

Edition of the Greek Magical Papyri (*PGM*)
I and VI+II: Introduction, text and
commentary.

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Abstract

This thesis is an edition of the Greek Magical Papyri I and VI+II. The edition contains: a) an introduction with information about the corpus of the magical papyri; b) a physical and textual description of the papyri; c) a diplomatic transcription of the papyri and an interpretative edition; d) a paleographical commentary where all the instances of damage to the text are discussed along with syntactical inconsistencies; e) an interpretative commentary and; f) an English translation.

Resumen

Esta tesis es una edición de los papiros mágicos griegos I y VI + II. La edición contiene: a) una introducción con información sobre el corpus de los papiros mágicos; b) una descripción física y textual de los papiros; c) una transcripción diplomática de los papiros y una edición interpretativa; d) un comentario paleográfico donde se discuten los daños del texto junto con inconsistencias sintácticas; e) un comentario interpretativo; y f) una traducción al inglés.

Preface

In the last fifty years, the subject of ancient magic has captured the interest of scholars. Therefore, this period has witnessed a blossoming of the studies in this field. My personal motive for conducting a research project stemmed from the fact that it was something totally new to me. As the evidence for the existence of ancient Greek magic had become, an academically taboo subject, nobody, during my undergraduate studies, had ever talked to me about this. This, along with its “dark” content, guaranteed, for me, that at least I would not get bored.

When I start to think about the corpus of the Greek Magical Papyri, I realized that all the extant studies were based on the excellent edition by Preisendanz. The task undertaken by Preisendanz, in my opinion, was really pharaonic, especially if we take into consideration the turbulent historic period he had to work in, something which inevitably affected the final result. However, it was obvious that it was, and still is, in need of a new, updated edition. That is how I decide to change the orientation of my thesis and to dedicate my time to elaborating a new edition of *PGM I* and *PGM II*.

The most exciting moment of my academic career, so far, was, when accidentally looking at *PGM VI*, I realized that *PGM IV* was actually a missing part of *PGM II* something that contributes to the better understanding of both papyri. My main concern about this

present edition is that it should be useful both to scholars familiar with paleographical and papyrological issues, and to scholars whose orientation is towards other fields related to the magical papyri, such as religious syncretism etc.

However, in full awareness of my own inadequacies, I will be very glad if this study become a subject of criticism which will subsequently contribute to a even better result in terms of our understanding of this corpus.

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List of abbreviations

PGM = Preisendanz, K. 1973-1974, *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen zauberpapyri*. 2 vol., 2a. ed. revised by Henrichs, A., Stuttgart, Teubner.

PDM = *Papyri Demoticae Magicae*

TLG = *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. Universidad de California.
<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/>

SEG = Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum (Leiden, 1923 - current)

DT Aud = Audollent, A. 1904, *Defixionum tabellae quotquot innotuerunt : tam in Graecis orientis quam in totius occidentis partibus praeter Atticas in Corpore inscriptionum Atticarum editas*, Paris.

LSJ = Liddell H. G. – Scott, R. (eds.) 1996, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, 9a ed.

ID = *Inscriptions de Délos*, vols. 1-2, Paris

TSol = Testament of Solomon

BGU *Agyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin – Griechische Urkunden*, I-VIII (1895-1933)

OZ = 1983-1990, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber. Mit einer eingehenden Darstellung des griechisch synkretistischen Daemonenglaubens und der Voraussetzungen und Mittel des Zaubers überhaupt und der magischen Divination im besonderen*. (*OZ*). 2a. ed., 2 vols., Amsterdam, Veränderter Nachdruck.

P.Oxy. = *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

SPP = *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyrusurkunde*

P.Lund. = *Aus der Papyrus sammlung der Universitätsbibliothek in Lund*, I— III,

SM = Daniel, R. W. - Maltomini, F., 1990-1992, *Supplementum magicum*. 2 vols. Opladen, Westdeutscher Verlag.

Editores:

A = Abel

Ca = Calvo

Ei = Eitrem

Kr= Kroll

Pa= Parthey

Pr = Preisendanz, edición de los himnos mágicos en Preisendanz, K. (1974²) *Papyri graecae magicae*. Stuttgart, Teubner, vol. II, pp.237-266.

Re = Reuven

Wü = Wünsch

Method of edition

One of my main concerns here is to present accurately the layout of the papyri and the texts as they were written by the ancient scribes. Thus, I have rejected the idea of a semi-diplomatic edition and I preferred one diplomatic transcription of the papyri and one edition. Therefore, the reader, in order to have a clear and complete idea - especially where the text is problematic and needs restoration- is invited to check both. Paleographical problems or syntactical inconsistencies of the text are discussed in a separate section along with the proposals of other editors. That is why an *apparatus criticus* is not provided.

The diplomatic transcription is elaborated on the basis of the following norms:

- The Greek is printed without division and accents; breathings and punctuation appear only where the scribe supplied them. The same norm is applied in the division of words.
- All dots under the line of writing are editorial.
- The use of a dot beneath a blank space indicates that there are traces of ink-even minimal-which cannot be identified as a particular letter and are discussed in detail together with the other editors' proposals if the context does not permit its identification.
- Partially missing, damaged or abraded letters whose identity out of their context is, however, certain are not under dotted.
- Dot under letter means that the reading of the letter is uncertain or the traces can be read as more than one letter and this is discussed

together with the other editors' proposals if the context does not permit its identification.

-A blank space indicates the existence of an unwritten space on the papyrus.

-Dots within brackets indicate the estimated number of letters lost or deleted.

-For the sake of clarity, the letters within high strokes \surd in the papyrus are written above the previous letter/s.

- [] double brackets mean deletion by the scribe

In the edition, the text is restored and, considering the proposals of the previous editors, I have tried to offer a solution for the syntactical unconformities. Grammatical errors are also emended and repetitions are omitted. However, where I have not managed to read the text sufficiently clearly, and the solutions previously offered do not satisfy me paleographically or interpretatively, I have preferred it more accurate to leave it with under linear dots. My restoration proposals are defended in the section concerning the textual problems.

In the paleographical commentary right and left in the description and the commentary are defined from the point of view of the reader. Moreover, Preisendanz and Parthey, since they were working before the advent of the Leiden Convention, did not use the symbols with consistency. Pa. used dots, brackets and slashes. Pre. usually used dots, under-dots and brackets.

I tried to give a faithful and line-to-line translation where this was possible. However, some times the mismatches between the Greek and the English syntax and the extended use of the participles in the Greek text, created an clumsy translation. In these cases, the translation given is more tentative. *Voces magicae* are given in italics.

Given that in previous years, three PhD dissertations on the hymnic material of the *PGM* have been successfully defended, the literary approach and analysis of this material is not among the objectives of this dissertation. However, literary comments are given occasionally and briefly only when I considered it necessary for the full understanding of text. On the other hand, I have tried to illuminate the cultic origin of the elements that these texts encompass.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The *PGM*

The Greek Magical Papyri (*PGM*) is the conventional name for an artificially created corpus of papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt. These papyri date from the 2nd century BC to the 5th century A.D. and comprise a repository of magical knowledge to help people confront evil spirits, serious illnesses, satisfy their sexual desires, predict the future and alter their destinies; to put it in a nutshell, to console them in their misfortunes and support them in coping with the precariousness of life and its challenges.¹

As with the majority of papyri, these magical manuscripts appeared through the unscrupulous antiquities trade that has plagued Egypt, and the entirety of the Eastern Mediterranean countries from the 18th century to the present day.² The most important papyrus scrolls and codices from this collection were not the products of regular excavation. Although there is nothing unusual about this, in the light of the disturbed political conditions in Egypt, it is very unfortunate because we are totally ignorant of the circumstances of their discovery and their archaeological context will never be fully

¹Especially the third century, after the Severi, was a period of tumult and total crisis for the Roman world. On this period crisis see Alföldy (1974), 98-103; Christol (1997); De Blois (2002).

² For more information about this embarrassing period (1798-1920) of the European history see more in France (1991); Fagan (2004). The two books cover much the same ground.

ascertained. The lack of specificity concerning the provenience³ inevitably, poses obstacles to their study.

The majority of these papyri, and certainly several of the most important and compendious, is linked to a merchant who served as Swedish-Norwegian diplomatic representative at the Khedivial court in Alexandria, named Jean d'Anastasi.⁴ Their discovery is attributed to Egyptian farmers in the hills close to modern Luxor sometime before 1828. As Egyptian antiquities were highly prized, he purchased them- among other papyri, such as the alchemical papyri now housed in Stockholm and Leiden, and a huge and varied collection of antiquities - through local antiquities dealers in about 1827, claiming that he obtained them in Thebes. Nothing more is known about the identity of the sellers nor the circumstances of the sales. In turn, he sold some of them to the Dutch government, which wanted to enrich the collection of the recently founded National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. In 1857, after Anastasi's death, the rest of the collection was sold by public auction in Paris. This resulted in the dispersal of the collection across various European Institutions including the British Museum, the Louvre, the

³ The *provenience* of a book is its place of origin. However, in the case of discovered manuscripts this term may refer both to the place where it was produced and to the place where it was discovered.

⁴His first name and his surname as well appear in various versions. We have found him as Jean and Giovanni. His surname is variously written as Anastasi, d'Anastasi, d'Anastasy, d'Anastasi, d'Anastasy, Anastasy and d'Anastazy. Many opinions have been expressed about the identity of this person, and there is a long bibliography concerning his life. In the bibliography he is repeatedly referred to as Armenian (see for example Betz (1986), xlii), but Chrysikopoulos (2003), 83 asserts that he was a Greek from Macedonia. On this see also Karizoni-Chekimoglou (1993).

Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Staatliche Museum in Berlin and the Rijksmuseum of antiquities in Leiden.⁵

Among the papyri in Anastasi's collection were items from the same ancient library, probably of an ancient scholar and collector in late antiquity based in Thebes. The "Thebes cache" or the Theban Magical Library, as it is known, included the P. Bibl. Nat. Suppl. 574 (=PGM IV), P. London 46 (=PGM V), P. Holmiensis p. 42 (=PGM Va), P. Leiden I 384 (=PGM XII/PDM xii), P. Leiden I 395 (=PGM XIII), P. Leiden I 383 & P. BM 10070 (=PDM xiv/PGM XIV), P. Leiden I 397 & P. Holmiensis. The last two are the aforementioned alchemical papyri. The basic rationale for this classification is that the four pieces in Leiden were among the items sold to Rijksmuseum by Anastasi himself in 1828. There are also other arguments that reinforce the idea of a library comprising these four papyri, based on paleographical data such as the handwriting.

However, there are some manuscripts that were alleged to have formed part of the Theban Library, "although no decisive arguments can be given" as Dieleman states.⁶ This list included P. Berlin 5025 (=PGM I), P. Berlin 5026 (=PGM II), P. Louvre 2391 (=PGM III), P. London 121 (=PGM VII), P. BM 10588 (=PGM LXI/PDM lxi), P. Louvre 3229 (= PDM Suppl.). The first three of these are of unknown provenance and there is an ongoing debate with regard their assignment to the Theban Magical library and the date of their

⁵ Brashear (1995) and Dieleman (2005), 13 narrate in detail how the papyri of the Theban Magical Library, bought by Anastasi, ended up in their current home.

⁶ Dieleman (2005), 14.

creation. The debate has as departure point Lenormant's catalogue of the Anastasi collection. According to Francois Lenormant, who supervised the auction of 1857, *PGM* I and II belonged to the collection. In the catalogue, *PGM* I is number 1074 and described as: "Long manuscript grec, magique et astrologique, d'une ecriture tres-fine, probablement complet, brise en deux parties" and *PGM* II as 1075, the sole description being "grand manuscript grec magique".⁷ Preisendanz⁸ and Fowden⁹ argue that *PGM* I and II belong to the library,¹⁰ whereas Brasher seems unconvinced, saying that "they do not seem to belong to the same Theban find as the other lengthy rolls and codices owned by Anastasi. This fact need not surprise us, since Lenormant catalogued no less than sixty papyrus rolls belonging to Anastasi!"¹¹ Dieleman examining the subject concludes saying that "any reconstruction of the Theban Magical Library must remain tentative on account of an irreparable lack of information about its archaeological context."¹²

According to the Berlin inventory book, the Egyptologist R. Lepsius bought the rolls *PGM* I and *PGM* II from the Anastasi

⁷ Catalogue d'une collection d'antiquités égyptiennes rassemblée par M. D'Anastasi, consul général de Suède à Alexandrie, sera vendue aux enchères publiques, rue de Clichy, no. 76.

⁸ Preisendanz(1928)

⁹ Fowden (2013),169

¹⁰Actually the scholars who assign the two papyri to the Theban Library are the following: Lenormant (1857), Wessely(1888), Legge (1901), Preisendanz(1933), Gorissen (1934-5), Fowden(1993), Gee (1995), Bagnall(2009), Zago(2010), and recently Dosoo. Those who do not are Reuvsens(1830), Goodwin (1852), Smith (1979), Dufault (2011), 205 and Gordon (2012),148-151.

¹¹ Brashear (1995), 3404.

¹² Dieleman (2005), 21. On the Theban library see also the recently published article of Dosoo (2016).

collection in the public auction in Paris in 1857. Parthey, the first editor of the papyri, states Lepsius bought them in Thebes. An interesting fact is that the overwhelming majority of the scholars- except Legge, Gorissen and Zago- do not include *PGM VI* in the Theban library, despite the recent discovery that it is part of *PGM II* and written by the same hand.¹³

1.2 Content Of The Magical Papyri

Before I go on with the content I fell obliged to make three preliminary remarks. The first one is about the term “magical”. Despite the fact that issues of terminology are fundamental to framing a study, this is not always conducive to an in depth understanding of the multifaceted and multilayered nature of the manuscripts composing the corpus, and defining the meaning of magic is a far trickier task. Despite years of research and the amount of ink consumed, there is still no general consensus on this term. The boundary between religion and magic remains controversially elusive and our inevitably futile attempts to differentiate between magic and religion are rooted in our unrepentant tendency towards taxonomy. Moreover, such a taxonomy stems from a perspective of Western rationalism and modern perceptions largely based on theologically charged interpretations. In ancient Greece, religion and "magic" were not mutually exclusive categories, while in Egypt, as Pinch affirms,

¹³ See below.

“magic and religion were part of the same belief system and enjoyed a symbiotic relationship.” Modern scholars have discussed magic in comparison with, and in sharp contrast to, religion, science, and medicine. But even a superficial reading of the papyri can easily demonstrate that behind what we brand as magical, there is always an implicit 'more than,' and there is always a 'with respect to'.

The second remark is about the environment of their creation. As already mentioned, the date of these papyri ranges from the 2nd century BC to the 5th century A.D, the so-called Greco-Roman period that began with the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great in 322 B.C. Alexander introduced the Greek language to processes of administration, a fact that promoted the bilingualism and therefore an even more profound contact with the Greek culture. On his death, Egypt was apportioned to his general, Ptolemy. Ptolemy's dynasty transformed Egypt into a considerable commercial and culture center of the ancient world. Military men, merchants, artisans, entrepreneurs and academics from all over the Hellenistic world flocked to Egypt to seek their fortune in the land of the Nile. The Roman conquest of Egypt affected the country economically and administratively, but eroded little of its intellectual glamour and its cosmopolitanism. This Egypt-centered upper-class mobility around the East Mediterranean world favored religious interaction. The pagan religion came into contact with Judaism, Christianity and the other oriental religions and a certain degree of assimilation was inevitable. This unique religious milieu

described by H. D. Betz as an “ecumenical religious system”¹⁴ and by Gager as a “syncretistic landscape”¹⁵ was cradle to this magical collection. Therefore it should be carefully noted that *PGM* represent the highly syncretistic character of Greco-Roman Egypt despite their marginal position in this multinational society. More precisely, the religious features of the *PGM* are an elaborate amalgama of Greek, Egyptian, Jewish, and even Babylonian and Christian influences, analogies and interactions in the cross-fertilized intellectual culture of the Middle.¹⁶

In the sheets of the corpus we find a compilation of spells, recipes, formulae, prayers, hymns, invocations of gods and daemons, folk remedies, parlor tricks, ominous and fatal curses, love charms, even minor medical complaints. We can distinguish between texts in Greek, Demotic, Coptic, even Aramaic and to complicate matters further a cluster of “meaningless” words,¹⁷ usually employed as sacred names, the famous *voces magicae*. There are both pagan and Christian texts. The kind of magic we come across varies from protective, divinatory and erotic to vindictive and malign. It is obvious that we stand before a *kykeon* of texts that abounds in contrasts.

¹⁴ Betz (1986), xiv.

¹⁵ Gager (1972), 135-136.

¹⁶ Although I use the word “syncretistic” I have to stress that ultimately this terminus is disputed. A more careful study of the content of the papyri demonstrates that elements of different religion origin are melded together while maintaining a degree of autonomy. They are mixed but there is no assimilation between them. So I believe that the word amalgam perhaps is more accurate.

¹⁷ Bohak (2003)

Any attempt to study the magical papyri should be preceded by a study of the social and cultural context in order to define both the cross-cultural elements that pervade them, and the persistence of an old genuine Egyptian tradition that engendered their birth and circulation. An effort to identify socially and culturally the producers and the users of the manuscripts by examining the layout, the form and the contents of the papyri is also required for their complete comprehension.

Faithful to the above-mentioned view of taxonomy, we can focus on any of these contrasts for closer enquiry and classification. Here I should add one more criterion in order to distinguish two broad categories. The first one embraces the compilation of simple and minimalized spells and recipes found in the corpus that may have been the working manuals of amateur magic-users or poorly educated magicians encompassing a repertoire for all occasions. The second one incorporates all the impressively elaborated spells that contain hymns, complex rituals, prayers and invocations and generally reflect a high level of education and familiarization with magic. The manuscripts belonged to the last category may have been used by traditional Egyptian magicians, who were the highly cultured and respected priestly elite. Both categories of manuscripts could have been gathered by scholarly collectors either for academic interest or for some kind of magic.¹⁸

¹⁸ Welde (2015), 92.

1.3 Earlier Publications

When the magical handbooks arrived in Europe, the scholars of the day did failed to receive them with excitement. One of the more remarkable shocks to the fine sensibilities of nineteenth-century classical scholars was delivered by papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt. As the curse tablets found in excavation in the Greek territory and elsewhere, the Greek magical manuscripts of Egypt revealed the obscure, mystical and sinister aspect of a civilization always admired as rationalist, positivist and glorious. Additionally, the contrast between the study of an illustrious philosophical and literary production and the humble and suspicious legacy of some impious or even perverted minds was more than obvious. Magic was not only socially but also academically marginalized.

The first science that approached magic was sociology, and their studies that demonstrated its connection with science and religion have stimulated some classicists to ignore the academic taboo. Thinking that their academic duty was comprehension, not judgment, they started timidly to examine the phenomenon of magic in the ancient world. However, in the past couple of decades there has been a dramatic resurgence of interest in the study of magic. Beyond these, a plethora of articles and monographs has appeared as scholarly studies on this subject.

PGM XII and XIII were the first to be published, appearing in 1843 in Greek and in a Latin translation in 1885. In the early twentieth

century there appeared the only standard reference work so far, the edition of Preisendanz. Karl Preisendanz collected all the known magical papyri scattered throughout the numerous libraries and museums of Europe and America and published them in two volumes in 1928 and 1931. In this work the texts were published in a series, and individual texts are referenced using the abbreviation *PGM* plus the volume and item number.¹⁹

The author divides the material into two sections, the largest of these being that which he describes as pagan, and a smaller number of papyri in which the Christian influence becomes paramount. He gives a critically emended text and in the apparatus criticus, variations of importance, sometimes referring to parallel passages in other papyri. This is followed by a line by line German translation. At the end of the second volume the author printed all the larger diagrams and illustrations found in various papyri.

The economic decline of Germany in these years left its trace in this publication. Apparently the publication of such a book, would have demanded a financial sacrifice and it is obvious that the author had not only to omit a great part of the notes and references, but also to simplify as far as possible the edition of the Greek text. Despite all these deficiencies, its value, always judged by in terms of its time, is unquestionable and undoubtedly this work played a pivotal role in the advance of magical studies. A projected third volume, enclosing

¹⁹It is thought that this particular numbering of the collection was the work of Richard Wünsch.

new texts and indices was destroyed during the bombing of Leipzig in the Second World War. However photocopies of the proofs circulated.

In 1973-74 A. Henrichs published a revised and expanded edition of the texts. Volume I was a corrected version of the first edition volume I, but volume II was entirely revised and the papyri originally planned for vol. III were included. The *indexes* were omitted, however.²⁰

The work of Preisendanz and Henrichs has been supplemented by the work of R.W.Daniel and F.Maltomini.²¹ They have gathered fifty-one magical papyri in two volumes, all of which had been published individually before. The layouts and the graphics have been reproduced with care on the printed page, and the texts are accompanied by fuller elucidatory notes. The material presented in the *Supplementum Magicum* is conveniently divided into six categories a) *phylacteria* “amulets” b) *agogai* “love spells” c) *arai* “curses” d) *thymokatocha* “restainers of wrath” e) *charetesia* “spells to win someone’s favor”

In this point I have to stress the major contribution and outstanding nature of Brashear’s survey²² that encompasses all the aspects of the magical papyri. The only major previous survey study before Brashear’s was a survey article written by Preisendanz in *Archiv für*

²⁰ Welde (2015), 92.

²¹ Daniel- Maltomini (1989-1991).

²² Brashear (1995).

Papyrusforschung.²³ In the meantime, the ongoing excavations have doubled the number of the papyri, ostraca and tablets and the bibliographical references have increased exponentially. Consequently, Brashear's survey meets the great "need for a new survey taking into account not only the literature written on the magical texts but also the magical texts published since Preisendanz," as he himself remarks.²⁴

The first editor of the *PGM I* and *PGM II* papyri was Parthey (1798-1872). Parthey was member of a well to do family and never suffered financial worries. His father was Councilor in the General Directorate in Berlin. He studied philosophy and archeology in Berlin and Heidelberg, where he received his doctorate 1820th. In the following years he toured France, England, Italy, Greece and the Orient. He published several works, and in 1857 became a member of the Berlin Academy of Sciences.

On 23 of February in 1857 he edited the two papyri under the title "Zweigriechische Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museums". His edition contains transcriptions, commentaries and German translation. Without being a papyrologist, his transcriptions reveal considerable skill in reading papyri and marks him out as a very "conscious papyrologist". Although errors were inevitable, when he is unsure of what he sees, he avoids any dubious imaginary interpretations and prefers to declare his uncertainty by leaving it as blank. Even if

²³ Preisendanz (1933)

²⁴ Brashear (1995).

we considered that he had seen the papyri in a better condition than is now extant, it is still surprising how he managed, without previous special training in the papyri, to deal with some very damaged parts. With the help of some prominent Classicists such as Kirchoff, Hercher and Haupt cited parallels from Egyptology, magical gems, and *defixiones*. Generally, it is a work that deserves due attention and consideration.

An English translation was not forthcoming until 1986 when Betz and the other contributors to his edition undertook the challenging mission of translating the magical corpus based on Preisendanz's transcription. The edition also included the Demotic magical papyri thus providing a more inclusive approach to ancient magic. The resulting work was a precise and careful translation of the texts, a noteworthy and thought-provoking introduction and some significant notes that usually drew parallels between the texts.

Preisendanz's edition, and Betz's translation including *PGM* I, II and VI²⁵ have remained at the forefront of sources in the field of magic. However, it would be inexcusable to omit mention of the unique Spanish translation by Calvo Martinez, J. L. and Sanchez Romero, D.²⁶ where, in addition to a meticulous translation, the reader can find an informative and perceptive introduction. The *PGM* are now also available in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*

²⁵ Full bibliography about the editions is given before the paleographic transcription of each papyrus.

²⁶ Calvo, Sanchez (1987).

database. LMPG online is the digital edition of the book *Lexicon of magic and religion in the Greek magical papyri*, by Luis Muñoz Delgado published in 2001 as Annex V of the Greek-Spanish dictionary.

2. PALEOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION

2.1 *PGM I*

a. Physical description

PGM I was a roll acquired by the Königlische Museen zu Berlin as part of the 1857 sale in Paris. Apparently the roll, which measures 33.5 cm H and 80.2 cm W, was divided and glassed in two sections. After the Second World War, the first section was transferred to the Muzeum Narodowe Warszawie where it is still kept.²⁷ The second section remains in Berlin.

The first piece has preserved two of the five columns of the roll. The progressive degree of damage throughout the papyrus indicates conclusively that the roll was folded; apparently several times both vertically and horizontally, with pattern of the folds being easily discerned. The papyrus was rolled into a cylindrical form along its width with the material being rolled up from the left on the vertical axis. Usually the papyri were folded from the right but the in this case-as also in *PGM IV+II*- the damage of the folds is worse on the left part of the papyrus. We can assume that this damaged is due to the pressure suffered by the first section of the papyrus to be folded.

The five vertical folds have cracked the papyrus and a considerable part in the center across each column has been lost with the most

²⁷About the history of these papyrus see the web of the Department of Papyrology, University of Warsaw <http://www.papyrology.uw.edu.pl> and Wipszycka *et al.* (2000), 265-266.

badly affected column being the first. The page has also been cracked longitudinally into two nearly equal parts. Some letters-most of them easily supplied-have been lost along the line of fracture. However, the surface of the papyrus, especially in the center of each column is somewhat eroded. The papyrus is bright in colour and the ink very black; consequently where the papyrus has not suffered material damage it is easy to read. The verso is blank.

The Berlin section is in far better condition than the Warsaw portion. It has enjoyed the good fortune of remaining complete and in an good state of preservation that permits easy decipherment. Although the pattern of the folds can be also be discerned in this section, only few lacunae occur at the lower part of the papyrus but without forming a serious problem for the restoration of the text.

As, mentioned earlier, the Warsaw part preserves two columns. The first one has 77 lines and the second 74 lines. The Berlin part has preserved the following two and a half column of the roll. The lower part of the last column was left blank. So, the third column has 79 lines, the fourth 71, and the last one only 43.

The text is written parallel to the fibers. The scribe tried to align the lines and to adjust the margins, generally successfully, because the layout of the papyrus is, overall, well arranged. The interlinear space varies slightly with the scribe attempting to divide the sections of the text by means of titles in order to help the reader, or perhaps himself, to deal adequately with this long text full of

instructions. Above the fourth column, written into the upper margin of the papyrus, there is the title *μνημονικη*. Lower, in the same column we can read *αμαυρωσι δοκιμη μεγα εργον* and at the middle height of the column *απολλωνιακη επικλισης*. At the lower part of the third column there is also the title *αμαυρωσις αναγκαια*. Some times, in order to separate the sections of the papyrus, blank spaces are left in the same line, as in the case of line 276. In the middle of the fifth column there are drawn magical signs. *kharaktēres*.²⁸ There is only one inter-columnar marginal note at l. 249, where the scribe explains the nature of a rare plant,

At the physical description of the papyrus we should add also the numbers at the right at the left side of the lines. These do not belong to an ancient hand. They are written a curator of the papyrus. They seems to be written with pencil and they count both the lines of the whole roll in decades and the lines of each column in pentades.

b. The text

The scribe makes frequent use of the dieresis, especially when *iota* is the first letter of a word or in the *voces magicae*. Corrections appear frequently, especially above incorrect letters. A rather distinctive error, almost certainly arising from phonological reasons, occurs where the writer confused the letters *o* and *ω*. He usually writes an *ω* and then realizing his mistake, closes it above

²⁸ On these see Bohak (2008), 270-278; Frankfurter (1994), .205-211; Gordon (2011).

forming a letter resembling an o. Similar errors stemming from phonological reasons also occur in the cases of letters such as η, ι, or υ (*iotacism*). There are occasions when the scribe seems to have been distracted and has omitted parts of words.

A few ligatures occur, especially when the scribe has formed an ε. E ligatures to a following vertical and α to following ι. A occurs only in looped form. A, μ and some times ε and υ are formed in single sequence. B is formed in three movements (upright, flat base and a sinuous shape that touches the upright). E appears sometimes as a curved back plus cross –bar, and sometimes as two arcs one inside the other, joined at the upper part (in single sequence). Y usually was usually formed in single sequence in v-shape, or in two movements in v-shape with more or less tail.

The hand is a small, with quickly written capitals, clumsy, very often sloping to the right. The character of the script can be qualified as clear rather than prized as elegant. The letterforms throughout are sufficiently similar and generally even in height. Some letters appear in a number of forms, depending on the context or a momentary whim that ranges from the monumental to the cursive.

The words “sun” and “moon” are substituted by signs. The same occurs with the word “names”. The dieresis on iota, although it occurs, it is not consistent. Overall, there no other punctuation marks. High points are used to mark divisions between clauses and

onomata along *paragraphos* to mark divisions within or between recipes. At line 300, the first two verses of the hymn, although written in *scriptio continua*, are differentiated by means of interlinear point; this practice is abandoned three verses later and the rest of the verses are written continuously. Its verso is blank.

2.2. PGM VI+II

a. The match of PGM VI+II²⁹

From the beginning of their discovery and sale, *PGM II* (*P. Berl.* 5026) and *PGM VI*¹ (*P. Lond.* I 47) have been viewed as two different papyri, a fact backed by their different provenance, according to Anastasi's records. *PGM VI* was bought by Anastasi in Memphis, as written on the containing sleeve of the papyrus (Preis.1974,198-199). The place of acquisition of *PGM II* is less clear. It is believed to have been bought in Thebes. Their sale in different auctions to different institutions prevented their recognition as the same papyrus. Since 1857, *PGM II* is kept in Berlin and is currently part of the permanent exhibition of the Neues Museum. *PGM VI* was purchased by the British Museum in 1839.

However, *PGM VI* is a lost part of *PGM II*. They are parts of the same roll and the column of *PGM VI* should be read as the first column of *PGM II*. The match of the two papyri is based on the following observations:

²⁹ See also Chronopoulou (2017).

A. The ductus of all the letters is identical. The case of β that sometimes features a particular ending in its formation is particularly telling- the scribe forming the upper loop of the β made a rightwards stroke, so, instead of being circular, the loop looks more like an upturned tear. In both papyri, at the end of some lines, we note the same c with a prolonged upper line. The ε in both papyri is usually formed by a big c and a smaller inside this, joined at their upper end. However, in both papyri we find instances of ε formed by a c, and a stroke above it.

B. Both papyri feature a marginal note with a missing part at the edge of their upper part. In *PGM VI*, the note is preserved at the edge of the right margin and in *PGM II* on the left margin. In *PGM VI* is written ποίη and beneath it αὐτ, while in the *PGM II*, we read ιc and beneath it η. The height of the two papyri is almost identical and when they are put together the marginal notes fit perfectly and we can read

ποίη|[c]ιc

αὐτ|η

(transl. this is the rite).

in the intercolumnar space written with the same hasty, agile and clumsy but clearly readable hand. Moreover, the ink is of the same quality. The note is written next to the line 12 where the hymn to Apollo ends and the instructions for the fulfillment of the rite start. It has a rather orientative note that helps readers not to be lost in the complicated ritual and to separate the logos from the praxis.

C. In *PGM VI*, the ends of lines 45 and 46 in the lower part are incomplete, and their ends were considered lost and were reconstructed. In the lower part of *PGM II*, there are some surviving letters at the same height as the two incomplete lines of *PGM VI*. Restoring the text at the end of these lines, the reading of line 45 is dubious. Preis. (1972, 200) restored them as follows:

ἔστι δὲ το[ι / τῶ Δηλίῳ, τῶ Ν[ομί]ῳ, τῶ τῆς Λητοῦς καὶ
 Διός, χρησμωδεῖν π<ει>/ στικὰ διὰ νυκτὸ[ς ἀληθῆ] διηγουμένῳ
 <δια> μαντικῆς ὄνειράτων.

I read ἔστι δὲ γ[ᾶρ] ἔκ but the reading of γ is doubtful. The way this letter is formed, which is ligatured with the middle line of the ε, is matchless in the two papyri. What is certain is that we have either a γ or a τ and then a rounded letter such as α, ε or ο. So it would be a mistake to reject Pr. restoration τοι, but on the other hand we are obliged to reconsider it because of the existence of the ἔκ. However, the most problematic point is the dative τῶ Δηλίῳ that follows the preposition ἔκ. It is apparently wrong syntax but it is not the only case in the papyrus. Perhaps the scribe wanted to write εἰς instead of ἔκ, or he wrote in the dative instead of the genitive. The lacuna after τῶ Δηλίῳ τῶ worsens the problem. In the next line, Anastasia Maravela proposed the very possible reading π[ρο]γνω-στικά.

Although the match of the two papyri give us a fuller text it seems that *PGM VI* is not the beginning of the papyrus. The beginning of *PGM VI* is fragmentary but the part that survived reveals an invocation to Apollo and consequently it is not likely to be the

beginning of the ritual. It is also remarkable that if indeed the left margin of *PGM VI*-as the surviving fragments are now arranged -is placed in the right position³⁰ then the marginal space is significantly wider than the margins that separate the columns in *PGM II*, thus we can assume there was no other column in this roll. This assumption allow us to think that the beginning of the magical practice was written on another roll.

b. Physical description *PGM VI+II*

As aforementioned the roll was divided in two sections. The overall width of the entire papyrus is 116 cm about and the overall height 34 cm. The text runs parallel to fibers and it is written with two qualities of ink.³¹ The majority of our roll seems to be written in metallic ink, but this remains an hypothesis.³² The odd thing is that these two inks occur differentially throughout the roll. We note four changes of ink:

- a) *PGM VI 1-PGM II 38* (metallic ink)
- b) *PGM II 39-48* (carbon ink)
- c) *PGM II 48-162* (metallic ink)
- d) *PGM 162-174* (carbon ink)

The six marginal notes of the roll are written in carbon ink.

³⁰ There is a piece of unwritten papyrus separated from the rest of the roll. At the restoration it is placed in the bottom left part of the column of *PGM VI*. It seems to me that the fibers fit and that it is placed correctly.

³¹ From the third century BCE we find a so-called ‘metallic ink’ being used as well, which was usually made from an infusion of oak-galls mixed with green vitriol (iron sulphate). This type of ink is unstable, liable to fade and tends to damage the papyrus beneath it

³² The papyrus is glued to a paper and that makes ink analysis a very difficult task to undertake. However, I am going to use the terms “metallic ink” and “carbon ink” in order to distinguish the two different qualities of it.

Moreover, there is no clear syntactical justification for the changes of ink. In other words, the change of ink does not correlate with the beginning of different paragraphs or even sentences in the text. On the contrary, the changes of ink may occur in the middle of sentences.

The first impression given by *PGM II* and *PGM VI* is that the roll was written by two different hands, using different kinds of ink. However, a close inspection reveals that a number of letters are formed in closely similar ways in the two different ‘ink blocks’ and my main argument in favour of thinking that one scribe only copied out our text rests upon the analysis of letter-forms and mise-en-page.³³

Kapa is formed without lifting the pen. The case of *beta* that sometimes features a particular ending in its formation- its upper loop is not closed and its conclusion takes a turn to the right towards the inside of the circle and sometimes even touches its right part - is particularly telling. Letter *ksi* is alike in both types of ink. In both papyri *epsilon* is often formed in two movements: first a semi-circle is drawn (in the form of a big c) and then a smaller one is drawn inside it, joining it at its upper end. We can discern a triangular *delta* but a rounded *delta* appears also in both metallic and carbon ink.

³³ For photos of letters formed in the similar way see Chronopoulou (forthcoming)

The papyrus was folded by rolling up from the left on the vertical axis.³⁴ The vertical cracks are visible at regular intervals along the surface marking the places where the papyrus was folded over when it was rolled up. In the course of the whole roll sixteen folds can be discerned. The London section includes and preserves only the first of the five columns. In this section the vertical folds have split the papyrus into four fragments. From the first two fragments, only the lower half part has survived. The next two fragments are cracked at the same place, but we still have the upper half. This two facts strongly suggest the possibility of a horizontal fold as well. However, it must be stressed that the Berlin section was not folded horizontally. Therefore, we can assume that the roll was split into two section in antiquity and these two parts folded in different ways. The column in the London section contains 45 lines. The lines are not aligned and there is a great diversity in their lengths

The marginal notes and an explicatory drawn at the end of the third column are written in carbon ink, i.e. the same ink as is used at the end of the roll. This fact allows the following hypothesis: the scribe, having completed writing out the praxis, read the whole text through again and added some notes in order to help the reader/s not to get lost in this complicated ritual. The handwriting is clumsy and hastily written but the ductus of the letters does not differ

The type of metallic ink is unstable, liable to fade and tends to damage the papyrus beneath it. Therefore, they are sections on the

³⁴ See description *PGM I*.

PGM II where the surface of the papyrus is abraded. The situation is getting worse where the cracks of the vertical folds caused lacunae.

In *PGM II*, the scribe tried to align the endings of the lines. Of course, as we go down the columns, they become wider but this happens gradually and not abruptly. On the contrary, in *PGM VI*, the lines are not aligned (they contain an hymn) and there is a great differentiation in their length. Apparently, the scribe was worried that the paper would not be enough to write down the whole magical recipe. This is also confirmed by the fact that each column, apart from the last one, has smaller interlinear spaces and smaller letters from the previous.

The impressive element of *PGM II* however, is the drawing of a headless body holding at the right hand a staff and at the left a branch of leaves. On its body, below its hands and below its legs are written sequences of vowels and *voces magicae*. To the blank space next of the drawing there is an explicatory caption. Instead of head it has five small heads of triangle form (?) with an eye on it. It is considered to be the Egyptian headless god Bes or Osiris.

The papyrus II contains one more drawing, less impressive at the end of its third column, a scarab that was considered a powerful protective amulet and it is included in the ritual.

c. The text.

Various diacritic marks are used, though far more sparingly and less consistently: accents, apostrophe, rough breathings as well as

dieresis on iota and upsilon. High points are used in several papyri to mark divisions between clauses and *voces magicae*, along with and *paragraphos*, either simple or *diplē* to mark divisions within or between recipes.

The scribe use abbreviation, marking the abbreviation either with a raised final letter, an oblique stroke or supralineation. Overall, the orthography of the text is correct, avoiding errors caused by the same pronunciation of the letters (eg iotacisms). Ligatures although occur they are not so frequently. Usually ε and are ligatures with next letter.

2.3 Datation of the papyri

Before any attempt of datation, we is essential to bear in mind that sometimes the handwriting of magical texts is more or less stylized. It seems that the scribes avoided personalizing their handwriting. Their writing tends to be neutral because most of the magical scrolls or codices were used as manuals addressed to other persons and kept in “magical libraries”³⁵. That makes the dating of these papyri a difficult task. Our roll is an excellent case in point, since *PGM II* was dated to the 4th or 5th century while Kenyon dated *PGM VI* to the second or third century CE, yet the hand is identical in both.

PGM I and *VI+II* are written in similar but not identical hands. The first editor of papyri, Gustav Parthey (1865), did not attempt to date

³⁵ See Suárez (2012). On the magical handwriting see Nodar (2015); (2017).

them. For *PGM* II Wilhelm Schubart (1925, 68) suggested the fourth century and Preisendanz at different times proposed three different centuries CE, fifth (1927, 107), fourth (1928, 18) and third (1933, 93). Roger Bagnall has recently suggested the third century (2009, 83-85) for the two scrolls. The latest study (so far as I know), that of Anna Monte (2011, 55) follows for *PGM* II, Preisendanz' 1928 suggestion and dates the papyrus to the fourth century.

I believe that the 5th century can be rejected because the handwriting is not so late in my opinion and the papyri should be dated between the 2nd and the 3rd century. A careful paleographical study of *PGM* VI+II demonstrates that the ductus of the majority of the letters- such as *eta*, *epsilon*, *pi*, *kapa*, *delta* appear in both centuries. Although I must stress that the general impression of the *PGM* VI+II, at least to my eyes, would indicate the 2nd century, the 3rd century cannot be ruled out.

Regarding the possibility of the 4th century, although some elements, such as the form of *epsilon* in some rare instances belong to this century, the *ductus* of the other letters and especially the general impression of the roll, does not correspond to the 4th century.

A fundamental difference is that the letters in *PGM* I are generally formed separately and not linked together. And in my opinion *PGM* I belongs to the 3rd century and there are some *comparanda* that support this dating such as P.Oxy. XIV 1697 and P. Vat. Gr. II.

3. PGM I= P. Berl. 5025a+ P.Berl. 5025b

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Col.I

1 Παρεδρικοσπροθ[-c. 12-]μωνωσταπανταμηνυσχοι
ρητωκ[-c. 15-]ναριστωνεσταιοικαισυ
κοιμωμενοσλαβων[-c.8-]δυοχ[....], τουουνοχασκαι
πασακουατριχα[.....]φ.λησκαιλαβονιερακακιρ
5 καιοναποθωσωνεισ[c.8], σμελαινησσυμιξασαυ
τωμελια`τ`τικον...[...]. ηδευσωναυτονρακει
⸫ α`χ`κρωτιστωστιθιδ[-c8-], υτουτουσωνυχακκουσυνταισ
θριξικαιλαβωνχα[-c.9-], ιονσιογραφεταυποκειμενα
⸫ καιτιθειωσασαυτο`ω`σ[-8-]ριξικαιτοισωνυξικαιαναπλα
10 σωναυτονλιβανω.[-8-]νοιωπροπαλαιωιεστιν
συνταγραφομεναεντ[.....]ακιωιαεσηηηιιοσσοσσοσ
υυυωωωω.[-10-]ησασδυοκλιματα
 [~]α ωωωω[
 εε υυυ[
15 ηηη οοο[
 ι ι ι ι ιι[
 οοοοο ηη[
 υυυυυ εε
 ωωωωωω α
20 καιλαβωντογαλασυντωμ λιτιαποπιεπρινανατολη`σ` ⸫ καιεσαι
τιενθεονεντησκηκαρ. ιαικαιλαβωντονιερακααναθουεν
ναωιαρκευθινωικαιετφανοσασαυτοντονναονποησων

- 1 παρεδρικῶς προς[λαμβάνεται δαί]μων, ὡς τὰ πάντα μηνύση
 σοι
 ῥητῶς κα[ὶ συνομιλῶν καὶ συ]ναριστῶν ἔσται σοι καὶ συγ-
 κοιμώμενος. λαβὼν [.....] δύο [...], του ὄνυχας καὶ πά-
 σας σου τὰς τρίχα[ς ἀπὸ κε]φαλῆς καὶ λαβὼν ἰέρακα κερ-
 5 καῖον ἀποθέωσον εἰς [γάλα βο]δὸς μελαίνης συμίξας αὐ-
 τῷ μέλι Ἀττικὸν [.....]σύνδησον αὐτὸν ῥάκει
 ἀχρωτίστῳ, τίθει δ[ὲ πλησίον] αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὄνυχάς σου σὺν
 ταῖς
 θριξί, καὶ λαβὼν χα[ρτίον βασί]λειον ἐπίγραφε τὰ
 ὑποκείμενα
 ζμύρνη καὶ τίθει ὡσαύτως [σὺν ταῖς θ]ριξί καὶ τοῖς ὄνυξι καὶ
 ἀνάπλα-
 10 σον αὐτὸν λιβάνῳ [ἀτμήτῳ κα]ὶ οἴνῳ προπαλαίῳ. ἔστιν οὖν
 τὰ γραφόμενα ἐν τ[ῷ πιττ]ακίῳ· ‘α εε ηηη ιιι οοοοο υυ
 υυυυ ωωωω[ωωω.] γράφε δὲ ποι]ήσας δύο κλίματα·
 α ωωωω[ωωω]
 εε υυυ[υυυ]
 15 ηηη οοο[οο]
 ιιι ιι[ι]
 οοοοο ηη[η]
 υυυυυ εε
 ωωωωωωω α
- 20 καὶ λαβὼν τὸ γάλα σὺν τῷ μέλιτι ἀπόπιε πρὶν ἀνατολῆς
 ἡλίου καὶ ἔσται
 ἔνθεον ἐν τῇ σῆ καρδίᾳ. καὶ λαβὼν τὸν ἰέρακα ἀνάθου ἐν
 ναῷ ἀρκευθίνῳ, καὶ στεφανώσας αὐτὸν τὸν ναὸν ποιήσον

παραθεσινεναψυχοιφαγημασικαιοινονεχεπροπαλαιον
 καιπριντουσεαναπεσ`ε'ινλεγεα.τικρυσαυτουπτοινουποτη
 25 κασαυτωθυσιανωσεθος...ει καιλεγετονπροκειμενονλογον
 αεσηηηιιοοοοουυ[.]υωωωωωωηκεμοιαγαθεγεωργε
 αγαθοςδ[.]μωναρπον[.]ο[.]φι βριντατηνσιφρι
 βρικκυλμααρουαζαραρβ[.....]κριφινιπτουμιχμουμαωφ
 ηκεμοιογαγιοςωριω[.....]ειμενοσεντωβορ`ε'ιω[α]οε
 30 πικυλινδουμενοσ[.....]ιλουρευματακαιεπιμιγνυων
 τηθ..ατηκαιαλλ[.....]αικαθωσ.ερανδροσεπιτησσυ
 ουσιαστηςσπορ...[.....]ηι αρρ`αι'ω.ςτηιδρυσαστονκοσμον
 οπρωϊασναιοσκαιο[.....]βυτησοτονυπογηνδιοδευων
 πολ[.]νκαιπ.ι.εοσ[.....]ωνοδ`τ'α πελαγηδιεισμη
 35 νιαο[.]ονασ..[...].ιτο[.....]ινεοντησηλιουπολεωσδιη
 νεκεω...υ[.]αυθεν[.....]ονομααρθαθαβαωθβακχαβρη
 π.μπομε.[.]α.[...]αν.ποδισασκαιιθεισ αυτον
 πρ.σχησιντηςβρω`δ'[.....]τουδιπνουκαιιτησπροκει
 ..νησπαραθεσεωσπ[.....].τοστομαπροσστομασνομι
 40 λοσ...ι...σιαικε[-c.16].[.]πραξι...

- παράθεσιν ἐν ἀψύχοις φαγήμασιν καὶ οἶνον ἔχε προπάλαιον,
καὶ πρὶν τοῦ σε ἀναπνεσεῖν λέγε ἄντικρυς αὐτοῦ τοῦ πτηνοῦ
ποιή-
- 25 σας αὐτῷ θυσίαν, ὡς ἔθος ἔχεις, καὶ λέγε τὸν προκειμένον
λόγον·
‘α εε ηηη ιιι οοοοο υυυ[υυ]υ ωωωωωωω ἦκέ μοι, ἀγαθὲ
γεωργέ,
Ἄγαθὸς Δ[α]ίμων, Ἄρπον [κν]ο[ὐ]φι βριντατην σιφρι
βρισκυλμα αρουαζαρ β[.....] κριφι νιπτουμιχμουμαωφ.
ἦκέ μοι, ὁ ἅγιος Ὁρίω[ν, ὁ ἀνακ]εῖμενος ἐν τῷ βορείῳ, ἐ-
30 πικυλινδούμενος [τὰ τοῦ Νε]ίλου ρεύματα καὶ ἐπιμιγνύων
τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ ἀλλ[.....]αι καθώσπερ ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ τῆς συν-
ουσίας τὴν σπορὰν, ἐπ[ὶ] βάσ]ηι ἀρραίστω ἰδρύσας τὸν
κόσμον,
ὁ πρωΐας νέος καὶ ὁ[ψὲ πρεσ]βύτης, ὁ τὸν ὑπὸ γῆν διοδεύων
πόλ[ο]ν καὶ πυρίπνεος [ἀνατέλλ]ων, ὁ τὰ πελάγη διεῖς μη-
35 νὶ ἀ΄, ὁ γονὰς [ἰεὶς ἐ]πὶ τ[ὸ] ἱερὸν ἐρ]ινεὸν τῆς Ἡλιουπόλεως
διη-
νεκέως. [το]ῦ[το] αὐθεν[τικόν σου] ὄνομα· αρβαθ Ἄβαῶθ
βακχαβρη’.
πεμπόμεν[ο]ς... ἄβ[.....] ἀναποδίσας καὶ τίθει σεαυτὸν
πρὸς χρῆσιν τῆς βρώσ[εως κα]ὶ τοῦ δείπνου καὶ τῆς προκει-
μένης παραθέσεως π[ελάζω]ν τὸ στόμα πρὸς τὸ στόμα
συνόμι-
40 λος ... ι... ςιαικε[.....] [.]πρᾶξις...

κρυβεκρυβ.[.]ηνπρ[.....]χεοαυτονενημερ[.]ι[
 συνουσιααιγυναικι[.....]θεωσιερογραμματαεωσπαρε`δ`[
 α Ἰπνουθιουκηρυκιου[.....]ονθεονχαιρεινειδωσ
 προσεταξασοι ηνδε[.]προστομηδιαπιπτειν
 45 επιτελο..τ....δετ[.....]ινπαρελομενονταπαν
 τακαταλειπ..[.][.....]βιβλοικμυριοισυνταγμα
 ..ξνπαν ωντα[.....] τουντασετονδετονπαρε
 δ.ονεπεδα.ασο[.....]αγιοντονδελαμβανειν
 υμασκαιμονουαο.[.....]υ.οσωφιλαιαιερων
 50 ..ευματωνθωρουμ[.....]ελογοισθεολογουμενοις
 πεισαντεσεχομ.[-c.10]νδεαπεπεμψατηνδετ..
 βιβλονιν.κμαθησ[.....]νπνουθεο`ω`κλογοσπει
 θεουσκαιπασασ.[-c.10-]δεσοιεντευθενπεριτης
 παρε.ρουλη.[.].c[-c.10-]εδρουπαραδοσιςπροα
 55 γνευσαση..ρ[.][.....]χουκαιπασησκακαθα
 ριασκ..ενοιαβουλει[.....]βασειδιωματοσενθενυ
 ενδεδυμενοσκ.θαρ..[.....]τηνπρωτηνκυστασιν
 ..ογιν.ησ ε.λειασ[.]ντελαμωνα
 μελαναϊσιακονεπιτο[.]καιτηνμενδεξιαχει
 60 ρικατεχεϊερακοσκ.φα[-c.7-]ν.τελλοντοστου ε.χαι

κρύβε, κρύβε [τ]ὴν πρ[ᾶξιν καὶ ἄπε]χε σαυτὸν ἐν ἡμέρ[αις .]
 συνουσιάσαι γυναικί.[...] Π[ι] [νου]θεως ἱερογραμματέω
 πάρεδρος
 ‘Πνούθιος Κηρυκίου[..... τ]ὸν θεὸν χαίρειν. εἰδὼς
 προσέταξά σοι τήνδε [.....] πρὸς τὸ μὴ διαπίπτειν
 45 ἐπιτελοῦντα τήνδε τ[ὴν πρᾶξ]ιν. παρελόμενος τὰ πάν-
 τα καταλει[πόμ]ενα... ἐν] βίβλοις μυρίαῖς συντάγμα-
 τα, ἐν πάντων τα[..... ὑπηρ]ετοῦντά σοι τόνδε τὸν πάρε-
 δρον επεδαᾶσσο[.....] ἅγιον τόνδε λαμβάνειν
 ὑμᾶς καὶ μόνου σο[.....] .ν.ο.σ, ὃ φίλε ἀερίων
 50 πνευμάτων θωρουμ[ένω.....] με λόγοις θεολογουμένοις
 πείσαντες εσχομ[..... νῦ]ν δὲ ἀπέπεμψα τήνδε τὴν
 βίβλον, ἵν’ ἐκμάθῃς. [δύναμι]ν Πνούθεως λόγος πεί-
 θειν θεοῦς καὶ πάσας τὰ[ς θεάς.....]] δέ σοι ἐντεῦθεν περὶ
 τῆς
 παρέδρου λήψεως. ἔστι δὲ ἡ τοῦ παρ[έ]δρου παράδοσις·
 προ-
 55 αγνεύσας ση. ρ[.]. [..... ἐμψύ]χου καὶ πάσης ἀκαθαρ-
 σίας καὶ ἐν οἴᾳ βούλει [νυκτι ἀνα]βᾶς ἐπὶ δώματος
 ὑ(ψηλοῦ),
 ἐνδεδυμένος καθαρῶς [..... λέγ]ε τὴν πρώτην σύστασιν
 ἀπογιν(ομένης) τῆς ἡλίου ἐλείας.... [.... ἔχ]ων τελαμῶνα
 [όλο]-
 μέλανα Ἴσιακὸν ἐπὶ το[ῖς ὀφθαλμοῖ]ς καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ χει-
 60 ρὶ κάτεχε ἱέρακος κεφα[λήν καὶ ἀ]νατέλλοντος τοῦ ἡλίου
 χαι-

ρετιζεκατασειωντηνηκε[.....]κωντονδετον
 ιερωνλογονεπιθυωνλιβα[.....]καιροδινον
 επισπενδωνεπιθυσα[.....]νουθυματηριουε. ανθρ.
 κωναποηλιοτροπιου[.....]ταιδεσοιδιο`ω´κωντιτονλογον
 65 ςημιοντοδεϊε. αξκ τ[.....]αντικρυ`ς´σταθησεται
 καιπτερατιναζασενμεσ[.....]. μηκηλιθονευθυσανα
 πτησεταιεικουρανονβ[.....]δεβασταξασταξοντουτονλιθον
 καιλιθουργησασταχος[.....]ερονγλυφεντατεδιατρυσιασ
 καιδιειρασσπαρτωπερι[]χηλονσουειρησονοψιασδε
 70 ανελθωνειστοδοματιονς[.....]νκαισταςπροσασυγηνητης
 θεουαντικρυςλεγετονυμ[.....]τον[]εεπιθυωνπαλιντρω
 γλιτιν **Η**τωαυτωιςχημ[.....]δεαναψαξεχεμυρςινης
 κλαδονι[]ρ[.....]. ογςειω[...].ετ[]ετηνθεονεσταιδεσοι
 ςημειονενταχειτοιου[.....]νκαιελθωνςτησεταιειςμεσον
 75 τουδωματοσκαικατομ[.....]. εντοαστροναθηρη`ς´εισον

ρέτιζε κατασειών την κεφ[αλήν. διώ]κων τόνδε τὸν
ἱερὸν λόγον, ἐπιθύων λίβαν[ον ἄτμητον] καὶ ῥόδιον
ἐπισπένδων, ἐπιθύσασ[ἐπὶ γηί]νου θυμιατηρίου ἐπ' ἀνθρώ-
κων ἀπὸ ἡλιοτροπίου β[ροτάνης. ἔ]σται δέ σοι διώκοντι τὸν
λόγον

65 σημεῖον τόδε· ἰέραξ κατ[απτάς σοῦ] ἄντικρυς σταθήσεται
καὶ πτερὰ τινάξας ἐν μέσ[ω,] εὐμήκη λίθον, εὐθύς ἀνα-
πτήσεται εἰς οὐρανὸν β[αίνων. σὺ] δὲ βάσταξον τοῦτον τὸν
λίθον
καὶ λιθουργήσας τάχος [γλῦφε ὕστ]ερον· γλυφέντα δὲ
διατρυ[π]ήσας
καὶ διείρας σπάρτω περὶ τ[ὸν τρά]χηλὸν σου εἴρησον. ὀψίας
δὲ

70 ἀνελθὼν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιόν σ[ου πάλι]ν καὶ στάς πρὸς αὐγὴν
τῆς
θεοῦ ἄντικρυς λέγε τὸν ὑμ[νικὸν λόγον] τόνδε ἐπιθύων
πάλιν τρω-
γλῆτιν ζμύρναν τῷ αὐτῷ σχήμ[ατι. πῦρ] δὲ ἀνάψας ἔχε
μυρσίνης
κλάδον[.]ρ[...].ον σείω[ν καὶ χαιρ]έτιζε τὴν θεόν. ἔσται δέ
σοι
σημεῖον ἐν τάχει τοιοῦ[το· ἀστρο]ν κατελθὼν στήσεται εἰς
μέσον

75 τοῦ δώματος καὶ κατ' ὄμ[μα κατα]χυθὲν τὸ ἄστρον,
ἀθρήσεις, ὃν

εκαλεσααγγελονπεμφθ[.....]οιθεωνδεβουλς υντομωσ
γνωσδυδεμηδειλου[...].θ.τηθεωκαιχειρααυτου

Col. II

δεξιανλαβωνκατ[..]ησονκαιλεγεταυταπροστοναγγελον
λαλησειγαρκοιςυν[...].ςπροσεανβουλησυδευαυτον
80 εξορκιζετωιδε[.....] .οπωσακινητοσσουτυγχανωι
μεινηκαιμηπροσ[.....]δεπαρακουσηολωσεπανδε
σοιτουτονορκον[...] δωσφαλωσχειροκρατησαστον
θεονκαταπηδα[.....]ςτενοντοπονενεγκωνοπου
κατοικεισκαθ[.....]ρωτονδετονοικονστροφασκαθωσ
85 πρεπεικαιετοιμ[.....].αντοιαφαγηματαοιονδεμεν
δησιονπροανα[.....]ςτονθεονυπηρετουντ.ςπαιδοσ
αφθορουκαιιγιη[.]εχοντοσαχρικαναπιησ[...].ελοσ
συδελογοσπροπεμ[..]τωθεωεξωφιλωνσεπαρεδρον
ευεργετηνθεον[..]ηρετουνταμοιωσανειπωταχοστη
90 συδυναμειηδηε[..]αιοσναιναιφαινεμοιθεεκαιαυ
τοσσυλαλησονανακ[..]μενοσπροσφραζεισσυνομωσ
πειρωδετουτονορκιςμ`ον`αυτονπροσδελειςεπανδεφ̄γ
γενωνταικαιευθυσναπηδησθηθεοσκελευεδετω
τασθυραστρεχειπαιδιλεγεδεχωρεικυριεθεεμακαρ
95 οπουδιηνεκοσσυησωσβουλεικαιαφανησεστινοθεοσ

ἐκάλεσας ἄγγελον πεμφθ[έντα σ]οί, θεῶν δὲ βουλὰς
 συντόμως
 γνώση. σὺ δὲ μὴ δειλοῦ· [πρόσ]ιθι τῷ θεῷ, καὶ χεῖρα αὐτοῦ
 δεξιὰν λαβὼν κατα[φί]λησον, καὶ λέγε ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν
 ἄγγελον·
 λαλήσει γάρ σοι συν[τόμ]ως, πρὸς ὃ ἐὰν βούλη. σὺ δὲ αὐτὸν
 80 ἐξόρκιζε τῷδε [τῷ ὄρκ]ῳ, ὅπως ἀκίνητός σου τυγχάνων
 μείνη καὶ μὴ προσι[γί]ση μη]δὲ παρακούσῃ ὅλως. ἐπὶ δὲ
 σοι τοῦτον <τὸν> ὄρκον ἀ[ποδ]ῶ ἀσφαλῶς, χειροκρατήσας
 τὸν
 θεὸν καταπήδα, κ[αὶ εἰ]ς στενὸν τόπον ἐνεγκῶν, ὅπου
 κατοικεῖς, καθ[ί]στη. π[ρ]ῶτον δὲ τὸν οἶκον στρώσας, καθὼς
 85 πρέπει, καὶ ἐτοι[μά]σας] παντοῖα φαγήματα οἶνόν τε Μεν-
 δήσιον, προανά[φερε εἰ]ς τὸν θεόν, ὑπηρετοῦντος παιδὸς
 ἀφθόρου καὶ σιγῆ[ν ἔ]χοντος, ἄχρις ἂν ἀπίῃ ὁ [ἄγγ]ελος.
 σὺ δὲ λόγο(υ)ς πρόπεμ[πε] τῷ θεῷ· ‘ἔξω φίλον σε πάρεδρον,
 εὐεργέτην θεὸν [ὑπ]ηρετοῦντά μοι, ὡς ἂν εἴπω, τάχος, τῇ σῆ
 90 δυνάμει ἤδη ἔ[γγ]αιος, ναὶ ναί, φαίνέ μοι, θεέ’. καὶ αὐ-
 τὸς σὺ λάλησον, ἀνακ[εῖ]μενος, πρὸς ἃ φράζει, συντόμως.
 πειρῶ δὲ θεοῦ τὸν ὀρκισμὸν αὐτόν, πρὸς <ὸ> θέλεις. ἐπὶ δὲ
 ὦραι γ’
 γένωνται, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναπηδήσει ὁ θεός. κέλευε δὲ τῷ [π]αιδί
 <κατὰ>
 τὰς θύρας τρέχειν. λέγε δὲ· ‘χώρει, κύριε, θεὲ μάκαρ,
 95 ὅπου διηνεκῶς σὺ εἶς, ὡς βούλει’, καὶ ἀφανὴς ἐστὶν ὁ θεός.

— αυτη η̄εραληψις του παρεδρου γινωσκεται οτι ουτος εστιν
 ο θεος πνευμα εστιν αεριο νοειδες εαν επιταξις παραυτα
 το εργον επιτελειον χειροπομπεια γειγυνηαι κασανδρασ διχα
 ουσιασανε ρεικαταστρεφει αναριπτει ανεμουσε κησ βασταζει
 100 χρυσοναργυρον χαλκον και ιδιδωσι οιοταν χρεια γνηται
 λυειδε εκδεσμων λυσεσι φρουρου μενον θυρασανοιγει
 αμαυροϊνα μηδεις αθολουσε θεωρησ η πυρφορει υδωρ
 φερει οϊνοναρτον και [] ανεθελησε κτωνε δεσμων, ελαι
 ονοξοσ χωρις ιχθυων μ[] νων λαχανων δε πληθος θελει
 105 αξει δε κρεασ δεχοιρ ο'ιογ[], υτο αλωσ μηλεξις ποτε ενεγ
 κειν και οδ' τ' εβουλειδε [] ον ποιησαι λεγε πανχωρημα
 υπρ ποσ θεωρησας [] ελευε τουτωσ τρωσαι ταχεωσ
 και σντομωσ ευθυς [] θησει χρυσοροφαδωματα τοιχουσ
 τουτοις μ. ρμαρ [.....] τασοψη αυτα ηγειτα μεναληθη
 110 τα δε βλεπεσθαι μονο [] οϊνον δε πολυτελη καθωσ πρπει
 εξαρτικαι τοδει πνονλ [] πρωσ σντομωσ δαιμονασ οι
 σεikai τουσ υπηρετου [] σοι ζωσ τουσ κοσμη... ταυτ.

Αὕτη ἡ ἱερὰ λήψις τοῦ παρέδρου. γινώσκεται, ὅτι οὗτός
ἐστίν

ὁ θεός· πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἀέριον, ὃ εἶδες. ἐὰν ἐπιτάξης, παραυτὰ
τὸ ἔργον ἐπιτελεῖ· ὄνειροπομπεῖ, ἄγει γυναῖκας, ἄνδρας δίχα
οὐσίας, ἀναιρεῖ, καταστρέφει, ἀναρίπτει ἀνέμους ἐκ γῆς,
βαστάζει

100 χρυσόν, ἄργυρον, χαλκόν, καὶ δίδωσί σοι, ὅταν χρεία
γένηται,


λύει δὲ ἐκ δεσμῶν ἀλύσεσι φρουρούμενον, θύρας ἀνοίγει,
ἀμαυροῖ, ἴνα μηδεὶς [κ]αθόλου σε θεωρήσῃ, πυρφορεῖ, ὕδωρ
φέρει, οἶνον, ἄρτον καὶ [ὄ] ἂν ἐθέλῃς ἐκ τῶν ἐδεσμάτων,
ἔλαι-

ον, ὄξος, χωρὶς ἰχθύων μ[ό]νων, λαχάνων δὲ πλῆθος, ὃ
θέλεις,

105 ἄξι, κρέας δὲ χοίρειον—[τ]οῦτο ὅλως μὴ λέξης ποτὲ ἐνεγ-
κεῖν. καὶ ὅτε βούλει δεῖ[πν]ον ποιῆσαι, λέγε· πᾶν χώρημα
εὐπρεπὲς θεωρήσας [κέ]λευε τούτῳ στρῶσαι ταχέως
καὶ συντόμως· εὐθὺς [περι]θήσει χρυσόροφα δώματα,
τοίχους

τούτοις μαρμαρ[ωθέν]τας ὄψη—καὶ ταῦτα ἡγεῖ τὰ μὲν
ἀληθῆ,

110 τὰ δὲ βλέπεσθαι μόνο[v]—οἶνον δὲ πολυτελεῖ, καθὼς πρέπει
ἐξαρτίσαι τὸ δεῖπνον λ[αμ]πρῶς, συντόμως δαίμονας οἴ-
σει καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρετοῦν[τάς] σοι ζωστοὺς κοσμήσει. ταῦτα

- υ...μωσποικεια[c.12]κελευσηςδιακ...[...]
 ποησεικαιοσηπρ...[...]
 115 α πολυειϊστησιπον[.....]πλεισταθηρασδεπαυεικαι
 δοντασρηξιερπετ[...]
 μερωνσυντομωσκυν[]cδε
 κο..ιζ.. καιαφων[...]
 ςιμεταμορφοιδειεισην αν
 βουλημορφηθ[.....]
 ετηνουενυδρουτετραποδου
 ςπ. τουβαστασει[...]
 120 αερακαιπαλινριψεισεικλυδ ν
 αποντιωνποτα[.....]
 ακαθαλασιωνπηξ ιδ.ποτα
 μουκαιθαλασσ[.....]
 μωσκαιοπωσενδιατρεχησ
 σταδιωσβουλειμα[...]
 εκαθεξιςσουθελησαντος
 ..τ. αφροναλ[...]
 ..αιοτανθελησ...ρακα ενε
 κεινοποτανδεθελη[.....]
 μαψυχραποησικαιταψυχρ.
 125 θερμαλυχνουσανα[...]
 αικατασβεσειπαλιντειχηδε
 σεισεικαιπυριφλογ[...]
 ςειδουλευσιςοϊκανωσ
 ει.. ανεπ. νοησ ησ ωμ[]
 μυστατηςιερασμαγειασκαιεπι
 τελ.....οκρατιςτοσ[...]
 εδροσουτωσκαιμονοσκυριοσ
 τουαεροσκαισυνφων[..]
 ουσιπανταιοθειοιδιχαγαρτουτου
 130 ουδενεστιμηδεν[.....]
 ταδωσαλλακρυβεπρσ  του

συντόμως ποιεῖ. κα[ὶ ὁπόταν αὐτὸν] κελεύσης διακον[ῆσα]ι,
ποιήσει, καὶ ὄψη προ[τερή]σαντα ἄλλοις· ἴστησι πλοῖα καὶ
π[άλιν]

115 ἀπολύει, ἴστησι πονη[ρὰ δαιμό]νια πλείστα, θήρας δὲ παύει
καὶ ὁ-

δόντας ῥήξει ἔρπετ[ῶν ἀν]ημέρων συντόμως, κύν[α]ς δὲ
κοιμίζει καὶ ἀφώνο[υς ἴσ]τησι, μεταμορφοῖ δὲ εἰς ἦν ἕαν
βούλη μορφήν θη[ρίου π]ετηνοῦ, ἐνύδρου, τρετραπόδου
ἔρπετοῦ, βασταξει σ[ε εἰς] ἀέρα καὶ πάλιν ῥίψει σε εἰς
κλύδων

α ποντίων ποταμ[ῶν καὶ ῥύ]ακας θαλασσίων, πήξει δὲ ποτα
μὸς καὶ θάλασσα[ν συντό]μως καὶ, ὅπως ἐνδιατρέχης
σταδίως, ὡς βούλει. μά[λιστα] δὲ καθέξει σοῦ θελήσαντός
ποτε τὸν ἀφρὸν ἀλί[δρομ]ον, καὶ ὅταν θέλης ἄστρα κατενεγ-
κεῖν, ὁπόταν τε θέλης [τὰ θερ]μὰ ψυχρὰ ποιῆσαι καὶ τὰ
ψυχρὰ

125 θερμὰ, λύχνους ἀνά[ψει κ]αὶ κατασβέσει πάλιν, τείχη δὲ
σεῖσει καὶ πυρίφλογα [ποιή]σει, δουλεύσει σοι ἰκανῶς
εἰς [ἅ] ἂν ἐπινοήσης, ὧ μα[κάρ]ιε μύστα τῆς ἱερᾶς μαγείας,
καὶ ἐπι-

τελέσει σοι ὁ κράτιστος [πάρ]εδρος οὗτος, ὁ καὶ μόνος
κύριος

τοῦ ἀέρος, καὶ συμφων[ή]σουσι πάντα οἱ θεοί· δίχα γὰρ
τούτου

130 οὐδὲν ἔστιν. Μηδεν[ὶ ἄλλω με]ταδῶς, ἀλλὰ κρύβε, πρὸς
Ἡλίου, τοῦ

- τουκυρι[.....]τομεγατουτομουστηριονεστιν
 δεο^λολεγομενοσε[...].... απροσηλιονεξορκισμος
 τουπαρεδρουωριπι[....]μουντεαινθυφπιχραουρ
 ραιαλκαρφιουθρμου[.]..... ανοχαναυμουναιαχανο
- 135 ζω·ζωνταζω· ταζωμαυγίαςσουωρισαωνουο
 caraπτουμικαραχθια[.]ριχαμχωβιραθαυωφουφουω
 δαυαυαντωζουζω αρρουζωζωτουαρθωμναωρι
 αυωιπταυχαρηβιαωουοβιαυπταβαϊνααααααα
 ανηιουουωοιηεαχααχχααχχαρχαραχαχαμουνηϊ
- 140 ιαεωβαφρενεμουνο[.]λαρικριφιαευεαϊφιρικιριλιθον
 υομενερφαβωεαϊ·χαθαχφνεαχηρφιχροφνυρωφωχωβοχ
 ιαρβαθαγραμμηφιβαωχημηωουτοσεστινολοολεγο
 μενοςπρος ε^επτακις[.]ταεστινδεογλυφομενοσειστον
 λιθον ζ⁷ωροσανδρι[.]λεωντοπρωσοποστημεναριετερα
- 145 χειρικρατωνπολονκαιμαστιγακυκλωδεαυτουδρακοντα
 ουροβορονυποδετοεδαφοστουλιθουτοετουτοκρυβεαχα
 αχααχααχβαρχαρααχααχκαιδιειρησασπαρτωϊανου
 βιακωφορειπεριτοντ[.]αχιλονλογος ε^εϊνουθω
 πτουαυμϊανχαριχ·χαραπτουμι·ανοχα αβιθρου
- 150 αχαραβαυβαυβααραθιανατεβδουανανουαπτυρπανορ

- [.....] τοῦ κυρί[ου θεοῦ], τὸ μέγα τοῦτο μυστήριον. ἔστιν
δὲ ὁ λόγος ὁ λεγόμενος ἐ[πτάκις ἐπ]τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον
ἐξορκισμὸς
- τοῦ παρέδρου· ‘ωρι πι[.....]μοῦν τε αινθυφ πιχαρουρ-
ραιαλ καρφιουθυμου[]... ανοχαναυ μουγαιχαναπτα-
135 ζω· ζων ταζωταζω· πταζω μαυῖας σουωρι σουω ωους
σαραπτουμι σαραχθι[]ριχαμχω βираθau ωφau φauω
δauα· αυαντω ζουζω· αρρουζω ζωτουαρ θωμναωρι
αυωι πταυχαρηβι αωυοσωβιay πταβαῖν ααααααα
αειουωωωοιηα χαχαχ χαχαχ χαρχαραχαχ Ἄμοῦν ω· ηῖ
140 ἱαεωβαφρενεμουνο[]λαρικριφιαευεαῖφιρικραλιθον-
υομενερφαβω[]αῖ χαθαχ φνεσχηρ φιχρο φνυρω φωχωχοχ
ἱαρβαθα γραμμη φιβαωχημεω.’ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος ὁ λεγόμε-
μενος πρὸς ἥλιον ἐπτάκις [ἐπ]τά. ἔστιν δὲ ὁ γλυφόμενος εἰς
τὸν
- λίθον Ἑλῖωρος ἀνδρ[ιάς] λεοντοπρόσωπος, τῇ μὲν ἀριστερᾷ
χειρὶ κρατῶν πόλον καὶ μάλιστα, κύκλω δὲ αὐτοῦ δράκοντα
οὐροβόρον, ὑπὸ δὲ τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ λίθου τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο
κρύβε· ‘αχα
αχαχα χαχ χαρχαρα χαχ.’ καὶ διειρήσας σπάρτῳ Ἄνου-
βιακῶ φόρει περὶ τὸν τ[ρ]άχηλον. λόγος Σελήνη· ἴνουθα
πτουαυμι· ανχαριχ· χαραπτουμι· ανοχα αβιθρου
150 αχαραβαυβαυ βαραθιαν ατεβ δουανανου απτυρ πανορ

παυραχ·σουμιφορβαφριφ·ριφορβαραβαυβωθηθαχαφορριμ
μιρφαρ·ζαυρα·πταυζουχωθορπαραχθιαου·ζαιθα·πραυ

Col. III

- ιαβουκαταντουμιβαθαραχοιβιανοχταυταειπων
οφειτινααστεραεκτουκατολιγοναναλυομενονκαιθεο
155 ποι[.]υμ[.]γονσυδεπροσιωνκαιδεξαμενοστηχειροσ
καταφ[....]ονλεγετοναυτονλογον·ωπταυμιναφθαυβι
μαιουθ[.]ουμητροβαλ·ραχηπτουμι·αμμοχαρι
αυθει·α[.]ταμαρα·χιωβιταμ·τριβωμις·αραχοισαρι
ραχι·ια·υβιταυραβερωμιανταβιταυβιταυσοει
160 ποντια[.]κριθησεταικυδεαυτωλεγετιεστιντοενθεον
σουου[.]αμηνυσονμηαφθονωσιναιεπικαλεσω
μια[.....]τινδεγραμματωνῑε̄σουεσολυρφημωθ
ε̄στινδεκᾱιταε̄ξη̄γλεγομενᾱδευρομοῑβασῑλευθ̄ν̄θεων
ῑσχυροναπεραντοναμιᾱντονᾱδιηγητο̄ναῑωνᾱκα
165 τεστηριγμενονακινητοσμουγινο̄υαποτησσημερον
ημεραε̄πιτονᾱπαντᾱχρονον̄της̄ζω̄ησ̄μοῡε̄πεῑτα
ερωτᾱαυτον̄κατᾱτων̄αυτων̄ορκων̄ε̄αν̄το̄Π̄σο̄ῑεῑτη̄σ̄ῡδε
της̄χειροσ̄αυτοῡλαβων̄κατελθε̄καῑκατακλινον̄αυτον̄ω̄σ̄
προ̄εῑπον̄πᾱρᾱτῑθ̄ω̄ῑαυτω̄ε̄ξ̄ων̄με̄τᾱλᾱμβαν̄εῑσ̄βρω
170 των̄καῑπο̄των̄ε̄παν̄δε̄ᾱπο̄λῡσ̄η̄σ̄αυτον̄με̄τᾱτο̄ᾱπο̄στη

- παυραχ· σουμι φορβα· φοριφορβααραβαυ· βωηθ· αζα· φορ·
 ριμ
 μιρφαρ· ζαυρα· πταυζου· χωθαρπαραχθιζου· ζαιθ· ατιαυ
 ἱαβαυ καταντουμι βαθαρα χθιβι ανοχ· ταῦτα εἶπων
 ὄψει τινὰ ἀστέρα ἐκ τοῦ <οὐρανοῦ> κατ' ὀλίγον
 ἀναλυόμενον καὶ θεο-
- 155 ποι[ο]ύμ[ε]νον. σὺ δὲ προσιών καὶ δεξάμενος τῆς χειρὸς
 καταφ[ίλησ]ον λέγε τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον· ὠπταυμι ναφθαυβι
 μαιουθ[.]ου μητροβαλ· ραχηπτουμι αμμωχαρι
 αυθει· α[.]ταμαρα· χιωβιταμ· τριβωμις· αραχο ισαρι
 ραχι· Ἰαουβι ταυραβερωμι ανταβι ταυβι· ταῦ<τά> σοι εἶ-
- 160 πόντι ἀ[π]οκριθήσεται, σὺ δὲ αὐτῷ λέγε· ἄτι ἐστιν τὸ ἔνθεόν
 σου ὄν[ομα]; μὴνυσόν μοι ἀφθόνως, ἵνα ἐπικαλέσω-
 μαι αὐτό· ἔσ[τιν] δὲ γραμμάτων ἱε· σουεσολυρ φθη μωθ.
 ἔστιν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς λεγόμενα· δεῦρό μοι, βασιλεῦ, θεὸν
 θεῶν,
 ἰσχυρὸν, ἀπέραντον, ἀμίαντον, ἀδιήγητον, Αἰῶνα κα-
- 165 τεστηριγμένον· ἀκίνητός μου γίνου ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον
 ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς μου· ἔπειτα
 ἐρώτα αὐτὸν κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ὄρκων. ἐὰν τὸ ὄνομά σοι εἴπη,
 σὺ δὲ
 τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ λαβὼν κάτελθε καὶ κατάκλινον αὐτόν, ὡς
 προεῖπον, παρατιθῶν αὐτῷ, ἐξ ὧν μεταλαμβάνεις βρω-
- 170 τῶν καὶ ποτῶν. ἐπὶ δὲ ἀπολύσεως αὐτόν, μετὰ τὸ ἀποστή-

ναι επιθυεαυτωταπροκειμενακαισπενδεοινονκαιουτω
 τωκραταιωαγγελωφιλοςεσειαποδημουντισοισυν
 αποδημησειενομενωχρηματαδωσειεριοιταμελλοντα
 γενεσθαικαιποτεκαιποιωχρονωνυκτοσημερασαν
 175 δετιςερωτησθητικαταψυχηνεχθητιμοιεγενετοητιμελ
 ειγενεσθαιπερωτατοναγγελονκαιεριοισιωπησυδε
 ωσαποσεαυτουλεγετωπερωτωντισετελευτησαντοσου
 τοςωμα... ςτελειωσπρεπονθεωσουδετοπνευμαβαστα
 ξασειαερ[.]ξειςυναυτωειγαραιδηνουχ[.]ρησειαεριον·
 180 πνευμας[....]ενκραταιωπαρεδρωτουτωγαρπαντα
 υποκειταιοτανδεθελησιτιπραξαισειαεραλεγετοϠ
 μονονκαι[.....]αιοψηαυτονκαιεγγυσσουεστωτακαιλεγε
 αυτωιποιη... τουτοεργονκαιποιειπαρ αυτακαιποιησασερει
 185 κοιταλλωβουλεισπενδωγαρειουρανονεανδεμηχησ
 παραυταεπιταξαιλεγεαυτωπορευουκυ...ικαιαπελευ
 σεσαιουτ... νοθεοσυποσουμονουθεωρηθησεταιουδε
 φωνηηποτεαυτουουδεισ ακουσειλαλ...υντοσειμησναυ

- ναι ἐπίθουε αὐτῷ τὰ προκείμενα καὶ σπένδε οἶνον, καὶ οὕτως
 τῷ κραταιῷ ἀγγέλῳ φίλος ἔσει· ἀποδημοῦντί σοι συν-
 αποδημήσει, πενομένῳ χρήματα δώσει, ἐρεῖ σοι τὰ
 μέλλοντα
 γενέσθαι καὶ πότε καὶ ποίῳ χρόνῳ, νυκτὸς ἢ ἡμέρας. ἐὰν
 175 δέ τις ἐρωτήσῃ· ‘τί κατὰ ψυχὴν ἔχω’; ἢ· ‘τί μοι ἐγένετο ἢ τί
 μέλλ-
 ει γενέσθαι;’ ἐπερώτα τὸν ἄγγελον, καὶ ἐρεῖ σοι σιωπῇ· σὺ
 δὲ
 ὡς ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ λέγε τῷ ἐπερωτῶντί σε. τελευτήσαντός σου
 τὸ σῶμα περιστελεῖ, ὡς πρέπον θεῷ, σοῦ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα
 βαστά-
 ξας εἰς ἀέρ[α ἄ]ξει σὺν αὐτῷ. εἰς γὰρ Ἄιδην οὐ χ[ω]ρήσει
 ἀέριον
 180 πνεῦμα συ[σταθὲν] κραταιῷ παρέδρω· τούτῳ γὰρ πάντα
 ὑπόκειται. ὅταν δὲ θέλῃς τι πράξαι, εἰς ἀέρα λέγε τὸ ὄνομα
 μόνον καὶ· [‘ἐλθέ’, κ]αὶ ὄψῃ αὐτόν, καὶ ἐγγύς σου ἐστῶτα,
 καὶ λέγε
 αὐτῷ· ‘ποίησον τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον,’ καὶ ποιεῖ παραυτὰ καὶ
 ποιήσας ἐρεῖ
 σοι· ‘τί ἄλλο βούλει; σπεύδω γὰρ εἰς οὐρανόν.’ ἐὰν δὲ μὴ
 ἔχῃς
 185 παραυτὰ ἐπιτάξαι, λέγε αὐτῷ· ‘πορεύου, κύριε’, καὶ ἀπελεύ-
 σεται. οὕτως οὖν ὁ θεὸς ὑπὸ σοῦ μόνου θεωρηθήσεται, οὐδὲ
 φωνὴν ποτε αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς ἀκούσει λαλοῦντος, εἰ μὴ σὺ αὐ-

- τομον[.]ζερειδεσοιπεροκατακλιεωσανθρωπουζησε
 ταιητελ[.][.]ζεικαιποιαμερακαιποιαωαραινυκτοσ
 190 δωσειδε[.....]αγριασβοτανασκαιπωσθ.ρ[.]ευσεικαιωσ
 θεοσπρο[.]υνηθησειεχωντονθεονφιλ[.]νταυτασ`ε`υαγυσει
 οκρατ.ι[.]ζεπαραιδροσταυταουνμηδενιπαραδιδουειμη
 μονω.[.]ισχινωυϊωικουαξιουντιτα.[.]ρημωνρηθεν
 ταενερ.[.]ματαδιευτυχειτοδελεγομενο.προς ^θ ουδεν
 195 ζητειειμηιαεωβαφρενεμουν ^θ καιια.βαθαε ^θ εστιν
 ουντου.ρωτοφουοσθεουκαιπρωτογενουσ
 ρυστικη
 επικαλο.μαιεκυρικεκλυθιμουσαγιοςθεοσ[.]εναγιοισανα
 παουμ.νοσωαιδοξαιπαρεσθηκ.σιδη.κωσεεπικα
 200 λουμαι....τωρκαιδεομαιουαιωναιε[.]ινοκιννοκρα
 τωραιω.οπολοκρατωρεπιτουεπταμερ[.]ουστατεισχαω·
 χαωχ.ουφχθεθωνιμεεθηχρινιαμερουμ
 ιαλδαζαωβλαθαμμαχωθφρηξαηκε[.]φνηιδρυ
 μηωφερ.ριθωιαχθωψχεωφιριθμεω.ωσερωθ
 205 θαμαστ.φατιριταωχιαλθεμεαχεστοριζωμαδια
 κατεχω.οτοϊχυρονονομαεχωντοκα.ηγιασμενον

- τὸς μόν[ο]ς. ἐρεῖ δέ σοι περὶ κατακλίσεως ἀνθρώπου, εἰ
 ζήσε-
 ται ἢ τελ[ε]υ[τ]ή[σ]ει, καὶ ποῖα ἡμέρα καὶ ποῖα ὥρα νυκτός.
 190 δώσει δέ [σοι καὶ] ἀγρίας βοτάνας καὶ πῶς θερ[α]πεύσεις,
 καὶ ὡς
 θεὸς προ[σ]κυνηθήσει ἔχων τὸν θεὸν φίλ[ο]ν. ταῦτα εὖ
 ἀνύσει
 ὁ κραται[ὸ]ς πάρεδρος. ταῦτα οὖν μηδενὶ παραδίδου, εἰ μὴ
 μόνῳ σ[ο]υ ἰσχυρῶ υἱῶ σου ἀξιοῦντι τὰ π[α]ρ' ἡμῶν ῥηθέν-
 τα ἐνεργ[ή]ματα. διευτύχει.' τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον πρὸς ἥλιον
 οὐδὲν
 195 ζητεῖ εἰ μὴ ἰαεωβαφρενεμουν (λόγος) καὶ ια. βαθα (λόγος).
 Ἔστιν
 οὖν τοῦ πρωτοφυοῦς θεοῦ καὶ πρωτογενοῦς
 ῥυστική·
 'ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε, κύριε, κλῦθί μου, ὁ ἅγιος θεός, [ὁ] ἐν
 ἀγίοις ἀνα-
 παύομενος, ὃ αἱ Δόξαι παρεστήκασιν διηνεκῶς· σὲ ἐπικα-
 200 λοῦμαι, προπάτωρ, καὶ δέομαί σου, αἰωναῖε,
 [αἰωνακ<τ>]ινοκρά-
 τωρ, αἰωνοπολοκράτωρ, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑπταμερ[ί]ου σταθεῖς χαω·
 χαω·χα·ουφ· χθεθωνῖμεσθηχρινῖα μερουμ
 ἰ Ἀλδα ζαω βλαθαμμαχωθ φριξα ηκε[.].φυηῖδρυ-
 μω φερφριθω ἰαχθω ψυχεω φριθμεω [.]ωσερωθ
 205 θαμαστ.. φατιρι ταωχ ἰαλθεμεαχε· ὁ τὸ ρίζωμα δια-
 κατέχων, ὁ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ὄνομα ἔχων τὸ καθηγιασμένον

[] ποπα... ναγγελωνεπακουσονμουοκτιςταδεκα
 νουσκ[] ταιουςκαιαρχαγγελου. ωπαρε. τηκασινμυρια
 δεσαγ. [] ωναφατοικατουρανωνψωθησανκαικυρι
 210 οσεπεμ[] τυρησεν. ησοφια. υκαικατηλο... εν
 σουδυν. μινκαιεις. ογ. οισθετ... αθομοιοτη. αυ. ου
 οσον. α[] υτο..... ει. ι. αλ... αιεκυριετωνπαντωνενωραιοαναγ
 γκησεπ. ουσομ. τι..... μωσηψυχηκαιαπορου
 μαι... []..... οκυριεκυριετωνπαντων
 215 αγγελω..... σπιςονμουπροσπασα. υπεροχη. εξου
 ριασδαιμονοσαε. []..... ναικυριεοτιεπικαλ
 ουμαιουτοκρ. [] τονϑτοδηκοναποτουστερεωματος
 επιτηνγηναθηζοφωμιζαδηαγηωββηφιαθεαααμ
 βραμιαβρααμθαλιθσοελεκωθωπηαχθωνων
 220 ραισακχωηιουρθασιωιωσιαιχημεωω
 ωαωαειαναωωνμεενωραιοαναγκησλεγε ϑηπου
 εανκαταληφθησ. αμαυρωσις αναγκαια
 λαβωνστεαρηοφθαλμωννυκτιβαυκαικαικυλιςμακαν
 θαρουκαιφακνι. ουμυρουλεοτριβησασπανταχριολον
 225 τοσωμα. ιονσουκαιπροσηλιονλεγεκαιεξορκιζωσετομεγα
 ϑβορκηφοιουριωζιζιλαπαρξου. χθυ. ηλαιλαμ

- [ύ]πὸ πάντων ἀγγέλων· ἐπάκουσόν μου, ὁ κτίσας δεκα-
 νοὺς κ[ρα]ταιοὺς καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους, ᾧ παρεστήκασιν μυριά-
 δες ἀγγ[έλ]ων ἄφατοι· κατ' οὐρανὸν ἀνυψώθης, καὶ κύρι-
 210 ος ἐπεμ[αρ]τύρησεν τῇ σοφίᾳ σου καὶ κατηλόγησέν
 σου <τὴν> δύναμιν καὶ εἶπέν σε σθένειν καθ' ὁμοίότητα
 αὐτοῦ,
 ὅσον κα[ι α]ὐτὸ[ς] εἰ. ι. αλ... αἰς σε, κύριε τῶν πάντων, ἐν
 ὄρα ἀνάγ-
 κης, ἐπάκουσόν μου,..... ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ ἀποροῦ-
 μαί... [..]..... ὁ κυριεύων πάντων
 215 ἀγγέλων, ὑπεράσπισόν μου πρὸς πᾶσαν ὑπεροχὴν ἐξου-
 σίας δαίμονος ἀε[ρί]ου]..... ναί, κύριε, ὅτι ἐπικα-
 λοῦμαι σου τὸ κρυ[π]τὸν ὄνομα τὸ διῆκον ἀπὸ τοῦ
 στερεώματος
 ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν· αθηζοφωιμ ζαδηαγηωβηφιαθεαα Ἄμ-
 βραμι Ἄβρααμ θαλχιλθοε ελκωθωωηη αχθωνων
 220 σα Ἴσακ χωηῖουρθασιω Ἰωσῖα ἰχημεωωωω
 αωαεῖ, ἀνάσωσόν με ἐν ὄρα ἀνάγκης'. λέγε ἠλίφ ἢ ὅπου
 ἐὰν κατα[λ]ηφθῆς. Ἄ μ α ὑ ρ ω σ ι ς ἀ ν α γ κ α ἰ α ·
 λαβὼν στέαρ ἢ ὀφθαλμὸν νυκτιβαῦ καὶ κύλισμα καν-
 θάρου καὶ <ὄμ>φακνίνου μύρου λειοτριβήσας πάντα χρῆε
 ὄλον
 225 τὸ σωμα[τ]ιόν σου, καὶ πρὸς ἥλιον λέγε· 'ἐξορκίζω σε τὸ
 μέγα
 ὄνομα βορκη φοιουρ ἰω ζιζια ἀπαρξεουχ θυθη λαιλαμ

ααααααιιιιωωωϊεωϊεωϊεωϊεωϊεω
ναυναξαιαιαιαεωαεωηαουγρωνποιεικαιεπι ε
γεαθεωρητονμεποιησονκυριε **Ϡ** αεωαηεϊηηαω
230 απεναντιπαντοςανθρωπουαχριδυσμ.ν **Ϡ** ιαωϊω
Col. IV

μνημονικη

λαβωνχαρτηνϊερατικονγραψονταπροκειμενα **Π** **Π** **Ϡ** ο´ μερ
μαϊκωκαιγραψασωσπροκειταιαποκλυσωνειυδωρηγαι
οναποζ̄πηγωνκαιπιαυτωεπημερᾱςζ̄νηστηεξα
νατολη̄ςοῡςη̄ςη̄ς **Ϡ** πινεδετοαρκουνεστινδεταγρα
φομεναειστοπιττακιονκαμβηχαμβρη·σιξιωφιαρπον
χνουφιβριντατηνωφριβρικυλμααρουαζαρβαμεσεν
κριφινιπτουμιχμουμαωφακτιωφιαρτω̄ςιβιβιου
240 βιβιοῡςφη̄ςφηνοῡςινοῡςῑεγω̄ςῑεγωνοῡςχανοῡςχα
λινοῡςχαλινοῡςᾱχῡςβᾱχῡςβᾱκᾱξῑω̄χῡςβᾱδη̄το̄φω̄θ
ιᾱᾱο̄οῡση̄ε̄ω̄τᾱῡτᾱπο̄ιη̄ςᾱᾱπο̄κλῡςον̄και
πιᾱω̄ςπρο̄κεῑταῑε̄στῑνδε̄καῑτοῡμε̄λανῑοῡςη̄κε̄υη̄τρω̄γλι
τῑς **Ϡ** δ̄ῑς̄χᾱδᾱςκᾱρικᾱς̄γ̄φο̄ινικων̄νικολᾱωνο̄ςτε̄ᾱζ̄
245 ε̄τρο̄βιλιᾱβρᾱχᾱζ̄αρ̄τε̄μῑςιᾱς̄μο̄νο̄κλω̄νοῡκᾱρδιᾱς̄ζ̄
ϊ̄βε̄ω̄σε̄ρμᾱϊ̄κης̄πτε̄ρᾱζ̄ῡδω̄ρη̄γαῑον̄τᾱῡτᾱκᾱῡςᾱσπο̄ι
ε̄ικαῑγρᾱφε ᾱμᾱῡρω̄ς̄ῑδο̄κῑμη̄με̄γᾱε̄ργον

ααααα [ι]ιι ωωωω ἴεω ἴεω ἴεω ἴεω ἴεω ἴεω ἴεω
 ναυναξ αιαι αεω αεω ηαω' και ὑγρὸν ποίει και ἐπίλε-
 γε· 'ἀθεώρητόν με ποίησον, κύριε Ἥλιε, αεω ωαη εἴη ηαω,
 230 ἀπέναντι παντός ἀνθρώπου ἄχρι δυσμῶν ἡλίου ἴω ἴωω (230)
 φριξιριζεωα·
 Μνημονική·
 λαβὼν χάρτην ἱερατικὸν γράψον τὰ προκείμενα ὀνόματα
 ζμυρνομέλανι Ἐρ-
 μαϊκῶ και γράψας, ὡς πρόκειται, ἀπόκλυσσον ἐς ὕδωρ πηγαῖ-
 ον ἀπὸ ζ' πηγῶν και πίε αὐτὸ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ζ' νήστης ἐξ ἀ-
 νατολῆς οὔσης τῆς σελήνης. πῖνε δὲ τὸ ἀρκοῦν. ἔστιν δὲ τὰ
 γρα-
 φόμενα εἰς τὸ πιττάκιον· 'καμβρη χαμβρη· σιξιωφι Ἄρπον
 Χνουφι βριντατηνωφριβρισκυλμααρουαζαρβαμεσεν
 240 κριφι νιπτουμι χμουμαωφ Ἄκτιωφι αρτωσι βιβιου
 βιβιου σφη σφη νουσι νουσι σιεγω σιεγω νουχα νουχα
 λινουχα λινουχα χυχβα χυχβα καξιω χυχβα δητοφωθ
 ια αο υυ ηη εε ωω.' ταῦτα ποιήσας ἀπόκλυσσον και
 πίε, ὡς πρόκειται. ἔστιν δὲ και τοῦ μελανίου ἢ σκευή·
 τρωγλι-
 τις ζμύρνα δραχμαὶ δ', ἰσχάδας Καρικὰς γ', φοινίκων
 Νικολάων ὀστέα ζ',
 245 στροβίλια ἄβροχα ζ', ἀρτεμισίας μονοκλῶνου καρδίας ζ',
 ἴβεως Ἐρμαϊκῆς πτερὰ ζ', ὕδωρ πηγαῖον. ταῦτα καύσας
 ποί-
 ει και γράφε. Ἀμα ὑρωσι<ς> δοκίμη. μέγα ἔργον·

— λαβωνπιθηκουοφθαλμονηνεκυοςβιοθανατουταυτατρι
ψασκυνελαιωσουσινωκαιβοτανηναγλαοφοτιδοστρι
τοροδονλεγε

- 250 βωνδεαυταεκτωνδεξιωνεισταεωνυμαλεγετον^λ
γονωσυποκειταιαιανοκανουπανοκουσιρφηρανοκοκ
σωτωρωνουιερανοκπεουσικρεπεντασηττακο
αναστηθιδαμωνκαταχθονειτωερβηθιωφορβηθιω
πακερβηθιωαπομψοεανεπιταξωμινεγω^Δοπως
255 επηκοοιοιγενησθεεανδεθελησασαφαντοσγενε
σθαιχρισονσουτομετωπωνμονονεκτουσυνθεματοσ
καιαφαντοσεςηφοσονχρονονθελεισεανδεθελη
σασφεναινεσθαιαποδυσεωσερχομενοσεισανατολην
λεγετο^Πτουτοκαιεσειδηλο^ωτικοσκαιεποπτοσπασιν
260 ανθρωποισεστινδετοσνομαμαρμαριαωθμαρμα
ριφωγηποιησασεμετον^Δεποπτηνπασινανθρωποισ
εντησμερονημεραηδηδηταχυταχυεχελιακ^α
απολλωνιακηεπικλησικ
λαβωνκλ. ναδαφν. σεπταφυλλονεχεξνηδεξ[.]ειρι
265 καλωντουσουρανιουσθεουσκαιχθονιουσδαμον[.]γρα
ψονειστονκλωνατησδαφνητουσζυρυστικουσχ[.]ρα
κτηρασεισινωιχακτηρεσσιδε
*UFI□U X S

λαβὼν πιθήκου ὀφθαλμὸν ἢ νέκυος βιοθανάτου καὶ βοτάνην
 ἀγλαοφωτίδος (τὸ ῥόδον λέγει) ταῦτα τρί-
 ψας σὺν ἐλαίῳ σουσίῳ, τρί-
 250 βων δὲ αὐτὰ ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν εἰς τὰ εὐώνυμα λέγε τὸν λό-
 γον, ὡς ὑπόκειται· Verba Coptica
 Verba Coptica
 ἀνάστηθι, δαίμων καταχθόνιε ἰω Ἐρβηθ ἰω Φορβηθ ἰω
 Πακερβηθ ἰω Ἀπομψ, ὃ ἐὰν ἐπιτάξω ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὁ δεῖνα, ὅπως
 255 ἐπήκοοί μοι γένησθε.· ἐὰν δὲ θελήσης ἄφαντος γενέ-
 σθαι, χρῖσόν σου τὸ μέτωπον μόνον ἐκ τοῦ συνθέματος,
 καὶ ἄφαντος ἔσῃ, ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον θέλεις. ἐὰν δὲ θελή-
 σης ἐμφαίνεσθαι, ἀπὸ δύσεως ἐρχόμενος εἰς ἀνατολήν
 λέγε τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο, καὶ ἔσει δηλωτικὸς καὶ ἔποπτος πᾶσιν
 260 ἀνθρώποις. ἔστιν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα· Ἐμαρμαριαωθ μαρμα-
 ριφωγγη, ποιήσατέ με, τὸν δεῖνα, ἔποπτον πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις
 ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ, ἡδὴ, ἡδὴ, ταχύ, ταχύ.· ἔχε<ι> λίαν
 καλῶς.
 Ἀπολλωνιακὴ ἐπίκλησις·
 λαβὼν κλῶνα δάφν[ης] ἐπτάφυλλον ἔχε ἐν τῇ δεξ[ιᾷ] χειρὶ
 265 καλῶν τοὺς οὐρανίους θεοὺς καὶ χθονίους δαίμον[ας]. γρά-
 ψον εἰς τὸν κλῶνα τῆς δάφνης τοὺς ζ' ῥυστικούς χ[α]ρα-
 κτῆρας. εἰσὶν οἱ χαρακτῆρες οἶδε·
 *ⲚⲀⲬⲈⲨⲪⲬⲪ

τον μεν πρωτον χαρακτηρα εις το πρωτον φυλλον τον [..] υτερον
 270 παλιν ουτω εις το δευτερον αχριλη ξεωτων ζφυλων και
 των ζ χαρακτηρων βλεπε δεμη απολεσης φυλλον . σε αυ
 τον βλαψης τουτο γαρ μεις τον σωματος φυλακτικον ου
 παντες υποτασσονται και θαλασσα και πετραι φρις ουσι
 και δαιμονες φυλακτηρων την θειαν ενεργειαν ην υπερ
 275 μελλεις εχειν εστιν γαρ φυλακτηριον μεις τον της πρ
 αξωσιν α μη δεν πτωθης εστιν δε η πραξις
 λαβων λυχνοναμιλω τον κευα εσονον διαβουσσιν ουρακκου
 και ροδινου ελαιου ην ροδινου και το λικασσε αυτον προφη
 τικωι σχηματι εχε βεννι ην ραβδον εν τη λαιαι χειρικαι
 280 το φυλακτηριον εν τη δεξια του εστιν τον κλωνα της δα
 φνης εχε δε εν τοιμωλυκου κεφαλη νοπως αν επι της
 τον λυχνον επι της κε.. λη του λυκου και βωμον ωμον
 της σαμενος εγγυστης κεφαλης και του λυχνου ινα επιθυ
 της τω θεω και ευθεωσει ερχεται το θειον πνευμα εστιν
 285 δε το επιθυμαλυκου οφθαλμος στυραξ κιννα μωμον
 βδελλα και... εν τιμον εν τοις αρωμασικαις πονδην τελε
 .. ν. π. ο ι... κα. μελι. οσ και γαακτος και ιμβριουδατος
 [..] ειπλακουντας ζ και ποπανα ζ ταυ α μελλεις ο λαπ. ης και
 [..] γ. ς του λυχνου εστο λικμενος και απεχομενος απο

- τὸν μὲν πρῶτον χαρακτῆρα εἰς τὸ πρῶτον φύλλον, τὸν
[δε]ύτερον
- 270 πάλιν οὕτως εἰς τὸ δεύτερον, ἄχρι λήξεως τῶν ζ' φύλλων καὶ
τῶν ζ' χαρακτήρων. βλέπε δέ, μὴ ἀπολέσης φύλλον [καὶ]
σεαυ-
τὸν βλάβης· τοῦτο γὰρ μέγιστον σώματος φυλακτικόν, ἐν ᾧ
πάντες ὑποτάσσονται καὶ θάλασσα καὶ πέτραι φρίσσουσι
καὶ δαίμονες φυλ<άσσονται χαρ>ακτῆρων τὴν θεῖαν
ἐνέργειαν, ἦνπερ
- 275 μέλλεις ἔχειν. ἔστιν γὰρ φυλακτῆριον μέγιστον τῆς πρά-
ξεως, ἵνα μηδὲν πτοηθῆς. ἔστιν δὲ ἡ πράξις·
λαβὼν λύχνον ἀμίλτωτον σκεύασον διὰ βυσσίνου ράκους
καὶ ῥοδίνου ἐλαίου ἢ ναρδίνου καὶ στολίσας σεαυτὸν
προφη-
τικῶ σχήματι ἔχε ἐβεννίνην ράβδον ἐν τῇ λαιᾷ χειρὶ καὶ
- 280 τὸ φυλακτῆριον ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, τουτέστιν τὸν κλῶνα τῆς δά-
φνης, ἔχε δὲ ἐν ἐτοίμῳ λύκου κεφαλῆν, ὅπως ἂν ἐπιθῆς
τὸν λύχνον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ λύκου, καὶ βωμὸν ὠμὸν
στησάμενος ἐγγὺς τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τοῦ λύχνου, ἵνα ἐπιθύ-
σης τῷ θεῷ· καὶ εὐθέως εἰσέρχεται τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα. ἔστιν
- 285 δὲ τὸ ἐπίθυμα λύκου ὀφθαλμός, στύραξ, κιννάμωμον,
βδέλλα καὶ ὅτι ἔντιμον ἐν τοῖς ἀρώμασι, καὶ σπονδὴν τέλε-
σον ἀπὸ οἴνου καὶ μέλιτος καὶ γάλακτος καὶ ὀμβρίου ὕδατος
ποιεῖ πλακοῦντας ζ' καὶ πόπανα ζ'. ταῦτα μέλλεις ὅλα
ποιῆσαι
[ἐγ]γὺς τοῦ λύχνου, ἐστολισμένος καὶ ἀπεχόμενος ἀπὸ

- 290 παντωνμυσαρωνπραγματωνκαιπασησιχθυοφαγιας
καιπασησσυνοσιασοπωσανειςμεγιστηνεπιθυμιαναγα
πητονθεοεισεεστινδεταονοματαμελλειγραφαι
ειςτοβυσσινονρακοςκαιελλυχνιασειειςτοναμιλωτονλυχον
αβεραμενθουλερθεξαναξενθρελυοθνεμαραιβαι·
- 295 αεμινναενβαρωθερρεθωβαβεανιμεασοταντελεσηςπαν
ταταπροειρημενακαλειτηιεπαοιδη αναξαπολλωνελθε
συμπαιηονιχηματισονμοιπεριωναξιοκυριεδεσποτα
λιπεπαρνας`c´ιονοροσκαιδελφιδαπυθω
ημετερωνϊερωνστοματωναφυεγκταλαλουντων
- 300 αγγελεπρωτεουζηνοσμεγαλοιοϊαωκαιεενουρανι
ονκοςμονκατεχονταμιχαηλ·καιεκαλωγαβριηλπω
ταγγελεδευρ'απολυμπου·αβρασαξαντολιησκαχαρη
μενοσιλαοσελθοιεσδυσιναντολιησεπικοπιαζει[.]δωναι
πασαφυσικτραμ·ειεπατερκομοιοπακερβηθ
- 305 ορκιζωκεφαληντεθεουοπερεστινολυμπος
ορκιζωσφρακιδαθεουοπερεστινορασις
ορκιζωχεραδεξιτερηνηκοσμοσεπεσχεσ
ορκιζωκρητηραθεουπλουτονκατεχοντα
ορκιζωθεοναιωνιοναιωνατεπαντων

- 290 πάντων μυσαρῶν πραγμάτων καὶ πάσης ἰχθυοφαγίας
καὶ πάσης συνουσίας, ὅπως ἂν εἰς μεγίστην ἐπιθυμίαν ἀγά-
γῃς τὸν θεὸν εἰς σέ. ἔστιν δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα, <ᾶ> μέλλεις
γράψαι
εἰς τὸ βύσσινον ῥάκος καὶ ἐλλυχνιάσεις εἰς τὸν ἀμίλτωτον
λύχνον·
'ἀβεραμενθουλερθεξ αναξ εθρενλυοω θνεμα ραιβαι·
- 295 αεμινναε βαρωθερ ρεθωβαβ εανιμεα.' ὅταν τελέσης πάν-
τα τὰ προειρημένα, κάλει τῇ ἐπαοιδῇ· "Ἄναξ Ἀπόλλων, ἐλθέ
σὺν Παιήوني, χρημάτισόν μοι, περὶ ὧν ἄξιῶ, κύριε. δέσποτα,
λίπε Παρνάσιον ὄρος καὶ Δελφίδα Πυθῶ
ἡμετέρων ἱερῶν στομάτων ἄφθεγκτα λαλούντων,
- 300 ἄγγελε πρῶτε <θε>οῦ, Ζηνὸς μέγαλοιο, Ἰάω, καὶ σέ τὸν
οὐράνι-
ον κόσμον κατέχοντα, Μιχαήλ, καὶ σέ καλῶ, Γαβριήλ πρω-
τάγγελε· δεῦρ' ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου, Ἀβρασάξ, ἀντολῆς κεχαρη-
μένος, Ἰλαος ἔλθοις, ὃς δύσιν ἀντολίηθεν ἐπισκοπιάζει[ς,
Ἄ]δωναί·
πᾶσα φύσις τρομέει σε, πάτερ κόσμοιο, Πακερβηθ.
- 305 ὀρκίζω κεφαλὴν τε θεοῦ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν Ὀλυμπος,
ὀρκίζω σφραγίδα θεοῦ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὄρασις,
ὀρκίζω χέρα δεξιτερὴν, ἣν κόσμῳ ἐπέσχες,
ὀρκίζω κρητῆρα θεοῦ πλοῦτον κατέχοντα,
ὀρκίζω θεὸν αἰώνιον Αἰῶνά τε πάντων,

- 310 ορκιζωφουσιν αυτοφνηκρατις τον αδωναιον
ορκιζωδυνοντα και ανατελλοντα ελωαιον
ορκιζωταγια και θεια νοματα ταυτα οπως
αν πεμψω σιμοι το θειον πνευμα και τελεση
αεχω καταφρενα και καταθυμον
- 315 κλυθιμα καρκληζω σε τον ουρανο ηγεμονη
και γαιης χαεοσ τε και αιιδος ενθανεμονται
πεμψον δαιμονα του τονεμαις ιεραις παιδαις
νυκτοσ ελαυνομενον προς ταγμασις ας υπαναγκησ
ουπεραποσ κηνουσ εν τιντο δε και φρασσατω μοι
- 320 οσσ θελω ιγνωμησ ινα ληθει η καταλεξασ
πρηϋν μιλχιον μηδαντια μη φρονεοντα
μη δε συμηνησ επεμαις ιεραις παιδαις
αλλα φυλαξονα πανδεμασ αρκιονεσ φασ ελθειν
ταυτα γαρ αυτοσ εδαξασ εν ανθρωποις ιδα ηναι
- 325 κληζωδουνομασ νομοιραισ αυταισ εις αριθμον
αχαϊφωθωθω αιηια ηια αιηαιηιαω
θωθω φιαχαχαιοταν εις ελθηρωτα αυτον
περιουθελεισ περιμαντιασ περιεποποιιασ
περι ονειροπομπειασ ονειροτησιασ περι
- 330 ονειροκριτιασ περικατακλιεωσ περι παντων
ο[]ων εν τινε τη μαγικη εμπει...
στροωσ ονδεθρονον και κλ..... ι... ιαβυσσινω
συδεσ ταθητιθων δια του προειρημενου επι
θ.ματοσ και μετα την εξ.τασιν εανθελησ
- 335 ¯απολυσαι αυτον τον θεον την προειρημενην
ε. εν νιν ην ραβδον ηνεχεισ χειριεντη

- 310 ὀρκίζω Φύσιν αὐτοφυῆ, κράτιστον Ἄδωναϊον,
ὀρκίζω δύνοντα καὶ ἀντέλλοντα Ἐλωαῖον,
ὀρκίζω τὰ ἅγια καὶ θεῖα ὀνόματα ταῦτα, ὅπως
ἂν πέμψωσί μοι τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα καὶ τελέση,
ἃ ἔχω κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν.
- 315 κλῦθι, μάκαρ, κλήζω σε, τὸν οὐρανοῦ ἡγεμονῆα
καὶ γαίης, χάεός τε καὶ Ἄϊδος, ἔνθα νέμονται ...
πέμψον δαίμονα τοῦτον ἑμαῖς ἱεραῖς ἐπαιδαῖς
νυκτὸς ἐλαυνόμενον προστάγμασιν σῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης,
οὔπερ ἀπὸ σκῆνους ἐστὶ τόδε, καὶ φρασάτω μοι,
- 320 ὅσσα θέλω γνώμησιν, ἀληθείην καταλέξας,
πρηῦν, μελίχιον μηδ' ἀντία μοι φρονέοντα.
μηδὲ σὺ μηνίσης ἐπ' ἑμαῖς ἱεραῖς ἐπαιδαῖς,
ἀλλὰ φύλαξον ἅπαν δέμας ἄρτιον ἐς φάος ἐλθεῖν·
ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔταξας ἐν ἀνθρώποισι δαῆναι.
- 325 κλήζω δ' οὔνομα σὸν Μοίραις αὐταῖς ἰσάριθμον·
αχαῖφω θωθω αἶη ἰαηῖα αἶη αἶη ἰαω
θωθω φιαχα.' καὶ ὅταν εἰσέλθῃ, ἐρώτα αὐτόν,
περὶ οὗ θέλεις, περὶ μαντείας, περὶ ἐποποιίας,
περὶ ὄνειροπομπείας, περὶ ὄνειραιοτησίας, περὶ
- 330 ὄνειροκριτίας, περὶ κατακλίσεως, περὶ πάντων,
ὄ[σ]ων ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ μαγικῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ.
στρῶσον δὲ θρόνον καὶ κλ[ι]ντήριον[ν δ]ιὰ βυσσίνω[ν],
σὺ δὲ στάθητι θύων διὰ τοῦ προειρημένου ἐπι-
θ[ύ]ματος. καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἐὰν θέλῃς
- 335 ἀπολῦσαι αὐτὸν τὸν θεόν, τὴν προειρημένην
ἐβεννίνην ράβδον, ἣν ἔχεις χειρὶ ἐν τῇ

λαια μετενεγκονειστην δεξιαν και τον κλων
α. ης δαφνης ονεχει εν τη δεξια χειρι
μετενεγκονειστην αριστεραν και ιβεσον
340 τον και ο μενον λυχνον και χρωτου αυτου
επιθυματος λεγων οτι λαθιμοι προπατωρ
προγενεστερε αυτογενεθλιε ορκιζω το πυρ
το φανεν πρωτον ενα βυσσωι
ορκιζω την σην δυναμιν την πασι μεγιστην
345 ορκιζω τον φθειροντα με χειρα ιδοσει ω
ϊνα πελθει τα ιδια πρυμνησια και μη
μεβλαψη αλλευμενης γινου δια παντος

λαιᾷ, μετένεγκον εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν καὶ τὸν κλῶν-
α τῆς δάφνης, ὃν ἔχεις ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ,
μετένεγκον εἰς τὴν ἀριστεράν, καὶ σβέσον
340 τὸν καιόμενον λύχνον καὶ χρῶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
ἐπιθύματος λέγων ὅτι· Ἰλαθί μοι, προπάτωρ,
προγενέστερε, αὐτογένεθλε· ὀρκίζω τὸ πῦρ
τὸ φανὲν πρῶτον ἐν ἀβύσσῳ,
ὀρκίζω τὴν σὴν δύναμιν, τὴν πᾶσι μεγίστην,
345 ὀρκίζω τὸν φθείροντα μέχρις Ἄϊδος εἶσω,
ἵνα ἀπέλθῃς εἰς τὰ ἴδια πρυμνήσια καὶ μὴ
με βλάβῃς, ἀλλ' εὐμενῆς γενοῦ διὰ παντός.

3.2 Translation *PGM I*

1 A daimon [is received] as an assistant, that will
 reveal to you all
2 clearly, [and he will speak with you], eat with
 you and sleep with
3 you. Take [...] two of your fingernails and
4 all the hair [of] your head and take a Circaean
 falcon
5 and deify it in [milk] of a black [cow] after you
 have blended
6 it with Attic honey, and [...] clothe it with a
 colorless rag
7 and put [close] it your fingernails and your
8 hair and take [royal paper] and write with myrrh
 on it the following
9 and place in the same way [together with the] hair
 and the fingernails and plaster
10 it with [uncut] frankincense and old wine. So, this
 is
11 the writing [on the strip] a ee ē ē iiiii oooooo yyy
12 yyy ō ō ō ō ō ō ō but write them forming two
 grapes

a	o o o o o o o
ee	y y y y y y

ē ē ē	o o o o o
i i i i	i i i i
o o o o o	e e e
y y y y y	e e
ō ō ō ō ō ō	a

- 20 And take the milk with the honey and drink it
before the dawn
- 21 and (you will feel) something divine in your heart.
And take the falcon and set it up
- 22 in a shrine of juniper wood. And after you have
wreathed the shrine itself
- 23 make an offering of non-animal food and have old
wine.
- 24 and before you recline, speak directly to the bird
itself
- 25 after you have made sacrifice to it, as [you have]
as costum, and say the prescribed spell.
- 26 a ee ē ē ē iiiii ooooo yy[yyy]y ō ō ō ō ō ō ō
come to me, good farmer
- 27 good daimon *harpon [knou]phi brintantēn siphri*
- 28 *briskylma arouazar[...]* *kriphi nipoumichmoumaōrh*
- 29 come to me, holy Orion, [you who lie] in the
North,
- 30 who make [the currents]of Nile to roll down and
mix
- 31 with the sea [...] as does the man's seeding

32 in the sexual act, [...] who have founded the
world on an unbreakable basis
33 you, the young in the morning [and the old] in the
evening, you who cross
34 the under earth axis and [rise] breathing fire you
who have split the seas in the
35 first month, [who ejaculate] seed from the
[sacred] fig tree of Heliopolis
36 constantly. This is your authentic name *ar bath*
abaōth bakchabrē
37 Walking back [...] as in procession set yourself to
38 to consume the food and the dinner and the
aforementioned
39 offering, approaching face to face as companion
40 [.....]. This rite [...]
41 Hide, hide this rite and for [...] days avoid sexual
42 intercourse with a woman.[...] The spell of
Pnouthis, the sacred scribe, for acquiring an
assistant
43 Pnouthios to Keryx, [...], greetings. As one who
knows,
44 I have write for you this [...] for a paredros, to
prevent a failure
45 while you carry out this rite. After detaching all
46 the treatise [bequeathed] in countless books
47 [one of all].... This assistant [...]that is going to
serve you

48 ... and you will receive this holly paredros
49 to you and only[...] O friend of aerial
50 spirits that raise.. with sacred words
51 persuade...now I have forwarded this
52 book so you may learn completely. Because the
spell of Pnouthis [have power]
53 to convince the gods and the [goddesses]. Hence
[I will transcribe] you about
54 [the receiving] of the paredros.. This is the
transmission of paredros
55 After you have been preliminary purified yourself
and [...]from any animal food and anything
uncleanly
56 and when there comes a [night you think good go]
up onto a high roof
57 dressed in purified clothes [...] say the first spell
of communication
58 when the sun's orb has begun to disappear[...]
having
59 a totally black Isis band [on your eyes] and on
your right hand
60 hold the head of a falcon and [when the sun rises]
61 greet it shaking the [head and utter] this
62 sacred spell while you make an offering of uncut
frankincense and rose oil
63 and make the sacrifice [on an earthen] censer on

64 the charcoal of the heliotrope plant. [And as you
utter] the spell there will be
65 this sign for you: a falcon [will fly down[and
stand in front of [you]
66 and after flapping its wings in mid-air [...]]an
oblong stone, immediately
67 it will fly up [ascending] to the heavens. [You]
hold this stone
68 and carve it quickly and [engrave it later]. And
when it is engraved and you have bored a hole in
it,
69 pass a thread through it and wear it around [your
neck]. But in the evening
70 go up [again to your] room and standing facing
the dawn light
71 of the goddess, recite the hymnic spell, while you
sacrifice again
72 myrrh troglitis in the same way. Light a fire and
hold a branch of myrtle [...]
73 shaking it and [hail] the goddess. Immediately
there will be
74 a sign for you like this: when [a star] has come
down and has stood in the middle
75 of the room and when the star has been [dissolved
before your eyes], you will behold the angel who

76 has been invoked and who has [been sent to you],
and you will learn quickly the decisions of the
gods

77 but you, don't be afraid, move towards the god
and taking his right hand

78 kiss it and say this to the angel

79 because he will soon speak to you about that
which(or 'what') you want. But you adjure him

80 with this oath that he will remain always beside
you

81 and he will not stay silent and he will not disobey
in any way. And when

82 he has firmly accepted the oath, take the hand of

83 the god and go down from the roof and when you
bring him into the narrow place

84 where you dwell, sit (him down). First arrange the
house as it

85 should be and prepare all kind of foods,
Mensedian wine

86 and bring them before the god, with an
uncorrupted boy serving,

87 and maintaining silence until the angel leaves.

88 You address to god the introductory words: I will
have you as a friendly assistant,

89 beneficent god, as my servant whenever I say so,
quickly,

90 with your powers, appear to me on earth, yes, yes
god.

91 And you, reclining, you yourself quickly speak
about what you say

92 Test this oath of the god on what you want. But
when three hours

93 have passed, the god will immediately leap up.
Tell the boy

94 to run to the door and say “Go, lord, blessed god
to

95 where you live eternally, as you wish” and the god
will disappear.

96 This the sacred rite for acquiring a paredros. It is
known that he is

97 the god, he is an aerial spirit, which you have
seen. If you

98 give him a command, immediately.
he will fulfill the task. He sends dreams, he brings
women, men without

99 magical materials, he kills, he destroys, he stirs up
winds from the earth he holds

100 gold, silver, bronze and he gives (them to) you,
whenever the need occurs.

101 He releases from bonds an enchained person in
prison, he opens doors

102 He brings about invisibility, so that nobody can
see you at all, fetches fire, brings water,

103 wine, bread, and whatever you want from the
eatable things, olive oil
104 vinegar, with only the exception of fish, he will
bring plenty of vegetables, whatever kind you
desire
105 but as for pork meat- this never tell him to bring it
at all.
106 and when you want to prepare a dinner, tell him
so. Every space
107 you consider decent order him to prepare it (for a
banquet), quickly and without delay
108 Immediately he will put around chambers, gold
ceilings, you will see walls
109 covered with marble. And you will consider some
of them real
110 and the rest just an illusion. Expensive wine,
111 to provide for, to supply the dinner splendidly as
it is proper, rapidly he will bring daimons
112 and those who serve you, he will adorn with belts.
These things he
113 will perform quickly. And when you order him to
fulfill a task
114 he will do so. And you will see him excelling in
other things. He detains ships and again
115 releases them, he stops many evil spirits. He
restrains wild beasts and

116 quickly he will break the teeth of ferocious
reptiles, he hypnotizes dogs
117 and makes them voiceless, he transforms you- if
you
118 wish so- into whatever form of beast: one that
flies, swims, a four footed animal,
119 a reptile. He will hold you into the air and again
throw you into the billows
120 of the sea's current and the waves of the sea. He
will freeze
121 rivers and seas quickly in a way that you can run
122 over them securely, as you want. And if ever you
wish it, he will
123 retain the sea-running foam and whenever you
want to, bring down the stars
124 whenever you wish to turn the warm (things) to
cold and the cold
125 to warm, he will light lamps and extinguish them
again.
126 And he will shake walls and [cause] them to blaze
with fire and he will attend you aptly
127 for whatever you think. O blessed initiate of the
sacred magic, and
128 he will accomplish it for you the mighty assistant
and the only lord
129 of the air, and the gods will agree to
everything(with him) because without him

130 nothing exists. Don't communicate to anyone else
(this spell), but hide it, by Helios,
131 since you have been deemed worthy by the lord
god of this great mystery
132 This is the spell spoken [seven times seven] to
Helios to as adjuration
133 of the assistant *amounte inthyph picharour*
134 *raial karphiouth ymou rothirban ochanau*
mounaichanapta
135 *zō zōn tazō tazō ptazō mauias souōri souō oous*
136 *saraptoumi sarachthi a. . . richamchō birathau*
ōphau phauō
137 *daua auantō zouzō arrouzō zōtoular thōmnaōri*
138 *ayōi ptaucharebi aōuosōbiau ptabain aaaaaaa*
139 *aeēioyōyōōiēea chachach chachach*
charcharachach amoun oēi
140 *iaeōbaphrgnemounothilarikriphiaeyeaiphirkira-*
lithon
141 *yomenerphabōēai chathach phneschēr phichrō*
phnyrō phōchōchoch
142 *iarbatha grammē phibaōchnēmeō.* This is the
spell spoken
143 seven times seven to Helios. This is the inscribed
on
144 the stone Heliodoros' lion-faced figure holding in
the left

145 hand the celestial axis and a whip and around him,
 in a circle, a serpent
 146 biting its tail. And on the exergue of the stone this
 name (write)
 147 xxxx and after passing an Anubian string through
 it
 148 wear it around your neck. The spell to Selene.
Inouthō
 149 *ptouaumi anharich charaptoumi anocha abithrou*
 150 *acharabaubau barathian ateb douananou aptyr*
panor
 151 *paurach soumi phorba phokiphorbarabau boēth*
aza phor rim
 152 *mirphar zaura ptauzou chōthar parachthizou zaith*
atiau
 153 *iabaou katantouml bathara chthibi anoch.*
 Having said this,
 154 you will see a star resolved after a while and
 155 transformed into a god. So, you, approaching (him)
 and having taken him by the hand,
 156 kiss him and say the same spell. *Ōptaumi naphthaubi*
 157 *maiouthmou mētrobal racheptoumi ammochari*
 158 *autheia. ..tamara chiōbitam tribōmis aracho isari*

159 *rachi iakoubi tauraberōmi antabi taubi*
When you have
160 said this he will respond. But say to him “what is
your divine
161 name without envy so that I may invoke
162 it. It consists of 15 letters. *Souesolyr phthē mōth*
163 And this is to be said next “come to me King, god of
the gods
164 strong, boundless, undefiled, indescribable, Aion
steadily
165 established, be inseparable from me from this
166 day and all the time of my life. Then
167 ask him according to the same oaths. If he tells you
the name, you
168 take his hand, descend the downstairs, recline him
(for dinner) as
169 aforementioned, putting before him food and drink
which you
170 partake of. When you release him, after his
departure,
171 sacrifice to him what is prescribed. Make a wine
offering, and in this way
172 you will be friend of the mighty angel. When you are
away from home
173 he will accompany you, when you are indigent, he
will give you money, he will tell you the
174 future and when and what time of the night or day, if

175 someone asks you “what I have in my soul?” or
 “what happened to me?” or
176 “what will happen to me?” ask the angel and he will
 tell you wordlessly, you
177 tell to the questioner as if (the answer comes) from
 yourself. When you die, he will shroud your body as
 worthy of a god and holding your spirit,
178 he will carry it into the air with him, because it does
 not go to Hades aerial spirit
179 united with the powerful assistant, since to him are
 all
180 subjected. Whenever you want to do something, just
 say his name to the air
181 and “come down” and you will see him, standing
 next to you. Then tell
182 him “Do this task” and he will immediately, and
 after doing it he will say to
183 you, “what else do you want?” I am in a hurry to (go
 back) to heaven.
184 If you do not have more
185 to order him immediately, say to him “Go, lord” and
 he will leave.
186 So, in this way, the god will be seen by you alone,
 nor
187 will anyone ever hear his voice speaking, just you
 yourself

188 alone. He will tell you about the illness of a man
 whether he will live
 189 or die, on what day and at what hour of night
 190 And he will also give you wild herbs and the power
 to cure
 191 and as god you will be [worshipped] having a god as
 friend. These
 192 things the mighty assistant will accomplish. So, do
 not give to
 193 anyone these (things) except your own son, when he
 claims
 194 the activities transmitted by us. Farewell. The
 address to the sun
 195 needs nothing except (the formula)
iaeōbaerhrenemoun and (the formula) *iarbatha* So,
 this is the (invocation)
 196 for the first-begotten and first-born son god
 197 Protective
 198 I summon you, lord, hear me god, holy god, who
 among the holy ones
 199 rest, at whose side Doxai stand forever.
 200 I call upon you, [first] father, I pray to you eternal,
 eternal bearer of the sun's rays
 201 eternal ruler of the celestial sphere, standing upon the
 seven-parts *chaō*
 202 *chaō cha ouph chthethōnimeethēchpinia meroum*
 203 *i alda zaō blathammachōth phrixa ēke . . . phyēidry*

204 *mēō pherphrithō iachthō psycheō phirithmeo*
roserōth

205 *thamastra phatiri taōch ialthemeache;* you who
 hold the deep root

206 who posses the mighty name, the consecrated
 207 by all angels. Hear me you, the establisher
 208 of the mighty decans and archangels, whom stand by
 209 ineffable myriads of angels. You have been arised to
 heaven and the lord

210 became witness of your wisdom and has blessed
 211 your power... his resemblance...
 212 as much strength as he himself has....lord of
 everything, in an hour of need;

213 listen to me.... my soul and I am confused
 214you who master over all

215 angels; protect me against all the supreme power of
 216 aerial daimonbecause I invoke y
 217 our secret name which reaches from the firmament to
 218 the earth. *Athēzophōim zadēageōbēphiatheaa am*
 219 *brammi abraam thalchilthoe elkothōōēē achthonon*
 220 *sa isak choēiourthasiō iōsia ichēmēō o o o*
 221 *aōaei* save me the hour of need Say this to Helios or
 222 whenever you need to do so. Necessary spell of
 invisibility

223 Having taken fat or an eye of a night owl and
 224 having ground them all together until smooth, smear
 all

225 your body and say to Helios: I adjure you by your
 great
 226 name *borkē phoiour iō zizia aparxeouch thythe*
lailam
 227 *aaaaaa iiiii iēō iēō iēō iēō iēō iēō iēō*
 228 *naux ai aeō aeō eāō* dampen it and say
 229 in addition: make me invisible, Lord Helios, *aeō oāē*
eiē eāō
 230 before any man until sunset *io io*
 232 *o phrixrizō eōā* memory spell
 233 Having taken hieratic papyrus write the prescribed
 names with Hermaic myrrh ink.
 234 And once you have written them as it is prescribed,
 wash them off into spring water
 235 from seven springs and drink it on empty stomach
 for seven days
 236 while the moon is in the east. But drink sufficient.
 These are the
 237 written on the strip of the papyrus: *kambrē chambre*
sixiōphi harpon
 238 *chnouphi bnntatenōphnbriskylma araouazar*
bamesen
 239 *kriphi niptoumi chmoumaōph aktiōphi artōse bibiou*
 240 *bibiou sphē sphē nousi nousi siegō siegō noucha*
noucha
 241 *linoucha linoucha chychba chychba kaxiō chychba*
dētophōth

242 *ii aa oo ēē ee ōō* After doing these wash the
 writing off and
 243 drink as is prescribed. This is the preparation of the
 ink: myrrh
 244 troglitis 4 drachms, 3 karian figs, 7 pits of Nikolaus
 dates, 7
 245 dried pinecones, 7 piths of single-stemmed
 wormwood,
 246 7 wings of Hermaic ibis, spring water. Having burnt
 these, prepare and write.
 247 Tested spell for invisibility. A great work
 248 Having taken an eye of an ape or a corpse that has
 died violently,
 249 rub this with oil of lily, and while you are rubbing
 from the right to the left, say the spell
 250 as follows: [verba Coptica]
 253 Rise up, infernal daimon *iō erbēth iō phobēth iō*
 254 *Pakerbēth iō apomps*. If I, the NN, order you to do
 (something),
 255 be obedient to me. And if you wish to become
 invisible
 256 smear just your forehead with the mixture
 257 and you will be invisible during the time you wish.
 And if you wish
 258 to be visible, move from west to east and
 259 pronounce this name and you will be seen and
 visible to all

260 men . The name is *marmarioth*
261 *marmaripheggē* Make, xx, visible to all on this day,
immediately, immediately,
quickly, quickly. It works very well.

263 Apollonian invocation

264 Take a seven-leafed sprig of laurel and hold it in
your right hand

265 while you call the celestial and chthonic gods. Write
266 on the sprig of laurel the seven protective characters
267 The characters are these:
269 the first character onto the first leaf, the second
270 again in the same way on the second (leaf) until
finish the seven leafs and

271 the seven characters. Watch not to lose a leaf
272 and harm yourself. Because this is the body's
greatest protective amulet, to which
273 all are subjected, and seas and rocks tremble
274 and the daimons try to be protected from the divine
energy which

275 you are going to have. Because it the greatest
protective amulet for

276 the ritual so as not to fear anything. This is the rite
277 Take a lamp not colored red and prepare it with fine
linen cloth

278 and rose oil or oil of spikenard and dress yourself in
a prophetic

279 garment and hold an ebony staff in the left hand and

280 the protective amulet in the right, which is the sprig
 of laurel
 281 Have ready a wolf's head, so that you can put
 282 the lamp on the wolf's head and an altar of unbaked
 clay
 283 set up near the head and the lamp, so that you may
 sacrifice
 284 on it to the god, and immediately the divine spirit
 enters. The
 285 offering is a wolf's eye, storax gum, cassia,
 286 balsam gum and whatever is value among the spices
 and make a libation of
 287 wine and honey and milk and rainwater.
 288 and make 7 flat cakes and 7 round cakes. All these
 you are going to make
 289 near to the lamp, dressed and abstaining from
 290 all the unclean things and from all eating of fish
 291 and from all sexual intercourse, so that you may
 bring the god into the greatest
 292 desire to you. These are the names you are going to
 write
 293 on the linen cloth and which you will put as a wick
 into the lamp, not painted red
 294 *aberamenthōoulerthexanaxethrenlyoōthnemaraibai*
 295 *aeminnaebarō therrethōbabeanimea*. When you have
 performed

296 all the aforesaid invoke (the god) with this song
“Lord Apollo, come with Paian
297 give me an answer to what I ask, Lord
298 Master leave mountain Parnassos and the Delphic
Pytho
299 because our mouths utter unutterable words.
300 First angel of the god, of great Zeus, IAO
301 and you who domain the heavenly cosmos, Michael
302 I call also you Archangel Gabriel, come here from
Olympos
303 Abrasax, rejoicing in dawns, come graciously
304 who look upon the sunset from the dawn Adonai
305 all nature trembles in front of you, father of the
world,
306 I adjure you by god’s head, which is Olympos
307 I adjure you by god’s seal, which is vision
308 I adjure you by the right hand that you held over the
cosmos
309 I adjure you by eternal god, aion of all
310 I adjure you self growing nature, almightiest
Adonaios
311 I adjure you by setting and rising Eloaios
312 I adjure you by these sacred and divine names
313 that they send me the godly spirit and fulfill
314 what I have in my mind and my soul
315 Listen, blessed one, I summon you leader of sky
316 and earth and Chaos and Hades where...

317 send me this daimon through my sacred charms,
318 who by night is driven following the orders of your
compulsion
319 from whose own tent this come and let him tell me.

320 everything I have in my mind, speaking the truth
321 (Send him) gentle, gracious, without thinking
anything against me
322 neither you be wroth towards my sacred chants
323 but take care that my entire body comes to light
intact
324 because you arrange these things among the
humankind in order to be taught
325 I call your name in number equal to the Moirai
326 *achaiphothothōaiēiaēiaaiēaiēiao*
327 *thōthōphiacha* and when he enters ask him
328 about what you want, about the prophecy, about
divination through epic verses
329 about the sending of dreams, about the requesting of
a dream, about
330 the interpretation of dreams, about the striking with
disease
331 about everything that forms the magical experience.
332 Cover a throne and a couch with a cloth of linen,
333 but remain standing up while you sacrifice with the
abovementioned
334 burnt offering. After the enquiry, if you want

335 to release the god himself, shift the aforementioned
336 ebony staff that you are holding in the left
337 hand to the right hand and shift the sprig of
338 laurel that you are holding to the right hand
339 to your left hand and extinguish
340 the burning lamp and use the same
341 burnt offering while saying: be propitious to me, first
father
342 eldest-born, self-engendered. I adjure the fire
343 which first appear in the abyss
344 I adjure your power, the greatest of all
345 I adjure him who destroys as far as in Hades
346 so you may leave for your ships, and don't
347 harm me, but be forever well disposed.

3.3 Paleographic Commentary

1. **παρεδρικωσ** : The horizontal stroke of the ε is abraded. The ω is closed at the top, as if the scribe changed his mind and instead of an ω he tried to write an ο. Perhaps he was not sure about the right orthography of the word.

πρωσ: Pa. restored the letter as θ. There is a lunate shape, which could be interpreted as c, but there is clearly ink above it in a form very similar to a θ. Although I cannot explain the ink above the c, I have chosen to restore the letter as c because the ductus of the letter, to my eyes, matches more closely to that of c rather than of θ which is usually shaped in oval with a cross bar in the middle exceeding the margins of the oval.

Πρωσ[λαμβανεται]: I have chosen this because the text speaks about λήψις.

ωσ: These two letters are slightly abraded and the ω is written higher than the other letters.

In the first line Pr. change the clause of purpose that is in the original text to relative clause. I believe that it is unnecessary, because the syntax is correct.

2. **κ.**: Pr., Pa και

The letters are almost entirely abraded. From the first letter, what has been left on the surface indicates a rounded letter such as ο, α etc.

3. **δωσ**: Pr. ουσ Pa δυο

The left part of the δ is abraded.

.**του**: There is ink before the letter τ at the upper part, but I consider it too risky to speculate about its identity because of the extensive abrasion of the surface.

4 **τριχα[ς**: Pr. Pa τριχα[ς

There is a rounded letter with its right part lost in the lacuna. Although its context helps us to restore an α there, I have prefer to dot it because out of its context it is hard to say whether we have an α or an ο.

κε]φ.λης: Pr. κε]φαλης Paης

Of the first dotted letter, its right part is lost in the lacuna, and of the other half, the lower part is abraded but its particular way of formation makes it recognizable. Of the second dotted letter, apparently an α, only traces of a left descending stroke (/) have remained. Λ, although abraded, is readable.

5. **]μελαινης**: Pa ς] μελαινης Pr. βο]ος μελαινης

The first dotted letter is almost lost in the lacuna. There is only a flake of ink surviving from it upper right part. The second dotted is abraded but seems to have a lunate shape which fits with the context.

6. **α`τ'τικογ...**: A τ was forgotten and added later, so it is written above the α. The last letter of the word, a ν is all damaged except for its first vertical stroke, a fact that makes it unreadable out of its context and explains the dot. The other letters are abraded and only minimum traces of their very upper parts remain.

...ηδευσον: Only undistinguishable minimum traces of letter.

7. **τιθειδ**: Pr. Pa τιθει

The cross bar of θ is abraded and, in isolation, could be also considered as ο. The upper half of ε, and δ have also suffered abrasion. Some traces of ink from the very tops of the letters have survived. After these, there is a minimal trace of ink belonging to the bottom of the damaged letter.

υτο: Pr. Pa αυτου

After the lacuna, the surface is abraded and what we can see is a very faint stroke descending from left to right. (\\).

8. **χα[.]ιον:** Pr. χάρτην καθαρων, Eit. χαλκοῦν γραφίον, Abt- Wü coi γραφε, Hein. χαρτίον βασίλειον Pa. [c/////νονcy γραφε

Before the ι there is ink at the middle letter height, albeit, insufficient to help the identification of the letter. Eitrem's and Hein.'s restorations are more loyal to the text in the papyrus. I preferred Hein.'s because it is common in the corpus to find instructions about the quality of the paper needed for the fulfillment of the recipe, and it has (always) to be of the best quality.

11. **]ακιω:** Pr., Pa]ακιω

What remains from the letter is the down part of a descending stroke from left to right (\\).

20. **μ.λιτι:** Pa. [μελιτι] Pr. μελιτι

A split running down the papyrus has damaged almost the entirety of the letter. I am able to see a stain of ink at the middle letter height.

21. **καρ.ιαι:** Pr., Pa καρδιαι

The letter is abraded. There is only ink belonging at the top of the letter.

λαβων: Pr., Pa λαβων

The letter is abraded. A descending right to left stroke is visible (/).

24. **λεγεα, τικρυς**: Pr. λεγεα ντικρυς Pa. [ιτα] αντικρυς

There is a split just before the letter which has affected it. There is ink at the bottom of the letter and a vertical stroke. The interpretation of Pa. is incorrect.

25. **εθος... ει**: Pr. ωσεθοσεχεις Pa. ωσεθοσεστι

There is a lacuna that has damaged the letter. Only some ink from the very top of the letters remains on the papyrus. The last dotted letter is an a(?) that has been damaged by a split. A vertical stroke is still visible.

27. **δ[]μων**: Pr., Pa δ[αι]μων

I think there is a minimal trace of ink at the very top of the letter, and therefore I preferred to dot it instead of putting it in brackets.

αρπον[]ο[]φι: Pr. αρπον [κνου]φι Pa. αρπον [χνουφι]

The first dotted letter is almost entirely lost in the lacuna. Only a minimal trace of ink has remained before the lacuna at the upper part of the letter. The under-dotted letter is an a, rounded but abraded.

29. **{α}οε**: Pa. ο ε Pr. ε

It seems more like a blot of ink. I am quite sure that the scribe, having made a mistake, wrote an α instead of ο. This ο does not appear in the edition by Pr.

31. **θ.. αττη**: Pr., Pa. θαλαττη

The under-dotted letter is a rounded letter. The context suggests the solution of a θ, but seen in isolation, this is not clear because its crossing stroke is totally abraded. From the dotted letters only minimal traces of ink have survived at the upper part of the letter.

καιαλλ[....]αι:Pr. και αλλ[οιωνζω]η Pa. αλ[λα////η]

καθως.ερ: Pr. Pa. καθωςπερ

From the dotted letter, only a descending stroke from right to left (/) is still discernable. The under-dotted letter is a rounded one, but as the vertical stroke of the expected ρ is missing I preferred to dot it.

32. **σπορα[.....]ηι αρρ`ω` .κτη:**Pr. σποραν επ[ι.... βασει]αρραιοστω (ι.αρρωσθη) Pa. [..... κ////////...]

Next to ρ seems to be rounded letter, as we would expect. Then, there is an abraded stain of ink at the middle letter height. The last letter before the lacuna has the form of a reversed ν, and it could be a λ or a μ, or even an α. Regarding the letters after the lacuna I am uncertain because they are abraded. Some ink seems to exist before the α, but this might be a fiber from the papyrus. Although there is enough ink, I am not able to identify the letter below the other letter. It is too small and looks like a blot of ink.

33. **σπρωϊαεναιοσκαιο[.....]βυτης:** Pa.ο πρω[τ]α [.. και.]////////αυτη(ς) Pr. ο πρωϊαεναιοσκαιο[ψε πρεσ]βυτης.

Pa. was confused with the dieresis of the ι and read it as τ. Regarding νεαρος, this must be a mistake because only 5 letters are present, not 6.

34: **πολ[]νκαιπ...ι. εος[.....]ωνοδ`τ`α :** Pa.

The abrasion and the lacuna make the reading doubtful. Perhaps, with close scrutiny, it is possible to discern the shadow of a ν before εος and this argues in favor of the word πυριπνεος, however, I have to stress that before ι, what remains on the papyrus does not

indicates a ρ. It seems to be a big letter formed by an arc facing rightwards.

35. **νιαο[]οναα..[...].ιτο[.....]ινεον:** Pa. νιαα νιαα.....////////ινεον] Pr. νι α ο γοναα [ιαιε ε]πι τ[ο ιερον ερ]ινεον

The majority of the letters are partly damaged or abraded, and categorical identification is too risky.

36. **νεκεω...υ[.]αυθεν[.....]** :Pa. νεκεωα [.]αυθεν.]//////// Pr. διηνεκεωα (l. διηνεχεωα) [το]υ[το] αυθεν[τικον σου]

From the dotted letters, only flecks of ink have survived. From the first under-dotted letter, the left upper part has survived- a loop- which matches with the υ. The second under-dotted letter is a rounded letter.

37. **π.μπομε[.]..α[...]:** Pa. πεμ...////////[αα]//////// Pr. πεμπομε[νο]α [δε] αβ[λαυτοσιθι]

Some letters have been lost in the lacuna an only small traces of ink remain at the bottom. After α,m there is some ink, but so little that I am not able to restore it.

38. **πρ.αρηρηνηνηβρω`δ´[.....]:** Pa. προαρηρηνηνη βρω[αααα του]διπνου Pr. προαρηρηνηνη βρω[αααα αα]ι του διπνου

πρ α: Abraded letter. There is only a small trace of ink at the bottom of the letter. An arc facing rightwards forms the under-dotted letter.

39. **νηαπαραθεααααααπ[]τοαααααα:** Pa. μενηα παραθεαααααα////////αααααα Pr. μενηα παραθεαααααα [πελαααααα] το αααααα

..νηα: The lower part of the letters is abraded and I cannot identify them.

40. λοσο...ι...αιαικε[-c.16][.]πραξι...: Pa.
[λ////////σταικ.]//////////πραξ////////

Pr. λοστ[ω θεω]ειλικρ[ινειαν δεεχει πασαν] η πραξις [αυτη] (l. τωθεω ω]ηλικε[c]

After λoc I think we have a rounded letter, and the letter I have restored as ι exists on the papyrus as a tall descending stroke (/).

41. **κρυβεκρυβ.[]ηνπρ**: Pa. κρυβε κρυβ[ε][τηνπρ////////] Pr. κρυβε κρυβ[ε]τηνπρ[αξιν και απε]χε

The expected ε of κρυβε is lost but I think there is a minimal trace of ink at the middle letter height and a dot is a more accurate assessment than brackets.

42. **συνουσιααιγυναικι** : Pa. συνουc[ια..αι] γυναικ[ι]

In the restoration by Pr. there is an evident problem with the space. The π-if it is- cannot possibly be the π of Pnouthios. There is much more space than would be required for just three missing letters.

43. **πνουθιουκηρυκιου**: Pa. [... υτιου] κηρυκι[ου Pr. πνουθιουκηρυκιε

The beginning of this line is problematic. There is a cross, and over it the stroke of the *paragraphos*. However, before these, in the margin there is a letter. To my eyes it seems like an α or η, and below, a symbol in the form of reverse interrogative. *Paragraphos* is obviously used to separate the recipes. The cross could be also explained by the epistolary form of the recipe. It was common to open a letter with a cross.

44.**προεταξακοι ηνδε**: Pa. προεταξα[κοι ] Pr.
προεταξακοι[το]νδε

Before the ν there is ink, but not in rounded shape. There is a clearly visible vertical stroke, therefore I preferred to restore it as η.

45. **επιτελο..τ...δετ[.]ιν**: Pa. επι τε////////[δειν////////ον] Pr. επιτελ[ου]ν]τα [τη]νδε[την πραξιν]

The surface is damaged and only ink from the top of the letters remains on the papyrus.

46. **τακαταλειπ...[.].....**: Pa. τα καταλ[αμ.....////////[εκ] Pr. Τα καταλει[πομενα ημινεν] βιβλοισ.

Only ink from the central part of the letters remains. E has lost its half upper part and π its horizontal stroke. Although ink remains from the other letter dotted letters, I cannot distinguish what they could be.

47. **επαν.ωντα[.....].τουντα**: Pa.[..νιος.....τεο]//////// Pr. τα [ε]ν παν[των]ληα <υπηρετ>ουντα

For the first two letters, although we can reconstruct them from the previous line, the ink is disturbed. E is abraded and for **ων**, I am not quite sure where the individual letters start and where they stop. After the lacuna there is a small diagonal stroke (/) at the lower part of the letter.

48. **δ.ονεπεδα.ααο[.....]**: Pa. δρονεισ [δεμασ.....////////αγιον] Pr. δρον επεδει[ξ]α αο[...παρεδρον]

I think Pr.'s restoration is not paleographically supported. Ξ is a quite big letter with a characteristic form, and in this part of the papyrus the abrasion is extensive, but I cannot ascertain there is a letter totally missing, or, at least a space where a ξ could fit. Moreover, where the ξ is supposed to be there is ink at the top of the

letter and instead of a horizontal stroke there is a mark resembling an inverted ‘v’.

49. **μονουαο** [.....] **ν.οc**: Pa. [με.νουα. //.....] οcω]φιλ. αεριον Pr. υμαc και μονον αι..... τοc, ω φιλαι αεριον

After α there is an arc facing down. Then there is a tiny trace of ink.

50. **εξυματωνεωρουμ** [....] **ε**: Pa. πνευματων θωρουμενωνδε Pr. πνευματων χωρουμ[ενων]...με

The first two letters have lost their upper part. At the lower part we have four damaged vertical strokes. E has also lost its upper part. On the papyrus there is a damaged θ, with its cross bar easily visible.

51. **πεισαντεcεcχομ** : Pa. πεισαντεcεc[...//.....] δε Pr. πεισαντεcεcομ [.....] νυ]

X is easily distinguishable in the papyrus. After μ there is a very small trace of ink at the bottom of the letter.

52. **ινκμαθηc**: Pa., Pr. ἰνεκμαθηc

53. **παcαc** : Pa. παcαc Pr. παcαc τα[c

Only flecks of ink have survived from middle height of the letters.

54. **παρερουλη** [.] **c**: Pa. παρεδρο [λ Pr. παρεδρου λ[

55. **γνευcαcη** ρ: Pa., Pr. γνευcαc και

I am not sure about the letter η. As it is formed, it could be also a κ.

56. **ιαcκ.ενοιαβουλει**: Pa., Pr. cιαcκαιενοιαβουλει

I am not able to read the dotted letters because they are very abraded and only dispersed traces of ink remain.

δωματοcενθεν: Pa. αλλου Pr. υψηλου

The proposals of the previous editors are incorrect. In the papyrus, the letters are clear enough for accurate identification.

57. ενδεδυμενοςκ.θαρ.: Pa.εν.....μεν..... Pr. ενδεδυμενος
καθαρως

Letters seriously damaged or abraded.

58. ογιν ης ελειαα: Pa. [.. εν.....] Pr. απογτης..ελειαα

60.κ.φ.[-c.8-]ν.τελλοντος: Pa. κεφα[λην πριν α]νατελλοντος Pr.
κεφα[λην και α]νατελλοντος

κ φ : The half upper part of κ is totally abraded. The next letter is abraded. Then there is a vertical stroke that goes down to the interlinear space. The last letter before the lacuna is also very abraded.

ν.τελλοντος: There is a lacuna causing damage to the letter.

61.κατασειωντηνηκε[: Pr. κατασειωντηνηκεφ[αPa.
κατασειωντηνηκε[

62. επιθωνλιβα[: Pr. επιθωνλιβανον α[Pa. επιθωνλιβα[

λιβα : Only the lower part of a stroke descending from right to left (/) remains.

63. επιπεδωνεπιθουα[]νου Pr. επιθουαα [επι γη]νου
θυμιατηριου Pa. επιθουαα [και του] θυμιατηριου

ε.ανθ.: Pr. επ ανθρ Pa. [επ....]. The lower parts of the letters are abraded.

64.ηλιοτροπιου.[.....]εται: Pr. ηλιοτροπιου β[οτανης ε]εται Pa.
ηλιοτροπιου ////εται.

There is ink at the very bottom of the letter, but in shape that I cannot identify.

65. ιεραξκ.τ: Pr. ιεραξ κατ[Pa. ιεραξ.. Abraded letters.

66.],μηκη: Pr. ευμηκη Pa. ευ]μηκη There is a vertical stroke visible.

69. περι : Pr. περιτ[ον Pa. περι [τον

There are traces of ink of the bottom of the letter. They seem to belong to a descending stroke (/).

70. **δοματιονς[]νκαι:** Pr. δοματιονς[ου παλι]νκαι Pa. δοματιον/////ε]ν και

71. **λεγετονυμ[]τον[]ε:** Pr. λεγετονυμ[νικον]τονδε Pa. . λεγε[τονλογον]τονδε

76. **βουλα . υντομωσ:** Pr. Pa βουλασ συντομωσ

Minimal trace of ink.

78. **κατ[.]ησον:** Pr. Pa κατ[αφιλ]ησον

After τ there is a rightwards descending stroke (\) which could be the descending stroke of the α, but out of context, it could also be seen as the descending part of the λ. Regarding the second dotted letter, the remnants suggest a λ but as the left part is damaged we cannot exclude the possibility of an α.

79. **ς:** Pr. Pa ωσ προς

There is ink at the lower right part of the letter insufficient-to my eyes- to be identified.

80. **οπωσ:**

Only an almost vertical stroke at the right part of the letter has survived.

81. **προς[...]:** Pr. προσι[γηση Pa προα[πιη

There is a vertical stroke after c. About the restoration of Pr. as προσι[γήση μη]δὲ I doubt that in this space six letters could fit.

In the same space in the next line, he has restored only three letters.

82. [...],δω: The first dotted letter has lost its right part. However, it is clear that it is a lunate or a circular letter. From the second, there is only a trace of ink at its lower right part.

83. καταπηδα.: There is still visible the upper part of a vertical stroke.

84. ρωτον: It seems that there is a vertical stroke before π.

85. αντοια: There is a vertical stroke before α.

86. .στον: There is a vertical stroke before c.

υπηρετουντ.ς: There is a small lacuna that has damaged the upper part of the letters. C is still recognizable but the next letter is not.

87. ο.[.]ελος: Traces of ink belonging to a rounded letter.

101. δεσμων αλυσει: Pr. Pa δεσμων [α]λυσει

I think there is a minimal trace of ink very close to λ.

102. .αθολου: Pr. Pa [κ]αθολου

There is a small trace of ink at the lower edge of the lacuna.

105. χοιρ`ο`ιον[.]ντο: Pr. Pa χοιριον [τ]ουτο

107: υπρ.πος: Pr. Pa ευπρεπωσ

Letters abraded and I can distinguish that the penultimate letter is ο.

109. μ.ρμαρ[....]τας: Pr. μαρμαρωθε[ν]τας Pa. μαρμαρωθ[εντα]ς

Letters abraded.

112. κομη...ταυτ.: Pr. κομησει Pa. κομη[σει]

The lower part of the letter is lost in the lacuna and the ink survived is abraded.

113. .υ...μωσ: Pr. Pa συντομωσ

Letters abraded and partly lost in the the lacuna.

The following lines has suffered a crack that caused a lacuna across them. At the edge of the lacuna there are abraded letters

114. **πρ[...]σαντα**: Pr. προ[τερη]σαντα Pa [προ.////...οντα] Wu
πρω[τευ]οντα

117. **κο. ιζ. και**: Pr. Pa κοιμίζει και

119. **ρπ. του βασταζει**: Pr. Pa ερπετου βασταζει c[ε εις]

123. **τ. αφροναλ[...]. αι**: Pr. τον αφρον αλι[δρομ]ον και Pa τον
αφρον αν////...αι]θεληστα θερμα

124. **θελη[....]. μα**: Pr. Pa θελης [τα θερ]μα

127. **ει. ανεπ. γοσης. ωμ[].. μυστα**: Pr. εις αν επινοσης ω μα[καρι]ε
μυστα Pa [ει...ον επευ. νησωμαι////...] υστατης

128. **τελ..... οκρατιςτος[...]. εδρος**: Pr. Pa τελεσαι κοι ο κρατιςτος
παρεδρος

131. **..... του κυρι[.....]. το μεγα**: Pr. αξιωθεις υπο του κυρι[ου θεου]
το μεγα Pa αξιως..... του κυρι[ου] το μεγα

132. **ολεγομενοσε[...]. απρος**: Pr. ε[πτακικς επ]τα προς Pa [ε////αια]
προς

153. **χοιβι**: Pr. read χθιβι but the circle is less oval than usual in the
case of a θ and the horizontal stroke does not penetrate both edges;
compare the ο at the beginning of the next sentence.

155. **π. ι[]υμ[]ον**: Pr. ποι[ο]υμ[ε]νον ποιου[μεν]ον

Of the first dotted letter only the lower left part has survived the
abrasion. It forms a lunate shape which can be interpreted in many
ways. The first letter in square cketets is completely abraded, but
the ink has left a mark on the papyrus so we can read the letter. The
right part of the μ and the next letter are lost in a lacuna. Of the last
dotted letter, only the upper part of a vertical stroke has survived.
Pa. transcribe the word as ποι ου[μ.]ον.

156. **καταφ[...]. ον**: Pa. καταφ[ιλης]ον Pr. καταφιλων

The fibers next to the aforementioned lacuna have been lost and only the right part of the o has survived. Pr. restored the lacuna καταφιλων and Pa. καταφιλησων. I believe that the restoration of Pa. is more correct as the letters that can fit here exceed two and a half. Moreover, the under dotted letter is more probably an o because its top seems to be closed and not open, as would be the case with an ω.

158. **αυθει·α:** After the under dotted letter, the first layer of fibers has been lost, which has affected the letter. It is clear that it is a rounded letter but impossible to say which one with precision. There is also a small horizontal stroke at the middle height of the letter and it is unclear whether it belongs to this letter or the next one, or it is a ligature.

159. **ια..υβι:** Pa. ια..ουβι Pr. ια[κου]βι

We have a large lacuna that has affected four lines. The first dotted letter is hardly recognizable because only an abraded ascending diagonal stroke (/) has survived, a v is more probable in my opinion than a μ.(??) Of the second dotted letter there is only a minimal trace of ink.

160. **α[.] κριθησεται:** Pa.[απο]κριθησεται Pr. [απ]οκριθησεται

The first under dotted letter seems to be a rounded one would match with an expected α. Of the second dotted letter, a descending diagonal stroke at the upper right part of the letter is visible.

161. **ο[.]α:** Pa. ο[νομ]α Pr. ον[ομ]α

From the dotted letter, only a diagonal stroke (/) with a cap at the top which could be the beginning of another stroke, has survived. Perhaps a μ or a ν.

επικαλεσω: A smudge below κ.

163. **και**: The vertical stroke of the κ has been almost completely destroyed and it now resembles a c.

165. **κτηριγενον**: Pa., Pr.κατεκτηριγ[μ]ενον

The fibers have been lost and the left part of the letter is lost.

166. **επι**: The cross bar of ε is lost and it seems more like a c.

κλινοναυτο

176. **επερωτα**: The letter is abraded at the lower part. It has a lunate shape with a cross bar, so it could be either ε or θ, but it is not clear.

178. ...**στελει**: Pa. περιτελει Pr. [περι]τελει

The surface is damaged and the fibers are missing. The papyrus still preserves some traces at the top of the letters. There is a fleck of ink, then a right angle (L) and then α blurred arc facing rightwards. The solution proposed by Pr. and Pa. is very reasonable in this context, but not easily accepted paleographically.

179. **αερ[.]ξει**: Pa. αερα αξει Pr. αερ[α α]ξει

The surface layer of the fibers has been removed and this has affected the letter. The left part of the letter has been totally destroyed, but the right part indicates a letter such as ξ.

ουρησει: Pa. ου χωρησει Pr. ου χ[ω]ρησει

There are only some minimal traces of ink at the bottom of the letter. Pa. reads ου instead of ου but the letter is clearly an o not an c.

181. **υποκειτ ι**: Pa. υποκειται Pr. υποκει[ται]

The lost fibers have affected the letter. There is a curved stroke at the down part of the letter.

αερα: There are missing fibers at the center of the letters. At the top and the bottom of the letters, traces of ink have survived. At the first dotted letter there is a vertical stroke that goes down and trace of at the top of the letter that matches with the upper part of the loop of ρ. Of the second, there is a trace at the top that seems to be the very beginning of the descending diagonal. At the bottom there is a thin horizontal stroke.

183. **ποιη...**: Pa. ποιηcov Pr. ποιη[cov]

The fibers are missing and only some uncertain traces have remained at the bottom of the letters.

185. **κυιε:** Pa., Pr. κυριε

Some fibers have been lost and the lower part of the υ is damaged. Of the next letter, only a horizontal trace has survived at the top of the letter, but it is hard to identify it with certainty.

186. **ουτ...υν:** Pa., Pr. ουτωc ουν

The pressure of the folding has damaged the surface. Of the dotted letters, we have only dispersed traces of ink especially at their bottom. Curiously, before the υ there is ink clearly in form of an ω. Perhaps the scribe wrote an ω by mistake, instead of an ο and in order to emend it he closed it on the top. The υ is abraded at the upper part but it is still legible.

187. **ποτε:** The horizontal stroke of π and τ are completely abraded.

λαλυντωc: Pa., Pr. λαλουντωc

The letter is abraded and only the upper half of an arc facing rightwards is still visible.

188. **μον[.]:** Pa. μονοc, Pr. μον[o]c

The lower part of the letter is lost in the lacuna. There is a horizontal stroke at the top of the letter.

κατ. κλισεως: Pa., Pr. κατακλισεως

The lower part of the letter is abraded. The surviving part, an arc at the top facing downwards is not sufficient to identify it.

189. **τελ[.]ει:** Pa., Pr. τελ[ευτης]ει

From the dotted letters we have two traces of ink at their top.

ημεραι: The lower part of the letter is damaged because the fibers have been lost and there are small lacunae. The P retains its loop, but the major part of its vertical stroke is missing.

190. **δε:** Pa., Pr. δε

The bottom horizontal stroke of the Δ is lost and from the ε only an arc facing rightwards remains

αγια: The a has lost its circle and only its oblique stroke descending to the right remains.

βοτανα: The lower loop of the β is missing.

θ.ρ[.]ευσει: Pa. θεραπευσει Pr. θερ[α]πυσει

There is a break above the letters and a lacuna after them that has affected them. The E is limited to an arc and next to it, underneath the bottom line, there is a vertical stroke suggesting a ρ.

190. **προ[.]υνηθησει:** Pa., Pr. προ[κκ]υνηθησει

There is large arc still visible suggesting an c and an ε, but also a κ would match with the context.

191. **φιλ:** The letters are damaged and the traces left on the papyrus could also suggest other letters out of the context. The I has lost its upper part and could also be seen as a damaged T and the λ has lost its right part so could be interpreted as an N.

α υσει: The letter is blurred. I am only able to see something like a diagonal dash (/).

192. **ται[]ς:** There is an arc at the bottom of the line facing upwards suggesting a rounded or semicircular letter and the c has lost its left upper part in the lacuna. Only the endings of the lunate remain visible.

193. **μονω[]υ:** From the first dotted letter there is only a minimal trace of ink at mid letter height. The Y is fragmentary because it has lost its left part.

[]ρημων: There is an uncertain trace of ink at the upper letter height. The P has lost its loop but the vertical stroke goes further down to the bottom line suggesting it.

194. **ενεργματα:** The letter is abraded and can only be seen by very careful inspection..

λεγομενον: The break has disturbed the fibers and the ink is confused.

195. **ει η:** An abraded letter. There is a semicircle at the left part.

και βαθα: As in the previous line the fibers have been disturbed and there are uncertain traces of ink.

196. **τουπρωτο:** From the first under dotted letter, only a long vertical stroke at the left part remains suggesting an N or a Π. The P has lost its vertical stroke.

γξ νου: An abraded letter; only a trace of ink at mid letter height probably belonging to a descending diagonal stroke (\\) is discernible.

198. **επικαλομαι**: There is only a minimal trace of ink at the left upper part remaining from the dotted letter. The M has lost its left part.

199. **πανομ[]γος**: The left vertical stroke of N has been lost in the lacuna and the lower part of the other two are totally abraded.

Παρεστηκσι: There is no α on the papyrus, as Pa. and Pr. have transcribed; there is only a vertical stroke.

διηκως: There is a stain of ink at the left upper part visible from the first dotted letter, and from the second few uncertain traces at the top and the bottom.

200. **τωρ**: The first letter is blurred and partly lost in the lacuna. A very faint Γ remains on the papyrus suggesting a π or an α Γ. The From the next two dotted letter there are uncertain traces of ink at the bottom of the line.

206. **κατεχω οτοις**: Pa. κατεχω [co] το ις[χυρον] Pr. κατεχω[ν ο] το

207. [] **ποπα...ν**: Pr. [υ]πο παντων Pa. προ παντων

αρχαγγελου ωπαρετηκασιν: Pr. Pa. αρχαγγελου ω παρετηκασιν

210-218: These lines are very damaged and the letters very abraded. Sometimes, the photo does not help to distinguish the ink from the fibres. I give my reading and the reading of the previous editors.

210. **οεπεμ[] τυρησεν ησοφια..υκαικατηλο...εν**: Pa. οε

[επεμ/////μυριασι ..σι.ρ.τουκαι καταυλ...εν] Pr. οε επεμ[αρ]τυρησεν

[τ]η σοφια σου και κατηλογησεν

211. **σουδυν μινκαιεις .ογ.οιθετ....αθομοιοτη..αυ.ου** : Pa. σου

δυν[να]μιν [και εις..τοις θε[λε]ιν καθ ομοιωσιν αυτου] Pr. σου

δυν[α]μιν και ειπεν σε σθενειν καθ ομοιοτητα αυτου

212. **οσον.α[.]υτο.....ει.ι.αλ...αις**: Pa. [οσον και αυτος [ε]θε[λ]ει] επικαλουμαι σε Pr.οσον και αυτος cθενει επικαλουμαι σε, κυριε

213. **γκησεπ.ουσομ.τι.....μου**: Pa. κης επακουσον μου οτι [θ[ολου]ται μου] η ψυχη Pr. κης επα[κ]ουσον μο[υ] οτι [θλ]ι[βε]ται μου Abt. θ[ολουτ]αι

214. **μαι...[.]..... οκυριε**: Pa. μαι [.....ναι..βα.....οιο] κυριευων Pr. μαι α[παντων] αβου[λος διο ελθε]μοι ο κυριε Eitr. [απορ]ια [και] βα[κανιζομ]αι

215. **αγγελω.....ς**: Pa. Pr. αγγελων υπερασπισον

216. **κιασδαιμονοσαε..[.].....να**: Pa.κιας δαιμονος [θ.ε...α////ειμαρμενης ναι Pr. δαιμονος αεριου και ειμαρμενης ναι

217. **ουμαιουτοκρ.[]**: Pa. ου το κρυ[π]τον Pr.

264. **κλ.να**: There is a lacuna and the surface is seriously abraded. There is a tiny trace of ink at the upper left part of the letter and at the right the remaining ink forms an angle a right angle. It would be plausible to think that there are two letters missing because there is enough space. The context gives the solution in this case.

δαφν.ς: There is a small lacuna and the letters are extremely abraded. Only speck of ink at the mid letter height has survived from the first letter; from the second dotted letter there are two traces of ink, at the bottom, and at the top a slightly ascending horizontal stroke

ε.εξντη: There are two flecks of ink at the bottom remaining from the dotted letter, one at the left and one at the right, a horizontal stroke at mid letter height and a tiny trace of ink at the right top of the letter. The E is limited to an arc without a cross bar.

ειρ: Only the upper half of the letter is still visible

269. [.]**υτερον**: Only a descending oblique stroke at mid letter height is still visible from the dotted letter.

271. **· cεαυ**: A lacunose letter. Only two traces of ink have survived at the upper and lower left part.

282. **κε.. ληc**: The letters of this word are abraded. However the only unrecognizable is the letter after ε. We can see only some uncertain flecks of ink at the mid letter height.

286. **και...**: The reading out of the context is very dubious because of the abrasion. The first dotted letter at the bottom has an arc facing upwards which implies a rounded letter. There are also some flecks of ink at the upper letter height. The T has lost its horizontal stroke and the ι is almost totally abraded. Only the mark(shadow?) of the ink on the papyrus is visible and a few tiniest traces of ink.

εντιμ·ν: The letter is extremely abraded. Some traces of ink remain at the left part of the letter

287. **· .ν.π.οι... κα.μελι.οc**: Pa. cον] απο οινου και μελιτοc Pr. (τελε)cον απο οινου και μελιτοc

304. **τραμξ**: The right part of the μ is abraded and there are two traces of ink at the top of the letters. The second under dotted letter seems to be ligatured with the next ε. However, this is a misleading impression they are not ligatured, but the cross bar of the ε touches the next letter.

τξ: Pa. reads cε but this is a mistaken reading. It is a T, not very well formed but still visible.

308. **θεου**: The cross bar is abraded and it appears like an o.

311. **δυνοντα**: The letter is formed by two arcs facing in different directions, one rightwards and the other leftwards. It is possible that

the scribe first wrote a c and then tried to correct his error by forming the letter in this way.

αc: Pa. and Pr. read η but the letter is an α.

331. **εμπειρια:** There is a lacuna that has damaged the upper part of the letters. At the bottom of the letters, two vertical strokes and an arc facing upwards are still discernible. After them there are traces of ink at the mid letter height.

334. **θ.ματος:** There is a break that passes over the letter and damaged it. There are only some tiny traces of ink, but these are sufficient for the identification of the letter.

εξ τα: A break passes over the letter and it has been lost in the resulting lacuna. There is only a small trace of ink at right upper-letter height

335. **ε.εννινην:** The break has also damaged this letter; but some traces of ink at the edges of the break remain.

338. **επ.θυματος:** At lower-letter height there survives a part of a vertical stroke.

3.4 Textual Commentary *PGM I*

PGM I 1-42

1-2 The first spell of the papyrus contains instructions on how to acquire a divine assistant, a *daimon*, which is going to stand by the practitioner, *παρεδρικῶς*.³⁶ It details how the *daimon* will reveal to the practitioner whatever he wants to know, will be his companion and will eat and sleep with him. These lines are remarkable for the assonance of the *syn*. The words *συνόμιλος*, *συ]ναριστῶν ἔσται σοι* and *συγκοιμώμενος* contribute to evoking a sonic perception of the forthcoming intimacy between the magician and the *paredros*.

1 Πρᾶξις: The *praxis* describes all the procedures the magician has to perform during the execution of the magic recipe. The word *praxis* is used to describe the set of magical operations, necessary to carry out the recipe, that is, the whole ritual of a magic recipe and not just one action. Proof of this is provided by some recipes also being titled with the word *praxis*, for example *ἀρκτική πρᾶξις*, *προ]γνωστική πρᾶξις* or *φυλακτήριον τῆς πράξεως*

1 παρεδρικῶς: The word is a technical expression borrowed from its older non-magical use for someone who sits beside or assists another (Pi. P.4, 4; Hdt. 7,147).³⁷ In Hellenistic magic it is a deity, usually a minor deity or a *daimon* as in case of this papyrus, who is

³⁶Spells containing the word *paredros* or its cognitive I 42-195; IV 1331-89; IV 1716-1870; IV 1928-2005; IV 2006-2125; IV 2145-2240; VII 862-918; XIa 1-40; XII 14-95.

³⁷ Cancik, Schneider, Salazar (2007), 48.

summoned as an assistant and servant to carry out any task demanded by the magician.³⁸ In *PGM*, the term is used ten times to denote various types of non-human helpers. A *paredros* is acquired by ritual and vocative manipulation and compulsion.

1 **δαίμων**: This is a very complex term, especially in this period when different philosophical approaches coexist and influence each other. Every case should be studied carefully and individually since no adequate generalization of the term exists covering every case of its use. In the majority of the magical texts *daimon* is not intended in a pejorative sense and describes intermediate entities -neither gods nor mortals- but endowed with supernatural powers.³⁹ Usually the term is used to refer to a spirit of «restless» dead, which is they are sometimes also called νεκυδαίμονες. In the divine hierarchy, the *daimones* are ranked lower than gods and usually appear contrasted with the gods, as in the l. 265 of this papyrus where we read «τοὺς οὐράνιους θεοὺς καὶ καταχθόνιους δαίμονες. In this spell, the *daimon* will be the spirit of a hawk, which, through a process of

³⁸ The term *daimon* can also be referred to a transcendental entity of a person who died a violent death or prematurely (e.g. IV 1928-2005,2006-2125). See below. Rarely, the term *paredros* may also describe the divine assistance given by some verses from Homer (e.g. IV 2145-2240). See Pachoumi (2011), 155–165. Ciruolo (1992), 57 classifies them as: the divine, the celestial, the spiritual and the material, admitting however that it is impossible to form a clear idea regarding the beliefs in *paredroi* because of the lack of enough evidences. About *daimon paredros* see Ciruolo (1992); Scibilia (2002).

³⁹ On the term *daimon* generally see Suarez (2000) and Dillon (2000). On the term *daimon* in *PGM* see also Hopfner (1921-1924); In the magical papyrus see Suarez, Blanco, Chronopoulou (2016), 204-206; Greenbaum (2015), 46-61.

deification, will acquire divine powers. Generally, in the corpus some gods are also referred to as daimones.⁴⁰

2 **συναριστῶν**: Predominant in the spell is welcoming the god with a meal, which implies the hospital attitude of the practitioner. The meal should be abundant, offering all kinds of food and Mendesian wine and must be served by an uncorrupted boy and it is offered in order to ensure the God's favor.

In literature, the motif of human hospitality to deities can be found in Homer's *Odyssey*,⁴¹ in Euripides' *Bacchae*, briefly in Vergil's *Aeneid* and, of course, in Ovid.⁴² In the religious context,⁴³ we have the feast of *Theoxenia*, which honored the *Dioskouroi* and the *Delphi Theoxenia*.⁴⁴ The details of this special festival are obscure. W. Burkert describes it as "in a closed room a table is spread and a couch with two cushions is prepared; two amphorae are set out, presumably filled with a food made from all varieties of grain, *panspermia*. Vase paintings and reliefs show the horsemen whirling through the air to the banquet. But snakes may also be shown curling round the amphorae. The festal eating by the human votaries

⁴⁰ Helios (V 250, IV 460), Osiris (VII 963), Hecate-Selene (IV 2598, 2661, VII 882), Acephalos (V 146), Abrasax (XXIII 9), Iao (XIII 818, XV 14).

⁴¹ About Homer and hospitality there are several publications. See Bailey (1987), 126; Edwards (1975), 51–72; Pedrick (1988), 85–101; Reece (1992).

⁴² Ovid narrates how Jupiter, Mercury and Neptune, visiting Hyrieus of Tanagra in the guise of men rewarded their host with the gift of a long-desired son, Orion. Frazer (1989), 499–544. Ovid also relates the story of *Baucis and Philemon*. See Miller (1984), 628–724.

⁴³ In the religious context, the meal is part of the sacrificial ritual and the sacrificial banquet became one of the most pertinent contexts of divine manifestations.

⁴⁴ See Suárez (2010), 58–81; Kowalzig (2008) 188–201.

follows.”⁴⁵ This festival was celebrated in many parts of Greece, sometimes attaining the status of a major national festival as at Delphi where Apollo hosted.⁴⁶ Burkert mentions also depictions of the Dioskouroi galloping through the air towards the two klinai prepared for them.⁴⁷ Ovid’s third narrative has been deliberately left for the last, after the description of Theoxenia, which places us in the religious context. It concerns Jupiter and Lycaon.⁴⁸

There are several versions of the Lycaon myth, already reported by Hesiod, told by several authors. According to Burkert,⁴⁹ this is the explanatory myth behind the archaic festival of Lykaia, on the slopes of mountain Lykaion and the sacrifices that took place there. This myth brings us to the concept of sacrifice, which can also be explanatory in our case. We should bear in mind that the *PGM* abounds with sacrifices and offerings. The sacrifices can also be seen as offerings of meal to the gods and sometimes the god is invited to attend the meal after the sacrifice with his followers.⁵⁰ Therefore, we can consider the meal offered in the spell as a

⁴⁵ See Burkert (1985), 213.

⁴⁶ See Morris (1992), 104.

⁴⁷ For the ritual of *Theoxenia* see also Jameson (1994), 35-37; Parker (2011), 142-144; Petridou (2016), 289-309. Parker stresses that “mortals might dine under the same roof as the gods, but the god has his own table” which means that “the difference in nature between man and god was irreducible”. However, in our case is not clear if they dine together or separately.

⁴⁸ Miller (1984), 214-243.

⁴⁹ See Burkert (1983), 84–92.

⁵⁰ The link between sacrifice and banquet as a way of communication with gods is discussed in Parker (2011), 127-144; It is argued that “the sacrifice opened a channel of communication between man and god and the mediator was the animal”. The banquet after the sacrifice “forges bonds between man and god.” But this spell gives us no evidence that the food offered was before sacrificed. As Scibilia (2002), 82, mentions the only animal sacrifice (bird) alluded in the text “takes the form of a mimetic evocation of the celestial falcon.

reflection or an imitation of a sacrifice. On the other hand, we should not reject the idea, identifiable in other Greek contexts that the process of ritually sharing a portion with a god is a means of appeasing or compelling the god to cooperate.

Moreover, some inscriptions have been linked with the cult of Zeus Panamaros,⁵¹ attested from the second century BCE to the fourth century CE. The inscriptions present the god as the host of the meal. Interesting are also the so-called “invitations to the kline of Sarapis”.⁵² Thirteen papyri with invitations to attend a sacred dinner with the god Serapis have been discovered until now. The thirteenth invitation is P.Oxy 3693. All the invitations were made in the name of a particular host, the god.⁵³ The god was supposed to be present at the banquet. Excavations in sanctuaries have unearthed banquet rooms for about ten persons. As these cases depict the god as the host of the meal, they are eloquent about the relationship between the worshippers and the god and support the human belief that mortals and immortals can be co-diners.

In Egypt, also, the Daily Temple Ritual was carried out daily on a regular basis and in the same way in all temples throughout the country. Among the other ritual acts, the King had to consecrate the divine meal. At sunrise, the officiant would proceed to the sanctuary to present the meal. It included vegetables, wine, different kinds of

⁵¹ See Hatzfeld (1927), 57–122; on Zeus Panaramos see also Petridou (2016), 99–100.

⁵² See Gilliam (1976), 317; Gill (1974), 117–137.

⁵³ See Will (1976), 353–362.

bread and cakes, fruits and meat cut from the sacred cattle that belonged to the temple. The animal had previously been slaughtered in the temple precinct, according to strict ritual procedures. They put it before the statue of the god. These offerings symbolized the rebirth and the immortality of the King. The same ritual meal was presented at midday and in the evening.⁵⁴

In the Book of Genesis, we come across the same motif of hospitality. In the biblical passage, Abraham is about to act as a servant to three heavenly guests – two were angels, and the other was the Lord, Jehovah. Abraham had neither seen nor heard their approach. He ran towards the men in spite of his age, and without knowing who they were, as in the Ovid's text. Abraham set baked bread before them, a whole calf and the dinner was served along with butter and curds (yogurt) and milk. This ignorance also led Sarah, then ninety-nine years old, to laugh at the annunciation of her pregnancy. I should stress that this scene takes place at noon, in a family environment and not in an isolated place. Although Sarah is not present from the beginning, we can explain her presence because the message that she is going to have a son was also for her. However, there is a very interesting detail in this biblical narrative that leads us back to the magical papyrus. God does not appear alone. He is accompanied by two angels, a fact that reminds us of the hermeneutical problem of the scene in the papyrus and the

⁵⁴ SeeDavid (2002).

dubious alternate use of the word *angelos* and *theos*, that has led some scholars to consider that we have two entities.

The last cases come from the Christian religion. The first one is from the Book of Revelation (3:20),⁵⁵ where Christ knocks at the doors saying, “Behold, I stand at the door and knock. If anyone hears my voice and opens the door, I will come in to him and eat with him, and he with me.” Of course, this fragment is an allegory. The door is the heart of every man where Christ seeks to enter and the dinner meal is the communion.

The second one (Vis. 5. 1) is dubious because the concept of a meal offered is based on the translation of the word *κλίνην* as dining couch. The fragment is as follows:

While I was praying at home and sitting on my dining couch [*καθίσαντος εἰς τὴν κλίνην*], there entered a man glorious to look on, in the dress of a shepherd, covered with a white goatskin, with a bag on his shoulders and a staff in his hand. And he greeting me, and I greeted him back. And at once he sat down by me, and said to me, I have been sent by the most revered angel to dwell with you the rest of the days of your life.⁵⁶

3-10 The practitioner has to drown a falcon in the milk of black cow mixed with Attic honey. After the drowning he has to wrap the

⁵⁵ About the connection of this text with other divination texts, see Aune (2012).

⁵⁶ Peterson (1947), 624-35. In this article, Peterson showed that the “revelatory apparatus” of the three Visions resembled Hellenistic divination, especially that of the *PGM* I. See also Peterson (1959), 271-276.

carcass in undyed fabric coated with a mixture of wine and myrrh. Then, he has to place two of his fingernails next to the corpse of the falcon together with all the hair of his head and to write an inscription with myrrh on a piece of papyrus. This papyrus should be also placed together with the hair, the falcon and the fingernails before coating them all with uncut frankincense and old wine.

2-3 **ὄνυχας καὶ πάσας σου τὰς τρίχας ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς:** Hair and fingernails are termed, in the field of magic, *ousia* (substance). As the word itself acquired magical connotations in Late Antiquity, S. I. Johnston has defined *ousia* as “a special sort of image, a physical object that stood in for what was otherwise missing, making it present.”⁵⁷ It is a material that represents someone or something; a part of the whole and is widely used in erotic magic and the *katadesmoi*. A magical papyrus is on display in the Neues Museum which still has hair stuck on its surface. In this case, the fingernails and hair, representing the magician, are put together (τίθει δὲ πλησίον αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὄνυχάς σου σὺν ταῖς θριξί) with the deified bird in order to achieve union with it. The falcon, after its ritual drowning, has become a deity, and the magician seeks *systasis* with it as a way of attaining the power of the deity.

5 **ἀποθέωσον:**⁵⁸ One of the first tasks the magician has to carry out is the *apotheosis* of a falcon. The falcon is an animal associated with the solar-regal principle and was considered as the emanation of a number

⁵⁷ Johnston (2004), 148.

⁵⁸ For the meaning and the history of the term see Lycourinos (2012) 52-53.

of divinities, including Ptah, Apis, Osiris, Horus and Isis.⁵⁹ The falcon god Spd was also linked with Horus.⁶⁰ The apotheosis can be achieved by the drowning of the animal in the milk of a black cow mixed with attic honey. In the fifth century, Herodotus wrote about the Egyptian practice of deifying the drowned through mummification.⁶¹ However, a proper understanding of this belief and practice requires familiarity with the myth of Osiris. Osiris was drowned in the waters of the Nile water and subsequently resurrected. Hopfner states, “only after death by drowning could Osiris become god”⁶² and Hornung writes, “in the late period of Egyptians formally recognized the process of “divination by drowning”; monuments were even erected for people who has drowned in the Nile.”⁶³ This is something we have to consider in conjunction with the revitalization of the soil of the Nile valley by the annual inundation by the river. Moreover, the rite is also connected with the Sun’s nocturnal journey. This journey is described in the New Kingdom underworld books, the *Amduat* and the Book of Gates.⁶⁴ The Sun sets (is drowned) in the west and rises (is resurrected) in the east. During this journey the solar barque moves down in the earth.⁶⁵ The regeneration (resurrection) of the drowned is one of the many parallel motifs which accompany the central motif of solar regeneration. The solar barque is also mentioned

⁵⁹ Ray (1976) Recto 4-8, 137.

⁶⁰ Griffiths (1980), 13.

⁶¹ Griffith (1909), 132-134; For more bibliography see Spiegelberg (1917), 124-125; Hermann (1966), 370-409 and (1977), 17-19; Griffiths (1970) 273.

⁶² Hopfner (1921-1924), 130.

⁶³ Hornung (1989), 105.

⁶⁴ Hornung (1987).

⁶⁵ For a detailed analysis of this myth see Lycourinos (2012), 56-60.

in the last prayer of the papyrus, in the l. 346 “that you depart, returning to your ship”.

5 γάλα βοῶς μελαίνης συμίξας αὐτῷ μέλι Ἄττικὸν: Milk and honey are both natural foods that are used for the nourishment of the new born child and allude to the topography of paradise.⁶⁶ The black cow implies fertility and birth. The black color recalls the color of the soil after the floods of Nile and it is in contrast with the red colour of arid land. Regarding the contrast between the black cow and the white milk, Mathieu states, “the meeting of the fertile black and the nourishing white, for us paradoxical, find its full coherence”.⁶⁷ Thus, the solar falcon is drowned in the white milk of a black cow, then nourished by it and resurrected. Z. Licourinos comments “taken as a whole, we are dealing with a feminine, black-lunar matrix and a masculine, golden-solar embryo that comes to fruition within this matrix. Theologically, the imagery evoked is of Isis as the “black virgin” who nourishes the golden *divusfilius*, Horus, with her divine “virgin’s milk.”⁶⁸ In addition, in pharaonic iconography Isis and Hathor are represented as cows while in *Pyramid Texts* the pharaoh drinks the divine milk from the breast of his mother Isis. We also encounter the milk of a black cow in *PGM XIII* 130, 360, 686, and in *PDM xiv* 87, 639.

6 μέλι Ἄττικὸν: Honey appears frequently in magical papyri, which is not unexpected given that it is a nutritious product and renowned

⁶⁶ Licourinos (2012), 52-53.

⁶⁷ Mathieu (2009), 26.

⁶⁸ Licourinos (2012) 62.

for its healing qualities. In fact, in medical papyri it appears more than 500 times as an ingredient of treatments linked to respiratory, digestive or parasitic problems. According to Egyptian mythology, honey flowed from the eyes of the god Ra, although it is not exclusively linked to this deity but also to the gods Neith, Nut, Min and Hathor. This mythical origin imbues it with the belief in its power for life and therapy. Even Hippocrates himself was convinced of the healing power of honey. In P. Cair. Zen III 59426 from the third century, a man named Dromón asks Zeno to bring him a kotyle of Attica honey because he has problems with his eyes, and the god has ordered him to use this type of honey to heal himself. This is because Attica honey was considered even more potent than usual for healing processes. It is also noteworthy, therefore, that in three magic recipes, this particular honey is specifically required since it was considered to be of the best quality and consequently, the most expensive (in fact, it was a real luxury) and difficult to obtain. The honey mentioned is probably the one from Mount Hymettus, frequently mentioned, and praised by the ancient writers. However, of the three documented cases in which the use of this type of honey is specified, only one, VII 191-192 - where honey is mentioned in connection with sexual potency - can be considered "medical".

6 **σύνδησον αὐτὸν ῥάκει ἀχρωτίστῳ**: This ritual refers to the mummification of the falcon. As aforementioned, the process of the deification of the bird requires its embalming and mummification. The mummification of animals and birds was a common practice in

Egyptian religion; the Ibis, for example, was a species suffering extensively from this practice. Visitors to temples purchased mummified ibis from the priests and presented them as votive offerings. “The demand was so big that the number of mummified ibis in some of such burial sites is phenomenal” comments A. Aufderheide.⁶⁹ A similar fate was suffered by the falcons whose mummification was linked with the cult of Horus. The temple of Nectanebo at Saqqara, dedicated to Isis, the mother of Horus, contained 100,000 mummified votive falcons.⁷⁰ The temple priests bred some sacred animals such as cats and ibises specifically for the purpose of interment, but falcons are difficult to breed in captivity. So, the depredation to the wild falcon population was devastating. However, in our case, as correctly Moyer stresses that the falcon is more than just a sacred animal, explaining why it is not buried in a coffin and tomb: the falcon is a divine image, the divine assistant invoked in the subsequent invocation so the falcon is placed in a shrine of juniper and worshipped as a deity in its own right.⁷¹

9 **ζμόρνη**: Myrrh is the resin of *commiphoramyrrha* tree and comprised one of the most sacred herbal substances of ancient Egypt and one of the most exquisite offerings to the gods. It was used in the forms of an essential oil and gum resin, with the gum resin being

⁶⁹Aufderheide (2003) 399. He also mentions an ibis cemetery with 1500 mummified birds at Abydos. Diodorus of Sicily narrates that the slaughter of the Ibis reached was so extensive that subsequently, any killing of ibis unrelated to ritual was punishable by death.

⁷⁰MacDonald (2016)

⁷¹ See Moyer (2003). In this ritual Moyer sees common elements with the initiation of the priests and tends to evaluate all this process as an initiation of the magician. The magician who assumes the power of the priests and is permitted to contact with the divine.

frequently burned as incense, and both the oil and resin forming ingredients in a wide variety of perfumes and medicines. In the magical papyri, myrrh is called the Guide of Isis⁷² as it was thought to be a consolation in times of sorrow bringing, peace and healing.⁷³ While in the papyrus it is not clear how Isis employed her “guide,” we can conjecture that she may have burned it as incense—or made it into ink for inscribing amulets to aid her search; exactly as myrrh is used in the magical papyri. The existence of the myrrh tree was explained as it being the tears of the god Horus, perhaps in connection with his own mourning for his father.⁷⁴ Myrrh as ingredient in ink for writing on papyrus occurs throughout the *PGM* and we have many instances of instructions on how to make magical myrrh ink.⁷⁵ Magically, myrrh is used to purify, bless, and protect. Lidonnicci has published research about the cost of myrrh based on the documentary papyri and proved that, although it was used for a variety of purposes, it was also a very expensive one because it had to be imported from Arabia and Africa.⁷⁶

10 **λιβάνω ἀτιμήτω**: Frankincense⁷⁷ is a fragrant gum resin of a light yellowish-brown color used mostly as incense. It comes in the form of large tear shaped drops and had been in use since the 18th dynasty, as witnessed by the frankincense found in the tomb of Tutankhamon.

⁷² *PGM* XXXVI. 339. It is in an hymn for myrrh.

⁷³ Watt, Sellar (2004).

⁷⁴ De Cleene, Lejeune (2002) 435.

⁷⁵ See Ballesteros (2015) 44-55

⁷⁶ Lidonnicci (2001).

⁷⁷ About the provenance and the trade of myrrh and frankincense see Lucas, Harris (2012), 90-97. For archaeological evidence for the use of incense in ancient Egypt see Nielsen (1986)

Nielsen believes that even after the use of frankincense and myrrh became well known, it was restricted to special occasions on account of their rarity and price.⁷⁸ According to the Ebers papyrus frankincense was also used for medical purposes, especially for throat and larynx infections, stopping bleeding, phlegms, asthmatic attacks and vomitus. In the religious context, priests burned frankincense and myrrh in the temple during prayers, hoping the smoke would carry their prayers to the gods; pleasing them with the pleasant fragrance of the substances. Frankincense -and myrrh- were also used in the mummification process. When the internal organs had been removed, frankincense and myrrh were used to stuff the body cavity; before wrapping the body in linen, it was anointed with oil and perfumes made from these substances.

In the Greek religious context, both substances were well known and widely used. They had been imported, probably from southern Arabia, since the 8th cent. The burning of incense was connected with Aphrodite and a myth.⁷⁹ Myrrh and frankincense were thrown into the sacrificial fires, according to Aeschines, for the purpose of attracting the gods and thus, establishing communication between the two worlds.

11- 25: The practitioner should now continue writing the seven vowels in succession on a strip of papyrus with an increasing number forming a triangle, and the seven vowels in succession with a

⁷⁸ Nielsen (1986), 3.

⁷⁹ Detienne (1977), 37-38; Burckel (1985), 62.

decreasing number forming an inverted triangle (see text). Then, before dawn, he has to drink the liquid, which the falcon was drowned in, and then wait to feel something divine occur in his soul. Next he has to place the falcon in a juniper shrine and crown it. The following step is to make offerings with food not containing blood and old wine. Then, before going to rest after having made the sacrifice, he should make an invocation, speaking directly to the bird.

12 **Κλίματα**: The term may refer to the seven latitudinal strips of the cosmos as a whole, or to seven astrological zones.⁸⁰

13-19 **α ε η η η ι ι ι ο ο ο ο ο υ υ υ υ υ υ ω ω ω ω ω ω**: The vowels were considered as powerful entities in themselves, and their recitation created an acoustic effect suiting the magical context.⁸¹ Therefore the recitation of the vowels was very common practice as part of ritual procedures. The magicians of the late antiquity had a propensity to create physical shapes using letters and words on a writing surface and this was a well known phenomenon among poets from the Hellenistic period onwards who tried to match the content of the poem with its shape.⁸² However, the magicians seemed to be more reserved than the poets and they limited their “words-shapes” to some geometric forms, especially the triangle (or the inverted triangle) and

⁸⁰ Pachoumi (2017), 22; Edmonds (2004) 277-281.

⁸¹ Pythagoreans connected the Greek alphabet with the 24 sounds of the lute and Orphics and Pythagoreans related the seven vowels and the seventeen consonants with the soul and the body. The astrology in the Hellenistic period also considered the seven vowels as the cosmic sounds of the seven planets and, consequently, sounds with a special power than influences the cosmic system. See Dieleman (2005), 64-657; Dornseiff (1926), 35-51; Goodwin (1852), 27.

⁸² This kind of poesy, known as calligram, persisted through the Renaissance and was made popular again by Stephan Mallarme and Guillaume Apollinaire.

they called this particular design “grape-cluster” (shape) or wing (shape). It is unclear why the magicians adopted these designs, but the predominant theory is that many magicians writing in Greek wanted to imitate the sacred Hieroglyphic writings; combining the audible with the visible.⁸³ Such practices are attested in different magical traditions up to the present day.⁸⁴ The seven vowels occur frequently in the Greek Magical Papyri written out thrice or written in succession with an increasing number. This method permitted the arrangement of the vowels in geometrical patterns, so the power of the *characteres* was reinforced by their visual representation. In *PGM I* these two triangles of descending and ascending vocalizations symbolize the *anabasis* and the *katabasis* of the falcon, its ritual act of drowning and its deification through it.⁸⁵

20 τὸ γάλα σὺν τῷ μέλιτι ἀπόπιε: By drinking the liquid in which the falcon had been drowned the practitioner connected to the divine power. The belief that the divine power could be absorbed through a liquid is well established in Late Antiquity and appears in magical papyri too. The Late Egyptian used to drink water previously poured over curative and apotropaic images such as the well-known Horus Cippi.⁸⁶ In the same papyrus, in l. 232-247, a memory spell invokes the same procedure. The magician has to write some *voces magicae* on a hieratic papyrus, and then has to wash them off into spring water

⁸³ See Frankfurter (1994), 189-221; Graf (2015), 236-237.

⁸⁴ See also Faraone (2010), 91-114; Heim (1892); Dornseiff (1926), 58-59 and 63-67. For full bibliographic survey see Önnarfors (1993), 162-167. For the word-shapes in Jewish magic see Bohac (2008) 265-269.

⁸⁵ Lycourinos (2012) 51.

⁸⁶ Mu-Chou (2010); Forshaw (2014), 33-34; Johnston (2008), 146-147.

and drink large quantities of this water. In XIII 432-440 the magician is given the following instructions: into a special ink he has prepared, he has to throw the power of seven flowers and write something with this on a natron on both sides. Then he has to lick off one side, wash off the other side into wine and milk and then drink the liquid. Apparently through this process they believed they absorbed the power of the magic words or the power of the flowers.⁸⁷

21 **ἐνθεον ἐν τῇ σῆ καρδία:** The nourishment from the mixture in which the falcon was deified brings the practitioner into direct contact with the deity and establishes a bond between these two entities. By drinking the milk, the practitioner participates in the process of the deification.

ναῶ ἀρκευθίνω:⁸⁸ One of the elements marking almost the whole corpus of the magical papyri is the miniaturization of the rituals. The performance of several rituals demands material and artifacts that are usually only found in temples; so in the limited domestic space where the majority of the performances of these rituals takes places-usually rooms or roofs- it is impossible to reproduce these things in the original size. Moreover, the offerings that an individual could afford to offer to the gods cannot be compared with those offered in a temple. The solution was the employment of miniaturization⁸⁹ and symbolism. All the elements are reproduced in a small scale model.

⁸⁷ PDM lxi 128-147 is not well preserved, but from the text that has survived we can assume that a similar process is described. See Johnston (2009), 146-147.

⁸⁸ For the cases of juniper shrines in the magical papyri see Smith (2016) 27.

⁸⁹ On the function of miniaturization in general see Frankfurter (2002) 160-161;

The reduction allows the transformation of two bricks into an altar, and through symbolism, the eye of an animal represents the whole animal. What should be underlined is that this reduction does not imply less potency and effectiveness.

23 ἀψύχοις φαγήμασιν:⁹⁰ Ciruolo makes a very interesting remark: Only the *paredroi*, man-made objects with no connection to a formerly living being, call for an animal sacrifice, which in each case consists of one or more birds; and she believes that the presence or absence of an animal sacrifice is the distinctive difference between *paredroi*, which are man-made objects, and those which were formerly living beings. The explanation she gives is that spells associated with formerly living beings are possessed of an exceptional magical power and the rituals performed aim at controlling this power; not to endow the object with a power it did not previously possess. In the case of a man-made object, the ritual aims at creating a connection with the object and the magical power. It is a kind of animation of the object via the magical power.⁹¹ In any case, sacrificial offerings with non-animal food it is very far from the Greek religious credo.

23 οἶνον ἔχε προπάλαιον: Wine libations were part of every sacrifice. The wine was poured onto the altar.⁹² Nevertheless is not so clear why the wine had to be old. It is the only instance in the corpus where this

⁹⁰ On non-anomal sacrifice vocabulary see Rudhardt (1958); Eckhardt (2014), 255-273.

⁹¹ Ciruolo (2001), 289.

⁹² About the wine offering in Egypt see Mu-chou (1995).

prerequisite is stipulated. Of course, the old wine would have been of a better quality and this could be a possible explanation.

25-36 The invocation to the falcon.

The practitioner starts the invocation by calling upon *Agathos Daimon* and *Harpon Knouphi*. Some *voces magicae* intervene and then the divinity is identified with Orion and its positive influence on the Nile and the prosperity emanating from the river. Thereafter, the invocation refers to the solar journey in the sky and below the sea, mentioning also a sacred tree in Heliopolis which has a pivotal role in Egyptian cosmogony. The orison ends with the pronunciation of the real name of the gods, videlicet *voces magicae*.

25 τὸν προκείμενον λόγον: Obviously, this is an incorrect word. The right one is ὑποκείμενον because the *logos* comes after.

26 ἀγαθὲ γεωργέ: This title was given to Anubis.

27 Ἄγαθός Δαίμων:⁹³ *Agathos daimon* was a deity already mentioned in the classical comic poets who represent it as a protector of domestic stores . It is a deity associated with the myth of the foundation of Alexandria. According to the Alexander Romance, the architects had

⁹³ *Agathos Daimon* has been thoroughly discussed by Ogden (2013). For *Agathos Daimon* in general, see Harrison (1912), 277–316; Cook (1914–1940), vol. 2, part 2: 1125–1129; Ganschinietz/Ganszyniec (1918), (1919); Jakobsson (1925), 151–175; Rohde (1925), 207–208; Tarn (1928); Taylor (1930); Dunand (1969), (1981), with bibliography; Fraser (1972), 209–211, with associated notes; Quaegebeur (1975), 170–176 and passim; Mitropoulou (1977), 155–168; Pietrzykowski (1978); Sfameni Gasparro (1997); Jouanno (2002), 75–76, 105–108; Stoneman (2007), 532–534; Stoneman (2008), 56–58.

marked out the new city between two rivers, Drakon and Agathodaimon. However, a drakon appeared to the workmen, terrifying them and delaying the project. Alexander, when he became aware of the problem, gave the order to his men to kill the serpent. Once the creature had been killed, Alexander paid tribute to it. He ordered it to be buried and all the soil from the digging of the foundations to be deposited in a particular place, a hill, called “Dung Heap”. He also commanded that the neighborhood should be garlanded in memory of the appearance of Agathos Daimon. When the foundations of the heroon had been laid down, a large swarm of snakes leaped out and slithered into the houses nearby. The doorkeepers admitted these snakes to the houses as *Agathoi Daimones* and the cult of the *Agathoi Daimones* was established in Alexandria.⁹⁴ Then *Agathos Daimon* was identified with the Egyptian serpent god Šai,⁹⁵ giving rise to the question of whether *Agathos Daimon* was originally a Egyptian god appropriated by the Greeks and Macedonians, or a Greek god adopted by Egyptians. As Ogden points out, there is no certain evidence of a direct nature for Agathos Daimon’s conceptualization as an anguiform prior to his arrival in Alexandria.⁹⁶ In the Hellenistic period in Alexandria, Agathos

⁹⁴ Alexander Romance 1325-7 and 10—13.

⁹⁵ See Merkelbach (1992), 4-5.

⁹⁶ There are, in fact, only two certainly pre-Ptolemaic images of AgathosDaimon, and both represent him in humanoid form. First, a relief of the late fourth century BC found to the east of the Parthenon is dedicated to “AgathosDaimon and AgatheTyche.” Below the inscription, a male bearded figure holds a cornucopia and is accompanied by two female figures. Second, a broken relief from Thespieae of the last quarter of the fourth century BC carries the dedication “Hagestrotos, Timokrateia, Ptoilleia, Empedonika, to AgathosDaimon” and shows a bearded, avuncular, seated figure being approached by two worshippers. He holds a cornucopia, and an eagle sits beneath his throne.

Daimon and Agathe Tyche became mostly linked to Sarapis and Isis, but also associated with other gods of Graeco-Roman Egypt.

27 Ἄρπρον κνοῦφι⁹⁷: (Variants Χνοῦμις, Χνοῦφις) Chnoubis is the Greek form of the Egyptian Chnum, the ancient ram god, a deity also identified with the sun. He was represented as a ram with long horns or as a man with a ram's head. Nevertheless, the Chnoubis of the Roman period had changed and was shown as a serpent god. Many gnostic amulets and gems have been found depicting the god as leontocephalic and serpent-bodied, usually with seven rays radiating from its head, occasionally in conjunction with the twelve zodiacal signs. The upper part of its body represents the solar forces and the lower personifies the earth. The rays stand for the seven planets, the seven Greek vowels and the seven colours of the visible spectrum. According to the writer Hephaestion,⁹⁸ Chnoubis was the name of one of the three Dekans in the Sign of the Zodiac, Cancer, and the name was set in the breast of Leo. This is a one of Drexler arguments doubting that the Chnoubis of the magical amulets is the old cosmogonic god Chnum.⁹⁹ The amulets showing Chnoubis appear to have been used as a remedy for stomach illnesses.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ The bibliography about Chnoubis and the amulets with its icon is very long. Dexler (1889) produced a masterly treatment of it. On Chum-Chnoubis see Bonnet (1952), 1335-1340.

⁹⁸ Engelbrecht (1887), 63

⁹⁹ Lindsay follows Dexler. See Lindsay (1970), 309

¹⁰⁰ Christina Riggs (2012), 353

27 **βριντατην σιφρι:** This may conceal the Egyptian epithet Nophris which means «good», often used in titles for Osiris, such as Osoronnohphris.¹⁰¹

29 **ὁ ἅγιος:** This is an adjective that appears several times in the *PGM*. Usually, as Rudhardt stresses, it is not used for gods but for saints. Though, *PGM* is an exception. In addition to Orion, we find Cronus, Helios, Osiris, Serapis, Selene, Harpocrates, Taut and Acephalo, all treated similarly.¹⁰²

29 **Ὠρίων:** In the invocation, the falcon is called Orion. We learn from Plutarch that the south was the region of Horus, and Orion was the soul of Horus.¹⁰³ However, Horus was not the only deity associated with the constellation of Orion since Osiris was as well.¹⁰⁴ The invocation that follows to Orion-Osiris firstly exalts the fertility of the Nile caused by Osiris, likening it to the fecundity of men during sexual intercourse. Subsequently, it refers to the solar journey, the changes occurring during the day and its passage through the underworld during the night.

33-34 **ὁ τὸν ὑπὸ γῆν διοδεύων πόλον:** This is a reference to the voyage of the sun god, his changes during the day and his passage

¹⁰¹ Betz(1996), 337.

¹⁰² About the use of ἅγιος in magical papyri see Suárez, Blanco, Chronopoulou (2015), 225.

¹⁰³ In the earlier stellar cult Horus as Orion was the hunter of the power of darkness with his dogs Cyon and Prokyon.

¹⁰⁴ Griffiths (1980), 13; Moyer (2013) 222.

through the underworld.¹⁰⁵ Every day Ra sails his boat on a voyage across the sky. The twelve hours of the day were personified as twelve solar deities. The priests of Heliopols observe and encourage the voyage of the boat. After sunset, and during his nightly journey, Ra has to traverse the hazardous underworld and face the serpent Apep, a hostile deity who tries to defeat and eat him. The deity Seth helps Ra in this struggle with the serpent. In the middle of the night, Ra is united with Osiris, regenerating both deities in the process. After overthrowing Apep, Ra is reborn as the rising sun, repeating the circle.

35 **τ[ὸ ἱερόν ἐρ]ινεὸν τῆς Ἡλιουπόλεως:**¹⁰⁶ Heliopolis is connected with an Egyptian myth of Atum. According to the Pyramid section narrating the myth, Atum “in Heliopolis creates by taking his organ in hand and achieving the pleasure of ejaculation out of which come male and female-Shou and Tefnout.”¹⁰⁷ Heliopolis is also associated with a sacred tree named *ised* which guaranteed the prosperity of the reign.

36 **το]ῦ[το] ἀθθεν[τικόν] σου ὄνομα:** In many religions from the Near East¹⁰⁸ there was a belief that the original miraculous name of a god is endowed with overwhelming power. So, if someone possesses the real name, he is supposed to be able to control the god and his

¹⁰⁵ On the solar voyage see Hornung (1963); Rosso (2012) 9-23; Ward (2000); Tyldesley (2010).

¹⁰⁶ On the identity of the tree see Suárez (2012b)

¹⁰⁷ Leeming- Page (1997) 196

¹⁰⁸ Egyptian religion, Judaism and Islam.

power. Thus, the god must keep this name secret. For the Egyptians, the name was as much a part of a man's being as his soul.¹⁰⁹

36-42: After the invocation, the practitioner has to come back without shoes and consume the offerings, standing face to face with the god. The last instructions concern the secrecy of the ritual performance and the abstinence from sexual intercourse with a woman for five days.

37 **πεμπόμε[νο]ς [δὲ]**: There is an interpretative problem here. The subject of the passive participle is σὺ, but there is not a meaning of the verb, which can make sense here. Betz translated it as “when you are dismissed” but this is problematic translation. Dismissed by whom? “Dismissed” with the meaning of “finish” or “complete” in English is not compatible with the meanings of πεμπομαι in Greek. The only solution I can propose, admitting that it is a ‘long shot’, is the verb with the meaning of to move in procession,¹¹⁰ because we have also the verb of movement ἀναποδίσαζ.

37 **ἀναποδίσαζ**: O’ Neil translated it as ‘walk backwards’ and considered it as a magical rite, citing also *PGM* IV, 44, 2493 and *PGM* XXXVI 273, but as Johnston has correctly noted the verb means to walk back whence one came.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹Wallis Budge (2013), 157; This belief was not only applied to the gods but also to the people who used to conceal their real name because its knowledge could be used in casting spells.

¹¹⁰ See TLG.

¹¹¹ Johnston(2002), 354.

41 κρύβε, κρύβ[ε]τήν προ[ἄ]ξιν: This phrase is ubiquitous in the corpus. The majority of the rituals conclude with this indication of secrecy. As Dickie has correctly stressed, secrecy it is not an incidental feature of magic but is integral to it, part of its quintessence.¹¹² This can be understood if magic is viewed as the antithesis of religious in the same dyadic system. Moreover, the secrecy is part of the concept of the exclusivity of a powerful body of knowledge promoted by magicians when soliciting clients. This potent knowledge should remain unrevealed and undisturbed according to the official religious concept. Any attempt to access it, or use it against the will of the gods, is therefore condemned. Thus, on one hand, it is the illegality of the practice of magic¹¹³ that imposes the need for secrecy, and on the other hand, it is the secrecy itself that fascinates people as something extraordinary. Here, we see a crucial difference between magic and mystic cults: mystic cults are secret to the uninitiated, but open to the group of initiated people who participate in the cult and its rituals legally. Magic is a lonely, secretive experience proscribed by law.

41-42 ἄπε]χε σαυτὸν ἐν ἡμέρ[αις ζ']συνουσιάσαι γυναικί: The *PGM* provides elaborate details regarding magical performance. There is a high concern for purity in both the rituals of preparation

¹¹² Dickie (2003), 38.

¹¹³ In the land of Egypt magic-heka- was incorporated into the official religious system. However, there was a common association between the sorcerer and the criminal in antiquity, and magic was from underestimated till punished. There are two famous cases of people being accused of being magicians: Theoris and Apuleios. Theoris was condemned to death but Apuleios was luckier. Both cases mirror the negative perception of magic in the ancient world due to the antisocial use of magic in the casting spells.

and reception. Central to these rules are prohibitions concerning foods and sexual behavior forbidden to the magician, to avoid pollution of the ritual. The preparation for the magical adjuration included imposing abstinence, fasting and pure clothes or garments. The collection of the *PGM* often features the phrase “keep yourself pure” and describes cleansing procedures before the practice of magic.¹¹⁴ The magician’s state of ritual purity and preparedness provides an exemplar and indicates the state of mental and physical perfection and preparation essential for the performance of the magical ritual.

It is an often-repeated cliché that the Greeks had no sacred book. But the absence of one single Panhellenic scripture does not mean that the Greeks had no sacred texts at all. It is well known that they had a plethora of texts that regulated and structured the performance of religious rituals. Most of these sacred regulations are epigraphically transmitted. Purity regulations were ever-present in Greek sanctuaries, addressing very cosmic matters. “They provide lists of objects that are prohibited in sanctuaries and enumerate different sources of pollution, such as sexual intercourse, menstruation, contact with a corpse, or even certain foods, listing the number of days the polluted should keep away from the sanctuary and the ways they can purify themselves” writes I. Petrovic.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ See also *PGM* I 40–42, *PGM* IV 26–29, *PGM* IV 733–737. Please note that the citations are exemplary and not exhaustive. For a more detailed analysis of the cleansing procedure in the *PGM*, see Zografou (forthcoming); Blanco Cesteros, Chronopoulou (forthcoming); Scibilia (2002), 81.

¹¹⁵ Petrovic (2011), 268.

Concerning purity regulations in Greek religion I have little to add beyond what Robert Parker and other scholars have said on the subject.¹¹⁶ But the fact that the practitioners feel the same need to be purified before the eyes of the god, even if the magical ritual is itself an “unclean” practice is very interesting. Fasting and abstinence from sexual intercourse are always a secure path to the pure status of the pious person. This also draws attention to the fact that in almost all the magical rituals described in the papyri, even the briefest, the scribe feels the necessity to add that the practitioner should perform them in a state of purity, giving instructions for that purpose. And we should not forget that fasting is a kind of separation from everyday life.

Fasting is strongly linked with the condemnation of sarcophagy, which is connected with the teaching of Orpheus in the Greek world. Almost from Aristophanes’ time, poems attributed to Orpheus circulated, condemning the murdering of animals, either for food or as sacrifices.¹¹⁷ The most famous vegetarians were Pythagoras and Empedocles, although there is a long debate about whether they abstained from meat occasionally or permanently. However, the prohibition of sarcophagy is central in the cult prohibitions and is related with exceptional moments, especially when a human is to have any kind of contact with the divine, such

¹¹⁶ For a catalogue and discussion of purity regulations as a group, see Parker (1983). See also Parker (2004), 57–70; Lupu (2005); Chaniotis (1997). On purity of mind in Greek religion, see Chaniotis *et al.* (1997), SEG 47-2340.

¹¹⁷ See Borgeaud (2013); Bernabé (2011).

as entering a temple, attending a sacrifice, or waiting for an epiphany.

Diogenes Laertius (VIII 33), following Alexander Polyhistor and, again, Aristotle says:

Purification is by cleansing, baptism and lustration, and by keeping clean from all deaths and births and all pollution, and abstaining from meat and flesh of animals that have died, mullets, gurnards, eggs and egg-sprung animals, beans and other abstinences prescribed by those who perform mystic rites in the temples.¹¹⁸

Porphyry, in his work *De Abstinentia*,¹¹⁹ gives a conceptualization of purity defining it as an “absence of mixture”, amixia, whereas pollution is the result of such a mixture: not to mix the same with the other, or with the opposite. Thus, consuming the dead body of an animal is a mixing of life and death. The principle is that purity consists of abstaining from mixing, agneia. Of course, this principle is not only applied to food, but starting with ritual prescriptions related to food, it logically leads to the condemnation of hetero- or homosexual unions. From a male perspective, sexual intercourse, which is a mixture of masculine and feminine, “feminises” the soul and the sperm that dies in the process is also a mixture of death and life.

¹¹⁸ Trans. By Hicks, R.D (1925), 1:33.7.

¹¹⁹ Trans. By Taylor (1965).

It is considered that Greek had been strongly influenced by the Egyptians. The first prohibition in Egypt concerns fishes,¹²⁰ mainly which come out of the sea: this abstention has to do with the fact that such fishes come from elsewhere, from outside, and in certain rituals fish and birds are identified with the enemies of Egypt, with “foreign invaders”. However, when talking about prohibitions, we are talking about occasional, and not absolute or permanent prohibitions. Fish is not systematically avoided as food in Egypt and some fishes that are prohibited in a certain area in Egypt are consumed elsewhere in the country.¹²¹ It is known about the Egyptians’ prohibitions that they abstained from any fish, solipedic quadrupeds, or fessipedic or non-horned ones. They also abstained from carnivorous birds. Many even abstained from any animal, without exception, and this is valid for all priests during the times when purity is permanently required.¹²² What is more interesting is in Chapter 64 of the Book of the Dead, where it says: “this formula should be read when pure and blameless, without having eaten small herd or fish, and without having had sexual relationship with a woman.”

In the Jewish religion things were a little more complicated. As Origen (Comm. Rom. 9. 36. 1–2) highlighted, the Jewish scriptures did not specifically forbid eating meat. Jewish Law prohibits various types of unclean meat including pork. Furthermore, the proper preparation of meat, such as draining the blood, is equally

¹²⁰ See Borgeaud (2013), Alcock (2006).

¹²¹ See Baetens (2013), 17–24; Darby *et al.* (1977).

¹²² See Borgeaud (2013).

important.¹²³ Other texts specifically describe abstinence as avoiding meat and wine. Thus, Joseph and Aseneth¹²⁴ mentions Joseph avoiding Egyptian meat and wine because he considers them idolatrous. The Book of Daniel narrates Daniel and his friends eating only vegetables in order to maintain their purity. These stories of traditional Jewish heroes could serve as examples and sources of inspiration for Jews in a Pagan and Gentile environment.¹²⁵ This evidence leads us to consider the dietary prohibitions of Jews as one of the main ways of public identification. Undoubtedly, Jews also believed that purity is linked with food restrictions, especially those of meat and wine. The remarkable point in this case is that they adopt these prohibitions on a permanent basis and not occasionally. We should not forget also that two Gospels, of Lucas and Matthew, show Jesus fasting in the desert before his encounter with the Devil.

But fasting is also a prerequisite in Jewish mysticism and magic. In *Hekhalot Zutarti*¹²⁶ Aquiva said “everyone who repeats this Mishnan and wishes to utter the name of God must fast for forty days...”

¹²³ See Toney (2007), 78.

¹²⁴ Ancient apocryphal expansion of the Book of Genesis. See Philonenko (1968); Bohak (1996).

¹²⁵ See Toney (2008), 59–60.

¹²⁶ The *Hekhalot* and *Merkavah* manuscripts belong to Jewish mysticism and are written in Hebrew and Aramaic with several borrowings from Greek. This is an enigmatic work in terms of date and authorial identity. Schäfer, its editor, does not propose a specific date of composition but there is a long debate about it. The *Hekhalot* literature is post-rabbinical, produced some time between late antiquity – some believe in Talmudic times or earlier – and the early Middle Ages (200 CE–700 CE). The *Hekhalot Zutarti*, in particular, is concerned with the secret names of God and their powers. See Schäfer (1988).

The Greek Magical Papyri finds something of a counterpart in the Jewish book *Sepher Ha-Razim*.¹²⁷ The book is full of Greek terms, including incantations based on pagan prayers, indicating the close bonds between Jewish and Greek during this period. Its magical rituals are similar in style and content to the *PGM*. On its pages we can find the same concern for purity and perfection.¹²⁸

Purify yourself from all impurity and cleanse your flesh from all carnality and then you will succeed. (First Firmament, 39)

Then go out on Sunday to the sea shore or to a river bank during the third hour of the night. Wear a new cloak and do not eat (the meat of) any animal, nor anything which yields blood (when slaughtered), and do not drink wine. (First Firmament, 223–235)

Cleanse yourself for three weeks from all fruit of the palm, from all kinds of animals, small and large, from wine, from (all) types of fish and from all (animals) that yield blood (when slaughtered); and do not approach a woman in her impurity, and do not touch anything which has died, and do not come near a leper or one afflicted by venereal discharge, even accidental, and guard your mouth from every evil word and from every sin. (Second Firmament, 5–10)¹²⁹

¹²⁷ *Sepher Ha-Razim* was reconstructed by Mordecai Margalioth and translated into English by Micheal Morgan following the discovery of fragments from the Cairo Genizah in 1963. Margalioth dated *Sepher Ha-Razim* to the early fourth or late third century CE. Others argue for a later date. Alexander considers Margalioth's dating "too precise, and probably too early. The evidence suggests that the original form of *Sepher Ha-Razim* was composed in the fifth or sixth century CE, probably more towards the end of this period than the beginning. The place of composition, on linguistic grounds, is most likely to have been Palestine." See Morgan (1983); Margalioth (1966); Alexander (2003), 170 -190.

¹²⁸ The cited passages are exemplary and not exhaustive.

¹²⁹ Morgan (1983), 24; 41; 43 (respectively)

In addition to these Jewish magical texts, there are some instances in Jewish literature where revelatory dreams and visions are obtained as a result of fasting. Daniel is the recipient of dreams and visions some of which were acquired through “prayer and supplication, with fasting, and sackcloth, and ashes” (Dan. 9:3).

The above survey clearly shows that magic, as almost all religions of that time, considered fasting and abstinence from certain types of food as a kind of spiritual purification and preparation needed for performing complicated magical formulas but also as a way to attract the deity. We can assume that this is an application of the Law of Similarity, *similia similibus*. Gods are considered pure, thus, in order to attract them, the practitioner must also be pure or at least purified.

Conclusion: The drowning of the falcon overshadows this passage. The ritual described, the *apotheosis* of the bird, its mummification, the enshrinement and the offerings hold many similarities with the cult of divine animals in Egypt of Late Antiquity, but here it is adapted to a domestic ritual -with the restrictions that may imply this- aiming to cast a spell of *paredros*. The practitioner performing these rituals acts like a priest. J. Moyer has maintained that this rite is a rite of initiation of the magician. The magician acts like a priest and performing rituals very similar to those of initiated priests, such as seeking direct access to the divine, or the priest’s privilege of approaching the divine an assuming their powers.

The influence of the official religion in this section is more than evident, and we can assume that the original scribe of this spell either had a profound knowledge of the official rituals performed in temples and their symbolism, or he had access to sacred books; both possibilities indicate that the original scribe was a priest.

PGM I 43-195 Second ritual for acquire a *paredros*. The instructions are given in epistolary form. Pnouthis sends a letter to Keryx explaining to him what he should do to obtain a supernatural assistant.

43-54 In the preamble to the spell, Pnouthios, a sacred scribe sends a letter to Keryx greeting him and stating that he is going to give him instructions how to expediently implement the spell for a *paredros*. He says that this is a powerful spell, able to convince the gods and that he found it after searching in countless books (of magic).

42 **ἱερογραμματέως**: This was the Greek term for the scholarly writers of the House of Life associated with temples. The scribes there represented all kinds of wisdom. They were prominent priests, having both the authority and ability to interpret dreams and predict the future on the basis of the ancient writings.¹³⁰ We know that the biblical Moses became an Egyptian Priest, a Hierogrammat.

¹³⁰ See Zauzich(1968), 1199-1201.

43 **Πνούθιος Κήρυκι τῶν θεῶν χαίρειν:** The formula has the structure of a letter sent by an *hierogrammateus* named Pnouthis to someone called Keryx. In this letter the author addresses the recipient in terms consistent with a master-disciple relationship. Pnouthios is self-defined as εἰδώς, a person familiar with this kind of magic. The names Pnouthios seems to derive from Pa-ntr «the god» or «he of the god» and the Keryx means «herald». The word *hierogrammateus* endows a person with the prestige of authority. Generally speaking, the epistolary form as a genre for the diffusion of the wisdom was a characteristic of this period. The options we have to interpret this situation are the following. A. Both sender and recipient are real persons who actually maintain a correspondence. B. The sender is, in fact, a priest who invents a fictional character as recipient. C. Both of them are real, but the interchange of letters never existed and was imagined. D. Neither of the protagonists existed in reality and the epistolary forms of the text are a literary device fashionable at the time.¹³¹ However, The names used for the sender and recipient are remarkable. The name Keryx does not exist, and Pnouthios is scarcely attested.¹³² Consequently I consider the last case as the most likely, i.e. that both persons are imaginary.

43 **Κήρυκι**¹³³ is not a personal name but a designation given to the herald at a procession or sacrifice in ancient Greece. In the Eleusinian Mysteries, one of the families of priests was that called

¹³¹ About the pseudepigraphy in magical texts see Suárez (2014).

¹³² According Trismegistos it appears only two times.

¹³³ Eleusinian Mythology: Eumolpus, Triptolemus, Polyxenus, Herald-Keryx, Himmarados, the Suppliants, Demophon of Eleusis, Diogeneia

the Kerykes, descended from Keryx, herald, a son of Hermes, the divine herald. The Dadouchos, the second priest of the Mysteries, was appointed from this family, as was the priest who officiated at the altar.¹³⁴ The link with the mystery rites is significant in this particular case, because Pnouthios, while describing the extraordinary character of the rite, addresses his student Keryx, as ‘bl[essed] *initiate* of the sacred magic’ (*PGM* I.127) and commands him to ‘share with no one [else] (...) this great *mystery*’ (*PGM* I.130f.).¹³⁵

44 **πρὸς τὸ μὴ διαπίπτειν ἐπιτελ[οῦν]τα [τῆ]νδε [τὴν πρᾶξ]ιν:** It is easy to imagine that some magical spells, especially the very ambitious ones raising high expectations, such as an encounter with the divine, would have experienced repeated, if not, constant failure. It could be supposed that a good excuse for these failures would have been to blame the faulty execution of the spell instructions. If we go through all the magical recipes of the corpus we realize that it is difficult to find an example of a very clear and fully detailed recipe. We can assume that these recipes were addressed to persons already initiated into magical rites; but nevertheless, in a case of failure the easiest explanation is that the practitioner had deviated from the correct procedure, or had not

¹³⁴ Kerényi (1991), 23.

¹³⁵ On the use of language deriving from mystery religions in the *PGM* See: Betz (1991), 244–259. However, Ritner regards these Greek terms as mere translations of Egyptian concepts like *ss'tA* that do not carry any of the connotations of Greek mystery-cult theology. Note that he does not explain the personal name Keryx. Ritner (1995), 3365f.

been properly purified.¹³⁶ This was exactly the explanation given by the god to Thessalos when he asked him why he had failed when trying out Nechepso's recipes "He did not know the proper times and places where the plants must be gathered".

46 καταλειπόμενα βίβλοις μυρίαῖς συντάγματα: In the corpus of magical papyri there are many instances where the scribes admit to having consulted other books or having found the magical recipes in them.¹³⁷ These references reveal that the magician of this period had at their disposal some kind of library, and that some of the recipes were the result of research and compilation from other handbooks. Moreover, from the content of the handbooks that have reached us, *PGM*, shows that this library was very rich, containing books of literature from many civilisations, and covering many subjects: philosophy, sacred books from different religions etc.¹³⁸

52 [ἔχει γὰρ δύναμι]ν Πνούθεως λόγος πείθειν θεοῦς καὶ πάσας τὰς θεάς: This is the phrase in which the essence of magic and the power of the words are revealed. The belief that some words were so powerful that even the gods could not refuse to obey them. Actually, this spell draws its power from the invocation of the sacred name, and thereby from the primal, magical belief that such names are integral to the being and contribute to the power of their bearers.

¹³⁶ Bohak (2008), 46-49; For a general discussion about mistakes and failures of rituals Hüsken (2007).

¹³⁷ See for example *PGM* II. On this see also Suárez (2017) 113-142.

¹³⁸ For a full analysis of this subject see Suárez (2012a).

PGM I 54-196

54-95 The ritual for acquire a paredros is as follows: The magician, after having been purified, should at night climb onto a high roof wearing clean clothes. He should cover his eyes with a black strip as used in the cult of Isis and hold in his right hand a falcon's head [Missing text]. Then he should utter the first spell of *systasis* at sunset [missing text]. [missing text]. At dawn he should salute the sun shaking the falcon's head, [missing text] recite the sacred words while he makes an offering, burning frankincense and rose oil. As he recites, a falcon should appear in front of him and drop an oblong stone. Then the falcon will go up again. The magician should engrave the stone and wear it round his neck (as an amulet). In the evening, he should go up again and gazing at the light (of the star) of the goddess (Isis?) address to her a hymn, in the meantime sacrificing myrrh. After this, he should light a fire and holding a branch of myrtle hail the goddess while shaking it.

When all these things have been done, a blazing star will come down in the middle of the household, which will then dissolve, and an angel will appear in front of the magician to reveal the god's will. The magician should receive the angel by taking his right hand and kissing it. Then he should adjure the angel that he will obey him. After the oaths, the magician should lead the god downstairs into a narrow room, prepared to receive a god. There, the magician has to prepare a table with all kinds of food and wine. The god, served by an uncorrupted and silent boy, should dine. The magician

should then address the god, insisting that the god should be his friendly assistant. The god will stay three hours and the magician can test the oaths by asking the god whatever he wants. After three times, the god will leap up and the boy should accompany him to the door while the magician says an *apolysis*.

56 ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ δώματος ὕψηλοῦ: Performing magic is a solitary experience. The protagonist needs to be alone, preferably in an isolated area. The meeting with the deity is perceived as an individual and not a collective experience. The sense of separation from everyday life is a necessary precondition for the divine meeting and prepares the recipient of the extraordinary experience. In this case, the area required is a roof, probably because the practitioner addresses a celestial divinity and the roof is the highest place that someone can easily reach. From the roof, you can also have an unobstructed view of the heavens. In addition, it is of utmost importance to be alone and a roof serves this purpose.

In *PGM* XII 38, where the god Eros is invoked, we read “on the third day, place another chick on the altar; while conducting this portion of the ritual, consume the chick by yourself, allowing no one else to be present.” In a spell of attraction (*PGM* IV 2649) between the instructions given we read, “go up to a lofty roof, and make the offerings”. A charm for a direct vision of Apollo (*PGM* VII 728) starts “in a ground-floor room without light”. Elsewhere (*PGM* IV 170) it is written: “at whatever sunrise you want / (provided it is the third day of the month), go up to the highest part

of the house and spread a pure linen garment on the floor. Do this with a mystagogue.”

Regarding this element, we should comment that isolation was not a prerequisite in ancient Greece.¹³⁹ The religious credo of the Greeks can be described as peculiar, because they seemed to believe that the gods were living among them. They had chosen as their home the highest Greek mountain and very frequently came down and lived amongst mortals. Artemis hunts in Arcadia, she takes her bath in a river of Arcadia, on some days Apollo resides in his Oracle in Delphi, Dimitra serves the oikos of Celeus, Zeus is almost always on earth trying to seduce a mortal girl etc. In Homer, gods are known more by their power than their discrete personalities.¹⁴⁰ In the Iliad, *theophanies* (or *epiphanies*) are very frequent and often influence the course of the battle and the myths, which suggests that Olympians did not have any problems revealing their divine nature wherever and whenever it was needed in order to fulfill their plans. However, they were not visible to all alike, for example, Odysseus but not Telemachus could see his helper, Athena. In the classical Athens of the late fifth century BC, the presence of the gods had become a convention to sophisticated minds and it was an experience exploited in abundance in Greek drama. Therefore, I believe the term *theophaneia* cannot be successfully adapted to the case of Greek religion. It must be stressed that in all these divine

¹³⁹ A highly important monography that discusses many aspect of this topic is recently offered by Petridou (2016).

¹⁴⁰ See Lane Fox (1986), 113; Platt (2011); Bremmer, Erskine, (eds.) (2010).

activities, gods took the human form so they were not easily identifiable by the mortals.

However, the ancient Greeks had a festival called Epiphany. They celebrated the appearance of a god to a human, at some specific place and the hymns composed by Callimachus between the 270s and late 240s BC, threw a bridge between literature and religious life. Three of his hymns, especially, were associated with civic festivals, although their style makes it hard to confirm that they were meant for recitation on the festival's day. Each, however, begins with a scene in which the god or goddess is about to be present among the onlookers.¹⁴¹

Prayers and invocations also match the language of hymns and they also throw a bridge between literature and life. The lyrics of the great Attic dramatists allow us insight into appeals to a god to “appear” and their models were certainly daily hymns and prayers of the cult. A very eloquent example comes from Sophocles in the *Ajax*, where the chorus prays to Apollo to come “with kindly mind and in easily recognizable form”.¹⁴² “In Aristophanes, as in Sappho, gods are invited to assist human celebrations and to drink with the participants of peaceful rustic festivals. These prayers call on the gods by names and they request in advance the manner or mood in which the god should appear,” claims Lane Fox.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ See Lane Fox (1986), 114; Vestrheim (2002).

¹⁴² See Lane Fox (1986), 116.

¹⁴³ See Lane Fox (1986), 116.

In the Egyptian religion, a characteristic feature is the variety of the forms in which the unseen intervenes. The Egyptian gods are not *monophysites*.¹⁴⁴ The gods could express their selves through a confusing multiplicity of forms and almost never limited themselves to one form but changed their manifestations at will. In this land, sacred animals, earthly images and statues were worshipped as incomplete manifestations or partial revelations of the gods. These manifestations served to make the god more accessible to the believer. The true form of the god, the complete and perfect physical manifestation is rarely revealed to humankind, and the worshipper perhaps has the opportunity to meet the god in the next world.¹⁴⁵ Although it is clear that the true form of the deity was hidden to man, the Egyptian gods were not antisocial and their manifestations always took place in a social framework. A serious restriction in the case of Egyptian gods is that we cannot speak about exclusively anthropomorphic manifestations, but even with this restriction, it remains evident that they were approachable and willing to make their presence on earth noticeable. We should not forget that Egyptian people considered each king a god, descended, according to mythology, from the times of the gods.

In studying the case of the Hebrew religion we should bear in mind its monotheistic doctrine, which differentiates it radically from all the other religions. Thus, the uniqueness of its god attributes to him an unsociable nature and its manifestations are extremely rare. In

¹⁴⁴ See Eyre (2009), 36.

¹⁴⁵ See David (2002), 56.

his book *Encountering the divine*,¹⁴⁶ George Savran has already emphasized this in biblical scenes, counting many cases where the protagonist is separated from his family or from other members of society before meeting God. For example, the angel appears to Elijah in Kgs 19.5 after he has dismissed the servant, and Manoah's wife is alone on both occasions when the angel appears to her.¹⁴⁷ The fact that this was a highly private experience and the focus on the solitary aspect of the theophany suggests that in the Jewish religion the appearance of the divine is antithetical to human company. This solitude also increases the sense of mystery surrounding the encounter.

Of course, we should not underestimate the influence of mystery cults, which took place in isolation and psychological abstraction, outside the normal sphere of reality, assuming this antisocial character. Magic can be described as a mystical experience from this perspective, but the objection could be that mystery cults were not exclusively performed or experienced individually. However, they excluded the uninitiated and they beheld a secret and, some of them, a marginal character. Moreover, the secrecy implied by separation could also be seen as a necessity for the magicians. Magic, even if widespread, was illegal and therefore prohibited. The magical rituals had to be performed hidden from curious and dangerous eyes.

¹⁴⁶ See Savran (2005), 14–18.

¹⁴⁷ See Savran (2005), 14.

57 **σύστασιν**: The first meaning according to *TLG* is introduction, recommendation¹⁴⁸ and the second communication. In *PGM* it refers to divine encounters and encompasses all the forms of association between human and god.¹⁴⁹, an authentic self manifestation of a deity, could be a visual contact, either direct (face to face) or through lecanomancy, lichnomancy, a dream etc.¹⁵⁰ It could be also a more enduring connection between a mortal and immortal, just as in the case of *paredros* where the immortal allies with the human or even a union with god.¹⁵¹

62 **ἱερὸν λόγον**: This is a term that appears frequently in the corpus and in a variety of contexts.¹⁵² See also l. 96.

62 **ἐπιθῶν**: The two verbs that alternatively(?) describe the sacrificial act are ἐπιθύειν and θύειν. Although we would expect the most frequently used to be θύω,¹⁵³ the dominant verb in papyri is ἐπιθύειν. The verb ἐπιθύειν, according to LJS, has two meanings, one of these means "to sacrifice on top", but it also has the sense of "to sacrifice more or later or supplementarily". The second meaning of the verb is "to burn incense". It is evident that here the verb has

¹⁴⁸ It is a kind of auto-introduction to the divinity.

¹⁴⁹ For a different interpretation of *systasis* see Preisendanz (1913), 2-5.

¹⁵⁰ All these kind of manifestations in the magical papyri are labeled as direct encounters. See Johnston (2010), 409-410.

¹⁵¹ This union was the ultimate goal of theurgy, a term coined by the philosophical writer Julianus, a Hellenized Chaldean: divine ascent and mystical union with god. On theurgy see Wallis- Bregman (1992); Tanaseanu-Döbler (2013); Copenhaver (2015) 77-78; Addey (2016).

¹⁵² On the use of this adjective in the corpus see Suarez-Blanco-Chronopoulou (2016), 224.

¹⁵³ On the evolution of the term used in the sacrificial act see Casabona 1966.

the first meaning of “sacrifice on an altar”, but there are cases in which the use of “supplementary sacrifice”¹⁵⁴ should not be ruled out because the ingredients required for a sacrifice are many and the “supplementary” meaning of the verb encompasses this. Zografou notes that the distinction between the two verbs lies in the consumption or tasting of the offering by the practitioner. According to her, the verb ἐπιθύειν is never used where the recipe explicitly requests consumption of the victim.¹⁵⁵ In these cases, the verb used is either θύειν or another type of periphrasis. At the time the papyri were written, the verb ἐπιθύειν was closely linked to vegetable offerings, and especially to the burning of incense. Theophrastus, quoted by Porphyrius,¹⁵⁶ associates the verb ἐπιθύειν with the verb θυμιᾶν, an association that for him is caused by the root θυ-, which is linked to fire and smoke. As Zografou argues, we can explain the use of the verb ἐπιθύειν instead of θύειν by extension, since incense was widely used for all offerings to the gods, even those of animals.¹⁵⁷ The argument is convincing, although, as we have already seen (and she herself notes),¹⁵⁸ the meaning of “sacrificing more or later or supplementarily” can not be ignored.

64 **ἡλιοτροπίου β[ιοτάνης]**: Heliotrope is a flower with clear connection with the sun. The rotational motion of the sunflower follows the course of the sun and therefore it is not strange to find

¹⁵⁴See *PGM* II 177

¹⁵⁵Zografou (2013) 52.

¹⁵⁶Porph. *Abst.* II, 59.

¹⁵⁷Zografou (2013) 30-35.

¹⁵⁸Zografou (2013) 30-31.

its presence in a magical recipe where solar gods are invoked to cooperate.

68-69 δὲ διατρυ[π]ήσας καὶ διείρας σπάρτῳ περὶ τῶν τρά[χηλόν σου εἴρησον: Regarding amulets,¹⁵⁹ in the corpus there are two categories: a) independent recipes that give instructions on how to make an amulets and b) spells that incorporate instructions for protective amulets used only during the performance of this particular spell, just as in this case.

70-71 πρὸς ἀύγην τῆς θεοῦ ἄντικρυς: Isis was identified with the bright star Sirius- (the Dog Star) actually the brightest star in the Earth's night sky. As D.G. Greenbaum stresses “the heliacal rising of Sirius (The Dog-Star) marks the beginning of the Egyptian year, and Isis is famously associated with Spdt (The Egyptian name of Sirius). This astronomical links connect Isis intimately with time, and particularly with the solar circle.”¹⁶⁰

72 μῦρσίνης: Myrtle is considered to be sacred to the goddess Aphrodite but also possesses a sepulchral aspect as sacred to chthonian deities¹⁶¹ and is connected with the initiation in the Eleusis mysteries.¹⁶² Myrtle appears also in Sefer Ha-Razim where practitioner intends to question a ghost. He should hold in his hand

¹⁵⁹ They are numerous studies about the amulets in ancient word. I cite as fundamentals the followings: Bonner (1950-1951); Delatte-Derchain (1964); Kotansky (1991-1994);

¹⁶⁰ Greenbaum (2015). See also Griffiths (1970), 371-73; Ascough (2005), 77; 228; Merkelbach (2001), 111.

¹⁶¹ Cook (1914-1940), 1165; Staples (1998), 99-104.

¹⁶² Mikalson (2010), 83.

a myrtle twig and a flask of honey and oil.¹⁶³ In *PGM* collection appears two times more, in *PGM* IV 2233 and in IV 2679.

74 **ἄστρον κατελθὼν στήσεται εἰς μέσον**: Divine apparitions are usually foretold by or associated with celestial phenomena, such as remarkable stellar events or a spectacular skylight. This is quite understandable as popular thinking considers the celestial sphere as the dwelling of the god and interprets every unusual astronomical phenomenon as a divine sign. This was such a deeply rooted belief that many emperors and kings tried to take advantage of fortuitous astronomical phenomena for their political propaganda. The famous comet of 44 BCE that appeared shortly after the assassination of Julius Caesar on the Ides of March was propagandized as the apotheosis of Julius on the one hand and, on the other, as the signal of the novel era of Octavian ruling, who tried to present himself as a god on earth.

In “Mithras Liturgy” (*PGM* IV 475–829), the god’s manifestation is very impressive.

Look in the air and you will see lightning bolts going down, and lights flashing, and the earth shaking, and a god descending, a god immensely great, having a bright appearance, youthful, golden-haired, with a white tunic and a golden crown and trousers, and holding in his right hand a golden shoulder of a young bull... Then you will see

¹⁶³ Harari (2017).

lightning bolts leaping from his eyes and stars from his body (696–704).¹⁶⁴

In the *Corpus Hermeticum* the gods “were visible in forms of stars with all their signs; while Nature had her members made articulate together with the Gods in her“ (Corp. Herm. 3. 2). In the Testament of Solomon, which is dated to the third or fourth century and which contains elements of Jewish magic we read the following conversation between Solomon and the demon “Accordingly I said to him: ‘Under what star dost thou lie?’ And he answered: ‘In the very tip of the moon’s horn, when it is found in the south. There is my star’.”

In this light, it was not surprising that Jesus was thought by many as a divine king on earth and the Star of Bethlehem episode, which pointed to the birth of Jesus, in St. Matthew’s Gospel is of great interest. Even if purely legendary, this famous Christmas story reflects the popular belief that a celestial sign accompanies the divine presence.

The first description of the star is its initial rising, then the Magi “see” the star again, where it is said this time to go before them and actually stop right above the Christ-child, pinpointing an individual house. Even more striking is that in the biblical narrative the first people who came to the begotten Son were the so-called “magi”. Given the rivalry between magic and religion, the fact that Matthew

¹⁶⁴ Betz (1986), 51-52.

choose to present few magi as the first worshippers of the true god, at least raises our attention. Herodotus uses the term “magi” to generically refer to a “sacerdotal caste” of Pre-Achaemenid Persia.¹⁶⁵ The class of magi has been linked with the Zoroastrian religion as ritual specialists in sacrifices, incantations, divination and other sacerdotal rites. But long before the writing of the gospel “magi” had come to be related negatively with “magicians and charlatans”, at least in Greek territory.

However, here the term “magi” does not seem to have a negative connotation and Matthew referred to them with the respectful interpretation of magus. And this is not without purpose. The tradition of the Zoroastrian magi talks about a prophetic star, but another significant text found in the Vahman Yast also appears embedded in the Pahlavi tradition.¹⁶⁶ The document mentions a prophecy, a star’s falling in connection with a divine birth. Widengren summarizes its cryptic wording as follows:

It is said... of the Saviour Husetar that his father was a prince, kai. Husetar in his turn is the begetter of the kai of religion. During the night when this kai is born there will be a sign to the world: a star falls from heaven and when this kai is born the star shows a sign. The falling of the star thus indicates the birth of Saviour.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ *Hist.* 1. 107, 1. 108, 1. 120, 1. 128, 1. 132, 1. 140, 7. 19, 7. 43, 7. 113, 7.191. On magoi in ophics and in the derveni papyrus see Edmonds (2008); Bernabé (2006).

¹⁶⁶ Middle Persian apocalyptic text preserved in a Middle Persian version in Pahlavi script. See West (1897).

¹⁶⁷ Widengren (1959).

Therefore, Matthew's Gospel seems to recall the Pahlavi tradition in order to convince the Zoroastrian adherents that Jesus was the Savior their prophecies talked about.

Whatever Matthew's intention was, the star plays an important role, indicating the joyous event of a divine birth. Therefore, the magical papyrus seems to be influenced by this long tradition. We should not forget that this tradition already begins with ancient Greece where the immortalization of many humans involved their transformation into stellar bodies.

76 ἐκάλεσας ἄγγελον: In *PGM* this is used ten times for various types of non-human helpers. A *paredros* is acquired by ritual and vocative manipulation and compulsion. The case of *paredros* in *PGM* I raises an interpretative problem and demands meticulous examination because of the presence of terms "god" and "angel". The texts at l. 75-77 says "you will look at the angel whom you summoned and who has been sent to you and you will quickly learn the gods' wishes" and the reader assumes that what is manifested in front of the magician is an angel. Bu in the very next lines the text give the following instructions: "approach the god and, taking his right hand, kiss it and say these words to the angel" and ten lines later (86-87) says "set these before the god with an uncorrupted boy serving and keeping silence, until the angel departs". Consequently, we are faced with two possible interpretations The first one is that god and angel are used for the same entity and the

other one is that two different entities are expected to be manifested. Ciruolo supports the idea that the terms *angelos* is used interchangeably with *theos* essentially as synonyms, and the word does not appear to have any special connotations.¹⁶⁸ O’Neil agrees with Ciruolo.¹⁶⁹ Pachoumi; however, after examining other cases of *paredros* in the magical papyri, he admits that the case of *PGM I* is particular and we can not be so certain that these two words are interchangeable.¹⁷⁰

79 **ἐξόρκιζε τῷδε [τῷ ὄρκ]ῳ**: The efficacy of magic lay very much on the dynamism of the orders to the divine powers, thus the instructions expressed by the most forceful verbs, such as *orkizo*, *epitasso*, *exorkizo*. A. Zografou supports that the meaning to adjure someone in order to oblige him to fulfill a task appears in the 1st century a.C. but only between humans.¹⁷¹ The idea that a human has the power to command a god emerges when the people start to believe that gods possess humans. Thereafter, this term was used in the specific context of exorcisms. However, in magic of this period these verbs are used with intention to oblige the god to act, as the human desires.

ἔτοι[μάσας] παντοῖα φαγήματα : If we look closer at the ingredients, we will see that the magic recipes demanded that the offerings should be of expensive and rare products but also of the

¹⁶⁸ Ciruolo (1995), 283.

¹⁶⁹ This angel or messenger (ἄγγελος) is also referred to as ‘the god’ throughout the spell.

¹⁷⁰ Pachoumi (2011), 155–165.

¹⁷¹ Zografou (2015), 268.

best quality. For example, in the LXX papyrus we read that the bran has to be of the best quality; in others, incenses and perfumes of different varieties are required. In XII 310-312, the instructions indicate that the libation should consist of all types of perfumes, except for incense. The same happens in XIII 352, in which the sacrifice consists in burning seven approved incenses. In *PGM* I, specifically, the banquet prepared for the god has to contain all types of food; and in V 240, the engraved stone has to be expensive and the wire to hang it has to be gold. These kinds of comments, along with the long list of ingredients needed, demonstrate an extraordinary abundance of expensive products and a nonchalance attitude to the cost of the magic recipe.¹⁷²

85 οἶνόν τε Μενδήσιον:¹⁷³ In the corpus, a particular wine called Μενδήσιον is mentioned three times. Betz (1985: 5, n. 18) points out that this wine comes from the Egyptian city of Mendes, located in the Nile Delta and warns that it should not be confused with that of Mende, a Greek city famous for its wine. Betz supports his argument with the opinion of W. Darby, P. Ghalioungui and L. Grivetti (1977: 600) who state that "Lutz (1922: 4) speaks of a Mendesian wine, quoting Athenaus (I 30) and Pliny XIV 9), but there appears to be some confusion between the Mendaeian wine of Athenaus, a Greek type, and another Egyptian wine cited by Pliny." However, in the quote from Pliny (HN XIV 9) there is no mention of the wine of Mendes, but of the wine called *Sebennyticum* which

¹⁷² Chronopoulou (2017).

¹⁷³ Chronopoulou (2017).

was well known and made from three different varieties of grapes originating from Tasio. Returning to the work of Lutz, after talking about the wine *Sebbennyticum*, it is specifically stated that "Pliny also knew the wine of Egyptian Mendes" and the passages from Pliny and the Deipnosophists are quoted again, with the addition of a statement that this wine is mentioned by Clement of Alexandria in *Paed. II c. 2*, according to which this wine had a very sweet taste.

Thus, Lutz mentions three ancient sources: Ateneo, which speaks clearly of Greek wine; Clement of Alexandria, who mentions a wine of Egyptian Mendes; and Pliny, who only speaks about the famous wine *Sebennyticum*. Redford believes that the wine *Sebennyticum* is similar to Mendesian because of the proximity of the regions. This seems to be the only explanation, since in the modern bibliography this fragment is quoted in reference to the term "mendesian", when the term, as such, does not appear. Therefore, Darby, Ghalioungui and Grivetti are right to consider that there is a confusion in Lutz. But, before moving further, we must emphasize that the adjective *Μενδήσιος*, as the adjective *Μένδαιος*, can come from the word *Μένδη*, which is the name of a Greek city. Consequently, as a term *Μενδήσιος* can be attributed to both cities due to the similarity of the names.

The term appears five times more in the *Corpus Hippocraticum*. LMV Totelin (2009: 183), in his book on Hippocratic recipes, regards it as a Greek wine, and he uses both the aforementioned terms. J. Jouanna (2012: 180) also rejects Bailly's dictionary reference, which says that this wine in Hippocrates is an Egyptian

wine and claims that these references are to Greek wine. The wine of the Greek city of Mende was so renowned for its excellence that the coins of Mende carried it as a symbol; However, the term *mendaios oinos* was used to denote all the wine that passed through the port of Mende after having been produced in the region. An interesting detail is that this wine, according to the sources, was light and sweet, as Clement describes it.

It should be mentioned that there was one more product bearing the same name: the *Mendesion*, a white Egyptian perfume that was prepared using lilies and spices. The first reference to this perfume occurs in papyrus P.Cairo Zen 59089 (257 BC).

Returning to our sources; the case of "mendesian wine" and "attic honey" seem to indicate that the origin of a substance could also be indicative of its excellent quality. In reference, again, to the magical papyri, LiDonnici (2001: 364) proposes that the recipe is likely to stipulate an Egyptian wine to make the link with the Egyptian land closer. However, if this hypothesis were correct, all kind of Egyptian wines could be used to carry out the recipe. In addition, apart from these few references, it is not possible to find any other mention of vineyards in Mendes. Therefore, I believe that the wine we have in the magical texts is the famous Greek wine of Mende. I also consider that Clement was confused between the cities because the characteristics of the wine as he describes them, correspond to the qualities of the Greek wine.

86 ὑπηρετοῦντος παιδὸς ἀφθόρου: O Neil believes that the pure boy serves as a medium.¹⁷⁴ It is true that boys are used as mediums in contact with the divine but the structure of this ritual does not imply the use of a medium.

94 χῶρει, κύριε, θεὲ μάκαρ, ὅπου διηνεκῶς σὺ εἶς, ὡς βούλει,
καὶ ἀφανῆς ἐστὶν ὁ θεός- : The *apolyxis*-dismissal- of the god is very typical in cases of magical ritual apparitions. Once the magician has achieved his purpose and he has made use of the supernatural power of the god, he quickly thanks, and then dismisses the god because the reaction of such powerful sources of energy can be unpredictable, especially when they act under the coercion of spells. The common forms of dismissal include noble attributes, as in our case μάκαρ. Sometimes, in the dismissal, the magician asks the deity to leave calmly and peacefully, or repeats his petition for everlasting assistance. See l. 346-347

96-133 Then he explains that god is an aerial spirit and in following lines focuses on the power of the god, enumerating what it is able to do and offer to the practitioner. There is impressive variety in his deeds: He is the master of the air and all the other gods accept his sovereignty. The god dominates nature and subjects its powers such as winds, rivers to his will. He has power over the animals and the beasts, and he is able to transform himself into an animal. He can also act as servant of the magician occupied with more humble issues such as provider of material wealth, foods and wine, prepare

¹⁷⁴ See also Hopfner (1926).

the table, open doors etc.¹⁷⁵ Finishing with the enumeration of the deeds, he repeats how important it is to adhere to that practice, which he names as *mega mysterion*.

97 **πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἀέριον, ὃ εἶδες**: There is an inconsistency in this line. The πνεῦμά-spirit- is something aerial but the instructions of the spell contain the holding and the kissing of his hand, its dinner with all kind of foods etc. Through the instructions it is implied a corporeality of the gods. I suppose we have to perceive this corporeality (or the supposed corporeality) in different terms to that of the humans.

103 **χωρὶς ἰχθύων μ[ό]νων- κρέας δὲ χοίρειον—[τ]οῦτο ὅλως μὴ λέξις ποτὲ ἐνεγκεῖν**.: It is noteworthy that the only tasks the invoked deity can perform is the fetching of cooked fish for food and pork meat. However this is not the only magical text which reveals a certain particularity regarding fish and pork.

To begin with the fish, the following curse tablet, found at Roma(c. IV? CE) and directed against a certain Nikomedes, is quite eloquent:

(...) παράλαβε Νεικομήδην δειώκ[ων] / καθημερινὰς δὲ
†ἀρὰ γεγασ† / τώνδε τῶν ἄνωμων καὶ ἀσε[βῆν], / ὅτι οὕτως ἐστιν ὦ

¹⁷⁵ This is a kind of aretology, the quasi-ritual enumeration of the qualities, power and miracles of the deity. It is common in the corpus to appear *aretologies* incorporated in hymns or separated as in our case. These usually long catalogs of qualities and powers turn to be also a advertisement for the practice that invoke the mighty god. It has the double role is not only to convince the good but also to convince the client that we invoke the right good, the most powerful god.

κ[α]ύσας τῶν / παπυρῶνα τοῦ Ὠσείρεως κ[αί] / φαγῶν τὰ κρέα τῶν
 ἰχθύων τῶ[ν ἱερῶν ?] / [παρ]άλαβε τὸν Νεικωμήδην, ἦν ἔτεκα (...).
 This curse is addressed to one of the untimely dead – an ἄωρος (l.1)-
¹⁷⁶ and Osiris (and Typhon?)¹⁷⁷ in order to punish Nicomedes, who
 is accused of being “impious and sacrilegious” -ἄνομος¹⁷⁸ and
 ἄσεβής- by the *defigens*. His crimes have been burning “the
papyron of Osiris” and eating a (sacred?) fish. (*DT Aud.* 188, ll.6-
 13)

About the last accusation, the prohibition of eating fish, we have to
 stress that this is not the only passage in Greek magical texts in
 which appears the fish taboo.¹⁷⁹ However, it is risky to generalize
 about the ban of eating fish in Ancient Egypt, as well as in Greece;
 a sacred fish in some cults was not holy in others communities with
 different theological or mythological basis.¹⁸⁰ Moreover, the

¹⁷⁶ See above n. 43 for this special kind of deceased’s spirits in magic and related bibliography.

¹⁷⁷ In the text is written τοῦ Τύσων[ος] (l.3), that Audollent corrected as Typhon (*cf. DT Aud 188 ad loc.*), but not all of the editors agrees with. E.g López Jimeno understand Τύσων[ος] as the name of the invoked deceased, *cf. López Jimeno (2001), 193.*

¹⁷⁸ τόνδε τῶν ἄνωμων = τόνδε τὸν ἄνομον, *cf. DT Aud ad loc.* The confusion of ο and ω is very frequent in this text.

¹⁷⁹ The fish taboo appears also in *PGM I*, 120, where the magician invokes a spirit that brings all kinds of food, with the single exception of fish; and in *PGM I*, 290, where the magician equates eating fish to sexual intercourse in the prescription of a series of abstinences for purification before the rite.

¹⁸⁰ According to Herodotus, Egyptian priests were not allowed to eat fish (Herodotus II, 37. 4) and some fish were sacred (II, 72.) - for example, we know that in Esna perch was not eaten and was mummified Pilsbury(2006), 244; Beatens (2013), 17-23.) - But, on the other hand, Herodotus also says that in Egypt there were people who live on fish alone (II, 77. 15). The species of fish, here described only as “holy”, was probably important, although the reference here may perhaps be understood as an Egyptianising *topos*; see Plutarch, *De Iside* 7, 18, 32 and specially the comments of Griffiths, (1970) 277-278, 342-344, 548-549.

abstinence from some types of fish was also observed as a purity requirement in some Greek cults.¹⁸¹ In any case, these ritual prohibitions were linked with particular cults or beliefs and the taboo arises for two main causes: because some kinds of fish were considered (a) sacred or (b) unclean in the context of specific rites¹⁸² but we can assume that there is nothing intrinsically impure about eating fish.¹⁸³ Flowers claims that the prohibition against pork is justified by the association of these two foods with the god Set, and that warnings are often given in the old papyri about the danger of using certain Setian symbols.¹⁸⁴

Moreover it is important to stress that the prohibition against pork is one of the most commonly known and thus stereotypical prohibitions in many cultures. In *PGM IV 3007-3086*, an anti-demon possession charm, said to be of Hebraic origin, suggests abstinence from pork.

127 **μύστα τῆς ἱερᾶς μαγείας- τὸ μέγα τοῦτο μυστήριον:** The magical ritual is perceived as a mystery and the practitioner, guided by an expert, as an initiate. Magic is evaluated as «holy» and the initiate as «blessed». These particular terms such as *mysterion* (with the significance of a secret ritual), *mystes*, *mysticos*, *mystagogos*

¹⁸¹ Aelian, referring to the Eleusinian rules, says that dogfish were considered unclean, because they give birth through their mouth. According to the Cratinos, to participate in the cult of Trophonius, the worshipper could not eat the red-skinned *aixoniantriglê*, the *trygôn* and the *melanouros*; cf. Parker (1983), 357-365 *passim.*; Mylona (2008).

¹⁸² For this reason, the restoration of Audollent - τῶν ἰχθύων τῶ[ν ἱερῶν]-, although possible, is not certain.

¹⁸³ For this reason Parker considers this a “minor sacrilege”, cf. Parker (1983), 145 and 357.

¹⁸⁴ Flowers (1995), 90.

appear almost exclusively in *PGM IV*.¹⁸⁵ Consequently, it is unsafe to speak about these terms as related with the mystery cults in the *PGM* collections, although there is no objection to the idea that mystery cults have influenced the magical rituals.¹⁸⁶ Especially, in the Egyptian religious milieu where magic was part of the official religion where interactions and influences were inevitable.

132 ἐ[πτάκις ἐπ]τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἐξορκισμὸς: This number is omnipresent in almost every religion and its significance has been studied extensively.¹⁸⁷ Seven is also one of the most potent numbers in magic. In the corpus we find repeatedly the seven vowels, the seven stars, seven-leafed spring of laurel, seven written characters, sevenfold recitation, seven units of ingredients such as pinecones, seven bricks, etc.

132-171: In these lines the scribe repeats the instructions focusing on the words that the practitioner should say during the performance of the rituals aforementioned. The magical recipe is divided in *logos* and *praxis*. The first part of the description was dedicated to the actions and the rituals that the magician should perform. Now he recapitalizes the rite explaining what should be said and the majority of them are *voces magicae*. Between them, there is a part, where the power of the god invoked is exalted and his deeds again enumerated.

¹⁸⁵ See Suarez (2016), 210.

¹⁸⁶ See Betz (1991).

¹⁸⁷ For the importance of seven in ancient Egypt see Harris (2016), 85

143-144 Ἡλίωρος ἀνδρ[ιὰς] λεοντοπρόσωπος τῇ μὲν ἀριστερᾷ
χειρὶ κρατῶν πόλον καὶ μάστιγα, κύκλω δὲ αὐτοῦ
δράκοντα οὐροβόρον: This is the description of a manufactured
form of the gem¹⁸⁸ used as an amulet. It describes a lion-faced
Helioros (the Horos of the sun) holding in its left hand a whip and
celestial globe, surrounded by an *ouroboros* (a serpent biting its
tail) , with *onomata* on the bottom of the stone. The practitioner
should wear it around his neck. Helioros, this special type of
daimon, is documented in several gems.¹⁸⁹ However as Bonner and
more recently Nemeth,¹⁹⁰ have both stressed, the papyrus presents
in this point present a peculiarity. The scribe never writes the word
Sun as Ἡλιος. Instead of it, he writes a common magic symbol: O>
but only in this case, the circle is omitted. The papyrus writes
>οῶρος.¹⁹¹

Ouroboros means “devouring its own tail” and actually, it depicts a
serpent forming a circle by eating its tail. It is a symbol whose

¹⁸⁸ For gems generally see Boardman (1970); Zwierlein-Diehl (2007);
Furtwängler (1900); Zazoff, P. (1983); Zazoff, H. (1983); Plantzos (1999); Spier
(2007); Smith (1979), 133 fn.1.

¹⁸⁹ Bonner knew five magic gems that almost completely corresponded with the
description of the papyrus recipe. Specially a reddish Magnetide, about 3rd/4th
Cent. A.D. See Michel (2001). There were also some important difference as the
absence of ouroboros, the objects were hold in the right hand, not the same voces
magicae, the name of another god and the different kind of gem, They were not
bored through).

¹⁹⁰ Bonner (1950), 19;

¹⁹¹ Nemeth says that it is possible that the scribe accounted for this deficiency by
placing a little ring on the left part of the omega, yet he may well have forgotten
it. Campbell Bonner considers the solution of the abbreviation as Hēliōros
uncertain. “Helioros is Preisendanz’s reading; the papyrus shows only ωροϛ
preceded by a sign which Preisendanz interprets as a corrupt symbol of the sun.
Even if this point be called in question, Horus must stand as against the
conjectures of other editors because of the solar relations of this deity, and
perhaps also because the first of the prescribed words is found elsewhere in
connection with Horus”

origins go back to Pharaonic Egypt and representing the totality, the circularity of time, the continuity, and the cosmos.¹⁹² It is very common in Greco- Egyptian magical objects and especially in gems. Sometimes within the circle, there is written *en to pan*, -one is the whole-.

162 ἔστιν δὲ γραμμάτων ἑ· σουεσολυρ φθη μωθ. : The possession of the secret name of the god enables the magician to control and command him. That is why knowing the name is so important, and in line 160, ask which is your divine name. Usually when the numerical values of the Greek letter are added up, the sum is 9999. This is a reference to Apollo's «greatest name, whose number is 9999». A gnostic stone from Athens has an inscription on one side consisting of six seemingly meaningless words. Each letter of these words is found to have a numerical value, the total being 9999. 9999 is the largest number capable of being counted on the fingers of a person's hands.

164-166 ἀπέραντον, ἀμίαντον, ἀδιήγητον, Αἰῶνα κατεστηριγ[μ]ένον· ἀκίνητός μου γίνου ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς μου: It is noteworthy that the repetition of α in this phrase, which in the Greek language could mean deprivation and inability, such as in the words ἀπέραντον, the one who has not a beginning, and ἀδιήγητον, the one whose name cannot be said. However, the letter α also symbolizes the beginning of the world.

¹⁹² Charlesworth (2010).

172- 196: In these lines, the scribe explains what the magician should expect from the god. The god will be his friend, and will go wherever the magician goes. He will give him money whenever he needs it; he will foretell the future; he will execute all his desires immediately. When he dies, he will be treated by the god as an equal to the gods. He will lift his soul into the air and he will not permit to his spirit to go to Ades because it will be united with the paredros.

196- 222

Here we have a protective prayer addressed to the first-begotten and first-born god, which in this case is Helios. The prayer invokes the mighty god, enumerating his deeds and his power over the other gods and nature in general, to summon them to come and be always by his side, helping him because he is in great need. The prayer also contains voces magicae.

197 The word ῥυστική occurs twice in this papyrus. The first, here, refers to a protective formula and the second, in l. 266, refers to the seven characters that should be written on the seven leaves of laurel. Both the formula and the leaves had the function of an amulet. Apparently, any proximity to a deity whose attendance has been conjured up against their will is quite dangerous and the magician is aware of it. Therefore the ritualist tries to secure himself against possible retaliation by the god. There are many instances in the papyri where the danger of the proceedings involving proximity

with the deity provokes the concern and the fear of the magician and sometimes this fear is explicitly stated, as in this papyrus a few lines later in Ἀπολλωνιακὴ ἐπίκλησις.¹⁹³ See also IV, 2505.¹⁹⁴

199 **Δόξαι**: The word doxai is attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls in Peter 2:10 and Jude 8 and refers to angels, possibly even fallen angels. There is a debate about whether they were angelic or malevolent beings. Jude castigates his antinomian opponents for blaspheming the doxai, and the context makes it clear that he must be thinking of the angelic guardians of the moral laws¹⁹⁵ of St. Clement of Alexandria, according to the Latin version of his commentary on the General epistles; thus the word doxai (plural) can be understood as 'angels'.¹⁹⁶

αἰωναῖε, αἰωνακ<τ>ινοκράτωρ, αἰωνοπολοκράτωρ: The accumulation of adjectives is very frequent in the hymns in the ancient Greek religious texts. Here the prefix αἰων is used to denote the eternal nature of the god.

201 **ἑπταμερ[ί]ου**: The seven planets. The earth is the central point of the universe, and is the midmost of the **seven** planets

¹⁹³ βλέπε δέ, μὴ ἀπολέσης φύλλον [καί] σεαυτὸν βλάβης· τοῦτο γὰρ μέγιστον σώματος φυλακτικόν, ἐν ᾧ πάντες ὑποτάσσονται καὶ θάλασσα καὶ πέτραι φρίσσουσικαὶ δαίμονες φυλ<άσσονται χαρ>ακτῆρων τὴν θεῖαν ἐνέργειαν, ἥνπερ μέλλεις ἔχειν. ἔστιν γὰρ φυλακτῆριον μέγιστον τῆς πράξεως, ἵνα μηδὲν πτοηθῆς.

¹⁹⁴ About the concept of the dangerousness in the magical papyri see Chronopoulou (2015)

¹⁹⁵ Caird (1995).

¹⁹⁶ Bauckham (1983), 57.

207 **δεκανοὺς κ[ρα]ταιοὺς**: The ancient Egyptians had a calendar known as the calendar of the Decans. They divided the great circle of heavens into thirty-six equidistant asterisms or single stars. The decans subdivided the calendar into 10-days periods, which is why they are called decans, from the Greek word *δεκα*. The first decan was Sirius. It is hard to associate them with specific asterisms and stars because they appear in the texts under very peculiar names.¹⁹⁷ The decans also comprised a clock for measuring time during the night.¹⁹⁸ The decans were considered as having healing powers¹⁹⁹ and were also associated with the circle of the zodiac.

222-231: The next fifteen lines describe the ritual for a spell of invisibility titled *Ἀμαύρωσις ἀναγκαία*. The magician should take the fat or an eye of a night-owl and a ball of dung from a beetle and an unripe olive. He should grind all them together and then while he is covering his body with the mixture, he should pronounce a logos, containing voces magicae to Helios asking the god to make him invisible until the sunset.

232-247

Some divination recipes include sections called *μνημονική*. An alternative heading is *πρὸς τὸ μνημονεύειν* see *PGM II*. However is not usually specified with sufficient clarity as to what they allow to

¹⁹⁷ Many attempts have been made to identify them. Lull, Belomonte (2009), 162 they believe that they offer highly probable identifications.

¹⁹⁸ Magli (2009), 88-90; Neugebauer (1975), 561-562; Depuydt (1997), 141-143.

¹⁹⁹ Bohak, Harari, Shaked (2011), 255; Greenbaum (2015); Kákosy (1982).

be remembered. In II, 18 one reads πρὸς δὲ τὸ μνημονεύειν τὰ λεγόμε [να], true, but does this refer to the formulas that must be pronounced for the execution of the practice, or the revealing words of the god during the night? Both of them seem possible. All magical formulas, *voces magicae* and names are sufficiently complicated for an to require an aid for the memory in order to ensure their precise utterance in a spell. However, as the magician asks for an oracle, there is a justified preoccupation with the possibility of forgetting the revelations of a divinity, especially if the revelation occurs during a dream. For example, in VII, 90 we find a petition for a dream to god called Besas where the following advice is offered to anyone who wants to put the recipe into practice: ἔχε ἔγγιστα σου πινακίδα ἵνα ὅσα λέγει γράψῃς, ἵνα μὴ κοιμηθεῖς λεθαργήσης (VII, 90). The same advice occurs in the two versions of the VIII Book of Moses (*PGM XIII*, 91 s and 646 s.: ἔχε δὲ πινακίδα, εἰς ἣν μέλεις γράφειν, ὅσα σοι λέγει). In the same spirit is the testimony of Tésalo, who, before going to his meeting with Apollo, prepared for by an Egyptian priest, asked for writing material to take notes.²⁰⁰ It is a usual characteristic of reminders to be composed only of rites, without oral formulas.²⁰¹ See also *PGM II* lines 17-20.

²⁰⁰ Gracia Molinos (2017), 342 refers also to Song II of the Iliad, when Daydream introduces himself to Agamemnon and concludes his revelation by saying "Keep this in your minds and forget that you do not conquer it when the dream, sweet for the minds, lets you loose" (II, 33 s.) and an oracle of Claros where the god commands to be written his words δελτοῖς δὲ χαράσσετε χρησιμὸν ἐμεῖο. (Porfirio, 314F 25 Smith = Euseb., Praep. Ev., IV, 9, 2.)

²⁰¹ Although exceptions can be found, *mnemonike* are not included in divination recipes, such as that mentioned in III, 467-478.

The fragment is divided in four parts: a) the function of the spell b) detailed instructions over the performance c) a long list of voces magicae that have to be written on the piece of the papyrus d) a recipe to prepare the special myrrh ink of Hermes.

247-262:²⁰² The second spell of invisibility in the papyrus is titled ἀμυρωσις δοκίμη. The instructions are the following: if the magician wants to be invisible he should rub oil of lily together with a plant of peony and the eye of an ape or a corpse that has died a violent death while reciting sacred names in typical ego-proclamation.. Then he has to smear his body with it from the right to the left. In this way he will be invisible to all. The spell continues explaining what he has to do in case he wants to reverse the spell and become visible again. He has just to move (walking? turning?) from west to east saying again a magic formula. As Mirecki explains,²⁰³ this spell is structured in an a-b-c pattern. (A) Want to be invisible (B) Do this (C) You will invisible. (A) You want to be visible (B) Do this (C) You will be visible.

Δοκίμη:²⁰⁴ Carefully studying the magical papyri, we can see that beyond the instructions of the magical logos and praxis, they also contain scattered additional information, not related with the fulfillment of the magical recipe. Some of these information are

²⁰² LiDonnici (1999). For a more metaphysical interpretation of invisibility spells, see Phillips (2002); Phillips (2009).

²⁰³ See Paul Allan Mirecki “Manichaeism Allusions to Ritual and Magic: Spells for Invisibility in the Coptic Kephalaia” in Paul Allan Mirecki, Jason David BeDuhn *The Light and the Darkness: Studies in Manichaeism and Its World*, Brill, 2001 175-176.

²⁰⁴ See Chronopoulou (2018), forthcoming.

associated with the efficacy of the spells. Comments of the quality of the spell are repeated many times in the corpus, stressing the magician's anxiety to persuade but also revealing what all suspect: that magic usually failed and occasionally and only accidentally worked.

Apart from the "tested" spell, there are more adjectives that praise some recipes or magical objects e.g. phylacteries. We found adjectives such as marvelous, no greater, no equal, great, excellent. All these adjectives do not state a concrete past success but imply the tested effectiveness of the charm. Some comments are emphatic as regards the conviction of the reader. They apply the sentimental language²⁰⁵ modern adverts apply to influence the audience.

263-326 In these lines we find an invocation to Apollo to come and give an oracular answer to what is asked by the practitioner. The spell is structured in two parts. The first one is the praxis of this oracular spell and it prescribes a sacrificial ritual while utilizing a phylactery made from a seven-leaved spray of laurel, a lamp and the head of a wolf (263-296). Then the magician recites the *logos* (296-327) followed by a shorter praxis and *logos* (327-47). Although it is not clearly stated, the spell is a licnomancy because a lamp is used during the ritual.

263-326: The instructions of the practice begin with the preparation of a branch of laurel with seven leaves, which the magician should

²⁰⁵ On the sentiments and the hope in the corpus see Sarischouli (forthcoming)

hold during the performance of the ritual in his right hand (II.274 and 286): on each leaf he has to have drawn one of the seven signs drawn on the papyrus. In this case, the leaves of laurel function as an amulet to protect the magician. Then, the magician must gather the necessary materials for the practice which are: a lamp strictly 'not painted red' with linen wick and oil of roses or spikenard, a wolf's head, on which he will put the lamp and next to these, a clay altar for the sacrifices. These consist of a libation of wine, honey, milk and rainwater, seven cakes and a perfume of plants and other exquisite perfumes. The ritualist must be dressed in "prophetic garments," and be in a state of purity that will "bring the god into a state of uncontrollable desire" towards him. In addition, he holds in the right hand the branch of laurel, mentioned above, and in the left an ebony wand. Once all this is arranged, it can be deduced that the magician lights the lamp and offers the incense burner while pronouncing the *logos*, and then the divine spirit enters (I.284). The ritualist will ask about the art of divination and about the magical experience.

296-326

The presence of one or several branches of laurel on the leaves of which must be written magical signs is a common element of Apollonian communication practices. However, in this ritual its function is not associated with the divination. It seems to function as an amulet.

The beginning of *logos* is denoted by a blank space. As D. Martinez correctly stresses, it is an invocation that shifts rhetorically to

adjuration with the verb “horkizo” repeated seven times with seven aspects and names of the deity. The *logos* contains four shorter hymns.²⁰⁶

- a. Iambic invocation to Apollo l.296-297
- b. Hexametric invocation to Apollo l.297-299
- c. Hexametric adjuration to various deities most of them belonging to the Judaic tradition such as Micheal, Gabriel etc. l.300-314 (The lines 312-313, although they are part of the hymn, are *contra metrum*.)
- d. Exametric invocation l.315-325

297 **Παιήωνι**: Paeon literally means the physician and the healer. In Homer, Paeon was the Greek physician of the gods. In *Iliad* V he heals the wounded Ares and Hades, when Heracles shot him with an arrow.²⁰⁷ Paeon was also the name given to the choral song, addressed to Apollo or Artemis, in thanksgiving for deliverance from evil.²⁰⁸ It was also a song of triumph. In this case the practitioner invokes Apollo to “come with”. Obviously it is not an

²⁰⁶ The *logos* present a number of difficulties. See Hopfner (1990), 364-365. The dominant structure is that of two hexametric hymns (296-314) in which the meter breaks down at several points. However, recently M. Bortolani and M. Blanco Cesteros, in their PhD dissertations, have worked again on the hymnal material. Blanco Cesteros has included an exhaustive metrical and structural analysis presenting all the opinions so far and I have chosen the one that seems to me best.

²⁰⁷ Paiawon, in an older form of the same was an independant divinity in Mycenaean Bronze Age. After Homer, Paeon is always used as an epithet of Apollo and the scholars have debated whether Homer regarded Paeon as still an independant divinty or as an aspect of Apollo. See Graf (2009); Suárez (2013b)

²⁰⁸ The term was also connected with the son of Apollo Asclepius bearing the significance of the “healer” eg. In *Epigrammata Graeca* 1027. Apart from Asclepius and Apollo, other deities were attributed or identified with this epithet see Bernard (1996), 583.

epithet but a substantive with the meaning of the healing skill or remedies.

297 **Κύριε**: This is an epithet common in the Greek literature without specific religious connotations. Jews and Christians used, and still use, this term to describe the supreme authority of the one and unique god. And indeed, although it is a quite frequent epithet in the corpus of the magical papyri applied to many deities, some combinations in these are taken from the Septuagint such as *kyrios o theos*.²⁰⁹

298 **Παρνάσιον ὄρος**: The reference to Parnassus is used as a metonymy of Delfos. The mention of the Parnassus appears in numerous hymns to Apollo, but, from Pindar, it seems that it becomes an almost obligatory mention of the postpindaric pean, where, being the most representative place of Apollo, it is configured like a *topos* of the Apollonian invocation.²¹⁰ Parnassus and Delfos creates an allusion for the oracular purpose of the spell.

298 **Δελφίδα Πυθῶν**: is used by Nonnus (D. 9.250) in the same position in the verse (after bucolic dieresis) but it seems these two sources are two centuries apart, so it is risky to try to establish a connection between them.

²⁰⁹ Bortolani (2016), 64.

²¹⁰ Bremer-Furley 2001, vol. II, pp. 87 y 99; Suárez 2013a, p. 179.

299 **ἡμετέρων ἱερῶν στομάτων ἄφθεγκτα λαλούντων:** The *oxymoron* ἄφθεγκτα λαλούντων- our lips says things that can not be said- reveals this specifically special power magic is famous for. Magician masters use some extremely powerful words that nobody knows or dares to say. So the power of these words is going to compell Apollo to come and serve the practitioner.²¹¹

300 **Ἰάω:** The vowel combination IAO, which actually is a pseudo-divine name, plays an important role in Graeco-Roman magic. It contains the first, the middle and the last vowel of the Greek vowels and represents a Greek transliteration of a shortened form of the Hebrew name for god YHWH.²¹² Aune notes that IAO, SABAOTH and ADONAI, when mentioned in pagan magical spells, were regarded as separate deities.²¹³ IAO sometimes was equated with²¹⁴ and the palindrome *iaoi* was very popular.

301 **Μιχαήλ, καὶ σὲ καλῶ, Γαβριήλ:** Michael and Gabriel were- and still are- two of the most prominent archangels in the Jewish and Christian religion. There many attestations of their names in amulets, sometimes used as the secret names of the invoked gods.²¹⁵ This is not the only instance of invocation in the *PGM* where the two *archangeloī* were called upon together, or associated with solar

²¹¹ See also Calvo 2005, pp. 270; Blanco-Cesteros 59-62.

²¹² Aune (1996) 1-12.

²¹³ Aune (1996), 1-12; Bohak (2003), 71; Mastrocinque (2003), 102.

²¹⁴ Lewy (1978), 409.

²¹⁵ Bortolani (2016) 68.

deities.²¹⁶ It is argued by J. Arnold that there is an association between the Highest God and the angels in the Jewish religion which influenced the pagan communities of Asia Minor. He mentions five inscriptions from Stratonicea in Caria using the epithet Most High, which is often used by Jews in order to designate the greatest of the pagan gods in company with a divine angel. His interpretation is that the Jewish presence induced a vague syncretic local trend towards monotheism that centered on Zeus accompanied by an angelic retinue.²¹⁷ Michael and Apollo are also similar figures in their iconography. Michael crushing the dragon corresponds to Apollo killing the snake dragon Python. Moreover, their sanctuaries share similar geologic setting. Delphi and Monte Sant-Angelo appear to have been positioned above seismic faults.²¹⁸ The Γαβριήλ πρωτάγγελε is an erroneous attribute because *protangelos* is usually Michael.

302 **Ἀβρασάξ:** The mystic word that has drawn the attention more than any other magical word and so much ink has been spilt about throughout centuries is of unknown origin. Some scholars have supported the Hebrew derivation of the name, but there is no general consensus.²¹⁹ What should be stressed is the similarity with the *vox magica* abracadabra. Its seven letters may represent each of the seven planets and the sum of the numbers denoted by the Greek letters according to the rules of isopsephy is 365 (A = 1, B = 2, P =

²¹⁶ Anubis and Thoth. See *PGM* VII 1010, III 140, XIII 257 See also Kákosy (1989) 266; Bortolani (216) 68.

²¹⁷ Arnold (2013) 22-23.

²¹⁸ Piccardi-Masse (2007) 103.

²¹⁹ Others believe that it has gnostic origin.

100, Α = 1, Σ = 200, Α = 1, Ξ = 60) which symbolize eternity. It is found in different religious context and with different functions and attributes each time. In *PGM I* it is found in a Jewish religious context along with other Jewish deities such as Michael, Gabriel, Iao and pagan elements such as Olympos.

Ἰλαος ἔλθοις: Variation of the Homeric Ἰλαος ἔστω. Ἔλθε is also very common in the Greek hymnography and very frequent in invocations of the *PGM*.²²⁰

303 Ἀ]δωναί: It is often used as a substitute for Jehovan, usually translated as «Lord».

304 πᾶσα φύσις τρομ[έ]ει σε: In the Greek literature there are some literary attestations where some important divine events were accompanied by natural phenomena e.g Athens' birth made Olympus tremble, the earth cried with fear and the sea became stormy.²²¹ However, we have to note that in Greek literature nature displays no fear of the gods. When a god reveals himself on earth, the latter reacts with joy.²²² It seems that this phrase reflects monotheistic perceptions of an omnipotent god that all the cosmos, human and natural, have to fear. Thus we can consider this phrase of Jewish or Christian influence. There are two verses in Jewish psalms that hold considerable resemblance to that in this papyrus.

²²⁰ See Bortolani(2016), 69.

²²¹ *HH* 28.9-13; Pind. *Ol*.7.38

²²² e.g *HH* 2.13-14; Theogn.*Eleg.* 9; Callim. *Hym.*2.1-5

The first one says “and may all the ends of the earth fear him”²²³ and the other «the earth feared and was still, when god arose to judgment».²²⁴

305 ὀρκίζω κεφαλὴν τε θεοῦ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν Ὀλυμπος: A passage that appears several times in *PGM* (*PGM* XII 242-243, XIII 770-772 and XXI 6-7), in which the divine body is identified with different natural elements, supports this identification of Olympus with the sky and in turn with the head of the god. Calvo points out that it is not about Mount Olympus, but that the mentions contained in this text may be metaphors of heaven.²²⁵

304 Πακερβηθ: It is a fusion of words from a formulaic invocation of the Egyptian god Seth²²⁶ and is often associated with powers of destruction and malicious magic. Sometimes it appears in a context in connection with solar gods. According Szepes the alliteration of πα (πᾶσα, πάτερ) is the reason that it appears in this context Pakerbeth.²²⁷

307 χέρα δεξιτερήν, ἦν κόσμῳ ἐπέσχε: The right hand is preferred over the left. The idea of sitting at the right hand. The widespread ritual and social significance of right and left was systematically explored by French anthropologist Robert Hertz in his article published as “The Pre-eminence of the Right Hand: A

²²³ LXX, Ps. 77.16-18, 96.9.

²²⁴ cf. The god uttered his voice and the earth melted away.

²²⁵ Calvo 2005, p. 270

²²⁶ Hopfner (1974), II.i 229-232; Smith 1996, p. 238. Bonner (1950), 163-164; Daniel (1983), 151-2; Bortolani (2016), 74, .

²²⁷ Szepes (1976), 210.

Study in Religious Polarity”.²²⁸ Zeus was often depicted with a thunderbolt in his right hand, a scepter in his left hand, and an eagle at his feet. Christianity is full of symbolic associations with right and left. The most famous is the image of the Last Judgment (Book of Revelations/ Apocalypse) when the people of the earth will be divided:

“and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divide the sheep from the goats: and he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left.”

In the Judaic tradition there is also a clear division of right and left perhaps originating in the fact that the early Israelites worshipped the sun, facing east and hence having the south to the right, a situation reflected in the Hebrew term of east. The hand of God as a symbol of God Himself is especially remarkable in Jewish and early Christian art, since the Old Testament forbade the representation of God. Thus, the idea of divine intervention in the world is expressed iconographically through the image of a hand emerging from the sky.

306 ὀρκίζω σφραγίδα θεοῦ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὄρασις: The “seal of god” is an element associated with the Jewish tradition. It is mentioned in legend in the *Testament of Solomon* which narrates that archangel Michael is said to have given Solomon a ring bearing a seal, this seal of God made him able to subdue all the malevolent daemons.²²⁹ The text does not specify the nature of the inscription in the ring,

²²⁸ 1909

²²⁹ *TSol* 1:6

but this tradition instigated the creation of various Solomonic magical amulets.²³⁰ Actually it is the inscription itself that makes the ring powerful as it is the real name of the god. In the magical papyri the seal of Solomon appears in P IV 3039 and N 5.7. Particularly interesting is the case of *PGM* VII where the name of god is identified with his seal (ἔστιν γὰρ δυνάμεως ὄνομα τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σφραγίδος).²³¹

309 **αἰώνιον Αἰῶνά:** Αἰῶν is a term, associated with the abstract concept of time, denoting the totality of time, eternity.²³² During the Hellenistic period, the term started to lose this meaning and appears as an individual divinity, a procedure that was completed about the end of the II century A.D as hermetic and gnostic texts show. In *PGM*, it appears as a deity.²³³

στρῶσον δὲ θρόνον: Although the throne is an element strongly associated with Zeus, in tragedy θρόνος has also the meaning of the oracular set of Apollo.²³⁴ However, it is to be stressed that the motif

²³⁰ According Bonner there were amulets made of hematite, representing King Solomon as mounted on a horse. They have the inscription Σολομών round the rider and σφραγίς θεοῦ on the reverse. Bonner (1950), 208-209.

²³¹ For a full analysis see Yebenes (2000), 17-36.

²³² For the evolution of the concept see H. M. Keizer (1999) and Calvo 2003, p. 237

They are different perceptions of this concept among the scholars. Festugière believes that it is a god between God and Cosmos . See Festugière, 1981⁷: vol. IV, 175 . Renau believes that it is an active principle. See Renau Nebot 1999, p. 179, n.127

²³³ On the term in the *PGM* see the fundamental study of Festugière 1981⁷, vol.IV, p.197; Nock (1934), 84.; Blanco (2017) 434-437

²³⁴ See TLG E.IT1254, 1282; A.Eu.616

of *thronos* is basic in the Judeo-Christian tradition.²³⁵

326-346 The last of the papyrus is dedicated to the enquiry of the divinity when it enters and his dismissal. The magician can ask the god about different kind of divination and the magic experience. Then he has to prepare a throne for the god and to perform one more offering. When the enquiry ends it is time to dismiss the god. The procedure is to move the ebony staff from the left hand to the right and the branch of laurel from the right hand to the left, and to blow out the lamp and to pronounce the *apolyxis* formula.

328 **περὶ ἐποποιίας**: The term refers to the divination in epic verse. The Homeromanteion is a certain divinatory text that uses a selection of Homeric verses for offering automatic oracular answers. According to the instructions for use, the Homeromanteion was performed in the following way: “firstly, the practitioner has to consult the table of days and hours in which the oracle can be performed. When the day and hour are favourable for divination, the consultant has to utter a prayer addressed to Apollo (preserved in P.Oxy. 3831 and fragmentarily in *PGM VII*) composed indeed by five Homeric verses the last one modified). While reciting the prayer, the consultant is supposed to think about the question he/she wants answered. Then a dice has to be thrown three times. This process gets as a result a number of three digits that must be located throughout the ordered series of numbers followed by a Homeric verse. The numbers are arranged in a series of six numbers of three digits each, separated by lectional signs. The arrangement of the

²³⁵ See Gallusz (2014).

numbers is clearly established, starting with ααα (111) and ending (only preserved in *PGM VII*) with ζζζ (666), in the following order: ααα, ααβ, ααγ ...αβα , αββ, αβγ ... βαα , βαβ ...ζζζ, a system that covers all the possibilities of throwing a dice three times. The number obtained by the consultant leads him/her to the Homeric verse that would be the oracular answer.”²³⁶ Schweder maintain that Homeromanteia were utilized by Egyptian priests in Late Antiquity.²³⁷

336-337 ἐ[β]εννίνην ῥάβδον . . . τῆ δεξιᾷ χειρί: It is interesting that the image described in these lines-the magician with an ebony staff and a branch of laurel in his hands- is reproduced in a drawing of the *PGM II*. The difference is that in *PGM II* it is not the magician who holds these, but the god.

Overview of the papyrus

The papyrus is divided in 7 sections. The **first** is a ritual for obtaining a *daimon* assistant. The drowning of the falcon overshadows this passage. The ritual described, the *apotheosis* of the bird, its mummification, the enshrinement and offerings show many similarities with the cult of divine animals in Egypt of Late Antiquity, but here it is adapted to a domestic ritual -with the restrictions that this may imply- aiming to cast a spell of *paredros*. The practitioner performing these rituals acts like a priest. J. Moyer has maintained

²³⁶ Martín-Hernández (2013).

²³⁷ Schweder (2002) 107-111.

that this rite is a rite of initiation of the magician.²³⁸ The magician acts like a priest and performs rituals very similar to those of initiated priests, such as seeking direct access to the divine, or the priest's privilege of approaching the divine and assuming their powers. The influence of the official Egyptian religion in this section is more than evident, and we can assume that the original scribe of this spell either had a profound knowledge of the official rituals performed in temples and their symbolism, or he had access to sacred books; both possibilities indicate that the original scribe was a priest.

The second long section is the spell in epistolary form for acquiring a *daimon paredros*. The ritualist has to perform a ritual during the night at the top of the room. The ritual performance included also the recitation of magical speech. Then the god will appear to him in a form of a star, but soon the star will disappear and the god will be revealed. Then the magician has to go down again into the room together with the god and offer a sacrifice, which will be followed by the sacrificial meal. Afterwards, the magician can ask the god for whatever he desires and the ritual finishes with the dismissal of the god. As we have seen, this spell contains some standard motives of divine revelations, such as the isolation, the purification, the sacrificial meal, the star and the danger arising from the proximity of the divine. This has led to me to consider that this spell is influenced by the Jewish tradition and the appearance of the divine in the Jewish texts.

²³⁸ Moyer (2003).

The third section is a protective spell consisting only of an oral invocation. The fourth section is a spell of invisibility; the fifth a spell to achieve a good memory and the sixth, another spell of invisibility.

The seventh and final part of the papyrus is an invocation to Apollo. The practice includes the use of a lamp, both for the invocation and the dismissal. Therefore, we can deduce it is a spell of licnomancy. This invocation has as its purpose the learning by the magician of the art of divination. The invocation contains a hymn with a metre and structure that has provoked many problems for scholars. Its religious content has many layers. Its first part is an invocation to Apollo (syncretized with Helios) that owes a lot to the Greek religious and hymnal tradition. However, the second and third parts abandon the Greek tradition and are full of divine names associated with the Jewish-Christian tradition; especially the third part, which is an invocation in the form of an adjuration. The papyrus ends with the instructions for the dismissal of the god invoked.

It is risky to make any assumption about the connection between the recipes. All three of them seek to establish communication with a god. The first one, through many symbolic references, seeks a *systasis* with the divinity and great part of the ritual is of Egyptian tradition or at least imitates rituals of the temple. The second recipe, far more demanding, aims to achieve a real encounter with the god in the form of a direct vision. The goals of this encounter is a daimon *paredros* who will assist the magician to achieve all his wishes, either spiritual

or material. The third, the Apollonian *epiclesis*, invokes the god to appear and reveal the art of divination.

To conclude, I want to put stress on the different religious layers found in this papyrus. As we have seen, the text abounds of religious elements of diverse origins. However, the fact that we can easily discern them, undermine the theories of religious syncretism in these texts. The elements are jumbled together, but maintain their independence and their own identity.

4. VI+II= P. Lond.I 47+P. Berl. 5026

PGM VI

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PGMVI

- 1]υστασιςαυτουπρος θ βηδεκλησιςαυτη
]πληθουςησαμεινονδεεντηανατολη
]κυστασινποιησθη δ τηςθεουπροςθε
]δουλεγεουνπρος θ ανατελλοντα
- 5]νευχην
]ϊερονφυτοναπολλωνος
]οιβοςστεφθειςτεκλάδοις
]κεφαληνκομοωσανεθειραις
]ονεαιςπαλαμαιςιτινασων
- 10]ησιπολυπτυχουψηλο[]ο
]έοιςθέσιζεβροτοίσι[]
]λοστονοσαυτοσάπλων
]ορηπαρθεν δ[]νη
]μενωιερουςιπ[]λοισ
- 15]λονεμαιςμετα[]ρσινεχοντι
]μψονμαντευμ[]εσεμνον
]ιςαφηνιςφοιβη[]α
]τεκαιωσ τετελε[]νονεσται
]νεχω[]περι[.....] αζω
- 20]μάσα[]δραμ[.....]ανδρα
]..... φ..... [
]ανυπέρτατεμοιεπ[
]ωςπρε[.....]μαίεωεπιπαιαν[
]ϊοευητή[]ηπολυώνυμείοσ[.....] αναρβαφοιβε
- 25]αντοσυναισι[]ιρροθεφοιβεαπολλ[
]ητοιδηεκαεργε[]οπροπεδευραγεδε[

1 σ]ύστασις αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἥλιον β' ἢ δὲ κλήσις αὐτῆ
]πληθούσης ἄμεινον δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ
]σύστασις ποιήσεις τῇ δ' τῆς θεοῦ προσθέ[σεως
]δου λέγε οὖν πρὸς Ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα
5]εὐχὴν
[Δάφνη, μαντοσύνης] ἱερὸν φυτὸν Ἀπόλλωνος
]Φοῖβος στεφθεῖς τε κλάδοισι
]κεφαλὴν κομώωσαν ἐθείραις
]ον ἑαῖς παλάμαισι τινάσσων
10]ησι πολυπτύχου ὑψηλοῖο
]εοὶς θέσπιζε βροτοῖσιν
μεγαλο]λόστονος αὐτὸς Ἀπόλ[λ]ων
] . ρη παρθέν[ε] δ[. .]νη
]μένω ἱεροῖσι π[. . .]λοις
15]λὸν ἐμαῖς μετὰ [χε]ρσὶν ἔχοντι
πέ]μψον μάντευμ[ά τ]ε σεμνόν]
]ισαφηνίσι φοιβή[σα]σα
].τε καὶ ὧς τετελε[σμέ]νον ἔσται.
]ἴν' ἔχω[ν] περὶ [. . . ἐ]τάζω,
20 δ]αμάσα[ν]δρα μ[. . . .]ανδρα.
].....φ .. []vacuum
]πανυπέρτατ' εὐὶ επ[
]ωςπρε.]..... μαῖεωἐπιπαιάν
. .]ἰοευη . η[.....]η πολυώνυμε ἰοαυ[ἀκρακ]αναρβα Φοῖβε
25 μ]αντοσύναισι[ν ἐπ]ίρροθε, Φοῖβε Ἄπολλ[ον]
Λ]ητοῖδη, ἐκάεργε, [θε]οπρόπε, δεῦρ' ἄγε, δεῦ[ρο]

- δευραγε, θεσπίω[]μαντευεονυκτοσε[ν],ρη
 ειταλεγεμελετων[.]τοηϊεηϊω[...]ιαωτηϊυη
 ιαϊαωϊαωη[...]ουωειταπροσκατα[...]ινηλιουεξαιτουπαλι
 30 κλυθιμευαργυρο[...]εοσχυρσχηναμφιβε[...],αc
 κιλλαντεζαθηην[...]νεδοιοτει·φιαναςσειc
 χρυσοφαηλαϊλ[]ψκαιπυθολεταμεσεγκριφι
 λατωεσιαωθ'c[...]αωθμελιουχετυραννε
 πευχρηνυκτε[...]οιτεcεcεγγενβαρφαραγηc
 35 καιαρβεθ'ωπολ[...]οορφεφιλαιμαγεαρβαθιαω
 cμινθευειποτ[...]οιχαριεντ'επιβωμονερεψα
 ηειδηποτετοικ[...]απιοναμηρι'εκηα
 ταυρωνηδ'αι[]ωντοδεμοικρηηνογεελδω
 ομοιωcκαιπρος  εcτιναυτουcυcτα[...]ιcηδε
 40 δαφνημαντο[...]υνηcϊερονφυτοναπολλωνoc
 δαφνηπαρθε[...]κηδαφνηφοιβοιοεταιρηcαβ·αωθιαωαω
 ιαγχωθιτυλαμουcιαρχαοψονυπον
 δευρομοιερχε[...]accονεπειγομαιαιειcαcθαι
 θεcμoucθεcπ[...]oucνυκτιδ'ενιδνοφερη
 45 ρηcαβααν·ααν[...]ανααλ`ν'ανααναλααα·ααα·ααα·εcτι
 δέγα[...]εκ
 τωδηλιωτων[...]ωτωτηcλητουcκαιδιοcχρηcμωδεινπ
 cτικαδιανυκτο[...]θηδηγουμενω[...]αντικηcονειρατων

δεῦρ' ἄγε, θεσπίζω[ν], μαντεύεο νυκτὸς ἐ[ν] ὄρῃ.
 εἶτα λέγε μελετῶν [...]το·εἷ·ἰε· ἰε·ἠῖ ἰω[...]. ἰαωιη· ἰτη·
 ἰαῖαωῖαωη[...]ουω·εἶτα πρὸς κατάδ[υσ]ιν ἡλίου ἐξαιτοῦ
 πάλιν
 κλῦθί μευ, ἀργυρό[τοξ]ε, ὃς Χρύσην ἀμφιβέ[βη]κας
 Κίλλαν τε ζαθέην[Τε]νέδοιό τε ἴφι ἀνάσσεις,
 χρυσοφαῆ, λαῖλ[α]ψ καὶ Πυθολέτα μεσεγκριφι,
 Λατωες, Ἰαὼθ' Σ[αβα]ῶθ, μελιοῦχε, τύραννε,
 πευχηρὴ νυκτε[ρόφ]οιτε σεσεγγενβαρφαραγης
 καὶ ἀρβήθ' ὦ πολ[...].ρορφε, φιλαίμαγε, Ἀρβαθιαω,
 Σμινθεῦ, εἴ ποτέ [τ]οι χαρίεντ' ἐπὶ βωμόν ἔρεψα
 ἢ εἰ δὴ ποτέ τοι κ[ατ]ὰ πίονα μηρί' ἔκηα
 ταύρων ἡδ' α[ἰγ]ῶν, τόδε μοι κρήνην ἐέλδωρ.
 ὁμοίως καὶ πρὸς σελήνην ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ σύστασις ἥδε·
 Δάφνη, μαντο[σ]ύνης ἱερὸν φυτὸν Ἀπόλλωνος,
 Δάφνη παρθεν[ι]κῆ, Δάφνη, Φοίβοιο ἐταίρη.
 Σαβαῶθ, ἰαωαωοῖ,
 ἀγγόθιπύλης, μουσιάρχα, οψονυπον
 δεῦρό μοι, ἔρχε[ο θ]ᾶσσον. ἔπειγέ μοι ἀείσασθαι
 θεσμοὺς θεσπ[εσί]ους, νυκτὶ δ' ἐνὶ δνοφερῇ.
 Ρησαβααν· ααν[ανα]ναααναναααναλααα· ααα· ααα· ἔστι
 δὲ γὰ[ρ]εκ
 τῷ Δηλίῳ, τῷ Ν[ομί]ῳ, τῷ τῆς Λητοῦς κ[αὶ] Διός,
 χρησμοδεῖν π[ρο]γνωστικὰ διὰ νυκτὸς ἀλη[θ]ῆ διηγουμένῳ
 <διά> [μ]αντικῆς ὄνειράτων

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Col. I

- 1 ακρακαναρβακα[]αρβα·αναρβα·ναρβα·αρβα·ρβα·βα·:·λεγεο
λονουτως
τοονομαπτερ..οειδωσφοιβεμαντοσυναισινεπιρροθοσερχεοχαι
ρων
λητοϊδηκαεργ[]εοπροπεδευρ·α[]ε·δευρο·δευραγεθεσπιζων
μαντευεο
νυκτοσενωρησαλλαλαλα·αλλαλαλ·σανταλαλα·ταλαλα·εγετ
ουτοτοονομακαι
- 5 αυτοενυφαιρ.νπτερυγοειδωσειποτεδιφιλονεσχενεσχωνκλαδ
ονεν
θαδεδαφνης[]
·]σιερησκορυφησεφθεγγοπολλακιεσθλα·καινυμοισπευ
σειαεσχωθ.[]πισματ'αληθηλαητωνιονκαιταβαραωθ'·αεω·ε
ω·αναξα
πολλονπαιαν·[]ηννυκταταυτην.ατεχωνκαιταυτηςδεσποτευω
νοτηνω
ραντηςευχησκ[...]υτησκρατωναγετεκρατειοιδαιμονεσσυνεργη
κατεμοιση
- 10 <μερονεπ.[]...σφθεγγομεν[]ιςυντωτηςλητουςκαιδιοσιω·επι
φερεδεκαι τουτοπερε[]φυλλοιςδαφνης
·ρ.φεταικαιμετατουπ[]τακιουοπουοακεφαλ··
γραφεταικαι[]ταιπροσκεφαλ·
..υνελιχθενλεγεταιδεκαιειστονλυχνονμετα
τοεισελθειναποτηςευχησπρινκοιμηθηναλιβανουχοδρνεπι
ιθεντοσ

- 1 ακρακαναρβα· κα[ν]αρβα· αναρβα· ναρβα· αρβα· ρβα· βα· α·
λέγε ὄλον οὔτως
τὸ ὄνομα πτερυγοειδῶς. ‘Φοῖβε, μαντοσύναισιν ἐπίρροθος
ἔρχεο χαίρων,
Λητοῖδη, ἐκάεργ[ε], ἀπότροπε, δεῦρ’ ἄ[γ]ε, δεῦρο· δεῦρ’
ἄγε, θεσπίζων, μαντεύεο
νυκτὸς ἐν ὄρη. καλλαλαλα· αλλαλαλα· σανταλαλα· ταλαλα.’
λέγε τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα καὶ
- 5 αὐτὸ ἐν ὑφαιρῶν πτερυγοειδῶς. ‘εἴ ποτε δὴ φιλόνικον ἔχων
κλάδον ἐν-
θάδε δάφνης τ[ῆ]ς ἱερῆς κορυφῆς ἐφθέγγεο πολλακίς ἐσθλά·
καὶ νῦν μοι σπεύ-
σειας ἔχων θε[σ]πίσματ’ ἀληθῆ· λαητωνιον καὶ ταβαραωθ’·
αεω· εω, ἄναξ Ἄ-
πολλον Παιάν, [ὁ τ]ῆν νύκτα ταύτην κατέχων καὶ ταύτης
δεσποτεύων, ὁ τὴν ὤ-
ραν τῆς εὐχῆς κ[αὶ α]ὐτῆς κρατῶν. ἄγετε, κραταιοὶ
δαίμονες, συνεργήσατέ μοι σή-
- 10 μερον ἐπ[.]...ς φθηνγόμεν[ο]ι σὺν τῷ τῆς Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς
υἱῷ.’ ἐπίφερε δὲ καὶ
τοῦτο, ὅπερ ἐ[ν] φύλλοις δάφνης γράφεται, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ
π[ι]ττακίου, ὅπου ὁ ἀκέφαλος
γράφεται, καὶ τ[ίθε]ται πρὸς κεφαλῆς συνειλιχθέν. λέγεται
δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν λύχνον μετὰ
τὸ εἰσελθεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχῆς πρὶν κοιμηθῆναι, λιβάνου
χόνδρον ἐπιτιθέντος

- ηθρυαλλιδι [..] λυχνουβοασοχ'ωεση'ιαωη'ωιαη'ωιαη'νιχαρο
 πληξ
- 15 εθου'ωεω[.]υ'ιε'ιω'η'ιαηλ'ρμουχ'ω..ρ'ωεα'ι'υ'ω'εα..·αβαω
 θ'θηο
- ηπαομιαχ'ι'εου'ια'ιε'ιεω[.]·'ιου'ι'εου'ιω'ι'η'ηω'ι'ηα'ι'εωα'
 αη'ιουω
- προεδετομνημονευεινταλεγομ[.]·χρωσυνθεματιτουτωλαβον
 βοταν[.]αρτε
- μεσιανηλιοπαλιονλιθονπνεο[.]·κοκκουφατοςκαρδιαντουκαι
 γυπαλεκ[.]·οc
- ριψαcπανταπροςβαλεμελι[...·]τοαρκουνκαιχρειεσουταχειληπ
 ρολιβανωτισαc
- 20 τοστομαχονδ[.]ωλιβανουποιηc[.]·αυτηεσπεραcμελλωνκοιμ
 ασθαιονειωγαλα
- κτικαθαρανco[.]·τηνcτρωμνηκ[.]·αδουcδεδαφνηcεχωνενχερc
 ινωνκαιποη
- ci·υποκειταιλεγετηνυποκειμε·νηνεπικληcινεcτωδεηcτρωμνηχ
 αμαιοηεπικα
- θαρωνθροιωνηεπιψιαιθουκοι[.]·ωδεπιτουδεξιουπλευρουχαμα
 ιτεκαιενυπαι
- ρωποιειδε··νεπικληcινμηδ·νιδουcαποκριεπι·νεδεεπικαλ
 υμενο·λιβανον
- 25 ατμητονκαι[.]·ροβιλουcδεξιουcδωδεκακαιαλεκτοραcα[.]·πιλ
 ουcβ̄τω ⚡ ενακαιτη ⚡
- εναεν·ηπ̄·ωτηημεραεπιχ[.]·κουγη'ινουηθυμια[
 ·]ηριουενδεξιατο[.]·αρακτη

- τῆ θρυαλλίδι τ[οῦ] λύχνου· ἄβοασοχ· ωεαη· ἰαωῖη· ωῖαη·
 ωῖαη· νιχαρο· πληξ·
- 15 σθομ· ωεω· υ· ιε· ιω· ἠῖ· Ἰαήλ, ρμουχ· ω· ρ· ωεω· ἰω· εα·
 Σαβαώθ· θηο-
 η· παο· μιαχ· ἰεου· ἰαω· ἰε· ἰεω[]· ἰου ἰεου ἰω ἠῖ ἠω· ἠηαῖ
 ἰεωα· ἠηῖουω.
- Πρὸς δὲ τὸ μνημονεύειν τὰ λεγόμε[να] χρῶ συνθέματι
 τούτω· λαβὼν βοτάνην ἄρτε-
 μισίαν, ἡλιοπάλιον, λίθον πνέον[τ]α, κοκκούφατος καρδίαν
 τοῦ καὶ γυπαλέκ[το]ρος,
 τρίψας ὁμοῦ πάντα πρόσβαλε μέλι[τος] τὸ ἄρκοῦν καὶ χριεῖ
 σου τὰ χεῖλη, προλιβανώσας
- 20 τὸ στόμα χόν[δ]ρω λιβάνου. Ποίησ[ις] αὕτη· ἑσπέρας
 μέλλων κοιμᾶσθαι ὄνειρῷ γάλα-
 κτι καθᾶρόν σο[υ] τὴν στρωμνὴν, κ[λ]άδους δὲ δάφνης ἔχων
 ἐν χερσίν, ὧν καὶ ποιή-
 σι[ς] ὑπόκειται, λέγε τὴν ὑποκειμένην ἐπίκλησιν. ἔστω δὲ ἡ
 στρωμνὴ χαμαὶ ἢ ἐπὶ κα-
 θαρῶν θρύων ἢ ἐπὶ ψιάθου, κοι[μ]ῶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ
 πλευροῦ χαμαὶ τε καὶ ἐν ὑπαί-
 θρω. ποίει δὲ τ[ῆ]ν ἐπίκλησιν μηδενὶ δοῦς ἀπόκρισιν, ἐπίθου
 δὲ ἐπικαλούμενος λίβανον
- 25 ἄτμητον καὶ σ[τ]ροβίλους δεξιούς δώδεκα καὶ ἀλέκτορας
 ἀ[σ]πίλους β', τῷ Ἡλίῳ ἓνα καὶ τῇ Σελήνῃ
 ἓνα, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐπὶ χ[αλ]κοῦ ἢ γήνιου θυμιατηρίου.
 ἐν δεξιῶ τὸ[ν] χαρακτῆ-

ρατουτονκ[
 .]`ϑ' προκτηορθηαυτου[...]ςτραμμηκοιμω.εϑχο Ϟ
 μενοδεστεφα[.] νεχε
 δαφνινον.οιουτονλαβωνκλ. ναδδαφνσιβ̄καιποιησααπομενω
 νζκλαδων
 στεφανοντο.σδελοιπουσαλλουσιπεντεσυνδησασεχ εντηχιριτη
 δεξιαευχομεν'
 30 καιμεταυτη[]κοιμωεντωαυτωσχηματιγραφεδεσμυρνομελανι
 τωσσοιδηλουμε.ω
 ε... ιννηλιο[]σκαικατεχεευχομενοσμετατηδδαφνησονοματαω
 ναρχησστινηδε'
 βολσοχκαιτα.ξησταδεκατακλαδονεισεκαστωνφυλλονγραφομε
 ναϑϑυεσσεμμιγα
 δωνορθω.βαυβω.νοηρε.σoire.σoirησκανκανθαρα.ερεσχιαλ.σ
 ανκιση.δωδεκα
 κιση.ακρουροβορε.κοδηρε.χον[
 .]ματαιβ̄εστινδετομελαντοδε.σμυρνανκαιπεντε
 35 δακτυλονβο.αηνηκαιαρτεμισιανκαυσασαινωσλεοτριβισονκαι
 χρωλαβωνκλαδονδ.
 φησκαικ.μινοναιθιοπικονκαιστυχνονβοτανηνομουτριψονκ
 αιυδωρκαινουφρεα
 τοσορυγεν.οσπρομηωνε̄ηντοσετωνε̄ηωσκανκαταλαβησποπ
 ρωτησμερασ
 τησορυξεωσεναγγειωσστρακ.νωανενεγκωνκαιεμβαλωνειστο
 υδωρταετριμ
 μεναεασονεπινυκτασμονασγ̄καιεπικαλουμενοσειστοουσσοτο
 δεξιον

ρα τοῦτον γράφε κ[αὶ] πρὸς τῇ ὀρθῇ αὐτοῦ [ὑπο]γραμμῇ
 κοιμῶ. εὐχόμενος δὲ στέφα[ν]ον ἔχε
 δάφνινον τοιοῦτον· λαβὼν κλῶνας δάφνης ἰβ' καὶ ποιήσας
 ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ζ' κλάδων
 στέφανον, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἄλλους πέντε συνδήσας ἔχε ἐν τῇ
 χειρὶ τῇ δεξιᾷ εὐχόμενος
 30 καὶ μετ' αὐτῆ[ς] κοιμῶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ σχήματι, γράφε δὲ
 σμυρνομέλανι τῷ σοι δηλουμένῳ
 ἐ.. ἴννη λι[.]ς καὶ κάτεχε εὐχόμενος μετὰ τῆς δάφνης
 ὀνόματα, ὧν ἀρχὴ ἐστὶν ἡδε·
 βολσοχ καὶ τὰ [ἐ]ξῆς. τὰ δὲ κατὰ κλάδον εἰς ἕκαστον
 φύλλον γραφόμενα ὀνόματα· 'υεσσεμμιγα-
 δωνορθω· Βαυβῶ· νοηρε· σοιρε· σοιρη σανκανθαρα·
 'Ερεσχιγάλ· σανκιστη· δωδεκακιστη· ἀκρουροβόρε·
 κοδηρε.' γράφε ὀνόματα ἰβ'. ἔστιν δὲ τὸ μέλαν τόδε·
 σμύρναν καὶ πεντε-
 35 δάκτυλον βοτάνην καὶ ἀρτεμισίαν καύσας αἰνῶς
 λειοτρίβησον καὶ χρῶ. λαβὼν κλάδον δά-
 φνης καὶ κύμινον Αἰθιοπικὸν καὶ στρύχνον βοτάνην ὁμοῦ
 τριῖπον, καὶ ὕδωρ καινοῦ φρέα-
 τος ὀρυγέντος πρὸ μηνῶν ε' ἢ ἐντὸς ἐτῶν ε' ἢ ὃ ἐὰν
 καταλάβῃς ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡμέρας
 τῆς ὀρύξεως, ἐν ἀγγεῖῳ ὀστρακίνῳ ἀνενεγκῶν καὶ ἐμβαλῶν
 εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ τὰ τετριμ-
 μένα, ἔασον ἐπὶ νύκτας μόνας γ' καὶ ἐπικαλούμενος εἰς τὸ
 οὖς σου τὸ δεξιὸν

- 40 βαλεολιγονπροσδετομνημονευεινσεειςφυλονπεντεδακτυλου
βοτανης
γραψονγραψοντονυποκειμενονχαρακτηρακαιεχεντωστοματ
ικοιωμενος
γραψμυρνομελανι·εστινδε^λαρχουδετηςπροκειμενηςεπικλη
σεως
απο^Ζτηςσεληνηςμεχρισοτανυπακουσηκαιυσταθησαυτω·εισι
νδεκαιοιεπα
ναγκοι·προσφερονταιδεπαντεςτηςεληνημε·ατη^να^μμερανηδε
υτεραν
- 45 εανουνμηφανηεπιθυεκρι·υμελανοσεγκεφαλοντητριτητονου
χατονμι
κροντουεμπροσθιδιουδεξιουποδοστονεπιτουςφυρουτητεταρτ
ηεγκεφαλον
ιβεωστηπεμπτητουγ[]γραμμενονζωδιονειςχαρτηνγραφασ
τωςμυρ
- Col. II
νομελανιπεριελησασρακειαποβιοθανατουβαλειουποκαστρα
ν
βαλανιου·ενιοιδεουκειουποκαστρανσφοδρονγαρεστιν·αλλυπ
ερκρεμω
- 50 σιντουλυχνοηυποκατωαυτοτιθεασιν·εναλλωδεουτωσευρονε
ανμηου
τωσπακουσηενειλησαστωαυτωρακειτοζωδιονβαλειουποκα
σ·ρανβα
λανιουηπεμπτημεραμετατηνεπικλησινλεγων·αβρι·καιαβρω·ε
ξαντι

- 40 βάλε ὀλίγον. πρὸς δὲ τὸ μνημονεύειν σε εἰς φύλλον
 πεντεδακτύλου βοτάνης
 γράψον τὸν ὑποκείμενον χαρακτῆρα καὶ ἔχε ἐν τῷ στόματι
 κοιμώμενος,
 γράψας σμυρνομέλανι· ἔστιν δὲ λ. ἄρχου δὲ τῆς
 προκειμένης ἐπικλήσεως
 ἀπὸ ζ' τῆς σελήνης, μέχρις ὅταν ὑπακούσῃ καὶ συσταθῆς
 αὐτῷ. εἰσὶν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐπά-
 ναγκοι· προσφέρονται δὲ πάντες τῇ σελήνῃ μετὰ τὴν α'
 ἡμέραν ἢ δευτέραν.
- 45 ἐὰν οὖν μὴ φανῆ, ἐπίθου κριοῦ μέλανος ἐγκέφαλον, τῇ τρίτῃ
 τὸν ὄνυχα τὸν μι-
 κρὸν τοῦ ἐμπροσθιδίου δεξιοῦ ποδός, τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ σφυροῦ,
 τῇ τετάρτῃ ἐγκέφαλον
 ἴβεως, τῇ πέμπτῃ τὸ ὑπογ[ε]γραμμένον ζῳδῖον εἰς χάρτην
 γράψας τῷ σμυρ-
 νομέλανι, περιελήσας ῥάκει ἀπὸ βιοθανάτου βάλε εἰς
 ὑποκαύστραν
 βαλανείου. ἔνιοι δὲ οὐκ εἰς ὑποκαύστραν· σφοδρὸν γάρ
 ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ὑπερκρεμῶ-
- 50 σιν τοῦ λύχνου ἢ ὑποκάτω αὐτὸ τιθέασιν. ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ οὕτως
 εὖρον· ἐὰν μὴ οὕ-
 τως ὑπακούσῃ, ἐνειλήσας τῷ αὐτῷ ῥάκει τὸ ζῳδῖον βάλε εἰς
 ὑποκαύστραν βα-
 λανείου τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν λέγων· ἄβρι·
 καὶ ἀβρω· ἐξαντι-

αβιλ·θεεθεωνβασιλευβασιλεωνκαινυνμοιελθειναναγκασωνφι
λον

δαιμοναχρησμωνδονιναμηειςχειρονασβασανουσελθωταςκατα
των

55 πιττακιων· επιδετουτοιεανμηυπακουσηελαιονκαλονκαθαρ
ονρα

φινονεπιχεσπαιδιαφθορωγυμναζομενωκαιαναλαβωνσκευαζε
λυχνοναμιλωτονκαιεισθωεπιλυχνιασπεπλασμενηςεκπαρθε
νουγησ

τινεσδεκαιτωθυμιατηριωεπιχεουσιτουελαιουεανδεεσθηπληγη
σμα

ση...λι...ουκυμινουμε[]ακρατουκαταπιε'τοδεπροκειμενονζω
διονωσ

60 πρ...γραπται...ατωνχαρακτηρωνκαιτουσπ.κειμενουλογου
γρ...δι

πλουνεισχαρτηνιερατικον· καιτουτωλεγομενονεχωνεπικαληκ
οι

μωμ...νοσ...τ...δεξιαχειρικατεχωνκα[]υποθεισθηκεφαλητοδεετε
ρον· ησχρειαστουεπαναγκουκαλουσηστω...ρο...ιρ...εγ...ρακειανειλ
η

αλλωσ ας...ει...κ...αιαλλωσποιησικλ...ω...κλαδου`ον'σδαφνησγραφ
ποι εταιβ

65 ησισον[]ατ.κατ.φυλλ...ενκρακαναρβα·καναρβα·ρακαναρβα·ακαν
αρβα

- αβιλ· θεὲ θεῶν, βασιλεὺ βασιλέων, καὶ νῦν μοι ἔλθειν
 ἀνάγκασον φίλον
 δαίμονα χρησμοδόν, ἵνα μὴ εἰς χείρονας βασάνους ἔλθω τὰς
 κατὰ τῶν
 55 πιττακίων.’ ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἐὰν μὴ ὑπακούσῃ ἔλαιον καλὸν
 καθαρὸν ῥα-
 φάνινον ἐπίχρεε παιδὶ ἀφθόρῳ γυμναζομένῳ καὶ ἀναλαβὸν
 σκεύαζε
 λύχνον ἀμίλτωτον, καὶ κείσθω ἐπὶ λυχνίας πεπλασμένης ἐκ
 παρθένου γῆς,
 τινὲς δὲ καὶ τῷ θυμιατηρίῳ ἐπιχέουσι τοῦ ἐλαίου· ἐὰν δὲ
 αἴσθη πληγῆς, μά-
 σημα ὀλίγου κυμίνου με[τ]ὰ ἀκράτου κατάπιε. τὸ δὲ
 προκείμενον ζῳῆδιον, ὡς
 60 προγέγραπται, μετὰ τῶν χαρακτήρων καὶ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου
 λόγου γράφε ζμύρνη δι-
 πλοῦν εἰς χάρτην ἱερατικόν. καὶ τούτο τὸ λεγόμενον
 ἐπικαλεῖ, κοι-
 μώμενος ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ κατέχων κα[ὶ] ὑποθεὶς τῇ κεφαλῇ,
 τὸ δὲ ἔτε-
 ρον τῆς χρείας τοῦ ἐπανάγκου καλούσης τῷ προειρημένῳ
 ῥάκει ἐνειλή-
 σασ χρήσει, ὡς ὑπόκειται. Ἄλλως ποιήσῃς· λαβὼν κλάδον
 δάφνης γράφε τὰ β’
 65 ὄν[ό]ματα κατὰ φύλλων, ἕν· ακρακαναρβα· κρακαναρβα·
 ρακαναρβα· ακαναρβα·

ακαναρβαναρβαναρβ. αρβαρβα· ακ ιτο. τερον`c' αν.. λαλλ. ςα
νταλαλαλ.

ντ. λαλα· ταλαλα· αλαλα[·]λαλααλα· λα· α· λαβεδ

. αλλονκλ. δονδωδεκαφυλ

λονεφωεπ[]γραφετοκαρδικονομοατουποκειμενοναρξαμενο
στουτοα

ποι. ρογλ.. ς... ινδετουτο· καιτονμενκλωνατονεγγεγραμμενοντ
οις

70 δυοονομασιποιεισεαυτωστεφανονπεριπλεξααυτωστεφοσοε
τινλευ

κονεριονεκδιαστηματων· δεδεμενονφοινικωεριοκατερχωϑθω
δεεπι

τασκατακλειδασπαρειμενασεπαρτησειδεκαιτωδωδεκαφυλω
κλαδωο

μο. ωςστεφοσσνιςταδεξεαυτοντωθεωουτωσεχωνολολευκο
ναλεκ`τ'ο

κα[]τροβιλονκαιιοινογςπενδωναυτ. αλυφονκαιπεριμενευχο
μ. νος

75 εωσηθυσιααποσχησυχρειεδεεολ[]τωσυνθεματιτουτωδαφνι
δοσκυμι

νοναθιοπικονστρυχονκαιερμουδ. κτυλονερειδεκαιπροςπρο
στονλυχον

τα. ταπερφαηω... διαμανθωτ'· διαμενχθωθ'περπερχρη· ωανου

.
φρουμεν· θορψου· τ[]δεκυριονακτικαραβαϊωθ· κυριεθεεθεο
υπηρετα

καναρβα· αναρβα· ναρβα· αρβα ρβα βα α·' καὶ τὸ ἕτερον·
 'σανταλαλα·
 νταλαλα· ταλαλα·αλαλα· αλαλα· λαλα· αλα· λα· α·' λαβὲ δὲ
 ἄλλον κλάδον δωδεκαφύλ-
 λον, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπ[ί]γραφε τὸ καρδιακὸν ὄνομα τὸ ὑποκείμενον,
 ἀρξάμενος τοῦτο ἄ-
 πο ἱερογλώσσου. ἔστιν δὲ τοῦτο· καὶ τὸν μὲν κλῶνα τὸν
 ἐγγεγραμμένον τοῖς
 70 δύο ὀνόμασι ποίει σεαυτῷ στέφανον, περιπλέξας αὐτῷ
 στέφος, ὃ ἔστιν λευ-
 κὸν ἔριον, ἐκ διαστημάτων δεδεμένον φοινικῷ ἐρίῳ,
 κατερχέσθω δὲ ἐπὶ
 τὰς κατακλείδας παρειμένον. ἐπαρτήσεις δὲ καὶ τῷ
 δωδεκαφύλ[λ]ῳ κλάδῳ ὁ-
 μοίως στέφος, συνίστα δὲ σεαυτὸν τῷ θεῷ οὕτως· ἔχων
 ὀλόλευκον ἀλέκτορα
 κα[ὶ] στ[ρ]όβιλον, καὶ οἶνον σπένδων αὐτ[ῷ] ἄλειπον καὶ
 περίμενε εὐχόμενος,
 75 ἕως ἢ θυσία ἀποσβῆ, σύνχριε δέ σε ὄλ[ο]ν τῷ συνθέματι
 τούτῳ· δαφνίδος, κύμι-
 νον Αἰθιοπικόν, στρύχον καὶ Ἑρμοῦ δ[ά]κτυλον. ἐρεῖς δὲ
 καὶ πρὸς τὸν λύχνον
 τα[ῦ]τα· 'περφαηνω...διαμανθω.λ· διαμενχθωθ· περπερχρη
 ωανου.
 φρουμεν· θορψου.' τ[ὸ] δὲ κύριον· 'ακτι καρα αβαιωθ· κύριε
 θεέ, θεοῦ ὑπηρέτα,

επεχωντηννυκτατα τηνπαρασταμοιαπολλονπαιαν.κοιμωτ. κε
φαλη.

80 Σ̄ εχωνπροσνοτονχρωδεεντοικανατολικοις Ὡ̄σεληνσουσηενδιδ
Δ̄ υμοιο∞

Κληδαφνημαντοσυνησῑερονφυτοναπολλωνοςησποτεγευσαμενο
σις̄ σπεταλαις

ανεφηνεναοιδας. τοσαναξσκηπ. υχ̄ σιηεκυδιμεπαιαν. ενκολο
φω

.ιναιωνιερχυπακουσωναοιδης. ελθεταχοςδεπιγαιαναπουρανο
θενσμιγγο

ωνυδωρ. αμβροσιωνστοματωνδεσταθεισεμπνευσωναοιδ
σαυτοσα

85 ναξμολπησμολεκυδιμεμολπησανακτωρ. κλυθιμακαρβαρυμην
ικρατα. ο

φρωνκλυετιταν. ημετερηςφωνησνυναφθιτεμηπαρακουσης. τη
θιμαν

τοσυνηναπαμβροσιουστοματοιο. εννεπεστωϊκε. ηπανακηρατε
θαττον. πολλο̄:

του χαιρχαιρεπυροσταμιατηλεσκοπεκοιρα[]εκοσμου. ηελιεκλυ
ηλι τοπωλε

ου διοσγαιηοχονομμα. παμφαεσψικελευθαδι... c. υρανοφοιτα.
ανατελ αιγληισακι

λον χηταπαλαιγενεσατυφελικτε. χρυσομιτρηφαλερουχεπυρισθεν
τοσ εσαιολοθωρηξ

λεγε πωθηισακαμνεχρυσηνιεχρυσοκελευθαπαντασδ' ειςορωγκ
αιαμφιθεων

- ἐπέχων τὴν νύκτα ταύτην, παράστα μοι, Ἄπολλον Παιάν.’
 κοιμῶ τὴν κεφαλὴν
- 80 ἔχων πρὸς νότον. χρῶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀνατολικοῖς, σελήνης
 οὔσης ἐν διδύμοις
 (τετάρτη κλήσις·) ‘Δάφνη, μαντοσύνης ἱερὸν φυτὸν
 Ἄπόλλωνος, ἧς ποτε γευσάμενος πετάλων
 ἀνέφηνεν ἀοιδὰς αὐτὸς ἄναξ σκηπτούχος, Ἴηιε, κύδιμε
 Παιάν, ἐν Κολοφῶ-
 νι ναίων, ἱερῆς ἐπάκουσον ἀοιδῆς. ἐλθὲ τάχος δ’ ἐπὶ γαῖαν
 ἀπ’ οὐρανόθεν σμιγ-
 ῶν, ἀμβροσίων στομάτων τε σταθεῖς ἔμπνευσον ἀοιδάς,
 αὐτός, ἄ-
- 85 ναξ μολπῆς, μόλε, κύδιμε μολπῆς ἀνάκτωρ. κλῦθι, μάκαρ,
 βαρύμηνι, κραταιό-
 φρων, κλύε, Τιτάν, ἡμετέρης φωνῆς νῦν, ἄφθιτε, μὴ
 παρακούσης. στήθι, μαν-
 τοσύνην ἀπ’ ἀμβροσίου στομάτιο ἔννεπε τῷ ἱκέτῃ,
 πανακήρατε, θάπτον, Ἄπολλον.’
- (τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατέλλοντος λέγε·)
- χαιρετισμός· ‘χαῖρε, πυρὸς ταμία, τηλεσκόπε κοίρα[ν]ε
 κόσμου, Ἥελιε κλυτόπωλε,
 Διὸς γαιήοχον ὄμμα, παμφαές, ὑψικέλευθα, διπετέες,
 οὐρανοφοῖτα, αἰγλήεις, ἀκί-
- 90 χητε, παλαιγενές, ἀστυφέλικτε, χρυσομίτρη, φαλεροῦχε,
 πυρισθενές, αἰολοθώρηξ,
 πωτήεις, ἄκαμνε, χρυσήνιε, χρυσοκέλευθα, πάντα δ’
 εἰσορόων καὶ ἀμφιθέων

καιοκουων·κοιφλογεωδινουσιφεραυγεεσηματοκορθρου·κοι
δεμεσημβριο
εντιπολονδιαμετρησαντι·αντολιημετοπισθεροδοσφυροσειε
ονοικον·
αχγυμενηστιχειπροδεσοιδυσασαντεβολησεν·ωκεανωκαταγου
σαπυριτρεφε

95 ωνζυγαπωλων·νυξφυγασουρανοθενκαταπαλλεται·ευτανακου
ση·πωλικον

αμφιτενονταδεδουποταροιζονιμασθλησ·αααααα·εεεεεε·η
ηηηηηη·ιιιιιι·οοοοοοοο·υυυυυυ·ωωωωωω·
·μουσαωνσ·ητουχεφερεσβιεδευρομοιηδη·δευροταχοσδ'επιγαι
ανηιε

κιςσεοχαιτα·μολπηεννεπεφοιβεδιαμβροσιουετοματοιο·καιε
επυροσμεδε

100 ωναραραχχαρηθησικηρε·καιμοιραιτρισαι
κλωθωτ'ατροποστελαχιτε

σεκαλωτονμεγ·νεγ·ρανωαεροειδηαυτοξουσιονουπεταγηπασ
αφυσικωσ

κατοικειστηνο[]ηνοικουμενηνδορυφορουσινοιδ·καεξιγαντε
σεπιλω

Col. III τωκαθημενοσκαιλαμπυριζωντηνοληνοικουμενην·
οκαταδειξαεπι·σγησζωα·ουτοιερονορνεονεχεισ

105 εντηστοληεντ[...]ροσπηλιωτηνμερεσιτησερυθρασ
θαλασσης·ωσπ[...]χειεντοισπροσβορραμερεσιμορφη̄
νηπιουπαιδοσεπιλωτωκα·ημενοσαντολευπολυ
ωνυμεσενενγενβαρφαραγγησ·ενδετοισπροσνο

καὶ ἀκούων· σοὶ φλόγες ὠδίνουσι φεραυγέες ἤματος
Ἵορθρον, σοὶ δὲ μεσημβριό-
ωντα πόλον διαμετρήσαντι Ἄντολίη μετόπισθε ῥοδόσφυρος
εἰς ἕδον οἶκον
ἀχθυμένη στείχει, πρὸ δέ σου Δύσις ἀντεβόλησεν ἽΩκεανῶ
κατάγουσα πυριτρεφέ-
95 ων ζυγὰ πάλων, Νύξ φυγὰς οὐρανόθεν καταπάλλεται, εὖτ'
ἂν ἀκούσῃ πωλικὸν
ἀμφὶ τένοντα δεδουπότα ῥοῖζον ἰμάσθλης, ααααααα·
εεεεεε· ηηη-
ηηηη· ιιιιι· οοοοοοο· υυυυυυ· ωωωωωω·
Μουσάων σκηπτούχε, φερέσβιε, δευρό μοι ἤδη, δευρο τάχος
δ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν, Ἰήιε
κισσεοχαίτα. μολπὴν ἔννεπε, Φοῖβε, δι' ἀμβροσίου
στομάτιοι· χαῖρε, πυρὸς μεδέ-
100 ων, ἀραραχχαρα ηφθισικηρε, καὶ Μοῖραι τρισσαὶ Κλωθῶ τ'
Ἄτροπός τε Λάχις τε.
σὲ καλῶ, τὸν μέγαν ἐν οὐρανῶ, ἀεροειδῆ, αὐτεξούσιον, ᾧ
ὑπετάγη πᾶσα φύσις, ὃς
κατοικεῖς τὴν ὄ[λ]ην οἰκουμένην, <ὄν> δορυφοροῦσιν οἱ
δ[ε]καὲξ γίγαντες, ἐπὶ λω-
τῶ καθήμενος καὶ λαμπυρίζων τὴν ὄλην οἰκουμένην·
ὁ καταδείξας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ζῶα· σὺ τὸ ἱερὸν ὄρνεον ἔχεις
105 ἐν τῇ στολῇ ἐν τ[οῖς π]ρὸς ἀπηλιώτην μέρεσιν τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς
θαλάσσης, ὡσπ[ερ] ἔ]χεις ἐν τοῖς πρὸς βορρᾶ μέρεσι μορφὴν
νηπίου παιδὸς ἐπὶ λωτῶ καθημένου, ἀντολεῦ, πολυ-
ώνυμε, σενσενγεν· βαρφαραγωγῆς· ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς νό-

τονμερεσιμορφηνεχειςτουαγιουιερακοςδιησπεμ
 110 πειςτηνεικαεραπυρωσιντηγγινομενηνλερθεξαναξ·
 ενδετοιπροσλιβαμερεσιμορφηνεχωνκορκοδιλουου
 ρανοφεωσενθenaφινυετουςκαιχιονας·ενδετοις
 προσαπηλιωτηνμερεσιδρακονταχειςπτεροφυηβaci
 λιονεχωναεροειδηκατ[]κρατειςτουουπουρανουκαιεπι
 115 γης·ειςμουσεωσγαρεφανηστηαληθεια·ιω·ιωερβηθ·
 ζαααβαωθ·σμαρθ..ων·ϊ ρουμαρταϊαλου·βαβλα·υαμ
 μοληενθιω·πετοτουβιηθ·ιαρμιωθλαιλ·μψ·ωουχ·
 αρσενοφρη·ηυφθαιωλι·κλυθιμοιμεγιστεθεεκομμηστην
 ημερανφωτιζων·ναθμαμεωθ·ονηπιοςανατελλων
 120 μαιραχαχθα·στονπολονδι[]υονθαρχαχαχαν·οεαυτω
 συγγινομενοσκαιδυ[]α·ουμενοσπροσαυξητακ...υφω
 τιςτ·γηξεενγενβαρφαρα·γησδατωνφεριςτεθεεκομμη
 κομμη·ιαςφη·ιαςφηβιουβιβιουνουσινο..ιςιςιεθων
 ιςιεθων·αρ..μωσιαρσαμοσινουχανουχα·η·ηι·ομβρι
 125 θαμ·βριθιαωθ·αβεραμενθωουθλερθεξαναξ·εθρολυο
 ωθ·νεμαρεβα·ομεγιστοσκαυςχυροσθεοσ·εγωειμιοΔc
 τισσoιαπηντησκακαιδωρονμοιεδωρησωτηντουμεγιστου
 σουονοματοσγνωσινουηψηφοσθλθθ·η·η·ε·ια·ιαη·
 ιαε`ηα·ιευ·ηα·ιωα·ιευ·ηη·ηα·εα·εη·ηε·ωηηω·ε
 130 ηε·εη·ηε·εα·ω·ωεα·εα·ωι·ωε·ηω·εη·εα·
 ιι·οοο·υυυ·ωω·ιυ·ε·ου·ηεα·ηεα·εαεια·ιαε·

- τον μέρεσι μορφήν ἔχεις τοῦ ἁγίου ἱέρακος, δι' ἧς πέμ-
 110 πεις τὴν εἰς ἄερα πύρωσιν, τὴν γινομένην λερθεξ αναξ·
 ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς λίβα μέρεσι μορφήν ἔχεις κορκοδείλου, οὐ-
 ρὰν ὄφεως, ἔνθεν ἀφίων ὑετοὺς καὶ χιόνας· ἐν δὲ τοῖς
 πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην μέρεσι δράκοντα ἔχεις περοφυῆ, βασι-
 λειον ἔχων ἀεροειδῆ, ᾧ κατ[α]κρατεῖς τοὺς ὑπ' οὐρανοῦ καὶ
 ἐπὶ
 115 γῆς εἰς μουσέως· θεὸς γὰρ ἐφάνης τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, ἰω· ἰω Ἐρβηθ
 Ζάς, Σαβαώθ· σμαρθ Ἄδωναί· σουμαρτα ἰαλου· βαβλα· ναμ-
 μοληενθιω· πετοτουβηθ· ιαρμιωθ· λαιλαμψ· .ουωχ·
 Ἄρσενοφρη· ηυ Φθᾶ ηωλι· κλῶθί μοι, μέγιστε θεὸ Κόμμης,
 τὴν
 ἡμέραν φωτίζων, ναθμαμεωθ· ὁ νήπιος ἀνατέλλων
 120 μαῖραχαχθα· ὁ τὸν πόλον δι[οδ]εύων θαρχαχαχαν· ὁ ἑαυτῷ
 συγγινόμενος καὶ δυ[ν]αμούμενος, προσαυξητὰ καὶ πολύφω
 τίστα γη σεσενγενβαρφαραγγης ὑδάτων, φέριστε θεὸ
 Κόμμη,
 Κόμμη ἰασφη· ἰασφη· βιβιου· βιβιου· νουσι· νουσι· σιεθων·
 σιεθων· Ἄρσ[α]μωσι Ἄρσαμωσι· νουχα· νουχα· η· ηι· ομβρι-
 125 θαμ· βριθιαωθ· αβεραμεν θωουθ λερθεξ αναξ· εθρελυο
 ωθ· νεμαρεβα, ὁ μέγιστος καὶ ἰσχυρὸς θεός· ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ
 δεῖνα, ὅσ-
 τις σοι ἀπήντησα, καὶ δῶρόν μοι ἐδώρῃσω τὴν τοῦ μεγίστου
 σου ὀνόματος γνῶσιν, οὐ ἢ ψῆφος θλῆθ'· ιη· ιε· ια· ιαη·
 ιηα· ιευ· ιηα· ιωα· ιευ· ιηι· ηια· εα· εη· ηε· ωη· ηω· ε-
 130 ηε· εση· ηεε· ααω· ωεα· εαω· ωι· ωε· ηω· εη· εαο·
 ιι· οοο· υυυ· ωωω· ιυ· ευ· ου· ηεα· ιηεα· εαε· εια· ιαιε·

- ιη·ιουιο·ε·ιου·ἴη·ἴη·ἴη·ιη·παιαν·κολοφον·ιε·φοι
 βε·παρνης·κιε·φοιβε·κασταλιε·φοιβε·ιηε·ιη·ιω·ιω
 ιε·ιωα·ιηα·ε·υα·ωεα·ε·υηα·ωε·υα·ε·υωα·ε·υιε·ε·υιαε·
 135 ε·υε·ε·υη·ῶ·ιε·ε·υω·ῶ·ιε·υα·ε·ε·υηα·ε·υ·μνη·σω·με·ντο·ρι
 φοιβω... α·ρε·ω·θ·ια·ε·ω·θ·ῶ·ε·ιω·ηα·α·ε·ω·ε·
 α·η·ω·η[]ω·η·ωα·α·η·ε·ια·ιω·ιω·ιω·ιεα·ια·η·ε·α·υ·
 ε·ου·ω·αα·α·η·ω·ε·ε·η·υ·η·η·ε·ηα·χα·β·ρα·χ·φ·γ·ε·c
 κ·η·ρ·φ·ι·κ·ρ·ο·φ·ι·ν·υ·ρ·ω·φ·ω·χ·ω·β·ω·χ·c·ε·κ·α·λ·ω·κ·λ·α·ρ·ι·ε·α·π·ο·λ·λ·ο·ν
 140 ε·η·υ·κ·α·σ·τ·α·λ·ι·ε·α·η·α·π·υ·θ·ι·ε·ω·α·ε·μ·ο·υ·c·ω·ν·α·π·ο·λ·λ·ο·ν
 ιε·ω·ω·εῖ·π·ο·ι·η·c·ι·c·τ·s·π·ρ·α·ξ·ε·...·π·ρ·ω·τ·..·μ·ε
 ρ·α·ο·ν·υ·χ·α·c·π·ρ·ο·β·α·τ·ο·υ·τ·η·δ·ε·υ·τ·ε·ρ·α·ι·γ·ο·c·ο·ν·υ·χ·α·c·τ·η·τ·ρ·ι
 τ·η·λ·υ·κ·ο·υ·τ·ρ·ι·α·c·η·α·c·τ·ρ·α·γ·α·λ·ο·ν·τ·ο·υ·τ·ο·ι·c·τ·ο·ι·c·ε·π·ι·θ·υ·μ·α·c·ι
 χ·ρ·ω·ε·ι·c·α·α·λ·λ·α·c·γ·η·μ·ε·ρ·α·c·τ·η·ε·β·δ·ο·μ·.....·μ·η·ε·λ·θ·ι
 145 ρ·α·κ·ο·c·α·π·ο·β·ι·α·ι·ο·υ·ε·ν·λ·υ·χ·ν·ι·ο·ν·π·ο·ι·η·c·c·κ·α·ι·α·ψ·ο·ν·λ·υ·χ·ν·ο·ν
 α·π·ο·ε·λ·α·ι·ο·υ·κ·α·θ·α·ρ·ο·υ·κ·α·ι·δ·ι·ω·κ·ε·τ·ο·υ·c·π·ρ·ο·κ·ε·ι·μ·ε·ν·ο·υ·c·λ·ο·γ·ο·υ·c·
 ἴ·κ·ε·ε·υ·ω·ν·κ·α·ι·π·α·ρ·α·κ·α·λ·ω·ν·τ·ο·ν·θ·ε·ο·ν·ε·ι·c·ε·μ·ε·ν[]ι·α·ν·η
 κ·ε·ι·ν·ε·c·τ·ω·δ·ε·c·ο·υ·ο·τ·ο·π·ο·c·α·ν·ο·c·α·π·ο·π·α·ν·τ·..·μ·υ·c·ε·ρ·ο·υ·
 κ·α·ι·α·γ·ν·ε·υ·c·α·c·κ·α·υ·α·ρ·ι·ω·c·π·ρ·ο·κ·α·τ·α·ρ·χ·ο·υ·τ·η·c·τ·ο·υ·θ·ε·ο·υ·κ·ε·c·ι·α·c·
 150 ε·c·τ·ι·ν·γ·α·ρ·μ·ε·γ·ι·c·τ·η·κ·α·ι·α·ν·υ·π·ε·ρ·β·λ·η·τ·ο·c·π·ρ·α·ξ·ι·c·λ·α·β·ω·ν·π·η·λ·ο·ν
 κ·α·θ·α·ρ·ο·ν·τ·α·c·φ·λ·ια[]..[]..[]ι·τ·ω·ν·ο·c·ε·ν·ω·α·γ·ν·ε·υ·ε·ι·c·κ·α·ι·ο·υ·τ·ω·π·η
 λ·ω·c·α·c·ε·π·ι·γ·ε·γ·ρ·α·φ·ε·...·ε·τ·α·υ·τ·α·χ·α·λ·κ·ο·γ·ρ·α·φ·ι·ω·ε·ι·c·τ·η·ν
 δ·ε·ξ·ι·α·ν·φ·λ·ια·ν·ε·c·τ·ι·δ·.....·φ·ο·μ·ε·ν·α· ⚡ Ἡ Θ° ⚡ ἴ ⚡
 α·ρ·α·μ·ω·c·ι·ν·ο·υ·χ·α·...·υ·χ·α· ⚡ η·η·ι·ι·α·ι·α·ι·η·ν·α·β·ρ·α
 155 c·α·ξ·λ·ε·ρ·θ·α·μ·ι·ν·ω·θ·ε·ι·c·δ·ε·..·ν·α·ρ·ι·c·τ·ε·ρ·α·ν·ο·ι·ω·c·φ·λ·ια·ν· ⚡

ιηα· ιου· ιωε· ιου· ἦη· ἦη· ἦη· ἦη· Παιάν, Κολοφώνιε Φοί-
 βε, Παρνήσσιε Φοῖβε, Καστάλιε Φοῖβε· ιηα· ιη· ιω· ιω·
 ιε· ιωα· ιηα· εσα· ωεα· εσηα· ωεσαεσωα· ευιε· ευιαε·
 135 ευε· ευη· ευιε· ευω· ἰεσαε· ευηαε· ὕμνήσω Μέντορι
 Φοῖβφ ..αρεωθ· ιαεωθ· ιωα· ιωηα· αε· οωε·
 αηω· ωηα· ηωα· αηε· ιε· ιω· ιωιω· ιεα· ιαη· ιεου·
 εουω· αα[·] αηω· εε· εηυ· ηη· εηα· χαβραχ φλιεσ
 κηρφι κροφι νυρω φωχω βωχ· σὲ καλῶ, Κλάριε Ἄπολλον
 140 εηυ· Καστάλιε· αηα· Πύθιε· ωαε· Μουσῶν Ἄπολλον
 ιεω[·] ωεῖ· Ποίησις τῆς πράξεωσ· τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέ-
 ρα ὄνυχασ προβάτου, τῇ δευτέρῃ αἰγὸς ὄνυχασ, τῇ τρί-
 τη λύκου τρίχασ ἢ ἀστράγαλον. τούτοισ τοῖσ ἐπιθύμασι
 χρῶ εἰσ τὰσ ἄλλασ γ' ἡμέρασ· τῇ ἑβδόμῃ, ὅταν μὴ ἔλθῃ,
 145 ῥάκος ἀπὸ βιαίου ἐνλύχνιον ποιήσασ ἄψον λύχνον
 ἀπὸ ἐλαίου καθαροῦ καὶ δίωκε τοὺσ προκειμένουσ λόγουσ
 ἱκετεῦων καὶ παρακαλῶν τὸν θεὸν εἰσ εὐμένειαν ἦ-
 κειν· ἔστω δέ σου ὁ τόποσ ἀγνὸσ ἀπὸ παντὸσ μυσεροῦ,
 καὶ ἀγνεύσασ καθαρίωσ προκατάρχου τῆσ τοῦ θεοῦ ἱκεσίασ·
 150 ἔστιν γὰρ μεγίστη καὶ ἀνυπέρβλητοσ. πρᾶξισ· λαβὼν πηλὸν
 καθᾶρον τὰσ φλιὰ[ς τ]οῦ [κο]ιτῶνοσ, ἐν ᾧ ἀγνεύεισ, καὶ
 οὔτω πη-
 λώσασ ἐπ[ί]γραφε τὰ γραφόμενα ταῦτα χαλκῷ γραφεῖω εἰσ
 τὴν
 δεξιὰν φλιάν· ἔστι δὲ τὰ γραφόμενα Ϟ ἢ θ, ϣ † 2
 Ἄρσαμωσι· νουχα·υχα· ϝ ηι ηι ια ια ιε ηυ Ἄβρα-
 155 σαξ λερθεμινωθ· εἰσ δὲ τὴν ἀριστερὰν ὁμοίωσ φλιάν· Ϟ

→ ω ☉ ☿ ☽ ☾ ☿ // ιωε·ηωα·ηια·ιαιαε
ιαηεα·αρποννουφιολειςταεπανωτηςθυρας☿☿

Ͻ ↑ ☿ ω ρ α εε μιχαηλ·ηια·ευω·υαε·ευω·ιαε
ειδετηνυποκατωποκατωτονκανθαρον ωσπεριε

160 χειχειαααιμαγος

εκτοστου



κοιτωνος

Col. IV

ετωδεοθρονοςεκτοστουκ\τωνος...αρσκαιε..νω
κινδονιονκαιψποκατωποποδιον·επιγραφεδειε
τονθρονονεισταυποκατωη·ιεαιωαυδαμνα
μενεαβραη·αβραω·αβραωα·δεσποταμουσω

165 λαθιμοιτωσωϊκετηκαιεσοευμενηςκαιενϋλατος
φανη[[θι]]μοικαθαρωτωπροσωπω

→ ω ε ω ρ ψ ρ // ιωε· ηωα· ηιεα· ιαια· ιε-

ιαηεα· Ἄρπον Κνουφι (ὁ λόγος) εἰς τὰ ἐπάνω τῆς θύρας

αα εε Μιχαήλ· ηια· ευω· υαε· ευω· ιαε·

εἰς δὲ τὴν ὑποκάτω τὸν κἀνθαρὸν, ὡς περιέ-



160 χει, χρίσας αἶμα αἰγός, ἐκτὸς τοῦ

κοιτῶνος·

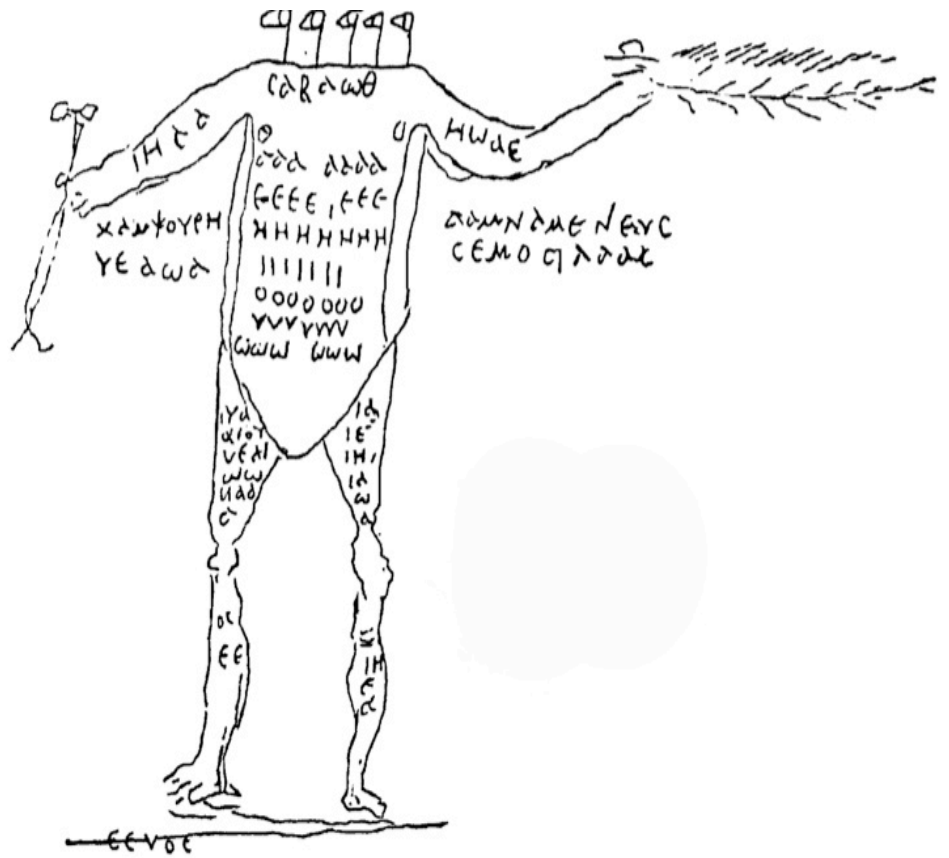
ἔστω δὲ ὁ θρόνος καθαρὸς καὶ ἐπάνω

σινδόνιον καὶ ὑποκάτω ὑποπόδιον. ἐπίγραφε δὲ εἰς

μενεὺς αβραη· αβραω αβραωα· δέσποτα Μουσῶν

165 Ἰλαθί μοι, τῷ σῷ ἰκέτη, καὶ ἔσο εὐμενῆς καὶ εὐίλατος,

φάνηθί μοι καθαρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ·



Σαβαώθ

ιηεα

ηωαε

ααα αααα

εεεε ι εεε

ηηηηηηηη

ιιιιι

οοοοοοοο

υυυυυυυυ

ωωωωωωωω

υα ια

αευ ιε

υεα ιη

ωω ια

ιηα ω

α α

ι ιη

εε ε

α

χαμψουρη

υεαωα, Δαμναμενευς

Σεμεσιλαμ·

τουτοτοζωδιον
γραφεταιειστορακος
τουβιαιουκαιβαλ
λειταιειλυχνονκα
θαρον

- 175 180
ωηαιωαε
μαθωνδεαπαντααπολυσειδοξοποιησας
αξιωσραναιματιπεριστερας· και επιθυσας
συρνανειπε· απελθεδεσποταχορμου· χορμου·
οζοαμοροιρωχ· κιμνοιε· εποζοι· εποιμαζου·
180 καρβοενδοβαιαχχα· ἴζοιμνειπροσποι· επιορ
χωριδεσποταειτουσσυστοπουσ· ειςτασβασι
λεια· καταλιψασημνηνισχυνκαιτηνειςσει
ακουειν

- τούτο δὲ τὸ ζῳῆδιον
170 γράφεται εἰς τὸ ράκος
τοῦ βιαίου καὶ βάλ-
λεται εἰς λύχνον κα-
θαρόν.
σενσενγεν βαρφαραγῆς
175 ωηα ιωαε.
Μαθὼν δὲ ἅπαντα ἀπολύσεις δοξοποιήσας
ἀξίως· ράνας αἵματι περιστερᾶς καὶ ἐπιθύσας
ζμύρναν εἰπέ· ἄπελθε, δέσποτα, χορμου· χορμου·
οζοαμοροιωχ· κιμνοιε· εποζοι· εποιμαζου·
180 σαρβοενδοβαιαχχα· ἴζομνει προσποι· επιορ
χώρει, δέσποτα, εἰς τοὺς σοὺς τόπους, εἰς τὰ σὰ βασί-
λεια καταλείψας ἡμῖν τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν εἰς σὲ εἰς-
άκουσιν·

Translation

PGM VI

1. His encounter with Helios [happens] on the second, but the invocation itself
2. [...] [the moon] is full.
3. [...] accomplish the encounter on the 4th, when the god is increasing floor of a
4. [...] Say, then, to the rising sun
5. [the following]prayer:
6. “[Daphne-Laurel] holy plant of Apollo's [divination]
7. [...] [with whose] branches Phoibos wreathed
8. [...] his head, adorned with beautiful and long tresses long
9. [...] shaking in his hands
10. [...] lofty and with many valleys
11. [...] gods, presage to mortals.
12. [...] grievous Apollo himself
13. [...], dreadful virgin,
14. [...] revealed through sacred rhythms
15. [...] having a branch in my hands
16. [...] send me a sincere prophesy
17. [...] prophesying with clear
18. [...] and it will be accomplished
19. [...] that I can perform a test to everything
20. [...] mankind's subdue
21. [...]

22. [...] most supreme...mē
23. [...]as it deserves[...] *ieo* to Paian
24. [...] *ioeui* of the many names [...] *anarba* o Phoibos
25. helper through divinations Phoibos Apollo
26. Leto's son, who darts afar, prophet, here come, here,
27. here come foretelling, prophesize amid night's hour
28. Then speak, declaiming this *eēieie ēiio....iaoieiyē*
29. *iaiaōiaōē...ouō* Then at sunmake your request again
30. listen to me, you with the silver bow, you who walk at the both sides of Chryses
31. and holy Cilla and aret he mighty lord of Tenedos
32. gold-shining, storm and Python killer *mesegkriphi*,
33. Leto's son, *siaoth*, *sabaoth*, *meliouchos*, ruler,
34. *peuchrē*, night-wanderer, *seseggen*, *barpharaggēs*
35. and *arbbth*, god of many forms, fond of blood, *arbathiao*
36. Smintheus, if ever I've roofed a pleasing shrine for you,
37. or if I've ever burned for you fat thighs
38. of bulls or goats, accomplish my desire.
39. And in the same way, there is his encounter with Selene, as follows:
40. Daphne-Laurel holy plant of Apollo's divination
41. virgin Laurel, Laurel, Phoibos' mistress, *sabaoth iāoaōo*
42. *iagchōthipyala moysiarcha otonypon*
43. come here to me come quickly,
44. haste to sing Divine precepts to me
45. *resabaan aan . . .anaaananaanalaaaaaaaaa*. It is for you,
- 46 o Delios, o Nomios, 0 son of Leto and Zeus, to give foretelling

47. revelations at night as you recount the truth through dream oracles.

PGM II

1 *Akrakanarba kanarba anarba narba arba rba ba a...* Say the whole

2 name thus, in a wing shaped pattern. "O Phoibos, come joyful as helper through your divinations

3 Leto's son, who darts afar, prophet, here come, here, here come foretelling, prophesize

4 amid night's hour *sallalala allalala santalala talala*". Pronounce this name too /

5 removing one letter at a time in the wing shaped pattern. "If ever, holding your victory loving laurel branch,

6 here from your holy summit you often uttered favorable oracles, so may you now haste to me/ come to me quickly

7 with truthful oracles" *laētonion* and *tabarāoth aeō eō*, lord

8 Apollo Paian, who possesses this night, who are master of it, who

9 governs the hour of this prayer and the prayer too. Come, powerful daimons, act with me

10 today by[...] speaking with the son of Leto and Zeus." Add also

11 that which is written on the laurel leaves -and together with the strip of papyrus on which the Headless One

12 is drawn – place it rolled up beside your head. It is to be pronounced also to the lamp, after

13 coming in from prayer, before going to bed, after you have placed a lump of frankincense

14 in the wick of the lamp *boasoch oēāē iaoiē oīāē oīāē nicharoplēx /*

15 *sthom oēō uie iō ēi iaēl irmouch o.or oēa iuō eaō Sabaoth theō*

16 *tē paō miach.i eou iao ie iēō.. iou ieou iō iēi ēo iēai iaōaēēiouō*

17 In order to remember the spell: Use the following mixture." Take the plant

18 wormwood, a sun opal, a breathing stone, the heart of a hoopoe also known as the "vulture cock".

19 Grind all these together, add enough honey and anoint your lips with it, having incensed previously

20 your mouth with a grain of frankincense gum. This is the preparation: In the evening, just when you are going to sleep, with ass's milk

21 purify your couch and, holding in your hands twigs of laurel whose preparation is also

22 given below, say the following invocation . Let your bed be on the ground, either upon

23 clean fig leaves or upon a rush mat, and lie on your right side, on the ground and in the open air.

24 Carry out the invocation, without answering anyone, and while invoking (the god) , make an offering of a lump of frankincense / and


25 twelve right-turning pinecones and 2 unblemished roosters,
one to Helios and one to Selene,
26 on the first day, on a censer of bronze or of earth. On your
right (write) this character
27 and go to sleep in line with the vertical stroke of it. While
praying, wear a crown of laurel
28 made this way: Take 12 laurel twigs; with 7 of these
branches make
29 a crown, and binding the remaining five together, hold them
in your right hand while you pray
30 and go to sleep holding this, in the same position. Write with
myrrh ink, what is shown to you,
31 in a shell, and hold it, along with the laurel, while you are
praying. The beginning is this
32 "*bolsoch*," etc." The names to be written on the twigs, on
each leaf: *uessemmiga*
33 *dōnorthōbaubō noēre soire soirē sankanthara erischisal*
sankistē dōdeka
34 *kistē akrourobore kodere* . Write 12 names. This is the ink:
Burn myrrh and
35 cinquefoil and wormwood; grind them thoroughly, and use
them. Take a sprig of
36 laurel and Ethiopian cumin and sleeping nightshade, and
grind them
together. Take also water from a new
37 well- dug either 5 months previously or within the last 5
years or any one you come across on the first day after

38 it has been dug- in a clay pot,, and throw the mixture into
the water.

39 Leave it for just 3 nights, and, while you are uttering the
invocation, put a little of it into your

40 right ear. In order to remember, write on a leaf of
cinquefoil

41 the following character and keep it in your mouth while
you sleep.

42 Write it with myrrh ink, The character is:  Start the
aforesaid invocation

43 at the 7th hour of the moon, until the god obeys you, and
you make contact with him.

44 And these are the coercive (substances). All of them may be
offered before the moon after the first or second day.

45 If he does not appear, sacrifice the brain of a black ram, and
on the third day the little nail

46 of its right forefoot, the one nearest to the ankle; on the
fourth, the brain of an

47 ibis; on the fifth, write the figure sketched below on papyrus
with myrrh ink,

48 wrap them in a piece of rag from one who has died violently,
and put it into the hypocaust

49 of a bathhouse. But some (practitioners) do not put in a
hypocaust, for that is too extreme, but they suspend it over

50 a lamp, or they are placed beneath one. In another (text) I
found it as following: If

51 he does not obey to this (practice), wrap up the figure in the
same piece of rag, and
52 put it into the hypocaust of the bathhouse on the fifth day,
saying after the invocation: “*abri* and *abro exanti*
53 *abil*. God of gods, king of kings, now oblige a friendly
daimon of prophecy to come to me,
54 lest I use worse tortures to you, these written
55 on the strips of papyrus. If even after this he does not obey,
pour fine, pure oil
56 of radishes over an innocent skilled boy, and taking it up
again, prepare
57 a lamp, not dyed red, and set it upon a lampstand mold from
virgin soil
58 some pure oil on the altar also -. If you feel a strike, drink
down little chewed
59 cumin with unmixed wine. Write the prescribed figure
60 as given above, alongside with the characters and the spell
given below twice with myrrh ink
61 on hieratic papyrus. And of these, one you should hold it as
you summon (the god),
62 grasping it in your right hand while sleeping, and placing it
under your head.
63 The other, if the necessity for the compulsive [procedure]
comes up, you should rolled up in the aforementioned cloth
64 and use as given below. An alternative procedure: take a
spring of laurel and write the 2

65 names on the leaves. The one *akrakanarba krakanarba rakanarba akanarba*

66 *kanarba anarba narba arba rba ba a* and the other *santalala antalala*

67 *ntalala talala alala lala ala la a* take an other spring of twelve leaves,

68 and write on it the following heart-shaped name beginning

69 by a holy speech. This is (the name)... And from the spring - the inscribed

70 with the two names- make a wreath, weaving about it garlands of white

71 wool, bound at intervals of red wool, and let it reach

72 until the collarbone. You will bound to the twelve-leaved spring

73 a similar garland and you will introduce yourself to the god this way. Holding a total white cock

74 and a pinecone and pouring wine, smear yourself and wait praying

75 until the sacrifice is extinguished. And rub yourself everywhere with this mixture: laurel bayberries, Ethiopian cumin,

76 nightshade, and "Hermes' finger. And you will say to the lamp

77 these: *perphaēno . . . diamanthō . . . diamenchthōth*
peerperchrē oānouth

78 *phroumen thorpso*. The most important *akti kara abaiōth*
 Lord god, servant of god

79 who control this night, stand by me Apollo Paian. Sleep with
your head
80 toward the south. Use (this) at the dawn, when (the moon) is
in Gemini.
81 Laurel, Apollo's sacred plant of divination, whose leaves he
once tasted his petals
82 and then he sent forth songs himself, the scepter-bearing
lord; Ieios, renowned Paian, who reside/inhabit in Kolophon,
83 listen the sacred song. And quickly come to earth from
heaven and mixing the waters
84 and from immortal lips inspire songs; you, yourself ,
85 lord of song come, renowned ruler of song. Listen, blessed,
exceeding wrathful
86 and stern. Titan, hear our voice now, immortal one, do not
disregard. Stand here,
87 and tell to the supplicant prophesy from your immortal
mouth, quickly, all-pure Apollo."
88 "Hail, fire's dispenser, world's far-seeing commander, O
Helios, famed for your steeds,
89 the eye of Zeus which shield the earth, all-shining one, who
pace on lofty paths, divine, walking in heaven, radiant,
unreacheable,
90 Born long ago, unshaken, with a gold headband, wearing an
aureole of light, mighty with fire, with shining breastplate,
91 flying, tireless with golden reins, pacing a golden path, who
oversees, surround

92 and listen everything. Because of you the light-bringing
flames give birth to dawn, because of you who pass over universe's
pole

93 at midday, behind you, the rosy-ankled dawn goes to her
home

94 grieving; as in front of you, Sunset meets Ocean leading
down

95 your yoke of fire-fed steeds; the fled night darts down from
heaven, whenever she hears the whistling of the whip

96 that sound heavy around the colts' flanks, *aaaaaa eeeeeee ē*
ē ē

97 *ē ē ē ē iiiiii ooooooo unuuuuu o o o o o o*

98 O scepter-bearing leader of the Muses, life-giver, come
now, to me, come quickly to earth, Ieios,

99 wreathed with ivy. And, Phoibos, with immortal mouth tell
the song. Hail, fire's ruler,

100 *ararachchara ēphthisikēre* And, Moirai three, Klotho and
Atropos and Lachis.

101 I call you, the great in the firmament, airlike, free, to whom
all nature submitted, who

102 reside throughout the whole inhabited world, whom the
sixteen giants guard, you, t

103 he seated upon the lotus and who shine/the shining of the
whole inhabited world;

104 you who have designated the various living beings on the
earth, you who have the sacred bird

105 upon your robe in the eastern parts (you have) the Red

106 Sea, as you have on the northern parts the figure
 107 of an infant child seated upon a lotus, O rising one, O you
 of many names,
 108 *sesengenbarpharangēs*, on the southern
 109 parts you have the figure of the sacred falcon, through which
 110 you send fiery heat into the air, which befalls *lerthexanax*
 111 in the western parts you have the shape of a crocodile,
 112 the tail of a snake: from there you throw rains and snows; in
 the
 113 eastern parts you have a winged dragon, with a kingdom
 114 like the sky, with which you prevail over the strifes that is
 beneath the heaven
 115 and on earth, you have shown yourself truthly as god *iō iō*
erbēth
 116 *zas sabaōth smarth adōnai soumarta ialou babla uam*
 117 *moleētnthio petotoubiēth iarmiōth lailamps choouch*
 118 *arsenophrē eu phtha ē oli* Listen to me, oh greatest god
 Kommes,
 119 who lights up the day, *nathmameōth* who dawn as an infant
 120 *mairachachtha* who traverses the pole *tharchachachau* who
 unite with yourself
 121 and invigorate yourself, giver of increase and illuminator of
 many things,
 122 *sesengenbarpharangēs* of waters, most powerful god,
 Kommes,
 123 Kommes *iasphē iasphē bibiou bibiou nousi nousi siethōn*
 124 *siethōn arsamōsi arsamōsi noucha noucha ē ēi ombri*

125 *tham brithiaōth aberamenthōouthlerthex anaxethreluo*
126 *ōthnemareba* the greatest and mighty god. I am he, NN,
127 who have meet you, and you have given me the gift of
128 the knowledge of your greatest name, of which the number
is 9,999 *īē ie ia iae*
129 *iae ieu iēa iōa ieu iēi ēia ea eē ēē oē ēo e*
130 *ēē eēē eēē aāō oēa eāō oī oē ēo eē eao*
131 *iii ooo uuu o o iu eu ou ēea iēea eae eia iaie*
132 *iēa iou iōe iou iē iē iē iēie* Pain Phoibos of Kolophon,
133 Phoibos of Parnassos, Phoibos of Kastalia *iēea iē iō iu*
134 *ie iōa iēa eua oēa eueā oēua euōa euie euaie*
135 *eue eue euie euō ieuae eueae* I will humn Phoibos
136 Mentor *areōth iaeōth iōa iō ēa ae oōe*
137 *aē o o ēa ē oā aēē ie iō iō iō iea iae ieu*
138 *eouō aa aēō ee eēu ē ē eēa chabrach phonies*
139 *kēr phikro phinurō phōchōbōch* I call you, Apollo of Klaros
140 Kastalian One *aēa* Pythian, *oae* Apollo of the Muses,
141 *ieō oēi* Performance of the rite : On the first day,
142 (offer or sacrifice) nails of a sheep; on the second, the nails
of a goat;
143 on the third, the hair or knucklebone of a wolf. Use these
burnt offerings
144 for the next three days. On the seventh day, if he does not
yet come,
145 making a lampwick out of a piece of cloth from one who has
died violently, light a lamp
146 from pure oil, and utter the aforementioned formulas,

147 suppliant and exhorting the god to come with benevolence;
 148 let your place be pure of all pollution,
 149 and having purified it, begin in cleanliness the supplication
 to the god,

150 because it is greatest and unsurpassable. Rite: Taking clay,
 151 purify the doorposts of your bedchamber, in which you need
 ritual purity, and

152 having thus smeared the clay, write this inscription with a
 bronze stylus

153 on the right doorpost. This is what is to be written:

𐤀 𐤇 𐤀, 𐤍 † 𐤔

154 *Arsamōsi noucha noucha* .𐤏𐤍 *ēi ēi ia ia ie ēu abra*

155 sax lertheminoth Likewise on the left doorpost: 𐤏

156 𐤏 → 𐤍 𐤏 𐤍 𐤏 𐤍 // *iōe ē oā ēiea iaia ie*

157 *iaieea harpon noufi* The formula on the upper part of the
 door:

158 𐤏 𐤏 𐤏 𐤍 𐤏 *aa ee Michaēl ēia euō uae euō iae*

159 Below the door, the scarab, as it is encompassed here,
 160 having anointed the outside your bedchamber blood of a
 goat.

161 Let the throne be purified, and upon
 162 it a linen cloth, and beneath it a footstool. Inscribe also
 163 on it, on the underside: *īē iea ioau damna*
 164 *memeus abraē abraō abraōa*, lord of the Muses,
 165 be gracious to me, your suppliant, and be benevolent and
 generous;

166 appear to me with true face."

170 This figure is to be drawn
171 on the piece of clothing
172 from one who has died
173 violently, and is to be thrown
174 into a pure lamp.
175 *sesengen barpharangēs ō ēia iōae*
176 After you have learned all, you will release him, honoring
him
177 as deservedly. Sprinkle dove's blood and make a burnt
offering
178 of myrrh, and say, "Leave, lord, *chormou chormou*
179 *ozoamoroiroch kimnoie epozoi epoimazou*
180 *sarboenddobaiachcha izomnei prospoi epior*
181 go off, lord, to your places, to your palace,
182 leaving me the strength and the right of
183 audience with you."

4.3 Paleographic Commentary

PGM VI

1. **υϗαϗιϗ**: The left part of the letter is lost but is still eligible.
5. **εϗην**: It is damaged in the centre and has lost the internal stroke (the cross bar).
6. **απολλωνοϗ**: The vertical fold provoked a split across all the papyrus which varies in width. There is a lunate shape belonging to the left part of the letter.
7. **ϗεφθειϗ**: The letter has lost its cross bar.
10. **ηϗι**: There is a lunate belonging to the right part of the letter.
- υψηλο[]ο**: There is the upper part of descending from left to right.
11. **βροτοϊϗι[]**: After the lacuna there is ink but it is very abraded. The shadow of the ink -to my eyes- belong to a big later, and more precisely a β.
12. **μεγα]λοϗτονοϗ**: Bortolani restores the word in this way. It is a rare adjective found only in Aeschylus(*Pr.* 413).
13. **ορη**: Below the o there is thin stroke from the previous letter.
- παρθεν**: At the left edge of the lacuna there is ink in lunate shape.
17. **α**: It is visible the ligature of a with the previous letter
18. **τε**: The letter is abraded. I am able to see a vertical stroke.
19. **περι**: There is a vertical stroke that goes down in the interlinear space. Only the bottom of the stroke has survived.
20. **μ**: There is a stroke ligatured with μ.
21. **[].....φ.....[]**: The line is damaged entirely from the horizontal folding that has cut in two the papyrus.

22. **ανυπέριτατε**: It is visible the ligature of a with the previous letter at the top of the letter.

επ: Small trace of ink.

23. **ωσπρε**: Here I can see clear an ε, formed as usual in the papyrus. The upper part of ρ is abraded but I think it is easy to someone to see a circle and a vertical stroke that goes down to the interlinear space. Π is not so easy discernable but there are two vertical parallels and the down part of the right one turns slightly rightwards which is a characteristic of the formation of π. About c I see an arc facing upwards at the bottom of the letter, which can be the down part of c.

25: **αντοκυναιτι**: There is a dot of ink at the bottom of the letter.

εκαεργε: There is a dot of ink at the bottom of the letter.

26. **αγεδε**: At the left edge of the lacuna there is ink belonging to a descending from left to right (∖).

27. **θεσπίω**: The letter is partly damaged. There is ink at the top of the letter and at the middle height letter a horizontal stroke.

ρη: At the left edge of the lacuna there is ink in lunate shape.

28. **ιαωη**: There is trace of ink at the bottom of the letter.

29. **.ουω**: At the right edge of the lacuna there is traces of ink.

30. **]αc**: There is the upper part of descender from left to right (/).

34. **βαφραγης**: The letter is extremely abraded however I think it is visible that it is about a rounded letter.

36. **ποτ**: There is ink at the top of the letter.

39. **προς**: There is a dot of ink at the bottom of the letter

42. **μουσια**: The right part of the letter is lost in the lacuna.

44. **νοφερη**: The right part of the letter is lost in the lacuna.

PGM II

1. **κα[]αρβα**: Pr., Pa. **καναρβα**

A split, caused by the first vertical fold /crease starts from the top of the papyrus. It is, however, unclear because the restoration work has confused things and is misleading since insufficient space was left between the two fragments to allow for missing material. The split extends until line 10 where it joins with the split resulting from the horizontal fold, after which the vertical split is displaced a little to the left and continues until line 16. Neither Pr. nor Pa. indicate that *v* is actually the missing letter that does not appear in the papyrus.

ακρακαναρβακα[]αρβα: The transition directly from **ακρακαναρβα** to **κα[*v*]αρβα** highlights the scribe's negligence. According to the instructions, "περυγοειδῶς", the right form should be **ακρακαναρβα·<κρακαναρβα·ρακαναρβα·ακαναρβα·>καναρβα...** Pr. notes that before **κα[]αρβα** there is missing a formula, two parts of it. In fact there are three missing parts, something noted by Pa.

βα·: Pr. and Pa. **βα·[α]**

The last *α* from the first sequence of *voces magicae* is dotted but not in brackets, because there is a minimal remnant of ink, surviving outside the lacuna, at the bottom of the letter, just before the *λ*.

2. **περ..οειδωσ**: Pa. **περ[υγ]οειδωσ**/ Pr. **περυγοειδωσ**

Between the *ρ* and *ο* there is a lacuna, and on each edge of the papyrus there are traces of ink from the damaged letters. As the two parts of the papyrus have been erroneously put together, the lacuna is not easily visible and the ink of the two letters forms something like a dot. Pa. puts the missing letters in brackets, but Pr. does not. Yet, in the apparatus he stresses that there is an anomaly in the text.

3. **εκαεργ[.]εοπροπε:** Pa. *εκαεργε α[πο]τροπε/* Pr. *εκαεργε αποτροπε/* Eitr. Monte. *θεοπροπε*

The split cuts the word *εκαεργε* at *γ*. By chance, the next letter after the split is an *ε* and was mistakenly considered by both of the previous editors as the last *ε* of the previous word *εκαεργε*. As a result, they have both proposed the word *αποτροπε*. Pa. transcribes *α[πο]τροπε* and Pr., erroneously, without brackets, *αποτροπε*. But actually, the last *ε* of *εκαεργε* has been lost. The correct solution is the proposal by Eitrem, *θεοπροπε*. As I have explained, the *ε* belongs to the word after *εκαεργε*, so we have an *ε* an *ο* (not so clear because the upper part of the letter is missing), and a *προπε*. Consequently, the word *θεοπροπε* is the word we are looking for, and its meaning fits with the attributes of Apollo. Monte also accepts the reconstruction of Eitrem. The existence of a *θ* is also supported by a small trace of a horizontal ligature with *ε* corresponding to the cross bar of *θ*.

4. **αλλαλαλα:** Pr. *αλλαλαλα* Pa. *ταλλαλαλα*

Neither Pr. nor Pa observe that the right part of the *c* has survived, but is almost hidden between the *η* and the lacuna. In fact, the lower right part of the letter appears to be part of the *η* and only a line between *η* and *α*, which is the upper part of the letter, makes us suspect its presence.

αλλαλαλ: Pr. and Pr. *αλλαλαλα*

There is only a small dot of ink to suggest the existence of a letter after the *λ*. According the magical sequence we would expect to have an *α*.

εγε: Pr. and Pr. *λεγε*

The first letter is almost entirely lost in the lacuna. Only the endings of the left part of the letter have survived.

5. **υφαιρ.γ**: Pr. and Pr υφαιρων

The expected ω appears as a broken ο because the right curve (arc) is missing due to the aforementioned hiatus.

ειποτεδιφιλονεσχενεχωνκλαδον: There are conflicting suggestions about the restoration of this phrase. This part of the papyrus is very well preserved and easily legible and it does not permit misreading. However, the resulting syntax is insufficiently for certainty. Wünsch proposes the solution of ει ποτε δη φιλον(ε)ικον εχων κλαδον and this was the restoration in the first edition of Pr. Eitrem suggested the restoration ει ποτε τοι φίλον εσκεν. I can not propose something more paleographical accurate.

6. **.[.]cϊερης**: Pa. and Pr. [cη]c

Although it is easily to understand what happened in this lacuna, both Pa and Pr. are confused. This is wrong; and Eitrem alone suggested the right restoration. The upper part of the c is extended and it is accidentally linked with the τ. The τ is apparently broken just before its vertical stroke starts and the η has disappeared into the lacuna.

εϛθλὰ: Pa. and Pr. εϛθλα

The left curve of the c has been lost in the split, and all that remains is the right endings of the letter. Above the α there is a marked sign similar to a grave accent. It could be considered as a grave accent but this would make it the only case of accent in the whole text. Pa mentions it.

7. **θ.[.]πισματ'**: Pa. and Pr. θεϛπισματ' Monte. θ.[.]πισματ'

The ε is partly lost in the lacuna, only the left part has survived and the c is completely lost. The previous editors did not mention this lacuna; however Monte does.

λαητωνιον: Pa. λαιτωνιον

Because of a split that passes across the η, its horizontal stroke is damaged and the letter resembles to a ι and a c. Pa., without explaining the existence of this semicircle, adopted the solution of a ι.

8.[.]**ηννοκτα:** Pa. [τη]ν Pr. [ο] την

The word above in the previous line is a safe guide to the space and the number of the lost letters. Η is - in my eyes -easy readable, but Pr. is wrong about τ. It is all lost in the lacuna.

.ατεχων: Pr., Pa. κατεχων

The expected κ is very lacunose and abraded and only few remnants of the vertical stroke are still visible.

9. From this point the reading becomes more difficult because the ink has faded badly and many letters have been abraded.

κ[...]υτης: Pa. κ[αι α]υτης/ Pr.- Kroll κ[α]υτης/ Abt-Monte κ[αι τα]υτης

Here the reconstruction is uncertain. Pa. proposed κ[αι α]υτης, Preisendanz with Kroll κ[α]υτης and Abt κ[αι τα]υτης. Monte also concurs with Abt. It seems that the right reconstruction hinges on the issue of the lacuna space. Although I believe that we can calculate the lacuna, we cannot accurately calculate the space occupied by the missing letters. At the same point in the two previous lines we have 2 letters missing. However, in this line the lacuna is bigger and from the previous line we can estimate there is

a one letter plus gap, a total of 3 missing letters, which corresponds with the restoration by Pa. κ[αι α]υτης. However, it would be unwise to reject out of hand the suggestion of Abt and Monte because the spacing of the letters varies. I incline to a cautious adoption of Parthey's opinion, because in the previous line, in the word παιαν, we can find the same sequence of letters and I believe that they fit with this lacuna.

νημερον: C is very abraded. Particularly noteworthy is the ε, with its curiously tall stroke that goes down to make it rather resemble an English d; something unique in the papyrus.

επ.[.]...c: Pa. -/ Pr. επ'αλ[η]θειας

This is impossible to read with certainty. It is the point where the vertical and the horizontal folds cross and the result is a seriously damaged fragment. Although traces of a letter remain, the presence of a lacuna impedes the reading. Pa. prefers to leave it as a blank. He does not even restore the επ that I think is distinguishable by careful inspection. Pr. attempts to restore it as επ'αληθειας, something Monte finds credible. I disagree with this restoration. Although there are hook shaped traces and hints of ink that could suggest the upper part of a λ or a δ, which apparently has led to the conclusion that here we have a λ, there is a considerable space between the trace of ink after π, which apparently is the first letter of the word, and the traces looking like a λ. There is space for more letters between them, as is easily demonstrated by the word above. Moreover, if we observe carefully the ductus of the λ we will see that the hook of λ is always more inclined.

11. **ρ.φεται**: Pr. and Pr. γραφεται

The two dotted letters in isolation are illegible. The first has lost its horizontal stroke through abrasion and it is limited to half a vertical stroke, which could belong to various letters. The second is in worse condition because a split passes over it. The remnants are only a very small trace of ink at the upper height of the letter and a blot of ink at the middle height.

π[.]τακιου: Pa., Pr., and Monte π[ιτ]τακίου.

However, there is a horizontal trace of ink in the upper part, after the lacuna and before the second τ, corresponding to the right part of the horizontal stroke of the first τ. That is why I have chosen to dot the letter instead of putting it in square brackets.

ακεφαλ.: Pa. and Pr. ακεφαλος

Although the previous editors have chosen to deem the word safely legible, the two last letters should be dotted because they cannot be read accurately in isolation. Moreover, the shadow of the fibers is mixed with the hint of colour left by the ink. There are three major spots of ink and a few more faint traces at the middle letter height, and a few faint flecks at the lower level of the letter. The ε is also similar to θ. The next letter is very lacunose because a split passes over it, and all that remains is a left hand lunate shape, and a vertical oblong blot of ink in the interlinear space where the normally large vertical stroke of the letter should be.

12. **τ[...]ται:** Pa. τ[ίθει π] /Pr. τ[ίθε]ται

The correct restoration is that of Pr. τ[ίθε]ται.

κεφαλης .υνελιχθεν: Pa. κεφαλ[ην c]υνελιχθεν/ Pr. κεφαλης
cυνελιχθεν

Parthey has highlighted the difficulty of the text at this point, putting the three letters in square brackets. Neither Pr. nor Monte have dotted the three letters, but in this part of the papyrus the ink has faded so much that scant traces from each letter have survived and their certain identification is impossible. No significant difference exists between genitive and accusative in the syntax here. I choose the genitive because I believe that the traces left on the papyrus correspond more to a c. The numerous flecks of ink at the bottom are perhaps the lower part of the c, which needs a continuous stroke.

.**υνελιχθεν**: Eitrem proposed the interpretation σου] ἔλιξον, but the adverbial use of a participle here (temporal-instrumental) is correct and there is no need of emendation.

μετα: Pr., Pa. μετα

The abrasion of the papyrus in this word is very bad and the presence of a split that passes across adds further difficulty. I think it is more accurate to dot the letters because they are not clearly readable.

13. **τοισειλθειν**: Pr. τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν Pa. τὸ εἰσελθεῖν

In usual syntaxes with μετὰ, the accusative, which is used to express the “afterwards” is far more likely in this case than the genitive.

14. **η**: Pa., Pr. τη

The first letter is abraded and only two spots of ink are visible at the upper and at the lower height of letter. From the η, only the upper part of the letter survives.

.**[.,]**: Pa.[του] Pr. τ[ου]

Pa. put the first three letters in brackets, but the correct transcription is that of Pr. who puts only the two letters in brackets. There is a part of horizontal stroke at the left hand upper height of the letter but it is not sufficient.

15-16. Some letters from the *vores magicae* are very abraded and as they do not have meaning I am not able to restore them.

17. **λεγομ[.].**: Pa. λεγομ[ενα] Pr. λεγομε[να]

Pa. inserts the brackets, and also the α, but after the lacuna there is a bottom half descending diagonal ligatured with the χ that implies the letter α, which is also expected. Pr. wrongly puts the two final letters in brackets.

βοταν[.]: Pr., Pa βοταν[ην]

The expected τ has lost its horizontal stroke and seems like a ι. There is ink a dot of ink at the lower part of the letter

18. **πνεο[.]** : Pr. Πνεον[τα] Pa. πνε....

The first dotted letter is almost entirely lost in the lacuna except the lower part of its vertical stroke which is still visible. The same applies to the second dotted letter. There is a dot of ink at the middle height of the letter.

γυπαλεκ[.]οc: Pr., Pa. γυπαλεκ[τορ]οc

There is a dot of ink at the middle height of the letter.

19. **.ριψαc**: Pr., Pa. τριψαc

The letters are very abraded. The first one is a damaged vertical stroke and the second seems to be a rounded letter.

.μου: Pr., Pa ομου

Extremely abraded letter

19. **μελι[τοc]**: Pr. μελιτ[ο]c Pa. μελι[τοc]

22. **ποιησι**: Pr. , Pa. ποιησιC

The letter is seriously damaged by the abrasion. The tiny dispersed traces of ink are insufficient for me to distinguish it.

λυγε: Pr., Pa. λυγε

The letter is lost in the lacuna. There is ink in the middle of the letter.

υποκειμενην: Pr. υποκειμενην Pa υποκειμε[νη]ν

There is ink at the left edge of the lacuna belonging to a vertical stroke.

εν...: Extremely abraded surface with tiny dispersed traces of ink.

cτραμμη: I can see a lunate letter.

24. **ρω**: Pr., Pa θρω

It is a rounded letter but there is no evidence of cross bar.

δε..γ: Pr. τ[η]ν Pa. [την]

There is ink between ε and the lacuna. From the second dotted letter there is traces ink belonging at the lower part of the letter. N has lost its first vertical stroke.

μηδ.νι: Pr., Pa.μηδ[ε]νι

It is still visible the cross bar of the ε and a small part of the arc at the top.

επι.υεδεεπικαλ.υμενο.λιβανον: Pr. επιθυε δε επικαλουμενοC

λιβανου Pa. επι[θυ]ε δε επικαλουμενοC λιβανου

From the first dotted, there is at the left edge of the lacuna. The other dotted letter are extremely abraded and the λ seems more than a τ.

25. **[.]ροβιλουC**: Pr. c[τ]ροβιλουC Pa.[cτ]ροβιλουC

There is ink before ρ.

δωδεκα: Pr., Pa. δ[ω]δεκα

The right part of the letter is still visible.

αλεκτορας: Pr., Pa. αλεκτορας

I can discern dots of ink belonging to a vertical stroke but nothing more.

εναεν.ηπ.ωτη: : Pr., Pa. ενα εν τη πρωτη

Extremely abraded surface with dispersed tiny traces of ink.

27. **κ[.]`Ϸθ'προςτη:** The reading of the letters which are overwritten is difficult and can be interpreted in many ways such as co, εο, αι, Ϸθ. Pr. reads κ[αι] προς τη but admits that we can have other combination of letters as well. Pa. reads [κεο]

Ϸτραμμη: Pr. γραμμη Pa. στραμμη

I can see a lunate letter.

Ϸτεφα[.]ν: Pa.Ϸτεφ[αν]ον Pr. Ϸτεφα[ν]ον

There is a dot of ink before the last ν but I can not be sure if this is an ο.

28. **οιουτον:** Pa., Pr. [τ]οιουτον

Both the previous editors put the first letter in square brackets. However, if we look carefully, we can discern two small traces of ink which are the far left and the far right part of a horizontal stroke. So, I believe it is more accurate to dot the letter.

κλ.νας: Pa., Pr. κλ[ω]νας

As in the previous case, both the earlier editors put the first letter in square brackets but before ν, at the lower letter height there is fleck of ink, apparently belonging to the letter missing in the lacuna.

δαφνς: Pr. indicated correctly that here we have a very unusual example of script. One letter is missing and the final c is written as an exponent.

τωγζ: Pa., Pr. τωνζ

The right part of the ν is lost in the lacuna and can be easily confused as a λ. There are also remnants of what appears to be a large letter that only fits with ξ or ζ. The most reasonable choice is that of a ζ.

29.το c: Pa., Pr. τουc

There is a lacuna here, and the only remnant of the letter is a circle of ink at the left upper height of the letter.

πεντε: Pa., Pr. πεντε

The left part of the π has been lost in the lacuna; its left hand vertical stroke, considered in isolation could be also be taken as a τ.

εχ : Pa., Pr. εχε

A crease that passes over the letter has seriously damaged it and the only remnant is a stain of ink at the middle letter height and a small trace of ink at the upper letter height.

χ.ιρι: Pa. and Pr. χειρι

The upper half of the χ is abraded, and from the next letter, only flecks of ink remain. Above the ιρι there is a faint horizontal stroke.

30. τωαυτω: Pa., Pr. τω αυτω

Both the under dotted letters are abraded. From the first, only the left semicircle survives, and from the second we can only distinguish dispersed traces of . However there are hints of the ink on the papyrus to help us identify them.

δηλουμεω: Pa., Pr. δηλουμενω

The *v* is particularly fragmentary. From the three strokes that should form it, we have only the lower half part of the first stroke, and only a stain of ink from the central diagonal stroke and the upper half of the third stroke.

31. **ε...ιννηλιο[]c**: This is a very difficult reading and the abundance of dotted letters betrays how tentative the reconstruction is. The sequence of the clearly visible-ιννηλιο[]c letters prevent any meaning. Pr. attempted to restore it suggesting *εν πιννη*. Pa. read *ειννηλιο[]c*, also difficult to reject. I tend to believe the scribe was distracted, made a mistake, and then tried to correct it by writing over the mistake. The second letter I have left as blank seems, at least to my eyes, “overwritten”. I am not in position to propose something, but neither of the earlier solutions satisfy me, so I have preferred to leave it without restoration.

ευχομενος: Pa. and Pr. *ευχομενος*

After *μ*, a lacuna occurs partly consuming the *ε*. Only a lunate representing the cross bar of the *e* is still visible. The first stroke of the *vis* also lost.

32. **ξηc**: Pa. and Pr. [*ε*]ξηc

The dotted letter is lost in the lacuna and the previous editors have chosen to put it in square brackets, but I have preferred to dot it because it is still visible its ligature with *ξ*.

34. **γον[]ματα**: Pa. *ομουνοματα* Pr. and Abt *γρ(αφε)ονοματα*

The problem here is the letter *γ* and the abbreviation stroke. Actually, in the papyrus the *γ* seems more like a *c* and the abbreviation stroke more like an *ι* because it is vertical and does not touch the previous letter. This impression is also reinforced by the

fact that in the line below, where the same combination of letters occurs in the word *αρτεμικιαν*, the ductus is similar. However the existence of a *ci* in this context makes no sense. Moreover, in the middle of the vertical stroke there is a spot as if the vertical stroke was written over a letter that is indistinguishable because of the abrasion. This assumption, possible but somewhat unlikely, is the only one that could account for the existence of this spot in the middle of the stroke, which, combined with the existence of *αγ*, is far more plausible than that of a *c*. I have to add that the scribe often abbreviates the words *γράψον* or *γραφε*, but not in this way. Pa. omits mention of this fragment, and restores it as *ομου* which does not correspond paleographically to the papyrus. Taken together, these reasons lead me to choose Abt's solution, *γρ(αφε)*.

μελαν: Pa., Pr. *μελαν*

The underdotted letter has lost its descending stroke and in isolation could also be considered as an *o*.

35. **βο.ανην:** Pa. and Pr. *βοτανην*

There is a break and a lacuna that pass over the letter and have destroyed it. The remnant is a small fragment of an horizontal stroke at the upper letter height, also suggesting a *τ* which is expected.

αινωc: Pa. [*αινωc λeo*]τριβικον Pr. *α[ι]νωc*

It is really hard to say with certainty if we have an *ι* or a *γ*. Either there was no horizontal stroke, or it has been erased. Pr. noted that the papyrus has *αινωc*, but nevertheless restored it as *ἀγνω̃ς*. But I think we can restore it as *αινωc* with the meaning of 'exceedingly', which seems to me reasonable in this context.

δ : Pa., Pr. δα

There is a lacuna and the fibers are disturbed. A lunate mark is discernible. The previous editors restored the α without indicating the existence of a problem.

36. **κ.μινον**: Pa. and Pr. κυμινον

There is a lacuna and half of the letter has disappeared into it. There is a very strongly marked vertical stroke, and trace of ink at the very bottom of the letter.

37. **ορυγεν. c**: Pa. ορυγεντος Pr. ορυγεντ[ο]c

The lacuna has destroyed a major part of the letters. Pa. curiously, makes no mention of the damage but Pr. put the second dotted letter, (the ο), in square brackets. This is a mistaken restoration because the only remnant of the first letter is half a horizontal stroke at the top of the letter and while a lot of ink remains from the ο, it is not easily readable.

38. **ορυξεωc**: Pa and Pr. ορυξεωc

The break causing the damage in the preceding words, βο. ανην, κ. μινον and ορυγεν c extends until this line and has also damaged this letter. Only the left part of the letter has survived.

οcτρακ.νω: Pa and Pr. οcτρακινω

The letter is almost lost in the lacuna. The remnants are a small and thin vertical stroke at the upper letter height, obviously part of a longer vertical stroke, and a dot of ink at the bottom of the letter.

44. **με.α**: Pa, Pr. μετα

The τ is missing. A break passes across the letter and only minimal traces of ink have survived at the endings of the horizontal stroke.

45. **κρι.υ**: Pa. κρι[ο]υ Pr. κριου.

The o is missing but there is the tiniest trace of ink at the right upper height of the letter that obliges me to dot it.

51. **υποκαα.ραν:** Pa, Pr. υποκαατραν

There is a small lacuna on this letter. There are traces of ink at the bottom of the letter belonging to the ending of a vertical stroke.

53. **αβιλ:** Pa. αβελ Pr. αβιλ

Pa wrote αβελ, but in the papyrus it is clearly an ι, not an ε.

57. **αμιλωτον:** Pa., Pr. αμιλωτον

The first underdotted letter is extremely abraded and only minimal traces of ink remain to help us to read it. From the second, only the upper part of the letter has survived.

58. **δεκα:** Pa. and Pr. δε

There is a break next to the δ, and a very small lacuna on it, which has disturbed the fibres making the reading of the letter difficult.

59. **ση..λ..ουκυμινου:** Pa. ση..ον του κυμι]νου Pr. σηιν[τ]οδκυμίνου
Ho. Μασωμενοσκυμινον Ei. Μασης δε του κυμινου

The letters are very abraded and there is also a lacuna after the fourth letter rendering the reading very hard and ambiguous. After the η the letter is severely abraded with only a vestige of ink of a small lunate shape and ink of the same shape before the lacuna. After the lacuna there is small space apparently corresponding to a totally erased letter and there is either a λ or a ν. Pa restored it as ση.οντουκυμινου. However, I strongly believe that the space between the η and the letter ν is wider, so I think that we have more than two letters. Moreover, the τ does not really exist; only a dot remains at the top of the letter, perhaps the joint point of its vertical and horizontal line. Pr., in his first edition, restores it as μαστιγος,

clearly incorrect. In the second edition, he changed it to σησιν[τ]οῦκυμίνου, only allowing for two missing letters. Ho. proposed the solution μαωμενος κυμινον and Ei. Μασηδε του κυμινου . I have proposed the solution ὀλίγουκυμίνου because it seems to me more accurate paleographically and because the word μά-σημα seems a more likely object of the verb κατάπιε than μάσησιν.

60. **πρ..εγραπταιμ..α:** Pa., Pr. προγεγραπταιμετα

Between the second and the third dotted letter, there is a break and the surface of the papyrus on both sides is abraded. From the first dotted letter there is only a spot of ink at the upper part of the letter. From the second letter there are only two traces of an apparently oblong stroke, one at the middle height of the letter and one at the lower part of it. From the third letter there is a semicircular remnant. The α is hardly recognizable because there is a very marked vertical line and next to it, a blot of ink. The ι is abraded and little ink has remained on the papyrus. After the ι they are two symmetrical vertical strokes of ink, and in the middle of them there is shadow of ink, all of which are consistent with a μ. Then, they are dispersed small traces of ink. Here, the shadow of the ink is easily confused with the fibers.

του: Pa., Pr. του

There is a break that passes across the letter damaging it. Its vertical line is scarcely distinguishable.

υπ κειμενου: Pa. and Pr. υποκειμενου

The expected ο is completely abraded and only a very faint shadow of the perished ink is left suggesting the existence of a letter.

λογου: There is a break that passes between the λ and ο damaging the letters, mostly the ο.

61.τουτωλεγομενονεχων: Although, some letters are abraded and their reading is difficult, I think that there is little space for doubt. But the syntax here is problematic. Therefore, we have rather different proposals from the previous scholars Wü. and Abt proposed τοῦ (μεν) τὸλεγόμενον. Pr. chooses the solution τούτων τὸ μὲν ἐν ἔχων and Eitr. Proposed τοῦτο τὸ λεγόμενον.

62.μωμ.νoс: Pa., Pr. μωμενoс

A break passes across the first dotted letter and damaged the surrounding ink. Only a vertical line before the break has survived and some minimal traces of ink after the break.

..τη: Pa., Pr. εν τη

The fragment is extremely abraded. All that remains from the first letter is a semicircular shape of ink; from the second there is ink in the shape of a small leftward leaning τ at the lower part of the letter. The third letter is possibly a τ, but its vertical line is abraded. The last letter must be an η, but I believe it is better dotted because it has also suffer abrasion.

κα[.]: Pa., Pr. και

There is a rip that pass across these letters. What has survived is only the left half part of the α, a lunate.

ετξ : At the end of the line after the ε, something is written which cannot be identified as a letter. It is a straight vertical line turning diagonally leftwards at its end. The point of the turn marks the start of a rightward horizontal straight line that also ends by turings vertically. It seems to have been written hastily. Pa., in an attempt to

explain, it chose the solution of εγειρον. It is hard to distinguish between the γ and τ because its horizontal line is ligatured with the previous ε, something that has somehow altered its usual form. It seems to be more diagonal than horizontal. But even if we consider we have a γ, the last letter, the expected ι, as I explain before does not match with a ι.

63. ηϷ: Pa., Pr. τηϷ

The split has affected the letter and only a trace of ink is easily visible before it.

τω.ρο.ιρ..εϷ: τωπροειρημενω

Although the previous editors did not note it, this is a very difficult reading because the letters are seriously abraded except for a fiber that has preserved almost all its ink. Thus, the impression to the eye is a continuous horizontal line. From the letters we can distinguish, we expect the word προειρημενω. However, before the first ρ, at the upper part of the letter there are remnants that form the shape υ, which hardly can be described as ligature of the previous letter with ρ. Moreover, where we expect to find the second vertical line of the π, there is a small circle like an ο.

64.....ει.....κ...: Pa., Pr. χρησει ως υποκειται

The beginning of the line has suffered a break and serious abrasion. Only three letters are visible. All the rest are minimal traces of ink across the line, impeding a reading of the text. Oddly, Pa. did not indicate this damage and seems to have read it without difficulty, which is not consistent with the current state of the fragment.

λ..ω: Pa., Pr. λαβων

There is a split that passes across the second dotted letter, which has also caused the abrasion of the ink of the previous letter. Actually, the letters have not survived and they could be put in square brackets instead of dotting them. However, I have preferred to dot them because a careful look at the papyrus can reveal infinitesimal traces of ink.

κλαδου`ον'c: Above the υ, in the interlinear space, there is written “ον”. The scribe decided to correct it and give the instruction that the practitioner only needs one branch.

ιβ: Pa., Pr. ιβ

What remains from the ι are three stains of ink, one at the top, one at the middle and one at the very bottom of the letter.

65. ον[.]ατ. : Pa. ονοματα Pr. ον[ο]ματα

There is a lacuna caused by a break, that has also disturbed the fibers and abraded the ink. I believe it is hard to distinguish the letters in isolation. Some traces of ink and the shadows of the lost ink remain from the first two letters that match with the letters ον. The dotted letter after the lacuna is almost lost in it as well, and only a blot of ink has survived. The α is also a blot of ink running in a diagonal direction. T is the least damaged letter. Only the right part of its horizontal line is missing.

κατ. φυλλ. : Pa. Κατα φυλλα Pr. κατα φυλλον

The α has a lacuna in its interior but the ink that forms the circle has survived. The τ has lost its vertical line. The next letter has suffered abrasion and only some traces of ink have survived at the left part of the upper part of the letter. From the circle that forms the φ, only half the down stroke together with a small part of the vertical line

remain at the bottom of the letter. After the two dotted letters, a lacuna starts that runs across three lines and has removed much of the ink of the previous letters. We have a blot of ink after the second λ, a gap of abraded ink and then a rather vertical line that seems to turn right as it goes up.

66. **⋮α⋮ρβ**: Pa. κ[α]ρβα Pr. [ν]αρβα

There is a lacuna at the right part of the α, and the vertical lines of the α and ρ are lost in it. The last letter is totally abraded.

κ ι τ ο τ ε ρ ο ν: Pa., Pr. και το ετερον

The first dotted letter is almost totally abraded with only a very faint shadow of ink remaining. What is left after the κ is only a shadow with minimal traces of ink. The τ has lost its horizontal line from abrasion and the letter after ο is disturbed and abraded.

⋮ϵ⋮ α ν λ α λ λ: Pa. Pr. ⋮ϵ⋮ ανταλαλα

There is a lacuna after the first λ, which has badly damaged the letter except for a small dot at the bottom of the letter, and also affected the fibers of the λ. The three last letters are abraded.

λ: There is a break caused by the folding of the papyrus that has affected the last letter. We expect an α, but it is not recognizable in isolation

67. **τ λ α λ α**: Pa., Pr. ταλαλα

There is a tear that has disturbed the letter. All that is visible is a diagonal line.

α λ α λ α []: Pa. αλαλα, Pr αλαλα

There is a lacuna that has damaged the letter. From the dotted letter, only half of the circular part of the letter has survived.

δ ε: Pa., Pr. δε

The abrasion has damaged the letter and only some ink at the upper part of the letter has survived.

κλ.δον: Pa., Pr. κλαδον

There is a lacuna, and most of the letter is missing, except for some traces of ink.

68. **επ[]γραφε:** Pa. ειγραφε Pr. επιγραφε

Only the first vertical stroke of the π remains. The next letter is missing.

καρδικον: The vertical line of the ρ is abraded.

69. **ι.ρογλ..c....ιν:** Pa. ιερογλωσσου εστιν Pr. ιερογλωσσου [ε]στιν

A rip has damaged the second letter. The other letters are abraded with only a few traces of ink remaining.

εγγεγραμμενον: The upper part of the γ is missing

73. **μο.ωc:** Pa., Pr. ομοιωc

The letter is lost in the lacuna of a rip but there is a trace of ink at the top of the letter.

cεαυτοντωθεω: Pa., Pr. cεαυτον τω θεω

After the α, all the letters have suffered abrasion. Some of them have retained enough ink to be distinguishable. Half the vertical and the horizontal line of the first τ have been abraded. At the second τ, its vertical line is totally abraded.

ουτωc: Pa., Pr. ουτωc

Only traces of the upper part of the letter have survived.

74. **οινον:** Pa., Pr. οινον

The letter is abraded. Only the shadow of the ink and some traces from the diagonal stroke remain.

αυτ.: Pa., Pr. αυτ[ω]

There is a lacuna and the letter is lost, only a few traces have survived.

αλυφον: Abt restored the verb as ἄλυμφον, Eitrem proposed ἀλείφου (άλυφου) and Hop. ἄλειψον which I believe it is the most likely to be correct.

ευχομ.νοc: Pa., Pr. ευχομενοc

There is a crack at the point of the letter that goes down, a very small lacuna and the fibers have been disturbed.

75. **ολ[.]**: Pa. ολ[ον] Pr. ολ[ο]ν

The second vertical line of the ν has survived.

76. **δ. κτυλον:** Pa. δ[ακ]τυλον., Pr. δ[α]κτυλον

There is a lacuna that has affected the two letters. Only a small portion of the left part has survived, while the κ has only lost its vertical line.

77. **τα.τα:** Pa. ταυτα Pr. τα[υ]τα

The letter is completely lost in the lacuna apart from a minimal trace of ink at the very bottom of the letter.

περφαηω.. : Pa., Pr. περφηναω...

The first two dotted letters are abraded. The others are almost all lost in the lacuna and only traces have survived at the top of the letters.

διαμανθωτ’: Pa. is silent about the existence of the last sign, and Pr. restored it as λ. I have preferred the apostroph because it is a leftwards semicircle and is written above the height of the other letters, in the interlinear space.

ωανου : Pa. ωανου.. Pr. ωανουθ

It is difficult to say whether the letter is an ω or an α . There is, of course, a circle but instead of a horizontal line or a rightwards diagonal we have a leftwards diagonal that seems to penetrate the circle.

79. **τατην**: Pa. ταυτην Pr. τα[υ]την

There is a lacuna, and the letter has been lost in it, only a trace of ink has survived at the bottom of the letter.

τ.: Pa., Pr. την

There is a tear and a small lacuna. We can distinguish a vertical line but nothing more.

κεφαλη: Pa., Pr. κεφαλην

There is a lacuna that goes down at the point of the letter. There is a vertical line and hint of ink indicating a stroke at the middle height of this line.

80. **ουης**: Pa., Pr. ουης

There is a small lacuna. We have only traces of ink around the lacuna.

διδυμοις: Abraded letter.

81. **πεταλοις**: Pa. read πεταλων, which is wrong. In the papyrus it is clear that we have πεταλοις. Pr. restored πεταλων, but in the apparatus indicated what is written in the papyrus.

82. **αυτο**: Pa., Pr. αυτο

The ink of the first two letters has faded and what remains can also be confused with the shadow of the fibers. What we can distinguish at the first letter is a blot of ink at its upper height. From the second letter, there is a stain of ink at the right upper part of the letter, an oblong hint of ink in the middle height of it and a trace of ink at the

lower part of the letter. The horizontal stroke of the τ is also indistinguishable. The final c is also hardly recognizable. Oddly, none of the previous editors indicated the difficulty of this reading.

κκηπ..υχc: Pa., Pr. σκηπτουχος

There is a crack after the π, which has also influenced the ink of the next letters. From the first letter after the π, there is a vertical stroke and a small horizontal stroke at the left upper part, giving the impression of an inverted γ. From the second letter, there only remains a blot of ink in the middle of the letter looking like a diagonal stroke. Apparently, the tear has disturbed the fibers. The penultimate letter is completely abraded and only a very faint shadow of the ink has remained on the papyrus which seems to be circular, implying an o. As above, the previous editors made no mention of these problems.

83.ι: Pa. [v]ι Pr. νι

There is a lacuna and the letter is lost in it. All that has survived is a trace of ink at the left part of the lacuna, at the middle height of the letter and a vertical stroke at the right part of the lacuna. Pa. indicates the damage, but Pr does not.

ομγγο: This is an uncertain reading. Pa. And Pr. reads cμγγων. However, I am quite sure there is a double letter there, γγ or ττ. Hein. Restored it as <μοι> ομιλων, but this restoration ignores the word υδωρ.

84. αοιδc: Pa., Pr. αοιδαc

The expected α is only a blot of ink.

85. κρατα.ο: Pa., Pr. κραταιο

At the end of this line the ink is messy. There is a stain on the ink or deletion by the scribe that makes reading difficult.

86. **τηθι**: Pa., Pr. *κτηθι*

Here, we expect a *κ*, but the letter is abraded and what has survived seems more like a *π*.

87. **κεη**: Pa., Pr. *κετη*

The expected *τ* is damaged and is indistinguishable. What remains is limited to a blot of ink in the middle height of the letter.

πολλο: Pa., Pr. *απολλον*

The first letter is abraded. Two subsequent traces of ink have survived at the middle height of the letter.

89. **κελευθα**: Pa., Pr. *κελευθα*

There is a lacuna here, caused by a crack that does down three lines. There is a lunate shape of ink at the left part of the letter that suggests the expected *ε*.

διπ...c: Pa., Pr. *διπετεc*

The three letters after *π* are seriously abraded and all that survives is only a few minimal traces of ink, mostly at the upper height part of the letters. The previous editors did not indicate this damage.

ουρανοφοιτα: Abraded letter

ακιχητα: Abt and Kirch proposed the restoration *ἀκάκητα*, but this a word attributed most to Hermes, and in our text an adjective would fit better than an adverb.

90. **πυρισθενεc**: The horizontal stroke of the letter is missing.

91. **ακαμνε**: Pa., Pr. *ακαμνε*

The down part of the letters is abraded.

92. **μεσημβριο**: Pa., Pr. *μεσημβριο*

There is a crack that passes across the letter and affected it. The left part of the letter is abraded and only the mark of the damaged ink remains.

93. **ροδοσφυρος**: Abraded letters.

95. **νυξ**: Abraded letters.

99. **μολπην**: The letter is not easily recognizable because the supposed first vertical line is a lunate stroke. Perhaps the scribe was confused.

101. **τονμεγν**: Pa., Pr. τον μεγαν

The letters τονμ are not clearly visible because there is a blot of ink, mostly at the letter μ. There is also a lacuna that has affected the dotted letter. Traces of ink at the top of the letter.

ενρανω: εν ουρανω

I believe the first dotted letter is a ν. A vertical stroke has survived, and next to it the half upper part of another vertical stroke. The next two letters have suffered abrasion. Only few traces of ink have survived from each one, insufficient to give a key to their identification.

102. **δκα**: Pa. δεκα Pr. δ[ε]κα

The letter is almost lost in a lacuna. Only some traces of ink have survived at the edge of the lacuna with the ligature of letter with the κ.

104. **επιτης**: Pa. [επι της γης] Pr. επι της γης

The written surface layer of the papyrus has been removed and only the very top of the letters has survived. The damage goes down three lines.

106. **μορφη**: Pa. and Pr. μορφη

There is a rip that passes across the letter destroying its left part.

107. **κα ημενος**: Pa. and Pr. καθημενος

There is a break that has damaged the letter and left only a curved line belonging to the left part of the letter. The syntax is wrong here. As Eitr. noted the correct is καθημενου.

115: On the papyrus is written εικμουσεωσ. Abt restored it as εικμουσεωσ, Eitr. <φωτ>ιμους Pa. εικμουσεωσ cv αρ' and Hein. ε<ρ>ιμους.

116. **δων[]ϊ**: Pa. ηωναι Pr. αδωναι

The abrasion has affected the letters. There are only two traces of ink from the first dotted letter, one at the top and one at the bottom of the letter. The δ is also faint but digital elaboration makes it more visible.

117. **λαιλαμψ**: Pa. λαιλαοψ Pr. λαιλαμψ

The letters are seriously abraded and their reading is difficult. Pa. read λαιλαοψ, and Pr., with whom I agree, read λαιλαμψ.

ωουχ: Pa. and Pr. χωουχ

It is really hard to recognize the χ at the abraded letter. There is an oblong stroke at the bottom of the letter which is difficult to relate to part of a normal χ, that is why I have chosen to dot the letter. The ω is more distinguishable in a digitally elaborated image.

119. **ναθμαμεωθ**: Pa. ναθμαμαωθ Pr. ναθμαμεωθ Abt. μαρμαμαωθ

The fibers at the down part of the letters have been damaged. The ductus at the top of the letter, which has survived, indicates an ω. Moreover, Pa. instead of ε before ω read α, but I think this was incorrect because there is a horizontal stroke at the middle of a curved stroke. An alternative could be a θ, but not an α.

120. δι[.]υων: Pa., Pr. δι[οδ]ευων

This is one more point where fibers from the papyrus have been lost. Of the last dotted letter there is only a minimal trace of ink to denote its existence.

121. δυ[.]α. ουμενος: Pa. δυναμουμενος Pr. δυ[ν]αμουμενος

The fibers have been lost and the surviving ink is insufficient to be sure

κ...υφω: Pa. and Pr. gave the reading και πολυφω. In isolation the reading is very problematic and doubtful. Pr. proposed the restoration πολυφω (τεκ)τιστα but the adj. πολυφωτιστής exists and also fits with the previous adj. προσ αυξητής.

122. ξεενγεν: The letters are abraded and their reading is problematic because only minimal and dispersed traces of ink have survived. However, I think that if we follow the ductus of the traces we can form the letters ce.

φαρα. γης: Pa., Pr. φαραγγης

The fibers have been lost and all that survives is the lower parts of the letters.

123. ια. φη: Pa., Pr. ιαφη

There are two small lacunae, one above the letters and one under them, and a rip, which have disturbed the fibers. The first dotted letter, we expect to be a c because the word is repeated, but instead of a lunate shape we have ink that matches with a circular shape.

νο..ι: Pa., Pr. νουι

There is a small lacuna over the first dotted letter that makes it unreadable and the ink of the second letter has been abraded.

124. αρ.. μωι: Pa. αρκαμωι Pr. αρ[ε]αμωι

There is a small lacuna over the first dotted letter that has also affected the ink of the next letter. However, there is ink in a lunate shape in the interlinear space as if it was written above of another letter.

127. **τϛ**: Here the scribe wrote two letters, one over the other. Apparently he made a mistake and instead of τ, wrote ϛ, which is the last letter in the previous line.

135. **εηη·υιε**: Pa., Pr. εηηευιε

In the interlinear space of this and the next line, there is a small lacuna damaging the ink of the letters in the two lines. The first dotted letter is a vertical stroke and at its middle we have the beginning of a horizontal stroke that has survived intact.

136. **φοιβω...αρεωθ**: Pa., Pr. φοιβω...αρεωθ

The ink of this line, at this point, is even more affected by the lacuna and the ink has almost entirely vanished.

ωε: Pa., Pr.οωε

There is a lacuna over the letter and it is unreadable. There is ink at the edge of the lacuna

138. **εουω**: Pa.εουω Pr. εουω

Although it is not clear if there is an ο, or an ω, the size and the space it occupies, matches with that of ω.

χαβραχφγς: Pa., Pr χαβραχφλιεϛ

There is insufficient ink remaining to distinguish if there is an α or an ο. Moreover, neither is it clear whether we have a λι or a ν. If there are two letters, they are not separated and they create the impression of a ν.

141. **πραξεω..** : Pa., Pr πραξεωϛ

The letters are very abraded. There are traces of ink but I think that in isolation these would not be legible.

πρωτ.: Pa., Pr. πρωτη

The letters are abraded and the fibers disturbed so the reading is hard.

143. **τοις**: Pa., Pr τοις

The letters are in a bad condition because of abrasion.

εβδομ.τ.: Pa., Pr εβδομη σταν

The letters are abraded. From the letter after the μ, we have only a vertical line, which is also abraded. The letters on both sides of the τ seem to have a circular shape but it is too risky to decide whether they are an α or an ο. The last letter seems to have two vertical strokes similar to a ν.

147. **ικε ευων**: Pa., Pr ικετευων

There is a small lacuna over the τ, making it unreadable, but the damage has also affected the previous letter which is very faint, but in my opinion, still distinguishable.

ευμεν[]ιαν: Pa., Pr. ευμενειαν

The first dotted letter is a little damaged by a rip that passes across the letter.

148. **αγνος**: The horizontal stroke of the letter is totally abraded.

παντ.: Pa., Pr. παντος

There is a small lacuna inside the word after the τ that has affected the ink and the next two letters are unrecognizable. Only dispersed traces of ink have remained on the papyrus.

151. **αφολια**: The fibers have been disturbed and the letter is not clear. There is a circular shape that in isolation could be also be read as ο.

[.].[.]**τωνος**: Pa., Pr. [του κοιτ]ωνος

The fibers have been lost, but in the middle of the lacuna minimal remnants of fibers with ink on them. The best-preserved fragment seems to belong to a letter with a horizontal stroke.

152. **ε**: This is a problematic reading because the fibers of one part have been lost and at another part the fibers are disturbed and the ink is confused. Consequently, it is hard to understand the writing. Pa. has left this part of the papyrus as blank and Pr. does not mention the problem while restoring it as ἐπ[ί]γραφετὰ γρα[φόμε]να ταυτα which is erroneous and does not match with the papyrus.

4.4 Textual Commentary

Preliminary comments

The scholars who had studied the papyrus had formed the idea that this practice is about a dream revelation. The details given in the instructions on the purification of the bed, on how it has to be set, on how the magician has to sleep have led them to consider the spell a petition of a revelatory dream. However, before the matching of the two papyri, elements such as the throne and the dismissal, - someone has to be awoken to perform it-, have made me believe that this complicated and demanding spell is about a face-to face divine encounter.²³⁹

The formation of this idea was influenced by Gordons' ideas about the hierarchy of the magical visions. He sustains that "there is an hierarchy of authority within the visions they summon. This hierarchy is arranged in terms of the claimed directness of the encounter". The lowest grade is the dream revelation, then are the lecanomancy or the lyncmancy and the form of divination of highest prestige is the real encounter with a god or a daemon, the direct vision.

However, after the match of the papyri, as the last words of *PGM* VI is *χρησιμωδεῖν π<ει>/* *cticà* *διὰ* *νυκτὸ[ς ἀληθῆ* *διηγουμένω* *<δια>* *μαντικῆς ὄνειράτων* little skepticism about the kind of spell

²³⁹ The first who express the opinion that this spell is about a direct vision was Calvo (1987), 33-37.

we have, is permitted. But again Gordon's give the solution: he has already pointed out the frequent problem of their classification. "There are many "intermediate" recipes which seem to fuse them in different ways. For example, about a third of all requests for dreams are in fact requests for visions of speaking gods or daemons, and thus difficult to distinguish from direct visions. Conversely, some direct visions are actually dream-requests. Some spells called direct visions are not readily distinguishable from ordinary lecanomancies; and some seem to imply a direct vision without being so labelled".²⁴⁰ In this frame of mind, I believe that this papyrus, although it asks for a dream revelation, contains some elements representative of the request for direct visions.

Still this explanation does not throw light on the interpretative problems that impede us from the interpretation and the full understanding of the practice. For example, if the divinity appears in the dream of the magician, how the dismissal would be performed?

The other particularity of the papyrus lays on its structure and its cohesion. The structure of the papyrus, as aforementioned, is very difficult to understand. The description of the practice in the papyrus contains two different procedures, which although quite similar to each other, have intermingled, messy and confused elements. In reality, the papyrus is full of anaphoric and cataphoric references that confuse the reader and at some point impede us from

²⁴⁰ Gordon (1997), 84.

fully comprehending the procedures. The reasons for this peculiar structure are probably bound up with the scribe's aim of providing an alternative in case of failure and the intervention of some secondary formulas, such as a formula for good memory to aid in remembering the "voces magicae" or the hymns. Regarding the thematic cohesion of papyrus, it is the only papyrus characterized as a magical handbook that has cohesion. It contains no other incoherent magical practice but only practices that can be characterized as variants or alternatives of the same practice as solutions if the central practice of the papyrus is not effective, and the scribe states so clearly. Even with the addition of *PGM VI*, the papyrus maintains its cohesion. The huge blank space covering almost one and a half column, at the end of the papyrus is one more argument that this papyrus was not a magical handbook of a variety of spells. If this was so, the space would have been used to write more recipes.

As the structure of this roll is complicated I preferred to present it in a scheme.

PGM VI + II: Structure

1. At dawn: **1^a κλήσις** (εὐχή, VI 6-29)
2. At sunset: **2^a κλήσις** (ἐξαίτησις: A. Helio B. Selene VI 30-47)
3. **3^a κλήσις** (II 1-10; then, 11-25)
 - Indications on the *pittakion*, mention of the laurel leaves and *voces magicae* to tell to the lamp.
 - Mnemonic rite.

- Cleaning of the bed; indications on *poiesis* and *klesis*.
 - Instructions for an *epithyma*.
4. Instructions on how to pray while wearing a laurel crown and holding a laurel branches. Instructions also on how to lie down (26-43).
 - How to hold 7 branches with one hand and 5 with the other and in which position.
 - It is necessary to recite the formula *bolsoch* etc.
 - Names to be written on each branch (12).
 - Instructions for the ink.
 - Mixture for the ear.
 - Mnemonic recipe (40-42: a leaf with a sign inscribed –apparently the *ankh* or similar).
 - The best moment for the aforementioned *klesis* (to begin in the seventh [hour] of the moon, until the god appears, 42-43).
 5. A list of ἐπάναγκοι and their alternatives (for instance, a ῥάκος of the corpse of a *biothanatos* or a new design on papyrus, depending of the circumstances; 43-50).
 6. Alternative procedure using a medium.(55-57)
 7. An alternative for the *poiesis*, and also for the attitude and situation for the *systasis*.
 8. What must be said looking to the lamp (praying to Apollo): cf. 3. Moon in Gemini
 9. 4^a κλήσις + χαιρετισμός (81-141).
 10. More actions to be done (with the corresponding substances), according to the days of the week, functioning as ἐπάναγκοι, if the god does not come (141-150).
 11. *Praxis* for the preparation of the bedchamber, and inscriptions to be written on the doorposts (150-161).
 12. The throne for the god, with a foot-stool (161-162) + what must be written on the throne (162-167).

13. Design of the akephalos, with *voces magicae* and vowels.
How to put the design on the *rakos* of the dead (166-175):
cf. 5.
14. ἀπόλυσις (176-183).

The beginning of the papyrus is a *logos* addressed to a female entity to whom the speaker interpolates it as παρθένος (v.8), and which we can safely identify with Daphne, thanks to the first verse. The *logos* is divided into two parts 1-8 and 9-15. The first of these contains the invocation to Apollo and Daphne, and the second contains the petition asking explicitly for god to send an oracle. Because of the missing parts of the text, it is difficult to submit the hymn to metric analysis.²⁴¹

It is interesting to see that the dimension of Daphne in this hymn is double, on the one hand it has a vegetal nature (ἱερὸν φυτὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, v.1) and on the other we have Daphne in personified (and divinized?) form as a παρθένος. The hymn has an oracular purpose, explicitly stated.

Δάφνη μαντοσύνης ἱερὸν φυτὸν Ἀπόλλωνος: There is close connection between Apollonian prophesy and laurel, with the famous aetiological myth standing behind this connection. In Delphi, Pythia holds a laurel branch and wears a laurel wreath.²⁴² However, here, the verse refers to the god tasting the petals of the

²⁴¹ In the papyrus, each verse occupies a line, but the hymn is severely damaged since the material loss of approximately half the column to 1/24 means that we have lost the beginning of all the verses of this hymn. Comments about the meter in the surviving part of the text can be found in Blanco (2016).

²⁴² On Delphi oracle see Suárez (2005); Amandry (1950); Delcourt (1955); Bouché-Leclercq (2003²)

laurel and then singing. As Bortolani correctly mentions, it seems to imply that his divination is a result of chewing the plant, but in the traditional version of the myth, Apollo was already the god of divination and prophesy. According to some sources, the Pythia followed the same ritual before giving her prophesies, but, as Aune states, “the chewing of laurel leaves by the Pythia is a ritual unmentioned until the second century A.D.”²⁴³ About the real qualities of this plant, it is known that prophets and poets of the classical period did indeed consume laurel leaves to induce inspiration, but the practice is alleged to occur at Delphi only by two late critics of the oracle.²⁴⁴ A classical scholar named Traugott Oesterreicher tried to prove if laurel had indeed inspirational qualities by chewing its petals himself. In the words Dodds, Oesterreicher “was disappointed to find himself no more inspired than usual.” Modern medicine with chemical analysis also confirms that laurel is not a psychotropic plant and it does not contain any hallucinogenic substance.

πτερυγοειδῶς: The voces magicae in the magical texts were arranged into many shapes. The most common shapes were squares, isosceles triangles, wing-forms and diamonds.²⁴⁵ It is interesting to note Hopfner’s comment²⁴⁶ that the word πτερυγοειδῶς contains a visual connotation which is incompatible

²⁴³ Aune (1983), 30.

²⁴⁴ Easterling- Muir (1985), 139.

²⁴⁵ See Flint (1999), 49-50.

²⁴⁶ Hopfner (1990), 94-98.

with the verb λέγε and the oral recitation. Graf explains²⁴⁷ cases such as this one, dividing the magical actions into *legomena* (things to be said), *graphomena* (things to be written) and *prattomena* (and things to be done). Sometimes, the first two happen simultaneously. The magician has to write down *voces magicae* while he is reciting them.

εἴ ποτε δὴ φιλόνηκον ἔχων κλάδων: This typically Homeric εἴ ποτε δὴ formula recites the God's past actions with the purpose of reminding God of his prowess so as to induce him to repeat them by citing past examples.²⁴⁸ This formula is frequent in Greek prayers and hymns of both the rhapsodic and the cultic types and it is known as *hypomnesis*. There is another *hypomnesis* in *PGM VI* 36-38 with verses taken from the *Iliad*. For these verses, no parallel exists²⁴⁹ and they refer to the laurel wreath given to the winners of the Pythian Games at the sanctuary of Apollo in Delphi.²⁵⁰

ἀκέφαλος: Akephalos" the headless God is a deity frequently invoked in the magical papyri.²⁵¹ For his identification various proposals were surveyed by Abel²⁵² and Preisendanz.²⁵³ In the corpus the spells in VII, VIII invoke Bes- an ugly daemon worshipped as beneficent or prophetic- as the headless god. Osiris is likewise called the headless one in V. 98. According to M. Smith

²⁴⁷ Graf (2015), 236.

²⁴⁸ Race (1990), ch. 4.

²⁴⁹ Bortolani (2016) 1720-173.

²⁵⁰ Miller (2006), 96.

²⁵¹ *PGM V* 125; V 98; II 11; VII 233.

²⁵² Preisendanz (1926), 48-50

²⁵³ Abel (1970), 13. See also Delatte (1914), 221-232.

there are certainly connections between Osiris and Bes in the Roman Period and earlier but there is no evidence of syncretism between the two gods.²⁵⁴ Seth is also most often found in the form of Akephalos.

λέγεται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν λύχνον: By the 2nd AD. the lamp was essential element in the dream divination. An inscription found in Athens associated with Isis worshippers mentions a woman being called at the same time *λυχνάπτρια* and *ὄνειροκρίτης*.²⁵⁵ Many spells described in the magical papyri are to be performed at night. In these spells usually appears the use of a lamp.²⁵⁶ They do not serve not only as a source of light but are prominent and integrated part of the ritual. In some of them, the divination is achieved through the lamps. This rite is called *λυγνομαντεῖον*.²⁵⁷

In lychnomancy flashes are observed in the flickering of a lamp. We can not exclude also the possibility of the interpretation of images created and seen in the shadowing. The lamp has not to be red coloured. In the Egyptian context this requirement is likely due to negative associations between the red colour and evil, particularly with respect to the god Seth.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁴ Mark Smith (2017), 478.

²⁵⁵ Zografou (2010) 210.

²⁵⁶ Zografou (forthcoming)

²⁵⁷ On this rite see Totti 1988;1999, 132-139; Ogden (2001), 133-195; Gordon (1997), 82-91; Graf (1999); Parisinou (2000), 77-78

²⁵⁸ See Ritner (1993), 147; Pinch (1994), 81.

σ[τ]ροβίλους δεξιούς δ[ώ]δεκα.²⁵⁹ The Greek word used for pinecone is *stobilos*, which, as easy to understand, owns its name to its spiraling structure. Previously the term κῶνος as also in use but the term *stobilos* finally prevailed. In the corpus we come across with στροβίλοι and στροβίλια.²⁶⁰ The latter are pine nuts.

There are many testimonies, especially in documentary papyri and private letters where the meaning of the word is clearly pinecone and the translation of *stobilos* as pinecone was generally accepted until Perpillou published his work on Egyptian festivals. He proposed that *stobilos* could assume not only the meaning of a natural pinecone but also of a scented wax cone. This assumption was based on the differentiation found in the documentary papyri concerning the prices of *stobiloi*.²⁶¹ Drew tried to explain this mismatch of prices.²⁶² Although this assumption cannot be rejected,²⁶³ the testimonies in the corpus do not support it. Usually, in magical papyri the magician often gives instructions on how to make elaborate substances required by the magical recipe-such as *kyphi*-and in the case of the *stobiloi* there is no specification or clarification. If the same word was used alternatively for two different things, in magic where the quantities and specific substances are of the utmost importance, the scribe had to somehow

²⁵⁹ Chronopoulou (forthcoming).

²⁶⁰ *PGM* VII 174-175; *PGM* I 244-47. Betz does not distinguish the two terms. *PGM* VII 174-175 as we are going to see says 50 units. Fifty units of pinecones are a huge amount for a potion. We should consider that στροβίλια are the pine nuts.

²⁶¹ Perpillou(1993) 185-188.

²⁶² Drew (1995), p.6; (1998) 393-398.

²⁶³ See also Zografou (2013), p. 35. Zografou does not reject Perpillou's proposal.

indicate if the practice needs natural pinecones or a scented wax cone.

In the corpus of the magical papyri, there are several instances of use of pine's products for a. Medical use (*PGM* VII 174-175) SM 83 b Offering to divinities associated with sexuality and fertility *PGM* XII. 22-24 c. As offering or sacrificial ingredient to other deities. There are six instances where pinecones-only pinecones- are used as offering with decorative purpose or as part of the sacrifice. II 24-26, II 74-75 *PGM* III 694-695 XIII 7- 10 XIII 364-366 XIII 1014-1015

Therefore, we can connect the presence of pinecones with the necessity of an odiferous- especially in the sacrifice where the substance is going to be burnt -or decorative result. This was not out of the costume not for the Greek nor for the Egyptians. We know that pine cones were sometimes used for ritual fires in the temples of Isis and a pine cone often appears on the monuments as an offering presented to Osiris.²⁶⁴ Some papyri confirm also the use of pinecone as firewood in Egypt temples and other ritual context.²⁶⁵ There is also the papyrus BGU 3.801 where Tasoucharion send to his brother ten pine cones to use them in the sacrifice in honor of a deceased woman. According Bagnall and Cribiore, P. Bour 23 is a letter that seems to be concerned with things that Thermouthis needed for a

²⁶⁴ Spence (2012).

²⁶⁵ E.g. BGU 2 362, *P.Oxy.* 36 2797, *SPP* 22 56, BGU 3.801, *P.Oxy.* 8.1144, *P.Lund.* 4 13, *P.Oxy.* 9 1211; Pinecone appears also in many documentary papyri from different contexts. See Lidonici (2001), 81-83.

burial.²⁶⁶ Between the things needed are also pinecones.

In the second fragment there is an offering and contains 12 twelve “right-whorled” pinecones. The magician has to pour wine and make a sacrifice. The phrase “until sacrifice is extinguished” indicates fire.

We are lucky to have some inscriptions from the temple of Apollo in Delos that list in detail the temple expenses among which are multiple instances of pine.²⁶⁷ Although there is no mythological connection between pine and Apollo, these inscriptions permit us assume that the use of pine in the cult of Apollo, at least to Delos, is unquestionable. The most probable use had been that of firewood. As can be noticed, pine trees used together with vineyards. Both of them catch fire. Besides, pine when it is burning fumigates a very pleasant odor, which as we have seen is considered to be purifying. Pine used also for ritual fires in the temple of Isis and as offerings to Osiris.²⁶⁸

Although the use of pinecones as firewood is very plausible, we are obliged to note a particularity. Pinecones are inflammable and odoriferous but an entire pinecone on fire is dangerous, as it could provoke some kind of a small “explosion”. Therefore, we can assume that they processed before being set them alight. The options were to break them, smash them or to disintegrate them. Pinecones are made of small microsporophylls, which are scale-like modified hard leaves, spiraling out from a central axis. Disintegrating them,

²⁶⁶ Bagnol-Cribiore (2006), 180

²⁶⁷ The *ID* 465 contains twice “πέυκη, κληματίς”; In *ID* 461bis we read three times “ξύλα καὶ πέυκη, στεφανώματα”; In *ID* 396, which is also a list of expenses for the temple πέυκη, κληματίδες is repeated many times.

²⁶⁸ Chapa (1998), p. 71.

someone could also take the pine nuts. A troubling adjective that sometimes accompanied the word is that of δεξιός. It is hard to say with certainty what the scribes meant with this. Betz has translated it as “full of seeds”. There are the suggestions also of the “whorled to the right”, “perfect” and the mode of the gathering.²⁶⁹ Looking carefully at the corpus and the fragments we also notice that where pinecone is used with this adjective, the pinecones were part of the sacrificial offering. We can find closely words such as ἐπίθυε and βωμοῦ.

ἀλέκτορας ἀ[σ]πίλους: Roosters were commonly employed in ancient magic. Animals used as *sfageion* in the greek civic rites-pig, sheep and cow are absent, and in their place we find birds. Bird sacrifices were more common in Near East cultic practices. However, there are inscriptions referring to sacrifices of birds, which were practised on second century BC in Kos and Mytilene.²⁷⁰

And it is true that in the corpus of the magical papyri birds appears as sacrificial offerings in erotic spells.

Graf argued²⁷¹ that the use of unusual ingredients in burnt offerings place “the magician [...] in opposition to ordinary, ‘religious’ ritual and isolate him from his fellow man.” It is a deliberate inversion that distinguish magic with its antisocial character and religion. However, as Johnson stresses²⁷² in her discussion of the act of

²⁶⁹ Lidonici (2001), 82.

²⁷⁰ Hitch-Ruthford (2017). See also the recently published inscriptions of Marmarini Decourt-Tziaphalias (2015), 20, l.B70-74.

²⁷¹ Graf (1991) 188-213.

²⁷² Johnston (2002) 344-349

sacrifice in the magical papyri, these offerings should be understood against the background of broader cultic practices, and we must be cautious about assuming that they are deliberate inversions of standard rituals rather than extensions of the same underlying logic. As she also mentioned birds were more easily handled animals for domestic rituals.

στέφα[ν]ον: Wreaths, as essential part of ancient festivities, ceremonies and sacrifices, were used in the magical rituals.²⁷³

Ἐρεσχιγάλ: Ereschigal was the Babylonian goddess of the underworld, often used as a magical name. Sometimes she is identified with Hekate, Selene, Artemis and Persephone.²⁷⁴

ἔστιν δὲ τὸ μέλαν τόδε: According to Smith²⁷⁵ the technology of the ink mimics the technology of the vegetable sacrifice, with burning and aromatic gums.

Πρὸς δὲ τὸ μνημονεύειν τὰ λεγόμε[να]: The ingredients here features as symbolic:²⁷⁶ magnetic stone, probably to attract the inspiration of God; finally, the heart, that is to say, the vital organ of

²⁷³ On wreaths and their use in official religion and on magic see Syrkou (forthcoming) in *Papirologica Lupiensia*.

²⁷⁴ On the association of Hecate (and Persephone) with Ereschigal in the magical papyri see *SM* I, p. 148, *SM*, n^{os} 42, 46, 47, 48, 49, 54 = *DT* 38 ainsi que *PGM* II 33 ; IV, 337, 1417 ; 2480 ; 2747 ; 2909 ; V, 339 ; 425 ; VII, 317 ; 897 ; 984 ; XIII, 927 ; XIV, 23 ; XIXa, 7 ; LXX, 5 ; 7 ; 10. Her name also sometimes appears with Jewish elements, such as the names Iao, Sabaoth etc. Cf. Fauth (2006), 40-48. For Ereschigal identified with Hecate on "uterine gems", see Michel 2004, 192, 218.

²⁷⁵ Trading places.

²⁷⁶ Garcia Molinos (2017), 343.

a hoopoe, a sacred bird in Egypt. Honey, on the other hand, is produced by bees, which were attributed mantas power by their ability to predict weather. In addition, its yellow color underscores the solar nature of Apollo. A few lines below, in II, 40-42, the officiant only has to enter into the mouth, while sleeping, a leaf of the plant five hundredths with the symbol of Egyptian protection called šenu. Here it can be assumed with certainty that the μνημονικη will serve to remember what the god says, since while the officiant has the leaf in his mouth, he sleeps and therefore says nothing.

ἔστιν δὲ : Jacoby, in the apparatus criticus, proposed doubtfully, that this is a hieroglyphic sign with the meaning “to bind”. According to J. Bergman,²⁷⁷ “the sign is called shenou, an Egyptian symbol of protection”. Merkelbach and Toti²⁷⁸ just mention “shenu ist ein Schutzzeichen”. This sign in the form of a loop, which serves here to preserve the memory, coincides with the Egyptian ideogram that means “to enclose in a circle”, šeni (šnj), capable of functioning also as a biliterous phonogram (šn).

ὕδωρ καινοῦ φρέατος: Wells and springs of underground water have been associated with supernatural powers, used by diviners, healers, witches. In the three oracles of Apollo, Delphi, Claros and Didyma there were sacred springs. Kallisthenes consider the springs central to Apolline prophecy at the site. The only difference

²⁷⁷ In Betz (1992), 14 n. 13.

²⁷⁸ Merkelbach and Toti (1990), 59.

between Kastalia was that in Klaros and Didyma the spring was in the *adyton*. Perhaps their use was for washing or drinking, but there is also a possibility that the mere presence of the spring served as a marker of prophetic activity without having a mantic function.²⁷⁹

Clement connected prophecy with whatever source of water existed at an oracular site.²⁸⁰ Another sacred well or spring with power of divination was located at the Kassiotis spring at the temple of Apollo at the Cyaneae in Lydia. According Pausanias whoever looked into the water of the spring, there “sees all the things he wishes to see”²⁸¹

At the sanctuary of Demeter at Patrae, after prayers were said and incense burned as offering to the goodess Demeter a mirror was tied to a cord and lowered to the water surface. The diviner would then be able to see the face of the specific individual in the mirror and determine if they would live or die.²⁸² Wells are also connected with applied magic, particularly with the curse texts, the so-called *defixionum tabellae*. As there was a belief that the curse would last as long as the *defixion* was secret and hidden, wells were an excellent place to throw them. Moreover, the depth of the wells fits with the idea of the realm of the chthonic goods usually invoked in malevolent magic.

²⁷⁹ Dillon (2017), 323.

²⁸⁰ Dillon (2017), 324.

²⁸¹ Lucan parodies the phenomen.

²⁸² Farnell (2010), 12.

However, in this recipe the water from the well is not stipulated as contributing to the dream divination but to the preparation of the ink. In the corpus we can find mention of many kinds of water: sea water, river water, rain water, spring water and well water. The instructions for the preparation of an ink that requires water are there. In *PGM I* the preparation of the ink requires spring water. In *PGM I*, spring water is also necessary for the fulfillment of the memory spell. What is written should be washed off with spring water from seven springs; then the magician should drink the potion.

οι ἐπάναγκοι: The ἐπάναγκοι within magical recipes contain rites and formulas that should be performed in case the basic practice has failed.²⁸³ These ἐπάναγκοις oblige the divinities to come forward and satisfy the desires of the practitioner.

That magicians pretended to be able to bind the gods with their spells is already attested in a well-known passage of the Republic (364b-c),²⁸⁴ in which Plato refers to sorcerers and charlatans who offer their services to the rich to atone for any sin committed by them, or by their ancestors, and to harm their enemies, for a modest price, because, they say, they persuade the gods to serve them.

²⁸³ On coercive rituals in *PGM* see Garcia Molinos (2017) 261-267

²⁸⁴ Plato refers to sorcerers and charlatans who offer their services to the rich to atone for any sin committed by them or by their ancestors and to harm their enemies, for a modest price, because, they say, they persuade the gods to serve them.

Coercion, directed at both gods and daimones, spirits and other supernatural beings, remains, therefore, as a characteristic of magic and is concretized there in the ἐπάναγκοι with greater clarity than anywhere else. They are not limited, of course, to divination recipes. They are found in attraction charms, such as *PGM* IV, 1390-1495, 2441-2621, 2891-2942, VII 981-993.

A particular case is that of papyrus II, which includes two ἐπάναγκοι with many particulars not found in the other papyri. The rituals included in Papyrus II reveal this pattern to be much more varied and imaginative. They are two passages. In the first of them (43-64) a form of coercion is described consisting, in the beginning, of the incineration of different products. If the deity does not appear on the third day, they should burn the brains of a black lamb; if by the fourth day it still does not appear, the brains of an ibis. On the fifth, a figure without a head, like the one attached at the end of the document, must be drawn on a piece of papyrus, wrapped in a shred of the clothes of someone killed violently and thrown into the hypocaust of a spa. Two variants are included, something unique in the ἐπάναγκοι: there are those who consider that throwing the above drawing into a hypocaust to be excessive and prefer to burn it in the flame of a candle, or to place it under it. On the other hand, according to other versions, it is necessary to throw the drawing into the hypocaust, but at the same time reciting a formula in which the god is warned that, if he does not immediately send the demon of the dead that the practitioner requests, the tortures will become even harsher. Curiously, the last step, which has to be the "worst

torment" referred to above, seems to be the least aggressive: oil must be spilled on a boy of proven sexual purity and place a lamp that is not painted red on an unbaked ground support; "Some pour the oil over the censer," he warns. It seems that this last coercion can irritate the deity, since the practitioner can feel something like a blow. He will then chew cumin and drink pure wine, probably to protect himself. The passage finishes with the prescription that the drawing must be done in duplicate: one copy to burn, the other to have in the right hand while reciting the formula, and to be put under the head while sleeping.

ὑποκαύστραν βαλανείου: This indicates that the practitioner has access to baths. The baths are attested in both archaeological and textual evidence. Although baths suggest an urban social environment, they have been found also in excavation in rural environments in Roman Egypt.²⁸⁵

ἄψον λύχνον ἀπὸ ἐλαίου καθαροῦ: In the papyri the olive oil appears, that serves for diverse functions; The olive branches, which normally have to be held by the practitioner while performing the practice; And the leaves of the branches, which are used to write magical signs above. The case of the olive is very particular and interesting because as Mahaffy and Grenfell emphasize,²⁸⁶ in the legislation of Ptolemy Filadelfo (285-246 a.C.) concerning oils, there is no reference to olive oil. Bevan says there

²⁸⁵ Redon (2012) gives a list of 138 baths. Her sources are both textual and archaeological. See also Boraik (2009); Boraik *et al.* (2013).

²⁸⁶ Mahaffy and Grenfell (1896), xxxv and 125.

were olive trees in Fayum but this oil does not seem to be under state monopoly. As Harris and Lucas think,²⁸⁷ that may mean that the amount of olive oil produced in Egypt was insignificant and therefore most were imported from Syria, southern Palestine and Greece.

A papyrus from the first half of the third century AD. contains a letter from Demetria of Antinoopolis to his sister Apia and provides valuable information on olive oil. In this letter, Demetria, who lives in Antinoopolis, (city with a great connection to Greece) tells Apia that she send her "the oil she deserves" and to keep in mind that it is very expensive, and that she spent 18 drachmas just for one chous. From the contents of the letter it follows that in Egypt getting good quality olive oil was not easy and that, for example, where Apia lived, she could not find it. Instead, Demetria, who lived in a city with commercial ties to Greece, could find it but at a price too expensive. Considering this testimony, and even knowing that the oil to which Demetria refers is of the best quality and therefore the most expensive, it can be deduced that, in general, the cost of oil was high.

παιδὶ ἀφθόρῳ γυμναζομένῳ: The use of young boys for divination is attested in both the Greek and the Demotic magical papyri.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁷ Harris and Lucas (2012), 334.

²⁸⁸ *PGM* III 633–731 (fragmentary, but with mention of a child and other accoutrements associated with the process in other spells), *PGM* I V 8 5 0–929 (which claims that it also works on adults), *PGM* V 1–53, *PGM* VII.540–78, *PDM* xiv.1–92, *PDM* xiv.150–231, *PDM* xiv.239–95, *PDM* xiv.395–427 (which can also be used by the practitioner himself), *PDM* v.459–75, *PDM* xiv.475–88,

They were the medium for communication with gods and spirits. The texts usually stress on his purity. There were two ways of divination through a medium. The first one was the summoning of a spirit on the assumption that only the medium can see and hear. The boy²⁸⁹ hears and repeats the oracle, he does not produce it.²⁹⁰ In the alternative of the spell using a medium are not included a complete and detailed description of the process. S. Jonhston has constructed this divination procedure as follows: 1) the practitioner carefully selects a child with certain specifications. In *PGM* II the requirements is to be *παιδὶ ἀφθόρῳ γυμναζομένῳ*; 2) the practitioner blindfolds the child and then calls a god or spirit into him, using various incantations and applying various materials; (3) removing the blind-fold, the practitioner tells the child to gaze at either a lamp's flame or at a bowl of specially prepared liquid (oil, water, or a combination of the two are the most common choices. Our practice involves a lamp, not painted red placed on a small mound or altar of earth (4) the god or spirit appears in the liquid or flame and speaks to the child, who then relays information back to the petitioner.

PDM xiv.489 – 515, PDM xiv.516–27, PDM xiv.528–53 (which can also be used by practitioner himself), PDM xiv.627–35, PDM xiv.750 –71, PDM xiv.805–40, *PGM* LXII.24–46. Cf. also a few spells in which the child is made to gaze at the sun and then sees the gods: *PGM* V. 88–93, PDM xiv.856–75, PDM xiv.875–85 (which can also be used by the practitioner himself and, in fact, claims to work better that way). There are also spells that use a child to obtain visions without mentioning specific techniques: *PGM* VII.348–58, XIII.734–1077; PDM xiv.695–700, cf. xiv.701–05.

²⁸⁹ Looking even more broadly at evidence for child mediumship throughout the world, we find that the two genders are used about equally

²⁹⁰ *PGM* V 1–54, VII 540–578, XIII 734–759; PDM XIV 1–295. *PGM* IV seems to correspond with oracular possession because in Coptic is written “enter into the body today”

Χάρτην ἱερατικόν: As J. Smith emphasizes the chief ritual activity in the corpus appears to be the act of writing itself.²⁹¹ The most common writing material is a sheet of papyrus, often described as "clean," "pure," "choice," or "hieratic."

ἐν Κολοφῶνι: Colophon was an ancient city in Ionia and one of the oldest of the twelve cities of the Ionian League. In ancient times it was located between Lebedos (120 stadia to the west) and Ephesus (70 stadia to its south). According to Apollodorus and Proclus, the mythical seer Calchas, a son of Apollo and Manto died close to Colophon after the end of the Trojan War. Strabo names Clarus as the place of his death, which would later be a cult center in the territory of Colophon.²⁹²

81-140 In this long invocatory passage are accumulated many epithets aiming to denote the qualities of the god invoked Apollo-Helios. We can distinguish three categories.

Many of them are connected with the light, the fire and the gold of the shining such as πυρὸς ταμία, παμφαές, χρυσομίτρη, πυρισθενές, χρυσήνιε, χρυσοκέλευθα, αἰγλήεις, φαλεροῦχε, λαμπυρίζων τὴν ὄλην οἰκουμένην The presence of these epithets are justified by the time of the invocation. The marginal note specifies

²⁹¹ J. Smith (1995), 26.

²⁹² Colophon was 12km from the oracle. For the connection between the city and the oracle see Genière (1992), 204 and Parke (1985), 112.

that the *logos* should be pronounced during the time of the sunrise, when the gold rays of the sun start to shed light in the earth.

Another group of epithets such as *τηλεσκόπε κοίρανε κόσμου, αιολοθώρηξ, πωτήεις, ύψικέλευθα, ούρανοφοϊτα, άεροειδῆ, τὸν μέγαν ἐν ούρανῳ, πάντας δ' εἰσορόων <τε> καὶ ἀμφιθέων καὶ ἀκούων, ἀκίχητε*, stress on the celestial and aerial nature of the god who oversees his realm from above.

The third category of epithets describes the might of the god and his eternity. *Βαρύμηνι, κραταιόφρων, ἄφθιτε, πανακήρατε, παλαιγενές, ἀστυφέλικτη, ἄκαμνε, φερέσβιε, αὐτεξούσιον, ἀνάκτωρ, ηφθισικηρε*.

Among these epithets there is the beautiful description of the sunrise and the sunset. The journey of the sun across the celestial sphere is personification. The light gives birth to the sunrise, the dawn is ankle-rosed and then goes home in grief when the horses of the sun go down and the night fly down. The personification of the physical phenomenon helps its visualization through this vivid narration. Although Merkelbach has sustained that this description perhaps depicts the three manifestations of the solar god (sunrise, midday and sunset) I do not believe so. Here, dawn, sunset and night are personified as minor deities who obey to one god, the summoned god. These deities act in a certain way obliged by one supreme god. Moreover, descriptions of the sun's journey with

similar images we can find also in the Greek literature echoing also Greek influence.²⁹³

Μοῖραι τρισαῖ Κλωθὴ τ' Ἄτροπός τε Λάχης τε were the three goddesses of fate who personified the inescapable destiny of man. The Moirai are depicted as three old women, one with a distaff, one with a spindle, and one with shears. They were Klotho (Clotho), the “the Spinner,” who spun the thread of life, Lachesis (Lachesis), “the Apportioner of Lots”, who measured it, and Atropos (or Aisa), “She who cannot be turned,” who cut it short. They derive their power from Zeus and that is why the father of the gods and the humans was also called Moiragetes. Apollo seems to have been the only individual god, besides Zeus who was given the epithet Moiragetes. According to Pausanias²⁹⁴ at Delphi, beside Poseidon’s altar and the hearth where Pyrrhos was killed, were standing the statues of two Moirai, and with them instead of the third Moira, the statue of Zeus Moiragetes and Apollo Moiragetes. A plausible explanation offered by D. Roberts²⁹⁵ is that the epithet also according to Pausanias²⁹⁶ is associated with the knowledge of the future and not the power over the future. It was the title of Zeus “who knows all the affairs of the mortals, whatever the Moirai give them and whatever is not fated for them.” Apollo is the god of divination and beholds the power of the seeing the future. So, the destiny of the people, which is spun by the Moirai is also known to him. From this point of view, their

²⁹³ Bortolani (2016) 185-186

²⁹⁴ Paus. 10.24.4

²⁹⁵ Roberts (1984).

²⁹⁶ Paus. 5.15.5

presence is justifiable. However, the structure of the text has a peculiarity. The Moirai seems to be invoked together with Apollo but then the magician invoked only the god.

ἐπὶ λωτῷ καθήμενος: Lotus is an aquatic plant which grew in the marshes of the Delta, rising about 30 centimetres above the water's surface. The lotus was the symbol for the sun, and it was called the "soul of Ra" and the Egyptians believed that the great sun was hidden inside the flower. It was also believed that its delightful perfume was the essence and the sweat of the Ra.²⁹⁷ and it was also the symbol of rebirth and as so it was used in magical spells prompting a new beginning. The lotus became the symbol for the Upper (southern) Egypt.²⁹⁸ In Egypt the lotus was shown as a seat for the god. All the known texts that derive from the Hermopolitan doctrine end with the description of the lotus as the seat of the Sun-God.²⁹⁹ About the expression καθήμενος ἐπὶ Aune has noted that appears as divine epithet with great frequency in Graeco-Roman sources: within the texts of magical formulas and magical papyri – as in this case- and also inscribed on magical gems, lamellae and defixiones.³⁰⁰

110-115 O' Neil in Betz, compare the robe cited in the magical text with the stola Olympiaca. F. Legge describes this garment as a dress " of byssus or linen embroidered with flowers, over which was cast

²⁹⁷ Harris (2016).

²⁹⁸ Armour (1986), 1.

²⁹⁹ Reymond (1969), 106. See also *PGM* IV 1105.

³⁰⁰ Aune (1997), 284-285.

a rich mantle decorated with figures of fabulous animals.”³⁰¹ It was to be worn by person who wanted to enter the service of Isis in order to achieve better protection from evil.

Κλάριε Άπολλον: Clarus oracular shrine is dated back to the archaic age and it is mentioned already to *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*. However, at that time Didyma, the other sanctuary in the territory of Miletus was much more important than Claros. Its greatest fame came later during the Imperial epoch, when it had grown into an important international sanctuary, mostly thanks to the sponsorship of the Romans emperors. The prestige of the municipal position at Colophon and its intimate relationship with the shrine at Claros are demonstrated by the number of times Apollo himself is named as Colophon's prytanis.³⁰²

Consequently, it is plausible to assume that at the time of the creation of this magical papyrus, Clarus was very famous and that is why they are mentioned multiple times in the papyrus. However, apart from this papyrus there are more evidences that link directly Apollo at Claros with magical practices.³⁰³ Tacitus inform us about an accusation brought against Lollia Paulina who tried to attract the emperor Claudius to marry her. Parke comment that Lollia

³⁰¹ Legge (1915), 62.

³⁰² Robert (1954), 6-7.

³⁰³ See. S. Eitrem (1947) 47-52. Karl Wessely had stressed the association of the Clarian Apollo with magic when he had read the phrase Δάφνη, μαντοσύνης ἱερὸν φυτὸν Ἀπόλλωνος in more than one magical texts (P III 252 (fr. lac.), P VI 6, P VI 15 (fr. lac.), P VI 40). Of course know we do not speak about three papyri but two.

possessed an image dedicated to the Clarian Apollo and by the help of agicians tried to obtain an oracle about Claudius.³⁰⁴ The third association is cited in Philostratus³⁰⁵, where he pointed to a tradition that the magician Apollonius of Tyana shared the same kind of mantic wisdom with the Apollo oracle at Claros saying that “Thus from the oracle at Colophon it was announced that he shared its peculiar wisdom and was absolutely wise.”³⁰⁶

τὸν κάθαρρον: Scarab amulets were very popular to the Egyptians. The scarab was admired for its crafty wisdom in rolling dung and using it to lay its eggs in. The scarab-beetle amulet is an image of the god of becoming, Khepri, who is regenerated Sun at dawn. Scarab was strongly associated with the Sun because of the dung beetle’s behavior. The magicians drowned the beetle in the milk of a black cow, then placed them on a brazier so the gods invoked for divination would come quickly and answer the magician’s questions. If a person wished to drive away the effects of any type of malignant magic he had to cut off the head and wings of a scarab and boil them in the oil of the “apnent serpent”. Then he had to drink the potion and this way he would be released by any kind of sorcery laid upon him by an enemy.³⁰⁷ It was considered among the most powerful protective amulets. Amuletic bracelets were used in divination to protect the magician, or his medium, from the hostile divinities.

³⁰⁴ Parke (1985) 145.

³⁰⁵ Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.*

³⁰⁶ Arnold (1995), 128.

³⁰⁷ Harris (2016), 81

Final thoughts on the papyrus

As I have said before, the magical corpus contains many spells aimed at producing a revelation and an oracle, either directly or indirectly. It is worth mentioning that no other procedure described in the corpus matches the two procedures we read about in the *PGM* II. The thematic cohesion leads us to a question. Why are there no examples of these two different procedures written separately as in other papyri? Why does the scribe choose this highly confusing way to write the formulas?

A simple answer could involve the scribe's personal style. However, putting this aside for the moment, we have to take into account that the circumstances under which the papyri were written, and the status of the scribe were also influences in the choice of writing style. The particular composition of the papyrus and a phrase in the papyrus itself indicate beyond doubt that the scribe had at his disposal what we call a "magician's library."¹⁴ It is very usual in the *PGM* corpus for the scribe to give an alternative procedure. The most common formula for indicating another way is ἄλλως ἢ ποιήσεις or just ἄλλως. However, the phrase we find here ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ οὕτως εὔρον is not so usual. We find it also in three cases, the *PGM* VII, 203-5, *PGM* XIII, 732, *PGM* V, 375.

Both formulas demonstrate that they are a variation on a spell already in circulation. Nevertheless, the second formula implies a deliberately interest in research by the scribe to find as many spells

possible about fulfilling each goal.

Eventually, what we read is a compilation of copies from other sources and magical books, with the magician, not knowing which is the best or the most effective, deciding to write both of them down. The fact that the alternative procedure is mixed with the first reinforces the idea that many spells had the same structure and contained similar parts, despite, apparently, originating from different sources.

The existence of a library and the extremely elaborate nature of the spells introduce the magician to us, first as a very literate person, and secondly as an advanced practitioner of magic. I assume that he was a professional magician or even a priest. Usually, amateur magicians do not choose to make their life harder by trying to carry out such complicated practices. The *PGM* allows us to know that very simple spells, made for “domestic use of magic” were very common and at the disposal of anyone thus interested. By domestic use, I mean simple, minimal spells, which facilitate the access of amateurs to the magic and their ability to take advantage of it without spending too much money on professionals and rare, expensive ingredients. Obviously, this text is not just a magical formula. It is a magical ritual, easily comparable to religious rituals in temples; according Hopfner we can classify it as theurgic divination. The only difference is the location, which in this case is a bedroom in a private house.

The same phrase made me wonder further about the purpose of this

papyrus. The corpus permits the classification into three major categories of papyri: the papyri written by a magician for a “client”: the papyri for personal use, e.g. when a magician copied a magical book he had found, wanting to enrich his own archive and knowledge, and a third kind: when professional or amateur magicians exchange correspondence.

The thematic cohesion of the papyri, of course, argues in favor of the first category. Usually a client is interested in something very particular. A client resorts to magic to solve a problem he faces at a certain moment in his life. However, we have two elements that tend to refute this suggestion. First of all, the existence of alternatives; I really do not believe that a professional magician would have put himself and his profession in doubt through a challenge to his magical spells and formulas. The presence of alternative procedures and the alternatives practices of a demon and perhaps a medium suggest that not even the magician is sure about the efficacy of the spell. Therefore, he tries to solve the problem of a possible failure by offering other solutions. In contrast, in the corpus we can find magical practices that the scribe presents as extremely efficient, praising them as the best etc.

The second element is the phrase discussed previously ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ οὕτως εὑρον. It would be quite bizarre if a professional magician had revealed his resources to a client. Furthermore, the verb εὑρον, “I found” means that I do not know it, that it is something new to me. Moreover, a professional magician, who earned his living from this, would have not confessed that he was proposing an untested

practice to a client. Even in the unlikely case of him wanting to offer an alternative to his client just in order to provide him with a choice of whatever was most convenient for him, without casting doubt on the authority of his practices, he would not have written this sentence. He could have used the other possibilities we have seen, which are vaguer.

Having rejected the possibility of an individual client as recipient, we can proceed to the examination of the second option, that of personal use. However, the phrase itself refutes this. If the papyrus was for personal use, this phrase would be a pleonasm. He already knows where has found it and it makes no sense to write it. In addition, if the papyrus was for personal use, I believe that he would have used the rest of the papyrus.

Now, only one possibility is left, which in my opinion is the most probable. The scribe is addressing someone already familiar to him, such as a colleague, an amateur magician or a student. The detailed description, the candid and frank style of the scribe and the alternatives he mentions suggest that the reader will be someone he has no need to convince, but rather to help or to teach. The corpus contains many cases of papyri obviously belonging to this category.

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