see you, not even if you are carrying any of the things,” – a line that might indeed validate Smith’s assertion of criminal activity, assuming that invisibility here is more akin to avoiding the perceptions of others rather than a vanishing act.¹⁵⁷ Yet it is worth noting that the context here is not clear, e.g. what exactly is being carried off and is there any criminal intent? These lines certainly suggest that the practitioner who uses this formulary is attempting to take “something” – perhaps with criminal intent – under his newly acquired cloak of invisibility. But paired with the concluding lines “no one will see you, whoever you are and *whatever you are doing*” (οὐδεὶς σε

¹⁵¹ e.g. texts **2**, **3**, **4**, **5**, **6**, and **7**.

¹⁵² 1992, 213: “The allusion is to a universal folktale motif. If the spell for invisibility succeeds, the lucky person can go out and do whatever he wants. The most famous classical variation is the story of Gyges’ ring in Plato, *Rep.* II, beginning at 359c, ...”

¹⁵³ A sentiment also echoed in the magical ring of the *Cyranides*, see **B 1.5** and footnote 80, as well as **D 1.3** below.

¹⁵⁴ 46, see **B 1.5**, and also the note to **1** i 6-13.

¹⁵⁵ Such threatening language appears in another invisibility spell, **3** 254-255: ἀνάκτηθι...ὃ ἐὰν ἐπιτάξω...μοι γένηθε, see the note to **1** i 6-13. My reading of the text offers yet another interpretation, see text **1** i 9-10, s.v. ἐπιπορεύομαι, ἄχρι οὗ ποιήσω [ὄ]κα θέλω.

¹⁵⁶ The value of the *Cyranides* as a reliable source for ritual practice is still a point of contention. See Bain 2003, 208-209.

¹⁵⁷ If not, one would have to explain what happens to the stolen items, when they are being carried off by the thief.

ὄψεται ἢ τίς ἂν ἦς {καὶ} ἢ τί καὶ ἂν ποιῆς), this amulet seems to be open-ended, useable in a variety of contexts, only one of which might be criminal. Moreover, there is no clear connection between this invisibility ring and our invisibility spells.

Surveying the remaining invisibility texts yields but a limited amount of additional information. Several texts, perhaps not surprisingly, indicate that the intent is for the practitioner to avoid the perceptions of people, as e.g. text **1** i 6-10 (ἄσσεσουῶ, | ἀμαύρωσον πάντ'τα' ὀφθαλμ[ὸ]ν | ἀνθρώπου ἢ γυναικός, | ἐπεὶ πορεύομαι, ἄχρι οὗ ποι|ήσω [ὄ]σα θέλω, "ASSESOUO, dim the eyes of every man or woman, when I am going forth, until I do all that I want") and text **4** 621-622 (ἀθεώρητος | ἔσει πρὸς πάντας, "you will be invisible to everyone").¹⁵⁸ That the practitioner is attempting to avoid *human* perceptions at the very least tells us that they are not for hunting or avoiding dangerous creatures. This is important to note, since there are examples of invisibility rituals from other cultures used for hunting.¹⁵⁹ Text **2** 229-230 tells us that the practitioner not only seeks to become invisible in the presence of people, but also during the daytime (ἀθεώρητόν με ποίησον... | ἀπέναντι παντός ἀνθρώπου ἄχρι δυσμῶν, "Make me invisible...in the presence of every person until the setting of the sun"). Similar kinds of phrases appear that restrict or limit the time of use for such spells. If one accepts my reading of **1** i 9, the clause ἐπεὶ πορεύομαι, "when I go forth," suggests that the practitioner seeks to become invisible before the eyes of men and women, but only after he has gone out (perhaps from his house). How long this might be is left open-ended (ἄχρι οὗ ποι|ήσω [ὄ]σα θέλω, "until I achieve as many things as I wish," 9-10). Similarly, **3** 257 provides an example where invisibility is only limited by the practitioner's volition (ἄφαντος ἔσει, ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον θέλει, "you will be invisible for as long as you wish").

At the same time text **7** 274-275 (ποιήσον με γεν|έσθαι ἐν ὀνόμασι πάντων κτισμάτων, κτλ., "make me become in the eyes of all created things...") suggests a broader audience than just humans. Though I am unaware of hunting spells in the Greek magical corpus, there are numerous examples of protective spells directed against wild animals (and reptiles).¹⁶⁰ And indeed, the title of one such spell from this genre in *PGM VII* 370-373 (πρὸς πᾶν θηρίον καὶ ἔνυδρον καὶ ληστὰς, "Against all wild animals, creatures living in water, and robbers") suggests the possibility of yet another kind of spell that we shall discuss later, i.e. one intended to protect the practitioner from robbers. Nonetheless, besides these subtle hints, the invisibility spells reveal very little about context.

However, spells in which the practitioner attains invisibility as an indirect outcome of his intended ritual act suggest that invisibility spells – or at least this special subclass of invisibility spells – were used as a component of escape acts.¹⁶¹ *PGM XII* 160-178 claims to be able to release the

¹⁵⁸ The gender of πάντας suggests that ἀνθρώπου might be implied. Cf. **3** 257.

¹⁵⁹ Frazer 1935, 163-164 cites the late 19th century example of the Beku in West Africa.

¹⁶⁰ e.g. *PGM VII* 370-373. For reptiles see *PGM 2* (= *ACM* #25; Crum 1909, 53-55) and Kropp, *KZT*, 2.68-69 (= *ACM* #68). For similar examples in earlier Egyptian spells, see Borghouts, *AEMT*, 51-97, #84-146.

¹⁶¹ Smith closely links invisibility with escape acts, see **D 1.2** and footnote 145. Mirecki 2001, 174-175 briefly mentions that invisibility spells could be used to escape from binding or prison.

practitioner from his bonds and allow him to escape, though the text does not explicitly describe the kinds of circumstances that led to the practitioner's imprisonment or confinement.¹⁶² In this text the practitioner is instructed to stand at the door (presumably the door of his cell) and utter a spell. While exiting, he is to say the following: *λυθήτω[ε]αν οἱ δεσμοὶ | τοῦ δεῖνα, καὶ ἀνοιγήτωσαν αὐτῷ αἱ θύραι, καὶ μηδεὶς αὐτὸν θεασάσθω*, "Let the bonds of NN be loosened, and let the doors be opened for him, and let no one see him," 161-162. The spell then proceeds to instruct the practitioner to set up a trial run to demonstrate the efficacy of the spell in which one invocation to break bonds and another to open the door are provided. There is no mention of an invocation for invisibility, though an all-purpose invocation to Helios is provided.¹⁶³ Given the sequence of events in 161-162, this kind of spell to accomplish an escape might culminate in an ideal occasion for employing a spell to achieve invisibility.

In *PGM I* 42-195, a spell for acquiring an assistant, the attainment of invisibility again appears in the context of escape. Among the assistant's talents listed in the invocation, lines 101-102 parallel the sequence of events in *PGM XII* 161-162: *λύει δὲ ἐκ δεσμῶν [ἀ]λύσει φρουρούμενον, θύρας ἀνοίγει, | ἀμαυροῖ, ἵνα μηδεὶς [κ]αθόλουσε θεωρήσει, κτλ.*, "He loosens from bonds the one who is bound by chains, he opens doors, he blinds in order that no one may see you at all, ..." ¹⁶⁴ Elsewhere in the *PGM* there are spells specifically designated for loosing bonds (*PGM XII* 164-167, 279; *XIII* 288-296) and opening doors (*PGM XII* 166-173, 279; *XIII* 327-333, 1064-1075; *XXXVI* 312-320).¹⁶⁵ Moreover, the invocation of *PGM V* 459-489 loosely pairs the breaking of shackles with making the practitioner invisible.¹⁶⁶ With such evidence in hand – albeit circumstantial – could it be that escape might be one of the contexts in which invisibility spells were employed? Given the existence of spells for breaking chains and opening doors, it would be convenient to think that the remaining invisibility spells might have been intended for just such a context. Problematic, however, is the fact that most of the surviving invisibility spells require the use of ritual material that seemingly would be difficult to obtain for a practitioner who had been incarcerated, although the survival of *collyria* stamps used to imprint medicinal salves might offer insight here, see the note to 2 228, s.v. *ὕγρον ποίει*. Texts 6 and 7 alone use an invocation (*logos*) apart from ritual action (*praxis*).

¹⁶² The only circumstances mentioned are those stated at the beginning of the text in line 160: *ἔάν δὲ θέλης δεικτ[ι]κόν τι ποιῆσαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπολυθῆναι κινδύνου, κτλ.*, "If you want to do something capable of being demonstrated and want to free yourself from danger..."

¹⁶³ Citing Weinreich (1929, 195), Seelinger 1981, 39 notes Helios' role as lord of the doors of heaven and the underworld.

¹⁶⁴ Wansink 1996, 92 mentions this passage in his discussion of the use of supernatural forces for prison breaks, but does not draw a connection between it and other invisibility spells.

¹⁶⁵ For another ritual text for opening doors, cf. also *Geniza* 11.1.17-11.2.17 in Naveh-Shaked 1993, 158-161.

¹⁶⁶ *πέδας λύει, ἀμαυροῖ, ὄνειροπομπεῖ, | χαριτήσιον, κτλ.* "It loosens feet, it causes invisibility, it sends dreams, ...," *PGM V* 488-489.

D 1.4 LITERARY EVIDENCE FOR INVISIBILITY AS AN ESCAPE ACT

Since such ritual texts are silent about the context of spells for escape, we are compelled to turn to literary accounts in which similar kinds of escapes occur – accounts that indeed offer parallels to invisibility spells that imply escape, but at the same time typically remove us from the context of late Roman Egypt.¹⁶⁷ Thus, whether or not there is a symbiotic relationship between such literary texts and the ritual texts from the *PGM* is uncertain. What is clear, however, is that such texts seem to be indicative of a prevailing mind-set in the ancient Mediterranean world that the ability to achieve such escapes was within the grasp of an individual who received divine favor.

In the *Acts of the Apostles* two accounts concern members of the early Christian Church who, cast into prison, miraculously escape. In *Acts* 5.17-24,¹⁶⁸ after the high priest and his associates throw the apostles in jail, an angel of the Lord opens the doors of the jail and brings them out. When the apostles are to be brought before the Sanhedrin, it is discovered that they are not in the jail, though the prison guards are standing watch and the door to the cell is shut. In this account there is no mention of bonds being broken, but the door of the prison is opened and the apostles presumably escape the notice of the guards who are later found to have been at their posts. No prayer or invocation precedes these events, but the abilities of the divine assistant in *PGM* I 101-102 are reminiscent of the actions attributed here to the angel of the Lord.

In the second account (*Acts* 12.5-12) the apostle Peter is thrown into prison by King Herod who is said to have placed four squads of four soldiers each to guard him. With Peter bound in chains and a soldier to his right and left, an angel of the Lord appears and shines a light in the cell, waking Peter. Being exhorted by the angel to get up, Peter obeys and is miraculously freed from his chains. The angel then tells Peter to put his clothes and sandals on and wrap his cloak around himself. After Peter and the angel pass the first and second guards, the iron gate to the city opens by itself and as soon as they walk the length of the street, the angel disappears. Though again the sequence of events is different from that found in the magical papyri, similar themes appear. Before Peter's escape, the Church is said to have been earnestly praying to God for Peter (12.5). The angel of the Lord appears to Peter and his chains fall off, and the iron gate to the city opens by itself. Certainly, in the account in 5.17-24, the apostles somehow avoid the guards' vigilance.

¹⁶⁷ The one exception would be the so-called "Jug" texts – Demotic texts dating to the 1st or 2nd century A.D. that, among other things, relate the story of the lector priest Hi-Hor who finds himself in an Elephantine prison of the Pharaoh. For a general overview, see Ritner 1995, 3345, who cites Spiegelberg 1912 for the text itself, and 1917, 30-34 for a Ptolemaic parallel; cf. also footnote 169 and the example of Artapanus.

¹⁶⁸ For a treatment and overview of the topic of prison escapes in *Acts* and similar motifs in the ancient world, see Weaver 2004. Wansink 1996, 93-94 discusses these passages, as well as *Act.Ap.* 16.25-26, in the context of supernatural escapes, see also 168.

In other literary accounts we find that prisoners can escape because the guards are sleeping (or fall dead).¹⁶⁹ That sleeping guards enable one to avoid another's perception is reminiscent of the famous passage in which Hermes leads Priam past sleeping Achaeans to Achilles in Homer, *Il.* 24.443-447, see **B 1.2** and footnotes 57 and 58. Although none of these passages suggest that apostles employ "magical arts" to bring about slumber, we do find such allegations being leveled at Coptic saints in later Christian martyrdom literature, e.g. in the martyrdoms of Paese and Thecla, the soldiers say the following to the duke: ΔΥΒΩΚ· ΔΥΤΑΝΕ· ΠΛΟΥΞ ΕΥΧΩ ΠΗΟΣ ΧΕ ΠΧΟΒΙΕ· ΔΗΜΑΓΟΣ ΕΠΗΕ ΠΟΥΖΗΗΒ ΕΧΩ(Η)· ΕΠΗΗΚΑΤ ΔΥΠΩΤ, "Lord, these magicians brought slumber upon us, and while we slept, they fled..."¹⁷⁰

Whatever is the case, the argument here is not that the apostles or Peter are represented as employing the same kind of rituals as those in the *PGM* to break chains, open doors, become invisible, or acquire a divine assistant – though the prayer of the Church might be construed as having the same effect. Again one must remember that though the ends are similar, the powers credited with such results are different. Nonetheless, these early Christian texts do portray the kinds of hostile situations in which the use of such rituals or prayers of invisibility could be employed. In addition to the aforementioned examples from the *Acts of the Apostles*, there are also Coptic texts in which Mary, the mother of Jesus, is portrayed as having the ability to liberate those in bondage, following the *historiola* of her liberation of Matthias, the replacement for Judas Iscariot (*Act.Ap.* 1.26).¹⁷¹

The act of escape in this manner by supernatural means is a frequent *topos* in Greek and Latin literary texts as well as Jewish ones.¹⁷² Some of these motifs include chains that fall off of prisoners and prison doors opening up,¹⁷³ as well as just doors and gates opening of their own

¹⁶⁹ Cf. (1) Eus. *PE.* 9.27.23-24, who quotes Artapanus, *Concerning the Jews*, from the 2nd century B.C., on which see *FGrH* 3C.2, fr. 726.3.23-24, Holladay 1983, 1. 218-219, and Charlesworth 1983-1985, 2.901; (2) *A. Paul.* 7, on which see Schmidt 1936, 4, and Hennecke 1992, 2.252-253; (3) *A. Thom.* 122, 154, on which see Lipsius and Bonnet 1891, 2.2, 231-232, and 263, and Hennecke 1992, 2.388 and 400; (4) *A. Andr. et Mt.* 19, on which see Lipsius and Bonnet 1891, 2.1, 89-90.

¹⁷⁰ For this translation and the Coptic text, see Reymond and Barnes 1973, 65 and 173.

¹⁷¹ See Meyer 2002 and 1996, 58-59. For a fuller narrative context of this tale, see Meyer 1996, 58, who cites the examples of the prayer of Mary in London Oriental Manuscript 4714 and in its Ethiopic version. Meyer also provides a summary of texts where the prayer of Mary can be found and offers *ACM* #127.22-27 (Kropp, *KZT*, 1.56-57) as a parallel text, in which apparently another deity is invoked. Cf. also *ACM* #135.252-253 (Kropp 1966, 48-51), a formulary to free someone from prison. For an overview of prison escapes in Christian literary texts, see Wansink 1996, 94.

¹⁷² Several of the motifs here appear elsewhere and have been noted by commentators on these passages. In particular, see Barret 1994, 1.581-582, Conzelmann 1972, 40-41 and 93-94, and Haenchen 1971, 383, note 7, and 384, note 5. Similar escapes from chains and prison are found throughout early Christian literary accounts pertaining to the apostles, see footnote 168; *A. Thom.* 122, 154, 162, on which see Lipsius and Bonnet 1891, 2.2, 231-232, 263, 273-274; and Coptic martyrdoms, e.g. Paese and Thecla in Reymond and Barnes 1973, 40 and 156-157 (56 R i).

¹⁷³ Cf. Eur. *Ba.* 447-448: αὐτόματα δ' αὐταῖς δεσμὰ διελύθη πεδῶν, κληῖδες τ' ἀνήκαν θύρετρ' ἄνευ θνητῆς χερός, "Without visible cause chains fell off their feet, and bars opened up doors without a mortal hand," on which see Dodds 1960, 132, note to 443-448; Ovid, *Met.* 3.699-700: *sponte sua patuisse fores lapsasque lacertis / sponte sua fama*

accord.¹⁷⁴ The author of *Acts* highlights the escapes of the apostles and Peter, and in so doing emphasizes the miraculous deeds performed through the power of their God. At the same time he clearly and not surprisingly differentiates their actions from those of “magicians,” since neither the Sanhedrin nor King Herod are portrayed as accusing them of performing acts of magic after their successful escapes.¹⁷⁵ Again, this line is not as clearly drawn in later Christian texts.¹⁷⁶

In other literary accounts, however, we encounter individuals, under whose watch someone escapes, who claim that an act of magic was performed and in so doing attempt to absolve themselves of negligence. This is certainly the case with Ammianus Marcellinus’ account of the general and targeteer under Valens whom the Armenian king Papa eludes.¹⁷⁷ Likewise, in the martyrdom of Perpetua, the tribune treats Perpetua and her cell mates more severely, out of fear that they might be removed from prison by some sort of magic incantations.¹⁷⁸

est nullo solvente catenas, “There is the report that on their own doors opened and on their own chains slipped from his arms, although no one was loosening them.” Apollonius of Tyana in Philostr. *VA* 7.34, 38 and 8.30 is also depicted as being able to loose his own chains.

¹⁷⁴ See Weinreich 1929, 38-298. For the opening of doors and gates of their own accord, cf. *J. BJ.* 6.293, *Tac. Hist.* 5.13, and *Eus. PE.* 9.27.23, on which see footnote 169.

¹⁷⁵ Reimer 2003, 125-139, analyzing these “prison breaks,” argues that “a ‘magical’ prison break is not necessarily an act of magic,” especially “from the ideological perspective of the narrator and sympathetic narratee” (137). Certainly, the *Acts of the Apostles* distinguishes between the practices of the early Christian Church and those deemed as “magical,” especially in the case of Simon Magus (8.5-24), Bar-Jesus (13.6-12), and the burning of magical books at Ephesus (19.19).

¹⁷⁶ e.g. in the martyrdoms of Paese and Thecla, the Coptic Christian saints are often accused of being magicians or performing magical acts, see **D 1.4** above and 164.

¹⁷⁷ *Amm. Marc.* 30.1.17: *et leniendi causa flagitii sui vel fraudis, quam meliore consilio pertulerunt, apud imperatoris aures rumor omnium tenacissimas incessebant falsis criminibus Papam, intentiones Circeas, in vertendis debilitandisque corporibus, miris modis eum callere fingentes: addentesque quod huius modi artibus, offusa sibi caligne, mutata sua suorumque forma transgressus, tristes sollicitudines, si huic irrisioni superfuerit, excitabit*, “And for the sake of explaining away their own conduct or the deceit, which they suffered because of a better strategem, within earshot of the emperor, holding very fast to every rumor, they began to assail Papa with false charges, alleging that in wonderous ways he was skilled in the incantations of Circe, in transforming and weakening bodies, and adding that having crossed their lines by arts of this kind, after darkness was poured out over himself and his form and the forms of his own mens’ were altered, he would stir up sad cares, if he will have survived this mockery.”

¹⁷⁸ *M. Perp.* 16.2: *cum tribunus castigatius eos castigaret, qui ex admonitionibus hominum vanissimorum verebatur ne subtraherentur de carcere incantationibus aliquibus magicis...*; τοῦ χιλιάρχου ἀπηνέστερον αὐτοῖς προσφερομένου, τινῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ματαιῶς διαβεβαιωσαμένων τὸ δεῖν φοβεῖσθαι μήτως ἐπωδαῖς μαγικαῖς τῆς φυλακῆς ὑπεξέλθουσιν, κτλ., “While the tribune punished them more severely because, from the warnings of the most untruthful men, he feared that they would be withdrawn from the prison by some sort of magical incantations, ...” See Amat 1996, 158-161.

D 1.5 BEYOND SMITH'S "CRIMINAL ELEMENTS": FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS ON THE TOPIC OF CONTEXT

If we return to Smith's hypothesis that "the interest of the papyri in such matters (of invisibility and escape) suggests that there was a criminal element in the magician's clientele," one can only say that the internal evidence does not confirm his assertion. Certainly, spells lacking an explicit context could have been used for such activity – especially given the private use of such ritual power¹⁷⁹ – but in the end such evidence is insufficient. Even if Smith rightly pairs spells of invisibility with escape and if we can safely conclude that *some* invisibility spells were intended for "jailbreaks" so to speak, we are still left to wonder why the practitioner has been imprisoned in the first place.

Could criminal behavior be the cause? It is possible to envision individuals employing magic to engage in common criminal activities,¹⁸⁰ especially in the case of spells to silence dogs.¹⁸¹ Such activities seem to suggest, at the very least, suspicious activity.¹⁸² There are also contemporaneous stories about individuals like Shenute of Panopolis who somehow breaks into the house of the cryptopagan Gessios and steals an idol.¹⁸³ Indeed in the Middle Ages, Albertus Magnus in his *Mineralium libri*, writes the following:

*ophthalmus lapis est ab ophthalmia dictus: cuius color non nominatur, forte ideo quoniam multorum est colorum. valere autem dicitur gestanti contra omnes malos morbos oculorum: visus autem circumstantium dicitur obcaecare: et ideo etiam patronus furum vocatur: gestantes enim eum quasi invisibiles redduntur.*¹⁸⁴

"Ophthalmus stone gets its name from *ophthalmia*: whose color is not named, perhaps since it is of many colors. It is said to be powerful against all evil maladies of the eyes for the one wearing it. It

¹⁷⁹ Meltzer, *ACM*, 16 writes that "private use of ritual power can most easily enter the realm of or at least raise the question of the criminal or antisocial use of ritual power, whereas the temple and state uses normally cannot." At the same time, there are numerous such "private" uses of ritual power that do not raise the specter of criminal activity, e.g. rituals intended for healing or protection.

¹⁸⁰ Lewis 1983, 77-79 cites 1st and 2nd century A.D. evidence of criminal action within the Arsinoite nome including physical violence and thefts from houses.

¹⁸¹ e.g. *ACM* #123. See Erman 1895, 132-135. Cf. also *PGMI* 116-117.

¹⁸² Although it is noteworthy that in the *A. Andr. et Mt.* 21, on which see Lipsius and Bonnet 1891, 2.1, 93-94, Andrew tells his fellow inmates that as they escape from the prison, no dog will bark at them: καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς Ἀνδρέας εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς: πορεύεσθε ἐπ' ἀληθείας γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι πορευομένων ὑμῶν οὐ μὴ ὑλάξει κύων ἐν τῇ γλώττῃ αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, "And in reply Andrew said to them, 'In truth I say to you that while you are going, no dog will bark with its tongue at you'." Cf. *Ex.* 11.7.

¹⁸³ See Emmel 2002, 103-105.

¹⁸⁴ See Borgnet 1890, 42, s.v. *ophthalmus*, see also the note to 2 222, s.v. ἀμαύρωσις. For another English translation, see Wyckoff 1967, 110.

is said to impede the vision of those standing around. And thus, it is called the patron of thieves. For while wearing it, they are made as if invisible.”

The primary difficulty here is that in the case of the invisibility spells from the *PGM* evidence is insufficient to make this claim.

Perhaps the imprisonment of such practitioners merely reflects the marginalization of the practitioner of “magic” in Roman society? The criminalization of “magic” in Roman law is well-documented,¹⁸⁵ and religious persecution, whether directed against Egyptian practitioners or other groups perceived to be a threat – often designated as “magicians” – was an actual phenomenon in Imperial times that one accused of practicing such arts might confront. To offer but a few examples, the 5th century A.D. hagiographer of Moses of Abydos notes how Moses directed monks to attack a local temple served by 23 *ouēēb* priests and 7 *hont*-priests.¹⁸⁶ Gordon points to popular attitudes towards magicians in the ancient novel, e.g. people plan to stone a witch in *Ap. Met.* 1.10, and a woman accused of being a witch and a poisoner are burnt alive in Heliodorus, 8.9.¹⁸⁷ Bremmer adds similar examples to those of Gordon from the *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, including the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, in which regarding Paul the crowds shout, “Away with the magician!” (15) and later Thecla’s mother shouts, “Burn the lawless one!” (20)¹⁸⁸; the *Acts of Peter*, in which the Roman mob first plans to burn Peter and later Simon (28); the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions*, in which Cornelius tells of an order the emperor has given to find all magicians in Rome and the provinces and put them to death (10.55.3); and the *Homilies* in which Caesar has killed numerous magicians (20.4-6).¹⁸⁹ Defending the reliability of such literary accounts, Bremmer highlights the fact that burning is mentioned as a punishment in the 3rd century A.D. *Sententiae* of Paulus, 5.23.17: *ipsi autem magi vivi exuruntur*, “magicians themselves are to be burned alive.”¹⁹⁰

Apart from internal evidence for context, other avenues of exploration can be found within Egyptian ritual and contemporaneous literary texts. Moreover, there are similar kinds of invocations and actions found in historical¹⁹¹ and ethnographic contexts¹⁹² – fields worthy of more extensive

¹⁸⁵ For an introduction to the legal status of magic in the Roman Empire, see Collins 2008, 145-164; Dickie 2001, 251-272; Luck 1999, 96-97; Gordon 1999, 220, 247-248, 253, and 256-265; Kippenberg 1997, 137-163; Phillips 1991, 260-276.

¹⁸⁶ See Amélineau 1988-1895, 687; Till 1936, 49; Wipszycka 1988, 156; Frankfurter 1998, 201, footnote 21.

¹⁸⁷ 1999, 263-264.

¹⁸⁸ 2000b, 55.

¹⁸⁹ See also Dickie 2001, 158-159.

¹⁹⁰ *FIRA*, 2.409.

¹⁹¹ e.g. spells, including cloaks of invisibility, were employed in the Middle Ages, but often do not provide the context in which they were to be used. See e.g. Kieckhefer 1997, 59-60, 240, and 345.

¹⁹² e.g. the Tiv of West Africa used charms of invisibility. East 1939, 185, says that the Tiv believed that they could vanish before the eyes of men who were lying in wait to ambush them on the road. In contrast, the Navajo used blackening rituals to disguise a patient and conceal him from lurking spirits. See Reichard 1950, 196. Dickie 2001, 12 questions the value of ethnographic evidence in shedding light on issues of ancient magic.

exploration – though they may not provide definitive evidence for the ancient context. With these parameters in mind, one can identify a spectrum of possible contexts for the acquisition of invisibility, fulfilling not only the mundane wishes and desires of the ordinary person from late Roman Egypt, but also the better known goals of influential figures whose actions are recounted in literary sources.

Turning to the mundane wishes and desires of local villagers, we find a number of possible reasons why someone might have wanted to acquire invisibility, including (1) to escape the cruelty of tax collectors.¹⁹³ In doing so, such individuals were known to take flight and become fugitives. Indeed “Shall I be a fugitive?” was among the standard questions addressed to oracles;¹⁹⁴ (2) to avoid the hostile ritual actions of others¹⁹⁵ or (3) perhaps the attacks of roadside bandits, a persistent problem throughout this period;¹⁹⁶ (4) to achieve secrecy for ritual acts.¹⁹⁷ How invisibility spells relate to these kinds of acts is unclear; and (5) to discover answers to basic curiosities of life. We know from questions put to oracles at oracular shrines what some individuals would have wanted to know if only they were invisible. Thus, for example, in the *Sortes Astrampsychi* from the 3rd-4th century A.D., we find the following questions: “Am I to be reconciled with my masters?,” “Am I to be my parents’ heir?,” “Am I to get the woman I want?,” “Am I to be sold?,” “Am I to be separated from my wife?,” “Have I been poisoned?,” etc. (translation, Browne 1974, 22-23).¹⁹⁸

Turning to literary accounts, some of the more noteworthy individuals are portrayed as acquiring invisibility at some of the most opportune occasions. The disciples of Marcus and Apollonius of Tyana use their skills for the purpose of escaping judgment.¹⁹⁹ No less than Jesus, Elisha, Simon

¹⁹³ For examples of such cruelty, see Lewis 1984, 161-162.

¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*, 162-163; For the translation here and the Greek text, see Browne 1974, 23, question 86, and 1983, 3.

¹⁹⁵ See the note to text 4 620, s.v. κυνοκεφαλ[ιδιον βοτ(άνην). For a list of malicious magical acts in the *PGM*, excluding examples from the *PDM*, see Brashear 1995, 3503. Moreover, there are numerous phylacteries, most with ancient antecedents, offering the practitioner a degree of protection from a number of potential dangers. See *ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ On the problem of banditry, see Lewis 1984, 203-204. See also D 1.3 and text I i 7-8, s.v. ἀμαύρωσον πάντα ὀφθαλμ[ὸ]ν ἀνθρώπου ἢ γυναικός. Gregory also tells the story of Libertinus to whom many miracles were ascribed, including becoming invisible when Frankish robbers entered his chapel in order to steal his money (Greg. *Dialog.* 1.2).

¹⁹⁷ e.g. *defixiones* had to be placed in specified locations both public and private in order to be successful. When the spell was deposited, especially in a public place, e.g. the baths (*PGM* II 51 and XXXVI 74-75), it is likely that the one depositing the spell did not wish to be seen. However, the notion that this “process was entirely private, secret, and hidden from the public eye” has been called into question by Gager 1992, 20-21. Bremmer 2002b, 65, footnote 65, argues that secrecy became more important towards the end of antiquity.

¹⁹⁸ For the translations here and the Greek text, see Browne 1974, 19-20 and 22-23, questions 46, 48, 55, 74, 90, and 91, and 1983, 2-3. On oracle questions in general, see Brashear 1995, 3448-3456.

¹⁹⁹ On the escapes of the disciples of the Gnostic Marcus, see B 1.2. On Apollonius of Tyana’s escape before Domitian, see C 1.1.

Magus et al. escape death or capture at the hands of an enemy²⁰⁰ – certainly skills that might be sought by a practitioner when confronted by the fickle and ever changing face of society. We also find examples where invisibility seems indicative of divinity or exhibits one's supernatural talents.²⁰¹ Although all of these examples offer some interesting possibilities, it is likely that the invisibility spells from the *PGM* were employed in more than one context – a context that was probably local in its sphere.

In summary, the practitioner of our invisibility spells seeks invisibility as a divine trait, but not to become divine. If we are to understand the context of such spells, however, we must look to the invisibility spells themselves. Doing so, we find that the best information for context can be derived from the subset of invisibility spells in which the practitioner attains invisibility, not as his primary objective, but as an indirect outcome of his intended ritual act. This evidence suggests that such spells were used in a context of escape. If we look to other ritual precedent or evidence from contemporary literary works, we find numerous other intriguing possibilities and scenarios. Ultimately, however, they are just suggestive suppositions – like that of Smith's – which offer little definitive evidence regarding context.

²⁰⁰ e.g. Jesus, though no spell is mentioned, often mysteriously escapes from the angry crowd in *Ev.Jo.* 7.30, 44; 8.20, 59; 10.39; 12.36 (?), see **E 1.6**. In *J. AJ* 9.51-59 Elisha, uttering a prayer, escapes from the hands of the Syrians after God clouds their judgment, see **E 1.7**. According to the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* 1.9 (= *PG* 1. 1252), Simon Magus, using "magic," could disappear before those who wished to seize him, see **D 1.2**. In *Setna* II, col. 6/21-23, the Nubian chieftain, knowing that he cannot contend with Horus-son-of-Paneshe, does a feat of sorcery so as to become invisible and escape capture, see **B 1.6** and footnote 94. See also the example in *Amm.Marc.* 30.1.17 of Papa, king of the Armenians, who is accused of using *incentiones Circeas* to spread darkness and thus, escape, see **D 1.4** and footnote 177.

²⁰¹ Jesus disappears before the two people walking on the road to Emmaus, after he goes to their house, takes bread, breaks it, and prays (*Ev.Luc.* 4.30-31). He also ascends to heaven before the disciples (*Act.Ap.* 1.9). Philostratus in *VA* 3.13 tells of Apollonius of Tyana's visit at the castle of the Hindu sages, see **C 1.3** and 119. In Lucian's *Philopseudes* (36), the Pythagorean Arignotus tells a story in which the Egyptian holy man and scribe Pancrates mysteriously disappears from his sight, see **E 1.3**. In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 2.5 and 3.22-24, both Pamphile and Lucius anoint their bodies with a magical salve that transforms them into an owl and an ass, respectively, though their intentions are never clearly stated, see **E 1.5** and **E 1.8**.

E 1.1 IDENTIFYING THE INVISIBLE PRACTITIONER

Then the chieftain of Nubia knew that he could not contend with the Egyptian. He did a feat of sorcery so as to become invisible in the court, in order to escape to the land of Nubia, his home.

Setna and Sa-Osiris 6/21 (translation, Lichtheim 1980, 3.149)

The discovery of the Greek magical papyri in the 19th century provided scholars with invaluable “insider” evidence concerning the practice of magic in late Roman Egypt. As Brashear writes, “Until the discovery of the magical papyri the only evidence for magical practices in the ancient world were gems and an occasional literary allusion or description of incantations and exorcisms in classical authors. The *PGM* provided scholars for the first time and *en masse*, with the genuine, ancient grimoires, directed from the magicians’ workshops.”²⁰² However, in spite of the fact that these primary texts tell us much about the kinds of ritual activities in which the practitioner and perhaps his clientele engaged, when asked, “Who used invisibility spells?,” these “ancient grimoires” are surprisingly stingy in yielding information.

E 1.2 “WANDERING CRAFTSMAN” OR TEMPLE PRIEST

Given the silence of the evidence, it is not surprising that a debate has arisen over the identity of the practitioners – at the heart of which lies the question of how closely such individuals were tied to the Egyptian temple priesthood. In his introduction to the *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, Betz addresses the issue in a well-known passage:²⁰³

“One must be cautious, however, in making generalizing statements in regard to the figure of the magician in the Greek magical papyri. Some of the magicians writing and using spells may have been associated with the temples of Egyptian and Greek deities. According to Egyptian practice, the magician was a resident member of the temple priesthood. Genuine understanding of the older Egyptian and Greek languages and traditions can be assumed in some of the material, but by no means in all instances.

There are texts reflecting perhaps a different type of magician, a type we know from the Greek religious milieu. This type of wandering craftsman seems keen to adapt every religious tradition that appeared useful to him, while the knowledge and understanding of what he adopted was characterized by a certain superficiality. This type of magician no longer understood the old

²⁰² 1995, 3400.

²⁰³ xlvi; cf. also Betz 1983, 161.

languages, although he used remnants of them in transcription. He recited and used what must at one time have been metrically composed hymns; but he no longer recognized the meter, and he spoiled it when he inserted his own material. In the hands of magicians of this type, the gods from the various cults gradually merged, and as their natures became blurred, they often changed into completely different deities. For these magicians, there was no longer any cultural difference between the Egyptian and the Greek gods, or between them and the Jewish god and the Jewish angels; and even Jesus was occasionally assimilated into this truly 'ecumenical' religious syncretism of the Hellenistic world culture."

Nock likewise underscores the isolation of this magician – a magician who "plays a lone hand, using the power of traditional beliefs in his own way, for his own ends, often as a lien on a god rather than as a means of approach to him."²⁰⁴ But more recently the view which isolates the magician from the rest of his society has come under increasing criticism. For example, Ritner has argued forcefully that the Egyptian practitioners of magic were by no means operating at the edge of Egyptian society, but "the magician was invariably a literate priest, the very source of tradition."²⁰⁵ Frankfurter, drawing attention to the breadth of the rituals in the handbooks, from healing spells to curses, as well as to the entire range of rites "concerned with that obscure (sometimes personified) cosmic force known in Egyptian as *heka*," asserts that far from being just an ordinary "wandering craftsman," the practitioner here is "the *hry hb*, or lector priest, who fulfilled this role publicly by virtue of his (or her) professional association with the sacred books of the temple." Thus, despite the negative effects of Roman reforms on Egyptian religious practice and the debilitating disintegration of the temple's financial security and its institutional infrastructure, Egyptian priests nonetheless continued to retain their authority as experts, able to tend to the private needs and anxieties of individuals, and as professionals, trained to administer sacred Egyptian rites and rituals of the temples and affiliated religious institutions.²⁰⁶ Perhaps even better evidence in support of this position is the simple fact that numerous spells within the *PGM* are bilingual (Greek and Demotic),²⁰⁷ and the ability to read and write Demotic, as well as Hieratic, was exclusively the domain of the Egyptian priesthood.²⁰⁸ Hence, although many of the texts from the *PGM* are written in Greek, e.g. all of our invisibility spells, their ancestry is likely Egyptian. In stressing this link between writing and authorship, Ritner asserts that "...the typical Egyptian will either have composed in (probably poor) Greek, or had recourse to a scribe who could. Knowledge of the Demotic script showed special literary mastery unavailable to most Egyptians and all Greeks. The bilingual archive should then have served scribally-trained

²⁰⁴ 1929, 230.

²⁰⁵ 1995, 3354 and 3357-3358.

²⁰⁶ Frankfurter 1998, 211; cf. also 198-200.

²⁰⁷ The following magical texts include both Greek and Demotic passages: P.Leiden I 384 verso = *PDM* xii/*PGM* XII, P.Magical (also referred to as P.London-Leiden) = P.Brit.Mus. 10070 + P.Leiden I 383 = *PDM* xiv/*PGM* XIV, P.Brit.Mus. 10588 = *PDM* lxi/*PGM* LXI, and P.Louvre E3229 = *PDM* Suppl. in the *GMPT*.

²⁰⁸ See Ritner 1995, 3361-3362, and Frankfurter 1998, 211-212.

Egyptians knowledgeable in Greek, not *vice versa*. The additional presence of Hieratic makes this conclusion a certainty. Demotic and Hieratic literacy, the standard manual format, the explicit priestly attributions, the traditional 'magical' content, as well as the Theban origin, all suggest that the source of the archive was a temple scriptorium.²⁰⁹

The evidence of language certainly offers a plausible argument in favoring the role of the lector priest as redactor of these texts.²¹⁰ At the same time, scholars such as Dieleman have illustrated that even in the Demotic sections of the bilingual papyri one sometimes finds evidence of Hellenistic influence. Moreover, Dieleman himself goes as far to suggest that Egyptian scribes, under the influence of "market demands," might have first written spells in Greek before establishing a similar corpus in their sacred tongue.²¹¹ At the very least, such spells found in "Theban" grimoires, no doubt, did not always remain in the priestly context of the Egyptian lector priest or his private clientele. In another well-known passage describing the carnivalesque atmosphere that could animate the Egyptian marketplace, Origen, quoting Celsus on the miracles of Jesus, writes:

"And he (i.e. Celsus) immediately makes them (i.e. the miracles of Jesus) equal to the works of sorcerers (γόητες), who promise rather miraculous things, and likewise equal to the accomplishments of those who have learned from the Egyptians who sell their holy teachings in the middle of marketplaces for a few *oboloi*, driving demons out of people, blowing away diseases, calling up the souls of heroes, displaying very expensive meals, dining-tables, cakes, and dishes that do not exist, and moving things that are not truly alive as if they were alive, making them appear so to the imagination."²¹²

Whether one takes this passage at face value or not, it is not unreasonable to think that some of these ritual texts – including invisibility spells – found their way out of their local Egyptian context. But *who* used these texts in the broader Mediterranean region becomes a matter of speculation. Moreover, such a question raises new ones about literacy and the use of these spells. Was literacy a basic requirement for the practitioner, or was there a way in which a non-literate client could use such a

²⁰⁹ 1995, 3361-3362.

²¹⁰ But whether or not *all* of these ritual texts have Egyptian ancestry is unclear given that there is limited evidence from Pharaonic Egypt for some genres of spells. For example, Faraone 1999, 34 asserts that "there is almost no extant evidence that the Egyptians practiced love magic prior to Alexander's conquests." On the deficit of love spells from Pharaonic Egypt, see Ritner 1995, 3348.

²¹¹ On the Hellenistic character of the Greek spells, see Dieleman 2002, 289. On the transmission of the Greek and Demotic corpus, see *ibid.*, 293-294.

²¹² Origen, *Cels.* 1.68: καὶ εὐθέως κοινοποιεῖ αὐτὰ πρὸς τὰ ἔργα τῶν γοήτων, ὡς ὑπερχεινόμενων θαυμασιώτερα, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν μαθόντων ἀπὸ Αἰγυπτίων ἐπιτελούμενα, ἐν μέσαις ἀγοραῖς ὀλίγων ὀβολῶν ἀποδιδόμενων τὰ σεμνὰ μαθήματα καὶ δαίμονας ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἐξελαυνόντων καὶ νόσους ἀποφυσώντων καὶ ψυχὰς ἠρώων ἀνακαλούντων δεῖπνά τε πολυτελῆ καὶ τραπέζας καὶ πέμματα καὶ ὄψα τὰ οὐκ ὄντα δεικνύντων καὶ ὡς ζῶα κινούντων οὐκ ἀληθῶς ὄντα ζῶα ἀλλὰ μέχρι φαντασίας φαινόμενα τοιαῦτα.

text, i.e. could the spell be memorized or read by another literate person? Certainly, such questions are worthy of further investigation. Unfortunately, however, other than being able to point to lector priests and their local literate clientele, we know very little about the individuals who employed such texts for the deliberate acquisition of invisibility.

Thus, although the Greek magical papyri provide us with primary source material for understanding the ritual actions and invocations of practitioners seeking invisibility, when it comes to information regarding who used such texts, we are forced to turn to literary accounts to gain a better understanding of the actor in this ritual. The perspective of the insider is desired, but it is the outsider's view – with all its biases and shortcomings – that is preserved. Such accounts occasionally parallel the practices of our invisibility texts, but for the most part tell us more about how such actions were perceived by Mediterranean society-at-large rather than by their users in Thebes and Oxyrhynchus.

Problematic also is the fact that literary texts most often do not depict individuals using invisibility spells to disappear. However, there is often but a fine line between a spell of invisibility as understood by the extant magical texts and a mere ritual act or utterance occurring prior to disappearance. Given the religious climate of the day, the believing person who either heard about or experienced a person's disappearance would of necessity have had the passing thought that the individual who disappeared did so by utilizing an invisibility spell, whether defined as a ritual act or a sacred utterance. Thus rather than presenting the limited number of literary examples in which an actual spell of invisibility appears, this section will include a number of passages in which the practitioner attains invisibility deliberately, oftentimes in a mysterious manner.

E 1.3 EGYPTIAN PRIESTS AND INVISIBILITY: LITERARY TEXTS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD

While most literary accounts are written from a Greek or Roman perspective, we are fortunate to have an Egyptian literary text that describes practitioners who disappear – the 1st or 2nd century A.D. Demotic tale *Setna and Sa-Osiris*.²¹³ Even though this representation appears in a fantastic folktale account portraying the actions of a practitioner from the period of Ramses II and earlier, see **B 1.6**, it seems to offer some parallels with the kinds of contemporary Egyptian invisibility spells found in the *PGM*.²¹⁴ As we have already seen, in the course of this tale, the Nubian chieftain (*3te n igš*), upon seeing his failed efforts to harm Pharaoh and contend with Horus-son-of-Paneshe Pharaoh's ritual

²¹³ See **B 1.6**.

²¹⁴ Dieleman 2005, 223 lists nine tenets regarding the literary construct of the ritual expert in these accounts: "1. The figures are related to the Egyptian priesthood. 2. The royal court is the arena of display and conflict. 3. Magic is not condemned on moral grounds. 4. Egyptian ritual experts are decent members of society. 5. The priest's knowledge is based on the consultation of books. 6. Effective magical texts are written by the god Thoth. 7. Books written in Thoth's own hand are carefully kept from mortals. 8. Powerful ritual experts are of the past. 9. The described magical techniques are also prescribed and explained in contemporary magic handbooks."

expert (*hry-tb*),²¹⁵ makes two efforts at escape: (1) he casts a big cloud on Pharaoh's court in order to affect everyone's vision, and (2) he does a feat of sorcery to become invisible, transforming himself into a wild gander. Each effort is foiled by the prowess of Horus-son-of-Paneshe who is able to reverse all of the Nubian's spectacular actions. Moreover, at the end of the tale it is Horus-son-of-Paneshe in the guise of Sa-Osiris who destroys the Nubian, then vanishes before Pharaoh's court. The fact that the author mentions spells of invisibility in a story coming from the region of Thebes around the 1st or 2nd century A.D. seems to document his familiarity with these kinds of texts,²¹⁶ which did exist in this region at approximately the same time.²¹⁷

But once we move away from Egyptian literary texts that portray the deliberate acquisition of invisibility, we seem to become further removed from the practitioner of our spells of invisibility. In the few Greek accounts in which Egyptian priests are portrayed as disappearing, there are no specific references to spells of invisibility, but instead the disappearances are shrouded in mystery. In his *Philopseudes* (34-36),²¹⁸ Lucian relates a tale through the Pythagorean Arignotus about an Egyptian holy man (ἅγιος ἱερός) by the name of Pancrates who spent 23 years learning magic (μαγεύειν παιδευόμενος) from Isis. Arignotus claims that he has been a companion (ἑταῖρος) and associate (συνήθης) to Pancrates who in turn shared his secret knowledge (ἀπόρρητοι) with him. Moreover, he tells how Pancrates was able to work all sorts of wonders.²¹⁹ For example, he could transform common items by means of a spell into able-bodied servants who could perform menial tasks.²²⁰ One day Arignotus, having secretly overheard this spell, tries to use it to make a pestle carry water, but fails miserably. Thereupon, Pancrates unexpectedly appears on the scene and reverses Arignotus' spell. Afterwards, he seemingly disappears.²²¹ Though no spell of invisibility is explicitly mentioned,

²¹⁵ See footnotes 90 and 91. On the Nubian's use of *hkr* here, see A 1.4 and footnote 36.

²¹⁶ Despite being embedded in a rather fantastic tale, that a practitioner could use a ritual spell to disappear or escape was probably an accepted fact by individuals in society at this time. Cf. Faraone's comments on Greek magic spells in 1999, 17: "I might contrast the use in a modern literary text of an unremarkable device of practical technology (for example, a fax machine or a telephone) with a fantastical conceit, such as a large invisible rabbit named Harvey or an elixir that brings eternal youth. Just as we believe in the mundane power of a fax machine and find it unremarkable ...many Greeks believed in or at least feared the practical efficacy of magic spells."

²¹⁷ See A 1.1, B 1.6, and footnote 89.

²¹⁸ Graf 1997, 89-90 discusses this work in light of the initiation of magicians.

²¹⁹ According to Arignotus, Pancrates could ride on crocodiles as well as swim with them: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐώρων αὐτὸν εἶ ποτε ὁρμίσαιμεν τὸ πλοῖον ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τεράστια ἐργαζόμενον, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ κροκοδείλων ὀχούμενον καὶ συννέοντα τοῖς θηρίοις, τὰ δὲ ὑποπτήσσοντα καὶ καίνοντα ταῖς οὐραῖς, ἔγνω ἱερόν τινα ἄνθρωπον ὄντα, κτλ., "And when I saw him performing many other marvels whenever we anchored the boat safely, and indeed riding on crocodiles and swimming with wild beasts, while they were cowering and wagging their tails, I recognized that he was a holy man."

²²⁰ Such claims are reminiscent of those in spells in the *PGM* for acquiring divine assistants. See Scibilia 2002, and Ciruolo 1995.

²²¹ αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπολιπὼν με λαθῶν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅποι ἀφανὴς ᾤχετο ἀπίων, "And after departing from me unnoticed, he went away invisible, but to where I do not know."

it is clear that the power to make unexpected exits is within the repertoire of Pancrates' talents, whether he be called a "magician" or a "holy man."

In the *Greek Alexander Romance*,²²² Nectanebo, the last Pharaoh of Egypt, is portrayed in the role of Egyptian "magician." Having fled the Persian conquest of Egypt, he finds his way to the court of Philip II of Macedon, who is away on a military campaign, and quickly becomes the spiritual confidant of the barren Olympias. Exhibiting his talents in dream interpretation and prophecy, Nectanebo deceptively seduces the queen in the guise of the god Ammon and thereby becomes the actual father of her son-to-be, Alexander. In a remarkable display of his magical powers before Philip, he transforms himself into a serpent (and in some accounts an eagle as well) and then disappears,²²³ giving Philip a sign that Olympias' pregnancy is of divine origin. Though in a Macedonian context, here the "magician" figure is again portrayed as being Egyptian and a devotee of Egyptian religious practice. That Nectanebo is able to transform himself is again reminiscent of the material found in text 7, though here no ritual act or invocation is depicted.

E 1.4 DELIBERATE ACQUISITION OF INVISIBILITY IN LITERARY TEXTS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD

In addition to the relatively few Egyptian and Greek literary accounts that depict Egyptian priests or magicians, there are numerous literary accounts from the Mediterranean region depicting magicians, divine men, and individuals renowned for performing wondrous acts who, for a variety of reasons, seek to attain invisibility deliberately. The primary issue, however, is not whether these individuals attained invisibility, but whether they did so through the kinds of spells found in the *PGM*. The evidence for such a link is elusive. Yet to provide a coherent survey of so many diverse characters and literary genres presents many problems – problems not to be resolved in this overview. One difficulty is the great diversity of individuals to whom the act of attaining invisibility deliberately is attributed – individuals often classified by rather arbitrary terms such as μάγος, γόης and ἀγύρτης.²²⁴ Unfortunately, one person's "charlatan magician" is too often another's "holy man," and

²²² See Kroll 1926, and Stoneman 1991. For a discussion of Egyptian influences in the Hellenistic legends of Nectanebo, see Ritner 1995, 3346, footnote 40.

²²³ Kroll 1926, 1.10: ποτέ δὲ εὐωχομένων αὐτῶν ἀλλάξας ἑαυτὸν διὰ τῆς μαγείας εἰς δράκοντα πολὺ μείζονα τοῦ πρώτου ἦλθε διὰ μέσου τοῦ τρικλίνου...καὶ ταῦτα πράξας πρὸς ἔνδειξιν ἀφανῆς ἐγένετο, "Once while they were being well entertained, he transformed himself through magic into a much bigger serpent than the first and slithered through the middle of the dining-room...and after doing these things for proof, he became invisible."

²²⁴ For a starting point on such terms, see the following: for μάγος, see B 1.4 and footnote 71; for γόης, Graf 1997, 24 and 28; Dickie 2001, 13-14; Johnston 1999, 112-122; Smith 1978, 69-70, etc.; for ἀγύρτης, Graf 1997, 22 and 27-28; Dickie 2001, 61-67, 224-243, etc.

vice versa.²²⁵ But rather than painting a detailed picture of individuals who employed invisibility in the ancient world, the following accounts merely attempt to provide a general impression of such individuals by broadly placing them into the following groups: (1) wise women and witches, (2) divine men, (3) men of God, and (4) amateur practitioners.²²⁶ Despite such arbitrary divisions, there is no presumption that the individuals within each category possess uniform or identical traits other than the specified trait of their designated category and the ability to disappear at will. I have attempted to avoid extensive debate concerning the adequacy of such modern terms as “divine man.”²²⁷ More than anything, the categories are intended to provide a snapshot of the religious landscape in which such individuals – and, no doubt, spells of invisibility – flourished.

E 1.5 WISE WOMEN AND WITCHES

Although men are more likely to be portrayed as deliberately acquiring invisibility than women, there are a few passages in which women are depicted as possessing this power. Typically, these women are cast into the role of foreign witch or sorceress on the fringes of mainstream society.²²⁸ For example, Medea, in the role of foreign sorceress, places a mist over the eyes of the daughters of Pelias so that they are blind to her true intentions.²²⁹ Likewise in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*, the Thessalian witch Pamphile²³⁰ is able to become invisible by transforming herself into an owl. In a

²²⁵ Authors often apply biased and derogatory terms such as “magic” or “magician” to denigrate individuals and their acts. Hence, Christian authors, to offer but one example, could accuse Simon Magus of being able to disappear by “magical arts,” see **D 1.2** and footnote 146. Their opponents could make similar charges regarding the miracles of Jesus, see **E 1.6** and footnote 233. Grant 1959, 93 writes, “in polemical writing, your magic is my miracle, and vice versa.”

²²⁶ Although the topic of transformation is briefly addressed in **E 1.5**, as well as in **E 1.8**, the complex figure of the shapeshifter in Greek and Latin literature will not be introduced at this point, but instead in the notes to 7 274-277, s.v. *ποίησόν με γεν|έσθαι* and especially *λύκον, κύνα, λέον|τα, πῦρ, δένδρον, γῦπα, τεῖχος, ὕδωρ ἢ ὁ θέλει*.

²²⁷ For a very brief overview of the debate concerning the figure of “divine man,” see Reimer 2002, 56-57, as well as Gallagher 1982, 1-41, who provides a good overview of the debate in 20th century scholarship. Other important works include, Du Toit 1997; Blackburn 1991; Holladay 1977; Bieler 1935-1936.

²²⁸ Not every woman portrayed as disappearing plays the role of witch or sorceress. In Euripides’ *Orestes*, Helen, on the verge of being killed, is said to have vanished possibly by the *τέχνη μάγων*, see **B 1.4**. A more mysterious example is that of the woman who delivered the Sibylline books to Tarquin in D.H. 4.62.1-4. After having delivered the remaining books, she commands Tarquin to take good care of them and simply vanishes (*ἠφανίσθη*). It is not explicitly stated whether she is human, a messenger of the gods, or divine.

²²⁹ See **C 1.4** and footnote 132.

²³⁰ In Apul. *Met.* 2.5 Byrrhaena calls Pamphile, *maga primi nominis et omnis carminis sepulcralis magistra*, “a sorceress of the first order and teacher of every song of the tomb”; in Pseudo-Luc. *Asin.* 4, Abroea calls Hipparchus’ wife a *μάγος δεινή*, “skillful sorceress.” Also, in Apul. *Met.* 2.25 we find the case of witches who transform into weasels, see **C 1.2** and 113. For Thessaly as a noted realm for witches, see Phillips 2002, 378-386.

ritual paralleling some of our invisibility spells,²³¹ Pamphile disrobes and proceeds to smear an ointment over her entire body. She then utters words to her lamp. What follows is a description of her transformation:

“As her limbs are gently moving to and fro, soft little feathers spring forth, and strong little wings grow. A curved nose hardens, hook-like nails are formed by contraction. Pamphile becomes an owl. After thus uttering a plaintive screech, now testing herself little by little, she leaps from the ground; soon lifted into the sky she flies away on full wing.”²³²

Certainly, if the practitioner in text 7 were to envision the ideal outcome for his spell, i.e. transformation into another form, this depiction of Pamphile’s transformation might just be it.

E 1.6 DIVINE MEN

Expanding beyond the borders of Egypt and the realms of foreign witches, one also finds a number of individuals who, though human in form, possess divine traits, including the ability to disappear. These individuals include figures such as Jesus of Nazareth²³³ and Apollonius of Tyana.²³⁴ Although, again, mention of a spell of invisibility is often lacking, the common denominator here is that each individual is human in form and deliberately attains invisibility through his own divine nature.

²³¹ e.g. text 7. In text 2 224-225 the practitioner also anoints his whole body. Cf. also Pseudo-Luc. *Asin.* 12.

²³² Apul. *Met.* 3.21: *quis leniter fluctuantibus promicant molles plumulae, crescunt et fortes pinnulae; duratur nasus incurvus, coguntur unguis adunci. fit bubo Pamphile. sic edito stridore querulo iam sui periclitabunda paulatim terra resultat; mox in altum sublimata forinsecus totis alis evola*, “While her limbs were gently moving, soft little feathers sprout, and strong little wings grow; her curved nose hardens. Curved talons are formed. Pamphile is becoming an owl. With a plaintive cry uttered, now testing herself, little by little she leaps from the earth. Soon she flies away on full wing aloft into the sky.”

²³³ For a general discussion on the topic of Jesus and magic, primarily in regard to miracle, see Aune 1980, 1523-1539, who cites bibliography on Jewish traditions of Jesus as a sorcerer and magician as well as Christian sources that reflect and counter such charges. See in particular 1525, footnote 78; on the latter topic, see also Thee 1984, on the writings of Justin Martyr, 333ff., Origen, 382-384 and 392-394, Tertullian, 413-414, Arnobius, 425-427, Lactantius, 431-433, and others.

²³⁴ For general treatments of the role of Apollonius and his relationship to ancient magical practice, see Dickie 2001, 159-161 and 209-212; Luck 1999, 130-137; Graf 1997, 94-95; Smith 1978, 84-93. Philostratus defends Apollonius against the charges of being a magician in *VA* 1.2, 5.12, 7.17 and 39, and 8.7.2ff., etc., though some Christian writers thought otherwise. See e.g. Luck 1999, 130, as well as footnote 227. For a broader treatment of Apollonius, see Reimer, 2002; Anderson 1994, and 1986; Dzielska 1986, 1652-1699; Bowie 1978, 1652-1699.

In the case of Jesus, the canonical Gospels provide numerous examples of him mysteriously escaping from an angry crowd.²³⁵ For example, in *Luke* 4.16-30, after spending forty days in the wilderness, Jesus enters Nazareth and visits the synagogue. Having read from *Isaiah* and proclaimed to be the fulfillment of this prophecy, he proceeds to rebuke the crowd for not receiving his message. Afterwards, being cast out of the synagogue, Jesus is in danger of being hurled from a cliff. But Luke writes in 30: αὐτὸς δὲ διελθὼν διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο, "But after passing through the middle of them, he went on his way." In a similar passage from *John* 8.59, Jesus angers people in the temple after responding to their questions. John writes: ἤραν οὖν λίθους ἵνα βάλωσιν ἐπ' αὐτόν. Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἐκρύβη καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, "And so they picked up stones to throw at him. But Jesus hid himself and went out from the temple." That the author of John portrays Jesus as hiding himself is interesting in light of text 6 where the practitioner invokes darkness to hide himself. Certainly, that the acquisition of invisibility would relate to escape is not at all surprising. In the only passage that is not related to escape, Jesus disappears before the eyes of the two people whom he met on the road to Emmaus as evidence of his resurrection. While with these two, Jesus gives thanks and breaks bread. *Luke* 24.31 then states: αὐτῶν δὲ διηνοιχθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτόν· καὶ αὐτὸς ἄφαντος ἐγένετο ἀπ' αὐτῶν, "Their eyes were opened and they recognized him (i.e. Jesus) and he vanished from their sight." A similar scene occurs during Jesus' ascension in *Acts* 1.9.

The neo-Pythagorean Apollonius of Tyana is portrayed as an extraordinary man whose life was punctuated by miraculous events. In fact, Philostratus writes that before his birth, the god Proteus appeared to Apollonius' mother and revealed that her child would be like him. Among some of Proteus' traits that are noted include his ability to change forms and escape capture, as well as his knowledge of things present and future.²³⁶ The former of these talents is dramatized in Apollonius' disappearing act from the courtroom of the emperor Domitian.²³⁷ As it will be recalled, Apollonius, upon his acquittal for crimes against the state, is depicted as vanishing immediately after Domitian

²³⁵ Also *Ev. Jo.* 7.30: ἐζήτουν οὖν αὐτόν πιάσαι, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπέβαλεν ἐπ' αὐτόν τὴν χεῖρα, ὅτι οὐπω ἐληλύθει ἡ ὥρα αὐτοῦ, "And so they were seeking to seize him, and no one laid their hand on him, since his hour had not yet come." Cf. also 7.44, 8.20, and 10.39. See also 12.36: ταῦτα ἐλάλησεν Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐκρύβη ἀπ' αὐτῶν, "Jesus said these things, and after going away, he hid himself from them." See Smith 1978, 120.

²³⁶ Philostr. *VA.* 1.4: κούρη δὲ αὐτόν τῇ μητρὶ φάσμα ἦλθεν Αἰγυπτίου δαίμονος, ὁ Πρωτεύς ὁ παρὰ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ ἐξαλλάττων· ἡ δὲ οὐδὲν δείσασα ἤρετο αὐτόν, τί ἀποκύησιν· ὁ δὲ "ἐμέ" εἶπε· "κύ δὲ τίς;" εἰπούσης "Πρωτεύς," ἔφη, "ὁ Αἰγύπτιος θεός." ὅστις μὲν δὴ τὴν σοφίαν ὁ Πρωτεύς ἐγένετο, τί ἂν ἐξηγοίμην τοῖς γε ἀκούουσι τῶν ποιητῶν, ὡς ποικίλος τε ἦν καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλος καὶ κρείττων τοῦ ἀλῶναι, γινώσκειν τε ὡς ἐδόκει καὶ προγιγνώσκειν πάντα; "while his mother was pregnant with him (i.e. Apollonius), Proteus, who is a shapeshifter in Homer, came to her in the guise of an Egyptian daimon. And she, fearing nothing, asked him what kind of child she would bring forth; and he said, "One like me." She asked, "Who are you?" After she had spoken, he said, "Proteus, the Egyptian god." What then could I relate to the auditors of the poets about who Proteus was in regards to wisdom? How complex he was and constantly changing and too strong to be caught, and how he seemed to know and foreknow all things." See Smith 1973, 225, s.v. Metamorphosis.

²³⁷ See C 1.1.

requests a private audience with him. Though no spell of invisibility is mentioned, Apollonius only disappears after quoting line 13 from book 22 of Homer's *Iliad* (οὐ γὰρ με κτενέεις, ἐπεὶ οὔτοι μórσιμός εἰμι, "For you will not kill me, since I am not mortal").²³⁸ Lines from Homer are occasionally quoted within the magical corpus, and this particular verse appears within the so-called Homer oracle (*PGM* VII 96). Though the Homeric oracle is not of importance here, the use of Homeric lines to obtain ritual power, in this case invisibility or escape, is well-attested in antiquity.²³⁹ By tapping into such power, Apollonius again demonstrates the kind of act that the public believed the divine man capable of performing.

Certainly other individuals fall into the broad category of people who claimed to be able to perform extraordinary acts. It has already been noted that opponents of the early Church, such as Simon Magus and Marcus (or at least his disciples) were portrayed as being able to attain invisibility through "magical" acts.²⁴⁰ But as the example of Apollonius of Tyana illustrates, these reputed wonder workers were not always directly tied to the Christian tradition. Dio Cassius (80.18.1) tells the following tale concerning a daimon in Thrace in the 3rd century who had claimed to be Alexander of Macedon:

"A little before this a daimon, saying that he was Alexander of Macedon and bearing his form and all his attire, made his way from the regions around the Ister. After he had appeared there in some way or another, he passed through Moesia and Thrace, reveling with four hundred men who were equipped with *thyrsi* and fawnskins, doing no evil. And it was agreed by everyone in Thrace at that time that both lodging and all necessities were to be provided for him at public expense. And no one dared to speak against or resist him, not magistrate, not soldier, not procurator, not governors, but as if in a procession he traveled by day and by way of proclamation as far as

²³⁸ Apollo, in the guise of Agenor, utters this line to Achilles in hot pursuit, after which he escapes.

²³⁹ Cf. *PGM* IV 2152-2154 in which three Homeric verses are followed by potential uses: τούτους τοὺς εἰχίλους ἐάν τις ἀποδράσας | φορῆ ἐν σιδηρᾷ λάμνῃ, οὐδέποτε εὔρεθῆσεται, "If after running away someone wears these verses (i.e. the Homeric verses) on a thin piece of iron, he will never be found." On the use of Homeric verse in ritual, see Collins 2008, 104-131, and Schwendner 2002. Lactantius, *Inst.* 5.3 (= *PL* 6.558) connects Apollonius' disappearance with a "magical" feat: *si magus Christus, quia mirabilia fecit, peritior utique Apollonius, qui (ut describis) cum Domitianus eum punire vellet, repente in iudicio non comparuit, quam ille, qui et comprehensus est, et cruci affixus*, "If Christ were a magician, because he performed miracles, without a doubt Apollonius who, as you describe, when Domitian wished to punish him, suddenly disappeared in the courtroom, is more skilled than the one who was both arrested and nailed to a cross." See also Eus. *Hierocl.*

²⁴⁰ See **B** 1.2 and **D** 1.2.

Byzantium. From there he set sail and put in at Chalcedon, where indeed having performed sacred rites by night and having buried a wooden horse, he disappeared (ἀφανής ἐγένετο).²⁴¹

This account provides another example of a divine figure (here said to be a daimon), in the guise of Alexander or possibly even Dionysus. One can see how this particular individual used the resistance myths of Dionysus to his advantage. As Graham Anderson writes, “Educated rulers in antiquity knew only too well what had happened to King Pentheus when he had opposed the will of Dionysus and tried to imprison the god: he had gone mad and was torn limb from limb.”²⁴² Even more important to the context of this discussion, however, is the fact that this “holy man,” after advancing to Chalcedon, performs some kind of ritual at night, buries a wooden horse,²⁴³ and mysteriously disappears. The details are sketchy, but the end result is clear.

E 1.7 MEN OF GOD

The line between humans who attain invisibility because of intrinsic power and those who do so by divine agency is not an easy one to draw, especially when presented with the difficulties of evaluating sources. Of course, this problem also arises in our assessment of the practitioner of the invisibility spells. Does he credit his ability to disappear to the gods or daimons being invoked or does he perceive himself as becoming a god?²⁴⁴ Certainly the practitioner understands the need to invoke the aid of deities in achieving his desire. Yet such ritual invocations or prayers for achieving invisibility were not simply limited to the regions of Thebes and Oxyrhynchus.

In the Hebrew narrative of 2 *Kings* 6.8-23, the prophet Elisha, being pursued by the Syrian army, calls to the LORD (YHWH) for help after he and his servant find themselves surrounded (verse 18):

וַיִּתְפַּלֵּל אֶל־יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר
הֲרִי־נָא אֶת־הַגּוֹיִּיְהוָה בַּסּוּרִים

²⁴¹ ὀλίγον γὰρ τούτων πρότερον δαίμων τις Ἀλέξανδρός τε ὁ Μακεδῶν ἐκεῖνος εἶναι λέγων καὶ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ τὴν τε σκευὴν ἅπασαν φέρων, ὠρμήθη τε ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἴστρον χωρίων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐκείνη ἐκφανείς, καὶ διὰ τε τῆς Μυσίας καὶ τῆς Θράκης διεξῆλθε βακχεύων μετ' ἀνδρῶν τετρακοσίων, θύρσους τε καὶ νεβρίδας ἐνεσκευασμένων, κακὸν οὐδὲν δρώντων. ὠμολόγητο δὲ παρὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ τότε γενομένων ὅτι καὶ καταγωγαὶ καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια αὐτῷ πάντα δημοσίᾳ παρεσκευάσθη· καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν οὔτ' ἀντειπεῖν οἱ οὔτ' ἀντάραι, οὐκ ἄρχων, οὐ στρατιώτης, οὐκ ἐπίτροπος, οὐχ οἱ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγούμενοι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν πομπῇ τινὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐκ προρρήσεως ἐκομίσθη μέχρι τοῦ Βυζαντίου. ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἐξαναχθεὶς προσέσχε μὲν τῇ Χαλκηδονίᾳ γῆ, ἐκεῖ δὲ δὴ νυκτὸς ἱερά τινα ποιήσας καὶ ἵππον ξύλινον καταχῶσας ἀφανής ἐγένετο.

²⁴² 1994, 2-3.

²⁴³ Anderson, *ibid.*, 3 thinks the reference to a buried wooden horse might be recalling the buried horse which housed the ring of Gyges' ancestor in Plato, *R.* 360a.

²⁴⁴ See **D 1.1** for a brief discussion on the use of initial presentative clauses.

וַיִּכַּם בַּסְנוּרִים כַּדְבָר אֲשֶׁר

“Elisha prayed to the LORD, and said,
‘Strike this people, please, with blindness.’
So he struck them with blindness
as Elisha had asked.” (NRSV)

Though Elisha is certainly a far different character from the Egyptian holy man Pancrates or the Thessalian witch Pamphile, his prayer is reminiscent of the invocation appearing in text **1 i 7-8**: ἀμαύρωσον πάντ’ ὀφθαλμ[ὸ]ν | ἀνθρώπου ἢ γυναικός. Cf. also *Ge.* 19.11, see **C 1.4** and footnote 129. Does this mean that Elisha uses a spell of invisibility to achieve his desired goal? – “Strike this people, please, with blindness.” Similar kinds of invocations are present in later Jewish ritual texts.²⁴⁵

But instead of trying to turn Elisha’s invocation into a ritual act of “magic” – especially given the prohibitions against such practices in Hebrew scripture²⁴⁶ – it would be better to view the ritual invocations in the *PGM* for what they are – texts for obtaining ritual power. Thus, the practitioner of the invisibility spells in the *PGM* uses invocations to obtain ritual power, i.e. invisibility, and similarly, Elisha prays to the LORD who in turn honors his request and blinds the Syrians. Elisha achieves his desired ends, but such power is granted only because of his status and special relationship with the LORD. The invocations themselves and the ends are very similar, but the religious framework of each is quite distinct.

E 1.8 AMATEUR PRACTITIONERS

Most, if not all, of our invisibility spells are part of larger ritual handbooks that were most likely used by learned practitioners. But what, if anything, can literary sources tell us about the individuals who participated in such practices, but were not directly involved in the transcription process? Certainly, the material evidence suggests that the use of such texts was widespread among the

²⁴⁵ Cf. also Kayser 1888, on the use of *Psalms* 54 and 84. Campbell 1908, lxvi, on a ring of copper and iron; Schäfer 1981, section 618, on a way to escape notice in the market using artemision, aromatics, and the heart of a fox; Bos 1994, 73, on the use of a stone; Emanuel 1995, 128-129, on using the Name for invisibility; Wolfson 2001, 119 and footnote 172. For Hebrew magical texts in general, see Margalioth 1966; Naveh and Shaked 1985 and 1993; Schiffman and Swartz 1992; Schäfer and Shaked 1994, 1997, and 1999; Harari 1997.

²⁴⁶ Despite the perceived similarities of Jewish ritual texts and other magical corpora, prohibitions in the Pentateuch attempt to set Jewish ritual practice apart from that which is perceived to be outside this scope, e.g. *Le.* 19.26, “You shall not practice augury or witchcraft” (NRSV) and *Ex.* 22.17, “You shall not permit a female sorcerer (מכשפה) to live.” (NRSV).

populace throughout the Empire.²⁴⁷ Moreover, it has already been noted that Origen, quoting Celsus, suggests that such spells were commonly bought and sold in the Egyptian marketplace.²⁴⁸ That such texts were available to a wider audience is clear. However, what this might suggest about the literacy of the common practitioner is anything but clear. Unfortunately, most literary sources are rather silent on this point. One of the few passages in which an amateur practitioner tries to attain invisibility (via transformation) is the rather comical passage in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 3.22-24, where Lucius begs his lover Photis to instruct him in Pamphile's art of transformation. The results are disastrous:

"Going over this recipe again and again, she tiptoes into the room very cautiously and brings out a little box from a small chest. I first embrace and kiss it, and pray that it favor me with a successful flight. After hastily casting off my clothes, I greedily plunged my hands into the box. Having scooped up a goodly amount of the concoction, I rubbed it over all the parts of my body. And now flapping my arms up and down, I was eager to become a bird like Pamphile. Yet there are no little wings nor feathers anywhere, but instead my hairs are clearly being thickened into bristles, soft skin is being hardened into hide, in the outermost parts of my hands, all my fingers are disappearing and being contracted into individual hoofs, and a large tail is coming out the end of my spine. Now my face is huge, my mouth wide-ranging, my nostrils gaping, and my lips pendulous; in this way my ears also bristle because of excessive growth. Nor do I see any consolation for my unfortunate transformation, except for the fact that, even though I am now unable to embrace Photis, my genitals are growing. And while I am examining my entire body, now devoid of help, I see that I am not a bird, but an ass."²⁴⁹

Certainly, this amusing warning to those who might approach magical rites light-heartedly tells us little about the invisibility spells from Egypt. Nonetheless, if spells of invisibility ever found their way to the Egyptian marketplace, which most likely they did, the amateur practitioner had to be disappointed upon discovering that they did not always achieve a successful outcome.

²⁴⁷ e.g. inscribed *lamellae* have been found throughout the various regions of the Roman Empire. See *GMA*, xxi-xxiii. See also Graf 1997, 5-6, and Nock 1929, 229.

²⁴⁸ See E 1.2.

²⁴⁹ Apul. *Met.* 3.24-25: *haec identidem asseverans summa cum trepidatione irrepit cubiculum et pyxidem depromit arcula. quam ego amplexus ac deosculatus prius, utque mihi prosperis faveret volatibus deprecatus, abiectis propere laciniis totis, avide manus immersi et haurito plusculo cuncta corporis mei membra perfricui. iamque alternis conatibus libratis brachiis in avem similem gestiebam. nec ullae plumulae nec usquam pinnulae, sed plane pili mei crassantur in setas, et cutis tenella duratur in corium, et in extimis palmulis perditio numero toti digiti coguntur in singulas unguas, et de spinae meae termino grandis cauda procedit. iam facies enormis et os prolixum et nares hiantes et labiae pendulae; sic et aures immodicis horripilant auctibus. nec ullum miserae reformationis video solacium, nisi quod mihi iam nequeunt tenere Photidem natura crescebat. ac dum salutis inopia cuncta corporis mei considerans non avem me sed asinum video; cf. also Pseudo-Luc. *Asin.* 13-14.*

In conclusion, the select literary passages just surveyed indicate that the practitioner of our invisibility spells was only one of several kinds of individuals living in different parts of the ancient Mediterranean to whom the ability to realize invisibility was attributed. Though most often portrayed from the outsider's perspective, the figure of the Egyptian priest, putting stereotypes aside, probably provides the closest parallel to the practitioner of these texts given the internal evidence provided by the magical texts themselves as well as their provenance. Examining the numerous other figures portrayed as disappearing reveals that only the Thessalian witch Pamphile and the young man Lucius use rites that might traditionally be labeled as "magical." However, it is also worth noting the acts of others before they disappear. Apollonius quotes a line from Homer. Dio's daimon of Alexander carries out rites at night, then buries a wooden horse. Elisha prays to the LORD. Though these are not the traditional ritual acts and utterances found in our invisibility spells, they certainly are related to the disappearing acts that follow. It must be emphasized, however, that though the individuals within each group deliberately disappear, they are not immediately to be equated with the practitioners of our texts. That each society had its own very unique religious experience, despite similarities to other belief systems, should be recognized, and that such practices might have been influenced by the religious and social atmosphere of the day should be acknowledged.

F 1.1 THE EXTANT INVISIBILITY TEXTS: AN OVERVIEW

A survey of the magical corpus reveals that there are ten extant invisibility spells ranging from the 3rd to the 5th century²⁵⁰: text 1 (*P.Oxy.* LVIII 3931), 3rd/4th century A.D.; texts 2 and 3 (*PGM* I 222-231 and 247-262) and *PGM* I 102, late 4th or 5th century A.D.; text 4 (*PGM* VII 619-622), 3rd/4th century A.D.; texts 5, 6, and 7 (*PGM* XIII 234-237, 267-269, and 270-277), mid-4th century A.D., see **B 2.2** and **2.3**; *PGM* V 459-489, 4th century A.D. ?; and *PGM* XII 162, ca. A.D. 300-350. This study provides commentaries for only seven of these ten invisibility spells – namely those which are clearly designated as spells of invisibility, see **A 1.3**. The seven spells in this edition are not presented in chronological order. Instead, texts 1 i 1-13, 2 222-231, and 3 247-262 are treated first since they are the only three invisibility spells whose sole intent is invisibility and as such are not dependent upon part of another, longer ritual text. These are followed by 4 619-622, 5 234-237, 6 267-269, and 7 270-277, all of which are invisibility spells that in some way are dependent upon a sacred name found outside of the primary spell.

For additional bibliography on the ten invisibility texts, see the bibliography at the end of the volume (pp. 141-142). For texts 1-7, see the introductions to each text as well.

F 1.2 DISCOVERY AND PROVENANCE

Six of the seven invisibility spells in this edition are either part of the so-called “Theban Magical Library” or loosely connected to it.²⁵¹ In the early 19th century an Armenian named Giovanni Anastasi (1780-1857) became Consul General in Egypt for Sweden and Norway.²⁵² He held the position for some thirty years (1828-1857), conducting a thriving business in the antiquities trade. Anastasi was able to obtain large collections of papyri, including a number of magical books, some said to have been discovered in Thebes,²⁵³ perhaps from a tomb or temple library.²⁵⁴ In 1828 he sold a

²⁵⁰ Invisibility spells seem to disappear at about the same time as horoscopes. See Jones 1999, 6-7.

²⁵¹ The discovery of the so-called “Theban Magical Library” has been well documented by scholars. See Betz, *GMPT*, xlii-xliii, and 2003, 6-8, and Brashear 1995, 3401.

²⁵² On Anastasi, see Brashear 1995, 3401; *GMPT*, xlii; Dawson and Uphill 1972, 8; Dawson 1949, 158-160; Lagercrantz 1913, 46; Hayes 1938, 14-15.

²⁵³ Betz, *GMPT*, xlix, footnote 10, quotes the following from F. Lenormant’s catalogue of the Anastasi collection entitled, *Catalogue d’une Collection d’Antiquités Égyptiennes*. “Cette collection rassemblée par M. d’Anastasi, Consul général de Suède à Alexandrie, sera vendue aux enchères publiques Rue de Clichy, No. 76, les Mardi 23, Mercredi 24, Jeudi 25, Vendredi 26 and Samedi 27 1857 à une heure, etc. (Paris 1857) 84: ‘M. Anastasi, dans ses fouilles à Thèbes avait découvert la bibliothèque d’un gnostique égyptien du second siècle, et une partie de cette bibliothèque avait passé avec sa première collection dans le musée de Leide; c’est de là que venait le fameux texte magique en écriture démotique et deux petits papyrus grecs pliés en forme de livres qui font plusieurs des plus beaux ornements de ce musée.’”

²⁵⁴ Betz 2003, 7, footnote 23, notes that this is Preisendanz’s conclusion in 1933, 91-95.

large codex with Greek and Coptic spells to the Rijksmuseum in Leiden, now P.Leiden inv. J 395, 1078 lines in length.²⁵⁵ The invisibility spells found in 5 234-237, 6 267-269, and 7 270-277 represent a portion of this handbook. Though a number of other magical texts ultimately derive from Anastasi's collection, their Theban origin cannot be ascertained.²⁵⁶ Of these papyri P.Berol. inv. 5025 is a complete roll 80.2 x 33.5 cm; its 347 lines are written in five columns. The roll was purchased in 1857 in Paris by the Egyptologist R. Lepsius,²⁵⁷ and is the source of texts 2 222-231 and 3 247-262. Likewise, P.Brit.Mus. inv. 121 is an opisthographic roll 2 m x 33 cm, with 19 columns on the recto and 13 on the verso, for a total of 1026 lines; it was purchased in 1888 by the British Museum,²⁵⁸ and is the source of text 4 619-622. The only invisibility spell not in some way connected to Thebes or the Anastasi collection is text 1, which comes from the Oxyrhynchite nome.

F 1.3 DATING

The paleographical examination of the ritual handbooks and formularies in which the invisibility spells are found reveals that these texts date between the 3rd and 5th centuries A.D. The first editors of *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3931, evaluating the hand on the front, conclude that it is "a very competent cursive of the fourth, or possibly the late third, century." In the case of P.Brit.Mus. inv. 121, Kenyon²⁵⁹ places the writing in the 3rd century, but Wessely²⁶⁰ dates it slightly later to the turn of the 3rd or beginning of the 4th century (Preisendanz dates column 29 to the 4th century²⁶¹). Noting its very legible hand sloping slightly to the right, Preisendanz also dates P.Leiden inv. J 395 to the 3rd/4th century, but

²⁵⁵ *ibid.* See also Brashear 1995, 3402. For a description of the codex, see Daniel 1991, x-xi; Leemans 1885, 2.77; Preisendanz, *PGM*, 2.86.

²⁵⁶ e.g. P.Berol. inv. 5025 = *PGM* I; P.Berol. inv. 5026 = *PGM* II; P.Brit.Mus. inv. 121 = *PGM* VII; P.Brit.Mus. inv. 10588 = *PGM* LXI; P.gr.Louvre inv. 2391 = *PGM* III; and P.Louvre inv. E3229 = *PDM Suppl.* See Brashear 1995, 3403-3404.

²⁵⁷ Brashear 1995, 3404; Preisendanz 1927, 106, and *PGM*, 1.1, footnote 1.

²⁵⁸ For a description, see Kenyon 1893, 84; Preisendanz, *PGM*, 2.1; Brashear 1995, 3403. Preisendanz 1933, 93 assigns this piece to the Theban collection, but Brashear 1995, 3403 notes that "there is no indication of its provenance nor of the circumstances under which it was purchased for the British Museum in 1888."

²⁵⁹ 1893, 84: "The writing is a rather cursive uncial, probably of the 3rd century, clear and regular."

²⁶⁰ 1893, 2: "In später Zeit ist auch unser Homerorakel geschrieben worden, wie schon der Schriftcharakter lehrt; wir werden es an die Wende des 3. - 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. zu setzen haben, aus der auch die übrigen Zauberpapyri stammen, ..."

²⁶¹ *PGM*, 2.1.

Daniel to the middle of the 4th century.²⁶² The latest of the invisibility spells occurs in P.Berol. inv. 5025 dating to the late fourth or fifth century.²⁶³

Although it is possible to date these pieces paleographically, it should be noted that the handwriting only tells us when these individual handbooks and formularies were copied. Neither the script nor the content of the texts allows us to date the time at which the spells originated, nor to trace their history subsequent to their appearance in the surviving handbooks. As Brashear has suggested, one must remember that "...texts on papyrus and parchment in our collections today cannot be the original works of the scribes who penned them, but are rather compilations from a multitude of various sources...What these sources were or how far they are removed from the copies we have today is – in most instances – impossible to say."²⁶⁴ However, the dates at which texts were copied do demonstrate a continuing interest in such spells.

F 1.4 HANDBOOKS, FORMULARIES, AND AMULETS

Most of the invisibility spells are found in the great ritual handbooks, or "recipe" books of the Greek magical corpus: texts 2 and 3 in *PGM* I, text 4 in *PGM* VII, and texts 5, 6, and 7 in *PGM* XIII.²⁶⁵ The inclusion of invisibility spells seems to have been somewhat standard in such collections. Text 1 is perhaps the only example of a single formulary for a spell of invisibility, though it is a formulary which is possibly written alongside other spells, see the introduction to text 1. In contrast, the remains of applied magic (including papyri, gems, *lamellae*, ostraca, *defixiones*, etc.) hold no evidence suggestive of invisibility, even though text 5, a formulary for making an amulet from a falcon's egg, suggests that such amulets of invisibility did exist. Given the organic – and hence perishable – nature of the materials, however, it is not surprising that such amulets have not been recovered.²⁶⁶ At the same time written evidence suggests that recipes could indeed call for the production of durable objects, such as the onyx ring said to confer invisibility in the *Cyranides* 1.15.33-37. Given that material evidence for other genres of spells, such as aggressive and erotic

²⁶² Preisendanz 1927, 122: "Unziale mit zeitweiliger Tendenz zur Kursive, III./IV. Jahrh. von gleicher Hand wie P.Leid. J 397 [X] und P.Holm"; Daniel 1991, xi also identifies a second, perhaps earlier, hand.

²⁶³ *PGM*, 1.1: "Der Text der Kolumnen ist von nur einer, nicht sehr geübten Hand in verhältnismässig deutlicher Kursive niedergeschrieben, die Buchstabenformen weisen – ohne besonders Charakteristisches zu bieten – auf das ausgehende vierte oder das fünfte Jahrh. n. Chr. Von der gleichen Hand wohl stammen die wenigen Randbemerkungen."

²⁶⁴ 1995, 3415-3416.

²⁶⁵ For a discussion of such ritual handbooks, especially the "Theban Magical Library," see Brashear 1992. For a discussion of similar kinds of handbooks in Coptic, see Frankfurter's introduction to *ACM* # 127-133, pp. 259-262.

²⁶⁶ Similar organic kinds of objects, such as the heliotrope plant and stone as well as the chameleon foot and plant, appear in examples that Pliny provides in *Nat.* 37.50.165 and 38.39.115, see **B 1.4** and **1.5**. Egg amulets also appear in later Hebrew texts, see the note to **5 235**, s.v. *ὄν ἱέρακος*.

magic, are better documented as regards “finished products” and “applied magical spells,”²⁶⁷ it is disappointing that invisibility recipes have apparently left no “archaeological footprints.” Such dearth of evidence naturally accounts for our meager knowledge of who actually used them, where they were used, and when.

F 1.5 FOREIGN ELEMENTS

The Greek magical papyri are renowned for their use and blending of religious traditions of various cultures.²⁶⁸ Although all of the invisibility spells discussed here are Egyptian in provenance and certainly owe a strong debt to their Egyptian heritage,²⁶⁹ they are not wholly Egyptian in character. The invocation of Helios in place of Re in text 2 229 and perhaps Aion/Helios in 1 i 3-4, as well as the introduction of Typhon-Seth’s name in 3 253-254, suggest Greek influence, an influence that is also evident from the language of shapeshifting used in text 7. Moreover, Jewish elements are represented by the use of magical names with Semitic roots, e.g. Μαρμαριαωθ μαρμαριφεγγη in text 3 260-261, and text 4 619 which claims to have come from *The Diadem of Moses*.

F 1.6 TITLES AND AUTHORITATIVE TRADITIONS

Just as other genres of spells, whether in ritual handbooks or individual formularies, have standard titular designations introducing the body of the spell,²⁷⁰ so also do spells of invisibility, though these titles are not always identical: ἀμαυρωτικὸν ἄνθρωπον ποιῆσαι in 1 i 1-12, ἀμαύρωσις in 2 222 and 3 247, perhaps ἡ ἀμαυρά in 5 234-235, and ἀβλεψία in 6 267. Two invisibility spells receive non-traditional designations: text 4 619-622 begins with a title that designates the book out of which the spell was taken: ἐκ τοῦ Διαδήματος Μοῦσέως, “From *The Diadem of Moses*.”

Within the titles and the texts of the spells themselves, it is common to find a word, phrase, or clause that lays claim to an authoritative tradition – a tradition that has precedent in earlier Egyptian texts.²⁷¹ For example, 2 222 is entitled ἀμαύρωσις ἀναγκαία, “an *indispensable* invisibility spell,” and 3 247, ἀμαύρωσις(ς) δοκίμη, “a *tested* spell of invisibility,” thus letting the person who employs

²⁶⁷ For examples of applied magic in the *PGM*, see Brashear 1995, 3502. Other examples can be found in *Suppl. Mag.* I, 37-50; *GMA* 24, 40; Gager 1992, 78-115. For erotic amulets, see Delatte and Derchain 1964, 233-244.

²⁶⁸ Brashear 1995, 3422-3429 highlights a number of these “foreign elements.”

²⁶⁹ See A 1.1 and 1.4, and B 1.6.

²⁷⁰ e.g. μνημονική, “Memory spell,” *PGM* I 232; III 467, etc.; θυμοκάτοχον, “Charm to restrain anger,” *PGM* IV 467, 831, etc.; ἀγωγή, “Spell of attraction,” *PGM* IV 1390, 1928, etc.

²⁷¹ See A 1.1.

these spells know that his effort will not be in vain. At other times, the title draws its authority from invoking the name of a renowned practitioner or a noted written work. For example, 4 619-622 is said to be taken "From *The Diadem of Moses*." Occasionally, an authoritative statement enters the text proper. In 3 247 after the title comes the phrase μέγα ἔργον, "it (i.e. the spell) works well," and at the end the text boasts ἔχε(ι) λίαν καλ(ῶ)ς, "it works very well." Such rhetorical strategies, paralleled by numerous antecedents in ancient Egyptian literature, suggest that the practitioner either hopes to bolster his chances of success by utilizing spells that have worked in the past or wishes to make his texts more attractive to his clientele.²⁷²

F 1.7 RITUAL ACTS (*PRAXEIS*)

A key component of realizing invisibility is often, but not always,²⁷³ the performance of a ritual act. In addition to summoning a god or daimon, at least four of the seven invisibility spells examined in this study require the performance of some kind of ritual act. Included in *PGM I* are two recipes for invisibility, texts 2 and 3. Both involve combining several ingredients. In 2 223-224 the practitioner is to mix and grind the fat or eye of an owl, the dung ball of a scarab, and sage oil. Next he is to anoint his whole body with the mixture, 2 224-225, and proceed with his invocation. In 3 248-250 the mixture includes the eye of an ape or that of a person that died a violent death, oil of lily, and an *aglaophōtis* plant. The ritual has specific directions for how the ingredients are to be ground, "from right to left." Instead of anointing his whole body with the mixture, the practitioner is instructed to rub his forehead alone, 3 256. In this recipe, however, one begins to see a potential problem for the exegesis and interpretation of such rituals: the practitioner sometimes provides alternate ingredients or names for his concoctions. In this context a marginal gloss seems to explain what plant is meant by the *aglaophōtis* plant – "i.e. the rose."²⁷⁴

In addition to fashioning mixtures, the practitioner performs other ritual acts. In 4 620 the practitioner is instructed to place dog's head plant under his tongue while lying down.²⁷⁵ He is then told to rise up early in the morning and utter a sacred name before speaking to anyone. In 5 234-237 directions are given for crafting a special falcon-egg amulet to be used in conjunction with yet another powerful name.

²⁷² See Dieleman 2005, 254-280.

²⁷³ Other than the performative act of invoking or summoning a spirit, text 1 is not accompanied by a ritual act unless the fragmentary column to the right contains it, which is a possibility, see the text, translation, and discussion of 1 ii 14-28. Text 6, however, an invocation of darkness, and text 7, an invocation of Thoth, lack a description of ritual acts that may have accompanied the spell proper.

²⁷⁴ See the note to 2 223, s.v. στέαρ and 3 249, s.v. τὸ ῥόδον λέγει.

²⁷⁵ For the wide-ranging uses of plants in ritual, see Scarborough 1991, 138-174.

F 1.8 INVOCATIONS (*LOGOI*)

Equally important is the ritual invocation of a god or daimon by his or her name. Each of the seven invisibility spells in this treatment is comprised of an invocation. Whereas in **1** i 3-6 the practitioner mysteriously invokes a god who seems to be Aion/Helios as τὸ διῆκον πνεῦμα | ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανόν, θεῶν | πνευμάτων θεόν, “the spirit that reaches from earth into heaven, all-powerful god of the spirit gods (?),” in **2** 229 he specifically calls the god by name, Helios. In **3** 253, however, he turns his attention to the realm of the underworld and summons an infernal daimon – most likely Typhon-Seth – to accomplish his task. In **6** 268 the more abstract “darkness” is invoked through the sun disk, whereas in **7** 273 it is again a god, this time Thoth. That the practitioner summons the divine to his cause is readily apparent from these examples, but the far more difficult question to answer is how each deity or daimon is able to aid the practitioner in his quest for invisibility.

Another hallmark trait of invocations within the magical corpus is the practitioner’s predilection for secret²⁷⁶ and powerful names for the gods, often comprised of little more than ῥῆσις βαρβαρική or *voces magicae*.²⁷⁷ Of these magic words occurring throughout ritual texts as the core of magical formulae, Betz asserts, “The fact that *voces magicae* are inserted into older hymns means that these hymns are no longer considered magically effective as such, but that they need the additions in order to accomplish their purposes. The point of these *voces magicae* is, therefore, that they imagine and imitate non-human language that existed prior to human articulation and comprehension. When deities and demons speak, their language must consist of sound sequences that do not add up to anything resembling everyday human speech. The secret names of the deity, therefore, belong to this divine language...”²⁷⁸ An example might include a brief word like αρεουω following the name of the spirit being invoked in text **1** i 3-6. At other times these words appear to integrate elements of foreign words, and even Greek. For example, λαιλαμ in the great name of Helios in **2** 226, Μαρμαριαωθ in **3** 260, and κραμμ[α]σι χαμμαρ in **4** 624, appearing closely after **4** 619-622, all seem to have Semitic roots. In text **1** we find magical words that are not only influenced by Greek, but seem to fit into the context of the spell syntactically, see especially **1** i 12-13, s.v. ἄλκμε, and perhaps **1** i 11, s.v. χωρεῖθ. Though these magical words are often used interchangeably within magical names of other deities, some of the designations, such as Typhon-Seth’s magical name at **3** 253-254, are more closely tied to a specific deity. Also while in some invisibility spells the magical names are explicitly written out, in others they are not.²⁷⁹ For example at the climax of the ritual in *PGM* XIII 1-343, a god reveals the divine name to the practitioner (210-211), but the actual name is

²⁷⁶ Ritner 1995, 3347, footnote 44, notes that “This ‘gnostic technique’ (and obsession) is attested in virtually every Egyptian spell from the earliest sources onward.”

²⁷⁷ For an introductory treatment see Brashear 1995, 3429-3438, and in the same work his “Glossary of *Voces Magicae*,” 3576-3603.

²⁷⁸ 1995, 164.

²⁷⁹ *ibid.*, 160-165.

not provided in the text. Thus, rather than including the name in the invisibility spells that follow, generic phrases such as ἐπιλέγων τὸ ὄνομα, “when you say the name,” 5 237, and λέγε τὸ ὄνομα, “Say the name,” 6 269, are inserted in place of the actual divine name.

F 1.9 SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

The practitioner regularly abbreviates specific words or uses symbols in their stead.²⁸⁰ Of the seven spells only text 1 does not use abbreviations or symbols in place of words. One finds the following abbreviations: κα'λ' for καλ(ῶς) in 3 262; βοτ' for βοτ(άνην), λαβ' for λαβ(ών), and κει for κεί(μενος) in 4 620; and κ_ι for κ(αί) in 6 268 and 7 271, 272 (*bis*). Moreover, symbols appear for the following words: Ϻ for δεῖνα in 3 254 and 261; Ϻ for δί(σκος) in 6 269; Ϻ for ἥλιος in 2 229; Ϻ for ὄνομα in 2 226 and 3 259, and ὀνόματα in 4 621; similarly Ϻ for ὄνομα in 6 269 and 7 277; and Ϻ for οὐρανός in 6 269.

²⁸⁰ For a list of such symbolic representations, see *PGM*, 2.269-270, and *Suppl. Mag.* II, p. 338, index X.

Faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is too light to transcribe accurately.

TEXTS AND COMMENTARIES



TEXT I i 1-13

Oxyrhynchus
P.Oxy. LVIII 3931

3rd/4th century A.D.
 Plate I front and Plate II back

EDITIO PRINCEPS: J.R. Rea and T. Bateson, *P.Oxy.* LVIII, 1991, 44-47.

EMENDATIONS: J.G. Keenan, Review of *P.Oxy.* LVIII in *BASP* 29, 1992, 213 for lines 4 and 9.

COMMENTARIES: *ed. prin.*; J.G. Keenan, *BASP* 29, 1992, 213 and 216 (drawings on back).

TRANSLATION: *ed. prin.*

PHOTO: *ed. prin.*, plate III (back only), see plates I and II.

DESCRIPTION: papyrus. 20 x 9.5 cm, as in *ed. prin.*, 44-45.

LOCATION: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Text I is a formulary which is possibly written alongside other spells, given the writing in the fragmentary column to the right (perhaps part of this spell) and especially the *figurae magicae* on the back. Lines 7-8 reveal that the practitioner is targeting the eyes of others, but lines 9-10 suggest that the reason for doing so is for the practitioner to go unnoticed. Thus, the first editors rightly point to parallels between ἀμαυρωτικόν and various cognate words in the titles of other invisibility spells, see the note to I i 1-2, s.v. ἀμαυρωτικόν ἄνθρωπον ποιῆσαι. The invocation is addressed to an unnamed deity, most likely Aion/Helios.

ἀμαυρωτικόν ἄνθρω-
 πον ποιῆσαι. "ἐπικαλοῦ-
 μαι τὸ διῆκον πνεῦμα
 4 ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανόν, θεῶν
 πνευμάτων θεὸν παν-
 τοκράτορα. α̅σ̅σ̅ε̅σ̅ου̅ω̅,
 ἀμαύρωσον πάντα ὀφθαλμ[ὸ]ν
 8 ἀνθρώπου ἢ γυναικός,
 ἐπεὶ πορεύομαι, ἄχρι οὗ ποι-
 ῆσω [ὄ]σα θέλω, καὶ λέγω
χωρεῖθ, ἀκουσόν μοι ἐπὶ
 12 τοῦ κόσμου, α̅λ̅κ̅μ̅ε̅ θαλασ-
 ς[οκ]ρά[τ]ωρ· ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς νυκτός"

4 θεων P: θεῶν Keenan

To make a person invisible: “I summon the spirit that reaches from earth into heaven, all powerful god of the spirit gods(?). *ASSESOUŌ*, dim the eyes of every man or woman, when I go forth, until I achieve as many things as I wish, and I say, *CHŌREITH*, listen to me, (you) who are in charge of the universe, *ALKME*, master of the sea; (you) who are in charge of the night...”

Commentary

I. Section Title (1-2)

II. *Logos* (2-13)

A. Invocation (2-6)

B. Exhortation with magical names (6-13)

I. Section Title (1-2)

1-2. ἀμαυρωτικὸν ἄνθρωπον ποιῆσαι – “to make a person invisible.” The title of this formulary is problematic given the scarcity of parallels for the adjective ἀμαυρωτικός, see the note to 1 i 1, s.v. ἀμαυρωτικόν. Thus, it is not entirely clear whether ἄνθρωπον, here in the unmarked sense, refers to the practitioner, i.e. “to make a person invisible,” or his intended victim “to make a person blind.” The difference between these two interpretations is potentially significant. The former would envision blinding as a means to an end, i.e. invisibility, whereas the latter as the end itself. This is worth noting, since specific spells for blinding without reference to invisibility do appear in the magical corpus, as e.g. in *PGM* 10.39 and *PDM* xiv 376-377, 741, and 742, see also C 1.4.

Following the original editors, I am inclined to interpret this text as an invisibility spell, given the use of cognate words formed from the stem αμαυρ-, meaning “dark,” “dim,” or perhaps “weak,” in the magical corpus, on which see McKinlay 1957: (1) on ἀμαυρώω, see the note to 1 i 7-8, s.v. ἀμαύρωσον πᾶν τὰ ὀφθαλμ[ὸ]ν | ἀνθρώπου ἢ γυναικός; (2) on ἀμαύρωσις, see the note to 2 222, s.v. ἀμαύρωσις and 3 247, s.v. ἀμαύρωσις(ς) δοκίμη; and (3) on ἀμαυρός, where perhaps ἀμαύρωσις is intended, see the note to 5 535, s.v. ἀμαυρά. As one looks at the internal evidence from these spells, it is evident that “invisibility,” not simply “blinding,” is the intention of such rituals: ἀθεώρητόν με ποιήσον...|ἀπέναντι παντός ἀνθρώπου, “Make me invisible...in the presence of every person,” 2 229-230; ἐὰν δὲ θελήσης ἄφαντος γενέσθαι, κτλ., “If you wish to become invisible, ...,” 3 255-256; τοῦτο {ν} φορῶν ἄθε|ώρητος ἔσῃ ἐπιλέγων τὸ ὄνομα, “While wearing this (egg), you will be invisible when you say the name,” 5 236-237. Cf. also λυεῖ δὲ ἐκ δεσμῶν [ἀ]λύσει φρουρούμενον, θύρας ἀνοίγει, | ἀμαυροῖ, ἵνα μηδεὶς [κ]αθόλου σε θεωρήσῃ, κτλ., “He loosens from bonds the one who is bound by chains, he opens doors, he blinds in order that no one may see you at all...,” *PGM* I 101-102. At other points as well, one can argue that the intent of this spell goes beyond just blinding, see the note to 1 i 6-13.

Even if one takes ἄνθρωπον in the title of this formulary as referring to the intended victim(s), given the command in lines 7-8 (ἀμαύρωσον πάν'τα ὀφθαλμ[ὸ]ν | ἀνθρώπου ἢ γυναικός, κτλ., "Dim the eyes of every man or woman, ..."), one must still decide whether this spell is to be construed as an invisibility spell or not. If not, it does not belong in this corpus, but if it does, the formulary's title should express this fact, i.e. "to make a person blind (for the purpose of invisibility)." For a discussion on ἀμαυρωτικόν, see the note to I i 1, s.v. ἀμαυρωτικόν.

ἀμαυρωτικόν – "invisible." For adjectives ending in -τικός, see Palmer, *Gram.*, 37-39. The meaning of ἀμαυρωτικόν here is not entirely clear, and unfortunately, ἀμαυρωτικόν only appears elsewhere in the Greek corpus five times, see Dsc. 2.149.2.6 in Wellmann, *De materia medica*, 1.215; Aët. 9.20.33 in Zervos 1911, 314, and 12.46.12, 13 in Kōstomoiros 1892, 76; and *Lexicon Homericum*, 117.21, s.v. νώροπα in Bekker 1833, 117.

(1) If ἄνθρωπον refers to the practitioner, it most likely means "invisible," as the title of other invisibility spells suggest, see the note to I i 1-2, s.v. ἀμαυρωτικόν ἄνθρω|πον ποιῆσαι. Cf. Aët. 12.46.12, 13 in Kōstomoiros 1892, 76. It is also the case that ἀμαυρωτικόν at times appears with an objective genitive. Thus, in the first century A.D., Dioscorides (2.149.2), discussing the medicinal properties of the leek (πράσον, *Allium Porrum*), asserts that continuously eating chopped leeks (καρτὸν πρᾶσον) produces "dullness" or "dimness" of sight: ἐσθιόμενον δὲ συνεχῶς ἀμαυρωτικόν ὄψεως, "(chopped leeks) when eaten continuously produce dimness of sight." In the first-second century A.D. Apollonius Sophista defines the Homeric word νώροπα "flashing" as τὸν λαμπρόν, οἷον ἄωπον, ἀμαυρωτικόν τῶν ὠπῶν, "that which is bright, as is unable to be viewed, a dimmer of eyes," thus associating ἀμαυρωτικόν closely with sight. Basing his information on the 3rd century A.D. medical writer Philomenus, Aëtius (9.20.33) applies ἀμαυρωτικόν to a different context. In a section entitled περὶ κυνώδους ὀρέξεως Φιλουμένου, "Concerning Philomenus' ravenous appetite" he calls porridge a suppressor of appetite: ροφήματα δὲ τὰ ἀμαυρωτικά τῆς ὀρέξεως, "porridge causes dimness of appetite." Given these examples, it is not impossible that there is an implied objective genitive here, i.e. "to make a person cause dimness (of sight)." (2) If the word ἄνθρωπον in the title refers to the intended victim and not the practitioner, as suggested by lines 7-8, ἀμαυρωτικόν would instead anticipate an unstated dative or more likely an accusative of respect, i.e. "to make a person dim of sight or in respect to sight," i.e. blind. Such an interpretation would not exclude text I from this corpus of invisibility texts, if lines 9-10 indeed suggest a greater purpose for this spell than just "blinding."

The infinitive and accusative construction occasionally appears in the titles of formularies: [ἀνθρ]ώπους πίνοντα[ς] ἐν συμποσίῳ πρός|[ωθεν] τοῖς ἔξωθεν ὀνορύγχους φαίνεσθαι, "to make people who are drinking at a symposium appear donkey-faced to those outside from afar," *PGM XIb* 1-2; ἐν βαλανείῳ τινὰ ἔρεσθαι, "to pick up someone at the baths," *Suppl. Mag.* II, 76.3; ἐν συ[μ]ποσίῳ μάχην γενέσθαι, "to cause a fight at a banquet," *Suppl. Mag.* II, 76.7; ὄνειρον ἰδεῖν ἀληθει|νόν, "to see a true dream," *Suppl. Mag.* II, 79.12-13; ... ἡδεσθαι, "... to have fun," *Suppl. Mag.*

II, 83.1. The use of ποιῆσαι in the title of a formulary, however, is rarely attested in the magical corpus: ὄξος δριμύ ποιῆσαι, “to make cheap wine sour,” *Suppl. Mag.* II, 76.9.

II. *Logos* (2-13)

A. Invocation (2-6)

2-3. ἐπικαλοῦμαι – “I invoke,” “call in as a helper or ally” or “appeal to,” here used in its most common form in magical literature, is often simply followed by (1) a noun as in *PGM* III 570; IV 609-610, 871-872, 1210-1211, 1812; XII 16-17, 236-237, 262; XIII 78-79, 440, 871; 5b.53-56; *Suppl. Mag.* II, 88.12, as is the case here, (2) a pronoun as in *PGM* I 62; XII 32; XIII 800, or (3) a proper noun as in *PGM* IV 3230-3233; V 187-192. It is not uncommon for the noun to be followed by magical words, as in line 6, e.g. in *PGM* IV 1982, 3228-3230; IX 13, but this is not always the case, see the note to I i 6, s.v. ἄρρεσουῶ.

3. τὸ διῆκον πνεῦμα – “the spirit which reaches (from earth into heaven).” The deity being invoked here is not clearly stated. The original editors suggest that this spirit is Aion, god of indefinitely extending time, citing *PGM* IV 1117 as a parallel: χαῖρε, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ διῆκον ἀπὸ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ γῆν, “Greetings, spirit who reaches from heaven to earth.” For extensive bibliography on Aion, see Betz 2003, 121, footnote 202. One wonders whether the reversal of the prepositional phrases here has any significance, see the note to I i 4, s.v. ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανόν. Indeed it is not impossible that an intermediary divine being, such as a *paredros*, “a divine assistant,” is being summoned. Such aerial spirits were known to be sought for invisibility, see *PGM* I 101-102. Moreover, the language used of them at times parallels the language used of other deities, including Aion and Agathos Daimon. On Aion, see Ciraolo 1995, 280, who cites *PGM* I 164-165 where the *paredros* is actually called Aion: δεῦρό μοι, βασιλεῦ, καλῶ σε θεὸν θεῶν, |...Αἰῶνα, κτλ., “Come to me, I call you god of gods...Aion...” On Agathos Daimon, see Scibilia 2002, 78, and Ciraolo 1995, 280 and 284.

It is often difficult to distinguish between Aion and other creator gods in the *PGM*. Such is the case in *PGM* XIII 69-71, a hymn to a creator god, who is called Aion of Aion: σοὶ πάντα ὑποτέτακται, οὐ οὐδεὶς θεῶν δύναται | ἰδεῖν τὴν ἀληθινὴν μορφήν. ὁ μεταμορφούμενος | εἰς πάντα, ἀόρατος εἶ Αἰὼν Αἰῶνος, “Everything is subservient to you, whose true form none of the gods can see. You, who are transformed into all forms, are invisible, Aion of Aion.” Cf. also *PGM* XIII 580-582. Yet as this passage perhaps illustrates, Aion is periodically described as being mutable and invisible. Cf. *PGM* XIII 329-331, a spell for opening doors, where there is the implication of escape: Αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Αἰὼν Αἰῶνος, ὁ μόνος καὶ | ὑπερέχων, ἀθεώρητος διαπορεύεται τὸν τόπον. ἀνοίγου, | θύρα, ἄκουε, μοχλέ, εἰς δύο γενοῦ, κλειδῶν, κτλ., “For Aion of Aion himself, the only one and the one who is above, invisible, goes through the place. Open, door! Listen, bar! Break in two, bolt!” Aion’s invisibility in these two contexts in addition to his power might explain why he is being invoked here. Cf. *PGM* V 466-468: θεὸς θ[ε]ῶν, ὁ κύριος τῶν πνευμάτων, ὁ

ἀ|πλάνητος Αἰών Ἰάω ουηι, κτλ., “god of gods, the lord of the spirits, the unwavering Aion Iao OUEI, ...” In this passage Aion’s name appears in the midst of language relating to a creation deity as part of a spell that claims, among other things, to bring about invisibility.

The phrase used here, however, is also similar to language describing Helios in other magical texts: ἐπικα|λοῦμαι σου τὸ κρυ[π]τὸν ὄνομα τὸ διῆκον ἀπὸ τοῦ στερεώματος | ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, “I call upon your secret name that reaches from the firmament to the earth,” *PGM I* 216-218. See Merkelbach 1996, 4.95, footnote 217. Cf. also ἐπικαλοῦμαι σου τὸ ἑκατονταγράμ|ματον ὄνομα τὸ διῆκον ἀπὸ τοῦ στερεώ|ματος μέχρις τοῦ βάθους τῆς γῆς, “I call upon you the hundred-lettered name that reaches from the firmament unto the depths of the earth,” *PGM IV* 1209-1211, on which see *ibid.*, 88-102. With παντοκράτορα in I i 5-6 and θαλας|ς[οκ]ρά[τ]ωρ in I i 12-13 conceivably referring to a solar deity as well, could it also be possible that this spell of invisibility is addressed to Helios, since other invisibility spells invoke the names of solar deities such as Helios in 2 225 and 229, and the sun disk in 6 269?

It is also possible that the diction here reflects the assimilation of Aion and Helios commonly found in magical texts. See Nock 1934, 84. In other invocations to Helios, the eternal nature of the sun is invoked: δέομαι σου, αἰωναῖε, αἰωνακ(τ)ινοκρά|τωρ, αἰωνοπολοκράτωρ, κτλ., “I beseech you, eternal one, eternal ruler of the sun’s rays, eternal ruler of the heavens...,” *PGM I* 200-201; cé, τὸν ἕνα καὶ μάκαρα τῶν Αἰώνων | πατέρα τε κόσμου... κλήζω, κτλ., “I invoke you who are one and blessed of the Aions, and father of the universe...,” *PGM IV* 1169-1170. Likewise, Aion is elsewhere equated with a solar deity: εὐ εἶ ὁ κοσμοκρά|τωρ, Ρᾶ, Πᾶν, κτλ., “You are the ruler of the universe, Ra, Pan, ...,” *PGM IV* 2198-2199. This assimilation is documented in epigraphy as well. In the Roman garrison town of Talmis in Nubia, we find similar language on an inscription dating before the 3rd century A.D. to the Nubian god Mandulis, who is equated with Aion, on which see Frankfurter 1998, 35, 165-166, who cites *SB I* 4127 17-19: “Ἐνθα σε ἔγνω, Μανδοῦλι, ἥλιον τὸν παντεπόπτην δεσπότην, ἀπάντων βασιλέα, αἰῶνα παντοκράτορα, “There I know you, Mandulis, the all-seeing sun, ruler, king of all, all ruling aion.” In another inscription we find Helios and Aion invoked together with Zeus and Sarapis. See Bonner 1944, 34; cf. *GMA* 28, the note to 1-2.

4. ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανόν – “from earth into heaven.” It is difficult to know why the practitioner has reversed the order from the more commonly used phrase “from heaven to earth,” which appears elsewhere to describe the reach of Aion: ἀπὸ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ γῆν, “from heaven to earth,” *PGM IV* 1118. Similarly depicted is the reach of Helios: ἀπὸ τοῦ στερεώματος | ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, “from the firmament to the earth,” *PGM I* 217-218; and ἀπὸ τοῦ στερεώ|ματος μέχρις τοῦ βάθους τῆς γῆς, “from the firmament to the depths of the earth,” *PGM IV* 1210-1211. Nonetheless, one is left to wonder whether this reversal is intentional or not, and thus, significant for this passage. Perhaps, the practitioner is thinking of other, more intermediary divine powers. Thus, as suggested in the note to I i 3, s.v. τὸ διῆκον πνεῦμα, it might be possible that a *paredros*, “a divine assistant,” is being summoned.

Generally speaking, heaven and earth, as well as similar domains, are commonly used as antitheses of each other, representing the domains over which the gods have power, oftentimes because they are viewed as the creators and hence, rulers of them. Cf. *PGM* XIII 255, 335, and 836-841. For the appearance of creator gods in the *PGM*, see the note to *GMA* 56.12-15. In *PGM* XIII 76 Aion is represented as the one through whom “the celestial pole and the earth arose” (διὰ ἐξ ἐκείνου συνέστηκεν ὁ πόλος καὶ ἡ γῆ). In *PGM* V 98-99 the headless god, ὁ ἀκέφαλος, is described as τὸν κτίσαντα τὰ γῆν καὶ οὐρανόν, κτλ., “the one who created earth and heaven.” In *PGM* VII 552-553 Hermes, in the guise of Hermes-Thoth, is invoked as ὁ <ποιήσας> τὰ τέσσαρα μέρη τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα | θεμελίδια τῆς γῆς, “the one who [made] the four parts of the heaven and the four foundations of the earth.” The divine can even be equated with heaven and earth itself, as in *PGM* VII 507-508: χαῖρε, | τὸ περιέχον, ὃ ἐστὶν γῆ καὶ οὐρανός, “Hail, the one who encompasses, which is earth and heaven”; cf. also *PGM* XII 243: οὐρανός μὲν κεφαλή, αἰθήρ δὲ σῶμα, γῆ πόδες... Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων, “heaven is your head, aether your body, earth your feet... Agathos Daimon”; on the cosmic body of the deity, see also *PGM* XIII 767-772; XXI 3-7; *GMPT* 162, footnote 77.

Nor is it surprising that gods are portrayed as having power or special knowledge when it comes to the sphere of heaven and earth. Aion is represented as separating heaven and earth: ὁ διαστήσας οὐρανόν | καὶ γῆν, κτλ., “the one who separated heaven and earth, ...,” *PGM* IV 1150-1151. In the sphere of heaven and earth, Helios is depicted as ruling (τὸν οὐρανοῦ ἡγεμονῆα, | γαίης τε, κτλ., “the one who rules heaven and earth, ...,” *PGM* IV 442-443 and 1963-1964; Ἥλιε, ὁ κύριος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, “Helios, the Lord of heaven and earth,” *PGM* 640-641) and quelling discords (ὑπὸ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς, “beneath heaven and on earth,” *PGM* II 115, 588). Hermes is invoked as the one who knows the things hidden beneath heaven and earth: εἰδὼς | τὰ κρύφια τὰ ὑπὸ τὸν πόλον καὶ τὴν γῆν, “knowing the things hidden beneath heaven and earth,” *PGM* VIII 15-16.

4-5. θεῶν | πνευμάτων θεόν – “god of the spirit gods(?)” The reading here follows that of the first editors, who cite as a parallel *P. Warr.* 21.24-26 (= *PGM* LXII 24-26), part of a saucer divination: ἐλθέ μοι ὁ τῶν θεῶν θεός, ..., ὁ κύριος τῶν πνευμάτων, κτλ., “Come to me the god of the gods... the lord of the spirits/winds.” Cf. also *PGM* V 466-468: θεὸς θ[ε]ῶν, ὁ κύριος τῶν πνευμάτων... Αἰὼν Ἰάω ουηι, “god of gods, the lord of the spirits... Aion Iao OUEI.” Similar language is used of *paredroi*, see the note to I i 3, s.v. τὸ διῆκον πνεῦμα. None of these examples, however, provides a parallel in which the two substantives, θεοί and πνεύματα, appear side by side. Keenan 1992, 213 suggests that it might be worth trying to read θεῶν instead of θεῶν, which “would produce a smooth and unqueried translation.” The alteration of θεῶν to θεῶν might also reflect the tendency for εἰ to become ε before a back vowel, on which see Gignac, *Gram.*, 1.257. Though Keenan does not suggest any parallels, the phrase θεῶν πνεῦμα, does appear in the magical corpus, yet only in the singular, e.g. in *PGM* I 313, an invocation to Apollo; *PGM* III 552, with *iota* added in a lacuna, an invocation to Helios; and *PGM* IV 966, an invocation to the living god, fiery, invisible begetter of light.

5-6. παντοκράτορα – “almighty” is used elsewhere to describe Aion, as e.g. in *SB* I.4127.17-19, see the note to 1 i 3. But it also appears in contexts where παντοκράτωρ (1) refers to a solar or cosmic deity, e.g. *PGM* III 218; XII 250; XIII 761-762; XXIIa 19; LXXI 3, or (2) modifies the name of a different god within an invocation to a solar deity, e.g. *PGM* IV 272 (an invocation of Typhon directed towards the sun), 968; XIVa 9, or a cosmic deity, e.g. *PGM* XII 71-72, 238. παντοκράτωρ also appears fairly commonly with θεός in the Greek magical corpus as an epithet of other gods, such as the god who lives forever in *PGM* IV 1552-1553, and God the Father in *PGM* 1.1, 8a.1, 9.1, 12.13(?), 21.1-2, 24.1. It often renders Hebrew Sabaoth in the Septuagint. See Montevicchi 1957, 2.401-432, and Capizzi 1964. Cf. also *Suppl. Mag.* I, 24 fr. A (4?), fr. B (3?); 29.5-6, 87 (4?).

B. Exhortation with magical names (6-13)

6-13. The original editors read the text of these lines as follows:

- (6) τοκράτορα. ασσεσουω.
- (7) ἀμαύρωσον πάντ'α' ὀφθαλμ[ὸ]ν
- (8) ἀνθρώπου ἢ γυναικός.
- (9) ἐπιπορεύομαι ἄχρι οὗ ποι-
- (10) ἦσω [ὄ]σα θέλω, καὶ λέγω,
- (11) ωρειθ, ἄκουσόν μοι ἐπὶ
- (12) τοῦ κόσμου. αλκμε, θαλασ-
- (13) ς[οκ]ρά[τ]ωρ, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς νυκτός”

This reading has led to two interpretations for this passage: (1) The original editors viewed line 9 as the beginning of a new sentence after an exhortation to dim every eye of man or woman, reading what follows to be paratactic in structure (ἐπιπορεύομαι...καὶ λέγω): “Dim every eye of man or woman. I shall press hard (ἐπιπορεύομαι) until I do all that I want and I say (to you?), Choreith(?), listen to me...” Although ἐπιπορεύομαι is not found elsewhere in the magical papyri, its use here is not inappropriate given that it is a standard word for approaching someone or some area with bad intentions and can also be used in a legal sense, meaning to bring a suit against someone, see *WB* 1.568, s.v. ἐπιπορεύομαι. If one follows this interpretation, the practitioner would simply be pressing the god or spirit until he achieved the goals of this formula, but not expecting to do all that he desired under a shield of invisibility. Certainly, the tone of the language, stressing the immediacy of the practitioner’s request, is not unprecedented in an invisibility spell: ἀνάστηθι...|...ὃ ἐὰν ἐπιτάξω ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὁ δεῖνα, ὅπως |ἐπήκοοί μοι γένησθε, “Rise up...so that you all may be obedient to me, whatever I, NN, order you all to do,” 3 254-256.

(2) In his critique of this interpretation, Keenan 1992, 213 keeps the same sentence division, but translates ἐπιπορεύομαι, as “I travel forth,” calling the interpretation in the *editio princeps* “unnecessarily forced.” Pointing to invisibility as a possible universal folktale motif (cf. *Pl. R.* 359c

ff.), he suggests that the person for whom this spell works will be able to travel forth and do whatever he wants. Cf. also *Cyranides* 1.15.33-37, see **B** 1.5 and footnote 80, and **D** 1.3.

The present reading of the text, following a suggestion from one of the anonymous readers for this volume, differs from the *editio princeps* at several points, most importantly in the reading of ἐπιπορευομαι. Instead of viewing it as a compound verb, here the initial ἐπι is taken as the subordinating conjunction ἐπεὶ followed by the verb πορεύομαι. The substitution of ἐπί for ἐπεὶ is fairly common, as e.g. in *Suppl. Mag.* I, 42.25 and II, 79.31. Cf. also Gignac, *Gram.*, 1.189. This reading is paralleled by other indications of time and circumstance in connection with the command to become unseen, see the note to **I** i 9, s.v. ἐπεὶ πορεύομαι.

Although reading the text in this way breaks the paratactic structure of ἐπιπορευομαι and λέγω, there are a couple of ways that it might be construed in a parallel structure: (1) magical word, imperative + magical word, imperative: *ASSESOUŌ*, blind the eyes of every man or woman, when I go forth, until I achieve as many things as I wish, and I say, *CHŌREITH*, listen to me, (you) who are in charge of the universe, *ALKME*, master of the sea; (you) who are in charge of the night..."; and (2) imperative + imperative: "Blind the eyes of every man or woman, when I am going forth, until I do all that I want, and I say, 'CHŌREITH!' Listen to me ..."

Although the reading of lines 6-13 in the *editio princeps* is sensible, these readings are nonetheless worthy of further consideration (see the notes below).

6. $\overline{\alpha\kappa\kappa\epsilon\sigma\omicron\upsilon\omega}$. – this is the ritual name for the almighty god of the spirit gods, unattested elsewhere in the magical corpus. It is being read here with the imperative that follows as in *PGM* II 78-79, though an argument can be made for reading it in apposition to what precedes as in *PGM* II 115-118, see also the note to **I** i 6-13. The supralinear stroke here seems to designate the magical name of the divinity. Such strokes are often used to denote (1) *voces magicae*, as e.g. in *Suppl. Mag.* II, 73.15-16 and 79.11, 15, and 23-24, and (2) abbreviations for *nomina sacra*, for which see *PGM*, 2.269-270 and *Suppl. Mag.* II, p. 338, index X.

7-8. ἀμαύρωσον πάντα ὀφθαλμ[ὸ]ν | ἀνθρώπου ἢ γυναικός – “Dim the eyes of every man or woman.” Rea and Bateson 1991, 45 place dots under *rho* and *omega*. However, the supralinear addition is clearly visible on the papyrus, even though *rho* is missing the midsection of its tail as well as the curved descending stroke of its body, while *omega* has lost the lower left and middle right portion of its body.

The verb ἀμαυρόω appears in other ritual texts where the intent is to alter the sight of a victim, though not always for the express purpose of escaping the victim's attention. In a *defixio* of Egyptian provenance directed against athletes (3rd century A.D.), the practitioner employs this verb in an attempt to blind the eyes of footracers (δρομεῖς): καὶ ἀμαύρωσον αὐτῶν τοὺς [ὀφθαλμούς,] ἵνα μὴ ἰσχύσωσιν τραμῖν, κτλ., “And dim their eyes so that they do not have strength to run,” *Suppl. Mag.* II, 53.28. In Carthage similar *defixiones* have been discovered in the context of chariot races. Another such spell is directed towards a charioteer and his horses: ...ἀμαύρωσον αὐτῶν τὰ |

ὄμματα ἵνα μὴ βλέπωσιν, κτλ., “...dim their eyes in order that they may not see, ...,” *DT* 241.13-14. For a general discussion of context, see Faraone 1991. For similar Greek phrases in *defixiones*, see footnote 135, and for a Latin parallel, the roughly contemporaneous Latin curse tablet from Bath (ca. 275-400 A.D.): ...*ut mentes sua(s) | perd[at] et | oculos su[o]s...*, “(He asks) that (the person) lose his mind and his eyes...,” 5.5-7 in Tomlin 1988, 114. Thus, we find the imperative ἀμαύρωσον being used in *defixiones* at approximately the same time, within the same geographic realm, and in the same sense as in text 1. For a discussion of whether blinding should be taken literally or metaphorically in the context of text 1 and invisibility spells in general, see the discussion below.

In text 1 the object of ἀμαύρωσον is more broadly termed, πάντα ὀφθαλμ[ὸ]ν ἀνθρώπου ἢ γυναικός, lit. “every eye of man or woman.” Cf. also *Geniza* 13.2.3-4 in Naveh and Shaked 1993, 167-168, in which we find a spell to ensure a safe journey that uses similar language: “and you (pl.) shall blind and drive mad and shut the eye of all people who see me,” כל האנשים הרואים אותי ותעורון ותשגעון ותסמון עין. Cf. also *Geniza* 17.4.6-13 and 21.10-11 in Naveh and Shaked 1993, 183, 186, and 214-215. In *PGM* I 101-102 the same verb occurs in a spell for acquiring a divine assistant said to be able to help his master in situations involving escape: λύει δὲ ἐκ δεσμῶν [ἀ]λύσει φρουρούμενον, θύρας ἀνοίγει. | ἀμαυροῖ, ἵνα μηδεὶς [κ]αθόλου σε θεωρήσῃ, κτλ. “He loosens from bonds the one who is bound by chains, he opens doors, he blinds in order that no one may see you at all, ...” For literary parallels involving escape, see **D 1.4**. Trachtenberg 1939, 88 mentions a letter from the 11th century A.D. written to Hai Gon in Pumbedita, Babylonia by people of Kairowan (North Africa) asking about names that supposedly could make travelers invisible to roadside bandits. In the Middle Ages travelers commonly wore textual amulets quoting scriptural passages, e.g. *Luke* 4.30: *Ihesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat*, “Jesus, however, went passing through their midst.” See Skemer 2006, 155, 220. Cf. also the example of the Tiv in footnote 192.

Though O’Neil’s translation of ἀμαυροῖ as “he causes invisibility” clearly emphasizes the intent of the spell (*GMPT*, 6), Parthey’s translation in the *editio princeps* more accurately expresses the means by which invisibility is achieved (1866, 131): “er schlägt mit Blindheit, damit niemand überhaupt dich sehe...” Cf. also *PGM* V 488 where Aune, *GMPT*, 110 translates ἀμαυροῖ as “it makes invisible,” whereas in the *editio princeps* Goodwin 1852, 21 translates “(This spell)...blinds.”

Yet, are we to assume that the victims’ eyes are being physically blinded or is blinding here merely perceived as a dulling of sense perceptions? It is difficult to say. Since these spells are distinct from blinding spells and their primary intent is to escape the notice of others, this should minimize the need for physical blinding, given that the efficacy of the practitioner’s power is not tied to his actual ability to blind his victims, but to escape people’s perceptions. Moreover, such an interpretation seems preferable especially in cases of escape where the practitioner might need to avoid the perceptions of not just one person, but of a multitude. Yet if the practitioner achieves his desired end, i.e. to avoid the perceptions of others, perhaps the perception that his potential audience has been blinded – whether this is the case or not – confirms his belief that this is indeed what has happened, see also the note to text 2 222, s.v. ἀμαύρωσις.

8. ἀνθρώπου ἢ γυναικός – the pairing of ἄνθρωπος (in place of ἀνὴρ) with γυνή is not uncommon in Greek magical texts. Cf. *PGM* XII 61-62 (ποίησον στρέφεσθ[αι πάντ]ας ἀθρώπους τε καὶ πάσας γυναῖκας | ἐπὶ [ἔ]ρωτά μου, κτλ., “Make all men and all women turn because of their love for me, ...”) where earlier in the text ἀνὴρ is used in place of ἄνθρωπος: οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖ[κ]ες, “the men and women,” *PGM* XII 42.

9. ἐπεὶ πορεύομαι – “when I go forth.” For the reading of the text, see the note to text 1 i 6-13. For limits of time or circumstance in invisibility texts, see **D 1.3**. Cf. the structure here (ἀμαύρωσον...ἐπεὶ πορεύομαι...ἄχρι οὗ ποι|ήσω [ὄ]σα θέλω, καὶ λέγω) with 2 229-230 where the practitioner seeks invisibility “in the presence of every person (ἀπέναντι παντός ἀθρώπου), until the setting of the sun” (ἄχρι δυσιῶν). In 3 257 the time frame is limited only by the volition of the practitioner: ἄφαντος ἔσῃ, ἐφ’ ὅσον χρόνον θέλεις, “you will be invisible as long as you wish.”

9-10. ἄχρι οὗ ποι|ήσω [ὄ]σα θέλω – “until I achieve as many things as I wish,” This kind of open-ended phrase is common in the magical papyri, including invisibility texts. Cf. text 3 254-255 and 257, as well as 7 276. Such lines are, no doubt, added to formularies to assure the practitioner that his own volition will be honored and achieved. The invocations here and in 3 254-255 are written in the first person, but elsewhere in the third person, as e.g. in 3 257 and 7 276.

For the use of the subjunctive mood following ἄχρι οὗ, see *PGM* V 94-95, and LXI 4-5, 16-17, and 18.

11. $\overline{\chi\omega\rho\epsilon\iota\theta}$ – the supralinear stroke above $\chi\omega\rho\epsilon\iota\theta$ marks it as a magical word, the meaning of which is uncertain. The first editors in their notes to lines 11-13 considered the possibility that this magical name plays off of the imperative $\chi\omega\rho\epsilon\iota\theta$ (for $\chi\omega\rho\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$), “you all go away,” noting that in line 12 $\overline{\alpha\lambda\kappa\mu\epsilon}$ can be read as ἄλκιμος, an adjective which modifies θαλασσοκράτωρ elsewhere in *PGM* IV 1600 and 1695, see the note to 1 i 12-13, s.v. $\overline{\alpha\lambda\kappa\mu\epsilon}$ θαλασ|c[οκ]ρᾶ[τ]ωρ. If this is the case, perhaps it could be taken as a word for dismissing a divine assistant: “Dim...until I achieve as many things as I wish and am saying ‘*CHŌREITH!*’ (lit. ‘be gone!’).” Cf. $\chi\omega\rho\epsilon\iota$, “go away,” to be spoken to a *paredros* in *PGM* I 94. For dismissal spells see footnote 116. The plural in place of the singular form also occurs elsewhere, see the note to 3 254-255, ὃ ἐὰν ἐπιτάξω ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὁ δεῖνα, ὅπως | ἐπήκοοί μοι γένησθε. Such a reading here, however, is speculative, given that other magical words in this text do not correspond to Greek words, e.g. $\overline{\alpha\sigma\sigma\epsilon\sigma\omega}$ in line 6.

The reading of the papyrus for $\overline{\chi\omega\rho\epsilon\iota\theta}$ is also difficult. The first letter appears to be *chi* or *lambda*, but a lacuna follows immediately to the right and, if a *chi*, the upper-right portion of the ascending stroke is lost. Nonetheless, the trace that remains looks like the *chi* in ἄχρι in 1 i 9, and there appears to be more than enough space for the *omega* that follows. At the same time, the *lambda* of ὀφθαλμ[ό]ν in 1 i 7 is also too similar in form to the letter here to permit a firm decision. The first editors read the second letter as an *omega*, the left half of which is lost in the lacuna. The third letter seems to be a *rho*, its lower stem visible as well as the ligature to the left and the top stroke of the

letter. If *omega* precedes *rho* here, the ligature between them differs from that of -ϙ[οκ]ρά[τ]ωρ in I i 13. The fourth and fifth letters seem to be *epsilon* and *iota*, respectively, though *epsilon* is clumsily written.

ἄκουσόν μοι – such injunctions are commonly directed towards divinities in the magical corpus, as e.g. in *PGM* II 118. The first editors suggest that the dative might be an indication of the threatening tone of the invocation, which is certainly possible. But on rare occasions, perhaps influenced by Egyptian syntax(?) (cf. e.g. *sdm.w n.y* in *PDM* xiv 270), one does find ἀκούειν governing a dative of person, as e.g. in *PGM* XII 187-188 ([ἀλλ'] ἀκουάτω μοι | πᾶσα γλῶσσα καὶ πᾶσα φωνή, κτλ., “but let every tongue and every voice listen to me, ...”; cf. also *Luc. Tox.* 57.1) as well as other verbs of hearing where a genitive of person might be expected, such as ἐπακούειν in *PGM* IV 1064, 1281, 2566; VII 787; XIII 207, 380, 701, 717; XXIIb 7, 17; LXI 21, 27, and κλύειν in *PGM* II 118; III 156(?); XIII 289; XXXVI 105.

11-12. ἐπὶ τοῦ | κόσμου – “in charge of.” The first editors point out that one would expect (ὁ) ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου, “(you) who are in charge of the universe,” as in line 13, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς νυκτός, “(you) who are in charge of the night.” The *epsilon* has a blot on it, but there does not appear to be an article before it. We find ὁ ἐπὶ... | ...τοῦ κόσμου, “(you) who are in charge of the universe,” in *PGM* XXXVI 216 as an epithet of Helios and ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κεφαλῆς κα|θήμενος, “(you) who are sitting at the top of the universe...,” in *PGM* IV 1012-1013 as that of a daimon. Similar phrases occur in spells that exalt Helios or a manifestation of Helios as ruler of the κόσμος: ἄναξ κόσμοιο, “lord of the universe,” *PGM* III 219; δέσποτα κόσμου, “master of the universe,” *PGM* IV 445, 459, and 1966; ὁ... | ...κυγκρατῶν τὸν κόσμον, “(you) who are in control of the universe,” *PGM* VII 529-530. Such descriptive phrases, however, are not unique to Helios. Cf. *PGM* IV 387 that uses such language of *BARBAR ADONAI*, 2828-2829 of Selene, 3122 of Kronos; VII 788 and 880 of Selene; VIII 47 of the seven planets; XII 58-59 and 71 of the most high god, 115 of the fiery god; XIII 165 of Phōs-Auge, 183-184 of Moira, 476 of Phōs-Auge, and 500 of Moira.

12-13. ἀλκμῆ θαλασ|ς[οκ]ρά[τ]ωρ – “*ALKME*, master of the sea.” Though apparently a magical name in this context, ἀλκμῆ is very likely derived from the adjective ἄλκιμος, “mighty,” *ed. prin.*, which is elsewhere paired with θαλασσοκράτωρ as an epithet of Agathos Daimon/Helios: τὸν ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν | κόσμον, ἄλκιμον θαλασσοκρά|τορα, “(you) who are over the universe and under the universe, mighty ruler of the sea,” *PGM* IV 1600-1602, and ὁ ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ [ὑπὸ] | τὸν κόσμον, ἄλκιμη θαλασσο|κράτωρ, “(you) who are over the universe and under the universe, mighty ruler of the sea,” *PGM* IV 1695-1697.

Text I is damaged at the beginning of line 13. Despite a hole running vertically through the middle of the line, the second *sigma* is discernible, and apart from a dangling shred of papyrus, nothing between the second *sigma* and the *omega* can be read with the exception of what appears to be the vertical stroke of a *rho* and the horizontal stroke of a *tau* before the *omega*. With the beginning

and ending intact, however, the word can only be θαλασσοκράτωρ. Cf. *PGM* IV 1601-1602 and 1696-1697, especially given the proximity of ἀλκμῆ.

13. ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς νυκτός – “(you) who are in charge of the night.” In the magical papyri Helios is portrayed as bringing darkness as well as raising the light: κύριε, ὁ ποτὲ τ[ὸ] φῶς ἀνά[γ]ων, ποτὲ τὸ σκότος κατὰ[γ]ων, κτλ., “lord, you who at times raise the light, at times lower the darkness...,” *PGM* III 565-566. No close parallels for this epithet are to be found elsewhere in the Greek magical corpus, though occasionally epithets depict deities as being in charge of the night, e.g. Apollo Paian in *PGM* II 8 ([ὁ] τὴν νύκτα ταύτην κατέχων καὶ ταύτης δεσποτεύων, κτλ., “who hold fast this night and enjoy ownership of it...”), and 79 (ἐ[π]έχων τὴν νύκτα τα[ύ]την, κτλ., “who have power over this night, ...”), a daimon in *PGM* IV 993 (ὁ διέπων νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, κτλ., “who manage night and day...”), and an angel in *PGM* VII 892 (καθηγούμενον τῆς νυκτός, κτλ., “who guides the night, ...”).

The papyrus breaks off leaving us to ponder whether text has been lost below line 13 or the text merely continues in the column to the immediate right (column ii). The first editors consider both possibilities (p. 45). If this is merely a papyrus scrap cut from a used roll that happened to have a short enough column to leave a margin of 10 cm. (approximately the height of text 1) either at the top or bottom, the very fragmentary recipe in the column to the right most likely relates to this invisibility spell (column i). If the text in column ii is not a continuation of column i, the original editors suggest that “a large amount of text, perhaps in the range of ten to twenty lines” may separate i 13 and ii 14.

There is no way to firmly establish that column ii is part of this invisibility spell. The first editors reconstructed part of the text, deeming it likely that it is a recipe including ingredients and instructions with possible implications for column i. Although the evidence is circumstantial, there are several reasons why this assertion might be correct: (1) balms with varied ingredients are commonplace in other invisibility rituals: 2 223-225 (λαβὼν στέαρ ἢ ὄφθαλμὸν νυκτίβαυ καὶ κύλισμα καν|θάρου καὶ <σ>φαγνίνου μύρου λειοτριβήσας πάντα χρεῖ ὄλον|τὸ σωμα[τ]ιόν σου, κτλ. “Take some fat or an eye of a small night owl and a scarab’s dung ball and some sage oil. After grinding everything together until it is smooth, anoint your entire body”) and 3 248-250, 255-256 (λαβὼν πιθήκου ὄφθαλμὸν ἢ νέκυος βιοθανάτου τοῦτον τρί|ψας σὺν ἐλαίῳ σουσίῳ καὶ βοτάνης ἀγλαοφώτιδος τρί|βων...ἐὰν δὲ θελήσῃς ἄφαντος γενέ|σθαι, χρεῖσόν σου τὸ μέτωπον μόνον ἐκ τοῦ συνθέματος, κτλ., “Take an eye of an ape or of a corpse that has died a violent death and grind it with oil of lily and some *aglaophōtis* plant...And if you wish to become invisible, rub only your forehead with this mixture, ...”). Moreover, similar balms appear in other ritual and literary sources, e.g. *Cyranides* 1.15.33-37 (τὴν δὲ ὄψιν σου χρεῖσον ἐκ τοῦ συνθέματος καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον φόρει, “Anoint your face with some of the mixture and wear the ring”) and *Apul. Met.* 3.21 and 3.24, see **E 1.5** and **1.8**; (2) such balms can include ingredients labeled as dung, see 2 223-224, s.v. κύλισμα καν|θάρου, although whether these ingredients can be taken literally is uncertain, see 2 223,

s.v. *στέαρ*; and (3) balms in other invisibility rituals are also used for anointing the head (3 256) and face (*Cyranides* 1.15.33-37).

In order to provide the reader with a more complete picture of text 1, the text of column ii and the partial reconstruction of the recipe within it (for which see Rea and Bateson 1991, 46, the notes to 17-22) are included below, as well as the text and translation of the two lines written on the back of the papyrus.

col. ii.	Reconstruction
.....] (<i>vacat</i>) $\overline{\epsilon\sigma}$ [
.....] γε [
16 ...] ρ (<i>vacat</i>) $\overline{\kappa\omicron\upsilon}$ [
...] $\overline{\omega\rho}$ (<i>vacat</i>) λε... [λεπτό[ν
..] (<i>vacat</i>) εἰς ἔλεον χ. [..] εἰς ἔλεον χα[λάσας
μετὰ κο.ρ. [μετὰ κόπρον [κροκο-
20 δίλου καὶ μα [δίλου καὶ μαλ[αχῶν τε-
λείων ὀλίγων [λείων ὀλίγων [χρῖσον
τὴν ὄψιν. $\overline{\alpha\epsilon\rho}$ [τὴν ὄψιν.
$\overline{\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\beta\iota\alpha\kappa\alpha}$ [.] [
24 $\overline{\sigma\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu\sigma\eta}$ (<i>vacat</i>) [
$\overline{\alpha\upsilon\tau}$... [
..... [
(Back)	
]... [.] λαβῶν φύλλον καλπάσσου [
28 α..... υ̅ ωι κατόρυξον παρα... [
(drawings)	

18 ελεον P: ἔλαιον Rea legit 27 καλπασσου P: καρπάσσου Rea legit

The first editors, noting that one can only guess at the column's width, restore as follows: "Soak fine (small?)...in oil with crocodile dung and few mature(?) mallows(?) and rub on the face."

The text on the back, "...take a leaf of flax (white hellebore?)...(and) bury it with(?)...," seems to be unrelated to the first two columns. It is accompanied by four or five drawings of strange beasts. See Keenan 1992, 216 for a detailed description of the drawings on the back as well.

Text 2 222-231

Thebes?
P.Berol. inv. 5025

Late 4th or 5th century A.D.
Plates III and IV

EDITIO PRINCEPS: G. Parthey, "Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museums," *Philologische und historische Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1865, Berlin 1866, 126 (Greek text), 134-135 (translation), and 144-145 (notes).

OTHER EDITIONS: K. Preisendanz, *PGM*, Leipzig 1928, 1.12 and 14, and *PGM*, 2nd ed., A. Henrichs, ed., Stuttgart 1973, 1.12 and 14.

EMENDATIONS: *ed. prin.*; K.W. Schmidt, review of Preisendanz, *PGM* 1, in *GGA* 193, 1931, 441-458 for lines 223 and 224.

COMMENTARIES: *ed. prin.*

TRANSLATION: English, D. Ogden, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds: A Sourcebook*, Oxford 2002, 274, and E.N. O'Neil, *GMPT* 9. German, *ed. prin.*, and K.

Preisendanz, *PGM* 1.13 and 15, and *PGM*, 2nd ed., A. Henrichs, ed., Stuttgart 1974, 1.13 and 15.

PHOTO: Plates III and IV.

DESCRIPTION: papyrus. *PGM* 1 is a complete roll, 80.2 x 33.5 cm, with 5 cols. of writing, 347 lines, see **F 1.2** and footnote 257. Text 2 222-231 appears in col. iii, lines 70-79, see plate III.

LOCATION: Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

Unlike the fragmentary text 1, 2 222-231 survives intact as part of a well-preserved papyrus roll, perhaps of Theban provenance, see **F 1.2**. The roll, a practitioner's ritual handbook, contains two formularies for acquiring invisibility. One of the distinguishing characteristics of these two spells is that each calls for ritual *praxis* and *logos*, and the first of these, 2 222-231, provides instructions for a mixture that the practitioner is to use to anoint his body. It then exhorts him to address Helios by his great name, τὸ μέγα ὄνομα, which here consists of a series of *voces magicae*. The invisibility attained is said to last until the setting of the sun.

- (vacat) ἀμαύρωσις ἀναγκαία.
λαβὼν στέαρ ἢ ὀφθαλμὸν νυκτίβαν καὶ κύλισμα καν-
224 θάρου καὶ (ς)φαγνίνου μύρου λειοτριβήσας πάντα χρῆε ὄλον
τὸ σωμα[τ]ίόν σου, καὶ πρὸς Ἥλιον λέγε: "καὶ ἐξορκίζω σε τὸ μέγα
(ὄνομα) βορκη φοιουρ ἴω ζιζια απαρξεουχ θυθη λαιλαμ
ααααα [ιι]ιι ωωωω ἴεω ἴεω ἴεω ἴεω ἴεω ἴεω ἴεω
228 ναυναξ αιαι αεω αεω ηαω." ὑγρὸν ποίει καὶ ἐπίλε-
γε: "ἀθεώρητόν με ποίησον, κύριε (Ἥλιε), αεω ωση εἴη ηαω,
ἀπέναντι παντός ἀνθρώπου ἄχρι δυσμῶν ἡλίου ἴω ἴω ω
φριξ ριζω εωα."

223 ὀφθαλμόν Parthey: οφθαλμών P νυκτιβαυ P: νυκτιβαῦτος Schmidt
 224 <σ>φαγνίνου Schmidt: φακνίνου P <ὀμ>φακνίνου Preisendanz φακνινον Parthey
 λειοτριβήσας Parthey: λειοτριβήσας P 225 λεγε και P: λέγε· ἐξορκίζω (Preisendanz και
post ηαω 228 *statuit*) και *del.* Abt 226 (ὄνομα) Parthey: θ P 228 ὑγρόν Parthey:
 υγρων P 229 (Ἡλιε) Preisendanz: ε P (ἥλιε) Parthey

An indispensable spell of invisibility: Take some fat or an eye of a small night owl and a scarab's dung ball and some sage oil. After grinding everything together until it is smooth, anoint your entire body and say to Helios, "And I adjure you by your great name, *BORKĒ PHOIOUR IŌ ZIZIA APARXEOUCH THYTHĒ LAILAM AAAAAA [II]III ŌŌŌŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ NAUNAX AIAI AEŌ AEŌ EAŌ.*" Moisten it and then say, "Make me invisible, lord Helios, *AEŌ ŌAE EIE EAŌ,* in the presence of every person until the setting of the sun, *IŌ IŌ Ō PHRIX RIZŌ EŌA.*"

Commentary

I. Section Title (222)

II. Praxis (223-225)

A. Mixing of ingredients (223-224)

1. Fat or eye of a night owl
2. Ball of dung rolled by a scarab
3. Sage oil

B. Anointing of entire body (224-225)

III. Logos (225-231)

A. Address to Helios (225-227)

1. Adjuration of Helios
2. Utterance of Helios' great name

B. Adjuration with additional praxis (228-231)

1. Moistening of body
2. Request to be made invisible
3. *Voces magicae*
4. Limitations of spell's efficacy
 - a. Before every man
 - b. Until the setting of the sun
5. *Voces magicae*

I. Section Title (222)

There is a paragraphos at the left hand margin as well as a blank space of about five letters before the title. Such practices are commonly employed in both medicinal and magical handbooks to mark parts of texts that need to be kept separate. See Hanson and Gagos 1997, 126-128. Cf. also the use of paragraphoi before texts 3, 4, and 7, as well as the blank spaces before texts 3 and 4.

222. ἀμαύρωσις – beginning with Parthey's translation in the *editio princeps*, scholars have traditionally emphasized the practitioner's intended goal, when translating ἀμαύρωσις in invisibility spells: "unfehlbares Unsichtbarmachen" in Parthey 1866, 134; "unfehlbares Mittel, unsichtbar zu werden" in Preisendanz, *PGM*, 1.13; "spell which renders invisible" in LSJ, s.v. ἀμαύρωσις, I.3; and "invisibility spell" in O'Neil, *GMPT*, 9. Though the identical title ἀμαύρωσις(ς) occurs in 3 247, and possibly a related adjectival form ἡ ἀμαυρά (sc. χρεία or perhaps τελετή) in 5 234-235, the internal evidence in each of these spells – as well as in this one – does not explicitly answer the important question of how the practitioner is conceiving the act of invisibility. Accordingly, the translation of ἀμαύρωσις in more general terms as an "invisibility spell" seems to be warranted. Yet, if an ἀμαύρωσις spell has any affinities to text 1, entitled ἀμαυρωτικὸν ἄνθρωπον ποιῆσαι, here too the practitioner would be conceiving of invisibility in terms of affecting the vision or perceptions of others. Although the only other parallel to ἀμαύρωσις in the magical corpus is 3 247, examples of its usage elsewhere in Greek literature yield several possible interpretations:

(1) If the practitioner is attempting to affect the sight of others, the use of ἀμαύρωσις here is very suggestive and implies a dulling of the eyesight of the person(s) to whom the practitioner wishes to be invisible; cf. ἀθεώρητόν με ποιήσον...ἀπέναντι παντός ἀνθρώπου, "Make me invisible... in the presence of every person," 2 229-230. ἀμαύρωσις periodically appears in the works of medical writers who use the term in a more technical sense to describe ophthalmological ailments, e.g. ὀμματος ἀμαύρωσις, "dimness of eye(sight)," in Hipp. *Prorrh.* 1.113, 5.546 Littré and ὀμμάτων ἀμαύρωσις, "dimness of eyes," in Hipp. *Coac.* 221, 222, 252, 5.632, 638 Littré; cf. also *Coac.* 475, 5.690 Littré. Dimness is listed as one of several symptoms indicating that a spasm or convulsion is occurring (*Coac.* 252), or about to occur (*Prorrh.* 1.113 and *Coac.* 222). But perhaps more notable is the definition of ἀμαύρωσις in the Pseudo-Galenic *Introductio seu medicus* 16, 14.776.8-9 Kühn: ὅταν παντελής παρεμποδισμός ἢ τοῦ ὀράν, χωρίς φανεράς αἰτίας, "when there is complete obstruction of sight, without a visible cause." Similar definitions appear in Paul.Aeg. 3.22.31.1-3, 1.185 Heiberg, and in Ion.Act., *De diagnosis* 2.7.157, 2.448.11 Ideler. See also the fourth-century medical writer Oribasius, *Syn.* 8.50.1-2, 267 Raeder: ἀμαύρωσις ἐστὶ παντελής ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τοῦ ὀράν παραποδισμός χωρίς φανεροῦ πάθους περὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, "amaurōsis is for the most part complete hindrance of seeing apart from visible suffering around the eye" – a definition repeated in Aët. 7.50.1, 304 Olivieri.

Even if it is possible to envision how the practitioner might have exploited the aforementioned definitions of ἀμαύρωσις, it should be noted that ancient medical sources never attribute the cause of

ἀμαύρωσις specifically to spells of malicious intent, though they do suggest various other sources for the affliction. As noted above, Hippocratic writers associate dimness of sight with convulsions. Later medical writers consider dimness as caused by the noxious bites of reptiles, such as the horned serpent, the asp, or the spitter asp, and the pelias fish: Pseudo-Dsc. *Ther.* 16.6 and 17.5, 73 Sprengel; Philum. *Ven.* 16.4.3, 18.2.4, and 28.1.6, 22, 25, and 33 Wellmann; Paul.Aeg. 5.19.2.5 and 5.19.3.4, 2.21 Heiberg. Or the dimness may be said to accompany other diseases of the eye, such as dilation or diminution of the pupil, or atrophy of the entire eye, as in the Pseudo-Galenic *Definitiones medicae* 340-342, 19.435.4-9 Kühn. Aëtius links the onset of ἀμαύρωσις to a strong blow to the head, 7.50.15, 2.304 Olivieri; to the fact that the patient has just broken the grip of disease, 5.127.1-7, 2.103 Olivieri; or to an impaction of the optic nerve, 7.2.29, 2.255 Olivieri. Aëtius 7.50.9-13, 2.304 Olivieri, moreover, notes that the affliction of dim-sightedness can be preceded (and caused!) by numerous activities:

προηγούνται δὲ τοῦ πάθους ἀπεψίαι συνεχεῖς καὶ ἀκρατοποσίαι, ἠλίωσις, ἔγκαυσις τῆς κεφαλῆς ἢ κατάψυξις ἢ συνεχῆς ἀνάγνωσις μετὰ τροφήν ἢ βαλανεῖα ὁμοίως συνεχῆ ἐπὶ τροφῇ, καὶ ἔμετοι ἄκαιροι, συνουσία ἄμετρος τε καὶ ἄκαιρος, καὶ κατοχὴ πνεύματος βιαία, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν καλπιτῶν γίγνεται.

“Certain activities precede the suffering (of *amaurōsis*): continuous indigestion, drinking unmixed wine, exposure to the sun, burning of the head, or a chill, or constant reading after eating, similarly continual bathing right after a meal, and ill-timed vomiting, immoderate and ill-timed sex, and forceful retention of breath, as happens in the case of trumpet players.”

In addition to explaining the causes of ἀμαύρωσις, many authors provide recipes for treating it. The Greek tract known as the *Cyranides*, see **B 1.5**, lists no fewer than six remedies for ἀμαύρωσις (3.1.56, 3.1a.5, 3.9.51, 4.27.3, 4.37.4, and 4.39.3), most of which employ the bile of an eagle, vulture, or fish along with some kind of honey as well as leek-green or balsam juice. A similar recipe for treating ἀμαύρωσις is also found in Galen’s *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* 4.8, 12.801.11-14 Kühn:

[θεραπεία ἀμαυρώσεως καὶ ὑποχύσεως.] ἀμαύρωσιν πᾶσαν ἢ ἀρχομένην ὑπόχυσιν θεραπεύει γυπὸς χολῆ μετὰ πρακίου χυλοῦ καὶ μέλιτος Ἀττικοῦ, ἢ μύρνης καὶ πεπέρεως ἴσα σὺν μέλιτι, ἢ στρύχνω μέλανι ἔγχριε.

“Treatment for *amaurōsis* and cataract. Bile of a vulture with leek juice and Attic honey cures all *amaurōsis* or a beginning cataract, or anoint with equal parts of myrrh and pepper mixed with honey or black *strychnon* plant.”

Cf. also the Pseudo-Galenic *De remediis parabilibus* 1.5, 14.349.13-350.2 Kühn; *Afric. Cest.* 2.26; *Orib.* 4.24.2, 3.447 Raeder; *Hippiatrica Cantabrigiensia*, 8.8, 2.137-138 Oder-Hoppe, and

Additamenta Londiniensia ad Hippiatrica Cantabrigiensia 4.2, 2.254 Oder-Hoppe. There are also late examples of amulets for ἀμαύρωσις. In Orphic literature the dragon-stone is used as a treatment (Orph. *Lithica kerygmata*, 49.4, 175-176 Halleux-Schamp), and in *Additamenta Londiniensia ad Hippiatrica Cantabrigiensia* 5.2, 2.254 Oder-Hoppe, it is said that eyes around the neck are useful.

Thus, it is certainly possible that a spell entitled ἀμαύρωσις could relate to a practitioner's desire to affect the eyesight of his victims and in this way become invisible to them. Whether the practitioner could actually accomplish such a debilitating feat (lines 229-230: ἀθεώρητόν με ποίησον...ἀπέναντι παντός ἀνθρώπου) is moot since the practitioner does not deal in realities, but focuses instead on successful outcomes, i.e. his avoiding the perceptions of others, see the note to I i 7-8, s.v. ἀμαύρωσον πάν'τα ὀφθαλμ[ὸ]ν | ἀνθρώπου ἢ γυναικός.

(2) It is also possible to interpret ἀμαύρωσις more broadly to mean a general dimness of sense perceptions rather than a dimness of physical sight. In *De anima* 408b 20 Aristotle discusses a dulling (ἀμαύρωσις) of the mind that comes with old age and compares it to what happens to the sense organs. Similarly when Plutarch describes Cleopatra's attempt to find a suitable and painless poison for her suicide, he uses ἀμαύρωσις in the more general sense as a dimming of perceptive faculties as a whole:

καὶ σχεδὸν ἐν πᾶσι μόνον εὗρισκε τὸ δῆγμα τῆς ἀσπίδος ἄνευ σπασμοῦ καὶ στεναγμοῦ κάρων ὑπνώδη καὶ καταφορὰν ἐφελκόμενον, ἰδρῶτι μαλακῶ τοῦ προσώπου, καὶ αἰσθητηρίων ἀμαυρῶσει παραλυομένων ῥαδίως καὶ δυσχεραίνοντων πρὸς τὰς ἐξεγέρσεις καὶ ἀνακλήσεις, ὥσπερ οἱ βαθέως καθεύδοντες (*Ant.* 71.8.949).

“And in nearly every case she found that the bite of the asp brought deep and profound slumber with no groans or convulsions, as, with a faint perspiration of the brow and dulling of the perceptions, they gently lost their strength and resisted being stirred or roused, like those in a deep sleep.” (translation, Pelling 1988, 296)

Even Galen himself seems to differentiate between the specific ophthalmological ailment which he calls ἀμαύρωσις and ἀμαύρωσις as “dimming” of the power of sense perceptions which could result in ἀμβλυωπία “dim sightedness,” and βαρυηκοία, “difficulty of hearing,” on which see *In Hipp. Aph. Comm.* 3.31, 17b.651.6-7 Kühn, and also *In Hipp. Prorrh. Comm.* 1.42, 2.59.13 Diels et al.

A much closer parallel to text 2 is the miraculous escape of the Hebrew prophet Elisha found in Josephus' retelling of the tale (*AJ* 9.56-57; cf. *2 Ki.* 6.8-23, see **E 1.7**). In this account the prophet Elisha angers the king of Syria after thwarting his plan to ambush Joram, king of Israel. Being surrounded in the city of Adados by Syrian horses and chariots, Elisha prays to the LORD (YHWH) first to allow his servant to see a host of allies surrounding them, and second, to send a mist upon the eyes of the Syrian forces to blind them: Ἐλισσαῖος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ὄψεις ἀμαυρῶσαι τὸν θεὸν παρεκάλει, ἀχλὺν αὐταῖς ἐπιβαλόντα ἀφ' ἧς ἀγνοήσειν αὐτὸν ἔμελλον, “After these things Elisha also beseeched God to darken the eyes of his enemy, after casting a mist

upon them by which they would not recognize him.” Elisha’s prayers do not go unanswered. Thus, he is able to enter into the midst of the Syrians incognito and promises to deliver none other than himself to them, if only they follow their guide to another city. Eager to catch their prey, the Syrians follow and eventually find themselves surrounded by hostile forces. At this point, Elisha prays, and the LORD lifts their blindness: οἱ δ’ ἐκ τῆς ἀμαυρώσεως ἐκείνης ἀφεθέντες..., “And after they had been released from that dimness, ...” The Hebrew text (2 *Ki.* 6.20) reads, ׀הַיְיָ פָתַח אֶת עֵינֵיהֶם, “Then the LORD opened their eyes” (NRSV) and similarly the Septuagint text reads καὶ διήνοιξεν κύριος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν, “and the LORD opened their eyes.” Although in Josephus’ version the Syrians are freed from their “blindness” (ἀμαύρωσις), throughout the episode they are not without sight. The Syrians are, in fact, able to *see* Elisha, but to their detriment they are not able to *recognize* him. It is as if their senses have been dulled or clouded, rather than their eyes physically blinded.

(3) A third – and less convincing – interpretation of ἀμαύρωσις in this context would be that it either refers to the practitioner himself or to Helios. If the former, the term could indicate that the body of the practitioner is being diminished in the presence of people, but if the latter, it is the sun that is being diminished so as to allow the practitioner to go unnoticed. Cf. *Scholia in Arat.* 6.869-876. Certainly, in other contexts, ἀμαύρωσις, meaning “dimming,” can relate to many objects besides eyes and sense perception, e.g. the role of oracles as in Plu. *Mor.* 411e.4, followed by Eus. *PE* 16.3.3, and Theodoretus, *Affect.* 10.10.7; the beating of the heart as in Anon. *Med.* 14.23, Fuchs 1903, 108; the good word as in Gr. Nyss., *Or.catech.* 6.122; common notions as in Olymp. *In Alc.* 32.11, etc.

It is worth noting that the tradition of attaining invisibility by affecting the perception of one’s victim persists throughout the Middle Ages. Kieckhefer 1997, 59, 67, and footnote 40 notes that “probably the most commonly recommended means for becoming invisible in medieval works on magic was to carry an opal on oneself, so that its brilliance would blind all potential viewers.” This conclusion is supported by a passage attributed to Albertus Magnus’ *Book of Secrets* in which he offers the following advice to those wishing to be made invisible (excerpted here from a later English version which varies quite significantly from the original Latin text, see **D 1.5**):

“Take the stone which is called *ophthalmus*, and wrap it in the leaf of the laurel, or bay tree; and it is called *lapis obtalmicus*, whose colour is not named, for it is of many colours. And it is of such virtue, that it blindeth the sights of them that stand about. Constantius, carrying this in his hand, was made invisible by it.” (translation, Best and Brightman 1973, 26-27).

ἀναγκαῖα – “indispensable.” The translation here follows O’Neil’s in *GMPT*, 9. However, since ἀναγκαῖος does not appear elsewhere within the title of a spell, it is difficult to be conclusive. Parthey 1866, 134, and Preisendanz in *PGM*, 1.13 suggest “unfehlbares.” Other possibilities might include “efficacious” or “effective” (hence, pointed towards a successful outcome; cf. Vett. Val. 63.1 and *Cat.Cod.Astr.* 7.238.16), “necessary” (*PGM* IV 855, 2008, 2510, etc.), and perhaps even “urgent,” given the short term nature of the spell.

Spells – both those transmitted in ritual handbooks and single formularies – characteristically include one or several words which serve to strengthen the force of the spell as well as the appeal to the practitioner reading it, see **A 1.1**. One way through which this is accomplished is the use of adjectives, as e.g. αἰώνιος, “eternal,” *PGM* VII 191; ἀκριβής εἰς πάντα, “precise for everything,” *PGM* XII 145; ἀπόκρυφος, “hidden,” *PGM* IV 1115 and XIII 344, 1057, 1078; αὐθωρον, “taking immediate effect,” *PGM* VII 300a; βέλτιστον, “best,” *PGM* XXXVI 36; γενναία, “excellent,” *PGM* IV 1227 and VII 396; δοκίμη, “tested,” 3 247 and IV 3007; ἐπαιν[ετόν], “praiseworthy,” *PGM* LXI 1; πρὸς πάντα εὐχρηστος, “useful for all things,” *PGM* IV 1167; θαυ|μάσιος, “marvelous,” 5 234-235; θαυμαστός, “marvelous,” *PGM* IV 296, VII 919, and XXXVI 134; ἱερά, “sacred,” *PGM* I 96 and XIII 3, 61, 343; κάλλιστον, “excellent,” *PGM* VII 459, 462; μέγα, “great,” *PGM* XXXVI 275, 320; μόνον, “only,” *PGM* XXXVI 320. For examples from the *PDM*, see the note to 3 247, s.v. ἀμαύρωσι(ς) δοκίμη.

II. Praxis (223-225)

A. Mixing of ingredients (223-224)

223. *στεάρ* – this word, elsewhere contracted to *στῆρ*, as in *PGM* IV 2459 and XII 443, is most commonly used for “fat” in the *PGM*, e.g. in IV 1332-1333, 1339, 2576, 2581, 2644, 2686, 2710, 2892; cf. *λίπος*, *PGM* IV 1092, 1101. However, *PGM* XII 401-444 as well as XIII 1066-1067 and 1068-1069 stand as reminders that the ingredients listed in rituals – even fats – at times cannot be taken at face value or at the very least might reflect alternative names for the same ingredients. See also *GMPT* 167, footnote 95 for similar lists of terms. LiDonnici 2002, 359-377 discounts the usefulness of such lists in shedding light on the ingredients being used in the *PGM*. Dieleman 2005, 189-203, however, asserts that texts such as *PGM* XII 401-444 merely provide alternate names for the specified ingredients, reflecting priestly sources rooted in Egyptian tradition. According to *PGM* XIII 442-444, fat (*στῆρ*) from a head (ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς) is equivalent to a spurge (τιθύμαλλον), fat from the belly (ἀπὸ κοιλίας) to an earth apple (χαμαίμηλον), and fat from the foot (ἀπὸ ποδός) to a houseleek (χρυσόσπερμον).

When fats occur in the Greek magical papyri, the type of fat is usually specified. In the eleven other instances of *στεάρ*, a specific kind of fat is mentioned each and every time. Thus, it is likely that *στεάρ* here is to be construed with *νυκτίβαυ* (“Take the fat of an owl or the eye of an owl...”). Many varieties of fat are used in the *PGM*, including the fat of a black ass (*PGM* IV 1332), black bull (*PGM* IV 1333), cow (*PDM Suppl.* 16), dead doe (*PGM* IV 2581), wild goose (*PDM* xiv 98), black, male, first-born and first-reared ram (*PGM* IV 1092-1093, 1101-1102), white she-dove (*PGM* IV 2892), dappled she-goat (*PGM* IV 1332-1333, 2459, 2575-2576, 2644), virgin dappled she-goat (*PGM* IV 2685-2686, 2709-2710), etc. For the general use of fats in ancient Egypt, see Darby et al. 1977, 2.757-760; for a more technical discussion, see Serpico and White 2000. Not only does the kind of fat used in rituals vary, but also the way in which the fat is used. In some cases fat is just one of several ingredients in a mixture used for anointing, e.g. *PGM* IV 1332-1333, as it is here.

Sometimes, it is presented along with other ingredients, e.g. *PGM IV* 2644, or as an ingredient in a mixture to be burned as an offering, e.g. *PGM IV* 2459, 2685-2686, 2709-2710, 2892. Fat is also used to rub the wick of a lamp, e.g. *PGM IV* 1092-1093, 1101-1102.

ὄφθαλμόν – Parthey's correction of οφθαλμών. Vowels such as *omega* and *omicron* are commonly interchanged, as for example in 2 228 (ὕγρών for ὕγρόν); *PGM LXXI* 1 (φυλακτήριων for φυλακτήριον); *Suppl. Mag.* I, 2.2 (τών for τόν), II, 58.1-2 (θυμοκάθυκων | καὶ νικητικῶν for θυμοκάτοχον | καὶ νικητικόν); *GMA* 47.2 (θεών for θεόν); see also *DT* index, 518 (Syria, Achaia), 519 (Italia), and 520 (Africa); Gignac, *Gram.*, 1.275-277.

As to the correlation between the ingredients the practitioner uses and the outcome of the spell, an eye or eyes – of an ape (3 248), a wolf (*PGM I* 285), and a bat (*PGM IV* 2943-2944) – are employed in a few spells and used in mixtures for anointing (2 223 and 3 248), offerings to be burned (*PGM I* 285), and figurines used in ritual (*PGM IV* 2943-2944). Cf. also *PGM CXXII* 16. Of these four spells, three suggest that there is a connection between the use of an eye and the function of the spell. Text 3 248 is also part of an ἀμαύρωσις spell and *PGM IV* 2943-2944 occurs in a love-spell of attraction in which the eyes of the victim are being targeted.

νυκτίβαν – “a small night owl.” The reading has been retained, but for different reasons from that of Parthey 1866, 144, note to line 223, who points out that νυκτίβαν is absent from the lexicon and indeclinable. He compares its form to that of νυκτικόραξ and suggests that the closest parallel is found in Hesychius who equates it to νυκτικόραξ, “the long-eared owl” (C 2004.1, s.v. σπρίγλος: καλεῖται δὲ καὶ νυκτοβόα· οἱ δὲ νυκτοκόρακα). Ogden 2002, 274 follows Parthey in his translation. Schmidt 1931, 445 asserts that νυκτίβαν is declinable and emends to νυκτιβαῦτος on the basis of the use of the genitive form νυκτιβαούτος in *PGM XXXVI* 264.

Here it seems better to follow Crum, *Dict.*, s.v. χακκαμαγ, who suggests that νυκτίβαν is indeclinable and absent from the Greek lexicon because βαν is Egyptian in origin, νυκτί being equivalent to the Coptic word χακκα meaning “night.” Though ραγ is a Coptic word only attested in Bohairic – originally the northern dialect of the western Delta and Wādī di al-Natrūn that began to flourish in the eighth and ninth centuries – evidence of Bohairic appears as early as the 4th and 5th centuries in biblical texts. See Shisha-Halevy's discussion in *Copt. Enc.*, 8.57, s.v. Bohairic. In fact, elements of Bohairic can even be found in Old Coptic, a fact highlighted by Satzinger, *Copt. Enc.*, 8.172, s.v. Old Coptic, and Kahle 1954, 243ff. It is worth noting that ραι is attested with the meaning “night raven” (νυκτικόραξ) or “screech owl” (*jabiru*, *ephippiorhynchus senegalensis*), on which see Crum, *Dict.*, s.v. ραι; Černý 1976, 20, s.v. ραι; Erman and Grapow, *Wb*, 1.410, s.v. b3. For a general treatment of owls in ancient Egypt, see Houlihan 1986.

λαβῶν στέαρ ἢ ὄφθαλμόν νυκτίβαν – “Take some fat or an eye of a small night owl...” One can interpret this phrase in a couple of ways. If the owl is the focus here, it is possible that the ritual of grinding an owl's eye into the anointing mixture might operate on the principle of *similia similibus*

or “persuasive analogy.” For the magical properties of owls, see Eitrem 1925, 99-100, the note to 265, s.v. ἔμα νυκτιβαοῦτος; Pease 1935, 375-377, footnote 462; Thompson 1936, 209. For a discussion of persuasive analogy, see Tambiah 1973, 199-229; cf. also Faraone 1991, 8, and Collins, 2008, 21-24. The nocturnal nature of owls is well attested, including their ability to see in darkness, e.g. in Arist. *HA* 597b 23 and 619b 18. The invocation that appears later in 2 229-230 might be the practitioner’s attempt to become like the owl during the day, i.e. “invisible”: ἀθεώρητόν με ποιήσον, κύριε Ἥλιε...ἀπέναντι παντός ἀνθρώπου ἄχρι δυσμῶν ἡλίου, “Make me invisible, lord Helios... in the presence of every person until the setting of the sun.”

However, the use of an ape’s eye or that of a corpse which has died a violent death in 3 248 highlights that the destruction of an eye, as well as the role of the owl, might also be the focus here. The use of an eye, whether as a literal ingredient or a representation of something else, suggests that an ἀμαύρωσις spell targets the victim’s eyes. If so, the practitioner’s ritual act of grinding up an eye would perhaps represent his desire to dim his victim’s sight. Moreover, just as the eye in his concoction has been dimmed, so too can the practitioner become like the eye and dim his own presence by anointing himself with this mixture. Of course, the problem with this argument is that in this same line, fat is allowed to be a substitute for an eye – a fact that seems to minimize the significance of the eye in this ritual. At the same time, however, it still remains that the fat of an owl, a night bird connoting darkness and concealment, is being employed.

223-224. κύλιγμα καν|θάρου – “the dung ball of the scarab.” Cf. *bnn.t n p3 mhrr* in *PDM Suppl.* 69. See Bianchi, *OEAE*, s.v. scarabs, who provides an excellent description of how the scarab (*Scarabaeus sacer*) carefully crafts dung balls into two different shapes, precisely utilizing its legs and mouth. The brood ball, comprised of sheep dung, is used first by the female scarab as a nest into which she lays her eggs and subsequently by the larvae as their food. However, the scarab also rolls another ball, made of cattle dung, which is spherical in shape and used as a food source. Because the scarab rolls this food ball with its hind legs across the ground and eventually down a shaft, the Egyptians over time began to equate the scarab’s actions with that of a mythological beetle rolling the sun disk across the sky with its forelegs (not its hind legs). Moreover, wrongly assuming that the scarab was spontaneously generated from the brood ball, they believed that the mythological scarab was likewise spontaneously generated by the sun. The ancient Egyptian word for scarab is *hpr* from the verbal root meaning “to be created” and “to come into being.”

Thus, it is not surprising that in the context of this spell, we find the ritual use of the scarab’s dung ball along with invocations to the sun god, Helios, both in 2 225 (καὶ πρὸς Ἥλιον λέγε, “and say to Helios”) and 2 228-229 (καὶ ἐπίλεγε ἀθεώρητόν με ποιήσον, κύριε Ἥλιε, “and then say, ‘Make me invisible, lord Helios’...”). This pairing is not found elsewhere in the magical papyri, since the use of the scarab’s dung ball as ritual material is absent from other spells, a fact which Parthey 1866, 144, the note to 223, points out: “ganz neu ist die Erwähnung, dass eine solche Kugel auch magischen Zwecken dienen könne.” The magical corpus, however, contains other words for “dung” e.g. ἀφόδευμα, “excrement” (LSJ), in *PGM* XII 414; XIII 240-241, 245; βόλβιθον, “cow dung”

(LSJ), in *PGM* IV 1439-1440; κόπρος, “excrement, dung, manure” (LSJ I.1), in *PGM* IV 2460, 2586, 2651, 3097; VII 485; *Suppl. Mag.* II, 83.2; Demotic *hs* in *PDM* xii 51, 109; xiv 84, 85, 1042, 1043, 1139, 1156, 1188, 1190-1191, 1194, 1196, 1198, and *hs* in *PDM* lxi 106, 107 – dung excreted from a variety of animals, including that of an antelope (*PDM* xiv 1043), ape (*PDM* xiv 85), ass (*PDM* xiv 84, 1198), black cow (*PGM* IV 1439-1440), crocodile (*PGM* XII 414; XIII 245; *PDM* xiv 79-80, 1042; lxi 107), dog (*PGM* XIII 240-241), dog-faced baboon (*PGM* IV 2459-2460, 2586), falcon (*PDM* lxi 106), goose (*PDM* xiv 1188), hawk (*PDM* xiv 1156), horse (*PGM* IV 3097), hyena (*PDM* xiv 1194), ichneumon (*PDM* xiv 1196), mouse (*PGM* IV 2651), weasel (*PDM* xiv 1190-1191), and white dove (*PGM* VII 485). In these examples dung is often used as an offering or as one ingredient in an offering to be burned (*PGM* IV 2459-2460, 2586, 2651; VII 485; *PDM* xiv 84, 85), as well as for anointing objects (*PGM* XIII 240-241) and individuals as is the case here (*PGM* XIII 245; *PDM* xiv 1042, 1043, 1139, 1156, 1190-1191, 1194; lxi 106, 107; *Suppl. Mag.* II, 83.2). For a brief, general discussion of the magical properties of human and animal *excreta*, see Bell, Nock and Thompson 1933, 27.

καν|θάρου – “beetle” or “scarab.” Cf. the use of the Demotic word *mhrr* in *PDM* xii 138; xiv 88, 91, 245, 267, 636, 638, 646, 651, 655, 658; *Suppl.* 66, 87, 93, and *hprrr* in *PDM Suppl.* 2. In magical texts the scarab is frequently associated with Helios (*PGM* III 207, 208; IV 1659, LXI 34) or the sun (*PGM* IV 943; XII 57), and occasionally referred to as a “sun” scarab (κάνθαρος ήλιακός) as in *PGM* IV 751; LXI 34. Moreover, in amulets it appears as an image of Khepri, the regenerated sun at dawn (Pinch 1994, 109); cf. χφυρις (*PGM* VII 584; XII 100; XXXVI 170), χφυρι (*PGM* VII 590), χφουρις (*PGM* XIII 326), and χφουρι (*PGM* XIII 624), often within *voces magicae* (*PGM* VII 584, 590; XIII 326, 624). See Bell, Nock and Thompson 1933, 40.

224. <ς>φαγνίνου μύρον – “some sage oil.” The papyrus reads φακνινου, which is unattested. I follow Schmidt 1931, 445, who suggests cφαγνίνου as an unattested adjectival form of cφάγνος, “sage,” which appears as a noun in *PGM* IV 2584, 2650, 2873, 3097. See Palmer, *Gram.*, 29-30 for adjectives ending in -ινος. The use of a scented oil here would be sensible given the use of lily oil in text 3 249. Moreover, sage itself, according to Pliny, was said to be indigenous to Egypt (*Nat.* 12.108.1). See also Germer 1985, 163-164. Explaining the textual corruption is more difficult. For examples that show the replacement of *kappa* with *gamma* when used medially before another consonant, see Gignac, *Gram.*, 1.79. The sigma could have been omitted if accidentally construed with the preceding word. See *ibid.*, 1.124-125.

Parthey 1866, 145, the note to 224, suggests φάκινον “of lentils,” which does not modify μύρον or any synonymous words in Greek. Preisendanz, *PGM*, 1.14 emends the text to <όμ>φακνίνου, another unattested form, presumably a variant of <όμ>φακίνου, “made from unripe olives” (LSJ I, s.v. όμφάκινος), which elsewhere modifies έλαιον, e.g. έλαιον όμφά|κινον, *PGM* IV 228-229. Cf. also έλαιον όμφακίζοντα, *PGM* IV 3008. This emendation presents a good and certainly more common alternative to Schmidt’s reading. Though όμφάκινον does not modify μύρον elsewhere, it is not

uncommon for μύρον and ἔλαιον to be used rather loosely in the magical corpus. Cf. μύρον κρίνινον (*PGM* V 223; VII 338; XIII 1067-1068) and ἔλαιον κρίνινον (*PGM* VII 631-632), as well as ρόδιον ἔλαιον (*PGM* I 278) and ρόδιον μύρον (*PGM* IV 759; VII 337-338; VIII 108-109). However, in the magical papyri, μύρον most frequently appears as a scented ointment, e.g. with cinnamon as in *PGM* V 223-224, with lilies in *PGM* V 223; VII 338; XIII 1067-1068, with myrrh in *PGM* V 223-224, and with roses in *PGM* IV 759; VII 337-338; VIII 108-109. Only occasionally is it used by itself as e.g. in *PGM* VII 974; XII 310; *Suppl. Mag.* II, 72.ii.4 (*bis*). For the use of oils in ancient Egypt, see Darby et al. 1977, 2.776-89; cf. also Sandy 1989.

For the genitive form here, cf. *PGM* VII 191-192 (χολῆς κάπρου, ἀλός ἀμμω|νιακοῦ, μέλιτος Ἀττικοῦ ὁμοῦ τρίψον...) where O'Neil, *GMPT*, 120, translates "Rub together some gall of a wild boar, some rock salt, some Attic honey." It might also be that (1) <σ>φαγνίνου μύρου has been attracted into the genitive by κανθάρου and instead should read <σ>φαγνίνον μύρον. Cf. *GMPT*, 9, where O'Neil seems to read the text in this way; however, for a similar example illustrating poor syntactical construction, see *Suppl. Mag.* II, 96A.60: λαβὸν ζουδίου μαρμαρίνου (presumably for λαβῶν ζώδιον μαρμάρινον, "Take a small marble figurine."). Occasionally one even finds accusatives and genitives side by side, e.g. in *PGM* V 370. The resulting asyndeton is not unusual in this context. Cf. 3 248-249; *PGM* II 17-19; IV 754-755; XIII 319-320. (2) It is also possible that a preposition such as μετά has dropped out. Cf. *PGM* XIII 356-357: λειοτρι|βήσας μετ' οἴνου ἀθαλάσσου πάντα ἐπίθου, "After grinding everything with wine not mixed with sea water, burn as incense." Moreover, occasionally, a prepositional phrase will precede a verb of grinding, as e.g. in *Suppl. Mag.* II, 83.7-8. In this passage I have opted to retain the genitive case endings as they appear in the papyrus <σ>φαγνίνου μύρου. Note, however, 3 248-249 where we find asyndeton, yet the passage that follows the asyndeton seems to support the final option here: τοῦτον τρί|ψας εὐν ελαίω σουσίω, "grind it with oil of lily."

λειοτριβήσας – "grind," "round fine," "emulsify." Parthey 1866, 145, the note to line 224, suggests emending λειοτριβήσας, the reading of the papyrus. Cf. λειοτριβήσων in *PGM* II 36 and XIII 27, as well as λειοτριβήσας in *PGM* XIII 356-357. For the tendency of εἰ to become ε before a back vowel, see the note to I i 4-5, s.v. θεῶν | πνευμάτων θεόν. The verb is often associated with grinding up plants and aromatic resins as in *PGM* II 35-36 (σμύρναν καὶ πεντα|δάκτυλον βοτάνην καὶ ἀρτεμισίαν καύσας ἀ[γ]νῶς λειοτριβήσων καὶ χρῶ, "After burning myrrh and cinquefoil and wormwood in a sacred manner, grind and use them."), XIII 26-28 (ταῦτα τὰ ἄνθη πρὸ εἴκοσι | μιᾶς ἡμέρας τῆς τελετῆς λειοτριβήσων εἰς λευ|κὴν θυίαν, "Twenty one days before the initiation, grind these flowers into white incense"), and 356 (λειοτριβήσας μετ' οἴνου ἀθαλάσσου πάντα ἐπίθου, "After grinding everything with wine not mixed with sea water, burn as incense").

B. Anointing of entire body (224-225)

224-225. χρῆε ὄλον | τὸ σωμά[τ]ιον σου – in text 2 the act of anointing is very likely perceived as an act of camouflage to attain invisibility, see the note to 2 223, s.v. λαβῶν στέαρ ἢ ὀφθαλμὸν

νυκτίβαν; cf. also 3 256: χρίσον σου τὸ μέτωπον μόνον ἐκ τοῦ συνθέματος, κτλ., “rub only your forehead with this mixture, ...” In *PGM* VII 170, a spell to make an egg like an apple, the practitioner conceals the egg by coloring it to make it appear to be an apple: ζέσας τὸ ᾠόν χρεῖε κρόκῳ | μείξας μετ’ οἴνου, “After boiling the egg, rub it with a mixture of egg-yolk and wine.” Anointing oneself with the dung of the scarab, however, may also be equivalent to taking on the “blinding” qualities of the sun. χρίειν and synonymous verbs commonly appear in the magical corpus in contexts where the practitioner is anointing his body, e.g. in *PGM* II 74 (ἀλείφειν), 75 (συγχρίειν); IV 1339 (συναλείφειν); Va 3 (ἐγχριεσθαι); XIII 244-245 (χρίειν).

τὸ σωματίον σου – the diminutive form of σῶμα appears in the magical corpora only here. The meaning is most likely identical to σῶμα in this passage. See Palmer, *Gram.*, 84-86, who notes the increasing popularity of such forms in late Greek. See Peterson 1910, 128 for a discussion of the range of meanings for σωματίον, and also Buck and Petersen 1945, 43-119 for a more general discussion of such words. A number of other diminutives appear elsewhere in the magical papyri, e.g. δακτυλίδιον in *PGM* XII 202, 209, 271, κορωνοπόδιον in *PGM* XXXVI 283, ὀθόνιον in *PGM* IV 1073, 3003; VII 338; XII 122; XIII 1011, χάρτιον in *PGM* I 8; IV 2124; VII 702; LXI 60; *Suppl. Mag.* II, 97.15, ὦτιον in *PGM* V 458; XIII 248; XXXVI 332, etc. See also Eitrem 1953, 110-111 who in passing discusses diminutives in the *PGM*.

III. Logos (225-231)

A. Address to Helios (225-227)

225. καὶ πρὸς Ἥλιον λέγε – “and say to Helios.” On Helios see the note to 2 229, s.v. κύριε Ἥλιε. It is likely that the prepositional phrase πρὸς ἥλιον without the definite article tells the practitioner to whom he is to address the invocation as well as how he is to do it, i.e. “speak towards Helios.” Cf. *PGM* III 274 (λέ[γε] πρὸς ἥλιον τὸ ὄνομα μέγα, “speak to Helios the great name”); VI 4 (λέγε οὖν πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα, “and so speak to Helios rising”); XXXVI 211 (λέγε πρὸς ἥλιον ζ’, “speak to Helios 7 times”).

225-226. καὶ ἐξορκίζω σε τὸ μέγα | (ὄνομα) – “And I adjure you by your great name.” For the use of ἐξορκίζω with a double accusative, cf. *PGM* IV 3235-3236; VII 269-270; XIc 2; XII 137-139; LXI 19. The reading of the papyrus has been retained, but if the text is to be emended, Abt’s deletion of καὶ is preferable to Preizendanz’s placement of καὶ before ὑγρόν.

τὸ μέγα | (ὄνομα) – “your great name,” adds to the authoritative tone of the spell. The use of so-called “great names” for gods is found in many other spells, most likely as a way of increasing the chances that the god will respond favorably and the ritual act will be successful, e.g. in *PGM* III 264; IV 1008, 1610, 1788, 2344-2345, 3236; XIII 183, 738; XXXVI 190; see the note to *GMA* 18.4-5.

226. (ὄνομα) – is represented here by the symbol \square , as in 3 259. For a list of such symbolic representations, see *PGM*, 2.269-270, and *Suppl. Mag.* II, p. 338, index X.

226-228. βορκη φοιουρ ἰω ζιζια απαρξεουχ θυθη λαιλαμ | ααααα [ι]ιι ωωωω ἰεω ἰεω ἰεω ἰεω ἰεω | ναυναξ αι αι αεω αεω ηαω – presumably the “great name” of Helios, an appellation that does not appear to be the same in every context, as e.g. in *PGM* III 274-275: ...αωθ Καβαώθ.

The primary importance of such *voces magicae* is not that each syllable actually means something. Certainly, the fact that the practitioner has knowledge of the god’s “great name” and speaks it with unfamiliar words and utterances provides the necessary effect for a ritual such as this. This particular “great name” of Helios includes many traits commonly found in other magical words: (1) the repetition of words or vowel sounds as in the case of ἰεω (seven times) and αι (twice). Cf. *PGM* IV 983, 1790-1791; VII 1015; XIXa 9; (2) the utterance of one number of identical vowels, followed by another sequence smaller or greater by one, as ααααα [ι]ιι ωωωω. Cf. *PGM* I 11-12; IV 1005-1006; XIII 969; LXVII 4; *Suppl. Mag.* I, 3.2, 7.1-7, and 20.1; (3) the interplay of vowel combinations as αεω ηαω, etc. Cf. *PGM* IV 1130-1131, 1222-1226, etc. Each of these would, no doubt, produce a particular auditory effect on the listener while at the same time demonstrating the practitioner’s precision and expertise. For the various ways vowels are used in *voces magicae*, see Frankfurter 1994, 199-205.

Analyzing magical words in general is fraught with difficulty. Only two of the words used here have been linked etymologically to words in other languages. Whether this fact has any relevance to the meaning of the spell is highly debatable. See Bohak 2003. λαιλαμ is occasionally written as λαίλαμ or λααλαμ, on which see the note to *GMA* 57.7; cf. also Λαιλαμψ in *PGM* XV 15 and Delatte and Derchain 1964, #164 and Λειλαμ in *PGM* XXXVI 351. It is associated with Helios in *PGM* XIII 149 where Helios himself is portrayed as uttering the magical word λαίλαμ, which according to the passage is “in hieroglyphic,” ἱερογλυφικτί; cf. also *PGM* XIII 456-457. It also appears in other passages where the practitioner, utilizing magical words, invokes Helios, as e.g. in *PGM* IV 1625, 1983. However, λαιλαμ does not appear in *voces magicae* exclusively or overtly relating to Helios, as in *PGM* V 349, 352, 366, 477; VII 406, 663, 979; XIII 82, 594; XIXa 3; Delatte and Derchain 1964, #493 and 517.

As to the meaning of λαιλαμ itself, scholars have suggested a few possibilities. It could be derived from, or merely associated with, the Hebrew or Aramaic word \square לעל meaning “forever,” especially given that it is written as λαίλαμ on some papyri, on which see the note to *GMA* 57.7. See also Brashear 1995, 3590. Gager 1992, 268 suggests some connection with the Greek word λαίλαψ, “storm, hurricane.” Though ἰω is presumably without meaning here, it too has been the focus of debate. For introductory bibliography see Brashear 1995, 3588, s.v. ἰω.

B. Adjuration with additional *praxis* (228-231)

228. ὑγρὸν ποίει – “Moisten it.” Most likely refers to τὸ σωματίον in 2 225 together with the concoction used to anoint the practitioner. Ogden 2002, 274 translates “Dilute.” It is interesting that doctors, in particular in Gaul, Germany, and Britain, used to carry a range of *collyria*. Jackson 1988, 83-85 describes them as “medicinal ingredients such as herbs and spices mixed and then rolled like pastry into short lengths at which stage they were marked with a stamp and left to dry.” Some 300 of these *collyria* stamps have survived, yielding about 100 salves used to treat more than thirty ailments and diseases. Such herbal remedies in dried form could then be carried and, when necessary, rehydrated with water, milk, or egg-white. Certainly, in parts of the empire where a reliable supply of eastern herbs was lacking, such ready-made salves were convenient for the itinerant physician. One can only wonder whether similar kinds of “magical” concoctions were also kept in this form on the fringes of the Mediterranean world. For the *collyria* stamps themselves see Nielsen 1974, and Voinot 1999.

Parthey 1866, 145, the note to line 228, emends ὑγρῶν, the reading of the papyrus, to ὑγρὸν, on which see also the note to 2 223, s.v. ὀφθαλμόν.

229. ἀθεώρητόν με ποίησον – “Make me invisible,” language characteristically found in invisibility spells. Cf. 4 621-622 (ἀθεώρητος | ἔσει πρὸς πάντας, “You will be invisible to everyone”) and 5 236-237 (ἀθε|ώρητος ἔσει, “You will be invisible.”).

κύριε (“Ἥλιε) – “lord, Helios.” The sun god Helios plays a prominent role in magical literature, but at times cannot easily be distinguished from the Egyptian god Re, e.g. in *PGM* IV 1281 (Helios Phre), 2342 (Helios-Osiris), etc. For the complex role of Helios in the magical texts, see Fauth 1995, 34-120. Within an ἀμαύρωσις spell the practitioner’s invocation of Helios seems most sensible. *PDM* xiv 319-320 states that the sun (ῥῥ) can blind: “(But as for my enemies?) the sun shall impede their hearts and blind | their eyes and create darkness in their faces, ...”; cf. also *Corp.Herm.* 10.4, on which see Scott 1924-1936, 1.188: οὐ γὰρ ὡσπερ ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτίς πυρώδης οὔσα, καταυγάζει καὶ μύειν ποιεῖ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, οὕτω καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θέα, “Yes, but the vision of the good is not like the ray of the sun which, because it is fiery, dazzles the eyes with light and makes them shut.” (translation, Copenhagen 1992, 31). However, even if the practitioner’s intention here is not to blind his victim physically, but to remove the light from his eyes, this ability is well within the scope of Helios’ power as in *PGM* III 564-566: δεῦρό μοι, | κύριε, ὁ ποτὲ τ[ὸ] φῶς ἀνά[γ]ων, ποτὲ τὸ κκότος κατά[γ]ων (κατὰ) τὴν σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν, κτλ., “Come to me, Lord, you who at times raise the light, at times lower the darkness with your power, ...”

(Ἥλιε) – is represented here by the symbol δ . For a list of similar symbolic substitutions, see *PGM*, 2.269.

αεω ωση εἴη ηαω – magical words, see the note to 2 226-228.

230. ἀπέναντι παντός ἀνθρώπου ἄχρι δυσμῶν ἡλίου – “before every person until the sun sets” defines the parameters of the practitioner’s demand for invisibility. First, he wishes to avoid the perceptions of every *person*. Though this point seems trivial, without such information one could not rule out the possibility that this spell relates to hunting or avoiding dangerous creatures, see **D 1.3** and footnote 160. Secondly, the practitioner desires to be invisible during the daytime rather than at night, a feat that is obviously more difficult to accomplish. Yet, one would think that the explanation of the time limit here must be something peculiar. Of course, what this situation might be is open to speculation, see **D 1.5**. For similar phrases that comment on the time duration or circumstance of invisibility, see the note to **1 i 9**, s.v. ἐπεὶ πορεύομαι and **3 257**, s.v. ἐφ’ ὅσον χρόνον θέλεις.

δυσμῶν – “setting.” LSJ, s.v. δυσμή, I, notes that this word appears primarily in the plural, as it does here.

Text 3 247-262

Thebes?
P.Berol. inv. 5025

Late 4th or 5th century A.D.
Plates III and IV

EDITIO PRINCEPS: G. Parthey, "Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museums," *Philologische und historische Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1865, Berlin 1866, 127 (Greek text), 135 (translation), and 146-147 (notes).

OTHER EDITIONS: K. Preisendanz, *PGM*, Leipzig 1928, 1.14, and *PGM*, 2nd ed., A. Henrichs, ed., Stuttgart 1973, 1.14.

EMENDATIONS: K.W. Schmidt, review of Preisendanz, *PGM* 1, in *GGA* 193, 1931, 445 for line 259.

COMMENTARIES: *ed. prin.*; A. McKinlay, "On the Way Scholars interpret ἀμαυρός," *AC* 26, 1957, 26; O. Neugebauer, "Notes to the Article on ἀμαυρός by A.P. McKinlay," *AC* 27, 1958, 374, both to line 247.

TRANSLATION: English, E.N. O'Neil, *GMPT*, 9-10. German, *ed. prin.*, and K. Preisendanz, *PGM* 1.15, and *PGM*, 2nd ed., A. Henrichs, ed., Stuttgart 1974, 1.15.

PHOTO: lines 247-262, not published, see plates III and IV.

DESCRIPTION: papyrus. *PGM* I is a complete roll, 80.2 x 33.5 cm, with 5 cols. of writing, 347 lines, see **F 1.2** and 257. Text 3 appears in col. iv, lines 16-31, see plate III.

LOCATION: Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

Text 3 is the second of two formularies for acquiring invisibility included in this practitioner's ritual handbook – perhaps of Theban provenance, see **F 1.2**. Just as the previous spell (2 222-231), this one also calls for both ritual *praxis* and *logos*. Although it begins with a similar recipe for making a balm, it differs from text 2 by exhorting the practitioner to invoke an infernal daimon, while at the same time grinding these ingredients together. After being instructed to anoint his forehead with the mixture – as opposed to his whole body as in 2 224-225, the practitioner is told that he will become invisible for as long as he wishes. The distinctive trait of this spell is that it provides a clearly attested ritual invocation for reversing an invisibility spell.

— (vacat) ἀμαύρωσι(ς) δοκίμη. μέγα ἔργον.

- 248 λαβών πιθήκου ὀφθαλμὸν ἢ νέκυος βιοθανάτου, τοῦτο(ν) τρί-
ψας σὺν ἐλαίῳ σουσίῳ καὶ βοτάνης ἀγλαοφώτιδος τρί-, τὸ ρόδον λέγει,
βων δὲ αὐτὰ ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν εἰς τὰ εὐώνυμα λέγει τὸν ἄ-
γον, ὡς ὑπόκειται: "ΔΗΟΚ ΔΗΟΓΠ ΔΗΟΚ ΟΥΣΙΡΦΡΗ ΔΗΟΚ Ω
252 ΩΤΩΤ ΩΡΩΗΟΓΙΕΡ ΔΗΟΚ ΠΕ ΟΥΣΙΡΕ ΠΕΝΤΑ ΣΗΤ ΤΑΚΟ(ς)
ἀνάστηθι, δαίμων καταχθόνιε ἰω Ἐρβηθ ἰω Φορβηθ ἰω
Πακερβηθ ἰω Ἀπομψ, ὃ ἐὰν ἐπιτάξω ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὁ δι(εῖνα), ὅπως
ἐπήκοοί μοι γένησθε." ἐὰν δὲ θελήσης ἄφαντος γενέ-

- 256 εθαι, χρῑσον σου τὸ μέτωπον μόνον ἐκ τοῦ συνθέματος
καὶ ἄφαντος ἔσθι, ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον θέλεις. ἐὰν δὲ θελή-
σης φ{εν}αίνεσθαι, ἀπὸ δύσεως ἐρχόμενος εἰς ἀνατολήν
λέγε τὸ (ὄνομα) τοῦτο, καὶ ἔσει δηλωτικός καὶ ἔποπτος πᾶσιν
260 ἀνθρώποις. ἔστιν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα: "Μαρμαριαωθ μαρμα-
ριφεγγη, ποιήσατέ με, τὸν δ(εῖνα), ἔποπτον πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις
ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ ἤδη, ἤδη, ταχύ, ταχύ." ἔχε(ι) λίαν κα' λ'(ῶς).

247 Ἀμαύρωσι(ς) δοκίμη Parthey: αμαυρωσι δοκιμη P 248 βιοθανατου P:
βιοθανάτου Parthey τοῦτο(ν) Parthey: τουτο P ταῦτα Preisendanz 249
βοτάνης Phillips: βοτανην P 249-250 καὶ βοτάνην ἀγλαοφωτίδος (τὸ ρόδον λέγει)
ταῦτα post βιοθανατου *habet* Wunsch το ροδον λεγει P⁸¹ 250-251 λογον P (λ *supra*
ο) 252 τακοι Möller: τακο P 254 Ἀπομφ, ὃ ἐὰν Preisendanz: απομφοεαν P
απομφο ἐὰν Wunsch, Abt 254 δ(εῖνα) Parthey: δ P 256 μετωπον *corr. ex.* μετοπων
P 258 φ{εν}αίνεσθαι Phillips, φαίνεσθαι Parthey, Abt: φεναινεσθαι P ἐμφαίνεσθαι
Preisendanz 259 (ὄνομα) Parthey: θ P δηλωτικός *corr. ex.* δηλοτικός P τήλοπτος
Eitrem 261 δ(εῖνα) Parthey: δ P ἔποπτον Parthey: εποπτην P 262 ἔχε(ι)
Kroll, Eitrem: εχε P καλ(ῶς) Kirchhoff: καλ (λ *supra* α) P

A tested spell for invisibility: It works very well. Take an eye of an ape or of a corpse that has died a violent death and grind it with oil of lily and some *aglaophōtis* plant, i.e. the rose. As you are grinding them from right to left, say the following spell: "I am Anubis, I am Osiris-Re, I am *Ō SŌT SŌRŌNOUIER*, I am Osiris whom Seth killed. Rise up, infernal daimon, *IO ERBETH IO PHORBETH IO PAKERBETH IO APOMPS*, so that you all may be obedient to me, whatever I, NN, order you all to do."

And if you wish to become invisible, rub only your forehead with this mixture, and you will be invisible for as long as you wish. And if you wish to be visible again, while moving from west to east, say this name and you will be conspicuous and visible to all people. The name is: "*MARMARIAŌTH MARMARIPHENGĒ*, make me, NN, visible to all people on this day today, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly!" This works exceedingly well.

Commentary

I. Section Title (247)

II. Praxis (248-250)

A. Ingredients (248-249)

1. An eye of an ape or of a corpse that met with a violent death
2. Oil of lily
3. Some *aglaophōtis* plant, i.e. the rose

B. Grinding of ingredients (248-249)

III. *Logos* (250-257)

A. Practitioner's invocation in Old Coptic (251-252)

B. Address to infernal daimon (253-255)

1. Order for infernal daimon to rise up
2. Magical name to be spoken
3. Command for infernal daimon to be obedient

IV. Continuation of *praxis* (255-257)

A. Anointing of forehead with concoction to become invisible (255-256)

B. Terms of invisibility (257)

V. Reversal of the invisibility spell (257-262)

A. *Praxis* (257-258)B. *Logos* (259-262)

1. Request to be made visible immediately
2. Comment on name's efficacy

I. Section Title (247)

As in text 2 a paragraphos aligned with the left margin and a blank space, here of about seven letters, precede the title. For the use of paragraphoi and blank spaces in medicinal and magical handbooks for marking parts of texts that need to be kept separate, see the introduction to the note to 2 222.

247. ἀμαύρωσι(ς) δοκίμη – “tested” or “excellent spell of invisibility.” For ἀμαύρωσις, see 2 222, s.v. ἀμαύρωσις. The adjective δοκίμη bolsters the authoritative claim of the spell; cf. the note to 2 222, s.v. ἀναγκαία. It sometimes introduces medical recipes, e.g. in the Pseudo-Galenic treatise *De remediis parabilibus* 3.1, 14.497.14 Kühn: πρὸς λευκώματα δόκιμον· καὶ γὰρ πολλοὺς ὤνησεν. πέρδικος ἄρρενος χολήν μετὰ μέλιτος χρῆε, “A tested cure for white spots in the eyes (for it has also helped many): Anoint gall of a male partridge with honey.” The connection of ritual acts with an older and thus more reliable tradition is firmly rooted in other Egyptian ritual texts. See *Book of the Dead* Spell 167 *supplémentaire*, cited by Dieleman 2005, 227-228, who on 275 and footnote 246 also notes that δόκιμος is probably a literal translation of the Egyptian *iw.f dnj* or *ip(.w)*. Cf. also PGM IV 3007: πρὸς δαιμονιαζομένους Πιβήχεως δόκιμον, “Pibechis’ tested cure for the demon-possessed”; XIa 40: ἡ πρᾶξις δεδοκίμασται, “The rite has been tested”; PDM xiv 115: “[A] tested [spell] for the security of shadows”; xiv 117: “A tested ‘god’s arrival’”; xiv 711: “A tested

prescription if you wish to 'evil sleep' a man"; xiv 856: "Here is a form of inquiry of the sun of which it is said that it is well tested"; xiv 1110: "A tested..." Cf. also *PDM* xiv 232, "...it has been tested nine times" and xiv 425, "[It is] very good, tried, tested nine times," as well as *Geniza* 25.2.4 and 25.3.5 in Naveh-Shaked 1993, 227-229.

μέγα ἔργον – "It works very well." It is possible that a verb is to be understood, such as ποιεῖ or ποιήκει, "(it does or will do) a great job." Cf. *PDM* xiv 743-746, "If you drown a hawk in wine and you make the man drink it, it does its work. A shrew-mouse in this manner again; it does its work also. Its gall also, if you put it in the wine, it does its work very well..." and *PDM* xiv 1062, "If you recite them to the beaker of Adonai which is inscribed outside, it will do a great work which will bring in a thief." Occasionally, an authoritative claim is made immediately following the title of a spell, e.g. in *PGM* XII 203 (λίαν ἐνεργέε, "very effective") and XXXVI 37 (οὐ μῖζον οὐδέν, "nothing is greater than it").

II. Praxis (248-250)

A. Ingredients (248-249)

248-250. The text of the papyrus reads as follows:

- (248) λαβῶν πιθήκου ὀφθαλμὸν ἢ νέκυος βιοθανάτου, τοῦτο(ν) τρί-|
 (249) ψας σὺν ἐλαίῳ σουσίῳ καὶ βοτάνην ἀγλαοφωτίδος τρί-, τὸ ρόδον λέγει,|
 (250) βων δὲ αὐτὰ ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν εἰς τὰ εὐώνυμα λέγε...

In the *PGM* Wunsch seeks a more fluid reading of this passage, making it needlessly complicated:

- (248) λαβῶν πιθήκου ὀφθαλμὸν ἢ νέκυος βιοθανάτου καὶ βοτάνην ἀγλαοφωτίδος, τὸ
 ρόδον λέγει, ταῦτα τρί|
 (249) ψας σὺν ἐλαίῳ σουσίῳ τρί|
 (250) βων δὲ αὐτὰ ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν εἰς τὰ εὐώνυμα λέγε...

But as it stands, the text is sensible: "Take an eye of an ape or of a corpse that has died a violent death and grind it with oil of lily and some *aglaophōtis* plant, i.e. the rose. As you are grinding them from right to left, say the spell as follows." We must assume that the anticipated τοῦτον in line 248 has been wrongly rendered as τοῦτο, a common error in the *PGM*, see the note to 5 236, s.v. τοῦτο. Moreover, καὶ βοτάνην ἀγλαοφωτίδος, the reading of the papyrus in line 249, does not have to be construed as a delayed object of τρί|ψας in lines 248-249, but instead could be emended to the dative βοτάνῃ, or more likely the genitive βοτάνης, thus reading "Grind it with oil of lily and some (of) *aglaophōtis* plant." Cf. also *PGM* VII 975-976: λαβῶν τὸν κἀνθαρον τρίψον μετὰ κατανάγκης | βοτάνης, "Take the beetle and grind it with a vetch plant." The reading of the papyrus has been retained, since Wunsch does not offer a compelling reason for emending.

248. πιθήκου ὀφθαλμὸν ἢ νέκυος βιοθανάτου – “an eye of an ape or of a corpse that has died a violent death.” As stated in the notes to 2 223, s.v. ὀφθαλμὸν and νυκτίβαν, the use of an eye is significant in an ἀμαύρωσις spell. The word for ape, πίθηκος, appears in only one other passage in the magical texts where it is associated with the god Helios: ὥρα πρώτη μορφήν ἔχεις καὶ τύπον παιδὸς πιθήκου, “In the first hour you have the form and shape of a young ape,” PGM III 501. Cf. the use of *ʿn* in PDM Ixi 68 and its appearance in cipher in PDM xiv 85, 329, as well as *qwf* in PDM Suppl. 163.

βιοθανάτου – for βιαιοθανάτου. Parthey 1866, 146, the note to line 248, points to its use in PGM LVII 6. The form appearing here is widely attested, e.g. in PGM II 48; IV 1950; XII 108; also DT 22.31, 25.4, 26.20, 28.21-22, 29.19, 31.19, 32.19, 33.23, 35.19, and 37.19. References to those who have died a violent death, as well as to the ἄωροι, “the untimely dead,” and ἀτέλεστοι, perhaps “the dead who have not reached their goal,” are very common in magical texts and relate to the notion that these individuals, refused entry in the underworld, must roam the earth and hence are prone to being manipulated by ritual acts and invocations. For a brief survey of the term βιαιοθάνατος in the magical corpora, see Johnston 1999, 77-80; Graf 1997, 150 and footnote 93; Voutiras 1998, 96 and footnote 218. For a broader treatment of the term in Greek literature, see Johnston 1999, 127-160. Formularies occasionally request that a part of the body from the *biaiothanatos*, such as a small shaving from a head in PDM xiv 428, a bone from a head in PGM IV 1885-1886, and blood in PGM IV 2207-2208, 2887 be incorporated into a ritual substance.

249. σὺν ἐλαίῳ σουσίῳ – “with oil of lily,” only here in the magical corpus. For the appearance of σουσίον with ἔλαιον, see Pseudo-Gal. *De succedaneis, sigma*, 972: ἀντὶ σουσίῳ ἐλαίου, τήλινον, “oil of fenugreek instead of lily oil,” 19.743.8 Kühn; see also Dsc. *De materia medica* 2.78.3, 3.282 Wellmann; Aët. 8.12.68, 2.417 Olivieri. Elsewhere, σουσίον is synonymous with κρίνινον, for which see Galen, *Linguarum seu dictionum exoletarum Hippocratis explicatio, alpha*, 81: Αἰγύπτιον ἔλαιον λευκόν: τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν κρίνων σκευαζόμενον, ὅπερ καὶ κρίνινόν τε καὶ σουσίον ἔλαιον ὠνόμασται, “white Egyptian oil: that which is made from white lilies, which is called κρίνινον and σουσίον,” 19.70.13-14 Kühn. Cf. also Galen, *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* 1.3, 12.448.3 Kühn, and at several other points in *Ling. s. dict. exolet. expl.*, as e.g. *alpha*, 85, s.v. ἀνθινὸν ἔλαιον, and *lambda*, 96, s.v. λίριον, 19.82.2, 19.119.3 Kühn. κρίνινον itself appears in the magical corpus several times, e.g. κρίνινον ἔλαιον, PGM VII 631-632; κρίνινον, PGM VII 629; XIII 25, 356; and κρίνινον μύρον, PGM V 223; VII 338; XIII 1068-1069. For other examples of adjectives ending in -ινος, see Palmer, *Gram.*, 29-30.

The preparation of lily oil as well as other scented oils and ointments involved an elaborate process. For an excellent description of the preparation of oil of lilies, see Dsc. *De materia medica* 1.52.1, 1.47 Wellmann, translated with a brief discussion in Manniche 1989, 51. Vogelsang-Eastwood 2000, 292 also cites a fragment of a Ptolemaic relief, Turin 1673, depicting the extraction of lily essence by the use of cloth bags.

βοτάνης ἀγλαοφώτιδος – “some *aglaophōtis* plant,” or “peony” (LSJ, s.v. ἀγλαοφῶτις). For the use of the genitive here, see the note to 2 224, s.v. <ς>φαγνίνου μύρου and 2 248-250. The papyrus reads βοτάνην ἀγλαοφώτιδος. Cf. also *anethi modicum*, “a little bit of dill,” Apul. *Met.* 3.23, see the note to 3 258, s.v. φ{εν}αίνεσθαι. In the magical texts, however, one does not frequently find βοτάνην followed by the name of the plant in the genitive. Rather, βοτάνη most often stands in apposition to another noun to indicate the plant specified in the ritual, as e.g. in 4 620 and *PGM* II 17, 36; III 166; IV 773, 779-780, 798, 807, 1313, 1828-1829, 3008-3009; V 198-199; VII 172; XXXVI 283, 363; LXI 2. Moreover, the interchange of final *sigma* and *nu* is fairly common, on which see Gignac, *Gram.* 1.131-132.

ἀγλαοφῶτις appears here alone in the *PGM*. *κεληνόγονον*, a synonymous word, is used in *PGM* LXII 23 as part of a protective spell. See André 1985, 7-8, s.v. *aglaophōtis*. As its name suggests, ἀγλαοφῶτις acts as a “bright light” (ἀγλαός, φῶς), especially at night, for which see Ael. *N.A.* 14.27 and Photius, *Bibliotheca* 223.215a.33-37. ἀγλαοφῶτις is called by various names in ancient sources, such as (1) γλυκυκίδη in Dsc. *De materia medica* 3.140 RV.1, 1.149 Wellmann, (2) κυνόσπαστος in Ael. *N.A.* 14.24 and 27, (3) παιωνία ἄρρη in Dsc. *De materia medica* 3.140 RV.4, 2.149 Wellmann, and (4) παιωνία θήλεια in Dsc. 3.140 RV.7, 2.149 Wellmann.

In *Nat.* 24.160.3 Pliny comments on the *aglaophōtis* plant, quoting from Democritus’ *Cheironecta*, on which see Dickie 1999, 118-120. He writes that ἀγλαοφῶτις is native to the marble quarries of Arabia – hence its alternate name “*marmaritis*” from the Greek μαρμαριτικός, “like marble” (LSJ, s.v. μαρμαριτικός, I) – and derives its name from the fact that people marvel at its exceptional color. On the possible relationship of this alternate name and the magical name to be spoken in lines 260-261, see the note to 3 260-261, s.v. Μαρμαριασθ μαρμαριφεγγη. Pliny notes that the *magi* used it ritually whenever they wished to evoke gods. Moreover, Aelian adds that it is poisonous in nature and hence should be approached with great caution (*NA* 14.24 and 27).

Perhaps more relevant to this context is the elusive nature of *aglaophōtis* itself, which might help to explain why it is being used as an ingredient here. Aelian, *NA* 14.27, writes: ὄνομα φυτοῦ κυνόσπαστος (καλεῖται δὲ ἄρα καὶ ἀγλαοφῶτις ἢ αὐτή...) ὃ μεθ’ ἡμέραν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις διαλέληθε καὶ οὐκ ἔστι πάνυ τι κύνοπτον, ..., “There is a plant by the name of cynospastus (it is also called *aglaophōtis*...) which in broad daylight, escapes unnoticed among the other (plants) and is not very visible...” Quoting Diodorus of Tarsus, a fourth-century A.D. Bishop of Tarsus and a native of Antioch, Photius adds the following in *Bibliotheca* 223.215a.33-37:

καὶ βοτανῶν ἀγλαοφῶτις μόνη τοσοῦτον ἐν νυκτὶ λάμπει ὅσον ἢ προσηγορία δηλοῖ, καὶ τὸν ἐπιθυμοῦντα λαβεῖν φεύγει, καὶ ταῦτα ἐρριζωμένη, τόπον ἐκ τόπου παρὰ φύσιν μεταβαίνουσα: οὐ γὰρ πρόσεστι τοῖς ἐρριζωμένοις κίνησις ἢ μεταβατική.

“And *aglaophōtis* alone of plants shines at night so greatly as its name indicates, and it escapes the one who desires to pick it, and it, although rooted, while changing from place to place

contrary to the laws of nature, because whatever has roots cannot move from one place to another: for changing places is not possible to the ones that are deep-rooted.”

aglaophōtis also seems to share affinities with a plant that Josephus calls Baaras (*BJ* 7.178-184), which similarly (1) emits brilliant light in the evening, (2) is elusive in nature, and (3) is fatal to the touch. Josephus’ method for uprooting the plant by employing a dog resembles that described by Aelian for approaching the *aglaophōtis*. Both of these plants share these traits with the mandrake, another plant well-known for its magical properties, on which see Frazer 1917, 15-19.

τὸ ρόδον λέγει – “i.e. the rose.” Written in the right-hand margin next to line 248, this gloss attempts to explicate an old Greek (not Egyptian) term, presumably for ἀγλαοφώτιδος and not ἐλαίω σουσίω. In the magical papyri we find similar editorial insertions: ἀγαθὸς ὄ[φ]εω· κηρίτην λέγει, “a snake’s ball of thread: i.e. wax stone,” *PGM* XII 409; γόνος Ἡρακλέους· εὐζωμον λέγει, “Herakles’ semen, i.e. rocket,” *PGM* XII 434; γόνος Ἡφαίστου· κόνηζα(ν) λέγει, “Hephaestus’ semen, i.e. fleabane,” *PGM* XII 439; and ἄνοιξις· λαβῶν | ὄμφαλὸν κροκοδείλου ἄρκενος (ποταμο|γείτονος λέγει) καὶ ὠνὸν κανθάρου | καὶ κυνοκεφάλου καρδίαν (ζμύρναν λέγει, κρί|νινον μύρον), “Opening (doors): Take a male crocodile’s navel, i.e. pondweed, and a scarab’s egg and a dog-faced baboon’s heart, i.e. myrrh, lily oil,” *PGM* XIII 1064-1068. For a discussion of *PGM* XII 401-444, see the note to 2 223, s.v. στέαρ. Cf. also the Demotic phrases *ky d*, “otherwise said,” and *ky d^cm*, “another book.” For citations, see Bell, Nock and Thompson 1933, 3.84, entries 888 and 889.

Smith, *GMPT*, 195, footnote 144, views these glosses as part of the secret magical vocabulary of the practitioner “by which everyday things were given pretentious names, partly to make magical rituals impracticable for chance readers, partly to impress the ignorant.” Another possibility is that the gloss here is merely providing an alternative plant name. See Dieleman’s discussion of *PGM* XII (2005, 189-203). Problematic, however, is that ἀγλαοφῶτις is not elsewhere equated with τὸ ρόδον, which also appears in a number of other *mélanges* to be used as incense or offerings to be burned, as e.g. in *PGM* IV 2232, 2584, 2650; XIII 26, 355.

B. Grinding of ingredients (248-249)

250. ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν εἰς τὰ εὐώνυμα – “from the right to the left.” Similar ritual acts appear in older Egyptian rites. *GMPT* 9, footnote 47, offers four such parallels, including Borghouts, *AEMT* #37, 41, 64, and 86. In Borghouts, *AEMT* #86 Re plays a prominent part in a narrative intended to avert and dispel poison from a victim’s body and limbs. While invoking Re, the practitioner twists reeds to the left, just as in this ritual.

III. *Logos* (250-257)

A. Practitioner's invocation in Old Coptic (251-252)

251-252. It is possible that the Coptic text here is not an example of Old Coptic, but merely one of Greek transcription. See Satzinger 1991, 8.170, s.v. "Old Coptic," as well as the note to 3 252. Given that this is the only passage in P.Berol. inv. 5025 where Coptic is found, it is possible that the transcriber failed to recognize the enchoric sign for $\epsilon\iota$, and thus omitted it (in line 252, one expects $\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron\epsilon$ instead of $\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron$). For the use of the Greek phrase $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\iota$ in ancient literature as well as ancient magic, see Martinez 1991, 92-94, and Graf 1997, 95.

251. $\Delta\text{H}\text{O}\text{K}\ \Delta\text{H}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{P}\text{I}$ – "I am Anubis." While in classical Coptic one would expect to find the copula $\text{P}\epsilon$ ($\Delta\text{H}\text{O}\text{K}\ \text{P}\epsilon\ \Delta\text{H}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{P}\text{I}$), on which see Layton, *Coptic Grammar*, section 278, in Old Coptic texts, this is not always the case, as e.g. in *PGM* III 661 ($\Delta\text{H}\text{O}\text{K}\ \omega\text{z}$), 665 ($\Delta\text{H}\text{O}\text{K}\ \omega\text{z}$), see also the note to 3 251, s.v. $\Delta\text{H}\text{O}\text{K}\ \omicron\gamma\text{C}\text{I}\text{P}\text{P}\text{H}$ and 3 251-252, s.v. $\Delta\text{H}\text{O}\text{K}\ \omega\ |\ \text{C}\omega\text{T}\ \text{C}\omega\text{P}\omega\text{H}\ \omicron\gamma\text{I}\epsilon\text{P}$.

Elsewhere in the magical corpus, the practitioner proclaims himself to be Anubis while speaking Old Coptic: $\Delta\text{H}\text{K}\ \Delta\text{H}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{P}\text{I}\ \epsilon\alpha\text{P}\text{I}\ |\ \text{K}\text{L}\text{O}\text{H}\ \text{P}\omega\text{O}\gamma\ \text{P}\text{I}\text{P}\text{H}\ \epsilon\alpha\text{P}\text{I}\ \text{P}\text{H}\text{O}\epsilon\ \epsilon\delta\epsilon\text{H}\text{H}\epsilon\text{P}\epsilon\text{R}\text{O}\ |\ \omicron\gamma\text{C}\text{I}\text{P}\text{I}\dots$, "I am Anubis, who bears the glorious crown of Re and puts it upon King Osiris..." (translation, Meyer, *GMPT*, 40), *PGM* IV 126-128. Here, Anubis, as a god of the underworld, is portrayed as the one who transfers the glorious crown from Re to Osiris, thus establishing his tie both to Re and Osiris. Traditionally, the jackal-headed god Anubis acted as the patron of embalmers, protector of the necropoleis, and in the *Pyramid Texts* even judge of the dead. However, in the magical corpus, his role at times is closely identified with that of Hermes *psychopompos*, as in *PGM* XXXII 2, and as such he is invoked as herald of the dead in *Suppl. Mag.* I, 42.24 and the one who holds the keys to the gates of Hades in *PGM* IV 340-341; *Suppl. Mag.* I, 46.3, 47.3, 48J.4, 49.10-11. See Altenmüller, *Lex. Äg.* 1.327-333, s.v. Anubis, and Doxey, *OEAE* 1.97-98, s.v. Anubis.

In this passage it is likely that the practitioner is proclaiming himself to be Anubis, herald of the dead, in order to establish his authority over the infernal daimons in lines 253-255. Cf. *PGM* XXXII 1-3 ($\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\rho\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta[\omega]\ \text{C}\epsilon$, $\text{E}\acute{\upsilon}\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\epsilon$, $|\ \text{k}\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \text{t}\omicron\upsilon\ \text{A}\nu\omicron\upsilon\beta\iota[\delta\omicron]\ \text{c}\ \text{k}\alpha\acute{\iota}\ |\ \text{t}\omicron\upsilon\ \text{E}\rho\mu\omicron\upsilon$, $\text{k}\tau\lambda.$, "I adjure you, Evangelos, by Anubis and Hermes...") and *PDM Suppl.* 122-124 ("Come to me, [O] divine spirit whom Anubis sent to NN, saying, 'Do the every command which NN will desire!' Is not doing it what you will do, O noble spirit?").

$\Delta\text{H}\text{O}\text{K}\ \omicron\gamma\text{C}\text{I}\text{P}\text{P}\text{H}$ – "I am Osiris-Re." For the absence of the copula $\text{P}\epsilon$ ($\Delta\text{H}\text{O}\text{K}\ \text{P}\epsilon\ \omicron\gamma\text{C}\text{I}\text{P}\text{P}\text{H}$), see the note to 3 251, s.v. $\Delta\text{H}\text{O}\text{K}\ \Delta\text{H}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{P}\text{I}$. In the magical corpus the combined divinity Osiris and Re appears only here and in *PGM* IV 890 ($\Phi\text{P}\eta\omicron\upsilon\text{C}\text{I}\text{P}\text{I}$). Re with the definite article (Phre) is commonly found from the New Kingdom on. See also *GMPT* glossary, 338, s.v. Ra; cf. e.g. *PGM* VII 714-715 ($\chi\alpha\text{P}\text{P}\alpha\upsilon\theta\text{I}\ |\ \text{P}\text{P}\epsilon$); *PDM* xiv 132, 197, 270, 296, 297, etc.; lxi 100, 101; *Suppl.* 68, etc.; Schmidt 1934, 180. For the tendency of voiceless stops in Coptic to become aspirated when immediately preceding a sonorant consonant, see Loprieno 1995, 42. For examples in Greek, see Gignac, *Gram.*,

1.90. This composite of Re and Osiris appears as early as *The Litany of Re*, see Piankoff 1964, 17-21, and is first recorded in the tomb of Seti I (1314-1304 B.C.). The union of Re and Osiris is closely tied to the idea that every day the sun (Re) dies. However, while in the underworld, Osiris rejuvenates him and brings about his rebirth. Commenting on this point in the *Litany of Re*, Piankoff 1964, 19 notes, “The *Litany*...in the first ten invocations presents the two poles of the circle of life and death – Re who goes to rest in Osiris, and Osiris who goes to rest in Re.” Here again it is likely that the practitioner is merely proclaiming himself to be Osiris-Re, the union of Osiris and Re in the underworld, to give himself authority over infernal spirits.

251-252. ΔΗΟΚ Ω | ΣΩΤ ΣΩΡΩΗ ΟΥΙΕΡ – “I am O SOT SORONOUIER.” For the absence of the copula ΠΕ (ΔΗΟΚ ΠΕ ΟΥΣΙΡΦΡΗ), see the note to 3 251, s.v. ΔΗΟΚ ΔΗΟΥΠ. The meaning of Ω | ΣΩΤ ΣΩΡΩΗ ΟΥΙΕΡ is uncertain.

252. ΔΗΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΥΣΙΡΕ ΠΕΗΤΑ ΣΗΤ ΤΑΚΟ(Ϸ) – “I am Osiris whom Seth killed.” The invocation implicitly proclaims that Osiris, having been murdered by his brother Seth, has overcome the power of death and is now impervious to destruction. For the role of *historiolae* in magical spells, see Frankfurter 1995, 457-476. The implied subordination of Seth to Osiris is important since it is the daimon Typhon-Seth who is invoked in 3 253-255.

In standard Sahidic we would expect the resumptive pronoun to be suffixed to the verb of the relative clause (ΤΑΚΟϷ), see Layton, *Coptic Grammar*, section 411. The absence of the resumptive pronoun (Ϸ), the only enchoric sign in this passage, has led some scholars to believe that what appears to be Coptic here might actually be a Greek transcription, see the note to 3 251-252.

B. Address to infernal daimon (253-255)

253. ἀνάστηθι, δαίμων καταχθόνιε – “Rise up” is a command used in binding spells to call daimons into action, e.g. in *PGM VII* 238-239 (ἀ[ν]άστα, | δαίμων, “Rise up, daimon”) and *VIII* 99 (ἀνάστα, δαίμων, “Rise up, daimon”). Cf. also the Demotic word *twn* (*PDM Suppl.* 121-122: “Arise and do such-and-such a command of NN! Do all that which he will desire!”). The use of the compound συμπαριστάναι is similar, as e.g. in *PGM IV* 346; *Suppl. Mag.* I, 46.6, 47.6, 48J.6, 49.15-16, 50.10-11. See Martinez 1991, 51.

The phrase δαίμων καταχθόνιος, “infernal daimon,” appears primarily in binding spells. In a number of love spells, the lead tablets themselves are entrusted to a series of underworld deities, including δαίμονες καταχθόνιοι, e.g. *PGM IV* 342; *Suppl. Mag.* I, 46.4, 47.3, 49.11, 50.8. There are also love spells in which the chthonic daimon alone is given the task of attracting the object of the practitioner’s desire, e.g. *PGM IV* 2088. Given the role of chthonic daimons in other contexts of binding, it is possible that here one is being invoked to bind the victim’s vision.

253-254. Ιω Έρβηθ Ιω Φορβηθ Ιω | Πακερβηθ Ιω Άπομψ – The formula here slightly departs from that used elsewhere. Cf. Ιω Έρβηθ Ιω Πακερβηθ Ιω Βολχορηθ Ιω Άπομψ in *PGM III* 71-74;

XXXVI 12, 78. Variants appear in the magical corpus and are commonly associated with the god Typhon-Seth/Seth, as in *PGM* IV 186, 279-284, 2223-2225, 3262-3264, 3267-3268; VII 942-961; XII 370-372, 445-452; XIV 22; XXXVI 5, 12-34, 78, 85-101; *Suppl. Mag.* II, 95.8-10; *PDM* xii 57-58 and 115-118. For an introductory bibliography on the god Typhon-Seth, see the glossary to the *GMPT*, 339, s.v. Typhon/Seth. Ritner 1995, 3367 asserts that the only distinction between Typhon and Seth is in name. Although in 3 252 the practitioner already proclaimed to Seth that he is invincible (ἀνοκ πε ογσιρε πηιτα σητ τακο(ι)), the added use of Typhon-Seth's name gives him complete authority over the infernal daimon in 3 254-255: ὁ ἐὰν ἐπιτάξω ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὁ δεῖνα ὅπως | ἐπήκωοί μοι γένησθε, "so that you all may be obedient to me, whatever I, NN, order you all to do." See also *PGM* XIVc 21-22 where the practitioner proclaims that this name has authoritative power over Typhon-Seth: ἐπικαλοῦμαι [c]ε τὸ σὸν ἀθθεντικὸν σου ὄνομα, ἐν οἷς οὐ δύνη | παρακοῦσαι, "I call upon you by your authoritative name, in (words) which you are not able to ignore."

In the magical corpus Seth (as Typhon-Seth) is occasionally portrayed in his more traditional role as the murderer of his brother Osiris, e.g. in *PGM* VII 963-964, as well as the defender of Re's solar bark from the evil snake Apophis, e.g. in *PGM* III 87. It is in the spirit of the first of these roles that the practitioner attempts to gain authority over Typhon-Seth. In *PGM* XIVc 16-19 the practitioner declares: ἐ[πι]καλοῦμαι σε τὸν ἐ[ν] τῷ κενεῷ πνεύματι, δεινόν, ἀόρατον, | παν[τ]οκράτορα, θεὸν θεῶν, φθοροποιὸν καὶ ἐρημοποιόν, ὁ μισῶν | οἰκίαν εὐσταθοῦσαν, ὅς ἐξεβρά(ς)θης ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἔξω | χώρας ἐπενομάσ[θ]ης, ὁ πάντα ῥήσσων καὶ μὴ νικώμενος, κτλ., "I call upon you who are in the empty air, terrible, invisible, almighty, god of gods, causing destruction and making desolate, you who hate a stable household, you who were driven out of Egypt and wandered outside the land, you who shatter all things and are not defeated..." Thus, it is not surprising to discover that Typhon-Seth is primarily invoked in malicious spells, as in *PGM* III 71-79, 115-118 (to exact vengeance against enemies); IV 2212-2215 (for wrecking chariots), 2223-2225 (for spells that restrain); VII 942-961 (a charm to restrain anger and to subject); XII 370-372 (a charm for causing separation), 445-448 (a spell for separating one person from another), 449-452 (a separation spell), 459-461 (a separation spell), 466-468 (a spell to cause a woman to hate a man); XIV 22 (a spell to strike with chills and fever); XXXVI 5-6, 12-34 (a charm to restrain); XLVI 6-7 (a spell to silence and subject); *Suppl. Mag.* II, 58.3 (a restrainer of wrath and a victory charm), 95.8-13 (a separation spell).

In the case of an ἀμαύρωσις spell, the practitioner might be invoking Typhon-Seth for several reasons. (1) Typhon-Seth is himself said to be invisible in other spells, a quality that the practitioner desires to obtain. He is depicted as ἀόρατος, "invisible," in *PGM* VII 961, XII 455, and XIV 16. (2) The title of the spell as well as the ritual act of grinding an eye, as in 3 248-249, suggests that the practitioner hopes to bind his victim's vision. The name of Typhon-Seth is frequently invoked in such contexts. In *Suppl. Mag.* II, 58.8-11, a restrainer of wrath and victory charm, the practitioner invokes the Typhonic *logos* and then declares: ὡς ὡ λίθως οὔτος ἄφονος | καὶ ἄλαλος, οὔτω καὶ πάντες | οἱ κατὰ μαι ἄφονοι καὶ ἄλαλοι | καὶ ἐπήκωοί μοι γένωνται (sic), "Just as this stone is voiceless and speechless, so let all who are against me become harmless and speechless and obedient to me."

Cf. also *PGM* XXXVI 69-101, a love spell of attraction. (3) The name of Typhon-Seth is also commonly invoked in disjunctive spells, as in *PGM* XII 365-375, 445-448, 449-452, 463-465, 466-468; *Suppl. Mag.* II, 95.8-13; *PDM* xii 50-61, 62-75, 76-95, and 108-118. The purpose of these spells is to break the love or friendship of one person from another. In broad terms, this is what the practitioner is trying to accomplish in this context. Though love and friendship are not involved, he nonetheless hopes to separate himself from other people.

254. δ(εῖνα) – is represented here by the symbol Δ, as in 3 261. For such similar symbolic substitutions, see *PGM*, 2.269, and *Suppl. Mag.* II, p. 338, index X.

254-255. ὁ ἔαν ἐπιτάξω ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὁ δ(εῖνα), ὅπως | ἐπήκοοί μοι γένησθε. – “(Rise up) so that you all may be obedient to me, whatever I, NN, order you all to do.” The shift from the singular personal pronoun to the plural should be noted here. These and similar kinds of open-ended clauses are characteristic of the language found within the magical corpus, see the note to 1 i 9-10, s.v. ἄχρῖ οὗ ποι|ήσω [ὄ]χα θέλω and 3 257, s.v. ἐφ’ ὅσον χρόνον θέλεις. Comparable are both *Suppl. Mag.* I, 39.3, 5-6 (ἀγριανθήτω ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῆς |...ἵνα με φιλή καὶ ὁ | ἔαν αὐτὴν αἰτῶ ἐπήκοός μοι ᾦν, κτλ., “Let her soul be inflamed...so that she may love me and be obedient to me in whatever I ask her”) and *PDM Suppl.* 121-122 (“Arise and do such-and-such a command of NN! Do all that which he will desire!”). The demand for a god or daimon to be obedient is also not uncommon, as in *PGM* IV 238: δεῦρό μοι, ὁ τις θεός, ἐπήκοός μοι γενοῦ, κτλ., “come to me, O NN god, be obedient to me...”; 949-950, ἐπήκοός | μοι γενοῦ, κτλ., “Be obedient to me...”).

IV. Continuation of *praxis* (255-257)

A. Anointing of forehead with concoction to become invisible (255-256)

255-256. ἄφαντος γενέ|σθαι – “to become invisible.” In the magical corpus this phrase occurs only here and in line 257. Typically, the phrase appears in later Greek prose, though already in Euripides’ *Orestes* (1494-1495), the Phrygian slave uses it to describe Helen’s mysterious and sudden disappearance: ἅ δ’ / ἐκ θαλάμων (Willinck 1986 reads παλαμών, “clutches”) ἐγένετο διαπρὸ δωμαίων ἄφαντος, κτλ., “She (Helen) disappeared from the bedchamber through the roof...” Diodorus Siculus also employs this phrase when describing the disappearance of Hesperus, the son of Atlas (3.60.3), Alcmena (4.58.6), Amphiarus (4.65.8), and Ariadne (5.52.1). Likewise, in the *Gospel of Luke* (24.31) the same words are found when Jesus disappears before the two people whom he met on the road to Emmaus.

256. χριόν σου τὸ μέτωπον – “rub your forehead.” Cf. 2 224-225: χριε ὅλον | τὸ σωμα[τ]ιον σου, κτλ. “anoint your entire body, ...” The scribe has corrected the text here from μέτοπων to μέτωπον.

B. Terms of invisibility (257)

257. ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον θέλεις – “for as long as you wish.” Unlike 2 229-230 (ἀθεώρητον με ποίησον...ἄχρι δυσιμῶν ἡλίου, “Make me invisible...until the setting of the sun”) where a time limit is placed upon the efficacy of the invisibility spell, text 3 allows the practitioner to determine the length of time for which the spell will work. Determined by the practitioner’s volition, the spell’s duration is thus one of many open-ended clauses in the magical papyri. See also the notes to 1 i 9-10, s.v. ἐπεὶ πορεύομαι ἄχρι οὗ ποιήσω, 3 254-255, s.v. ὃ ἐὰν ἐπιτάξω ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὁ δεῖνα, and 7 276, s.v. ἢ ὃ θέλεις.

V. Reversal of the invisibility spell (257-262)**A. Praxis (257-258)**

258. φ{εν}αίνεσθαι – “to appear.” Parthey 1866, 147, the note to 258, and Abt in *PGM*, 1.15 follow the same reading, though they do not explain their reasoning. Since φαίν- could be pronounced as φεν-, for which see Gignac, *Gram.* 1.192-193, most likely the scribe first wrote -φεν, and then realizing his error, simply wrote -αίν. The scribe corrects himself elsewhere, see 3 256, s.v. χριτόν σου τὸ μέτωπον and 259, s.v. δηλωτικός. Preisendanz, *PGM* 1.15, emends to ἐμφαίνεσθαι; cf. *PGM* VII 407: ἐὰν τινι ἐθέλῃς [ἐ]μφανῆναι διὰ νυκτός ἐν ὀνείροις, κτλ., “If you wish to appear to someone at night in dreams...”

This is the best example in the Greek magical corpus of a ritual text for reversing an invisibility spell. For the possibility of a dismissal spell to end one’s invisibility, see the note to 1 i 11, s.v. ἠωρεῖθ. In general rituals for reversing an invisibility spell are rare, though there are a few examples from literary texts:

(1) In Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* 3.23, Photis tells Lucius how she is able to help Pamphile become a human again after transforming herself into animal form: *nam mihi domina singula monstravit quae possunt rursus in facies hominum tales figuras reformare...specta denique quam parvis quamque futilibus tanta res procuretur herbulis: anethi modicum cum lauri foliis immissum rori fontano datur lavacrum et poculum*, “My mistress has shown me individual remedies which are able to change such forms again into human appearance...indeed look at how with small and trifling little herbs such a great outcome is achieved: a little bit of dill dipped in the water of a spring along with laurel leaves is administered as a bath and a potion.” Of course, in *Apul. Met.* 3.25 and *Pseudo-Luc. Asin.* 14, Lucius later learns that he must eat a rose to regain his human form.

(2) In Palladius’ *Lausiaca History* 17.6-9, see **C 1.2** and footnote 121, Makarios makes a woman, who appears to her husband as a horse, become a woman again by pouring holy water over the head of the naked woman: καὶ εὐλογήσας ὕδωρ καὶ ἀπὸ κορυθῆς ἐπιχέας αὐτῇ γυμνῇ ἐπηύξατο: καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν γυναῖκα φανῆναι πᾶσι, “After he blessed water and poured it from the top of her head over her naked body, he began to pray: and immediately he made her appear to everyone as a woman.”

B. Logos (259-262)

259. (ὄνομα) – is represented here by the symbol Θ , as in 2 226. For similar symbolic substitutions see *PGM*, 2.269-270, and *Suppl. Mag.* II, p. 338, index X.

δηλωτικός – as in line 256, the text has been corrected in a similar fashion.

260-261. Μαρμα|ριαωθ μαρμα|ριφεγγη – the name to be spoken while the practitioner is moving from west to east. The first part of this name seems to be one of the numerous variants of Μαρμαραωθ, perhaps meaning “Lord of Lights” in Aramaic. Brashear 1995, 3591, s.v. Μαρμαραωθ briefly surveys its appearance in magical literature; see also Michel 2001, 1.375 and 2004, 485; Gager 1992, 268; Martinez 1991, 81-82, s.v. μαρμαραωθ; *GMA* 41, the note to lines 41-42. Other spells also portray infernal daimons and gods of the dead as being subservient to the power of this name, as e.g. in *PGM* IV 366; *Suppl. Mag.* I, 46.18, 48J.18, 51.4. The second part is interesting given Pliny’s claim that ἀγλαοφώτις, lit. meaning “bright light,” is the same plant as *marmaritis*, see 3 249, s.v. βοτάνης ἀγλαοφώτιδος. Knowing this, one wonders whether or not there is a play on words here, since φέγγος means “light” and the root μαρμαρ- means “shining” or “like marble.”

261. δεῖνα) – is represented here by the symbol Δ , as in 3 254, on which see *PGM*, 2.269, and *Suppl. Mag.* II, p. 338, index X.

262. ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρα, ἤδη, ἤδη, ταχύ, ταχύ – “on this day today, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly.” This type of phrase, stressing the immediacy of the practitioner’s request, appears throughout the magical corpora, although the combination of particular elements is often reversed, as in *Suppl. Mag.* I, 12.6-7 (ἤδη, ἤδη, | ταχύ, ταχύ, ἐν τῇ σήμερον, “immediately, immediately, quickly, quickly, on this day”) and *PGM* VII 471-473 (ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρα... | ...ταχύ, ταχύ, | ἤδη, ἤδη, “on this day today...quickly, quickly, immediately, immediately”). Sometimes another prepositional phrase is introduced to make the tone of the request even more urgent, e.g. ἐν τῇ | σήμερον ἡμέρα, | ἐν τῇ ἄρτι ὥρα, | [ἤδη, ἤδη, τα|χύ, τα|χύ, “on this day today, immediately, immediately, quickly, quickly,” in *Suppl. Mag.* I, 11.15-19 and II, 55D-G.18-19.

ἐχε(ι) λίαν καλ᾽(ὦς) – “This works exceedingly well.” Phrases such as *nfr.wy pw* (“it is very good”) are commonly found in early Egyptian magical spells and medical recipes. See Dieleman 2005, 52 and 275, footnote 246. Just as it is common to find assertions of their dependability at the beginning of spells, likewise at the end of spells lines are added to remind the practitioner how well the spell works, as e.g., ἔστιν γὰρ φυλακτήριον μέγιστον τῆς πρά|ξεως, ἵνα μηδὲν πτοηθῆς, “For it is a very great protective amulet for the rite in order that you fear nothing,” *PGM* I 275-276; ἔστιν δὲ ἰσχυρὰ ἢ δύναμις, “The power is strong,” *PGM* VII 918; ἢ πράξις δεδοκίμαται, “The rite has been tested,” *PGM* XIa 40; “There is none better than it,” *PDM* xiv 334; “[it is] very good,” *PDM* xiv 789; “it is very good,” *PDM* lxi 78 and 94; “it is very good,” *PDM Suppl.* 18, 27, 101, 116, 138.

TEXT 4 619-622

Thebes?
P.BL. inv. 121

3rd/4th century A.D.
Plate V

EDITIO PRINCEPS: F.G. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, London 1893, 104. C. Wessely, "Neue griechische Zauberpapyri," *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Classe* 42.2, 1893, 43. Betz, *GMPT*, xliii notes that Kenyon's and Wessely's editions were independently edited and published.

OTHER EDITIONS: K. Preisendanz, *PGM*, Leipzig 1931, 2.28, and *PGM*, 2nd ed., A. Henrichs, ed., Stuttgart 1974, 2. 28.

EMENDATIONS: S. Eitrem, *The Greek Magical Papyri in the British Museum*, Kristiana 1923, 15 for line 620; L. Fahz, *De poetarum Romanorum doctrina magica*, *RGVV* 2.3, Giessen 1904, 138 for line 620.

COMMENTARY: D.F. Moke, *Eroticism in the Greek Magical Papyri, Selected Studies*, Dissertation University of Minnesota, 1975, 295-296.

TRANSLATION: English, E.N. O'Neil, *GMPT*, 135; D.F. Moke, *Eroticism*, 294; J. Gager, *Moses in Graeco-Roman Paganism*, Nashville, TN 1972, 151-152. German, K. Preisendanz, *PGM*, 2.28, and *PGM*, 2nd ed., A. Henrichs, ed., Stuttgart 1974, 2.28.

PHOTO: lines 619-622, not published, see plate V.

DESCRIPTION: papyrus. *PGM* VII is an opisthographic roll, 2m x 33cm, with 19 cols. of writing on the *recto* and 13 on the *verso*, for a total of 1026 lines, see **F 1.2** and footnote 258. Text 4 619-622 appears in col. xviii, lines 27-30, see plate V.

LOCATION: British Library, London.

Text 4 is from a papyrus roll copied in the 3rd/4th century A.D. In contrast to texts 1-3, it is a short spell said to have come from a book entitled *The Diadem of Moses*. It is comprised of ritual acts and an invocation that can also be used in the love spell that immediately follows. Although some of the magical names as well as the advertised source of the spell suggest a Hebrew or Aramaic origin, such influence is questionable, see the note to 4 621, s.v. ἐπίλεγε τὰ ὀνόματα.

- 619 ——— (vacat) ἐκ τοῦ Διαδήματος Μοῦσέως.
620 κυνοκεφαλ[ιδιον βοτ(άνην) λαβ(ών) κεί(μενος) ἔχε ὑπὸ τὴν
γλῶτταν σοῦ
621 καὶ πρῶτῃ ἀνάστα(ς) πρὶν λαλῆς, ἐπίλεγε τὰ (ὀνόματα), καὶ ἀθεώρητος
622 ἔσει πρὸς πάντας.

ἐπὶ δὲ ἐπὶ ποτ[ή]ρια εἶπε καὶ δώσης | (623) γυναικί, φιλήσει σε, ὡς ἔστιν ἐπὶ πά[ν]των λόγος
οὗτος: | (624) "αρεσκιλλιους: θουδαλεσαι κραμμ[α]ει χαμμαρ | (625) μουλαβωθ[:] λαυαβαρ:

χουφαρ: φο[ρ]: φωρβαω: σαχι | (626) Ἄρβαχ: μαχιμασω Ἰάω, Σαβαώθ, Ἀδωναί". πρὸς ὃ θέλεις, | (627) λέγει. "ποιήσον τήν δεῖνα πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα." κοινά, ὅσα θέλεις.

620 κυνοκεφαλ[ι]δίου Preisendanz: κυνοκεφαλ[.]δίου P κυνοκεφάλαιον Wessely
βοτ(άνην) λαβ(ών) κεί(μενος) Eitrem: βοτ' λαβ' κειεχε P βοτ(άνην) λαβ(ών)
κοι(μώμενος) Eitrem κατεχεις Wessely κατεχε Fahz 621 ἀνάστα(ς) Preisendanz:
ανάστα P (όνόματα) Wessely: ▣ P

From *The Diadem of Moses*: Take dog's head plant and hold it under your tongue while lying down. Get up early and utter the names before you say anything else, and you will be invisible to everyone.

But when you utter them over drinking cups and give them to a woman, she will love you, since this spell has power over all: "ARESKILLIOUS THOUDALESAI KRAMMASI CHAMMAR MOULABŌTH LAUABAR CHOUPHAR PHOR PHŌRBAŌ SACHI HARBACH MACHIMASŌ IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAI." For what you wish, say: "Get her, NN, for me, NN" (and so forth, whatever you wish).

Commentary

I. Section Title (619)

II. Praxis (620-622)

- A. Place dog's head plant under tongue while lying down (620-621)
- B. Get up early (621)
- C. Recite names (621-622)

I. Section Title (619)

There is a paragraphos to the left of the column of writing and a blank space of only about four or five letters before the title of the spell. For the use of paragraphoi and blank spaces in medicinal and magical handbooks, see the introduction to the note to 2 222. Here it also seems as if a subsequent reader has added a forked paragraphos (Ϸ) extending from the left margin up until ἐκ τοῦ, perhaps to draw attention to this particular spell.

619. ἐκ τοῦ Διαδήματος Μοῦσέως – "From *The Diadem of Moses*," one of several magical texts adhering to the widespread belief that Moses became skilled in the art of "magic" while he resided in Egypt. See Graf 1997, 6-8, as well as Gager 1972, 134-161, and 1994, 179-187. Some of

the rituals and invocations attributed to Moses in the magical corpus include: (1) βίβλος ἱερὰ ἐπικαλουμένη Μονὰς ἢ Ὀγδόη Μοῦσέως, “A sacred book called *Monad* or *Eighth Book of Moses*,” PGM XIII 1; (2) Μοῦσέως ἱερὰ βίβλος | ἀπόκρυφος ἐπικαλουμένη ὀγδόη ἢ ἁγία, “Moses’ sacred, hidden book called *Eighth* or *Holy*,” PGM XIII 343-344; (3) Μοῦσέως ἀπόκρυφος ἡ, “Moses’ *Eighth, Hidden Book*,” PGM XIII 731; (4) ἐν τῇ Κλειδί Μουσεῖς, “in *The Key of Moses*,” PGM XIII 21 and ἐν τῇ Κλειδί τῇ Μοῦ|σέως, “in *The Key of Moses*,” 382-383; (5) Μοῦσέως ἀπόκρυφος βίβλος περὶ τοῦ μεγάλου | ὀνόματος, “Moses’ *Hidden Book Concerning the Great Name*,” PGM XIII 732-733; (6) ὡς δὲ Μωϋσεῖς ἐν τῇ | Ἀρχαγγελικῇ, “And as in *The Archangelic (Teaching?) of Moses*,” PGM XIII 970-971; (7) Μοῦσέως | ἀπόκρυφος ἡ Δεκάτη, *The Tenth Hidden (Book of) Moses*, PGM XIII 1077-1078; and (8) Μοῦσέως ἀπόκρυφος Σεληνιακῇ, “Moses’ *Secret Prayer to Selene*,” PGM XIII 1057.

For the appearance of Moses elsewhere in magical literature, see PDM xiv 130 and 1031. See also Dieleman 2005, 268, footnote 223; “The Phylactery of Moses” in GMA 32; ACM #95 and for the Coptic text, Beltz 1984, 94-97. For additional examples outside of the PGM, see Gager 1972, 152-159, and 1994, 185.

II. Praxis (620-622)

A. Place dog’s head plant under tongue while lying down (620-621)

620. κυνοκεφαλ[ι]δίων βοτ(άνην) – “dog’s head plant.” Preisendanz, PGM, 2.28 rightly inserts an *iota* in the lacuna, thus making this the only attested diminutive form of κυνοκεφάλιον in Greek literature. The noun κυνοκεφάλιον itself is attested elsewhere in PGM III 467, 479; V 198, 372. See also Dsc. *De materia medica* 4.69 RV.1 and 4.130 RV.1, 2.227 and 2.275 Wellmann; Hsch. K 4600.1, s.v. κυνοκεφάλιον. For examples of substantives ending in -ίδιον, especially in later Greek, see Palmer, *Gram.*, 86-87. Wessely 1893, 43 reads κυνοκεφάλαιον, but the letters that follow the lacuna are clearly *delta* and *iota*. See καὶ δίωκε in line 619 just before this spell and compare the way in which the *alpha* and *iota* of καὶ are written, as opposed to the *delta* and *iota* of δίωκε.

In the context of a discussion on the *magi*, Pliny mentions the plant *cynocephalia*:

quaeret aliquis, quae sint mentiti veteres magi, cum adulescentibus nobis visus Apion grammaticae artis prodiderit cynocephalian herbam, quae in Aegypto vocaretur osiritis, divinam et contra omnia veneficia, ... (Nat. 30.6.18)

“Someone might ask what the old *magi* have spoken falsely, when Apion the grammarian appeared to us as youths and made it known that *cynocephalia*, which is called *Osiritis* in Egypt, was a magic plant and a phylactery against every act of sorcery.”

If Pliny's account has any validity, it is possible that the practitioner here is seeking invisibility to avoid the malicious magic of others. The inconsistent usage of κυνοκεφάλιον suggested in other spells, however, does not confirm this assertion. See also André 1985, 83, s.v. *cynocephalion*.

The translation "dog's head plant" is in the spirit of Preisendanz's more literal rendering: *Hundskopfpflanzen* in *PGM* III 467, 479; *das Kraut Kynokephalion*, *PGM* V 198; and *Hundskopffengras*, *PGM* V 372. Following this lead, Moke 1975, 294 translates κυνοκεφαλ[ιδιον] βοτ(άνην) as "the herb *kunokephalidion* (puppy's head)," and Gager 1972, 151 as "a *kynokephalidion* plant." More recent translators seem to be following the interpretations of κυνοκεφάλιον by ancient authors. Thus, O'Neil translates as "snapdragon" in *GMPT* VII 620, and Grese as "calf's snout" in *GMPT* III 468 and V 198, 372, apparently following Dioscorides who says that some call it αντίρρινον (*De materia medica* 4.130 RV.1, 2.275 Wellmann; cf. also LSJ, s.v. αντίρρινον, which calls it "calf's snout," *Antirrhinum Orontium*). Grese in *GMPT* III 479 also translates it "flea-wort," again following Dioscorides who notes that some call it φύλλιον or φυλλίον (*De materia medica*, 4.69.1 and 4.69 RV.1, 2.227 Wellmann; LSJ, s.v. φύλλιον calls it "flea-wort," *Plantago Psyllium*). See also Strömberg 1940, 55.

λαβ(ών) κεί(μενος) ἔχε ὑπὸ τὴν γλῶτταν σοῦ' – the reading of the papyrus is abbreviated (βοτ' λαβ' κειεχε). In *PGM* V 198-199 βοτάνην is shortened to βοτ' and followed by κυνοκεφάλιον, whereas here the plant name comes first. Additionally, throughout *PGM* VII the participle λαβών is regularly abbreviated to λαβ' (lines 186, 208, 216, 376). More problematic is the third series of letters κειεχε. Kenyon 1893, 104, offering a diplomatic reading, simply divides κει and εχε. Wessely 1893, 43 tentatively suggests κατεχεις without offering any parallels for the abbreviation of κατα to κει. Eitrem 1923, 15 offers the most sensible reading, given the context, taking the κει in κειεχε to represent κεί(μενος) or perhaps κοι(μώμενος). This former (and best) reading – also followed by Preisendanz in *PGM*, 2.28 – could be translated as "while lying, hold" versus the latter "while sleeping, hold." Eitrem's λαβών κεί(μενος) does result in asyndeton, but similar cases can be adduced, as e.g. in *PGM* VII 319: λαβών ἀγγεῖον χαλκοῦν βαλῶν, κτλ., "After taking a vessel (and) placing..." Moreover, the meaning of κεί(μενος) is sensible given the line that follows (πρωὶ ἀνάστα, "Get up early"). Though κει for κεί(μενος) does not occur elsewhere in the magical corpus, there is precedent for abbreviating a participle: ἀπεχ for ἀπέχ(ομενος)(?) in *PGM* V 458, γρ for γρ(άψας) in *PGM* XXIIa 13, μορφουμῆν for μορφούμενος in *PGM* XIII 70, and πεπληροφο for πεπληροφο(ρημένων) in *PGM* 5c.5. For similar kinds of abbreviations, see also *Suppl. Mag.* II, p. 338, index X.

ἔχε ὑπὸ τὴν γλῶτταν σοῦ' – in *ACM* #38 a Gnostic fire baptism, Jesus places dog's head plant in the mouths of his disciples. See also Schmidt and MacDermot 1978, 109. Kieckhefer 1997, 60-61, 67 and footnote 41, and 240 (Latin text) notes that in a Munich handbook from the late Middle Ages a similar invisibility ritual is found in which the seeds of a heliotrope plant placed under the tongue cause invisibility. Cf. also Burnett 1996, IX, 6-7:

studeas invenire unam cattam nigram, natam in mense Martij, et exviscera eam, corde tamen remanente; tunc abscide cor cum cultello qui sit de Venere facto, et oculos erue dicte catte cum eodem cultello, et imple foramina oculorum semine cuiusdam herbe que elyotropia dicitur, unam in oculo dextro et aliud in sinistro, et tertium in cor[de], semper hec verba dicendo: Sapreson lampsones sampsanay, invisibilis fiat homo. et reple eam cora (sic, for cera), et sepeli eam in ortu tuo in quo nemo intrat, et eam riga cum sangwine humano et aqua commistis, hoc continuando per xv dies usque quo crescit herba alba, cuius semen suo opere semper illa verba repetendo. scias tamen quod quelibet herba dabit semen, sed granum unum bonum, quod quidem sic eligere debes, et nomina semper repetendo. habeas igitur speculum coram te, et respiciendo unam granum post aliud in speculo, et ponas omnia grana in ore tuo sub lingua tua, et bene semper consideras granum illud quod ponis in os tuum. et si in quocumque grano posito in ore te videre non poteris in speculo, scias id esse bonum et utile pro te, etc.

“Be diligent to find a black cat, born in the month of March, and eviscerate it, while keeping the heart in place; then cut out the heart with a knife that was made according to Venus(?) and pluck out the eyes from the aforementioned cat with the same knife, and fill the openings of the eyes with seed from a certain plant that is called heliotrope, one in the right eye, another in the left, and a third in the heart, continually reciting these words: “*SAPRESON LAMPSONES SAMPSANAY*, let a person become invisible.” And refill it with wax and bury it in a part of your garden in which no one enters, and water it with human blood mixed together with water, continuing this for fifteen days until a white plant grows whose seed is for this ritual, always repeating those words. Know that any plant will produce a seed, but indeed you must choose the one good seed in this way, always repeating the names. Accordingly, hold a mirror in front of you, and looking at one seed after another in the mirror, place each of the seeds in your mouth under your tongue, and always examine the seed which you place in your mouth. And if you will not be able to see yourself in the mirror after one of the seeds has been placed in your mouth, know that this one is good and useful for you.”

Bos 1994, 73 cites a 17th century ritual for invisibility in which a stone is similarly placed under the tongue. For the appearance of a black cat’s heart in an invisibility spell from a late Hebrew manuscript, see Thompson 1908, lxvi. Within the magical corpus at various times, the practitioner is instructed to place items under his tongue, such as his finger in *PGM* III 263, a stone in *PGM* IV 1745-1746, and the mud of Em in *PGM* V 253-254.

B. Get up early (621)

621. πρωὶ ἀνάστα(ς) – “Get up early.” Although the imperative ἀ[ν]άστα also appears in *PGM* VII 238, the reading follows Preisendanz who posits that a final *sigma* has been omitted, a common occurrence before words beginning with a consonant. See Gignac, *Gram.*, 1.124-125. The combination of participle + present imperative also appears in the previous line, λαβ(ών)...ἔχε.

πρίν λαλήῃς – “before you say anything else.” For a similar exhortation to refrain from speaking, cf. λαβῶν σεαυτοῦ δάκτυλον [ύ]πόθεε ὑπὸ τὴν [γλωσσάν] σου, | πρίν τιμι λαλήῃς[ε], “Take your finger and put it beneath your tongue before you speak to someone,” PGM III 263-264, and “... recite these (spells) to it seven times before the sun at dawn, before you have spoken to any man at all,” PDM xiv 331-332. Moke 1975, 295 points out that silence is often a prerequisite for being in the presence of a god or angelic being, such as in PGM I 87, 176; III 198; VII 748-749, 766. Just as we find exhortations for being silent after waking up, so too we find ones for being silent before going to bed, as in PGM V 458 and PDM xiv 99-100, 169-170.

C. Recite names (621-622)

ἐπίλεγε τὰ (ὀνόματα) – “say the names.” The names being referred to here are those in the rather lengthy string of *voces magicae* in lines 624-626: “ἀρεκιλλίου: θουδαλεσαι κραμμ[α]σι χαμμαρ | μουλαβωθ[:] λαυαβαρ: χουφαρ: φο[ρ]: φωρβαω: σαχι | Ἄρβαχ: μαχιμασω Ἴάω, Καβαώθ, Ἀδωναί.” Gager 1972, 152 notes that the mention of Iao, Sabaoth, and Adonai in addition to the name Moses in the title, though certainly representing Jewish elements, does not provide strong evidence of immediate Jewish influence, especially given the syncretistic nature of the magical corpus as a whole. Likewise, that κραμμ[α]σι χαμμαρ seems to reflect the commonly employed magical word ακραμμαχαμαρι – a word that according to Brashear 1995, 3578, s.v. ακραμμαχαμαρι “occurs mostly in contexts betraying heavy Jewish influence” – tells us little about the origin of this text. Cf. also Gager 1992, 265; Michel 2001, 1.373 and 2004, 482; the note to GMA 2.4 and p. 405, index V. Bohak 2003, 69-82 suggests methodological considerations for determining the likelihood that language is Hebrew in origin. For a discussion of Jewish influence elsewhere in PGM VII, see Betz 1997, 45-63. On the general influence of Jewish magic on the spells in the PGM, see Brashear 1995, 3426-3428; Smith 1996, 242-256; Bohak 1999, 27-44; Alexander 1999, 1052-1078. For interpretations of the remaining *voces magicae*, some perhaps exhibiting Egyptian influence, see Moke 1975, 296-298, and Brashear 1995, 3588 and 3597, s.v. Ιάω and Καβαώθ.

(ὀνόματα) – is represented here by the symbol ϩ. Cf. also the use of this symbol for (ὄνομα) in 2 226 and 3 259. For a list of similar symbolic substitutions, see PGM, 2.269-270, and *Suppl. Mag.* II, p. 338, index X.

621-622. ἀθεώρητος | ἔσει πρὸς πάντας – “You will be invisible to everyone.” Cf. 2 229-230, ἀθεώρητόν με ποιήσον...|ἀπέναντι παντός ἀνθρώπου and 5 236-237, τοῦτο{ν} φορῶν ἀθε|ώρητος ἔσει. Presumably πάντας is modifying an implied word such as ἀνθρώπους. Moke 1975, 296, influenced by the practitioner’s use of the dog’s head plant, asserts that invisibility here “doubtlessly means that the operator assumes a form other than he is, such as that of a dog, wolf, or otherwise, and in this sense is invisible.” In this scenario the practitioner would undergo a transformation not unlike that conceived in 7 274-277. Although Moke’s assertion is provocative, it seems to surpass the limits of the evidence.

Text 5 234-237

Thebes
P.Leiden inv. J 395

Mid-4th century A.D.
Plate VI

EDITIO PRINCEPS: C. Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Publici Lugduni-Batavi*, Leiden 1885, 2.98-99, 179.

OTHER EDITIONS: A. Dieterich, *Abrasax*, Leipzig 1891, 187; K. Preisendanz, *PGM*, Leipzig 1931, 2.99, and *PGM*, 2nd ed., A. Henrichs, ed., Stuttgart 1974, 2.99; J. Hengstl, *Griechische Papyri aus Ägypten als Zeugnisse des öffentlichen und privaten Lebens*, Darmstadt-Munich 1978, no. 68, 167-168; R.W. Daniel, *Two Greek Magical Papyri in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden: A Photographic Edition of J 384 and J 395*, Opladen 1991, 42-43.

COMMENTARIES: *ed. prin.* 179, for lines 235 and 237; Dieterich, *Abrasax*, 187, *app. crit.* 20 for line 235; A. McKinlay, "On the Way Scholars Interpret ἀμαυρός," *AC* 26, 1957, 26 for line 235.

TRANSLATION: English, M. Smith, *GMPT*, 179. German, K. Preisendanz, *PGM*, 2.99, and *PGM*, 2nd ed., A. Henrichs, ed., Stuttgart 1974, 2.99; J. Hengstl, *Griechische Papyri*, 167. Latin, C. Leemans, *Papyri Graeci*, 2.98.

PHOTO: Daniel 1991, 43, see plate VI.

DESCRIPTION: papyrus. *PGM* XIII is a codex consisting of 30 pages, 26.5 x 15-15.5 cm, see **F 1.2** and footnote 255, especially the reference to Daniel, x-xi. Text 5 234-237 appears on page 6 of this codex, lines 22-25, see plate VI.

LOCATION: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

Text 5 is the first of only three invisibility spells – 5, 6, and 7 – known to have come from “The Theban Magical Library,” each seemingly with ties to the Egyptian sun god. They are all part of a larger ritual handbook entitled “A Sacred Book called *Monad* or *Eighth Book of Moses*,” incorporated into *PGM* XIII in lines 1-343. The culmination of a series of rather complex rites and invocations results in the practitioner receiving a sacred name that can be employed in a variety of spells including the one below. This particular spell provides the only directions in the *PGM* for an invisibility amulet – an amulet to be made from a gilded falcon’s egg smeared with cinnabar. Wearing it, the practitioner is said to be made invisible after saying an unstated sacred name that has already been revealed to the practitioner. See *PGM* XIII 210-211.

234	ἔστιν οὖν πρώτη ἡ θαυ-
235	μάσιος ἀμαυρά. (<i>vacat</i>) λαβὼν ὠὸν ἱέρακο[ς] τὸ ἡμῖν αὐτοῦ χρύσεω-
236	σον, τὸ δὲ ἄλλ[α]ο ἡμῖν χρίσον κινναβά[ρ]ει. τοῦτο {ν} φορῶν ἀθε-
237	ώρητος ἔσῃ ἐπιλέγων τὸ[ν] ὄνομα.

236 αλλο *corr. ex* αλλασο P χρῑσον Preisendanz: χρεῑσον P τοῦτο{ν} Preisendanz:
 τουτον P 237 το *corr. ex* των P ονομα. *ante* επι δε αγωγης P

First, then, is the marvelous (practical use for) invisibility: Take a falcon's egg. Gild half of it and coat the other half with cinnabar. While wearing this (egg), you will be invisible when you say the name.

Commentary

I. Section Title (234-235)

II. Praxis (235-236)

- A. Gild half of a falcon's egg (235-236)
- B. Smear the other half with cinnabar (236)
- C. Wear the egg (236-237)

III. Logos: utterance of the sacred name (236-237)

I. Section Title (234-235)

There is no sign of a paragraphos to the left of the column here, though there is some kind of marker present in the left margin, see plate VI. For the use of paragraphoi and blank spaces before spells, see the introduction to the note to 2 222.

234-235. ἔστιν οὖν πρώτη ἡ θαυ|μάσιος ἀμαυρά – “First, then, is the marvelous (practical use for) invisibility.” Given the difficulties of the text here and the blank space of about four letters after ἀμαυρά, it is quite possible that the scribe intended something else to be read, see the note to 5 235, s.v. ἀμαυρά. As regards the reading in the papyrus, Leemans' translation is preferable: *est igitur primus admirabilis obscurus (usus)*, “The first then is the marvelous use for invisibility” (1885, 98). Smith *GMPT*, 179 translates, “The first, then, [of these uses] is the marvelous [spell for] invisibility,” and Preisendanz, *PGM*, 2.99 “Das erste Rezept nun ist das wunderbare Unsichtbarmachen.” If one accepts the reading of the text, following Leemans 1885, 179, it is possible that πρώτη and ἀμαυρά are in agreement with an unstated subject, such as χρεία, “use,” in line 231.

πλήρης ἡ τελετὴ τῆς Μονάδος προεφωνήθη σοι, τέκνον. | (231) ὑποτάξω δέ σοι, τέκνον, καὶ τὰς χρείας τῆς ἱερᾶς βίβλου, ἃς πά| (232) ντες οἱ σοφισταὶ ἐτέλησαν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ μακάριδος | (233) βίβλου. ὡς ἐξώρκισά σε, τέκνον, ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ ἐν Ἰερωκολύμ| (234) ῶ· πληθεὺς τῆς θεοσοφίας ἀνεύρετον ποιήσον τὴν βίβλου. (*PGM XIII 230-234*)

“The rite called ‘*Monad*’ has been spoken to you in full, child. I will also add for you, child, the practical uses (τὰς χρείας) of the ‘Sacred Book,’ which all the most learned performed from this sacred and blessed book. As I made you swear, child, in the temple in Jerusalem, once you have been filled with divine wisdom, make sure the book remains undiscovered.”

This spell is presumably designated as πρώτη because it stands at the beginning of a lengthy list of spells, all of which in some way demonstrate the many uses of the name revealed by the god in the climax of the ritual, *PGM XIII* 210-211.

234. οὖν – “then,” continues the thought in lines 231-233: ὑποτάξω δέ σοι, τέκνον, καὶ τὰς χρείας τῆς ἱερᾶς βίβλου, ἃς πάντες οἱ σοφισταὶ ἐτέλησαν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ μακάριδος βίβλου, “I will also add for you, child, the practical uses (τὰς χρείας) of the ‘Sacred Book,’ which all the most learned performed from this sacred and blessed book.”

234-235. θαυμάσιος – “marvelous,” an authoritative claim appearing in other formulaic titles, such as νικητικὸν θαυμαστὸν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ, “A marvelous victory charm of Hermes,” *PGM VII* 919, and ἀγωγή θαυμαστή, “A marvelous *agōgē* spell,” *PGM XXXVI* 134, see also the note to 2 222, s.v. ἀναγκαία. Although θαυμάσιος does not initially appear to be in agreement with ἀμαυρά (or perhaps ἀμαύρωσις) – one would expect θαυμασία ἀμαυρά (perhaps sc. χρεία) – here it is likely being used as an adjective of two endings. Cf. Luc. *Im.* 19.

235. ἀμαυρά – “invisibility spell” (sc. χρεία or perhaps τελετή). All prior translators recognize this as a ritual for attaining invisibility: Dieterich 1891, 187, *app. crit.* to line 20 translates as “Unsichtbarmachung,” Preisendanz, *PGM*, 2.99 as “Unsichtbarmachen,” and Smith, *GMPT*, 179 as “invisibility.” The use of an adjective for the title of an invisibility rite is unprecedented, and one has to wonder whether the scribe intended ἀμαύρωσις (or less likely ἀμαυρία), since a blank space of about four letters appears after ἀμαυρά. For the use of ἀμαύρωσις elsewhere, see the note to 2 222, s.v. ἀμαύρωσις. Although appearing within *PGM* 10.39, ἀμαυρία is not used elsewhere as the title of a formulaic.

Neither the title of this formulaic nor the content of the spell provides sufficient information to interpret the meaning of the text, if one accepts the reading of ἀμαυρά. If the practitioner is invoking darkness as in 6 267-269, the meaning may be “the spell that causes darkness,” i.e. on the earth. If, however, as in text 1, the practitioner is attempting to affect his victim’s sight or perceptions, ἀμαυρά would instead relate to the vision of the victim, since ἀμαυρός can refer to weakened vision as in X. *Cyn.* 5.26; Hipp. *Acut.(Sp.)* 55.2, 2.506.8 Littré; see also McKinlay 1957, 26, who suggests that ἀμαυρά in this passage implies “power to weaken,” and Neugebauer’s critical appraisal (1958, 374 and footnote 4).

II. Praxis (235-236)

A. Gild half of a falcon's egg (235-236)

ὦν ἰέρακο[ς] – “a falcon's egg” appears in only one other ritual text as part of an invocation to Helios: ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἡρώων ἐν|δοξος, ὦν ἰβεως, ὦν ἰέρακος, ὦ|ὸν Φοίνικος ἀεροφοιτήτου, ἔχων | ὑπὸ τὴν γλῶσσαν τὸ τέλμα τοῦ Ἐμ, “I am glorious Heron, an ibis' egg, a falcon's egg, an air-roaming phoenix's egg, having under my tongue the mud of Em,” PGM V 251-254. This is one of several kinds of eggs mentioned in the magical corpus: the egg of a (1) blister beetle, PGM XII 437, (2) crocodile, PDM xiv 80, (3) crow, PGM XXXVI 283, (4) hawk, PDM xiv 115, 622, (5) ibis, PGM IV 49, 50, 2460, 2587, 2652; V 377; PDM xiv 623, (6) scarab, PGM XIII 1066, and (7) snake, PDM Suppl. 68. The eggs are used for a variety of purposes: to (1) anoint, PGM IV 49, 50, (2) burn as an offering, PGM IV 2460; PDM xiv 80, (3) mix with incense, PGM IV 2587, 2652, (4) make dough for a figurine of Hermes, PGM V 377, (5) make an egg like an apple, PGM VII 170, (6) drink, PGM VII 182, 522, 527, (7) cleanse oneself, PGM VII 522, 523, (8) bury for good luck, PGM XII 99-106, and (9) use in a mixture for anointing, PGM XXXVI 283; PDM xiv 115.

Of these examples, however, an egg is kept intact as a type of amulet in only one other spell. In PGM XII 99-106 the practitioner, seeking to do well at his workshop, buries an egg inscribed with *voces magicæ* and makes a plea to the god Ammon. For the use of egg shells in jewelry, perhaps serving as amulets, see Phillips 2000, 332-333. Cf. also the use of egg amulets in Hebrew magic, e.g. *Geniza 2* in Naveh-Shaked 1985, 216-219, and *Geniza 16.1.10-13* and *17.2.9-16* in Naveh-Shaked 1993, 174, 177, 182, and 185.

Given the importance of Helios, Aion/Helios, and perhaps the sun disk in other invisibility spells, see C 1.3 and footnotes 124-126, we can safely assume that the egg here is being used because of its solar connections to Helios or Re. In Egyptian myth the sun god often appears in the guise of a falcon, and likewise in Egyptian iconography Re-Horakhty, “Re (is) Horus of the Horizon,” is depicted as a falcon or as a falcon-headed human and emanates from the primeval egg. See Shafer 1991, 15 and 19 (fig. 8). In similar fashion the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* reads, “I have appeared as a great falcon, having come forth from the egg” and “O Re, who is in your egg” (Faulkner 1994, plate 25 and p. 102). Cf. also Morenz 1973, 177-179. The appearance of the falcon's egg in this passage likely refers to the primeval egg of Re, given Helios' association with it elsewhere in the magical papyri: δεῦρό μ[οι]...ὁ ἔκλαμπρος Ἡλι[ος], ὁ | ἀυγάζω[ν] καθ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην... [ἐν]εύχομαι σοὶ κατὰ τοῦ [ὦ]οῦ, κτλ., “Come to me...brilliant Helios, who shine throughout all the inhabited world...I adjure you by the egg, ...,” PGM III 129, 142-143, 145; cf. also PGM VII 555-556.

That Helios plays a role in a spell that employs τὸ ὄνομα as the unspecified name of another god is clearly possible. In one-fourth of the spells that follow 5 234-237, Helios plays a prominent role. For example, in a spell for fetching a lover, the divine name invoked in our spell is spoken three times to the sun: πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον | εἰπέ γ' τὸ ὄνομα, “Speak the name three times to the sun,” PGM XIII 237-238. In a spell to restrain anger, apparently the name of the sun disk is invoked in place of this

divine name: λέγε | τὸ ὄνομα (τ)ὸ δί(σκου), “Speak the name of the sun disk,” *PGM XIII* 251-252. In both a spell for release from bonds (*PGM XIII* 292) and a spell to open doors (*PGM XIII* 333), the divine name of Helios is employed. Additionally, in two other spells, Helios is summoned to appear (*PGM XIII* 254-259 and 334-337). In these final two spells, however, Helios’ status is that of an archangel under the authority of the one and only god himself. See *GMPT*, 179, footnote 64. Though the divine name of the supreme god is being invoked in our spell, it could be that Helios is the one doing the bidding of this supreme divinity and thus, making the practitioner invisible.

235-236. χρύσω|σον – “make golden” or “gild.” Cf. *PDM* xiv 380. Instead of being envisioned as the placement of gold leaf around an egg, here the process of gilding might simply entail the application of a pigment. See Lee and Quirke 2000, 116 as well as Green 2001, 47, who note gilding techniques on other surfaces such as illustrated funerary papyri. Given the potential cost involved in gilding an egg, one wonders whether a yellow pigment could be used as a symbolic substitute for gold. See Taylor 2001, 166. On the general topic of gold and metalworking in the ancient world, see Forbes 1964, 8.155-195.

Given the associations here with Helios, gilding the egg is intended to make the egg like the sun. Elsewhere, gold objects are described as being “sun-like”: λαβῶν λεπίδα | ἡλιακὴν γράψον χαλκῷ γραφείῳ, “Take a tablet gold like the sun and inscribe it with a bronze stylus,” *PGM VII* 919-920. Other scholars have noted that in earlier Egyptian amulets gold is often symbolic of the sun, e.g. Andrews 2001, 75-76.

B. Smear the other half with cinnabar (236)

236. ἄλλ[α]ο – the papyrus reads αλλασο, but the two horizontal lines that appear to be running through the second *alpha* suggest that the scribe tried to cancel the superfluous *alpha*. Clearly, the correct orthography here is ἄλλο, modifying ἡμικυ and correlating the second ἡμικυ to the first.

χρῖσον – the papyrus reads χρεισον. For the interchange of ι and ει, see Gignac, *Gram.*, 1.189-190.

κινναβά[ρ]ει – “cinnabar” or “vermilion.” Cinnabar, or bright red mercuric sulfide, is commonly employed as a red pigment. For a general discussion, see Forbes 1964, 3.216-221. In magical texts it is most frequently used as an ink, e.g. in *PGM III* 18-19; *IV* 2393, 2695; *VII* 803, 823, or one of the various ingredients in ink, e.g. in *PGM VII* 224; *VIII* 71. See Leach and Tait 2000, 239. But here it is acting as a dye to color the other half of the egg. Pliny discusses the use of cinnabar in painting (*Nat.* 1.33a 70 and 33.39.117) as well as in the coloring of unguents (*Nat.* 13.2.7; 13.2.9; 13.2.10). For its use in the ancient world, see also Getten and Stout 1966, 170-171. The pairing of red cinnabar with gold is not uncommon in Egyptian painting. Pinch 2001, 184 notes that “there is a common tendency to classify ‘warm colours’ together regardless of their hue...so it is not surprising to find red used interchangeably with golden-yellow as the colour of the sun disk.” Moreover, Ogden 2000, 166 and

169 points out that the use of red mercury pigment cinnabar on gold-work is attested elsewhere in Egyptian art.

C. Wear the egg (236-237)

τοῦτο{ν} – “this (egg).” The papyrus reads τουτον, but the gender of the antecedent (ᾠόν) is clearly neuter.

φορῶν – This is the only example of a spell in the Greek magical corpus that directs the practitioner to wear an amulet to attain invisibility, see **D 1.5** and footnote 184 as well as the note to 2 222, s.v. ἀμαύρωσις for a medieval parallel. Cf. *PGM XIII* 253-254, in which the practitioner is first told to inscribe the amulet before wearing it: εἰς ἱερατικὸν κόλλημα γράψας | τὸ ὄνομα φόρει, “Write the name onto a sheet of hieratic papyrus and wear it.”

III. *Logos*: utterance of the sacred name (236-237)

236-237. ἀθε|ώρητος ἔσῃ – “You will be invisible.” Cf. 2 229, s.v. ἀθεώρητόν με ποιήσον and 4 621-622, s.v. ἀθεώρητος | ἔσει πρὸς πάντα.

237. τὸ[ν] ὄνομα – The scribe has corrected the text from των to το. Presumably the name being employed is the unstated name revealed by the god in the climax of the ritual in *PGM XIII* 210-211: ἐπὶ εἰσέλθῃ ὁ θεός, κάτω βλέπε καὶ γράφε τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ ἦν δίδωσίν σοι αὐτοῦ ὀνομασίαν, “When the god enters, look down and write the things that he says and his name which he gives to you.”

Although this column uses paragraphoi elsewhere, there is no trace of one in the left margin between lines 237 and 238. Instead, we simply find a low dot after τὸ ὄνομα, which apparently marks the end of this recipe.

Text 6 267-269

Thebes
P.Leiden inv. J 395

Mid-4th century A.D.
Plate VII

EDITIO PRINCEPS: C. Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Publici Lugduni-Batavi*, Leiden 1885, 2.102-103.

OTHER EDITIONS: K. Preisendanz, *PGM*, Leipzig 1931, 2.101, and *PGM*, 2nd ed., A. Henrichs, ed., Stuttgart 1974, 2.101; R.W. Daniel, *Two Greek Magical Papyri in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden: A Photographic Edition of J 384 and J 395*, Opladen 1991, 44.

EMENDATIONS: none.

COMMENTARIES: *ed. prin.* 180-181 for lines 267-269.

TRANSLATION: English, M. Smith, *GMPT*, 180; German, K. Preisendanz, *PGM*, 2.101, and *PGM*, 2nd ed., A. Henrichs, ed., Stuttgart 1974, 2.101; Latin, Leemans, *Papyri Graeci*, 2.102.

PHOTO: Daniel 1991, 45, see plate VII.

DESCRIPTION: papyrus. *PGM XIII* is a codex consisting of 30 pages, 26.5 x 15-15.5 cm, see **F 1.2** and footnote 255, especially the reference to Daniel, x-xi. Text 6 267-269 appears on page 7 of this codex, lines 4-6, see plate VII.

LOCATION: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

Text 6 is an invocation of darkness addressed to the sun disk. It appears to have close ties to the invocation of transformation that follows (text 7), given the connection between the Egyptian sun god and the shapeshifter Proteus, see the note to 6 269, s.v. τοῦ δι(σκου). This brief spell consists of an invocation in which the practitioner summons darkness for the purpose of concealment. For the concept of invisibility as summoning darkness, see **C 1.3**. If the sun disk is indeed being summoned in this invocation, it is an important fact to note, given that other invisibility spells invoke either Helios (**2 225, 229** and **5 235**) or possibly Aion/Helios (**1 i 4-6**) and stress the importance of light and darkness in bringing about the practitioner's desire to achieve invisibility. This spell also employs the unstated sacred name used in **5 237**. See also *PGM XIII* 210-211, quoted in the note to **5 237**, s.v. τὸ ὄνομα, and the introduction to **5 234-237**.

267 ἀβλεψίας δὲ οὕτως.
268 “δεῦρό μοι, τὸ πρωτοφαῖς̄ [[κ(αί)]] σκότος, κ(αί) κρύψον με προσ-
269 τάγματι τοῦ ὄντος ἐν (οὐρανῶ) αὐτογενέτορος, τοῦ δι(σκου).” λεγε τὸ (ὄνομα).

267 πράξιν̄ ante ἀβλεψίας P 268 κ(αί) post πρωτοφαῖς del. P 269 ἐν (οὐρανῶ)
Preisendanz: ἐν Θ P ἐν (τῶ οὐρανῶ) Leemans τοῦ δι(σκου) Phillips, Preisendanz: Δ P
τὸν δ(εῖνα) Preisendanz τοῦ δ(εῖνα) Leemans (ὄνομα) Leemans: Π P

And (a spell) of invisibility (is) as follows: “Come to me, first-appearing darkness, and hide me by order of the one who is self-begotten in heaven, the sun disk.” Say the name.

Commentary

I. Section Title (267)

II. *Logos* (268-269)

A. Invocation of first-appearing darkness (268)

B. Exhortation to be hidden (268-269)

C. Utterance of sacred name (269)

I. Section Title (267)

No paragraphos or space before the title marks the beginning of this spell, although the end of the previous spell is marked by a high dot after *πρᾶξι*. For the use of paragraphoi and blank spaces before spells, see the introduction to the note to 2 222.

267. ἀβλεψία – “(spell) of invisibility” (lit. “blindness”). Translators have tended to ignore the problem of syntax here, focusing instead on the meaning of ἀβλεψία δὲ οὕτως, and its relation to the invocation which follows. Thus, Leemans, 1885, 102 and 180 translates “*occultationis (operatio)*,” “a ritual for concealment,” and fills in the ellipsis with “*intellege τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐποίησα, vel ποίει*,” “understand I performed or it performs the ritual.” On the other hand, Preisendanz in *PGM*, 2.101 offers “unsichtbar zu machen.” Smith, *GMPT*, 180 follows the entry in *LSJ*, s.v. ἀβλεψία, II and translates as “invisibility.” Unless a scribal error has introduced an otiose *sigma*, the form ἀβλεψία is either genitive singular or accusative plural. There is, however, limited precedent for the use of an accusative in the title of a spell: *στραγ(γ)ουρίαν*, “against strangury,” in *Suppl. Mag.* II, 96A.53 is perhaps loosely connected to the *πρός* in line 48; *χαριτήσιον*, “amulet for winning favor,” in *PGM XXXVI* 275 is usually articulated and understood as a Koine spelling of *χαριτήσιον*. Hence, ἀβλεψία is likely a genitive form, with a word such as *λόγος* implied, as e.g. in *PGM IV* 2434, in which the invocation follows directly thereafter: ὁ λόγος οὗτος τῆς πράξεως, “This is the invocation for the ritual.” See also *PGM IV* 3261-3262 and V 181. The word ἀβλεψία does not appear otherwise in the magical corpora, either within the title of a spell or elsewhere.

ἀβλεψία, however, does appear in Greek texts of the Imperial era. See Hurley 2001, 222 and the note to ἀβλεψίαν. At the same time it is not a technical term used by medical authors to indicate a specific eye ailment, as ἀμαύρωσις is. Rather, it is applied in a general sense to mean “blindness of sight.” See Pseudo-Galen, *Introductio seu medicus* 16, 14.776.18-777.1 Kühn: ἀπόρρηξις δὲ γίνεται τοῦ πόρου περὶ ὀφθαλμόν, ὅταν ὁ διατείνων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου καὶ μήνιγγος πόρος ἐπὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμόν ἀπορραγῇ, ὡς ἀβλεψίαν τελείαν γενέσθαι προηγησαμένης πληγῆς περὶ τὴν

κεφαλήν, κτλ., “A bursting of the passage around the eye occurs, whenever the passage that extends from the brain and the membrane enclosing the brain to the eye is severed, so that when someone has received a blow around the head, complete blindness occurs...” Cf. also *Cyranides* 4.13.1-13.5 in Kaimakas 1976, 252: περί γλανέου...τὸ δὲ ἦπαρ αὐτοῦ ἐσθιόμενον μανίαν καὶ ἐπιληψίαν παύει, καὶ ἀβλεψίαν ἰᾶται, “concerning sheat-fish...its liver, when it is eaten, stops madness and epileptic fits, and it heals blindness.” ἀβλεψία is quite frequently used metaphorically, e.g. in Suet. *Cl.* 39 and *Mart.Apollon.* 34.2 (“blindness of the heart”). In this invocation, however, the meaning most likely relates to vision or perception, since the practitioner is attempting to affect the external conditions of his environment with darkness and thereby hinder the ability of another person to perceive him, see 6 268: δεῦρό μοι, τὸ πρωτοφαῖς κότος, [κ(αί)] κρύψον με, κτλ., “Come to me, first-appearing darkness, and hide me, ...”

δὲ οὕτως – In titles οὕτως expresses that specific directions for a given ritual act are to follow. Cf. *PGM XIII* 718: ἡ δὲ τοῦ πολεύοντος πῆξις περιέχει οὕτως, “Determining the god who is presiding over the day goes as follows”; *PGM XIII* 953: ἱερός δὲ οὕτως, “And Hieros (writes) thus”; *PGM XXXVI* 295: ἀγωγή, ἔνπυρον ἐπὶ θείου ἀπύρου, οὕτως, “*Agōgē* ritual, fire divination over unburnt sulfur, thus.” The use of δέ as a weak particle connecting the titles of spells to what precedes is very common in ritual handbooks, as e.g. in *PGM XIII* 237, 957, 964, 968, 970, 975, 978.

II. *Logos* (268-269)

A. Invocation of first-appearing darkness (268)

268. τὸ πρωτοφαῖς κότος – “first-appearing darkness.” Cf. Leeman’s *quae primum apparuistis tenebrae*, “you darkness who first appeared” (1885, 102), and Smith’s “Darkness, which appeared in the beginning” (*GMPT*, 180). There is a textual problem here. The *kappa* – perhaps writing κ(αί) – which originally stood between πρωτοφαῖς and κότος has clearly been deleted from the original text by means of a line drawn through it (a practice common to this handbook). If κ(αί) were to be retained here, an appropriate translation might be “Come to me, dawn and dusk, ...,” certainly a sensible phrase in an invocation addressed to the sun disk. Unfortunately, we are left with the more difficult reading.

πρωτοφαῖς appears in the magical corpus only in this passage. Rarely appearing in Greek literature, it is occasionally used as a descriptive adjective referring to the moon or Selene with the meaning “first-shining,” e.g. in Phot. *Lexicon*, B 239, s.v. βοῦς ἑβδομος, as well as Suid. B 458, s.v. βοῦς ἑβδομος, and E 25.1, s.v. ἑβδομαῖος. But alongside the noun κότος, “darkness,” such a meaning would seemingly yield an oxymoron. Moreover, no comparable invocation of darkness is found within the magical papyri. Cf. the invocation to Helios in *PGM III* 564-566: δεῦρό μοι, | κύριε, ὁ ποτὲ τ[ὸ] φῶς ἀνά[γ]ων, ποτὲ τὸ κότος κατὰ[γ]ων (κατὰ) τὴν σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν, κτλ., “Come to me, Lord, you who at times raise the light, at times lower the darkness with your power.” Nonetheless, internal evidence from both text 6 267-269 and the rite from which it comes, “A sacred book called *Monad* or *Eighth Book of Moses*,” referring to *PGM XIII* 1-343, offer some ideas regarding the meaning of the phrase in this context:

(1) Given the fact that the holy name invoked in this ritual belongs to the supreme god who gave Helios glory and all power (*PGM XIII* 64-65), the invocation of darkness might relate to the fact that this supreme god – himself invisible (μη ὁρώμενον, “not seen,” *PGM XIII* 64; ἀόρατος, “invisible,” *XIII* 71) – is associated with the earlier-born darkness present before the act of creation (μηδὲν ἀφαιρήσας τοῦ προγενεστέρου σκότους..., “having taken nothing from the earlier born darkness,” *PGM XIII* 66-67).

(2) At the same time “first-appearing darkness” might simply refer to the onset of night. If the symbol at the end of this invocation represents the sun disk, see the note to 6 269, s.v. τοῦ δί(σκου), such an interpretation is especially appealing since the power to raise the light and lower the darkness is elsewhere attributed to Helios (*PGM III* 564-566).

(3) A less desirable interpretation would be that the “first-shining darkness” somehow refers to Selene (or perhaps Thoth?, see the note to 7 271-272, s.v. τὸν {ἐαυτὸν} ἀλλάξαντα σεαυτὸν | μορφαῖς ἀγίαις) upon whom the supreme god bestowed the ability to wax and wane – the very ability the practitioner desires: cὺ γὰρ ἔδωκας... | ...σελήνην αὐξεῖν καὶ ἀπολήγειν, κτλ., “For you gave...Selene the power to wax and wane,” *PGM XIII* 64-65.

In magical texts darkness often appears as the domain of the practitioner as in *PGM IV* 1708-1709 (ὀρκίζω γῆν καὶ οὐρανὸν καὶ | φῶς καὶ σκότος, κτλ., “I conjure earth and heaven and light and darkness”), 2295 (καὶ νύκτα τὴν ἄωρον παρέδωκα σκότει, “And untimely night I delivered up to darkness”); *XII* 55-56 (ἐὰν δέ μου | παρακούσης κα[τα]καήσεται ὁ κύκλος, κ[α]ὶ σκότος ἔσται καθ’ ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην, κτλ., “If you disobey me, the sun’s orb will burn out, and there will be darkness throughout the whole world”); *XIII* 254-256 (ἐγὼ εἰμι | ὁ...ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν δύο φύσεων... | ...φωτὸς καὶ σκότους, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, κτλ., “For I am he who...is midway between two natures...light and darkness, night and day, ...”); *LXII* 29-30 (διασταλήτω | τὸ σκότος κατ’ ἐπιταγὴν θεοῦ ὑψίστου, κτλ., “Let the darkness be dispelled by the command of the highest god, ...”).

Darkness is also the domain of the gods and daimons, as e.g. Helios in *PGM III* 565-566 (ὁ ποτὲ τ[ὸ] φῶς ἀνά[γ]ων, ποτὲ τὸ σκότος κατὰ[γ]ων (κατὰ) τὴν σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν, κτλ., “you who at times raise the light, at times lower the darkness with your power...”), the Ruler of Tartaros/Selene(?) in *PGM IV* 2243-2244 (χαῖρε, ἱερὰ αὐγὴ ἐκ σκότους εἰλημ[μένη], κτλ., “Greetings, Holy Beam taken out of darkness...”), the headless god in *PGM V* 98-101 (σὲ καλῶ τὸν ἀκέφαλον... | ...τὸν κτίσαντα | νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, σὲ τὸν κτίσαντα φῶς καὶ σκότος, “I summon you, headless one...who created night and day, you who created light and darkness, ...”) and in 459, 464 (ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε... | ...ὁ χωρίσας τὸ φῶς [α]πό τοῦ σκότους, κτλ., “I summon you...who divided the light from the darkness, ...”), and Selene in *PGM VII* 757, 764-765 (ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε... | ...ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ἢ εἰς φῶς | αὐξανομένη καὶ ἀπὸ φωτὸς εἰς σκότος | ἀπολήγουσα, κτλ., “I call upon you...who wax from obscurity into light and wane from light into darkness, ...”), *XIVa* 1 (ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε, τὸν ἐν τῷ ἀοράτῳ σκότει καθημένον, κτλ., “I summon you, who are sitting in the invisible darkness, ...”), *XXXVI* 138 (ἐγείρεσθε, οἱ ἐν τῷ σκότει δαίμονες, κτλ., “Arise, you daimons in the darkness, ...”), and *LXII* 24-25 (ἐλθέ μοι, ὁ τῶν θεῶν θεός... | ...ὁ τὸ σκότος τέμνων, κτλ., “Come to me, god of gods...who divide the darkness, ...”).

κ(αι) – the papyrus reads κ, as in 7 271 and 272 (*bis*). For parallels see *Suppl. Mag.* II, p. 338, index X.

B. Exhortation to be hidden (268-269)

κρύψον με – “hide me” or “conceal me.” The practitioner summons darkness for the purpose of escaping the perceptions of others, but the text does not tell us why he is seeking invisibility. Certainly, secrecy and concealment are a hallmark trait of the practitioner’s activity. See Betz 1995; Ritner 1995, 3347, footnote 44, notes that such tendencies are found in the earliest Egyptian texts, see **F 1.8** and footnote 276; Bremmer 2002b, 65 and footnote 65 suggests that secrecy became more important towards the end of antiquity. The practitioner is repeatedly ordered to conceal his actions, especially in the great ritual handbooks. Thus, it is not uncommon to find the verbs κρύβειν and κρύπτειν in such contexts: κρύβε, κρύβ[ε] τὴν πρ[ᾶξι]ν, κτλ., “Hide, hide the ritual act...,” *PGM I* 41; μηδενὶ [ἄλλω με]ταδῶς, ἀλλὰ κρύβε, κτλ., “Share it with no one else, but hide it...,” *PGM I* 130; ὑπὸ δὲ τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ λίθου τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο (κρύβε), “Under the bottom of the stone is this name – hide it,” *PGM I* 146; εἰπέ τὸν λόγον πρὸς <σελήνην> ζ’...|...κρογχει, “Say the invocation to Selene seven times...conceal it,” *PGM IV* 74-75; ἀπόλυσις τοῦ κυριακοῦ...|...κρύβε, “Dismissal of the lord...conceal it,” *PGM IV* 916, 922; ποιήσις...|...κρύβε, “Ritual act...conceal it,” *PGM IV* 1248, 1251; ἔχει δὲ | φυλακτήριον...|...κρύβε...|...κρύ|βε, “it has a protective amulet...conceal it...conceal it,” *PGM IV* 2505-2506, 2512, 2518-2519; ὁ καὶ ἔχε ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ ὡς | μεγαλομυστήριον. κρύβε, κρύβε, “And keep this in a secret place as a great mystery. Hide it, hide it,” *PGM XII* 321-322; κρύβε, κρύβε τὸ ἀληθινὸν Οὐφῶρ ἐν συντομίᾳ | περιέχον τὴν ἀλήθειαν, “Hide, hide the true *OUPHŌR* which contains the truth in summary,” *PGM XII* 334-335; ἐπιγνοῦς γὰρ τῆς βίβλου τὴν δύναμι(ν) | κρύψεις, “After discovering the power of the book, you will keep it a secret,” *PGM XIII* 741-742; κρύβε μαθῶν, τέκνον, τὸ | τῶν θ’ γραμμάτων, “Learn and conceal the name of the nine letters, child,” *PGM XIII* 755; and λαβῶν ὄστρακον...|...γράφε ζμυρνομελα|νίω καὶ κρύψον, “Take an ostrakon...write on it with a mixture of ink and myrrh and conceal it,” *PGM XXXVI* 256-258.

In this context, however, the practitioner is invoking darkness to seek anonymity for himself – an act intrinsically more difficult than keeping rites and invocations secret. Nonetheless, the practitioner in the guise of deities commonly claims the ability to accomplish such tasks – ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμι βαρβαρ Ἀδωναί, ὁ τὰ ἄστρα κρύβων, κτλ., “For I am *BARBAR ADŌNAI*, who hides the stars...,” *PGM IV* 385-386; τοῦτο γὰρ σου σύμβολον, τὸ σάν|δαλόν σου ἔκρυψα, κτλ., “For I have hidden this token of yours, your sandal,” *PGM IV* 2292-2293 – tasks that are indeed accomplished by the gods themselves: καὶ κρύψει σὸν | φῶς Ἥλιος πρὸς τὸν νότον, κτλ., “And Helios will hide your light to the south...,” *PGM IV* 2312-2313.

269. (οὐρανῶ) – is represented here by the symbol ⊙. For a list of similar symbolic substitutions, see *PGM*, 2.270, and *Suppl. Mag.* II, p. 338, index X.

αὐτογενέτερος – “self-producing” (LSJ, s.v. αὐτογένεθλος, 2), “self-begotten” (Smith, *GMPT*, 180; cf. Meyer’s translation of *PGM* 13a.1 in *ACM* #22), and “*Selbstschöpfers*” (Preisendanz, *PGM*, 2.101). Cf. also O’Neil, *GMPT*, 67, who translates “self-gendering” at *PGM IV* 1561. As an

adjective, αὐτογενέτωρ appears twice in the PGM: ἄκουε, ἄκουε, | ὁ μέγας θεός, Ἀδωναῖε | εἴθια, αὐτογενέτωρ, | αἰίζων θεέ, εἰωη, “Listen, listen, great god, Adonai, *ETHUIA*, self-gendering, everlasting god, *EIOE*,” PGM IV 1559-1562; [Χρ(ιςτός)· ἔξορκίζω] σε, κ(ύρι)ε, π[αν]τοκράτωρ, πρωτογεν[έτω]ρ, [α]ὐτογενέτωρ, ἀσπερμογόνητε, κτλ., “Christ: I adjure you, Lord, almighty, first begotten, self-begotten, born apart from seed, ...,” PGM 13a 1. See the note to *Suppl. Mag.* II, 65.31-32, s.v. αὐτογεννήτωρ for parallels. Similar in meaning are (1) αὐτογένεθλος, “self-producing,” said of Apollo in PGM I 342; the scarab in PGM IV 943 (see *GMPT*, 57, footnote 134), and Helios in PGM 1989, and (2) αὐτογέννητος, “self-produced,” applied to the creator of all in PGM XIII 63; cf. also 572. The appearance of αὐτογέννητος in PGM XIII 63 might suggest that the deity being invoked here is indeed the creator of all mentioned. However, since αὐτογένεθλος is also used to describe Helios in PGM IV 1989, it seems more likely that the sun god or the sun disk is being invoked, especially if the symbol at the end of the invocation represents the sun disk.

τοῦ δί(σκου) – “the sun disk.” Cf. PGM XIII 142, 152(?), and 252 in which the sun disk is also mentioned. Here the papyrus simply reads τοῦ Δ, which is problematic since elsewhere in this ritual handbook this symbol can either mean “supply one’s name,” as in lines 242, 308, and 324, or “the sun disk,” as in line 252. For a list of similar symbolic substitutions outside of this ritual, see PGM, 2.269, and *Suppl. Mag.* II, p. 338, index X. Previous editors have emended or considered emending the article before the symbol, thus reading the text as τὸν δ(εῖνα). See Leemans 1885, 180, and Preisendanz, PGM, 2.101. Nonetheless, I have retained the form of the article in the papyrus and interpret the symbol to mean τοῦ δί(σκου), “the sun disk,” keeping it in apposition to the preceding phrase, τοῦ ὄντος ἐν οὐρανῶ αὐτογενέτερος, “the one who is self-begotten in heaven,” a possibility Preisendanz notes in his critical apparatus.

Two points might favor this interpretation. One is that synonyms of αὐτογενέτωρ are frequently applied to the sun and the scarab elsewhere, see the note to 6 269, s.v. αὐτογενέτερος. Thus, τοῦ δί(σκου) is sensible in the context of the language here. Another is that this reading might help to explain the proximity of this spell to text 7, a spell for acquiring invisibility via transformation – one that employs the language of shapeshifters such as the Egyptian Proteus, see the note to 7 275-276, s.v. λύκον, κύνα, λέον|τα, πῦρ, δένδρον, γῦπα, τεῖχος, ὕδωρ ἢ ὃ θέλεις. The pairing of a spell that invokes the sun disk with one that conjures images of Proteus is reminiscent of the hymn in PGM IV 939-948 in which Proteus and the Egyptian sun god play a prominent role. For a useful discussion, see Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 1-10.

Otherwise, one must interpret the symbol as the name to be supplied by the practitioner, either making the genitive article dependent upon προστάγματι, i.e. “by order of NN,” as in PGM XIII 308, or emending it to τόν so that τὸν (δεῖνα) is then in agreement with με in line 268. In the former case the practitioner perhaps takes on the role of the creator of all, thus giving commands to the first-appearing darkness, and in the latter it is the creator of all himself giving the commands.

C. Utterance of sacred name (269)

λέγε τὸ (ὄνομα) – see the note to 5 237, s.v. τὸ ὄνομα. Here ὄνομα is represented by the symbol □, as in 7 277. For a list of similar symbolic substitutions, see PGM, 2.269-270, and *Suppl. Mag.* II, p. 338, index X.

Text 7 270-277

Thebes
P.Leiden inv. J 395

Mid-4th century A.D.
Plate VII

EDITIO PRINCEPS: C. Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Publici Lugduni-Batavi*, Leiden 1885, 2.102-103 (Greek text and translation), 181 (notes).

OTHER EDITIONS: A. Dieterich, *Abrasax*, Leipzig 1891, 189-190; R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, Leipzig 1904, 22; K. Preisendanz, *PGM*, Leipzig 1931, 2.101 and *PGM*, 2nd ed., A. Henrichs, ed., Stuttgart 1974, 2.101; R.W. Daniel, *Two Greek Magical Papyri in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden: A Photographic Edition of J 384 and J 395*, Opladen 1991, 44-45.

EMENDATIONS: W. Kroll, "Adversaria graeca," *Phil.* 53, 1894, 422, for line 275; S. Eitrem, "Varia," *SO* 20, 1940, 176 for line 270.

COMMENTARIES: *ed. prin.* 181 for lines 273 and 275; R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, Leipzig 1904, 22 and footnote 2; A. Nock, "P. Leid, J 395 VII 11," *JTS* 26, 1925, 176-177 for lines 274-275.

TRANSLATION: English, M. Smith, *GMPT*, 180. French, A. Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*³, Paris 1981, 2.289. German, K. Preisendanz, *PGM*, 2.101, and *PGM*, 2nd ed., A. Henrichs, ed., Stuttgart 1974, 2.101. Latin, Leemans, *Papyri Graeci*, 2.102.

PHOTO: Daniel 1991, 45, see plate VII.

DESCRIPTION: papyrus. *PGM XIII* is a codex consisting of 30 pages, 26.5 x 15-15.5 cm, see **F 1.2** and footnote 255, especially the reference to Daniel, x-xi. Text 7 270-277 appears on page 7 of this codex, lines 7-14, see plate VII.

LOCATION: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

Text 7 is a prayer to the god Thoth, most likely Hermes-Thoth, who in this spell appears in his Egyptian role as cosmic deity of creation. Through this spell the practitioner seeks to be transformed into a variety of animate and inanimate objects. The type of human metamorphosis that appears has precedents in both Egyptian mortuary and folktale literature as well as in countless representations of "shapeshifters" in Greek and Roman literature. Such spells were part of a literary milieu that portrayed the well-trained practitioner as being able to transform himself at will, see **C 1.2** and footnote 119. This spell, like the two preceding it, employs the unstated sacred name mentioned at *PGM XIII* 210-211, see the introduction to **5 234-237**.

272

ἄλλως. "ὅτι μόνον ἐπικαλοῦμαι, τὸν μόνον ἐν κόσμῳ διατά-
ξαντα θεοῖς κ(αί) ἀνθρώποις, τὸν {ἐαυτὸν} ἀλλάξαντα σεαυτὸν
μορφαῖς ἀγίαις κ(αί) ἐκ μὴ ὄντων εἶναι ποιήσαντα κ(αί) ἐξ ὄν-
των μὴ εἶναι, Θαυθ ἅγιος, οὗ οὐδεὶς ὑποφέρει θεῶν ἢ τὴν
ἀληθινὴν ὄψιν ἰδεῖν τοῦ προσώπου. ποιήσον με γεν-
έσθαι ἐν ὄμμασι πάντων κτισμάτων, λύκον, κύνα, λέον-

276 τα, πῦρ, δένδρον, γῦπα, τεῖχος, ὕδωρ ἢ ὃ θέλεις, ὅτι δυνατὸς εἶ." λέγε τὸ (ὄνομα). (*vacat*)

270 ἄλλως *corr. ex* ἄλλος P ἄλλο(ι)ωσ(ις) Eitrem 271 τὸν {ἐαυτὸν} ἀλλάξαντα
 εἰαυτὸν Leemans: τὸν εἰαυτὸν ἀλλάξαντας εἰαυτὸν P τὸν ἐαυτὸν ἀλλάξαντα
 Preisendanz τὸν ἀλλάξαντα ἐαυτὸν Reitzenstein 273 εἶναι *ante* θαυθ P 274
 ἀληθινὴν ὄψιν Preisendanz: ἀλητινὴν οψιον P προσώπου *ante* ποιησον P 275 ὄμμασι
 Kroll: ὀνομασι P ὀμάμασι Leemans ὀμοιώμασι Dieterich κηνώμασι Eitrem
 κτισμάτων *ante* λυκὸν P 277 (ὄνομα) Leemans: $\overline{\theta}$ P

(To become invisible) in another way: "I call on you alone, the only one in the universe who gave order to gods and humans, who transformed yourself into holy forms and created existence from things non-existent and non-existence from things in existence, holy Thoth, the true sight of whose countenance no god is able to look upon; make me become in the eyes of all created things – a wolf, or dog, or lion, or fire, or tree, or vulture, or wall or water (or whatever you want) – for you are powerful." Say the name.

Commentary

I. Section Title (270)

II. *Logos* (270-277)

A. Invocation to Thoth (270-274)

B. Exhortation to transform (274-277)

C. Utterance of sacred name (277)

I. Section Title (270)

A paragraphos marks a new spell between lines 269 and 270, just above ἄλλως. For the use of paragraphoi and blank spaces in medicinal and magical handbooks, see the introduction to the note to 2 222.

270. ἄλλως – (To become invisible) "in another way," i.e. by another ritual *logos*. Cf. PGM IV 1300: ἄλλως ὁ πρῶτος λόγος, "the first *logos*, in a different way." An *omega* has been written above the original *omicron*, a common correction throughout this handbook. Cf. βωμόν in PGM XIII 8, αὐτῶν in 59, δράκων 105, etc. For the confusion of *omicron* and *omega*, see the note to 2 223, s.v. ὀφθαλμόν, and also Gignac, *Gram.*, 1.275-277.

Eitrem, 1940, 176 does not consider 7 270-277 to be directly related to 7 267-269 and suggests the emendation ἄλλο(ι)ωσ(ις), "(A ritual for) transformation": *Hic vero ἄλλως non indicat aliud*

praeceptum quo occultare te possis, sed novum praeceptum quod ad formam humanam mutandam pertinet, itaque haud scio an ἄλλο(ἰ)ωσ(ι)ε tentandum est, “But here ἄλλωσ does not suggest another way by which you may be able to conceal yourself, but a new way which pertains to changing human form. Accordingly, I do not know whether ἄλλο(ἰ)ωσ(ι)ε must be tried.” Certainly, Eitrem’s suggestion, though without parallel in the corpus, is quite clever, especially given the appearance of ἀλλάττειν in line 271. At the same time, since suprascript *omegas* are used to correct *omicrons* throughout the manuscript, it seems reasonable to retain the more common reading ἄλλωσ which appears elsewhere within this handbook, e.g. ἄλλωσ ὁ λόγος πρὸς τὸν Ἥλιον, “Another way. The *logos* for Helios,” *PGM* XIII 334. Moreover, it is not difficult to imagine that the compiler of this handbook might have considered transformation as simply another kind of concealment or invisibility. Cf. for example *PGM* XIII 69-71, where we read of the creator god: κοὶ πάντα ὑποτέτακται, οὐ οὐδεὶς θεῶν δύναται | ἰδεῖν τὴν ἀληθινὴν μορφήν. ὁ μεταμορφούμενος | εἰς πάντας, ἀόρατος εἶ Αἰὼν Αἰῶνος, “Everything is subservient to you, whose true form none of the gods can see. You, who are transformed into all forms, are invisible, Aion of Aion.” Given that Aion of Aion, “the one who transforms,” is called “invisible,” I would suggest that transformation is indeed just an alternative kind of invisibility, i.e. “concealment,” see **C 1.2**.

When appearing at the beginning of a spell in a ritual handbook, as in *PGM* II 64; IV 29, 463, 465, 1300; V 172; X 36; XIII 334, ἄλλωσ should in theory indicate that the forthcoming spell is attempting to achieve the same end as the previous spell, but by a different means. Yet both *PGM* V 172 and X 36, which may or may not read ἄλλωσ, suggest that this was not always the case, perhaps because of the careless manner in which ritual handbooks were compiled. When used within the spell itself, ἄλλωσ can also signal an optional phrase, name or *praxis*. See Martinez 1991, 7, footnote 31, who also notes that in Greek medical texts expressions such as ἄλλο suggest alternative recipes for treating a patient. Cf. also the use of Demotic *ky*, “another,” in e.g. *PDM* xii 62 and 76, as noted by Ritner 1995, 3367.

II. *Logos* (270-277)

A. Invocation of Thoth (270-274)

270. *εὖ μόνον ἐπικαλοῦμαι* – “I call on you alone.” The practitioner is invoking the god Thoth exclusively (*μόνον*) to transform himself. The use of the personal pronoun *εὖ* makes the request slightly more personal and pointed, as in *PGM* IV 1002, 1003, 2185; VII 690, 895; VIII 22, 26; XII 263; XIII 848, 851, 854, 855, 857, 860, 862, 864, 866-867, 869. This, in customary fashion, is followed by the attributes of the god expressed with an accusative article and a participle, as in *PGM* III 44-45; IV 1583-1585; V 459-463; XII 147-148, 367-369, 454-457; XIII 62-64, 138-139, 443-444, 570-572, 698; XIVa 1-3.

270-271. τὸν μόνον ἐν κόσμῳ διατάξαντα θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις – “the only one in the universe who gave order to gods and humans.” Whereas *μόνον* in 7 270 reveals that the practitioner

is directing his invocation to one deity, Thoth, here the adjective expresses what the practitioner sees as Thoth's singular attributes – he is the one and only god in the universe who gave order both to gods and to humans. Cf. the phrase εἷς καὶ μόνος, “one and only,” which is common in the *Corpus Hermeticum*, e.g. 4.5, 4.8, and 10.14, and appears in Egyptian texts dating to the 19th dynasty (13th century B.C.), on which see Copenhaver 1992, 132, the note to 4.1. See also Scott, *Hermetica*, 1.152, 154, and 196. It has already been noted that language expressing the pervasive scope of a god's power is common in the magical corpus, see the notes to 1 i 4 and i 11-12. Yet instead of describing the spatial reach of Thoth's influence, this passage emphasizes the range of his influence over individuals, both “gods” (θεοί) and “people” (ἄνθρωποι). Cf. Bleeker 1973, 137, citing Roeder 1923, 56: “Without (Thoth's) knowledge nothing can be done among gods and men.”

271. κ(αί) – the papyrus reads κ_ι, as in 6 268 and 7 272 (*bis*). For parallels see *Suppl. Mag.* II, p. 338, index X.

271-272. τὸν {ἑαυτὸν} ἀλλάξαντα σεαυτὸν | μορφαῖς ἁγίαις – “who transformed yourself into holy forms.” In the magical papyri Thoth is identified with Hermes, on which see Fowden 1986, 25-26, and appears in his various manifestations: οἶδά σου | καὶ τὰς μορφάς, αἶ εἰς ἐν τῷ ἀπηλιώτῃ μορφήν ἔχεις | ἴβεως, ἐν τῷ λιβί μορφήν ἔχεις κυνοκεφάλου, ἐν τῷ βορέα | μορφήν ἔχεις ὄφεως, ἐν δὲ τῷ νότῳ μορφήν ἔχεις λύκου, “I also know what your forms are: in the East you have the form of an ibis, in the West you have the form of a dog-faced baboon, in the North you have the form of a serpent, in the South you have the form of a wolf,” *PGM VIII* 8-11. For the manifestations of Thoth as an ibis or baboon, see Bleeker 1973, 108-111. It is also possible, though less likely, that such transformations refer to Thoth's constantly changing form as a god of the moon. For Thoth's role as a moon god, see Bleeker 1973, 114-117. Given the connection of Helios with invisibility spells elsewhere, it is perhaps worth noting that in Egyptian myth Thoth and Re are often closely tied to each other. Indeed Thoth himself was said to determine the course of the sun, on which see Bleeker 1973, 119-121.

The verb ἀλλάττειν here means “to alter (oneself).” In the *PGM* μεταμορφοῦν is used in a similar way. For example, in *PGM I* 117-119 the practitioner seeks a πάρεδρος, “a divine assistant,” who, like Thoth here, is said to be able to alter his form: μεταμορφοῖ δὲ εἰς ἣν ἔαν | βούλη μορφήν θη[ρίου] πετηνοῦ, ἐνύδρου, τετραπόδου, | ἔρπετοῦ, “He transforms into whatever form of beast you wish, one with wings, or living in water, or four-footed, or a reptile.” More central to this particular ritual, entitled “A sacred book called *Monad* or *Eighth Book of Moses*,” is the use of μεταμορφοῦν in the initial invocation of the rite directed to τὸν πάντα | κτίσαντα, “the creator of all” in *PGM XIII* 69-71. For the text and translation, see 7 270, s.v. ἄλλως. Cf. also XIII 580-582.

272. κ(αί) – the papyrus reads κ_ι, as in 6 268 and 7 271, 272 (below). For parallels see *Suppl. Mag.* II, p. 338, index X.

272-273. ἐκ μὴ ὄντων εἶναι ποιήσαντα κ(αί) ἐξ ὄντων μὴ εἶναι – “created existence from things non-existent and non-existence from things in existence.” Cf. *PGM* IV 3075-3078 (ὀρκίζω σε, τὸν...ποιήσαντα τὰ πάντα | ἐξ ὧν οὐκ ὄντων εἰς τὸ εἶναι, “I adjure you...by the one who made everything into what is from what is not”) and 2 *Ma.* 7.28 (ἀξιῶ σε, τέκνον, ἀναβλέψαντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα ἰδόντα γινῶναι ὅτι οὐκ ἐξ ὄντων ἐποίησεν αὐτὰ ὁ θεός, “I beseech you, my child, to look at the heavens and the earth and see everything that is in them, and know that God did not make them out of things that existed”). See also *GMPT* 97, footnote 409 for bibliography on the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo*. Reitzenstein 1904, 22, footnote 2, notes that this language is that of a creation god or a god bringing order to the universe. In the magical papyri Hermes-Thoth often exhibits the Egyptian traits of Thoth as an all powerful cosmic ruler (κοσμοκράτωρ, “lord of the world,” *PGM* V 400 and XVIIb 1; παντοκράτωρ, “all powerful,” *PGM* VII 668) as well as creator (φανήτω ὁ (ποίησας) τὰ τέσσαρα μέρη τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα | θεμελίαι τῆς γῆς, “Let the one who made the four parts of the heavens and the four foundations of the earth appear,” *PGM* VII 552-553; “Thoth, may creation fill the earth with light,” *PDM* xiv 54). See Fowden 1986, 25.

In earlier Egyptian accounts Thoth as a manifestation of Ptah is the personified word of the creator god. See the discussion of the Shabaka text in Bleeker 1973, 137; cf. also Boylan 1922, 110ff. Moreover, in Hellenistic times at Hermopolis, he is portrayed as a creator in his own right. See Boylan 1922, 115-120, who includes the following examples: Thoth is “the maker of all that is,” and “the Great one who hath created all things.”

For the appearance of other creator gods elsewhere in the *PGM*, see the note to *GMA* 56.12-15. For bibliography on the Leiden cosmogony in general, see Jacoby 1933, 65-92; Smith 1984, 683-693 and 1986, 491-498; Merkelbach 1992, 92-153.

272. κ(αί) – the papyrus reads κ_i, as in 6 268 and 7 271, 272 (above), but it is likely a late addition given the narrow spacing. For parallels see *Suppl. Mag.* II, p. 338, index X.

273. Θάυθ – “Thoth” is traditionally the vindicator of the deceased at the judgment of the dead (Bleeker 1973, 145-150). He is often associated with Hermes *psychopompos* and considered the inventor and giver of the spoken and written word. Hence, Thoth is the creator of magical language and magical books. See Boylan 1922, 92-97; Černý 1948, 121-122; Frankfurter 1994, 189, 193-194; Martinez 1991, 42. That the name of Thoth (or Hermes-Thoth) is invoked in a ritual entitled “The Eighth Book of Moses” is not surprising given that Hermes is mentioned earlier in the rite at *PGM* XIII 15 and perhaps XIII 138. Moreover, the title to book four of the *Corpus Hermeticum* provides a parallel to the alternate title of this ritual (ἡ Μονάς, *The Monad*) that is instead attributed to Hermes-Thoth. See Scott, *Hermetica*, 1.148-149, and Copenhagen 1992, 15. For connections between Hermes-Thoth and Moses elsewhere, see Mussies 1982, 94.

The magical corpus documents much variation in the spelling of Thoth’s name, for which see *PGM*, 3.222, s.v. Θώθ. See Bleeker 1973, 106-107; Boylan 1922, 3-5. Martinez 1991, 42 discusses

the palindromic variant Θωουωθ. For various spellings of the month name Θώθ, see Gignac, *Gram.*, 1.95, 186. Θάυθ appears only here in 7 273 and elsewhere in the same ritual handbook at PGM XIII 282, a spell for resurrecting a dead body. It is most likely a variant from the Coptic form ΘΑΥΤ (Boylan 1922, 4).

273-274. οὐ οὐδεὶς ὑποφέρει θεῶν' τήν | ἀληθινὴν ὄψιν ἰδεῖν τοῦ προσώπου – “the true sight of whose countenance no god is able to look upon.” This line echoes more forcefully the epithet “the creator of all” earlier in the same ritual handbook, οὐ οὐδεὶς θεῶν δύναται | ἰδεῖν τὴν ἀληθινὴν μορφήν, “whose true form none of the gods is able to see,” PGM XIII 69-70.

B. Exhortation to transform (274-277)

274-275. ποιήσόν με γενέσθαι – “make me become.” γίγνομαι is the Greek verb commonly employed to denote the actions of “shapeshifters,” that is, individuals who change themselves into multiple forms, both animate and inanimate (Irving 1990, 171). See e.g. Hom. *Od.* 4.417, 456-458; Luc. *DMar.* 4.1; Apollod. *Bibliotheca* 1.9.9, 3.13.5.

275. ἐν ὄμμασι πάντων κτισμάτων – lit. “in the eyes of all created things.” This emendation was first suggested by Kroll 1894, 422, and adopted by Preisendanz, *PGM*, 2.101. Although it is not readily apparent how the error was introduced, ἐν ὄμμασι offers the best reading, given the tendency of invisibility spells to focus on the perceptions and eyes of their victims. Cf. text 1 i 7, 2 223, 3 248, etc. If the text was transcribed aurally, the preposition ἐν may have been spoken twice and heard the second time as ον. For the tendency of *epsilons* to be read as *omicrons* before *nus*, see Gignac, *Gram.*, 1.290-291. Further, invisibility spells often use prepositional phrases to identify those whose perceptions they wish to avoid, e.g. in 2 229-230, ἀθεώρητόν με ποιήσων... | ...ἀπέναντι παντὸς ἀνθρώπου, “Make me invisible in the presence of every person,” and in 4 621-622, ἀθεώρητος | ἔσει πρὸς πάντας, “You will be invisible to everyone.”

Over the years, scholars have variously emended this problematic line: (1) in the *editio princeps* Leemans 1885, 103 and 181, s.v. ἐν ὀνόμασι reads ἐν ὀνόμασι, but in his notes suggests ἐν σώμασι as a possible reading: nescio an voluerit ἐν σώμασι, *fac ut omnium creatorum corpora, formas induere possim*, “I do not know whether he wished ‘in the bodies,’ ‘Make me so that I am able to put on the bodies, i.e. the forms, of all creatures,’” (2) Dieterich 1891, 190, emends to ὁμοιώμασι, “likeness,” and (3) Eitrem to κτηνώμασι, “tents” or “huts.”

Instead of emending, however, Nock 1925, 176-177 suggests that γενέσθαι ἐν is a Hebraism for γενέσθαι and ὀνόμασι πάντων κτισμάτων a circumlocution for πᾶσι κτίσμασι, thus yielding the translation “make me become to all created things...” Although a Hebraism might seem appropriate for a text entitled “A sacred book called *Monad* or *Eighth Book of Moses*,” the attempt to seek Hebrew influence in a text that is in essence Egyptian in nature seems to be misguided. If one wishes to keep the reading of the papyrus, it might be preferable to take ἐν instrumentally: “make me become

by names of all created things..." Given that Thoth is known for creating via utterance, this interpretation of ἐν would better fit this context (Boylan 1922, 120-121).

275-276. λύκον, κύνα, λέοντα, πῦρ, δένδρον, γῦπα, τεῖχος, ὕδωρ ἢ ὃ θέλεισ – "shapeshifters" appear at the very beginnings of the Greek literary record. Perhaps the best known of these shapeshifters is Proteus who appears in Homer and is said to have the ability to transform into all things (πάντα δὲ γιγνόμενος πειρήσεται, ὅσσ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν / ἔρπετὰ γίγνονται, καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ θεσπιδαῖς πῦρ, "And by turning into every creeping thing that is on the ground, and water, and fiercely blazing fire, he will try to escape," *Od.* 4.417-418) and indeed transforms himself into a lion, serpent, leopard, boar, water, and tree (ἀλλ' ἦ τοι πρώτιστα λέων γένητ' ἠυγένειος, / αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα δράκων καὶ πάρδαλις ἠδὲ μέγας κύς / γίγνεται δ' ὕγρον ὕδωρ καὶ δένδρεον ὑψιπέτηλον, "But first of all, he turned into a bearded lion, but then a serpent and a leopard and a large boar; then he turned into flowing water and a lofty-leafed tree," *Od.* 4.456-458). For further discussion on Proteus, see Irving 1990, 174-179.

It is not unreasonable to suggest that the myth of Proteus might be an underlying influence on this particular text, especially since it appears in similar literary and ritual contexts. In Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, 1.4, the φάσμα, "ghost," of Proteus, calling himself an Egyptian god, appears to Apollonius' mother before his birth and essentially proclaims that her son will be another Proteus. Moreover, in the magical corpus O'Neil, following Preisendanz, notes that *PGM* IV 940 (χαῖρε δέ, λευκὸν ὕδωρ καὶ δένδρεον ὑψιπέτηλον..., "Greetings, clear water and lofty-leafed tree...") echoes *Od.* 4.458, not only revealing that this passage was known to other practitioners in Thebes, but also that Homeric language could at times find its way into ritual invocations (*GMPT*, 56, footnote 132; *PGM* 1.104, critical apparatus for line 940). For the influence of Homer on the Greek magical papyri, especially divination texts, see Schwendner 2002, 107-118. Moreover, there is also evidence suggestive of close associations in Egypt between Proteus and the sun god. Such associations might help to explain why this spell of invisibility utilizing transformation follows an invisibility spell that invokes the sun disk, for which see the introduction to text 6 267-269 and the note to 6 269, s.v. τοῦ δι(σκου).

Although it is possible that *Od.* 4.458 in some way has influenced 7 275-276, the limitations of this evidence must likewise be noted. Proteus was indeed well-known for his abilities to transform himself into a lion, or a fire, or a tree, or water, a feat also accomplished by Dionysus, according to Nonnus (*Dionysiaca* 40.40-60). At the same time, Proteus is not said to transform himself into a wolf, dog, wall, or vulture. In Greek literature we find numerous other shapeshifters such as Nereus, Periclymenus, Thetis, Metis, Nemesis, Mestra, Acheloüs, and Dionysus. For an overview, see Irving 1990, 171-194.

Moreover, the fact that transformation is a staple of ancient Egyptian mortuary texts from the Old Kingdom down to Graeco-Roman times cannot be ignored. See Smith 1979, 20, footnote 1, who offers numerous examples from the *Pyramid Texts*, *Coffin Texts*, the *Book of the Dead*, and Demotic mortuary texts, in particular P.Berlin inv. 3162, P.Louvre inv. 3122, and P.Louvre E. inv. 3452. With

the exception of the *ba* of the dead being changed into a dog, as e.g. in P.Louvre E. 3452 7/8-9 in Smith 1979, 114-115, or various birds such as the falcon, heron, ibis, phoenix, swallow, etc., the metamorphoses listed in 7 275-276 do not appear in these texts. Nevertheless, one has to recognize that spells such as this one are rooted in ancient Egyptian mortuary literature, an idea also pondered by Reitzenstein 1904, 22, footnote 2.

All these transformations find parallels in literary sources, for which see Abt 1908, 51ff. republished in Hopfner 1924, vol. 1, section 43. For the motif of human transformation in folktales, see Thompson 1955-1958, 2.13-31 (section D100-299).

275. λύκον – Hermes-Thoth appears as a wolf in PGM VIII 11. Moeris in Vergil's *Eclogues* 8.95-99 is said to have been able to transform himself into a wolf by using poisonous plants: *has herbas atque haec Ponto mihi lecta venena / ipse dedit Moeris (nascuntur plurima Ponto), / his ego saepe lupum fieri et se condere silvis / Moerim, saepe animas imis excire sepulchris / atque satas alio vidi traducere messis*, "Moeris himself gave me these poisonous plants culled from Pontus (a great number grow in Pontus), by these I have often seen Moeris transform into a wolf and hide himself in the woods, summon souls from the depths of the grave, and transfer sown crops to another field." For an overview of lycanthropy by magical and non-magical means in Late Antiquity (and beyond), see Veenstra 2002.

κύνα – in Apul. *Met.* 2.22, Lucius, while a dinner guest of his aunt Byrrhaena, hears a tale from Thelyphron, a fellow dinner guest. Thelyphron recounts how once, while in Thessaly, he was hired to guard a corpse from witches (*sagae mulieres*), who – according to his employer – possessed the ability to take on other forms, including that of a dog, while acquiring their supplies for magic arts: *nam et aves et rursum canes et mures, immo vero etiam muscas, induunt*, "For they (the witches) take on the appearance of birds and also dogs and mice, indeed even flies."

In Demotic funerary texts we also find the *ba* of the deceased being transformed into a dog. See P.Louvre E. 3452 7/8 in Smith 1979, 114-115.

275-276. λέων|τα – in Hom. *Od.* 4.460, Proteus, who is said to be ὀλοφώια εἰδώς, "skilled in deception" (cf. also 4.410), first turns into a bearded lion: ἀλλ' ἦ τοι πρῶτιστα λέων γένητ' ἠγύγενειος, "But first he became a bearded lion," l. 456; cf. also Ov. *Met.* 8.732, *Ars.* 1.762; Luc. *DMar.* 4.1. Other shapeshifters that transform into lions include Periclymenus in Apollod. *Bibliotheca* 1.9.9, and Dionysus in Eur. *Ba.* 1019, *Ant.Lib.* 10, and Nonn. *D.* 40.40.44-45.

276. πῦρ – in Hom. *Od.* 4.418 Proteus transforms into "fiercely blazing fire" (θεεπιδαῆς πῦρ). Cf. also Verg. *G.* 4.442. In *Met.* 8.736-737 Ovid notes the unique ability of Proteus at times to become fire and at other times to become water, two seemingly contradictory elements: *interdum, faciem liquidarum imitatus aquarum, / flumen eras, interdum undis contrarius ignis*, "On some occasions, you assumed the form of flowing waters and were a stream, on others you were fire,

water's opposite." Cf. Lucian's *D.Mar.* 4.1 and *Peregr.* 1. Other shapeshifters are depicted as transforming into fire as well, such as Thetis in Apollod. *Bibliotheca*, 3.13.5 and QS 3.620, and Dionysus in Nonn. *D.* 40.40.49.

δένδρον – in Hom. *Od.* 4.458 Proteus turns into a tree: γίγνεται δ' ὕγρον ὕδωρ καὶ δένδρεον ὑψιπέτηλον, "Then he turned into flowing water and a lofty-leaved tree." The same noun phrase (δένδρεον ὑψιπέτηλον) is echoed in *PGM* IV 940: χαῖρε δέ, λευκὸν ὕδωρ καὶ δένδρεον ὑψιπέτηλον..., "Greetings, clear water and lofty-leaved tree..." Cf. also Ov. *Met.* 8.735 and Luc. *D.Mar.* 4.1. For the transformation of other shapeshifters into trees, see e.g. Thetis in Ov. *Met.* 11. 243-244.

γῦπα – is the generic Greek word for vulture (Thompson 1936, 47-50). In Antoninus Liberalis' *Metamorphoses* 21 – said to be derived from Boeus' *Origins of Birds*, Book 2 – Agrius, honoring neither gods nor humans, is transformed into a γῦψ, which is said to be hated by gods and people alike: Ἄγριος δὲ μετέβαλεν εἰς γῦπα, πάντων ὀρνίθων ἔχθιστον θεοῖς τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις, "Agrius turned into a vulture, of all birds most hated both by gods and people."

The deliberate transformation of individuals into birds – other than the γῦψ – is a fairly common literary motif, as e.g. (1) Dipsas in Ov. *Am.* 1.8.13-14 (*hanc ego nocturnas versam volitare per umbras / suspicor et pluma corpus anile tegi*, "I suspect that after transforming she flies through nocturnal shadows and her old body is covered in feathers"), (2) old women in *Fast.* 6.139-143 (*est illis strigibus nomen; sed nominis huius / causa, quod horrendum stridere nocte solent. / sive igitur nascuntur aves, seu carmine fiunt / naeniaque in volucres Marsa figurat anus, / in thalamos venire Procae...*, "Those have the name screech owl, but for the sake of this name, because they are accustomed to produce a terrible high pitched sound at night. Therefore whether they are born as birds or turn into them because of incantations, and old women transform into winged creatures by Marsian spells, they came to Proca's bedroom..."), (3) Hyperborean males and Scythian women in *Met.* 15.356-360 (*esse viros fama est in Hyperborea Pallene, / qui soleant levibus velari corpora plumis, / cum Tritoniacam noviens subiere paludem; / haut equidem credo: sparsae quoque membra venenis / exercere artes Scythides memorantur easdem*, "There is a story of men in Hyperborean Pallene whose bodies are accustomed to be covered with light feathers, when they have plunged nine times into Tritonia's pool; for my part I do not believe it. Scythian women are also said to practice the same arts, after sprinkling their limbs with magical potions"), (4) Thessalian witches in Apul. *Met.* 2.22, see the note to 7 275, s.v. κύνα, and Pamphile in Apul. *Met.* 3.21 (*...quadam die percita Photis ac satis trepida me accurrit indicatque dominam suam, quod nihil etiam tunc in suos amores ceteris artibus promoveret, nocte proxima in avem sese plumaturam atque ad suum cupitum sic devolaturam*, "...on a certain day Photis, very excited and sufficiently agitated, ran up and gave notice that because she was making no headway in her love with the rest of her magical arts, her mistress would be covered in feathers as a bird that very night and thus fly to her beloved"; cf. also Hipparchus' wife in Pseudo-Luc. *Asin.* 12). For a general treatment, see Bremmer 2002b, 64 and footnote 57.

τειχος – in Apul. *Met.* 2.1 Lucius, upon arriving in Thessaly and beginning to reflect on the stories of Aristomenes, his roadside acquaintance, lets his imagination run wild, envisioning the objects of the inanimate world around him as if everything were the result of transformation. Among Lucius' anxieties is that the walls (*parietes*) would begin to speak. For a text and translation see **C 1.2**. See also van Mal-Maeder 2001, 61, s.v. *parietes*.

ὑδωρ – Proteus is said to possess the ability to change into water, on which see e.g. Hom. *Od.* 4.418, 458; Ov. *Met.* 8.736; Luc. *DMar.* 4.1, and as such is at times portrayed as a flowing river, as in Hom. *Od.* 4.458; Verg. *G.* 4.442; Ov. *Met.* 8.737. For the transformation of other shapeshifters into water, see e.g. Thetis in Apollod. *Bibliotheca*, 3.13.5 and QS 3.619, and Dionysus in Nonn. *D.* 40.40.56.

ἢ ὃ θέλειε – it is common for spells in the magical papyri to address the personal desires of the user. Examples include *PGMI* 328; IV 231, 1342, 1895, 1907, 2054, 3254; V 312; VII 185, 437, 856; VIII 57; XXIVa 11-12; XXXVI 73, 292; LXII 35; LXXVII 2; *PDM* xiv 112, 156. Similar language appears in transformation spells from Egyptian funerary texts. In P.Louvre E. 3452, 1/2 the deceased can assume “any form according to his desire” (*hbr nb r mr:f*) and in the *Book of the Dead* “any form according to the dictate of his heart” (*hprw nb r dd ib:f*), as noted by Smith who cites Budge 1979, 28, and 1898, 82, line 15. These open-ended phrases also appear in Greek and Latin literary accounts depicting shapeshifters such as Proetus (Hom. *Od.* 4.417; Verg. *G.* 4.440-441), Periclymenus (A.R. 1.158-160; Ov. *Met.* 12.556-558), Thetis (Ov. *Met.* 11.253-254; QS 3.621-622), to name a few.

276-277. ὅτι δυνατὸς | εἶ – cf. *PGM* 7.28-29: ὅτι σοὶ | δεινατὸς..., “because you are powerful...”

C. Utterance of sacred name (277)

277. λέγει τὸ (ὄνομα) – see the note to **5** 237, s.v. τὸ ὄνομα. As in **6** 269, here ὄνομα is also represented by the symbol $\bar{\omega}$. For a list of similar symbolic substitutions, see *PGM*, 2.269-270, and *Suppl. Mag.* II, p. 338, index X.

At least two letter spaces have been left blank after the symbol for ὄνομα here. In addition, an interlinear stroke has been inserted after this symbol, thus indicating that something new is beginning. For the use of blank spaces and paragraphoi in medicinal and magical handbooks, see the introduction to the note to **2** 222.

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I. EDITIONS OF INVISIBILITY SPELLS:

Text 1

Rea, J.R., and T. Bateson, *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3931 in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LVIII, London 1991: 44-47.

Texts 2 and 3

Parthey, G., "Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museums." *Philologische und historische Abhandlungen der kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1865*, Berlin 1866: 22, 131 (= *PGMI* 102); 126, 134-135, 144-145 (= 2 222-231); 127, 135, 146-147 (= 3 247-262).

Text 4 619-622

Kenyon, F.G., *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, London 1893, 104.

Wessely, C., "Neue griechische Zauberpapyri," *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 42.2, Vienna 1893: 43.

Texts 5 234-237, 6 267-269, and 7 270-277

Leemans, C., *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Publici Lugduni Batavi*, Leiden 1885: 2. 98-99, 179 (= 5 234-237); 102-103, 180-181 (= 6 267-269), 102-103, 181 (= 7 270-277).

Daniel, R.W., *Two Greek Magical Papyri in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden: A Photographic Edition of J 384 and J 395 (= PGM XII and XIII)*, Opladen 1991: 42-43 (= 5 234-237), 44-45 (= 6 267-269), and (= 7 270-277).

See also

PGMI 102, 222-231 (2), 247-262 (3)

Parthey, G., "Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museums." *Philologische und historische Abhandlungen der kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1865*, Berlin 1866: 22, 131 (= *PGMI* 102).

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PGM VII 619-622 (4)

PGM XII 160-178

Leemans, C., *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Publici Lugduni Batavi*, Leiden 1885: 2.20-21, 57-58 (= PGM XII 162).

PGM XIII 234-237 (5), 267-269 (6), and 270-277 (7).

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The second part of the report is a collection of statistics and tables. These are arranged in a systematic and convenient manner, and will be found to contain much valuable information. The tables are particularly interesting, and will be found to contain much valuable information.

The third part of the report is a collection of extracts from the various laws and regulations which have been enacted since the commencement of the year. These are arranged in a systematic and convenient manner, and will be found to contain much valuable information.

The fourth part of the report is a collection of extracts from the various reports and documents which have been presented to the Legislature since the commencement of the year. These are arranged in a systematic and convenient manner, and will be found to contain much valuable information.

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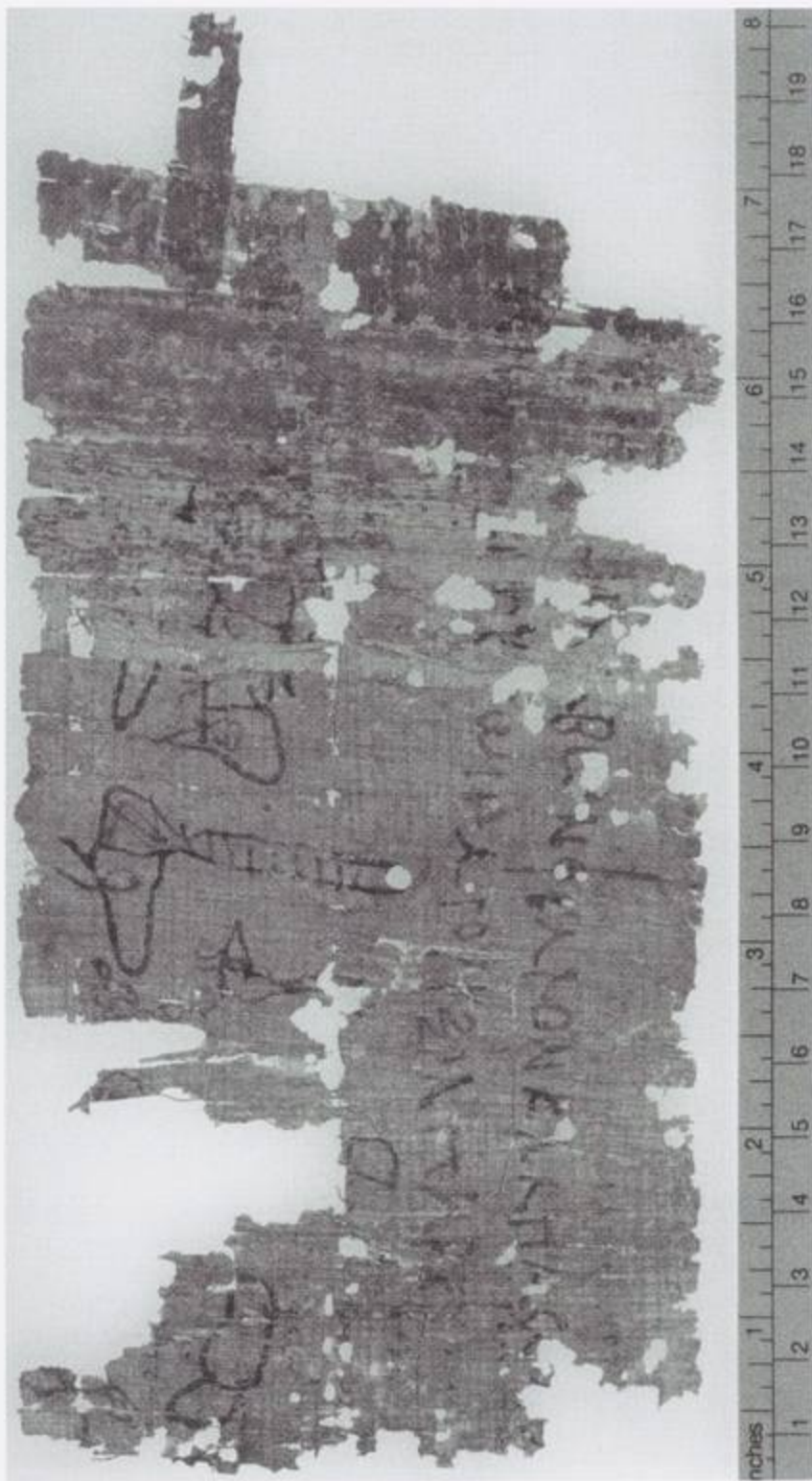
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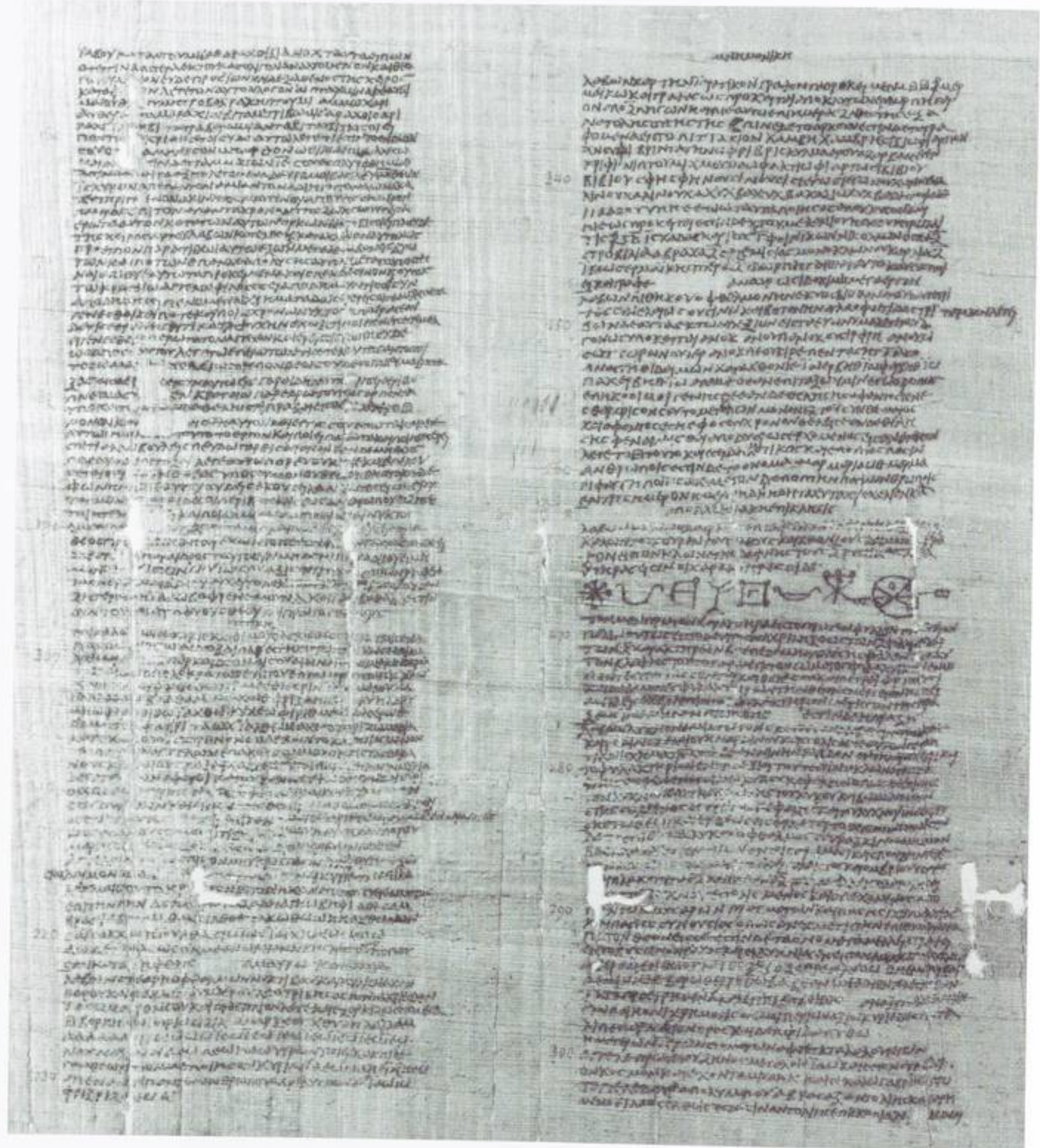
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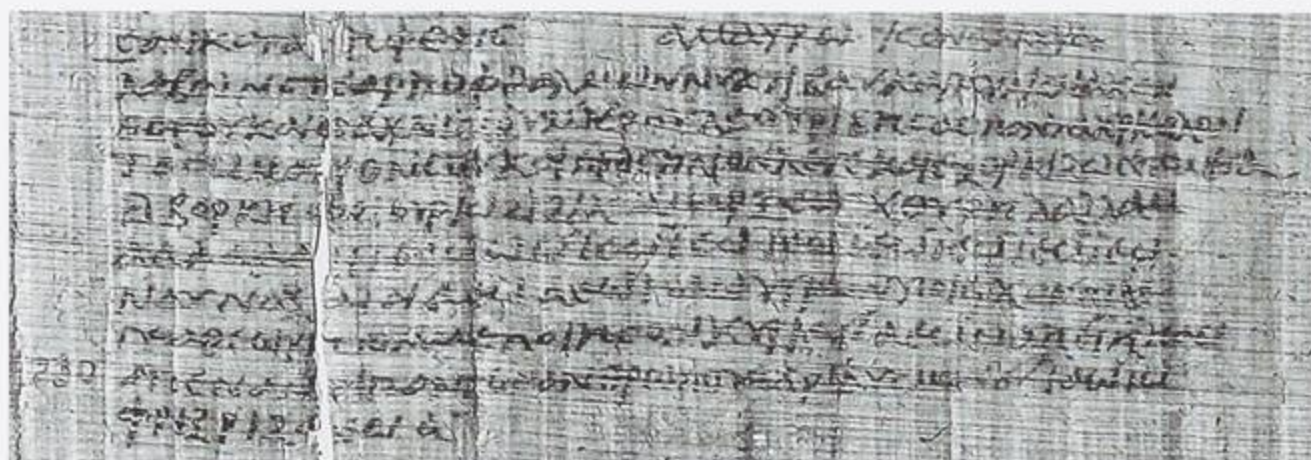
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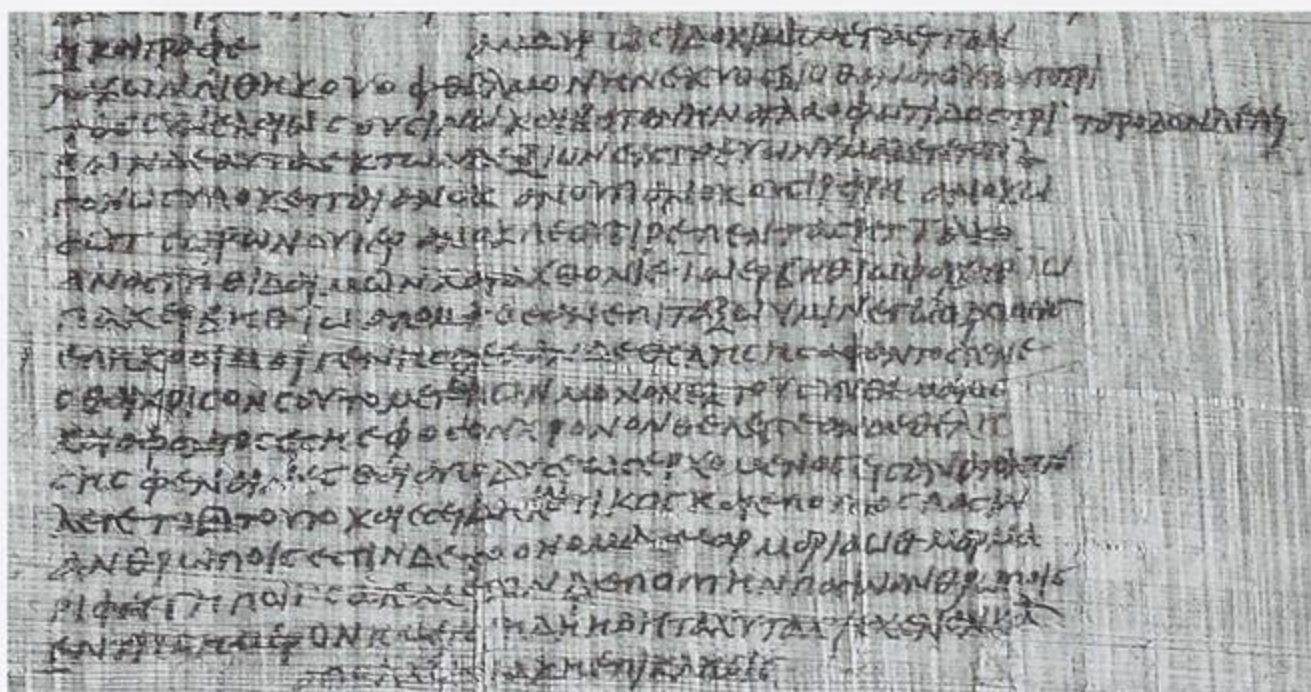
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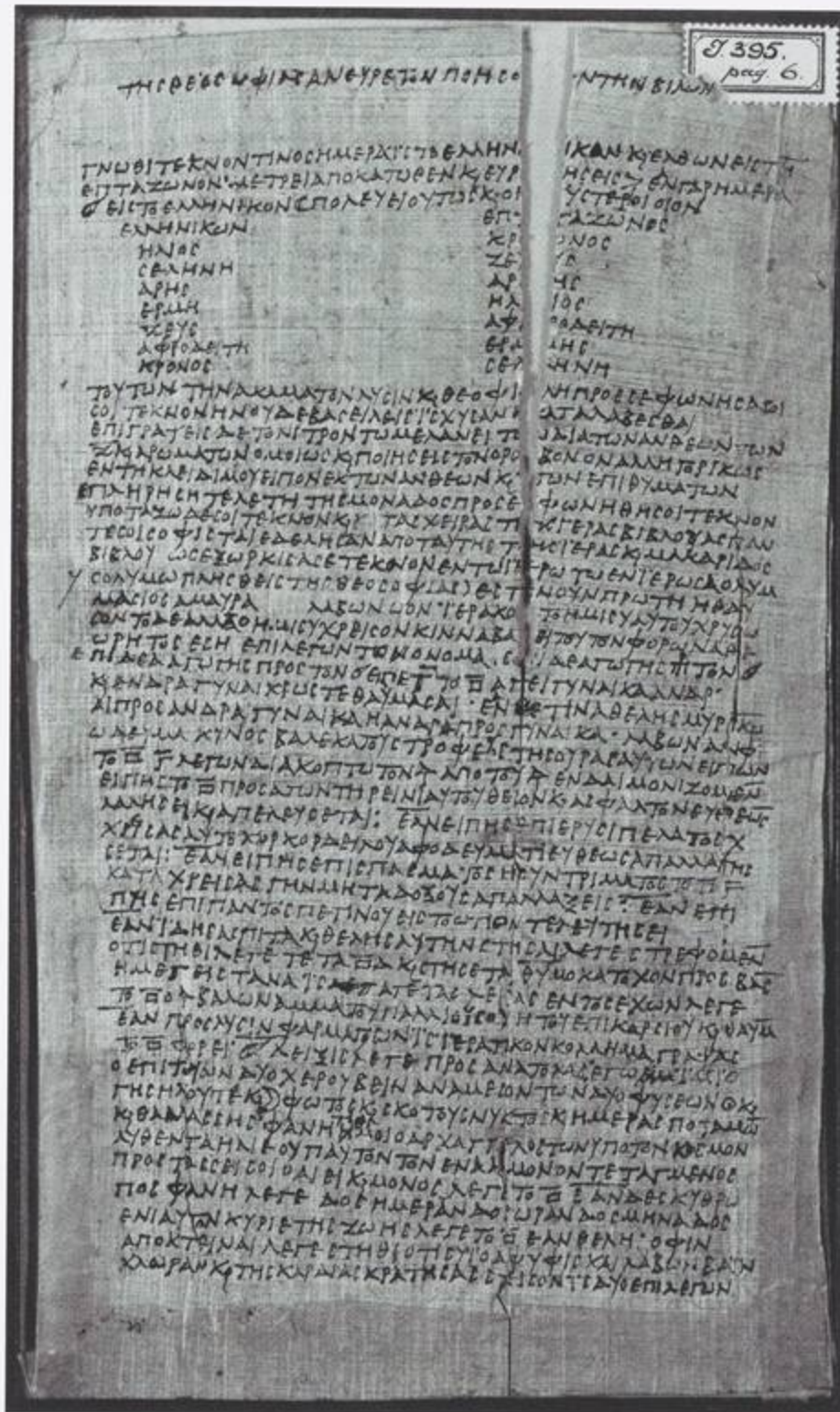
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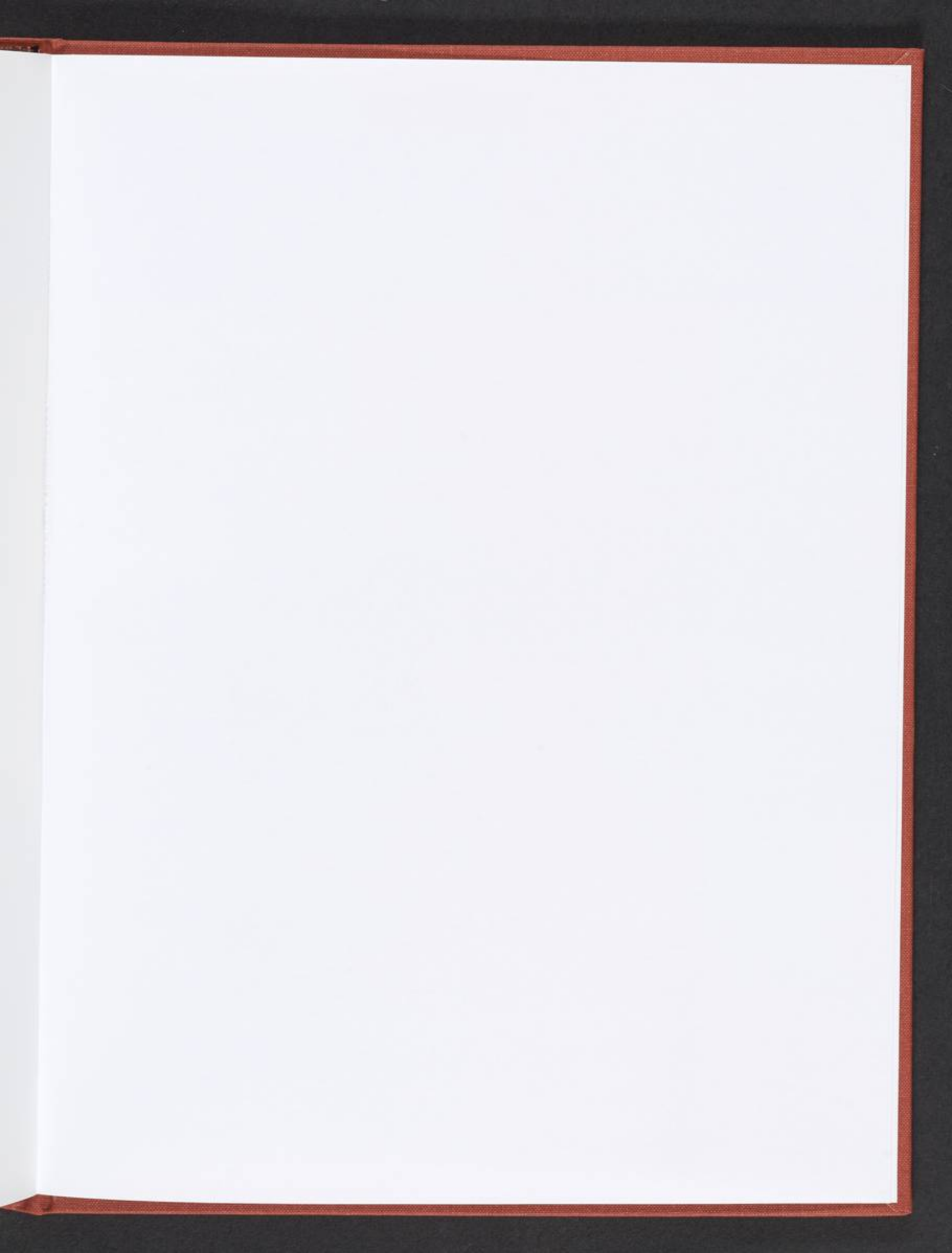
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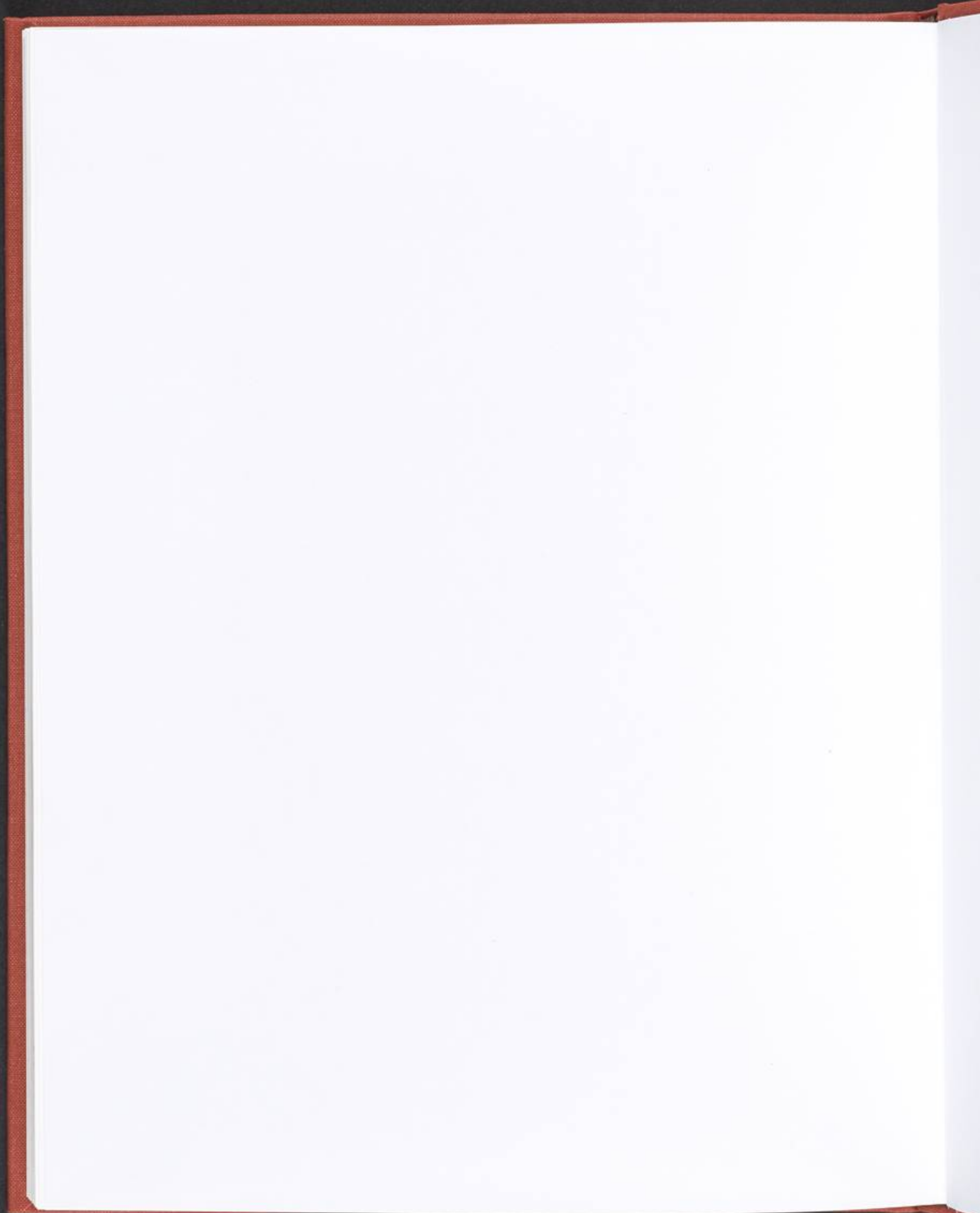


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