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The tradition of Greek and Latin incantations and related ritual texts from antiquity
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By

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Abstract

The tradition of Greek and Latin incantations and related ritual texts from antiquity through the medieval and early modern periods

By

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Based on a large corpus of texts, presented in catalogue form as an appendix, I analyze the tradition of a set of Greek ritual utterances defined here as incantations from classical antiquity through the early modern period. The foci are late antiquity and Byzantium, with perspectives forwards into modern Greece and a consideration of the influence of Greek material on Latin incantations in the medieval West. The textual evidence is organized typologically, first by intended purpose (healing and apotropaic; erotic; cursing and other aggressive functions), then by internal compositional motifs. This typology is intended to facilitate the tracing of continuity and change. I argue that incantations, and related ritual practices for erotic compulsion and cursing, represented precious traditional knowledge for those who chose to make use of them. This knowledge in turn was not passively received but rather selectively transmitted, augmented, and adapted for maximum relevance and efficacy in the contemporary context of use. The backbone of the tradition as a whole is a broad and diverse circulation of technical literature in the form of practical recipes, intersecting with and reinforced by popular oral transmission, in which learned practitioners of medicine, and some ecclesiastics, took an occasional interest.

Introduction

For this study of tradition in incantations, it seems appropriate to begin with an author who took some interest in them, or at least found them worthy of recording, at a crucial period of transition between antiquity and the Middle Ages. The text is the *De medicamentis* of Marcellus, a native of Bordeaux who wrote in Latin, and a source for numerous incantations in that language, but also at least eight composed in Greek.¹ Marcellus was a practicing physician active at the turn of the fifth century A.D., who is probably to be identified with the Marcellus attached to the court of Theodosius I and serving as *magister officiorum* around 400.² He is responsible for a collection of medical recipes compiled in part from literary sources, but also including practices observed by the author in contemporary use. The epistolary prologue openly acknowledges collection of proven remedies from rural and popular sources,³ that is, healers operating outside of the elite, learned tradition of Galenic medicine.

I begin with one particularly noteworthy example of an incantation prescribed in this collection. For sufferers of gout, Marcellus recommends spitting in the hands before getting out of bed in the morning, then rubbing the liquid so produced over the skin from feet to fingertips. That procedure is accompanied by an incantation exhorting the gout to flee, phrased in Latin but belonging to a type with Greek roots and a long tradition in the medieval and modern phases of the Greek language.⁴ Marcellus describes this particular incantation as *carmen idioticum*, which, in light of the original Greek signification of the latter loan-word, I am inclined to render with the neutral “personal incantation,”⁵ in

¹ In total over 60 from this text are included in the present collection (see the chapter 1 cat.). On Marcellus and his work see most recently Blom 2010. Beyond Greek and Latin, a variety of other languages have been detected in his writings (Grimm 1865a-b); Blom shows that the term *gallice* means only a word current in local speech, not specifically claimed to be from the ‘Gaulish’ language (*contra* Must 1960).

² Marcellus mentions the Jewish patriarch of Constantinople, Gamaliel, as the source of a remedy for the spleen (*De medicamentis* 23.77, ed. Niedermann 1916); the dates of Gamaliel’s tenure in that office are c. 395-415.

³ Etiam ab agrestibus et plebeis remedia fortuita atque simplicia quae experimentis probauerunt didici (§2). Marcellus further outlines a general program of comprehensive inclusion of anything from any source provided that “fits with health and healing” (si quid umquam congruum sanitati curationique hominum uel ab aliis comperi uel ipse usu adprobauit uel legendo cognouit, id sparsum inconditumque collegi, §1).

⁴ It opens ‘fuge fuge podagra et omnis neruorum dolor de pedes meos et omnia membra mea,’ “Flee, flee, gout and all pain of the sinews, from my feet and all my limbs” (Marcellus 36.70; for the rest, and the encompassing recipe, see chapter 1 cat. 1.26.2). The type is discussed further below.

⁵ For the Latin *idioticus* cf. *TLL* VII.1.222.31-44 s.v., i.q. ‘imperitus,’ ‘rudis,’ ‘simplex.’ The Greek ἰδιωτικός can suggest something ‘not done by the rules of art,’ or unprofessional; but also personal, private, or further, commonplace, everyday (*LSJ* s.v.). Thorndike, after remarking sarcastically that Marcellus “well calls one of these [incantations] *carmen idioticum*,” is forced to admit this same conclusion in a footnote (1923-1958, 1:592). Compare Graf 1997, esp. 228-230, who, drawing on Apuleius, says of Graeco-Roman magic is a *communio loquendi* with the gods, acts that “do not refer to group actions, but instead constitute small aids for the isolated individual.”

preference to a pejorative on the relative merits of this kind of healing as opposed to pharmacological or dietetic medicine.⁶

For it is my intention to excavate some of a vibrant landscape of Greek incantations over the longue durée. These were particularly at home among the larger, non-elite populace and the healers who served them, working outside of the system of clinical medicine dominated by the teachings of Hippocrates and Galen, but they were not entirely neglected by these elite practitioners themselves.⁷

Here I adopt a broad definition of incantation as an utterance intended to achieve a direct practical effect, in particular an utterance marked by elevated language distinct from normal speech. My primary concern throughout is with the Greek tradition, but I include Latin material from antiquity, late antiquity, and the medieval West where it elucidates some aspect of that tradition, either the passage of Greek material into Latin or vice versa. Chapters 1-3 treat the textual tradition in detail, based on a corpus and typology of texts. These are classified first according to intended use, in three broad categories: healing and apotropaic (chapter 1), erotic (chapter 2), ritual cursing and related aggressive tactics (chapter 3); and within each of those, further analysis is attempted based on compositional motifs.

The focus on the practical workings of incantations as a component of popular ritual practice is intended to supplement the large amount of scholarship on magic that proceeds primarily from literary references to these practices.⁸ This imbalance between the study of applied magic and literary discussion thereof seems particularly acute for Byzantium. The best contribution to the former, a useful but necessarily cursory review of textual sources for magic in later Byzantium, is Greenfield 1995 (cf. id. 1988, 247-297). Good studies of intellectual attitudes about, and theoretical discussions of magic are Duffy 1995 and Dickie 1995. There are also various studies of references to magic in Byzantine sources, particularly hagiography (Magoulias 1967, Abrahamse 1982, Calofonos 2008) and legal texts (Troianos 1986 and 1990, Fögen 1995, Gribomont 2004, 17-18). The ancient and late ancient Greek periods are better served by studies of primary texts: for the magical papyri, for example, there is the useful survey of Brashear 1995, and the recent detailed study of Wilburn 2012, unfortunately limited in scope to only a few sites, for papyri and other magical artifacts.

Before proceeding to the evidence for applied magic in the form of incantations, we must confront the problems inherent in the use of the term magic for classification. Modern scholarship, following above all the anthropologist James Frazer, has often opposed magic and religion, placing incantations on the side of magic; the ancient terminology instead makes excessive, or superstitious, practices such as incantations a part, albeit degraded, of the general complex of ritual practice.⁹ If incantations then are not to

⁶ Indeed another incantation is qualified quite positively as *carmen mirum* (ibid. 15.101, chapter 1 cat. 1.1.3).

⁷ Galen in his surviving works rejected incantations, but the Byzantine physician Alexander of Tralles alleges that he eventually accepted their efficacy in a treatise entitled *On Medical Treatment in Homer*, after personally witnessing some successful applications (*Therapeutica* ed. Puschmann 1878-1879, 2:475). See also Thorndike 1923-1958, 1:165-174.

⁸ For the classical period the seminal work of Graf 1997 is sensitive to the potential contributions of “applied” evidence (esp. p. 3) but remains preponderantly focused upon second-hand contemporary references.

⁹ See recently Bremmer 2002.

be divided from contemporary ritual means of interacting with the supernatural, a useful analytical distinction between them and prayer can still be made. By such a distinction, along lines developed by Stanley Tambiah (1968, 178), prayer is primarily a supplication and invocation of a beneficent divinity in concrete terms, while incantations are primarily commands, address a broader range of supernatural entities but also people, animals, plants, and objects, and employ image and metaphor.

Incantations are mentioned already in the earliest surviving Greek literature,¹⁰ but details of their content are almost never provided. Their earliest appearance is with the ἔπαιδιή used to staunch the bleeding of the young Odysseus in *Od.* 19.457-458, but without any description of the content. The use of healing incantations is also attributed to Asklepios in Pindar (*Pyth.* 3.51), and Plato's Socrates mentions an ἔπωδή accompanying the medicinal use of a plant leaf, to cure headache (*Chrm.* 155e-156e).¹¹ None of these authors take any interest in reporting the content of the incantations, however. The trend continues in Latin literature for such authors as Vergil, Horace, the elegiac poets, and Ammianus Marcellinus, as well as Byzantine hagiographers and historiographers; the vigorous rejection of incantations by Christian theologians, especially the patristic authors, is well documented (Dickie 1995). For the content, as we will see, we must in general turn to technical literature and inscribed artifacts. (The noteworthy exceptions in Theocritus and Vergil for the erotic incantations will be addressed in the second chapter.)

Indeed modern scholarship for a time replicated some of the same lack of interest in the content of healing incantations as found in ancient and medieval authors. There was an added stigma beginning with patristic authors of aberrance from proper Christian practice. If the content was recorded at all, as in the case of the monumental *Traité des superstitions qui regardent les sacremens* of Jean-Baptiste Thiers (Paris 1697), it was only for the sake of full enumeration in condemnation. We owe to Richard Heim the first systematic and analytical collection of Greek and Latin incantations from antiquity (1892). The product of his doctoral dissertation at the University of Bonn, it remains the only published attempt at a comprehensive collection of Greek and Latin incantations and is still the standard reference.¹² It is in serious need of revision and supplement based on newly published material in manuscripts and the archeological record, sources identified by Heim but not fully exploited, and emendations to the original texts.¹³ Heim's focus was

¹⁰ See further Kotansky 1991, 108-109.

¹¹ Plato's presentation indeed suggests that the whole matter of the ἔπωδή is a fiction contrived by Socrates for the sake of his disquisition with Charmides on the nature of σωφροσύνη, or refers metaphorically to Socrates' critical powers themselves, cf. 175a-176b.

¹² Önnarfors 1993 is in large part a recapitulation of Heim with exclusive focus on Latin material, based primarily on Marcellus; he also offers numerous textual corrections along with some new material, in particular 199-200, 206-219.

¹³ Heim draws primarily on encyclopedic and technical treatises, in both Greek and Latin, those of Pliny the Elder, Alexander of Tralles, and the *Hippiatrika* and *Geoponika*. Some medieval Latin material is published for the first time by Heim in an appendix but not integrated into his analysis. In the present collection, lemmata collected by Heim have been updated wherever possible with the most recent critical edition, and the section and chapter numbering changed accordingly, though Heim's numeration is also noted for reference.

antiquity, and he himself acknowledges a rather cursory treatment of the medieval period.¹⁴

Scholars of Greek and Roman antiquity were slow to realize the analytical potential of Heim's collection. With the studies of Kotansky (1991), Furley (1993), Versnel (1996), and Faraone (1995, 2009, 2011, 2012), however, attention has been brought to the internal structure and poetic features of individual incantations, typological groups among them, and the diachronic spread and development of these groups as an indicator of broader patterns of the transmission of knowledge between Greece, the Roman Empire, Egypt, and the Near East. Others in this same tradition of scholarship have expanded the chronological scope to include Greek and Roman late antiquity (Giannobili 2006) and the early medieval West (Gaide 2006, Önnersfors 1993). For Byzantium, studies of the continued belief in the demon Gello or Gylou, of ancient Mesopotamian origin, have made use of some incantations as evidence.¹⁵ For the medieval West, we have a useful review of sources and an outline of a typology of incantations, though it includes liturgical texts and material better classified as prayers to Christian divinities,¹⁶ and several more general studies of incantations.¹⁷

Incantations have also been considered in a medical context in discussions of approaches to healing in the Greek world (von Staden 2003). The most relevant here are those that bring attention to popular remedies as opposed to learned medicine, for classical Greece (Edelstein 1937), the Roman world (Draycott 2012), late antiquity (Nutton 1984), Byzantium (Barb 1950a), and modern Greece (Stewart 1991).¹⁸ An important discussion of textual sources for ancient and medieval medicine, many of the same sources that transmit incantations, is that of Thorndike (1923-1958). In Thorndike's analysis, however, incantations, or more properly their absence in or rejection by a certain author, serve as an index for scientific and experimental thought and its absence. Thorndike is tracing a higher, more learned tradition than the one in which I am interested here, and his focus is primarily on the medieval and Renaissance periods in the West, following developments

¹⁴ Heim may well have been kept from carrying his analysis further by lack of sympathy for the material, which he terms *nugae*, and its users *praestigiatores fallaces*, in contrast to his own professions of devotion to the Catholic faith (see the *vita* accompanying his doctoral dissertation).

¹⁵ Sorlin 1991, Greenfield 1989, Oikonomides 1975-1976, Winkler 1931, Perdrizet 1922, 5-38.

¹⁶ Bozoky 2003, wherein incantations ("charmes") are defined as verbal formulas for healing and protection, separate from benedictions and exorcisms, "un ensemble de sons ou de lettres, censé produire un effet physique ou matériel bénéfique" (31); though it is also claimed that their power does not come from the words or sounds but from "une médiation surnaturelle" (32) involving the Christian god, angels, and saints, even if these figures are not specifically invoked.

¹⁷ Olsan 2003, Olsan 1989; Page 2004, particularly 18-35 on natural and amuletic magic, with useful illustrations from manuscripts (the incantations discussed, however, are essentially Christian prayers). Brief overview in Kieckhefer 1990, 57-68. On continuity in magical practices in the Latin West, particularly in incantations, D'Alverny 1962.

¹⁸ Stewart 1991. Blum and Blum 1965 give limited consideration to incantations in the context of "folk healing," particularly 31-32, 167-175, and 184-187; *idd.* 1970 focus on narratives about, not description of methods to combat or forestall "crisis," and consider continuity in "the occult estate" very broadly considered (286-296). There is mention of *xemetrima*, "the magical-ritual words used in healing" (12n), in particular 12-13 and 143-160; but no Greek text.

there back to roots as early as the elder Pliny in the first century. Among previous studies on amulets, specifically their inscribed text, the most important are the exemplary articles by Alfons Barb (1948, 1950b, 1953a-b, 1963, 1964, 1966) tracing the textual tradition of selected incantations and amuletic types in both Byzantium and the West, a model followed also by Spier (1993) with rather less attention to inscribed texts for one type of Byzantine amulet that will be considered here in detail. There is one recent, general study of textual amulets for the Latin West, concentrating on the late medieval period in Skemer 2006. No study of the later Greek tradition has based itself on a systematic collection of texts, however, a project that can also contribute to understanding of the earlier materials and the western medieval tradition.

An expansion for Byzantine and post-Byzantine Greek incantations is thus long overdue.¹⁹ Here I will use ‘Byzantine’ to refer to the period between the accession of Justinian I and the fall of Constantinople to the Turks (527-1453), and late antiquity to refer to the preceding period beginning with the foundation of Constantinople. I also consider Greek incantations from after 1453 that continue earlier traditions, which I term ‘post-Byzantine,’ and others that survived into modern Greece.

My primary intention has been to create a robust and diverse corpus of texts, typologically organized and numbered and presented here in catalogue form (a separate catalogue for each of the first three chapters), as large as possible given restrictions of time and access, and it is my hope to expand it further in the future. Etymologically ‘incantation’ and the most common corresponding terms in the ancient Greek and Latin texts connote song, and in fact meter or at least rhythmical speech does continue to figure in Byzantine and later practice, but for the sake of a larger sample I have also included in my discussion texts of similar construction which are to be written down in the making of an amulet. The analysis can only focus on a small selection; there are far too many items to discuss in detail, but their systematic collection may prove useful to future studies: combination of future research and further finds may allow them to be brought into new relations. Here the main text and footnotes cite loci, shelfmarks, inventory numbers, and primary publications of inscribed artifacts and papyri, with reference to the catalogue where fuller secondary bibliography and textual apparatus can be found, in an effort to keep footnotes to a manageable size.

In the collection of the present corpus, I have collated the text of published editions with facsimiles or readings from autopsy wherever possible, especially for those on papyrus, metal, or stone. Publications of amulets, especially gems, are frequently given only in unarticulated majuscules; to aid understanding and facilitate comparison with other genres of text, I have added conventional articulation and converted these to minuscule. Frequently too the mere comparison of published texts with newly identified parallels has yielded improved readings. As a convention in reprinting of published texts, and for all unpublished texts presented here, I follow the original orthography of all ancient and late ancient applied texts, presenting normalized readings in the apparatus; for medieval texts, I silently normalize instances of itacism, conflation of vowel quantity, dittography and haplography of consonants, and aspiration.

I wish to stress that the catalogues to chapters 1-3 are provisional. The reader who intends to cite them should bear in mind that the catalogue numbers have been provided primarily for convenience in internal reference within this dissertation, and I recommend citation by museum or other inventory number in the first instance. New material has not

¹⁹ A brief consideration is devoted to modern Greek incantations (“spells”) in a geographically restricted area (the island of Naxos) and without attention to tradition, in Stewart 1991, 222-241.

ceased to come to my attention after the inevitable cut-off point for the writing of the analytical portions of the first three chapters, and so over the course of writing I have amassed 'supplements' to each of the catalogues, which cannot be included here but which I plan to integrate into a publication of this study in revised form as a monograph. The situation is especially acute in the case of the first chapter, where the supplement amounts to nearly half the size of the catalogue proper. At present some material from this 'supplement' is cited where relevant as 'addenda to the catalogue.'

Finally it is a pleasant duty to acknowledge my gratitude to my dissertation committee, Maria Mavroudi, Todd Hickey, Gary Holland, and Donald Mastronarde, for their patient and insightful guidance on this project. In addition to them, I thank Gideon Bohak, Caroline Cheung, Emily Cole, Jacco Dieleman, Christopher Faraone, Richard Gordon, Mark Griffith, Rita Lucarelli, Nikolaos Papazarkadas, Joachim Quack, Martin Schwartz, and Andreas Winkler for advice on various points at various stages. The first and second chapters were presented at meetings of the Berkeley Medieval Studies colloquium series, from whose participants I received valuable suggestions. My introduction to the so-called Greek magical papyri, which were in turn the starting point for this dissertation, was the 2012 summer school in papyrology organized by the American Society of Papyrologists at the University of Chicago, to whose directors, James Keenan, David Martinez, and Maryline Parca, I am therefore much indebted. The Digital Humanities at Berkeley program provided a grant to fund the acquisition of facsimiles of manuscripts, which will feature in a future digital version of the corpus gathered here. Finally it is impossible to conceive of my completion of this dissertation without the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, and its director, Todd Hickey, where I have found a home and generous support throughout the process.

Chapter 1

In favor of the personal aspect stressed by Marcellus in his rubric *carmen idioticum*, and for the practical purpose of narrowing the scope of the investigation, I exclude consideration of imprecations to divinities to grant health as a favor, essentially prayers,²⁰ as well as liturgical exorcisms, Christian prayers for health and healing, invocations of Christian holy figures,²¹ and with a few exceptions, addresses to medicinal herbs.²² I further exclude the so-called *Ephesia grammata*, texts composed entirely of non-Greek (or Latin) words or non-alphabetic signs, in favor of incantations that make sense as syntactical Greek (or Latin). The latter are more likely to have made sense in turn to their users within the tradition, and though rote copying of text without close comprehension can never be fully excluded, it could occur much more easily for graphic signs or iconic strings of letters. Incantation techniques are approached here from the practical side, through examination of instructions for their use or artifacts activated in such use.

The sources for incantation practice during the period in question can be divided into two broad categories, prescribed and applied. That is, recipes and formularies recommending incantations, and various instances in which such texts are actually put into practical use, orally or in writing.

On the prescribed side, we find material within, or as slightly later additions to, the texts of classical and late ancient medical authors, Pliny, Marcellus, and others, as well as anonymous collections of recipes in the Greek papyri from Egypt.²³ This tradition also informs the work of the early Byzantine physicians Aetios of Amida and Alexander of Tralles; the latter practiced at the court of Justinian I and records numerous incantations, for only some of which there is an editorial apology.²⁴ The diffuse, popular iatro-magical recipe genre,²⁵ overlapping with larger gatherings known as ἰατροσόφια, “collections of healing wisdom,” forms part of the inherited Fachliteratur of Byzantium, which would continue to enjoy wide circulation centered on manuscript book production at Constantinople itself. This long-neglected *iatrosophion* genre has recently begun to receive scholarly attention, as integral to the regimen of care for the sick in hospitals at

²⁰ Modern scholarship continues at times to include prayers in the category of ‘magic,’ as for example a papyrus recently published as ‘magical,’ P.Mich. inv. 3404 recto, *ZPE* 182 (2012) 243-257, which consists primarily of a prayer to the personified Sun to grant various favors.

²¹ On such texts see Klapper 1907, Goar 1730, Dölger 1909, Strittmatter 1932, Delatte 1957, Greenfield 1988, and for modern Greece, Stewart 1991, 213-221.

²² For their tradition in Byzantium see most recently Gribomont 2004, especially 31-34; following the extensive study of Delatte 1961 tracing ritual practice in herbal lore from Homer to the medieval Latin and Greek sources, with treatment of addresses to the herbs at 118-147.

²³ On Pliny in particular see Thorndike 1923-1958, 1:42-99. Besides including a selection of healing incantations that he finds less objectionable, Pliny discusses at some length the *quaestio ... polleatne aliquid uerba et incantamenta carminum* (HN 28.10-29).

Thorndike’s account of Marcellus is useful but unsympathetic to the many incantations and related ritual procedures, which are called “absurd rigamarole” (1923-1958, 1:587).

²⁴ On Aetios and Alexander see Thorndike 1923-1958, 1:570-584.

²⁵ On this genre in antiquity see De Haro Sanchez 2012.

Constantinople as well as by independent practitioners in rural areas such as Crete.²⁶ The incantations contained in them are still largely ignored, however, or discussed without any reference to their long tradition of development.

Such recipes continued to be collected and copied well into the nineteenth century in modern Greece. Two important related compendia, the agricultural *Geoponika* and the veterinary *Hippiatrika*, were the fruit of antiquarian interest in the imperial court of tenth-century Byzantium, though the situation is more complex than a simple compilation of late ancient sources; both also attracted various addenda over the long course of their transmission.²⁷ Some incantations in later Byzantine and post-Byzantine manuscript material are available through the publications of Vassiliev (1893) and Delatte (1927 and 1959), followed by Oikonomu-Agorastu (1982) and Papathomopoulos (2006). But these publications have no particular focus on incantations and their organization follows the geographical distribution of codices in modern repositories, and the original order of their contents, without a thematic analysis.

The earliest applied texts are provided by inscriptions from the classical period, incised or painted on stone architectural features. Slightly later, in the Hellenistic, Roman, and late ancient periods, inscribed gems, rings, metal pendants, and other personal ornaments are added, as also sheets of metal (*lamellae*) and papyrus inscribed as personal amulets.²⁸ In general the Byzantine period lacks this rich complement of archeological finds of applied amulets and curse tablets, with a few important exceptions in the area of inscribed gems and medallions, which will be discussed in detail below.

The introduction of modern folklore studies provides a valuable addition in the form of transcribed text of orally deployed incantations, along with descriptions of the accompanying ritual practices, in modern Greece as well as some Greek-speaking areas of neighboring countries such as Albania. The most important collection of these is in the Greek periodical *Λαογραφία*, published by the Greek Folklore Society (Ελληνική Λαογραφική Έταιρεία) founded by N.G. Polites in 1909. Some of the incantations were collected and published by Polites himself and his successors S.P. Kyriakides and P. Koukoules, but the great majority are owed to amateurs who corresponded with the editors at Athens, submitting incantations from their home towns, usually in rural areas; particularly common in this role are public school teachers. Their goal is documentation and preservation, and there is little systematization or analysis of content.

To the material so gathered, I have applied a typological classification by what I judge to be the main operative motif, divided into four types. This approach is useful both for practical purposes of organizing the material and to allow patterns of tradition to

²⁶ See the introduction in Zipser 2009, and further Papadopoulos 2009, Touwaide 2007, Clark 2011. There are briefer comments in Hunger 1978, 2:273-276; Patlagean 1993, ix-x; Litavrin 1993; Lampros 1921; Fournier 1896.

²⁷ There is a recent bilingual edition with facing Italian translation in Lelli 2010. In its present form, it is the result of a process of compilation and revision in the tenth century, though it has been shown that much of the material had already been gathered by Cassianus Bassus in the earlier Byzantine period (Guignard 2009). On the *Hippiatrika* see most recently the studies of McCabe 2007 and Doyen-Higuet 2006.

²⁸ To the bibliography cited in the introduction, the corpora of Bonner 1950 and 1951, Kotansky 1994 (*GMA*), and Mastrocinque 2004 (*SGG*) are particularly important for gems, lamellae, and other non-papyrological inscribed objects, many of which are now also included in the online *Campbell Bonner Database* curated by Arpad Nagy (CB-d); for papyri, the revised *Pap.Graec.Mag.* and the *Suppl.Mag.* are the essential starting points.

emerge. I analyze a selection of the most significant instances of continuity, the transmission of entire incantations or components thereof within the Greek tradition, and close with a case study on one of the most interesting instances of long-term continuity with particularly dynamic diachronic development. Each type will be introduced and defined more fully in its proper place, but briefly they are: addressative, performative, narrative, and scriptural. In the addressative type, the user directly addresses the target, either a disease to be healed, an affliction to be warded off, or a patient to be confirmed in or coaxed back to health, with a command or threat. In the performative type, a term from speech-act theory which will be explained in more detail in the appropriate place, the user also makes an address but it is constituted by a metaphorical claim to enact the healing or protection directly. In the narrative type, the incantation consists of the narration of a scenario analogous to the result that the user desires. The scriptural type selects text from canonical authorities, chief among them Homer and the Bible, which are also deployed as similar analogies, with an added aura of sanctity all their own. In a fifth miscellaneous section I examine incantation motifs that cut across these categories. The best recent application of typology to incantations, for the medieval West, is Bozoky 2003. As recognized in that work, all such attempts are necessarily arbitrary, but can nevertheless provide a useful heuristic. Indeed a common feature in incantations throughout the period is the free combination of multiple motifs in the same text. My final miscellaneous section, and the closing case study, will explore examples of this process of combination. In the conclusion, finally, I will offer an explanation for why traditional Greek incantations held such a lasting appeal.

1. Addressative

In the case of the incantations on which I focus here, the target addressed is a sickness to be healed or forestalled, the patient more generally, or some external nuisance to be warded off. The address most commonly uses imperatives, to which various motivations may be added, incentives or threats, or narratives of actions analogous to that sought in the mythical past, the natural world, or purely imagined. The target may also be qualified by epithets, sometimes quite extensive, referring to its present condition or to the condition that the incantation aims to effect. In ancient and late ancient practice, these addresses are quite common, such as that from Marcellus mentioned at the outset (36.70: for text and translation, see above). In Byzantine practice the trend continues. I select here one example out of many, from a collection of medical recipes in a paper codex copied by the monk and philologist Neophytos Prodromenos at Constantinople around 1353, containing a miscellany of medical and astrological texts (Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2286).²⁹ The recipe in question appears as an addition to an extract from book 12 of the Byzantine agricultural treatise the *Geoponika* (ff. 81v-84v). To combat pustules, the practitioner is to make the patient, human or livestock, stand in the water of a running river, take up a grain of salt, and place it on the affected area, saying “I am speaking to you, pustule, swelling inward or swelling outward, milking no milk and making no cheese, flee as the salt from the water.”³⁰

This address can be elaborated with various metaphorical devices, beginning in antiquity and continuing in the Byzantine tradition. I select here some of the most

²⁹ On the manuscript and its contents see further *CCAG* VIII.3:24-26, cod. 42. For Prodromenos and his role as an editor of Aristotelian texts see Mondrain 2000b and Cacouros 1998.

³⁰ σοὶ λέγω συκαμινέα ἔσοχὰς ἐξοχὰς, γάλα μὴ ἀμέλγουσα, τυρὸν μὴ ποιοῦσα, συκαμινέα φεῦγε ὡς τὸ ἅλας τοῦ ὕδατος (chapter 1 cat. 1.4.3).

significant types by way of example, each headed by a convenient shorthand identification for the type.

Flight and pursuit type

In this type, the affliction is addressed and ordered to flee because some higher power is pursuing it. The type is the best represented in its tradition from antiquity into the medieval period in both East and West and indeed into the post-Byzantine period and modern Greece. A full set of its attestations can be found in the catalogue (1.20-1.22). In general the command to flee is expressed with the verb *φεύγειν* or synonyms of retreating, and the pursuit with *διώκειν* or its compounds; in Latin the equivalents *fugere* and *sequi* are found.

In antiquity, a range of sicknesses are threatened with the pursuit of divinities. A Roman sardonyx gem of unknown provenance, now in St. Petersburg, shows Perseus holding the head of Medusa, and a Greek inscription orders gout to flee because Perseus is pursuing it.³¹ On another Roman gem, a red jasper now in Paris, Herakles is depicted fighting the Nemean lion, with an inscription ordering the bile of the patient to recede, for “the divine” (τὸ θεῖον) is pursuing it.³²

In Byzantium this method is continued, as witnessed by a recipe against distemper in horses included in the Byzantine *Hippiatrika*, a product of antiquarian research and compilation at Constantinople in the tenth century. It provides an incantation to be spoken as the user blows on a medicinal potion before administering it: the distemper is ordered to flee because Poseidon is pursuing it.³³ Poseidon is also metaphorically appropriate to signify the healing power of the liquid potion, and this sort of interlocking is known from ancient incantations.³⁴

The advent of Christianity brings Christ into the role of the pursuer. An anonymous Latin collection of medical recipes, likely compiled in late antiquity and still copied in a continental monastic setting in the ninth century, gives an incantation against pox, in which a version of the formula is written on ivy leaves, which are applied to the

³¹ Hermitage inv. ж 1517, φύ[γε] | ποδάγρα, Περσεύς σ|ε διώχι (chapter 1 cat. 1.20.2.1).

³² Cabinet des Médailles, no inv. number, ἀναχώρι κολέ (l. χολή), τὸ θῖόν σε διώκει (chapter 1 cat. 1.20.2.9)

³³ *Hippiatrika Parisina* 22, ποτὸν πρὸς μᾶλιν ... προσφυσῶν λέγε ‘φεῦγε οὔν κακὴ μᾶλι, διώκει σε Ποσειδῶν’ (chapter 1 cat. 1.20.2.12).

³⁴ In a Greek incantation preserved by Pliny against pustules, ‘dung beetles’ are ordered to flee because ‘a savage wolf’ is pursuing them: the wolf seems to refer to the gray color of a rock on which white moss and human saliva are ground up before the whole is applied to a skin rash, while the dung beetles figure the pustules. (lapis uulgaris iuxta flumina fert muscum siccum, canum. hic fricatur altero lapide addita hominis salivae, illo lapide tangitur impetigo, qui tangit dicit ‘φεύγετε κανθαρίδες, λύκος ἄγριος ὕμμε διώκει’ cat. 1.20.2.5, *HN* 27.100). In an anonymous medical recipe added to a late ancient medical treatise of the Constantinopolitan physician Theodorus, a skin rash is told to flee because ‘Liber pater,’ an Italic form of Dionysus, god of grapes and wine; the original of Theodorus at this point is describing a topical unguent containing vinegar. Ed. Rose 1894, 282, nam et scribis in ipsum locum qui patitur ‘ignis sacer fuge, Liber pater te sequitur’ (chapter 1 cat. 1.20.2.7).

skin.³⁵ Applied examples in Greek from late antiquity can also be found: a stone inscription from the Tauric Chersonese, likely from a house, orders ζῆλος to flee, surely the envy associated with the evil eye.³⁶ In a fifth-century papyrus amulet found in the Egyptian city of Oxyrhynchus, a prayer for the healing of a woman from fever is introduced by a command to the “detested spirit” responsible for the sickness.³⁷ The formula continues into the Byzantine period, but other figures can appear as the protector in place of Christ, such as the Greek god Poseidon, as seen above. A manuscript of the fourteenth or fifteenth century likely produced at Constantinople, containing medical works of Theophanes Chrysobalantes and a veterinary treatise, adds also an anonymous collection of medical and miscellaneous home remedies.³⁸ In one of these, for the protection of stored grain from pests, the pest is told to flee via a text written on a brick and deposited in the place of storage.³⁹ In the post-Byzantine period, a variant of the formula was reported in use in Cyprus in the early twentieth century, for pain in the intestines.⁴⁰

The way for this development had perhaps been prepared by another change in which the Old Testament king Solomon began to appear as the pursuer. It is found in an anonymous late ancient collection of Latin medical recipes falsely attributed in the medieval manuscript tradition to Pliny, targeting tertian fever. The formula is to be written on papyrus and worn on the right arm.⁴¹ It also appears on a group of bronze medallion amulets produced in Syria-Palestine roughly between the fifth and seventh centuries, targeting a “detested” female demon perhaps to be identified with the ill effects of the evil eye (βασκανία).⁴² Solomon can also be accompanied in his protective function by angels or the ancient Near Eastern divinity Sisinnios (see the previous note).

³⁵ St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 759, p. 67, ad ficta. collegis tres folios de hedera, in ipsos folios facis cruces tres et scribis in ipsos ‘fugite puncta Christus te persequitur’ et mittis super puncta et quomodo mutare coeperit illos, alium folium super mittas. probatum est (chapter 1 cat. 1.22.3). A variant is found in independent circulation in an English manuscript of the eleventh century, to cure skin sores: Oxford, Bodleian cod. Junius 85, p. 17, ‘fuge diabolus, Christus te sequitur. quando natus est Christus, fugit dolor’ (chapter 1 cat. 1.22.4).

³⁶ Ed. Changuin 1938, 84 no. 13, φεῦγε ζῆλ[ε], | Χ(ριστός) σε δηόχι (chapter 1 cat. 1.22.1).

³⁷ Glasgow, UL Ms Gen. 1026/12, ed. *P.Oxy.* VIII 1151, φεῦγε πν(εῦμ)α | μεμισιμένον | Χ(ριστός) σε διώκει (chapter 1 cat. 1.22.2).

³⁸ Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2091, ff. 109v-112v. The manuscript is catalogued in *CCAG* VIII.4:10 as cod. 71; see most recently Doyen-Higuet 2006, who edits the hippiatric treatise.

³⁹ Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2091, f. 112v, ἄλλο. ἵνα ποιήσης σταυρούς δώδεκα εἰς τὸ βήσαλον καὶ γράφης οὕτως ‘ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. φεῦγε σιτόλαε, Χριστός σε διώκει’ (chapter 1 cat. 1.22.5).

⁴⁰ Koukoules 1928, 476n4, πάψε πόνε τῶν ἀντέρων | κι’ ὁ Χριστός σε κατατρέχει (chapter 1 cat. 1.22.6).

⁴¹ [Pliny] *De medicina* 3.15.7, in charta uirgine scribis quod in dextro bracchio ligatum portet ille qui patitur ‘recede ab illo Gaio Seio, tertiana, Solomon te sequitur’ (chapter 1 cat. 1.21.1.3).

⁴² That published by Gatier 1998-1999, 163 has secure archeological context, found in excavations at Beirut (φεῦγε φεῦγε φεῦγε μεμισιμένι, διόκι σε ὁ ἄγγελος Αρα[αφ] | σφραγίς Σολομώνος βοήθι [τὸν φορῶ]ντα, chapter 1 cat. 1.21.2.5). Two more were said to have been purchased in Asia Minor (Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, coll. Schlumberger inv. 68, ed. Schlumberger 1892, 74-75 no. 1, φεῦγε μεμισιμένι, Σολομον

Several long-lasting thematic groups appear in incantations of this type, of which I select one especially illustrative example here. It shows how the combination of two ancient motifs, the threat of the pursuit of a higher power with the metaphorical interlocking of the name of a medicinal substance, is taken up from late antiquity into the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods and also the medieval West. This incantation targets colic, and in iambic meter it commands the pain, or the “poison bile” responsible for it, to flee because “the lark” pursues it. It appears first in the sixth-century medical collection of Alexander of Tralles,⁴³ and it survives in an eighteenth-century *iatrosophion* produced in a monastery in Thessaly, in a form that evidently enjoyed an independent circulation, clearly not copied directly from Alexander’s work but rather refracted through an intermediate, possibly oral circulation.⁴⁴ There is also a late ancient Latin version, in a collection of medical recipes falsely attributed to Pliny and which continued to be copied in the ninth century in the West.⁴⁵ Here the iambic meter has been lost in translation but the composer has introduced a neat play on words in the juxtaposition of *coli dolor* “intestinal pain” and *corydalis* “lark.”⁴⁶ The original role of metaphorical interlocking becomes clear here, as the incantation is accompanied by the rubbing of the belly of the patient with the heart of a lark (*corydali cor*). In the *Kyranides*, a collection of recipes for the harnessing of occult properties of natural substances compiled in late antiquity and extensively copied and used in Byzantium, a boiled lark eaten with its broth is said to bring relief from colic and dysentery.⁴⁷ The status of the lark in myth as the most ancient of all birds, existing before the earth itself was created, could only enhance its apotropaic power.⁴⁸

Herakles type

σε διόκι, Σισιννιος Σισινναριος [chapter 1 cat. 1.21.1.1]; private coll., ed. Sorlin Dorigny 1891, φεῦγε μεμισιμένι, Σολομον σε διόκι κ(αὶ) ἄγγελος Αρααφ [chapter 1 cat. 1.21.3.1]).

⁴³ Alexander of Tralles, *Therapeutica* 8.2, ed. Puschmann 1878-1879, 2:377, λαβῶν δακτύλιον σιδηροῦν ποιήσον γενέσθαι τὸ κρικέλλιον ὀκτάγωνον καὶ οὕτως ἐπίγραφε εἰς τὸ ὀκτάγωνον· ‘φεῦγε φεῦγ’ ἰοῦ χολή, ὁ κορυδαλός σε ζητεῖ.’ τὸν δὲ χαρακτήρα τὸν ὑποκείμενον γράφε εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ δακτυλίου [*signi*] (chapter 1 cat. 1.20.2.2)

⁴⁴ Thessaly, monastery of Olympiotissa, cod. 97, p. 99, ed. Skouvaras 1965-1966, 89, καὶ νὰ κάμη καὶ ἓνα δακτυλίδι ἀπὸ σίδηρον καὶ νὰ ἔχη ἀγκωνές ὀκτῶ καὶ ὀλόγυρα νὰ γράφη οὕτως ‘φεῦγε φεῦγ’ ἰοῦ χολή, ἢ κορυδαλός σε ζητεῖ.’ καὶ εἰς τὴν μέσην νὰ ἔχη τὸ σημάδι αὐτὸ ὅπου εἶναι κάτωθεν γραμμένο καὶ ὠφέλου. [*signi*] (chapter 1 cat. 1.20.2.3).

⁴⁵ The formation of the ‘pseudo-Pliny’ tradition probably had already begun in Roman antiquity: it draws heavily on authentic work of Pliny, re-ordered for easy practical reference by organization following parts of the human body and pathologies, and accompanied by the addition of further practical medical recipes including incantations. See Thorndike 1923-1958, 1:595-600.

⁴⁶ [Pliny] *Physica*, from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, p. 231 marg. inf., 2.32 (chapter 1 cat. 1.20.2.4).

⁴⁷ The version edited by Kaimakes 1976, 3.20. A reference to the use of excerpts of it for erotic magic in the register of the patriarchal court at Constantinople of the fourteenth century will be discussed in the second chapter.

⁴⁸ Ar. *Aves* 471-475, where the myth is (jokingly) attributed to Aesop.

The next type of metaphoric expansion of the address is an apotropaic formula which originally featured the hero Herakles.⁴⁹ Its core is the statement that Herakles dwells (κατοικεῖ) in the place to be protected, and therefore no evil may enter. In its earliest attestations in Greek antiquity, it is phrased in iambic or trochaic meter and inscribed on a dwelling and thus seeks to protect the occupants. The formula has been found inscribed on a clay disk in the form of a human face, probably for suspension over the door of a house, at Gela in Sicily in an archeological context of the third century B.C.⁵⁰ In less formal fashion, a shortened form with only the statement about Herakles was added as a graffito to a marble block that probably formed part of the entry of a building on Thasos, from a roughly contemporary period.⁵¹ The full form spread throughout the Greek world, as far east as Kerefto in the south-east of modern Turkey, where it was cut on monumental scale in the rock above the door of a cave dwelling;⁵² it also entered Roman Italy at Pompeii, painted on the façade of a tavern,⁵³ and was translated into Latin for use in mosaic floor of a house in what is now Salzburg.⁵⁴ The use on buildings continued into the third or fourth century A.D., as shown by a Greek inscription on the threshold of a house on Thasos.⁵⁵

Already in antiquity other divinities could fill the role of Herakles. A late ancient papyrus formulary gives a variant with the name of Hermes, which is to be written on papyrus and sealed up inside a hollow figurine of this god; the assemblage should then be deposited in the wall of a building, to bring benefits to the user and his activities therein.⁵⁶ The formulary was produced in Egypt, probably Thebes, by a compiler familiar with Egyptian divinities and ritual practice (the source of the epithet given to Hermes here) but also exposed to Greek culture and practice, as shown by the inclusion of an incantation exploiting verses from Homer for protection, discussed below. The formula was also transferred to amulets for personal protection, seen in a group of bronze pendants produced in the Near East in late antiquity. Here the holy figure Sisinnios, reflex of an ancient Near Eastern divinity Sesen (Sasm),⁵⁷ appears in the role of in-dwelling protector, sometimes accompanied by a female companion Sisinnia and a ferocious hound, and a female demon of Mesopotamian origin, Abyzou, is ordered to flee.⁵⁸

⁴⁹ See most recently Faraone 2009; further Robert 1965; Weinreich 1915.

⁵⁰ *SEG* XXVII 648, Ἡρακλῆς ἐν|θα κατοικεῖ· | μὴ ἴστω μη|θὲν κακόν (chapter 1 cat. 1.24.2.1).

⁵¹ *IG* XII.8.687, *addenda* p. x, Ἡρακλῆς | ἐνθά{δ}δε | κατοικ[[ι]]ῖ (chapter 1 cat. 1.24.1.1).

⁵² Ed. M.N. Tod in Stein 1940, 337-338, Ἡρακλῆς ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ, | μηθὲν εἰσέλθοι κακόν (chapter 1 cat. 1.24.2.2).

⁵³ Removed to Naples, now MANN inv. 4717, ed. *CIL* IV 733, cf. Add. pp. 196 and 461, ὁ τοῦ Διὸς | παῖς καλλί|νεϊκος Ἡρακλῆς | ἐ[νθ]άδαι | κατοικεῖ, | μηδὲν εἰ|σειαίτω | κακόμ (chapter 1 cat. 1.24.2.5).

⁵⁴ Ed. *CIL* III 5561, hic habitat [Hercules], | nihil intret mali (chapter 1 cat. 1.24.2.8).

⁵⁵ Edd. Bernard and Salviat 1962, 608-609 no. 23, Ἡρακλῆς ἐνθ[άδε κατοι]|κεῖ· μηθὲν εἰσῖτω | κακόν (chapter 1 cat. 1.24.2.7).

⁵⁶ Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574, f. 26v, ed. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.2366-2367, δὸς πόρον καὶ πρᾶξιν τῷ τόπῳ | τούτῳ, ὅτι ψεντεβηθ ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ (chapter 1 cat. 1.25.1.1). The epithet ψεντεβηθ could be an Egyptian phrase meaning “the purified son,” cf. a hypothetical Coptic πωηρε ντεβηογτ; unless a metathesis for *p-neb-n-neth*, “lord of the gods,” cf. φνεβεννουθ vel sim., *SEG* LIII 1102.

⁵⁷ Schwarz 1996.

⁵⁸ One example with secure archeological context has been found, in excavations at the necropolis of Tyre: *SEG* XXXVI 1316, in part φεῦγε | Αβιζιον, ἔ(ν)|θα γὰρ κατ[οι|κ]ῖ

The most common substitution in the Christian period is Christ, as witnessed by inscriptions on stone lintels of buildings from four sites in Syria dating to the fifth and sixth centuries, seeking general protection from evil.⁵⁹ Saints and biblical personages however can also be substituted. The patriarch Abraham appears in this role in a papyrus amulet for the general protection of a house from the sixth century, of uncertain provenance but perhaps the Fayum region of Egypt; the same text has been copied on both front and back of the sheet, likely for hanging over the door of the house.⁶⁰ St. Phokas is so used on another papyrus house-amulet from the sixth century, from the Egyptian city of Oxyrhynchus, which seeks specific protection against scorpions and noxious reptiles, a function that the saint continued to perform in Byzantium.⁶¹

A Greek codex of the fifteenth century allows us to trace the survival of this formula through the Byzantine period. This manuscript contains astrological and medical treatises along with prayers and exorcisms; its place of production is uncertain, but the later addition of epistolary formulae including the titles of the bishop of Thessalonike point to the vicinity of that city; it eventually came into the possession of Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614).⁶² This codex includes an anonymous collection of medical recipes, one of which gives an incantation for fever which concludes with the statement that “Saints Longinus and Patapius dwell here with the servant of God so-and-so.”⁶³ Both saints, according to their legends, were credited with performing healing miracles either before or after their deaths.⁶⁴

Σισιννις κ(αί) | Σισιννια κ(αί) | ὁ λάβ(ρ)αξ κύω(ν) (chapter 1 cat. 1.25.2.2). For further examples and variations see the chapter 1 cat., 1.25.2.

⁵⁹ E.g., from Namer, *IGLS XIII.2* 9927, † ὁ θε(ο)ῦ παῖς θε(ο)ς Χ(ριστὸς) ἐνθάδε | κατοικεῖ Α + Ω μηδ' ἐσεῖτο κ(ακόν) (chapter 1 cat. 1.25.5.1). For further attestations see chapter 1 cat. 1.25.5.

⁶⁰ Vienna, ÖNB P. gr. 19889, ed. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P2a, ἡ ἰσχὺς τοῦ θε(ο)ῦ ἡμῶν | ἐνίσχυσεν, καὶ ἐπέβη | κύριος ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν | καὶ οὐκ ἔασεν | τὸν ἐξολοθρεύοντα | εἰσελθεῖν. Ἀβραὰμ (ὦ)δε κατ[οικεῖ]. | τὸ αἶμ[α τοῦ Χριστοῦ] | παῦσον τὸ κακόν (chapter 1 cat. 1.25.4.1).

⁶¹ Manchester, P.Ryl. inv. 452, ed. *P.Oxy.* VII 1060, τὴν θύραν τὴν Ἀφροδίτην | φροδίτην ροδίτην οδιτην | διτην ιτην την την ωρ ωρ | φωρ φωρ Ιαω Σαβαωθ Ἀδονε | δένο σε σκορπίε Ἀρτερήσιε. | ἀπάλλαξον τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον | ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ ἐρπετοῦ | πράγματος, ταχύ ταχύ. | ὁ ἅγιος Φωκᾶς ὦδέ ἐστιν. | Φαμενῶθ ιγ' ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) τρίτης (chapter 1 cat. 1.25.6.1). On the later association of Phokas with the binding of reptiles see Koukoules 1926, 66. On the ‘Artemisian’ scorpion cf. the myth that this reptile served Artemis in the death of Orion (e.g. Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Iliadem*, ed. van der Valk, *Eustathii* 4:226); the Ephesian Artemis was also said to have instructed the discovery of the herb aristolochia as a cure for snake-bites (Schol. Nic. *Ther.* 937).

⁶² London, BL cod. Royal 16 C II, see Gilson and Warner 1921, 2:180-181; also *CCAG IX:24-27*, cod. 48. The epistolary formulae appear at ff. 116r-117v.

⁶³ London, BL cod. Royal 16 C II, f. 49v, περὶ ρίγους. εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου ἐνδόξου προφήτου προδρόμου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων. [*signs*]. Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ. ὁ ἅγιος Λογγῖνος καὶ Παζάππιος ὦδε κατοικοῦσιν εἰς τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα' (chapter 1 cat. 1.25.6.2).

⁶⁴ Patapius was an Egyptian anchorite who later came to Constantinople and performed healing (*Synaxarium CP*, 8 Dec. §1); Longinus, the centurion present at the crucifixion,

Calling type

In the next type of metaphorical elaboration, the incantation addresses a command to the target but attributes it to some powerful third party. These latter figures are drawn from myth, or the mythical expansion of history. In a set of anonymous Latin medical recipes probably of the fifth century, added to the *Euporiston* of Theodorus Priscianus,⁶⁵ a physician active at Constantinople in the fourth century whose surviving work is in Latin but who wrote primarily in Greek and seems to have adapted much Greek material,⁶⁶ we find in this role the Roman author and mystery-initiate Apuleius, who wrote much about, and was also accused of, magical practices. To stop bleeding, one is to incant in the ear of the patient, “Blood, Apuleius of Madaura commands you that your flow should stop.”⁶⁷ In the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods, the philosopher and thaumaturge Apollonios of Tyana appears in this role in an anonymous collection of medical recipes in a sixteenth-century codex,⁶⁸ where one is supposed to say in the ear of an epileptic that Apollonios of Tyana tells him to stand up, or is calling him. In a collection of medical recipes and home remedies in an eighteenth-century codex copied on Cyprus, Alexander the Great is employed in an incantation to keep rodents out of a house: the rodents are first told that Alexander has commanded them to withdraw, then threatened that if they do not, a ferocious black cat will be sent to eat them.⁶⁹ We may compare also a veterinary recipe from the Byzantine *Hippiatrika* which seeks to cure dysuria in a mare by pronouncing in its ear, ἵππος σε καλεῖ, μὴ δυσούρει, “A stallion is calling you, get rid of your dysuria.”⁷⁰

Alongside these survivals, Christian figures also appear in the commanding role in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods. We find for example in the sixth-century

was supposedly martyred by beheading; a blind woman later found the head, buried in a dung-heap, and her sight was restored (*Synaxarium CP*, 16 Oct. §1).

⁶⁵ On the date of this material and its relation to the authentic corpus of Theodorus see Rose 1894, vii: it appears, integrated with and undifferentiated from the authentic material, in two nearly identical versions in twelfth-century codices, Berlin lat. qu. 198, produced in southern France, and a manuscript formerly of the Chigi Library, F.IV.57.

⁶⁶ See the preface to the edition of Rose 1894, xix.

⁶⁷ Additions to the *Euporiston* of Theodorus, ed. Rose 1894, 276, item incantas ad aurem ipsius, ‘sanguis imperat tibi Apuleius Madaurensis ut cursus tuus stet’ (chapter 1 cat. 1.16.1).

⁶⁸ Leiden, UB cod. VGF 25, ff. 4v-5r λέγε ὡσαύτως καὶ πάτει | τὸν δάκτυλον τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ ποδὸς τὸν μέγαν ἥειξ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τυάνων λέγει σοι “ἀνάστηθι,” λέγων ἄχρις οὗ ἀναστή οὕτως, διὰ πείρας λέγω εἰρηκῶς τρίτον, Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τυανεύς καλεῖ σε’ (chapter 1 cat. 1.16.5). The manuscript is a short gathering of only 14 folia. The medical collection is preceded by a metrological treatise (Ἡλιοδώρου περὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν, f. 1r-v) and another on sympathy and antipathy attributed to Democritus (περὶ συμπαθειῶν καὶ ἀντιπαθειῶν, ff. 1v-3v). On the role of Apollonios in the Greek incantation tradition see further below.

⁶⁹ Private possession, ed. Chatziioannou 1950, 21 (no foliation), ἐμήνυσέν σας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀλεξανδροπολίτης νὰ πιάσης τὸ φουσατόν σου νὰ πάγης ἴς ἄλλον μέρος. διατὶ ἂν δὲν ἀκροαστῆς νὰ πάγης, πέμπουν τὸν γάτον τὸν μαῦρον τὸν μακρόνουρον τὸν γυαλλόματον τὸν λαμπρόστομον τὸν μακρόνουχον τὸν μακρόδοντον ὅπου ἢ γλῶσσά του βγάλλει λαμπρὸν ἴπου μέσα καὶ τρώγει τὴν ρίζαν σου, ξηλείβγει τὴν γενεάν σου’ (chapter 1 cat. 1.16.10).

⁷⁰ *Hippiatrika Cantabrigiensia* 24.8 (chapter 1 cat. 1.19.1).

Byzantine medical treatise of Aetios of Amida, a physician active at Alexandria and Constantinople, an incantation for a foreign object stuck in the throat in which the user holds the throat of the patient while saying, “Blasios the martyr and servant of God says, ‘Come up, bone, or go down.’”⁷¹ The martyr in question is surely Blasios of Sebasteia, who according to the metaphrastic life performed healing miracles in his lifetime and indeed specialized in cases of obstructions of the throat.⁷² In one particular case a child choking on a fish-bone was brought to him by his mother, and Blasios effects the cure by a similar means as recommended by Aetios, prayer and the laying of hands on the neck; the prayer includes an internal recommendation of a prayer for future sufferers of the same condition.⁷³ Blasios was martyred at Sebasteia, and the metaphrastic life mentions his burial and continued cult and healing miracles (ιάσεις) there “up to the present.”⁷⁴ Very likely then Aetios, himself a native of Asia Minor, drew on the tradition of this local cult for his incantation.

There is a particularly common type for easing childbirth in which the infant is said to be called by Christ to come out of the womb. It appears in Byzantine manuscript recipes from the fifteenth century, for example an anonymous *iatrosophion* in a manuscript of medical and astrological content, Paris BnF cod. gr. 2316.⁷⁵ Here it is combined with an allusion to the biblical account of the raising of Lazarus, to whom the child is assimilated, and a quotation from *Ps.* 136:7 likewise assimilating the child and its

⁷¹ Aetios of Amida 8.54, λέγε κατέχων τὸν λάρυγγα τοῦ πάσχοντος Ἐβλάσιος ὁ μάρτυς ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ λέγει “ἀνάβηθι ὅστοῦν ἢ κατάβηθι” (chapter 1 cat. 1.18.2). The ὅστοῦν could signify a fruit stone or pit in addition to a bone, cf. the death of the famous courtesan Lais by choking on an olive-pit (ὅστοῦν ἐλαίας καταπιούσα) reported by Ptolemaios ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 190, 146b Bekker.

⁷² PG 116:817-829; see further *BHG* 276-277. Blasios lived an eremitic life in a cave on Mt. Argeos in Cappadocia, where he was visited by animals to which he dispensed blessings by the laying-on of hands, and also healing (ιάσεις, c. 1-2, PG 116:817A-820A); he also performed healing on humans and was trained in medicine (πεπαιδευμένος ... τὴν ἰατρικὴν τέχνην). On his treatment of choking caused by foreign objects: c. 3, PG 116:820C-821A, ὡς οὖν ἐγένετό τινα ὅστοῦν καταπιεῖν ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων ...; relevant to his power over animal bones, he also shows a general control over animals in a second miracle in which he forces a wolf to restore to a pious old woman the pig that she had raised; she later butchers it to feed the saint in his imprisonment, bringing him its cooked head and hooves in a basket with some vegetables (ἐψήσασα τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τοὺς πόδας καὶ βαλοῦσα ἐν κανισκίῳ ἐκ τῶν σπερμάτων τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐτέρων τινῶν ἐκ τῆς πενίας αὐτῆς μετὰ καὶ ὀπώρας, κηρούς τε ἄψασα προσήνεγκε τῷ ἁγίῳ μάρτυρι), and he advises her on a ritual offering of the same ingredients to insure blessings (τούτῳ τῷ σχήματι ἐπιτέλει τὴν μνήμην μου καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐκλείψῃ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου σου ἀγαθωσύνη πᾶσα παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μου, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις μιμούμενός σε τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐπιτελεῖ τὴν μνήμην μου, ἀνέκλειπτον ἔξει τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μου δωρεὰν καὶ εὐλογίαν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ) (cc. 4-5, PG 116:821).

⁷³ *ibid.*, ἐπιθεις τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν λαιμόν ... καὶ ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἢ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἢ ἐν βρέφεσιν ἢ ἐν κτήνεσιν τι τοιοῦτον συμβῇ ποτε, μνημονεύσει δέ τις ἐκεῖ τοῦ ὀνόματος μου λέγων· ὁ θεὸς τῆς πρεσβείας τοῦ δούλου σου Βλασίου τάχυνον τὴν βοήθειάν σου, εὐθέως ποιήσον ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τὴν ἴασιν εἰς δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου.

⁷⁴ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, c. 11, PG 116:829B.

⁷⁵ The provenance and other contents of this codex are discussed extensively in the fourth chapter.

mother's womb to the "emptying out" of Jerusalem.⁷⁶ This form continues to be used in the post-Byzantine period: a shorter version is found in an anonymous collection of medical recipes in a manuscript copied in the eighteenth century at a monastery in Thessaly, in which the child is simply said to be called to come out by Christ, along with the earth, baptism, John the Baptist, and the *Theotokos*.⁷⁷ There are also parallels for the use of this formula in the medieval West, as early as the eleventh century, where it appears in an anonymous medical recipe added to a monastic collection of school texts produced at Trier.⁷⁸ The assimilation of the child to Lazarus dates back as early as a Greek papyrus formulary recipe of the fifth or sixth centuries A.D., which will be discussed below.

2. Performative

The direct confrontation of the target in incantations just seen in the addressative type can also be extended through a mode of incantatory speech which, to use a term from speech-act theory, can be described as a performative utterance. This concept, originally formulated by the British philosopher J.L. Austin (1962), has been aptly applied to formulae of binding in ancient Greek curses,⁷⁹ among others. The performative category of language is distinct from the declarative statement: it is concerned not with the description of conditions or the reporting of facts, but rather seeks to enact a condition, such as a promise. The performative is felicitous if it succeeds in this aim, and felicity depends on the satisfaction of certain pre-conditions, most importantly the existence of a convention rendering the utterance meaningful, and the choice of an appropriate situation. Many of the examples offered in Austin's original presentation are in the first person – the classic example is "I now pronounce you man and wife" – and these are the easiest to extend to incantation practice, but Austin also acknowledges second- and third-person varieties. A ready criterion for the latter is whether the utterance can be paraphrased in the form "(the subject) is hereby (in such-and-such a condition)." It is along those lines that I find it useful to extend the concept to incantations: in the third person, in particular, the user does not have any special interest in the truth value of the claim that, for example, a mythical figure such as the lark discussed above is literally

⁷⁶ Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316, f. 360v, γράφε οὕτως 'Λάζαρε δεῦρο ἔξω, Χριστός σε καλεῖ. ἡ παρθένος σήμερον τὸν ὑπερούσιον τίκτει, τέξαι καὶ σύ, ἡ γενναῖς, τὸ βρέφος. ἄκουε οὐρανὲ καὶ ἐνωτίζου ἡ γῆ. ἔξελθε βρέφος, ζῶν ἢ ἀποθαμμένον, καλεῖ σε Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος. μνήσθητι κύριε τῶν υἱῶν Εδωμ τὴν ἡμέραν Ἰερουσαλημ τῶν λεγόντων "ἐκκενοῦτε, ἐκκενοῦτε." καὶ αὐτὰ γράψον καὶ δῆσον εἰς πάνιον καὶ κολιανδρον κουκκία ἕνδεκα καὶ ἄς δῆση αὐτὸ παρθένος γυνὴ εἰς τὸ μερίν της ἐντὸς τῆς τικτούσης καὶ γενναῖ (chapter 1 cat. 1.17.2.2).

⁷⁷ Monastery of Olympiotissa, cod. 97, p. 28, ed. Skouvaras 1965-1966, 80, 'ἔβγα βρέφος, καλεῖ σε ἡ γῆ, καλεῖ σε τὸ βάπτισμα. ἔβγα βρέφος, καλεῖ σε ὁ βαπτιστῆς Ἰωάννης. ἔβγα βρέφος, καλεῖ σε ὁ Χριστός. ἔβγα βρέφος, καλεῖ σε ἡ θεοτόκος ἡ καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐγέννησεν' (chapter 1 cat. 1.17.2.3). For further instances see catalogue 1.17.2.

⁷⁸ Bonn, UB cod. 218, f. 40r added in margin, ed. Heim 1893, 550, ad difficultatem pariendi probatum. 'Elisabet peperit praecursorem, sancta Maria genuit saluatorem. siue masculus sis siue femina, ueni foras, saluator reuocat te. omnes sancti dei intercedant pro ista femina.' quod scriptum supra genua tribus digitis ligas (chapter 1 cat. 1.17.2.6).

⁷⁹ Cf. Faraone 1995. Addabbo 1989, esp. 108-120, has also applied speech act theory to a selection of Latin incantations from Heim's collection, but the analysis is restricted to linguistic features.

chasing the affliction away,⁸⁰ or an infant in a difficult childbirth is actually a camel.⁸¹ Rather, the user aims to elicit the response which would conventionally be expected if that scenario were true (Austin's felicity conditions): in these examples, that the affliction disappear and that the infant exit the womb, respectively. The advantage of this analytical approach lies in rescuing a large class of metaphorical statements from the label of nonsense, which is sometimes applied to them by scholars less interested in their content. They should be understood rather as highly targeted, goal-oriented speech acts crafted and deployed to achieve a result in which the user is deeply invested, namely maintaining health and averting evil.

In this mode, then, the user first establishes the appropriate ritual context for the utterance, then claims and simultaneously enacts the claim to perform healing, protecting, and related actions. These performatives occur most often in the first person, beginning already in the classical period. I point in particular to the $\pi\epsilon\upsilon\omega$ type (chapter 1 catalogue 2.9), a series of metal pendant amulets of the late Roman and late ancient periods, very likely produced in Syria and Palestine. In its simplest form, attested in at least seven examples, a representation of an ibis attacking a snake appears alongside an inscribed utterance of the bird, in the first person: $\pi\upsilon\omega$ for $\pi\epsilon\upsilon\omega$ (from $\pi\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\omega$) as Seyrig interprets:⁸² the ibis is hungry and prepares to devour the snake, which should therefore beware and withdraw.⁸³

This form is expanded in contemporary examples probably from the same Near Eastern context of production into a longer list of apotropaic figures (chapter 1 cat. 2.9.2), in which each element in turn stands as subject of the first-person verb $\pi\epsilon\upsilon\omega$ and as a powerful entity to which the user is assimilated. These lists include the familiar ibis and add a horse, a mule, an ostrich, the well-known apotropaic human phallus ($\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \kappa\omega\lambda\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, "the erect member of a man"),⁸⁴ and most notably, the thaumaturge Apollonios of Tyana, who appears also in the Byzantine incantation against epilepsy discussed above.⁸⁵ Another common performative in ancient incantations involves verbs of binding,

⁸⁰ On this motif in general see chapter 1 cat. 1.20.2.

⁸¹ 'camele exi foras, fratres te ad lumen uocant,' first encountered in spurious additions of probably early medieval date to the *Euporiston* of the Constantinopolitan physician Theodorus Priscianus, on whom see above; for the full text, and a later Latin variant of the twelfth century, see chapter 1 cat. 1.28.4-5.

⁸² Seyrig 1934. This is supported by an example not known to Seyrig, found in excavations in the necropolis of Tyre, *SEG XXXVI* 1318, in which the verb is preceded by $\lambda\upsilon\mu\omega$ (chapter 1 cat. 2.9.1.7), which fits much better with eating than drinking, which would otherwise be the obvious suggestion ($\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$). Cf. also *Geoponika* 13.8.5, where it is said on the authority of Democritus that ibis feathers have the power to immobilize snakes. The position that the underlying verb is $\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ is taken by Barb 1972, 359-362, and repeated in Spier 1993, 46-47.

⁸³ The two examples with certain archeological context come from graves, one from Nahariya (*SEG XXXV* 1558, chapter 1 cat. 2.9.1.5), the other from the necropolis of Tyre (see the previous note).

⁸⁴ More specifically, there is an apotropaic relief from Roman Tripoletana which depicts the evil eye attacked by the usual complement of wild animals (here bird, snake, and scorpion), but adds a centaur with particularly prominent phallus, which is pointed directly at the eye: *I.Tripoletana* 768.

⁸⁵ Again the one example with known archeological context is from the necropolis of Tyre, *SEG XXXVI* 1313. The text in question runs $\Upsilon\pi\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\beta\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \kappa\omicron\lambda\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \sigma\tau\rho\upsilon\theta\omicron\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\ \lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \text{\AA}\rho\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\ \text{\AA}\tau\omicron\iota\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma,\ | \pi\upsilon\omega$ (chapter 1 cat. 2.9.2.1).

as seen in a group of amulets on papyrus found in Egypt from the fifth and sixth centuries, against scorpions, which include an address to the scorpion with the phrase δέννω σε, “I bind you.”⁸⁶

The use of performatives in incantations continues in Byzantium. It is noteworthy in its claim for direct action on the part of the user, distinct from liturgical prayers, which request similar help from Christian holy figures, and from exorcisms, which threaten demons and other targets by invoking the power of these holy figures. In the Byzantine period there are quite practical examples, including the figure of binding mentioned above, such as an interpolation in a thirteenth-century manuscript copy of the sixth-century medical treatise of Aetios of Amida, providing a remedy for nosebleeds. The codex as a whole contains miscellaneous medical content probably assembled with the aim of practical use.⁸⁷ Here the user is to wet some fabric in the blood, tie it on the neck of the patient, and repeat the incantation αἷμα αἵματι δήσας στέλλω, “Blood I check, binding with blood.”⁸⁸ Here the principle of sympathy is also operative, which works in concert with the incantation to heighten its effect. This concept has been identified as characteristic of magical practice by James Frazer and usefully refined as “persuasive analogy” by Stanley Tambiah.⁸⁹ More broadly the operations of supernatural affinities between substances were known in Greek philosophical thought since antiquity,⁹⁰ nor were they confined to philosophic writings: in an anecdote copied in an anthology in Ptolemaic Egypt, a dying libertine jokes that his bones should be ground up and kept for use as a medical salve for those suffering disorders of the rectum, because he had achieved so much successful penetration of rectums in his lifetime.⁹¹ In the Byzantine example, the user’s

⁸⁶ Three of the amulets were found in excavations at the city of Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy.* XVI 2061-2063); the provenance of the fourth is uncertain (*P.Oslo* I 5): see further chapter 1 cat. 1.11.

⁸⁷ Vatican, BAV cod. Palat. gr. 199. Books 1-6 and 8-9 of the treatise of Aetios, with numerous interpellations, form the bulk of the contents (ff. 101r-448r); there are also excerpts from Galen and Hippocrates, and brief anonymous notes on astrology (solar and lunar cycles, f. 1r-v; lucky and unlucky days, f. 426v) and the medicinal properties of herbs (ff. 15v-17v). See Stevenson 1885, 99-101; no direct indications of provenance. Ceresa and Lucà 2008, 204 revise the dating to around the year 1300 and suggest production in a provincial but not Italian milieu. Mondrain 2000a, 235, proposes an identification with the scribes of Vatican BAV cod. Pal. gr. 297 (ff. 1-42) and Paris, BnF cod. 2237, and production in a western context, perhaps Morea.

⁸⁸ See further chapter 1 cat. 2.2.2.1. A related subgenre in which performative statements of binding are expanded into a ritual drama (chapter 1 cat. 2.2.6) is discussed further below.

⁸⁹ Frazer 1911-1915, volume 1 *passim*; Tambiah 1968. Graf 1997, 206-210 cautions that in the case of aggressive ritual the utterance is only meant for the user, there is no one else to be persuaded, but that generalization is in turn problematic because as will be seen in more detail in the second and third chapters, there is great variety in forms of address in such incantations, including the target and arrays of supernatural beings invoked to carry out the desired effect.

⁹⁰ E.g. Arist. [*Pr.*] 7, the section ὅσα ἐκ συμπάθεις (886a23ff), see further Thorndike 1923-1958, 1:24-27 and 84-88; Pliny *HN* 30.9 alleges that Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, and Plato spread the precepts of the *magi*, a by-word in his work for the exploitation of hidden natural properties, sympathy and antipathy, in Greece.

⁹¹ *P.Tebt.* I 1.17-19 (*MP*³ 1606.4).

manipulation of the blood conveniently stabilized on the cloth is intended as an analogue to the desired effect on the blood more problematically flowing from the nose.

A performative motif with an especially long life involves verbs of releasing, to ease a difficult childbirth. The Roman author Pliny is the first to mention the motif. He records a procedure by which childbirth can be eased if the father binds the mother with his belt, then releases her. This is accompanied by an incantation, as the father states that he has bound her and he too will release her.⁹² A very similar prescription is given in the medical recipe collection of Sextus Placitus of Papira in Asia Minor, active in the fourth century. It contains a peculiar textual corruption that suggests translation from a Greek original in which one phrase was not understood and so directly transliterated, ‘ego <ὁ> δῆσας explicō te laborantem,’ ‘I who bound you release you in your labor.’⁹³ No Byzantine attestations are known, but the procedure and accompanying incantation seem to have been practiced in modern Greece, suggesting a continuous tradition. Here details of location, context, and exact wording of the incantation are unfortunately somewhat sketchy. The best account is given by the traveler C.S. Sonnini (1751-1812), who visited the Aegean islands of Melos and Kimolos (Argentière) in the late eighteenth century. From what has been preserved, the father strikes the mother in the back with his belt or shoe and says, “I have burdened you, and I unburden you,” and a local, elderly “wise woman” is at the center of the organization of this ritual.⁹⁴

Other Byzantine examples take greater imaginative liberties in using performatives to compose analogous scenarios for healing. A prescription in an anonymous collection of medical recipes, copied in a sixteenth-century manuscript of uncertain origin, combats colic by such means. The user takes grains of cumin, places them on the navel, and speaks in the persona of the *materia medica*, κύμινόν εἰμι καὶ κύμινον καλοῦμαι, εἰς ὀμφαλὸν κάθημαι καὶ στρόφους λύω, “Cumin I am and cumin I am called, I sit on the navel and release the colic.”⁹⁵ Another incantation, for choking, is preserved in two versions in a similar context, anonymous Byzantine collections of medical recipes. The earlier copy dates probably to the twelfth century, and the later to fourteenth; both occur in collections which include veterinary material.⁹⁶ Here the speaker self-identifies as a Thessalian woman

⁹² HN 28.42, *partus accelerat hic mas ex quo quaeque conceperit, si cinctu suo soluto feminam cinxerit, deinde soluerit adiecta precatione se cinxisse, eundem et soluturum, atque abierit* (catalogue 2.2.1.16).

⁹³ Sextus Placitus 17.11, *ut mulier cito pariat. homo uir si soluat semicinctium suum et eam praecingat et dicat ‘ego <ὁ> δῆσας explicō te laborantem.’* [2 <ὁ> δῆσας *conieci*, *desas codd.* Vr Vi : *de hoc cett.*] (chapter 1 cat. 2.2.1.19). A medieval Latin variant substitutes the first-person claim of unbinding with a wish that Christ may do so: Cambridge, Trinity College cod. R.14.30 (s. XIII), f. 143v, ‘ego te cingo, Christus te soluat’ (chapter 1 cat. 2.2.1.18).

⁹⁴ Sonnini 1801, 2:92-93. Polites 1917-1918, 325-326 prints the text ‘ἐγὼ σὲ φόρτωσα κ’ ἐγὼ σὲ ξεφορτώνω’ or ‘κ’ ὁ θεὸς νὰ σὲ ξεφορτώσῃ’ (chapter 1 cat. 2.2.1.17), but one of his sources (Bybilakis 1840, 3-4) offers only the latter variant, and the other, Sonnini, which offers the former, gives only a French translation (“c’est moi qui t’ai chargée, à présent je te décharge”).

⁹⁵ Chapter 1 cat. 2.8.1.2: Leiden, UB cod. VGF 25, on which see above.

⁹⁶ See further chapter 1 cat. 2.7.5.1-2: Oxford, Bodleian Library cod. Barocci 216, f. 5r and Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2244, f. 116r-v respectively. The Oxford manuscript is on parchment, and no internal indications of provenance survive: ff. 4r-11v preserve the collection in question, which is clearly a fragment of a longer text, which was later bound with unrelated material. The corresponding portion of the Paris manuscript (ff. 90r-185v)

who has found out the powers of herbs, and is now coming from Thessaly to the patient bearing the judgments of Circe and the Byzantine emperor and sage Leo the Wise (in one version also Orpheus and Democritus) on what the foreign object lodged in the throat is, and to dislodge it in turn, ending with a string of magical *logoi* and a command, “either spit it up or swallow it down.”⁹⁷ Each one of these four arbiters has strong associations with the ritual power of words, as will be discussed further below; the Thessalian herself, the user’s persona here, has also been selected to draw on the legendary reputation of Thessalian women for expertise in incantations: for example, the necromancer Erictho in Lucan’s *Pharsalia* and “Philinna the Thessalian woman” to whom a Hellenistic incantation is attributed in a collection of medical recipes from late Ptolemaic or early Roman Egypt.⁹⁸

3. Narrative

The recounting of narratives in healing and apotropaic incantations is a recurring feature throughout the Greek tradition. These narratives function explicitly or implicitly as an analogy for problem that the user attempts to resolve with the incantation, and for the desired resolution. They may be wholly invented, or characters otherwise known from myth or history may be adapted for the specific needs of the incantation. The practice is widespread beyond the Greek tradition too, however,⁹⁹ so I attempt to trace the

was probably produced in Italy, as suggested by watermarks, and has been identified as the still unedited recension R of the corpus of Byzantine *Hippiatrika*; but in view of the inclusion of this remedy for swallowed bones, which more likely originally had a human application, it would be a mistake to call it a purely hippiatric treatise (the connection of the Oxford manuscript has not yet been made, to my knowledge). The rest of the Oxford and Paris texts are clearly related but not identical, as far as can be seen from the fragmentary state of the former. Immediately following in the Oxford manuscript (ff. 12r-15v) is yet another fragment of an originally separate but generically related veterinary treatise, dealing particularly with cattle and including some material attributed to the physician Apsyrtus (f. 15v), likely active in the fourth century, as well as directions for obtaining the patronage of various saints for the protection of livestock and crops via dedications and animal sacrifice (ff. 14v-15r: of the six procedures, the final four appear also in the ‘Leiden excerpts’ of the *Hippiatrika* [Leiden, UB cod. VGQ 50], ed. Oder and Hoppe §§196-199, but the first two, which involve Ss. Paphnutios and Andronikos in the one and Ss. Eulogios, Damios [*sic*], and Alampios in the other, were previously unknown), none of which has so far been noted in scholarship on the *Hippiatrika*. On Apsyrtus and his work see McCabe 2007, 122-155; and on the Paris manuscript, *ibid.* 44-46.

⁹⁷ The longer version, from the Paris manuscript, runs in full: πρὸς καταπότιον ὄφελος. ‘Θεσσαλή Θεσσαλή ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἐλθοῦσα πρώτη καὶ εὐροῦσα βοτάνας καὶ τὰ ἰσχυρώματα, Θεσσαλή οὔσα λέγω καὶ ἐλεύσομαι ὡς Λέοντος ἔχουσα ἐπωδὴν καὶ θεοῦ Ὀρφέως καὶ Δημοκρίτου καὶ Κίρκης, εἴτε ὀστέον κατέπιες ἢ ξύλον ἢ ὄστρακον εἴτε λίθον ἢ ἄλλο τι, ἀνεύγκαί αὐτὸ ἔξω. ερωκα κευλα κευλαπηδα ασδυρβερακι θερμιβιρου ειπορταβποντε | νερβουμουκου εξει οξει φιη. πτύσον ἢ κατάπιε.’

⁹⁸ The popularity of this text is shown by its appearance in three distinct copies as early as the first century B.C., the most complete of which is edited in *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XX.12-18: see further chapter 1 cat. 1.26.4.

⁹⁹ Herodotus, for example, notes that for the Persian *magi* a cosmogonic narrative about the creation of the gods (θεογονίη) serves as an incantation (ἐπαισιδή) essential for the efficacy of sacrifices (1.132).

transmission of specific narrative motifs whose similarity is unlikely to be mere coincidence. This use of narrative in incantations has often been designated *historiola* in the Greek-specific scholarship,¹⁰⁰ though this medieval Latin word has no basis in the terminology with which the users of Greek incantations, or Latin incantations, described them. Indeed in general narratives of this type were such a fundamental constituent that their presence was not specially remarked. One possible exception is in a medical recipe in the Byzantine *Geoponika*, attributed to a Berytios, which gives a remedy for drunkenness: a crown of flowers placed on the head, accompanied by “select narrations from ancient stories.”¹⁰¹ Another disadvantage of the term *historiola* is that it implies the situation of the narrative in the past, while the reality in incantation practice is more complex: sometimes the past tense is used, but often the present tense appears instead, and cannot be easily dismissed as the ‘historical’ present. Rather, the metaphorical and performative power of voicing these narratives as taking place in the here and now of the healing scenarios contributes to their efficacy.

Particularly useful in the analysis of narratives is the accurate, scientific classification of folktales produced by Vladimir Propp (1968). Though Propp’s work on this specialized genre is not directly applicable to the narrative elements in incantations, his principle of classification by the function of characters in the tale remains relevant. As we will see, by a similar logic of folkloric composition, specific functions, such as a divinity who encounters and redirects a demonic force away from the patient, can be filled by a large range of possible characters: in other words, the identity of the character is independent of the function performed by that character. Further, an analogue to Propp’s law of transference of components is at work in the great fertility of incantations in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods. Thus, motifs from the repertoire known to the composer can be readily combined and recombined, within the boundary of the genre.

Narratives are already a feature of classical and late ancient incantations. A good example can be found in a papyrus formulary book roll from Egypt, of the fourth century A.D., which contains a variety of medical recipes along with procedures for divination by requesting a significant dream, attributed to Pythagoras and Democritus among others, or by drawing lots from lines of Homer (Ὀμηρομαντεῖον), as well as instructions for creating illusions and playing ‘tricks’ on party guests attributed to Democritus (παίγνια), and erotic magic.¹⁰² One of the medical recipes seeks to cure migraine with an incantation that is to be spoken over olive oil, which will be used as a healing ointment once activated by this performance. The incantation consists of a narrative in which it is first stated that the god Zeus has sown a grape-seed, which now splits the earth (in its sprouting). Still in the present tense, the user then pivots to state that Zeus does *not* sow, and that therefore the growth of the seed does not sprout up. There is a clear analogy between the cleaving of the earth and the splitting headache of the migraine.

The rise and predominance of Christian faith and scripture does not obliterate this rich narrative incantation tradition. Instead, as Propp observed for folktales, the characters change but their function in the narrative survives independently. At the same time, a

¹⁰⁰ It was given lasting currency by the study of Heim 1892; Frankfurter 1995 has developed in more detail an anthropological theory accounting for its appeal.

¹⁰¹ *Geoponika* 7.33: so I would translate ἀρχαίων ιστοριῶν ζητήματα καὶ διηγήσεις as a hendiadys, referring to a two-stage process in which appropriate material is first searched out, then recounted.

¹⁰² P.Lond. inv. 121, col. v, 33-35, ed. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.199-201 (chapter 1 cat. 3.7.3), πρ(ὸς) ἡμικράνιον. λαβὼν ἔλαιον εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου εἰπέ λό(γον) | ‘ὁ Ζεὺς ἔσπειρεν λίθον ῥαγός, σχίζει τὴν γῆν. οὐ σπείρει, | οὐκ ἀναβαίνει.’

certain number of narratives with no Christian content continue to figure. Additionally, Christian personages can be inserted in new, wholly imagined narrative scenarios, for which there is no biblical, apocryphal, or hagiographical precedent.

I will consider first narrative structures that originated in the pre-Christian tradition and survived through the medieval period without being re-populated by Christian characters. One long-lasting narrative motif describes three figures who perform three different actions related to the affliction that the incantation seeks to cure; the last of the three is generally the provision of the cure itself. I focus here on one instance of this motif, in medical recipes targeting colic. We find it first in the late ancient collection of Marcellus. For intestinal pain, an incantation is prescribed that gives the following narrative: “There stood a tree in the middle of the sea, and on it hung a bucket full of human intestines. Three maidens walked around it, two binding, one unwinding.”¹⁰³ The unwinding represents the alleviation of the patient’s own tormented intestines. A condensed version found in a collection of Latin medical recipes falsely attributed to Pliny, copied in an early medieval monastic context, makes the women sisters, and the three sisters in combination with winding and unwinding are likely based on the three Fates of Greek myth.¹⁰⁴ The motif is represented in turn in the Byzantine period. In a manuscript of the first half of the fourteenth century, containing medical material including a large anonymous collection of medical recipes,¹⁰⁵ we find a recipe to treat colic. It runs, “Three women went to the sea to wash the intestines, and one was singing, another singing off, and the other relieved the vexation of this colic.”¹⁰⁶ And finally the motif appears in a modern Greek incantation for similar intestinal distress, recorded in the town of Xerochorion, in the northwest of Euboea, in the early twentieth century; unfortunately the

¹⁰³ ‘stabat arbor in medio mare et ibi pendebat situla plena intestinorum humanorum. tres uirgines circumibant, duae alligabant, una reuoluebat,’ *De medicamentis* 28.74 (see chapter 1 cat. 3.15.3). There is a related motif in another incantation in Marcellus, with three maidens sitting at a table in the middle of the sea, two twisting and one untwisting, for an affliction of uncertain identity (*corcum*) but perhaps, given the content, a kind of colic (21.3, see chapter 1 cat. 3.15.2).

¹⁰⁴ ‘tres sorores ambulabant, una uoluebat, alia cernebat, tertia soluebat,’ “Three sisters were walking, one winding, another watching, the third releasing” ([Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 2.32 [cod. p. 236.8-11], ed. Önnersfors 2006, 1:54; see chapter 1 cat. 3.15.1). On the mythological background, Heim 1893, 496-497 and further 1929-1930, 438-439; supported by the placement of the Fates (*Moirai*) in the wilderness among the reeds by a pool of water in a modern Greek incantation used in a request for a dream vision (chapter 1 cat. 2.7.5.3); see further Blum and Blum 1970, 100 and Abbott 1903, 125-128.

¹⁰⁵ Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2510, on which see recently Mondrain and Hamesse 2001. Its origin is uncertain; like BnF cod. 2316, it once belonged to Gian Francesco d’Asola (see above). It was later bound with unrelated pages copied by Ioannes Staphidakes, which belong to BnF cod. 2318.

¹⁰⁶ Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2510, f. 23r, ‘τρεις γυναῖκες ὑπῆγαν ἔντερα πλῦναι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἡ μὲν ἤδεν, ἡ δὲ ἀπῆδεν, ἡ δὲ ἔπαυσεν τὸν διωγμὸν τοῦ στρόφου τοῦδε’ (chapter 1 cat. 3.15.4). Classical Greek ἀπάδειν, ‘to sing off-key’ (with transferred sense ‘dissent’ etc., see *DGE* s.v.) probably suggests here instead ‘sing off’ or ‘sing away’ in the sense of removing or dissipating the affliction by means of sung incantation, cf. Latin *excantare* (chapter 1 cat. 1.9.1).

exact conditions of its use there were not reported.¹⁰⁷ The incantation begins with the narrative statement, “Across the river there are three maidens, one twists, another spins, and the other winds up [the stuff] into a ball.” Here there is a further development, in that the healing analogue, the resolution of the intestinal constriction, is in fact performed by a fourth party, the river itself, which cuts the thread in half.¹⁰⁸

Next I turn to narrative motifs of pre-Christian origin into which Christian figures are inserted. The best example is a motif in which a powerful divinity encounters and redirects the affliction that the incantation targets. It appears inscribed on an amulet as early as the first or second century AD, a thin silver leaf which was found in a sarcophagus in Roman Carnuntum in modern Austria. In this ancient form, the goddess Artemis of Ephesus meets, interrogates, and wards off the demonic Antaura, bringer of migraine, who comes forth from the sea: the core is a dialogue between the two, in which Artemis asks Antaura where she is going, Antaura replies that she is going to the patient, and Artemis forbids this, ordering her to go elsewhere instead.¹⁰⁹

In the Byzantine period, the narrative motif of the encounter is reworked such that the two narrative functions are maintained, a protecting divinity and a redirected demon. Under Christianity, however, angels, Christ, and other Christian holy figures begin to appear as the protector. The popularity of the motif, too, increases such that a variety of personified afflictions and demonic assailants appear alongside the original migraine demoness. In this form it has been found on amulets from the seventh and eighth centuries, two from Cyprus on lead tablets and another from Reggio Calabria in southern Italy inscribed on a ceramic tile, in which the archangel Michael encounters a demonic spirit (πνεῦμα) threatening more general harm against the patient.¹¹⁰ Manuscript recipes for incantations are very likely behind this survival of over 500 years and significant geographic distance, although none survives until much later in the Byzantine period. The earliest appears in a fourteenth-century manuscript of medical and astrological content copied by the monk and intellectual Neophytos Prodromenos at Constantinople: the recipe itself is a contemporary addition in the margin in another hand. For general protection against danger, the incantation narrates how three angelic figures, “one red, one purple, and one tawny,” went up to the mountains with armor and encountered three wild animals, which they interrogate, then surround.¹¹¹ Instances of the more familiar type, in

¹⁰⁷ G. Rhousias in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913, 48: Rhousias, who identifies himself as a public-school instructor of φιλολογία in his subscription, seems to have submitted by post a collection of 16 incantations in contemporary use in his vicinity directly to the editors of the folklore-studies journal *Laographia*, but he provides no further details about their use. The indication of the procedure is γιὰ τὸν ἀφαλὸ, literally “for the navel,” but surely by metonymy the intestines more generally.

¹⁰⁸ ἀπὸ πέρα ἀπ’ τὸ ποτάμι, τρί’ ἀπάρθυνα κοράσια, τὸ ἴνα στρίβει, τ’ ἄλλο νέθει, καὶ τ’ ἄλλο κουβαργιάζει. κόπη τὸ μισὸ ποτάμι (chapter 1 cat. 3.15.5). For κουβαργιάζω cf. *LBG* s.v. κουβάριον.

¹⁰⁹ *GMA* 13, πρὸς ἡμίκρα|νον. Ἄνταύρα | ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς | θαλάσσης, ἀνε|βόησεν ὡς | ἔλαφος, ἀνε|κραξεν ὡς βοῦς. | ὑπαντᾷ αὐτῇ | Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσ[ία,] | “Ἄνταύρα, πο[ῦ] | ὑπάγεις;” “ἰς τὸ ἡ|μίκρ[ανον.]” | “[μ]ῆ οὐ[κ] ἰς τὰ ν[ε].” |]θη ἀπαλλαγαῶν.’ (chapter 1 cat. 3.21.1).

¹¹⁰ The best-preserved example is from Cyprus, *SEG* LVI 1836: see chapter 1 cat. 3.21.2 and further 3.21.3-4.

¹¹¹ Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2286, f. 60r, ‘[ἐρυθρὸς καὶ] πορφυροῦς καὶ πυρρὸς [ἐπῆρ]αν τὰ ξίφη καὶ ἀνέβησαν ἄνω εἰς τὰ ὄρη τὰ ὑψηλὰ καὶ ὑπήνητησαν κάπρον καὶ ρουσίαν καὶ

which Michael or Christ is the protector, appear in the fifteenth century. A good example, which resembles the narrative scenario in the Roman amulet from Carnuntum particularly closely in that the target is again a migraine headache that rises out of the sea, comes from an anonymous collection of medical recipes in a manuscript of medical and astrological content.¹¹² The motif survives into the post-Byzantine period, in a dynamic manner in which new variations continue to be produced. An example comes from a manuscript of the eighteenth century probably produced at Athens, containing astrological texts and procedures for divination by bibliomancy, as well as recipes for healing and protective remedies.¹¹³ Here, the incantation is for the protection of bees, to conserve them in their hives. The protector is the biblical King Solomon, who encounters an errant swarm of bees, who say that they are heading for the hills; he orders them to return to their hives.¹¹⁴

The narrative motif of the encounter is related to another motif that likewise is transmitted from antiquity into Byzantium and later Greek. This type attributes an analogous affliction to a divinity, instead of the patient, and it is healed in turn by a prescription dispensed by another divinity. Where accompanying instructions for the incantation survive, they often interlock with the internal prescription, lending a sense of divine efficacy to the procedure in the mortal realm. The motif of injured divinities healed by other divinities can be found in ancient Greece, for example the episode in which Paian

χοιρόλαιμον καὶ εἶπαν “ποῦ ὑπάγεις κάπρε καὶ ρουσία καὶ χοιρόλαιμε; ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς γυρεύομεν” (chapter 1 cat. 3.21.16); on the manuscript see above.

¹¹² Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316 (s. XV), ff. 319v-320r, ‘ὡς ἐξήρχετο τὸ ἡμικρανόν, τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ ἡμικράνου, τὸ σύνεργον τοῦ διαβόλου ἀπὸ τὰ βάθη τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ ὑπήντησέν το ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ ἐπερώτησεν αὐτὸ “ποῦ ὑπάγεις, τὸ ἡμικρανόν, τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ ἡμικράνου;” καὶ ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν “κύριε τί με ἐπερώτησας; ἐγὼ ὑπάγω εἰς τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα ...” καὶ ἀπεκρίθη ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, εἶπεν αὐτῷ “ὑπάγε εἰς τοῦ Αραρατ τὸ ὄρος ...” (see chapter 1 cat. 3.21.5). Another noteworthy and widespread variant is deployed against the demon Gello or Gylou, of Mesopotamian origin, studied by Greenfield 1989, Sorlin 1991, Oikonomides 1975-1976, Winkler 1931, and Perdrizet 1922, 5-38.

¹¹³ The presence of this recipe for the protection of bees and another for the protection of silkworms (ff. 80r-81v, chapter 1 cat. 3.11.1) suggests that the original owner was involved in agriculture. It was described by Armand Delatte (1927, 105-106 and further *CCAG* X:46-49, cod. 25), who published excerpts of its contents, as housed in the collections of “La Société historique” under the shelfmark 210; the bibliomantic treatise is on ff. 20r-25v, there is also a brontologion at ff. 6r-8v, but the recipes make up the bulk of the contents. The manuscript has not been mentioned in any publications known to me after Delatte saw it in the 1920s, but it is most likely now in the Ethniko Historiko Mouseio, under the auspices of the Historical and Ethnographic Society of Greece (Ἱστορική καὶ Ἐθνολογική Ἐταιρεία τῆς Ἑλλάδος).

¹¹⁴ Athens, Ethn. Hist. Mus. (?) cod. 210, f. 82r-v, ‘ὁ Σολομών ὑπήντησεν μελισσίων βρυχωμένων καὶ ἐρώτησεν αὐτὰ “ποῦ ὑπάγετε ἀγαπητοὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ;” καὶ εἶπαν “ὀδεύομεν εἰς ὄρος πρὸς κατοίκησιν.” καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς “ὀρκίζω σας εἰς τὸν θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα, τὸν ποιητὴν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ζώσιμον τὸν ἐκβαλόντα τὴν μέλισσαν ἀπὸ τὴν μακαρίαν γῆν· στράφητε εἰς τὴν κοίτην σας καὶ κρεμάσθητε ὡς βότρυες ἐν τῷ κλίμακι καὶ πληθυνθήσεται ὁ λαὸς τοῦ Ἰσραηλ” ...’ (chapter 1 cat. 3.21.17). The connection of Zosimos / Zosimas with the control of bees, specifically casting them out of Syria, is found four centuries earlier in an incantation for bees in a collection of recipes in St. Petersburg, NLR cod. gr. 116, f. 218r-v (ed. *CCAG* XII:169), see chapter 1 cat. 1.18.3.

heals Hades of an arrow-wound, when the wounded Hades comes to Olympus (*Il.* 5.395-402). In late antiquity the motif is attested in a recipe in a papyrus formulary from the fifth century, found in the city of Oxyrhynchus in Egypt and mixing purely pharmacological medical recipes with incantations. Here angels with ophthalmia ascend to heaven carrying a sponge, to seek the cure from their god.¹¹⁵ In a late ancient medical collection falsely attributed to Pliny, copied in an early medieval manuscript in a monastic context, we find two formulations with Graeco-Roman divinities: in the one, Jupiter suffers from a stomach disorder and asks Juno who can relieve it; she replies with an incantation of her own, ordering the affliction to abate.¹¹⁶ In the other, Neptune has tonsillitis, and in the absence of anyone else to help, cures himself while standing on a rock.¹¹⁷ This last variant in particular enjoyed lasting popularity in Latin incantations in the medieval West, in a development in which one of the saints, or Job, appears in the role of sufferer, sometimes situated like Neptune on a rock, and Christ is inserted as the healer (see chapter 1 cat. 3.31-34).

In the later Greek tradition, a different set of variants proved more popular, in which a saint, either John the Baptist or St. Mamas, complains that whatever affliction is targeted by the incantation, sunstroke or the devastation of livestock by predators, respectively, prevents him from joining in a banquet put on by Christ.¹¹⁸ The version with John is known only from modern Greek incantations, which have been reported in the early to mid- twentieth century, from the islands of Kephallenia, Kos, Rhodes, and Kastellorizo off the coast of Asia Minor, and the healing is effected either by Christ deploying an incantation himself, or directing John to find a good Christian who can.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Glasgow, UL Ms Gen. 1026/16 (s. V), ed. *P.Oxy.* XI 1384.23-29, ‘ἄγγελοι κ(υρί)ου ἀνήρθαν πρὸς μ[έσον] | τὸν οὐρανὸν ὀφθαλμοὺς | πονδῶντες καὶ σφόγγον κρατοῦντες. λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ κ(υρί)ου “τί ἀνήρ|θατε ἀγνοὶ πανκάθαροι;” “ἴασιν λαβῖν | ἀνήλθαμεν ἰαῶ Σαβᾶωθ, ὅτι σοὶ | δοινατὸς καὶ οἰσχιρός” (chapter 1 cat. 3.30.2).

¹¹⁶ [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 2.12 (cod. p. 220.4-7, ed. Önnersfors 2006, 1:37), *lingulae praecantatio. nouies dices* ‘Iuno Iouem rogabat qui leuaret lingulam. “quomodo sol, quomodo luna, quomodo uespera, quomodo septentriones, quomodo Lucifer et Antifer redeunt, sic reuertatur loco suo, redeat lingula” (chapter 1 cat. 3.30.1). *Lingula* is best interpreted as a bone, apparently resembling a tongue and whose dislocation was thought to trouble the stomach: see *TLL* 7.2.1453.84ff.

¹¹⁷ [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 1.11 (cod. p. 202, bottom margin, ed. Önnersfors 2006, 1:19), *ad tusellas. praecantas* ‘Neptunus tusellas habebat, supra petram hic stabat, neminem habuit qui curaret, ipse curauit in falce sua triplice.’ hoc ter dicis (chapter 1 cat. 3.30.3).

¹¹⁸ Various other patients are inserted in the same motif (chapter 1 cat. 3.37), and the Hellenistic monarch Alexander the Great also makes an appearance (chapter 1 cat. 3.38).

¹¹⁹ Here by way of example is the version from the village of Vlachata on Kephallenia (Kefalonia), reported without further details in 1910 by S.D. Pagonis, an instructor at an agricultural school in Argostolio on the same island: ‘κάτου ’ς τὸ γιολό, κάτου ’ς τὸ περιγιάλι Χριστὸς τραπέζι ἔστρωσε καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους του ἐκάλεσε κι’ ὅλοι τρώγουν καὶ πίνουν κι’ ὅλοι τὸν θεὸν δοξάζουν. κι’ ὁ ἅγιος ὁ Ἰωάννης οὔτε τρώγει οὔτε πίνει οὔτε τὸν θεὸν δοξάζει. κι’ ὁ Χριστὸς τὸν ἐρωτάει: “διατί, Ἰωάννη μου, οὔτε τρώγεις οὔτε πίνεις οὔτε ἐμένανε δοξάζεις;” “διατί ἦρτε ὁ ἥλιος καὶ κάθησε ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ καύκαλο τῆς κεφαλῆς μου καὶ δὲν μπορῶ οὔτε νὰ φάω οὔτε νὰ πιῶ οὔτε νὰ σὲ προσκυνήσω.” “πᾶρε νερὸ ἀμίλητο καὶ τριὰ κλωνιὰ ἀλάτι, καὶ πήγανε νὰ εὔρης βαπτισμένον μυρωμένον νὰ σ’ τὸ ξορκίσῃ νὰ σοῦ περάσῃ” (chapter 1 cat. 3.35.2; further examples at 3.35).

The version with St. Mamas shows the role of written alongside oral transmission. Like the version with John the Baptist, it has been recorded in modern Greek incantations, on the islands Nisyros, Rhodes, and Crete.¹²⁰ But at least two recipes for its use are preserved in contemporary manuscripts. G.K. Spyridakes, who edited it from a manuscript from Katsidoni in the district of Seteia, Crete, reports that this manuscript once belonged to his maternal uncle, who copied it himself in the latter half of the nineteenth century: it was a small gathering of only nine folia, and contained healing and protective recipes along with prayers to Ss. George and Panteleemon.¹²¹ St. Mamas (Mammes) most likely came into this role because of his legendary affinity with animals, having tamed lions and communed with other beasts before his martyrdom.¹²²

Finally I turn to instances in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods in which new incantations are created with the insertion of narrative motifs not previously used in the Greek incantation tradition. Indeed these incantations draw their core content from outside Christian scripture, hagiography, and liturgy, even though their users are fully engaged in those traditions. There is space only to consider the most common example, which I term the ‘good housemaster, bad housemistress’ motif, found in incantations against colic and indigestion. In full, a husband and wife, called *οικοκύρης* and *οικοκυρά vel sim.* (master- and mistress- of the house, respectively) are visited by an old man. The husband is welcoming but the wife is stingy, gorging herself on choice food while furnishing the guest with the bare minimum of food and shelter, with only rocks, twigs, and leaves for bedding. She contracts indigestion, and is in turn cured by an incantation supplied by the visitor. Some more elaborate versions place Christ or an angel in the role of the visitor,¹²³ but others call him merely an old man (*καλόγηρος*) seeking alms. One example is found in a recipe in a manuscript in use at Epirus at the time of its

¹²⁰ I print as an example that reported in Koukoules 1928, 489, from contemporary Nisyros: ‘ὁ ἅγιος Μάμαντος κάλεσμα ἔκαμε καὶ οὐλοὺς τοὺς ἁγίους ἐκάλεσε. καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Μάμαντος μηδὲ ἔτρωγε μηδὲ ἔπινε, μόνον τὸν θεὸν ἐδόξαζεν. ὁ ἀφέντης Χριστὸς τὸν ἠρώτησε “τί ἔχεις ἅγιε Μάμαντε καὶ μήτε πίνεις, μόνον τὸν θεὸν δοξάζεις;” ὁ ἅγιος Μάμαντος τοῦ λέγει “ἄρνι καὶ ρίφι ἐμέρωνα, ἴσ ἄγριο βουνὸ τ’ ἀνέτρεφα, σὲ μαρμαρμένα γούρνα τὰ πότιζα, σ’ ἀργυρῆ κασέλλα τὰ κλειδῶνα. καὶ πέρασε τὸ καλὸ πουλλὶ τὸ μαλιάρὸ καὶ μοῦ τὰ πῆρε.” “καὶ δὲν εὐρέθη ἄνθρωπος γεννημένος κι ἀπὸ τ’ ἅγια περασμένος νὰ σοῦ κάμη κόκκινον κλῶνον νὰ δέσης ἐλιᾶς κλῶνον ποῦ δὲν ἐβλέπει θάλασσαν;” ...’ (chapter 1 cat. 3.36.3). See further 3.36.1 and 3.36.5.

¹²¹ Spyridakis 1941-1942, 65, from f. 9r-v of the manuscript, διὰ νὰ δέσης βιτσιῖλα. παράδειγμα τοῦ ἁγίου Μάμαντος. ‘ὁ ἅγιος Μάμαντος κάλεσμα ἔκαμε καὶ ὅλους τοὺς ἁγίους ἐκάλεσε καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Μάμαντος μηδὲ ἔτρωγε μηδὲ ἔπινε, μόνο τὸν θεὸν ἐδόξαζε. καὶ ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς τὸν ἐρώτησε “τί ἔχεις ἅγιε Μάμαντε μηδὲ τρώεις μηδὲ πίνεις, μόνο τὸν θεὸ δοξάζεις;” “ἄρνι καὶ ρίφι ἐμέρωνα καὶ εἰς ἄγριο βουνὶ τὸ ἔβασκα καὶ εἰσὲ μαρμαρμένα γούρνα τὸ ἐπότιζα καὶ εἰς ἀργυρῆ κασέλα τὸ ἔβασκα καὶ ἐπέρασε τὸ μαλλιάρων πουλὶ καὶ μοῦ τὸ ἐπῆρε καὶ δὲν εὐρέθη ἄνθρωπος βαπτισμένος μυρωμένος καὶ ἀποὺ τὰ ἅγια μυστήρια περασμένος νὰ δέση τοῦ καλοῦ πουλιοῦ τὴν μύτην του, νὰ δέση τὰ οὐνυχίαν του, νὰ δέση τὰς τζιοῦντας τῶν πτεροῦγων του” ...’ (chapter 1 cat. 3.36.4). What became of the manuscript after Spyridakis is unknown. The other written attestation comes from a manuscript in the archives of the Historikon Lexikon at Sphakia on Crete (cod. 80a, p. 25), edited by Koukoules 1928, 488-489 (see chapter 1 cat. 3.36.2).

¹²² *BHG* 1017z-1019.

¹²³ Reported from contemporary Crete, Bardakes 1926, 244 (chapter 1 cat. 3.49.2).

transcription for edition in 1953. There it had been copied by the father of the possessor, Panagiotis Roubalis, probably from an earlier collection or multiple collections, and finished in 1862. It is a collection of remedies including prayers and incantations, and bears the internal title “Book of exorcistic power” (βιβλιάριον τῆς ἑξορκικῆς ἐνεργείας).¹²⁴

The earliest known version, from the fourteenth century, makes only a brief and allusive use of the motif but suggests that it has pre-Christian origins. The origin of this manuscript is uncertain, but it was once in the possession of Johannes Sambucus (1531-1584), and so brought to Vienna. It is a medical miscellany, including Dioscorides, Hippocrates, Paul of Aegina, and Aetius of Amida, and was probably for the use of a practicing physician: indeed the surviving pages are soiled from use. The incantation is a contemporary addition in a blank space. The relevant portion of the incantation runs, “Good is the master of the house, bad is the mistress. Leaves for the bed, a stone for the pillow,” and there is no mention of an old man whatsoever. Here this brief kernel is combined with other motifs in a fine illustration of Propp’s folkloric law of the transfer of components: these include the divided actions of three figures and the flight and pursuit motif, which cannot be discussed in detail here.¹²⁵ Just possibly then we may have a distant reflex of the Graeco-Roman myth of Baucis and Philemon, in which a husband and wife are saved from a flood through their pious reception of the visiting Zeus and Hermes, in contrast to their contemporaries who violate the ancient codes of hospitality.¹²⁶

In the early twentieth century, and no doubt long before, the motif had spread in oral use throughout the Aegean islands as well as Attica, the Peloponnese, and the Ionian islands, as witnessed by examples recorded in folklorist publications.¹²⁷ The fullest accompanying description of the context of use is for an example from the island of Kastellorizo, recorded in 1914. Here it is said that a female healer (ιάτρισσα) while

¹²⁴ f. 21v, ed. Oikonomides 1953-1954, 33-34, ‘καλόγηρος ἐδιάβαινε, ἑλεμοσύνην γύρευε. ἀγαθὸς ὁ νοικοκύρης, πονηρὴ ἢ νοικοκυρά, φάκον ἐμαγεύρευε, λάρδον ἐπαράσθηκε, κλήμα ἄς τὰ στρόματα καὶ λόθρο προσκέφαλα. νὰ παύσῃ ὁ θεὸς τὸν πόνον τῆς καρδίας τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ τάδε.’ καὶ πρῶτα νὰ εἰπῇ τὸ ‘ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος’ (chapter 1 cat. 3.49.1).

¹²⁵ Vienna, ÖNB cod. med. gr. 28, f. 139v, εἰς πόνον ὀμφαλοῦ. ‘ἀγαθὸς ὁ οἰκοκύρης, πονηρὴ ἢ οἰκοκύρα. κλήματα τὸ κραββάτιν, πέτρα τὸ προσκέφαλον. ὀμφαλὸς ἐξὸμφαλος ἐξουρανόθεν ἔπεσεν, ὡς κάκαβος ἐκτύπησεν, ὡς λέων ἐβρυχήσατο. εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν πηγὴν στήκει δίσκος ἀργυρὸς, στήκουν τρία καλὰ κοράσια. τὸ ἐν δένει, τὸ ἄλλον λύει, τὸ ἕτερον σκορπίζει. φεῦγε πόνε, ὁ Χριστὸς σε καταδιώχει. εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου.’ Addendum to the catalogue. On the manuscript, see the entry in Hunger 1961.

¹²⁶ *Ov. Met.* 8.618-724.

¹²⁷ Aegean: Crete (Bardakes 1926, 244: chapter 1 cat. 3.49.2), Cyprus (Polites 1883, 7n and Konstantinou 1954, 449: cat. 3.49.12-13), Kastellorizo (Diamantaras in Athanasopoulos et al. 1914, 503-504 no. 3: cat. 3.49.14), Naxos (Emellos 1962, 177-178: cat. 3.49.3), Paphos (Philippou in Athanasopoulos et al. 1914, 530 no. 8: cat. 3.49.9). Mainland: Athens (Polites 1883, 6: cat. 3.49.10), Euboia (Xerochorion, Rhousias in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913, 49 no. 9: cat. 3.49.4), Teuthrone (Gytheion, Manolakos 1915-1916, 614 no. 11: cat. 3.49.7). Ionian: Kephallenia (Miniais Livathous, Pagonis 1910, 469-470: cat. 3.49.11), Zakynthos (Kladé 1957, 553: 3.49.8), Kythera (Kastrisianika, Photios in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913, 57 no. 10α and β: cat. 3.49.5-6)

incanting crowns the patient with a garland of twigs (κλήμα), deliberately chosen to correspond to the twigs (κλήματα) that form the old man's meager bed.¹²⁸ This procedure is preceded by a troparion hymn in honor of the Anargyroi, Kosmas and Damianos, the premier healing saints in the Byzantine tradition, a combination which shows the readiness with which practitioners could accommodate incantations to Christian cult, in the service of an effective cure.

4. Scriptural

The use of scripture, or authoritative text available in a canonical form, functions in incantation practice in a similar manner to the narratives just discussed, presenting an analogue for the desired solution to the problem that the incantation addresses. But scripture, by which I mean here the epics of Homer and Vergil,¹²⁹ the biblical texts of the Old and New Testament, and hymns and liturgical texts associated with them, offers distinct advantages for the composers of incantations as opposed to narrative more broadly. First, by the time of their use, these texts had become part of a well-known canon, and owing to their great popularity and the almost visceral familiarity that resulted from their use as school texts, even a single verse or significant phrase could be expected to evoke the context of the original. Second, the nature of those original texts made them appealing, because they were thought to be divinely inspired and to contain truths on the forces shaping and controlling the entire cosmos. Thus their use serves to set the user and the target of the incantation within the plane of an authoritative narrative with cosmological extent. Finally, the subset of scripture that is poetic, namely the classical epics, the biblical psalms, and the later Christian hymns, will have offered additional efficacy in its artful and elevated language, especially in the case of Homer and the psalms, poetry with archaic features compared to the surrounding language of its context of use, *koine* and medieval Greek respectively.

In the classical and late ancient Greek tradition, the primary source for authoritative text of this kind was the Homeric poems, above all the *Iliad*.¹³⁰ These epics

¹²⁸ A.S. Diamantaras in Athanasopoulos et al. 1914, 503-504 no. 3, '... ἀβαθὸς αἰ νοικοσύρης, πονηρὴ νοικοσυρά, φάκκον ἔψηνε, λάρδον ἐτσένωννε, ψωμιὰ κλίθENA φούρνιζε, σίτενα ξιφούρνιζε· τρεῖς ἐλιές μέσ' ὅς τὸ πινάτσιν, τὸ φελλὶ ξεροκαμένο. κλήματα αἰ στρωμματσία μου, πέτρα τὸ προστσέφαλόν μου ...' For the full text see chapter 1 cat., 3.49.14: the relevant portion is preceded by an addressative element of the 'flight and pursuit type,' and closes with another addressative motif, the 'three vessels beyond the river' which cannot be treated here. In the μου of this text we seem to have the first person persona of the old man voiced by the healer; in a later variant reported from contemporary Cyprus we seem to find the corresponding direct speech of the bad housemistress: Makrommates 1956, 248-249, '... δὸς τοῦ γέρου ψουμὶν καμένο τσ'αὶ τυρὶν σαρατσιασμένο τσ'αὶ κρεβάτιν χωματένο, πάπλωμα χαλκωματένο | τσ'αὶ μαυλούκαν μαρμαρένο ...' (chapter 1 cat. 3.49.15).

¹²⁹ The role of Vergil in incantations cannot be treated in detail here but deserves further study: in antiquity, late antiquity, and the Middle Ages it is greater than previously assumed, as a systematic collection of instances shows (see chapter 1 cat. 5.2.1-3 and 1.29.2.1-4).

¹³⁰ Cf. Heim 1893 no. 158 on the basis of Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574 (now *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV); most recently Collins 2008, a thorough and detailed study of the selection principles at work, focused on the Roman and late ancient period: primarily, analogy, and primarily confined to the verse quoted itself, not its narrative context. *Contra*

were prescribed in formularies for general protection and a range of specific medical aims. We know from Lucian's parody of the practice (*Charon* 7) that it was known in the second century A.D., and the earliest archeological evidence for its application comes from about the same period. This is *Iliad* 24.171-175 written as a graffito on the plaster of a wall in a house at Rome, dated to the second or third century and almost certainly of apotropaic function: here Iris speaks to Priam, encouraging him not to fear and assuring him of the protection of Zeus when he confronts Achilles to ransom the body of Hector.¹³¹ Also in the second century some ritual protection may have been behind the burial of a deluxe bookroll of the first two books of the *Iliad* with a corpse at Hawara in Egypt.¹³²

Direct evidence for the prescription of Homeric verse in formulary recipes peaks in the fourth century, but it is reasonable to suspect that such formularies were behind the practices witnessed in Lucian and at the Roman house. The earliest known formulary is from the late third or early fourth century, on papyrus found in Egypt at an unknown site: only two recipes out of what must have been a larger collection survive on the recto of this fragment of a bookroll, both for the making of amulets. One of them prescribes *Iliad* 1.75 to be inscribed on animal skin as an amulet against hemorrhage.¹³³ In the epic, the seer Calchas explains the cause of the plague devastating the Greeks at Troy, namely the wrath (μῆνις) of Apollo: a user familiar with the context would recall that Calchas' diagnosis is the first step in the successful appeasement of Apollo and abatement of the plague, an analogy for the resolution of the present healing scenario. The verso of this fragment shows the addition of medical recipes for healing ointments in a later hand, suggesting that the original bookroll remained in use for some time among practitioners who combined incantational healing with pharmacological approaches. The use of this same line was prescribed in another collection of amuletic recipes with an independent circulation. It is found in a papyrus codex from the Egyptian city of Hermopolis from the mid-fourth century, where it belonged to an Aurelios Philammon, a magistrate (ἐπιμελητής) and member of the municipal class of his city: Philammon recorded in the codex primarily

Collins (211n2), the Greek ostrakon bearing *Il.* 12.442-444 published by Wessely (*WS* 8 [1886] 116-118) is more likely a school exercise.

¹³¹ *BE* 1950 no. 233 (chapter 1 cat. 5.1.1.5). Below these lines in the same hand is written a portion of the alphabet from ι to ω in a square four letters to a side, proceeding in columns from top to bottom, then left to right, which as pointed out by the Roberts in *BE* may contribute some further ritual power to the assemblage (with reference to Dornseiff 1922).

¹³² The 'Hawara Homer,' Oxford, Bodleian Library cod. Gr. class. 1. a (P), though the manuscript, which was also furnished critical signs and notation of variant readings, might also have been selected simply as a prized possession of the deceased. According to the original publication (A.H. Sayce ap. Petrie 1889, 24-28) it was found "[u]nder the head of a mummy" of a woman described as "young and attractive-looking, with features at once small, intellectual, and finely chiselled, and belonging distinctively to the Greek type." Sayce notes that the skull and a lock of hair from this assemblage went to the Bodleian along with the papyrus. According to Ptolemaios Chennos, an Alexandrian writing in the late first and early second century A.D. (cited ap. Photius *Bibl.* 190, 151a Bekker), the third-century statesman Kerkidas of Megalopolis gave instructions that the first two books of the *Iliad* be buried with him, the same selection as the Hawaran corpse. Ptolemaios catalogues other noteworthy instances of books as grave goods (e.g. a play of the comedian Kratinos, the *Eunoidai*, with Alexander the Great) and adds that the Roman general Pompey always read book 11 of the *Iliad* before going into battle.

¹³³ Birmingham, Cadbury Library, P.Harris inv. 303a, published in Zellmann-Rohrer forthcoming a (see chapter 1 cat. 5.1.1.2).

financial records associated with his public duties, but also these amulet recipes which he evidently expected to be of some personal use.¹³⁴ Similar use of Homeric verses was prescribed in the collection of remedies of Marcellus, a Latin author whose high position in court and travels in the East would have exposed him to similar collections of amuletic recipes in the Greek healing tradition. Indeed the rubric for Marcellus' recipe preserves a trace of the Greek rubric of the original from which it was copied (εὔρεσις ἀπὸ πείρας, “a discovery made by trial”). The recipe recommends that *Odyssey* 11.109 be written on fresh papyrus as an amulet against inflammation of the eyes: the appeal of the analogy between the patient's protected sight and that of the immortal divinized sun is obvious.¹³⁵

The Byzantines were avid readers of Homer, and the role of these poems in education continued (Browning 1975). Despite recent claims to the contrary (Collins 2008), prescriptions for the use of lines from Homer can be shown to extend through and even beyond the Byzantine period. The first example is found in an eleventh-century manuscript of medical and astrological content probably produced at Constantinople. One unit of this content is an anonymous collection that seems intended as a manual for catarchic astrology, including theoretical material and practical instructions for a wide range of forecasts, with a particular focus on childbirth and conception. A reference near the end to the exile of the patriarch Photios as illustration of a forecast gives a terminus post quem of 867 and suggests Constantinople as the place of writing.¹³⁶ The Homeric incantation appears between two catarchic sections and is accompanied by three other amuletic recipes concerned with easing childbirth or preventing miscarriage.¹³⁷ For a child with difficulty learning (μὴ δυνάμενος μαθεῖν), this recipe recommends that the user write a Homeric verse on the patient, namely *Iliad* 10.139, in which the voice of the warrior and sage advisor Nestor reaches, and is immediately perceived by, the mind of Odysseus, also

¹³⁴ P.Berl. inv. 9873, p. 22.13-20, ed. Poethke, Prignitz, and Vaelske 2012 (chapter 1 cat. 5.1.2.1).

¹³⁵ Marcellus 8.58, hoc etiam remedium indubitate impetus oculorum si praeuenias prohibebit scriptum in charta uirgine. εὔρεσις ἀπὸ πείρας. “Ἡέλιος ὅς πάντ’ ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ’ ἐπακούει” (chapter 1 cat. 5.1.1.17).

¹³⁶ Florence, BML cod. Plut. 28.34, ff. 59v-85r. Exile of Photios: f. 85r καθὼς συνέβη καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐξορίᾳ Φωτίου τοῦ πατριάρχου. Some portions are attributed to named sources, such as Theophilus (perhaps the astrologer Theophilus of Edessa, d. 785), Petosiris (the pseudonym of a Hellenistic Greek astrologer), and a certain Julianus. E.g. f. 59v τοῦ αὐτοῦ Θεοφίλου ἐπισυναγωγὴ περὶ κοσμικῶν καταρχῶν, f. 65r Πετοσίρις Νεχεψῶ περὶ μηνὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ φαύλου, f. 67r περὶ καταστημάτων τῶν ἐπτὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ, f. 84r Ἰουλιανοῦ περὶ καταρχῶν.

¹³⁷ Florence, BML cod. Plut. 28.34, f. 83v, cf. Kroll 1898, 131. The first is for a proper amulet to ease a difficult birth, in which a later owner has erased the text to be inscribed on the amulet: πρὸς δυστοκοῦσαν γυναῖκα. γράφε εἰς χαρτὴν [[c. 10]] καὶ περιάψον τὸν δεξιὸν μηρόν. ἅμα δὲ τέκη, ἔπαρον τὸ φύλλον ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν μήτραν καταφέρει. The second recommends an incantation, the patient's name itself, in the gathering of ivy-root as an amulet to prevent miscarriage: πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐκτρῶσαι. ρίζαν κισσοῦ λαβὼν εἰς ὄνομα αὐτῆς περιάπτε τῇ κοιλίᾳ αὐτῆς. Here comes the Homeric recipe (see the following note), and then a final recipe involving a root for quick birth: ὠκυτόκιον. ρίζαν τωδίνου [sic cod., for τῶδίνου i.e. βοτάνη τῆς ὠδίνος? cf. the fish whose similar amuletic use gets it the name ὠδινολύτης in Pliny *HN* 32.6] περίτριβε τοὺς πόδας καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐκβάλλει εἴτε ζῶν εἴτε τεθνηκός. [οκυτοκὶ cod.]

famed for mental acuity, who is thereby woken from sleep.¹³⁸ It shows that attention to the surrounding narrative context of the Homeric line continued to be paid in Byzantium,¹³⁹ a sign of a living and productive tradition as opposed to unthinking replication. In keeping with the astrological content in the rest of the manuscript, there is an added instruction that the procedure should be performed on the “day of Hermes,” that is, Wednesday, co-opting the association of this divinity and his eponymous planet with wisdom, informed by Hellenistic astronomy.

A second example from the post-Byzantine period shows an even more active engagement with the form. It appears in a manuscript copied in the sixteenth century, possibly in Italy as a humanist copy of an earlier original, but certainly containing material from the Byzantine period.¹⁴⁰ Its small size, only 14 folia, could suggest a handbook for the practical use of a physician. The Homeric recipe appears in a small collection of medical recipes, which is preceded in the manuscript by the ancient metrological treatise of Heliodorus,¹⁴¹ and another on sympathy and antipathy which is probably a Byzantine compilation of the tenth century or later. Though attributed to Democritus, and affecting the Ionic dialect, it addresses an emperor (κράτιστε καὶ μέγιστε αὐτοκράτορ) and seems to draw on the work of Aelian and the Byzantine *Geoponika*.¹⁴² The medical treatise is acephalous and anonymous; the incantation targets insomnia. Requesting that sleep come to the patient, it begins with a genuine Homeric line (*Il.* 14.233), then extends it with an original composition in Homeric diction, “Rest in my breast and eyelids, fall close upon me, deep sleep, that I may leave my distress far behind.”¹⁴³

The survival of Homeric incantations in the Byzantine tradition is significant, but their role diminishes in contrast to that of the obvious authoritative text in this period, the

¹³⁸ Florence, BML cod. Plut. 28.34, f. 83v, πρὸς παιδιά κακομαθῆ ὄντα πρὸς πᾶσαν μάθησιν. ‘φθεγξάμενος, τὸν δ’ αἴψα περὶ φρένας ἤλυθ’ ἰωή,’ τοῦτον γράψον ἐν τῷ παιδίῳ μὴ δυναμένῳ μαθεῖν, ed. Kroll 1898, 131 (chapter 1 cat. 5.1.1.16). On the manuscript see *CCAG* I, cod. 12.

¹³⁹ A trait that Collins 2008 suggests disappears in late antiquity.

¹⁴⁰ Leiden, UB cod. VGF 25, by the same copyist as VGF 29, a medical miscellany (Mercurius, *De pulsibus*; Aelius Promotus); in the collection of Jean Bourdelot (d. 1638) and Pierre Michon-Bourdelot (d. 1685), passed into the possession of Isaac Voss, while the bulk of the collection was sold to Queen Christina of Sweden c. 1653; Michon-Bourdelot made some acquisitions at Rome. On the manuscript see Meyier 1955, 28, and Pellegrin 1986.

¹⁴¹ A practicing surgeon probably from Egypt active in the late first and early second century: *OCD* s.v. 3. If to be identified with the Heliodorus in Juvenal 6.371-373, he offered castration for pubescent slaves at Rome, to produce sexually viable eunuchs.

¹⁴² περὶ συμπαθειῶν καὶ ἀντιπαθειῶν, ff. 1v-3v. It is edited from two other versions, but not the Leiden copy, and discussed by Gemoll 1884. Gemoll uses a text copied by W.C. Goezius (Leipzig) in an unidentified Italian library (used by Fabricius in his earlier edition in *Bibliotheca Graeca* 4 [1711], 333-338), and a fifteenth-century manuscript at Milan, BNA cod. RIII Sup.

¹⁴³ Leiden, UB cod. VGF 25, f. 5v, ἄλλο ἐκ τῶν Ὀμήρου, ποιεῖ δὲ ὑγιαίνουσι καὶ νοσοῦσι. λέγοντος γὰρ τοῦ πάσχοντος τρίτον, ὑπνώσει. ὕπνε ἄναξ πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ’ ἀνθρώπων, κοίμησον στέρνοισιν ἐμοῖσιν ἐὼν καὶ βλεφάροισιν ἢ νήδυμος ἔμπεσε τυτθὸν ὄφρ’ ἕκασ ἔλθοιμι ἀνίης’ (chapter 1 cat. 5.1.3.1). The addition is reminiscent particularly of *Il.* 14.236 (Hera asks Hypnos to put Zeus to sleep) and *Od.* 13.79 (of Odysseus sleeping on the Phaeacian ship en route to Ithaca, καὶ τῷ νήδυμος ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἔπιπτε).

Bible. Among biblical texts there is a striking preference for the psalter, from which at least 18 different psalms are so exploited, beginning in late antiquity and continuing through Byzantium and the post-Byzantine period. At no point in the tradition does the selection seem particularly dependent on the group of psalms most common in liturgical use, but rather it is made independently by Christians with a thorough knowledge of the psalter. Indeed two full treatises devoted to the use of the psalms as incantations for healing and protection – frequently involving their inscription as amulets, and quite distinct from their recitation as prayer – survive in manuscripts of medical content from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, one of which will be examined in more detail in chapter 4.¹⁴⁴ The creative engagement with the psalter in the constitution of extra-liturgical prayers and rituals should also be noted, which appears already in Byzantine Egypt in a small parchment codex of the sixth or seventh century, which I would identify as a formulary for a ritual, namely the invocation and blessing of the Nile for a good inundation and resulting prosperous harvest. The first three pages invoke and addresses the Nile directly (e.g. 43-48, ἀνάβαινε Νεῖλε ἰλαροὺς τοὺς ἕξ καὶ δέκα πῆχεις ἀνελθε), pp. 3-7 add the Nicene Creed, and pp. 8-9 close with *Ps.* 132 (133), which seems quite appropriate for the wish for a rising of the rain-fed Nile, in its use of the descent of myrrh and dew (μύρον, δρόσος) in a simile for pleasantness and goodness (καλόν, τερπνόν; also in its title, ᾠδὴ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν, “song of the ascents,” in the Septuagint, cf. the imperative to the Nile, ἀνάβαινε, though this title is not copied here).¹⁴⁵

Of the many individual psalm texts put into service in incantations, one may serve as illustrative example here. Psalm 33:9 (LXX 34:9), “Taste and see that the Lord is good,” is prescribed in a recipe in the Byzantine *Geoponika* for the preservation of stored wine, to prevent it from turning sour: the “divine words” (τὰ θεῖα ῥήματα) of the verse should be inscribed directly on the vessel, or alternately on a piece of fruit placed directly in the wine.¹⁴⁶ The recipe is attributed in its rubric to an Africanus. If this be authentic, it surely refers to the philosopher Julius Africanus, author of the influential *Kestoi*, and suggests both that this sort of use of the psalms by Christians dates back as early as the third century and that it was still considered worthy of exploitation by the Byzantine compilers of the *Geoponika*.¹⁴⁷ Indeed an inscription on a fragment of an amphora from late Roman or late ancient Oxyrhynchus may reference the same practice. Found among rubbish heaps outside of the city, it was inscribed ἐκ τούτου ἐγευσάμην, “From this I have tasted.”¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316, ff. 429r-431v, published only in part in Legrand 1881, 20-24, and an unpublished fragment in Dresden, Dresden, SLUB cod. Dresd.Da.63.

¹⁴⁵ P.Lond. inv. 120 (3) (*P.Lond.Lit.* 239), nine leaves, 6.8 x 4.5 cm. It is not necessary to assume with *ed.pr.* that the codex was “[n]o doubt an amulet” as opposed to a highly portable written basis from which to conduct the oral ritual.

¹⁴⁶ *Geoponika* 7.14, ἐπίγραμμα ἀπαράβατον εἰς τὸ μηδέποτε τρέπεσθαι τὸν οἶνον. Ἀφρικανοῦ. ἀμήχανον τραπῆναί ποτε τὸν οἶνον ἐὰν ἐπιγράψῃς ἐν τῷ ἀγγεῖῳ ἢ ἐν τοῖς πίθοις ταῦτα τὰ θεῖα ῥήματα ‘γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι χρηστός ὁ κύριος.’ καλῶς δὲ ποιήσεις καὶ εἰς μῆλον οὕτω γράφων, ἐμβάλλων τὸ μῆλον εἰς τὸν οἶνον (chapter 1 cat. 5.4.5.1).

¹⁴⁷ A spurious attribution is entirely possible, and the recipe has not been included in modern editions of the *Kestoi* of Africanus (Vieillefond 1970 and Walraff et al. 2012, who discuss the issue of spurious attributions at pp. lii-lxii and lxx-lxxvi).

¹⁴⁸ *SBI* 1944 (chapter 1 cat. 2.1.1.5). The object was found in the 1904-1905 season of the excavations of Grenfell and Hunt, in rubbish mounds to the northwest of the city. Unfortunately the present location of this fragment is unknown, and the excavators may

The use of this verse continues into the late Byzantine period and beyond. A manuscript of medical and astrological content of the fifteenth century preserves it within an anonymous medical treatise whose primary focus is the healing of human patients and which contains several other incantations.¹⁴⁹ Here the core of the recipe known from the *Geoponika*, again for the preservation of stored wine, is expanded by the addition of a liturgical formula, στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου, which is likewise to be inscribed on the vessel.¹⁵⁰ This formula is especially appropriate because it precedes the taking of communion in the liturgy, and thus lends here an association with the miraculous manipulation of wine. Finally, the Cretan monk Agapios Landos included a similar recipe in the *Γεωπονικόν* that he composed for a Venetian patron in the seventeenth century. Indeed as much of his material he probably drew it directly from the Byzantine *Geoponika*, but rephrases the text in a contemporary idiom to facilitate its understanding and use by readers; he omits the attribution to Africanus, and specifies that if inscribed on the storage vessel (as opposed to the piece of fruit), the text must be placed on the outside.¹⁵¹ That the recipe was also translated into Latin and diffused through the medieval West is also suggested by its inclusion in the seventeenth-century collection on ‘superstitions’ of J.-B. Thiers.¹⁵²

A major factor in the popularity of the psalms in this regard was their visceral familiarity for the Byzantines, from reading and memorization in education.¹⁵³ After Byzantium too, rural Greek education relied on local priests, who taught children using the psalter and other liturgical texts as a way of creating a supply of competent future

well have discarded it in situ. I know of no parallels among authentic amphora-dipinti (which generally mark ownership, contents, etc.); it is possible that the writer was instead affixing some sign of approval after testing the contents of the amphora for quality, but in that case it would be reasonable to expect an indication of a personal name or official title, by way of signature.

¹⁴⁹ Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2294, ff. 73v-95v, a medical treatise with some similarities to that of the *Therapeutics* of “John the Physician” edited by Zipser, see Zipser 2009, 26 (not included in the edition, no further discussion). The other incantations are at ff. 79r (chapter 1 cat. 1.38.6, 1.44.3, 3.7.8), 79v (2.6.5, 4.5.2.3), 83r-v (1.38.4). On the manuscript see further *CCAG* VIII.4:16-17, cod. 75.

¹⁵⁰ Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2294, f. 80r, εἰς τὸ μὴ τραπήναι οἶνον. γράφε οὕτως εἰς τὸ ἀγγεῖον ‘στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου, ἀμήν. γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι χρηστός ὁ κύριος.’ ὁμοίως καὶ εἰς μέλι (chapter 1 cat. 5.4.5.2). For the liturgical formula cf. Germanos II *Hom.* 3, Lagopates p. 228.

¹⁵¹ *Γεωπονικόν* (Venice 1643), facsimile ed. D.D. Kostoula (Volos 1991), chapter 52, γράψον ἀπ’ ἔξω τοῦ ἀγγείου αὐτὰ τὰ θεῖα λόγια ‘γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι χρηστός ὁ κύριος.’ ἢ γράψε τα εἰς ἓνα μῆλον καὶ ρίξε το μέσα εἰς τὸ κρασί νὰ μὴ καταλυθῆ ποτέ του.

¹⁵² Thiers, *Traité* 6.2 (ed. Goulemot p. 168), “Ecrire sur un ... ‘gustate et uidete quod bonus est dominus’ pour être guéri du mal de ...” [ellipses in original, to prevent future application!] It is significant and suggestive of direct translation that the Latin follows the wording of the Septuagint (and the Vulgate so-called *Iuxta Hebraicum*) in preferring *bonus* (LXX χρηστός) to *suavis*, which is found throughout Latin patristic texts, in the *Psalterium Romanum*, perhaps the *Vetus Latina*, and even the Vulgate so-called *Iuxta LXX*.

¹⁵³ Another means of familiarization of course would have been liturgical use of the psalms in the Byzantine church, which was extensive, both in direct citations and reminiscences in the composition of prayers: see Lamb 1962, 46-79.

priests.¹⁵⁴ Monastic practice also greatly emphasized the memorization and recitation of the psalter by heart (ἀποστηθίζειν).¹⁵⁵ This is paralleled by its great popularity for citations in literary texts, surpassing all other books of the Old Testament.¹⁵⁶ But perhaps the psalter was also appealing specifically for use in incantations because it best fit the role previously occupied by the Homeric poems. That is, a unified text of great situational scope, with material appropriate to a wide range of emotional states; and at the same time, as poetry elevated above everyday speech. As such it sublimates both practitioner and target to the plane of an authoritative narrative with cosmological extent, with added impact from elevated and archaic language. Perhaps some additional support for this suggestion comes from the fact that like the epics of Homer in antiquity, psalms were used in divination in Byzantium from the eleventh century onward.¹⁵⁷

5. Miscellaneous

In this final typological category I examine some patterns of continuity in the Greek tradition that cross the categorical divisions previously drawn. More such patterns could be drawn from the material, but the most significant will be presented here: survival of pre-Christian myth; ritual drama; and meta-incantations, or internal reference to the use of incantations by divinities.

Survival of pre-Christian myth

Divinities from pre-Christian myth, who understandably populate incantations in antiquity, remain a feature of the later Greek tradition alongside Christian figures. There was still a vigorous tradition of veneration of these divinities via sacrifice, lasting into the sixth century;¹⁵⁸ their memory persisted even later, as demonstrated by these incantations. From the Byzantine *Hippiatrika*, the product of research and compilation at Constantinople in the tenth century, a recipe against glanders gives an incantation ordering the disease to flee because Poseidon is pursuing it.¹⁵⁹ Specifically, the incantation accompanies the preparation of a medicinal potion, and Poseidon stands in part metonymically for the liquid substance that the user hopes will accomplish the healing. The underworld and its denizens seem to hold particular appeal. A fragment of an anonymous Byzantine collection of medical recipes from the fourteenth century, used as a pastedown in a later theological miscellany, gives a recipe to get rid of ants. In the incantation, the ants are menaced with the wrath of Tartarus if they do not withdraw; in a combination of classical with later traditions, Tartarus is paired with the prophet

¹⁵⁴ Marrou 1956, 342.

¹⁵⁵ See Parpulov 2010.

¹⁵⁶ *ODB* s.v. “psalter.”

¹⁵⁷ The earliest attestation, with forecasts added directly in the margins of the psalter by the same hand that provided the scholia, is Paris, BnF cod. gr. 164, see Parpulov 2010, 88. On the use of Homer in this respect see the discussion of the ‘Homer oracle’ (Ὁμηρομαντεῖον) above. The poems of Vergil were similarly employed (the *sortes Vergilianae*, see Ganszyniec 1930-1931, and bibliomancy via consultation (*consulere*) of random text “from the pages of some poet” (*de paginis poetae cuiuspiam*) survived at least into late antiquity in North Africa, as mentioned by Augustine, *Confessions* 4.3.

¹⁵⁸ Harl 1990.

¹⁵⁹ *Hippiatrika Parisina* 22, ποτὸν πρὸς μάλιν ... προσφυσῶν λέγε ‘φεῦγε οὖν κακὴ μάλι, διώκει σε Ποσειδῶν’ (chapter 1 cat. 1.20.2.12).

Zacharias, who also menaces the ants.¹⁶⁰ Another Byzantine updating of classical material appears in an incantation in the anonymous medical collection in the short sixteenth-century handbook now in Leiden discussed above. To combat epilepsy, a festival for the dead observed in antiquity, τὰ νεκύσια,¹⁶¹ is referenced in an incantation that addresses the demon Ashmodaeus, known from the biblical book of *Tobit* and the *Testament of Solomon*.¹⁶² As a means of convincing it to depart, the demon is questioned, “Today is the nekysia, so what are you doing here?”

Similar survivals can be observed for the semi-divine. The presence of Herakles in Greek incantations in antiquity has been discussed already. The hero recurs in a Byzantine recipe for epilepsy from the same Leiden manuscript with the Ashmodaeus incantation mentioned above. Here the patient is told to get up from his seizure, because “the birthday of Herakles is celebrated today.”¹⁶³

Similar use was made of Apollonios of Tyana, the philosopher and thaumaturge of the Roman era. Apollonios had a lasting reputation for supernatural powers and divine qualities: he was mistaken for a god during his lifetime, his corpse was never found and it was suspected that he never in fact died, he was aware of a previous incarnation, and he had the power of bilocation.¹⁶⁴ The tradition of narratives of the miracle-working of Apollonios lasted into the Byzantine period, in particular protective τελέσματα for cities and horses, the calming of rivers, keeping away snakes, scorpions, insects, and the creation of talismans.¹⁶⁵ Indeed Tzetzes recounts that Apollonios set up at Byzantium representations of storks carved in stone to ward off snakes; live storks had previously been performing the same function but hurled the snakes into cisterns, leading to deaths among the citizens. Apollonios was accused of magic already by his contemporaries,¹⁶⁶ and the Byzantine historian Kedrenos uses “the works of Apollonios of Tyana” (τὰ τοῦ Τυανέως Ἀπολλωνίου) as an example in his definition of μαγεία, which he calls “the invocation of supposedly beneficent demons to produce some benefit” (ἐπίκλησις δαιμόνων ἀγαθοποιῶν δῆθεν πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς σύστασιν).¹⁶⁷

Appropriately enough this powerful figure is exploited in incantations already in late antiquity and the early Byzantine period, performatives of the πεινῶ type discussed

¹⁶⁰ Oxford, Bodleian cod. Auct. T. 4.4 (s. XIV), f. 443r, περι τοῦ διῶξαι μύ[ρμηκας]· ἀκούσατε οἱ ἄφρονες τῶν ἀφρόνων. μην(ι)άσας ὁ Ζαχαρίας καὶ ὁ Τάρταρ[ος]. ἐπάρετε τὰ μυρμηκωσκωληκόπουλά σας καὶ ἀνάβατε εἰς τὰ ἄγρια ὄρη ...’ (chapter 1 cat. 1.16.9).

¹⁶¹ Cf. [Plut.] *De proverbii Alexandrinorum* fr. 8; Arrian ap. Eust. *Od.* 1:322; Hsch. s.vv. ἀγριάνια, γενέσια, κρυβήσια. *P.Lond.* VII 2140.19-20 is an item in an account from Ptolemaic Egypt for fine wheat flour (or bread made from this flour) ‘for the νεκύσια,’ and provision of bread and other items for the same purpose is requested in *P.Amst.* I 89.9-11, a private letter from early Roman Egypt.

¹⁶² Leiden, UB cod. VGF 25, f. 4v, πρὸς ἐπιληπτικούς πίπτοντας. πρὸς τοὺς καταπεπτωκότας ἐξ ἐπιληψίας λέγε τῶ δεξιῶ ὠτίῳ τὸν μέγαν δάκτυλον πατήσας τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ ποδὸς Ἀσμοδαῖος σήμερον τὰ νεκύσια καὶ σὺ ὦδε τί ποιεῖς;’ (chapter 1 cat. 1.26.7). Cf. *Test.Sol.* 5, though there is no connection with epilepsy.

¹⁶³ Leiden, UB cod. VGF 25, f. 5r, λέγε ἐν τῶ ἀριστερῶ ὠτίῳ γένεθλιον Ἡρακλέος ἐπιτηρεῖται σήμερον, ἀνάστηθι’ (chapter 1 cat. 1.26.6).

¹⁶⁴ Philostr. *VA* 5.24, 8.9, 3.23, 4.10 respectively.

¹⁶⁵ Dulière 1970.

¹⁶⁶ See Thorndike 1923-1958, 1:242-265, who concurs with Philostratus that these marvels were due more to keen observation of nature and scientific reasoning.

¹⁶⁷ Ed. Bekker 1838-1839, 1:73.

above, inscribed on pendant amulets produced in the Near East. The trend continued into the later Byzantine period, as witnessed by yet another recipe against epilepsy from the same sixteenth-century manuscript in Leiden, in which the patient is told that Apollonios of Tyana orders him to stand up from his seizure, or that Apollonios is calling to him.¹⁶⁸ The author of this recipe claims to have proven its efficacy by testing it himself.

Personages from Roman history, part of the inheritance claimed by the Byzantines as Ῥωμαῖοι, also served in this capacity. In the same anonymous collection of medical recipes preserved in the fifteenth century manuscript at Paris discussed above, an incantation refers to the emperor Trajan. The recipe seeks to cure hemorrhoids by the application of herbs accompanied by a narrative incantation that attributes an analogous affliction to the emperor Trajan, “The emperor Trajan had three opposite ills, hemorrhage and hemorrhoid.”¹⁶⁹ The numerical incongruity is likely intentional and could serve as a form of sublimation of the utterance above everyday speech. Trajan was indeed subjected to mythical elaboration in Byzantine chroniclers, for example Joel, who provides several colorful anecdotes about this emperor, in which he once gave a sword to a subordinate and said, “Take this sword, and if I rule well, use it for me, and if not, against me;” and in which a clever concubine advised him to cover all the gates of all his major cities with marble, which he duly did.¹⁷⁰

An accompanying feature also enjoys a long life in the tradition, the first-person assimilation of the user to such figures. In antiquity the first-person verb πεινῶ, “I am hungry,” is applied to Apollonios of Tyana in the inscribed metal pendant amulets mentioned above. In the Byzantine performative incantation motif previously mentioned the user claims to be a Thessalian woman who communicates with the mythical Circe and Orpheus, as well as the natural philosopher Democritus and the Byzantine emperor Leo VI ‘the Wise.’ Democritus was described by Pliny the Elder as instrumental in the recording of popular magical techniques and their dissemination through written texts in the Greek world (*HN* 30.9), and numerous recipes in the *Geoponika* are given under his name. To Leo were attributed Byzantine texts on divination, including a popular bibliomantic method using the gospels and psalter known in at least eight copies in late Byzantine codices.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Leiden, UB cod. VGF 25, ff. 4v-5r, λέγε ὡσαύτως καὶ πάτει τὸν δάκτυλον τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ ποδὸς τὸν μέγαν ἡεῖξ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τυάνων λέγει σοι “ἀνάστηθι,” λέγων ἄχρις οὗ ἀναστή οὕτως – διὰ πείρας λέγω εἰρηκῶς – τρίτον, Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τυανεύς καλεῖ σε’ (chapter 1 cat. 1.16.5).

¹⁶⁹ Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2294, f. 79r, εἰς συκάμινον. περδικιάδα βοτάνην ἐπίθες ἢ συκομορέας φλοιὸν καύσας πάσσε ἐπιλέγων οὕτως ‘ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Τραιανὸς τρεῖς ἀντίας κακὰς εἶχε, τὴν αἰμορραγίαν καὶ τὴν συκαμινέαν’ (chapter 1 cat. 3.7.8).

¹⁷⁰ Ed. Bekker 1836, 29-30.

¹⁷¹ The *incipit* and *desinit* only are printed in *CCAG* IV:74 from Florence, BML cod. Plut. 86.14, ff. 28v-30r, μέθοδος προγνωστικὴ τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ ψαλτηρίου. ποίημα κυρίου Λέοντος τοῦ σοφοῦ. λαβὼν τὸ ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον ... ἐρώτησιν εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον μετατρέπει. It also appears in Berlin, BSB Phillipps 1479, ff. 1-4v; Escorial Φ.Π.14, ff. 44r-45v; Florence, cod. Plut. 28.22, ff. 95v-97v; Venice, BNM cod. gr. II.190, pp. 424-444; Cambridge, Trinity Coll. R.15.36, ff. 4v-5r; Athos, Vatopedi 150, ff. 23r-25v; all of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. Also attributed to Leo were a method to determine the length and character of a ruler’s reign by astrological signs (*CCAG* IV:92-93), as well as several designs for magical seals (βούλλα) in a post-Byzantine codex, the Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας, e.g. f. 474v (ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 309) ἢ ἀπέναντι βούλλα εἶναι τοῦ σοφοῦ Λέοντος. On legends attached to Leo in the later

Biblical features can also be implicated in this first-person assimilation in the Byzantine and later traditions, accompanied by mythical elaboration beyond their biblical narratives. Most significant here is a group of incantations featuring St. Paul, for protection against snakes, of which nine Byzantine manuscript versions were identified in a study by Alfons Barb (1953), and at least five more can be added.¹⁷² The core according to Barb is an apotropaic exorcism of snakes and other reptiles, introduced by a first-person narrative in which Paul reports that he was attacked by a viper while heaping up wood for a fire, but shook it off into the flames through the power of the holy spirit, then was presented with the exorcism by an angel in a dream, written down in a book.¹⁷³ The kernel is drawn from *Acts* 28:1-7, to which the narrative about the dream, the angel, and the written text have been added.¹⁷⁴ It seems likely, however, that in fact the entire text, including the first-person introduction, constitutes an incantation, and this is supported by the fact that one manuscript version, in an anonymous collection of prayers and exorcisms in a codex of medical and astrological content produced in the fifteenth century perhaps at Thessalonike, places the framing invocation ‘in the name of the father,’ and so on, at the very beginning of the text.¹⁷⁵ Two others explicitly mark the narrative as an incantation by prefacing it with instructions for accompanying ritual actions to be performed on the patient or the one who has come bearing news of the bite.¹⁷⁶ At least some of the compilers

Byzantine tradition, including a series of oracles attributed to him as early as the twelfth century, perhaps by conflation with his contemporary and homonym Leo the Mathematician of Thessalonike, see Mango 1960.

¹⁷² Those versions which have been published, or of which I have been able to consult the original, are: London, BL cod. Royal 16 C II (s. XV), ff. 47v-48v; Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 142 (s. XIV), ff. 161v-162r; Paris. gr. 2219 (s. XV), f. 34v; Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316 (s. XV), f. 319r-v; Venice, BNM cod. gr. Z. 408 (s. XIV), f. 152r; Vienna, ÖNB cod. theol. gr. 104 (s. XV), f. 228r. See chapter 1 cat. 3.66. The motif seems to have been picked up in later Russian incantations, cf. Ryan 1999, 174.

¹⁷³ There may be a connection with Lucian *Philops.* 12, in which a Babylonian magos summons snakes and other noxious reptiles from a field by reading an incantation out of a book (ἐπειπῶν ἱερατικά τινα ἐκ βίβλου παλαιᾶς ὀνόματα ἑπτὰ καὶ θείῳ καὶ δαδὶ καθαγίσας τὸν τόπον περιελθὼν ἐς τρίς, ἐξεκάλεσεν ὅσα ἦν ἐρπετὰ ἐντὸς τῶν ὄρων. ἤκον οὖν ὥσπερ ἐλκόμενοι πρὸς τὴν ἐπωδὴν ὄφεις πολλοί ...); eventually the magos blows on the snakes and they all burn (κατεκαύθη).

¹⁷⁴ In addition the setting of the episode is generally altered from the Melite or Melitene of the biblical account, variously to Sicily, Mytilene, or Uz (Αὐσίτις, the home of the biblical Job, cf. *Job* 1:1, which also attracted a legend about a later visit from Alexander the Great, *Historia Alexandri Magni* rec. φ 259, and was foretold as the origin of the prophesied emperor Konstantinos in Leo of Constantinople’s account of the end of the world, *De fine mundi* c. 15), or simply omitted.

¹⁷⁵ London, BL cod. Royal 16 C II, ff. 47v-48v, εὐχή κατὰ τῶν ὄφεων. ‘εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. ἐγὼ Παῦλος ...’ “A prayer against snakes. ‘In the name of the father and the son and the holy spirit. I, Paul, ...’” (chapter 1 cat. 3.66.1: this version was not known to Barb). On the origin of the manuscript see the previous citation of it above.

¹⁷⁶ Addenda to the catalogue (neither known to Barb): the seventeenth-century St. Petersburg, NLR cod. gr. 575, ff. 42v-43v, ἐρμηνεία περὶ δάκναμα θηρός. ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ μανδατοφόρος ἢ ὁ δακνόμενος ... and the fifteenth-century Venice, BNM cod. gr. III 12, f. 480r-v, εὐχή ὅταν δάκη ἄνθρωπον ὁ ὄφης. ποίει σταυρὸν ἐντὸς σκεύους

who included this text, then, read it as an incantation in which the user spoke in the first person in the person of St. Paul. Further, while in the published versions available to Barb the narration specifies that Paul suffered no harm from the attack, a variant in an anonymous collection of medical recipes and other remedies in a fourteenth-century codex of hymns and liturgical texts claims the opposite, that in fact the apostle suffered terribly before angelic intervention, δεινὸν παθῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήγματος.¹⁷⁷ Thus at least this version could represent a crossover with a narrative motif discussed previously, in which a divine figure is presented as suffering from and then healed of an affliction analogous to the one that the incantation seeks to solve.

Ritual drama

In this category I refer to the construction of incantations as a sort of ritual drama, which involves dialogue between the primary user and other participants. The most common form of this practice is attested in both Byzantine manuscript recipes and records of modern Greek applications. It is the symbolic nailing (κάρφωμα) of the targeted disease or other affliction by the practitioner: most commonly the nail is driven into a tree. As the practitioner is working, a second participant asks him what he is doing, which provides the opportunity for the first to answer with a performative. An example comes from the same late Byzantine codex which contained a version of the St. Paul narrative motif discussed above, perhaps produced at Thessalonike, which applies the procedure for headache: the incantation runs, “Here I am nailing the headache, the pain, the chills, every ill of the head.”¹⁷⁸ A variety of other ritual acts can be substituted, binding, stitching, burning, and so on, against various other afflictions. A modern Greek example, reported from Cheimarra (now Himarë in Albania) in the early twentieth century, has a similar dialogue, *mutatis mutandis*: it was used by shepherds to protect their sheep against wolves.¹⁷⁹

There are no direct ancient antecedents for these incantations, but certain analogues can be found that suggest the influence of ancient tradition in their development. One such ritual is prescribed in the Byzantine *Geoponika*, where it is attributed to Zoroaster, likely a pseudonymous product of the Hellenistic or Roman periods.¹⁸⁰ The goal is to make a fruitless tree bear fruit again: the first participant rushes at the tree in anger as if to chop it down, then a second participant should intervene and intercede on the tree’s behalf, promising to stand surety for its future fruitfulness. The tradition is likely reflected in an earlier procedure in a medical collection circulating under the name of Pliny, though it lacks an explicit second part in the dialogue: to combat

καθαροῦ, εἶτα γράφε τὴν εὐχὴν καὶ ἠλώσας τὰ γράμματα δίδε το τὸν δακνόμενον ἢ τὸ στελλόμενον νὰ πίνη ...

¹⁷⁷ Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 142, ff. 161v-162r (chapter 1 cat. 3.66.2; also unknown to Barb). The collection runs from ff. 158r-16r. On the manuscript see Astruc et al. 2003.

¹⁷⁸ London, BL cod. Royal 16 C II, f. 66r-v, ‘τί καρφώνεις;’ ... ‘ὧδε καρφώνω τὸ ἡμικράνιον τὸν πόνον τὸν ῥιγισμὸν τὸ πᾶν κακὸν τῆς κεφαλῆς’ (chapter 1 cat. 2.2.5.1).

¹⁷⁹ Arnaud 1911, 150 (without Greek text).

¹⁸⁰ *Geoponika* 10.83.1-2 (chapter 1 cat. 7.1.2.1). On magical recipes attributed to Zoroaster see Thorndike 1:605 and further Pliny *HN* 30.4 and 8, where it is also said that there was a later Zoroaster of Proconnesos active in the fifth century B.C.; claims about specific properties of precious stones are attributed to him at *HN* 37.151, 158, and 160.

quartan fever, one should supply a tree with bread and salt and instruct it to entertain the guests who will be coming tomorrow, which suggests the periodic onset of the fever.¹⁸¹

Meta-incantations

The internal reference in ancient incantations to prescriptions of analogous incantations by divine figures has already been noted. The attribution of the healing use of incantations to divinities is known in general from other sources: they are part of the repertoire of the god Asklepios in an ode of Pindar (*Pyth.* 3.51), and a satire of Lucian has Hermes offer to improve the eyesight of Charon with an ἐπωδή drawn from the *Iliad* of Homer, indeed an incantation of the scriptural type previously discussed.¹⁸² A practical result of the assimilation of older Greek incantation practice within Byzantine Christianity is that the use of incantations is similarly attributed to Christian divinities. We have already encountered the motif in which an incantation against snakes is attributed to an angelic revelation to St. Paul. These internal incantations generally either mirror the same ritual that the practitioner uses, or prescribe an incantation of their own.¹⁸³ This recommendation constitutes a powerful authorization of incantation as a practice. In one case Christ is even made to refer to what he prescribes as a γοητεία, originally a ritual utterance associated with lamentation of the dead, but in classical Greek denigrated to “sorcery.” This incantation appears in the Byzantine *Hippiatrika*, a product of compilation from ancient sources and addition of contemporary material at Constantinople in the tenth century: to heal wounds, it recounts how Christ and John encountered wounded men, and Christ directed John to go and heal them with an incantation of his own, ordering the wounds not to become inflamed.¹⁸⁴ Another application of this technique can be found in the eighteenth century.¹⁸⁵ To ease childbirth,

¹⁸¹ [Pliny] *De medicina* 3.15.8, panem et salem in linteo de licio alliget et circa arborem licio alliget et adiuret per ter panem et salem ‘crastino hospites mihi uenturi sunt, suscipite illos’ (chapter 1 cat. 7.1.1.1).

¹⁸² Lucian *Charon* 7 (chapter 1 cat. 5.1.1.10): the Homeric text is *Il.* 5.127-128, and works by the same kind of analogy seen in the previous examples: in the *Iliad* Athena announces that she has removed the mist from the eyes of Diomedes, which previously hid the various gods fighting alongside the Greeks and Trojans.

¹⁸³ For the attribution of “magic” to Christian holy figures in modern Greece cf. Blum and Blum 1970, 80-94 and 321-325.

¹⁸⁴ Oder and Hoppe, *Corpus Hippiatricorum Graecorum, excerpta Lugdunensia* c. 102 (Leiden, UB cod. VLQ 50, f. 160r), ‘ὡς ἐπεριπάτει ὁ Χριστὸς εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς <Τι>βεριάδος, ὑπήντησε ἐπτὰ ἀνθρώπους πεπληγμένους, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ λίθων, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ ξίφους, ἄλλους ἀπὸ ἀγρίων θηρίων. “στραφοῦ δίκαιε Ἰωάννη καὶ εἶπε τὴν γοητεῖαν ταύτην ‘μὴ πρησθῆς, μὴ φλεγμάνης, μὴ αἷμα καταρρίψης· ἔπαρον γῆ τὸν πόνον καὶ δὸς τὴν ὑγίαν’” (chapter 1 cat. 3.39.2). The type has ancient antecedents, as can be seen in an incantation preserved in a collection of medical recipes from the fifth century preserved in a papyrus handbook from the Egyptian city of Oxyrhynchus, phrased in the first person and describing a similar encounter between sufferers of an analogous affliction and Christ, along with his disciples (Glasgow, UL Ms Gen. 1026/16, ed. *P.Oxy.* XI 1384.15-22: chapter 1 cat. 3.39.1).

¹⁸⁵ The manuscript in Athens edited in part by Delatte as cod. 210 in the collection of “La Société historique,” which has been discussed above. Here ff. 62r-63r, ἄλλον. καὶ γράψον σὲ χαρτὶ καὶ θές το εἰς τὸ ἀνώφλιον ἀπάνω. ‘... τρόμος ἐγένετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι διὰ νεφέλης τρέχουν, οἱ νεκροὶ κινδυνεύουν ... ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ

a narrative incantation that is also to be written on paper and placed in above the lintel of the door near the the patient tells how Christ, again paired with John, discovered the source of a disturbance that shook the very heavens: a woman in the throes of a difficult labor, in the wilderness. Again Christ instructs John to assist her by means of an incantation, and it is of a type that is itself attested already in late antiquity: the infant is addressed directly and ordered to come forth, just as Lazarus did at Christ's command in the New Testament.¹⁸⁶

A final case study

Perhaps the most dynamic illustration of a long-term survival in the Greek tradition, in which motifs from each of the categories discussed thus far are deployed in an innovative process of combination, is that of what I term the *ὑστέρα* formula, originally targeting the so-called wandering womb. This supposed condition is described in ancient Greek medical authors, as early as Plato and the Hippocratic corpus: it was thought that the womb moved about inside the woman's body and caused symptoms similar to those of epilepsy. These were treated in antiquity by a variety of pharmacological prescriptions as well as the use of incantations, oral and amuletic.¹⁸⁷

The incantations could take a concise form of a direct address to the womb, as seen in what I will call the *μήτρα* type.¹⁸⁸ This type is found inscribed on amulets of the Roman period, of hematite or jasper, and probably produced in Egypt judging by their accompanying engravings of Egyptian divinities.¹⁸⁹ At the core of this formula, the womb is ordered to stand still (*στάθητι*) or check itself (*στάλητι*); in expanded versions, a sort of threat is added as motivation, "lest Typhon catch you" (*μή σε Τυφῶν καταλάβῃ* or

Ἰωάννης ὠδευσαν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ εὗρον γυναῖκα κλαίουσαν, καὶ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ Ἰωάννῃ "ὕπαγε Ἰωάννη εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν μερὰν τῆς θύρας καὶ εἶπὲ 'οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἠνοιχθήσαν καὶ φῶς ἔλαμψεν· διέλθε καὶ σὺ παιδίον, καλεῖ σε ὁ κύριος καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν. εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος καὶ τῆς κυρίας ἡμῶν θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, ὡς ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Ἰωνᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ κήτους καὶ ὁ Λάζαρος ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου, ἔξελθε καὶ σὺ τέκνον ...'" (chapter 1 cat. 3.44.6).

¹⁸⁶ It is found in a collection of medical recipes in a papyrus handbook from Egypt, written in the fifth or sixth century, in which the child is addressed directly in the words of the gospel of John (11:43) and also said to be called by Christ: Milan, P.Mil.Vogl. inv. 1245-1253, *Suppl.Mag.* II 96.48-50, πρὸς γενοῦσαν. ἤξερθε ἡς τοῦ μνεμίου σου, Χριστὸς σε καλῖ' (chapter 1 cat. 1.29.1.1). For this use of the biblical passage cf. a graffito over a burial vault at the monastery of Theoktistos in early Byzantine Palestine (Nahal Og), ... κ(ύρι)ε εἰ (ἦς) ὦδε, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἀδελ[φός.] | Λάζαροι δεῦρω (*SEG XXXVII* 1507.2-3).

¹⁸⁷ The best account of these, and the medical concept in general, is Faraone 2011.

¹⁸⁸ On the type, including the associated magical words and iconography, see Ritner 1984; and in particular for the womb symbol locked with key, Barb 1953a.

¹⁸⁹ None of the objects has secure archeological context: jasper intaglio in private collection (M. Baelen), purchased in Damascus, ed. A.A. Barb in id. and Griffiths 1959, 369; hematite now in London (British Museum), ed. Michel 2001 no. 351; hematite now in Berlin (Ägyptischen Museum inv. 15430), purchased in Frankfurt in 1897, ed. Philipp 1986 no. 184; hematite now in Cambridge (Harvard University, Sackler acc. 1983.26), ed. Michel 2004 no. 54.4.b; jasper now in Athens (National Museum coll. Dimitriou inv. 3148), ed. Delatte 1914, 75-76 no. 33. See catalogue 1.2.1. The engraved divinities include Seth, Anubis, and Isis.

similar),¹⁹⁰ a reference to the Egyptian god Seth who is also depicted on the gems. The womb can also be addressed with exorcistic formulae, which were found in applied form as amulets and also transmitted in written formularies. This is shown by a gold lamella found near Beirut, from the first century B.C. or A.D., in which text from a formulary has been copied directly onto a lamella in the production of an amulet, without the replacement of a place-holding phrase, with the name of the bearer: hence, “I adjure you, womb of so-and so whom so-and-so bore...”¹⁹¹ In another applied Greek example on an amuletic red jasper gem, with the same Egyptian divine iconography as the μήτρα type, it seems that the womb, though not mentioned by name, is instructed to descend back “towards the feet” of the bearer (ἐπὶ πόδια).¹⁹²

Incantations of the ὑστέρα type build on this tradition of addressative incantations. They are best known in a group of amulets on metal and precious stones from the middle Byzantine period, but they have roots in incantation motifs known from late ancient sources, and a long later career in Byzantine medical recipes from the fourteenth through nineteenth centuries, reflected also in modern Greek incantations. The middle Byzantine objects are metal pendant medallions usually featuring a Medusa-like head entwined with snakes, generally thought to represent the womb,¹⁹³ accompanied by the text of the ὑστέρα formula in various versions and in combination with other formulae.

On the type the most extensive study is that of Spier, though it concentrates exclusively on attestations on inscribed amulets and provides only brief commentary on the text (1993, 29-30). Later instances in manuscript recipes and orally performed incantations have never been collected or studied in detail. Spier provides a useful catalogue of known amuletic examples, which he dates to the tenth century or later (1993, 33), organized primarily by iconography and material.¹⁹⁴ The number of inscribed examples can also be augmented with four texts not included in Spier’s catalogue.¹⁹⁵ Spier

¹⁹⁰ E.g. the hematite in the Cairo Museum published by Barry 1906, 246: it provides further support for Egyptian provenance for the group, because it is unlikely to have entered this museum from any other source than an archeological find in Egypt. See further chapter 1 cat. 1.2.2.

¹⁹¹ Found rolled up in a gold capsule, now in Paris, BnF Cabinet des Médailles coll. Froehner inv. 287, ed. *GMA* 51, ἐξορκίζω | σε μήτρα ἴψας | ἦν ἔτεκεν ἴψα | ἴνα μήποτε κα|ταλείψης τὸν τό|πον σου ἐπὶ τῷ ὀ|νόματι τοῦ κυ|ρίου θεοῦ ζῶν|τος ἀνεκλήτου | μένειν ἐπὶ τῷ | τόπῳ ἴψης | ἦν ἔτεκεν | ἴψα. (chapter 1 cat. 1.5.1). There are numerous later examples of such exorcistic addresses to the womb, particularly in the Latin material (cf. the early medieval examples at chapter 1 cat. 1.5.2 and 4.7.3.2).

¹⁹² Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library Special Collections coll. Bonner inv. 26, ed. Bonner 1950 no. 134, CB-d 1051 (chapter 1 cat. 1.1.1).

¹⁹³ On the ‘Medusa head’ iconography, as representing the womb, see also Barb 1953a, 210-211. It may also appear in a Coptic magical text of the eleventh century, to be drawn as part of a procedure to separate a woman from her husband: P.Heid. Kopt. inv. 679 (*P.Bad.* V 142), with photograph in Jördens et al. 2011, 32 no. 7.

¹⁹⁴ The inscriptions, however, are printed in unarticulated majuscules only, which proves especially unsatisfactory when the text in question is previously unpublished and no photograph is provided by Spier.

¹⁹⁵ Istanbul, Church of St. Polyeuktos Museum inv. 8035, ed. Harrison 1986 no. 621 (chapter 1 cat. 1.6.3.4); private collection (Dallegio), ed. Laurent 1936, 309-310 (cat. 1.6.3.10); Chernigov (cat. 1.6.4.6); Székesfehérvár Museum, ed. Kádár 1962 (cat. 1.6.4.10).

suggests that the amulets were produced at Constantinople with text from earlier handbooks rediscovered in “antiquarian activity” in the ninth and tenth centuries (1993, 51). The evidence in general suggests an active, living tradition from late antiquity right through Byzantium, however, rather than an artificial antiquarianism, and wherever production occurred, the geographical distribution of use was broad indeed, far beyond Constantinople. I will return to the question of the ultimate origins of the formula below.

From the five amulets whose archaeological find-spots are known, a fairly broad area of diffusion can be established: Constantinople, where Spier suggests production was centered, but also well beyond it, in areas of Europe and the Near East where the influence of Byzantine culture was felt: Ephesos, Gardóny in modern Hungary, Przemysl in modern Poland, and Chernigov in modern Ukraine.¹⁹⁶ Early modern Europe provides an interesting coda to that diffusion, where at least one forgery on this theme has been identified in the collection of the British Museum.¹⁹⁷

Drexler had identified a later Italian version of the ὑστέρα incantation prescribed in a Florentine manuscript of the fourteenth century (1899, 605-607), and Spier notes a Hebrew version in another manuscript of the same century (1993, 48-49). But the formula enjoyed its liveliest diffusion in the original language, as will be examined further here. The inscribed examples cohere iconographically, as Spier has established in detail. There is considerable freedom of elaboration in the composition of the text. The kernel is an alliterative address to the womb (ὑστέρα) as “black and blackened” (μελανή μελανομένη, for μεμελανωμένη).¹⁹⁸ This core is then expanded with similes likening the womb in its noxious effects to animals. These similes are constructed in balanced anaphoric parallel clauses, with a consistent structure such that the initial conjunction ὡς is followed by noun and then verb. Most common is the snake, ὡς ὄφης εἰλύεσαι, “like a snake you coil,” and ὡς δράκων συρίζεις, “like a serpent you hiss,”¹⁹⁹ which likely corresponds to the iconographic motif of the Medusa head featured on the great majority of the objects. The roaring lion, bellowing bull, and boar also appear.²⁰⁰ A closing simile may also be added expressing the hoped-for result, that the womb settles or lies down like

¹⁹⁶ Respectively, Church of St. Polyeuktos museum inv. 8035, ed. Harrison 1986 no. 621 (chapter 1 cat. 1.6.3.4); Selçuk Museum inv. 2105, ed. Langmann 1973 (cat. 1.6.1.2); Székesfehérvár Museum, ed. Kádár 1962 (cat. 1.6.4.10); Muzeum Narodwe Ziemi Przemyskiej inv. MP-H-1865, ed. Laurent 1936, 303-307 (cat. 1.6.4.4); Chernigov (cat. 1.6.4.7).

¹⁹⁷ Perhaps working from the engraving published in Chiflet 1657: a brown stone in the British Museum, Michel 2001 no. 620, dated to the seventeenth century.

¹⁹⁸ E.g. the lead pendant in a private collection ed. Spier 1993 no. 28 (chapter 1 cat. 1.6.1.1). Following a general trend in Greek incantations, this address also has a metrical component: the core ὑστέρα μελανή μελανομένη, supposing the addition of auxiliary accents, can be identified as an instance of stress-based iambic meter.

¹⁹⁹ E.g. a lead pendant now at Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, ed. Spier 1993 no. 2 (chapter 1 cat. 1.6.3.1).

²⁰⁰ E.g. ὡς λέων βρυχᾶσαι on a bronze pendant once in Venice (private collection, Weber), ed. Münter 1825, 103 (chapter 1 cat. 1.6.3.9) and ὡς λέων ὠρύεσαι on the lead medallion found in Constantinople mentioned above (cat. 1.6.3.4); ὡς ταῦρος ὠρύεσαι on another lead pendant now at Oxford, ed. Spier 1993 no. 15 (cat. 1.6.4.8). The κάπρος appears on a bronze pendant said to be from Constantinople, now in Paris (BnF, Cabinet des Médailles, coll. Schlumberger 193), ed. Spier 1993 no. 14 (cat. 1.6.3.12), but the object is damaged such that the accompanying verb is lost.

calm at sea, a lamb, or a sheep, respectively.²⁰¹ Alternatively, the text may close with imperatives, again expressed with similes of an analogous type: the lying down of the proverbially mild lamb and sheep is the most common.²⁰²

The *ύστέρα* motif also appears in combination with others familiar from earlier periods. The usual animal similes, for example, can be elaborated in a dramatic form that recalls the ritual drama motif discussed above: here the interrogative *τί* is added before *ώς*, such that the text and the user, if any sort of reading is involved, asks the womb why it coils like a snake and roars like a lion or bull, before ordering it to lie down like a sheep.²⁰³ In one of these cases, a silver pendant said to come from Asia Minor, the *ύστέρα* motif is actually combined outright with the addressative flight and pursuit motif discussed above: here a demon is addressed, and the pursuing powers are Sisinnios and an angel.²⁰⁴ The use of retrograde writing in some of the inscriptions also suggests a survival from earlier magical practice.²⁰⁵

In many instances the *ύστέρα* formula is combined with other texts on the same object, such as the liturgical *trisagion* acclamation or a Christian prayer for help,²⁰⁶ which show that the makers of these objects were concerned to integrate them in a productive way with their contemporary Byzantine context. In two examples these additional prayers are personalized with the name of the bearer. The first, on an agate gem, invokes the *Theotokos* to help “your servant Mariam,” and the second, curiously, seeks help for a man, Basil.²⁰⁷ The adaptation of the formula for use by both sexes will be seen in more detail below.

²⁰¹ *ώς θάλατταν γαλήνη σαίνει* on a green jasper said to be from Spain, in a private collection (W.T. Ready), Spier 1993 no. 56 (chapter 1 cat. 1.6.3.11); *ώς άρνός κοιμᾶσαι* on the bronze pendant once in Venice cited above (cat. 1.6.3.9); *ώς πρόβατον κοιμᾶσαι* on a lead pendant in a private collection, ed. Spier 1993 no. 5 (cat. 1.6.3.8).

²⁰² E.g. *άρνιον κοιμοῦ* on an onyx in the collection of A. Rubens, ed. Froehner 1884, 42 (chapter 1 cat. 1.6.4.3). See further catalogue 1.6.4.1-2, 5-6, 8, 9, 11.

²⁰³ On a lead pendant now at Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, ed. Spier 1993 no. 15 (chapter 1 cat. 1.6.4.8); and a silver pendant said to be from Asia Minor, now in the same museum (inv. 1980.5), ed. Spier 1993 no. 33 (cat. 1.6.4.9).

²⁰⁴ Ashmolean Museum inv. 1980.5, as in the previous note (chapter 1 cat. 1.6.4.9). To this compare the bronze pendant from the fifth or sixth century found in excavations at the necropolis of Tyre, ed. Chébab 1986, 183, discussed above (cat. 1.25.2.2).

²⁰⁵ Chapter 1 cat. 1.6.1.1, 1.6.3.4, 1.6.3.8. The practice, common in ancient Greek curse tablets and surviving also in Byzantine and post-Byzantine aggressive magic, will be examined in more detail in chapter 3. The reversed direction could perhaps also be explained by supposing that the inscriptions were copied from a cast, but it is not clear why recourse would be had to that procedure if written formularies, which surely existed, were also available. It would be worth exploring the possibility that such objects were actually intended as *stamps*, not amulets themselves, on the analogy of eucharist-bread stamps or stamps for medical substances, but I know of no convincing direct parallels as yet.

²⁰⁶ E.g. the lead pendant now in the Ashmolean Museum cited above (chapter 1 cat. 1.6.4.8), where the acclamation *άγιος άγιος άγιος κύριος* is followed by the prayer *βοήθει τῇ φορούσῃ*.

²⁰⁷ *θεότοκε βοήθει τῇ σῇ δούλῃ Μαρηααμ*, now in Gotha, ed. Bube 1854, 24-25 no. 120 (chapter 1 cat. 1.6.4.5). Basil is sometimes taken on quite tenuous grounds to be the prince Vladimir of Kiev, cf. Spier 1993, 31-32: this is the Chernigov amulet cited above (cat. 1.6.4.6: the portion containing the name is in Slavonic).

No exact parallels for the formula survive from before the middle Byzantine period. However, they can be shown to adapt ancient motifs. The variants in which questions are posed to the womb strikingly recall an incantation for colic in a recipe in an anonymous late ancient Latin antidotary, which likely had a Greek original: “Why are you angry? Why do you toss about like a dog? Why do you leap back like a hare? Rest, intestine, and stand still, crocodile.”²⁰⁸ The questions also resonate with a group of three late ancient or early Byzantine bronze pendant amulets dealing with intestinal complaints, in which the affliction is asked, “Why do you roar like a lion,” “Why do coil like a snake,” and “Why do you gulp like a crocodile?”²⁰⁹ Indeed a formulary recipe in a seventeenth-century codex strongly suggests that the ὑστέρα formula as seen on the amulets arose from a fuller composition, a dramatic form combining the ritual drama motif with a narrative motif in which the personified ὑστέρα is questioned and redirected. One portion of this incantation, directed against the wandering womb, is a reported dialogue with the affliction in which it is commanded not to torment the patient, expressed with three animal similes featuring a clutching crab, a grasping wild animal, and a poisoning snake; it is offered instead a substitute, and ordered to depart. The manuscript was acquired and very likely also produced in the Greek lands and contains astrological material along with many other incantations; there is evidence of its practical use as a handbook in the form of a knotted string, prepared by the practitioner for application in ritual.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ *Antidotarium Bruxellense* §147, ed. Rose 1894, 389, ad strophum. dicis haec uerba ‘quid iracundiarius? quid sicut canis iactas te? quid sicut lepus resilis? quiesce intestinum et sta crocodile’ (chapter 1 cat. 1.8.2); compare the Byzantine pendant amulets cat. 1.6.4.8-9 cited above.

²⁰⁹ E.g. a bronze pendant now in London, British Museum OA.9800, ed. Bonner 1951 no. 51, τί | ὡς λύκος μασαῖσε, τί | ὡς κορκόδυλλος κα|ταπίννις, τί ὡς λέω|ν ὀρώχης, τί ὡς ταῦρ|ος κερατίζις, τί ὡς δ|ράκων ειλίσσι, τί ὡ|ς παραῖος κυμαῖσε; (chapter 1 cat. 1.8.3). See further cat. 1.8.4-5. None of these amulets has secure archeological context but 1.8.4 is said to have been acquired in the Near East, at Akko (Acre). The comparison of the womb to animals, or theriomorphic demons, notably a dog, has been well established for earlier antiquity as well (Faraone 2011).

²¹⁰ St. Petersburg, NLR cod. gr. 575, acquired by the archimandrite Antonin Ivanovich Kapustin (1817-1894) during his career in Greece. Summary of contents with incipits in *CCAG* XII:25-39. The relevant portion is on ff. 32v-33r, “θέλεις ἄνθρωπον νά σου δώσω; θέλεις παῖδα νά πι(ά)σης;” “θέλω ἄνδρα, θέλω καί νά φάγω καί νά πῖω καί παῖδα νά πι(ά)σω.” καί εἶπον αὐτῆς “μὴν κλαίης, μὴν θλίβεσαι καί νά φάγης καί νά πῖης καί τὴν δούλην τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα μὴν κολάζης. μὴ ὡς κάβουρος πιάνης καί ὡς θηρίον ἔχης αὐτὴν καί ὡς δράκαινα φαρμακώνης τὴν βρῶσιν καί τὴν πόσιν αὐ|τῆς, ἀλλὰ ἄπελθε καί ἔπαρον τοὺς πόνους σου καί τὴν φλόγα σου ἀπὸ τὴν δούλην τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα” (“‘Do you want me to give you a man? Do you want a child to clutch?’ ‘I want a man, I want to eat and drink [him], and a child to clutch.’ And I said to it [the womb], ‘Do not cry, do not be troubled, and you will eat and drink – and do not torment the [female] servant of god so-and-so. Do not clutch her like a crab, hold her like a wild animal, and poison her food and drink like a serpent, but go away and remove your pain and your burning from the [female] servant of god so-and-so.’”). There may be an ancillary goal of fertility, suggested by the concurrence of ἄνδρα and παῖδα, especially if πισης and πισω in the cod. are resolved as ποιήσης and ποιήσω instead of πι(ά)σης and πι(ά)σω, referring to the intake of semen and the conception of a child. I am still in the process of editing the rest of the numerous incantations from this cod., which are not yet included in the catalogue.

From these likely ancient origins, the formula was preserved in written recipes, for incantations to be both spoken and written, through the later Byzantine period and well beyond. There are manuscript attestations from the fourteenth through nineteenth centuries, in manuscripts from the Greek mainland and islands and probably also Asia Minor, generally in the context of medical and astrological content.²¹¹ Versions were still recorded in oral use in the early twentieth century, in communities in mainland Greece, the Ionian and Aegean islands, and Cyprus.²¹² It remained a productive type, serving in combination with numerous other incantation motifs. The form is adapted to other purposes, intestinal distress more generally, in which the noun ὑστέρα itself is often replaced with γαστέρα and related words.²¹³ The remedy is thus applied to both sexes as a general protective measure against internal pain. This transformation can already be glimpsed in the amulet from Chernigov discussed above, which is personalized with a man's name (Basil) but still invokes the ὑστέρα. The original indication, to combat the wandering womb, survived in full force too, however, as nicely illustrated in an incantation in sixteenth-century manuscript in which, among other motifs, the womb (here μήτρα) is ordered not to roar like a lion, hiss like a snake, butt like a ram, heave like the sea, or “grasp the left side or the right side” of the patient's body, but rather to “settle back into your place.”²¹⁴

²¹¹ Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 142 (s. XIV, possibly Crete), f. 158r (chapter 1 cat. 1.6.11.1); London, BL cod. Royal 16 C II (s. XV, prb. vicinity of Thessalonike), f. 76r (cat. 1.6.9.1); Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316 (s. XV, possibly Crete), f. 370v, ed. Delatte 1927, 553 (cat. 1.6.10.1); Erlangen, UB cod. 93 (s. XVI: Zafəriye, Turkey?), f. 18r, ed. CCAG VII:245-246 (cat. 1.6.10.2); Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 636 (s. XVII, Constantinople / northern Greece), f. 130v (cat. 1.6.5.2); Thessaly, monastery of Olympiotissa, cod. 97 (s. XVIII), p. 137, ed. Skouvaras 1965-1966, 94 (cat. 1.6.12.1); private collection, Leucosia, Cyprus (s. XVIII), f. 54r, ed. Kyriakidis 1912-1914, 384 no. 10 (cat. 1.6.8.4); private collection, Cyprus (s. XVIII), ed. Chatziioannou 1950, 18-19 (cat. 1.6.6.1); Athens, BB cod. 124 (a. 1815), f. 275v, ed. Delatte 1927, 141 (cat. 1.6.7.1). The use of a version of the formula written on paper and worn as an amulet was also reported from Macedonia in the early twentieth century: Loukopoulou 1917-1918, 100 no. 3 (cat. 1.6.10.3).

²¹² Mainland: Aidepsia (Papanastasiou 1912-1914, 45 no. 4 [chapter 1 cat. 1.6.1.3]), Kipourio (Koukoules 1926, 103 and id. 1928, 476 [cat. 1.6.2.1]). Ionian islands: Kerkyra (Kavasilas 1910, 649 no. 11 [cat. 1.6.9.2]), Zakynthos (Giannopoulou-Heptanesias 1951, 269 [cat. 1.6.8.2]). Aegean Islands: Melos (Polites 1883, 18 [cat. 1.6.8.3]), Kythera (Photios 1912-1914, 58 no. 10γ [cat. 1.6.8.1]), Paphos (Philippou 1914, 527 no. 1 [cat. 1.6.11.2]). Cyprus: Pharmakides 1928, 609-610 (cat. 1.6.9.3).

²¹³ The process by which the ὑστέρα formula lost its uterine specificity is complex and multiply determined. Aphairesis of the initial vowel, reflected in the occasionally attested ὕστέρα, may have caused conflation with ἀστέρα, “star,” itself further subject to conflation with (γ)αστέρα and (γα)στέρα. Astrological theory may have played a role, the malign influence of certain stars in general, and in particular the concept of *melothesia*, a system of correspondences by which specific celestial bodies influenced the condition of specific limbs of the human body (see the recent study of Hübner 2014).

²¹⁴ A sixteenth-century manuscript of primarily theological content, Venice, BNM cod. gr. VII 38, f. 306v, εὐχή λεγομένη εἰς πόνον μήτρας. ‘... ὀρκίζω σε μήτρα μὴ ὡς λέων ὀρυωθῆς, μὴ ὡς δράκων συρίσης, μὴ ὡς κύων ὑλακήσης, μὴ ὡς κριὸς κριώσης, μὴ ὡς θάλασσα κυματίσης, μήτε τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος μήτε τὸ ἀριστερὸν μέρος κρατήσης, ἀλλὰ συνάχθητι εἰς τὸν ἴδιόν σου τόπον ...’ (addendum to chapter 1 cat.).

The core address as *μελανή μελανομένη* survives intact,²¹⁵ but there are various developments showcasing the vitality of later reception of this tradition. These include an additional epithet applied in a version of this incantation in oral use on modern Kythera, “black-haired” (*μελαχρινέ*).²¹⁶ In at least one manuscript recipe, from an eighteenth-century codex copied on Cyprus, the tradition of similes comparing the target to various animals is continued, but new animals are introduced, a pawing horse and lowing cow.²¹⁷ In one recipe for an incantation in a fourteenth-century codex of primarily liturgical content, possibly produced on Crete, the motif is introduced by a curious narrative in which a phallus falls from the sky and creates a loud disturbance.²¹⁸ It is expressed in animal similes, including a roaring lion and coiling snake, quite like those used in the address to the *ύστέρα*, which is also addressed directly in this incantation. The falling phallus motif in turn appears to be an adaptation of an ancient motif found as early as the medical collection of Marcellus: there, an incantation targeting colic recounts how the disease, incarnate, falls from the sky and is found by some shepherds, who gathered it without hands, cooked it without fire, and ate it without teeth.²¹⁹ Colic is identified in the recipe with a Greek loan-word, a transliteration of *στρόφος*, which could suggest that the motif itself has a Greek origin.

In this later phase the *ύστέρα* formula appears in entirely new combinations as well. A good example is the ancient motif of the secret name, in which the practitioner asserts that everyone else calls the affliction by one name, while he calls it by another, which he implies is the true name. The existence of this motif in herbal lore is suggested as early as the Homeric poems. When Hermes provides Odysseus with an herb to protect him from the drugs of Circe, the plant is first described physically, then qualified with the statement *μῶλυ δέ μιν καλέουσι θεοί*, “and the gods call it *mōlu*,” implying that mortals either have no name for it at all, or whatever name they might apply would be inexact and hence not even worth repeating; indeed while it is difficult for mortals to dig up, it gives the gods no trouble (*Od.* 10.304-306). It is applied specifically to incantations in a Latin collection of medical recipes copied in a manuscript of the eleventh century but transmitting material from ancient traditions: when gathering the plant vervain for use as an amulet for success in court, the user is to address the plant, “All humanity calls you

²¹⁵ E.g. a recipe in a manuscript of medical and astrological content of the seventeenth century acquired either at Constantinople or in the vicinity of Thessalonike and Athos by Konstantinos Minoïdes Menas: Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 636, f. 130v, *εις ύστέραν. ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. ἀστέρα μελανή μελανομένη, αἷμα τρώγεις, αἷμα πίνεις, <εις> αἷμα εἶσαι ἀνακυλημένη* (catalogue 1.6.5.2; the expected *καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ* is omitted from the trinitarian formula). See further chapter 1 cat. 1.6.9.1-2.

²¹⁶ Photios 1912-1914, 58 no. 10γ (chapter 1 cat. 1.6.8.1).

²¹⁷ In private possession, ed. Chatziioannou 1950, 18-19, *‘στέρα στέρη στέρα στερημένη τοῦ θεοῦ κατηραμένη ... ὅταν τὸν ἄππαρον σκαλίζεις, ὅταν τὸ βόδι μούγκαρίζεις ...’* (chapter 1 cat. 1.6.6.1).

²¹⁸ Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 142, f. 158r, *‘φάλλος ἐξουράνοθεν ἐξέπεσεν καὶ ὡσεὶ χάραδρος ἐκτύπησεν καὶ ὡσεὶ λέος ἐβρυχήθη καὶ ὡς ὄφιν ἐδιπλώνετο καὶ πάλιν ἀπεδιπλώνετο ...’* “A phallus fell down from the sky and thundered like a torrent and roared like a lion and doubled up like a snake and then straightened out again” (chapter 1 cat. 1.6.11.1).

²¹⁹ Marcellus 28.16, *‘strophus a caelo cecidit. hunc morbum pastores inuenerunt, sine manibus colligerunt, sine igni coxerunt, sine dentibus comederunt,’* “Colic fell from the sky. Shepherds found this sickness, gathered it without hands, cooked it without fire, ate it without teeth” (chapter 1 cat. 3.20.1).

vervain, and I call you Lady Victory.”²²⁰ The earliest example of the motif in combination with the *ύστέρα* tradition comes from a fifteenth-century codex in a collection of astrological, demonological, and medical recipes probably produced in the vicinity of Thessalonike. The incantation addresses the *άστέρα*, but the application of the motif of the secret name shows an awareness of the earlier tradition based on *ύστέρα*. The *άστέρα*, as the incantation asserts, is addressed by everyone else with the epithet *μελανό*, in the masculine gender, but the first-person speaker calls it by the same epithet in the feminine gender, *μελανή*, which is in fact the historically accurate form with reference to the earlier *ύστέρα μελανή*.²²¹ There is a similar application of the motif in an incantation reported in use on Kythera in the early twentieth century.²²² Another new combination is with the narrative motif of the good housemaster and bad housemistress, which has been discussed above in its independent applications for intestinal and other internal pain. Indeed both of the instances just mentioned, the manuscript recipe from northern Greece and the applied version from Kythera, contain this addition.²²³

This process of combination illustrates again the opportunistic spirit by which compilers enlisted additional support from the traditional knowledge available to them in order to increase the appeal of their produce and its chances of success. The process extends, finally, to the techniques of prayer and exorcism, such that the incantations and their ancient motifs are integrated for maximum relevance in a contemporary Christian context. This can already be seen in the earlier, middle Byzantine pendant amulets, where the *ύστέρα* formula shares space on the same object with liturgical acclamations and prayers for salvation.²²⁴ In the later tradition, this integration also includes exorcistic language for the address to the *ύστέρα* or *άστέρα*, such as a recipe from a fifteenth-century manuscript of medical and astrological content possibly produced on Crete, in which the affliction is adjured by the *Theotokos*, the avenging sickle seen by the prophet Zacharias (5:1-3), and the hair of Elizabeth (mother of John the Baptist).²²⁵ In an oral

²²⁰ London, BL cod. Sloane 475, f. 111r, *uti causa te nemo uincere possit. herbam uerbenam colligis die Iouis mane et sic dicas ‘humana uerbenam uocant et ego dico te domna uictoria ...’* (chapter 1 cat. 4.9.1.1).

²²¹ London, BL cod. Royal 16 C II, f. 76r, *‘άστέρα άστέρα μελανή μελανομένη, έσένα λέγουν μελανό και ‘γώ σε λέγω μελανή ...’* (chapter 1 cat. 1.6.9.1).

²²² From the village of Nymphai, ed. Kavasilas 1910, 649 no. 11, *‘άστέρ’ άστέρα μελανή, όλοι σε λένε μελανή κ’ έγώ σε λέω άστέρα ...’* (chapter 1 cat. 1.6.9.2). Here the secret knowledge seems to lie in the correct identification of the nature of the affliction: everyone knows that it is black in color, but only the user, via the precious knowledge transmitted by the incantation, knows that it is an *άστέρα*.

²²³ London, BL cod. Royal 16 C II, f. 76r, *‘...πονηρός ό οικόκύρης, πονηρά ή οικόκύρα, για τó καρβέλι τó ψωμί, για τó ποτόν τó κρασί ...’* (chapter 1 cat. 1.6.9.1) and Kavasilas 1910, 649 no. 11, *‘...άγαθος ό νοικοκύρης, πονηρή ή νοικοκυρά, φάκον έμαγειρεύε, φάκον έξεκένωνε, κλάδον έστρωνε, λίθον έβανε προσκέφαλο ...’* (chapter 1 cat. 1.6.9.2).

²²⁴ E.g. the acclamation *άγιος άγιος άγιος κύριος σαβαωθ, πλήρης ό ούρανός* on the bronze medallion in Paris, Louvre inv. OA 6276, discussed above (chapter 1 cat. 1.6.3.3); and the prayer *κύριε βοήθει τόν φορούντα* on the hematite found in Przemysl in modern Poland, ed. Laurent 1936, 303-307 (cat. 1.6.4.4).

²²⁵ Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316, f. 370v, ed. Delatte 1927, 553, *‘... όρκίζω σε είς τήν ύπεραγίαν θεοτόκον και είς τοϋ άγίου Ζαχαρίου τήν δρεπάνην και είς τής άγίας Ελισαβετ τούς πλοκάμους ...’* (chapter 1 cat. 1.6.10.1).

application of the formula reported in use on Cyprus in the 1920s, the adjuration again features Elizabeth and adds the unshakable throne of God and the four archangels.²²⁶

In this review of over two thousand years of tradition in Greek incantations we have seen continuity in a selection of representative types as well as motifs that span and combine several of them. The tradition works not merely by passive copying, but also involves dynamic adaptation. Users and compilers of incantations take up the ancient material that suits their purposes, and subject it to elaboration via their own creativity as well as combination with other motifs known to them, especially through borrowing from the Christian concepts and texts current in the Greek Orthodox Church. Besides the general inclusion of liturgical formulae and prayers in and alongside incantations, we have also seen specific examples such as the co-occurrence of the divinities Tartarus and Ashmodaues, and the pre-Christian festival in remembrance of the dead, τὰ νεκύσια, with the prophet Zacharias.

Neither of the most influential authors on Greek medicine, Hippocrates and Galen, put much stock in the efficacy of incantations. Widely read successors in the medical tradition such as Alexander of Tralles did somewhat grudgingly concede it in certain cases. There were nevertheless sophisticated medical theories to account for this efficacy. These theories come close to the well-established modern placebo effect: they are adumbrated in a claim in a fragment of the philosopher Theophrastus that the playing of the *aulos* over a diseased limb works by healing both soul and body, and a doctrine attributed to a Thracian healer by Plato's Socrates that pharmacologic healing is useless without the preparation of the mind beforehand by incantations, as a form of suggestion.²²⁷ But the best-developed theory appears in a medieval Latin work by Constantine Africanus, active in the eleventh century, an entire treatise devoted to incantations and their mechanism.²²⁸ Following the principle that the body and mind are inextricably connected, Constantine asserts that the patient's confidence in the efficacy of an incantation produces a beneficial outcome for the health of the body, regardless of its contents, and further that a physician (*medicus*) can combine incantations and *medicina* to produce even greater and quicker benefits. Indeed he ends on a quite positive note, assuring the addressee of the treatise, whom he calls his son but who might just as well stand for contemporary and future practicing physicians, that he need no longer regard incantations with aversion in his own

²²⁶ Pharmakides 1928, 609-610, '... ὀρκίζω σε ἑτέρα εἰς τὸν θρόνον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ἀσάλευτον, ὀρκίζω σε εἰς τοὺς τέσσερας ἀρχαγγέλους Μιχαηλ Γαβριηλ Ουριηλ καὶ Ραφαηλ, εἰς τὴν ἅγιαν Ελισαβετ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ προδρόμου ...' (chapter 1 cat. 1.6.9.3).

²²⁷ Theophrastus ap. Apollonius *Historiae mirabiles* 49 speaks of καταύλησις, which cures πολλὰ τῶν ἐπὶ ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα γιγνομένων παθῶν. It is uncertain how much historical credence may be placed in Socrates' claim (*Chrm.* 156d-157c) to have learned an ἐπωδή, directions for its use, and theory on its mechanism from a follower of Zalmoxis (παρὰ τινος τῶν Θρακῶν τῶν Ζαλμόξιδος ἰατρῶν), but in any case the theory of facilitation of pharmacologic healing by suggestive preparation of the mind beforehand can likely be taken as familiar to contemporary Greeks, though the Thracian actually claims that it is ignorance of just this theory that makes Greek healers unsuccessful.

²²⁸ The *Epistola ad filium de incantationibus et adiurationibus*, printed in the 1536 Basel edition of the works of Constantinus, pp. 317-320.

practice.²²⁹ Constantine's general method of working, and specific mention in this work of consulting ancient Greek sources, suggests that the material for this theory could already be found there.²³⁰

But a related question still needs to be answered: why were traditional incantations specifically worth preserving? There are clues about the appeal of traditional incantations also in the titles under which they are recorded in manuscripts. Most often these titles are purely descriptive of the purpose that the incantation serves, but occasionally there is an added assertion that the technique is a good or useful one (καλόν or ὠφέλιμον),²³¹ and further that this benefit is assured because it has been proven by past users. A recipe in the Byzantine *Geponika* for inscribing text from the psalms for the preservation of wine is said "never to have failed," and another in an anonymous collection in a manuscript of theological and medical content of the fourteenth century, which involves speaking the name of the Greek letter *sigma* or the saint Zosimos into the ear of the patient to stop hemorrhage, is called "a proven remedy working by the laws of nature."²³² Knowledge of the workings of these laws of nature in general is a valuable product of ancient traditions.

Beyond this general appeal, incantation techniques proven in the past show up especially in dire circumstances, where pharmacology was of no help and surgery was impractical or unavailable. This is the case particularly with medical problems like difficult childbirth, hemorrhage, epilepsy, and choking, or broader issues for which physical explanations were unconvincing, but for which popular belief offered both a diagnosis and a solution, such as apotropaic incantations and amulets against the effects of the evil eye on people, their careers, and their property. This kind of continuity, in matters of life and

²²⁹ Ibid., mens humana rem aliquam, licet naturaliter non iuuantem, si prodesse certificat, ex sola mentis intentione corpus res illa iuuat. uerbi gratia: si quis incantationem sibi prodesse confidat, qualiscumque sit, eum tamen adiuuat. si enim, ut diximus, complexio corporis uirtutem sequatur animae, necesse est taliter rem se habere. ... constat ergo quia si medicus animae complexionem quoquo modo adiuuerit incantatione, adiuratione, siue colli suspensione, corporis quoque complexionem adiutam esse. si autem his conueniens adiungitur medicina, uelocior et perfectior consequetur sanitas, cum medicina corpus, incantatione anima adiuuetur. quibus coniunctis, necesse est sanitatem citius consequi.

²³⁰ Ibid., nos autem haec ex libris antiquorum excerpimus ut mens tua incantationi, adiurationi, in collo suspensis non refragetur amplius. He also attributes to *Graeci antiqui medici* the claim that incantations are among the methods of restoring mental health. Compare the theory offered in the late ancient *Apophthegmata patrum*, coll. syst. 5.37, ὁ ἐπαιδὸς οὐκ οἶδεν τὴν δύναμιν τῶν ῥημάτων ὧν λέγει, ἀλλὰ τὸ θηρίον ἀκούει καὶ οἶδεν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ λόγου καὶ ὑποτάσσεται; and the analysis of Plotinus 4.4.40, that incantations act on the ἄλογος ψυχή.

²³¹ E.g. καλόν: Vienna, ÖNB cod. theol. gr. 244, f. 210v (chapter 1 cat. 5.4.2.1); ὠφέλιμον: Venice, BNM cod. gr. Z. 408, f. 147r, ed. Legrand 1881, 25 (cat. 3.24.1).

²³² Ἀν ἐπίγραμμα ἀπαράβατον, *Geponika* 7.14 (chapter 1 cat. 5.4.5.1); and φυσικὸν δόκιμον in Florence, BML cod. Plut. 7.19, f. 226r, λέγε εἰς τὸ εὐώνυμον ὠτίον τοῦ πάσχοντος 'σίγμα' καὶ παύεται τὸ αἷμα, ἢ εἰπέ τρίτον 'Ζώσιμος' (cat. 4.4.5.1). It is not apparent why either of these words are particularly appropriate to staunching blood: one could guess that σίγμα stands for the first letter of στᾶ or στῆσον, which are frequently encountered as imperatives addressed to blood in other incantations against hemorrhage: e.g. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2294, f. 79r '... στᾶ αἷμα στᾶ μὴ στάξης' (cat. 1.38.6). A martyr Zosimos of Cilicia survived (and by implication stilled) a boiling kettle of sewage, *Synax. CP* Jan. 4 §6; while another martyr of the same name from Sozopolis caused fire to turn into dew, op. cit. June 20 §1.

death, is consistent with the results of the pioneering work of Margaret Alexiou on survivals from the classical period in modern Greek ritual lament (1974).²³³ Pliny the Elder keenly observes the proliferation of incantations and related procedures for fever, against which “clinical medicine” in his day “is nearly powerless.”²³⁴ And this elite Roman, it should be noted, did not fail to record many of these fever remedies as worthy of transmission to posterity.

This survival overcame formidable obstacles, foremost among them the rejection of incantations as a valid technique by influential thinkers in medicine and theology. One mechanism for that success was the joint operation of written and oral traditions, such that if incantations were intentionally omitted or erased from written records, they could be supplemented based on an oral memory; a parallel oral tradition would also go a long way in explaining the prolific variation within incantations of a particular type, as is hypothesized in popular Byzantine literature such as the so-called spiritually beneficial tale.²³⁵ We have seen an example of this process of supplementation in a Byzantine manuscript of the fourteenth century, in which a blank page between two treatises in a medical miscellany has been filled, in a contemporary hand, by the addition of an incantation of the ‘good housemaster, bad housemistress’ type against indigestion.²³⁶ The manuscript, as we have seen, was likely in use by a practicing physician. It is tempting to suppose that he added this incantation, which he believed would be valuable in his work, either from his own memory or the incantation repertoire of some knowledgeable third party. The persistence of incantations learned by heart can indeed still be seen among practitioners observed by folklorists in Greece in the twentieth century.

²³³ A further survival in this area of ritual practice perhaps underlies the interesting observation in nineteenth-century Epirus of mock lament for young men and women who are arrayed as corpses, then pantomime waking up again at the end of the lament-song; some reflex of ancient rites associated with Adonis and Linos is suggested by Sapras 1897, 347-351. For the general trend of strongest continuity in “matters of stress and uncertainty” cf. Blum and Blum 1970, 6.

²³⁴ *HN* 30.98, *medicina clinice propemodum nihil pollet*.

²³⁵ On this see Wortley 2010 and the introduction to id. ed. and tr. 2013.

²³⁶ Once owned by Johannes Sambucus (1531-1584), himself a court physician to the Austrian Emperor Maximilian II; now Vienna, ÖNB cod. med. gr. 28, f. 139v. The incantation is printed in full above.

Chapter 2

In the first chapter we saw tradition, and within it both continuity and change, in one aspect of magical ritual, healing and apotropaic incantations. Although the use of these was problematic for learned medical authors and theologians,²³⁷ a vital and dynamic career for them was still possible even in contact with the texts and milieux of some of those authors, in late antiquity, Byzantium, and the post-Byzantine periods. In this chapter we will consider the first of two more problematic branches of the Greek tradition of magical ritual: rituals designed to produce erotic effects. The third branch, curses and related rituals, will be discussed in the third chapter. Now it could not be said that the survival of the healing and apotropaic branch discussed in the first chapter was easy: the material lost to censorship or lack of interest was considerable. But a significant number of Byzantine and post-Byzantine speakers of Greek managed to reconcile these incantations with their Christianity, and we have seen one of the results at the level of the incantations themselves, the widespread internal reference to the use and prescription of incantations by figures like Christ and the saints, all for the unobjectionable goal of healing and protection. In this chapter we move to a set of rituals that are designed to coerce individuals, often by the infliction of severe discomfort, for aims more difficult to reconcile with Christian teaching, namely forcible sexual gratification. This no doubt could also have a broader goal, wherein the sex was the first step in securing a lasting bond by marriage, which would also bring financial security, for the husband in the form of the dowry of a wife from a prosperous family, or vice versa for a wife in the form of support after the death of her father.

As the fourth chapter will take up in more detail, a different set of practitioners is responsible for the propagation of these techniques. An ephemeral, local, oral tradition very likely still ran in parallel, and occasionally intersected. For the most part, however, as this chapter will argue, the tradition was more learned and depended on literate specialists to control the more complex ritual procedures, many of which in turn called for the writing of incantations and all of which, as it were, played with higher stakes. These rituals aggregate to themselves a higher power: instead of using natural powers and sympathies to remedy or avert a disturbance of the natural order, they in fact seek to cause just such a disturbance, though in the case of erotic magic it is often intended as only temporary until the goal is won.

My concern is a tradition and its development, in which I will attempt to show a significant continuity alongside productive adaptation and innovation. A potential difficulty is the ubiquity of the broader genre of the practices under study. Erotic desire is biologically conditioned and all but inevitable in the human condition, and it is fair to expect that many cultures that engage in magical practices, as so many have been shown to do across history, will have turned to them to manipulate it.²³⁸ This study attempts to

²³⁷ Whether or not it was considered licit, the efficacy of incantations was frequently conceded in Christian thought especially at more popular levels, e.g. an episode in the *Apophthegmata patrum* attesting a monk's theory of the operation of incantations on animals: ὁ ἐπαιδὸς οὐκ οἶδεν τὴν δύναμιν τῶν ῥημάτων ὧν λέγει, ἀλλὰ τὸ θηρίον ἀκούει καὶ οἶδεν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ λόγου καὶ ὑποτάσσεται (*Coll. syst.* 5.37).

²³⁸ So Frazer 1911-1915, 1:77, comparing broad and somewhat vague similarities among ancient India, Hellenistic Greece (by way of Theocritus), and the North American Chippewa. Critiques of the now dated work of Frazer are abundant (e.g. Bremmer 2002) and need not be taken up in the present study, it is the convenient collection of diverse sources that is relevant here.

get around the problem of the cultural universal by tracing specific techniques with a relatively higher degree of elaboration, where similarities are less likely to be coincidental.

As in the first chapter I intend for the core to be a corpus of primary-source texts of practical instructions and recipes for these practices or textual objects from the application of such recipes. The texts have been gathered and presented on the same principles as in the first chapter; the total numbers are smaller (c. 250, see chapter 2 catalogue), but individual recipes tend to be more elaborate. Here however the references to the practice of erotic magic in select literary sources will be of more importance in filling gaps in the direct sources in the middle period, from the end of Byzantine rule in Egypt, the repository of key papyrological evidence, until the fourteenth century, and also before the papyrological evidence first appears in the first century B.C. I will close with a briefer examination of the evidence for the practice of erotic magic in the medieval West, with attention to possible influence from the Greek tradition.

For the classical period we are fortunate to have the seminal study of C.A. Faraone (1999). It is difficult to praise this work highly enough, which has brought order, dignity, and a methodological framework to a topic that previously lacked systematic study, despite its titillating content. After a brief summary of the state of erotic magic in the classical period, it is therefore convenient to pick up where Faraone has left off, the Greek tradition of the post-classical world at the beginning of the common era, which has not yet been studied systematically.²³⁹

The violent emotional state behind erotic magic, the state that its techniques seek to inflict, is in Greek *eros* (ἔρως), a predominantly sexual passion and desire distinct from *philia* (φιλία), a steadier affection or love. Faraone considers magical means for promotion of both affects under the category of ‘love magic,’ but we will be almost exclusively concerned with the former, erotic category here. What Faraone identifies as ‘*philia* magic’ for the classical period is largely absent from surviving sources from the later period, but one notable exception suggests that it may have persisted as a category in Byzantine thought.²⁴⁰

The negative, deranging power of *eros* was well known in the classical period. A fine illustration is the case of Herodotus’ Candaules, the Lydian king whose downfall was brought on by his folly after being “stricken with *eros* for his own wife” (ἠράσθη τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικός, 1.8), in place of the more stable conjugal *philia*. We will see evidence of a long tradition of methods, in which incantations play a central role, for the infliction of the symptoms of *eros*, which I will call the ‘erotic curse.’²⁴¹ But unlike curses more generally, which will be discussed in the third chapter, the violence of erotic magic is only

²³⁹ For general bibliography on discussions of magic in late antiquity and Byzantium see the previous chapter. Trzcionka 2007, 81-100 surveys “erotic enchantment” in fourth-century Syria as portrayed in literary sources (Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Jerome). There is an overview of the papyrological sources in Petropoulos 1988, with additional comments from a psychological perspective in id. 1997. Erotic magic is curiously absent from the otherwise very useful review of Byzantine hagiographical sources for magic by Magoulias 1967. Abrahamse 1982 and Cupane 1980 and 2014 discuss select instances but do not systematically differentiate erotic from other aggressive practices. Vakaloudi 2014 identifies some broad affinities between references to erotic magic in Byzantine literature and the ancient papyri, but the treatment of papyrological evidence is problematic.

²⁴⁰ The case of the Constantinopolitan woman who seeks such services from the specialist Vigrinos in a middle Byzantine hagiographical text, which is discussed in detail below.

²⁴¹ On the intrinsic violence of the Greek concept of ἔρως, and its infliction as a sort of curse, see Faraone 1999, 43-46.

temporary, a means to an end and not the goal itself. Faraone usefully compares it with bride theft, as a response to a social condition, a difficulty of access to marriageable women (1999, 83-96). The large number of attestations of applications of these procedures in the papyri and inscribed tablets should in the main be seen as dispassionate applications of traditional techniques for personal gain, not individualistic *cris de coeur*.

In the erotic procedures themselves, Faraone distinguishes two methods of approach, which can also be used in combination (1999, 42). In the first, the user ritually invokes and orders a god or lesser divinity (δαίμων) to bind the target; in the second, the user claims through a performative utterance to bind the target directly.²⁴² Some further differentiation within these categories will be useful further on, in order to trace more accurately the continuity and change in the late ancient and medieval traditions, and there is also evidence for other methods that fall outside of these two categories, already in antiquity.

Testimonia for the Greek tradition of erotic magic from antiquity through Byzantium

Indirect evidence in the form of references to the practice of erotic magic in hagiographical narratives and a small number of accounts of court cases will be key here for reconstructing their presence in the Byzantine period, where direct evidence is lacking between the seventh and fourteenth centuries. (The periodization with respect to the evidence will follow the same lines as in the first chapter). In the classical period there is extensive though indirect evidence for the prevalence of erotic magic. It takes the form of literary references, which assume an audience familiar with such techniques and do not generally specify the details.²⁴³ The earliest such reference is probably already in Homer (*Od.* 12.44), where the Sirens are said to enchant sailors with song (θέλγουσιν ἄοιδῆ). The suggestion of the erotic comes from the obvious circumstance that the Sirens are female, and unattached, and that the doom produced by this θέλξις for the men who hear the ἄοιδῆ consists specifically in never returning to see their wives and children again, but in wasting away on the shore, where their corpses lie unburied.²⁴⁴

Greater narrative focus is accorded to such practices in Pindar's account of the myth of Jason and Medea. Here Aphrodite teaches Jason incantations (ἐπαιδᾶς) to use on Medea, in conjunction with the ritual torment of a bird as persuasive analogy (*Pyth.* 4.213-219). These techniques torment their target with both removal of regard for kin (ὄφρα Μηδείας τοκέων ἀφέλοιτ' αἰδῶ) and burning physical perturbation comparable to what is sought in the applied ritual texts that we will soon encounter (καιομέναν δονέοι). Indeed Aphrodite herself is invoked in some of these later texts with the same epithet as here (Κυπρογένεια) to produce exactly this effect.²⁴⁵ Phaidra's nurse in Euripides' *Hippolytus* (509-515) may recommend a related persuasive analogy to help her

²⁴² Faraone also suggests that in ancient Greek practice there was probably a further category that functioned by persuasive analogy performed on animals, e.g. the ἵυγξ, in which a bird was bound to a wheel and tormented with whip and flame, attested in Pindar (1999, 57-69). For persuasive analogy, the ritual concept developed by Stanley Tambiah (1968), see further the discussion in the previous chapter.

²⁴³ The evidence for the classical period is reviewed in Faraone 1999, 1-8.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 12.41-46, ὅς τις ... φθόγγον ἀκούσῃ | Σειρήνων, τῶ δ' οὐ τι γυνῆ καὶ νήπια τέκνα | οἴκαδε νοστήσαντι παρίσταται οὐδὲ γάνυνται | ... πολὺς δ' ἄμφ' ὅστεόφιν θῆς | ἀνδρῶν πυθομένων, περὶ δὲ ῥινοὶ μινύθουσιν.

²⁴⁵ The structure and syntax of erotic incantations may be imitated in Sappho's *Hymn to Aphrodite*, see Faraone 1999, 136-137.

mistress in her *eros*.²⁴⁶ The nurse suggests that some “token” should be taken from the target, Hippolytus, namely a lock of hair or cloth from his clothing, and that they should “join together from two one pleasure” (συνάψαι τ’ ἐκ δυοῖν μίαν χάριν). This allusive phrasing on its own could refer metaphorically to the erotic union of two people, but in my view the context also suggests a literal joining of two substances, the token from Hippolytus and another from Phaidra herself. In view of that specific procedure it is much more likely that these “philters to enchant *eros*” (φίλτρα θελκτήρια ἔρωτος) aim at the promotion of mutual *eros* and its successful consummation, against the reluctance of Hippolytus, and not merely the removal of Phaidra’s passion.

However we may regard Pindar’s claim that Jason was the first to employ them, with Aphrodite’s instruction, familiarity with these practices had spread by the classical period to the extent that they show up in joking references. Socrates, in Xenophon’s reminiscences, jokes about his use of ἐπωδαί and other techniques of erotic magic (φίλτρα, ὑγγες) as the explanation for having attracted such a devoted following (*Mem.* 3.11.16-18). The vocabulary of attraction (ἔλκεσθαι) used here also recalls that employed in some of the actual incantations that we will encounter.

The most extensive and realistic literary depiction of the practice of erotic magic is without question that offered by Theocritus, a poet originally from Syracuse writing in the 270s B.C. at Alexandria. Probably combining knowledge of traditions picked up in both places, Theocritus provides a rich and imaginative vignette of how one young woman, Simaitha, deploys erotic magic ritual targeting a lover, Delphis, who now prefers another to her.²⁴⁷ Simaitha sets out to perform a ritual binding of the violent effects of *eros* on Delphis, which functions both by analogical action and poetic song, as she at once describes and enacts it (καταδήσομαι ... ποταείσομαι, 10-11). What follows is a rich, multiply-determined mixture of techniques that we will see paralleled in applied examples. These include the invocation of the divinities Selene, Hekate, and Artemis; the burning of barley in a fire, with a performative utterance claiming that through the ritual the user places the bones of the target in the fire (τὰ Δέλφιδος ὅστια πάσσω, 20); the burning of laurel, with the prayer that the flesh of Delphis may suffer similar burning discomfort (οὔτω τοι καὶ Δέλφις ἐνὶ φλογὶ σάρκ’ ἀμαθύνοι, 25); the melting of wax, possibly an effigy of the target, with a similar prayer for his analogical torment;²⁴⁸ the invocation of a mythological exemplum for the allied wish that Delphis may forget Simaitha’s rival as wholly as Theseus forgot Ariadne on Naxos (43-46); and an address to

²⁴⁶ On the passage see Faraone 1999, 7-8, who is agnostic about whether the nurse’s proposal is “a spell for dissolving Phaedra’s love or a spell for captivating Hippolytus and subsequently curing the queen’s pains by fulfilling her desire.” He is surely correct in asserting, *contra* Barrett 1964 ad loc., that there is at least an allusion to the application of erotic magic upon Hippolytus here. For further evidence of the association of Phaidra with erotic magic see below.

²⁴⁷ On this well-known episode as a witness to the tradition of erotic magic see Faraone 1999, 37-38, 142-144, and 152-153 with previous bibliography. Faraone stresses that a woman unusually employs a technique usually used by men on women, but at least in the later evidence this is actually more common than he judges it to be in the classical period. In Vergil’s adaptation of this narrative in *Ecl.* 8 the user is indeed a man, though he practices upon another man.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 28-29, ὡς τοῦτον τὸν κηρὸν ἐγὼ σὺν δαίμονι τάκω, ὡς τάκοιθ’ ὑπ’ ἔρωτος ὁ Μύνδιος αὐτίκα Δέλφις. That the wax belongs to an effigy is an economical assumption suggested by the appearance of an effigy, though with a different function, in Vergil’s adaptation of this narrative (*Ecl.* 8.64-75).

a ritual object, ἵυγξ, ordering it to draw the target to her home, repeated 10 times as a sort of refrain.²⁴⁹ The setting for this ritual is probably the island of Kos, and its verbal and practical components seem entirely at home in the Hellenistic Greek cultic and poetic landscape, whatever their ultimate origins.²⁵⁰

For extensive and realistic descriptions of erotic magic in Greek antiquity after the Hellenistic period, and after Faraone's main period of interest, we must turn to the second century A.D. and the satires of Lucian. One of these presents two Athenian courtesans who pursue these techniques in connection with their profession (*Dial. meret.* 4). Even if the description does draw on Attic comedy,²⁵¹ the comedic impact surely would have been enhanced by the maintenance of some relation to techniques still in use in Athens in the contemporary period, where Lucian was also active. In the episode in question, Melitta asks her friend Bakchis to find her one of the Thessalian woman who can use incantations (ἐπαδουσαι) for erotic effect, specifically to make a man (Charinos) return to her and 'hate' (μισήσαντα) a female rival as he now hates Melitta.²⁵² Bakchis knows just such a woman, though she is not Thessalian but Syrian, a touch perhaps introduced from Lucian's own experience in his native Samosata. This unnamed specialist has helped Bakchis herself in this regard, with two separate rituals to bring a man back and to impede the female rival who lured him away.

Continuity can be seen in the general outlines, the use of incantations to force the target to return to the user, or here the client on whose behalf the ritual is performed (ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπαδῶν ἦκεν αὐθις ἐπ' ἐμέ, and ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπαδῆς ἀγόμενος). Indeed just as for Theocritus' Simaitha, the incantation is the central component, and when Melitta begs Bakchis to call the Syrian woman immediately, she bids her servant make ready the ritual ingredients "for the incantation" (πρὸς τὴν ἐπαδῆν), the entire procedure named metonymically by its most important constituent. Significant details belong to the Greek tradition: the ritual manipulation of hair or a piece of the target's clothing in a sympathetic analogy, which here are subjected to fumigation with sulfur, and the additional analogical device of speaking the names of the client and the target together (ἐπιλέγει δὲ ἀμφοῖν τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου καὶ τὸ σόν).

²⁴⁹ Ibid., between lines 16 and 62, ἵυγξ ἔλκε τὸ τῆνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἄνδρα.

²⁵⁰ Faraone 1999, 37 suggests that Simaitha "has learned her love charms" from the Ἀσσύριος ξείνος mentioned in lines 160-161, but in context it seems to me rather that what she has learned from the foreigner is separate from what she is now carrying out: in 158 she repeats once again νῦν μὲν τοῖς φίλτροις καταδήσομαι, "I shall bind him with the philtres [that have been thus far described]," then shifts to a separate threat, that if he continues to ignore her, then she will turn against him the "malefic drugs" (κακὰ φάρμακα) that she keeps in a chest (ἐν κίστῃ) and will send Delphis "knocking at the gates of Hades," and it is only in this connection that the Assyrian is mentioned, as the one from whom she learned about these φάρμακα, which in context are surely deadly poisons, not the ritual verbal formulae and ritual actions previously described (cf. Tavenner 1942, 20n7). A much earlier derivation of these techniques from the Near East or Egypt is possible, but would have to predate the classical period, as suggested by the reference to them already in Pindar.

²⁵¹ Cf. Faraone 1999, 8-9.

²⁵² It emerges that Charinos is jealous because he has read graffiti on the walls of the Kerameikos, to the effect that Melitta is involved with another man (ibid. 4.3, 'Μέλιττα φιλεῖ Ἐρμότιμον,' καὶ μικρὸν αὐθις ὑποκάτω, 'ὁ ναύκληρος Ἐρμότιμος φιλεῖ Μέλιτταν').

It is noteworthy that the two courtesans do not attempt this ritual on their own, though Bakchis seems fairly familiar with its workings, but prefer to depend on the services of an expert. Another innovation is that part of the ritual utterance consists of non-Greek words, foreign-sounding and fearsome to Bakchis, but which the specialist pronounces trippingly upon the tongue (ἐπωδὴν τινα λέγουσα ἐπιτρόχω τῇ γλώπτῃ, βαρβαρικὰ καὶ φρικώδη ὀνόματα). Unfortunately Lucian's courtesans do not elaborate on these ὀνόματα, but there is ample evidence for their use in the ancient papyri and medieval manuscript handbooks. Finally, the specialist offers Bakchis a new technique, which she terms μίσηθρον (the counterpart of φίλτρον with μισεῖν in place of φιλεῖν). While Simaitha had simply sought to affect the mind of her target to the extent that he would forget all rivals, Bakchis is instructed in an entirely separate procedure with the goal of sowing enmity between a specific rival (Phoibis) and her lover. She is told to find the footprints of Phoibis and efface them, placing her own feet upon them, and, significantly, to accompany this with a performative utterance of the sort that Simaitha had used, "I have trodden upon you and I stand over and above you" (ἐπιβέβηκά σοι καὶ ὑπεράνω εἰμί).

There is a similar case of reliance on an expert in another account of Lucian's, of a young man who uses the services of a "Hyperborean" μάγος against a young woman, Chrysis, for whom he is overcome by *eros*, also with great success (*Philopseudes* 13-14). This specialist, hired for a much higher fee than the Syrian woman, works also through incantations (ἐπωδαί).²⁵³ He conducts the ritual at the full moon, and it has a necromantic component (the recently deceased father of the young man is called up and compelled to give his blessing to the *eros*) and includes an invocation and apparition of Hekate, Selene, and Cerberus, all three of whom figure prominently in the applied sources. The key component is the fashioning of a clay figurine of the divinized *Eros* itself (ἐκ πηλοῦ ἐρώτιόν τι ἀναπλάσας), which the Hyperborean addresses with a ritual utterance, "Go and bring Chrysis" (ἄπιθι καὶ ἄγε Χρυσίδα).²⁵⁴ This ritual utterance to a material constituent of the procedure, like Simaitha's address to her ἵυγξ, is also a frequent feature of the applied sources. Shortly thereafter, the female target does indeed come knocking on the young man's door in the desired state of maddened passion (ὡς ἄν ἐκμανέστατα ἐρῶσα).

Also in the second century there is evidence for the elaboration of a tradition encountered in the classical period, the implication of the mythical Phaidra in the use of

²⁵³ Fee: a striking 2000% higher than her one drachma, 4 minai up front and 16 more if successful, as indeed he proves to be. Incantations: with one exception their content is not described in detail, but their centrality is affirmed by the narrator, who claims at the close that this episode provides proof of there being "much of value in incantations" (εἶναι πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς ἐπωδαῖς χρήσιμα).

²⁵⁴ A recipe in a papyrus handbook of the fourth century from Thebes in Egypt recommends the fashioning of a figurine of Ἔρως as an "assistant" (πάρεδρος καὶ παραστάτης) in erotic magic, and the recipe is attributed to the mythical Dardanus (a native of Samothrace), though the details of the procedure owe much to the syncretism of Egyptian and Near Eastern traditions: BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574, ff. 20r-21v (*Pap. Graec. Mag.* P IV.1716-1870; chapter 2 cat. 2.4.13). Cf. also a recipe in demotic Egyptian of a century earlier, also from Thebes: P.BM EA 10588, ed. Bell, Nock, and Thompson 1931, col. viii.1-16; cf. *PDM* lxi.112-127: a wax image of the Egyptian god Osiris is buried with other materials at the door of the female target; the image is first addressed with an incantation, ordering it to go in wherever the target is and bring her to the user.

traditional techniques of erotic magic. Pausanias writes of an unusual myrtle tree in the city of Troizen whose leaves are pierced through (1.22.2, τὰ φύλλα διὰ πάσης ἔχουσα τετρυπημένα). The local legend has it that Phaidra, tormented by *eros* for Hippolytos, would “ravage its leaves” (2.32.3, ἐς ταύτης τὰ φύλλα ἐσυναμώρει). The suggestion that this ravaging has a specific connection with the techniques of erotic magic, beyond a simple attempt to find emotional release, comes from an additional detail supplied by Pausanias, that Phaidra does the piercing with her hair-pin (1.22.2, περόνη). It is precisely this implement that is prescribed for the piercing of an effigy in a ritual procedure for erotic magic preserved in a Greek papyrus handbook that will be discussed further below.²⁵⁵

Indeed it is in this period, the second through fourth centuries, that attestations for the practical application of the techniques of erotic magic reach their acme, in the papyrological documentation from Egypt and the finds of inscribed tablets from there and North Africa. But it will be more convenient to treat this material separately, and for now we will continue to follow the tradition through the lens of literary narrative. The next significant witness²⁵⁶ comes in the fourth century with Jerome’s *Life of Hilarion*, an eminent anchorite in Palestine. Jerome tells of how Hilarion aided a young woman upon whom a young suitor had applied erotic magic.²⁵⁷ The target, a “virgin devoted to God” (*uirginem dei*), lives in Gaza, where the young man, a neighbor, conceives a passion for her (*deperibat*). When he has no success with the usual means of courtship, he travels to Memphis in neighboring Egypt to equip himself with “the crafts of magic” (*magicis artibus*) in pursuit of his goal, a region where, as we will see, there was an especially rich tradition of Greek erotic magic in fertile combination with various other traditions. He spends a year there, learning from specialists whom Jerome describes without much sympathy as “seers of the Asklepios who does not heal but rather ruins souls” (*ab Aesculapii uatibus, non remediatis animas sed perdentis*) – who are likely to be identified as priests of the Egyptian syncretism of Asklepios and Imhotep who received cult at Memphis.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁵ Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574, ff. 5r-7r (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.296-466; chapter 2 cat. 2.4.12). The complex ritual includes the piercing of an effigy of the female target, made of wax or clay, with thirteen pins, and at each prick the user is to say “I pierce such-and-such limb of so-and-so, that she may remember no one but me alone, so-and-so” (περονῶ τὸ ποιὸν μέλος τῆς δεῖνα, ὅπως μηδενὸς μνησθῆ πλὴν ἐμοῦ μόνου, τοῦ δεῖνα).

²⁵⁶ John Wortley’s useful discussion of evidence from hagiography and religious folklore includes a story of an Egyptian in love (ἔρασθεῖς) with a married woman who engages a γόης to make her husband reject her by making her appear as a mare, which is resolved by St. Macarius (Wortley 2001, 298-299 from *Historia Lausiaca* 17.6-9 and *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* 21.17), but it seems a case less of erotic magic than simple illusionism. It is preferable not to take the reference to “burning wood in vain” (μάτην κατακαίω τὰ ξύλα) in Eunap. VS 6.9.9 as a literal reference to erotic magic deployed by Philometor on his niece Sosipatra, as Vakaloudi 2014 does in the absence of any other supporting evidence, but rather as a metaphor for an unhealthy and unnatural passion.

²⁵⁷ Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis* 21 (in numbering of ed. in PL 23), text here from the ed. of Bastiaense 1975, 98-100. Jerome’s work was also translated into Greek, e.g. that edited by Franco 2009. See also Cupane 2014, 486; Gager 1992, 261 no. 163.

²⁵⁸ One might suspect that this detail has simply been taken from the well-known description of Egyptian magicians at Memphis in Lucian *Philopseudes* 33-36, but the Panchrates who appears there serves Isis, not “Asklepios.”

We see here a further development in the relation of individuals to traditional techniques, that the young man from Gaza seeks out expert instruction but eventually carries out the ritual himself: returning home, he inscribes “monstrous words and figures” (*portenta quaedam uerborum et portentosas figuras*) on a copper sheet and buries it at the doorway of the target (*subter limen domus puellae*). The technique is attested here for the first time in literary references, but richly documented in the earlier and contemporary applied sources from Egypt. Another innovation, and again borne out in the applied sources, is the demonological approach to erotic magic. The goal of the inscribed incantation, the “monstrous words” and accompanying drawings, was apparently to invoke and compel a demon to torment the target, as indeed happens. The maiden falls into just the mad frenzy of erotic passion that the Greek traditional techniques seek (*magnitudo quippe amoris se in furorem uerterat*). This approach, and the dialogue with the possessing demon through which the holy figure confounds it, will also become a trope for later hagiography; the demon here confirms that it is bound (*ligatus*) to the buried inscribed tablet. The demonological approach could also proceed by the binding of the demon into a liquid through the use of incantations, which the target was then made to drink. This is the case in a contemporary narrative in which an unmarried girl is attacked while still in her father’s household; the demon, made to depart from her by the anchorite Macedonius, is later summoned by him before a magistrate, where it reveals “the man who compelled it through incantations” (τὸν ταῖς γοητευτικαῖς ᾠδαῖς βιασάμενον) and the maidservant of the girl who delivered the potion (κυκεῶν).²⁵⁹

Over time words such as ἰυγξ lost their original sense of violent coercion and became metaphorical,²⁶⁰ but ἔρωσ maintained much of its original violence. This will become clear in the applied sources and literary references, but it also shows up in a context where there is less suspicion of an arid literary topos. In a Byzantine private letter of the sixth century, on papyrus, a man writes to his lover and prays that the letter finds her well: he says that he sees his beloved in his dreams and begs her to send him a letter soon, for the “fever of eros” is tormenting him.²⁶¹ Knowledge of the traditional use of incantations for erotic magic was also vividly alive for Synesius of Cyrene in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. Synesius provides a humorous and original re-imagining of the attempts of the mythical Odysseus to escape the cave of the Polyphemus, in which the wily hero exploits the cyclops’ frustrated desire for the nymph Galatea.²⁶² If Polyphemus will just let him go, he will swim out into the sea, Galatea’s abode, and apply erotic compulsion to her by means of the “incantations” and “binding rituals” that Odysseus knows well as a “sorcerer” (γῶης γάρ εἰμι ... ἐπωδᾶς οἶδα καὶ καταδέσμους καὶ ἐρωτικὰς κατανάγκας), which will force her to come to her lover.

For most of the Byzantine period, as I have previously indicated, our direct sources for the application of traditional erotic magic dry up. Reasonably detailed references to

²⁵⁹ Theodoret of Cyrillus, *Hist. relig.* 13.10-11.

²⁶⁰ E.g. Synesius of Cyrene, *Epist.* 146, calls the letters of his friend Herculianus “full of *iunges*” (ἰυγγῶν πλήρεις).

²⁶¹ *P.Wash.Univ.* II 108.3-5 νύκταν καὶ ἡμέρα(ν) δι’ ὀνείρων σε ... [παρακαλῶ] δι[ἀ τὰ]χους ἀποστε[ῖ]λαί μοι γράμματα .. [τῆν] καρδίαν μου ὁ πυρε[τὸς το]ῦ ἔρ[ώτος] ([τῆ]ς ἐρ[ωτικῆς] μανίας?) *ed. pr.*). A reference to torches and arrows in connection with Aphrodite follows, but the exact syntax is unclear due to damage ([λα]μπάσιν ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ἐν[[α]] βέλος, line 6). Cf. also the reference to [μ]ανίαν ... ἔρωτος in temporary-insanity plea in a (possibly rhetorically elaborated) excerpt from a court transcript in *P.Aktenbüch* p. 4.18-5.7, of the mid-fourth century.

²⁶² *Epist.* 121; cf. Gager 1992, 260-261 no. 162.

these practices in hagiographical narratives, however, strongly suggest continuity, that these practices were not so outlandishly outdated that contemporary audiences would not have accepted them as a believable component of the saints' surroundings.

Probably the most detailed and life-like such account comes in a tenth-century *vita* of Irene of Chrysobalanton, a native of Cappadocia who served as abbess of the convent of Chrysobalanton at Constantinople. In this narrative a woman from a noble family in Cappadocia comes to join Irene at the convent, but the devil places a burning erotic passion for the nun in a suitor from back home, which causes him to waste away with *eros* (λίαν υπέκαίε τοῦτον καὶ κατέτηκε ... ἔρωτι) and turn to a specialist for help (μάγῳ τινὶ προσδραμῶν).²⁶³ The effect on the target is the effect of the familiar erotic curse, and the nun "rages with insane *eros*" (μανικῶ ... ἔρωτι θήσασα), weeps, laments, calls out the young man's name, and threatens suicide if she is not allowed to see him. Through the able administration of the abbess Irene, the saints Basil and Anastasia are dispatched by the Theotokos to Cappadocia to investigate, and they bring back a bundle (ἀπόδεσμον) weighing about three pounds. Irene and the other nuns carefully unwrap it, and what they find, the source of their sister's torment, bears a strong resemblance to a procedure recommended by handbooks and attested by assemblages found in the archeological record. The package contains two lead effigies (εἶδωλα μολίβδου), one of the young man and the other of his target, which are bound together in an embrace with hairs and threads (περιπλοκὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα ποιούμενα καὶ θριξὶ καὶ μίτοις καταδεδεσμημένα). Based on traditional precedents, we may well suspect that these are no random hairs and threads but have been taken from the client and his target and are joined as an analogy for the desired erotic coupling of the two. The use of effigy-figurines is a traditional technique well attested in the applied sources from antiquity, and was also attributed, in combination with incantations, to Medea by Ovid's Hypsipyle²⁶⁴ and possibly also to Horace's witch Canidia, minus the incantations themselves.²⁶⁵ The final constituent of the assemblage is the inscribed invocations of the devil and his demonic assistants (τὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τῆς κακίας ὄνομα καὶ δαιμόνων ὑπασπιστῶν αὐτοῦ κλήσεις ἐγγεγραμμένας). Thus the analogical manipulation of effigies is combined with invocation of demonic powers and the request, as seems likely given traditional parallels, that they torment the target in furtherance of this same goal.²⁶⁶

The story of erotic magic in the middle Byzantine period is not wholly one of passive reception of tradition. A probable innovation appears in an account of a miracle of

²⁶³ Ed. Rosenqvist 1986, 52-65; on the episode see also Maguire 2014, 404-405, and Cupane 2014, 489-490; Abrahamse 1982, 13-14.

²⁶⁴ *Her.* 6.83-92, with the additional implication that Jason himself was won by such means: *nec facie meritisque placet, sed carmina nouit | diraque cantata pabula falce metit. ... deuouet absentis simulacraque cerea figit | et miserum tenues in iecur urget acus* (cf. also Gager 1992, 251 no. 143).

²⁶⁵ *Sat.* 1.8.30-33, see Faraone 1999, 51-52.

²⁶⁶ Is there perhaps a studied negation of the principles of analogic, or sympathetic, magic in the narrator's assertion that the burning of the effigies along with the rest of the assemblage produced an immediate improvement in the nun's condition? This is after all precisely the opposite of what such principles would lead one to suspect (ἦν ἰδεῖν θαῦμα τῷ θαύματι παρεπόμενον· καθ' ὅσον γὰρ ἕκαστον τῶν γοητευμάτων τὸ πῦρ ἔδαπάνα, κατὰ τοσοῦτον καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τῶν ἀφανῶν λυομένη δεσμῶν πρὸς ἔμφρονα τὴν κατάστασιν μετεβάλλετο).

Anastasius the Persian, appropriately enough a reformed magician himself, at Rome.²⁶⁷ This saint was supposedly martyred in Persia in 628, after which his relics were translated eventually to Rome; the prologue of this miracle collection dates it to 714. The approach is of the demonological kind, and the desired effect is infliction of the familiar erotic curse on the target. A young woman placed in a monastery is tormented by the devil, and with the help of the relics of St. Anastasius, kept at the church of St. John Lateran, the demon possessing the girl is eventually made to reveal how it was inflicted upon her. A young man, a suitor of the girl's back home in Sicily, went to a specialist for help (πρός τινα φαρμακόν), who made a pact with the demon and bound it into a fig-leaf, which was then placed in the road so that the girl would walk on it, which provided the demon with the opportunity to enter and torment her (ἐδέσμησέν με εἰς φύλλον συκῆς ... καὶ ἔρριψεν αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ ὁδῶ ... καὶ ἐν τῷ πατῆσαι αὐτὴν ἀκουσίως τὴν αὐτὴν δέσιν εἰσελήλυθα εἰς αὐτὴν καὶ ἠρξάμην σὺν αὐτῇ παίζειν τε καὶ διασείειν).²⁶⁸ Indeed this mode of deposition of inscribed objects such that the target will step on or over them is prescribed in handbook recipes in the later Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods.²⁶⁹

Erotic magic also becomes a piece of the literary topos of the learned magician. These figures tend to gain broader powers as a result of a pact with the devil, such as the servant of the senator Proterius, defeated by Saint Basil the Great, or the Sicilian

²⁶⁷ Ed. Flusin 1992, 165-187 §§2-6; briefly described in Cupane 2014, 190, and Abrahamse 1982, 13-14.

²⁶⁸ No writing on the leaf is explicitly mentioned, but the demon refers to plural “bindings” (καταδέσμους) that must be recovered and negated to set the girl free, the most economical interpretation of which would seem to be that multiple words, invocations, or figures were inscribed on the leaf. In any case the demon's advice is not followed, and the girl's helpers instead wait for the power of the saint to take effect.

²⁶⁹ The deposition itself can be found in recipes as early as the fifteenth century: the material is dirt from the target's right footprint, over which liturgical prayers are first to be said for 40 days (Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419, f. 144v, ed. Delatte 1927, 458; chapter 2 cat. 3.2.2). In an eighteenth-century manuscript probably produced in Russia, a recipe recommends that the name of the target and some signs (χαρακτήρας) be written on a new lamp wick and placed so that she will step over it (βάλε το νὰ τὸ διασκελίση; Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 696, f. 68v; chapter 2 cat. 1.1.14; on the codex see *CCAG* VIII.4:81-88); the instruction to have the female target step over the ritually activated object, which appears not infrequently in these rituals, may have been intended to promote the entry of demonic forces into her body by the mechanical provision of a convenient pathway. Russian provenance is suggested by notes on ff. 1v and 67r, transcribed in *CCAG*, which include at f. 67r the names of a Slavic archimandrite Drekalovic Gregorios Tzernegoritzenos and of a Russian general, the διοικητῆς τοῦ στρατεύματος τῆς κυρίας τῆς μεγάλης βασιλείας ὅλης τῆς Ῥωσίας, Rometzoff Fertmasele. The manuscript has every appearance of being a practical manual, with texts on medicine, astrology, and other forms of divination. In a nineteenth-century manuscript probably copied in Athens (private collection, the so-called Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας, f. 284r, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 167; chapter 2 cat. 1.1.2), the name of the target and her mother's name are to be written in the blood of a bat, along with magical σημεῖα, and buried so that she will step over them. The use of signs by themselves, written with ink mixed with ash from the target's hair, is also recommended in a recipe in a manuscript in use in the early twentieth century on Cyprus (ed. Belepontes 1978, part 2, 84).

Heliodorus defeated by St. Leo of Catania,²⁷⁰ or as a result of their own intensive study, as in the case of Cyprian of Antioch, who himself employs demons to this among many other ends.²⁷¹ In none of these cases is there particularly strong or deep narrative interest in the erotic as a differentiated category. But even here important elements of the tradition show through, for example the specific use of demons to inflict burning discomfort on the

²⁷⁰ Servant of Proterius: in the *Vita S. Basilii* falsely attributed to Amphilochius of Iconium, c. 11 (ed. Combéfis 1644, 1:188-197, cf. *BHG* 253 and Wortley 2001, 300-302; another version in Radermacher 1927, 123-149, cf. *BHG* 253a), the young man first approaches an ἐπαιδός, who refers him to the devil, who provides help after the young man makes a written pact, standing upon the tomb of a pagan (ἐπάνω μνήματος Ἑλληνικοῦ) at night. Heliodorus: in the *vita* of Leo of Catania edited by Acconcia Longo 1989. Heliodorus, a Christian in Sicily of noble birth, enlists the help of a noted Jewish magician (Ἑβραῖόν τινα μάγον ἐπίσημον) to make a similar nighttime pact with the devil in a cemetery, to win political advancement with the help of a demonic πρόεδρος named Γάσπαρ. His ἐπαιδιὰ does not include any literal incantations, and his effects fall more in the category of illusion: a victorious horse (really a demon) that wins in the hippodrome, then disappears (§5), a stone made to resemble gold (§6), a river appears so that women will remove their clothes (§7), miraculous teleportation (§11), a demonic ship (§12). The erotic magic is rather colorlessly described: τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἐπισήμων ἀνδρῶν πρὸς φίλτρον ἤγειρεν, ὥστε καταλιμπάνειν τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποπηδούσας καὶ κρημιζομένας ὄπου δ' ἂν ἔτυχεν καὶ εἰς οὓς ἐπροθυμοῦντο (§7). This type of learned demonology of broad scope is also turned against Mary of Antioch, when a certain Anthemios hires a specialist, called indiscriminately γόης, φάρμακος, and μάγος, to use demons to create illusions to trick the saint into wandering into his bedroom: from her *vita* in an eleventh-century manuscript, Florence BML cod. Plut 9.14, ff. 149r-153v (now defective, and the order of the folia perturbed), ed. *Acta Sanctorum* May VII, 50-58 (*BHG* 1045, cf. Wortley 2001, 302; a similar narrative in a thirteenth-century manuscript, Venice, BNM cod. gr. 494, f. 215r-v, cf. *BHG* 1317j and Wortley 2001, 392n33).

²⁷¹ Gregory of Nazianzen *orat.* 24.9-10 (*In laudem Cypriani*, ed. *PG* 35); *Synaxarium CP*, 2 October §1; cf. Wortley 2001, 300; and in more detail the *Confession* (μετάνοια) attributed to Cyprian himself in multiple manuscript versions (M. Gitlbauer, *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 28.2 [1878], 95-109): a lengthy, florid account brimming with rhetorical topoi on how Cyprian was initiated in every possible pagan cult, rite, and occult science, is hailed by the devil as a “new Iambres,” and is hired as a specialist to inflict erotic compulsion on a Christian woman, but little detail on how Cyprian and the client actually make their many attempts, which include the help of many demons and transformations of Cyprian and his client into various forms. The role of written pagan learning is strongly stressed: Cyprian relies on μαγικὰ βιβλοῖ for his rituals, of which he has so many that, after his conversion, four donkeys are required to carry them all off for burning (the ὁμολογία τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου Ἰουστίνης, ed. Radermacher 1927, 76-113, at 104-105, reading ὄνισκοις for νεανίσκοις with Radermacher). A more pedestrian account of erotic magic in contemporary Antioch is provided by Theodoret of Cyrillus (*Historia religiosa* 8.13): a woman suspects that her husband prefers another woman to her because magical means, vaguely described, have been applied to him (τὸν ἄνδρα παλλακίδι προσκείμενον γοητικῇ τινι μαγγανείᾳ καταγεγοητεῦσθαι); Aphraat, an ascetic of Persian origin (ἐν Πέρσαις ... τεχθεῖς, *ibid.* 8.1), resolves the problem by prayer and blessed olive oil, which he instructs the woman to apply to her husband.

female target.²⁷² In the case of the servant of Proterius, further, the devil dispatches demons who are said to be “the ones in charge of fornication” (τούς ἐπὶ πορνείας δαίμονας), language very similar to invocations of demons used in later Byzantine and post-Byzantine recipes for erotic magic.²⁷³

The account of the adulterous Melitene in the tenth-century *vita* of Basil the Younger clearly draws to some extent on rhetorical commonplaces about magic as the narrator, Gregory, tells how the saint helped him escape the effects of the erotic techniques that she deploys.²⁷⁴ Melitene’s mother, from whom she learned her craft, is said for example to have had the power to stop birds in their flight and rivers in their course, among other unspeakable acts.²⁷⁵ At the same time, however, the narrative is not deprived of credible details in its description of the specific setting, the estate that Gregory owns near Rhaidestos in Thrace on the shores of the Propontis. For our purposes the most significant of these details has to do with the specific mode of attack against the narrator. The ancient and late ancient handbooks prescribe a type of ritual in which smoke from the ritual burning of some substance is addressed with an incantation ordering it to seek out and

²⁷² In the case of the servant of Proterius, the demons “in flame the girl as a philter” (ἐκπυροῦσι τὴν κόρην πρὸς φίλτρον), and as the victim herself describes the effect, she is “terribly tortured” (δεινῶς βασανιζομένην), using a verb in fact found in ritual prescriptions in the Greek tradition (e.g. the assemblage from the fourth century published by Brashear 1992b; chapter 2 cat. 2.4.5; see further below). In the case of Cyprian, the plainer version in the *ὁμολογία τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου Ἰουστίνης*, ed. Radermacher 1927, the girl feels the demon’s effect in the form of burning (p. 89, αἰσθομένη δὲ τὴν ὀρμὴν τοῦ δαίμονος καὶ τὴν πύρωσιν τῶν νεφρῶν), but overcomes it through prayer and the sign of the cross, and spitting on the demon; another demon promises to distress her with fever (p. 97, ταραξῶ αὐτὴν πυρετοῖς διαφόροις), though without success.

²⁷³ E.g. the nineteenth-century *Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας*, ff. 65v-66v, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 67 ... νὰ τῆς βάλετε ἐπτὰ δαιμόνια τῆς πορνείας εἰς τὴν φύσιν τῆς, “place in her seven demons of fornication, in her pudendum” (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.46). See further a recipe in the fifteenth-century manuscript copied by Georgios Mídiates, which Delatte calls a “véritable corpus des sciences occultes” (1927, 447): Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419, f. 145r (ed. Delatte 1927, 459-460; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.51), ὅποιος εἶσαι ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν πορνείαν; and Athens, Hist. Soc. cod. 115, f. 14r-v (ed. Delatte 1927, 16-17; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.47), ὦ δαῖμον τῆς πορνείας, γλίγωρα, νὰ δέσετε τὴν ὀδεῖνα.

²⁷⁴ *Vita Basilii Iunioris*, c. 6, *Acta Sanctorum Mar.* III *35-*36, with Cupane 2014, 491-92 and Abrahamse 1982, 15. Melitene is the wife of a hired laborer on Gregory’s estate (μίσθιός τις ἦν ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, Ἀλέξανδρος τοῦνομα ... γήμας κόρην τινά ... ἡ δὲ ἦν μοιχαλὶς ἀκατάσχετος) who “draws” all the local men to her with her magical powers (ἐλκύσαι πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ταῖς μαγείαις αὐτῆς); it is worth noting that this verb of attraction, ἔλκειν, is also used in the incantation of Theocritus’ Simaitha and in several of the ancient applied examples on papyrus and inscribed tablets. Gregory is saved by Basil, with the intercession of St. Stephan, after Gregory and Basil manage to stone an enormous serpent into submission. There is a demotic version of this account also in a later redaction of the *Vita* edited from an eighteenth-century manuscript by Vilinskij 1911, 175.28-181.17.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, ἔφασκον δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς ὅτι καὶ τὰς τῶν ὀρνέων πτήσεις ἴστα καὶ ποταμῶν τὰς ὀρμὰς ἀνεπόδιζε καὶ κτήνη περαιτέρω προβαίνειν οὐκ εἶα καὶ ἄλλα πλείω δεινὰ ἐποίει ἃ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἀνθρώπῳ λαλεῖν.

torment or otherwise influence the target to come to the user.²⁷⁶ This Melitene targets Gregory first with demons, to make herself appear in his dreams (αὐτῆς τὴν ὄψιν διὰ τῶν δαιμόνων ἐποίει φαντάζεσθαι) and inflict burning torment on him (πυρούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκαθάρτων πνευμάτων τῶν δι' αὐτῆς πεμπομένων μοι ἐξοιστρούμην), both techniques well attested in the ancient sources. But she adds a further weapon, very likely in the tradition of vapors ritually activated by incantations. This takes the form of a foul black cloud (μέλαν νέφος δυσῶδες) that comes upon Gregory while he takes a midday nap, at the arrival of which he hears the words “receive what Melitene has prepared for you” (δέξαι ὅπερ ἡ Μελιτηνὴ σοι ἐσκεύασε), and on waking up finds the feverish discomfort greatly intensified.

We can also discern in the Byzantine period a sub-category of erotic magic, which would fall into the category that Faraone 1999 has drawn for the classical period, of *philia* magic, aiming not at instilling violent passion (*eros*) but at maintaining a stable and exclusive affection within a previously existing interpersonal relationship, which Faraone further shows was more likely to be practiced by women as opposed to men, in contrast to truly ‘erotic’ magic. As we will see, it makes use of ancient techniques but adds characteristically Byzantine elements as well, indicative of a dynamic and living tradition. The episode comes in a middle Byzantine *vita*, of Andrew the holy ‘fool’ (σαλός) at Constantinople.²⁷⁷ A pious woman living in Constantinople seeks to rid her dissolute husband of his fondness for prostitutes, and looks for a “spiritual man” to help her (πνευματικόν τινα ἄνθρωπον).²⁷⁸ A specialist, Vigrinos, is recommended to her by another woman, likely a satisfied client; in any case she finds a large crowd (πλήθος ἰκανόν) of others seeking his services. Vigrinos promises to help, and in fact offers stronger, more dire services against the husband, but all that she wants is his exclusive affection (ἐμὲ μόνην ἀγαπᾶν καὶ φιλεῖν). The procedure involves a lamp and some oil, both of which Vigrinos activates with incantations before igniting (ὑποψιθυρίζων δὲ καὶ ἐπικαλούμενος). Incantations ritually addressing lamps or fires and their vaporous

²⁷⁶ E.g. sulfur in a fourth-century handbook from the Fayum region in the northwest of Egypt, P.Oslo inv. 420, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXVI.295-311 (chapter 2 cat. 5.1.7), which is ordered not to let the target “rest or find sleep” (μὴ αὐτὴν ἐάσης κοιμᾶσθαι μηδὲ ὕπνου τυχεῖν) until she submits. On the technique see further below.

²⁷⁷ *Vita Andreae sali* 35 (ed. Rydén 1995); cf. Calofonos 2008 and Abrahamse 1982, 11-12. The text, probably of the tenth century, is a composite of accounts of two holy fools, Andrew of the fifth century and Symeon of the sixth. Calofonos is perhaps too quick to dismiss the description as a figment of the “hagiographical novel” whose point was “to provide support for the Church’s established position that there was no such thing as good or bad magic” (66), though that motive is certainly a factor.

²⁷⁸ The hagiographer stresses throughout that the woman’s intentions are innocent, and it is entirely possible that the ‘spirit’ in πνευματικός is only the Holy Spirit, and the adjective can also serve substantively as simply ‘priest’ (Lampe, *Patristic Lexicon* 1105b s.v. D.8.d.iv). The traditional context however suggests also an interpretation as ‘one with power over spirits’ in the plural, that is, a ritual specialist who can coerce πνεύματα for the accomplishment of practical aims. According to the client he has a reputation of extensive and beneficial success from his “excellence in the Lord” (εἷς τῶν ἐναρέτων εἶ τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ὅτι πολλοὺς τῶν κινδύνων ἐξήρπασας). Vigrinos seeks no payment for his services, but rather funds for a charitable donation on the client’s behalf (δός μοι ἐν τριμίσιον τοῦ διανεῖμαι τοῖς πένησιν ὑπὲρ ψυχικῆς σου σωτηρίας). His name is not otherwise attested, but he may have been from Illyria, cf. the town Βιγρاناη mentioned by Procopius, *Aed.* 4.6.28; perhaps cf. also the Macedonian Βεργίνα, with metathesis.

exhalations are well attested in the earlier tradition,²⁷⁹ but here, in a characteristically Byzantine adaptation, Vigrinos places the lamp among the holy icons in the woman's house (ὄπου ὑπῆρχον αἱ εἰκόνες τῆς γυναικός). This choice of placement is meant to exploit the aura of sanctity and power invested in these objects, we may suspect, although those who later interrupt and counteract Vigrinos' work put forth a different explanation.²⁸⁰

In a second stage of the procedure, Vigrinos ties four knots in a girdle, over which he also speaks an additional incantation (τινα ῥήματα ... ὑποψιθυρίσας), and instructs his client to wear it under her outer clothing. Knots have obvious appeal in the construction of a persuasive analogy, and their combination with incantations in erotic magic is known in the tradition of applied sources.²⁸¹ The true mechanism of the girdle is a demon, again according to retrojected exegesis from the demon itself after Epiphanius, a friend of the saint, burns the object. The demon claims to have been bound to the girdle by the combined force of the knots and an exorcism (ἔχων ἐξορκισμόν). We have already seen evidence in the tradition for demonological approaches, specifically by the compulsion of demons through incantations; the use of this approach by women for the sole affection of their husbands is also attested in practice in medieval Latin comparanda,

²⁷⁹ In a recipe from a late ancient papyrus, a lamp is addressed in an incantation to make the target lose sleep (P.Lond. inv. 121, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.376-384; chapter 2 cat. 5.1.2); in recipe in a post-Byzantine manuscript of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, the names of user and target, both with metonyms, are written on raw gut and burned in a lamp (Athens, EBE cod. 1265, f. 41v, ed. Delatte 1927, 86; chapter 2 cat. 1.1.17); dirt from the target's footprint is to be mixed with wax to make a candle, which is burned along with an incantation, in a recipe in a manuscript of the nineteenth century in a private collection (Βερναρδάκειος μαγικός κώδικας, f. 67r-v, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 67-68; chapter 2 cat. 1.5.16).

²⁸⁰ An apparition in a dream shows the woman a vision in which her icons are smeared all over with human excrement and emit an awful stench (ἦσαν κεχρισμένοι ἀνθρωπίνης κόπρου ἀπὸ ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω καὶ δυσωδίαν ἀνείκαστον φέρουσαι); earlier dreams had shown an old "Ethiopian" claiming her as his wife and herself yearning to couple with statues in the hippodrome (ἀσπαζομένην τὰ ἐκεῖσε ἐστῶτα ἀγάλματα, νυττομένην ὑπὸ πορνικῆς ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ συγγενέσθαι μετ' αὐτῶν). St. Andrew eventually explains that the ritual prescribed by Vigrinos represented a reversal of baptism, a removal of divine χάρις by the devil, but we need not necessarily attribute this exegesis to the practitioner himself. An apparition also shows, written over the assemblage, τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου τὸ ὄνομα and the words θυσία δαιμόνων, but these appear to be figments of the dream in the way of explanatory legends, not features added by Vigrinos himself in the ritual.

²⁸¹ In a recipe in a papyrus handbook of the fourth century, 365 knots are to be tied in the string used to bind together effigies and the lead sheet on which a lengthy incantation is to be written (Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574, ff. 5r-7r, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.296-466; chapter 2 cat. 2.4.12). The intertwining of threads and the tying of knots are also to accompany an incantation in a recipe in a post-Byzantine manuscript of the eighteenth century (Athens, Hist. Soc. cod. 115, f. 14r-v, ed. Delatte 1927, 16-17; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.47), whose condition indicates use by a practicing specialist (stained with drops of wax, "sans doute des cierges à la lumière desquels le sorcier accomplissait les cérémonies magiques en lisant le livre qui lui servait de guide," in Delatte's words, *ibid.* 2). A chronologically more distant comparandum also worth considering is the aphrodisiac girdle (κεστὸς ἱμάς) of Aphrodite, on which see Faraone 1990 and 1999, 97-110.

which will be discussed further below.²⁸² It should be noted, finally, that however dire the moral consequences of this procedure may be according to St. Andrew and his hagiographer, the practical effect is an unqualified success: the husband gives up his dissolute ways and comes to love his wife stably and monogamously (μόνην τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἠγάπα).

Evidence for erotic magic in the Byzantine period not covered by the direct sources is not confined to hagiography. The historiographer Niketas Choniates reports the blinding of two men by the emperor Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143-1180), both of whom “were adherents of astronomy in name, but in fact practiced demonic sorcery.”²⁸³ One of the two was Skleros Seth, possibly the son or grandson of Symeon Seth, author of astrological and medical works.²⁸⁴ His crime was driven by *eros*, for he conceived a passion (ἦρα) for a marriageable young woman, and when she spurned him, sent her a peach by way of another woman.²⁸⁵ The target accepted the fruit and carried it on her person, and it caused her to go mad with *eros* until she submitted to his desire.²⁸⁶ Choniates reports no details of the preparation of the object, but the use of fruit activated with either a spoken or inscribed incantation is well attested in the tradition.²⁸⁷ It further emerges that Skleros, in addition to being sought out by the emperor Andronikos I himself to perform lecanomancy, is a specialist in erotic techniques, or at least has had recourse to them on multiple occasions. The relatives of the girl, demanding his punishment, specify that the procedure used on her employed a demon, claiming that Seth “equips demons against maidens,” in the plural.²⁸⁸

The records of the proceedings of the synodal court of the patriarch of Constantinople in the fourteenth century are also a valuable source. It must be noted that this dossier is incomplete, covering only a limited and relatively late period of the activities of the patriarchate, and that cases to do with magic comprise only a tiny fraction of what survives, wherein the management of Church affairs, properties, and personnel

²⁸² A text inscribed on a parchment sheet in the fourteenth century, for the benefit of a certain Elizabeth with her husband Theoderic (Kazimierz, Biblioteki Jagiellonskiej cod. 655 frag., ed. Zathy 1984-1985, 63-64; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.43); as has so far gone unnoticed, it is an application of an elaborated version of a formulary recipe found in a twelfth-century manuscript, Zurich, SB cod. C 58/275, ff. 92r-94r (ed. Wackernagel 1876, 287-288; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.42).

²⁸³ *Historia* ed. van Dieten 1975, 147-149, here 148, λόγῳ μὲν ἀστρονομίας ἐχόμενοι, ἔργῳ δὲ μαγγανείαις προσκείμενοι δαιμονώδεσιν.

²⁸⁴ See Magdalino 2006a, 148-151 and 2006b, 109-110 (and on Symeon Seth, *ibid.* 99-106). The other was Michael Sikidites, to be identified with the Michael Glykas, former imperial grammatikos of unknown origins, who had been blinded (but perhaps only partially) for his role in a conspiracy against Manuel I in 1159 (Magdalino 2006b, 109 and 122-130; Kresten 1978, 90-92). He is accused of a seemingly lighter crime, the creation of illusions, specifically a fearsome snake, the apparition of which aboard a boat causes the helmsman to smash the cargo in seeking to defend himself.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 148, στέλλει ταύτη διὰ προαγωγῶ τινος γυναιίου μῆλον Περσικόν.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, ἡ δὲ παρθένος καταθεμένη τοῦτο τῷ κόλπῳ ἐκμαίνεται μάλα δὴ πρὸς ἔρωτα καὶ ἀφροδισίου ὑποπίμπλαται οἴστρου καὶ τέλος διακορεῖται παρ’ αὐτοῦ.

²⁸⁷ On the possible continuity see Faraone 1999, 74.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, μάλα τοῦ ταῖς νεάνισιν ἐφοπλίζοντος δαίμονας; they draw a further analogy with the serpent in the garden of Eden (δίκην ὄφεως ἀρχεκάκου), who also worked by means of fruit.

predominate. Indeed the case that concerns us here is an especially sensational one. Heard by the synod in open court with a large public audience, it reveals a network of monks, physicians, and clergy who possess and use handbooks for the provision of magical ritual.²⁸⁹ This network and its books will be examined in more detail in the fourth chapter. At present I will focus on two nodes: a monk, Phoudoules, who uses such techniques for his own benefit, and a wealthy laywoman, Exotrochina, who engages a priest to perform them for her. Phoudoules is accused by an anonymous friend, and among his crimes are erotic magic, described in vocabulary very much in the tradition of Greek ritual practices: “drawing” women to himself such that they leave home and seek him out, with his name always on their tongues (γυναῖκας ... πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἔλκειν ἔρωτα, αἱ καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἄνδρας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καταλιμπάνουσαι ζητοῦσιν ἐκεῖνον, καὶ τὸ μιαρὸν αἰεὶ τούτου ἐπὶ γλώττης φέρουσιν ὄνομα). Phoudoules’ mechanism for this attraction is not described,²⁹⁰ but he would seem to depend on instructions in books for such effects, with which he is caught (ἐν ταῖς μιαραῖς αὐτοῦ βίβλοις). He confesses that he obtained them from a certain Syropoulos, a physician (ιατρός), who in turn received them from another party (Gabrielopoulos), who himself obtained them from a Demetrios Chloros, chief notary of the patriarch (protonotarios), who copied them out himself, making his own selections from other ‘magical’ books. Chloros will be discussed in more detail in the fourth chapter. His productions contain incantations (ἐπωδαί) and invocations of demons (δαιμόνων ἐπικλήσεις), which he claims are medical in scope.

In the course of the trial Syropoulos submits a list of people who had been his clients or whose involvement in such practices is known to him. Among them is Exotrochina, who is already wealthy but apparently aims to increase her social standing by finding a husband from among the nobility (τῶν ἐνδόξων).²⁹¹ When she fails in this goal by the usual means, she decides to turn to ritual techniques including erotic compulsion by incantations (ἐπωδαῖς καὶ μαγείαις ἐλκύσαι τοῦτον ὑπενόησατο). For help she approaches a priest, a certain Jacob, who she hears is an experienced specialist in such matters (εἶδησιν ἔχων εἰς ταῦτα καὶ πείραν ἀκριβῆ). She offers the not negligible payment of 5 hyperpyra,²⁹² though the procedure, which is not described, has no success. Jacob says in his defence that he never intended to carry out Exotrochina’s request, but only took the proffered payment to alleviate his own poverty; this the synod refuses to accept and strips him of ecclesiastical rank for life. There is no explicit connection made in the record between Exotrochina and the network of Syropoulos, only that she denounced

²⁸⁹ Miklosich and Müller 1860-1890, 1:543-550 no. 292, in the year 1370, cf. Cupane 1980, 251-257. Large public audience: the record notes that at least at one point in the proceedings, “nearly everyone in this royal city [Constantinople] was present” (πάντες γὰρ σχεδὸν οἱ ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι ταύτῃ παρῆσαν τῶν πόλεων).

²⁹⁰ The monk Phoudoules is probably to be identified with the Θεοδόσιος Φουδούλης who later submits a confession written in his own hand, confessing to magical practices including the use of incantations (διενεργῶν ἐποδάς [*sic*]) by which he endangered the souls of himself and his many clients, and seeking absolution in his old age. He promises never to return to them, and urges that if he does, he should be burned alive (κατακαίωμα πυρὶ): Miklosich and Müller 1860-1890, 2:84-85 no. 377, in the year 1383, cf. Cupane 1980, 252n58.

²⁹¹ Exotrochina is *PLP* 6077.

²⁹² If as most likely these (at least notionally) gold coins, the sum would come out to around 100 carats, but the fineness may have been significantly debased by this date, if the coins were even in circulation and not simply a currency of account for narrative convenience: see the further discussion of this episode in the fourth chapter.

Jacob to him because she felt that he had swindled her; we might suspect, however, that she chose Syropoulos as her confidant precisely because she knew of some association between the two men. The one biographical detail about Jacob that is explicitly offered is his connection with Amarantina, whose reputation for magical and occult practices was well known.²⁹³

Applied erotic magic in antiquity and late antiquity

It will now be useful to subject the erotic magical papyri, and inscribed metal tablets, to a more thorough typological classification.²⁹⁴ Their peak falls at a crucial point in our narrative of tradition, the transition between Greek antiquity and Byzantium, that is, the world of late antiquity. This typology will then help us to evaluate continuity and change when direct attestations re-appear in late Byzantine and post-Byzantine sources, evidence that will be introduced in its turn below.

Faraone had introduced select documents from the papyrological evidence in his seminal treatment of erotic magic, the bulk of which postdate the main period of his inquiry. He argues that despite their restriction, in terms of survival, to Egypt, papyrus handbooks were in much wider Mediterranean circulation, and that in a significant number of cases the core techniques are recognizably Greek (ultimately of Near Eastern or Mesopotamian origin), however much they may have been elaborated by combination with elements from Egyptian and Jewish traditions (1999, 31-38).²⁹⁵ There is, by contrast, little evidence for interest in erotic magic in Pharaonic Egypt, from which a significant number of handbooks for other magical ritual practices, including healing and apotropaic incantations, do survive. The origins of erotic (and other aggressive) procedures in the Greek-language documents from Egypt are still debated (Dieleman 2012, 350; Faraone 2002). Ritner is right to assert that there is much continuity of ancient, native Egyptian practice in the so-called Greek magical papyri, yet he also acknowledges that the highly specialized ritual and textual forms of the later erotic magic are not paralleled in Pharaonic Egypt, where there is very little evidence for erotic magic at all (1995, 3348-3350), and so it seems better to regard it as an innovation in the fertile multicultural amalgam of Graeco-Roman Egypt.²⁹⁶ The heat of this debate is in any case rather less relevant here, and we should read the Greek-language material, as indeed all Greek texts produced in Egypt, as

²⁹³ Jacob is identified as ὁ τῆς Ἀμαρανθίνης ἐκείνης, “he of that [infamous] Amarant(h)ina,” which absent other specification of relationship most likely suggests that he is either her son (so *PLP* 748) or (former) husband (rather than simply an adherent or follower of hers). According to a homily of the patriarch Callistus I (r. 1350-1353, 1355-1363), the “sickness” spread by the γοητεία of this woman in Constantinople and its surroundings was well known (ed. Païdas 2011, 128-156 §3). The accounts of her in the patriarchal court records do not detail her acts of “magic” and “ventriloquism” (μαγείαις ... προσκειμένην καὶ ἀπὸ κοιλίας μαντικᾶς φλυαρίας φθεγγομένην), focusing instead on her subsequent repentance and entry into a convent, where she received an imperial prebend (Miklosich and Müller 1860-1890, 1:303 no. 134 and *ibid.* 137 no. 317; Hunger et al. 1981-1995, vol. 3 no. 180 and 185; cf. Cupane 1980, 246-249).

²⁹⁴ Relevant portions of these texts will be excerpted here, but can be found in full with further bibliography and notes on readings in the accompanying catalogue.

²⁹⁵ The Mesopotamian origins have subsequently been called into question by Geller 2006, 15-16n59.

²⁹⁶ Continuity of one specific narrative motif in incantations for erotic magic from Demotic and earlier Egyptian to Coptic is discussed in Frankfurter 2009.

potentially the product of individuals fluent in the indigenous Egyptian language. There are undeniable Greek traditional elements beyond mere choice of language, and the multicultural mixture contributes in turn to the later tradition, the process which will be the focus of this discussion.

Ritual for the promotion of erotic desire is attested in the Greek papyri from Egypt as early as the first century B.C.²⁹⁷ In that early period it is found only in recipes in formularies, which continue all throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods and indeed thereafter, in Coptic. Some of these recipes recommend the inscription of text on various media, which we have already seen in literary references, and this is also attested in practice, on papyrus, metal sheets, ostraka, and linen, beginning in the second century A.D.²⁹⁸ In only a minority of instances is the provenance of the texts and artifacts known, in which case there is a fairly evenly distribution across regions of Egypt. The conditions necessary for the survival of papyrus have restricted this evidence to the dry sands of Egypt, but it is certain that papyrus formularies circulated and were used in the broader Greek-speaking world.²⁹⁹ The inscription of incantation-texts on metal tablets for this purpose from mainland Greece in fact predates the earliest evidence from Egypt: a lead sheet found in a tomb in Akanthos dating to the late fourth or early third century B.C., which shows an application of the ancient Greek technique of cursing by *κατάδεσμος* and will be discussed further below.³⁰⁰ Such inscribed tablets were also produced outside Egypt in the Roman and late ancient periods: an example from Athens is known.³⁰¹ The great majority have been found in North Africa,³⁰² where obvious influence from Egyptian

²⁹⁷ Munich, BSB inv. Gr. 216, ed. *Suppl.Mag.* II 71 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.10); contemporary or slightly later: Berlin, P.Berl. inv. 21243, *Suppl.Mag.* II 72 ii 9-17 (mummy cartonnage from Abusir el Melek; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.11).

²⁹⁸ Papyrus: P.UCL inv. 312, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXII (from the Hawara necropolis; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.16); lead sheet: T.Genav. inv. 269, *Suppl.Mag.* I 38 (chapter 2 cat. 1.2.7); ostrakon: P.Oslo inv. 570, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* O 2 (from Oxyrhynchus; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.29); linen: P.Köln inv. 5512, *Suppl.Mag.* I 44 (chapter 2 cat. 2.2.2).

²⁹⁹ On the applicability of the Egyptian evidence to the rest of the ancient world see Bagnall 2011.

³⁰⁰ Thessalonike Museum inv. I.160.79/1987, ed. pr. Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1997, 160-161 with photograph and drawing, republished by D.R. Jordan, *SEG XLVII* 871 (chapter 2 cat. 1.4.1). On the conjunction of erotic and more general cursing see Faraone 1999, 143. For ‘curse’ tablets more generally, more elaborate textual forms spread probably from Alexandria to mainland Greece in later periods, but examples from Egypt and North Africa show influence from mainland Greece in turn, such as invocations to divinities like Γῆ χθονία (Preisendanz 1969, 12-14).

³⁰¹ EM inv. 9332, apparently not yet edited in full, see Audollent 1904 no. 51 (Ziebarth 1899 no. 2; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.1). Undated, “aus später Zeit” (Ziebarth), letter-forms suggest second or third century A.D. The text is of the erotic curse type and will be discussed in more detail below.

³⁰² The relevant texts are collected in the catalogue. Fuller checklists of and notes on inscribed tablets for aggressive magic can be found in Jordan 1985 and 2000 (where among other things Jordan reports that he is working towards a full corpus); also Preisendanz 1930 and 1935; for Latin materials, Preisendanz opp. cit. and Besnier 1920. Select Greek examples from North Africa and Egypt are presented in Preisendanz 1969, 13-16 and 22-23, but not systematically distinguished from the author’s broad category of the “Fluchtafel.”

traditions can be found alongside the Greek, as a consequence of synthetic developments that will be sketched below on the basis of the Egyptian materials.

The great majority of the incantations in these materials invoke supernatural powers to some extent.³⁰³ These powers, whose identities range from the souls of human dead to Greek and Egyptian gods, are requested or commanded to do the work of producing the desired goal, the promotion of erotic desire in a target for the benefit of the user. The texts vary greatly in length and complexity. At the most basic, the request is simply that the erotic affect be instilled. This can be seen in recipes in a papyrus handbook from Egypt of the fourth century;³⁰⁴ in applied form on a lead sheet perhaps from Panopolis in Egypt of the first or second century,³⁰⁵ and outside Egypt, in a gold lamella found in Italy of the mid to late Roman imperial period.³⁰⁶ The request can also be expanded to include direct physical manipulation such that the target is brought to the user, as is found inscribed on a gem of the Roman imperial period,³⁰⁷ on an activated

³⁰³ The text of the tablet from Akanthos cited above (Thessalonike Museum inv. I.160.79/1987; chapter 2 cat. 1.4.1) does not mention any by name but was deposited in a tomb presumably as a means of interface with chthonic *daimones* or the soul of the corpse itself.

³⁰⁴ One invokes a Hellenized version of the Old Testament Yahweh (Ιαω) who is additionally qualified by epithets in transliterated Egyptian; the text is to be written on papyrus and dissolved in liquid to be given as a potion (P.Lond. inv. 121, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.969-971; chapter 2 cat. 2.2.14). The other invokes magical signs (χαρακτῆρες) inscribed on a tin sheet with a nail from a shipwrecked ship, which is to be folded up along with some item from the target's person (οὐσία) and thrown in the sea. In both cases the affect is described with the verb φιλέω, but the target is female (τὴν δεῖνα).

³⁰⁵ A small folded lead sheet pierced by nails, addressed to a Horion son of Sarapous who will have been the person in whose tomb it was deposited in invocation of his soul, which is asked to cause a woman (Nike) to be stricken with *eros* (ἐρασθῆναι) for the male user (Pantous); the request is written out twice on the same sheet: now in Heidelberg, T.Heid.Arch.Inst. inv. F 429a-b, *Suppl.Mag.* I 37 (chapter 2 cat. 2.2.8).

³⁰⁶ Found in the necropolis of San Cassiano, Riva del Garda, *SEG LX 1037* (ed. pr. Mastrocinque 2010; chapter 2 cat. 2.2.1): Ιαω | *signs* | *signs* | *signs* | Σαβαωθ. | ἵνα ἐμέ φιλήσῃ | Ἄδωνις τὸν ἔτε|κεν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ, | ἔρωτι καὶ πόθῳ. [line 7: ΟΛΟΔΙC *Mastrocinque* | line 8 ἡμὶ ἰηρὰ τοῦ *Mastrocinque*]. The deity invoked is the same Iao of the formulary cited above. The object was apparently made for a woman (the ἐμέ of line 6), who would have worn it on her person and was either buried with it or passed it on to some other female, for whom it was interred as grave goods. That the text was copied from a formulary is suggested by the fact that the place-holder “his mother” (ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ, 8) has not been replaced in the metonymic identification clause of the target.

³⁰⁷ Brown ironstone in a private collection (Newell), Bonner 1950 no. 156 with p. 117 (chapter 2 cat. 2.2.3). The request, for bringing a man to a woman (ἄξον Ἀχειλλᾶν ὃν ἔτεκεν Σεραπιᾶς Διουσιᾶτι ἢ<ν> τέτοκεν Σεραπιᾶς), is amplified by an addition in a second hand (ἢ ἄξον ἢ κατάκλεινον). The original forms a rough rectangle, the addition is made in the middle of it, in a larger and less skilled script. The use of κατάκλινω recalls the Simaitha episode, her bedding of her lover before their falling out (2.138-139, ἐγὼ δέ νιν ... μαλακῶν ἔκλιν' ἐπὶ λέκτρων), but the disjunction ἢ ... ἢ argues against that sense here, in favor of a more general sense of subjection. On the other side is an engraving of Isis-Hecate with whip and torch, surrounded by magical *logoi*.

papyrus object of the fourth century,³⁰⁸ and written on linen, of the third or fourth century, also from Egypt.³⁰⁹

In addition to the erotic affect, the incantation may also seek the infliction of varying degrees of physical and emotional distress on the target, the ‘erotic curse’ mentioned previously. This is best seen as an extension of the type that refers to having the target physically brought to the user: the distress is a further goad in that compulsion, and its application is to last only until the target gives in. It is found quite early, in the Hellenistic lead tablet from Akanthos, in a comparably mild form that denies the target the favor of the gods and the enjoyment of love and sex until she submits.³¹⁰ The fullest and harshest forms come from materials from Egypt in the Roman imperial and late ancient periods, both recipes in handbooks and activated examples.³¹¹ In a motif that would have a long life in the Greek (and Latin) tradition, as we will see, they specify that the torment is to include burning and the denial of the ability to eat, drink, and sleep.³¹² The promotion

³⁰⁸ Fragmentary but probably to be deposited in tomb; a neat tricolon of imperatives (κατάκλινον, ἄξον, ἐπίπεμψον) is followed by an invocation “by the holy names” (τὰ ἅγια ὄνοματᾶ) and a drawing, probably of the demonic entity invoked: P.Vind. inv. G 29273, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P LXIV (chapter 2 cat. 2.2.9; in ll. 1-2 κατακτλιον seems to be the reading of the papyrus, for which κατάκλινον is a preferable correction to κατάκτινον in *Pap.Graec.Mag.*).

³⁰⁹ P.Köln inv. 5512, *Suppl.Mag.* I 44 (chapter 2 cat. 2.2.2): invocation with Egyptian divine names, followed by the request for ‘bringing’ (ἄξον and ἄξατε) with the help of the soul of a man untimely dead (διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ ἀώρου); the linen is therefore perhaps a mummy bandage or meant to approximate one.

³¹⁰ Thessalonike Museum inv. I.160.79/1987, *SEG* XLVII 871, text A, 4-6 (chapter 2 cat. 1.4.1), μή τι ἱερείου Ἀθηναίας ἄψασθαι | δύναιτο μήτ’ ἢ Ἀφροδίτη ἠδέως αὐτῇ | εἶη πρὶν ἂν Πausανίαν ἐνσχῆ Σίμη.

³¹¹ Formularies: Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574, ff. 5r-7r (chapter 2 cat. 2.4.12), 17r-v (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.35), 30r-v (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.23), 32r (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.24), and 32v (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.33) (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.296-466, 1391-1495, 2705-2781, 2892-2942, and 2943-2967), from Thebes; P.Oslo inv. 302 recto, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXVIII (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.27), Fayum; P.Oslo inv. 420 coll. iv and viii, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXVI.101-133 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.28) and 186-203 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.34), Fayum; P.Lond. inv. 121 coll. xiii, xxv-xxvi, and xxix, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.467-490, 862-918, and 981-1009 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.25, 2.3.37, 2.3.26). Applied: P.UCL inv. 312, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXII (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.16), Hawara; Cairo Museum Jd’É 60636, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P LXVIII (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.21), Hawara; ex-Ashmolean Museum inv. 18, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXIIa (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.20), Hawara; P.Alex. inv. 491, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XV (chapter 2 cat. 2.4.3); P.Princ. inv. GD 7665, *Suppl.Mag.* I 40 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.13); P.Köln inv. 5514, *Suppl.Mag.* I 43 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.14); P.Louvre inv. 3378, ed. Jordan 1988 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.19); P.Stras. inv. 1167, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XVIIa (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.40); P.Berl. inv. 9909, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XIXa (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.18), Hermopolis Magna; P.Oxy. LXVIII 4673 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.32) and 4674 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.31), Oxyrhynchus; P.Köln inv. 3323, *Suppl.Mag.* I 45 (chapter 2 cat. 2.4.4), Assiut; Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, ÄS inv. 6792, ed. Brashear 1992b (chapter 2 cat. 2.4.5); on an ostrakon, P.Oslo inv. 570, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* O 2 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.29), Oxyrhynchus.

³¹² A fine applied example from the fourth century, on papyrus, targets a Leontia, requesting that her heart and soul be “made airborne” (ἀεροπέτησον) with restless lust in favor of a Dioskouros, and that she not be allowed to eat, drink, or find sleep until she

of the erotic affect was also pursued in parallel by the analogic manipulation of effigies, representing either the torment of the target or the mutual satisfaction of target and user in erotic coupling.³¹³ There are a number of applied examples from North Africa at around the same time, some in Greek, some in Latin written in Greek transliteration or a mix of the two.³¹⁴ An applied example on the lead tablet found at Athens already mentioned shows the circulation of these techniques in mainland Greece: a man, Macrobius, requests that the heart, soul, and body of a woman, Gamete, be inflamed with fever.³¹⁵

comes to him (μὴ ἐάσης αὐτήν φαγῖν μήτε πῖν μήτε ὕπνου τυχῖν ἕως δᾶν ἔλθῃ): P.Köln inv. 5514, *Suppl.Mag.* I 43 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.14); similar language in formulary recipes, e.g. P.Oslo inv. 420 col. iv, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXVI.101-133 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.23). On burning and aggressive magic in antiquity, very broadly, Kuhnert 1894; cf. also Tavenner 1942. Martinez 1995 takes a somewhat different view of the denial of food and drink, as a kind of abstinence preparing the target for divine possession, which is certainly not present in the later sources.

³¹³ Torment: instructions in a papyrus handbook from fourth-century Thebes to make one male and one female effigy, the male armed like Ares, striking the kneeling female, which has been activated with οὐσία from the target; the user is to pierce the female figure with pins, each time announcing performatively, περονῶ τὸ ποιὸν μέλος τῆς δεῖνα, ὅπως μηδενὸς μνησθῆ πλὴν ἐμοῦ μόνου, τοῦ δεῖνα: Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574, ff. 5r-7r (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.296-466; chapter 2 cat. 2.4.12); inscribed lead tablet found in a clay vessel with a clay female figurine, bound and pierced, possibly from Middle Egypt of the second or third century, now Paris, Louvre inv. E 27145, *Suppl.Mag.* I 47 (chapter 2 cat. 2.4.7). Satisfaction: two wax figurines placed in an attitude of embrace, wrapped in a papyrus bearing the written incantation, and sealed in a clay vessel, in two quite similar assemblages of the fourth or fifth century, one from Assiut (P.Köln inv. 3323, *Suppl.Mag.* I 45; chapter 2 cat. 2.4.4), the other of unknown provenance, now in Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, ÄS inv. 6791-6793, ed. Brashear 1992b (chapter 2 cat. 2.4.5). In addition to the textual examples, a wax figurine with human hair inserted in the navel, and papyrus with writing inserted in the back, has survived intact from Roman Egypt and is now kept at the British Museum (EA 37918; photographs of front and back in Pinch 2006, 91, figg. 46-47; it has so far proved impossible to extract and read the papyrus).

³¹⁴ Greek: Audollent 1908, text 1 (Sousse, Tunisia); *SEG* XXXI 895 (Hadrumetum, ed. only in part Robert 1981, 28n4 and 35-36n1; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.8); and Audollent 1904 no. 271 (Hadrumetum). Latin in Greek transliteration: Audollent 1904 no. 270 (Hadrumetum; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.9). Mix of Greek and Latin in Greek transliteration: Audollent 1904 no. 267 (Hadrumetum). Latin, with divine names in Greek: Audollent 1904 no. 266 (Hadrumetum); Audollent 1904 no. 230 (Carthage). Cf. also the Greek texts on lead tablets from contemporary Egypt, T.Leid.Inst. inv. V 34, *Suppl.Mag.* I 41 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.15); Florence, BML inv. 14487, *Suppl.Mag.* I 42 (Hermopolis; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.26); Cairo Museum, Jd'É 48217, ed. *Suppl.Mag.* I 46 (Hawara; chapter 2 cat. 2.4.6); Louvre inv. E 27145, *Suppl.Mag.* I 47 (Middle Egypt?; chapter 2 cat. 2.4.6); T.Köln inv. 1 and 2, *Suppl.Mag.* I 49-50 (Oxyrhynchus; chapter 2 cat. 2.4.9-2.4.10); T.Mich. inv. 6925, *Suppl.Mag.* I 48 (chapter 2 cat. 2.4.8); and P.Duke inv. 230, *SEG* XLIX 2382 (probably Egypt; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.38).

³¹⁵ EM inv. 9332, Audollent 1904 no. 51 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.1), ... ἐνβάλλετε πυρετοὺς χαλε[ποὺς εἰς] πάντα τὰ μέλη Γαμε|τῆς ἦν ἔτεκεν [Ἰγία Μακρο]βίω, κατακαίνετε καταχθονί[ζε]| τε κα[ὶ τὴν] ψυχὴν κὲ τὴν καρδίαν Γαμετῆς ἦν ἔτεκεν Ἰγία ... (in place of Audollent's καταχθονί[οί] | τε κα[ὶ --]). The name of the target is rare, elsewhere

Before proceeding on to evaluate the survival of such techniques once direct Byzantine sources re-emerge, it is worth considering the intersection of different cultural traditions that lead up to the late ancient and early Byzantine stock of techniques available for transmission through the middle Byzantine phase. Next to the Greek, Egyptian tradition bulks especially large due to the physical facts of material preservation, but there is also evidence for Jewish influence. No doubt there were parallel local traditions all over the Greek and Roman world too, which have left no trace in the written sources. I begin here with the documents that bear the strongest marks of Greek tradition aside from the simple choice of Greek language for writing, which I will term the ‘Hellenistic’ strand. Sources of this type are primarily handbooks and stand out for their self-conscious adoption of Greek epic and hymnic diction and invocation of Greek divinities with authentic epithets. It is tempting to situate their origins in Alexandria, as such a prominent center of Greek literary activity, but this is impossible to prove in the total absence of relevant papyrus finds from that site. An early example, from a formulary of the first century B.C. or the first century A.D., fragments of which were recovered from mummy cartonnage from Abusir el Melek in the north of Middle Egypt, prescribes an incantation to be spoken over fruit (ἐπὶ μήλου ἐπωδῆ).³¹⁶ The incantation is in meter (dactylic hexameter, with a few faults), borrows epic diction (ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν), and closes with a request that “the one born on Cyprus” (Aphrodite) “bring to perfection a perfect incantation” (Κυπρογένεια τέλει τελέαν ἐπαιοιδήν). Another from the same formulary shows the considerable, imaginative variety in this phase of the tradition. For use on a man, it invokes the sun to torment the target with an erotic curse.³¹⁷ The invocation is followed by a narrative statement of fact, “I run in pursuit of him but he flees from me,” and a switch from invocation of torment to performative claim to effect it directly (“I shall torment you until you come to me”); though primarily in prose, it closes with a similar hexameter invocation of Aphrodite as the previous example.³¹⁸ The ‘Hellenistic’ strand has a productive life in Roman Egypt, with at least three incantations of this type preserved in a formulary of the second or third century, possibly from Tebtunis in the Fayum.³¹⁹ In the

attested only in the Roman Imperial period, in northern Greece (*LGPN* IV s.v.) and Asia Minor (*LGPN* Va and b s.v.).

³¹⁶ Berlin, P.Berl. inv. 21243, *Suppl.Mag.* II 72 i 5-14 (chapter 2 cat. 1.2.3); sense can be improved by dividing μήλω τε βάλο{ν} μήλω τε πατάξ[[α]]\ω{ι} / in 9, 1. μήλω τε βάλω μήλω τε πατάξω, in place of edd. μήλω τ' ἔβαλον. The papyrus was purchased at Abusir el-Melek and was packed in a tin box (Blechiste 382) from which nearly all the published papyri originated in the Herakleopolite nome, with a few others from the Hermopolite (information from the Berliner Papyrusdatenbank); hence it is likely, but beyond proof, that this handbook came from one or the other of these districts.

³¹⁷ Berlin, P.Berl. inv. 21243, *Suppl.Mag.* II 72 ii 9-17 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.11). The text assures only the gender of the target, there is insufficient evidence to establish that of the intended user.

³¹⁸ κατατρ[έ]χω, αὐτὸς δέ με φεύγει ... βασαν[ι]ῶ σε ἕως ἂν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔλθ[η]ς. The hexameter close runs here πτόνια Κυπρογένεια τέλει τελέαν ἐπαιοιδήν, “Cyprus-born lady, bring to perfection a perfect incantation.”

³¹⁹ P.CtYBR inv. 1206, fragments of six columns of a book-roll (chapter 2 cat. 1.2.4, 2.2.12, 2.3.22, 2.4.1); on the verso, there is a slightly later addition of what are probably medical prescriptions (line 2, πρὸς κόλπους, i.e. a type of ulcer, cf. *P.Oxy.* LXXX 5248 fr. 1 ii 8n); P.Lund. inv. 2091 is quite possibly a further fragment of the same text. Only col. vi has so far been published (*Suppl.Mag.* II 76), some briefer recipes without

best preserved of these, the user speaks in the person of Artemis,³²⁰ proclaiming “I am Artemis, armed with the bow, the fair-garlanded (?) daughter of Zeus and Leto, and Apollo is my full brother;” the text then breaks off where presumably some form of the erotic curse once stood, and where it resumes, there is the wish that “none of the immortal gods nor the far-famed heroes nor those down in Tartarus who are called Titans be fond (of the target?) in their heart,” and Artemis is now invoked in the second person, along with the rest of the gods, to “perfect this incantation.”³²¹ Another recipe seems to prescribe an incantation spoken over wine or water, whose text sets up a series of analogies from the natural world (probably including the movements of the planet Venus, the moon, and the winds) for how the target should be (made restless and ?) brought to the user.³²² The fragmentary close of another seems to invoke Dionysus,³²³ and a final incantation makes a quite novel first-person address to the target, “If I die first and my soul leaves the light of the sun, there too may your soul flit about at my grave, weeping.”³²⁴ As far as the text can be read, the incantations of this formulary are consistently in hexameter (not without faults) and further imitate Homeric diction (e.g. ἐκλίπη φάος ἡελίοιο and φίλον κῆρ).

It is worth stressing that this hexameter meter, and epic diction, add efficacy by reference to the divinely-inspired poetry of Homer, even if it does not quote it as explicitly

incantations for aphrodisiacs and what editors have called “party tricks.” I hope to offer a full edition and study of this important text elsewhere. The Tebtunis provenance is not as certain as presented in *Suppl.Mag.* (no discussion). The papyrus was acquired in 1931 by M.I. Rostovtzeff from Maurice Nahman in Cairo in April 1931, and at least one other item in the same lot certainly did come from Tebtunis (the petition P.CtYBR inv. 1162, ed. J. Jacobs, *ZPE* 148 [2004] 243-244, not in *SB*), but as so much of the rest of this lot remains unstudied, it is safer to leave the question open; Nahman’s acquisitions were not confined to the Fayum.

³²⁰ This role for Artemis is perhaps also to be found in a formulary recipe of the third century copied on the back of an official document, P.Heid. inv. 2170 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P LXXVIII with corrections of Maltomini 1980, 371-374; chapter 2 cat. 2.4.2), if we supplement in lines 8-9 ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι Δ[ιὸς παῖς | Ἄρτεμις Μα]σκέλλι etc. in place of δ[εσπότης | τοῦ Μα]σκέλλι (*Pap.Graec.Mag.*) or δ[οῦλος] κτλ. (Maltomini). The recipe calls for an incantation to be inscribed on a lead tablet, along with a figurine (ζωδῖον) that resembles the Ephesian form of Artemis whose body is covered in breasts (Artemis ‘multimamma,’ the suggestion of Preisendanz; so far no other proposals have been made).

³²¹ P.CtYBR inv. 1206 recto, coll. i.3-ii.10 (chapter 2 cat. 2.4.1), φίλτρον. ἡ ἐπιφωδὴ Ἄ[ρ]τεμῖς εἰμι Διὸς καὶ | Λητοῦς ἠυστέφανος (?) το]ξοφόρος θυγάτηρ, | Φοῖβο[ς] δέ μοί ἐστ]ιν ἀδελφὸς αὐτοκα|σίγητο[ς c. 5] ὀρῶσα γεγημένῃ | υ.ενο[c. 5] ἐγὼ φιλότῃτι ἀνευ[c. 10]σαν τ[ῶ] θείω [.] [.] | [c. 10]... [c. 10] | [c. 15] [c. 10] | μηδέ τις ἀθανάτων μήθ’ ἡρώων | πολυφήμων μήτε ὑπὸ ταρταρείων | οἱ Τειτῆνες καλέονται στέρξαιτο | φίλον κῆρ ἄλλὰ σὺ τοξοφόρε Ἄρτεμι | ἄλλοι τε θεοὶ μάκαρες τήνδε τελεῖ|τ’ ἐπαιδῆν. This is followed by a variant procedure in which the incantation is both spoken and written on papyrus, then burned along with hair from the target.

³²² P.CtYBR inv. 1206 recto, coll. ii.12-iii.10 (chapter 2 cat. 2.2.12).

³²³ P.CtYBR inv. 1206 recto, col. i.1-2, τήνδ’ οἷς ἐὰν πατάξω ἐρρωτικ[ο]ῖς | μελήση Διώνυσέ σου μυστῶν ἐπιφωδῶν (chapter 2 cat. 1.2.4).

³²⁴ P.CtYBR inv. 1206 recto, coll. iii.11-iv.10, ... ἐὰν γὰρ ἐγὼ | πρῶτός τι πάθω καὶ [ψυχὴ ἐ]μὴ ἐκλίπη φάος | ἡ(ε)λίοιο, κάκεῖ σου ψυχὴ [πρὸ]ς ἐμὸν τάφον | [ἀ]μφιπέτοιο κλαίου[σα] ... (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.22).

as the scriptural incantations that we encountered in the first chapter. The use of hexameter meter survives as an important constituent part of incantations in combination with other motifs in later texts, such as a recipe for an incantation from Oxyrhynchus of the third or fourth century.³²⁵ A single hexameter line invoking Hekate introduces a longer incantation calling on this divinity to inflict sleeplessness on a female target until she comes to and satisfies the user.³²⁶

The ‘Hellenistic’ strand eventually gives way, or better, intertwines with, an even broader mix of traditions in the later Roman period, especially the third and fourth centuries. This I call the ‘multicultural’ strand. Egyptian and Near Eastern elements are especially prominent, and indeed they may have been present in the ‘Hellenistic’ strand all along, for which our sample size is much smaller.³²⁷ The situation is complicated by the fact that published evidence for erotic magic in the native Egyptian language in the Graeco-Roman period is lacking until rather late, the third century, by which there had probably been centuries of exchange in both directions.³²⁸

³²⁵ P.Oxy. inv. 84/59 (a), ed. *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4672 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.30). It is not clear that the fragment is truly a “formulary” as titled in ed. rather than a single recipe copied on a sheet. It ends with a paragraphos and at least 1.5 cm of margin, and is preceded by a margin of about the same size, which in my view suggests the latter interpretation. This smaller size would also have been more convenient for circulation, among practitioners or clients.

³²⁶ *Ibid.* lines 1-2, νύξ Ἐκάτη[ς], Ἐκάτη δέ μου ἄγγελος ἔστω, “Let night be Hekate’s messenger, and Hekate mine” (Ἐκάτη, Ἐκάτη ed. pr.; possible traces of the upper left of the bow of ς are visible on a photograph, and the δέ suggests a contrast between two syntactically parallel clauses).

³²⁷ An early papyrus formulary of the first century B.C. now in Munich, BSB inv. Gr. 216, ed. *Suppl.Mag.* II 71 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.10), is too fragmentary to yield much connected sense, but already would seem to contain elements of Egyptian, Near Eastern, and Greek traditions in close proximity: respectively, these are a first-person speech declaring love for a female target, to Anubis (Ἄνουβι, Ἄνουβι, φιλῶ τήν [δεῖνα], fr. 9.2 [δεῖνα *supplevi*, cf. *comm. in Suppl.Mag.*]); an exorcistic invocation of a demon “by all the gods in Hades” to “lead” the female target (ἐξορκ[ίζω ... τ]οὺς ἐν Ἄδη θεοὺς ... ἄγαγε τήν δεῖνα], fr. 14.2-4); and the stock closure [τελειῖτε τελ]έαν ἐπαφίδην (fr. 2.5-6). Epic diction in e.g. the phrase [χαλε]ποισίτ τ’ ἄλγεσιν (fr. 19.2). The same stock closure appears with Isis in place of Aphrodite not long thereafter, in an incantation spoken over myrrh to win the user favor with women (P.Berl. inv. 21243, *Suppl.Mag.* II 72 ii 15-27; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.11).

³²⁸ In a handbook from Thebes, we find clear applications of the erotic curse well integrated into Egyptian mythology. In one incantation recited over wine there is self-identification as Horus, and of the wine as the blood of Osiris with which Osiris performed a similar ritual on Isis, and finally the request the target conceive a burning passion for the user just as Isis did for Horus, burning and mad with lust until she sees him (Leiden, P.Leid. dem. I 383 + London, BM EA 10070, recto col. xv, ed. Griffith and Thompson 1904; trans. after *PDM* xiv.428-450). Another describes a complex ritual for the preparation of a scarab-beetle that is placed in wine and given to the target to drink, including three incantations pronounced over the materials, the first a characteristically Egyptian ‘slander,’ that the target should be tormented because “she is the one who urinated before the sun at dawn” and so on; the second, analogically, to the scarab while it is being cooked, “...in order that every burning, every heat, every fire in which you are today, you will make them in the heart, the lungs, the liver, the spleen, the womb, the large

Exorcistic language in addresses to divinities and lesser demonic forces such as the souls of the human dead reach particular prominence in this period. This technique is very likely ultimately a borrowing from the Jewish magical tradition, what Gideon Bohak has called “the Jewish art of exorcism” (2008, 101). The development is best seen as an addition to the tradition, not a fundamentally new direction, and many of the other motifs and techniques survive unchanged; the resulting composite proved popular in Egypt and North Africa (and probably farther afield too, though surviving evidence is lacking).³²⁹ At the same time we see the persistence of the use of epic diction; one incantation prescribed in a fourth-century handbook even uses Doric forms.³³⁰ The use of performatives also continues, from the tradition of Greek erotic magic and the broader Greek tradition of cursing.³³¹

Plenty of scope remains in this later phase for imaginative metaphor. On an inscribed lead tablet of the third or fourth century from Hermopolis, portions of which are in iambic meter, divinities from a mix of Greek, Egyptian, and Semitic traditions are invoked to place the erotic curse on a female target (Gorgonia) for the benefit of another

intestine, the small intestine, the ribs, the flesh, the bones, in every limb” of the target until she comes to the user; the third expands this request with the denial of sleep, food, and drink, “... she loving him, she being mad about him, she not knowing a place of the earth in which she is. Take away her sleep by night. Give her grief and anxiety by day. Do not let her eat. Do not let her drink. Do not let her lie down. Do not let her sit in the shadow of her house until she goes to him at every place in which he is, her heart forgetting, her eye flying, her glances turned upside down, she not knowing a place of the earth in which she is, until she sees him. ...” (ibid. col. xxi, ed. Griffith and Thompson 1904; trans. after *PDM* xiv.636-669).

³²⁹ E.g. a fourth-century formulary from Thebes with an exorcistic invocation of Cerberus, Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574, ff. 21v-22r (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.1872-1927; chapter 2 cat. 2.2.16); an applied version on papyrus, invoking Anubis and Hermes for an erotic curse from Hawara, of the second century, P.UCL inv. 312 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXII; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.16); or an applied incantation on a lead tablet probably from Egypt of the fourth century, P.Duke inv. 230, *SEG XLIX* 2382 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.38); another in Latin transliterated into Greek, found near Carthage (Bir ez-Zitoun), Audollent 1904 no. 231 (chapter 2 cat. 2.2.11).

³³⁰ τὰν Ἑκάταν in Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574, f. 30r-v, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.2705-2781 at 2730 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.23). Portions of the incantation are in hexameter, and other epic reminiscences here include κεί τινες ἠρώων ἔθανον ἀγύναιοί τε ἄπαιδες ... ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸν ἔδοντες (2732-2734) and ἦκοι ἐπ’ ἐμαῖσι θύραισι (2755-2756).

³³¹ Greek erotic magic: ἐπιδήσω σε addressed to the target in P.Alex. inv. 491, third century, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XV (chapter 2 cat. 2.4.3), cf. καταδέω in Theocritus 2 and the Akanthos tablet, with Faraone 1999, 143; and further e.g. in the incantation versions of which were found inscribed in two different effigy-assemblages of the fourth or fifth century, P.Köln inv. 3323 (*Suppl.Mag.* I 45; chapter 2 cat. 2.4.4) and Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, ÄS inv. 6792 (Brashear 1992b; chapter 2 cat. 2.4.5), δεσμεύω σε δεσμοῖς ἀλοίτοις addressed to divinities; ἔδησα γὰρ αὐτῆς τὸν ἐγκέφαλον καὶ τὰς χῖρας καὶ τὰ ὑποχόνδρια καὶ τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν in reference to the target. Greek cursing: παρακατατίθωμαι in reference to the deposition of the object with divinities of the underworld, inscribed on a lead tablet from Hawara, second or third century, now Cairo Museum Jd’E 48217, ed. *Suppl.Mag.* I 46 (chapter 2 cat. 2.4.6).

woman (Sophia).³³² The invocation functions in part by analogy between the burning discomfort desired and a hot bath – public baths of the hypocaust style being, it should be said, a characteristically Roman institution in Egypt.³³³ The divinities are asked that Gorgonia “be thrown into the bath ... and you, become her bath-attendant, burn, inflame, scorch her soul, heart, liver, and breath in *eros*” for the user.³³⁴ Incantations addressing materials, finally, also become popular in this period. The materials are invoked in place of or in addition to supernatural powers, to carry out the infliction of the erotic curse.³³⁵ A fine example comes in an address to the burned sulfur whose exhalations are dispatched against the target in a fourth-century handbook from the Fayum region of Egypt.³³⁶ The address to the sulfur is set within a narrative of the destruction of the biblical Pentapolis, whose detailed re-working independent of the Old Testament is probably owed to influence from the tradition of Jewish magic.³³⁷ The sending of these vapors, activated

³³² Florence, BML inv. 14487, *Suppl.Mag.* I 42 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.36); inscribed on both sides, lines 63-66 on the back. Meter: iambic trimeter in lines 1-8 and 63-66; choliambics in 20-25.

³³³ Cf. Wilson 2012, 138-139. The influence of Rome more broadly on the Greek tradition of erotic magic is difficult to evaluate in the absence of surviving texts, aside from the late and obviously Grecizing tablets from North Africa, but it is unlikely to have been extensive. A sense of the complexity of the mixture of traditions can be gained from a Greek recipe in a fourth-century handbook, P.Lond. inv. 121 coll. xxv-xxvi (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.862-918; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.37), which is attributed to an author with a Roman name, Claudianus, who claims to have found it in an Egyptian temple of a syncretized Graeco-Egyptian divinity, Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 13-15, καταναγγάσεται Γοργονία ἢν αἴτεκεν Νιλογε|νία, βληθῆναι Σοφία ἢν αἴταικεν Ἰσάρα εἰς τὸ βαλανῖον, καὶ γενοῦ βαλάνισσα{ν}· καῦσον, ποίρω|σον, φλέξον τὴν ψυχὴν, τὴν καρδίαν, τὸ ἥπαρ, τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπ’ ἔρωτι Σοφία ἢν αἴτεγεν Ἰσάρα. On the bath motif cf. the deposition of an inscribed incantation on the slab sealing a bath furnace in a fourth-century formulary from the Fayum (P.Oslo inv. 302 recto, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXVIII; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.27), reading in 3 [εἰς πλα]κάδιον, cf. comm. in *Pap.Graec.Mag.*

³³⁵ Materials so addressed include: sea-shell (P.Lond. inv. 121 col. ix, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.300a-310; chapter 2 cat. 5.1.1); wine (P.Lond. inv. 121 col. xix, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.643-651; chapter 2 cat. 5.1.6); potion (P.Lond. inv. 121 col. xi, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.385-389; chapter 2 cat. 5.1.2); oil (P.BM inv. 10588 verso, coll. i-ii, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P LXI.1-38; chapter 2 cat. 5.1.5); fire from a lamp (P.Leid.Inst. inv. 21 recto col. i, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P LXII.1-23, cf. *P.L.Bat.* I 21; chapter 2 cat. 5.1.8); inscribed metal sheet (P.Lond. inv. 121 col. xiii, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.459-461; chapter 2 cat. 5.1.3). Related is the case of a lamp adjured by “your mother” Hestia and “your father” Hephaestus to make the target lose sleep (P.Lond. inv. 121 col. xi, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.376-384; chapter 2 cat. 5.1.2).

³³⁶ P.Oslo inv. 420 verso, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXVI.295-311 (chapter 2 cat. 5.1.7); the dating, based on palaeography, was made by ed.pr. and has met with general acceptance (cf. Hickey, Maravela and Zellmann-Rohrer 2015). Similar invocations of vapors, in this case from the combustion of myrrh, are made in the same handbook, verso, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXVI.333-360 (chapter 2 cat. 5.1.10), and in another fourth-century handbook from Thebes (Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574, f. 18r-v, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.1496-1595; chapter 2 cat. 5.1.9).

³³⁷ Cf. in particular *Genesis* 19:24-26. The narrative in the incantation does not directly depend on the Septuagint; in particular it names all five cities of the Pentapolis and not just

and directed by incantation, is in turn recalled by the black cloud that was sent upon the hagiographer Gregory by Melitene in the tenth-century Byzantine text discussed previously.

I close this review of the papyrological sources with a look at a new development in the late ancient period, incantations in the ‘multicultural’ strand whose goal is the separation of two lovers or spouses for the erotic benefit of a third party. There is in fact earlier evidence for such use of incantations in the Greek tradition, and it seems to be a specialized subtype and offshoot of the more general Greek tradition of cursing. Two examples on lead tablets can be found in mainland Greece in the fourth century B.C. One, discovered at Nemea, works by simple performatives, “turning away” a female target from a male, with specification of individual members of her body with particular attention to the pudenda.³³⁸ The second, deposited in a tomb at Pella in Macedonia, combines performatives of cursing (καταγράφω and παρακαττίθεμαι) with a device found in some later papyrological material and which will be examined in more detail in the third chapter: addressing the corpse in whose tomb it is deposited by name, a woman curses the marriage of another woman and a man, with the goal of getting the man for herself, applying the impossibility of her digging up and reading tablet as an analogy for the finality of the curse that she hopes to achieve.³³⁹ This technique was integrated with the ‘multicultural’ strand at a later period, maintaining the basic form, the request for separation, and consistently selecting tombs as the site of deposition. There is an example inscribed on steatite, with obvious Egyptian influences, from Knossos of the first century, or an exorcistic incantation on a lead tablet from Cumae from the third century.³⁴⁰ The device shows up in handbook recipes in Egypt, finally, where it combines with other known motifs, such as an incantation addressing a substance (mustard-seed) in two

Sodom and Gomorrah, introduces angels as agents of the destruction ([ἡ]νοίγησαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν, | καὶ κατέβησαν [οἱ ἄγγ]ελοι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ κατέστρεψαν τὴν πεν|τάπολιν Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορα, Ἄδαμ(ά), Σεβουίη καὶ Σηγώρ), and runs counter to the biblical account in that Lot’s wife turns into a pillar of salt from *hearing* the sound of this destruction (γυνὴ ἀκούσασα τῆς φωνῆς ἐγένετο ἀλατίνη στήλη), rather than from looking. See Bohak 2008, 202-206.

³³⁸ From fill dumped in a pit over which a large building was constructed west of the Nemea River, now Nemea Museum inv. IL 327, *SEG* XXX 353 (chapter 2 cat. 6.1). The large building has subsequently been identified as the Heroon of Opheltes mentioned in Pausanias 2.15.3 (*SEG* XL 317). The text runs ἀποστρέφω Εὐβούλαν | ἀπὸ Αἰνέα ἀπὸ τοῦ | προσώπου ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφ|θαλμῶν [ἀπὸ] τοῦ στόμα|τος ἀπὸ τῶν τιθθίαν | ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχᾶς | ἀπὸ τῆς γάστρου ἀπὸ | [τ]οῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρω|κτοῦ ἀφ’ ὄλου τοῦ σώμα|τος. ἀποστρέφω Εὐβού|λαν ἀπ’ Αἰνέα (line 1: Εὐβουλαν ed. pr. et passim; line 8: ψωλίου is the suggestion of Jordan, reported in commentary; this seems at odds with the female features, breasts and vagina, specified by τιθθίαν and ψυχᾶς above).

³³⁹ *SEG* XLIII 434 and XLVI 776 (chapter 2 cat. 6.2), [Θετί]μας καὶ Διονυσοφῶντος τὸ τέλος καὶ τὸν γάμον | καταγράφω ... καὶ παρακαττίθεμαι Μάκρωνι καὶ | [τοῖς] δαίμοσι. καὶ ὁπόκα ἐγὼ ταῦτα διελέξαιμι | καὶ ἀναγνοίην πάλειν ἀνορόξασα, | [τόκα] γᾶμαι Διονυσοφῶντα, πρότερον δὲ μή· μή γάρ | λάβοι ἄλλαν γυναῖκα ἄλλ’ ἢ ἐμέ ... ἰκέτις ὑμῶ(ν) γίνο|[μαι ...]αν οἰκτίρετε δαίμονες φίλ[ο]ι ...

³⁴⁰ Knossos MHΛ inv. 5330, *SEG* L 930 (chapter 2 cat. 6.3); and British Museum inv. GR 2001.11-5.1, *SEG* LIII 1075 (chapter 2 cat. 6.7). There is a quite concise example probably also with some degree of Egyptian influence, on a lead tablet of the third century found in a grave at Rome, Ant. Com. inv. 10453, *SEG* XLVII 1510 (chapter 2 cat. 6.6): the text is probably complete, despite the presentation there.

fragmentary recipes of the fifth century, or the Egyptian motif of justification of the procedure by “slander” of the target with charges of sacrilege against the gods, in a third-century formulary from Thebes.³⁴¹

Later Byzantine and post-Byzantine applications

References to erotic magic in hagiographic and legal texts from the middle Byzantine period, read in combination with direct evidence for the practice of erotic magic in ancient and late ancient sources, strongly indicate a continuous tradition of such practices between the two periods. In the absence of direct sources from the middle Byzantine period, however, that can remain no more than a suggestion. In later Byzantium, however, direct evidence re-emerges, and it is here that the thread can be picked up again more firmly and traced into the post-Byzantine period and modern Greece as well.

This later evidence consists primarily of manuscripts, which like the ancient papyri collect recipes for ritual practices. Unlike the contemporary texts considered in the first chapter containing healing and apotropaic incantations, these manuscripts are a smaller and narrower genre, collections of material relating to the occult sciences. Their centerpieces are generally more learned treatises on astrology and demonology,³⁴² but they also transmit anonymous collections of shorter recipes for practical aims, including erotic magic. The recipes can also be added in manuscripts of more diverse content. The composition of these codices and their context of production and use will be taken up in more detail in the fourth chapter, but by way of illustration I point here to a manuscript of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century now at Athens, EBE cod. 1265. The main text is a demonological treatise and manual attributed to Solomon, but distinct from the well-known late ancient *Testament of Solomon*. The present text describes intricate rituals of conjuration of angels and demons, which are filled out with the addition of shorter recipes for aggressive magic, including a number that will be discussed here and more in the third chapter, but also for protective purposes, e.g. a ritual to protect livestock through the analogous sheltering of effigies; that it was put to use is suggested by wax stains on the pages.³⁴³ In the modern period, there is also documentation of the application of such practices in rural Greece, recorded by professional and amateur folklorists, with the same methodology as in the case of the material considered in the first chapter. Incantations are prominent, but other methods are pressed into service as well,³⁴⁴ and in Crete of the early

³⁴¹ Mustard seed: P.Laur. inv. III/472, *Suppl.Mag.* II 95 side ↓, 3-16 and →, 1-20 (chapter 2 cat. 6.9 and 6.10). Slander: P.BM inv. 10588 verso, coll. ii-iii, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P LXI.39-59 (chapter 2 cat. 6.8; possibly continued in very fragmentary state through col. iv); Demotic collection on recto (ed. Bell, Nock, and Thompson 1931).

³⁴² On these contents see the essays collected in Magdalino and Mavroudi 2006 and especially their introduction; and also Greenfield 1988.

³⁴³ The suggestion is Delatte's, who edits the Solomonic material and selections from the rest and calls the stains “sans doute des cierges à la lumière desquels le sorcier accomplissait les cérémonies magiques en lisant le livre qui lui servait de guide” (1927, 2). The livestock ritual is at f. 28r-v (ed. Delatte 1927, 68).

³⁴⁴ E.g. a recipe in a fifteenth-century manuscript prescribing the burning of a sword, the ash from which is to be cast at the target: Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419, f. 144v (ed. Delatte 1927, 458; chapter 2 cat. 3.2.6); or another in a nineteenth-century manuscript in a private collection in which the user rubs wax over his body, melts it, reconstitutes it as a candle, and burns the candle in front of the target: the Βερναρδάκειος μαγικός κώδικας, f. 489r, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 318 (chapter 2 cat. 3.2.1).

twentieth century, the general advice was that one should not send undershirts out to be washed, but rather burn them, lest sweat or fabric be taken from them to make candles and wicks, with which a third party might drive the owner “mad with love.”³⁴⁵

In these sources continuity can be seen both at a phraseological level³⁴⁶ and also thematically, above all in the motif of the infliction of the erotic curse. This curse can be imposed by direct address to the target,³⁴⁷ but is most commonly pursued by the now familiar demonological approach. A good example is an exorcism of demons in a fifteenth-century manuscript probably produced at Constantinople, to deny the target

³⁴⁵ Phrankaki 1947, 41, “μπορεῖ νὰ τὸν πάρουνε καὶ νὰ τὸν κάμουνε φυτῆλι τοῦ λύχνου καὶ νὰ σὲ κάμουνε κουζουλοῦ ἀπὸ ἀγάπη.” The *Gospel of Bartholomew*, of which only a fragmentary version is preserved in an eleventh-century codex (Vienna, ÖNB cod. hist. gr. 67, ed. Bonwetsch 1897 with reconstruction of the missing portions from Slavic versions), tells how Satan produced lust (ἐπιθυμία) in Eve by collecting his sweat in a vial and pouring it out at the source of the four rivers of Paradise such that she would drink it (4.58-59, ed. p. 26.9-16).

³⁴⁶ The identification of target and user by metonymy, alien to Greek onomastic practice and probably introduced to the Greek tradition from the Egyptian one in the Hellenistic period, survives in the magical tradition through Byzantium and into modern Greece (recipes in a fifteenth-century manuscript, Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419, f. 147r, ed. Delatte 1927, 461, chapter 2 cat. 2.3.53; a manuscript of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, Athens, EBE cod. 1265, f. 41v, ed. Delatte 1927, 86, chapter 2 cat. 1.1.17; and a nineteenth-century manuscript in a private collection, the Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας, f. 284r, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 167, chapter 2 cat. 1.1.2). A more particular example is an incantation motif dispatching demonic forces against the target to bring her to the user with such alacrity that anything that she is doing at the moment should be interrupted: if she is eating, let her stop (or, spit it out), if she is drinking, let her stop (or, pour it out), and so on. It appears in a fourth-century papyrus handbook from Thebes (Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574, f. 18r-v (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.1496-1595 at 1510-1519; chapter 2 cat. 5.1.9) and probably even earlier in a fragmentary first-century handbook (PSA Athens inv. 70, *Suppl.Mag.* II 73 ii 1-18; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.12). I know of two late Byzantine versions: one appears in two fifteenth-century manuscripts and invokes demons, one addressed as “Dionysus” (Διόνυσε, cf. the Yale papyrus handbook discussed above, chapter 2 cat. 1.2.4), to inflame the target such that ἐὰν τρώγη, νὰ τὸ ρίξη, ἐὰν πῖη, νὰ τὸ χύση, ἐὰν στέκη εἰς ὁδόν, νὰ τρέχη νὰ ἔρχηται (Bologna, UB cod. 3632, f. 361r and Vienna, ÖNB cod. phil. gr. 108, f. 365v, Delatte 1927, 607; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.44). The other, in the same manuscript collection (ed. Delatte *ibid.*; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.45), invokes Aphrodite or her eponymous planet in a neat tricolon (πρῶτόν σε προσκυνῶ, δεύτερόν σε ἱκετεύω, τρίτον σε παρακαλῶ) with an abbreviated version of the motif; a version of this in turn survived on modern Crete in the early twentieth century, where after a similar invocation to the evening star (ἄστρι πρωτάστρι τ’ ὀρανοῦ, πρῶτα προσκυνῶ σε κ’ ὕστερα παρακαλῶ σε), it is requested to send three wolves upon the target, in this case simply to enter her body and prevent her from eating, drinking, or sleeping (Phrankaki 1947, 7-8; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.55).

³⁴⁷ An incantation written on animal skin, to be deposited so that the target will walk over it, with the usual denial of the ability to eat and drink and (perhaps) also urinate and defecate (κατουρήσ ... χέξης are Delatte’s resolution of two words rendered in cryptography): Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419, f. 144v, Delatte 1927, 456-457 (chapter 2 cat. 1.5.6).

sleep, drink, and food and bring her to the user.³⁴⁸ Celestial bodies are invoked to send demons to torment the target in a recipe similar versions of which appear in two manuscripts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.³⁴⁹ We also see incantations addressing materials that are in turn asked to inflict the erotic curse, as in an exorcistic address to an apple in a nineteenth-century manuscript,³⁵⁰ or to the herb rue in a recipe in a manuscript of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.³⁵¹ The use of analogy extends to the manipulation of effigies, accompanied by incantations, attested from the fifteenth century onward in a form reminiscent of instructions in the ancient papyrus handbooks.³⁵² Elsewhere the effigy has a different purpose, in one case apparently figuring the re-birth of the target as “slave of the *eros*” of the user and displaying her to the demons who are to torment her.³⁵³ In another it is a space for performative speech-acts, drawn on

³⁴⁸ Purchased by John Covel (1638-1722) in Constantinople (Vlavianos-Tomaszyk 2012, 316), now London, BL cod. Harley 5596, ff. 29r-v, ed. Delatte 1927, 422-424 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.48). The present text is to be distinguished from the *Testament of Solomon*, which also occurs in the same manuscript. The relevant portion runs, ... ἐγείρετε τὸν λογισμὸν αὐτῆς πρὸς μέ τὸν δεῖνα, μὴ ἔχη ἐνθύμησιν πατρός ἢ μητρός ἢ ἀδελφοῦ ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτῆς ἢ φίλου ἀρσενικοῦ ἢ θηλυκοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐνθύμησιν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμοῦ τοῦ δεῖνος, καὶ ἵνα ποιήσητε αὐτὴν <νὰ> ἀγαπήση με πάνυ σφόδρα ἀγάπην ἀνεπιλήσιμονα σφόδρα σφόδρα καὶ τοιάνδε ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι μήτε φαγεῖν μήτε πίνειν μήτε κοιμηθῆναι μήτε ἄλλην τινὰ ἄνεσιν ἔχη ἕως οὗ θέλω ἐγὼ ... καὶ ἵνα ἔρχηται καὶ εὐρίσκη με ὅπου ἂν ἐγὼ ὑπάρχω ...

³⁴⁹ Athens, Hist. Soc. cod. 115, f. 14r-v, ed. Delatte 1927, 16-17 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.47); and private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας, ff. 65v-66v, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 67 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.46).

³⁵⁰ Private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας, ff. 489v-490v, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 318-319 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.49). The incantation links the present apple to the one implicated in the temptation of Eve, and first-person speech identifies the user as the devil (ἐγὼ ὁ διάβολος). The apple is then roasted on a spit, with an additional incantation, repeating the wish for the erotic curse by analogy.

³⁵¹ Athens, EBE cod. 1265, ff. 25r-v, ed. Delatte 1927, 62-63 (chapter 2 cat. 1.5.19), defective at the beginning. This lengthy text seems to have been adapted to serve the goal of more general affection from, and perhaps for, users of both sexes, and there is some confusion of pronouns; the erotic curse appears most distinctly at the close, νὰ μὴν ἔχη καμμίαν ἀνάπασιν οὔτε νύκτα οὔτε ἡμέραν οὔτε νὰ φάγη οὔτε νὰ πῖν οὔτε νὰ κοιμηθῇ, μόνον νὰ ἴλιγοθυμᾷ, νὰ καίηται, νὰ τρέμη ἡ καρδία του διὰ ἐμέ τὸν δεῖνα τὸν υἱὸν τῆς δεῖνος (the pronoun του need not necessarily indicate a specifically male target, but could be prompted by the use of the generic ἄνθρωπος earlier in the text).

³⁵² Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419, ff. 145r and 147r (ed. Delatte 1927, 459-461; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.51 and 2.3.53) and f. 273r-v (ed. Delatte 1927, 501; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.52), the latter in a similar version also in a sixteenth-century manuscript in Milan, BNA cod. H 2 inf., f. 235v, according to Delatte 1927, 630 (inc. and des. only); and the nineteenth-century Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας, ff. 310r-311r, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 185 (chapter 2 cat. 1.5.17).

³⁵³ Athens, EBE cod. 1265, f. 43r, ed. Delatte 1927, 87 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.50), late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, ... βαπτίζεται ἡ δούλη τοῦ ἔρωτος ἢ δεῖνα ἡ κόρη τῆς δεῖνος. ...

parchment and labeled with magical logoi, the one over the heart probably the Greek ἔλκω, “I draw,” or perhaps better for the coercive context, “drag.”³⁵⁴

In place of the demonological approach, the user may also make a direct wish for the erotic curse by analogy with an accompanying ritual act or reference to processes in the natural world. These practices proved popular not only in manuscript recipes of the fifteenth through nineteenth centuries,³⁵⁵ but also in popular practice in modern Greece. In a ritual practiced in Rethymnon on Crete in the nineteenth century, a woman would throw unfledged chicks in a fire, with an incantation wishing analogous torment on a male target.³⁵⁶ Another, copied from a manuscript in use in early twentieth-century Cyprus, also appears to be intended for use primarily by women and begins with an invocation of the moon, a complex ritual involving mothers of male and female infants who nurse the children together and switch them back and forth, and the exposure of some of the milk to the stars over night (ἑξάστρισμα), in which the text of a written incantation is ground up and fed to the target.³⁵⁷

Some Byzantine and post-Byzantine innovations

As we have seen in the previous discussion of hagiographical narratives, the Byzantine phase of the tradition went beyond the passive reception of techniques to develop procedures for maximal efficacy in their contemporary contexts. I here highlight some analogous developments borne out by the direct evidence. The piercing of an effigy, accompanied by a request for analogous torment of the target, is attested in the ancient tradition and re-emerges in our surviving sources from late Byzantium. The tradition is not purely derivative, however. This is suggested by an elaboration on the procedure in a recipe in the same sixteenth or seventeenth century manuscript adduced above, Athens EBE cod. 1265. The effigy is to be made of wax, painted up to resemble the target, and

³⁵⁴ Copied from a manuscript in use in the early twentieth century on Cyprus, Belephontes 1978, part 2, 84. The other two writings are αμας and θωρατ, and the possibility that ἔλκω is another such non-Greek *logos* cannot be excluded.

³⁵⁵ Examples can be found in the fifteenth-century manuscript Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419, ff. 40v, 140v, and 159v, ed. Delatte 1927, 447-448 and 466 (chapter 2 cat. 1.5.4, 1.5.7, 1.5.5); the sixteenth-century manuscript Athens, cod. Gennadios 45, ff. 36v-37r and 39v, ed. Delatte 1959, 314-315 and 317 (chapter 2 cat. 1.5.10 and 1.5.3); a manuscript in private possession seen on Cos in the late nineteenth century, ed. Rouse 1899, 169 (‘fol. 15’ of the manuscript; chapter 2 cat. 1.5.13); an eighteenth-century manuscript probably produced in Constantinople, now St. Petersburg, NLR cod. gr. 646, ff. 6r and 27r-28v (chapter 2 cat. 1.3.1 and 2.3.54; on the cod. cf. *CCAG* XII:39, donation of Lobanov Rostovskij, Russian ambassador to the Ottoman Empire); and the nineteenth-century Βερναρδάκειος μαγικός κώδικας, ff. 16r-v, 67r-v, 68r-v, 279r-v, and 490v-491r, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 38, 67-68, 163, and 319 (chapter 2 cat. 1.3.2, 1.5.16, 1.5.15, 8.2, 1.5.11).

³⁵⁶ G.N. Hatzidakis *ap.* Kuhnert 1894, 55 (chapter 2 cat. 1.5.1), ‘ὅπως λαχταρίζουν τὰ πουλιά, νὰ λαχταρίση καὶ ὁ δεῖνα δι’ ἐμένα.’ From Macedonia in the early twentieth century, a similar procedure is attested using fish, inflicted by men upon women: Abbott 1903, 227 (chapter 2 cat. 1.5.12), ‘ὅπως λαχταροῦν αὐτὰ τὰ ψάρια, ἔτσι νὰ λαχταρήση κ’ ἡ νεῖα π’ ἀγαπῶ.’

³⁵⁷ This incantation invokes as analogies the waxing of the moon, the fixity of the stars, and the crying of infants after their mothers’ breasts: Belephontes 1978, part 2, 90-93 (chapter 2 cat. 1.5.2).

pierced through the heart with a nail stolen from a cooper, accompanied by a performative utterance, “I nail the heart and the thoughts and the mind of such-and-such woman ...” which is noteworthy for the lack of any invocations of divinities, demons, or occult powers or use of non-Greek words and signs. It is then followed by what seems to be an original ritual drama, in which the user, having finished his work, now reflects and asks, “What am I to do, poor me, for whom such-and-such a woman is dying?” before whipping the effigy, burying it, and lighting a fire.³⁵⁸

The manipulation of names, of target and user, in erotic magic was practiced in antiquity as attested by Lucian’s description of the Syrian specialist hired by the Athenian courtesans. It is not prominent on its own in the papyrological sources, where the names serve a simpler purpose of identification. In the later Byzantine sources, however, the manipulation of names becomes especially popular in its own right, especially by means of inscription. A fine example comes in an eighteenth-century manuscript of primarily medical content from the monastery of Olympiotissa in Thessaly.³⁵⁹ It calls for the making of special ink out of a collection of herbs, with which the name of the user and the target are to be inscribed on white bread, along with a set of signs (χαρακτῆρες), marks without phonemic or semantic meaning but credited with ritual efficacy, all of which is then washed off the bread and given to the target to drink. A related set of recipes use the writing of the signs by themselves, to be worn in the presence of the target or otherwise fed to her or placed in her presence: the signs seem to be conceived as supernatural entities in their own right, which by proximity or contact carry out the desired effect.³⁶⁰ Fruit in particular, attested in the erotic ritual practice of antiquity from the papyri and the middle Byzantine practice of Seth Skleros, was prescribed in the later period as a vehicle to get this efficacious writing inside the target, as for example in two recipes in manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth or seventeenth centuries.³⁶¹ Related is the analogic manipulation of the name, absent signs, in a ritual for maintaining the chastity of a woman while her husband is away. It appears in two versions in manuscripts of the fifteenth century, recommending that the woman’s name be written on paper, sealed with wax, and deposited near a cooper’s anvil.³⁶²

For healing and apotropaic incantations, we have seen in the first chapter the extensive use in the Greek tradition of what I have termed scripture, that is, text credited with divine inspiration and available in a canonical form. There was no direct evidence of this technique in the ancient period, though the composition of incantations in epic diction

³⁵⁸ Athens, EBE cod. 1265, f. 38r (ed. Delatte 1927, 77 with 652 and the corrections of Kyriakides 1932; chapter 2 cat. 1.5.9), ... καρφώνω τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς καὶ τὸν νοῦν τῆς δεῖνος γυναικός ... καὶ τί νὰ ποιήσω ἐγὼ ὁ ἐλεεινὸς ὀχουμένα, τί νὰ ποιήσω ἐγὼ ὁ ἄθλιος, ὅπου ἡ δεῖνα γυναῖκα ἀποθνήσκει διὰ ἐμέ ...

³⁵⁹ Monastery of Olympiotissa cod. 97, p. 85, ed. Skouvara 1965-1966, 83 (chapter 2 cat. 1.1.16).

³⁶⁰ E.g. Vatican, BAV cod. Vat. gr. 952 (s. XV), f. 164v, ed. *CCAG* V.4:11-120 (chapter 2 cat. 3.1.11); Athens, EBE cod. 1265 (s. XVI-XVII), f. 40r (ed. Delatte 1927, 84; chapter 2 cat. 3.1.1); St. Petersburg, NLR cod. gr. 646 (s. XVIII), f. 12v (ed. *CCAG* XII:40; chapter 2 cat. 3.1.7). On the signs in general see Gordan 2014.

³⁶¹ Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419 (s. XV), f. 147v (ed. Delatte 1927, 465; chapter 2 cat. 3.1.2); Athens, EBE cod. 1265 (s. XVI-XVII), f. 40r (ed. Delatte 1927, 84; chapter 2 cat. 3.1.3)

³⁶² Florence, BNL cod. Plut. 86.14, f. 27v (ed. Delatte 1927, 625 with corr. 654; chapter 2 cat. 7.2) and Cambridge, Trinity College cod. R.15.36, f. 2v (chapter 2 cat. 7.1). The user is also cautioned to remove the paper after the husband returns, or he will be unable to couple with his wife.

and hexameter could be seen to link them to the Homeric corpus of epics and hymns. In the later period the technique comes into its own through the use of one particular set of scriptural texts, the psalms. The absence of any evidence for this use of the psalms in the late ancient period raises the suspicion that it was introduced or at least inspired from outside, most likely from the Jewish magical tradition, though in the absence of a study on medieval Jewish erotic magic this remains speculative.³⁶³ The psalms appear in this role in Greek texts as early as the fifteenth century, in a manuscript of primarily astrological content.³⁶⁴ The user gathers an herb, speaking over it first three psalms and an acclamation, placing three knives in the ground in front of it and an egg and some salt in the hole left by its roots.³⁶⁵ The first of psalms in this miniature litany is especially appropriate to the effect of the erotic curse, *Ps.* 41 (LXX, ὄν τρόπον ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ἔλαφος [As the doe desires ...]).³⁶⁶ Indeed it is also employed in an elaborated form in a recipe of

³⁶³ Bohak 2014, 257-259 identifies some examples of the transliteration of Hebrew psalms and other biblical texts in a demonological treatise attributed to Solomon (again, this is not to be confused with the better-known *Testament of Solomon*), which is transmitted in some of the same manuscripts that contain erotic procedures discussed here, though in what seem to be separate collections (London, BL cod. Harley 5596; Athens, Gennadios Library cod. 45; Athens, Hist. Soc. cod. 115). The strongest evidence for Jewish influence in erotic magic in general would seem to be in Harley 5596, f. 29r-v (Delatte 1927, 422-424; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.48), an exorcistic address to demons in the name of “the god Sabaoth Adonai who is the god of Abraham, the god of Isaac, and the god of Jacob” and who is aretalogized exclusively on the basis of the Old Testament.

³⁶⁴ Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419, f. 199r (ed. Delatte 1927, 467; chapter 2 cat. 4.1). Psalm 120 (LXX, ἦρα τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου εἰς τὰ ὄρη) is included in a ritual in a nineteenth-century manuscript but more as a preliminary to the central incantation setting up the analogy of the burning of a candle: the Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας, f. 67r-v, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 67-68 (chapter 2 cat. 1.5.16); it seems much more appropriate to apotropaic than to aggressive incantations.

³⁶⁵ The psalms are 41 (LXX ὄν τρόπον ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ἔλαφος), 44 (ἐξηρεύξατο ἡ καρδιά μου), and 127 (μακάριοι πάντες οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον); the acclamation is the χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη (from *Luke* 1:28), which here may in fact introduce a hymn: the existence of a Byzantine liturgical troparion with this incipit is suggested by the Porphyrogenitan *De cerimoniis* 1:139 (ἄρχεται δὲ ὁ τῆς καταστάσεως Ἰαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη θεοτόκε παρθένε, ὡς ἀλλοτρες δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τροπάριον οἱ τῆς προελεύσεως ἅπαντες εἰσέρχονται ...), and further support can be found in a roughly contemporary recipe manipulating an herb for a similar goal, this time prescribing only the hymn, introduced by its incipit and the direction “[from there] through to the end” (addendum to chapter 2 cat.: Venice, BNM cod. gr. V 7, f. 118v, εἰς ἔρωτα ... γονατίζων ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς [*sc.* βοτάνου] χαιρετῶν οὕτως Ἰαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη, ὁ κύριος μετὰ σοῦ, ἕως τέλους ...). It seems that the egg is to be given to the target in a drink (so I would interpret τὸ μὲν δροσερὲς τρίψας δὸς πίνειν ἢν ἂν ἐρᾷς, if Delatte’s readings are correct), while the salt is to be reserved for the infliction of enmity (εἰς μῖσος, perhaps between the target and a rival for her affections).

³⁶⁶ The text is faithful to the Septuagint version in the feminine gender of the deer, against the masculine in the Vulgate, *ceruus* (“hart”; despite Jerome’s substitution of *areola praeparata* in his recension *iuxta Heb.*, the standard Hebrew text agrees with the Septuagint on the unguilate [*’ayyal* is usually masculine, but the verb form indicates feminine gender, *ta’arog*]). This in itself argues against a Latin derivation for this text, though other such material is surely present in the manuscript. Accordingly to zoological

the eighteenth century: the opening introduces an analogy for the erotic curse,³⁶⁷ and the writing is then placed so that the target will walk over it, after which the ink is dissolved in rose-oil and scattered in her house.

A look to the West

This final section cannot hope to provide the detailed discussion that the medieval Latin tradition of erotic magic deserves. It is intended primarily as a corrective to approaches that either neglect the applied material or, if they do consider it, regard it as purely a product of the immediate social context of its application, without attention to the formative role of tradition (e.g. Ruggiero 1993).

The overview of Kieckhefer 1991 establishes a background of the concern of ecclesiastical and temporal authorities with suppressing such practices, which extended also to the use of herbal and other naturally occurring substances, and their attraction for the literary imagination.³⁶⁸ We are concerned here only with what Kieckhefer would call “sex-inducing magic” and “love magic.” Between his binaries “natural magic” and “demonic magic” I would argue for the (considerable) use of incantations as a distinct category. It is not necessary to rehearse the numerous testimonia gathered and discussed by Kieckhefer: a few of them will be worth singling out to call attention to the role of incantations, but first I will attempt a confrontation of the applied materials with the ancient tradition.

In this case the applied material comes entirely from manuscripts. The bulk of them are late medieval, from the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries, and concentrated in England, France, Germany, and the Low Countries, though this distribution probably reflects the biases of modern publication of material, not the restriction of the circulation of texts. Some manuscripts, such as the fifteenth-century Munich codex to which Kieckhefer dedicated a later study (1998: BSB clm 849), are entirely devoted to erotic and

lore reflected in the *Kyranides*, the doe can only be mounted by the hart when she is overcome with thirst and stops to drink a spring (2.11, ed. Kaimakes 1976, 134 [codd. AGHFRIODNWKS]).

³⁶⁷ ‘ὄν τρόπον ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ἔλαφος ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων, οὕτως νὰ ποθῆ καὶ νὰ τρέξῃ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ ἡ καρδιά τῆς δεῖνος τῆς κόρης τῆς δεῖνος εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην, εἰς τὸν πόθον τοῦ δεῖνος τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ δεῖνος.’ Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 696, f. 2v (ed. Delatte 1927, 548; chapter 2 cat. 1.3.3), cf. CCAG VIII.4:81-88, cod. 113. The manuscript, a collection of texts on astrology and other divination and popular medicine, was probably produced or at least owned in Russia (on the evidence of accounts added in blank space at the beginning and end: perhaps fees received by the owner as practitioner of the methods described therein).

³⁶⁸ Kieckhefer is right to point out that ‘applied’ texts may not actually have been intended for application, but in some cases for “self-parody” or purely theoretical or encyclopedic purposes; the accounts of trials and penitentials are not without their own distortions, and Kieckhefer is perhaps too ready to take them at face value as innocent of rhetorical agenda. His references at 38 with nn57 and 60 to P.V. Taberner, *Aphrodisiacs: The Science and the Myth* (Philadelphia 1985), 50-54, have little evidentiary value as that author does not even identify the provenance or original language of the three ritual prescriptions that he describes, let alone provide citations or text. A treatment of medieval and modern German practices, with select comparanda from ancient Greek and Latin and medieval Latin sources can be found in Ohrt 1933, for incantations, and Kummer 1933, on physical means (e.g. potions, direction of the gaze).

related aggressive magic, and the harnessing of demonic forces more broadly. As is the situation in the Greek material, shorter procedures also circulate independently and are added to manuscript collections of more diverse material. Good examples are London, Wellcome Library cod. 517, of the late fifteenth century, which contains in Dutch and Latin a miscellany of astrological and demonological material along with texts on metallurgy and agriculture and a collection of prayers for personal protection, in addition to the erotic material of interest here;³⁶⁹ or Munich, BSB clm 7021, a miscellany in Latin and German beginning with an *ars dictatoria* and selections of theological texts, then proceeding to a large and varied collection of medical treatises and recipes interspersed with erotic and other aggressive magic.³⁷⁰

The material can be conveniently divided into categories much resembling the Greek texts. Aside from techniques that rely wholly on the powers of plant and animal substances, or the powers credited to non-phonetic signs or non-Latin words,³⁷¹ the first category of interest here is the graphic manipulation of names. The fourteenth-century Munich manuscript just mentioned (BSB clm 7021) offers a fine illustration: the text is unfortunately damaged, but the procedure involves sweat from the user produced and wiped off at the baths, mixed with flour from a mill and made into a eucharist(-like) wafer (*oblata*), on which are written the names of user and target and the letters of the two names intertwined (*textim*), along with some magical words, before the object is ground up and fed to the target.³⁷² Second is ritual activation of fruit by incantation, which is then

³⁶⁹ On the contents see the catalogue entry of Moorat 1962.

³⁷⁰ The *ars dictatoria* material comes at ff. 2r-103r, the theological texts, and further epistolary formulae and copies of letters, at ff. 105r-122v; the medical miscellany follows through the end of the codex, with some later additions in German including a chronicle at ff. 197-224v. A selection of the German magical material is edited in Schönbach 1900, 131ff.

³⁷¹ E.g., magical words written on a staff and touched to bare skin of target (Cambridge, Trinity College cod. O.1.58, f. 136r; chapter 2 cat. 5.2.10) or her head (Oxford, Bodleian cod. Wood empt. 18, f. 33v; chapter 2 cat. 5.2.7); magical signs written on the hand of user, with which the target is touched (Cambridge, Trinity College cod. O.1.58, f. 137v; 3.1.21); magical signs written with the blood of the user and touched or shown to the target (Oxford, Bodleian cod. Wood empt. 18, f. 31v; chapter 2 cat. 3.1.20); magical words simply written on parchment (London, Wellcome Library cod. 517, f. 70v; chapter 2 cat. 5.2.9).

³⁷² Munich, BSB clm 7021 (s. XIV), f. 190r (chapter 2 cat. 1.1.23), ... scribas nomen tuum postea nomen illius quam amas, iterum nomen tuum secunda uice nomen mulieris per ordinem in circuitu oblatae et [nomen tuum] et nomen illius textim ita quod unam accipias litteram nominis tui et [unam illius] perficiens sic textim ... The writer claims to have tested and proven its efficacy himself (hoc experimentum experientia approbatum didici improbabiler esse uerum). For the use of sweat cf. the popular caution about discarding clothing in twentieth-century Crete adduced above. A similar procedure is recommended in the fifteenth-century London, Wellcome Library cod. 517, f. 82v (chapter 2 cat. 1.1.24), where the intertwining of the names (sic facias nomina ut fiat quasi unum nomen) is done on *charta* in the user's blood, buried at a crossroads, recovered a week later, and covered with a mirror, into which the target is made to look; it is said to have been proven in Toledo. A manipulation of the name of the target in the sense that it is surrounded by magical words written on parchment can be found in a manuscript of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, London, BL cod. Add 18752, f. 72v (chapter 2 cat. 1.1.25); similarly in a fifteenth-century manuscript produced in England, where the

given to the target, a technique for which we have seen a long history in the Greek tradition. In a fifteenth-century manuscript the user is directed to go into a garden, take an apple without letting it touch the ground, and write on it an incantation apparently addressing the apple as the biblical Adam, “Adam, may you overwhelm [her], by the grace of God, amen.”³⁷³ The fifteenth-century Wellcome Library cod. 517 provides a fitting transition to the next type, for it combines the inscription of magical words on the fruit with a lengthier utterance in the tradition of incantations addressing the operative material, here a conjuration to inflict a form of the erotic curse (whose appearance in the Latin tradition will be examined further below).³⁷⁴ The extended address to herbs as they are gathered for use in erotic magic, again to inflict the erotic curse, is applied in two cases in the same manuscript.³⁷⁵

It would be conceivable to dismiss each of the preceding cases of strong resemblance to traditional practices as cases of individual creativity, as Kieckhefer 1991 generally seems inclined to do. Rather harder to dismiss, however, is the extensive diffusion in medieval Latin of instructions for procedures to inflict the erotic curse, of which we have previously encountered the long-term development in the Greek tradition, defined as the infliction of burning discomfort on the target accompanied by the denial of the ability to eat, drink, and sleep until the aim of the user is achieved. In the Latin material it is pursued through incantations combining performatives, invocations of demonic and angelic entities, and the analogous manipulation of effigies.

The earliest example comes in a recipe added in the late ninth or early tenth century to a manuscript produced in Wales. The recipe first prescribes the reading of a psalm, then a lengthy incantation expressing the wish that *amor* for the target, which

substrate is an oblate inscribed with the user’s blood, which is subsequently given to the target to eat (San Marino, Huntington Library HU 1051, f. 85v; chapter 2 cat. 5.2.12). A form of the practice perhaps survived in early modern Germany: a woman would write her name and that of the target on virgin parchment and bind it with virgin wax, then hang it over her heart (reported without further details in Grimm 1878, 462 no. 809).³⁷³ Cambridge, Trinity College cod. O.1.58, f. 137v (chapter 2 cat. 5.1.14), ‘Adam obruas gratia dei amen.’ A similar procedure with magical words only appears in the same manuscript at f. 138r (chapter 2 cat. 5.2.8). In a manuscript composed in 1762, “un recueil de formules et de recettes superstitieuses” from Switzerland, a recipe recommends a fairly complex ritual involving an apple picked on Friday morning before sunrise (Isabel 1914, 34). The user takes two pieces of paper, writes on one the name of the user and target, and on the other, a magical word (*schva*), both in the user’s blood; the pieces of paper are bound together with three hairs from the user and three from the target and placed inside the apple in place of the seeds along with two pieces of myrtle-wood; the reconstituted apple is then roasted in an oven, wrapped in leaves of laurel or myrtle, and placed under the bed of the target.

³⁷⁴ London, Wellcome Library cod. 517, f. 224r (chapter 2 cat. 5.1.15): the magical words are in this case epithets of the devil, ‘belzebuc lucifer sathanas,’ and conjuration runs ‘coniuro te pomam per haec tria nomina quae in te scripta sunt ut omnes creaturae quae de te gustauerint inextinguibili amore me diligant donec uoluntatem meam adimpleuerim.’

³⁷⁵ London, Wellcome Library cod. 517, ff. 109r-110r (chapter 2 cat. 5.1.16), ... ut pote quem uoluerio possim facere quod ardeat in amore meo ...; *ibid.* ff. 122v-123v (5.1.17), ... ut qualiscumque creatura inde tacta fuerit per me de te statim in meo amore ardeat et me diligat toto corde tota mente ... festinando ad cor meum et ad mansionem meam quaecumque creatura per me de te tacta fuerit ...

based on the following developments appears to carry the same connotations of violent passion as the Greek ἔρωϛ and may indeed be a translation thereof, descend upon a female target and that all the limbs of her body, which are enumerated at great length, be tormented thereby.³⁷⁶ Peter Dronke (1988) rightly suggested an interpretation as erotic magic instead of a *lorica*, with which the text has little to do.³⁷⁷ The argument can be taken a step further: the closing adjuration of a long list of Christian divinities and also natural forces and entities should refer to the “emptying out” of the heart of the target in the sense of removal of thought of anyone besides the user and her erotic passion for him (*ut euacuatis cor illius pro amore meo*), as can be observed in Greek formulae of this kind among the ancient papyri discussed above; this sense fits the verb *euacuo* better than Dronke’s reading “take away.”

A similar technique, but applied by a woman on a man who is already her husband, is attested in a formulary recipe in a twelfth-century manuscript. The primary concern is reconciliation, but the long incantation, adducing biblical examples of marital harmony, closes with a conjuration that seeks out the violent compulsion of the erotic curse, calling upon the invoked spirits to “batter and inflame the heart and mind of so-and-so” with love for the user.³⁷⁸ A formulary recipe in the same tradition was later put into use for the manufacture of a parchment object of the fourteenth century personalized for an Elizabeth and her husband Theoderic, again seeking in part simple marital reconciliation and proceeding through prayer, but also tapping into an ancient tradition of erotic magic.³⁷⁹ Speaking in the person of Elizabeth, the text includes a direct address to and adjuration of the target, the husband, to “do all my will.” Here in fact the wish is phrased as an analogy introduced by the figure of the desirous deer from Psalm 41, whose role in the Greek tradition we have already seen (*ut sicuti ceruus desiderat uenire ad fontes aquarum ita tu Theoderice desideras uenire ad me Elizabeth ad faciendam omnem meam uoluntatem*). Something less innocent than simple reconciliation is suggested when Elizabeth asks that Theoderic “lust for” her and “be all aflame in love for her” (*concupiscat et in meo amore totus ardeat*).

The tradition continues with more elaborate recipes for incantations invoking demons to carry out the erotic curse, a particularly large concentration of which appear in the fifteenth-century demonological handbook published by Kieckhefer (Munich, BSB

³⁷⁶ Leiden, UB cod. VLQ 2, f. 60r, ed. Herren 1987, 90-93, re-edited here from facsimile (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.41). The psalm, of which only the incipit *domine exaudi* is given, could be either *Ps.* 129 or 142; the former is perhaps more appropriate to the context (esp. 129:3 cum terribilis sis). Among signs of direct translation from Greek is the specification of one of the members of the target’s body as *sublingua* (Greek ὑπογλωσσίς, the muscular root of the tongue). Herren sees the reverse, as a composer drawing intentionally on Latin-Greek glossaries and other lexical sources (1987, 39-41).

³⁷⁷ Contra Herren 1987, cf. Kieckhefer 1991, 42, who claims that it “mimics the litany forms of Celtic loricae”; more likely the two share a common ancestor, namely the exorcism.

³⁷⁸ Zurich, SB cod. C 58/275, ff. 92r-94r, ed. Wackernagel 1876, 287-288 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.42), ... ut feriatis et incendatis cor et mentem N in amorem meum.

³⁷⁹ Kazimierz, Biblioteki Jagiellonskiej cod. 655 frag., ed. Zathey 1984-1985 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.43), later bound in a paper codex of s. XV, a digest of *auctoritates* from Aristotle; Zathey suggests the Elizabeth of the artifact is the daughter (d. 1361) of King Casimir the Great of Poland. Cf. Kieckhefer 1991, 42, who elides the aspect of compulsion and pays no attention to its relation to traditional sources or the Zurich formulary.

clm 849), and others in the Wellcome Library miscellany (cod. 517).³⁸⁰ These incantations can also be accompanied by analogous ritual actions: in the latter manuscript, for example, an incantation, accompanied by the wearing of a knotted belt (*zona*) recalling the ritual prescribed by Vigrinos in the Byzantine hagiographical text, requests that demonic powers inflict the erotic curse on the target and also cause her to dream in graphic detail of sexual congress with the user.³⁸¹ A sub-set of these include the ritual manipulation of objects or effigies, in which performative speech plays an important role.³⁸² In a recipe in the Wellcome Library manuscript, for use on either a man or a woman, an image of the target is to be drawn on a tile, accompanied by an incantation addressing the tile, announcing the name of the user and the formation of the effigy; the tile is placed in a fire, and the conjured spirits are invoked to inflict a similar effect on the target, including the denial of sleep, eating, and drinking.³⁸³ In the Munich manuscript, there is a similar performative accompanying the making of a wax effigy, which is then pierced with pins, with a wish for analogous torment at each prick, followed by a ritual dialogue within which the effigy is baptized, and concluding with an adjuration of the target herself in all the limbs of her body.³⁸⁴ An effigy similarly formed and activated can also be inscribed on its limbs with the names of demonic powers, providing an analogy for how those powers are to abide in and torment the limbs.³⁸⁵ The motif of the bathing of the target by demonic powers as an analogue, which we encountered in the Greek tradition, may have a reflex here too. A fourteenth-century miscellany includes a recipe that recommends placing ant eggs in the target's bath, with an accompanying prescription for written text (probably to be dissolved in the bath-water along with the eggs) that can

³⁸⁰ A mutilated recipe of this type, defective at the beginning, appears in Cambridge, Trinity College cod. O.1.58, f. 140r-v (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.57).

³⁸¹ London, Wellcome Library cod. 517, f. 231v (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.60), recipe *zonam tuam et fac nodum in zona ... eatis ad N et faciatis ea(m) ardere concupiscere in amore meo et somniando ista praesenti nocte [[noct]] polluat in amore meo naturali ad emissionem sui seminis ei uideatur quod continue super eam coeam faciendo opus naturale ...*

³⁸² Compare also the writing of the names of user and target on bone, which is placed in a furnace: Munich, BSB clm 849, ff. 65r-67v, ed. Kieckhefer 1998, 293-295 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.58), and similarly ff. 32r-33r, ed. Kieckhefer 1998, 229-231 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.59).

³⁸³ London, Wellcome Library cod. 517, paper page inserted post f. 204, backwards in current disposition (chapter 2 cat. 2.4.14), ... *ego N formo et facio tibi imaginem in forma et similitudine istius personae N, istius mulieris. ... eum uel eam in amore meo inflammetis ut istud opus imaginis quod factum est ad formam et similitudinem N ut sicut ista imago inflammetur in igne isto, sic ardeatur ac inflammetur corpus eius N taliter ut nullo modo durare neque quiescere dormiendo uigilando stando sedendo bibendo comedendo iacendo sic quod ad me cogitet quousque ad me ueniat et totaliter uoluntatem meam adimpleuerit.*

³⁸⁴ Munich, BSB clm 849, ff. 29v-31v, ed. Kieckhefer 1998, 226-228 (chapter 2 cat. 2.4.16).

³⁸⁵ Munich, BSB clm 849, ff. 8r-11v, ed. Kieckhefer 1998, 199-203 (chapter 2 cat. 2.4.15). Translation from Greek could be suggested by the use of the apparently medio-passive construction of *exerceo* with an accusative complement (per miras ualentias quas ineffabiliter exercemini), though it is said that the method dates back to King Solomon, through which he “got whatever woman he wanted” (*habebat quascumque mulieres uolebat*).

plausibly be read as a wish that the divine entity Misael “bathe” the target, who is addressed in the second person.³⁸⁶

Also true to this tradition, however playfully deployed, is Anselm of Besate’s description of his friend and correspondent Rotiland as a *maleficus*, who conducts an erotic ritual targeting girls (*puellae*) using analogy and incantation, in the eleventh century (*Rhetorimachia* 2, ed. Dümmler 1872, 38). The imagined *maleficus* takes a boy to a deserted field at night, buries him up to his waist in the ground, surrounds him with a pile of rocks, and discomforts him with smoke, while repeating an incantation calling down (directly) an analogous torment on the female targets, *ut est fixus adolescentulus in loco isto, sic puellae in amore meo; ut est praecinctus muro et fossa, sic et illae dilectione mea; et ut oculi consumuntur fumo, ita puellulae abscessu meo*, saying also what Anselm calls *hebraica uel potius diabolica*, though they are rendered only as *characteres* in the manuscripts (some with the forms of Greek letters, including ζ, θ, ε, ξ). Anselm claims that the written instructions for this ritual, including the incantation, are kept in the man’s *scrinium*, in a wooden chest (*pixis lignea*) along with much else (*et alia ... nimia*) of a similar kind.

The influence of the Greek tradition should not be pressed too far. The earliest substantial collection of late Byzantine material, Paris BnF cod. 2419, is contemporary with the extensive collection in the Munich manuscript, and it is not inconceivable that influence could have run in the other direction in this phase of development.³⁸⁷ On both Greek and Latin sides, too, we must reckon with the high likelihood that preservation of

³⁸⁶ London, BL cod. Sloane 371, ed. Wardale 1952, 11 (chapter 2 cat. 2.2.25). The written text is “nonsense words” according to Kieckhefer 1991, 32 with n15, but an easy emendation of the first editor’s *lamet* yields *amet lauet te Misael*, “Let Misael love (and) bathe you.” This Misael is probably an angel (invoked already in the late ancient magical papyri, see the text edited in Zellmann-Rohrer 2015a, 180-182 with commentary; probably also invoked in a protective invocation for a horse in the *Hippiatrica Lugdunensia* 105), rather than the companion of Daniel saved from the fiery furnace (though Μισαηλ is the standard transliteration of the latter’s name too when his pre-Assyrian name is given, and even occurs as a personal name in monastic contexts, e.g. the text edited in Oikonomides 1968, 179-180).

³⁸⁷ The origin of the erotic material in the earliest of these, Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419, is complex, and some of it, especially the recipe prescribing Psalm 41, is very unlikely to have had a Latin derivation. This manuscript contains a Greek version of the Latin alchemical treatise *Semita recta* attributed to “Peter the German” (f. 279r, ἀρχὴ τῆς εὐθείας ὁδοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου διδασκάλου κύρου Πέτρου Θεοκτονίκου [*Petri Teutonicī*], but cf. the *desinit ἕως ὧδε ἐτελειώθη ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ καθαρὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἀμπέρτου τοῦ Θεοκτονίκου* [*Alberti Teutonicī*] ...). On a procedure in this manuscript attributed to Apollonios of Tyana to find treasure by astrological magic and invocations of angels, likely of Hebrew derivation (prescribing the writing of words in Hebrew letters as an amulet), see Preisendanz 1922. On the contents see further *CCAG* VIII.1:20-63. The manuscript was once in southern Italy (according to a notice on f. 340v it was acquired by the Italian cardinal Niccolo Ridolfo [1501-1550] from “a Greek” when the former was in Valnearia [ἐκόμισέ τις Ἑλληνα ἐν Βαλνεαρία διατρίβοντι τῷ δεσπότη], likely the Valnearia attested near Salerno in a charter of 1093, ed. De Blasi 1785 appendix no. 60), but was not necessarily produced there: another manuscript written by the same scribe, Georgios Mídiates (*RGK* II 87), has historical notes added that show familiarity with Byzantine combat with the Ottomans in Asia, mainland Greece, and the Balkans, and the succession of Byzantine emperors and Ottoman sultans (Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2180, f. 109v).

some ancient material is owed to the intermediation of Arabic or Hebrew translations of those sources. The easiest to trace as a source for the erotic ritual practice in the West is the *Picatrix*, the Latin translation of an Arabic treatise of the eleventh century. The Latin version, of which the earliest manuscript is from the fifteenth century, proceeded at an uncertain date from a Castilian translation made in 1256 (Pingree 1980). The Arabic original appears to have made significant use of Greek sources. *Picatrix* itself is likely a corruption of the Arabic *Buqratis*, which stands in the Arabic version for the name of the author of the source of that version, and is to be identified with the Greek Harpokration, a natural philosopher active in the fourth century and responsible for the editing of the *Kyranides*, a treatise on amuletic powers of stones and other natural substances corresponding to planetary influences (Kahane et al. 1966). The Arabic author also refers to authorities including Hermes Trismegistus and Apollonius of Tyana, to both of whom were attributed texts on similar subjects in the Greek tradition. The *Picatrix* contains recipes for erotic magic that include incantations invoking the erotic curse, which seem to derive ultimately from Graeco-Egyptian sources,³⁸⁸ and may have influenced in turn both Greek and Latin texts in the late medieval period.

The *Picatrix* offers three procedures for erotic magic of significant detail, all of which involve elaborate conjurations of demonic powers. The first, entitled *ad amorem*

³⁸⁸ A corollary can perhaps be seen in the debt of modern Arabic erotic magic in Egypt to ancient Greek and Egyptian practices, perhaps through Jewish intermediaries. In a collection compiled in the mid twentieth century by a correspondent of Littmann (1957), of practices employed with the help of a female specialist by women of Cairo (*Shabshaba*), published in part with German translation by Littmann, we see phraseological borrowings such as identification by metonym and concluding commands of invoked divinities to act “quickly, quickly” (Greek ἤδη ἤδη, ταχὺ ταχὺ). Broader thematic reminiscences are motifs such as the following: the specialist takes some fabric from the clothing of the target, wraps it around a nail, and throws the whole into a fire, then addresses it with an incantation, saying essentially, “O nail, I have not put you into the fire, but into the heart of N son of N, for the love of N daughter of N” and asks that he be denied sleep until the fish in the sea and the worms in the grave fall asleep, in the name of Salomon, son of David (ibid. 84); the specialist claims to open the “seven gates of the incense” one by one, each time throwing incense into a fire, followed by ritual dialogue of the specialist speaking in the person of the client with a “daughter of the sultan of the ghosts,” who prescribes various means of remedying the fact that her man is diverted by other women, all of which the speaker says are useless; the sultan’s daughter promises to send powerful demons, who will inflame the target and deny him sleep, until he cries out “O this fire, o this fire of my love for you, N daughter of N, o this fire” (ibid. 85-87); an incantation dispatches demons to bring the target to the client, “quickly, quickly” and in a debased state, wretcheder than a dog and lowlier than a shoe (ibid. 87); the specialist throws spices into the fire with a narrative incantation in which it is said that the target “descended into the sea of distress and ascended with torn clothes,” and was then encountered by three spirits, Harut, Marut, and Yaqut, who ask him where he is going in such distress; he replies that the client “has burned me with pepper and coriander, and through her incantation has aroused me and left me burning with love for her” (ibid. 88). Within the medieval Jewish tradition itself, there is a reflex of the motif of torment by denial of the ability to eat, drink, and sleep in a curse against a personal enemy, to drive him out of a property whose ownership he contests with the user, in the Cairo Genizah, TS K1.42.40-42 (ed. and tr. Schiffmann and Swartz 1992, 83-92).

mulierum acquirendum (3.10.8), involves analogous operation upon a wax image of the female target: a liquid confection is poured into the mouth of the image, which is also pricked with silver pin (*acus*) through the chest; the image is then wrapped in cloth and string, the string tied with seven knots, and the assemblage sealed in a jar and buried in the home of the user. An incantation accompanies the burning of incense and declares the intended effect (*moueo spiritum talis mulieris N ...*) The instructions promise results in the form of the erotic curse, that the target will not be able to rest or sleep or do anything else (*nec quietare poterit nec dormire nec aliquid facere*) until, by the power of the buried image, she is drawn (*deducetur*) to the user's home. The second (3.10.9) involves ingestion of a magically efficacious substance: another liquid confection including the blood of the user, which is to be fed to the target; an accompanying incantation, offered with the burning of incense, announces that the practitioner moves the spirit and will of the target "with a movement of disquiet in waking, sleeping, going, standing, and sitting" and that she should not have any rest until she obeys (*moueo spiritus et uoluntatem talis mulieris N ... motu inquietudinis tam in uigilando dormiendo quam eundo stando et sedendo. nec ullam quietudinem habeat quo usque obediat*). In a *suffumigatio ad amorem* (3.10.10), finally, smoke from the heating of a confection in seven thuribles, activated by an incantation, is dispatched to the target to "deny her any sleep or rest or that she have rest in sleeping, waking, sitting, or any other act" until she comes and obeys (*quod non habeat requiem in dormiendo uigilando nec in sedendo nec in quocumque alio actu*).

The tradition indeed extends beyond the Middle Ages, though that development is beyond the scope of the present study. An example worth a brief note comes in a manuscript of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, of primarily medical content in German, but including a Latin recipe directing the user to urinate on the herb rue in the name of the target, then place it in hot ash and pronounce an incantation setting up an analogy: as the rue burns, so should three conjured spirits "burn the mind of so-and-so" so that she "may find no rest until she does my will."³⁸⁹

I close this section with a look at a selection of testimonia for erotic magic in the medieval and early modern West, where incantations seem to play a role. A fuller treatment of such sources in general can be found in Kieckhefer 1991. As a general rule, none of them describe the incantations in detail, with one important exception that will be covered below, but in aggregate they suggest that incantations played a not negligible role in medieval practice. A Latin chronicle describes how a nun at Pfalzel in the eleventh century made a pair of silk boots for the bishop Poppo of Trier, which produced erotic desire for her in him, and whose effect was to instill an "incredible frenzy" (*furore incredibili*) in all who put them on. Incantations are not specified in the nun's practice, but when the boots are tested on a high official of the city, he suspects that he has been "enchanted" (*incantatum*).³⁹⁰ The French cleric Peter of Blois makes reference to the contemporary practice of women using effigies of earth or mud, analogically burned or mutilated, in erotic and other aggressive magic; the use of incantations is again not specified, but it is suggested by the accompanying quotation of a line from Vergil which

³⁸⁹ Nuremberg, Germanische Museum cod. fol. 3015a, primarily German, medical content, s. XVI-XVII, f. 283r, ed. Bartsch 1855, 328 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.56), ... sicut ista ruta uritur in hoc cinere, ita mentem N urifaciat in amore meo, ita ut requiem nullam habeat donec meam uoluntatem perfecerit. A German gloss (*in heiÙe aschen*) is supplied for the Latin *in calidos cineres*.

³⁹⁰ *Gesta Trevirorum* 50 (ed. Wytttenbach and Müller 1836, 1:129-130); cf. Kieckhefer 1991, 31.

gives an excerpt from an incantation used in just such a ritual.³⁹¹ Jean-Baptiste Thiers, curé of the commune of Vibraye in the seventeenth century, also presents some valuable evidence in his collection of practices deemed superstitious. In a handful of cases we seem to get transcription and translation of incantations out of medieval or contemporary manuscripts, when not deliberately curtailed by Thiers' excerption.³⁹² Specifically, Thiers describes methods of disturbing the sleep of the target ("donner la male-nuit") that strongly resemble the erotic curse. An address to a burning stick of wood calls for the analogous torment of the target in body and mind, and the denial of eating, drinking, and sleep,³⁹³ and a similar effect is sought by invocation of a celestial body.³⁹⁴

Court records from Renaissance Florence attest the application of the traditional

³⁹¹ *Epist.* 65, PL 207:192, suggestione siquidem diaboli quaedam mulieres cereas siue luteas formant imagines, ut sic hostes uel amasios torqueant et incendant, iuxta illud Virgilianum: Limus ut hic durescit, et haec ut cera liquescit [*Ecl.* 8.80], et cetera. Cf. Hansen 1900, 129.

³⁹² *Traité des superstitions qui regardent les sacremens*, 2nd ed., 4 vols. (Paris, 1697); reprinted in Goulemot 1984. The presentation intentionally transcends chronological boundaries: four Greek incantations, for example, in *Traité* 2.6, 1:417 (repr. Goulemot, 153), are drawn directly from classical and Byzantine sources no doubt through early modern printed editions (without mention of source): "φεύγετε κανταρίδες [sic], λύκος ἄγριος ὑμμε διώκει" from Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 27.100; "τρὶς δ' ἄρ' ἀπ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων κτύπε μητίετα Ζεὺς [sic]" and "χαλκέω δ' ἐν κεράμω δέδετο τρισκαίδεκα μῆνας" from the *Geoponika*, 7.31.2 and 10.87.6; "τετρήχει δ' ἀγορή, ὑπὸ δὲ στοναχίζετο γαῖα" from Alexander of Tralles (*Therapeutica* 12, ed. Puschmann 1879, 2:581).

³⁹³ "Fagot je te brûle, c'est le coeur, le corps, l'âme, le sang, l'entendement, le mouvement, l'esprit de N. qu'il ne puisse demeurer en repos jusqu'à la moelle de ses os, par la terre, par le ciel, par l'arc-en-ciel, par les douze lignes, par Mars, Mercure, etc., au nom de tous les diables va fagot, va procéder et brûler le corps, l'âme, le sang, le mouvement, l'esprit et l'entendement de N. qu'il ne puisse rester en place, ni parler à personne, ni reposer, ni monter à cheval, ni rivière passer, ni boire, ni manger, jusqu'à ce qu'il soit venu accomplir mon désir et ma volonté, quanto guio garoco." Thiers, *Traité* 2.4, 1:156 (repr. Goulemot, 89-90). The burning, and accompanying address, of an object as analogue for the target also appears in a simpler form further on at *Traité* 2.4, 1:157 (repr. Goulemot, 90), confined to a list of the constituents of the target to be affected: "Les autres achètent un fagot sans parler à personne, etc. ou neuf, onze, treize, ou quinze chandelles blanches, etc. puis ils disent 'Ce n'est pas pour vous que je brûle, c'est le sentiment, le mouvement, les bras, les jambes, etc. de N. etc.'"

³⁹⁴ "Les autres se mettent à genoux devant une étoile, et cherchent celle de N. qu'il faut saluer, la regardant fixement, et disent 'Je te salue mille fois ô étoile plus resplendissante que la Lune. Je te conjure d'aller trouver Beelzebuth ... et lui dire qu'il m'envoie trois esprits, Alpha, Rello, Jalderichel, et le Bossu du Mont Gibel ... afin qu'ils aillent trouver N. fille de N. et que pour l'amour de moi ils lui ôtent le jeu, et le ris de bouche, et fassent qu'elle ne puisse ni aller, ni reposer, ni manger, ni boire, jusqu'à ce qu'elle soit venue accomplir la volonté de moi N. fils de N.' etc." Thiers, *Traité* 2.4, 1:157 (repr. Goulemot, 90) [ellipses in original]. Cf. also "Les autres se tournent du côté d'Orient, et sur les quatre heures et demie du soir regardent l'étoile la plus claire qu'ils rencontrent ... et lui disent par ... x fois ... 'Je te salue étoile lumineuse, que tu ailles bailler la male-nuit à N. selon mon intention ... va petite, va petite, va petite.'" Thiers, *Traité* 2.4, 1:157 (repr. Goulemot, 90) [ellipses in original].

technique of the exploitation of scripture in erotic magic.³⁹⁵ In fact the text selected is the Latin Vulgate version of Psalm 44, one of the three psalms prescribed in a fifteenth-century Greek recipe discussed above, to which the Florentine practice may well be related.³⁹⁶ The records indicate that charges were brought against a certain Jacopo di Francesco from S. Miniato del Tedesco, that he used a handbook to carry out erotic magic on a woman, writing a psalm on parchment with plant-juices and burying it so that she would walk over it. These modes of writing and deposition, it will be recalled, are also represented in the Greek tradition, and the extensive contact between Florence and Byzantium are well known.

I end with Venice, where again there is a long history of cultural contact with Byzantium. Ruggiero has provided a rich and ingenious analysis of the social meaning of erotic ritual procedures documented in court records from this city in the sixteenth century in their contemporary context (1993), but without attention to their relation to broader

³⁹⁵ In the Latin tradition compare the use of a psalm to introduce the erotic incantation in the Leiden manuscript discussed above. The use of Vergil *Ecl.* 10.69 in erotic magic in medieval practice is suggested by a recipe for a procedure involving a ring in a recipe in an early modern chapbook probably compiled from much earlier material. The earliest version I have been able to find so far, from which the text here is cited, is *The High German Fortune-Teller, laying down true rules & directions by which both men and women may know their good and bad fortune; to which is added the whole art of Palmestry, written by the high German artist*, in decimo, London [1750?], in the British Library, shelfmark 1079.i.13.(24.) [English Short Title Catalogue T36196], page 19, “To make a Ring that will draw Love Affections. Take a hollow Gold Ring, and put into it a Snake’s Skin which has been ipped [*sic*] off going through a Hedge, after you have dipped it in the Juice of Nightshade and Fern Roots, you may draw it thro’ as you do a Hair, and when you have done, say, – Omnia uincit Amor. – And then secretly slide it on your Mistress’s Finger, and you’ll find a strange Alteration in her; it works also in Friendship.” This is followed by a testimonium of sorts on the efficacy of the procedure, which shows its astounding success in the case, apparently, of its use by a woman on Charlemagne: “By this Means Charles the Great, Emperor of Germany, followed a Woman of mean Condition up and down to all Places where she went; and being dead he would not be removed from her Grave till the Ring was removed, and then he was of another Mind.” Clear evidence of the use of ancient sources is provided by the procedure on p. 22, for influencing a third party by analogic manipulation of inscribed objects (pertinent examples are discussed in the third chapter): “To find out a thief [*sic*]. Put down the Minute when the Goods were stolen, and the Planet ruling the Day. So this done, put down the following Characters on a fair Piece of Parchment [*signs*]. So turn round thrice, and if You hear no news of the thief in 24 hours, as Ten to one You will, prick the Parchment full of holes, and hang it up the Chimney, where the Heat of the Fire may a little scorch it, and the thief will be so restless, that he will bring back the Goods.” I hope to revisit this important text at greater length elsewhere.

³⁹⁶ Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Atti del Esecutore degli Ordinamenti della Giustizia 1521, f. 18v: dictus Iacobus ... scripsit sua propria manu in quadam carta pecudina quodam salmum qui incipit ‘eructauit cor meum,’ cum suco certarum cribarum armonachi et cassia fistule, animo et intentione ponendi seu poni faciendi in certo loco unde dicta domina transire debebat ut super ipso salmo transiret et sic dictam dominam pudicam ad impudicitiam ... perduceret, secundum doctrinam dictorum librorum, cited in Bruckner 1963, 10-11; cf. Kieckhefer 1991, 42 with n74. The Byzantine recipe is found in Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419, f. 199r, ed. Delatte 1927, 467 (chapter 2 cat. 4.1).

traditions. I select a few instances where comparison with the Greek tradition in particular might enrich the picture. In 1588 a Venetian woman attempted to feed her lover a eucharistic host to make him return to her, an object prepared for her by a priest, inscribed with the Latin *hoc est corpus meum* (“This is my body”). As Ruggiero rightly points out, this is part of the well-known formula for consecration of the eucharist (1993, 90-94), but there may also be a point of contact with the tradition, observed in both Greek and Latin sources, of the use of scripture in erotic magic, which is after all the status of this phrase even before its co-option for the liturgy. Erotic magic seems to have been pursued by a written, autograph pact with the devil by a young man, Andrea Meri, in 1590.³⁹⁷ Meri soon repented and placed the text in a latrine, but it was recovered in one of the city’s canals and examined, and its text transcribed, by Church inquisitors. Significantly, the language of this contract was not conjured up by the young Venetian *e nihilo*, but is phrased in terms of the ancient erotic curse, in Ruggiero’s translation, “I obligate myself to the prince Lucifer ... under the agreement and condition that he grant me a grace: that he make Madonna Paolina di Modesta ... be *inflamed with love for me*. So much so that she will have *no content, no repose of her spirit or her body unless she is with me*” (emphasis mine).³⁹⁸ A Greek woman, finally, known by her accuser as “Betta the Fat,” is said to have instructed a Venetian woman in an incantation of the erotic curse type that additionally enlists the help of ghost: first to say the *pater noster* 33 times for “the meanest soul that had been executed,” and then “I have said thirty-three Our Fathers for the meanest soul executed, so that it will leave where it is and go to the heart of such and such, so that he cannot sleep nor eat nor find repose until he does my will.”³⁹⁹ The similarity with the Graeco-Egyptian papyri invoking the spirits of the untimely and therefore restless dead for similar torments is too striking to dismiss as coincidence.

This chapter has attempted to trace a long and varied tradition of techniques for the promotion of the erotic affect. Certain fundamental approaches seem to have established their appeal early and maintained it over time, most notably the temporary infliction of the erotic curse, burning discomfort and denial of the ability to eat, drink, and sleep until the goal of the user is reached, by performative utterance, persuasive analogy, and the coercive invocation of supernatural powers. Even within those motifs there was great scope for innovation and change in the specifics of their application. New approaches could certainly crop up too, but within a certain generic framework, and the general landscape seems to be one of the traditional, not the exotic, and not a blank slate for individual creativity. As we saw with healing and apotropaic incantations, the transmission of these procedures for erotic magic illustrates the value placed on traditional knowledge. Beyond sexual gratification, the value consisted perhaps more solidly in the hope of financial gain and social advancement by coercing and maintaining access to a desirable match. A fifteenth-century Byzantine recipe, for example, describes the recommended circumstances of its use as “If you wish to make a princess love you,” and among the

³⁹⁷ On this document see Ruggiero 1993, 88-89.

³⁹⁸ Also worth note from Renaissance Venice is a case investigated by the Forty in the 1480s in which a Greek woman, Gratiola, is said to have measured the penis of her lover with candle that she has blessed, then burned it in church “in the name of their love” (Ruggiero 1985, 34-35).

³⁹⁹ Trans. Ruggiero 1993, 122. This Betta was apparently a specialist in erotic services for women, and more general services such as cleansing doors of houses with holy water (cf. Ruggiero 1993, 114).

patriarchal court cases from fourteenth-century Constantinople we also encountered a woman already rich who resorted to magical means to secure a noble husband.⁴⁰⁰ Just as ecclesiastical authorities gave great gravity to their task of rooting out such practices, so too did the practitioners seek a certain aura of secrecy and the illicit: the writer of an eighteenth-century manuscript, for example, went to the trouble of writing out over 100 folia in a cryptographic alphabet, but also included a key to its decipherment at the very beginning of the manuscript (St. Petersburg, NLR cod. gr. 646). Especially in the later phases of the ancient tradition, and all throughout the medieval period, there was a prominent role for ritual specialists in the provision of such techniques. Their history will be explored at greater length in the fourth chapter, but here I point in particular to evidence for production of handbooks specifically for their practical use: the fifteenth-century London manuscript just cited (BL cod. Harley 5596) bears extensive soiling from active reading and, presumably, use; a sixteenth-century manuscript was made in an unusually small format, again presumably to facilitate practical use; and finally, a manuscript of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, as already mentioned, had its pages stained with wax from the candles of an avid user.⁴⁰¹ These users were to some extent from among the clergy, as we saw in the patriarchal court records, and the impression is borne out in the manuscript attribution of a late Byzantine recipe to “the priest Heliodoros.”⁴⁰² The role of churchmen was not to the exclusion of other specialists, including women, as came out in Ruggiero’s analogous picture of sixteenth-century Venice. The one represented in the greatest detail there, “Betta the Fat,” seems to have learned her incantations at a young age (1993, 137-138) and presumably knew them by heart, a suggestion of how her female counterparts in Byzantium and the medieval West might have existed though leaving no traces in the surviving applied sources.

⁴⁰⁰ London, BL cod. Harley 5596, f. 29r-v, ed. Delatte 1927, 422-424 (chapter 2 cat. 2.3.48), ἐὰν θέλῃς ποιῆσαι μίαν ἀρχόντισσαν νά σε ἀγαπήσῃ.

⁴⁰¹ Athens, cod. Gennadios 45, only 14 cm high and 9.3 wide cm (see Delatte 1959, 281); and Athens, EBE cod. 1265 (see Delatte 1927, 2).

⁴⁰² Ἡλιόδωρος παπᾶς, in Bologna, UB cod. 3632, f. 361r and Vienna, ÖNB cod. phil. gr. 108, f. 365v (ed. Delatte 1927, 607; chapter 2 cat. 2.3.44). The name Heliodoros itself is an unlikely one for a Byzantine Christian, and might in fact be referred to the reputation of the adversary of Leo of Catania, who deployed erotic magic as discussed above.

Chapter 3

In the first chapter we saw evidence for a tradition of incantations whose goal, healing and protection, was universally acceptable, however much ecclesiastical and secular authorities may have objected to the means. The second chapter considered a more ambiguous category, incantations for the promotion of the erotic affect, whose ultimate goal in at least a significant subset of cases was a stable marital union, but whose often harsh manipulation of human targets raised obvious concerns. In this third chapter we will progress to the most problematic category, the most apparently difficult to justify with the Christian teachings espoused by the late ancient and medieval societies who transmitted them, the use of incantations for purely aggressive magic. This category can be conveniently divided into two sub-categories. The first is the curse, in which the user invokes one or more divinities to inflict harm on a human target, or deploys ritual speech-acts designed to carry out this harm directly, or combines the two approaches, as was also a feature of the erotic rituals considered in the previous chapter. In the second, the techniques of cursing are applied to a specific scenario, the identification of a thief among suspects through infliction of visible harm on the guilty party or the compulsion of a fugitive to return.

I. Ritual curses and incantations

I begin with the curse. Oral cursing has a long history in Greek antiquity and can be traced in literary references at least as early as the binding song (ῥυμος δέσμιος) sung by the Furies against Orestes as portrayed by Aeschylus (*Eum.* 306ff). Written instructions for oral cursing will also appear in post-Classical sources. Far richer archeological documentation exists for a related practice of cursing by inscribing an incantation on a substrate material, which is then ritually deposited. These incantations, of which a more detailed typology will be offered below, use one or more of the following motifs: a direct performative claim to inflict the curse on the target; a wish for the harm framed as an analogy with the disposition of the tablet, the writing thereon, or its deposition; or a prayer to one or more divinities. The harm is often temporary and contingent on some enterprise in which the user wishes the target to be unsuccessful.

The substrate is most commonly metal, in surviving examples, but papyrus and ostraka were also used. The earliest examples, on lead tablets, come from Sicily of the sixth century B.C. (Bettarini 2005), and whether or not it in fact spread from there to the rest of the Greek world, it was ubiquitous by the Roman period.⁴⁰³ Archeological finds of inscribed curses do drop off in the early Byzantine period, but the tradition that underlies them survives and indeed, as this portion of the chapter will argue, and contrary to what has been previously assumed by scholars of the earlier phase,⁴⁰⁴ it enjoys a rich and dynamic development through Byzantium and into early modern Greece.

No comprehensive corpus of the Greek written curses exists, let alone the later recipes for written and oral ritual cursing, a lacuna that this chapter attempts in part to

⁴⁰³ The related tradition of Latin curse tablets, very likely derived from the Greek tradition originally but developing along its own path, cannot be considered in detail here (for a recent publication see J. Blänsdorf, A. Kropp, M. Scholz, *ZPE* 174 (2010), 272-276).

⁴⁰⁴ E.g. Gager 1992, “[h]ere we may be confronted with a rare instance where ecclesiastical authorities actually succeeded in suppressing a ‘pagan’ practice. For unlike many other practices, this one neither slipped through the antipagan filters nor found an acceptably Christian guise. It was simply *too* pagan” (29-30, emphasis in the original).

supplement. The most extensive collections for the ancient written material are those of Wunsch in his appendix to *IG III* (1897) and Audollent 1904, both limited to those inscribed on metal and both badly in need of revision and supplement. David Jordan has been at work on the latter project for many years and has also published some revised editions of individual texts as well as helpful checklists of newer editions (1986 and 2001; cf. also id. 1982), as had Preisendanz (1930 and 1935).⁴⁰⁵ The best introduction to the written curses remains Preisendanz 1969; Gager 1992 provides a selection of texts in English translation.

For the ancient material in general it should be emphasized that though the number of published examples is large, there is a significant amount that has been discovered but not yet read, and conclusions about diachronic developments, and especially the perceived dwindling of numbers in later periods, must be approached with caution. At the same time the sheer number of published earlier examples should not lead us to regard written cursing as ubiquitous throughout ancient society, as some have done (Gager 1992), in view of the general consensus regarding the severe restriction of ancient literacy (Harris 1989).

Recent scholarship on the ancient written curses has focused on contemporary contextualization. Faraone 1991 and Eidinow 2007 fit the artifacts and their users into Greek society and trace their role as a response to, or pre-emptive measure against, personal or political antagonism, for Greek antiquity up to the first century B.C. Eidinow further analyzes curses along with oracle consultation as strategies for the management of socially constructed perceptions of risk and uncertainty. Internal references point to a particular prevalence of the use of written curses in judicial contexts and interpersonal competition more broadly (Faraone 1991), but Eidinow also argues for the goal of pre-emptive control of personal enemies believed to pose a threat, before any conflict has actually been initiated (2007, 191-205).⁴⁰⁶

The textual motifs of the ancient examples and their development have been studied in detail by Kagarow (1929), Preisendanz (1969), and Faraone (1991) and will not be the focus of this discussion. I will instead outline a typology based on select examples, which will then serve to help evaluate continuity and development in the Byzantine and later phases of the tradition. In those later phases the nature of the evidence will also change, becoming primarily written recipes for the performance of ritual cursing as opposed to activated artifacts. It should not be assumed that such artifacts disappeared completely, considering the undeveloped state of Byzantine archeology, and one very interesting example from the early modern period will be discussed in its proper place. I will also adduce select testimonia from hagiography, historiography, and legal records, along the lines of the second chapter, to trace developments in the middle Byzantine period when the manuscript record becomes thin.

In the later Roman phase, it can be shown that written formularies underlie 'applied' examples of inscribed curses. A lead tablet probably found at Rome addresses in Greek the soul of a dead man, no doubt in whose tomb it was deposited, with an elaborate

⁴⁰⁵ The collection of 80 tablets in M. del Amor López Jimeno, *Nuevas Tabellae Defixionis Áticas* (Amsterdam 1999) is not a sound basis for study, cf. the review in *SEG XLIX* 313.

⁴⁰⁶ Less useful for diachronic study is Eidinow's collapse of all "curses" engaging with sexual experience into essentially the same category of "relationship curses" (1997, 206-224), against the distinctions drawn by Faraone (1999), though his demarcation of the normative roles of males and females is in need of refinement. On the corpus in general terms see also Graf 1997, 118-174, though without differentiation of the procedures seeking to inflict the erotic affect.

command to curse the target that also invokes the Egyptian Osiris; the text matches a formula given in a recipe on a papyrus sheet from Egypt, of the fourth century.⁴⁰⁷ It would no doubt have also been possible for users to deploy less elaborate written and oral curses informed by traditional precedents, as was the case for the techniques examined in the second chapter. But the reliance on written formularies appears indirectly at an earlier point in the Roman empire, in a written curse on a lead tablet found in the tomb of an imperial official at Roman Carthage: again the soul of a dead man is invoked, this time to the detriment of a charioteer, but the text makes an internal reference to writing on seashells (ὄστρακα θαλάσσια), which the underlying formulary must have prescribed, even though the substrate here is obviously different.⁴⁰⁸ The formularies themselves are most richly attested in the fourth century, in both codex and bookroll format, and generally include the curse procedures among collections of broader scope including healing, apotropaic, and erotic procedures.⁴⁰⁹

The continued circulation of these written formularies is the basis for the Byzantine tradition: the composition, production, circulation, and use of those recipes follows similar patterns as the manuscripts examined in the second chapter, with dates ranging from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries. There are significant gaps between the latest attested applications of curse techniques in Byzantine Egypt, in the sixth century, and the modern Greek period, but there are two unmistakable attestations in the intervening period: a graffito on a column in the Parthenon at Athens, probably to be dated between the eighth and eleventh centuries, in which a man curses another whom he suspects of seducing his wife, and from Constantinople itself in the later Byzantine or early Ottoman period, a sheet of paper inscribed with a curse against an enemy, identified by his mother's name according to standard practice in the Greek tradition since late antiquity, was found in the foundation of a building in Galata.⁴¹⁰ There are intriguing reflexes of the Greek tradition in post-conquest Egypt, deserving further study, both in Coptic texts, such as curses inscribed on bone, and in Jewish documents from the Cairo Genizah, for example a Judeo-Arabic formulary recipe for a curse to be written on a lead tablet and deposited in a

⁴⁰⁷ P.Iand. inv. 266 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P LVIII) and Audollent 1904 no. 188 (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.3.12-13). See further Jordan 2004.

⁴⁰⁸ Audollent 1904 no. 234, here lines 6/7 and 32.

⁴⁰⁹ Three particularly conspicuous examples are the papyrus codex of probably Theban provenance, Paris BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV); and the papyrus bookrolls P.Lond. inv. 121 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII), of uncertain provenance, and P.Oslo inv. 420 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXVI), from the Fayum region of Egypt. Material from each has been adduced and discussed in its proper place in the first and second chapters.

⁴¹⁰ Graffito: undated in ed., date based on drawing, ed. Orlandos 1973 no. 9 (column 2), invoking the Virgin Mary to inflict a hernia on the target, giving the author the opportunity to cut his genitals: ἀγία Μαρία καιχαριτωμένη καίλευσον τὸν γαμῶντα τὴν νύμφην μου κηλήτην γενέσθαι κ(αι) ἐμὲ [i]ατρὸν ἵνα ἔχω κ(αι)ρὸν πῶς κόψω τὸν ῥόμβον αὐτοῦ (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.3.16). I suggest, *contra* Kaldellis 2009, 78 that ῥόμβος does indeed have the genital sense pointed out in ed. pr. –surgical cutting was an attested part of the healing procedure for testicular herniae (e.g. the *Miracles* of St. Artemios). Sheet of paper: specifically that the tongue of Menas son of Magdalene be “stifled” (νὰ πιαστῇ ἡ γλῶσσά του: chapter 3 cat. 1.2.1.4): the editor (Koukoules 1928, 471) provides no comment on the date, but influence from demotic Greek suggests the fourteenth century or later. The fact that it survives at all in the humid climate of the Bosphorus may mean that it is much later, but note nevertheless that the language is Greek, not Turkish.

grave, from a fragment of a paper booklet of the eleventh century.⁴¹¹ References to such practices in Byzantine literary sources, which will be examined in due course, also support a continuous tradition. Specific records of the application of cursing in modern Greece will be treated in conjunction with the rest of the corpus, but here it is also worth noting a report from the anthropological fieldwork of Richard and Eva Blum (1970), of three contemporary inscribed curses discovered in a local cemetery, the text of which appropriated a popular motif in the Greek tradition in applied ancient examples and Byzantine prescriptions, the analogy of the desired torment to the disposition of corpses.⁴¹²

A catalogue of written curses on various media, manuscript recipes for written and oral curses, and documentation of cursing techniques in modern Greece underlies this chapter. Only the Byzantine portion aims at completeness, while for the earlier and later periods, in view of the vast number of surviving artifacts, only those especially illustrative of traditional developments are included. The typology offered for the curse-incantations shares features with those developed for healing and apotropaic incantations in the first chapter and erotic incantations in the second. The bulk of the evidence throughout the tradition falls into one of three categories: performatives, wishes, and prayers. The curse can proceed directly through performative utterances, the speech acts encountered also in the incantations in the previous chapters; here the performative claim is that the user is effecting the desired harm upon the target directly. Secondly the curse may consist instead of the expression of a wish that the desired harm come, but without an explicit address to any supernatural entity charged with carrying it out. Finally, the curse may take the form of a prayer to just such an entity.⁴¹³ Each of these devices may be expanded with the addition of analogies, especially linked to the ritual deposition of the writing or other acts accompanying it, which figure the desired effect on the target; or with narrative motifs that serve a similar analogous function but at a higher level of abstraction.

The performative category appears in the earliest attestations of curse tablets in the

⁴¹¹ Coptic curse bones: Drescher 1948 (animal bone, private collection, Nahman), and Pellegrini 1907, 156-159 no. 21 (human rib-bone, necropolis of Thebes, now Florence, Museo archeologico inv. 5645). Judeo-Arabic formulary: Bohak 1999, 34-35 (Cambridge, Taylor-Schechter Collection, K 1.56).

⁴¹² Grave-diggers in a local cemetery uncovered “three big pieces of cloth, each of which had a picture painted on it with a curse written on it. One was a picture of a man; the other two were of women. The names written on the curse were false names; only the one who did the magic knew for whom it was intended. The curse said, ‘As these dead molder and melt, so shall you.’ There were pins through the eyes and a nail in the navel” (Blum and Blum 1970, 34). The authors do not elaborate their interpretation of the “false names,” a practice which is otherwise unknown in the Greek tradition, where precise specification not only of the name of the target but also at times his or her parents, place of residence, and occupation are found; more likely the objects were somewhat older than the informants realized, and the names matched no one still living in the community and appeared “false” in that sense.

⁴¹³ Versnel 1991 argues for a distinct category, in both Greek and Latin, of ‘prayers for justice’ which he characterizes as “deferential” and links to monarchical constitutions and petitions to distant royalty (93); of the underlying process, Versnel notes cases of public display in temples in antiquity and considers most likely that, most often, “the injured party first tries to draw a confession from the suspected culprits and then tells them explicitly that he is making a higher appeal to the god. The knowledge that the accusation now rests with an all-seeing, highest authority is sufficient to force the culprit to reconsider his deeds, especially when shortly thereafter he does not feel perfectly healthy” (81).

archeological record from sites in Sicily and Attica, as early as the sixth century B.C. and in increasing numbers through the fifth and fourth centuries. The performative verbs are first-person statements most commonly of deposition and binding.⁴¹⁴ In a motif shared with the apotropaic and erotic incantations considered in the previous chapters, the target of the curse may also be addressed in combination with the performatives. In a lead tablet found in a grave of the Classical period at Piraeus, the speaking voice announces to the target, a Demetrios, that he will be in the grip of the effects of the curse for at least five years, “that’s the kind of bond I’ll bind you with, Demetrios.”⁴¹⁵ Later examples show increasing variety in diction. A lead tablet of the first or second century A.D. found near the catacombs of St. Domitilla in Rome contains the performative claim to “dig down and bind and chain” the targets “in a cold tomb, in a burning fire, in the sea” and throw them into a river;⁴¹⁶ another of the second century from North Africa claims to “bind, fasten upon unto death, and cut off” its target;⁴¹⁷ another from the Roman cemetery at Kenchreai, the southern port for Corinth, dated between the first and third centuries claims to “cast a shadow over” (σκιάσδω) a lengthy list of the individual members of the target’s body.⁴¹⁸ Though codicological evidence for much of the Byzantine period is lacking, a recipe that appears in a theological miscellany of the early fourteenth century strongly suggests a continuous tradition in the use of the performative mode of cursing. The particular goal is the binding of a married couple, namely the man’s ability to couple successfully with his wife, and the oral incantation begins “I bind him in his knuckles,” repeating the phrase for another lengthy list of members.⁴¹⁹ Related techniques of cursing involving the binding of husband and wife proliferate in later Greek evidence, reports of oral applications central to which is the performative claim to bind (δένω or similar).⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁴ E.g. a lead tablet of the Classical period found in Athens near the later Philopappos Monument, which claims, following a list of names, τούτους ἐγὼ καταδίδημι ἅπαντας ἐν μολύβδῳ καὶ ἐν κη|ρῶ καὶ ἐμ [πο]τῶ καὶ ἐν ἀγρίαι καὶ ἐν ἀφανί(αι) καὶ(ι) ἐν ἀδοξίαι | καὶ ἐν ἦττ(η) καὶ ἐμ μνήμασιν καὶ αὐτούς | καὶ οἷς χρῶνται ἅπαντας | παῖ[δας καὶ] γυ[ναϊκας] (ed. Wünsch 1897 no. 55, side A, lines 16-20; chapter 3 cat. 1.1.1.1). Another of the same period, found in a tomb at Peiraeus, elaborates Μικίωνα ἐγὼ ἔλαβον καὶ {καὶ} ἔδησα τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν, a formula repeated for three other targets in the same text (ed. Wünsch 1897 no. 97; chapter 3 cat. 1.1.1.2).

⁴¹⁵ Peiraios Museum ΜΠ 11948, *SEG* LVII 297, ... δήσω τὸν ἐμὸν ἐχθρὸν Δημήτριον ... ὁδὲ σε λύσε πρώτη πεν|θετηρίς, τοιότως ἐγὼ δήσω δεσμῶι, | [Δ]ημήτριε, ὡσπερ κρατερώτατον | [ἐ]ν γλώττει κυνωτὸν ἐπεγκρόσω (chapter 3 cat. 1.1.1.3).

⁴¹⁶ Ed. Bevilacqua 2014, ... [κ]ατορύσσω καὶ | δέδεκα καὶ καταδεσμεύω | εἰς ψυχρὸν τάφον, εἰς πυρὰν καὶ|ομένην, εἰς θάλασσαν, βάλλω εἰς | ποταμὸν ... (chapter 3 cat. 1.1.1.5).

⁴¹⁷ Tébéssa (Theveste), once Museum of Algiers, ed. pr. P. Roesch, *BAA* 2 (1967-1968) 231-237, [Σατορνί]ναν καταδῶ καθάψωνο εἰς(ς) πικρὸν | [θάνατον] ... | [καὶ ἀπο]κόπτω ... (chapter 3 cat. 1.1.1.6).

⁴¹⁸ Kenchreai, Koutsongila Ridge necropolis, now Kenchreai Museum inv. 43, *SEG* LVII 332 (chapter 3 cat. 1.1.1.7).

⁴¹⁹ Venice, BNM cod. gr. Z 501, ff. 174v-175r, δῆμα ἀνδρογύνου. ‘δύνω τον ἀπὸ τὰ κότζια ...’ (chapter 3 cat. 1.1.1.14).

⁴²⁰ E.g. an oral incantation reported from contemporary Pontus, Koukoules 1928, 458 ‘ἔδω δένω τὸν δείνα’ (chapter 3 cat. 1.1.1.24); similarly from Rethymna on Crete, G.N. Hatzidakis ap. Kuhnert 1894, 55, ‘δένω τὴ νύφη καὶ τὸ γαμβρό’ (chapter 3 cat. 1.1.1.25); from contemporary Epirus, Koukoules 1928, 454, ‘δένω καὶ κομποδένω τὸν

Similar techniques for binding enemies more generally also continued to be used in Byzantium, as seen in a recipe in a fifteenth-century manuscript, from which several erotic procedures were examined in the second chapter: here the relevant portion is the utterance “I bind my enemies, male and female,” to be written on the tongue of a bird.⁴²¹

In the later phase of the tradition the performative was also expanded into a ritual drama of the type seen in the healing and apotropaic incantations in the first chapter. Our sole evidence comes, in unfortunately mutilated form, from an anonymous collection of recipes in a sixteenth-century miscellany of theological, astrological, medical, and philosophical content. From what remains of the text, it clearly has an aggressive intent, with a single human target. The user carries out a series of ritual actions including fanning ash in a sieve, sealing it up in a pot, and burying it, probably symbolic of human burial, and is asked at each step by another participant what he is doing, to which he replies “I am sealing up so-and-so” and “I am burying so-and-so.”⁴²²

Already in antiquity the performatives were supplemented by the invocation of analogies between some accompanying feature of the cursing ritual and the desired effect on the target. In a lead tablet said to have come from Liosia in Attica, probably of the late fourth century B.C., the speaking voice claims to bind three named enemies (καταδῶ). To promote the efficacy of that binding, the text adds an analogical motif based on the physical disposition of the names of the targets themselves as inscribed on the tablet, which I would term the ‘graphic analogy.’ Namely, the letters are deliberately written out of their usual order, which the speaking voice cites in an analogous wish that the words and deeds of the enemies be likewise deranged (ἀνέμπαλιν).⁴²³ Common in ancient curses was another analogical motif that referred to a corpse, with which the inscribed tablet was deposited, to which the user hoped, through that procedure, to cause the target to become similar. An example from the fourth century B.C. found at Menidi in Attica claims to bind (καταδῶ) the speech of a target, whose ability to speak is to be returned whenever the dead with whom the object is deposited read the text, that is, never.⁴²⁴ Another contemporary example from Athens uses the same terminology of binding (καταδῶ) and invokes the inefficacy of the dead as analogue for the desired inefficacy of the target

δεῖνα καὶ τὴν δεῖνα’ (chapter 3 cat. 1.1.1.27); from contemporary Naxos, Emellos 1962, 192, ‘δένω κι ἀποδένω τσοὶ σαράντα δύο ντου φλέβες ...’ (chapter 3 cat. 1.1.1.29).

⁴²¹ Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419, f. 273v, ed. Delatte 1927, 502 with 654, ... ἀνάσπασον γλῶσσαν οὐραγος καὶ γράψον ἐπάνω εἰς αὐτὴν μετὰ αἵματος ρομφαίας ταῦτα ‘δένω τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μου ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ’ (chapter 3 cat. 1.1.1.15). For the contents and provenance of this manuscript see the second chapter.

⁴²² Paris, BnF cod. gr. 1603 (s. XVI), f. 327r, part of page cut off; cf. in part Delatte 1927, 555, ... [λ]έγε ‘ἐγὼ δένω τὸν δεῖνα [c. 20].’ [εἰ]τα ἔπαρον πλαστήριον [c. 20] καὶ ἔπαρον στάκτην φο[c. 15 ε]ἰς τὸ κόσκινον καὶ γύρισε τον [c. 15 κ]αὶ κοσκινίζε την ἀνάπο[δα c. 10] ὡς τὸ ὕστερον. καὶ ἐσὺ ὀνομάτι[ζε c. 15]α, καθὼς εἰς τὸ πρῶτον. μετὰ ταῦτα [ἔπαρε c. 10] στάκτην καὶ γέμισε τὸ τσουκαλόπουλον [c. 5]ν αὐτὸ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ καὶ ‘πιστόμισον αὐτό. [καὶ ἄς ἐρ]ωτᾶ ‘τί ‘πιστομίσεις αὐτοῦ;’ καὶ ἐσὺ λέγε ‘τὸν δεῖνα.’ [κα]ὶ χῶνε αὐτό. καὶ ἄς ἐρωτᾶ καὶ ἐσὺ λέγε ‘ἐδῶ χῶνω τὸν δεῖνα.’ καὶ ἄς στέκη σκεπασμένον ἐκεῖ (chapter 3 cat. 1.6.1).

⁴²³ Once in the Sarajevo Museum, ed. Münsterberg 1907, 376-377, undated; dating here based on letterforms in drawing of ed.pr. (chapter 3 cat. 1.1.2.1).

⁴²⁴ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum inv. G.514.1, s. IV BC, ed. Jordan 1999, 118-119, ... καταδῶ καὶ λόγους καὶ | ἔργα τὰ Κέρκιδος καὶ τὴν γλῶσ|σαν παρὰ τοῖς ἡθέοις καὶ ὀπότα|ν οὔτοι ταῦτα ἀναγνώσιν, τότε | Κέρκιδι καὶ τὸ φθένξασθαι. ... (chapter 3 cat. 1.1.2.2).

(ἀτελής and ἀτέλεστος);⁴²⁵ another from Attica of about the same time pairs the binding with an analogy to the impossibility of return for those who pass into the underworld.⁴²⁶ As in some examples of erotic procedures examined in the second chapter, the corpse may also be addressed directly, as in a lead tablet from Boiotia of the Classical period, claiming to “bind the targets down by writing” (καταγράφω) and reinforcing that claim with a series of analogies including that addressed to the corpse, named Θεόνναστος and called powerless (ἀδύνατος).⁴²⁷

This technique of pairing of performative and analogy continues to be used in late antiquity, as shown by a lead tablet of the third or fourth century found in the necropolis at Savaria (modern Hungary). Here the claim is to deposit the target (παρατίθεμαι) with the corpse, who is addressed as assimilated to the gnostic divinity Abrasax, perhaps under influence from Egyptian practice: the simple fact of its being a corpse (ὡς σὺ νεκρὸς εἶ) is here felt sufficient to analogize the inability of the target to do anything (μηδὲν πράσσει).⁴²⁸ A striking indication of its continuity even further, through the Byzantine period, comes in a ritual recipe in a manuscript of the sixteenth or seventeenth century which figured prominently in the second chapter, in which, for the destruction of an enemy, the user is to deposit in a tomb a lock and a written incantation: the latter refers to the locking with a performative (ἐδῶ ἐκλειδώσαμεν) and adds specification of the intended effect with an analogy to how the corpse buried there is blind, deaf, mute, and deprived of various other normal human functions.⁴²⁹ Just as in antiquity, so too in the later phase the tradition encouraged a variety of other analogies. One motif of note involved the biblical Elijah, among whose miraculous acts was the infliction, and release, of drought (1 *Kings* 17-18). It appears only in the modern Greek period but may with probability be supposed to extend back to Byzantine times. In one example, reported in a study of the folklore of Rhodes conducted in the 1960s, the user applies the same verb δέννω to Elijah’s restriction of rain and his own claim of cursing on the target and his

⁴²⁵ Audollent 1904 no. 68 (chapter 3 cat. 1.1.2.3).

⁴²⁶ Ex. coll. Froehner (now lost), ed. Robert 1936, 12-14 no. 11, καταδ[έω] τὸς ἐνθαῦτα ἐνγεγραμμένος ... ὅσπερ οἱ παρ[ὰ] ταύτην ἀφικνῶνται οἴκαδε νοστῶσι, ὅτως οἱ ἐν|θαῦτα ἀντίδικοι τέλος λαβόντων τῆς [δίκ]ης. ... (chapter 3 cat. 1.1.2.7).

⁴²⁷ Thebes Museum, ed. Ziebarth 1934, 1040-1042 no. 23 (chapter 3 cat. 1.1.2.4).

⁴²⁸ Szombathely, Savaria Museum, inv. R.85.3.650, *SEG* XL 919 (chapter 3 cat. 1.1.2.6). Egyptian influence is also suggested by identification of the target by metronym (Ἄδιεκτον ὄν ἔτεκεν Κουπεῖτα).

⁴²⁹ Athens, EBE cod. 1265, f. 22v, ed. Delatte 1927, 59, ... ὅταν δὲν λαλεῖ ὁ ἀποθαμμένος καὶ δὲν βλέπει καὶ δὲν τρώγει καὶ δὲν πίνει μηδὲ χέζει οὐδὲ κατουρεῖ, ἀμὴ κεῖται τε ἄλαλος καὶ κωφὸς καὶ τυφλὸς καὶ δὲν χάσκει καὶ στόμα δὲν ἔχει, ἔτσι νὰ γένη καὶ ὁ δεῖνα ... (chapter 3 cat. 1.1.2.9). Further use of the corpse analogy appears in procedures with incantations to make a man hate wine and fall asleep at the dinner table, respectively, in an anonymous eighteenth-century *iatrosophion* in Thessaly, monastery of Olympiotissa, cod. 97, pp. 488-489, ed. Skouvara 1965-1966, 111-112: in the former, the user places a piece of fruit in the hand of a dying man, then gives it to the target to eat, with an accompanying incantation καθὼς παίρνει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ δεῖνος ἀποθαμένου τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὴν λαλίαν, ἔτσι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μῆλον νὰ πάρη τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ κρασίου κάθε ἀνθρώπου ὅστις φάγη; in the latter, pins are pricked through the ear of a corpse, with a similar incantation, καθὼς ἔχασεν ὁ νεκρὸς τὴν αἴσθησίν του καὶ τὴν λαλίαν του καὶ τὴν ὄρασίν του, οὕτω νὰ ποιήσουν καὶ τὰ βελόνια τοῦτα τὴν ὄρεξίν μου, ἐκεῖνο ὅπου θέλω ἐγώ.

body.⁴³⁰ In another, explicitly indicated for binding of the sexual relations of a husband with his wife, reported in a similar study of practices on Cyprus some 50 years earlier, the same analogy pertains, though the present tense of the verb of action of the user (γίννω) is strikingly extended to Elijah as well (γίννει).⁴³¹

The second central motif in the construction of curses is the wish, that is, the direct expression of the hope that the desired harm will occur, but distinct from the prayer, which will be addressed in the next section, in that it is not addressed to any mediating divinity in particular, and thus has affinities with the direct performatives treated in the preceding section. An example from the Classical period is a text inscribed on a sherd from a ceramic vessel and deposited in a tomb at Touloumi in Chalkis, in which the wish is that “all the good things become unfulfilled” (ἀτέλεστα γίνεσθαι τὰγαθά) and “impracticable and difficult” (ἀμήχανα κᾶπορα) for a certain Daiton.⁴³² Other texts wish more specifically, or with greater metaphorical elaboration. In a contemporary text scratched on a black-glazed ceramic vessel found in a tomb in Pantikapaion (Taurika) on the Black Sea, it is wished that “the dog” (ὁ κύων) would “bite the cock” of the target (τὴν ψωλὴν δάκοι). This dog may be Cerberus, who as denizen and warden of Hades might well be expected to exert a deadening effect on the target’s sexual capacity.⁴³³ In an inscribed lead tablet, dropped into a grave at Messina through a conduit for funerary offerings, the wish is that the female target be beset by worms, illness, and sepsis.⁴³⁴ From late ancient Oxyrhynchus, a text on a slip of papyrus calls for the καρδιά and διάνοια of a target to be twisted just as a millstone does that is grinding that very slip.⁴³⁵ A late Byzantine or post-Byzantine example from Galata, which specifically targets the tongue, or more broadly the speaking ability, of the target has already been discussed.

Ancient examples found on lead tablets as early as the fourth century add versions of the graphic analogy employed with direct performatives, referring to the disposition of the letters of the text itself in an unusual or perturbed order, or upon a “cold” (ψυχρός), “useless” (ἄχρηστος), or “worthless” (ἄτιμος) substrate, namely the lead tablet.⁴³⁶ In the

⁴³⁰ Papachristodoulos 1962, 91, οὕτως ἔδεσεν ὁ προφήτ’ Ἡλίας τὰ νέφη τ’ οὐρανοῦ χρόνους τρεῖς καὶ μῆνες ἕξι, δέννω τὸν δεῖνα, δέννω τὸ φῶς τῶν ἐμματιῶν του, δέννω τὴν νευροραχοκοκαλιάν, τὰ νεῦρα τῶν χειρῶν του (chapter 3 cat. 1.1.2.14).

⁴³¹ From Paphos, E.A. Pappanastasiou in Athanasopoulos et al. 1914, 525-526 no. 4, γίννει ὁ προφήτης Ἡλίας τὸν ἥλιον τσαὶ τὸ φεγγάρι τρεῖς χρόνους τσαὶ τρεῖς ἡμέραις· ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐσκότισεν τρεῖς χρόνους τσαὶ τρεῖς ἡμέραις· νερόν χαμαὶ δὲν ἔσταξεν τρεῖς χρόνους τσαὶ τρεῖς ἡμέραις. γίννω τὴν μήτραν τῆς μούλας τοῦ δεσπότη, παιὶν δὲν ἔκαμε, γίννω τσαὶ τὸν δεῖνα μὲ τὴν γεναϊκάν του, νὰ μὲν ἰππεύη τρεῖς χρόνους τσαὶ τρεῖς ἡμέραις’ (chapter 3 cat. 1.5.3).

⁴³² Ed. Papabasileiou 1902, 113 no. 10: undated in ed., prob. fourth century B.C. (chapter 3 cat. 1.2.1.1).

⁴³³ Now St. Petersburg, Hermitage, ed. Diehl 1923, 227-229 (chapter 3 cat. 1.2.1.2); the text is accompanied by a drawing of a phallus, and dated to the fourth or fifth cent. B.C. by Diehl, who also compares Ar. *Eq.* 1017 and 1028-1029.

⁴³⁴ Necropolis at S. Placido (tomb 48), *SEG IV* 47: the target, Valeria Arsinoe, is called σκύζα and σκύζανα (‘bitch in heat’ or perhaps simply ‘slut’), and the user’s quarrel with her may therefore have some basis in erotic jealousy (chapter 3 cat. 1.2.1.3).

⁴³⁵ P.Oxy. inv. 50.4B 23/J (1-3)b, ed. *Suppl. Mag.* Π 56, ὡσπερ στρέφετε ὁ ἐρμῆς | τοῦ μέλου καὶ ἀληθῆτε τοῦ | το τὸ πιτάκιον, οὔτος στρέφον | τὸν ἐνκέφαλον καὶ τὴν | καιδίαν καὶ πᾶσαν διὰ | νοίαν ... (chapter 3 cat. 1.2.2.4).

⁴³⁶ Peiraeus, lead tablet found in tomb, ed. Wünsch 1897 no. 67, ... ὡσπερ ταῦτα ψυχρὰ καὶ ἐπαρίστερα, οὕτως τὰ Κράτητος τὰ ῥήματα ψυχρὰ [καὶ ἐπαρί]στερα γέν[οι]το

Byzantine phase of the tradition the corpse analogy appears, again along similar lines as encountered in the performative examples. A recipe in a fifteenth-century manuscript seeks to curse the love (ἀγάπη) of a husband and wife, and the instructions include the inscription of magical signs on laurel leaves, the collection of dirt from a corpse on the days of ritual commemoration, the significant three-, nine-, and forty- day intervals after burial, and an oral incantation wishing for an effect on the targets analogous to the separation from the world of the corpse from whom the dirt has been gathered.⁴³⁷ Another, in an eighteenth-century manuscript, a small gathering of paper pages containing pharmacological notes and medical recipes, probably intended for the practical use of a healer, seeks a simpler curse against a single target. Here a magical sign is to be written, along with the target's name, on a bone recovered from a buried human corpse, which is to be placed under the target's threshold, accompanied by an oral incantation with the wish that the target's life be cut off just as the corpse is no longer in this world, and go to the same world in which the corpse now is.⁴³⁸ Recipes in post-Byzantine manuscripts also prescribe incantations referring to independent, accompanying analogical ritual acts, including the burning of a ceramic tile and the diffusion of quicksilver,⁴³⁹ and a reflex of the ancient appeal to the qualities of lead as an analogue also seems to have survived in the medieval Latin tradition.⁴⁴⁰

The last of the three major categories of cursing techniques in the Greek tradition is the prayer, in which a divinity is invoked, and generally directly commanded, to carry out the requisite curse. Prayers of a simple type are common in the inscribed ancient Greek examples, especially invoking the chthonic divinities Hermes and Persephone. In Roman Egypt, the Greek technology of cursing seems to have been applied in concert with

(chapter 3 cat. 1.2.2.1); Attica, lead tablet, ed. Wünsch 1897 no. 106, ... ὡς οὖτος ὁ μόλυβδος ἄχρηστος, ὡς ἄχρηστα εἶναι τῶν ἐνταῦθα γεγραμμένων καὶ ἔπη καὶ ἔργα (chapter 3 cat. 1.2.2.2); and Wünsch 1897 no. 107, ... ὡς οὖτος ὁ βόλυβδος ἄτιμος καὶ ψυχρός, οὕτω ἐκένος καὶ τὰ ἐκένω ἄτιμα [κ] | αὶ ψυχρὰ ἔστω ... (chapter 3 cat. 1.2.2.3).

⁴³⁷ Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419, f. 144v, ed. Delatte 1927, 456, ... τῆς ὀδεῖνα καὶ τοῦ ὀδεῖνα ἢ ἀγάπη νὰ χωρισθῆ ὡσπερ ἐχωρίσθη οὗτος ὁ ἀπεθαμμένος τὸν κόσμον (chapter 3 cat. 1.2.2.5). On the contents and provenance of this manuscript see the second chapter. On the significance of the third, ninth, and fortieth days after death, and also after birth, in Byzantine thought see Dagrón 1984.

⁴³⁸ Athens, EBE cod. 1490, f. 16v, ed. Delatte 1927, 140, ... ὡς καθὼς ἐτοῦτος ὁ ἀπεθαμμένος δὲν εἶναι εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐτοῦτο, ἔτσι καὶ ἐτοῦτος ὁ δεῖνα νὰ κοπῆ ἢ ζωῆ του ... νὰ ᾿πάγη εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸν κόσμον ποῦ εἶναι ᾿ὀ) ἀπεθαμμένος ... (chapter 3 cat. 1.2.2.6).

⁴³⁹ Tile: a curse to make the target unable to continue living in his present residence and to flee elsewhere, the nineteenth-century Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας, ff. 294v-295r, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 176, ... ὡς καίεται τοῦτο τὸ κεραμίδι, ἔτσι νὰ καίεται τοῦ δεῖνα ἢ καρδιά ἢ τῆς δεῖνα ἢ καρδίτσα, νὰ μὴν ἠμπορῆ νὰ σταθῆ ἐδῶ ᾿ς τὴν χώραν ἢ εἰς τὸ χωρίον, οὔτε νὰ φάγη οὔτε νὰ πῆ, μόνον νὰ εἶναι ὁ νοῦς του καὶ ὁ λογισμὸς του ἐκεῖ ᾿ς τὸν τόπον τὸν δεῖνα... (chapter 3 cat. 1.2.2.8). Quicksilver: for a more straightforward curse, in a sixteenth-century manuscript in Athens, cod. Gennadios 45, ff. 34v-35r, ed. Delatte 1959, 311, ... ὡς τρέχει καὶ σκορπίζεται τὸ διάργυρον, οὕτως νὰ σκορπισθῆ καὶ ὁ ἐχθρὸς μου ὁ δεῖνα ... (chapter 3 cat. 1.2.2.7).

⁴⁴⁰ A recipe in a fifteenth-century manuscript, Cambridge, Trinity College cod. O.1.58, f. 138v, to prevent an enemy from speaking simply by writing his name on a lead sheet (*in lamna plumbi*, chapter 3 cat. 1.7.7).

Egyptian divinities, as in a recipe in a formulary on a fourth-century papyrus bookroll that invokes the god Seth to carry out the subjugation of an enemy, phrased in a neat rising tricolon reminiscent of the Greek applied examples.⁴⁴¹ An applied example from the city of Oxyrhynchus in Middle Egypt of the third century, inscribed on a lead tablet, invokes the syncretistic deity Abrasax with a pair of imperatives again recalling the Greek tradition, to “bind and bind down” (δησον, κατάδησον) the targets, two athletes.⁴⁴² Another lead tablet from Egypt of the fourth century invokes a similar syncretistic deity, called among other names Abrasax and Ιαβορ Σαβαωθ, evoking the Hebrew name of the supreme Judaic deity, and also calls on the spirit associated with the corpse in whose tomb the object was deposited (νεκυδαίμων).⁴⁴³ The inscription of prayers for cursing continues to be attested in early Byzantium, with at least four examples on papyrus known from the sixth century.⁴⁴⁴

As with the direct performative and the wish, prayers for curses may also express the desired harm via analogies, as a means of heightening their communicative and persuasive effect on the divinities invoked as well as the assurance of the user. A lead tablet from Attica of the fourth century B.C. pairs the graphic analogy, the wish that the business affairs of the target be ‘adverse’ just as the writing is retrograde, with a prayer to an unnamed divinity, or perhaps the spirit of the corpse with whom it might have been deposited, to perform binding (κατάδε) for similar effect.⁴⁴⁵ A formulary recipe in a papyrus handbooks from late ancient Egypt uses a variant of the graphic analogy, referring to the treading down of the inscription, on a lead sheet placed into the user’s shoe, to introduce a prayer to syncretistic divinities with epithets drawing on the Egyptian and Jewish traditions, along with the familiar Abrasax, for the subjection (υπόταξον) of the target.⁴⁴⁶ Two applied examples on lead tablets, one found in a well in the Athenian Agora of the second or third century A.D., the other from Kos, probably found in the Roman baths of the fourth century A.D., invoke Typhon, the Egyptian Seth in Hellenized and syncretized form, with further variations on the graphic analogy for the torment that Seth is to inflict on the target: in the former, with the chilling of the writing on the cold lead, and in the latter, with the burning of the tablet in a fire.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴¹ London, BL P.Lond. inv. 121, col. xxvi, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.940-968, ...

φίμωσον, υπόταξον, καταδούλωσον τὸν δεῖ(να) τῶ δεῖ(να) καὶ ποιήσον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας μοι ἔλθῃ (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.1.8).

⁴⁴² T.Köln inv. 4, ed. *Suppl.Mag.* II 53 (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.1.10).

⁴⁴³ Paris, P.Sorbonne inv. 2063, s. IV, ed. *Suppl.Mag.* II 57, ... ὀρκίζω σε, νεκυδαίμων, ὅστις ποτὲ εἶ ... (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.1.11).

⁴⁴⁴ P.Vind. inv. G 19929 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P 15c; chapter 3 cat. 1.3.1.1), P.IFAO s.n. (*Suppl.Mag.* II 61; chapter 3 cat. 1.3.1.2), P.Ups. inv. 8 (*Suppl.Mag.* II 59; chapter 3 cat. 1.3.1.3), P.Hamb. inv. 58 (*Suppl.Mag.* II 60; chapter 3 cat. 1.3.1.4).

⁴⁴⁵ Berlin, Antike Sammlung coll. Wunsch, ed. Curbera 2015, 143-144 no. 1 (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.2.1).

⁴⁴⁶ London, BL P.Lond. inv. 124, col. ii, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P X.36-50 (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.2.4).

⁴⁴⁷ Athens, Agora inv. IL 72, ed. Jordan 1975, ... ὡς ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ψύχεται, οὕτως καὶ Ἔρωτος ψυχέσθω τὸ ὄνομα, ἢ ψυχὴ, ἢ ὀργή, ὁ νοῦς, ἢ προθυμία, ὁ λογισμός, ἔστ[ω] κωφός, ἄλαλος, ἄνους, ἀκάρδις ... (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.2.10; similar tablet against a different target found in the same spot, Agora inv. IL 372, ed. Elderkin 1937, 383-389, chapter 3 cat. 1.3.2.11); Kos Museum inv. M18, E48, *SEG XLVII* 1291, ... ὡς σοὶ μέλλεις ἐνπυροῦσθ(αι) κ(αὶ) κέεσθεν, φλογίζεσθ(αι) σὺν τοῖς ἀγίοις ὀνόμασιν, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ, ἢ καρδιά, ὁ νοῦς, τὰ σπλάνχνα, ἢ δύναμις Ἑρμῖα ὄν

A procedure in a contemporary formulary, from the Fayum region of Egypt, again calls for an inscription on a lead sheet, this time to be placed in the body of a frog, which is to be allowed to dry out in the sun: an invocation of angels (κύριοι ἄγγελοι) requests that the body of the target be withered and wasted just as the frog's is.⁴⁴⁸ An applied example from late Roman or late ancient Carthage, deposited in a tomb, targets a charioteer and his team of racehorses through a similar heightening of prayer through internal reference to analogical ritual.⁴⁴⁹ The religious perspective of the text is an inclusive and opportunistic one, invoking both Egyptian and Jewish divinities, neither native to the Carthaginian setting; the analogy is to the binding of a cock, precisely enumerated as carried out upon its feet, wings, and head, as analogue for the binding that the divinities are to inflict on the targets.⁴⁵⁰

The gap until the next attested phase of the tradition, early modern Greece, is considerable, but the evidence for continuity when it comes is significant. The procedure comes in a handbook of ritual practice of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, cited often in the second chapter for its erotic incantations (Athens, EBE cod. 1265). Its goal is the general frustration and impoverishment of an enemy, and the ritual involves the burial of three animals or parts thereof at the doorstep of the target, a mole-rat, a crab, and a rabbit. Though no addressee of the prayer is made explicit, the accompanying oral incantation calls down upon the target a fate analogous to the nakedness of the rat, the perverse locomotion of the crab, and the anxious flight of the rabbit and the rat.⁴⁵¹

ἔτεκεν Πιθιάς φλογισθῆ πυρετοῖς ἀγρίοις ἐν κρεβάττω ταλεπωρίας ... ποιήσατε Ἑρμίαν Πιθιάδος ἀγρυπνῖν, φαντάζεσθ(αι), ἔξε| [κ]χρωβίζεσθ(αι), καταρεῦσεν, ἐφόσον τὸ σὸν εἶδωλον σὺν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὀνό(μασιν) πυρεφλογίζεσθε ... (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.2.9).

⁴⁴⁸ Fayum, now Oslo, P.Oslo inv. 420, col. ix, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXVI.231-255, ... κύριοι ἄγγελοι, ὅσπερ ὁ βᾶ|θρακος οἶτος καταρέει καὶ ξηρένεται, οὕτως καὶ τὸ σῶμα ...

⁴⁴⁹ Further evidence for reference to analogical ritual in curse-invocations comes from a fragmentary tablet, not yet fully published, from a grave on Rhodes of the early Roman imperial period: after an opening δέμονες οἴτινες ἔσθε καὶ οἴτινες ἐνθάδε κείθε, the text contains phrases that “suggest ritual lament: ‘grave,’ ‘wailings,’ ‘libations’ for dead, ‘hot tears’ of mourners, [and] ‘hair’ cut from heads with a ‘sharp knife’” (Jordan 2000 no. 52).

⁴⁵⁰ Ed. Audollent 1904 no. 241, ... ὡς οὗτος ὁ ἀλέκτωρ καταδέδεται τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ {τ} καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ, οὕτως καταδήσατ[ε] ... (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.2.8).

⁴⁵¹ Athens, EBE cod. 1265, f. 22r-v, ed. Delatte 1927, 58-59, ... καθὼς ὁ ποντικός εἶναι χωρὶς τρίχες καὶ μαλλίν, ἔτσι καὶ ὁ δεῖνα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ δεῖνα νὰ ἦναι μαλακὸς χωρὶς βίον καὶ χωρὶς καλὸν ἀπὸ τὴν σήμεραν εἰς ἅπαντα. καὶ ὡσὰν δὲν ἔχει ἐτοῦτος ὁ ποντικός τρίχες ἀπάνω του, ἔτσι καὶ ὁ δεῖνα. καὶ καθὼς φεύγει ὁ ποντικός καὶ φοβᾶται τὸν κάττα, ἔτσι νὰ φεύγη καὶ ὁ δεῖνα καὶ νὰ τὸν κατακυνηγοῦσιν ὄλοι, νὰ τὸν διώχνουν. καὶ καθὼς ὁ κάβουρας ἵπαγαίνει τῆς ἀναποδίας, ἔτσι καὶ ὁ δεῖνα. καὶ καθὼς ὁ λαγὸς φεύγει ἀπὸ τοὺς σκύλους, ἔτσι νὰ φεύγη καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ ριζικὸν ἀπὸ τὸν δεῖνα (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.2.12). The scattering of quicksilver (διάργυρος), which is buried along with the animals, is added as a final analogue, cf. the recipe in Athens, cod. Gennadios 45, ff. 34v-35r (ed. Delatte 1959, 311; chapter 3 cat. 1.2.2.7) discussed above. The slaughter of a sheep, accompanied by incantations including performatives announcing an analogous act on the target, is prescribed in a recipe in an anonymous eighteenth-century *iatrosophion* to force a person to come to the user from far away (perhaps the restitution of a fugitive is intended, as in the recipes to be discussed in the second section of this chapter): Thessaly, monastery of Olympiotissa, cod. 97, p. 83, ed.

Finally, the prayer may be combined with a narrative scenario employing metaphor to capture the effect that the user requests. In antiquity, the most common such narrative scenarios involve the sending of letters and the giving of gifts. A good example from the Classical period is a lead tablet from Kotana in Attica in which the user describes sending a letter (πέμπων ἐπιστο[σ]λήν) to the chthonic gods and dispatching to them the targets (κομίσας), then addresses these divinities directly, asking them to bind (κατέχετε) the targets.⁴⁵² Another contemporary lead tablet from Piraeus begins with a similar framing narrative of sending a letter to the same divinities (τήνδε ἐπιστο[λ]ήν ἀποπέμ[πω]), which is in turn exploited as an analogy to introduce the prayer to the personified Justice (Δίκη).⁴⁵³ Justice is asked to allow the targets to attain the goal of their lawsuit only when the user returns and takes the letter to “sinful people:” that is, never. A text on a lead tablet found in tomb at Olbia addresses the spirit of a corpse buried in the tomb, opening with an analogical request that the targets have no more success in court than the users know the corpse ([ὦ]σπερ σε ἡμεῖς οὐ γεινώσκομεν), then promises to do the spirit honor and arrange for it “an excellent gift” (ἄριστον δ[ὼ]ρ[ο]ν) if it assists with the curse.⁴⁵⁴ The metaphorical narrative of gift-giving is picked up in a lead tablet found in a tomb at Lilybaion of the second century B.C., a prayer to Hermes κάτοχος and the Telchines with a vivid metaphor of sending the target as a gift (δῶρον τὸ πέμπο ... παδείσκην καλήν δοροῦμαί σοι), a certain Allia Prima, with enumeration of the limbs of her body, each described enticingly as “fine” (καλός), combined with a performative claim to “bury” her (κατορύσσω) and the letter motif in reference to the tablet as a whole (τήν [ἐ]πιστολήν).⁴⁵⁵ Another, from the Roman imperial period found at Messina, deposited beside the skull of one of two skeletons in a tomb, addresses the deceased by name (Νυμφικέ) and urges him to run as fast as he can to catch the target and “take her as an added gain” (ἐπίκτησιν λαβὸν αὐτᾶς).⁴⁵⁶

The narrative can also take as its center the divinity invoked in the curse. From late ancient Antioch, in the *meta* of the hippodrome, was found a lead tablet with a curse on horses of rival circus factions. The tablet has yet to be fully published, but it is clear that

Skouvara 1965-1966, 83-84, περί πῶς νὰ φέρης ἄνθρωπον ἀπὸ μακρέα, κᾶν τε ἄνδρα κᾶν τε γυναῖκα. νὰ πάρης ἓνα πρόβατον ἀρσενικὸν ἂν εἶναι ἄνδρας, εἰ δὲ καὶ εἶναι γυναῖκα, νὰ πάρης θηλυκόν. καὶ νὰ τὸ σφάξης εἰς τὸ ὄνομα ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀθρώπου. καὶ ὅποτε θέλεις σύρεις τὸ μαχαίρι, νὰ εἴπης ‘σφάζω εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ δεινός ἢ τῆς δεινῆς.’ καὶ ὅταν τὸ ἐγδάρης, νὰ τὸ κτυπᾶς μὲ τὸ μαχαίρι καὶ νὰ τὸ ὀνοματίζης νὰ λέγης ‘κτυπῶ μαχαίρι εἰς τὸν δεινα νὰ τὸν σφάξῃ τὸ κορμί.’ ...

⁴⁵² Ed. Wunsch 1897 no. 102 (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.3.1).

⁴⁵³ Ed. Wunsch 1897 no. 103, ... [ὅ]π[ο]τε ταῦτα ἰς ἄνθρώπος ἀμαρ[τωλος φ]έ[ρω], αὐτός, Δίκη, τυχεῖν τέλος δίκης ..., followed by a list of their names (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.3.2).

⁴⁵⁴ Ed. Bravo 1987, ... [ἦ]ν δέ μοι αὐτοῦς | κατάσχης καὶ κ[ατα]λάβης, ἐ(γ)ὼ δέ σε | τεμήσω καὶ σο[ι] ἄριστον δ[ὼ]ρ[ο]ν παρασκε[υάσω] (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.3.3).

⁴⁵⁵ Palermo Museum, ed. Gàbrici 1941, 296-299, cf. *SEG* XXXIV 952 (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.3.5).

⁴⁵⁶ Messina, necropolis at S. Placido (tombs 54-55), ed. Orsi and Comparetti 1916, 154-160 (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.3.4). The name Nymphikos is not securely attested before the first century A.D; for its distribution in the vicinity (Magna Graecia) see *LGPN* IIIa s.v. nos. 2-9.

the curse proper is introduced by a theogonic narrative featuring Kronos, which very likely served to empower the prayer by citing the origins of the very divinities invoked in it.⁴⁵⁷

Petitions to the dead in letter form are well-known in ancient Egypt, and the form seems to merge in the Hellenistic period with requests for the infliction of a curse. In an example from the third century B.C. on papyrus, the spirit of a corpse (νεκυδαίμων) is presented with a statement of the background, the wrongs done to the petitioner by the targets, then asked not to listen to them, but rather to inflict sickness upon them.⁴⁵⁸ Later examples from Roman Egypt, no doubt drawing also on ancient Egyptian traditions, address a similar entity and justify the requested curse with a narrative claim that the target has committed various sacrileges, including burning the papyrus-bed of Osiris and eating sacred fish, but now employ the Greek technique of inscribing a lead tablet.⁴⁵⁹

As for the Byzantine phase, we have already encountered a graffito on a column in the Athenian Parthenon, probably dating to somewhere between the eighth and eleventh centuries, in which a man curses another man who has seduced his wife.⁴⁶⁰ The divinity now invoked, appropriately for the Christian context of Byzantium and the Parthenon itself at that period, is Mary (ἁγία Μαρία καίχαριτωμένη). The text however is set apart from an ordinary prayer not only in its desire for the infliction of retributive harm (a hernia), but also in its metaphorical narrative elaboration: Mary is to make the target a hernia-patient and the user a doctor (ιατρόν), “so that I may get the chance to cut his genitals” (ἵνα ἔχω καιρὸν πῶς κόψω τὸν ρόμβρον αὐτοῦ), a surgical technique attested in contemporary practice for the alleviation of testicular herniae.

In the later Byzantine period, recipes in two manuscripts of medical and astrological content, both of which also contain erotic procedures discussed in the second chapter, attest the application of prayers elaborated with narrative to the cursing of enemies in court. The first, in a fifteenth-century codex, prescribes a written incantation that opens with the wish that the biblical patriarchs “Moses and Aaron come with me to the *praetorium*” to defend against the enemies, then invokes the prophet Daniel, “who bridled the tongues of the lions,” to do the same to the user’s enemies.⁴⁶¹ The second, from a sixteenth-century manuscript, describes a complex procedure including the tying to the arm of bread consecrated to Mary (παναγία), the carrying and jettisoning of stones from a crossroads, and a prayer to the Trinity for protection. The central element seems to be the writing on paper of the narrative of Daniel’s taming of the lions, which, it is prayed, will be an analogue for the user’s subjugation of his enemies in court.⁴⁶²

⁴⁵⁷ Princeton excavations, now Princeton Art Museum inv. 3618-I62, described without text in Heintz et al. 2000, cf. Jordan 2000 no. 103; many in this museum still unrolled and unpublished, inv. 3241-I45, 3603-I56, 3573-I54, 3574-I55, 3608-I57, 5555-I182, 4758-I132, 4740-I130, 4868-I145, 5456-I170.

⁴⁵⁸ P.Lips. inv. 9418, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P LI (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.3.10).

⁴⁵⁹ Instructions in the formulary P.Iand. inv. 266, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P LVIII (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.3.12), a variant of which were in fact followed to produce a lead tablet, probably found at Rome, ed. Audollent 1904 no. 188; cf. Jordan 2004; chapter 3 cat. 1.3.3.13.

⁴⁶⁰ Ed. Orlandos 1973 no. 9 (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.3.16).

⁴⁶¹ Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419, ff. 273v-274r, ed. Delatte 1927, 503, ... Μωυσης καὶ Ααρων ἐλθέτωσαν μετ’ ἐμὲ εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον διὰ τὰς τῶν κακῶν ἀνθρώπων γλώσσας ... ἄγιε Δανιηλ ὁ χαλινώσας τὰς γλώσσας τῶν λεόντων, χαλίνωσον καὶ τὰ στόματα τῶν κακῶν ἀνθρώπων ... (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.3.17).

⁴⁶² Athens, Gennadios Library cod. 45, f. 34r-v, ed. Delatte 1959, 310-311, ... ὡς ἀπῆλθεν ὁ προφήτης Δανιηλ ἐν τῷ λάκκῳ τῶν λεόντων καὶ οὐκ ἐβρώθη ἀπ’ αὐτῶν δυνάμει τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος καὶ ἐχαλίνωσε τὰ στόματα τῶν λεόντων καὶ

After this review of traditional techniques, I wish also to signal Byzantine innovations in cursing upon ancient precedents. First is the use of scripture, defined in the same way as in the incantations considered in the first and second chapters, as poetry, or prose in elevated diction, broadly available in a canonical form, and selected for an analogical bearing on the scenario of use and the desired outcome. Its use is not much in evidence in curses in antiquity, at least not as the primary constituent. Epic diction and hexameter, however, is more common in the inscribed tablets,⁴⁶³ and may link them to the Homeric tradition, especially the divine lore of the epics the invocations of gods in the hymns. It also features in the divine speech of oracular pronouncements, from classical antiquity through Byzantium. Hexameter continues to feature in cursing in the later tradition at least into the sixth century, as attested by a pair of papyri probably employed by the same individual, a certain Sabinus, who invokes Christian deities to curse his daughter and her husband.⁴⁶⁴

Direct borrowings from Homer in curses do not appear until late antiquity, in a recipe in a papyrus codex, the notebook of Aurelius Philammon from fourth-century Hermopolis in Egypt. Along with several applications of Homeric lines for healing and apotropaic purposes, discussed in their proper place in the first chapter, comes a procedure for the re-infliction of bleeding on a patient who is cured of it but does not repay the healer. The original amulet, which had been inscribed with a line from the *Iliad*, is to be exposed to smoke, surely to cause it to wither and thus lose its efficacy, and a further line from the same episode of the *Iliad*, referring to Apollo as past and future bringer of “pains,” is to be added.⁴⁶⁵ Though the technique is nowhere common in surviving sources, a striking indication of its continuity, however limited, comes in an anonymous collection of primarily medical recipes in a fifteenth-century manuscript; the rest of the manuscript, which was probably produced in Crete, contains other medical treatises on remedies and diet including the works of Theophanes Chrysobalantes.⁴⁶⁶ Here one particular recipe seeks

ήκολούθησαν αὐτὸν ὡς πρόβατα τὸν ποιμένα, οὕτως καὶ ἐγὼ ... (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.3.18).

⁴⁶³ A lead tablet from the Classical period, Attica, ed. Wunsch 1897 no. 108, δῆσω ἐγὼ Σωσικλείαν κα[ι κ]τήματα | καὶ μέγα κῦδος καὶ πράξιν καὶ νοῦν, ἐ|χθρὰ δὲ φίλοισι γένοιτο. δῆσω ἐγὼ κ|είνην ὑπὸ Τάρταρον ἀερόεντ[α] | δεσμοῖς ἀργαλείοις σὺν θ' Ἐκάτ(η)ι χθο|νία (chapter 3 cat. 1.1.1.4); cf. another from Cyrenaica, ed. Pugliese Carratelli 1961-1962, 324-325 (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.3.9).

⁴⁶⁴ P.Ups. inv. 8, *Suppl.Mag.* II 59, ... [υῖ]ἐ θεοῦ μεγάλο[ιο], τὸν οὐδέποτ' ἔδρακεν ἀνήρ, | [ὀ]ς τυφλοῖσιν ἔδωκας [ι]δεῖν φάος ἡλίοιο, | [δ]εῖξον δ' ὡς τὸ πάροιθε θεουδέα θαύματα σεῖο. | ἡμετέρων καμ[ά]των μνημήϊα [τ]ῖσον ἀμοιβήν, | [ο]ῦς κάμον, οὓς ὑπ[έ]με[ι]να μιῆς ἐπίηρα θυγατρὸς, | ἐχθροὺς ἡμετέρο[υ]ς στερεαῖς ἐνὶ χερσ[ι] πατάσων (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.1.3); similarly the shorter P.Hamb. inv. 58, ed. *Suppl.Mag.* II 60 (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.1.4).

⁴⁶⁵ P.Berl. inv. 9873, p. 22.16-20, ed. Röthke et al. 2012, 46, τοῦ{ς} δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντος καὶ ἀχαριστήσαντο[ς] | \βαλοῦ/ λάβε παρ' αὐτοῦ \τὸ περίαμμα, πρόσβαλε ρίζαν,/ καὶ θεῖς ὑπὲρ καπνὸν καὶ | πρόσγρ(αφε) τοῦτο(ν) τὸν στίχον | 'τοῦνεγ' ἄ[ρ] ἄλκε' ἔτωκεν ἐκηβόλος | [ῆ]δ' ἔτι δώσι' (chapter 3 cat. 1.4.1).

⁴⁶⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library cod. Barocci 150. The paper is Italian, with a watermark of a pair of scissors e.g. f. 3 comparable to Briquet 3664 (Genoa, 1446) and 3677 (Lucca 1482-1498 and Venice, 1477); the letter R, e.g. f. v, cf. Briquet 8936 (Venice, 1443-1449); and three mountains, e.g. f. 1, cf. Briquet 11684 (Fano, 1400); another at e.g. ff. 10 and 12 that I have not yet been able to identify. That the manuscript was likely owned by

to inflict distention on a perjurer as a means of insuring fidelity among oath-swearers. The user is to write *Iliad* 1.10, which describes Apollo's infliction of plague on the Greeks at Troy following the curse of Chryseus (ἠρᾶθ', *Il.* 1.35), and the resulting mass deaths among them, on leaves, wash off the writing, and give it to the swearers to drink; any perjurer will "swell up" with sickness.⁴⁶⁷

But the far more common source in the Byzantine period, as was also the case for the use of scripture in healing and erotic incantations, was the biblical scriptures. As has already been discussed, these appealed both for their content, as divinely inspired and wide-ranging in content, and for their familiarity, much as the Homeric poems had in antiquity, specifically through use in education and liturgical and devotional practice. Again the Psalms see the most extensive use, and throughout there is a clear preference for the selection of verses with an analogical bearing on the scenario of use, made possible by thorough knowledge of the scriptures on the part of the designer of the procedures. A recipe in a fifteenth-century manuscript for a curse on personal enemies, already discussed for its employment of direct performatives of binding in a written incantation, adds the recitation of *Ps.* 66 as the final act in the cursing procedure.⁴⁶⁸ The psalm suggests itself particularly because of its stress on the universality of divine judgment and the fear of the divine (esp. v. 8b, φοβηθήτωσαν αὐτὸν πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς). It appears in two further, post-Byzantine manuscript recipes of the eighteenth century, both of which recommend that it be spoken over water, which then, activated by its divine words, is to be poured out at the door of the target of the curse.⁴⁶⁹ Analogical appropriateness of the psalm to the context of use, here cursing a personal enemy, is clearly kept in mind. Another recipe, from a nineteenth-century codex, involves the oral recitation of *Ps.* 8, which includes references to destroying enemies (v. 3c, τοῦ καταλῦσαι ἐχθρόν) and the subjugation of "all things" in the natural world to the ideal human (v. 7b, πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ).⁴⁷⁰ From the same codex, another set of instructions call for *Ps.* 10, which prophesies violent divine justice for the sinful (vv. 5-6) to be written, dissolved, and deposited at the door of the target; also, eggs are to be inscribed with the same psalm, but, in what is perhaps a reflex of the graphic analogy to retrograde

Francesco Barozzi (1537-1604) suggests the Cretan origin, though it might also have been added to the collection by his nephew Iacopo (1562-1617), who lived at Venice.

⁴⁶⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library cod. Barocci 150, f. 71v, εἰς τοὺς ὀμνύοντας. γράψον εἰς συκῆς φύλλα κιννάβαρ καὶ ἀπόπλυνον εἰς ὕδωρ καὶ δίδου πίνειν καὶ ἐὰν ἐπιorkήσῃ, φυσαῖται ἐντὸς ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν. τὰ δὲ γραφόμενά εἰσι ταῦτα 'νοῦσον ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὦρσε κακὴν, ὠλέκοντο δὲ λαοί.' ἡ λύσις αὐτῆ: γράψον εἰς κράμβης φύλλα κιννάβαρ καὶ ἀπόπλυνον εἰς ὕδωρ καὶ δὸς πίνειν (chapter 3 cat. 1.4.2). There may be an analogical significance to the choice of fig leaves for the curse and cabbage leaves for the release, in the internal flowering of the fig (Theophr. *Caus. pl.* 2.9, *Hist. pl.* 2.8) and the extensive medicinal use of cabbage especially to aid digestion and urination (e.g. Dioscorides *De materia medica* 2.120-122).

⁴⁶⁸ Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419, f. 273v, ed. Delatte 1927, 502 with 654 (chapter 3 cat. 1.1.1.15).

⁴⁶⁹ St. Petersburg, NLR cod. gr. 646, f. 10v (cryptography), 'ὁ θεὸς οἰκτιρήσαι ἡμᾶς καὶ εὐλογήσαι ἡμᾶς' εἶναι ὠφέλιμος διὰ τὴν 'πουκομπήσης τὸν ἐχθρόν σου. διάβασέ το εἰς ὕδωρ καὶ χύσε το εἰς τὴν πόρταν του (chapter 3 cat. 1.4.5); similarly Athens, Soc. Hist. cod. 241, f. 108r, ed. Delatte 1927, 137, cf. *CCAG* X:51, a *iatrosophion* (chapter 3 cat. 1.4.4).

⁴⁷⁰ Private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας, f. 481r-v, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 312 (chapter 3 cat. 1.4.7).

inscription in the ancient phase of the tradition, the writing is to be done backwards (ἐξανάστροφα).⁴⁷¹ A final example from the same source employs a verse from *Ps.* 67, which is to be written on reed leaves along with the target's name and some magical signs (χαρακτῆρες), namely verse 3, ὡς ἐκλείπει καπνὸς (ἐκλιπέτωσαν), thus equating the target with the “enemies of God” against whom the psalm speaks (ἀναστήτω ὁ θεὸς καὶ διασκορπισθήτωσαν οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῦ, etc.); the user should deposit the assemblage in a tomb “for which you do not know whose it is.”⁴⁷² The motif of not knowing the particular corpse with whom the curse is deposited we have indeed encountered in the Classical period, stated much more explicitly in the text of a lead tablet found in a tomb in Olbia,⁴⁷³ of which the present instance may be an indirect reflex. The practice of ‘psalm-cursing’ (ψαλμοκατάρρα), unfortunately no further explained but surely connected with ritual curses of this sort, is in turn one of the dangers against which divine protection is invoked in apotropaic prayer attested from the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴⁷⁴

The Byzantine phase of the tradition also develops the use of narrative in the direction of increasing metaphorical abstraction. We have already seen the use of more concrete narrative scenarios in conjunction with prayers. Related also is a recapitulative or scene-setting narrative in the curse of Sabinus against his daughter and her husband, executed in the form of a prayer written on papyrus. As justification for his request, Sabinus relates, with considerable verve and, we may suspect, some hyperbole, the wrongs done to him, how his body withered away in a sick-bed, and how he has wept and lamented night and day.⁴⁷⁵ A procedure for the cursing of a husband and wife in a fourteenth-century manuscript, already adduced for its use of direct performatives of binding, takes much greater imaginative liberties. In a motif that recalls the claims of sacrilege found in curses from Roman Egypt, such as defiling the temples or sacred animals of the deity invoked in the ritual, this oral incantation accuses the husband of horse theft; the accompanying procedure to undo the binding introduces a narrative of a “bronze bridegroom” with fifty bronze faces, who stands “out there beyond the Black Sea,” and whose limbs the incantation claims to loosen, as analogue to those of the human

⁴⁷¹ Private collection, Βερναρδάκειο μαγικὸ κώδικας, ff. 482v-483r, ed.

Papathomopoulos 2006, 314 (chapter 3 cat. 1.4.8).

⁴⁷² Private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας, f. 294r-v, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 175, ἔπαρε καλαμόφυλλα καὶ γράψε | αὐτὲς τὲς χαρακτῆρες καὶ τὸ ὄνομά του καὶ χῶσέ το σὲ μνήμα ὅπου δὲν ξεύρεις τίνος εἶναι. ‘ὡς ἐκλείπει καπνὸς [signs]’ (chapter 3 cat. 1.4.9). The motif appears also in a procedure in an eighteenth-century manuscript for preventing the flight of a slave, which involves ritual deposition in a tomb and an address to the corpse, σὺ ἄνθρωπε ὁ κοιμώμενος ὧδε, εἴτε ἀνὴρ εἴτε γυνὴ οὐκ οἶδα, ζῶν ἄρτι, οὐ λαλεῖς, ὀφθαλμὸν ἔχων οὐ βλέπεις, πόδας ἔχων οὐ περιπατεῖς, οὕτως νὰ γένη καὶ ἀπὸ χειρῶν μου ὁ υἱός μου ὁ δεῖνα (Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 241, f. 103r, ed. Delatte 1927, 136; chapter 3 cat. 2.4.1.6).

⁴⁷³ Ed. Bravo 1987 (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.3.3).

⁴⁷⁴ In fragmentary form in a sixteenth-century manuscript from Cyprus, Paris, BnF cod. gr. 395, f. 43r, ... ἐπίσκεψον τὸν δοῦλόν σου Φλουρὶ καὶ ἀποδίωξον ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀνάθεμα, τὴν κατάρρα, τὴν ψαλμοκατάρρα; and in fuller form in the eighteenth-century Paris, BnF cod. gr. 825, f. 6v (Delatte 1927, 230-231).

⁴⁷⁵ P. Ups. inv. 8, *Suppl. Mag.* II 59, ... καταξηρανθήτω τὸ σῶμα ἐν κλίνοις, ὡς ἐθεάσω κ[αὶ τὸ] | ἐμὸν παρὰ τῶν καλυψάντων τὴν ἡμετέραν αἰδῶ. ... ἐγὼ ἐ[λ]εινὸς κλα[ίω]ν καὶ στέν[ων νυκ]τ[ὸς καὶ] | vac. ἡμέρας ἐπιδέδωκ[α] τὰ ἐμὰ θ[εῶ] τῶ ὄλων | vac. δεσπότη εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τῶν κα[κουργῶν ὧν] | πέπονθα παρὰ Σεηρίνης κ[αὶ Διδύμου] (chapter 3 cat. 1.3.1.3).

targets.⁴⁷⁶ A sixteenth-century manuscript containing astrological and demonological material has a procedure for cursing enemies by means of a written incantation, in particular their ability to speak. It opens with a riddling narrative of how, when Christ was born, the Jordan “had a head, but had not, but had, but its head was below and its feet were on top, it had eyes and saw not, a mouth and conversed not, hands and grasped not, feet and walked not,” a paradoxical disposition which, the incantation continues, should apply to the user’s enemies too.⁴⁷⁷ An example from modern Greece, finally, has been recorded from Aidipsia (Euboea) in the early twentieth century and seeks to bind a newly married couple. As a means of casting the marriage as perverse, the incantation begins by recounting how the “devil-father-in-law” (διαβολοσπέθερος), the “devil-priest” (διαβολόπαπας), and the “devil-godfather” (διαβολονονός) set off to officiate at the marriage of the newlyweds, each of their actions there described with a corresponding διαβολο- compound as the perverse opposite of what is proper to the normal ceremony.⁴⁷⁸

We have to consider finally a technique which rises to great popularity in the Byzantine period, cursing based solely on graphic manipulation of the name of the target.⁴⁷⁹ There is an obvious affinity with the graphic analogy, to retrograde or anagrammatic writing, attested on inscribed tablets in antiquity. But in the present category it is the name itself that is the central element. The earliest evidence comes from the fifteenth century. In an anonymous collection of primarily medical recipes, a procedure for cursing an enemy recommends that the target’s name be written on a laurel leaf and placed in the user’s shoe, an obvious analogue for the subjugation of the enemy, though this is not made explicit; a close variant of the procedure is repeated in a nineteenth-century *iatrosophion* from Epirus.⁴⁸⁰ Another, in a fifteenth-century

⁴⁷⁶ Venice, BNM cod. gr. Z 501, ff. 174v-175r, ... ανέκλεψε καὶ οἶδα ἵππάρια καὶ κηλώνια καὶ φοράδια ... The reversal: ... λύω τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὴν δεῖνα. ἐκεῖ πέρα τὴν μαύρην θάλασσαν στήκει ὁ χαλκὸς γαμβρὸς μετὰ χαλκὰ πρόσωπα πεντήκοντα. καὶ λύω τὰ στραγάλλιά του καὶ λύω τὰ κότζιά του ... (chapter 3 cat. 1.1.1.14).

⁴⁷⁷ Athens, cod. Gennadios 45, f. 35r, ed. Delatte 1959, 309-310, εἰς τὸ ἀποστομῶσαι ἐχθρόν. γράφε οὕτως ὅταν ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη, εἶχεν Ἰορδάνης κεφαλὴν· δὲν εἶχεν, εἶχεν, ἀμὴ ἦτον τὸ κεφάλιν του κάτω καὶ τὰ ποδάριά του ἀπάνου. ὀμμάτια εἶχεν καὶ δὲν ἔβλεπεν, στόμα εἶχεν καὶ δὲν ἐσυντύχαιεν, χεῖρας εἶχεν καὶ δὲν ἐπίασεν, πόδας εἶχεν καὶ δὲν ἐπεριπάτει. οὕτως καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ μου, ἐμέναν τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα, ὀμμάτια ἔχουν καὶ οὐ μὴ βλέπουσιν, πόδας ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐ μὴ συναπαντοῦν με, χεῖρας ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐ πιάνουσί με. οὕτως νὰ βλέπουν τὸν δούλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα καὶ νὰ εἶναι ἄλαλοι καὶ κωφοὶ ἔμπροσθέν μου’ (chapter 3 cat. 1.5.2).

⁴⁷⁸ Reported from Ἅγιον by E.A. Pappanastasiou, a correspondent who identifies himself as a public schoolteacher, in Athanasopoulos et al. 1914, 525-526 no. 4, κίνησε διαβολοσπέθερος νὰ πάη νὰ διαβολοσπεθεριάσῃ τὸ νέο ἀντρόγυνο. κίνησε διαβολόπαπας, πῆρε τὰ διαβολοπετραχήλια του, πῆρε τὰ διαβολοχαρτιά του, νὰ πάη νὰ διαβολοστεφανώσῃ τὸ νέο ἀντρόγυνο. κίνησε διαβολονονός, πῆρε τὰ διαβολοστέφανα, νὰ πάη νὰ διαβολοστεφανώσῃ τὸ νέο ἀντρόγυνο ... (chapter 3 cat. 1.5.3).

⁴⁷⁹ Also included in the catalogue, but not discussed here, are those that contain entirely non-Greek words or *logoi* (section 1.8) and those that proceed through non-verbal means (section 1.9).

⁴⁸⁰ Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2315, f. 241r, ed. Legrand 1881, 10, περὶ ἐχθροῦ. ἔπαρον δάφνης φύλλον καὶ γράψον τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἐχθροῦ σου καὶ θές το εἰς τὸ πόδημά σου καὶ φόρειε ὑποκάτω (chapter 3 cat. 1.7.5); cf. the *iatrosophion* ed. cod. S, §97, in Oikonomou 1978, 271-272 (chapter 3 cat. 1.7.6).

manuscript of theological, astrological and medical content, calls for the writing of the name of the target upside-down (ἀνάποδα) on a brick along with magical signs (χαρακτῆρες).⁴⁸¹ In a nineteenth-century manuscript the name is expanded to an identification by the metronym, a survival from ancient Egyptian practice;⁴⁸² in another from the sixteenth century, the name serves as a label upon a drawing of a corpse (ἄνθρωπος ἀπεθαμμένος), a fate analogous to whose the curse seeks to inflict on its target.⁴⁸³

To supplement the archeological and codicological records where they grow sparse, from the seventh through the thirteenth centuries, it is useful to examine testimonia to the practice of ritual cursing in historiographical and hagiographical sources. As with the evidence from similar sources adduced in the second chapter, it is not necessary in any particular instance to think of a factual record of observed practices, but the episodes would surely have better achieved the rhetorical agenda of their authors, the hagiographers and literary historians, if they bore a plausible relation to contemporary practice with which the intended audience could be expected to be familiar. Cursing by inscribed incantations on metal tablets, a popular technique in antiquity as we have seen, is attested in an episode in the sixth-century hagiographer Cyril of Scythopolis.⁴⁸⁴ A certain Romanos in Palestine is the victim of the ritual at the hands of a neighbor who tries and fails to steal some of his property, and travels to the closest city, Eleutheropolis, to hire a γόης to kill Romanos. The methods are not described, but they have success, inflicting dropsy on Romanos, and the general procedure is suggested by the means of the cure: in response to his prayer a dream-vision of St. Euthymius appears to Romanos, cuts open his belly, and removes a tin sheet (πέταλον κασσιτέρινον) bearing inscribed χαρακτῆρες, which the saint links to the hiring of demons against him by the enemy (δαίμονας κατὰ σοῦ ἐμισθώσατο). In an anonymous *Life* of St. Domnike, edited from a twelfth-century manuscript, a noblewoman in Constantinople is afflicted with a rather vaguely described wasting condition (ὠχρότητι προσώπου πάνυ καταπεποιημένη καὶ τῷ παντὶ σαρκίῳ ἐκτετηκυῖα); the culprit, as the saint reveals, is a servant of the woman, who had placed inscribed tablets inside her pillow (διαρραγέντος τοῦ προσκεφαλαίου ...

⁴⁸¹ Naples, BN cod. II C 33, f. 47r, ed. Delatte 1927, 615 (chapter 3 cat. 1.7.1).

⁴⁸² Private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικός κώδικας, f. 424r, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 276-277, ... καὶ τὸ ὄνομά του καὶ τῆς μητρός του ... (chapter 3 cat. 1.7.4).

⁴⁸³ Athens, Gennadios Library cod. 45, f. 35v, ed. Delatte 1959, 311-312 (chapter 3 cat. 1.7.2).

⁴⁸⁴ *Vita Euthymii* 57, ed. Schwartz (Leipzig 1939), 78-79; cf. Gager 1992, 262 and Wortley 2001, 297: οὔτινος Ῥωμανοῦ τὰ διαφέροντα ἀνὴρ τις φθόνῳ σατανικῶι κατεχόμενος ἐπειρᾶτο διαρπάσαι. καὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ ἀποτυχῶν ἀπομανεῖς κατ' αὐτοῦ ἀπέρχεται ἐν Ἐλευθεροπόλει καὶ προσομιλεῖ γόητι τινι ἐπιθυμῶν ἀποκτείνει τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ ὁ μὲν γόης λαβὼν τὸ ἱκανὸν ἐχρήσατο ταῖς διαβολικαῖς μαγγανείαις ... ἐξήνεγκεν ἐκ τῆς γαστρὸς πέταλον κασσιτέρινον ἔχον χαρακτῆράς τινας καὶ τίθησιν αὐτὸ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τραπέζιου τινός. ... ἀπελθὼν γάρ τις εἰς Ἐλευθερόπολιν δαίμονας κατὰ σοῦ ἐμισθώσατο, οἵτινες σοῦ ἀμελοῦντος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας κατὰ σοῦ ἴσχυσαν: the demons were only successful, the saint explains, because Romanos neglected to go to church. A version of this account appears also in the *Vita Euthymii* in the Baltimore menologion (*BGH* 649a), ed. Halkin 1985, 333-334; cf. Cupane 2014, 487, who seems unaware of the earlier text.

εὐρέθησαν ἔνδοθεν πέταλά τινα περιέργους γραμμὰς ἔχοντα πανουργία σατανικῆ κεχαραγμένως), though their text is not recorded.⁴⁸⁵

Later Byzantine evidence is less explicit about the role of incantations specifically, but several examples can be gathered where oral incantations likely figured in the procedure. In Sophronios' seventh-century collection of the miracles of Kyros and Ioannes, saints associated with an incubation shrine near Alexandria, a local man, Theophilos, is attacked by a curse ritual.⁴⁸⁶ The devil is summoned by the invocations (ἐπικλήσεις) of certain enemies of Theophilos, and "binds" his hands and feet (χεῖρας καὶ πόδας συνδήσας τοῦ σώματος). Doctors attempt to treat the illness without success; the saints Kyros and Ioannes instruct Theophilos in a dream to buy from a fisherman whatever he catches next from the sea; the catch is a small box (θήβη, κιβώτιον) sealed with locks and lead seals (οὐ μόνον γὰρ κλειδώσει περιέσφιγκτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφραγῖσι μολιβδίναις ἐστόμωτο), inside of which is a wooden effigy pierced with nails (ξύανον ἦν ἀνδρείκελον, ἐκ χαλκοῦ λαχὸν τὴν ὑπόστασιν, εἰκονίζον μορφῇ τὸν Θεόφιλον, καὶ ἦλους ποσὶ καὶ χερσὶ καθηλωθέντας ἔφερε τέτταρας, ἦλου ἑνὸς καθ' ἑκάστου μέλους ὑπάρχοντος); as soon as the nails are removed, the limbs are healed.

The historian Niketas Choniates describes how a man in the imperial service is caught in the act of deploying aggressive magic centered on a bound effigy pierced with a nail, but probably also accompanied by the use of incantations informed by a "book in the tradition of Solomon" (βιβλος Σολομώντειος) that he was reading at the time.⁴⁸⁷ This was Aaron Isaakios, a native of Corinth and later resident of Sicily and a diplomatic interpreter under Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180). The effigy is described as ἀνθρωπόμορφον εἰκασμα, πεπεδημένον ἄμφω τῷ πόδε καὶ τὸ στέρνον ἐληλαμένον ἦλω διαμπερές, and Aaron had inserted it into a (replica) tortoise-shell (χελώνης ἔκφορον μίμημα), perhaps simply for concealment, but an analogic function, drawing on the sluggish and reclusive nature of the tortoise, should not be ruled out.⁴⁸⁸

Indeed there is a yet more explicit reference to an analogical disposition of an animal, which recalls examples in inscribed tablets from antiquity and also the post-Byzantine manuscript recipe discussed above. It comes in an anonymous collection of the miracles of St. Isaiah the Prophet, performed through incubation at his shrine in Constantinople, in a twelfth-century codex.⁴⁸⁹ A woman suffering from paralysis is instructed by the saint in a dream to go home and dig at the gateway to her home, find there a bird bound with her own hair and burn it at the shrine (οἴκοι τε ἀπελθεῖν καὶ

⁴⁸⁵ §12, ed. from Venice, BNM cod. gr. VII 25, f. 202r-v, in Ioannou 1884, 277 (BHG 562).

⁴⁸⁶ Sophronios, *Miracles of SS. Cyrus and John* no. 35, ed. Fernandez Marcos 1975; cf. Cupane 2014, 488.

⁴⁸⁷ Choniates 144-146 van Dieten, and further Magdalino 2006, 148-151. Ioannes Kinnamos also refers to the reputation of this Aaron for involvement in δαιμόνια ἔργα (284 Meineke).

⁴⁸⁸ Compare a procedure in the early modern ritual manual Athens, EBE cod. 1265, ff. 56v-57v (ed. Koukoules 1926, 97; Delatte 1927, 96-97; chapter 3 cat. 1.1.1.18), for the binding of the tongue, and general subjugation, of a personal enemy through incantations with performatives that equate the target with a donkey from whose ears the user has gathered wax, claiming to bridle, saddle, ride, and strike him (χαλινώνω καὶ χιώνω τον, στρώνω τον, καβαλλικεύω τον, ῥαβδίζω τον), and so on.

⁴⁸⁹ Oxford, Bodleian Library cod. Barocci 240, ff. 72v-78r, ed. Delehaye 1924, 265 no. 19.

όρύξασαν ἐν τῷ πυλῶνι ἦν ἂν εὖροι ὄρνιθα δεδεμένην μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτῆς τριχῶν καὶ τινων ἄλλων ἐνταυθοῖ κομίσει καὶ κατακαῦσαι).

A series of other references are less explicit in their description of the cursing ritual and associated objects, but all concur in a central role for the burial of some ritually efficacious object in the home of the target. This disposition will be familiar in the tradition from its description in later manuscript recipes,⁴⁹⁰ which have already been discussed in their proper place. In the same seventh-century collection of the miracles of saints Kyros and Ioannes adduced above, there is an account of the healing of Theodore of Lapithos on Cyprus.⁴⁹¹ A physician (ιατρός), he falls sick due to μαγία and is helped by the saints in a dream at their shrine, who tell him to send servants back to his home at Lapithos and dig up the “evil deed” buried at the doorstep to his bedchamber.⁴⁹² This done, the curser immediately vanishes, and proved to have been a Jew, under prior suspicion of similar actions previously. A middle Byzantine life of the tenth-century saint Nikon has the saint in his preaching in the vicinity of Argos and Nauplion pass the house of a Ioannes Blabenterios, who along with his daughter has been struck deadly ill as the result of what is called “magical trickery.”⁴⁹³ The saint cures them through prayer and the laying-on of hands, and also brings to light the μαγγανεία, buried at the root of a tree in their courtyard (κεχωσμένην οὔσαν καὶ κατορωρυγμένην παρὰ τὴν ρίζαν τοῦ δένδρου, οὗ περίστατο εἰς τὸ μέσαυλον). Two similar accounts appear in the anonymous twelfth-century miracle collection of Isaiah. In one, a certain Anatole is driven mad and possessed by a demon through “magic” (μαγείαις); instructed by the saint in a dream, she and her parents dig up the objects in the middle of their house.⁴⁹⁴ The other concerns a noblewoman paralyzed after being attacked with μαγεῖαι by one of her maidservants (θεραπνίδες), and instructed by the saint in a dream to burn whatever she finds in her pillow and gateway (ἐν τῷ προσκεφαλαίῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ πύλῃ ἃ ἂν εὕρη κατακαῦσαι).⁴⁹⁵

An interesting comment on the continued diversity of means of enacting and depositing ritual curses, covering all the ancient methods but also attesting some novel-sounding ones or involving materials unlikely to have survived in the archeological record, comes in a fragment of an apotropaic prayer in a sixteenth-century manuscript from Cyprus. The prayer expresses the promise that the patient will be “released” (λυθήσεται) no matter how he has been “bound” (δεδεμένον), be it “in the earth or on the shore or in a river or among tombs or in the threshold of a house or in the leaf of a tree or on a roof or

⁴⁹⁰ E.g. the sixteenth/seventeenth century Athens, EBE cod. 1265, f. 59v, ed. Delatte 1927, 95-96 (chapter 3 cat. 1.9.3); the eighteenth-century Athens, EBE cod. 241, f. 108r, ed. Delatte 1927, 137 (chapter 3 cat. 1.4.4); the nineteenth-century Βερναρδάκειος μαγικός κώδικας, ff. 424r, 481r-v and 482v-483r, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 276-277, 312, and 314 (chapter 3 cat. 1.7.4, 1.4.7, 1.4.8).

⁴⁹¹ Sophronios, *Miracles of SS. Cyrus and John* no. 55, ed. Fernandez Marcos 1975.

⁴⁹² *ibid.*, πρὸ τοῦ κοιτῶνος τοῦ σοῦ παρὰ τὸ πρόθυρον σκάψαι διάταξον· ἐκεῖσε γὰρ εὕρησει τὸ τοῦ δεδρακότος κακούργημα, ὑπὸ τὸ πρόθυρον ἀφανῶς καλυπτόμενον.

⁴⁹³ ἐκ ... γοητικῆς μαγγανείας, *Vita et Miracula Nikonis* 30, ed. Sullivan 1987, 106; cf. Cupane 2014, 485. Perhaps Ioannes earned his nickname Βλαβεντέριος from the harm done to his innards (βλάβη τῶν ἐντέρων).

⁴⁹⁴ Oxford, Bodleian Library cod. Barocci 240, ff. 72v-78r, Delehay 1924, 264 no. 14, δι' ἐνυπνίου ... ὁ προφήτης ἐφίσταται προστάσων πορευθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτῆς καὶ μέσον αὐτοῦ που ἐρευνήσασαν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐφευρεῖν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς νόσου· ἥτις δὴ τοὺς γονεῖς λαβοῦσα μεθ' ἑαυτῆς τοῦτο ἐποίησε καὶ ἃ ἐξήτει δηλητήρια ἐφευροῦσα πρὸς τὸν θεραπευτὴν αὐτῆς ἠπέιγετο.

⁴⁹⁵ *ibid.*, ed. Delehay 1924, 264-265 no. 18.

in gold or in silver or in bronze or in a nail or in wood or in lead or in tin or in the skin of an animal or in the veins of sheep or a goat or kids, in a road or in a cross-road, or by writing in ink.”⁴⁹⁶

The manipulation of effigies to curse a target with an analogous effect, well-known from the ancient and later Byzantine phases of the tradition, is met with also in literary references in this middle phase. The historian Niketas Choniates reports that during the Latin occupation of Constantinople, a bound figurine pierced with nail and encased in lead was found in the hoof of an equestrian statue, which the Latins suspected of being a curse directed against them.⁴⁹⁷ The twelfth-century canonist Balsamon describes accusations of aggressive ritual involving wax figurines (κηρόπλαστα εἶδωλα) to inflict sickness, here at an elite level, the target being a princess, Zoe.⁴⁹⁸ This Zoe had fallen gravely ill, and the ἰατροί despaired of helping her, but some “pagans” came and promised a cure, diagnosing the sickness as caused by “magic,” accusing many of Zoe’s associates; as Balsamon claims, these pagans in fact plant wax figurines in the corners of her residence as part of the scheme.⁴⁹⁹ Zoe got no benefit from this, but soon died, her reputation tarnished by impiety. There are also several accounts from the middle Byzantine period of the mutilation of statues which either did or were intended to have an analogic effect on those whom they represented: the practitioners of this method according to the literary historians included the patriarch John VII Grammatikos (acting on behalf of the emperor Theophilos), the emperors Romanos I Lekapenos and Manuel I Komnenos, and the empress Euphrosyne Doukaina, wife of Alexios III Angelos.⁵⁰⁰

II. Ritual procedures for the redress of theft

⁴⁹⁶ Paris, BnF cod. gr. 395 (Cyprus, s. XVI), f. 7r, ‘(…) ἡ ζῆλον τε καὶ φθόνον· ὅταν ἀναγνωσθῆ ἡ εὐχή αὕτη ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὲν ἐν οὐρανῶ ἐστὶν δεδεμένον, λυθήσεται, ἢ ἐν τῇ γῆ ἢ ἐν ἑπιπέδῳ ἢ ἐν ποταμῶ ἢ ἐν μέσῳ μνημάτων ἢ ἐν κατωφλίῳ οἰκίας ἢ ἐν φύλλῳ δένδρου ἢ ἐν δώματι ἢ ἐν χρυσῶ ἢ ἐν ἀργύρῳ ἢ ἐν χαλκῶ ἢ ἐν ἥλῳ ἢ ἐν ξύλῳ ἢ ἐν μολύβδῳ ἢ ἐν κασσιτέρῳ ἢ ἐν δέρματι θηρίου ἢ ἐν φλεβῶν προβάτων ἢ αἰγοῦ τε καὶ ἐρίφων, ἐν διόδῳ ἢ ἐν τριόδῳ, ἢ ἐν μελανίῳ γεγραμμένον.’

⁴⁹⁷ ἀνθρωπόμορφον εὐρίσκουσιν ἴνδαλμα ὑποκείμενον, πλειόνως εἰκάζον ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Βουλγάρων τινὰ γένους, ἐς τὸ διαμπερές ἐληλαμένον ἥλω καὶ μολίβδῳ πάντη κατελιμμένον, ἢ γοῦν Λατῖνον διατυποῦν, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ πάλαι πρὸς τῶν ὄλων διαπεφήμιστο, Choniates 643 van Dieten, who adds that some thought the statue depicted Bellerophon, others, Joshua son of Nun.

⁴⁹⁸ Balsamon, *PG* 138:801c-804a; cf. Grumel, *Regestes* 87 no. 1010. Zoe is described as σεβαστή and wife of the σεβαστοκράτωρ, “the glorious son of the pious emperor Alexios Komnenos.” This would seem to have been one of the brothers of John II Komnenos (r. 1118-1143); the reign of Leo Styppeiotēs, patriarch of Constantinople from 1134 to 1143, is said to have occurred after the death of this Zoe.

⁴⁹⁹ *ibid.*, ἔθνικοὶ τινες ἐπαγγειλάμενοι θεραπεῦσαι αὐτὴν ὡς δῆθεν ἀπὸ μαγικῶν μαγγανειῶν νοσηλευομένην, συνώθησαν ἀδίκως ἐτασθῆναι πολλὰς καὶ θαυμαστὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῆς, ἔτι μὲν καὶ ἄνδρας. ἔρριπτον δὲ κρύφα ἐν γωνίαις κηρόπλαστα εἶδωλα καὶ σατανικῶς προεμήνουν τὴν τούτων ἀναψηλάφησιν καὶ εὐρεσιν.

⁵⁰⁰ John VII Grammatikos: Theophanes Cont. 4.7, 155-156 Bekker; Romanos Lekapenos (acting on the advice of his trusted councilor the μυστικός and παραδυναστεύων Ioannes, called an ἀστρονόμος): Theoph. Cont., 411-412 Bekker; Manuel I Komnenos: Choniates 151 van Dieten; Euphrosyne: Choniates 519-520 and 558 van Dieten. On the episodes see also Magdalino 2006, 123-124, 126-127, 152.

After this discussion of cursing for the infliction of harm on enemies, we come to the second sub-category of incantations in aggressive ritual practice, rituals seeking the redress of theft. The civilizations of the classical, late ancient, and medieval periods of interest to this study have found numerous approaches to this age-old problem, including unilateral private retribution and appeal to the arbitration, investigation, and adjudication of human authorities, or the intercession of divinities. The particular methods selected for this chapter of course feature incantations as central elements. They also concur in that they seek to inflict conditional, temporary compulsion or other violence on a third party believed to be responsible for a crime and hence are, in the mind of the user, justified. These procedures will be further analyzed into two classes: those that reveal the identity of the thief, who may then be subjected to the relevant legal penalties and from whom the stolen items may be recovered; and those that force the return of a fugitive thief, either for legal retribution or, as in the case of the common extension of these procedures to fugitive slaves, whose flight itself constituted the theft, to resolve the situation directly.⁵⁰¹ For the curses in the previous section, the evidence for the ancient phase of the tradition was preponderantly of the applied kind, in the form of inscribed tablets from the archeological record, with a near mirroring of the situation in the Byzantine phase in favor of manuscript recipes. For the rituals concerning theft, by contrast, evidence of application is sparse at all periods, with two exceptions for antiquity that will be discussed further below, while there is a great number of manuscript recipes, peaking in the later Byzantine period. Testimonia from legal sources will also be introduced to help contextualize the practices in that period, as well as parallel developments in Latin texts in the medieval West.

On the Greek side, such techniques have been little studied in their own right. The most thorough treatment thus far, that of Horak and Gastgeber (1995),⁵⁰² gives an overview of techniques falling under three of the categories presented in the following discussion (the ‘eye,’ ‘bread and cheese,’ and ‘three patriarchs’ categories), with commendable attention to both Greek and Latin sources. The authors are unaware, however, of important textual witnesses to ancient antecedents among the papyri, and their selection of medieval manuscript texts can be greatly increased, most importantly with material of significantly earlier date. The tradition of these practices in the medieval West has received more attention, culminating in the encyclopedic accounts of Müller-Bergström 1929-1930 and Ohrt 1929-1930; both write in the context of the discipline of German folklore and as such privilege developments in later medieval and early modern vernacular. The related medieval judicial institution of the ordeal, accompanied by prayer and liturgical ritual that occasionally overlaps with the incantation techniques, has been studied in detail by Bartlett (1986), who however focuses on a different subset of techniques, those “unilateral” ordeals that made use of fire and water.⁵⁰³

⁵⁰¹ A smaller class, those that compel the thief to make restitution directly, bypassing other forms of resolution, is included in the catalogue but omitted here.

⁵⁰² See also the dated but still valuable studies of Jacoby 1910, 1913, and 1922.

⁵⁰³ The best collection of prayers and *missae* for *iudicia* remains that of Zeumer in the *MGH* series (1882, 601-721). Bartlett’s fundamental distinction of the ritual practices of interest here from the ordeal is in the personnel involved, namely priests; judicial ordeals are prescribed in state law-codes, as a recourse in the absence of evidence and where oaths were not acceptable or considered untrustworthy, though ecclesiastical participation was essential (1986, 30-32); there was not a little unease among theologians about the manipulative problems with “requiring” a miracle of God (*ibid.* 87-89). Unlike the ordeal, our rituals surely did not “burst into history in the Carolingian period” under state

The most common procedures in the first class, for revelation of the identity of the thief, are two rituals distinguished by their public performance before, or upon, a gathering of suspects in the crime. Both seek to produce physical manifestations of guilt in the thief, which will be visible to all witnesses, through ritual practices to which incantations are central. The first calls for the painting of a figure of a human eye, using a ritually significant concoction as ink, in a prominent place on a wall before the assembled suspects. Incantations, oral, inscribed, or both, invoke divine assistance in the procedure, specifically in creating a sympathetic connection between the eye on the wall and the eye of the guilty party. The eye is then mutilated, by an object with further ritual specificity, which in turn should produce an analogous reaction in the thief, which will prove his guilt. Alternatively the user may be advised to give the thief the opportunity to confess upon the mere threat of the mutilation of the eye, which should be undertaken as a last resort.

Our earliest evidence for the procedure comes in a fragment of a collection of recipes, all having to do with the identification of thieves, copied on the verso of a papyrus bookroll from Egyptian Oxyrhynchus of the third or fourth century.⁵⁰⁴ The text of this particular recipe is damaged, but it clearly prescribes the graphic representation of an eye and an oral incantation ordering the thief to speak out (εἰπάτω) before his own eye suffers the analogue of the blows dealt to the drawn eye with a hammer (σφῦρα). A longer and better preserved version in a fourth-century papyrus codex from Thebes, with a miscellany of ritual recipes, makes it clear that the eye, painted with a suspension of gold in boiled plant-extract, is to take the form of the *wedjat*, an amuletic representation of the eye of the Egyptian god Horus (οὐ(τ)άτιον, cf. Coptic ΟΥΧΑΙ, which the scribe in places seems to confuse with οὔς, ‘ear’).⁵⁰⁵ The incantation is a rich syncretism, containing an exorcistic invocation of a divinity with epithets in transliterated Egyptian, alongside sequences of the seven Greek vowels, and the wish that as the user strikes (κρούω) the eye with a hammer (σφῦρα), the eye of the thief may be stricken (κρούεσθω) and inflamed, and his identity thus revealed.

The procedure is next encountered in the eleventh century, in a Latin recipe in a codex produced in England of primarily medical content, including numerous healing and apotropaic incantations printed in the catalogue accompanying the first chapter. Unlike the majority of that material, the copyist employs cryptographic writing for several passages of this recipe, possibly to conceal its true nature from potentially censorious readers, perhaps his brethren in a monastic context, or possibly to protect valuable information from others who might exploit it in a competitive market for the provision of ritual services. Here the painting is to be done with the scum and dross from the

patronage, as Bartlett finds for the ordeal (ibid. 36) and so perhaps better fit Peter Brown’s model of the ordeal, which Bartlett dismisses for the medieval West, as “an instrument of consensus” in small social groups. The western-style judicial ordeal does seem to have entered Byzantium in a later period, on the testimony of George Akropolites (*PG* 140:1111-1112), George Pachymeres (*PG* 143:465-466), and John Kantakuzenos (*PG* 153:864), see also Bartlett 1986, 131 and Franz 1909, 2:337-338. On the banning of ordeals in the West, and the participation of priests in them, see Baldwin 1961.

⁵⁰⁴ Oxyrhynchus, *P.Oxy.* LVI 3835, *Suppl.Mag.* Π 86 fr. a col. ii 1-8, εἰς τόπον καὶ λήμψε[ι] τ[ῆ]ν [σφῦραν] | καὶ κατακρούσεις εἰς τὸν [ὄφθαλμόν,] | κρούων καὶ λέγων: ἐκβαλ[---] | ὄφθαλμόν ὁ κλέψας κα[---] | εἰπάτω ὁ κλέψας πρὶν ε[---] | τὸν ὄφθαλμόν. ὅταν ο[---] | γη λύσις ἐλαίω ἢ οἴν[ω ---] | κλύσον. vac. [---](chapter 3 cat. 2.1.1.1.1). On the recto of the roll are fragments of a still-unpublished philosophical text.

⁵⁰⁵ P.Lond. inv. 46, ff. 1v-2r, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P V 70-95 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.1.1.2).

refinement of silver, mixed with egg-white. The incantation invokes several divinities, who seem still to have Egyptian and possibly Jewish names, though distorted by centuries of transmission, to compel the thief to appear.⁵⁰⁶ The suspects are to be made to look at the eye, and the guilty party's right eye will tear up immediately; an additional procedure, in case no confession is forthcoming, is to hammer a copper-tipped nail into the eye, which will cause the thief to cry out *ac si ipsum percuteris*. A briefer version of the prescription is included in a twelfth-century medical miscellany, this time without cryptography;⁵⁰⁷ a thirteenth-century version omits the incantation;⁵⁰⁸ the Western tradition remains dynamic through the fifteenth century, with the addition of prayers to the Christian god, both oral and inscribed, to assist in the procedure, and expansions of the epithets of the original divinities charged with the torment of the thief's eye.⁵⁰⁹ One of these also adds a reference to the biblical account of the theft of Achan, disclosed and punished by Joshua with divine help (*Joshua 7*).⁵¹⁰

The Greek tradition develops in its own direction. In a recipe found in two Byzantine miscellanies of the fifteenth century, the painting material is now egg-white and lead, presumably powdered; there is no prayer, but around the eye is to be written the incipit of a hymn referring to the biblical Judas, surely as an analogue for the exposure and recompense of a thief, in the same manner as we have seen scripture deployed in aggressive incantations in the first portion of this chapter (and in the first and second chapters).⁵¹¹ The recipe has also been copied in a ritual handbook of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, Athens EBE cod. 1265, which has been frequently encountered in this and the second chapter.⁵¹² A final variant comes in a fifteenth-century manuscript of medical,

⁵⁰⁶ London, BL cod. Sloane 475, ff. 110v-111r, ... pababacacella pua reanatai facite et cogite apparere furem N illum et rem meam quae furata est mihi magnus epanon coua (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.1.1.3).

⁵⁰⁷ Vienna, ÖNB cod. 2532, ff. 105v-106r, ed. Horak and Gastgeber 1995, 209 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.1.1.4).

⁵⁰⁸ Oxford, Bodleian Library MS e Mus. 219, f. 186r (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.1.15).

⁵⁰⁹ University of Kansas, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, cod. C126, f. 55r (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.1.1.9); Cambridge, Trinity College cod. O.1.58, f. 137v (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.1.1.6); London, Wellcome Library cod. 517, ff. 67r, 123v-124r (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.1.1.8 and 2.1.1.1.7).

⁵¹⁰ London, Wellcome Library cod. 517, f. 81r, ... domine Iesu Christe qui fecisti uerum indicium per manum serui tui Iosue in ciuitate Iherico de furto Zachar qui mandatum tuum regulam auream subtraxit, fac ut si hic reus sit qui hoc furtum fecit, ad tertium punctum oculus dexter lacrimetur ... (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.1.1.10).

⁵¹¹ The hymn incipit runs ὁ δὲ παράνομος Ιουδας οὐκ ἠβουλήθη συνιέναι and is independently attested in the eleventh or twelfth century in the *synaxarion* of the monastery of the Theotokos Euergetis at Constantinople, Triodii et Pentecostarii, Day 57Γ, ἀκολουθία τοῦ νιπτῆρος, ἤχος 2 (ed. Jordan 2005); there is a reminiscence too of *Ps. 35:4*. The recipe is found in Cambridge, Trinity College cod. R.15.36, f. 29r (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.1.3.1); Florence, BML cod. Plut. 86.14, f. 47r, ed. Vassiliev 1893, 341, cf. Delatte 1927, 625 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.1.3.2). On the employment of simpler curses invoking the “fate of Judas” prospectively in legal contractual language, in the medieval and early modern periods in East and West, see Taylor 1921; on Judas as analogue in vernacular incantations from the medieval and early modern West, Taylor 1920.

⁵¹² Athens, EBE cod. 1265, f. 28r, ed. Delatte 1927, 67 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.1.3.3).

astrological and demonological content with an extensive collection of ritual recipes.⁵¹³ It compounds white lead (ψιμύθιον) with the egg white, and again opts for a written incantation exclusively, here a mixture of non-Greek words and magical signs, combined with the writing of the names of the suspects themselves in a circle around the eye.

The second popular method has similarly ancient roots and a branching diffusion in both East and West in the Middle Ages. The central device is a ritual in which the suspects are made publicly to swallow bread and cheese (the latter occasionally omitted) that have been ritually activated, again by incantations both oral and written, such that the guilty person will choke and so reveal his guilt. The reason for the pairing of bread and cheese is never internally explained, but it is tempting to connect the practice with accounts of the early Christian sect of Ἄρτοτυρίται, a branch of the Montanists, also called Quintillians or Pepuzians, who received the epithet from their use of bread and cheese in celebrating the Eucharist, which they trace back to the very first human offerings.⁵¹⁴ Indeed in many cases in the medieval phase of the tradition eucharist bread in particular is called for. In the medical collection of the sixth-century physician Aetius of Amida, furthermore, there is a discussion of the properties of the mineral aetite: among other things, it is said to offer a means of exposing thieves (κλεπτέλεγχος), since a thief will be unable to swallow if one adds it εἰς τὸν προσφερόμενον ἄρτον.⁵¹⁵ In an earlier medical context προσφερόμενος would refer simply to food set before the suspect, but in a Byzantine Christian context the additional connotation of the eucharist offering attached to προσφέρειν makes a connection attractive.⁵¹⁶ The procedure also bears a resemblance to a well-known proscription in the Old Testament for a ritual to test the guilt of a woman accused of adultery. It is recommended directly by Yahweh to Moses and includes a ritual curse by a priest that is both spoken and written, with the writing then washed off and given to the woman to drink, which inflict disease on her if she is guilty but cause no harm if she is innocent.⁵¹⁷ Barley meal (ἄλευρον κρίθινον) also figures in this ritual, the same substance of which the bread is to be made in certain of the Greek rituals of this class.

⁵¹³ Commissioned by a Jewish physician, Ioannes Aaron, and subsequently in the possession of Demetrios Angelos, a practicing physician at the Xenon of Kral in Constantinople (see Vlavianos-Tomaszyk 2012, 316), now Bologna, UB cod. 3632, f. 362r, ed. Delatte 1927, 611 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.1.4.1).

⁵¹⁴ Eriphanius *Panarion* 49.2, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν μυστηρίοις ἐπιτιθέντας ἄρτον καὶ τυρόν; Augustine *De haeresibus* 28, offerunt enim panem et caseum dicentes a primis hominibus oblationes de fructibus terrae et ouium fuisse celebratas; sim. Isidore *Etym.* 8.5.22.

⁵¹⁵ Aetius *Iatrika* 2.32, ἔστι δὲ κλεπτέλεγχος, εἰ ἐπιθείη τις αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν προσφερόμενον ἄρτον. ὁ γὰρ κλέψας οὐκ ἂν δυνηθείη καταπιεῖν τὰ μασθθέντα. φασὶ δὲ ὅτι καὶ συνεψόμενος ὁ ἀετίτης τοῖς ἐδέσμασι κλεπτέλεγχος γίγνεται. οὐ γὰρ δυνησεται ὁ κλέψας καταπιεῖν τὰ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐψόμενα.

⁵¹⁶ See Lampe, *Lexicon* 1183b-1184a s.v. προσφέρω L.

⁵¹⁷ *Numbers* 5:11-31, in particular 23-24, γράψει ὁ ἱερεὺς τὰς ἀράς ταύτας εἰς βιβλίον καὶ ἐξαλείψει εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ἐλεγκμοῦ τοῦ ἐπικαταρωμένου καὶ ποτιεῖ τὴν γυναῖκα τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ἐλεγκμοῦ τοῦ ἐπικαταρωμένου; with Joseph. *AJ* 3.270-273 For a view of the passage as a *iudicium*, the same term used for the so-called 'ordeal,' in the medieval West see Peter Comestor *Historia scholastica*, PL 198:1219-1220. In Byzantine exegesis, the ritual is designed primarily to frighten (ἐκδειματῶν) the suspect into confessing if guilty: Theodoret of Cyrillus *Quaestiones in Octateuchum* ed. Fernández Marcos and Sáenz-Badillos 1979, 196-197; Cyril of Alexandria offers an allegorical reading (*De adoratione et cultu in spiritu*, PG 68:908-913). On this ritual see recently Miller 2010.

Our earliest direct evidence for the ritual comes from the same fourth-century Theban papyrus codex that contained a version of the *wedjat* eye procedure discussed above. The instructions are complex and cover four pages in the original codex.⁵¹⁸ The user invokes above all the Greek Hermes, and with him Helios, Themis, and the Erinyes as powers of justice competent to expose the unjust; Egyptian influence is also present in some of the other divine names in this incantation, which is pronounced over the bread; the Jewish Yahweh (Ιαω), frequently drawn into syncretic invocations in this period, is also present. Along with the ritual cleansing of the suspects and some subsidiary sacrificial offerings including a frog's tongue, each suspect is to be given an equal amount, specified by weight (eight drachms of each species) of unsalted wheat bread (σελίγνιον ἄναλον) and goat cheese (τυρὸν αἴγιον), repeating a variant of the invocation to Ιαω. A recipe preserved in more fragmentary condition from a contemporary papyrus codex invokes via exorcism (ὀρκίζω) divinities including the Egyptian Seth to choke the thief as soon as he eats the bread and cheese (ἄρτάτυρον for ἄρτότυρον); the description of the preliminary procedures is lost.⁵¹⁹ There follows a significant chronological gap, but a continuous Greek tradition is strongly suggested by a recipe in a fourteenth-century manuscript of miscellaneous theological content. Here, the bread is specifically eucharist bread (προσφορά), and the procedure is accompanied by a prayer to angels, one of whom stopped the mouths of the lions in favor of the prophet Daniel, to carry out a similar effect on the thief; the same text is also to be written on the cheese.⁵²⁰ A similar procedure is prescribed in a fifteenth-century manuscript. Here the cheese is omitted and an ecclesiastical context for the ritual seems assumed, the directions referring to the performer as “the priest” (ὁ ἱερεύς), and the incantation is expanded with liturgical material in a closing exclamation.⁵²¹ Some indication of continuity in the intervening centuries is supplied by the comments of the twelfth-century canonist Balsamon, who refers to a contemporary incident of a priest (ἱερεύς) identifying thieves by feeding the suspects eucharist bread and observing which ones had difficulty swallowing.⁵²²

⁵¹⁸ London, BL P.Lond. inv. 46, f. 3r-v, 4v-5r, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P V 172-212 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.1.1).

⁵¹⁹ Berlin, P.Berl. inv. 17202, edd. Brashear and Kotansky 2002, front lines 23-30 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.1.2).

⁵²⁰ Venice, BNM cod. gr. Z 498, ff. 248v-249r, ἑτέρα ἐρμηνεία εἰς αὐτὸ ἤγουν περὶ κλέπτου. δίδε τὸν ἐνοχλούμενον ὀλίγον τυρὶν καὶ ὀλίγην προσφοράν καὶ λέγε οὕτως Ἰμανουηλ καὶ Σαραφαηλ ὁ καταβάς εἰς τὸ φρέας μετὰ τὸν προφήτην Δα|νιηλ καὶ σφραγίσας καὶ δῆσας καὶ φράξας τὰ στόματα τῶν λεόντων ἵνα μὴ βλάψουν τὸν προφήτην Δανιηλ, αὐτὸς δῆσον ἔνδησον φράξον ἀπόσφιγξον τῶν στομάτων τὸν λάρυγγα ὅπου ἔκλεψε τὰ δεῖνά μου πράγματα, ἵνα μὴ καταπίη μήτε τυρὸν μήτε ἄλλον τίποτε ἄχρις οὗ δώσωσιν ὅπερ ἔκλεψαν. καὶ γράφε αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ τυρὸν καὶ δίδε εἰς τινα νᾶ φορᾶσαι (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.1.3).

⁵²¹ Naples, BN cod. II C 33, f. 326r, ed. Vassiliev 1893, 330, ... εἰς δόξαν πατρὸς υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου ... (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.1.4).

⁵²² Balsamon, comm. on canon 61 of the Trullan Council, PG 137:724, cf. Bohak 2006, 354 and Fögen 1995, 102, ἕτερος ἱερεύς αἰτίαθεις ὡς ἐπιδούς τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον τῆς μεγάλης πέμπτης διαφόροις γυναίκοις καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐφ' ᾧ ἐλεγχθῆναι τὸν ἀποσυλήσαντα τότε τι πράγμα ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ῥαδίως τοῦτον καταπιεῖν, καθαιρέσεως ποτήριον ἔπιε. Compare also a practice reported from Cyprus of the early twentieth century: the victim takes a little barley flour from the house of each of those whom he suspects, then makes small πίτται with it and offers them to the suspects; if one has any

There is also a rich tradition of the procedure in Latin texts in the medieval West attested as early as the eleventh century, detailed study of which is beyond the scope of the present discussion. It bears noting that in spite of a thorough and obvious assimilation within the liturgical practice of priests, specific reflexes of the ancient methods remain, beyond the general resemblance in choice of materials: attention to precise weight and composition of the bread and cheese, invocation of the devil alongside Christian divinities to assist in the procedure, inscription of ritually efficacious text on the edibles themselves or on the altar at which the ritual unfolds.⁵²³ Further additions seem owed to neither tradition nor Christian assimilation, such as the specification that crosses made of the wood of the quivering aspen (*tremula*) be held over the suspect and under his foot while he is addressed with an exorcistic incantation calling down upon him a torment analogous to the disturbed motion of the tree's leaves if he is guilty and does not confess.⁵²⁴

A Byzantine development in the procedure is the addition of ritually efficacious text in the form of scripture, inscribed on the bread before it is given to the suspects. The text of choice is from the Psalms, *Ps. 9:28*, selected for its mention of an analogous "bitterness, pain, and burden" filling the mouth of the unjust. It first appears in an anonymous collection of medical recipes in a fifteenth-century manuscript: bread is used exclusively, specifically eucharist bread that has been sanctified, and the text is to be written directly upon it and also spoken aloud as the procedure takes place.⁵²⁵ A sixteenth-century variant replaces the bread with cheese, specifically cheese made in the month of March (τυρίν Μάρτιον).⁵²⁶ A recipe in a manuscript of the sixteenth or seventeenth century combines the psalm-inscription on unconsecrated eucharist bread with the inscription of the names of the suspects on pieces of cheese; the administration of the procedure is accompanied by a prayer to angels, similar to that described above for use in the simpler version of the procedure, invoking those angels who bound the mouths of the lions on behalf of the prophet Daniel.⁵²⁷

An account of a trial before the patriarchal court in Constantinople in 1372 would seem to attest the procedure in practice at a relatively early date. The presbyter Stylianos

difficulty swallowing, he considers it certain that this is the thief (Pantelides 1909, 699-700).

⁵²³ E.g. the eleventh-century Bamberg, cod. liturg. 54 (Ed. V 1), f. 120, ed. Franz 1909, 2:385-388 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.1.7); and the twelfth-century Munich, BSB clm 22040, ed. Zeumer 1882, 686-687 [no folio reference, ends at f. 130] (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.1.8).

⁵²⁴ In a fifteenth-century manuscript copied by a canon of Munstereifel, Luxembourg, BnL cod. 121, f. 114r-v, ed. in part van Werveke 1894, 272-273 and Zeumer 1882, 687-688 (with old shelfmark), ... debet habere unam crucem subtus pedem dextrum, et sacerdos manum suam super eum cum alia cruce teneat et breuiculum similiter et cum comedit, dicat sacerdos coniurationem hanc 'adiuro te ... requiem antea non habeas sed sicut folium tremulae ita eas ... (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.1.9). The ritual action is nowhere else so explicitly prescribed, but echoes can be detected in the use of *tremulus*, *tremulo*, etc. in the incantations in the examples cited in the preceding note.

⁵²⁵ Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2315, f. 240v, ed. Legrand 1881, 10 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.3.1); similarly Bologna, UB cod. 3632, f. 361v, ed. Delatte 1927, 609 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.3.2); Dresden, SLUB cod. Dresd.Da.63, f. 4r (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.3.3).

⁵²⁶ Paris, BnF cod. gr. 1603, f. 354r (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.3.4).

⁵²⁷ Athens, EBE cod. 1265, f. 28r, ed. Delatte 1927, 67-68 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.3.5). Also in Latin texts from the fifteenth century: Marburg, UB cod. B 20, f. 113r, ed. Dietrich 1867, 215 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.3.6); Hohenfurt, Cistercienserstift cod. 97, f. 116, ed. Franz 1909, 2:389-390 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.3.7).

Klidias is convicted of supplying eucharist bread (προσφορά), adding “some writing” on it (γράψας ἐπ’ αὐτῇ καὶ γράμματά τινα), for a monk who wishes to find the culprit in a theft of some money at his monastery.⁵²⁸ The psalm text could well be behind these γράμματα. It is also possible that they are one or several non-Greek *logoi*, whose inscription on the bread (but note, most commonly also on cheese, which is omitted from this episode) is a feature of another common variant of the procedure. It is attested in the Greek tradition as early as the thirteenth century, in an anonymous collection of recipes including healing and apotropaic incantations. Taking bread and cheese, the user is to write on the bread σαρσωνα and on the cheese σαμψων.⁵²⁹ The words have no direct signification in Greek, though the latter word could conceivably invoke the biblical Samson, both a heroic figure and a thief in his own right.⁵³⁰ The *logoi* appear with fair consistency in later versions of the recipe through the eighteenth century.⁵³¹ Contemporary with the earliest attestation of the σαρσωνα-σαμψων formula, in an anonymous collection of recipes and physiological excerpts in a thirteenth-century manuscript, the two words reflect a possible invocation of angelic powers, σαραηλ on the bread and σαραφαηλ on the cheese;⁵³² this branch of the tradition also independently persists, with greater variation in the names, through the eighteenth century.⁵³³

⁵²⁸ Miklosich and Müller 1860-1890, 1:594-595 no. 331 (1372), cf. Cupane 1980, 258 (no explanation of the ritual), ἐλαλήθη κατὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Στυλιανοῦ τοῦ Κλειδᾶ ὅτι ὑπερπύρων τινῶν ἀπολεσθέντων ἐν τῇ τῶν Μαγκάνων σεβασμῖα μονῇ καὶ πολλῶν ὑποπτευομένων, μοναχός τις Δρουγγάριος λεγόμενος ἀπελθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐζήτησε παρ’ αὐτοῦ προσφορὰν ἣν καὶ ἄλλοτε αὐτὸν εἶδε δόντα πρὸς ἕτερον ἐπὶ εὐρέσει σωμίων, ὃς δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ζήτησιν ἐδεδώκει τὴν προσφορὰν γράψας ἐπ’ αὐτῇ καὶ γράμματά τινα. In another incident a man called a γόης offers to help catch a thief, asking for an ἐνέχυρον from each suspect, though no ritual procedure is described; the theft occurred of money from the cell of a monk at the monastery of the Prodromos τῆς Πέτρας; the monk who lost the money was actively searching for it and accusing some of the brethren: Miklosich and Müller 1860-1890, 1:488 no. 228 (1365). The monks who participated in this ritual were barred from ecclesiastical office; one of them, Isaias, is mentioned again briefly in Miklosich and Müller 1860-1890, 1:495 no. 236 (1367), when the bishop of Christianoupolis is condemned for making him a deacon.

⁵²⁹ Venice, BNM cod. gr. XI 21, f. 21v (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.5.1).

⁵³⁰ For σαρσωνα we might compare the Hebrew root *sh-r-sh*, “root,” with the verbal sense “uproot.” On Samson: *Judges* 13-16; at one point for example he steals the doors from a house (16:3). Also relevant to the bread and cheese, Sampson as nazirite is marked as holy by his diet, namely abstinence from impure foodstuffs (esp. *Judges* 13:5).

⁵³¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library cod. Barocci 111, f. 116r (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.5.4); Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2294, f. 80r-v (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.5.3); Vienna, ÖNB cod. philos. gr. 220 (shelfmark no longer in use), no foliation given, ed. Vassiliev 1893, 340 no. 25 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.5.2); Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 696, f. 346r, ed. Delatte 1927, 550 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.5.5).

⁵³² Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2894, f. 337r, ed. Delatte 1927, 553 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.5.6).

⁵³³ Venice, BNM cod. gr. Z 498, f. 248v (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.5.7); Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2219, f. 65r (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.5.8); Vatican, BAV cod. Pal. gr. 146, f. 216r, ed. Vassiliev 1893, 340 no. 24 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.5.9); Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2091, f. 7r, ed. Doyen-Higuet 2006, 127 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.5.10); Oxford, Bodleian Library cod. Barocci 111, f. 116r (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.5.11); Vienna, ÖNB cod. philos. gr. 220 (shelfmark no longer in use), no foliation given, ed. Vassiliev 1893, 340 no. 26 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.5.12); Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 696, f. 346r, ed. Delatte 1927, 551 (chapter 3

The preference shown to the Psalms as source of ritually efficacious text to accompany the bread and cheese procedure extends also to the use of the entire psalter, in book form, as a means of divining the identity of the thief. The best attestation of the practice in the Greek tradition comes from a nineteenth-century manuscript, a manual of magical ritual, and calls for the use of three separate psalters.⁵³⁴ The user begins by reciting *Ps. 49*, appropriate for its account of divine judgment, from the one psalter, uses the other two psalters to suspend a key, and concentrates at the same time upon the names of the suspects in sequence, the key moving at the name of the guilty party. The canonist Balsamon, who remarked on thief detection in contemporary twelfth-century Constantinople by means of eucharist bread, also attests a priest who employed a similar bibliomantic method based on the gospels, but facilitated by the psalms (διὰ ψαλμῶν Δαβιδικῶν), by which we might suppose ritual recitation of some analogous psalm passages is meant.⁵³⁵ No ancient attestations are known, but the existence of a parallel tradition in Latin texts in the medieval West could suggest a common ancient ancestor. A twelfth-century example in a liturgical codex produced in Germany suspends a psalter from a wooden rod placed at a significant passage in another psalter, *Ps. 118:137*, again referring to divine judgment.⁵³⁶ The procedure is accompanied by a prayer delivered by a presbyter invoking divine assistance, but the core is a sort of ritual drama involving two assistants, one of whom states that the suspect has committed the theft, while the other denies it; the movement of the psalter indicates the correct statement.⁵³⁷ Thief divination by the motion of other ritually significant materials, activated by prayers and incantations, grew to prominence on its own in the West, particularly using eucharistic or other bread balanced on knives, which is attested as early as the ninth century.⁵³⁸ It may indeed have

cat. 2.1.2.5.13); Bologna, UB cod. 3632, f. 361v, ed. Delatte 1927, 610 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.5.14); Dresden, SLUB cod. Dresd.Da.63, f. 6r (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.5.18); Thessaly, monastery of Olympiotissa, cod. 97, p. 136, ed. Skouvara 1965-1966, 93 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.5.17).

⁵³⁴ Private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικός κώδικας, ff. 222r-223r, ed.

Papathomopoulos 2006, 130-131 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.3.1).

⁵³⁵ Comm. on canon 61 of the Trullan Council, PG 137:724, καὶ ἄλλος ἱερεὺς μετὰ εὐαγγελίου ξύλω συνδεδεμένου καὶ κυκλικῶς περιστρεφόμενου κατηγορηθεὶς ἐρωτήσεις ποιεῖν περὶ τινῶν ὑποθέσεων διὰ ψαλμῶν Δαβιδικῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὺς ἀναιτίους εἰς μεγάλας ὀχλήσεις ἀγαγὼν ἀσύγνωστος ἔμεινε.

⁵³⁶ Munich, BSB clm 100, ff. 94v-95v (old foliation 132v-133v); cf. Dürig 1973; Bohak 2006, 351-353 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.3.3).

⁵³⁷ A variant of the procedure also appear in the fourteenth-century Munich, BSB cgm 92, f. 19v (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.3.4).

⁵³⁸ St. Gallen, CSG 682, p. 231 and 246-251, ed. Franz 1909, 2:384-385 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.4.2); cf. also Cambridge, Trinity College O.1.57, f. 126v (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.4.4), Oxford, Bodleian Library cod. Wood empt. 18, f. 30r-v (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.4.8), London, Wellcome Library cod. 517, ff. 8r, 124r-125r, and 129r (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.4.6, 2.1.4.5, 2.1.4.7); a recipe added to the last page of a twelfth-century breviary seems to call for a coin (*nummus*) balanced on the bread, Graz, UB cod. 41 12 [shelfmark no longer in use, no foliation given], ed. Schönbach 1875, 78-79 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.4.3). Note also the report of thief divination among the Franks performed by a woman *spiritum pythonis habens* in Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* 7.44, PL 71:445: the mechanism not described, but she is able to pronounce *quo fur abiit, cui tradidit, uel quid ex hoc fecerit*; the local bishop, Ageric of Verdun, exorcises the demon (*demonium*) in her and compels it

had an ultimate Greek origin, as a Byzantine version is known from a fifteenth-century manuscript,⁵³⁹ but in view of the sizeable chronological gap it seems better to leave the question open.

Bibliomancy had a broader reach beyond thief detection in the Latin West too: the cleric Peter of Blois describes in a twelfth-century letter how he practiced dream interpretation by *reolutio psalterii*, the dream being of his friend, to whom he writes the letter, being invested as bishop by the archbishop of Rouen.⁵⁴⁰ The Latin thief detection procedure specifically also seems to have passed via translation into the Jewish tradition, where it has been identified in a fragment of a formulary in the Cairo Geniza from around 1200 and two Ashkenazic manuscript books of the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁵⁴¹

It is worth noting also the persistence of incantations, oral and inscribed, as the central element in a set of miscellaneous methods for the identification of thieves in the Greek tradition. The earliest is an inscribed hematite plaque, of unknown provenance and late ancient date.⁵⁴² One side has seven inscribed divine names, five of them clearly of angels, whose invocation in related procedures has been discussed already. On the other side figures of five animals, lion, bull, horse, crocodile, and human, are encircled by a snake eating its own tail; below this, in ornamental borders, is an invocation to some unnamed divinity (any of those named on the other side, or all collectively) to “show the thief, male or female.” No information on context of discovery exists, but it is probable that the object served a divination ritual similar to those just described. It will also be recalled that the physician Aetius of Amida described the efficacy of another precious stone in thief detection (aetite), in a passage already cited, which prevents the guilty party from swallowing bread with which it has been mixed. A set of Byzantine procedures similarly relies on impeding the bodily functions of the thief by ritual means, namely urination and defecation. An ancient antecedent can perhaps be detected in a very fragmentary recipe in a papyrus formulary from Oxyrhynchus of the third or fourth century, already cited for its version of the eye ritual: the procedure clearly involves an incantation (εἰπῶν), but its text is mostly lost; the preparations involve onions (κρόμβυα), and the crucial closing indication that if the suspect “does not relax” (ἐὰν μὴ χαλασ[θ]ῆ),

to identify itself, but cannot force it to depart; the woman, now called *puella*, takes refuge with the Frankish queen Fredegund (d. 597).

⁵³⁹ Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 361v ed. Delatte 1927, 609; the ritual drama here takes the form of a single statement in the affirmative for each suspect, ὁ Σωκράτης ἢ ὁ Πλάτων ἀπῆρεν τὰ ὀδεῖνα καὶ ἕτερος οὐχί (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.4.1).

⁵⁴⁰ cumque curiositatis humanae sortibus et reuolutione psalterii huius uisionis euentum diligentius explorarem, primum oculis meis uersus ille se obtulit, ‘Moyses et Aaron in sacerdotibus eius’ (Epist. 30, PL 207:102, dated to 1175).

⁵⁴¹ On these texts see Bohak 2006. The Geniza fragment is Cambridge, CUL Taylor-Schechter K 1.115 (ed. *MTKG* II no. 31); the later manuscripts are Paris, BnF cod. Heb. 326 and Strasbourg, BM cod. 4005. Another procedure for the identification of thieves in the Jewish tradition worth note comes also from fragments of a paper codex in the Cairo Geniza, now Cambridge, T.-S. K 1.28, ed. *MTKG* 1:136-137: the user writes the names of the suspects on paper, each on its own piece, attaches each to a ball of potter’s clay, places them in a cup of water, and speaks over it *Ps.* 78 (MT), and the ball of the thief will split and the paper rise to the surface.

⁵⁴² Hamburg, coll. Skoluda inv. MN 110, *SEG* LIII 2116, side A διῆξον ἢ τὴν κλέπτραν ἢ τὸν κλέπτην; side B Μειχαηλ Εἰσαρηλ Ραφαηλ Σουριηλ Βαλιχ Ραφαηλ δωμ (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.1).

he is plainly guilty (δηλος).⁵⁴³ In the Byzantine phase, we have much more substantial and better-preserved evidence, as for example a recipe in a fourteenth-century codex of medical content produced at Constantinople. It curses the thief with dysuria, using an incantation inscribed on a laurel leaf, to be washed off and given to drink to the suspect, invoking the analogy of “the mill-stone on the bronze threshing-floor” (μουλάριν εἰς τὸ χαλκὸν ἀλώνιν) for how the urine of the suspect, if guilty, should be bound (δεμένον).⁵⁴⁴ Variants in which the analogy is replaced by a prayer to angels, or the inscription of ritually efficacious signs or non-Greek words, are attested in manuscripts of similar contents through the nineteenth century.⁵⁴⁵ A procedure in an anonymous collection of recipes in a sixteenth-century manuscript does not give a precise indication of the intended revelatory effect on the thief, but dysuria is suggested by the fact that the directions call for ritual text to be written on a cup, dissolved, and given to the suspect to drink. The text, indeed, is another application of the popular recourse to the psalms for incantations, here *Ps.* 10:6, which appropriately couches the coming divine retribution on the unjust in terms of the “fire, sulfur and hurricane-winds” which will be “the portion of his cup.”⁵⁴⁶ We may compare also modern Greek procedures for binding suspected thieves. The fullest of these, reported in use on Crete in the early twentieth century, involves a narrative about the “iron Paul” standing bound with iron on the threshing-floor (ἀλώνι) by the sea, reminiscent of the bronze threshing-floor in the Byzantine manuscript recipe and intended as an analogue for the user’s binding of the thief, with the goal of preventing him from successfully eating and drinking until he confesses.⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴³ *P.Oxy.* LVI 3835, *Suppl.Mag.* II 86 fr. a col. ii 8-11 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.2). For χαλάω of relaxation of the bowels, see *LSJ* s.v. II 7.

⁵⁴⁴ Vienna, ÖNB cod. med. gr. 50 (acquired by Augerius von Busbeck), f. 92r, ... <ὡς> μουλάριν εἰς τὸ χαλκὸν ἀλώνιν, οὕτως νὰ ἔνεν δεμένον τὸ νερόν τούτου, μὴ οὐρήση ἕως οὗ δώση τὸ πρᾶγμα ... (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.8). In the manuscript this is paired under the same heading with a version of the σαρσωνα-σαμψων procedure, discussed above. For the laurel leaf cf. also the Byzantine procedures in which such leaves are inscribed, and the leaves themselves, or a potion produced by dissolving the writing, is impossible for the thief to swallow: Bologna, UB cod. 3632, ff. 361v-362r, ed. Delatte 1927, 610 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.2.1.5); in the West also an eleventh-century manuscript produced at Tegernsee, now Austin, HRC Ms 29, f. 2r (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.39-40).

⁵⁴⁵ Naples, BN cod. II C 33, f. 235r, ed. Delatte 1927, 620 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.16); Vatican, BAV cod. Barb. gr. 449 (does not match modern shelfmark), f. 98v, ed. Almazov 1901, 328 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.15); St. Petersburg, NLR cod. gr. 576, f. 26v (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.17); Athens, EBE cod. 1506, f. 24r, ed. Delatte 1927, 142 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.18); private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας, f. 484v, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 315 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.19).

⁵⁴⁶ Paris, BnF cod. gr. 1603, f. 354r, γράψον εἰς ἀγγεῖον ἐπιβρέξει ἐπὶ ἀμαρτωλοὺς παγίδα πῦρ καὶ θεῖον καὶ πνεῦμα καταιγίδος ἢ μερὶς τοῦ ποτηρίου αὐτοῦ. καὶ λειώσας μετὰ ἀγιάσματος δὸς πίνειν τὸν ὑποπτὸν (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.4).

⁵⁴⁷ Koukoules 1928, 472, κάτω ᾿ς τὸ γιὰλὸ ᾿ς τὸ γαλανὸ ἀλώνι στέκει Παῦλος σιδηρὸς σιδεροπαλουκωμένος καὶ σιδεροκαρφωμένος. σὲ μίαν πάχνην τρώγει, σὲ μίαν γοῦρναν πίνει τὸ νερόν μυριστικόν. τὰ ἔδεσε καὶ ὕστερις τὰ ἔμοιρολόγησεν ὁ Σολομων καὶ ἡ μάνα του οὕτως ... δένω κι ἐγὼ τὸν δεῖνα ὅπου ἔκλεψε τὸ δεῖνα πρᾶμα ... τίποτες νὰ μὴν ἐνεργήση, μοναχὰ νὰ εἶναι δεμένος καὶ νὰ τρώγη καὶ νὰ πεινᾷ καὶ νὰ πίνη καὶ νὰ διψᾷ ... ὥστε νὰ ὁμολογήση τὸ δεῖνα πρᾶμα ὅπου ἔκλεψε ... (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.9). A similar procedure, more concise and substituting two horses for Paul, is also attested in a twentieth-century manuscript recipe from Apokoronas on Crete:

A similar imposition of compulsion, this time for more general mental distress, is found in a related group of Byzantine recipes as early as the fourteenth century. Here the incantation text is to be inscribed on paper and placed in the suspect's bedding, and it invokes the anxious torment of Judas, called κλέπτης for his pilfering of the disciples' cash box (*John* 12:6), after his betrayal of Christ, as analogy for the desired denial of rest (μὴ κοιμηθῆ) to the target if guilty.⁵⁴⁸

I note in passing, finally, some novel divinatory procedures for theft in the Byzantine period involving incantations. These are attested in the same milieu of anonymous recipes, often within collections of broadly medical content, in manuscripts of the fourteenth century and later. Some call for the attachment of the names of suspects to leaves, grain, and clods of soil, all in water: with an accompanying oral or written incantation, the name of the thief will rise to the surface.⁵⁴⁹ Birds, to which some ritually efficacious writing has been attached, are also employed to identify the guilty party by

Koukoules 1926, 100, δέσιμον κλέπτου. “κάτω ἔς τὸ γιαλό, σὲ φόρο, ἐκεῖ στέκονται δύο ἄλογα σιδεροχαλινωμένα, κομποδεμένα. σὲ μιὰ γούρνα πίνουνε, σὲ μιὰ ματζαδοῦρα τρώνε καὶ ἐκεῖ πλαγιαίζουνε.” “ποιὸς τὰ ἔδεσε καὶ ποιὸς τὰ κομπόδεσε;” “ὁ σοφὸς Σολομῶν μὲ τὴν μητέρα του καὶ μὲ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης ὅπου ἔδεσε τσοὶ καταρράχτες τ’ οὐρανοῦ. ἔτσι δένω κι’ ἐγὼ τὸ δοῦλο τοῦ θεοῦ σταρικῶς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θεληματικῶς τοῦ διαβόλου μὲ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Τζετζεβουηλ” (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.10).

⁵⁴⁸ A fourteenth-century manuscript of primarily theological content, Venice, BNM cod. gr. Z 501, f. 175r-v, ἐπίγραμμα εἰς κλέπτην. γράψον εἰς χαρτὴν τὰ ὑποκείμενα καὶ ἐπίθες αὐτὰ ὑποκάτω τῆς στρωμνῆς ὃν ἔχεις ὑπόψεις ὅτι ἐκλεψεν ἐκείνου ἀγνοοῦντος. γράψον δὲ οὕτως Ἰουδᾶς ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης ἐφανερῶθη ἐπὶ τῆς προδοσίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὅτι κλέπτης, ὃν καὶ τὸ γλωσσόκομον εἶχεν καὶ τὰ βαλλόμενα ἐβάσταξεν καὶ τῆ ἑσπέρα ἐκείνη οὐκ ἐκοιμήθη ἀλλ’ ὠχλήθη καὶ ἠλέγχετο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων. οὕτω καὶ ὁ δεῖνα ὁ κλέψας τὸ πρᾶγμα | ἵνα μὴ κοιμηθῆ ἕως ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας καὶ ἐλεγχθῆς τὴν διανοίαν αὐτοῦ ὁμολογήσῃ καὶ φανερῶσῃ τὸ κλαπὲν πρᾶγμα, εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος’ (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.5). Also in a collection of anonymous recipes in a fourteenth-century manuscript of medical content from Constantinople, Vienna, ÖNB cod. med. gr. 45, f. 83r-v (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.6); a similar text appears in the sixteenth-century Vatican, BAV cod. Barb. gr. 449 (does not match modern shelfmark), ff. 98v-99r, ed. Almazov 1901, 328, but with the instructions that it be buried in the place where the theft occurred (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.7).

⁵⁴⁹ In a manuscript of the fifteenth century, Bologna, UB cod. 3632, f. 361v, ed. Delatte 1927, 608 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.11), and similarly St. Petersburg, cod. Academicus Musaei Palaeographici, f. 56r-v, ed. CCAG XII:122-123 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.29); in a nineteenth-century manuscript, the procedure is combined with the inscription of a transliteration of the Arabic *basmala*, plus what seems to be additional transliterated Arabic (neither is identified by ed. pr.): private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας, ff. 26v-27r, ed. Parathomopoulos 2006, 45, ππισ σμιλαχη ραχμαν ραχην βηζα | εσελουκε ηπατιανη φενηνη καριππουν ουτζιπουτ τταη ηζατεανη φελγιες ντετζιππου βελιγουμηνου λιαλεχημ γερσπουττουνε βεγιεβμε γιεν φεου φησουρι φετητουνε ευβατζεν βεφουτιχατηλ σεμαε φεκειανετ επβαππεν βετεαλλουφουνε κιουλεβαλιβ αζημ (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.30). In the medieval Latin tradition: Vatican, BAV cod. Pal. lat. 1337 (thirteenth century, France, medical miscellany), f. 179r [later addition of s. XIV-XV], ed. Schuba 1981, 470 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.41); Munich, BSB clm 23479, f. 10v, ed. Mone 1838, 421-422 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.38).

alighting on him.⁵⁵⁰ In a group of procedures attested in medieval Latin manuscript recipes, the user may also seek a dream vision in which the identity of the thief is revealed. Some of these may have developed independently in the Western tradition, but one in particular suggests a Greek derivation. Coming in a sixteenth-century manuscript of medical content, it calls for a “psalm” (*psalmus*) to be inscribed and placed under the user’s pillow. The incipit of the text however reveals it to be the so-called Prayer of Habakkuk, the fourth of the *Odes* in the Greek tradition, and as such transmitted and used in liturgy in close company with the Psalms, but lacking a place in the Western biblical canon, where it would only have been recognized as the third chapter of the biblical book of *Habakkuk* from which it ultimately derives.⁵⁵¹ In other procedures of this type, passages from the Psalms proper are particularly popular.⁵⁵²

The final class of popular thief procedures attested throughout the tradition consists of those that seek to force fugitive thieves, or in a particular case fugitive slaves, to return. The latter form of theft had been addressed through incantatory means already in antiquity, as Pliny describes the ability of the Roman Vestals to prevent fugitive *manicipia* from moving, if still in the city of Rome, through a *precatio*, though its contents are not specified (*HN* 28.13). Many of the recipes attested in the tradition do indeed operate through invocation of divinities, but a common type with which I will begin here prefers an even more basic method. Namely, these procedures call for the analogous graphic manipulation of the name of the target. The earliest is found in a sixth-century codex of medical content, including an illustrated herbal, and falls within an anonymous collection of recipes.⁵⁵³ The text is in Latin, but some of the *logoi* accompanying the inscribed name of the target are left by the copyist in Greek characters, a strong indicator of a translation from a Greek original. The master of the fugitive slave is to write the fugitive’s name on papyrus (*charta*) along with these *logoi*, place it in a grain-mill, and let it be ground up there, no doubt to set up an analogy between the turning of the mill and the return of the

⁵⁵⁰ In two manuscripts of the fifteenth century, Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2219, f. 62r (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.23-24); Bologna, UB cod. 3632, ff. 361v-362r, ed. Delatte 1927, 608-609 and 611 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.25-28).

⁵⁵¹ Heidelberg, UB cod. Pal. germ. 229, f. 64v, de furtu. scribe hos psalmos super pergameno uirgineo, pone eos sub capite tuo et apparebit fur tibi in somnis: psalmum ‘domine audiui auditum tuum’ et psalmum ‘deus iudicium tuum regi da’ (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.34). The second *psalmus* is a canonical one, *Ps.* 71.

⁵⁵² *Ps.* 47 (fourteenth-century manuscript, Wrocław, UB cod. I.Q.1, f. 82v, ed. Schultz 1871, 302; chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.32) and *Ps.* 144 (in a fifteenth-century manuscript, Marburg, UB cod. B 20, f. 113r, ed. Dietrich 1867, 215; chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.36); other, non-scriptural texts are preferred in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS e Mus. 219, f. 186r (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.35) and Heidelberg, UB cod. Pal. Germ. 263 (sixteenth century, medical, alchemical, demonological texts), f. 269r (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.5.33).

⁵⁵³ Leiden, cod. VLQ 9, ff. 102v-103r, ed. Piechotta 1887, xii no. 189 (cf. Heim 1893 no. 221), ad fugitiuos. in charta scribit dominus manu sua siue domina manu sua sinistra nomen fugitiui et de manu dextra scribat haec nomina ‘pallachata παλλακατα σαπρα’ et eandem chartam mittes in mola frumentaria et ibi teratur (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.1.1). The Latin tradition of this technique is more limited, but can still be discerned in an anonymous collection of recipes in a manuscript produced in England of the eleventh century, London, BL cod. Sloane 475, ff. 114v-115r, item scribe nomen eius in carta uirgine et haec uerba ‘gio reuerti cito’ et perobsera loca ne abscondas te. dehinc filo lineo ligabis cartam et ceram super inpones et anulo signabis et ostio appendis (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.1.9).

slave. The underlying procedure, compulsion of a third party by analogous operation upon papyrus bearing that person's name, is attested in applied form from Oxyrhynchus of the third or fourth century: the text invokes the analogy of the turning of a millstone, which is to grind up the papyrus itself, for a request to an unnamed divinity to “turn” (στρέψον) the heart and mind of a female target.⁵⁵⁴ A Byzantine example from another anonymous collection in a fifteenth-century manuscript calls for the sacrifice of a domestic bird, whose heart is to be wrapped in clothing left behind by the fugitive and buried at the door of the house, along with the target's name written in the bird's blood; very likely a double analogy with the tameness of the bird and the turning of the door is being set up.⁵⁵⁵ A further analogous manipulation is the writing of the name of the target upside-down (ἀνάποδα), familiar from its application in curses, but here directed towards the inversion of the path of the target.⁵⁵⁶

At a higher level of metaphorical abstraction is a group of Byzantine recipes with a narrative incantation motif in which figure the three biblical patriarchs Abraham, Isaak, and Jakob.⁵⁵⁷ Deriving ultimately from the account in *Genesis* 16 of the return of the fugitive slave Hagar to Abraham,⁵⁵⁸ its core is a narrative statement composed of a tricolon

⁵⁵⁴ Oxyrhynchus, P.Oxy. inv. 50.4B 23/J (1-3)b, s. III/IV, ed. *Suppl.Mag.* II 56, ὡσπερ στρέφετε ὁ ἔρμηϋ | τοῦ μύλου καὶ ἀληθῆτε τοῦ | το τὸ πιτάκιον, οὔτος στρέψον | τὸν ἐνκέφαλον καὶ τὴν | καιδίαν καὶ πᾶσαν διά | νοιαν Ζητουν ἢ ἐπικα | λουμένη Καλημέρας. | *vac.* ἤδη ἤδη ταχύ ταχύ (chapter 3 cat. 1.2.2.4). For the changing of the mind of a target via incantation with analogy, compare the nineteenth-century Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας, f. 480v (ed. Papatomopoulos 2006, 311), which calls for the user to cast pebbles in a spring, with an accompanying wish that as they turn, so may the mind of the target (ὡς γυρίζει τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ πηγαδίου, ἔτσι νὰ γυρίση καὶ ἡ γνώμη τοῦ δεῖνα ἢ τῆς δεῖνα πρὸς ἐμένα εἰς αὐτὸ ὅπου θέλω τῆς ζητήσω ... chapter 3 cat. 1.2.2.4).

⁵⁵⁵ Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2219, f. 62r (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.1.2).

⁵⁵⁶ In the sixteenth or seventeenth-century Athens, EBE cod. 1265, f. 14v, ed. Delatte 1927, 12 (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.1.3); the eighteenth-century Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 241, f. 103r, ed. Delatte 1927, 136 (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.1.6); and the nineteenth-century Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX), ff. 69r and 426v, ed. Papatomopoulos 2006, 68 and 279-280 (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.1.7, 2.4.1.4).

⁵⁵⁷ Latin versions predate by a significant margin the earliest Greek attestations, so it must remain an open question whether they share a common (in my view probably Greek) ancestor or are simply a Byzantine adaptation of a Western motif. The Latin instances in question are from an eleventh-century manuscript produced in England, London, BL cod. Sloane 475, ff. 111v and 114v (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.2.9, 2.4.2.8); with reflexes in the fourteenth-century Wrocław, UB cod. I.Q.1, f. 82r, ed. Schultz 1871, 301 (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.2.10), a medical book of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, probably from Alsace, now Chur, Staatsarchiv Graubünden, ed. Jecklin 1926, 84 (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.2.12), an undated but probably late medieval or early modern ‘healing book’ from Golzow (‘Golzower Heilbuch’), ed. Poley 1895, 140 (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.2.11), and an eighteenth-century collection of medical recipes copied at Pforzheim and Kalb entitled *Artzney-Büchlein*, ed. Mogk 1896, 116 no. 9.b (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.2.13). For examples of the passage of the ‘three patriarchs’ motif, still in Latin, into Anglo-Saxon materials, see Grendon 1909, 178-179 no. A15 I with notes at 221-223.

⁵⁵⁸ This is brought out most clearly in an instance in an anonymous collection of recipes in a fifteenth-century manuscript, Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2219, f. 31v, which adds a prayer to the angel “who released the maid-servant Hagar to return to her master”: περι δούλου

of verbs, of each of which a patriarch is the subject, and all of which concern the finding and returning of the fugitive. In an incantation motif familiar especially from the material discussed in the first chapter, this narrative can also be adapted in the form of an address to the target: each verb then takes as its object *σε*, referring to the fugitive. In two fifteenth-century examples, the tricolon runs “Abraham brings, Isaak binds, Jakob returns (the fugitive)” and “Abraham pursues you, Isaak returns you, Jakob leaves you in your place.”⁵⁵⁹ Even if the address to the target is employed, an invocation of an angel, or several, in a tricolon mirroring that of the three patriarchs, is often added.⁵⁶⁰ Through the choice of substrate or place of deposition of the writing, there is also a conscious insertion of the procedure into an ecclesiastical context, for example by writing on a potsherd from a church dedicated to the *Theotokos*, or on a brick to be placed in the sanctuary,⁵⁶¹ but the inscribed text may also simply be placed behind the door of the house, in a technique probably derived from the procedures of the analogical manipulation type discussed previously.⁵⁶² In the same mode, the inscribed text may also be written backwards (*ἐξαναστροφῆ*), a visual analogy for the desired return of the target (*στρέψον*, addressed to St. Theodore).⁵⁶³ In a technique now familiar from the other categories in this chapter, the efficacy of the ritual text may be reinforced by the addition of an analogous passage

φεύγοντος. ‘Αβρααμ φέρει, Ισαακ δεσμεύεται, Ιακωβ στρέφεται. ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ λύσας Αγαρ τὴν παιδίσκην ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς κύριον, αὐτὸς ἐπίστρεφε καὶ τὸν δεῖνα διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἀποστείλαντος τὸν ἄγγελον.’ γράφε αὐτὰ εἰς βήσαλον ἢ εἰς χάρτην καὶ θές εἰς τὰ ἅγια (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.2.2). Compare also the version of the narrative in the eighteenth-century Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 210, f. 61r-v, ed. Delatte 1927, 114, ...

Αβρααμ εἶχεν δοῦλον καὶ ἔφυγεν, Ισαακ ἐζήτησεν αὐτόν (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.2.6).

⁵⁵⁹ Respectively, Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2219, f. 31v, ... Αβρααμ φέρει, Ισαακ δεσμεύεται, Ιακωβ στρέφεται ... (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.2.2); and Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316, f. 369r-v, ed. Oikonomu-Agorastu 1982, ... Αβρααμ σε διώκει, Ισαακ σε ὑποστρέφει, Ιακωβ σε καταλιμπάνει ... (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.2.1).

⁵⁶⁰ Angel: e.g. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2219, f. 31v, ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ λύσας Αγαρ τὴν παιδίσκην ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς κύριον (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.2.2), and Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316, f. 369r-v, ed. Oikonomu-Agorastu 1982, ... ὁ πρὸ τοῦ σκότους λαμβάνων καὶ ὀπίσω εἰς τὸ φῶς ὑπόστρεφε, ἅγιε Φαμαναηλ (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.2.1). Tricolon: private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας, ff. 17v-18r, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 39, ... Μιχαηλ φθάσον, Γαβριηλ ἔρξον, Ραφαηλ στρέψον (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.2.7). Abraham himself is so invoked in the eighteenth-century Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 210, f. 61r-v, ed. Delatte 1927, 114, alongside St. Theodore (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.2.6).

⁵⁶¹ Potsherd: Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316, f. 369r-v, ed. Oikonomu-Agorastu 1982, γράψον εἰς κομμάτιν κεραμίδιν ἀπὸ τῆς θεοτόκου τὸν ναόν (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.2.1). Deposition in sanctuary: Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2219, f. 31v, γράφε αὐτὰ εἰς βήσαλον ἢ εἰς χάρτην καὶ θές εἰς τὰ ἅγια (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.2.2).

⁵⁶² E.g. the sixteenth or seventeenth-century Athens, EBE cod. 1265, ff. 27v-28r, ed. Delatte 1927, 67, θές αὐτὰ ὀπισθεν τῆς θύρας (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.2.3).

⁵⁶³ In the eighteenth-century Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 210, f. 61r-v, ed. Delatte 1927, 114, περὶ τοῦ φυγεῖν ἄνθρωπον. γράψον εἰς ἀγέννητον χαρτὶ ἐξαναστροφῆ ‘Αβρααμ εἶχεν δοῦλον καὶ ἔφυγεν, Ισαακ ἐζήτησεν αὐτόν. γενηθήτω ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ σκότος καὶ ὀλίσθημα’ καὶ ἄγγελος, ἐκδίωξον αὐτόν, Αβρααμ, φθάσον αὐτόν καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Θεόδωρος, στρέψον αὐτόν’ (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.2.6). Note also direction to write upside-down (*ἀναποδογραφεῖν*) in two fifteenth-century variants, Cambridge, Trinity College cod. R.15.36, f. 29v (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.2.4), and Florence, BML cod. Plut. 86.14, f. 47r, ed. Vassiliev 1893, 341 and Delatte 1927, 626 (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.1.3.2).

from scripture. Here the favorite is again from among the psalms, namely *Ps. 34:6*, adapting to the target in the present scenario of use the psalmist's wish against his enemies, for example, "May his path become dark and treacherous, and may an angel of the lord turn him back."⁵⁶⁴ This combination is found as early as the fifteenth century and continues in use through the nineteenth. From a date in fact predating the earliest of these, in an anonymous collection of medical recipes in a fourteenth-century manuscript from Constantinople, the psalm passage is independently combined with a prayer to St. Jakob the apostle to force the slave's return.⁵⁶⁵

In this chapter we have examined a third and final category of ritual procedures featuring incantations, those intended to inflict violence or compulsion, for retributive, prophylactic, or purely malicious ends, on personal enemies. The second sub-class could claim a firm justification as a response to a specific wrong already committed, namely theft. Such justifications were also often invoked in the first sub-class, the ritual curse, but for a much broader range of circumstances and with intended effects not necessarily confined or even related to the redress of the wrong, and often greatly exceeding it in magnitude. In all, these procedures seem to stand at the greatest remove from Christian values of mildness and reliance on divine providence, supplemented with prayers for divine aid. However throughout the Christian Byzantine civilization, and in Greek-speaking areas centuries after its political end, they were practiced all the same. And no less than the techniques examined in the first two chapters, they were part of a dynamic tradition that drew in its outlines on ancient precedents but was subject to fertile innovation and recombination, with the goal of maximal relevance and efficacy in the context of contemporary use. The value of traditional knowledge proven in the past, and supplemented as desired in the present, appealed once again in times of crisis, the danger to personal safety and financial security posed by enemies and the loss of valuable possessions through theft, when less problematic methods of simple prayer or patient forbearance proved insufficient.

⁵⁶⁴ Athens, EBE cod. 1265, ff. 27v-28r, ed. Delatte 1927, 67, ... γενηθήτω ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ σκότος καὶ ὀλίσθημα καὶ ἄγγελος ἀποστρέφοι αὐτόν (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.2.3). See further the fifteenth-century Cambridge, Trinity College cod. R.15.36, f. 29v (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.2.4), Florence, BML cod. Plut. 86.14, f. 47r (chapter 3 cat. 2.1.1.3.2) and the eighteenth-century Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 210, f. 61r-v (ed. Delatte 1927, 114) with simply ... γενηθήτω ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ σκότος καὶ ὀλίσθημα (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.2.6). In the nineteenth-century Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας, ff. 17v-18r, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 39, the passage is shifted to the past tense, referring to the narrative of Abraham's fugitive slave, ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σκότος καὶ ὀλίσθημα καὶ ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ σκότος ἐγένετο, ποταμὸς ἀπέραστος ... (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.2.7).

⁵⁶⁵ Vienna, ÖNB cod. med. gr. 40, f. 124v, εἰς ἀποδρασμὸν δούλου. ἄγιε Ἰάκωβε ἀδελφὲ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀπόστολε, παρακάλεσον τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ ἀδελφὸν σου ἵνα ἐπιστρέψῃ τὸν δεῖνα δούλον πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν δεσποτείαν. γενηθήτω ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ σκότος καὶ ὀλίσθημα καὶ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐπιστρέφων αὐτόν' (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.3.1; similarly Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2091, f. 112v, chapter 3 cat. 2.4.3.2). A longer passage including verses 5, 7, and 8 of the same psalm, uttered in sequence in a form of ritual drama, appears in the Western tradition in the fifteenth-century Cambridge, Trinity College cod. O.1.58, f. 139r-v (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.3.3); *Ps. 32:16-17* is put to similar use in a manuscript of a century later, Heidelberg, UB cod. Pal. germ. 229, f. 64v (chapter 3 cat. 2.4.3.4).

Chapter 4

This final chapter attempts to fill in something lacking in the earlier, text- and typology-heavy chapters, namely a sense of the contexts in which incantations were both transmitted and used, the identity of the agents in that process and their own aims and perceptions regarding the material. The picture throughout will be one of a tradition that certainly depends upon literate, learned men who read, compare, annotate, use, recombine, and copy manuscripts, while at the same time adapting and expanding this material to respond to and draw on contemporary cult practice, their own goals and those of their clients. The chapter consists of a series of case studies. An exhaustive treatment contextualizing every codex, object, and known oral practitioner would be impractical, and instead I have selected a representative sample with a preference for areas where the data on context are especially rich.

This begins at the critical moment of late antiquity, the time of adaptation of pre-Christian incantation techniques under newly dominant Christian beliefs, with a small papyrus codex whose provenance and original owner are well documented, Aurelius Philammon, a local official in the Egyptian city of Hermopolis who included a number of incantations in a notebook for his business records. We then move to the sixth-century medical writers Aetios of Amida and Alexander of Tralles, whose systematizations of medical knowledge from earlier periods combined information found useful in contemporary practice, including incantations. Both collections were popular and influential in later Byzantine healing practice, and there is a look ahead at this reception with attention to the incantations. Incantations are prominent in turn in a sixth-century Latin codex (Leiden, UB cod. VLQ 9), whose central text is an illustrated herbal, supplemented with smaller medical collections, which I examine as a testament to the adaptation of Greek material as part of the foundation of the western medieval tradition of incantations. In the middle Byzantine period sources are considerably sparser. I turn here to an episode already introduced in the second chapter, a contemporary account of the proceedings of a trial before the patriarchal court at Constantinople in the fourteenth century, which brings to light a network of reading, compilation, copying, and circulation of books whose contents include incantations, centered on the person of Demetrios Chloros. In that same century abundant documentation re-appears for the use of incantations, in generally anonymous collections of primarily medical recipes with other practical advice on home economics. I select one of these (Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316), which contains one such text (ιατροσόφιον) especially rich in incantations, as well as other smaller collections including incantations; a close examination of the rest of the contents of this large codex provides a picture of the goals and approaches of its otherwise anonymous compiler, who included texts from more authoritative Greek medical writers, treatises on divination, theology, and the powers of precious stones, as well as chronography and historical anecdotes. Finally, for a perspective on the survival of the Greek tradition after Byzantium, and on the oral transmission of material alongside the circulation of written manuscripts, I introduce the case of a resident of a village in Crete, Nikolaos Konstantinos Theodorakis, in the twentieth century. Theodorakis copied for himself a manuscript collection for his use as a healer, drawing on texts already existing in written form in the possession of his family as well as his own experience in practice.

Aurelius Philammon

The first true case study for which a detailed picture may be drawn comes in the important transitional period of late antiquity, in which a historical personage can be seen in his role in the transmission of traditional incantations. The principal is the owner and commissioner of a papyrus codex, Aurelius Philammon.⁵⁶⁶ The codex comes from the city of Hermopolis Magna in Middle Egypt (modern El Ashmunein), where Philammon lived, and consists of 28 pages, assembled from sheets cut from a papyrus roll. Its relative compactness would have made it easily portable, and the presence of blank pages suggests a function as a personal notebook, which its owner filled up over time. Aurelius Philammon is attested in various other papyrus documents as performing civic liturgies over a roughly 30-year period in Hermopolis, from the 350s to 390s A.D. He thus belonged to a well-off, but not aristocratic, social class. Indications from the codex show him serving as an ἐπιμελητής, collecting taxes for the upkeep of the military in the form of rations of food, wine, and fodder (*annona militaris*).

The contents are eclectic but center on the official and professional activities of the owner, who likely copied them down himself.⁵⁶⁷ There are copies of four tax receipts for the tax for whose collection Philammon was responsible (*annona militaris*, pp. 15-16), extensive lists of persons and quantities of goods, much of which concern payments of this same tax (pp. 1, 12, 13, 17, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 28), and official correspondence from the governor of the region in which the city was situated (the *praeses Thebaidis* Domitius Asklepiades) on similar matters (pp. 26-27). There are also seven excerpts from transcripts of court proceedings (pp. 3-8),⁵⁶⁸ probably a collection, perhaps with rhetorical elaboration upon authentic excerpts, which Aurelius Philammon apparently copied for personal interest, in the absence of any particular bearing on his official duties. Six of the pages remain blank (pp. 2, 10, 11, 14, 18, 24), and it is not unlikely that Philammon filled up the rest in stages as his note-taking needs dictated.

The interest of the codex for this study is that on three of the pages, Philammon has recorded recipes for the use of incantations (pp. 9, 22-23). The most recent editors insisted on a rather narrow reason for their inclusion: to be explained entirely by some bearing on the practice of law, from which the court transcripts also derived, with Philammon merely copying the lot from some pre-existing archive. The content and stated purpose of the incantations is however much more diverse. They fall into two collections. The first, in a poor state of preservation, offers procedures for obtaining a divinatory vision (εἰς ὄπτ[ασί]αν, p. 9.5-9), for ensuring victory (νικητικόν, p. 9.9-12), for ‘muzzling’ of enemies and restraint of anger (p. 9.16-21), and erotic attraction (φίλτρον,

⁵⁶⁶ P.Berl. inv. 9873, purchased in El Ashmunein in 1902. The most recent edition and discussion is Poethke, Prignitz, and Vaelske 2012.

⁵⁶⁷ Poethke et al. 2012 conclude that the codex was written by five separate hands working at nearly the same time “in einer Schreibstube” (11). However the differences between the alleged hands are very slight, and indeed it seems possible to go beyond the cautious conclusion that all hands were engaged in the composition at the same time, and assert that instead a single individual, with a hand practiced but not consistent in a truly professional mode of writing, was responsible for the entire codex; the editors do not justify their assumption of a “Schreibstube,” that is, professional writers, or their tacit exclusion of any role in the writing for Aurelius Philammon, who as a tax-official could be expected to be a competent writer.

⁵⁶⁸ On these texts see Keenan 1989, 17-23; it is not necessary to regard them with Poethke et al. as kept in the archive of a legal official for use as draft models.

p. 9.23-25). The second, whose texts were considered in more detail in the first chapter, offers medical applications of Homeric verses, inscribed as amulets or uttered out loud (pp. 22-23). Again the text is in a damaged state, but portions of at least 8 recipes of this kind survive; where indications can be determined, they cover headache, fever, hemorrhage (with a curse for re-infliction of hemorrhage in case of non-payment, discussed in chapter 3), pain in the breasts and uterus, and contraception.⁵⁶⁹ To this is appended a prayer to the sun (Ἥλιος) for favor (χάρις) before all people and especially one particular woman, suggesting erotic motivations, which in its appeal that the user be made like the deity Yahweh and the archangels in her estimation further suggests influence from the Jewish tradition.⁵⁷⁰

Philammon certainly did not invent these incantations himself. As the first chapter has shown for the Homeric material among them, they draw on older traditions, and this situation pertains to the rest, albeit with Egyptian and Jewish in place of Greek antecedents. We should not however simply assume passive copying from a pre-existing 'archive' as some scholars have done. Philammon would have been selective here as he was in the composition of the rest of the notebook, for example in the choice of court proceedings. A practical function for the incantations is further suggested by the principles of the composition of the rest of the codex: the tax receipts and lists are not included out of curiosity or antiquarian interest, but as important complements to documents in his professional life. The accounts entered in the codex also show that Philammon had business dealings with a physician (ιατρός), and it is possible that the healing incantations at least were intended for use in the same context.⁵⁷¹ The combined recording and transmission of incantations with documents from the quotidian business activities of well-off, but probably not elite, residents of Roman Egypt is paralleled elsewhere. A formula for an amuletic incantation to gain strength (ισχύς), invoking Egyptian and syncretistic divinities (Φνουνεβη and Ἰω Αβρασαξ), and also the claim to be one of them (ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι Αβρασαξ), was found copied on a sheet of papyrus cut from a roll of accounts of the second century.⁵⁷² The hands of the two texts are distinct, and no internal evidence

⁵⁶⁹ There are remains of up to five more on p. 23, but the new readings of Poethke et al. are very doubtful; in the most substantial, an indication for protection against enemies is probable (p. 23.9-11, πρ(ὸς) ἐχθρούς).

⁵⁷⁰ A request for χάρις especially παρ' αὐτῆ, p. 23.22, despite the preceding πρὸς τὸν δεῖ(να) in 21-22; request that in her eyes he be made "good like Iao, rich like Sabaoth, beloved like Lailam, great like Barbaras, honored like Michael, glorious (l. ἔνδοξος) like Gabriel" (lines 22-26, ποιήσ[όν] με καλὸν παρ' αὐτῆ γενέσθαι ὡς Ἰαω, πλούσιον ὡς Σαβαωθ, φιληθῆναι ὡς Λαίλαμ, μέγαν ὡς Βαρβαραν, ἔντιμος ὡς Μιχαηλ, ἔνδοξας [ὡς] Γαβριηλ).

⁵⁷¹ p. 25.8-10 records three payments in cash to the ιατρός Theodosios, of which the amounts are unclear (the one in line 9 is at least 15,000 dr.); at p. 28.18 this same physician is paid in rations, 8 litrai of meat. Poethke et al. in comm. identify this Theodosios as an official physician (δημόσιος ιατρός).

⁵⁷² P.Mich. inv. 1463 back (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P LXIX), purchased and probably from the Fayum. There is a paragraphus below line 3, not noted in ed. pr.; also further ink below that, difficult to read on digital image and perhaps intentionally cancelled, c. 10 letters at the beginning of the line. In 3 *Pap.Graec.Mag.* inexplicably prints ἀντίχειράς σο[υ]; there is no further ink in this line after ἀντίχειρας. The accounts have never been described in print: at least 20 lines survive, c. 10 letters of line beginnings, with the bottom of the column and a bottom margin preserved. Abbreviations for ἀρτάβαι and ἄρουραι can be

suggests a direct link between the two writing acts. At the very least the re-use of a documentary text as scratch paper for the copying of incantation formulae situates their use and transmission in a quotidian and practical setting, as opposed to dedicated codices devoted exclusively to elaborate magical ritual such as the fourth-century handbook now in Paris with erotic techniques discussed in the second chapter.⁵⁷³ I compare also the copying of a formula for a protective incantation in an untrained hand on a scrap piece of papyrus from the second or third century: under the rubric “an amulet” (φυλακτήριων) comes a prayer to the Jewish Yahweh (ὁ ὢν θεὸς ἰαὼ κύριος παντοκράτωρ ἀβλαναθαλααβλα) for favor (χάρις) and protection ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ πράγματος.⁵⁷⁴

In sum, Philammon selected these texts for recording and preservation because he considered them valuable and potentially useful, first and foremost for himself, but also perhaps for friends or even clients to whom he might have offered expert services. The participation of private individuals, in addition to priests and monks, in the provision of incantations in the form of written amulets produced on the basis of written handbooks can be shown elsewhere in contemporary Egypt. Controlled modern excavations found in the same private house in the town of Kellis, in the Great Oasis, three fever amulets (*P.Kellis* I 86 and 87 and *P.Kellis* inv. 92.35b) along with fragments of a formulary (*P.Kellis* I 85) from which at least one of them was certainly copied (*P.Kellis* I 87 matches *P.Kellis* I 85b.16-19), all in the fourth century. A century earlier, the writer of a Greek letter in the city of Oxyrhynchus requests a copy on a papyrus πιπτάκιον of the text of an amulet (περίαμμα) for throat-ache (*P.Oxy.* XLII 3068).

Aetios of Amida

Our next case studies turn to medical practice at a more advanced and professional level, as attested in the writings of two early Byzantine physicians, Aetios of Amida and Alexander of Tralles. Aetios (fl. ca. 530-560) was born at Amida in Mesopotamia and studied medicine at Alexandria; in his later career he was active both there and at Constantinople.⁵⁷⁵ In the latter city he was a member of the imperial court, serving as κόμης ὀψικίου and personal physician to the imperial family. Hence he can in no way be called a practitioner of an unlearned or non-elite tradition of healing. Beginning with his medical training at Alexandria and continuing throughout his life he was widely read and

read, the quantity 1432, in the last line ἀρταβ. κδ; the name Ἰσίδωρος (14); perhaps παραλ() in 15 for a form of παραλήμπτης or παραλείπω.

⁵⁷³ Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV); cf. also the bookroll of roughly contemporary date and similarly constituted, *P.Oslo* inv. 420 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXVI), also adduced in the second chapter.

⁵⁷⁴ Perhaps from the Fayum, *P.Mich.* inv. 193 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P LXXI, cf. *P.Mich.* III 155 and Jordan *ZPE* 136 (2001), 183-186 no. 1): the presence of a formulary is assured by the rubric φυλακτήριων and the generic identification φύλακξόν μοι ... ὄν ἔτεκεν ἡ δῖνα, ἐγέννησεν (ὁ δεῖνα). *Pap.Graec.Mag.* wrongly prints [ὁ δῖνα], there is no loss of text here. In 5, ed. pr. ἔξω makes good sense and should be maintained, *contra* the ingenious but unnecessarily convoluted argument of Jordan for ἔξω.

⁵⁷⁵ For the career and writings of Aetios see Bravos 1978, 1-9; J. Scarborough s.v. “Aetios” in *ODB* and id. 1984, 224-226, whose imputation of an “arid scholasticism” to this author is however a serious injustice. On the centrality of Alexandria to medical instruction in early Byzantium see Duffy 1984.

drew on scholarly medical tradition in his own writings. However, he was receptive to a broad range of other sources of useful medicinal knowledge that included contemporary oral tradition, and in turn, incantations, which make him a valuable illustration of the place of the Greek incantation tradition within Byzantine medicine.

Aetios produced a systematized compilation on medical theory and practice, the *Iatrika* in 16 books, which proved influential and popular in the later Byzantine tradition. In this work Aetios clearly manifests an interest in both medical theory and practice. It has sometimes been suggested that the theoretical interest outweighs the practical (so Scarborough, perhaps influenced disproportionately by the prologue), but much of the content of the books, especially the later ones, are highly practical, often simply lists of ingredients in recipes for medical concoctions. Aetios also makes extensive internal references to his own practice, in the imperial *cubiculum*, and, in the form of a treatment for hair loss, in the service of clients from among “rich women,” probably in the capital;⁵⁷⁶ on his own wife,⁵⁷⁷ on those scourged in the law-courts,⁵⁷⁸ and numerous others;⁵⁷⁹ to a medicinal oil that he prepared himself in Alexandria, to whose efficacy he attests;⁵⁸⁰ and to practical demonstrations at the Παλλάδιον, the place of instruction for his preceptor Magistrianos at Alexandria.⁵⁸¹ To a remedy drawn from a certain Markianos, a source known only from Aetios and likely a contemporary, he adds an indication of the price that Markianos recommends be charged to patients for the service, three *nomismata*.⁵⁸² In another he mentions a preparation on the medicine market at Constantinople,⁵⁸³ a powder to improve weak vision that went for the considerable sum of 120 *nomismata*; the

⁵⁷⁶ Here it is applied specifically to a female chamberlain: ἄλλο [sc. ξηρίον] ᾧ ἐχρησάμεθα ἐπὶ τῆς κουβικουλαρίας, 6.65; ἀγαθὸν δὲ φάρμακον εἰς ταῦτα καὶ τὸ τῶν πλουσίων γυναικῶν τὸ σπικάτον καλούμενον καὶ τὸ σαλκᾶ, ὥστε τούτοις καὶ κατὰ μόνας κέλευε χρίεσθαι τὰς πλουσίας.

⁵⁷⁷ ἄλλο ᾧ ἐχρησάμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἔμαντοῦ συμβίου· αἰρεῖ γὰρ αὐτὰς [sc. μυρμηκίας] ἐκ ριζῶν (16.121).

⁵⁷⁸ χρῶ ταύτη καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ μαστιγωθέντων (15.14).

⁵⁷⁹ ἄλλο πρὸς φλεγμονὰς ᾧ χρῶμαι (16.41); ... ἐγὼ δὲ οὐγγίας δ μίξας χρῶμαι ἐπὶ πεσσῶν ὁμοίως (16.37); ἐχρησάμην δ' αὐτὸς τῷδε τῷ φαρμάκῳ ἐπὶ τραυματικῶν διαθέσεων (15.13); ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπορήσας τῆς ὀνοθύρεως τὴν νυκτερίδα βοτάνην ἦν τινες μύρον Ἑλένης καλοῦσιν ἐνέβαλον τῷ φαρμάκῳ καὶ ἐχρησάμην ἐπ' ἰσχιαδικῶν καὶ ἐποίησε θαυμασίως (15.15); ἄλλο ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς κέχρημαι (11.35); ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπειράθην καρύου λιπαροῦ ταγγίσαντος θεραπεύοντος τούτους· δεῖ δὲ λειοῦν καὶ κατακλίνοντα ὕπτιον, ἵνα προσμείνη τὸ φάρμακον ὥραις τρισίν, ἐπιτιθέναι (8.2); ἄλλο κολλύριον ἐρικηρὸν ὃ ἔλαβον μετὰ πολλοῦ καμάτου ὡς μέγα δῶρον (7.104). Note also his modification of a transmitted procedure in his own practice, e.g. κολλύριον Φιλαργίου ... τὴν δὲ λεπίδα τοῦ χαλκοῦ ἐγὼ προσέθηκα ὅταν σφοδρότερον αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι βούλωμαι (7.114).

⁵⁸⁰ ἐσκεύασα ταύτην ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πλειστάκις καὶ ἐστὶ πάνυ καλή, 1.131, similarly 1.132, ἐσκεύασα ταύτην ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ ἐστὶ πάνυ καλλίστη.

⁵⁸¹ 6.68, of a plaster for dandruff, ἄλλη ἣ ἐχρήσατο ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἐπὶ Παλλαδίου τοῦ Μαγιστριανοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μετὰ τὸ ἀποτυχεῖν τὰ τῶν ἀρχιάτρων βοηθήματα.

⁵⁸² ἄλλο συναγχικὸν Μαρκιανοῦ κινοῦν ἐμέτους, ποιοῦν καὶ πρὸς τὰς κρυπτὰς κυνάγχας, πρόλαβε, φησί, τὸν μισθὸν νομίματα τρία (8.50). On Markianos see Bravos 1978, 120.

⁵⁸³ πρὸς ἀμβλυωπίαν ξηρὸν τοῦ Δανοίου ὅπερ ὡς ἐπὶ θυῶν ἐπράθη τῇ βασιλευούσῃ πόλει εἰς νομίματα ρκ μετὰ πολλοῦ πόνου καὶ καμάτου (7.100).

considerable sum may indeed have gone towards the *preparation* itself, that is the oral or written instructions on how to produce the powder, instead of the powder itself.

The sources of the work are above all the writings of Galen, and also include those of Oribasius, Archigenes, Rufus, Aspasia, Soranos, Adamantios, Leonides, Poles, and Asklepiades.⁵⁸⁴ Especially significant here is the fact that Aetios includes more casual and contemporary contacts, unlikely to have had a written transmission and so probably gathered by oral means, one way or another: a remedy to promote conception he attributes to “the midwife” (ἄλλο τῆς μαίας, 16.37); an emollient plaster, to “the Jewish woman (ἡ τῆς Ἰουδαίας [sc. ἔμπλαστρος], 15.15); an antidote for gout, to “the bishop of Doara” (κατὰ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Δοάρων, 12.67).⁵⁸⁵ Among the named sources are some who are nowhere else attested as physicians or medical writers and whose position (e.g. ἀντίδοτος Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ διακόνου, 11.13) or onomastics suggests a contemporary Byzantine context rather than compilation from ancient sources (ἡ τοῦ Ἀνανίου πολύχρηστος τε καὶ ἔνδοξος [sc. κηρωτή], 15.25; ξηρίον τοῦ Μαλωριανοῦ, 12.69; ποδαγρικὸν ἐκ πείρας τοῦ Παρακεραμίδου, *ibid.*). Aetios also invokes a popular proverb to explain the symptoms and treatment of rabies,⁵⁸⁶ and mentions an oral report from an elder (πρεσβύτης) who forestalled this same affliction by an herbal remedy.⁵⁸⁷

Aetios drew on this diverse array of sources to provide his readers, namely fellow physicians, with unapologetic advice on amuletic practices, broadly considered. Various gemstones are recommended as periapts to prevent miscarriage, plant and animal products that act as contraceptives by a natural sympathy (16.18, 16.21), or are worn on the person for protection.⁵⁸⁸ Aetios writes with particular assurance when he can attribute such methods to ancient predecessors, as in the case of a φυσικόν for tonsillitis that involves anointing the forehead with pitch, which is traced back to the second-century physician Philoumenos of Alexandria,⁵⁸⁹ or a medicinal plaster attributed to the Egyptian pharaoh Nechepso, which seems to draw on numerology, the total weight of its ingredients

⁵⁸⁴ *Iatr.* 2 is particularly thick with material taken directly from Galen and Oribasius, though even here Aetios inserts e.g. a πάσμα γενόμενον τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Περσῶν (2.224).

⁵⁸⁵ Bravos 1978 s.v. gives his name as Doaros, but the bishopric of Δοάρα, a suffragan of Mocissus in Cappadocia, is attested at e.g. Const. Porph. *De cerim.* p. 797.

⁵⁸⁶ φιλόσοφος γὰρ τις δηχθεὶς ὑπὸ λυττῶντος κυνὸς καὶ γενναίῳ φρονήματι πρὸς τὸ πάθος ἀντισχῶν καὶ ἀνακόλουθον εὐρῶν τὸ ἐν βαλανείῳ φαίνεσθαι κύνα, — ἐφαίνετο γὰρ αὐτῷ καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τοῦτο παθοῦσιν, — ἐπιλογισάμενος οὖν καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ εἰπῶν· τί κοινὸν κυνὶ καὶ βαλανείῳ; κατεκράτησε τοῦ πάθους καὶ ἰάθη λουσάμενος καὶ πῶν ἀφόβως (6.24). A similar proverb is referenced, in much more compressed form, in Lucian *Adv. indoctum* 5.

⁵⁸⁷ οἶδα δέ τινα πρεσβύτην, ὅποτε δηχθείη τις ὑπὸ κυνός, τῇ ὄξαλίδι μόνῃ θεραπεύοντα ... καὶ σφόδρα ἐπήνει ὡς ἰσχυρὸν τὸ φάρμακον (6.24, though in a section headed ἐκ τῶν Ῥούφου καὶ Ποσειδωνίου).

⁵⁸⁸ Gemstones: 16.24. Contraception by sympathy: e.g. φυσικὸν περίαπτον. τὰ ὄστᾱ τὰ ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις τῶν ἐλάφων εὐρισκόμενα περιαιπτόμενα ἀριστερῶ βραχίονι φυσικῶς σύλληψιν ποιεῖν πιστεύεται (16.37), and further, the seeds of the ‘squirting cucumber’ caught in cloth before they touch the ground (16.21), testicles of a castrated mule, milk of mare nursing mule, baby tooth (16.18), seeds and nuts worn ἐν τῇ ζώνῃ to prevent a scorpion from biting (13.21).

⁵⁸⁹ φυσικὸν Φιλουμένου πρὸς κιονίδα κεχαλασμένην. πίσσαν ὑγρὰν λαβὼν μόλυνον τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ ἀντίχειρός σου, καὶ διαστείλας τοῦ βρέγματος τὰς τρίχας, διάχριε τὸ πισσάριον καὶ ἀναδραμεῖται ἢ σταφυλὴ (8.43). On Philoumenos see Bravos 1978, 140.

matching the psephistic value of its name, “hearth.”⁵⁹⁰ Significantly it is this same Nechepso to whom an epistolary treatise is addressed, purportedly from the Egyptian sage Petosiris, on prognostication about the fate of the sick, and other crises, from the psephistics of their names.⁵⁹¹ Aetios also claims personal experience of the medicinal use of gemstones, as in the case of pyrite and mulite (15.4), and recommends on his own authority the use of an iron signet ring engraved with the Christian cross to ‘seal’ (σφραγίζειν) wounds from the stings of insects, to prevent inflammation.⁵⁹² The specific phrase used to describe this cross, as “honored and life-giving” (τίμιος καὶ ζωοποιός), harks back to the liturgy and suggests the procedure is at the very least informed by Byzantine Christian ritual,⁵⁹³ if not borrowing from liturgical blessings of the sick actually performed by priests. At the same time, demonological lore may also be a source here: one strand of the tradition of the *Testament of Solomon* claims that Solomon’s seal, by which he bound demons and compelled them to serve him, had in fact the imprint of the crucifix described with this very same phrase.⁵⁹⁴

Aetios also expands upon his predecessors by including information from the lore associated with the same traditions as incantations, for example recognizing ritual binding as a cause of erectile dysfunction in his version of a remedy from Oribasius.⁵⁹⁵ A direct clue to Aetios’ working methods comes in his presentation of two anonymous recipes, to which he adds the note that he has found both of them (in a manuscript) with marginal annotation that they are well proven, suggesting that he was reading a manuscript that had in turn been marked up by another practitioner with notes from his attempts to put the material to use.⁵⁹⁶ Aetios introduces many of his practical remedy instructions with a formulaic expression of their indication that is also found in some of the fourth-century papyrus handbooks for ritual practice, including incantations. Namely, the claim that the procedure “works on” (ποιεῖ πρὸς) such and such a patient or target, which could

⁵⁹⁰ ἔμπλαστρος ἢ ἐστία ἰσόψηφος τῶ ὀνόματι. ἢ ἐστία ἰσόψηφος τῶ ὀνόματι ἦτοι δραχ. φισ· ἔστι δὲ Νεχεψῶ τοὺς βασιλέως· αὕτη ποιεῖ πρὸς πᾶν τραῦμα (15.13). The psephistic value of ἐστία is 516, the same as the total weight.

⁵⁹¹ Ed. CCAG IV:120-121, from Modena, BE cod. 174, f. 262 (copied in Venice in 1488 by Giorgio Valla).

⁵⁹² φυσικῶς δὲ ὠφελεῖ σφραγιζομένης τῆς πληγῆς σφραγίτιδι σιδηρᾷ τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιῦ σταυροῦ, οὐκέτι γὰρ συγχωρεῖ φλεγμονὴν γενέσθαι (13.13). I see no need to follow the editors in secluding τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιῦ σταυροῦ, which makes good sense in the context.

⁵⁹³ Cf. e.g. the treatise attributed to Chrysostom, PG 52:835, entitled Εἰς τὴν προσκύνησιν τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιῦ σταυροῦ, τῇ μέσῃ ἑβδομάδι τῶν νηστειῶν; cf. also the prayer for the ascent of the officiant to the *cathedra* in the liturgies of Basil and Chrysostom, ed. Brightman 1896, 314, ... σῶσον τὸν λαόν σου ... διὰ τοῦ τύπου τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ.

⁵⁹⁴ λοιπὸν καὶ ἐκείνη ἢ σφραγίδα εἶχεν τὸν τύπον τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιῦ σταυροῦ, Recension E in the edition of McCown 1922, 120 (12.2), from an eighteenth-century manuscript at the monastery of St. Saba in Jerusalem (cod. 290).

⁵⁹⁵ ἄλλο Ὀριβασίου πρὸς πάρεσιν αἰδοίου ... τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ περιεργείας δεδεμένους· αἰγὸς θηλείας οὔρον πότιζε (11.35).

⁵⁹⁶ εὔρον γὰρ ἀμφοτέρα παραγεγραμμένα ὅτι πάνυ εὐδόκιμα τοῦτό τε καὶ τὸ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βοήθημα (8.56); cf. the comment on sources and *comparatio* in 3.115, εὔρον δὲ ἐγὼ τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην ἐν δυναμερῶ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης μοι κοιμισθέντι ... οὐκ εἶχε δὲ πάνακα οὐδὲ πέπερι οὐδὲ γλήχωνα, though this is secluded by Olivieri.

indicate a common source in a broader genre of practical instructions for harnessing and manipulating natural forces.⁵⁹⁷

Turning to Aetios' use of incantations themselves, we see a similarly positive and unapologetic presentation, of material believed to be of use both to himself and to posterity in their healing practice. As we might expect from an author of a medical treatise, Aetios presents incantations exclusively of the healing and apotropaic type. He very likely was aware of the traditions of other types of incantation, too, however. Recall from the third chapter the procedure for the use of aetite, added to eucharist bread, for thief detection, which elsewhere in the tradition is indeed elaborated with incantations both oral and written.⁵⁹⁸ A first example accompanies the preparation of medicinal plaster, the procedure drawn from another of Aetios' anonymous, and probably contemporary sources, here said to be "from the curialis."⁵⁹⁹ It adds an incantation (λόγος) to be said while the ingredients are mixed, calling on the divinity addressed as "god of Abraham, god of Isaac, god of Jacob" to "co-operate with" the medicine (συνέργησον).⁶⁰⁰ The invocation is entirely at home in a Byzantine Christian context, though it should be noted that the reference to the three patriarchs strongly suggests an ultimate origin in Jewish rather than Christian practice; notably absent is any mention of Christ.

Introduced without any citation of source, but likewise without any apology or qualification, is a pairing of procedures to alleviate choking, specifically bones and other foreign objects lodged in the throat, via incantations. Both are framed as instructions to the practitioner for use on the patient and include preliminary set-up: in the first, to sit across from the patient and establish mutual eye-contact, in the second, to lay hands on the patient's throat. The first incantation is of the addressative type, commanding the obstructing object directly, and hence participating in a long tradition in the composition of Greek incantations as outlined in the first chapter, while in the choice of the raising of Lazarus and the disgorging of Jonah as analogies for that command, the incantation fits well within its contemporary Christian context, while remaining clearly distinct from more familiar Christian prayer.⁶⁰¹ The second, which was discussed in more detail in the first

⁵⁹⁷ In Aetios, e.g. 15.13; among the papyrus handbooks e.g. P.Oslo inv. 420, col. ii, θυμοκάτοχον ... μέχρεις καὶ πρὸς βασιλέας ποιεῖ (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXVI.35ff).

⁵⁹⁸ *Iatrika* 2.32.

⁵⁹⁹ ἔμπλαστρος τοῦ πολιτευομένου (15.15, addendum to chapter 1 catalogue). *Politeuomenos* is taken as a personal name by Bravos 1978, 145, but is so attested nowhere else. For the use as a title, i.q. 'being a πολιτευτής,' see *LSJ* s.v. B IV and Lampe *Patristic Lexicon* 1114b s.v. G. Contemporary comparanda include the *Epistles* of Nilus of Ancyra, where it is applied to the addressees of 1.290, 1. 311, 2.298, 4.39, and similarly Isidore of Pelusium, *Ep.* 1230, 1269, 1387, 1426, 1465, 1513; for papyrological evidence see Laniado 2002, 111-112.

⁶⁰⁰ *ibid.*, τήκων δὲ καὶ κινῶν λέγε τὸν λόγον τοῦτον 'θεὲ Αβρααμ, θεὲ Ισαακ, θεὲ Ιακωβ συνέργησον τῷ φαρμάκῳ τούτῳ.'

⁶⁰¹ Aetios 8.54, πρὸς ὄστοῦ κατάποσιν καὶ πρὸς ἀναβολὴν τῶν καταπειρομένων εἰς τὰ παρίσθημα. προσέχων τῷ πάσχοντι ἀνθρώπῳ ἀντικρυς καθεζομένῳ καὶ ποιήσας αὐτὸν προσέχειν σοι λέγε 'ἄνελθε ὄστοῦν, εἴτε ὄστοῦν ἢ κάρφος ἐστὶν ἢ ἄλλο ὄτιοῦν, ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Λάζαρον ἀπὸ τάφου ἀνήγαγε καὶ Ἰωνᾶν ἐκ τοῦ κήτους' (chapter 1 catalogue 1.37.1). Both appear also in the Latin translation (made from an unknown Greek manuscript) of Janus Cornarius (1549), under book 8, chapter 50 (p. 437), *aliud. ad educationem eorum quae in tonsillas deuorata sunt, statim te ad aegrum desidentem conuerte ipsumque tibi attendere iube ac dic 'egredere os, si tamen os, aut quicquid tandem existis, quemadmodum Iesus Christus ex sepulchro Lazarum eduxit*

chapter, is also of the addressative type but adds a performative claim in the metaphorical elaboration that a martyr and servant of God Blasios, surely to be identified with St. Blasios of Sebasteia, orders the obstruction to dislodge itself. Sebasteia indeed was not far from Amida, the home of Aetios, and as the first chapter has shown, Aetios very likely drew on the local cult of the saint and in particular mythology about his miraculous cure of this very affliction.⁶⁰²

Likewise introduced without source, and in an entirely factual manner, is the amuletic inscription of text from the Psalms to protect crops against pests. This procedure seems at first out of place within an explicitly medical collection, but can be explained by a broader interest in the transmission of useful practical knowledge, as is also the case for the recommendation of aetite for thief detection. Further, the thirteenth book of the *Iatrika*, in which these prescriptions occur, concerns in general the treatment of the bites of noxious animals, among which crop pests may reasonably be included.⁶⁰³ Again there are two different incantation procedures recommended under the same heading, this time combined with other methods. Both use the same text, *Ps. 1:3*, appropriate in its description of the ideal, amply watered tree with thriving foliage and a reliable crop of fruit. The first prescribes the writing of the text, presumably on papyrus, and binding to the trees; the second, writing on an ostrakon, which is then placed in the orchard.⁶⁰⁴ Again, as was argued in more detail in the first chapter, this ‘scriptural’ method continues and adapts a more ancient one, namely the use of lines from Homer as authoritative and divinely inspired text, which also manifests itself in the notebook of Aurelius Philammon encountered above.

The use of this particular psalm text enjoyed a later career in Byzantine practice, possibly through the influence of Aetios’ recommendation. The Byzantine *Geoponika*, on its own account an important repository in the Greek incantation tradition as the first chapter has shown in more detail, contains a close paraphrase of the first version of the amuletic procedure, for inscription and attachment to the trees, though with the goal of

et quemadmodum Ionam ex ceto.’ atque apprehenso aegri gutture dic ‘Blasius martyr et seruus Christi dicit “aut ascende aut descende.”’

⁶⁰² An interesting reflex appears in an anonymous Latin recipe for a prayer calling for assistance from God for a choking patient *per orationem gloriosi martyris et serui tui Blasii*, in a thirteenth-century manuscript: London, BL cod. Sloane 146, f. 81v (addendum to chapter 1 cat.). The saint’s patronage of the throat more generally is reflected in a ritual in the Catholic Church for a blessing of candles on his feast-day (3 February), for which a formula is given in the *Rituale Romanum* and includes the prayer *per intercessionem Sancti Blasii episcopi et martyris liberet te deus a malo gutturis et a quolibet alio malo. in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen* (most recently in the printed edition of 1952, tit. IX, cap. III, no. 7 [pp. 412-413], which can be conveniently consulted in the facsimile edition of Sodi and Toniolo 2008, 420-421).

⁶⁰³ The earliest manuscript to transmit this thirteenth book is dated to the thirteenth century (Florence, BNL cod. Plut. 75.21), see the edition of Zervos 1906, 262; thus the possibility that these procedures are later additions, drawn from e.g. the *Geoponika* itself (see below), cannot be excluded.

⁶⁰⁴ Aetios 13.54. The first: οὔτε δὲ κάμπαι οὔτε σκώληκες ἄφρονται τῶν δένδρων ἐὰν γράψας ἐπιδήσης ἐν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ ψαλμοῦ ‘καὶ ἔσται ὡς τὸ ξύλον τὸ πεφυτευμένον’ ἕως τοῦ ‘δώσει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπορρησεται’ (chapter 1 cat. 5.4.1.2). The second: γράψας εἰς ὄστρακον, ῥίψον ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, τὸ ἔσται ὡς τὸ ξύλον τὸ πεφυτευμένον’ (chapter 1 cat. 5.4.1.3).

preventing the premature loss of fruit.⁶⁰⁵ It is later applied to remedy sterility in mares by inscription on the hoof, in an anonymous fourteenth-century collection of veterinary recipes with augmentations to the *Hippiatrika*,⁶⁰⁶ and for easing human birth by writing on an ostrakon, then dissolving the ink and giving it to the patient to drink, in an anonymous collection of medical recipes in a manuscript of medical and astrological content copied at Constantinople in 1353.⁶⁰⁷

Finally I note a sense in which Aetios, as an influential medical authority who also gave his approval to incantations as a technique, invited later elaboration among those working in the same tradition in Byzantium. In the case of the incantation in 8.54 against obstructions of the throat discussed above, which presents the analogy of the resurrection of Lazarus and Jonah, a copyist has felt the freedom to supplement the incantation with an additional closing command to the obstruction to come out.⁶⁰⁸ That the command is given “in the name of the father and the son and the holy spirit” sets it even more firmly in a Christian context. In another place in the same manuscript, of the thirteenth century, the copyist has gone further and inserted three incantations from other sources at a relevant point in the text of Aetios, namely, three remedies to stop nosebleeds. The first addresses the blood directly and commands it to stop flowing. It does so by invoking as narrative analogue the lithification of the blood of the prophet Zacharias, an apocryphal account alluded to in the New Testament (*Luke 11:51*), and the staunching of the bleeding of Veronica, with whom the woman suffering from menstrual bleeding over many years in *Mark 5* was later identified.⁶⁰⁹ The second, of the performative type, uses a performative

⁶⁰⁵ *Geoponika* 10.87.8, ὁμοίως κατέχει τὸν καρπὸν ἐὰν γράψῃς καὶ προσδήσῃς εὐφυῶς τῷ δένδρῳ ταῦτα ‘καὶ ἔσται ὡς τὸ ξύλον τὸ πεφυτευμένον παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὑδάτων ὃ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ δώσει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπορρηθήσεται’ (chapter 1 cat. 5.4.1.1.). The heading of this section contains an attribution to Sotion, but it does not necessarily apply to the entirety of the contents. Especially if this Sotion is to be identified with the first-century paradoxographer and peripatetic (*RE* s.v. 2), otherwise the most likely candidate, an application of the Psalms in this manner at so early a date is improbable. The same section contains an application of a Homeric line in a similar amuletic function, which is attributed to Didymos of Alexandria, author of a *Γεωργικά* in the fourth or fifth century; it is likely that the Psalm procedure is included by a Byzantine compiler as a contemporary variation on the same motif.

⁶⁰⁶ Leiden, UB cod. VGQ 50, f. 222r (cf. Oder-Hoppe *Hipp. Lugdunensis* 202), περὶ ἵππας στείρας, ἴνα συλλάβῃ. ποίει οὕτως μετὰ μαυρομανικίου μαχαιρίου πένταλφα εἰς τὸν ὄνυχά τῆς ἵππης ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς πεντάλφας ‘ὃ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ δώσει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπορρηθήσεται, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἂν ποιῇ κατενοδωθήσεται’ (chapter 1 cat. 5.4.1.4). Copied by the otherwise unknown Demetrios Drosinos, on Italian paper: Doyen-Higuet 2006, 118-122; McCabe 2007, 46.

⁶⁰⁷ Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2286, f. 61r, περὶ εὐτοκίας. γράψον τὸ ‘μακάριος ὁ ἀνὴρ’ μέχρι τὸ ‘ὃ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ δώσει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ’ εἰς ὀστράκινον καινὸν καυκίον καὶ βαλῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ὕδωρ λείψον τὰ γράμματα καὶ δὸς πίνειν τῇ κυοῦσῃ καὶ ὄψει θεοῦ βοήθειαν μεγάλην (chapter 1 cat. 5.4.1.5).

⁶⁰⁸ οὕτω καὶ σὺ ἀνελθε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἀμήν, Olivieri’s cod. P^x = Vatican, BAV cod. Pal. gr. 199, which is generally believed to be of provincial origin, that is, outside of Constantinople, and has been dated to the late thirteenth century. For further discussion see the first chapter.

⁶⁰⁹ Inserted at Aetios 6.94, in Vatican, BAV cod. Pal. gr. 199, f. 121v (in left margin), ἕτερος ὀρκισμὸς πρὸς αἰμορραγίαν ῥινός. ‘εἰς τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ παντοδυνάμου. ὁ προφήτης Ζαχαρίας ἐσφάγη ἐν τῷ ναῶ κυρίου καὶ ἐπάγη τὸ αἷμα

claim to staunch the blood by binding it with blood, an interlocking reference to an accompanying ritual action, catching some of the blood on a white cloth and binding it to the patient's neck.⁶¹⁰ The third returns to the addressative mode, commanding the blood in the name of the Christian god as well as the coming final divine judgment, and adds the recitation of liturgical formulae, the lord's prayer, the creed, and the hymnic angelic salutation to Mary (χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη).⁶¹¹ In short, these practices fit well in the contemporary Christian religious practice of the copyist who included them, and the likely intended commissioner and user, while also continuing an ancient tradition.

Alexander of Tralles

After Aetios we come to his slightly younger contemporary Alexander of Tralles (525-605), of no less importance as a witness to a crucial phase of the Greek incantation tradition. For like Aetios, Alexander embraces incantations as a healing technique under certain circumstances, but his sources for the texts themselves differ in crucial respects. I showed in the discussion of Aetios that he does indeed manifest an interest in the practice of medicine throughout his work; for Alexander this is even more the case, and has long been accepted without controversy.⁶¹² John Duffy has called Alexander “a good guide to the everyday realities of Byzantine medical practice” (1984, 25), though it should be kept in mind that this practice was primarily in the West, centered upon Rome, in contrast to Aetios who was active at Alexandria and Constantinople. Alexander himself never seems to have attained a position in the imperial court, though it has been speculated that he held a high official rank as ἀρχίατρος or similar at Rome. Born to an eminent family in the Lydian city of Tralles, he probably owed his initiation into the medical profession to his father, Stephanos, who practiced there, as did Alexander's brother Dioskoros; among his other siblings were Anthemius and Metrodorus, noted architect and grammarian respectively, and members of the court of Justinian. Based on the autobiographical

αὐτοῦ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὡσεὶ λίθος. οὕτω καὶ σὺ αἷμα στήσον τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνος, πῆξον πάθος ὡς ἐκεῖνο καὶ ὡς λίθος ἀποκυρωθῆ. ὀρκίζω σε εἰς τὴν πίστιν τῆς Βεραϊωνικῆς αἷμα πλέον μὴ στάξης. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου, ἀμήν. Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ (chapter 1 cat. 1.44.1).

⁶¹⁰ *ibid.*, ἄλλον πρὸς αἱμορραγίαν ῥίνος. λ. λῶμα ποιήσας λευκὸν δεύσας ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος περίαπτε τῷ τραχήλῳ λέγων οὕτως ‘αἷμα αἵματι δῆσας στέλλω’ (chapter 1 cat. 2.2.2.1).

⁶¹¹ *ibid.*, αἰμοστάσιον Ἀρχιγένους διὰ πείρας. στυπτηρίας σχιστῆς κηκίδος ὀμφακίτιδος χαλκίτεως ἀνὰ οὐγγ. μίαν ποιήσας ξηρίον χρῶ. λέγε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπωδὴν ταύτην ‘εἰς τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ παντοδυνάμου, τὴν κρίσιν τὴν θέλουν ἰδεῖν οἱ ἀββᾶδες καὶ οἱ ἀπαπδ() καὶ οἱ σταυρώσαντες τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ οἱ τόκον λαμβάνοντες, στήσον αἷμα.’ καὶ κράτησον ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ μαλλία καὶ λέγε τρίς καὶ δῆσον τρίς. εἶθ’ οὕτως λάβε λίθον ἴασπιν καὶ ἐπίθες ἐπὶ τὴν ῥίνα ἔνθα τὸ αἷμα ἀπορρεῖ ἀπ’ ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους καὶ εἶπε ἐκ τρίτου τοῦτο τὸ ‘πάτερ ἡμῶν’ ὄλον, τὸ ‘πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα θεὸν’ ὄλον καὶ τὸ ‘χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη’ καὶ αὐτὸ ὄλον. εἶθ’ οὕτως λέγε ‘στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου, ἀμήν’ (addendum to chapter 1 cat.). The attribution to Archigenes, the well-known physician from Apamea active at Rome in the second century A.D., cannot extend past the first, pharmacological portion.

⁶¹² On the career and writings of Alexander see Duffy 1984, Scarborough 1984, 226-228, Puschmann 1878, 1:75-87. On the medieval textual tradition, with an attempt at a schema codicum, see Zipser 2005.

statements in his writings, Alexander also seems to have traveled extensively in the West, perhaps as a military doctor.

His surviving works are a treatise on fevers and a twelve-book *Therapeutika* arranged by the parts of the human body, descending from head to foot. He also refers in the latter to a three-book compendium on ophthalmology, which does not survive.⁶¹³ In an epistolary preface to Kosmas, son of Alexander's own teacher, Alexander claims to be writing the *Therapeutika* in his old age now that he can no longer practice (1:289 Puschmann). Duffy rightly stresses the extensive inclusion of information based on Alexander's own personal experience as a physician up to that time (1984, 25).

Like Aetios, Alexander was intimately familiar with Hippocrates, Galen, and their successors, who were important sources for his own work. At the same time he does not shy away from critical engagement even with Galen, to whom he refers reverentially as ὁ θεϊότατος and ὁ σοφώτατος: this appears for example in his account of a public dispute with ἰατροί at Rome over the proper treatment of fever, in particular the interpretation of recommendations in Galen.⁶¹⁴ But also like Aetios, he draws extensively upon, and makes extensive reference to, his own practice –indeed in presenting antidotes against quartan fever he prefers those that he has used himself⁶¹⁵ and to that of contemporary associates.⁶¹⁶

At least as far as his transmission of incantations and related ritual practices is concerned, Alexander draws on ancient sources, especially written collections of φυσικά, or accounts of the harnessing of natural properties of substances, even more than Aetios, who very likely relies on contemporary, and Christian, tradition for items like the psalm amulet and the Blasios incantation. Though Alexander may not always be fully comfortable with admitting his own use of such methods, he certainly does so, partly, as Duffy has suggested, with the aim of “accommodating the needs and wishes of his patients,”⁶¹⁷ but partly out of a simpler desire to collect and record useful knowledge. At the same time Alexander is careful to distinguish his methods, which are underpinned by

⁶¹³ *Ther.* 2.1, 2:3 Puschmann.

⁶¹⁴ *De febribus* 1:373-375 Puschmann.

⁶¹⁵ *De febribus* 7, 1:421 Puschmann, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην ἐκθέσθαι τὰς γραφάς, μάλιστα γὰρ ἐκείνων ὧν ἔσχον πολλὴν πείραν. See further e.g. *De febribus* 1:355 Puschmann, ἐγὼ γοῦν οἶδα δεδωκὼς ἐπὶ τινος τὴν τοιαύτην ἔχοντος διάθεσιν καὶ διακαιομένου ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ καὶ τὰ μέγιστα ὠφελήσας; *Ther.* 2.1, 2:15 Puschmann, ἄλλο ... πεπειραμένον ἡμῖν πολλάκις. He claims to have seen a *lector* in church suffer an epileptic attack, whom he treats him successfully on the spot: *Ther.* 1.15, 1:551 Puschmann, ἔθεασάμην οὖν τινὰ τῶν ἀναγιγνωσκόντων καταπίπτοντα ... καθάρας οὖν ἐγὼ τοῦτον ...

⁶¹⁶ E.g. his father Stephanos: *Ther.* 4, 2:139 Puschmann, ἄλλο ἀναγαργάρισμα συναγχικοῖς ᾧ ἐχρήσατο Στέφανος ὁ πατήρ μου κάγω, καλόν. Cf. also the attribution of a gout remedy to a Bouphatos (τὸ Βουφάτου, *Ther.* 12, 2:577 Puschmann), the only attestation of this name.

⁶¹⁷ In reference to treatments for colic: Duffy 1984, 26. The situation is surely more complex than what Nutton 1984 claims, an “obvious shift between Galen's time and that of Alexander in the definition of what is or is not medically and socially acceptable as a type of remedy” in regard to “sympathetic remedies, chants and charms” (8), an argument from silence that ignores non-literary sources for the practice of healing in the intervening period.

thorough knowledge of the healing art (τέχνη), from ‘magic’ (μαγεία).⁶¹⁸ Various φυσικά and φυσικά περίαπτα are introduced with no apology, and indeed there are occasional positive statements of personal approbation through use (πειρα, πειράω).⁶¹⁹ Although Alexander’s own μακρὰ πείρα rests more on pharmacology and therapeutics, the leading motivation for including such methods is the desire to supply other medical professionals with a complete set of knowledge so that they may be well-prepared (εὖπορος),⁶²⁰ and indeed he embarks on a *comparatio codicum* in search of these, specifically φυσικά for diagnosing epileptics.⁶²¹ In what follows (1:557-573 Puschmann), Alexander draws on numerous literary sources, Archigenes, Xenokrates, Straton, Apollonius; but also a remedy from a “rustic” in Tuscia (ἔλαβον καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Τουσκία παρ’ ἀγροίκου τινός), who cured his σύνδουλος of epileptic fits permanently: the two were cutting peony, the one had an attack, the other came to his aid μεστὸς τῆς ἀποφορᾶς τοῦ πηγάνου and touched his nose and mouth, then later tried the method on another; Alexander has used it often himself (κάγῳ δὲ πλειστάκις ἐθεράπευσα) and describes it as θαυμαστόν, ἐξαίρετον, and warns the reader not to share it (ἔστω σοι ἀμετάδοτον, 1:563 Puschmann). Others he has taken “from a rustic on Kerkyra” (ἄλλο ὅπερ ἔλαβον παρὰ Κερκυραίου ἀγροίκου, 1:565 Puschmann), “in Gaul” (ἕτερον ὅπερ ἔλαβον ἐν Γαλλίᾳ, 1:565 Puschmann), “from Marsinos the Thracian” (ἕτερον ἐκ Μαρσίνου τοῦ Θρακός, using μονομάχου σφαγέντος ἢ ἐτέρου τινός καταδίκου ράκος ἡμαγμένον, 1:565 Puschmann), “in Spain” (ἐν δ’ Ἰσπανίᾳ πρὸς ἐπιληπτικούς τοῦτ’ ἔμαθον, 1:565-567 Puschmann); from the oracle at Delphi, as interpreted and recorded by “Democrates the Athenian” (1:569 Puschmann). In his closing comment on this section, Alexander further explains that what is truly important in medical practice is μέθοδος, and provided that methodical care is maintained, the physician should use all available avenues to help the patient: for himself he affirms, “I am fond of using them all” (ἐγὼ δὲ φιλῶ πᾶσι κεχρηῆσθαι).⁶²² Incantations are defended as medically sound on the authority of Galen himself, and Alexander commends one particular procedure to his readers as of such high

⁶¹⁸ Especially revealing is his cautionary comment on a remedy for colic, which works so well that it has raised suspicion of μαγεία, even though it can be explained entirely λόγῳ τέχνης: *Ther.* 8.2, 2:361 Puschmann, ὀνίνησι δ’ αὐτοὺς μάλιστα καὶ σικία περὶ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν εὐμεγέθης τεθεῖσα ὥστε θαυμάσαντάς τινας τὸ τάχος τῆς θεραπείας μαγεία τινὴ καὶ οὐ λόγῳ τέχνης ἐπινοῆσαι τὴν ἀνωδυνίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιγίνεσθαι.

⁶¹⁹ *De febris* 6, 1:407 Puschmann, and *De febris* 7, 1:437 Puschmann; *Ther.* 8.2, 2:375 Puschmann, περίαπτου ἀδιάπτωτου οὗ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔσχομεν πείραν καὶ πάντες δὲ ὀλίγου δεῖν ἄριστοι τῶν ἰατρῶν εὐδοκίμησαν.

⁶²⁰ *Ther.* 1.15, 1:557 Puschmann, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τοῖς φυσικοῖς καὶ περιήπτοις χαίρουσι τινες καὶ τούτοις κεχρηῆσθαι ζητοῦσι καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀληθὲς αὐτῶν τυγχάνουσι τοῦ σκοποῦ, πρέπον ἐνόμισα τοῖς φιλομαθεῖσι καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐκθέσθαι τινὰ ὥστε τὸν ἰατρὸν πανταχόθεν εὖπορον εἶναι εἰς τὸ βοηθεῖν δύνασθαι τοῖς κάμνουσιν.

⁶²¹ A first method is followed by a second said to be ἐξ ἄλλου ἀντιγράφου (*Ther.* 1.15, 1:559 Puschmann).

⁶²² 1:571-573 Puschmann, ταῦτα μὲν εἴρηται τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὡς φυσικῶς δρᾶν δυνάμενα. ὅσα δ’ ἡμεῖς ἐξεθέμεθα, κατὰ μέθοδον εἴρηται. καὶ δεῖ πανταχόθεν βοηθεῖν τὸν ἐπιστήμονα καὶ φυσικοῖς χρώμενον ἐπιστημονικῶς λόγῳ καὶ μεθόδῳ τεχνικῇ καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον πάντα κινεῖν τὰ καλῶς σπεύδοντα μακρᾶς νόσου καὶ μοχθηρᾶς ἀπαλλάξαι τὸν κάμνοντα. ἐγὼ δὲ φιλῶ πᾶσι κεχρηῆσθαι. διὰ δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ νῦν χρόνῳ ἀμαθεῖς ὄντας καταμέμφεσθαι τοῖς χρωμένοις τοῖς φυσικοῖς, ἔφυγον συνεχῶς χρῆσθαι τοῖς φύσει δρᾶν δυναμένοις καὶ ἔσπευσα τεχνικῇ μεθόδῳ περιγενέσθαι τῶν νοσημάτων.

value and indeed sanctity that, here citing the authority of Hippocrates, it should not be imparted to just anyone.⁶²³

This same desire to arm his readers, as competent physicians, with all possible means of healings is invoked in the section of Alexander's work richest in incantations, his collection of treatments for gout and rheumatism in the feet.⁶²⁴ In this section falls a prescription of an Homeric verse, *Il.* 2.95, whose use is actually attested by an inscribed metal lamella of a date probably two or three centuries earlier, in late antiquity.⁶²⁵ The instructions combine an exploitation of the divine efficacy of Homeric epic with a knowledge of astrological lore, as they recommend that the inscription be done when the moon is in the zodiac sign Libra, or preferably – and here we may suspect the addition of a later compiler or even Alexander himself – in Leo.⁶²⁶ Here too are directions for inscribing another incantation, invoking magical *logoi* with parallels in the ritual handbooks among the papyri from Roman and late ancient Egypt, and an analogy invoking the sun.⁶²⁷ And

⁶²³ Galen: *Ther.* 11.1, 2:473-475 Puschmann, a recipe for a ring against kidney-stones, on which the figures of a lion, the moon, a star, and surrounding them the word λέων are to be inscribed; the justification again appeals to completeness and includes a reference to Galen's change of opinion about the efficacy of έπωδαί in light of practical experience, καλὸν γὰρ νικᾶν καὶ πάση μηχανῇ βοηθεῖν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὁ θειότατος Γαληνὸς μηδὲν νομίσας εἶναι τὰς έπωδάς ἐκ τοῦ πολλοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῆς μακρᾶς πείρας εὖρε μεγάλως δύνασθαι αὐτάς. ἄκουσον οὖν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος, ἐν ἧ περι τῆς καθ' Ὀμηρον ἰατρικῆς ἐξέθετο πραγματείας· ἔχει δὲ οὕτως· ἔνιοι γοῦν οἴονται τοῖς τῶν γραῶν μύθοις εἰκέναι τὰς έπωδάς, ὡσπερ κάγω μέχρι πολλοῦ· τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναργῶς φαινομένων ἐπίσθην εἶναι δύναμιν ἐν αὐταῖς· ἐπὶ τε γὰρ τῶν ὑπὸ σκορπίου πληγέντων ἐπειράθην ὠφελείας, οὐδὲν δ' ἦττον κάπτι τῶν ἐμπαγέντων ὀστών ἐν τῇ φάρυγγι δι' έπωδῆς εὐθύς ἀναπτυσσόμενων. καὶ πολλὰ γενναῖα καθ' ἕκαστόν εἰσι καὶ έπωδαί τυγχάνουσαι τοῦ σκοποῦ.' Secret: this is the inscribed ring to prevent colic, discussed in more detail in the first chapter, at *Ther.* 8.2, 2:377 Puschmann (chapter 1 cat. 10.20.2.2). Alexander professes extensive personal experience with the method but at the same time urges the preservation of secrecy about it: καὶ τούτου πολλὴν ἔσχον πείραν καὶ ἄτοπον ἐνόμισα μὴ παραδοῦναι τηλικαύτην ἀντιπαθῶς ἔχουσαν πρὸς τὸ πάθος δύναμιν. ἀλλὰ παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς, μὴ πρὸς τοὺς τυχόντας ἐμφαίνειν τὰ τοιαῦτα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς φιλαρέτους καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα δυναμένους φυλάττειν, ὅθεν καὶ ὁ θειότατος ἰδὼν Ἰπποκράτης παρακελεύεται λέγων· τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ ἐόντα πρήγματα ἱεροῖσιν ἀνθρώποισι δείκνυται, βεβήλοισι δὲ οὐ θέμις.'

⁶²⁴ *Ther.* 12, 2:579 Puschmann, ... ὥστε τὸν ἄριστον ἰατρὸν πανταχόθεν εὐπορον εἶναι καὶ πολυτρόπως βοηθεῖν ἅπασι τοῖς κάμνουσι, ἦλθον εἰς τοῦτο. πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων τούτων ἡμῖν δρᾶν πεφυκότων, τὰ πειραθέντα διὰ τῆς μακρᾶς πείρας γράφομεν.

⁶²⁵ For a fuller discussion of both witnesses to the incantation, see the first chapter. The relevant passage in Alexander is *Ther.* 12, 2:581 Puschmann, λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὀμηρικὸν στίχον 'τετρήχει δ' ἀγορή, ὑπὸ δ' ἔστοναχίζετο γαῖα' χρυσοῦ πετάλω γράφειν αὐτὸν οὔσης σελήνης ἐν ζυγῷ. κάλλιον δὲ πολὺ ἔαν ἐν λέοντι εὐρεθῆ.

⁶²⁶ Sensitivity to astrology in medical treatment, or iatromathematics, is a consistent feature of the Byzantine texts edited in the *CCAG* series and appears as early as the writings of Pancharios, see *ODB* s.v. 'astrology.'

⁶²⁷ *Ther.* 12, 2:583 Puschmann, λαβὼν πέταλον χρυσοῦν σελήνης ληγούσης γράφε ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ ὑποκείμενα καὶ ἐνδήσας εἰς νεῦρα γεράνου, εἶτα ὁμοιον τῷ πετάλω σωληνάριον ποιήσας κατάκλεισον καὶ φόρει περὶ τοὺς ἀστραγάλους 'μειθρευ μορφορ τευξ ζα ζων θε λου χρι γε ζε ων. ὡς στερεοῦται ὁ ἥλιος ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι τούτοις

finally, at the very close of the twelfth and final book, Alexander offers a complex ritual procedure with three separate incantations and accompanying ritual instructions for the gathering of a medicinal herb and the sowing of salt where it once grew as analogue for the withering of the illness. The incantations are fine specimens of Greek poetic composition and otherwise fit well within the Greek tradition, though references to Hebrew divine names and (exclusively) figures and narratives from the Old Testament, including Phinehas and the wife of Lot, suggest Jewish origins.⁶²⁸

It remains finally to point out the later influence of incantations in Alexander. Perhaps, given the conscious archaism of his selection, these failed to appeal to later Byzantines as much as the psalm procedure offered by Aetios. Still, a noteworthy example on the side of Alexander is the excerpt of a procedure of his for an inscribed ring with an incantation against colic, in an eighteenth-century manuscript owned by the monastery of the Panagia Olympiotissa at Ellassona in Thessaly.⁶²⁹ The prescription of the incantation itself has clearly been separated from the rest of Alexander, which is not transmitted here, and paraphrased into a demotic Greek more readily comprehensible to the likely user. This would have been a man who identifies himself as the *ιατρός* Christodoulos from Ioannina, who copied the bulk of it in his own hand. It was later sold by his widow to the hegumen of the monastery of Olympiotissa, Dionysios, in 1756. Dionysios himself took an

καὶ ἀνακαινίζεται καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, οὕτω στερεώσατε τοῦτο τὸ πλάσμα καθὼς ἦν τὸ πρὶν, ἤδη ἤδη, ταχύ ταχύ· ἰδοὺ γὰρ λέγω τὸ μέγα ὄνομα ἐν ᾧ ἀναπαυόμενα στερεοῦνται, ἰαζ αζυφ ζυων θρεγξ βαινωκωκ. στερεώσατε τὸ πλάσμα τοῦτο, καθὼς ἦν τὸ πρῶτον, ἤδη ἤδη, ταχύ ταχύ.'

⁶²⁸ *Theo. 12, 2:585* Puschmann, ἄλλο πρὸς ποδάγραν καὶ πᾶν ῥεῦμα. ἱερὰν βοτάνην ἣτις ἐστὶν ὑοσκύαμος, σελήνης οὐσης ἐν ὑδροχώρῳ ἢ ἰχθύσι, περιορύξας τὴν βοτάνην, πρὶν ἢ δῦναι τὸν ἥλιον, μὴ ἀψάμενος τῆς ρίζης, ὀρύξας αὐτοῖς τοῖς δύο δακτύλοις τῆς ἀριστερᾶς χειρὸς, τῷ ἀντίχειρι καὶ τῷ ἱατρικῷ δακτύλῳ, λέγε· 'λέγω σοι, λέγω σοι, ἱερὰ βοτάνη, αὔριον καλῶ σε εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Φινεα, ἵνα στήσης τὸ ῥεῦμα τῶν ποδῶν καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦδε ἢ τῆσδε. ἀλλ' ὀρκίζω σε τὸ ὄνομα τὸ μέγα Ἰαωθ, Σαβαωθ, ὁ θεὸς ὁ στηρίξας τὴν γῆν καὶ στήσας τὴν θάλατταν ῥεόντων ποταμῶν πλεοναζόντων, ὁ ξηράνας τὴν τοῦ Λῶτ γυναῖκα καὶ ποιήσας αὐτὴν ἀλατίνην. λάβε τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς μητρὸς σου γῆς καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς καὶ ξήρανον τὸ ῥεῦμα τῶν ποδῶν ἢ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦδε ἢ τῆσδε.' καὶ τῇ αὔριον πρὸ ἀνατολῆς λαβὼν ὁστέον οἰουδήποτε ζῶου ἀποθανόντος, ὀρύξας αὐτὴν τούτῳ τῷ ὁστέῳ καὶ λαβὼν τὴν ρίζαν λέγε· 'ὀρκίζω σε κατὰ τῶν ἀγίων ὀνομάτων Ἰαωθ Σαβαωθ Ἀδωναι Ἐλωι.' καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὴν βάλε ἐν τῇ ρίζῃ μίαν δράκα ἀλῶν λέγων· 'ὡς οἱ ἄλες οὔτοι οὐκ αὔξονται, μηδὲ τὸ πάθος τοῦδε ἢ τῆσδε.' καὶ λαβὼν τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ρίζης περίαπτε τῷ πάσχοντι φυλάττων ἄβροχον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν κρέμα ἐπάνω τῆς ἐσχάρας ἡμέρας τξ'. The Φιλεᾶ of the MSS. should be emended to Φινεα, Phinehas (Φινεες) the hero of *Numbers* 25 and 31, cf. also *Ps.* 105, which is used in turn in incantations (e.g. in the fourteenth-century Vienna, ÖNB cod. med. gr. 52, f. 88v: chapter 1 cat. 5.4.16.1, for protection of crops against pests), the operative word being ἴστημι, ἔστη for Phinehas, etc.; so careful an investigator of incantations and *physica* as Alexander is unlikely to have committed the error underlying the explanation of Faraone 2009, 244n48, who considers the transmitted reading a relic of an earlier use "to cure a man named Phileas, whose name has remained in the text."

⁶²⁹ Alexander of Tralles, *Therapeutica* 8.2, ed. Puschmann 2:377 (see chapter 1 cat. 1.20.2.2 and above), and Olympiotissa cod. 97, p. 99, ed. Skouvara 1965-1966, 89 (chapter 1 cat. 1.20.2.3), with further discussion in the first chapter. On the monastery, founded in the fourteenth century, see Skouvara 1967.

active interest in medical practice that did not exclude incantations, one of which he copied into this same manuscript himself after observing its success on a patient in Hungary.⁶³⁰ The manuscript, which its editor terms an *ιατροσόφιον*, is a miscellany from diverse sources, with internal attributions to authors including Oribasius, Galen, Dioscorides, and Meletius.⁶³¹ It belongs to a very different historical context than the material examined thus far in this chapter, produced during Ottoman rule of Greece and the Balkans, and diverse non-Greek influence can be detected, including translation from Italian and Hungarian. It is in this context that the incantation of Aetius was selected for preservation and use, as a valuable Byzantine complement to an international post-Byzantine assemblage.

Like the work of Aetios, the *Therapeutika* of Alexander offered an appealing contextual space to later Byzantine compilers of medical books for the addition of other incantations known to them and found to be of use in their contemporary practice. Such is the case in a fourteenth-century manuscript, Florence, BNL cod. Plut. 74.10, which contains the *Therapeutika* in its entirety, along with shorter selections from Galen, Dioscorides, and the Greek translation of a treatise of Rhazes on plague. Multiple hands were at work in the copying, but Ioannes Staphidakes was probably in overall charge of its production.⁶³² Of particular interest here are two short, anonymous collections of medical recipes, still unedited and scarcely described, which follow the end of the *Therapeutika* directly.⁶³³ The first of these is primarily pharmacological and botanical in scope: plants are described in detail, clearly oriented towards practical use in the form of herb-gathering. But two incantations are included, both well-represented in the Greek tradition: one to dislodge a woman's afterbirth, involving the *trisagion*, and the other to bring sleep to an insomniac patient, involving the writing of the names of the seven sleepers of Ephesus on an olive leaf.⁶³⁴ The second, in a different hand, after some intervening recipes for

⁶³⁰ On p. 523, which Dionysios claims to have translated from Hungarian (ἀπὸ τὰ Οὔγκρικα, text at Skouvara 1965-1966, 74). See further the discussion in Skouvara 1965-1966, 72-75.

⁶³¹ On the contents see also Skouvara 1967, 308-309. There are indeed multiple internal references to *ιατροσόφια*, one at pp. 429-468 an *ιατροσόφιον ... μεταγλωττισμένον ἀπὸ τὴν ἰταλικὴν γλῶσσαν εἰς τὴν ῥωμαϊκὴν*. The one in which the incantation appears is headed *ιατροσόφιον ἐκλελεγμένον ἀπὸ πολλῶν βιβλίων Γαληνοῦ καὶ Ἱπποκράτου καὶ Μελετίου μοναχοῦ καὶ ἄλλων ἰατρῶν* (pp. 81-152).

⁶³² See Mondrain and Jacquart 2005, 25.

⁶³³ Florence, BNL cod. Plut. 74.10, ff. 332r-336r, inc. *περὶ πόνον ὀφθαλμοῦ ἐὰν πριστῆ ἔπαρον ἀντζαρούτη καὶ σαπρὴ ...* I hope to offer a full edition of the text elsewhere.

⁶³⁴ Afterbirth: f. 333v, *ἐὰν ἔχη ἡ γυνὴ ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ αὐτῆς τὸ ἐνδυμα τοῦ παιδίου λαβῶν τὴν ρίζαν τῆς <β>λισκυνέας καθάρισον καὶ ἔψησον μετὰ οἴνου ἢ μετὰ ὕδατος, τριστάκις ἄς βράση καὶ ἄς τὸ πίνῃ. καὶ εἰπὲ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τῆς γυνῆς ἄγιος ἄγιος ἄγιος.* Insomniac: f. 336r, *εἰς ἄρρωστον ὅπως κοιμᾶται. γράψον εἰς ἐλαιόφυλλον τῶν ἁγίων ἑπτὰ παίδων τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ θές ὑποκάτω τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ.* Cf. also a recipe originally containing an incantation now omitted, f. 333v, *περὶ λύκου κεφαλῆς λάβε χλωροσαῦραν [χλωροσαύραν cod.] καὶ ἔψησον αὐτὴν μετὰ τὸ ἄλειμμα καὶ λέγε ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ πάσχοντος <> καὶ ἄλειψε ἕως τ᾿ἀγναστῆ ἑπτὰ καὶ ἰᾶται ἄλλο ἔνωσον τὴν χλωροσαῦραν [χλωροσαύραν cod.] μετὰ τὸ ἄρκειον ἄλειμμα καὶ ὑγροπίσιν καὶ ἰᾶται* [a space of c. 15 letters left for the incantation, suggesting this was copied from an exemplar in which it had been effaced, rather than that the copyist of the present manuscript intentionally excluded it]. Related practices worth noting are the medicinal use of holy water (*ἀγίασμα*: f. 333r, *περὶ ἰσχίου λάβε ρίζαν λεπτοκαλαμίας*

unguents, contributes three further incantations: one for snake- or fish- bites, involving the activation of *ἀγίασμα* by speaking over it magical *logoi*; another for rabies, of the ritual drama type; and the third for nose-bleed, which commands the blood to stop by recounting an analogous narrative.⁶³⁵

A sixth-century Latin miscellany: Leiden, UB cod. VLQ 9

Before considering the next phase of the Greek incantation tradition in Byzantium, I wish to examine the process by which Greek material was translated and adapted in Latin medical texts, whereby it proved foundational to the incantation tradition in the medieval West. The most noteworthy example of this trend is Marcellus, a native of the West, practitioner of medicine at an elite level in Constantinople at the turn of the fifth century, and versed in Greek medical texts even as he chose to compose his own in Latin. As the introduction to the first chapter highlighted, his medical compendium *De medicamentis* contains several incantations in the original Greek, and still transmitted in Greek letters, to varying degrees of accuracy, in the manuscript tradition. The compendium itself is accompanied in its manuscript tradition by a metrological treatise entirely in Greek, both

ἀνύδρου τὸ φύλλον ὃ ἐστὶ παρμοιον λιμνοχόρτιν πλατύν, τρίψον καὶ ποιήσον αὐτὴν ὡς ἀλεύριν καὶ μὲ τὸ ἀγίασμα πότιζε τὸν ἀσθενῆ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ καὶ ἰᾶται; and f. 333v, εἰς δυσουρίαν· λάβε λαγῶν χειροπιαστὸν ἵνα μὴ τραυματισθῆ καὶ βάλον αὐτὸν εἰς κακάβιον καὶ ἔψησον αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς μαλίοις σὺν τοῖς στεάτοις ἕως οὗ λειωθῶσι τὰ πάντα καὶ σακέλισον αὐτὸν εἰς πανὶν καὶ μὲ τὸ ἀγίασμα ἄς πίνῃ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἰᾶται); the recommendation to collect an herb on the feast-day of St. John *heliotropos* (f. 334r, εἰς κλάσμα ὀστέου ἀνθρώπου. λάβε βότανον ὃ λέγεται ἀγριομόλοχον καὶ λάβε αὐτὸ εἰς ἡμέραν τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰωάννου ἡλιοτρόπου καὶ ξήρανον καὶ τρίψον καὶ ποιήσον ἀλεύριν ἕως στιγμᾶς β' καὶ ὠμοπότιζε μετὰ ὕδατος ἀντλητοῦ ἕως ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ θαυμάσεις); healing via analogous ritual, f. 334v, εἰς τραῦμα ἀνθρώπου ἢ ἀλόγου ὄλκαν. λάβε ἐρέβινθον καὶ ἄλεσον αὐτὸ εἰς χειρόμυλον ἐξανάστροφα καὶ ἐπίπαζε τὴν ὄλκαν ἢ τὸ τραῦμα καὶ ἄλαζε αὐτὸ τὴν ἡμέραν τρεῖς καὶ ἀπόπλυνον μετὰ χλιαροῦ ὕδατος; and the use of a stone mined from an animal as periart, f. 335v, εἰς ὑδρωπικόν· λάβε βάτραχον ὃν λέγουσι σάκκον καὶ βάλε αὐτὸν εἰς τζούκαν καὶ φράξον τὸ στόμα καλῶς καὶ βαλὼν εἰς μουρσιόν, ἄς ποιήσῃ ἡμέρας μ'. καὶ ἄνοιξον καὶ μέλλεις εὐρεῖν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ λίθον. καὶ δῆσον εἰς τὴν ζώνην τοῦ πάσχοντος καὶ θαυμάσεις.

⁶³⁵ Respectively, Florence, BNL cod. Plut. 74.10, f. 346r-v, εἰς δακνόμενα [δακνομέν(ων) cod.] | τοῦ ὄφεως ἢ ἰχθύου. βάλε ἀγίασμα μετὰ μαχαίρου τρεῖς κάρφον κατασφάγισον τὸ ὕδωρ μετὰ μαχαίριν καὶ εἰπέ 'σαρα σαρα ραπανζαη κιμουσα λακανατα ζαζηνια νουσα τοπαφθουτιανω τονεσποτα σαρι πασαρου ρα πασατι ιωακειμ παρκακαρατα'; f. 347v, πρὸς λυσιασμόν. "καλημέρα σε, καλημέρα σε, καλημέρα σε, καλή σου ἡμέρα. ποῦ ὑπάγεις;" "ὑπάγω εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ταρπ()." "ἐκεῖ τί θέλεις;" "ἐπίασέν με τὸ λυσιάριν τὸ σκυλὶν καὶ ὑπάγω νὰ μὲ γητεύσῃ [γυτέψη cod.]." "καὶ τί βαστάζεις;" "βαστῶ κηρὶν τυρὶν θυμίαμα." καὶ ὅπου γητεύει ἰσθήκει ἐπάνω εἰς δύο σκαμνία καὶ διεκβάλει [διευγάλει cod.] τὸ ψωμὶν καὶ τὸ τυρὶν ὑποκάτω του καὶ τρώγει τὸ ψωμὶν καὶ τὸ τυρὶν ὁ παθὼν καὶ τὸ κηρὶν καὶ τὸ θυμίαμα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ποιεῖ σταυρὸν εἰς τὸν ἄρτον μὲ τοῦ τζαγκαρίου τὸ ὑπήτιν καὶ δίδει τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἴτε τὸ κτῆνος καὶ νηστεύει καὶ γράφει εἰς τὸ ψωμὶν 'βρισκα δεδαί'; f. 347v, πρὸς αἷμα ῥινόσ· λινὸν πανὶν καῦσον μετὰ ὄξους τρίψον καὶ φύσησον εἰς τὰς ῥίνας καὶ λέγε τριάκοντα τρεῖς 'μάννα καὶ κόρη τὸν ποταμὸν Ἄλιβ ἐπέρνουσαν καὶ ἐγυρίσθησαν. οὕτως καὶ σὺ αἷμα στᾶ διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ.'

language and script.⁶³⁶ We have also seen evidence of it in the third chapter in the procedures for the identification of thieves in an eleventh-century Latin manuscript in London, BL cod. Sloane 475, and in the erotic incantation in a ninth- or tenth-century addition to a manuscript in Leiden, UB cod. VLQ 2, considered in detail in the second chapter. The medieval West followed a path all its own, or more accurately a diverse range of paths, in the development of its incantation tradition that should not be ignored; my point here is only that Greek sources were present at an early and formative stage and left a distinctive imprint on that development.

Here I select for special emphasis as a case study a single Latin manuscript, produced in the sixth century and serving as a practical guide to medical practice for users throughout the Middle Ages. It is a parchment codex now in Leiden (UB cod. VLQ 9), previously owned by the Swiss humanist Melchior Goldast (1578-1635), and later by Isaac Voss (1618-1689).⁶³⁷ Clearly a deluxe product, executed in an elegant and careful uncial script on fine parchment, it was probably produced in Italy.⁶³⁸ Its subsequent career can be traced to some degree by marks of medieval readership: pen trials in a Merovingian script, e.g. ff. 3v and 49r, suggest that it left Italy for France in the seventh century; a particular *nota* monogram places it in Chartres in the tenth or eleventh century; and a partially legible ownership inscription, of one *magister* Gerlach, suggests it was in Kleve in the Lower Rhine region in the fourteenth century.⁶³⁹ The core of the manuscript is an herbal treatise, arranged by herb, with each entry providing inventory information (in particular the various names by which the herb is known) and directions on medicinal uses. It is supplied with fine polychrome illustrations,⁶⁴⁰ which would have facilitated the identification of the herbs in the wild. This text is preceded by an epistolary preface that claims it, plainly falsely, to have been transmitted via the centaur Chiron to Apuleius of Madaura, who would have been an appealing choice because of his reputation for knowledge of this kind, which led among other things to his accusation in court on charges of aggressive magic; the contents of the herbal itself owe much to Dioscorides and little if anything to Apuleius.⁶⁴¹ A second substantial text, also with an independent circulation

⁶³⁶ Περὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν, in the edition of Niedermann 1916, 7-10.

⁶³⁷ On the ownership marks see f. 83r with the catalogue entry of De Meyier 1975, 20-25.

⁶³⁸ Lowe, *CLA* X no. 1582, B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts* II (Wiesbaden 2004), nr. 2212a. It was originally kept in two volumes, now bound together; mutilated at the beginning and end. For bibliography on the editions of various texts see De Meyier 1975, 20-25; the connection of the Ps. Musa text and the text at ff. 83r to end can now be more strongly asserted.

⁶³⁹ f. 81v, *magister Gerlacus prope Cliuis* (cf. Lowe's entry in *CLA*); what follows could very tentatively be read as *forsan intues quod herbula eius est* Again there is the potential for more of the text to be read with UV light.

⁶⁴⁰ Bibliography on these in De Meyier op. cit.; an interesting feature, worthy of further study, is the addition or substitution of representations of snakes for those of herbs when the text mentions treatment of snakebite as one of their properties: e.g. ff. 39v, 42v, 49r.

⁶⁴¹ On the trial of Apuleius see above all his speech in self-defense, the *Apologia*; his *Metamorphoses* also describes aggressive magic in detail, especially in the first book. The herbal: prologue f. 19r-v, incipit herbarium Apulei Platonici traditum a Chirone centauro magistro Achillis. Apuleius Platonicus ad ciues suos ex pluribus paucas uires harbarum et curationes corporis ad fidem ueritatis monumentis publicis ... nostra litterata scientia in uitis etiam medicis profuisse uideatur. Illustrated herbal ff. 20r-81v, mutilated at the end: herba arnoglossa a Graecis dicitur arnoglossus, alii hermion ... [the last herb is numbered LXXVI, herba senecionis] ... sit malagma genus inpositum [c. 5] stomachi dolorem sedat.

outside of this manuscript, is a treatise on the herb betony attributed in a similar epistolary preface to Antonius Musa, physician to Augustus, but generally regarded as spurious.⁶⁴² It is preceded by an index, whose contents suggest that a section of the manuscript now following the Ps. Apuleius text in the modern binding, but clearly dealing with the use of the same herb betony, was intended as an expansion of the text attributed to Musa.⁶⁴³ The earlier portion includes one centrally placed incantation, an invocation of the herb betony itself including a reference to its etiology, its discovery 'by Askelpios or Chiron the centaur;' the expansion provides a further incantation to be used in its gathering.⁶⁴⁴ Indeed the compiler of the manuscript clearly accorded incantations a prominent place in the practice of herbal medicine, for he has independently collected and added two further herb-gathering incantations and transmitted them in a short subsection of anonymous antidotes and medical recipes.⁶⁴⁵

Edited by Howald and Sigerist 1927, in which the present codex is collated under the siglum Vo.

⁶⁴² Prologue ff. 11v-13r, incipit herbarium feliciter. Antonius Musa M(arc)o Agrippe salutem. Caesari aug(usto) prestantissimo omnium mortalium ... in puluerem redacto cum uolueris ut sic uteris. Text, beginning with a single illustration of betony in the same style as that of the Apuleian herbal, ff. 13v-19r, nomen herbae uettonicae a Graecis dicitur cestros ... [*supplied with a praecatio at f. 14v, inc. praecatio huius. herba uettonica his praecationibus incantas 'he(r)ba uettonica que prima inuenta est ab Esculapeo uel a Cirone centauro his praecibus adesto te peto magna herba ... et remediis plurimis adesse his numeris quadraginta septem adesse digneris.*' hoc incantas sed mundus ante solis ortum et sic colligis mense Augusto] ... XLVI. ad podagram. uettonica decocta ad tertias aqua potui datum ipsamque tritam et inpositam mire dolorem lenire experti adfirmant. explicit herbarium Antonini Musae de herba uettonica. The text is edited by Howald and Sigerist 1927 (see the previous note).

⁶⁴³ The index: ff. 6v-11v, ad capitis fracturam. XLVI. ad capitis dolorem et epiforas oculorum I II III LXXIII LXXXVI XC XCIII XCVIII. ad caput depellendum XCVII XCVIII C CXVIII ... ad tysicos CXXVI. The continuation: ff. 83r-92v, with item numbered, L. ad nares ulcerosas. huius folia contundes cum sale et in nares adicies statim omnia purgabit ... CXXXIII. ad emitriteu maiorem et minorem et ad nocturnas huius heruae sucum conterito uino ueteri ieiuno da uibat. A page has been cut out between the current ff. 82 and 83, which would account for the gap in numbering (the Apuleian herbal ended with item XLVI). Edited by Piechotta 1887 (many improvements to the text are now possible).

⁶⁴⁴ f. 86v, nunc incantata quid possit haec herua inponam in remedis. cum heruam hanc uolueris legere circumscribito eam auro ebure [*erbu cod.; glossed above in hand of s. XII id est cupro*] et argento et dicito sacra nomina haec tria iacob sabaoth <ab>raxas (cf. Piechotta 1887, viii); f. 88r, ad quartanam. huius heruae radicem circumscribito †subliasten† tacitus et effodies, lino ligabis et panniculum mundum coccinum in collo ligato utere <e>t ne respicito, sub dibum facito et habebis effectum (cf. Piechotta 1887, viii).

⁶⁴⁵ The incantations: ff. 4r-5r, herbarium salubrium legendarum medicinalium praecatio terrae matris carmen sic dicis 'dea sancta tellus rerum naturae parens ... magestas praestet quod te suplex [*corr. ex spllex*] rogo.' explicit; ff. 5v-6r, incipit praecatio omnium herbarum. 'nunc uos potentes omnes herbas depraecor exoro ... et gratias agam per nomen nomen maiestatis qui uos iussit nasci.' The rest of this subsection: ff. 1r-3v, confectio salis pittice ... quiatos aque calide iii; f. 3v, oxiporium quod bofagos appellatur ad stomachu et fleuma calefacienda procuras digestionem ... mel quantum quod sufficit omnia tundes et

Following the continuation of the treatise on betony is a more general and miscellaneous medical collection, including antidotes and notes on medicinal properties of animal products, but with continuous numbering and no new heading; it also contains practical recipes, e.g. for keeping domestic pigeons from flying away, and a particularly high concentration of incantations.⁶⁴⁶ These include incantations of the healing and apotropaic variety, discussed in their proper place in the first chapter, and two procedures for compelling the return of fugitives, which figured in the third chapter.⁶⁴⁷ Here I wish to stress particularly the importance of Greek as the proximate source (though more ancient traditions, Egyptian or Jewish, may also have contributed):⁶⁴⁸ this is manifested in the presence of transliterated and untransliterated Greek in some of the words and magical *logoi*, as well as an incantation invoking the mythical Tantalus, a type whose Greek origin is assured by inscribed gems from Roman Egypt.⁶⁴⁹

cribellas et mellis admiscis dabis coeliare uno ieiuno; f. 5r, incipit antidotum quod stomachum curat et excitat et digestionem adcommodat, album mollit, uiles extenuat ... e melle attico colliguntur. For bibliography on these incantations see the catalogue entry of De Meyier cited above.

⁶⁴⁶ ff. 92v-104v (mutilated at the end), edited by Piechotta 1887. Pigeons: f. 101r, columbi de columbario ne de[cedant] ... (de... *Piechotta*).

⁶⁴⁷ Healing and apotropaic: e.g. f. 100r, si quod uulnus in oculo nascitur, pollicem cum digito medicinali ter nouies circumducis et sic dicis quod 'mula non parit' et exspues 'nec cantharus aquam bibit' et exspues 'nec palumba dentes habet' et exspues, 'sic mihi dentes non doleant' et exspues (chapter 1 cat. 3.1.3; Piechotta 1887, xii no. 170; Heim 1893 no. 101c). Fugitive procedures: ff. 102v-103r, ed. Piechotta 1887, xii no. 189 (cf. Heim 1893 no. 221), ad fugituios. in charta scribit dominus manu sua siue domina manu sua sinistra nomen fugitiui et de manu dextra scribat haec nomina 'pallachata παλλακατα σαπρα' | et eandem chartam mittes in mola frumentaria et ibi teratur; f. 103r, §189, ed. Piechotta 1887, xii (cf. Heim no. 123), item aliud. post ostium scribis 'irrifia epona nupsitillegy.'

⁶⁴⁸ In this respect note particularly the prescription of what are called *nomina hebraica*, only partially transliterated from Greek: f. 103r, §180, ed. Piechotta 1887, xii, ad profluuium sanguinis uel emorroidas. legas et suspendis itacoeykama vac. tum haec nomina hebraica dices 'manna latinismiablanam manna cyrify calcod zama decarsin.' [kama *cod.* : kappa *Piechotta*]. Cf. further f. 104r, §199, ed. Piechotta 1887, xiii, ad capitis dolorem. adonel angeli nomen scribis in cartha pura et de licio liga in capite; f. 104r-v, §200, ed. Piechotta 1887, xiii, item alia. botamal huius angeli nomen in cartha uirgine scribis et de licio | capite ligauis, emigrani dolorem pausat.

⁶⁴⁹ Tantalus: f. 102r-v, ad profluuium sanguinis. scribis in charta et ligas de tela, si uir est, in collo, si mulier, in umbilico, sic ut terram non tangat, ita 'sanguinem bibe <Ta>ntale, Tantale bibe sanguinem, bibe sanguinem Tantale' (chapter 1 cat. 1.23.1.3; Piechotta 1887, xii no. 185; cf. Heim 1893 no. 122 and Barb 1952); on the long Greek tradition of this motif, which extends into the Byzantine period, see Zellmann-Rohrer forthcoming b. Greek: the fugitive procedures cited above, as well as f. 100v, §172, ed. Piechotta 1887, xii, ad deuoratum. digitis duobus pollicem et medicinali gurgulionem deducens dicis 'πορκacuναon.' ter dicis et ter expues; f. 104r, ad orfum equi. scribis in dextra ungue pedis prioris ipsius de sinistra manu nomen cuiuslibet, 'yppocalis sy lego medicalis medis interim' (chapter 1 cat. 1.1.9; ed. Piechotta 1887, xiii no. 198, cf. Heim 1893 no. 222). The first three words are likely a slightly distorted transliteration of ἵππου χήλη, σοὶ λέγω. Cf. also f. 104v, ad oculorum dolorem. 'tomatoma' scribes in charta pura. hoc nomen scribis et nomen ipsius qui dolet oculos et de licio ligabis in capite et mox sanabitur (chapter 1 cat. 7.8.2.3.2; ed. Piechotta 1887, xiii no. 201; Heim 1893 no. 225). If indeed

All in all, this codex provides strong evidence for the inclusion of incantations in early medieval medical practice as a valuable component of the physician's arsenal. We also get a sense of how it continued to be read and used throughout the Middle Ages in the West, and thus could have contributed its information on incantations to contemporary medical practice, from additions of medical content. These include within the Apuleian herbal the addition of a medical recipe in the blank space at the bottom half of a page, in a hand of the twelfth or thirteenth century, and another in probably the same hand which adds further information about one particular herb, citing the Greek medical author Oribasius.⁶⁵⁰ On a blank page at the end of that text, in a slightly later hand, are gynecological recipes with a specific concern with promoting conception, some by amuletic means; a subsection of these are attributed to the sixth-century physician Caelius Aurelianus.⁶⁵¹ A fourteenth-century hand, possibly to be identified with the *magister* Gerlach of Kleve, has also added pharmacological uses of the same herb betony in the margins of the Pseudo-Musa text.⁶⁵² Various glosses and herbological notes in Latin in later medieval hands also show an active readership: one of the thirteenth century notes the similarity of particular herbs to others, and supplies names more familiar in a contemporary context.⁶⁵³ Mention should be made finally of the fourteenth- or fifteenth-century addition of Hebrew labels for illustrations of herbs, which Lowe dates to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Some simply transliterate the title of the section illustrated,

Greek, *tomatoma* is perhaps a doubled $\tau\omicron\mu\tilde{\alpha}$ from $\tau\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\omega$, an assertion that the eye 'needs cutting'; or an imperative, $\tau\omicron\mu\alpha\ \tau\omicron\mu\alpha$ ('cut, cut [away the affliction]'). Cf. also the directions for medical prognostication via an herb at f. 103r, §190, ed. Piechotta 1887, xii, ad utrum eger uiuere possit. herba quam Greci quinocefalion [*i.e.* $\kappa\upsilon\nu\omicron\kappa\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$] uocant in manu tenes sciscitare egrum quomodo se habeat, ad ille uelut diuina mente quid ei casurum sit respondeuit. On the copying of Greek script in medieval Latin manuscripts see in general Berschin 1988.

⁶⁵⁰ f. 38r, antefilonium ad omnes passiones uel doloris ... et sic reponis exinde accipiad in modum auellane cum aqua calida per dies IIII; f. 75r, altera est uitis nigra quae dicitur labrusca ad eadem ualens nisi quia inbecillior est sicut dicit Uribasius habet uero folia hedere similia et radicem foris fuscam intus luteam nec in sua uena dedendum. alba uitis crescit iuxta uias in sepilibus nigra in siluis alba et odore et sapore asperior sed efficacior.

⁶⁵¹ f. 82r, recipes to promote conception, inc. pessarium anecinos physicum ad conceptionem [phy cod., De Meyier resolves ph(ylosoph)y]. medulle ceruine cere punice ... sed caueat ne se subleuet et hoc fiat in fine mestruorum. Amuletic: note in particular the recipe, potio ut mulier concipiat etiam si numquam conceperit. capram cum peperit antequam edus suus surgat et lac suggere incipiat mulge et ex eo fac caseolum et sinistro brachio alliga in linteolo, tunc eo suspenso non operetur mulier, sed si in balneum ire uoluerit, tunc domi illud dimittat, reliquis horis omnibus secum habeat. Caelius Aurelianus: the much effaced addition on f. 82v, with the title ex Gynecia Celi Aureliani methodici Siccensis; the content clearly shows a concern to promote conception, and has been continued with further anonymous material. Cf. the catalogue entry of De Meyier 1975, 24.

⁶⁵² ff. 14v-15r, betonica herba ualet ulceribus ... item uetonica manducata detur ualet ad lacrimosos oculos.

⁶⁵³ at the top of f. 78r, simile est yacee nigre for the entry titled *herua uerbascum*; on yacea cf. Du Cange *Glossarium* s.v. jacea; cf. also *credo quod sit ycis* in left margin on f. 67v, for an entry titled by the original herbal *crias*; f. 31r, entry for *botracion*, added in right margin *apium risus siue flamula apud nos*.

but others select one or another of the variant names provided further on in the text, or supply a Hebrew translation.⁶⁵⁴

A book network in fourteenth-century Constantinople

The preceding discussion has examined the composition and circulation of incantations within larger collections of medical knowledge, in the specific cases of the medical works of Aetios of Amida and Alexander of Tralles, and also looked ahead at how the later tradition elaborated and expanded that stock of incantations. Named, historical individuals were lacking in that latter evidence, however, and the process was the work of anonymous hands. In the fourteenth century we have a valuable supplement in the form of records from the patriarchal court at Constantinople, which among hundreds of other cases examined a handful of accusations of magical practices.⁶⁵⁵ The latter have already been adduced in the discussion of erotic incantations in the second chapter and procedures against thieves in the third. They are of particular interest here because, taken with due caution,⁶⁵⁶ they can provide insight on the prosopography of those involved in the transmission of books that clearly contain incantations, even if the text of the incantations themselves is not specified.

Records from the inquiries of this synod reveal a network of educated individuals in Constantinople, with monastic and ecclesiastical affiliations, who copied and distributed the books in question. The particular case that uncovered this network, which has already been adduced in part in the second chapter, was heard in 1370, under the patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos.⁶⁵⁷ An anonymous informant makes the first accusations, against a monk, Phoudoules, who is said to have used erotic magic to attract married women to him.⁶⁵⁸ When investigated, he is caught with books (ἐν ταῖς μιαραῖς αὐτοῦ βίβλοις),

⁶⁵⁴ These are highly deserving of further study, and from what I have been able to read thus far include: f. 20r: arnoglossa: *lytwy q'p'*; f. 23r: quinquefolium, pentafilos: *k'bylt* (top), *pynt'pls*; f. 26r: uerbena: *wyrbyn'*; f. 28v: yosgiamuo: *ysqw'mny'* (?); f. 29r: acorum: *'qwrwm*; f. 35v: artemisia: *m'tyyr*; f. 36v: artemisia: *m'tyyr* (top), *bybrwy'* (left); f. 41r: centiana: *'yyns'n'*; f. 46r: nasturtium: *'syf'*; f. 48v: camomelon: *q'mwmylyn*; f. 49r: serpens: *syrrpyynf'*; f. 49v: camillea: *q'myym* (?); f. 57v: fraga: *pywpyryn* (?); f. 59r: ippirum: *q'tru sytryt'*; f. 62v: cotulidon: *'wp*; f. 63r: gallacrus: *gryyt'm*; f. 63v: marubium: *mwrwyb'wm* (note this is not the main title of the entry, but several lines down among the list of homonyms on f. 64r); f. 72v: solacominor: *q'lbyy*; f. 73r: peonia: *p'wny*; f. 78v: agrimonia: *'gyymwny'* (this is not in the original entry, which is for heraclea, but has probably been taken from Latin notes added in the bottom margin prb. of the 11th or 12th century); f. 80r: chelidonia: *'wd*. So far illegible but worth revisiting: ff. 34r and 44v.

⁶⁵⁵ Hunger et al. 1981-1995, which covers only the material through 1363; for the later material the older edition of Miklosich and Müller 1860-1890, voll. 1-2, must still be consulted, along with the translations and notes in Darrouzès 1977 and 1979. On magic in the records in particular see Davies 2009, 28-29, Rigo 2002, Cupane 1980.

⁶⁵⁶ Although Cupane claims that they lack "rielaborazione letteraria e retorica" (1980, 238), the language is highly stylized and, just as in hagiography, rhetorical agenda on the part of the recorded text should not be dismissed too quickly.

⁶⁵⁷ Miklosich and Müller 1860-1890, 1:543-550 no. 292 (1370) with Darrouzès 1977 nos. 2572-2573; cf. Cupane 1980, 251-257.

⁶⁵⁸ γυναῖκας ἀποπλανᾶν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἔλκειν ἔρωτα, αἱ καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἄνδρας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καταλιμπάνουσαι ζητοῦσιν ἐκεῖνον, καὶ τὸ μιὰρὸν αἰεὶ τούτου ἐπὶ γλώττης φέρουσιν ὄνομα.

which from the qualifier *μιαραί* were surely thought to be the tools of these practices. Phoudoules confesses that he acquired them from a physician (*ιατρός*), one Syropoulos (*PLP 27199*). Now this Syropoulos had previously been brought before the synod on suspicion of ‘magic’ (*μαγεΐαι*), and in the new investigation he is also caught with books, and Syropoulos confesses that he in turn received them from a Gabrielopoulos. Nothing is known of Syropoulos or Phoudoules before this incident, but they both took refuge at Trnovo (in modern Bosnia and Herzegovina) after their condemnation, where they both seem to have continued in the same sorts of practices, earning another condemnation from the patriarch of that city.⁶⁵⁹ This denouement suggests that the sort of healing involving incantations, and books transmitting them, was part of the profession and way of life of these two men, which they could not help but keep up wherever they traveled.

Gabrielopoulos’ profession is not indicated, but he has a great reputation for holiness due to his devotion to a life of poverty, fasts, vigils, and prayers, such that the accusations of Syropoulos are at first not believed. Once again, however, the officials sent to bring him before the synod find hidden books in his possession.⁶⁶⁰ The record describes how he kept them in locked chests as if they were treasure (*εἶχε ... ὡς μαργάρους, ὡς θησαυρούς κατακεκλεισμένους ἐν σενδουκίσις*). Doubtless there is a sarcastic intent on the part of the author of the record. For Gabrielopoulos, however, the books might indeed have been a precious possession, especially if he used them in conjunction with his asceticism and prayer, which would in turn constitute not a subterfuge, but an integrated part of the provision of healing and protective ritual. Thus his practice would be contiguous with that of the *ιατρός* Syropoulos. The relation of this Gabrielopoulos to the Thessalian dynasts Stephen and Michael of the same family name, or to the author George ‘the philosopher’ Gabrielopoulos, friend and physician of Demetrios Kydones, is unclear (*PLP 3431-3435*), but if indeed kin to the latter he could be seen as following the same profession, namely medicine. The books are duly examined in court and two items are singled out for emphasis. First a text called the *Κοιραννίς*; second, a quire (*τετράδιον*) copied by Demetrios Chloros.⁶⁶¹

Rather more is known about Demetrios Chloros than his associates. At the time of the inquiry he was chief notary of the patriarch (*πρωτονοτάριος*). Based on that fact alone he was clearly a man of learning. He also took an interest in the occult sciences, for a known work on astronomy is attributed to him, a method for determining the horoscope, first attested in a manuscript copied in 1382.⁶⁶² He had been examined by the patriarchal court some years previously when, while serving as a deacon, he had come under suspicion of sympathy with the heretical views of Barlaam of Calabria and Georgios Akindynos, produced a written declaration that the charges were false, but then gone over to the Latin church, where he was made a *presbyter* and apparently traveled to Rome. The promotion

⁶⁵⁹ See *PLP 30025*.

⁶⁶⁰ *σὺν ταῖς μαγικαῖς αὐτοῦ βίβλοις ἀρπάσαντες ἤγαγον. εἶχε δὲ ταύτας ἐκεῖνος ὡς μαργάρους, ὡς θησαυρούς κατακεκλεισμένους ἐν σενδουκίσις. Gabrielopoulos is PLP no. 3431.*

⁶⁶¹ *ἐν αἷς καὶ τὸ πολυθρύλλητον ἐπ’ ἀσεβείᾳ ἡ Κοιραννίς ἦν, εἶτα καὶ τετράδιόν τι πάσης ἀσεβείας πλήρες εὐρέθη, δαιμόνων ἐπικλήσεις ἔχον καὶ ἐπωδὰς καὶ ὀνόματα, γραφὲν παρὰ τοῦ πρὸ μικροῦ γεγονότος πρωτονωταρίου τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἀγιωτάτης τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, παπαῖ Δημητρίου τοῦ Χλωροῦ, καὶ συνταγὲν παρ’ αὐτοῦ πόνω πολλῷ καὶ μόχθῳ ἀπὸ βιβλίων ἐτέρων μαγικῶν, προηγουμένως τῆς τε Κοιραννίδος αὐτῆς καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἀτόπων καὶ μιαρῶν. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶχε τὸ πρωτότυπον ἐν, ὡς αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα φανερώς ἐμαρτύρησε.*

⁶⁶² Florence, BNL cod. Plut. 28.16, f. 23v, see Cumont 1919; Chloros is *PLP 30869*.

to chief notary had come after Chloros changed his mind once again and renounced his conversion in writing.

Apart from the strong condemnation of the synod, the description of the books in Chloros' possession is noteworthy in several respects. The *Koirannis*, which the inquisitors call 'notorious for its impiety,' has generally been identified with the *Kyranides*.⁶⁶³ This encyclopedic collection on the occult physical properties of naturally occurring substances, plant and animal products and precious stones, was compiled in late antiquity and had a broad and diverse Byzantine manuscript tradition. The prescriptions are healing and apotropaic in nature and include incantations, for example text of the performative type to be inscribed on the heart of a crane and worn as an amulet against enemies.⁶⁶⁴ The open tradition of the *Kyranides*, in keeping with its use as a technical manual, extends also to incantations, as we have seen in the case of the works of Aetios and Alexander. In some cases an entire incantation is transmitted in one and only one redaction, suggesting intervention on the part of individual copyists.⁶⁶⁵ It is impossible to know which of the diverse strands of the tradition of this text was represented, or thought by the ecclesiastical tribunal to be represented, by the copy of Chloros. But if we can believe their description of his copying process, it might well be just such an idiosyncratic compilation, the result of the personal selection of Chloros himself, on which he expended such πόνος.

That process of personal selection is surely behind the practical, working-copy format of Chloros' notes in the other book singled out by the patriarchal records, the "quire" (τετράδιον). This collection, which was found to be full of incantations (ἐπωδαί) as well as invocations of demons (δαιμόνων ἐπικλήσεις) was laboriously formed by Chloros himself from selections from other books (συνταγὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ πόνω πολλῶ καὶ μόχθῳ ἀπὸ βιβλίων ἐτέρων μαγικῶν), including the *Κοιραννίς* itself. The fact that this quire, which recalls the business notebook of Aurelius Philammon discussed above, was unbound would also have facilitated collation and circulation. In his defense Chloros

⁶⁶³ Ed. Kaimakes 1976; see also Thorndike 1923-1958, 2:229-234. On Chloros and the *Kyranides*, especially its open textual tradition as a practical manual which users felt the freedom to revise and augment, see Cumont 1919.

⁶⁶⁴ *Kyranides* 3.36 (codd. AGHFIOI), ed. Kaimakes 1976, 224, ἐὰν δέ τις νικήσαντος πελαργοῦ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ λαβὼν καρδίαν δήση εἰς δέρμα ἰέρακος ἢ γυπὸς νικηθέντος, ἐπιγράψῃ δὲ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὅτι 'νίκησα τοὺς ἀντιδίκους μου' καὶ περιάψῃ δεξιῶ βραχίονι, ἔσται ὁ φορῶν ἀήττητος ἐν πᾶσι καὶ θαυμαστός, καὶ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας αὐτὸν νικήσει πάντας ἐν τε πολέμοις καὶ δίκαις, ἀπαράβατον νικητικὸν καὶ μέγιστον φυλακτήριον [addendum to chapter 1 cat.].

⁶⁶⁵ *Kyranides* 3.28 (cod. W = Vienna, ÖNB cod. med. gr. 23), Kaimakes 1976, 214, ἂν δὲ τῇ εὐωνύμῳ χειρὶ ἀγρεύσης μυίας καὶ βάλῃς ἐν ράκει καὶ περιάψῃς, ὀφθαλμοὺς ρευματιζομένους ἰάσης. ὅταν δὲ μέλλῃς περιάψαι, λέγε τὸν λόγον τοῦτον 'ὡς αὕτη ἢ μυῖα ἀφίπταται τοῦ ἀέρος, οὕτως καὶ τῆδε ἢ ὀφθαλμία καὶ τὸ ρεῦμα,' with a similar but distinct wording in cod. K = Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2286, 'ὡς αὕτη ἢ μυῖα ἀφίπταται τοῦ οἴκου, οὕτως καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε ἢ ὀφθαλμία καὶ τὸ ρεῦμα;' *Kyranides* 3.1 (cod. I), ed. Kaimakes 1976, 188-189, ἀγρεύσας τὸν ἀετὸν καὶ ἑάσας νυχθήμερον ζῶντα, τὴν κόπρον ἢν ρίπτει εἰς τὸ νυχθήμερον λαβὼν φύλαττε. εἶτα τὴν ἐξῆς, πεδήσας τὸν ἀετὸν καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ καθεύξας, λέγε εἰς τὸ οὖς αὐτοῦ· 'ὦ ἀετέ, φίλε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, νῦν θύω σε πρὸς παντὸς πάθους θεραπείαν. ὀρκίζω σε εἰς τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα, ἵνα ἐνεργήσῃς μοι ἐφ' ἐκάστας θεραπείας, ἐν ἧ προσφέρω σε.' καὶ λαβὼν ξίφος ὀλοσίδηρον καὶ θυμιῶν στύρακα καὶ μέλι, ὑποθεῖς κρατῆρι [sic ed., num κρατῆρα ?], ἀπότεμε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ κρατῆρος, ἵνα πᾶν τὸ αἷμα ἐν τῷ κρατῆρι ἐγχυθῇ.

claims that both books are medical (πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἰατρῶν κατέφευγε βίβλους, αὐτὰς ταῦτα φάσκειν διατεινόμενος). Although a panel of prominent physicians examines them and denies this claim, it still seems highly probable that Chloros, like his associates Gabrielpoulos, Syropoulos, and Phoudoules, put the texts to use in the service of healing and protection.

It is not recorded who the beneficiaries of Chloros' putative healing and protection would have been, but in the case of Syropoulos there is some information that can give a general sense. Syropoulos, along with Gabrielpoulos and Phoudoules, are banished from the capital and all Christian cities, but before his departure he submits a list of people who had been his clients (οἱ προσελθόντες αὐτῷ τῇ μαγικῇ τούτου τέχνη ἐχρήσαντο). These are:

1) Ioannes Paradeisos, a priest at Hagia Sophia since 1357 and son of a senior lector (πριμικήριος τῶν ἀναγνωστῶν), who gets a written amulet from Syropoulos to ensure his success in appealing an earlier conviction before the synod.⁶⁶⁶ In the present enquiry Syropoulos demonstrates how that amulet matches a design found in one of his books.⁶⁶⁷

2) Ioasaph, a monk of the Theotokos Ὁδηγητρία, who sought an abortion for an unnamed nun whom he impregnated at the monastery of St. Andreas ὁ ἐν τῇ κρίσει.⁶⁶⁸

⁶⁶⁶ *PLP* 21849.

⁶⁶⁷ σχῆμά τι δαιμονικὸν ἐγχαράξας ἐν χάρτῃ ἐνεχείρισε τούτῳ τῷ ταλαιπώρῳ εἰπὼν· λάβε τοῦτο καὶ κάτεχε ὅτε τῇ συνόδῳ μέλλεις παρασταθῆναι, ζητῶν τὴν συγχώρησιν καὶ βεβαίαν ἔχε πληροφορίαν ὡς συγχωρηθήσῃ καὶ τῆς αἰτήσεως οὐκ ἂν ἀποτύχῃς. ... [Syropoulos] τὸν ἑαυτοῦ χάρτην λαβὼν, ἔκειντο γὰρ ἐπ' ἐδάφους αἱ μαγικαὶ τούτου βίβλοι σὺν ταῖς ἐτέρων, ἔφη πρὸς τὸν Παράδεισον· οὐ τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα ἐν χάρτῃ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἔλαβες καὶ ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὴν σύνοδον συνεχωρήθης, ὡς ὕστερον ἐμοὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δεδήλωκας; Another case some 20 years prior involved the use of a written amulet for personal gain, this one set outside overnight to receive the emanations of the stars, and consisting of the 'lord's prayer' written upside-down and backwards along with a statement of the desired goal: also involving magical books: a certain Kappadokes from Thessalonike helps a monk to gain ecclesiastical position, relying on magical books: Hunger et al. 1981-1995, 3:152 no. 199; Miklosich and Müller 1860-1890, 1:343-344 no. 153 (1351-1352), ὁ Καππαδόκης, ὡσπερ αὐτὸν ἀμειβόμενος, ἐκεῖνα δὴ ἄωρὶ τῶν νυκτῶν ἔγραφε καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ μοναχοῦ ἐπισταμένου καὶ ὑπὸ τὸ αἴθριον ἀντικρὺ τῶν ἄστρων ἐτίθει, ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἔλεγε καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν προσεῖναι πρὸς τὸ ζητούμενον, ὅσα μῆτε λέγειν μῆτ' ἀκούειν καλόν, τὴν τε γὰρ κοινὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἡμῶν προσευχὴν τὴν εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ κατὰ χάριν πατέρα ἀναπεμπομένην γράμμασιν ἀντιστρόφως καὶ ἐναλλάξ ἔγραψεν ἐν χάρτῃ τινὶ παραγεγραφῶς τούτῳ καὶ τὰ ἄπερ ἐξελέξατο, καθάπερ ἐβουλήθη, ὀνόματα, ὥστε εἶναι αὐτοὺς εὐηνίους καὶ εὐενδότους καὶ καθυπαγομένους ἕνεκα τῶν ζητημάτων αὐτοῦ, πρὸς δὲ καὶ χαρακτηρὰς τινας, ὃ δὴ ἀσεβὲς καὶ ψυχώλεθρον γράμμα χειρὶ γραφὲν τολμηρᾷ πάννουχον κείμενον διεβίβασεν ἀντικρὺ τῶν ἄστρων, εἴτε ὡς δῆθεν φυλακτικὸν κατὰ τὰς ὑποθήκας τοῦ Καππαδόκη ὁ μοναχὸς τῷ ἱματίῳ προσράψας τοῖς στέρνοις εἶχεν ἐγκείμενον. The monk was caught wearing the very object at his appearance before the synod.

⁶⁶⁸ In light of his sentence, deposition from his rank of priest (παπᾶς), he is probably not to be identified with *PLP* 8910: a known copyist of manuscripts, d. 1406, who worked in the service of John VI Kantakuzenos; also a deacon from 1362, ordained a priest in 1405, and hegumen of this same monastery. One might however consider *PLP* 8923, a monk

The fee is high (5 hyperpyra, just over 100 carats of gold in total),⁶⁶⁹ but the remedy, a potion whose contents and preparation are not described, is successful.

3) Exotrochina, a wealthy secular woman, who uses erotic magic with incantations on a man, as discussed in more detail in the second chapter.⁶⁷⁰ She pays a similarly high fee of 5 hyperpyra, apparently counting it worthwhile in view of the goal, attracting a noble husband. She specifically plans on using incantations (ἐπωδαί) for this purpose, and approaches another priest, Jacob, who seems to be an associate of Syropoulos, to whom she goes to denounce Jacob when his methods fail.

Thus we see a network in which an ancient text (the *Kyranides*) provides a structure around which incantations are both transmitted directly and elaborated and even invented, in a textual tradition of frequent re-combination and grafting from multiple sources (the τετράδιον), then circulated among contemporary expert practitioners, working to some extent as colleagues, then meted out to clients in applied form, both oral and written. Among these clients are represented in turn both monks and ecclesiastics, the social group to which the experts belonged, and people of the secular world who sought them out.⁶⁷¹

and correspondent of Demetrios Kydones who sent him a manuscript of Chrysostom; this could be consistent with the possible connection between Gabrielopoulos and Kydones. On the abortion see Congourdeau 1982.

⁶⁶⁹ On the (νόμισμα) ὑπέρπυρον see Hendy 1985, 513-547. It ceased to be minted in the mid-14th century, though it continued to serve as a notional currency. The coins are taken to be gold in the absence of any qualification that they are not; the calculation of theoretical gold content is based on the study of Hendy. By this relatively late date they were probably significantly debased, but the use of the term in the first place, instead of e.g. κεράτια, δεύτερα, τρικέφαλα, etc., suggests a relatively higher fineness.

⁶⁷⁰ γυνή τις τῶν πλουσίων Ἐξωτροχίνα καλουμένη ἄνδρα λαβεῖν ἐβούλετο τῶν ἐνδόξων κάπειδήπερ οὐκ ἐτύγχανε τοῦ ποθουμένου ἐπωδαῖς καὶ μαγείαις ἐλκύσαι τοῦτον ὑπενόησατο, καὶ μαθοῦσα ὡς ὁ παπᾶς Ἰάκωβος, ὁ τῆς Ἀμαρανθίνης ἐκείνης, εἶδῃσιν ἔχων εἰς ταῦτα καὶ πείραν ἀκριβῆ, καὶ αὐτῇ βοηθήσειν εἶπερ τις δύναται, διεμνήσατο τούτῳ καὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῆς παραγεγονότος, αὐτὴ τὸν σκοπὸν αὐτῆς ἐξεῖπε καὶ διηγήσατο καὶ ὑπέρπυρα πέντε αὐτῷ ἐδεδώκει καὶ ἕτερα παρασχεῖν ὑπεσχέθη καὶ βεβαίαν ἔλαβε παρὰ τούτου πληροφορίαν καὶ ἐν ἐλπίσιν ἦν ἀγαθαῖς. ὡς δὲ ὁ παπᾶς Ἰάκωβος τὰ ὑπέρπυρα δεξάμενος ἀπῆλθε καὶ ὁ διάβολος οὐκ ἴσχυσε καὶ ὁ χρόνος παρήρχετο, αὐτὴ τῷ παπᾶ Ἰακώβῳ διὰ τινος γραδὸς ἐμήνυε καὶ τὰ ὑπέρπυρα ἐζήτηι ἀγανακτήσασα, ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετο καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ ἔλεγεν· εἰπέ τῇ κυρίᾳ μὴ ἀγανακτεῖν μηδὲ ἀθυμεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ζητεῖ γενήσεται μετ' ὀλίγον. καιροῦ οὖν πλείστου παρωχηκότος, ἐπειδὴπερ εἶδεν ἐκείνη τοῦτον μηδὲν ὠφελοῦντα, κατηγορήσασα τούτου τῷ Συροπούλῳ διεμνήσατο καὶ τὴν τοῦ παπᾶ Ἰακώβου κακοτεχνίαν ἐδήλωσεν, καὶ ὁ Συρόπουλος ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν ἱεράν καὶ θεῖαν ἐξεῖπε σύνοδον. διεμνήθη τοίνυν καὶ ὁ παπᾶς Ἰάκωβος καὶ παραγενόμενος καὶ τούτων πάντων ἀκούων εἶπεν ὡς ἀπῆλθε μὲν εἰς τὴν τῆς Ἐξωτροχίνης οἰκίαν, ὡς δὲ τὸν σκοπὸν αὐτῆς ἤκουσεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν εὐσεβής, φυγεῖν ἐβουλήθη, ἡ δὲ τοῦτον κατηνάγκασε περιμεῖναι καὶ ὑπέρπυρα πέντε τάχα χάριν οὗ ἐζήτηι αὐτῷ ἐδεδώκει, καὶ μὴ θέλων ἔλαβε καὶ ἀπῆλθεν. ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐξωδίασεν ἐπειδὴ πτωχὸς ἐστὶ καὶ μὴ ἔχων ἀποδοῦναι ὑπέσχετο, οὐ μὴν δὴ καὶ ἔργον τι ἐπεπράχει.

⁶⁷¹ A comparandum from the medieval West: a recipe for a Christian amulet to promote conception, whose procedure involves the archbishop, in an eleventh-century manuscript:

I note in closing that although written texts were clearly an important part of the tradition of incantations and related practices, other means of transmission can also be discerned. From 1372, just two years after the affair of Chloros, we have the case of the monk Droungarios, who offered his services to the presbyter Stylianos Klidas after the theft of some money from the monastery of St. George of the Mangana at Constantinople, an episode discussed in the third chapter.⁶⁷² Droungarios proceeds by inscribing some ritual text (γράμματά τινα) on eucharistic bread, surely to be fed to suspects as a test of guilt or innocence, a procedure with a long tradition at least since late antiquity. Despite the great interest of the synod in finding, collecting, and destroying magical books, however, there is never any suggestion of such books in the possession of Droungarios; more likely he worked in an oral tradition.

A healing manual and its fifteenth-century codex

Extensive manuscript documentation for the use of incantations in Byzantine practice reappears in the fourteenth century, the same time at which Demetrios Chloros and his associates were actively copying what must have been similar texts. For a more detailed view of the nature of this material, and its integration into larger manuscripts whose users combined the incantation texts with numerous others, it is now possible to examine surviving manuscripts. I elect to pass over a number of options from the fourteenth century in favor of a much more extensive collection from the fifteenth. This is a paper codex now at Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316. It is copied in a single hand, of competent but not calligraphic quality, which along with the eclectic gathering of texts suggests the work of someone who intended to put the material to use directly, and copied out the collection for that purpose. The place of production is uncertain but Crete is a possibility because of the presence of Italian loanwords, especially the otherwise unattested κλόρε for *colore* (see further below), and the termination of a world- and regnal- chronicle shortly before the Fourth Crusade.⁶⁷³ The codex might best be described as a medical miscellany, though this

Dijon, BM cod. 448, f. 75r (ed. Wickersheimer 1966, 31), unam minutam habeat de auro in qua sit expressa imago sancti Firmini iacens in dextera parte et habeat mirram et balsamum, mirra quoque sit iuxta pondus ipsius minutae et balsamum similiter iuxta pondus ipsius minutae, et natiuitate sancti Iohannis faciat archiepiscopum Natalium missam cantare, cui offerat ipsam minutam et mirram et balsamum post euangelium et poscat deum hora sacrificii quaecumque sit femina ut per intercessionem sancti Iohannis possit concipere.

⁶⁷² Miklosich and Müller 1860-1890, 1:594-595 no. 331 (1372), with Darrouzès 1977 no. 2648.

⁶⁷³ It was owned by the abbey of Santa Giustina at Padua, before its acquisition by Gian Francesco d'Asola, from whom it came to the French royal library at Fontainebleau. The later addition of an index in Latin, with attention to diseases, parts of the body, and materia medica, at ff. 448v-452v, probably dates from its time in Padua; the Greek table of contents at f. Ar-v is the work of Constantin Palaiocappa (Omont *Catalogues des manuscrits grecs de Fontainebleau sous François Ier et Henri II* 34-35). There is also an unpublished chronicle at ff. 424v-426v, inc. ἀρχὴ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου· ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδαμ ἕως τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ..., which ends in the 38th regnal year of Manuel I Komnenos, 1180 (which is equated with a.m. 6595): the lack of a continuation would be consistent with a Cretan origin, in view of the severing of close ties with Constantinople after the Fourth Crusade and the establishment of Venetian control of Crete (for the format cf. Ps. Codinus *De annis ab orbe condito* 1-80).

still fails to capture the great diversity of the contents of its 452 folia. It combines treatises on medicine in the tradition of Hippocrates and Galen with others on astrological prediction, with a prominent medical focus but expanding beyond that too into a broader concern with the welfare of people and their predominantly agricultural livelihoods and possessions. Incantations, extra-liturgical prayers and rituals, and amuletic techniques figure prominently, in a self-titled *ιατροσόφιον* ('collection of healing wisdom') as well as smaller anonymous gatherings, which will be taken up in more detail further on. First I will outline the rest of the contents.

The compiler gives pride of place to the medical treatises, beginning with an anonymous therapeutic work titled "the selective book of healing" with remedies arranged by pathology roughly from head to foot, many framed as instructions that the physician is to relay to the patient (*πρόσταξον*) in case of each particular ailment.⁶⁷⁴ Pharmacological remedies are the general rule, but I note also one prescription calling for holy water (*ἀγιάσματα τῶν ἀγίων θεοφανίων*, f. 5v) as part of a treatment for worms. Following that is a commentary on the aphorisms of Hippocrates (ff. 9v-51r), though without a new heading, and after that an expanded version of a longer therapeutic treatise with a known author, the so-called John the Physician.⁶⁷⁵ Of particular note here, this version of the treatise is expanded upon those previously edited to include an incantation, for use in gathering beets as part of treatment for toothache.⁶⁷⁶ Anonymous medical recipes, numbered continuously, follow through f. 135v and include many *physika* based on animals.⁶⁷⁷ The rest of the medical contents, besides the larger *iatrosophion* whose incantations will be discussed below, are some further Hippocratic treatises (ff. 136r-169v), diagnostic treatises on urinoscopy and pulsations, including material from Galen, Paulus of Aegina, and Alexander of Tralles (ff. 170r-193v), excerpts of the dietetic and therapeutic treatises of the Byzantine author Theophanes Chrysobalantes,⁶⁷⁸ a dietetic treatise on the properties of foods arranged in alphabetical order attributed to Michael Psellos,⁶⁷⁹ a version of the so-called *porikologos*, a humorous mnemonic treatise on the medicinal and dietetic properties of plants and hence applicable to similar practical use as

⁶⁷⁴ ff. 1-9v, βιβλίον ἱατρικὸν ἐξαίρετον. περὶ κεφαλαλγίας. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὀδυνᾶται, δεῖ προστάσσειν ἀνακολλημάτα ... ἄλλο. κινάμωμον τριμμένον καὶ πέπερι καὶ πηγάνου σπέρμα τριμμένα ἐνώσας ἅπαντα πότισον μὲ τὸν νερὸν τὸ χλίον. The section περὶ ἀγρυπνίας at f. 1r-v has been drawn from Oribasius *Eclogae* 81.6. No doubt a full edition and closer study of the treatise would reveal other borrowings. Probably there are in fact two separate collections united here under the same title, especially in view of the return to περὶ κεφαλαλγίας at f. 8r.

⁶⁷⁵ ff. 51v-119r, ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῶ τῆς παρουσίας δέλτου [δέρτου *cod.*], mentioned by Zipser 2009, 23, but not included in her edition of the *Therapeutics*.

⁶⁷⁶ Paris, BnF *cod. gr.* 2316, f. 115r §222, εἰς ὀδύνους ὀδόντων. σεῦτλα τρία μικρὰ ἵνα ἀνασπασθῶσιν ἐν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος καὶ τὸν χυλὸν αὐτὸν ἵνα βάλης εἰς τὴν ρίνα ὅθεν πονεῖ τὸν ὀδόντα καὶ οὐκέτι πονέσει αὐτόν.

⁶⁷⁷ E.g. the procedure for blinding swallow nestlings to gather the chelidony brought by their attentive parents at ff. 128v-129r (§320).

⁶⁷⁸ *De alimentis* at ff. 220v-229v and *Epitome de curatione morborum* at ff. 300r-302v, see Sonderkamp 1987, 179.

⁶⁷⁹ ff. 234v-284v, σύνταγμα τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ψελοῦ [*sic*] κατὰ στοιχείων λελεγμένων ἀπὸ τῶν ἱατρικῶν βιβλίων παρὰ [*sic*] δυνάμεως τροφῶν [an abridged version running only through *σάμψυχον*]; elsewhere however attributed to Symeon Seth, on whose astrological activities see also Magdalino 2006, 141-146.

the dietetic treatises,⁶⁸⁰ and further anonymous recipes and prescriptions for antidotes and similar preparations.⁶⁸¹ The latter includes one incantation, a variant on the procedure for gathering beets from the augmented treatise of John the Physician mentioned above.⁶⁸²

Among the astrological material there is a particular interest in prediction and more general advice by means of a genre of treatise that combines information from observation of thunder, earthquakes, and the course of the moon (in catalogues often misleadingly called *brontologia*). Indeed six such treatises are included in the present compilation.⁶⁸³ The organization by the month of the year, and a consistent concern with thunder, are unifying elements, but beyond that there is great variety in presentation and the introduction of additional recommendations, such as dietary observances in each particular month;⁶⁸⁴ another overarching concern, in keeping with the scope of the rest of the manuscript, is with prediction of sickness and favorable and unfavorable conditions for agriculture.⁶⁸⁵ That agricultural concern is further borne out by another treatise for divination based on the day of the week on which the first of the month falls, and makes a specific prediction about honey production, in addition to the more general statements

⁶⁸⁰ ff. 447r-448r, not one of those edited as recensions A, B, or C, but closest to rec. B, in the edition of H. Winterwerb, *Porikologos. Einleitung, kritische Ausgabe aller Versionen, Übersetzung, Textvergleiche, Glossar, kurze Betrachtungen zu den fremdsprachlichen Versionen des Werks sowie zum Opsarologos* (Cologne 1992).

⁶⁸¹ ff. 285r-298r, with occasional attributions e.g. f. 291r πρὸς αἰμορροΐδας Ἴπποκράτους παράδοξον. Following this the pseudo-Galenic botanical lexicon, ff. 298r-300r; following this through f. 302v an index for further medical recipes, but no immediate connection to any surviving portion of the codex, and followed by blank pages (ff. 303-304), perhaps indicating that the intended collection was never copied (α' περι νούεσων [sic] τριχῶν ... ρος' περι θρύψις λίθου).

⁶⁸² f. 289v, εἰς ὀδύνην ὀδόντων. σεῦτλα τρία μικρὰ ἵνα ἀνασπασθῶσιν ἐκ τοῦ κήπου ἐν ἑκάστον αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος καὶ τὸν χυλὸν αὐτὸν ἵνα βάλῃς εἰς τὴν ρίνα ὅθεν πονεῖ τὸν ὀδόντα καὶ οὐκέτι πονέσει αὐτό.

⁶⁸³ 1) ff. 321r-324v (βροντολόγιον τῶν ἰβ' μηνῶν. μὴν Σεπτέμβριος· ἐγὼ τὴν γῆν ἀρότρῳ σχίσω, βότριάς ἀποδίδω τοῖς λινοῖς ... φλεβοτόμει εἰς τὴν δ καὶ εἰς τὸν κ), unpublished, cf. *CCAG VIII.3:33*; 2) ff. 325v-326v, βροντολόγιον Δαυὶδ τοῦ προφήτου, ed. *CCAG VIII.3:168-169* (includes also σεισμοί); 3) ff. 326v-327v, the ἕτερον βροντολόγιον τοῦ σεληνιακοῦ, ed. *CCAG VIII.3:169-171*; 4) ff. 427r-428r (μὴν Ὀκτώβριος· ἐὰν βροντήσῃ, οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου πλησμονὴ γενήσεται, σίτου σπάνις· εἰ δὲ σεισμός γένηται, πολέμου κοίνησις ἔσται ... μὴν Αὐγούστος· ἐὰν ὀρθῇ ἡ σελήνη, εὐθηνία πολλή· εἰ δὲ πλαγία, πλήθη ἐθνῶν), unpublished, cf. *CCAG VIII.3:42*; 5) ff. 440v-441r, ἐρμηνίαι τοῦ βροντολογίου καὶ τοῦ σεισμολογίου. Σεπτεμβρίου· ἐὰν βροντήσῃ, οὐκ ἀγαθὸν σημαίνει· εἰ δὲ σεισμός γένηται, ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν γενή(σε)ται θάνατος ... Αὐγούστος· ἐὰν βροντήσῃ, σάλος καὶ ὑετὸς μέγας εἰς ἄλλοδαπὰς χώρας· εἰ δὲ σεισμός γένηται, χάρις πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν, unpublished, cf. *CCAG VIII.3:43*; 6) ff. 441r-447r, σεληνοδρομίον, σεισμολόγιον, βροντολόγιον, ed. *CCAG VIII.3:181-187*.

⁶⁸⁴ E.g. no. 1, for September, τῷ ἑμῷ μηνὶ γάλατος ἀπέχου καὶ ῥῶν, and August, φλεβοτόμει εἰς τὴν δ καὶ εἰς τὸν κ.

⁶⁸⁵ E.g. no. 2, thunder in March indicates οἰνοφορία καὶ σιτοφορία καὶ ἀγαθὰ πολλά, thunder in October, οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου πλησμονὴ καὶ πάντων ἐδεσμάτων; in no. 5, frequent predictions of νόσοι, νοσήματα, βοβῶνες [sic], καρποφορία.

about grain and wine, or simply crops, familiar from the other treatises.⁶⁸⁶ Other methods of prediction include the analysis of dreams with respect to the lunar calendar and the psephistics of personal names.⁶⁸⁷

In the combination of diverse methods of prognostication, with particular attention to agricultural production, there is contiguity with the genre of the farmer's almanac, which is attested in Coptic manuscripts from Byzantine and early Islamic Egypt, circulating in monastic contexts, which also made occasional use of incantations.⁶⁸⁸ Of particular relevance is an almanac in a parchment codex of the ninth or tenth century that combines prognoses on harvests, based on thunder and earthquakes and calendology, and a selenodromion recommending good times for various activities related to the management of agricultural estates, with instructions (p. F, inc. **ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΜΔΕΙΝ ΕΝΝΗΓΕΝΗΜΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΤΕΡΟΜΠΕ**) for a ritual to gain a revelation on what crops will be scarce and plentiful in the coming year, featuring a prayer (**ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΗ**) which opens with two verses from *Ps. 90* (2-3).⁶⁸⁹ An unfortunately fragmentary portion also attests the application of passages from biblical scripture in the same more targeted fashion attested by a treatise in the Paris manuscript (see below). Here (p. X), we have to do with borrowings from *Isaiah 62:10* and *Daniel 3:57*, in a composite given first in Greek, then in a Coptic version; the title introducing the prescription (ὁμοί(ως) εἰς εἰ) is damaged but makes clear that there were once further prescriptions, now lost. A colophon identifies the copyist as a deacon and son of a priest (p. V, **ΕΓΩ ΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΥ ΧΑΗΛ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΥΣ ΠΠΑΠ ΓΕΩΡΓΕ ΕΓΡΑΨΑ**).

Another text in the Paris manuscript that holds particular interest is an excerpt of a longer treatise on occult wisdom attributed to Apollonius of Tyana, promising nothing short of manipulation of the natural world, which according to the fuller version was composed by a disciple of his; the excerpts in the present manuscript deal with the true names of each hour of the day and night, which are particularly suitable for prayer, and at which the various classes of created beings, animals, humans, angels, demons, cherubim, and so on, praise God and, in the case of animals and elements, are apt to be manipulated

⁶⁸⁶ f. 428r-v, ἐρμηνία καλάνδων. ἴαν ἡμέρα κυριακή γένωνται κάλανδα, ἔαρ ὑγρόν, θέρος ξηρόν, φθινόπορον ἀχμῶδη, καρποὶ χρήσιμοι, βρωμάτων δαψιλές, μέλιτος λειψίς, τρύγος ὀλίγον ... ἴαν ἡμέρα σαββάτου γένωνται κάλανδα, ἔσται χειμῶν μέγας, ἔαρ ὑγρόν, θέρος ξηρόν, καρπῶν στένωσις καὶ προβάτων ἀπόλεια, νόσοι ἐπικρατήσουσιν καιρόν τον θάνατος [sic], with a similar text at f. 329r, cf. *CCAG* VIII.3:34 and 41.

⁶⁸⁷ Dreams: f. 428v, περὶ ὀνειρῶν. εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἑσπέραν τῆς σελήνης, εἰς τὴν δευτέραν ἑσπέραν τῆς σελήνης καλὸν τὸ ὄρωμά σου. εἰς τὴν τρίτην ἑσπέραν τῆς σελήνης ὁμοίως. εἰς τὴν τετάρτην ἑσπέραν τῆς σελήνης καὶ εἰς τὴν πέμπτην καλὰς ἐλπίδας τελέση, κακὸν δὲ οὐχ ἔξεις, καὶ μετάνοια προξενηθήσεται. εἰς τὴν ἕκτην ἑσπέραν τῆς [mutilated at the end, on which see the discussion of the psalm treatise below], cf. *CCAG* VIII.3:41. Psephistics: f. 335r-v, cf. *CCAG* VIII.3:35-36.

⁶⁸⁸ On these texts see Wilfong 1999, 224-234.

⁶⁸⁹ P.Vind. inv. K 1112 + 9885-9899, ed. ed. Till 1936; cf. Wilfong 1999, 228-233 and Till 1943, 328-332; on the calandologium see also Browne 1979, 45-63. Compare also P.Vind. inv. K 5506, a fragment of a ninth-century papyrus treatise on calendological divination with agricultural focus on the recto, and on the verso instructions for a ritual to overcome insomnia by inscribing an incantation: Till 1943, 329-334 with Wilfong 1999, 228.

by ritual practice (ἀποτελεῖσθαι).⁶⁹⁰ Especially noteworthy here are two medical applications, in the tenth hour of the day and the seventh hour of the night respectively: at the former time the πνεῦμα θεοῦ descends upon all water, sanctifying it and preventing harmful demonic influences upon it, and water drawn at this time and mixed with holy oil will cure all disease and repel demons; and at the latter, water similarly drawn and prepared and blessed by a priest (ιερεὺς) is recommended to cure insomnia. An indication is also given for an agricultural application, that the eighth hour of the night is the proper time for the performance of rituals for the benefit of orchards, vineyards, and other crops.⁶⁹¹ Apollonius indeed had played a role in narrative and performative motifs in healing and apotropaic incantations since late antiquity, as the first chapter has shown, and is also extensively implicated in Byzantine and Arabic traditions of the making of talismans (τελέσματα, cf. the use of ἀποτελεῖσθαι in the present treatise).⁶⁹²

The main repository of incantations and related ritual practices is an anonymous iatrosophion, material from which has been discussed in more detail in the first chapter.⁶⁹³

⁶⁹⁰ ff. 324v-325v, περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν ὥρῶν τῆς ἡμέρας. ὥρα α καλεῖται ἰαεκ {καλεῖται}· ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ καλὸν ἐστὶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προσεύχεσθαι ... ὥρα β καλεῖται δαχλιουμ· τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ εἰσὶν εὐπρόσδεκτος παρὰ τῷ θεῷ αἱ προσευχαὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων; and περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν ὥρῶν τῆς νυκτός· ὥρα α καλεῖται δουχαλαίμ· ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ αἰνοῦσιν οἱ δαίμονες τὸν θεόν ... ταῦτα νοήσαντι οὐκ ἀποκρυβήσεται τι τῶν ὄντων, ἀλλὰ πάντα αὐτῷ ὑποταγήσεται; *CCAG VIII.3:33*, an excerpt from the Paris version of the first work in Reitzenstein 1904, 258; edited from the fuller version in Berlin, SBB cod. Phillipps 1577, 26 ff. 72v-74r in *CCAG VII:175-179* (noting similarity to the ‘apocalypse of Adam’ in Cedrenus I:18). Manipulation of the natural world: in the preface, *CCAG VII:176*, εἶγε ὅλως τις ἐθέλει ὑπὸ τὸν τῆς ἀνάγκης ζυγὸν ἀγαγεῖν πάντως τὰ ὄντα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, δένδρα λύων καὶ ὄρνεα καὶ θηρία καὶ ἔρπετὰ καὶ ἀνέμων πνοᾶς καὶ ποταμῶν ῥοᾶς δέων. Note the careful, anticipatory justification of this system within Christianity: *ibid.*, ὁ δὲ μέλλων ἐν Βηθλεεμ ἐκ τῆς παρθένου γεννᾶσθαι ... τοὺς εἰδώλων ναοὺς καταλύσει· τὴν δὲ ἀποτελεσματικὴν ἣν ἐγὼ ποιήσω οὐκ ἀφανίσει διότι πᾶν ὅπερ ἀπετέλεσα μετὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως ἀπετέλεσα.

⁶⁹¹ Only in the Paris manuscript, f. 325v, ἡ ὀγδόη ὥρα τῆς νυκτός καλεῖται ζανβε· ὀφείλει τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ ἀποτελεῖσθαι στοιχειῶσαι περὶ δένδρων καὶ χωραφίων, ἀμπελώνων τε καὶ ἐλαιώνων, καὶ πάντων τῶν φυτῶν.

⁶⁹² For Byzantine perceptions of Apollonios as effecting ritual manipulation through images and to some extent the inscription of words and signs see in particular *Ps. Codinus 191-206* and *Cedrenus I:346*, with *Blum 1946*. Note also the attribution of ritual recipes to Apollonios of Tyana in *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XIa from the fourth century, copied on the back of an account (London, BL P.Lond. inv. 125; for the account see *P.Lond.* I pp. 192-194 with pll. 126-127, private account of payments in kind to tradesmen and laborers, which can now be placed in the Hermonthite and the year 336, see *BL I*, 232-233; VII, 81; X, 97; also *Winnicki 1993*). To the discussion of the talismans attributed to Apollonios in the first chapter I now add an interesting testament to their reception in the West: the historian Gregory of Tours recounts that the city of Paris had once been protected from fire, snakes, and rodents, but after construction works removed some buried talismans, namely bronze figurines of a snake and a rodent, all three afflictions began to befall the city in earnest (*Historia Francorum 8.33*, edd. B. Krusch and W. Levison, *MGH SS rer. Merov.* 1.1:402).

⁶⁹³ ff. 384v-374v, ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἱατροσοφίου. περὶ κεφαλόποννον ... ἄλλον· κισσοῦ κουκία ἢ φύλλα κάπνιζε τὸν βήχοντα καὶ ὑγιαίνει, ed. *Oikonomu-Agorastu 1982*.

The rest appear in smaller anonymous collections in this same portion of the manuscript, roughly its latter third, devoted otherwise to astrological and theological content, the latter perhaps serving as homiletic material.⁶⁹⁴ To begin with the iatrosophion: it has every indication of being the product of active, contemporary use, particularly in the register of its composition, relatively close to the demotic, and an internal reference to the Turks.⁶⁹⁵ It consists of short recipes, mostly medical but a few having a concern with the welfare and upkeep of a household and farm more broadly.⁶⁹⁶ The incantations include some variants on well-attested and long-running traditional motifs: combating the ‘wandering womb’ with an incantation of the *hystera* type, easing birth with an address to an unborn child with the Lazarus episode from biblical scripture, or a narrative motif of the cosmic disturbance type, or treating rabies with a performative motif deadening the harmful bite of the rabid dog.⁶⁹⁷ There are also what appear to be contemporary innovations: a ritual

⁶⁹⁴ Theological content: two unpublished treatises, one an allegorical exegesis of gospel parables and other sayings of Christ (ff. 310r-313v, ἐρμηνία τῶν εὐαγγελίων καὶ τῶν παραβολῶν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην· ἄνθρωπος τις κατέβαινε ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς Ἰεριχώ ... ἐρμηνία· τίς ὁ ἄνθρωπος; ὁ Ἄδαμ. τίς Ἱερουσαλὴμ; ὁ παράδεισος ... εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην· γυνὴ τις εἶχε δέκα δραχμάς ... ἀπόκρισις· τίς ἡ γυνή; ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ. τίνες αἱ δραχμαί; οἱ ἄγγελοι, ἀρχάγγελοι, ἐξουσίαι καὶ θρόνοι, κυριότητες, δυνάμεις καὶ Χερουβιμ, Σεραφιμ, καὶ δεκτὸς ἦν ὁ Ἄδαμ ...), the other an allegorical interpretation of contemporary sayings in the demotic, as referring to scripture or having some other Christological significance (ff. 374v-380v, ἀποφθέγματα καὶ ἐρμηνία εἰς τοὺς δημῶδεις λόγους. καὶ κλέπτῃ καὶ σκληρῷ· κλέπτῃ μὲν ὁ Ἄδαμ ὡς φαγῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ φυτοῦ ἀφ’ οὗ παρηγγέλθη μὴ φαγεῖν, ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ σκληρὸς διότι {διότι} μετὰ τὸ πταῖσμα μὴ βαλὼν μετάνοιαν· εἶπεν γάρ· ἡ γυνὴ ἦν δέδωκάς μοι, ἐκείνη ἐποίησέ μοι φαγεῖν ... κάμνει ὁ κύριος καὶ ἀκούει ἡ κυρὰ καματερῆ· ἐνταῦθα ὁ λόγος τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν λέγει τὸν οἰκτίρμονα καὶ ἐλεήμονα ὡς κατὰ τὸ πολὺ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἀπείρους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀμέτρους οἰκτιρμούς· ἐξαποστέλλει τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πάντας καὶ ἀκούει ἡ κυρὰ καματερῆ ἡ γυνὴ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐγχαυκᾶται λέγων ὅτι διὰ τῆς ἐνεργίας αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα ποιεῖ. μὴ καυχᾶσθαι γὰρ φησὶν ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς ἄλλ’ ἢ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ μόνον καυχᾶσθαι ἐν τῷ συνιῖν καὶ δοξάζειν τὸν κύριον, αὐτῷ ἢ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν).

⁶⁹⁵ f. 362v, τετράγκανθον, ὅπερ λέγουσιν οἱ Τοῦρκοι κατιρὰ (ed. Oikonomu-Agorastu 1982 no. 164).

⁶⁹⁶ To make livestock docile, f. 355v (Oikonomu-Agorastu 1982 no. 85); to keep smoke out of the house: f. 355v (Oikonomu-Agorastu 1982 no. 86).

⁶⁹⁷ Respectively: f. 370v, περὶ τῆς ἀστέρας. γράψον εἰς μουχούρτιν μὲ τὸ μελάνιν ‘ἀστέρα μελανή, ἀστέρα μελανωμένη καὶ δισμυρίων νέμων δεδημένη, αἷμα τρώγεις, αἷμα πίνεις, εἰς αἷμα συγκυλίεσαι. ἀλλὰ ὀρκίζω σε εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν θεοτόκον καὶ εἰς τοῦ ἁγίου Ζαχαρίου τὴν δρεπάνην καὶ εἰς τῆς ἁγίας Ελισαβετ τοὺς πλοκάμους μὴ ἀδικήσης τὸν δούλον τοῦ θεοῦ Ματθαῖον διὰ ὀνόματος πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος.’ ταῦτα γράψον καὶ λείψον μετὰ οἴνου, ἐπίσταξον καὶ ὀλίγον ἔλαιον, δὸς πιεῖν καὶ ἰᾶται (chapter 1 cat. 1.6.10.1); f. 360v, περὶ γυναικὸς γένναν. γράφε οὕτως ‘Λάζαρε δεῦρο ἔξω, Χριστός σε καλεῖ. ἡ παρθένος σήμερον τὸν ὑπερούσιον τίκει, τέξαι καὶ σύ, ἡ γενναῖα, τὸ βρέφος. ἄκουε οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐνωτίζου ἡ γῆ. ἔξελθε βρέφος, ζῶν ἢ ἀποθαμμένον, καλεῖ σε Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος. μνήσθητι κύριε τῶν υἱῶν Εδωμ τὴν ἡμέραν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τῶν λεγόντων “ἐκκενοῦτε, ἐκκενοῦτε.”’ καὶ αὐτὰ γράψον καὶ δῆσον εἰς πάνιον καὶ κολιάνδρον κουκκία ἔνδεκα καὶ ἅς δήση αὐτὸ παρθένος γυνὴ εἰς τὸ μερίν τῆς ἐντὸς τῆς τικτούσης καὶ γενναῖα

for the treatment of hemorrhoids calls for a priest (ιερεύς) to take a leading role, who is to step on the patient, prostrate facing east, while invoking the moon to assist in the healing; the invocation includes a novel motif employing the figure of *adynaton*, specifically an agricultural metaphor referring to the infertility of sand, as an analogy for how the hemorrhoids are to disappear.⁶⁹⁸ There are other signs that the intended user, if not a priest himself, could reasonably be expected to rely on the help of priests in his activities.⁶⁹⁹ I note also a re-application of an apotropaic procedure attested earlier in the Byzantine *Geoponika*: in the latter, the name of Adam had been recommended to be inscribed on dove-cotes to protect them from snakes; here, an acrostic for the same name, namely the four cardinal directions, is to be written as an amulet to cure migraine.⁷⁰⁰ Other innovations include a novel application of *Ps.* 26:1, with its claim of “illumination” (φωτισμός), to treatment of eye disorders;⁷⁰¹ a ritual to treat arthritis in which the patient’s garment is placed beside a body of water while the user makes a performative claim to “take you away healthy and take away your sickness,” then puts the garment

(chapter 1 cat. 1.17.2.2); f. 360v, ἄλλον. ‘ὁ θόρυβος ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἄγγελος τὸ ἤκουσεν ἐν οὐρανοῖς. “τί ἔστιν ὁ θόρυβος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς;” “γυνὴ γεννᾷ τὸν γεννητὴν ὡς ἡ Ἐλισάβετ τὸν πρόδρομον, ὡς ἡ θεοτόκος τὸν Χριστόν. βρέφος μόχθει, κρᾶζει σὲ ἡ γῆ”’ (chapter 1 cat. 3.44.2); f. 355v, περὶ κυνοδήκτους. ... ἄλλον. ὕδωρ ἀπὸ πηγῆς καὶ στάκτην μίξας λέγε ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τρεῖς ‘ψυχρὸν τὸ ὕδωρ, ψυχρὸς ὁ κύων, ψυχρὸν τὸ δάγμα τοῦ κυνός.’ καὶ δὸς πιεῖν’ (chapter 1 cat. 2.1.2.10).

⁶⁹⁸ ff. 361v-362r, περὶ ἐσωχάδων. | ὁ ἔχων ἐσωχάδας, ἔρχεται ὁ ἀσθενῶν καὶ προσπίπτει ἐπὶ ἀνατολὰς καὶ πατῶν τοῦτον ὁ ἱερεύς μετὰ τὸν δεξιὸν αὐτοῦ πόδα ἐπεύχεται οὕτως ‘χαῖρε σελήνη, χαῖρε σελήνη, χαῖρε σελήνη.’ τρεῖς. ‘χαιρετίζω σε σελήνη, ὀρκίζω σε εἰς τὸν κελεύσαντά σε γεννηθῆναι καὶ τὸν ἀναστάντα κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν καὶ θεόν, ὀρκίζω σε εἰς τὸν δρέπανον τοῦ Ζαχαρίου, ὀρκίζω σε εἰς τὸ ὠμοφόριον τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου, ἵνα ψύξης ἐσωχάδες, ἐξοχάδες αἱματώδεις καὶ ἐντεροχάδες καὶ τὸ ῥοχίν. ἐγὼ εὐχόμαι καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ὑγίαν παρέχει. πλάκα ἢ χῶρα, ἄμμος ὁ σπόρος, κάμπος τὸ ζεῦγος· ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐβλάστησεν καρπὸν ἐκ τῆς πλάκας ὁ ἄμμος, μηδὲ ὧδε ἐσωχάδες ἢ ἐξοχάδες αἱματώδεις καὶ ἐντεροχάδες καὶ τὸ ῥοχίν ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ταύτης ἀναφυῆ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ δεῖνα. ἐπ’ ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας)’ (chapter 1 cat. 2.12.2.1).

⁶⁹⁹ E.g. f. 349r, περὶ αἰμορροουσίαν. ἔπαρον τὸ ἀπόνιμμαν τοῦ ἱερέως μετὰ τὸ κοινωνῆσαι τὸν λαόν· λαβὼν αὐτὸ δὸς πιεῖν (ed. Oikonomu-Agorastu 1982 no. 5).

⁷⁰⁰ f. 365v, περὶ πόνον κεφαλῆς ἡμικράνου. γράψας χαρτὴν δόρκιον ‘ἀνατολὴ ἄρκτος δύση μεσημβρία. ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβ λέγων τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὸν κρανίον ἀπὸ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνος’ (chapter 1 cat. 4.4.2.1.2); cf. *Geoponika* 13.8.4 and 14.5, ὄφεις δὲ περισσευῶνι οὐχ ὀφλήσουσιν ἐὰν ἐν ταῖς τέτταρσι γωνίαις ἐπιγράψης ‘Ἀδαμ,’ ἐὰν δὲ ἔχη θυρίδας, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς (chapter 1 cat. 4.4.2.1.1). The section 13.8 is attributed to Florentinus (with further sub-attributions to Apuleius and Democritus, neither covering 13.8.4), while 14.5 is attributed to Democritus.

⁷⁰¹ f. 373r-v, περὶ πόνον ὀφθαλμῶν. ὅπου νὰ ἔχη ἀσπράδιον ἢ αἷμα ἢ τὸ λεγόμενον φακὶν εἴτε ἄλλος πόνος οἷος ἂν ἔνεν. ἄς σφάξουν πετεινὸν | καὶ ἄς ἐπάρουν τὴν χολὴν τοῦτο ζῶν καὶ ἄς τὴν ζουλήσουν καὶ ὅσον τὴν χολὴν ἄς ἐσμίσουν καὶ κοριτσιακὸν γάλα καὶ μετὰ κοχλιστήριν ἄς κοχλίζεται. ὅταν δὲ θέλη νὰ κοιμηθῆ ἡμέρας τεσσάρων καὶ κερὶν τῶν φώτων καὶ ἄς τὸ ἄψη καὶ ἄς λέγη ‘κύριος φωτισμός μου καὶ σωτὴρ μου, τίνα φοβηθήσομαι;’ (addendum to chapter 1 cat.; cf. Oikonomu-Agorastu 1982 no. 286)

back on the patient;⁷⁰² and another to release the binding of the sexual intercourse of a married couple, including the inscription of hymns on their clothing and an oral incantation in which it is claimed that Saint Barbara is coming to perform the healing.⁷⁰³ The use of incantations, finally, is not confined to the medical: there is also a procedure for forcing the return of a fugitive slave, discussed in the third chapter, which may well have proven useful in the administration of an agricultural estate.⁷⁰⁴

⁷⁰² f. 350v, *περὶ ὀρμόπονον. τὸ ὑποκάμισον τοῦ ἀσθενούντος, ὅταν κοιμηθοῦν οἱ πάντες, ὕπαγε εἰς ὕδωρ περιπατοῦντι καὶ θές τὸ ἱμάτιον κατὰ κεφαλῆς τοῦ νεροῦ καὶ εἶπε 'κύριε βοήθησον τὸν δοῦλόν σου ὃ δεῖνα. ὑγιῆν σε παίρνω καὶ τὴν ἀσθένειαν.'* καὶ ἔνδυσσον αὐτὸ μὴ εἰδότης τινός (addendum to chapter 1 cat.; cf. Oikonomu-Agorastu 1982 no. 38).

⁷⁰³ f. 363r-v, *περὶ δεδεμένους ἀνθρώπους. γράφε εἰς τὸ λουρὶν ἐλαφινὸν 'ἀναστὰς ἐκ τοῦ μνήματος,' ὄλον. καὶ ζῶσον αὐτὸν κατὰ σάρκα, τὰ γράμματα πρὸς τὴν σάρκα αὐτοῦ καὶ φέρον ἐλαφινὸν λουρὶν καὶ γράψον 'εὐφραϊνέσθωσαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἀγαλλιέσθω ἡ γῆ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ· ὁ γὰρ τῶν ὄλων δεσπότης Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς κατελθὼν εἰς Ἄδου πύλας τριήμερος ἀνέστη καὶ λύσας τὰς ὀδύνας | τῶν πεπεδημένων καὶ νίκην ἔχων ἀνέστη καὶ τὰ τοῦ θανάτου (<) καὶ ἐδωρήσατο τὴν ἀνάστασιν. <γράψον> δὲ καὶ τὸ 'ἀναστὰς ἐκ τοῦ μνήματος καὶ τὰ δεσμὰ διρρηξῆς τοῦ Ἄδου ἔλυσας τὸ κατάκριμα, κύριε, πάντας τῶν παγίδων τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ῥυσάμενος, ἐμφανίσας ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις σου ἐξαπέστειλας αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ κήρυγμα καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὴν εἰρήνην σου παρέσχες τῇ οἰκουμένῃ, μόνε πολυέλεε.' ἔπαρον δὲ βελόνην καὶ διάβαζε εἰς τὸ λουρὶν αὐτοῦ καὶ φέρε τοῦ ἐνὸς τὴν μύτην καὶ διάβαζε εἰς τοῦ ἐτέρου τὸν κόλον καὶ ζῶσον αὐτόν. ἔπαρον τζουκάλιν καινούργιον καὶ ἐλαφινὸν λουρὶν καὶ μαυρομάνικον μαχαίριν καὶ δακτυλίδιν ἀργυρὸν καὶ ὕπαγε ἔπαρον ἄλαλον νερόν εἰς μαστραπᾶν εἰς ἀπόχυσιν φεγγαρίου καὶ βάλε τὸν νερόν εἰς τὸ τζουκάλιν καὶ λέγε οὕτως 'εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.' ἔπαρον τὸ λουρὶν, λέγε οὕτως 'ἔρχεται ἡ ἁγία Βαρβάρη ἀπὸ ἐννέα βουνᾶ καὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐννέα κάμπους σὺν τῷ δούλῳ τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα, λῦσαι τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸν μυελόν, λῦσαι τὸ σταυρὶν αὐτοῦ, λῦσαι τὰ γόνατα, λῦσαι τοὺς ἄρμους αὐτοῦ. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου.' λέγε αὐτὸ ἐκ τρίτου καὶ ὑγιαίνει (addendum to chapter 1 cat.; cf. Oikonomu-Agorastu 1982 no. 169). For this same indication see also the procedure with an incantation apparently to be performed by the patient's mother at f. 370r-v, *περὶ εἰς τὸ λῦσαι ἄνδρα ἐμποδισμένον παρὰ γυναῖκα. 'ἅγιε λυτὲ καὶ σταλεῖς ὃ λύσας τὸν ἄδην καὶ καταργήσας τὸν θάνατον, λῦσον τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα ὃν ἔτεκεν ἀπὸ τῶν δεσμῶν τῆς συνοδίας. ἅγιε Κωνσταντίνε, ἁγία Ἐλένη ἐλέησον, ἅγιοι ἀπόστολοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ματθαῖε Μάρκε.'* καὶ γράψον τὸν στίχον τοῦτον 'ἀναστὰς ἐκ τοῦ μνήματος' | καὶ τὸ 'εὐφραϊνέσθω τὰ οὐράνια.' γράψον εἰς χαρτὶν καὶ δὸς βαστάζειν (addendum to chapter 1 cat.; cf. Oikonomu-Agorastu 1982, no. 264).*

⁷⁰⁴ f. 369r-v, *περὶ ἐὰν φύγη ἄνθρωπος μετὰ τί ποτε πρᾶγμα. γράψον εἰς κομμάτι κεραμίδιν ἀπὸ τῆς θεοτόκου τὸν ναὸν καὶ θές εἰς τὸ ἀνώφλιον 'εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς | καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. Αβραὰμ σε διώκει, Ἰσαὰκ σε ὑποστρέφει, Ἰακωβ σε καταλιμπάνει, καὶ ἄγγελος κυρίου ὑποστρέφει σε ὅθεν κακῶς ἐξῆλθες. ὁ πρὸ τοῦ σκότους λαμβάνων καὶ ὀπίσω ὡς τὸ φῶς ὑπόστρεφε, ἅγιε Φαναναηλ, ὑπόστρεφέ τον'* (cf. Oikonomu-Agorastu 1982 no. 248). Slavery was certainly in decline in Byzantium from the eleventh and twelfth centuries onward, but domestic servants were one exception: see *ODB* s.v. "slavery."

Outside of the iatrosophion, this same latter third of the Paris codex collects a number of other incantations for broadly healing and apotropaic purposes.⁷⁰⁵ Of particular note is a procedure to keep ants from eating crops, once again of use in an agricultural context, which exploits a relevant passage of scripture, the divine command to the serpent, another creature crawling upon the earth, in *Genesis 3:14*.⁷⁰⁶ This is followed directly by excerpts from the hymns of Theodore Prodromus, which might serve as a sort of liturgical ritual, especially in light of the fact that both begin with narratives from *Genesis*.⁷⁰⁷ A larger, free-standing text offers further prescriptions: this text purports to be a prayer composed by St. Gregory the Theologian stemming from apocalyptic revelations received through an encounter with the archangel Michael.⁷⁰⁸ Gregory asks for, and is told, the names of angels with various spheres of influence, which the archangel has been sent to reveal.⁷⁰⁹ These include one Suchael with a particular association with fever, whose name when written down has an amuletic function.⁷¹⁰ Gregory also inquires about the angel in charge of rivers and cisterns, and is told that this is Melchisedek, who should be invoked for protection from demonic attack when drinking water at night, but the prayer should be preceded by an incantation-motif, namely another application of scripture, this time a verse from the Psalms, “the voice of the lord was upon the waters” (*Ps. 28:3*).⁷¹¹

In keeping with that use of the psalms as ritually efficacious text in incantations, an entire treatise has also been included on the potential of select psalms to assist in a wide range of operations, or as the title of the treatise has it, to “do anything.”⁷¹² The treatise, of which the beginning is lost,⁷¹³ presents 34 ritual prescriptions covering 54 psalms in total,

⁷⁰⁵ In particular ff. 319r-v (unpublished), 320r (Legrand 1881, 18), 320v (Legrand 1881, 18-19), 333v (unpublished), 340r (unpublished), 340r (Delatte 1927, 550), 345r (two, unpublished), 345v (unpublished), 426v-427r (cf. in part Reitzenstein 1904, 300-301), 436v (three, unpublished).

⁷⁰⁶ f. 305r, ἐρμηνεία περὶ μυρμηγκοῦς. ‘κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ εἰπὼν τὸν ὄφιν “τῶ στήθει καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ σου πορεύσῃ καὶ ἐγένου γῆν φαγεῖν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου,” οὗτος ὑποτάσσει τὸν μύρμηκα τοῦ μὴ κουβαλεῖν τὸν καρπὸν τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνος. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου’ (chapter 1 cat. 2.10.1.7).

⁷⁰⁷ ff. 305r-310r, *Epigrammata* 7-58.

⁷⁰⁸ ff. 433r-436v, προσευχὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου, excerpts in Legrand 1881, xxi-xxii; cf. *CCAG* VIII.3:42; a version of the text is found in Paris BnF cod. gr. 395, ff. 51v-54r, ed. Almazov 1901b, 303-305.

⁷⁰⁹ f. 433r, ἀπέστειλέ με κύριος ἀποκαλύψαι σοι τοὺς ἀγγέλους τῆς εἰρήνης πρὸς ὠφέλειαν καὶ ὑγίαν τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων· καὶ νῦν ὅπερ βούλη λέξον καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναγγελῶ σοι.

⁷¹⁰ f. 433v, εἶπον ‘κύριε δεῖξόν μοι τὸν ἄγγελον τοῦ ριγοπυρέτου’ καὶ εἶπέν μοι ‘τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Συχαηλ καλεῖται. γράψον οὖν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ φόρει καὶ οὐ μὴ σοι ἄψηται ἀσθένεια.’

⁷¹¹ ff. 433v-434r, καὶ εἶπον ‘κύριε δεῖξόν μοι τὸν ἄγγελον τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν φρεάτων,’ καὶ εἶπέ μοι ‘τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Μελχισεδεκ καλεῖται. ὅταν οὖν πίνῃς ὕδωρ τῇ νυκτί, ἐπικάλεσαι αὐτὸν καὶ οὐ μὴ σοι ἄψηται πειρασμὸς ἢ φαρμακία. πρῶτον λέγε ἐκ τρίτου “φωνὴ κυρίου ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων.”’

⁷¹² This title, ψαλμοὶ ὠφέλιμοι εἰς πᾶν πρᾶγμα, now survives only in a sixteenth-century table of contents added by Constantin Palaiocappa (ἐν τούτῳ περιέχεται τάδε, f. Ar-v); the beginning of the treatise is now lost (see the following note).

⁷¹³ ff. 429r-431v, excerpts in Legrand 1881, 20-24. Recently I have identified what is likely the missing portion in a manuscript-fragment in Vienna (ÖNB cod. hist. gr. 129:

introduced in numerical order in a consistent form: psalm number, with added rubrication for easy reference, followed by indication of use (uttering out loud or inscribing) and accompanying ritual procedure; sometimes multiple psalms are combined in the same procedure. No other copies of the full treatise are known, but some prescriptions are found as independent excerpts in one later manuscript, which could suggest a wider circulation.⁷¹⁴ The original author of the treatise, or perhaps the present compiler himself, has added a first-person claim of the efficacy of one particular psalm.⁷¹⁵

The content and format invites comparison to the much better studied Jewish tradition of *Shimmush tehillim*, seen in the medieval Cairo Geniza and traced in some form as far back as the Rabbinic writings, but most voluminously attested in a dedicated treatise, the late medieval and early modern *Sefer shimmush tehillim*.⁷¹⁶ While a common, probably Jewish, origin for both traditions is very likely, it is certain that the Byzantine tradition had had an extensive development on its own and was well adapted to its contemporary context by the time of the present treatise, and not merely a late medieval translation (witness also the independent prescription of individual psalms in incantations as early as Aetios of Amida). The content of the present treatise once again indicates practice in rural areas, for the benefit of a primarily agrarian society with some engagement in seafaring, in contrast to the more urban background of the Jewish psalm-incantation tradition. The concerns of the Greek treatise were for the most part quotidian: work, personal health, facilitation of interpersonal relations; appearance in court or before magistrates was exceptional and made magical assistance all the more appealing. The goals with which the recipes are concerned are well integrated with Byzantine society, as responses to characteristically Byzantine formulations of problems, for example that impotence or marital strife can be caused by magical 'binding' performed against a married couple by a jealous third party.

In the same vicinity in the codex the compiler also includes a lapidary, attributed in its title to Hippocrates.⁷¹⁷ Some 41 precious stones are surveyed and recommended either in pulverized form as medicinal substances, or worn as φυλακτήρια and περιαιπτόμενα generally for healing and apotropaic purposes. Other aims are indicated too, quite in keeping with the scope of the rest of the collection: founding a prosperous house,

according to Hunger, *Katalog* 1961, 132, besides what appear to be the end of the dream-treatise and the beginning of the psalm-treatise, at ff. 1v-12r a work περὶ τῆς οἰκοδομίας τῆς ἀγίας Σοφίας, to which H. compares Preger *Script. Orig. Cpl.* 1:74-108; finds watermark in the form of a pair of scissors, comparing Briquet 3668 [Rome 1454]; the frag. was in Vienna in time to be included in Nessel's catalogue printed in 1690; in the Paris manuscript Doyen-Higuet 2006, 49 identifies a similar watermark, which she compares to Harlfinger no. 29, dated to 1446, at ff. 429, 434, 445, 446, 448) and am awaiting a digital facsimile to confirm this. The most recent foliation is continuous, but an older numbering reflects the loss: it matches through the current f. 428, but the current f. 429 was once 441: so a loss of 12 folia.

⁷¹⁴ St. Petersburg, NLR cod. gr. 575, e.g. Ps. 46 (47).

⁷¹⁵ ὁ λδ' ψαλμὸς καὶ ὁ λε' ἐνεργεῖ καὶ ἐγὼ μάρτυς ...

⁷¹⁶ See B. Rebiger, *Sefer Shimmush Tehillim. Buch vom magischen Gebrauch der Psalmen* (Tübingen 2010), introduction; Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza* III 10-13.

⁷¹⁷ ff. 340v-345r, ἐρμηνία περὶ ἐνεργῶν λίθων Ἰπποκράτους· οὔτοι λ' λίθοι ὠφέλιμοι εἰς πᾶν πρᾶγμα. λίθος ὁ κουράλιος ... ποιήσει ἄ οὐκ ἔστιν λαλεῖν ὡς οὔσα θειοτάτης φύσεως, ed. C.-E. Ruelle in F. de Mély, *Les lapidaires de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age* (Paris 1898) 2:185-190.

promoting agricultural productivity, and divination.⁷¹⁸ Others in turn pursue personal advancement, especially in the form of erotic attraction, recalling the methods discussed in the second chapter but minus incantations.⁷¹⁹ Its content is owed primarily to the tradition of ancient lapidaries, but it adds material in an Italian-influenced demotic (esp. ff. 341v-342r) e.g. κλόρε for *colore* (διάμαντον· ἔχει κλόρε τοῦ σιδέρου, f. 341v), and there is reference to a word in “Frankish” that appears also to be Italian.⁷²⁰

Worth noting, finally, is an astrological treatise on nativities that combines prognostication with recommendations for protection by amuletic means and the cult of saints.⁷²¹ That is, for each zodiac sign, along with forecasts for the native of that sign arranged by gender, there is a recommendation of which saint to venerate, and draw holy oil from his or her candle, for healing whenever the native is in danger. This treatise is known from another contemporary version, in a manuscript now in Naples, a theological and astrological miscellany copied in 1495 by a priest, Ioannes Xerokaltos, in which the astrology is both more extensive and at a more learned level, and dedicated medical treatises are absent.⁷²² Specific to the two copies of this particular treatise there are important differences that suggest the context of the Paris codex: all in all a somewhat humbler social station is assumed as a background in the Paris version, once again agricultural, where for example basic literacy among those for whom forecasts are to be made is taken as exceptional.⁷²³ The saints recommended for propitiation also differ in the Paris codex, very likely a sign of adaptation to local cult, though we do not know where the manuscript was intended to be used, so the hypothesis is impossible to verify.⁷²⁴ It

⁷¹⁸ House: γρανάτον· ἔνε κόκινι καὶ καθάρια ... ὅπου ἀρχίζει νὰ κάμνη σπίτιν νὰ τὴν βαστάζη ἀπάνω του, θέλει κάμνη σπίτιν καλόν, f. 341v. Agriculture: λίθος γαλακτίτης ... τριβόμενος καὶ ραινόμενος ἐν ποιμνίῳ πολὺ [πολλὴν *cod.*] γάλα ἐργάζεται, f. 343r, and λίθος εὐπέταλος ... δεσμούμενος ἐν τοῖς κέρασιν τῶν βοῶν τῷ τοῦ σπόρου καιρῷ ἢ καὶ τοῦ ἀρότρεως εὐφορίαν τῇ γῆ ἐκείνῃ ἐργάζεται καὶ πολυκαρπίαν, f. 343v. Divination: in both cases apparently through dreams, f. 342r, καντζέτονι [καντζεοτονή *edd.*]: ... καὶ θεωρεῖ ἀληθινὰ ὄνειρα ὅπου τὴν βαστάζει; f. 342v, λίθος ὁ χαλαζίτης φορούμενος τὰ μέλλοντα φανεροῖ τῷ βαστάζοντι.

⁷¹⁹ f. 340v, λίθος ὁ κουράλιος ... πᾶσιν ἐστὶν ἡγαπημένος ὁ βαστάζων αὐτόν; f. 340v, λίθος ὁ ῥάτης ... φασὶν τινες ὅτι ἐρωτικὸς ἦν ... περιαιπτόμενος θέλγει [θέργει *cod.*] μὲν τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τῶν αἰτήσεων μὴ ἀποτυγχάνειν ποιεῖ; f. 343v, ἐλαφοκερατίτης ... τριβόμενος καὶ κατ' ἀμφοτέρων πινόμενος ὀνομάτων ἔρωτα κατ' ἀλλήλων ποιεῖ.

⁷²⁰ f. 342r, πατήστα· ἔνε εἰς τὸ κλόρε τῆς βιολαῆς ὅπου τὴν λέγουν Φράγκικα βηλατζότα, cf. Ital. *violetto*.

⁷²¹ ff. 419r-424v, see *CCAG* VIII.3:41. The version in the present codex remains unpublished; a longer version and significantly different version in the fifteenth-century Naples BN cod. II.C.33, ff. 518v-528v is edited in *CCAG* IV:158-169; there is a later version in Paris BnF cod. suppl. gr. 1191, f. 65 (noted in *CCAG* VIII.3:87). Among other variants between the Paris (P) and Naples (N) versions (cf. above), N presents male and female natives of each sign in sequence, while P lists all the males for each sign first, then the females.

⁷²² Naples BN cod. II.C.33, on which see *CCAG* IV:49-63 (cod. 13). For incantations in this manuscript see the catalogues for the first and third chapters.

⁷²³ To the entry for a male born in the sign of Aries, P adds, “... *if* he also learns to read and write, he will advance” (ἐὰν δὲ καὶ γράμματα μάθη, προκόψει).

⁷²⁴ E.g. Nikolaos for a male native of Aries in P (f. 419r-v) but Stephanos in N (ff. 518v-519r); the *theotokos* for a male native of Tauros in P (f. 419v) but the *archistrategos* in N (ff. 519v-520r); Constantinos for male in Cancer in P (ff. 419v-420r), ὁ τίμιος σταυρός

should also be noted that to the Paris codex alone belongs the added recommendation that the natives should not only venerate (λειτουργεῖν) but also take holy oil from the saint's candle and use it as an unguent. In line with the other interests of the compiler, there are also additions in the Paris codex recommending the use of amulets by the various natives with respect to the patronage of Christian holies.⁷²⁵

Healing practice in modern Crete: Nikolaos Konstantinos Theodorakis

As a final piece of this examination of the context of the use and transmission of incantations and related ritual practices, it is now time to look briefly far ahead to the modern period, at the continuation of the tradition into modern Greece. From the perspective of the content of the incantations themselves, some of the most interesting material is that recorded by amateur folklorists in the periodical *Laographia* in the early twentieth century, which were discussed in the first chapter. Unfortunately this same data is sparse in reporting of the accompanying ethnographical context. On the other hand, the excellent and anthropologically well-informed study by Charles Stewart (1991) on local cult practices on modern Naxos is situated outside of the living phase of the incantation tradition, for by the time Stewart was conducting his fieldwork in the 1980s, use of incantations was only a memory for the Naxians. Instead I turn to a precious document from another island, Crete, recently published in an admirable study by Patricia Clark (2011).

This is a manuscript owned by Nikolaos Konstantinos Theodorakis (1891-1979), of Meronas, Crete. He copied it in 1930 from a handbook in the possession of his family for many years, for his personal use as a physician in the Amari Valley. Theodorakis was a lay practitioner (πρακτικὸς ἰατρός) there throughout his life, and as Clark has established through interviews with residents, a renowned figure in his community. The economy of the region was agricultural, centered on cherry orchards, vineyards, and sheep. Theodorakis followed this path for his primary livelihood too: he was a farmer and vintner and also raised sheep. The provision of healing formed a sideline to this work, as Theodorakis gathered his own medicinal herbs and carried on out of his home “a kind of informal clinic for the sick” (Clark 2011, 31). And in this practice, if the contents of the manuscript are an accurate indication, Theodorakis participated in the tradition of Greek incantations.

in N (f. 523r-v), which is prescribed for a male native of Virgo in P (f. 420v); the archangel Michael for a male in Leo in P (f. 420r-v), the Anargyroi in N (ff. 521v-522r); Christ for male in Libra in P (ff. 420v-421r), Demetrios in N (f. 522v); the *theotokos* for a male in Scorpio in P (f. 421r), Nikolaos in N (f. 525r); John Prodromos for a male in Sagittarius in P (f. 421r-v), Demetrios in N (ff. 525v-526r); George and the *theotokos* for a male native of Capricorn in P (ff. 421v-422r), the anargyroi in N (f. 526r-v); George and Theodore *stratelates* for a male native of Pisces in P (f. 422r-v), George only in N (ff. 527v-528r); Andronikos for a female native of Sagittarius in P (f. 424r), Barbara in N (f. 526r); the *theotokos* ὁδηγήτρια specified along with St. George for a female native of Capricorn in P (f. 424r-v), St. Paraskeue in N (ff. 526v-527r); entirely different phrasing for male native of Aquarius in P, simply εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον αὐτοῦ ἔχει βοήθον τὴν ὑπεραγίαν θεοτόκον καὶ τὸν ἀρχάγγελον Μιχαηλ (f. 422r).

⁷²⁵ For the male native of Virgo, f. 420v, ἐγκόλφιν ἄς φορῆ τὴν ὑπεραγίαν θεοτόκον; male native of Scorpio, f. 421r, ἄς φορῆ τὸν τίμιον σταυρὸν ἐγκόλφιν; male native of Capricorn, f. 421v, ἄς φορῆ τὸν τίμιον σταυρὸν ἵνα μὴ κινδυνεύσῃ.

The manuscript surely served the practice of Theodorakis himself, but in a closing statement he also states his intent to preserve useful knowledge for posterity, which situates him as a participant in the tradition, not merely a passive receiver. The collection, which he had entitled “guide to healing” (ἱατρικὸς ὁδηγός), is said to contain “guides to methods of proven effect against sickness” recorded “so that our posterity may apply them.”⁷²⁶ The content combines the traditional knowledge of generations of practitioners, who often passed down both the profession and the associated texts and lore within families, with infusions from the manuscript tradition of ancient medical authors. Theodorakis, for example, cites both Galen and Oribasius.⁷²⁷

A procedure to cure jaundice provides a fine illustration of the concerted application of multiple approaches to healing: an incantation along with pharmacology, astrological lore, and the participation of priests.⁷²⁸ First wine is to be mixed with the flower of a citron tree, then left out overnight to be exposed to the influences of the stars, then presumably administered to the patient while, or directly after, a priest pronounces a text called simply an εὐχή. It is however a variant on a motif of venerable antiquity in the Greek tradition, whose career the first chapter has traced in more detail: a narrative of the encounter with and redirection of the personified affliction by a divine protector, here Mary, by means of an incantation. Here the intended practitioner is clearly distinct from the priest, but expected to be in a collegial relation to him. Two other incantations worth note, carried out directly by the practitioner without the intervention of a priest, also continue ancient motifs. One treats fever by combining the address to the fever itself, commanding it directly to flee (φύγε) but also attributing this same command to John the Baptist, in a poetic form probably adapted from a liturgical hymn.⁷²⁹ The other, to ease

⁷²⁶ p. 103, ὁδηγεῖοι ὀπισθεν τοῦ Νικολάου Κωνσ. Θεοδωράκη ἐπὶ νοσημάτων ἀποτελεσματικῶν δεδοκιμασμένων νὰ ἐφαρμόζουν οἱ μεταγενεστέροι ἡμῶν.

⁷²⁷ pp. 66 and 78.

⁷²⁸ pp. 63-64, ed. Clark 2011, 114-116, ὅταν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔχη νύκτορα. ἔπαρον κρασί ἄδολον καὶ βάλ' το εἰς ἓνα γαβάθι καὶ βάλε μέσα ἓνα φλωρίον κύτρινον καὶ θέσε το εἰς τοὺς ἀστέρας ἀπὸ τὸ βραδὺν καὶ τὸ ταχὺ νὰ σοῦ ἀναγνώση ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην ὡς ἐξήρχετο ἡ παναγία θεοτόκος ἀπὸ τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν μετὰ μυρίων ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων, ἀπὴν | τησεν αὐτὴν ὁ ὄκταρος καὶ δὲν τὴν ἐχαιρέτισε καὶ ἐδιάβη. ἐγύρισεν ἡ θεοτόκος εἰς τὸ ὀπίσω καὶ λέγει “ὄκταρε δυόκταρε τρισόκταρε συναγωγὴ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ Χάροντος, ποῦ ὑπάγεις;” ἐγύρισε δὲ ὁ ὄκταρος εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ λέγει τῆς θεοτόκου “τὰ ὄρη μὲ εἶδον καὶ ἐτρόμαξαν, ἡ θάλασσα μὲ εἶδεν καὶ ἐτρόμαξεν καὶ ἀπέφυγεν, τὰ δένδρα μὲ εἶδον καὶ ἐξεριζώθησαν, καὶ ἐσὺ στέκεις καὶ με ἐρωτᾷς; ὑπάγω εἰς τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα νὰ ἔμβω εἰς τὸν ὀμφαλὸν τοῦ, νὰ δράμω εἰς τὴν πλευράν τοῦ, νὰ ἔμβω εἰς τὸ σικότι τοῦ.” καὶ ἀποκριθεῖσα ἡ θεοτόκος λέγει αὐτῷ “ὀρκίζω σε ἀπὸ τὰ εἴκοσι τέσσερα γράμματα ὅπου ἔχει ὁ ἥλιος εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ, ἀπελθε εἰς τὰ ὄρη καὶ εἰς τὰ σπήλαια καὶ εἰς τὰ βάθη τῆς θαλάσσης, ἐκεῖ νὰ ὑπάγης νὰ φάγης νὰ πῆς, ἐκεῖ νὰ ρίξης τὸν θυμόν σου, διότι ὁ τοιοῦτός ἐστι βαπτισμένος ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ υἱοῦ μου καὶ μυρωμένος τοῦ θεοῦ παραδομένος καὶ τὸν θυμόν σου βαστάζεις.” That νύκτορα is jaundice (i.e. ἵκτερος with vowel shifts and prothetic ν as in νήλιος for ἥλιος), not as Clark conjectures “night terrors,” is suggested especially by references in the incantation to the patient’s navel and liver; ὄκταρος is one more dialectal variant on this, even if, as Clark points out, it may also be a dialect form for ἐχθρός, which would in fact not be out of place in the sort of word-manipulation characteristic of incantations.

⁷²⁹ pp. 78-79, ed. Clark 2011, 132, ἕτερον περὶ θερμασίας. γράψον τὸ κάτωθεν τροπάριον ἡμέραν σάββατον ἢ | πέμπτην, ὄχι ἄλλην ἡμέραν, καὶ ἀνάγνωσον αὐτὸ

birth, offers another meta-incantation, a narrative in which Christ and John the Baptist hear the travails of a woman in labor and John is dispatched to speak over her an incantation as dictated by Christ, assimilating the child to Lazarus, parallels to which have been discussed in the first chapter.⁷³⁰ The incantations stand alongside recommendations for the exploitation of analogical manipulation and co-option of the liturgy of the church for personal goals: respectively, curing impotence by a ritual in which a married couple undress, the husband urinates on a young boy and then passes with his wife beneath an ox-yoke three times; protecting livestock from wolves by setting up a wolf's bones in a cruciform arrangement outside of their pen; and, again for impotence, for the husband to stand on the roof of his house on Easter, wait for the moment when the rest of his community at worship call out the Paschal troparion (Χριστὸς ἀνέστη), then attempt to couple with his wife, uttering at that time the same troparion.⁷³¹

This chapter has made a beginning in the contextualization of the Greek incantation tradition. The focus has been primarily on the healing and apotropaic incantations whose typology was addressed in the first chapter, because these are the most widespread in the surviving evidence and as a result best served with the sort of supporting data necessary for

ἐπάνω εἰς τὸν ἀσθενῆ τρεῖς φορές καὶ ἄς τοῦ λειτούργησον καὶ βάλῃ καὶ ὕψωμα τῆς παναγίας καὶ ἄς τὸ βαστᾶ ἐπάνω του ὁ ἀσθενὴς καὶ ἰᾶται. ‘τίμιε Ἰωάννη προφήτα καὶ βαπτιστὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡ τιμία σου κεφαλὴ ἐπὶ πίνακος βασταζομένη ἡδέως καὶ ῥίγος τοῖς θεασαμένοις κατέβαλεν. ἡ δὲ τιμία σου κεφαλὴ ἔκραζε καὶ ἔλεγε “πυρετὸς διτταῖος καὶ τριταῖος καὶ τεταρταῖος ἡμερινὸς τε καὶ νυκτερινὸς φύγε ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ, ἀμήν. ἠλι ἠλι λιμα σαβαχθανι· τούτεστι θεέ μου θεέ μου ἵνα τί με ἐγκατέλιπες τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα. Χριστὸς εὐηγγελίσθη, φύγε ῥίγος. Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη, φύγε ῥίγος. Χριστὸς ἐβαπτίσθη, φύγε ῥίγος ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα. Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ καὶ βασιλεύει εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.”

⁷³⁰ pp. 79-80, ed. Clark 2011, 132, διὰ νὰ γεννήσῃ ἡ γυναῖκα εὐκόλα. γράψον γράμματα εἰς κομμάτι χαρτὶ καὶ ἀνάγνωσον αὐτὰ τρεῖς φορές ἐπάνωθεν τῆς λοχοῦς καὶ δώσέ της νὰ τὸ κρατῇ εἰς τὸ χέρι της καὶ γεννᾷ γρήγορα. ‘εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. ὅταν ἐπεριπάτησεν ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ πρόδρομος ἐρωτήσας αὐτὸν “ὦ κύριος ἐὰν εὕρωμεν γυνὴ μὴ δυναμένη νὰ γεννήσῃ, τί ποιήσωμεν θεραπεῦσαι αὐτήν;” εἶπε δὲ ὁ κύριος “πίασε τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα αὐτῆς καὶ εἶπε οὕτως ‘εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἀνοίγονται, ἄρμα ἴσονται, φλέβες χειρίζονται. φεῦγε πᾶν κακὸν ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίου ἐγεννήθη εἰς τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ καίσαρος Αὐγούστου εἰς τὰς εἰκοσιπέντε τοῦ μηνός. Λάζαρε δεῦρο ἔξω.”

⁷³¹ p. 6, ed. Clark 2011, 54, διὰ νὰ λύσῃς ἀνδρόγυνον. ἔπαρε ἓνα παιδί ἕως ὀκτώ χρόνων, βάλ’ το νὰ πέσῃ ἀνάσκελα καὶ ἄς ἐκδυθῇ τὸ ἀνδρόγυνον τζηζήδι χωρὶς νὰ μένῃ ροῦχο μὲ τελειότητα ἀπάνω τους καὶ ἄς κατοικήσῃ ὁ ἄνδρας ἐπάνω ἀπὸ τὸ παιδί μίαν φοράν καὶ ἄς ἔχη ἓνα ζυγὸν τοῦ βοδίου καὶ νὰ ἀπεράσῃ ἀπὸ τὴν λακοσὰ τοῦ ζυγοῦ ἤγουν ἀπὸ μέσα ἀπὸ τὰ δύο ξύλα καὶ νὰ γυρίσῃ νὰ ἔξαναπεράσῃ τρεῖς φοραῖς καὶ ἄς κοιμηθῇ μὲ τὴν γυναῖκα του βεβαίως; p. 30, ed. Clark 2011, 82, τὰ κόκαλά του σταυροειδῶς νὰ τὰ βάλῃς ἔξω ἀπὸ τὴν μάνδραν. δὲν πειράζονται τὰ πρόβατα καὶ γῆδια καὶ ἄλλα ζῶα; p. 7, ed. Clark 2011, 54, ἕτερον. τὴν λαμπρὴν τὴν κυριακὴν νὰ πλαγιάσῃ ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ δόμα καὶ καθὼς εἶπουν τὸ ‘Χριστὸς ἀνέστη’ νὰ εἶναι ἐτοιμὸς νὰ πλαγιάσῃ μὲ τὴν γυναῖκα του λέγοντας τὸ ‘Χριστὸς ἀνέστη.’

contextualization. Such techniques were subject to the least stigma and condemnation, in relative terms, from ecclesiastical and legal authorities, which goes part of the way towards accounting for their greater representation. The punishment of Demetrios Chloros, however, who attempted to excuse his possession of written manuals for incantations on medical grounds, shows that even here the attitude of the Church was not one of tolerance especially when the offenders were themselves churchmen. In this long tradition including incantations and related ritual practices for various purposes - healing and protection, the manipulation of the behavior of third parties - we have seen the central role of written texts and learned practitioners as mediators, intersecting with an oral tradition that is more difficult to trace. Two recurring features are worth special note. One is that these learned mediators, especially in the cases of Aetios of Amida, the later elaborations to Alexander of Tralles, and the Paris *iatrosophion*, not only dispensed healing based on incantations to clients, but also took up material from this more popular, oral channel to augment their own stocks. The second is the importance of practitioners who participated in the tradition but whose primary profession lay outside of it: in particular, the official Aurelius Philammon, the notary Demetrios Chloros, the probably priestly compiler of the Paris codex, and even Nikolaos Konstantinos Theodorakis, whose main livelihood was farming.

Remaining desiderata would be the extension of this contextualization, both in areas covered by the scope of this chapter but omitted for reasons of space, such as the increasingly well-documented late Byzantine and early modern *iatrosophia*, or ritual manuals such as the sixteenth-century Athens EB cod. 1265 that show more of an interest in the aggressive procedures treated in the second and third chapters, and in areas largely excluded from consideration here, such as developments in the medieval West after the beginning sketched in connection with the sixth-century Leiden codex.

Conclusion

This study has traced continuity and innovation in a long tradition of Greek incantations, from classical antiquity through modern Greece. In each case influence from the Greek tradition could be seen in turn on the Latin incantation tradition in the medieval West, particularly at the formative stage of late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, though the medieval tradition followed an innovative path of its own. The most extensive evidence was available for the healing and apotropaic incantations examined in the first chapter, which also presented the fewest problems in terms of assimilation into a Christian tradition. Here it is easiest to see the preservation of motifs from the ancient stock of incantations in late antiquity, adapted and repopulated for maximum relevance and efficacy in a Christian context. These motifs in turn were dynamically reworked, recombined, and repurposed in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine phases. For the techniques to which the second and third chapters were devoted, for erotic compulsion, ritual cursing, and related torments applied to suspected thieves, the evidence is rather sparser. Continuity hangs by a thinner thread, but as I have argued it can still be discerned, and alongside it a similar reworking. The repopulation of motifs with Christian figures is rather less in evidence, and these branches of the tradition may well have been more permeable to influences from contemporary Jewish and Arabic traditions. Here particularly the rituals became more complex and extensive, and a reliance on learned, literate practitioners can be seen.

As the fourth chapter explored in detail, the participants in this tradition as a whole included learned medical authors and practitioners, but a large and influential repository and mode of transmission consisted in more popular oral traditions, of which glimpses are more fleeting for most of the tradition until the modern period. At the level of individual manuscripts, the works of medical authors, especially those like Aetios of Amida and Alexander of Tralles who included incantations themselves, served as a space for contemporary copyists and later owners and users to add material of their own collection. These latter hands, then, were the prime movers in the Byzantine incantation tradition, however much they, until the later network of Demetrios Chloros and his associates, have remained anonymous and difficult to contextualize as fully as the historian would like.

Chronologically, the focus here has been late antiquity and Byzantium. Early modern and modern Greece have been included, but the full potential of the material from this phase of the tradition remains to be exploited. The position of traditional Greek incantations alongside and in contact with an increasingly diverse cultural and linguistic milieu (beginning already in later Byzantium) could profitably be studied, as well as the meaning of this inherited knowledge for post-Byzantine Greek identity. The role of oral transmission in the tradition has been indicated at various points, but its mechanics remain rather nebulous. The study of oral poetics, Homeric above all but also within Byzantium,⁷³² could provide comparative models to understand these dynamics, along with closer study of the richer evidence for oral performance and transmission of incantations in modern Greece.

At every turn there has been an uneasy compromise between the long view of a tradition and the richness of each of its participants. In general I have privileged the former, for reasons both practical and programmatic, as a corrective to a trend in scholarship that neglects it in favor of the latter. Many if not all of the texts included here

⁷³² Albert Lord, in his classic work applying the study of contemporary Balkan oral poetry to that of the Homeric epics, already included a perspective on the Byzantine Akritic ballads in the final chapter (1960).

could well have been the center of a lengthy and detailed study of not only their contemporary context but also their individual poetic features, poetic in the double sense, passive and active, of highly wrought language that claims direct efficacy. Future work might examine the poetics of later Greek incantations more thoroughly, as scholars of the classical phase of the tradition have begun to do, both in individual cases and on the level of diachronic trends.

Finally, a valid criticism of the approach followed throughout this dissertation, namely the stress on the Greekness of the tradition, should be supplemented by a thorough examination of more diverse influences. For late antiquity and Byzantium in particular an engagement with the magical traditions transmitted in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic should prove richly rewarding.

Bibliography

Abbreviations follow those in *L'Année Philologique*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, and for classical authors and works, the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* and *LSJ*; for epigraphy, the *SEG*; and for papyrology, the *Duke Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* (maintained at papyri.info).

The following special abbreviations are introduced here:

CCAG = *Catalogus codicum astrologorum Graecorum*, 12 voll. Brussels 1891-1936

GMA = R. Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets. The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper, and Bronze Lamellae. Part I: Published Texts of Known Provenance*. Opladen 1994

SGG = A. Mastrocinque (ed.), *Sylloge gemmarum gnosticarum*, 2 voll. Rome 2004

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Appendix

Here follow the catalogues of texts to accompany chapters 1, 2, and 3, in that order. The general editorial procedure has been outlined in the introduction.

Typology: outline

1. addressative

- 1.1. simple command
- 1.2.1. addressing the womb, *μήτρα* type: simple
- 1.2.2. addressing the womb, *μήτρα* type: with threat
- 1.3.1. ants: simple
- 1.3.2. ants: with threat
- 1.3.3. ants: with aetiology
- 1.4. assertion about the target
- 1.5. assertion about the target: added exorcistic language
- 1.6. assertion about the target: qualification with epithets, etc.: *ύστέρα* type
 - 1.6.1. *ύστέρα* type: simple
 - 1.6.2. *ύστέρα* type: binding
 - 1.6.3. *ύστέρα* type: animal similes
 - 1.6.4. *ύστέρα* type: animal similes with imperatives
 - 1.6.5. *ύστέρα* type: eating and drinking blood
 - 1.6.6. *ύστέρα* type: eating and drinking blood, animal similes
 - 1.6.7. *ύστέρα* type: eating and drinking blood, offer of substitute
 - 1.6.8. *ύστέρα* type: three vessels
 - 1.6.9. *ύστέρα* type: secret name
 - 1.6.10. *ύστέρα* type: with performative reference to binding
 - 1.6.11. *ύστέρα* type: other combinations
 - 1.6.12. *ύστέρα* type: threat
- 1.7. command with jussive
- 1.8. dramatic form, questions
- 1.9. with performatives: first-person: relating to the cure
 - 1.10.1. wordplay on barley (*κριθή*, etc.): simple
 - 1.10.2. wordplay on barley (*κριθή*, etc.): onomatopoeia
- 1.11. binding
- 1.12. miscellaneous
- 1.13. threats
- 1.14. narrative
- 1.15. assimilation of first person to powerful figure
- 1.16. third-person: miscellaneous powerful figures from myth
 - 1.17.1. third-person: Christ
 - 1.17.2. third-person: child called by Christ (and others)
- 1.18. third-person: saints
- 1.19. third-person: other figures
 - 1.20.1. third-person, flight and pursuit type: healing substance
 - 1.20.2. flight and pursuit type: miscellaneous powerful figures
 - 1.21.1. flight and pursuit type: Solomon
 - 1.21.2. flight and pursuit type: angel in place of Solomon
 - 1.21.3. flight and pursuit type: Solomon and angel
- 1.22. flight and pursuit type: Christ
 - 1.23.1. Tantalus type: simple
 - 1.23.2. Tantalus type: Schwindeschema
- 1.24.1. Herakles type: simple
- 1.24.2. Herakles type: with prohibition
- 1.24.3. Herakles type: excerpted

- 1.25.1. Herakles type: variant with Hermes
- 1.25.2. Herakles type: with Sisinnios and companions
- 1.25.3. Herakles type: with Solomon
- 1.25.4. Herakles type: with Abraham
- 1.25.5. Herakles type: with Christ
- 1.25.6. Herakles type: with saints
- 1.26. other scene-setting
- 1.27.1. three vessels, simple
- 1.27.2. three vessels, variant with first-person performatives
- 1.28. assimilation of target in narrative scenario, general
- 1.29.1. assimilation of target in narrative scenario, Lazarus
- 1.29.2. Lazarus, with quotation of Vergil
- 1.30.1. adynatology: description of fabulous birds, first-person narrative in which the speaker eats them without teeth, etc.; simple
- 1.30.2. adynatology with birds, alternate narrative ending with John the Baptist
- 1.31.1. adynatology: inversion of morning and evening, simple
- 1.31.2. adynatology: inversion of morning and evening, with further statement of natural facts
- 1.32. adynatology: kneading
- 1.33. command introduced with historiola: general
- 1.34. command introduced with historiola: incest taboo
- 1.35. command introduced with historiola: Joshua and Zacharias
- 1.36. command introduced with historiola: Elijah and drought
- 1.37. command introduced with historiola: Jonah and Lazarus
- 1.38. command introduced with historiola: birth of Christ
- 1.39. command introduced with historiola: baptism of Christ, halting of the Jordan
- 1.40. command introduced with historiola: crucifixion
- 1.41. command introduced with historiola: credal formula
- 1.42.1. command introduced with historiola: paradoxical biblical births, simple
- 1.42.2. command introduced with historiola: paradoxical biblical births, with analogous psalm text
- 1.43. command introduced with historiola: post-biblical, stopping of the Euphrates by Christ
- 1.44. command introduced with historiola: Zacharias
- 1.45. command introduced with historiola: other saints
- 1.45.1. command introduced with historiola: Martin
- 1.45.2. command introduced with historiola: Seven Sleepers
- 1.46. command introduced with historiola: aetiology of the affliction, three bad children
- 1.47. analogy: cosmological

2. performative

- 2.1: expressing the hoped-for result
 - 2.1.1. first-person
 - 2.1.2. third-person
- 2.2: the mechanism of the cure
 - 2.2.1. general, language of healing, releasing, etc.
 - 2.2.2. specific reference to binding or nailing
 - 2.2.3. added address to medicinal substance
 - 2.2.4. ritual drama, dialogue: splitting

- 2.2.5. ritual drama, dialogue: nailing
 - 2.2.6. ritual drama, dialogue: binding
 - 2.2.7. ritual drama, dialogue: stitching
 - 2.2.8. ritual drama, dialogue: other
 - 2.3. expressing purpose of ritual action
 - 2.4.1. announcing the affliction in request for healing
 - 2.4.2. announcing the affliction as means of transfer to animal
 - 2.5. claiming precedent for cure
 - 2.6. setting patient and cure within cosmology
 - 2.7: setting patient and cure within mythology
 - 2.7.1. the Gorgon
 - 2.7.2. Ares
 - 2.7.3. Hades
 - 2.7.4. Artemis
 - 2.7.5. miscellaneous classical and other
 - 2.7.6. biblical and post-biblical
 - 2.8.1. setting patient and cure within mythology by assimilation to powerful figure, general
 - 2.8.2. figures from classical myth
 - 2.9.1. setting patient and cure within mythology: assimilation to powerful figure, π(ε)ιϛ̄ type, simple form
 - 2.9.2. setting patient and cure within mythology: assimilation to powerful figure, π(ε)ιϛ̄ type with apotropaic list, Apollonios of Tyana
 - 2.10.1. cure etc. as the command of powerful figure
 - 2.10.2. first-person variant, user assimilated to this figure
 - 2.11: insertion into other imagined narrative
 - 2.11.1. hungry wolf
 - 2.11.2. affliction going to the city
 - 2.11.3. going to court with the affliction
 - 2.11.4. seven golden brothers
 - 2.11.5. other
 - 2.12.1. adynatology: envisioning impossible scenario
 - 2.12.2. adynatology: impossible agriculture
 - 2.12.3. adynatology: contradiction of natural fact
 - 2.13. other scene-setting, statement of natural fact
3. narrative
- 3.1. present, statement of natural fact
 - 3.2. present, having to do with healing
 - 3.3. present, wholly fantastic, miscellaneous
 - 3.4-5: anaphoric nonce-compounds in woodcutting etc. (some variants in past)
 - 3.4.1. first-person, πυρο-
 - 3.4.2. first-person, στριφτο-
 - 3.4.3. first-person, άνεμο-
 - 3.4.4. first-person, βουβο-
 - 3.4.5. first-person, κισαρο-
 - 3.4.6. first-person, κουφο-
 - 3.4.7. first- and third- person, κουφο-
 - 3.5.1. third- person, κουφο-
 - 3.5.2. third- person, κουφο- with dialogue

- 3.5.3. third- person, τυφλο-
- 3.5.4. third-person, further variants
- 3.6. past, wholly fantastic
- 3.7. past, mythical
- 3.8. past, mythical: daughter of Orcus
- 3.9. crossing the water with Christian god and the affliction
- 3.10. aetiology of the cure
- 3.11. aetiology of the target: miscellaneous
- 3.12. aetiology of the target: three bad children motif
- 3.13. past transmission of affliction
- 3.14.1. narrative Schwindeschema
- 3.14.2. narrative Schwindeschema, simple list
- 3.15. divided action of three (two), present and past: three women winding/spinning/washing etc.
- 3.16. three angels
- 3.17. three birds eating sun etc.
- 3.18. miscellaneous
- 3.19.1. bewitchment of calf reversed by mother cow
- 3.19.2. with doe and fawn
- 3.20. fell from the sky motif
- 3.21. encounter and redirection of affliction motif
- 3.22.1. variants: first-person
- 3.22.2. variants: encounter of Christ with dog
- 3.23. encounter and redirection of holy figures
- 3.24. three brothers
- 3.25. sitting figures, general
- 3.26.1. *ella super ella*
- 3.26.2. variant with *architriclinius*
- 3.27. sitting and healing
- 3.28.1. sitting and healing by the sea
- 3.28.2. variant in which holy figures are replaced by the affliction
- 3.29. sitting and counting by the sea, adynatology
- 3.30. suffering saint: general
- 3.31. suffering saint: Christ and Peter (with variants)
- 3.32.1. suffering saint: Job and worms
- 3.32.2. suffering saint: Job and sick livestock
- 3.33. suffering saint: Elijah
- 3.34. suffering saint: others
- 3.35. suffering saint: banquet: John the Baptist and sunstroke
- 3.36. suffering saint: banquet: Mamas and livestock
- 3.37. suffering saint: banquet: miscellaneous
- 3.38.1. suffering saint: Alexander of Macedon
- 3.38.2. with the addition of St. Mamas
- 3.39. encounter with other sufferers of analogous affliction, general
- 3.40. first-person variant, preceded by adynatology with fabulous birds etc.
- 3.41. two brothers bewitched
- 3.42. children lamenting suffering of parents from analogous affliction
- 3.43. cosmic disturbance motif: general
- 3.44. cosmic disturbance motif: birth
- 3.45. cosmic disturbance motif: demon

- 3.46.1. cosmic disturbance motif: first-person scorpion type, general
- 3.46.2. chasing crow
- 3.46.3. other variants
- 3.47.1. encounters, various other types: child, arch-child: cow founders
- 3.47.2. encounters, various other types: child, arch-child: cattle attacked by fox
- 3.48.1. pious woodcutting gone awry: general
- 3.48.2. pious woodcutting gone awry: the brothers themselves injured
- 3.48.3. pious woodcutting gone awry: other variants
- 3.49. good housemaster, bad housemistress
- 3.50.1. mocking maidens: encounter on the road
- 3.50.2. mocking maidens: refusal of hospitality
- 3.51. banquet, affliction not invited
- 3.52. miscellaneous encounters
- 3.53. biblical narratives: Old Testament
- 3.54. Old and New Testament
- 3.55. New Testament: birth of Christ
- 3.56. birth of Christ and other biblical births
- 3.57.1. claim about affliction at birth of Christ: dogs
- 3.57.2. claim about affliction at birth of Christ: hornets
- 3.57.3. claim about affliction at birth of Christ: bees
- 3.58. New Testament: crucifixion, Longinus type, without Longinus
- 3.58.1. general
- 3.58.2. with 'the Hebrew'
- 3.59. New Testament: crucifixion, Longinus type, with Longinus
- 3.60. New Testament: crucifixion, Longinus type, variant with Nicodemus and nails
- 3.61. New Testament: crucifixion, other
- 3.62. New Testament: Christ and Judas
- 3.63. New Testament: Veronica
- 3.64. post-biblical: miscellaneous
- 3.65. post-biblical: Zacharias
- 3.66. post-biblical: St. Paul first-person narrative
- 3.67. post-biblical: similar narratives

4. names

- 4.1. personal name of the patient or target
- 4.2. name of owner of animal
- 4.3. other symbolic application of name of target
- 4.4.1. proper names of powerful figures: pre-Christian
- 4.4.2. proper names of powerful figures: Old Testament
- 4.4.3. proper names of powerful figures: New Testament
- 4.4.4. proper names of powerful figures: generic holy figure
- 4.4.5. proper names of powerful figures: miscellaneous
- 4.5.1. manipulation of powerful names: Schwindeschema or similar
- 4.5.2. manipulation of powerful names: anagram
- 4.5.3. manipulation of powerful names: amplification
- 4.6.1. other analogous names: name of target
- 4.6.2. other analogous names: personal names, of widows
- 4.6.3. other analogous names: personal names, of deceased
- 4.6.4. other analogous names: wild animals
- 4.6.5. other analogous names: rivers

- 4.6.6. other analogous names: miscellaneous
- 4.7.1. manipulation of other analogous names: diminution of name of affliction or associated divinity
- 4.7.2. manipulation of other analogous names: numerical diminution of affliction in list
- 4.7.3. manipulation of other analogous names: wordplay with name of affliction
- 4.7.4. manipulation of other analogous names: amplification
- 4.8. numbers
- 4.9. secret names

5. scriptural

- 5.1.1. Homer, single line or several consecutive lines
- 5.1.2. Homer, multiple disparate lines
- 5.1.3. Homer with Homeric elaborations
- 5.1.4. pseudo-Homeric verse
- 5.1.5. other Greek hexameter
- 5.2. Vergil
- 5.3.1. other Latin hexameter verse
- 5.4. Old Testament: Psalms [each psalm has its own sub-number]
- 5.5. other Old Testament
- 5.6. New Testament [each passage has its own sub-number]
- 5.7. mixture of Old and New Testament
- 5.8. mixture of biblical text and original composition
- 5.9. credal formulae
- 5.10. liturgy
- 5.11. miscellaneous hymns

6. analogical

- 6.1. patient's body
- 6.2.1 animals, natural condition
- 6.2.2 animals, altered condition
- 6.3.1 objects, natural condition
- 6.3.2 objects, altered condition
- 6.4 cosmology
- 6.5 mixture

7. miscellaneous

- 7.1.1. ritual drama with tree, transfer
- 7.1.2. ritual drama with tree, bargain
- 7.1.3. ritual drama with tree, analogy
- 7.2. ritual drama with divinity
- 7.3.1. ritual drama with celestial bodies: moon
- 7.3.2. ritual drama with celestial bodies: star
- 7.4. address to celestial body, rhetorical question
- 7.5.1. invocation of celestial body, for healing: sun
- 7.5.2. invocation of celestial bodies, for healing: moon
- 7.5.3. invocation of celestial bodies, for healing: sun and moon, miscellaneous
- 7.5.4. invocation of celestial bodies, for healing: star
- 7.6.1. addresses to medicinal substances: plants and plant products
- 7.6.2. addresses to medicinal substances: animals let go after substance removed

- 7.6.3 addresses to medicinal substances: animal to which affliction is transferred
- 7.7.1 miscellaneous prayers: pre-Christian gods
- 7.7.2 miscellaneous prayers: Christian god
- 7.7.3 miscellaneous prayers: unnamed power
- 7.8.1.1 interplay of language, Latin into Greek: performatives
- 7.8.1.2 interplay of language, Latin into Greek: manipulation of name of affliction
- 7.8.1.3 interplay of language, Latin into Greek: other powerful words
- 7.8.1.4 interplay of language, Latin into Greek: to express command / prayer
- 7.8.1.5 interplay of language, Latin into Greek: *incerta*
- 7.8.2.1. interplay of language, Greek into Latin: liturgy
- 7.8.2.2. interplay of language, Greek into Latin: prayer
- 7.8.2.3 interplay of language, Greek into Latin: *incerta*
- 7.9. magical *logoi*
- 7.10. Schwindeschemata of magical *logoi*
- 7.11. uncertain type

1. addressative

1.1. *simple command*

1.1.1. red jasper gem, CB-d 1051, ed. Bonner 1950 no. 134; cf. *SEG* LIV 1769. I think the inscription refers neither to curing the feet of the bearer (Bonner, tr. “for the feet” – from parallels in medical recipes we would expect εἰς or πρὸς) nor the born child standing up on its feet (Hanson – an imperative of e.g. ἀνίστημι would seem more natural in that case), but rather is an address to the womb to return downwards to its natural place, ‘towards the feet’ of the patient. Cf. Faraone 2013, 337, in support of Hansen’s reading. On one side, womb with lock and key, surmounted by three Egyptian divinities, around which an ouroboros and an inscription (A); on the other side, in larger letters, an inscription. Thus the iconography supports the identification of the μήτρα type, against Hanson.

A ορωριουθ [*signs*] αηωα αιουεαι ιαω

B ἐπὶ π|όδια.

parallels with the addresses to φθόνος / invidus (φθόνε πατῶ σε)

1.1.2. gold amulet in the form of a miniature boot for the left foot (1.9 cm), from a private collection (Castellani), now in the British Museum, ed. Marshall 1911 no. 3135 with photograph; for the interpretation, Dunbabin 1991, 28. Inscribed on the sole.

πατοῦ.

wordplay, ascending tricolon, analogy

1.1.3. Marcellus 15.101 (Heim 1893 no. 51, cited also in part at no. 88)

carmen mirum ad glandulas sic ‘albula glandula nec doleas nec noceas nec paranychia facias, sed liquescas tamquam salis in aqua.’ hoc ter nouies dicens spues ad terram et glandulas ipsas pollice et digito medicinali perduces dum carmen dicis sed ante solis ortum et post occasum id facies prout dies aut nox minuetur.

I blandula *coni*. *Barb 1950b*

Latin in Greek transliteration

1.1.4. Theophanes Chrysobalantes, *De cur. morb.* 266, ed. Bernard 1794, 2:307 (Heim 1893 no. 47)

πρὸς τὸ ἀπολέσαι μυΐας. γράψον ‘εξη φορε’ καὶ θυμίασον τὸ πιττάκιον χαλβάνιν καὶ δύνοντος τοῦ ἡλίου δῆσον εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν θύραν καὶ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας τούσδε [signs].

1.1.5. Florence, BML cod. Plut. 7.19 (s. XIV), f. 195r

ἄλλως. γράψον ‘εξη φορε’ καὶ θυμίασον τὸ πιττάκιον χαλβάνη καὶ δύνοντος τοῦ ἡλίου δῆσον αὐτὸ εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν θύραν καὶ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας [signs]

1.1.6. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2091 (s. XV-XVI), ff. 51v-52r

ἄλλο. γράψον ‘εξη φορε’ καὶ θυμίασον τὸ πιττάκιον χαλβάνη | καὶ δύνοντος τοῦ ἡλίου δῆσον αὐτὸ εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν θύραν καὶ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας. [om. cod.]

meter, nearly dactylic hexameter

1.1.7. *Hippiatrica Parisina* 980 ed. Oder-Hoppe (Heim 1893 no. 135)

πρὸς λύκον τὸ πάθος ζώων. ἵνα πρῶτος ὀρῶν τις αὐτόθι εἶπη ‘οὐκ ἔλαθες, λύκος εἶ καὶ δάκη(ς) τὸν τόπον τοῦτον’ τρίτον, καὶ καθάπαξ δακέτω.

αὐτόθι *corr.* Oder-Hoppe : αυτοσι *cod.* : οὕτωςὶ *Radermacher ap. Heim* || 2 δάκη(ς) *supplevi* | ‘οὐκ ἔλαθες ... δακέτω’ *div. Heim, cf. Oder-Hoppe* ‘... λύκος εἶ.’ καὶ <ταῦτα> ‘δάκη τὸν τόπον τοῦτον τρίτον, καὶ καθάπαξ δακέτω.’

1.1.8. *Hippiatrica Parisina* 20 ed. Oder-Hoppe (Heim 1893 no. 206)

πρὸς πᾶσαν μᾶλιν. ‘μὴ ῥήξης τὸ κτῆνος τοῦτο σαρρα μαρρα καμετριξ.’ λύχνον τὸ λεγόμενον μελάμπυρον ἀλήσας καὶ καθαρῶ κοσκίνω σήσας κοχλιάρια τρία εἰς ὕδωρ, εἰς σκεῦος χαλκοῦν βαλὼν τῇ ἐξῆς δίδου διὰ ῥινῶν.

Ἰ ‘σαρρα ... καμετριξ’ *div. Heim*

Greek in Latin recipe, perhaps “ἵππου χήλη, σοὶ λέγω, medicalis. medes [l. mederis] interim.” (Heim classes with the ‘Ephesia grammata’)

1.1.9. Leiden, cod. VLQ 9 (s. VI), f. 104r, §198, ed. Piechotta 1887, xiii (Heim 1893 no. 222)

ad orfū equi. scribis in dextra ungue pedis prioris ipsius de sinistra manu nomen cuiuslibet, ‘yprocalis sy lego medicalis medis interim.’

Ἰ manu in ungue *cod.*

equation of object to be protected (grain) with the body of Christ, inscribed on ostrakon and deposited in the granary; against grubs

1.1.10. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2219 (s. XV), f. 67r-v

σκώληκας ἐν ὀρείῳ ποιήσεις μὴ γενέσθαι εἰ γράψεις μετὰ μαχαίρας εἰς ὄστρακον οὕτως ‘σῶμα κυρίου οὐ διατέμνετε πώποτε οὐδὲ ἔδεσθε τοῦτο, σκώληκες σι|τοφυεῖς.’ εἶτα θές τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄστρακον εἰς τὸ ὀρεῖον τὸ ἔχον τὸν σῖτον καὶ ἔως οὗ ἐν αὐτῷ κεῖται, ἀσινῆς ὁ σῖτος τηρηθήσεται.

assimilation to classical myth, Proserpina (uva as swelling in throat ~ pomegranate?)

1.1.11. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 1.19 (cod. p. 207 bottom margin, ed. Önnersfors 2006, 1:24; Heim 1893, 557)

uuae praecantatio. manu inuersa dicis et capillos superducis et dicis ‘uuae regina Orci filia adiuro te per inferos et per superos ut tuo loco tu redeas.’

for fever

1.1.12. ‘unidentified green stone’ now in Hildesheim (Pelizäus Museum), ed. Bonner 1950 no. 111. On one side, representations of seven birds and inscription (A); on the bevel, running across the four faces clockwise and inward from the top, inscription (B). On the other side, seven lines of magical words (C: omitted here). Line breaks added from photograph.

A ιβι | αβι | βι | ο | βη

B ὄλεθρον | καὶ πυρήθηο | ν φύγε ἀπ | ὀ τοῦ φοροῦν | το(ς) τὸ φ | υλακτήρι | ον τ | ουτο.

B.2-3 l. πυρέτιον : πύρηθρον *Bonner* || 4-5 *corr. Bonner* : φορουντοφ *amulet*

animal similes

1.1.13. lead medallion, purchased at Constantinople (Schlumberger), ed. Schlumberger 1892, 79 no. 5 (no text; some suggestions toward readings in the revised version of the article, 1895, 124). On one side, holy-rider lancing bound demon, inscription around the edge, from lower left (A); on the other side an inscription much obliterated (B), S. likewise gives no text but can discern ἔλαφος. Drexler’s attempt (1899, 598) to find a form of ὑστέρα in B does not convince. The object is catalogued in Spier 1993 no. 16 only as “blundered ‘hystera’ formula” and “illegible inscription.” [I note also two mentioned without text in Spier 1993 no. 17 and 18 as “nearly identical” to this object: no. 17 a lead medallion from the collection of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople, now in St. Petersburg (Hermitage inv. ω-1161); 2) lead medallion, private collection once in Constantinople (P. Khirlanghidj), ed. S. Pétridès *Échos d’Orient* 9 (1906), 214-215 with drawing; no. 18 where the inscription can be read but yields only nonsense, and many of the characters resemble magical signs more than Greek letters; I omit a transcription here (none in ed. pr.). On one side, the holy rider and demon, around which an inscription (A); on the other, possibly the Medusa head, around which another inscription (B).]

A ὅς ὁ ὄνος, κύνι(σ)κος, ἔλαφ(ος), ἀμνός, κ(αὶ) [ἵππ]ος.

B † φύγε [..] ελυ τιπλας ὅς ἔλαφος κ(ς)

A ελαφο *amulet*

with redirection; for ρόξυγκα

1.1.14. reported from contemporary Kastrianika (Kythera), I.P. Photios in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

‘φύγα ρόξυγκα ᾽πὸ μένα | κι’ ἄμε ᾽ς τὴν ἀγγαστρωμένη | ποῦ ᾽χει καὶ πολλὰ παιδιὰ | καὶ μεγάλη παραστία.’

for hiccough

1.1.15. reported from contemporary Zakynthos, Klade 1957, 553

‘λούγγα λούγγα φύγα ἀπὸ ᾽δῶ, | πάρε τὸ βελέσι σου, | πηαῖνέ το τσῆ νύφης σου, | πάρε τὸ τζιποῦνι σου, | πηαῖνέ το τσῆ νύφης σου, | πάρε τὰ σκαρτσούνια σου, | πηαῖνέ τα τσῆ νύφης σου.’

1.1.16. reported from contemporary Naxos, Emellos 1962, 186

‘τίποτά ’χα κ’ ἤχασα, | τίποτά ’χα κ’ ἤχασα, | τίποτά ’χα κ’ ἤχασα, | ὅ τι κι ἂν εἶσαι, νὰ χαθῆς | νὰ στραφῆς | καὶ νὰ μὴ ’ξαναφανερωθῆς.’

meter (trochaic, stress-based); with offering of salt; to calm the sea off Cape Lingetta

1.1.17. reported from contemporary Epirus, Koukoules 1948 2:276

‘νὰ Λιγγέττα τὸ ψωμὶ καὶ δό μας τὸ ταξίδι.’

1.2. the μήτρα type (also threats, magical words, exorcistic language)

1.2.1. *simple*

1.2.1.1. jasper intaglio in private collection (M. Baelen), purchased in Damascus, ed. A.A. Barb in id. and Griffith 1959, 369 with photograph of a cast. On one side, “[une] femme accroupie. Au dessous d’elle, un quadrupède est étendu sur le dos, ithyphallique, et la femme est sur le point d’être pénétrée par lui” (descr. Seyrig ap. Barb); the other side inscribed:

στάθητ | ι μήτρα.

1.2.1.2. hematite now in London (British Museum), ed. Michel 2001 no. 351 (repr. Michel 2004 no. 54.1.b). On one side, uterine symbol; on the other, five lines of an inscription, and a sixth continued onto the bevel:

ορωρι | ουθ ιαηω | ιαω σαβαωθ | ιαω αιβοθ | στάθητι | μήτρα.

1.2.1.3. hematite now in Berlin (Ägyptischen Museum inv. 15430), purchased in Frankfurt in 1897, ed. Philipp 1986 no. 184 with photograph (maj. tr., repr. Michel, 2004 no. 54.4.c). On one side, magical formula; on the other, uterine symbol with encircling inscription; magic words also on the edge. The text around the uterine symbol only:

ορωριουθ ιαω σαβαωθ στάλητι μήτρα.

1.2.1.4. hematite now in Cambridge (Harvard University, Sackler acc. 1983.26), ed. Michel 2004 no. 54.4.b with majuscule tr.; my own from plate (Taf. 71.2): on one side, representation of womb and Egyptian divinities; on the other succession of magic words in spiral clockwise and inwards from top and continued on the edge

ορωριουθ ιαω σαβαωθ κκκ ζοραθηωθολβιαχ ιαεαιηα εβαρωθερρεθωραβε | ανισμεα στάλητι μήτρα

1.2.1.5. jasper now in Athens (National Museum coll. Dimitriou inv. 3148), ed. A. Delatte, *Le Musée Belge* 18 (1914), 75-76 no. 33 (maj. tr., no ph.). On one side, kynokephalos, a goddess, perhaps Isis, Bes, and the seven vowels (A); the other side inscribed (B).

A αηιου | ω

B ορωριουθ | αηω ιαω σαβα | ωθ υυζ ιαω | ιαεβοθοροθη | μυθολβιαχθια | αεμειναεβαρρ | ωθερρεθωρα | βεανειεμεα | στάλητι μή | τρα.

1.2.2. *with threat*

1.2.2.1. hematite, ed. Barry 1906, 246 with plate (text repr. Michel, 2004 no. 54.3, identifying Seth and the uterus; on the other side, Anubis, Cnoubis, and Isis; ignorant of Delatte); Delatte 1914, 80 first suggests that a version of this formula underlies the garbled transcript in the ed. pr., an identification accepted by Bonner (1950, 84); along these lines I present a new reading based on the published plate. On one side, as can be seen in the published plate, a donkey-headed figure (Seth; Anubis, ed.pr.) with scepter standing above the locked uterus symbol, and an inscription around the edge clockwise from top in two

concentric circles. On the other, an ouroboros and “Thouêris, un serpent à tête de lion, un personnage coiffé de rayons” and the same rectangular sign. The inscription should be read from outside in, not inside out, as ed.pr. Mentioned in Faraone 2009, 249, and Jordan 1991, 345n11, no comment on new readings.

στάλητι μήτρα μή σε Τυφῶν κ|αταλάβη. σορωριουθ.

ΑΤΑΛΑΣΗΣΟΡΩΡΙΟΥΘ | ΣΙΜΗΤΙΜΗΓΑΜΓΙΣΕΤΥΦΩΝ ed.pr., στάλητι μήτρα ...
Σε(τ) Τυφῶν Delatte
[[check against published image]]

meter (iambic trimeter), see Faraone 2009, 249

1.2.2.2. hematite in the Princeton (University Art Museum), ed. Bonner 1950 no. 140; repr. Forbes 1978, 149-152 with photograph; cf. Michel 2004 no. 54.4.c. Uterine symbol surrounded by inscription around the edge clockwise from top:
ορωριουθ σαβαωθ στάλητι μήτρα μή σε Τυφῶν καταλάβη.

meter (iambic trimeter), see Faraone 2009, 249

1.2.2.3. fragmentary hematite now in London (British Museum), ed. Michel 2001 no. 379 with photograph (maj. tr.; repr. Michel 2004 no. 54.3). On one side, divine figures and fragments of magical logoi and the seven vowels (not reprinted here). On the other side, figure of Seth standing upon uterine symbol; around the edge, with an inscription around the edge clockwise from top, spiralling inwards; transcribed here from the published photograph.

στάλητ[ι μήτρα μή σε Τ]υφῶν κα[τα] | λάβη. [ορ]ωριουθ.

1 [Σ]ΤΑΛΗ[ΤΙ] Michel || 2 [ΟΡΩ]ΡΙΟΥΘ Michel

1.3. ants (and other pests)

1.3.1. simple

1.3.1.1. reported from contemporary Kephallenia, Pagonis 1910

‘μέρμηγκά μου κομπωτέ, | κομπωτέ και τσουμπωτέ, | από μπρόθε κομπωτέ | κι’
από πίσω τσουμπωτέ, | να πάρης την κλωσσοῦρα, | την σαρανταπουλοῦσα, | να
φύγης ἀπ’ τὸν κόπο μου, | τὴν ἀγανάκτησή μου.’

1.3.1.2. reported from contemporary Crete, Bardakes 1926, 247

‘μέρμηγκα πρωτομέρμηγκα και πρώτε τῶ μερμήγκω | πάρε τὰ μερμηγκάκια σου,
τὰ μερμηγκόπαιδά σου | κι ἄμε ’ς τὰ ὄρη ’ς τὰ βουνὰ να κάνης τὴ φωλιά σου.’

1.3.1.3. reported from contemporary Emparo (Crete), Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘μέρμηγκα πρωτομέρμηγκα, μέρμηγκα τῶ μερμήγκω, | πᾶρε τὰ γεννημένα σου και
τ’ ἀγεννητά σου κι’ ἄμε ’ς τὰ ὄρη ’ς τὰ βουνὰ να κάμης τὴ φωλιά σου, | με τὸν
ἀστιβιδόκαρπο να βγάνης τὴ χροιά σου.’

1.3.1.4. reported from contemporary Gytheio, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘μέρμηγκα, πρωτομέρμηγκα και πρωτοστρατηλάτη, | να πάρης τάσκεράκι σου, να
πᾶς σε ἄλλον κόσμο.’

1.3.2. with threat

wordplay with name of the affliction

1.3.2.1. reported from contemporary Kerkyra (Nymphai), Kavasilas 1910, 654 no. 25

‘μέρμηγκα μερμήγκισσά μου, | και μικρή βασίλισσά μου, | μη μου τρώς τόν κόπο μου, | τόν κόπο του βοιδιῶνε μου· | τι φέρνω τή κλωσσάρα μου, | τή δεκοχτωπουλούσα μου, | και σᾶς τρώει και σᾶς πνίγει, | και κανένα δὲν ἀφίνει.’

1.3.2.2. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 79
‘ὦ βασιλιά τῶν μερμηγκιῶν, | νὰ φύης πού δῶ με τὰ στατέμματά σου, | και νὰ φέρω τῆς μάυρης πούλλας | τὰ πουλιά νὰ σᾶς φάν.’

1.3.2.3. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 79
‘σήκου νὰ φύης βασιλιά, | πάρε και τὸ στρατός σου, | μη φέρω τῆς μάυρης πούλλας τὰ πουλιά | και φάσιν τὸ στρατός σου και πατός σου.’

for rodents

1.3.2.4. reported from contemporary Kos, Zarraphte 1951, 307
‘ποντικομάνες ἄξιες και πριονοδοντάτες, | πάρτε παιδιά κι ἀγγονιά σας και τὰ διαάγγονά σας | κι ἀμῆτε εἰς τὸ σπίτι του δεῖνα, ὡς τὸ πωρνὸν νὰ τρώτε | ὅ τι μπροστά σας βρίσκετε και νὰ τὰ κουβαλήτε, | μη στείλω κάττες ὅσους βρῶ και θὰ σᾶς ξεβδελλίσουν.’

3 ξεβδελλίσουν *ed. glosses as καταστρέψουν*

1.3.2.5. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 80
‘μέρμηγκα τριμέρμηγκα, | ’ς τὴν μέση τρις κομμένε, | ἄμε ’ς τὰ ὄρη ’ς τὰ βουνὰ | νὰ τρώης ξύλα και κλαδιά, | μη φέρω μαύρου κάπρου τὸ ζουμί | και νὰ σὲ κάψω, | μη φέρω τῆς μάυρης κλώσσας τὰ πουλιά | και νὰ σὲ ξελυτρώσω.’

1.3.2.6. reported from contemporary Kos, Zarraphte 1951, 307
‘μέρμηγκα πρωτομέρμηγκα και πρῶτε τῶν μερμήγκων, | συμμάζωξε τ’ ἀσκέριν σου και ’ς τὴν βοσκὴν ἀνέβα, | νὰ ’βρης ἄκαρπον δεντρί, νὰ φάης τὸν καρπὸν του, | μη βρῶ του κάπρου τὸ μαλλι και κόψω τὸν λαιμό σου.’

1.3.2.7. reported from contemporary Kos, Zarraphte 1951, 309
‘μέρμηγκα πρωτομέρμηγκα και πρῶτε τῶν μερμήγκων, | συμμάζωξε τ’ ἀσκέρι σου και σὲ βοσκὴν τὸ στέλλω, | ’ς τὸ σπίτι του δεῖνα, νὰ βοσκηθῆ και νὰ ξεραθυμήση, | νὰ κουβαλῆ ὡς τὸ πωρνὸ κι οὐλλην τὴν ἄλλην μέρα, | μη βρῶ του κάπρου τὸ μαλλι και κόψω τὸν λαιμό σου.’

1.3.2.8. reported from contemporary Kritsa (Crete), Koutoulakes 1962, 200
‘ὄρμηκα πρωτόρμηκα και πρῶτε τῶν ὀρμήκων, | πᾶρε τὰ κουφά σου, τὰ γερά σου, | και τὰ μονοπάδουρά σου, | τὰ ξεπουλιασμένα σου και τὰ ἀξεπούλιαστά σου. | γιατί θὰ πάω κάτω ’ς τὸ γιालὸ | νὰ πάρω δαδί, δαδόλαδο, | νὰ κάψω τὶς ἐβδομήντα δύο σου κάμερες, | νὰ ξεφληθῆ ἡ γενιά σου.’

1.3.2.9. reported from contemporary Naxos, Emellos 1962, 188
‘μερμηγκιά μερμηγκομάννα πᾶρε τ’ ἀσκέρι σου και τὸ παρασκέρι σου και σῦρε ’ς τὸ βουνὸ ’ς τὴ ρίζοβουνιά, γιὰ θὰ πάρω τὴ τζάπα μου, τὴ δικόπη τὴ τρικόπη τὴ τετρακόπη τὴ πεντακόπη τὴν ἑξακόπη τὴν ἑφτακόπη τὴν ὀχτακόπη τὴν ἐννιакόπη τὴ δεκακόπη, και θὰ σὲ χαλάσω.’

1.3.2.10. reported from contemporary Naxos, Emellos 1962, 189

‘μέρμηγκα μερμηγκότρυπα, ἀρχιστρατηγὲ τῶ μερμήγκω, νὰ πάρης τὰ στρατέματά σου καὶ νὰ φύγης, γιατί θὰ πάρω τὴν ἀξίνη μου, τὴ μονασκούλη τὴ διπλασκούλη τὴ τρισασκούλη τὴ τετρασκούλη τὴ πεντασκούλη τὴν ἑξασκούλη τὴν ἑφτασκούλη τὴν ὀχτασκούλη τὴν ἔννιασκούλη, καὶ θὰ σὲ καταστρέψω.’

1.3.2.11. reported from contemporary Naxos, Emellos 1962, 189

‘μερμηγκιὰ μερμηγκομάννα, νὰ φύγης ἀπὸ ’δῶ καὶ νὰ πᾶς ’ς τὴν ἄκρια τοῦ χωραφιοῦ, γιατί θὰ σὲ ’ξεκλονιάσω θὰ σὲ ’ξετρικομιάσω καὶ θὰ σὲ ’ξερριζώσω καὶ θὰ καταστραφῆς.’

for rodents

accompanied by the scattering of some ash (ἄθο) in the four corners of the house

1.3.2.12. reported from contemporary Crete, Bardakis 1921, 557

‘ποντικοὶ ὄρνεικοὶ θηλυκοὶ κι ἀρσενικοὶ, πάρετε τ’ ἀγέννητά σας καὶ τὰ μικρομέγαλά σας κι ἄμετε πάνω ’ς τὰ ὄρη ’ς τὰ βουνὰ νὰ τρῶτε βώλους κι ἀντριβώλους καὶ τσ’ ἀγκαραθιάς τὴ ρίζα. γιατί, ἂ δὲ φύγετε, κάθε Πέφτη καὶ Σαββάτο θὰ σᾶς λούω μὲ τὸν ἄθο.’

for rodents

1.3.2.13. reported from contemporary Kritsa (Crete), Koutoulakes 1962, 199-200

‘ἔ ποντίκι, ἔ σκαρνίτι, ἔ σκαρποποντικάλι, | πᾶρε τὰ κουφά σου, τὰ γερά σου, | καὶ τὰ μονοπάδουρά σου, | τὰ γεννημένα σου καὶ τὰ ἀγέννητά σου, | νὰ πᾶς ’ς τ’ ἄορια, ’ς τὰ βουνά, | νὰ κτίσης τὴ φωλιά σου. | γιατί θὰ πάω κάτω ’ς τὸ χαρκιᾶ | νὰ κάμω σίδερα χάλινα | νὰ χαλινώσω ποντικούς | θηλυκοὺς καὶ ἀρσενικούς.’

1.3.3. with aetiology (Kyrrillos and Perteleme as parents of ants)

1.3.3.1. reported from contemporary Cyprus, Koukoules 1928, 499

‘λίμπουρα, τριλίμπουρα τσ’ αἰ βασιλεὺς τοὺς λιμπούρους ’ς τὴν μέσην διακομμένη, ἐμήνυσαν ὁ πατέρας σου ὁ Κυρίλλος τσ’ αἰ ἡ μάννα σου ἡ Περτελεμὲ νὰ πάρης τὸ φουσσᾶτός σου νὰ πάης ’ς τὸ σπίτι τοῦ δεῖνα τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς δεῖνα, διότι ἔν νὰ καλέση τὴν ὄρνια τὴν μαύρη τὴν κλατσὲ τὴν ἐξηναπολλοῦσαν τσ’ αἰ τρώει σε τσ’ αἰ σένα τσ’ αἰ τὸ φουσσᾶτός σου.’

1.4. *assertion about the target*

color-specification motif; play with name of affliction (ἀρθρίτις ἀρθριτική)

1.4.1. *Hippiatrica Parisina* 21 ed. Oder-Hoppe; cf. Heim 1893 no. 207 on the basis of an inferior text

ἐν περιάπτω ἵππου προκαρτηρικότος ἢ πρωτοβόλου ἤτοι ἀβόλου, ὄνομα τόδε (καὶ ἦδε) χροᾶ τῆς μάλεως, ἀρθρίτις ἀρθριτική, οὐ μὴ αὐτοῦ περιγενήσεσθε, σαρρα μαρρα καμετριξ’ γράφων ἐν χάρτη περιάπτε εἰς τὸ κάπιστρον.

1 περιάπτω *corr.* Oder-Hoppe : περιπάτω *cod.* | <οῦ> ὄνομα *suppl.* Oder-Hoppe | <καὶ ἦδε> *suppl.* Oder-Hoppe || 2 περιγενήσεσθε *corr.* Oder-Hoppe : περιγενησεσθαι *cod.*

play with name of affliction

1.4.2. bronze pendant purchased in Aleppo, from the Ayvaz collection, ed. Mouterde 1942-1943, 124 no. 58 with drawing. On one side the figure of the holy rider and the ‘suffering eye,’ above which, clockwise around the edge from left, an inscription (A); on the other side, an indistinct figure which may be the cock-headed anguipede (‘un démon,’ Mouterde), above which an inscription (B). Text improved based on published drawing

along the lines suggested in Festugière 1951, 88 already makes suggestions towards improvements in a discussion of a brief mention of the text in Bonner, p. 217.

A ε[]θ(εὸς) ὁ {νικο} νικῶν <τὰ> κακά.

B [σ]τόμαχε, | ἀντιστόμαχε, | ὡς ἕμα ἔφαγε, | ὡς ἕμα ἐπίωκε | ν, οὔτ(ω) κάτω δῶ σ|η.

A ε[]σθονικονικωνακκακα *amulet* : ε(ί)ς θ(εὸς) ὁ νικόν [[ικων]] <τὰ> Mouterde || B.3-6
ωσεμα ἔφαγε | ωσεμα ἐπὶ ὤκε|ανοῦ τῆ κατωδῶσ|η (l. καταδῶσει) Mouterde : l. ὅς
αἷμα ἔφαγε, ὅς αἷμα ... δέω σε. *The form ἐπίωκεν is apparently a weak aorist of πί(ν)ω
on the analogy of the perfect πέπωκα. Bonner, p. 217 already suggests an underlying ὅς
αἷμα ἔφαγε, ὅς αἷμα ἔπιε; Festugière 1951, 88 prefers ὡς αἷμα ἔφαγες, ὡς αἷμα
ἐπίωκες, οὔτω καταδῶ σε.*

interlocking ritual practice; meter (?)

1.4.3. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2286 (s. XIV), f. 84v [medical and astrological miscellany]
περὶ συκαμίνου ἀνθρώπου ἢ κτήνους. ἀπελθὼν εἰς ὕδωρ ρέον στῆθι ἐπὶ τοῦ χεῖλους
καὶ στήσας τὸ πάσχον ἀναλαβοῦ ἄλατος κόμμα ἐν καὶ ἐπιθεῖς τῶ πάσχοντι τόπω
εἰπέ 'σοὶ λέγω συκαμινέα ἐσοχὰς ἐξοχὰς, γάλα μὴ ἀμέλγουσα, τυρὸν μὴ ποιοῦσα,
συκαμινέα φεῦγε ὡς τὸ ἄλας τοῦ ὕδατος, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ
τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος.' καὶ ρίψον τὸ ἄλας εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ διαλυομένου τούτου
ἀφανισθήσεται πάντως καὶ τὸ πάθος.

metaphor from grapes, progression from ὄμφαξ to ripe grape to dry stem; natural
phenomena; meter (dactylic in second-third clauses); rhyme; for pustules

1.4.4. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2510 (s. XIV-XV), f. 102r

πρὸς δοθιῶνας καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρακας ἤγουν μεθυστρίας. λέγε οὕτως 'ὡς ὄμφαξ ἦλθες,
ὡς σταφυλὴ ἐπεπάνθης, ὡς στύπος ἐξηράνθης.' περιστρέφον τὸ μικρὸν δάκτυλον
καὶ τὸν ἐγγύς αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἀντίχειρον τῆς ἀριστερᾶς χειρὸς ἐπίπτυσον.

1 ὡς *conieci* : το *cod.* || 2 σταπης ξεραθεντα *cod.* || 3 επιπτυσον *cod.*

1.4.5. private collection, cod. from contemporary Aitolia, Loukopolou 1938, 10

διὰ νὰ κόφης σπλήναν. γράψον εἰς ἓνα κομμάτι χαρτὶ τοὺς κάτωθεν χαρακτηῖρας
ὡς βλέπεις τὸ σχῆμα καὶ κόλλησον ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν σπλήναν μὲ μαστίχι τριμμένον εἰς
τὴν χάσιν τοῦ φεγγαριοῦ καὶ ἰᾶται. [numerical signs] 'ἐμαράνθης, ἐξηράνθης καθὼ
θὰ δάλης ὁ κόκαλος. Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ.'

3 δάλης *i.q.* ἀμπέλου *cf.* Hsch. *s.v.* δάλα || 4 κόκαλος *conieci* : κοκλαῶ *cod.*

progression of the affliction; for indigestion (ἀφαλός < ὄμφαλός)

1.4.6. reported from contemporary Aidepsia, E.D. Papanastasio in Athanasopoulos et al.
1912-1913

'ἀφαλός ἦτο σὰν αὐγὸ, | ἔπειτα ἔγινε σὰ σφονδύλι | καὶ ὕστερα ἔγινε σὰν τῆς
κόττας τὸ κῶλο | ποὺ σώνει τὰ αὐγά της.'

pointing to time of birth and baptism as models; followed by address to the target; for
erysipelas

1.4.7. reported from contemporary Kynouria, Mantzouranis 1915-1916

'ἀπότε γεννήθηκες | ἴσιαμε ποῦ βαφτίστηκες, | οὔτε πόνος ἦτανε, | οὔτε πόνος νὰ
μείνη, | καὶ θὰ σὲ κάψω κιόλα νὰ φύης.'

against anxiety (φόβος) in children. Buds and dry wood are gathered from seven hedges, which are left out under the stars the overnight with a horseshoe and the dung of an ass; then the is performed incantation with the child; then the wood is set on fire, and on the fire is placed a σάτς'ιν (tin pie pan), and on it the horseshoe and the dung and some salt; the child is made to jump three times over the fire; its hand is held over the tin, into which water is poured; if it is a person or animal that has caused the φόβος, its image appears in the tin, and in this way the child is healed.

1.4.8. reported from contemporary Cyprus, Pantelides 1909

‘εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. ἐννιά μῆνες σ’ ἐβάσταν ἢ μάνα σου μὲ φόους μὲ τρόμους μὲς’ τὴν καρκιάν της, ἐννιά μῆνες ἐπολευτευρώθηκες μὲ φόους μὲ τρόμους.’

1.4.9. Vienna, ÖNB cod. 751 (ex theol. 259) (s. IX), f. 188r (ed. Gallée 1894b, 208)

ad apes confirmandos. ‘uos estis ancillae domini, uos faciatis opera domini, adiuro uos per nomen domini ne fugiatis a filiis hominum.’

addressing the target (bee), meter; wordplay with name of target

1.4.10. Vienna, ÖNB cod. 387 (s. IX), f. 2r, ed. Haupt 1871, 35-37

‘apis modicula mater matricula altum uolens acuta impugnans stans naturale in spiritu sancto. apis modicula mater matricula, quae ceram candidam facis et lumen ueritatis ante dominum portas. apes uos adiuro per angelos maiestatis, ut non habeatis licentiam comeatum extra limen fugere. aios sanctus Lucas, sanctus Marcus, sanctus Matthaëus, sanctus Iohannes uos custodiant. aios aios aios.’

2 quae corr. Haupt : qui cod. | ueritatis conī. Haupt : ueracis cod. || 3 portacis cod. a.c. || 5 aios aios aios in marg. add. cod.

recounting historiola to the affliction, concerning it, with dialogue

1.4.11. lead tablet found near Tragurium, ed. K. Zangemeister in *CIL* III.2, p. 961 with drawing (supersedes editions there cited); repr. Wunsch 1912 no. 7. Inscribed on both sides, two nail holes at upper left and upper right corners (right corners missing). Ed. in *CIL* omits the first line, where from the drawing I provide a tentative reading (cf. the proposal of Ljubic in ed. pr., which Z. rejects in app.cr.). Dated to sixth century in *CIL*. Lines 1-15 are on one side, 16-23 on the other.

† ut secu(m) portent. | † in nom(ine) d(omi)ni Ieso Cri[s] | ti denontio tibi inmon | dissime spirete Tarta | ruce quem angelus Gabriel | de catenis igneis religau[it], | qui habet dece(m) milia barbar[a]. | post resurrectione(m) uinist[i] | in Galilea(m), ibi te ordinauit u[t] | siluestria loca et colla montia op | teneres \uti ne hominebus [m]inaręs/ aut tu ne demum ore | grandene(m) ne inuocares. uede ergo | inmondissime spirete Tartaruce | ubiconqua nomen d(omi)ni audiue | res uel scriptura(m) cognoueres non p[os|sis] ubi uelles nocere | [pro]inde habites Iorđanis fluuio | quem transisse non potuisti. | [r]equesitus quare transire non | potuisti, dixisti quia ibi ignis | aranea ignifera corret, et ubi | conqua semper tibi ignis aranea | ignefera corrat. denontio tibi | per domino meum, caue te. †††

2 nom̄ dn̄i tablet || 2-3 l. Christi || 3 l. denuntio || 3-4 l. immundissime || 4 l. spirite || 4-5 l. Tartarouche (Ταρταροῦχε) || 6 religa[uit] *CIL*, u apparet in imagine || 7 l. habes | barbar[a] *supplevi* || 8 [po]st resurrecti[o]ne(m) *CIL*, sed cf. imaginem | 1. uenisti || 9 collamontia *CIL* || 10-11 l. obtineres : opteneris *CIL* || 11 l. hominibus | 1. minareris :

om. *CIL* | tu ne demum : tun[c d]emum *CIL*, sed cf. *imaginem* || 12 l. grandinem | inuoc[e]res *CIL*, sed cf. *imaginem* | l. uade | ue[de] erg[o] *CIL*, sed cf. *imaginem* || 13 l. immundissime spirite Tartarouche || 14 l. ubicumque | dñi tablet || 14-15 l. audieris : audieris *CIL* || 15 sc[ri]p[tu]ra⟨m⟩ *CIL*, sed cf. *imaginem* | l. cognoueris | cognoueris *CIL* || 16 uellis *CIL* || 17 l. proinde : [ina]nte *CIL* | habias *CIL* | I[orda]nis *CIL* || 18 trans[si]re *CIL* || 19 l. requisitus || 21 a ganea *CIL* | l. curset || 21-22 l. ubicumque || 22 [a ga]nea *CIL* || 23 l. ignifera curset | l. denuntio || 24 l. dominum

combination of mythical references from classical and Egyptian sources: ‘you have swallowed an eye of the Gorgon and a bone of Seth son of Osiris, cf. e.g. *Pap.Graec. Mag.* P XIV.12-15 (incantation in which the practitioner claims to be bearing the ταφή of Osiris) and *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.643-651 (incantation over a cup of wine, in erotic magic, in which it is claimed that the wine is wine and is also not wine but rather the head of Athena and innards of Osiris and Iao, σὺ εἶ οἶνος, οὐκ εἶ οἶνος, ἀλλὰ τὰ σπλά[γ]χνα τοῦ Ὀσίρεως, | τὰ σπλάγγνα τοῦ Ιαω, 645-646); on metal called the ὀστέα of Horus and Typhon, cf. Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 376b4-5 ἔτι τὴν σιδηρῆτιν λίθον ὀστέον Ὕρου, Τυφῶνος δὲ τὸν σίδηρον, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Μανεθῶς, καλοῦσιν.

1.4.12. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Barocci 216 (s. XI?), f. 5r

ἄλλο πρὸς ὀστέον καταπότιον. ‘κατέπιες Γοργόνης ὀφθαλμὸν καὶ ὀστέον Σήθιδος τοῦ Ὀσίριος ἔχεις ἐν τῷ βρόχῳ· ἢ κατάπιε ἢ ἔκβαλε.’

1̄ κατεπισε *cod.* || 1-2 σιπιδοστουτοσειροσχεις *cod.*

1.4.13. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2244 (s. XV), f. 116v

ὄμοιον πρὸς ὀστέον καταπότιον. ‘κατέπιες Γοργόνης ὀφθαλμὸν καὶ ὀστέον Σήθιδος τοῦ Ὀσίριος ἔχεις ἐν τῷ βρόχῳ· ἢ κατάπιε ἢ ἔκβαλε.’

1̄-2 Σήθιδος τοῦ Ὀσίριος *coniecti* : σιπιδος τουτοσειριοσχης *cod.*, for Σήθιδος *pro* Σήθου *cf.* Ὀσιριδ- *pro* Ὀσιρι-, LSJ *s.v.* Ὀσιρις, add *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XII.149.

procedure for making an amulet with periwinkle, incantation with absurd historiola, wordplay on name (*peruinca*); second historiola with internal reference to incantation; followed by long sequence of adjurations of the plant, omitted here, closing with instructions to gather the plant and carry it in blessed wax.

1.4.14. London, BL cod. Add. 17527 (s. XV), f. 17v, ed. Priebisch 1894, 19

1. hic est de peruinca. in prima luna cum aduesperascit accipe parum auri et aliquantum argenti et crustam panis tritaci ad mensuram digiti et parum salis addis et omnia subpone et dimitte iacere sub radice peruincae et ueniens ad eam ante ortum solis dices

2. ‘in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen. o peruinca, patrem et matrem occidisti, Romam ambulasti, pacatum delesti et portas intrasti, per ostium exiisti. propter hoc tibi dico ut uincas omnes homines, clericos et laicos, potestates masculinas et femininas, et cum ueniam ad palatium, omnes sint mihi placiti qui mihi nocere uolunt. quamdiu te mecum portauero, semper me ament omnes homines et feminae ante et retro. uincas etiam omnes inimicos meos mihi mala uolentes, uincasque potestates masculinas et femininas et omnes gentes et totum orbem terrarum. uincas indices et omnes characteres, uincas et omnes homines, uiros et mulieres, malum indicentes et malum dominum et malam dominam.

3. ‘super ripam riui sorores sedebant, peruincam manibus tenebant, carmina reuoluebant, sed nesciebant prae mala domina quam habebant. tunc superuenit sancta Maria et dixit “super ripam riui tres sorores sedent.” respondit una “peruincam sedentes manibus tenemus, carminare eam nescimus.” tunc sancta Maria respiciens uidet Iesum stantem et

dixit “Iesus fili carissime, hanc peruincam mihi carmina.” Iesus Christus ut audiuit, dextera sua manu benedixit, dextero suo pede calcauit, dextera sua manu signauit, dextera sua manu benedixit, dextero pede calcauit et dixit ‘o peruinca benedicta sis super omnes herbas, sis hoc carmine carminata, ut ad omnes res faciendas sis bona. si quis te in nomine meo portauerit, sit securus in omnibus locis ubicumque ambulauerit.’”

1 aduesperascit *conieci* : aduesperem stit *cod.* || 3 dicens *cod.* || 8 amant *cod.* || 9 uolentibus *cod.* || 10 uincas indices *conieci* : uinca ideodicis *cod.* || 15 sendens *cod.*

narrative of (saint?) Phileas

1.4.15. Alexander of Tralles 2, p. 585 (Heim 1893 no. 167, also cited in part at no. 88) ἄλλο πρὸς ποδάγραν καὶ πᾶν ῥεῦμα. ἱερὰν βοτάνην ἣτις ἐστὶν ὑοσκύαμος, Σελήνης οὔσης ἐν ὑδροχόῳ ἢ ἰχθύσι περιορύξας τὴν βοτάνην πρὶν ἢ δῦναι τὸν ἥλιον, μὴ ἀψάμενος τῆς ῥίζης, ὀρύξας αὐτοῖς τοῖς δύο δακτύλοις τῆς ἀριστερᾶς χειρὸς, τῷ ἀντίχειρι καὶ τῷ ἰατρικῷ δακτύλῳ, λέγε ‘λέγω σοι, λέγω σοι ἱερὰ βοτάνη, αὔριον καλῶ σε εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Φιλεᾶ, ἵνα στήσης τὸ ῥεῦμα τῶν ποδῶν καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦδε ἢ τῆσδε. ἀλλ’ ὀρκίζω σε τὸ ὄνομα τὸ μέγα Ἰαωθ Σαβωθ, ὁ θεὸς ὁ στηρίξας τὴν γῆν καὶ στήσας τὴν θάλατταν ῥεόντων ποταμῶν πλεοναζόντων, ὁ ξηράνας τὴν του Λωτ γυναῖκα καὶ ποιήσας αὐτὴν ἀλατίνην. λαβὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς μητρὸς σου γῆς καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς καὶ ξήρανον τὸ ῥεῦμα τῶν ποδῶν ἢ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦδε ἢ τῆσδε.’ καὶ τῆ αὔριον πρὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆς λαβὼν ὅστέον οἰουδήποτε ζῶου ἀποθανόντος, ὀρύξας αὐτὴν τούτῳ τῷ ὀστέῳ καὶ λαβὼν τὴν ῥίζαν λέγε ‘ὀρκίζω σε κατὰ τῶν ἀγίων ὀνομάτων Ἰαωθ Σαβαωθ Ἀδωναὶ Ελωι.’ καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὴν βάλε ἐν τῇ ῥίζῃ μίαν δράκα ἀλῶν λέγων ‘ὡς οἱ ἄλλες οὔτοι οὐκ αὔξονται, μηδὲ τὸ πάθος τοῦδε ἢ τῆσδε.’ καὶ λαβὼν τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥίζης περῖαπτε τῷ πάσχοντι φυλάττων ἄβροχον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν κρέμα ἐπάνω τῆς ἐσχάρας ἡμέρας τριακοσίας ἐξήκοντα.

obscure assertion, followed by historiola on Christian theme

1.4.16. Vienna, ÖNB cod. 751 (ex theol. 259) (s. IX), no folio ref., ed. Grimm 1854, 1183 ad uermes occidendos. ‘uerbena dei gratia plena, tu habes triginta quinque indices et triginta quinque medicinas. quando dominus ascendit ad caelos, ascendit memorare quod dixit.’

1 feruina *cod.*

1.5. with added exorcistic language

1.5.1. gold lamella found near Beirut, s. I BC-I AD, now in Paris, BnF Cabinet des Médailles coll. Froehner 287, ed. *GMA* 51 (supersedes previous editions). Inscribed on both sides by pricking. The text has been copied from a formulary but apparently not been fully personalized: as Kotansky suggests, ἴψα / ἴψη are transliterations of Latin *ipsa*, as a placeholder for the name of the patient and her mother.

ἐξορκίζω | σε μήτρα ἴψας | ἦν ἔτεκεν ἴψα | ἵνα μήποτε κα|ταλείψης τὸν
τό|πον σου ἐπὶ τῷ ὀ|νόματι τοῦ κυ|ρίου θεοῦ ζῶν|τος ἀνεϊκίτου | μένειν ἐπὶ
τῷ || τόπῳ ἴψης | ἦν ἔτεκεν | ἴψα.

2 ἴψας *i.e.* ipsius || 3 ἴψα *i.e.* ipsa || 11 ἴψης *i.e.* ipsius || 12 ἔ(τ)εκεν *GMA*, but the cross-bar of τ can be seen on the published drawing || 13 ἴψα *i.e.* ipsa

adjuration of the womb, framed within liturgical prayer

1.5.2. St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 752 (s. IX), pp. 159-160, ed. Bernfeld 1929

‘in nomine dei patris et filii et spiritus sancti. domine deus militiae angelorum cui adstant archangeli cum magno tremore dicentes “sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus Sabaoth,” uide infirmitatem fragilitatis nostrae, attende facturam naturae nostrae, et opus manuum tuarum ne despicias. tu enim fecisti nos et non ipsi nos. compesce matricem famulae tuae N et sana contritiones eius quia commota est. coniuro te matrix per sanctam trinitatem ut sine aliqua molestia redeas ad locum tuum et inde te non moueas neque declines, sed sine iracundia reuertaris ad locum ubi deus te condidit. coniuro te matrix per nouem ordines angelorum et per omnes uirtutes caelorum ut cum omni mansuetudine et tranquillitate reuertaris in locum tuum et non inde te moueas neque aliquam molestiam huic famulae dei N inferas. | coniuro te matrix per patriarchas et prophetas et per omnes apostolos Christi, per martyres et confessores atque uirgines et omnes sanctos dei ut non noceas huic famulae dei N. coniuro te per dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum, qui siccis pedibus super mare ambulauit, infirmos curauit, demones effugauit, mortuos suscitauit; cuius sanguine redempti, cuius uulnere curati, cuius liuore sumus sanati; per ipsum te coniuro ut non noceas huic famulae dei N, ut non caput eius teneas, non collum, non guttur, non pectus, non aures, non dentes, non oculos, non nares, non scapulas, non brachia, non manus, non cor, non stomachum, non hepar, non splen, non renes, non dorsum, non latus, non artus, non umbilicum, non uiscera, non uesicam, non femora, non tibias, non talones, non pedes, non ungues teneas, sed quietam pauses in loco quem tibi deus delegit, ut sana sit haec ancilla dei N; quod ipse praestare dignetur qui unus in trinitate et trinus in unitate uiuit et regnat deus, per omnia saecula saeculorum, amen.

$\overline{\text{I a}} \backslash \text{d} / \text{stant cod.}$

exorcism of the heart (καρδία), reminiscent of that addressed to the womb

1.5.3. Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 210 (s. XVIII), f. 59r-v, ed. Delatte 1927, 112-113

φυλακτήριον εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου. ἔν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἐξορκίζω σε καρδία εἰς τὸ λουτρὸν καὶ βάπτισμα | τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὀρκίζω σε καρδία εἰς τὸν παθόντα καὶ ταφέντα καὶ ῥαπισθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετραρχοῦντος. ὀρκίζω σε καρδία κατὰ τὴν Ἱερουσαλημ, ὀρκίζω σε καρδία κατὰ τοῦ καταβάντος εἰς τὰ κατώτερα τοῦ Ἄιδου καὶ διαρρήξαντος τοὺς ἀδαμαντίνους μοχλοῦς· κατ’ ἐκεῖνον σε ὀρκίζω καρδία, μὴν τρομάξης, μὴν φοβηθῆς, μὴ ἐπὶ ὀμμάτων βάρος ἐπενέγκῃς μηδ’ ἐπὶ κροτάφους τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. ὀρκίζω σε καρδία εἰς τὸ ἀκοίμητον ὄνομα, κάθου εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον· μὴν παρακινήσης, μὴν ἀποκτεῖσης τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα τὸν φοροῦντα τὸ φυλακτήριον τοῦτον, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἀμήν, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.’

$\overline{7}$ ἀκήμητον *cod.* : ἀτίμητον *Delatte*

1.6. *qualification with epithets: hystera type (in some cases, second person performatives; dramatic form, questions)*

1.6.1. *simple*

1.6.1.1. lead pendant amulet in private collection, ed. Spier 1993 no. 28 with photograph (no further information given). On one side, stylized Medusa head, around which an inscription (A), retrograde, counterclockwise from top; on the other, orant figure, around the edge and inscription (B), retrograde, counterclockwise from top.

A † ύστέρα μελανή μελανομένη.
B ή παναγήα θεοτόκος, άγιοσήνη

Α ΜΕΛΑΝΟΜΕΝΕ *Spier* || B l. άγιοσύνη : ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑ – ΑΓΙΟΣΗΟΝ *Spier*

1.6.1.2. hematite found in excavations at the church of St. John at Ephesos (now Selçuk Museum inv. 2105), ed. Langmann 1973 photograph; *Spier* 1993 no. 55. On one side, standing angel with legend over left and right wings (A); on the other, Medusa head with inscription between the snakes, downward and clockwise from top (B: uneven distribution of lines within inter-snake spaces: lines 1-3, 4-5, 6, 7-8, 9-10, 11, 12).

A ό άρχ(άγγελος) | Μιχ(αηλ)

B (ύ)στέ|ρα με|λα|νή κ|αί | με|με|λα|νο|μέ|ν|η

Α.1 αρ[×] *amulet* || μι[×] *amulet* || B.1 στε *amulet*

with altered epithet

1.6.1.3. reported from contemporary Aidepsia, Papanastasiou 1912-1914, 45 no. 4

‘άστερα άνεμοάστερα, | άστερα βροντάστερα, | έβγα πϋρ, | έμβα δρόσο.’

1.6.2. *binding*

1.6.2.1. reported from contemporary Kιrourio, Koukoules 1926, 103 and id. 1928, 476 ‘άστερα μελανέ, πήγαινε ’ς τὰ άγρια θηρία εις τ’ άκαρπα δένδρα εις τὰς έρήμους και εις τὰ όρη νὰ κατοικήσης. δια τούτό σε δένω τὰ τέσσαρα στόματα τῆ δυνάμει του ζωοποιοϋ σταυροϋ.’

1.6.3. *animal similes*

1.6.3.1. lead pendant in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, ed. *Spier* 1993 no. 2 (no photograph or inventory information provided). On one side, Medusa head; the other inscribed

ύστέ|ρα] μελανή μελανομένη ός όφης ήλή(ε)[σ]ε κέ ός δ[ρά]κον σ[υρίζις]

ήλησ[]ε *amulet according to maj. tr. of Spier* | σ[υρίζις], l. συρίζεις : σ... *Spier*

1.6.3.2. lead pendant in St. Petersburg (Hermitage inv. ω-198), from private collection (Noury-Bey), ed. Zaleskaia 1976, 244 no. 1 (repr. *Spier* 1993 no. 1 with photograph). On one side, Medusa head; on the other, an inscription, the seventh line in smaller letters and curved to fit in the small remaining space at the bottom of the face.

[] ύστέ|ρα μελαν|ή μελανομ|ένη ός όφης | ήλίεσε κέ | ός δράκον | συρίζις)

Ι *perhaps* [†] || 7 συρίζι *amulet* : συρίζ[εις] *Zaleskaia*

1.6.3.3. bronze medallion with polychrome enamel decoration, purchased in Italy in 1874, now in Paris (Louvre inv. OA 6276), ed. Froehner 1884, 42-43; cf. Schlumberger 1892, 91; *Spier* 1993 no. 37 with drawing. On one side, Medusa figure, around which an inscription (A); the other side inscribed in the field (B).

A † άγιος άγιος άγιος κ(ύριο)ς σαβαωθ, πλήρης ό ούρανός.

B ύστέρα με|λανή μελανο|μένη ώς όφης | ήλίεσε και ώς | δρά{ρ}κον συρί|ζις
θγκνθβ|θωθζρ

A ο αηρης *Froehner* || B.2-3 l. μελανωμένη || 3 l. ὄφεις || 4 l. εἰλύεσαι || 5 δρά(ρ)κον (l. δράκων) : δράκον *edd.* || 5-6 l. συρίζεις || 6-7 ος κηοβ οωοζρ *Spier, whose suggestion of an underlying πρόβατον seems unlikely; the letters are part of a magical logos inserted in place of the expected continuation of the formula.*

1.6.3.4. lead medallion found in excavations at the site of the church of St. Polyeuktos, Constantinople (museum inv. 8035), ed. Harrison 1986 no. 621 with photograph (unarticulated majuscules only, which I do not reprint here; noted as an addendum in Spier 1993, 62, no text or illustration). On one side, holy rider, around which an inscription (A), retrograde; on the other side, Medusa head, around which an inscription, retrograde (B).

A † ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος Σαββα[ωθ] βο[ή]θη
B † ὅς ὄ[φ]ις ἠλήεσε, ὁ[ς] λέων ὀρύη(σ)ε

Β ορυηε *amulet, l. ὠρύεσαι*

1.6.3.5. lead pendant in private collection, said to be from Asia Minor, ed. Spier 1993 no. 3 (no photograph and no further information). On one side, Medusa head; the other inscribed:

ύστέρα μελανή μελανομένη ὀσι ὄφεις ἰλίε(σε) κ(αἰ) ὅς λέον β[ρυχᾶσε]

ἰλιεκ *amulet according to maj. tr. of Spier* | β[ρυχᾶσε], l. βρυχᾶσαι : β... *Spier*

1.6.3.6. lead pendant from the collection of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople, now in St. Petersburg (Hermitage inv. ω-634), ed. Zalesskaia 1976, 244 no. 2; repr. Spier 1993 no. 9 with photograph. On one side, Medusa head, around which an inscription (A); on the other, an inscription (B).

A † ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύρηος Σαβαοθ, πλή(ρη)ς
B † ύστ|έρα μελ|ανή μελα|νομένη ὅς | <ὄ>φης ἠλήε(σε) κ|έ ὅς λέο(ν) | β(ρ)υχ(ᾶσαι)

Α πλης *amulet* || B.5 φης *amulet* | ηληε *amulet* | βιυχ· *amulet* : β(ρ)υχ[ᾶσαι] *Zalesskaia* : ΒΙΥΧΙ *Spier*; the mark after the final letter, which most resembles a chevron, cannot be read as ι. It may have served in a general sense to indicate the incomplete state of the text, but in the absence of parallels I hesitate to treat it as an abbreviation, as if β(ρ)υχ(ᾶσαι)

1.6.3.7. agate gem set in gold medallion, in Gotha, ed. Bube 1854, 24 no. 119 (repr. Drexler 1899, 596; Spier 1993 no. 53 with photograph of impression). One side blank; on the other, Medusa head, around which

† ύστέρ(α) μελανὶ μελ(α)νομένι ὅς ὄφίς ἰλίε(σε) κ(αἰ) | ὅς δράκο(ν) συρίζ(ις) κ(αἰ) ὅς λ(έ)ο(ν)

ύστερλ *amulet* | μελνομενι *amulet* | οφιλιε *amulet* | δρακοι *amulet* | CYPIZK *amulet, l. συρίζεις* | λσο *amulet*

1.6.3.8. lead pendant in private collection, ed. Spier 1993 no. 5 (no photograph and no further information). On one side, Medusa head; the other inscribed on the face (A) and around the border (B), both retrograde.

A [ύσ]τέ[ρ]α μελα[ν]ή ὄ[φ]ις ἰλήε[ε], πρόβατ[ον] κ[η]μ(ᾶ)σ(ε).
B [κύριο]ς Σαβαοθ πλήρ(ι)ς ὁ (ού)ρανὸς [καὶ ἡ] γ(ῆ) [-]

\overline{A} [ύσ]τέ[ρ]α: τε α *Spier* | μελα[νή ώ]ς: μελα...ς *Spier* | ὄ[φι]ς: ος *Spier* | ἰλήεσ[ε]: ἰληεσ *Spier* | πρόβ[ατ]ον: ΠΡΟΡ ΑΤ (sic) *Spier* | [κ]ημ(ᾶ)σ(ε), I. κοιμᾶσαι : ημο *Spier* || B [κύριο]ς: ...ς *Spier* | πλήρ(ι)ς: πλιρς *Spier* | ὁ <οὐ>ρανός: ορανος *Spier* | [καὶ ἢ] γ(ῆ): ...γα[*Spier*

1.6.3.9. bronze medallion once in Venice (private collection, Weber), ed. Münter 1825, 103 (repr. Spier 1993 no. 39); improved text in Drexler 1899, 595-596; drawing in Kopp 1829, 331. On one side, Medusa head; the other inscribed:

† ύσ[τέρα] | μελανή με|λανομένη ός | ὄφης ἠλήεσε κ|έ ός λέον βρυ|χᾶσε κέ ός ἄρν|ός κυμᾶσε.

$\overline{2-3}$ μελαινομενη *Münter* || 5-6 βρυχεισε *Münter* || 7 κυμεισε *Münter*

1.6.3.10. bronze medallion in private collection (Dallegio), ed. V. Laurent 1936, 309-310 no. 6 with drawing. Not catalogued in Spier 1993 (but cf. 28n23). On one side, angel flanked by legend (A), around which an inscription (B); on the other, stylized Medusa head, around which another inscription.

A † Μι|χα(ηλ)

B ἄγιος ἄγιος <ᾶ>γιος <Σ>αβ(α)ον πλιρς ὁ <οὐ>ρανός κ(αὶ) ἢ γ(ῆ) τῖς δόξις

C <ύ>στέρ(α) μελανὶ μελανομένι, ός ὕφ(ις) ἰλίε(σ)ε, ό(ς) λέο(ν) βρυχᾶσε, ός ἄρνῆ(ν) <>

$\overline{A.1-2}$ μιχᾶ *amulet* || B λγιος *amulet* | αβλον *amulet* | ορανοκσις *amulet* || C ζστερλκελανι *amulet* | υφιλιεβε *amulet* | ολεορυχασε *amulet* | ἄρνῆ(ν) >: I. ἄρνιον, in fine e.g. <κοιμᾶσαι> vel <κοιμήθητι>

1.6.3.11. green jasper in private collection (W.T. Ready) said to be from Spain, first described in De Rossi 1891, 137; cf. King 1872, 47 with partial drawing; ed. Drexler 1899, 596-597; Spier 1993 no. 56. On one side, Medusa head, around which an inscription (A); on the other, scene of Anna (legend, B) holding the infant Mary (legend, C), around which a further inscription (D).

A ἄγιος ἄγιος κύριος Σαβαωθ, ωσανα ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, εὐλογημένος.

B ἢ ἁγία Ἀννα

C μή(τη)ρ θε(ο)ῦ

D † ὕστέρα μελανὴ μελανομένη, ὡς θάλατταν γαλήνη σαίνει.

\overline{C} μηρ ἠυ *amulet*

1.6.3.12. bronze pendant from a private collection, said to be from Constantinople, now in Paris (Cabinet des Médailles, coll. Schlumberger 193), ed. Spier no. 14 (no illustration; suggestion that Paris inventory information may be incorrect). On one side, Medusa head, around which an inscription (A); the other side inscribed (B).

A φ(ῶ)ς ἠλ(ί)ου

B ὕστέρα μελανὴ μελανομένη ός ὄφης .. με ηπη[ς] ός δράκον σουρήζης κ(αὶ) ός λέον βρυχᾶσε κ(αὶ) ός κάπ(ρ)ος α..ησ ητη

\overline{A} φοοσηλο *Spier* || B κ(αὶ): κ *Spier* | κάπ(ρ)ος: καπι ος *Spier*

1.6.4. with imperatives

1.6.4.1. lead pendant in private collection, ed. Spier 1993 no. 4 (no photograph and no further information). On one side, Medusa head, 'letters between serpents' (A); the other inscribed on the face (B) and around the border (C).

A [--]ιος

B [ύστ]⟨έ⟩ρα μ[ελα]ν⟨ή⟩ ὅς ὄφις [εἰ]λ⟨ύ⟩εσε ὅς πρόβατο⟨ν⟩ κημ⟨ή⟩θητι.

C [ἄγιος ἄ]γιος ἄγιος κ(ύριο)ς Σαβαοθ, π[λή]ρις [ὁ οὐρανός]

\overline{B} σρα amulet according to maj. tr. of Spier | μ[ελαν]ή: μ. ν amulet according to maj. tr. of Spier | [εἰ]λ⟨ύ⟩εσε: ... λεσε amulet according to maj. tr. of Spier | πρόβατο⟨ν⟩: ΠΡΟΡΑΤΟ (sic) amulet according to maj. tr. of Spier | κημ⟨ή⟩θητι: κημιαλ amulet according to maj. tr. of Spier || C [ἄγιος ἄ]γιος: ... γιος Spier | κ(ύριο)ς: κ. Spier | Σαβαοθ: ΣΑΡΑΟΘ (sic) amulet according to maj. tr. of Spier | π[λή]ρις [ὁ οὐρανός]: π. ρισ... Spier

1.6.4.2. green jasper now in Maastricht, Basilica of St. Servatius, ed. Froehner 1884, 44; cf. Schlumberger 1892, 90-91; Spier 1993 no. 58 with photograph. On one side, Medusa-figure, around which an inscription (A); on the other, bust of saint, around which an inscription (B).

A † ⟨ύ⟩στέρα μελανή ὅς ὄφις >

B κέ ὅς ἀρνηθόν σιγί⟨σ⟩ο⟨ν⟩.

\overline{A} †στέρα amulet : ύστέρα Froehner | ος οφιγ amulet : ως ο[Froehner, οσ οσ οφη Spier || C αψηον amulet | σιγιος amulet, l. σίγησον. This line undeciphered in Schlumberger (tr. οπισκοσοαχηστησ), Froehner discerns κε ος ... (l. καὶ ὡς), Spier tr. ηστησ αγιοσ κσ οσα with additional text 'facing bust of saint holding cross,' ο ηγι.

1.6.4.3. onyx, collection of A. Rubens, ed. Froehner 1884, 42; previously described in Chiflet 1657, 118 with Tab. XVII.70; cf. Schlumberger 1892, pp. 90-91; Heim 1892 no. 238; Spier 1993 no. 52. Medusa figure, to the left of which an inscription:

† ύστέρα | [μ]ελανή μ[ε]λ[α]νομένι, ὁ[ς] [σ] ὄφης ἠλή|εσε κ(αὶ) ὅς λέ|ον βρυχᾶσε | κέ ὅς ἀρνί|ον κυμ|οῦ.

$\overline{2-3}$ l. μελανωμένη || 3-4 l. ὡς || 4 l. ὄφις || 4-5 l. εἰλύεσαι || 5 κ/ amulet | l. ὡς || 5-6 l. λέων || 7 l. καὶ | l. ὡς || 8-9 l. κοιμοῦ

1.6.4.4. hematite, found in Przemyśl (Muzeum Narodwe Ziemi Przemyskiej inv. MP-H-1865), ed. V. Laurent 1936, 303-307 with photograph; Spier 1993 no. 57. On one side, Medusa head, and around the edge an inscription (A); on the other, orant figure with legend over left and right hands (B), around which, in two concentric registers, reading clockwise from top and inward, another inscription (C).

A † κ(ύρι)ε βο(ή)θη τὸν φορο(ῦ)ντα τὸ <>

B μ(ήτη)ρ | θ(εο)ῦ

C † ἡστέρα μελανή μελανομένη ὅς <ὄφ>ης {κ} ἠλήεσε, ὅς θάλασσα | † γαλήνησον, ὅς πρόβατον πράηνον κέ ὅς {κ} ἀρ(ν)ός <>

\overline{A} βοθη amulet | i.e. τὸ <φυλακτήριον τοῦτο> || B.1 $\overline{μρ}$ || 2 $\overline{θῦ}$ || C.1 <ὄφ>ης: φος amulet | κήλησ{σ}αι Laurent as aor. imper. of κηλέομαι || 2 γαλήνησον: νη in ligature, l. γαλήνισον : γαλήνησον Laurent | ἀρ(ν)ός: ΑΓΝΟC amulet, an easy graphic error of Γ for Ρ (s.v.l. Latin agnus) : κάτ{ν}ον Laurent, 'le (petit?) chat' | in fine e.g. <κοιμοῦ> vel <κοιμήθητι>

1.6.4.5. agate in Gotha, ed. Bube 1854, 24-25 no. 120 (repr. Drexler 1899, 596; Spier 1993 no. 54 with photograph of impression and drawing; *SGG I* 316). On one side, Medusa head, around which an inscription (A); on the other, a second inscription (B).

A † θεότοκε βοήθει τῇ σῇ δούλῃ Μαρηααμ.

B † ὑστέ(ρ)α με|λανὶ μελανο|μένη μελανὴ ὁ|ς ὄφης ἠλήεσε κ|ἐ ὅς δάρκον
συρχ|ήζης κὲ ὅς λέ|ο(ν) βυρχᾶσε κ(αὶ) ὅς | ἀρνήον κυμ|ήθητ(ι).

\overline{B} . Ἰ υστεα *amulet* || 5 l. δράκων || 5-6 l. συρίζεις || 6-7 λeo stone, l. λέων || 7 l. βρυχᾶσαι | κ, *amulet* || 8-9 κυμηθητ *amulet*, l. κοιμήθητι.

1.6.4.6. gold medallion found at Chernigov, cf. Spier 1993, 30-31 with photograph (no text, no citation of edition, cf. J. Blankoff, “À propos de la Grivna-Zméek de Cernigov,” *Studia slavico-byzantina et medievalia europensia* 1 [1989] 123-131); Heim 1893 no. 239 (inexplicably providing Greek text for the Slavonic portion). On one side, Medusa head, around which a bilingual inscription in Greek and Slavonic (the outer and inner circles, respectively: A); on the other, figure of angel, around which a bilingual inscription (B).

A † ὕσ(τ)ερα μελα(ν)ή μελανονένι ὅς ὄφλις {ι} ἠλίε(σ)ε ὅς δράκον (σ)υρήζης κὲ ὅς ἀρνίο(ν) κυμή(θ)ητι. | [*Slavonic*]

B † ἄγιος ἄγιος ἄγιος κ(ύριο)ς σαβαοθ [*Slavonic*]

\overline{A} ὙΣΓΕΡΑ *amulet* | ΜΕΛΑΙΙΙ *amulet* | ΟΙCΙΗΛΙΕΥΕ *amulet* | ΟΥΡΗΖΗC *amulet* |
ΑΡΝΙΟ *amulet* | ΚΥΜΗΗΤΙ *amulet*

1.6.4.7. lead pendant now in Toronto (Royal Ontario Museum acc. 986.181.74), described in E.D. and H.P. Maguire and M.J. Duncan-Flowers, *Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House* (Chicago 1989) no. 133 and Spier 1993 no. 20, no text given for the inscriptions. On one side, Medusa head, with letters between the snakes (Spier transcribes ΗΥΣ; if anything this should be read ΗΣΥ; perhaps ὕγη(α) in retrograde), around which an inscription (A: nothing can be read from the published photograph); on the other, the holy rider with bound demon, with another inscription around the edge, again indistinct, but apparently retrograde running counterclockwise from top (B). The end of the latter can tentatively be read as:

B [--] κυμοῦ

\overline{B} *i.e.* [ὡς πρόβατον *vel* ἀρνίον] κοιμοῦ.

1.6.4.8. lead pendant in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, ed. Spier 1993 no. 15 with photograph (no inventory information). On one side, Medusa head, around which an inscription clockwise from top (A; what Spier describes as “letters between serpents” are barely legible from the photograph and may well simply be letter-like signs of the ring type); on the other side, holy rider, above which an inscription (B), with another inscription in two concentric circles around the edge, running inward clockwise from top (C). Better readings may be possible in C, where of the 15-20 missing letters only about half are fully lost due to breakage, the rest partially obscured by surface encrustation.

A ἄγιος ἄγι[ος ἄγιος] κύριος βοήθη τῇ φορούσῃ.

B βοήθη | ὕστέρα

C ὕστέρα μελανὴ μελανομ[ένη c. 15-20] τί ὅς ὄφις ἰλίεσ(ε), τί ὅς | {τί ὅς} ταῦρος ὀρυᾶσε; ὡς πρό[β]ατον κυμή[θητι· μ]ή τις μεταλαγί.

A αγι... Spier | φορουσε (sic) Spier || B.1 βοθη Spier || 2 στερα Spier || C.1 μελανομ... Spier | ιλιεσ(ε): ιλιεσ amulet, l. ειλυεσαι : ιλιεε Spier || 1-2 Spier inexplicably divides the lines such that the second begins at the bottom of the circle || 2 l. ωρυεσαι | κυμή[θητι], l. κοιμήθητι : κυμη [] Spier | μεταλαγι, l. μεταλλαγη : μετακπ Spier

1.6.4.9. silver pendant amulet, said to be from Asia Minor, now in Oxford (Ashmolean Museum inv. 1980.5), ed. Spier 1993 no. 33 with photograph. On one side, Medusa head and other signs with legends (A-D: there is more to them than ed. pr.'s "blundered legends" implies, though the first line of A is retrograde; I do not reproduce ed. pr.'s transcription here; B-C perhaps to be read continuously, in which case l. ἄγιον), around which an inscription (E); on the other, holy rider with demon and angel, signs, around which another inscription (F).

A σφρ|αγ(ις) | Σω|<λ>ομονος

B πνῦμ|α τὸ

C ἄγιος

D πινῶ

E [c. 4] ὄνομα ἁγίου τί ὅς δράκον ἰλίου, τί ὅς λέον ὀρύου; ἀλ(λ)ὰ ὅς πρόβατον κ[οιμοῦ].

F [φε]ῦγε Αβιζου Αναβαρδαλεα, Σισινις σε διόκι (καί) ἄγγελος Αραφ [].

A.1-2 σφρ (retrograde) | αγ amulet || 2-3 an intervening cross above the head of a male figure in bust || 3-4 CΩΔΟΜΟΝΟC amulet || B.1-2 l. πνεῦμα || C below this, another character which resembles σ but is more like a magical sign, as what follows just to the right of it || D l. πεινῶ || E perhaps [εἰς τὸ] ὄνομα <τοῦ> ἁγίου <πνεύματος> or ὄνομα ἄγιο(ν) : ονομα τι χμιας Spier | τί : .. Spier | ὀρύου; ἀλ(λ)ὰ, l. ὠρύου : ορουαλα Spier | κ[οιμοῦ] : ε[Spier || F (καί): κ, amulet

1.6.4.10. bronze medallion found in Gardóny (now Székesfehérvár Museum), ed. Kádár 1962; first described in Bárány-Oberschall 1941. Dated s. XI-XII (Kádár). On one side, figure of angel with legend at right and left (A), inscribed around the edge (B); on the other, stylized Medusa head, inscribed around the edge (C).

A Μη|χα(ηλ)

B † ἄνιος ἄηος ἄγιος κ(ύριο)ς σαπασθ πλήρης ὁ οὐρανός [sign]

C † ὑστέρα μελ(αν)ομ(έν)ι ὅς λέων βρυκᾶσ(ε), κέ ὅς γυνή στυκοῦ.

A ἄνιος, l. ἄγιος : ἄγυος Kádár | κc amulet || B μελομι amulet : μελονὺ Kádár | βρυκασ amulet, l. βρυχᾶσαι | ὅς om. Kádár, l. ὡς | στυκοῦ l. στοιχοῦ : <ἐ>τυκον Kádár

1.6.4.11. silver pendant amulet said to be from Asia Minor, now in Houston (Menil Collection inv. 490.824), ed. Mango 1986 no. 93 (normalized text only, inaccurate); Spier 1993 no. 34 (maj. tr.). On one side, Medusa head, letters between the snakes (A: line breaks correspond to snakes), around which an inscription (B); on the other side, an inscription (C) around the edge, clockwise from top, is continued in the field, above and below which are a standing figure and various signs.

A ιαω | θ|ε|οῦ | <χ>ά|ρι|ς

B † ἄγι(ο)ς ἄγιος <ἄ>γιος κύρηος Σακοθ π(λ)ή(ρη)ς ὁ οὐρανός [signs]

C † ὑστέρα μελ(λαν)ή μελ(λανο)μένη, ἔμαν τρόη, ἔμαν πῆ. | † ὅς ὄφης ἠλή(ε) | σε, ὅς λέον ὀρύ(α) | σε, ὅς πρό(β)ατον | κυμοῦ, ὅς γυν(ή) >

Β ιαγς *amulet*, *the cross missing its crossbar* | γιος *amulet* | παης *amulet* || C.1 μεαση
μεασηομενη *amulet* | I. αίμα τρώγε, αίμα πίε || 2-3 ηλησσε *amulet*, I. ειλύεσαι || 3-4
ορυλσε *amulet*, I. ώρυασαι (ώρύεσαι) || 4 προρατον *amulet* || 5 γυννι *amulet*

1.6.5. *eating and drinking blood*

1.6.5.1. lead pendant in private collection, ed. Spier 1993 no. 5 with photograph (no further information). On one side, Medusa head; the other inscribed on the face
ύστε|ρα μελα|νι μελ(α)νομ|ένι δεδεμέ|νι, ξμα φά|ε πίε.

3-4 μελνομενι *amulet* || 5-6 I. αίμα φάγε

1.6.5.2. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 636 (s. XVII), f. 130v

είς ύστέραν. 'έν ονόματι του πατρός και του άγιου πνεύματος. άστέρα μελανή
μελανομένη, αίμα τρώγεις, αίμα πίνεις, (είς) αίμα είσαι άνακυλημένη. όρκίζω σε είς
τό μέγα όνομα του θεού ό είδεν ή πέτρα και ούκ έβαξεν άλλ' έρράγη, μήν φάγης μήν
πίης μήν τελέσθης είς τον δουλον του θεού όδεϊνα, άλλ' άπελθε είς τό έξώτερον.
στώμεν καλώς, στώμεν μετά φόβου θεού, άμήν. άγιοι πάντες πρεσβεύσασθε ύπερ
τον δουλον του θεού όδεϊνα.'

2 άγγιλημενη *cod.* || 3 τό *cod.*

1.6.6. *eating and drinking blood + animal similes*

to be written on dish, then dissolved in water and given to the patient to drink; for
neuralgia (τά κουλούγκα)

1.6.6.1. private collection, cod. of s. XVIII copied on contemporary Cyprus, ed.
Chatziioannou 1950, 18-19

'στέρα στέρα στέρα στερημένη | του θεού κατηραμένη, | γύρισε στέρα και
ξηράνθου | 'σαν τό φύλλον του κλημάτου, | ώς τό χόρτον του δωμάτου. | 'σαν
τον άππαρον σκαλίζεις, | 'σαν τό βόδιον μουγκαρίζεις, | γοιον τό αίμα τό λαού
θαλπίζεις | και τά μέλη του μελίζεις.'

2 άππαρον *ed. glosses* 'ππαρον *i.e.* 'ππος

1.6.7. *eating and drinking blood + offer of substitute*

1.6.7.1. Athens, cod. Bibl. Senat. 124 (s. XIX: a. 1815), f. 275v, ed. Delatte 1927, 41; cf.
CCAG X:36, cod. 20

πώς να γράφης 'αστέρα' δια μικρά παιδιά. 'αστέρα μελανή μεμελανωμένη, αίμα
τρώγεις, αίμα πίνεις, 'ς τό αίμα συντελείεσαι. φεύγε ρίγος από τον δουλον του θεού
όδεϊνα, και τάξω σοι πέντε πίνακα μέλι και πέντε πίνακα γάλα, να τρώγης και να
πίνης. φεύγε ρίγος από τον δουλον του θεού όδεϊνα, άμήν. στώμεν καλώς, στώμεν
μετά φόβου θεού, άμήν.'

1-4 'αστέρα ... άμήν' *encircled by ouroboros*

1.6.8. *three vessels*

for internal pain in children

1.6.8.1. reported from contemporary Kythera, Photios 1912-1914, 58 no. 10γ

'αστέρα μελανέ, | μελανέ μελαχρινέ, | εκεί κάτω 'ς τά βρυσάκια | έχει τρία
σκουτελλάκια | κ' είναι πίστομα γεμάτα· | τό να μέλι, τ' άλλο γάλα, | τ' άλλο του
παιδιού τ' άντέρι. | φα τό μέλι, φα τό γάλα, | κι' άφες του παιδιού τ' άντέρι.'

1.6.8.2. reported from contemporary Zakynthos, Giannopoulou-Heptanesias 1951, 269
'ἀστήρ ἀστέρα τρομερέ, | τρομερέ καὶ φοβερé, | κάτου 'ς τὸ γιαλό, κάτου 'ς τὸ
περιγιάλι | εἶναι τρία σκουτελάκια. | τὸνα μέλι, τᾶλλο γάλα, | τᾶλλο τὸ κακὸ τ'
ἀθρώπου. | πάρε μέλι, φάε γάλα, | πέτα τὸ κακὸ τ' ἀθρώπου.'

1.6.8.3. reported from contemporary Melos, Polites 1883, 18
'γαστήρ γαστέρα τρομερέ, | τρομερέ καὶ φοβερé· | κάτω 'ς τὸ γιαλό, κάτω 'ς τὸ
περιγιάλι | εἶναι τρία σκουτελάκια, | τῶνα μέλι, τᾶλλο γάλα, τᾶλλο τᾶντερα τ'
ἀθρώπου. | φάε μέλι, φάε γάλα, κι' ἄφες τᾶντερα τ' ἀθρώπου.'

1.6.8.4. private collection, Leucosia, Cyprus, cod. of s. XVIII, f. 54r, ed. Kyriakidis 1912-
1914, 384 no. 10
'στέρα στέρα μελανή | μελανή μελιδζανή, | ποῦ 'σαι 'ς τᾶντερα πλεμένη | κι' 'ς τὸ
γαῖμαν τυλιμένη, | φύε πάνω 'ς τᾶργον ὄρος | πῶχει μέλι, πῶχει γάλαν, | πῶχει
γοῦρνα μαρμαρένη, | πῶχει τὸ ἀψὸν φαρμάκιν, | νὰ τὸ φᾶ νὰ μαραθῆς, | σὰν τὰ
φύλλα τῶν δεντρῶν.'

1.6.9. *secret name*

with good housemaster, bad housemistress

1.6.9.1. London, BL Royal MS 16 C II (s. XV), f. 76r

γητεία εἰς στρόφον. σταυρῶνέ τον μετὰ μαυρομανίκου μαχαίρας ἢ μετὰ ζωναρίου
σου καὶ πάτησον καὶ διασκέλισον τὸν ἀσθενῆ. 'ἀστέρα ἀστέρα μελανή μελανομένη,
ἔσενα λέγουν μελανὸ καὶ 'γὼ σε λέγω μελανή. πέρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ στέκουν τρία
σκουτέλια, τὸ 'ν μέλι, τᾶλλο γάλα, τᾶλλο (τοῦ παιδίου τὰ ἔντερα). φᾶ τὸ μέλι, πῖε
τὸ γάλα, καὶ ἄφες τοῦ παιδίου τὰ ἔντερα, βαπτισμένον μυρισμένον οὐ δύναται
βαστά(ζειν) τὸν πόνον οὐδὲ μέρα οὐδὲ ὥρα οὐδὲ ἀπόκλημα τοῦ ἡλίου. παῦσε
ἀστέρα τὰ κρατεῖς καὶ 'γὼ τὰ γητεύω. πονηρὸς ὁ οἰκοκύρης, πονηρὰ ἡ οἰκοκύρα,
γιὰ τὸ καρβέλι τὸ ψωμί, γιὰ τὸ ποτὸν τὸ κρασί. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ
φόβου, ἀμήν.'

3 λε *cod.* | τὸ^v *cod.*, i.e. τὸ ἐν || 6 εἰς *cod.* || 7 νικοκύ^ρ *cod.* | νικοκυρα *cod.*

with good housemaster, bad housemistress; three vessels; for intestinal pain

1.6.9.2. reported from contemporary Kerkyra (Nymphai), Kavasilas 1910, 649 no. 11
'ἀστέρ' ἀστέρα μελανή, | ὅλοι σὲ λένε μελανή κ' ἐγὼ σὲ λέω ἀστέρα. | ἀπὸ τῆ μίαν
ἄκρη τούρανοῦ | 'ς τὴν ἄλλη ἄκρη τούρανοῦ | παπᾶς παπᾶν ἀπάντησε | καὶ δὲν
ἐχαιρετήθη. | ἀγαθὸς ὁ νοικοκύρης, | πονηρὴ ἡ νοικοκυρά, | φάκον ἐμαγείρευε, |
φάκον ἐξεκένωνε, | κλάδον ἔστρωνε, | λίθον ἔβανε προσκέφαλο. | πάψε πόνον τῆ
κοιλιάς. | πέρα 'ς τὸν πέρα λάκκο, | εἶναι τρία σκαφιδούλια· | τό να μέλι τᾶλλο
γάλα | τᾶλλο τοῦ παιδιοῦ τᾶντερα. | φάε τὸ μέλι, πῖε τὸ γάλα, | κι' ἄφησε τοῦ
παιδιοῦ τᾶντερα. | φάε τὸ μέλι, πῖε τὸ γάλα, | κι' ἄφησε τοῦ παιδιοῦ τᾶντερα. |
πάψε πόνον τῆ κοιλιάς.'

followed by imagined address of Hades to the target; then Christian liturgical formulae
(omitted here)

1.6.9.3. reported from contemporary Cyprus, Pharmakides 1928, 609-610

'στέρα μία καὶ μελανωμένη, αἷμαν τρώγεις, αἷμαν πίνεις, καὶ τερμὸν ἀθρώπου
παίρνεις. ὀρκίζω σε 'στέρα εἰς τὸν θρόνον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ἀσάλευτον, ὀρκίζω σε εἰς
τοὺς τέσσερας ἀρχαγγέλους Μιχαηλ Γαβριηλ Ουριηλ καὶ Ραφαηλ, εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν

Ελισαβεν τὴν μητέρα τοῦ προδρόμου. ὁ δὴσας ἐν τῷ λάκκῳ Γολγοθα ὁ Πιλάτος δύο τοῖς ληστεύσασι καὶ ἕνα τὸν ζωδότην. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Ἄιδης “ὦ λειτουργοὶ μου καὶ δύναμεις μου, ξύλον τὴν καρδίαν μου, ξυλόγχη, μὴ λόγχην μὲ ἐκέντησες, ἀφνὸν διαρρήσουμαι, τὰ αἰσθητήριά μου μὲ αἱμάσσεις, τὸ πνεῦμά μου μὲ ἀναγκάζεις, ὅστερα ἵνα ἐξέλθῃς ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα.”

1.6.10. with performative reference to binding

1.6.10.1. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316 (s. XV), f. 370v, ed. Delatte 1927, 553; perhaps also in Vienna, ÖNB cod. phil. gr. 108, (s. XV), f. 365v (mentioned at Delatte 1927, 636); cf. also Oikonomu-Agorastu 1981 no. 265

περὶ τῆς ἀστερας. γράψον εἰς μουχούρτιν μὲ τὸ μελάνιν ἄστερα μελανή, ἀστερα μελανωμένη καὶ δισμυρίων νέμων δεδημένη, αἷμα τρώγεις, αἷμα πίνεις, εἰς αἷμα συγκυλίεσαι. ἀλλὰ ὀρκίζω σε εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν θεοτόκον καὶ εἰς τοῦ ἁγίου Ζαχαρίου τὴν δρεπάνην καὶ εἰς τῆς ἁγίας Ελισαβεν τοὺς πλοκάμους μὴ ἀδικήσης τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ Ματθαῖον διὰ ὀνόματος πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος. ταῦτα γράψον καὶ λείψον μετὰ οἴνου, ἐπίσταξον καὶ ὀλίγον ἔλαιον, δὸς πιεῖν καὶ ἰᾶται.

2 (διὰ) δισμυρίων Delatte | νέμων *i.q.* νημάτων : δεσμῶν Delatte

1.6.10.2. Erlangen, UB cod. 93 (s. XVI), f. 18r, ed. CCAG VII:245-246, with photograph; cf. Koukoules 1926, 104. The text is in two parts, and though it is not accompanied by instructions, it is probable that the first part (1) was to be spoken, and the second, written (2). 1. consists of an address to the affliction (*astera*) followed by a more formal exorcism of it, then a prayer for the binding of the *astera*.

1. ἕως τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν. ἀστερα μελανή, μελανομένη αἵματος, αἷμα πίνεις καὶ καλῶν ἀνθρώπων καρδίαι παίρνεις· ἀλλὰ ὀρκίζω σε, ἀστερα, εἰς τὸν θρόνον τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀσαλεύτου, νὰ λείπῃς ἀπὸ τὸν (τὴν) δοῦλον (δούλην) τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα. ὀρκίζω σε, ἀστερα, καὶ εἰς τὰ πολυόμματα Χερουβὶμ καὶ εἰς τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα Σεραφίμ, τοὺς προϋμνεύοντας ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα ἐλλείπῃς ἀπὸ τὸν (τὴν) δοῦλον (δούλην) τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα. ὀρκίζω σε, ἀστερα, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀρχάγγελον Μιχαὴλ καὶ Γαβριὴλ καὶ Ῥαφαήλ, ἵνα ἐλλείπῃς ἀπὸ τὸν (τὴν) δοῦλον (δούλην) τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα. ὀρκίζω σε, ἀστερα, καὶ εἰς τὸν προφήτην Δανιὴλ, ὅπου ἔδεσεν ἐν τῷ λάκκῳ τὰ στόματα τῶν λεόντων διὰ προσευχῆς, καὶ (εἰς) τὸν πανάγαθον θεὸν τὸν δεσπότην φιλόανθρωπον καὶ πανάγαθον βασιλέα· δέσε καὶ χαλίνωσε αὐτὸν τὸν ἀστερα ἀπὸ τὸν (τὴν) δοῦλον (δούλην) τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ, ἀμήν ἀμήν.

2. ἕδῳ δένω καὶ ἀποδένω τὰς ἑβδομήκοντα σου ὤνυχας, ἵνα ἐλλείπῃς ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀμήν.

2 μελανέ, μελανόμενε *ed. pr.* || 13 δόνο καὶ ἀποδίνω *cod.* : δονῶ καὶ ἀποδινῶ δόνω *ed. pr.*

to be written on paper and worn; to calm a crying child

1.6.10.3. reported from contemporary Macedonia, Loukopolou 1917-1918, 100 no. 3
 ἄστερα μιλανή | μιλανή μιλανωμένη, | αἷμα τρώγεις, αἷμα πίνεις | ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα. | σὲ ὀρκίζω εἰς τὸν παντοδύναμον θεὸν καὶ δημιουργὸν τοῦ παντός νὰ μὴ ἐγγίξῃς κανὲν μέλος τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ (δεῖνα). | πῆγαινε ἕς τὰ ἄγρια

θηρία, | εἰς τ' ἄκαρπα δέντρα, | εἰς τὰς ἐρήμους καὶ εἰς τὰ ὄρη νὰ κατοικήσης· | διὰ τοῦτο σοὶ δίνω καὶ τὰ τέσσερα στόματα τῆ δυνάμει τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ.'

1.6.11. *other combinations*

fell from the sky motif; animal similes; good housemaster, bad housemistress; flight and pursuit; three vessels

1.6.11.1. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 142 (s. XIV), f. 158r; cf. Almazov 1901, 316
εἰς πόνον. 'φάλλος ἐξουράνοθεν ἐξέπεσεν καὶ ὡσεὶ κάμματος ἐκτύπησεν καὶ ὡσεὶ
λέος ἐβρυχήθη καὶ ὡς ὄφις ἐδιπλώνετο καὶ πάλιν ἀπεδιπλώνετο. κλήματα τὰ
στρώματα, λιθάριν τὸ προσκέφαλον, διὰ τὸ κομμάτιν τὸ ψώμιν καὶ διὰ τὰς χεῖρας
τὸ σακκί. φεῦγε πόνε τῶν ἐντέρων, ὁ Χριστὸς σε καταδιώκει μετὰ τὸ χρυσὸν
δεκανίκι. ὑστέρα καὶ πόνε μελανὴ μελανομένη, πέραθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τρεῖς
καρδιάρεις γεμοῦνται, τὸ ἐν μέλι καὶ ἄλλο γάλα καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ἅγιον ἔλαιον. φεῦγε
ἀπὸ τὰ ἐντερα τοῦ δούλου θεοῦ δεῖνα. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου.'

1 φαλὸς *Almazov* || 2 κάματος *Almazov* || 3 τῆς χήρας *Almazov* || 6 καρδιάρεις
γέμοντας *Almazov*

flight and pursuit motif

for internal pain; the user traces his index finger around the navel of the patient

1.6.11.2. reported from contemporary Paphos, Philippou 1914, 527 no. 1

'στέρα 'στέρα στερωμένη, | τοῦ θεοῦ καταραμένη, | τσαὶ 'ς τ'άντερα περικλωμένη,
| 'ς τὴν καρτοῦλλαν φυτεμένη, | τσαὶ μέσ' 'ς τ'άντερα πλεμένη, | ὁ Χριστὸς σὲ
κατατρέσ'ει | μὲ τὸ δεξιό του σ'έρι | τσαὶ μὲ ἀρκυρὸ μασ'αίρι, | νὰ μαραίνῃ σὰν τὰ
φύλλα τοῦ κλημάτου, | νὰ ξεραίνῃ σὰν τὰ χόρτα τοῦ δωμάτου. | σὰν τρέχουν
τ'αστηρ, σὰν τρέσ'ει τὸ φεγγάρι, | ἔτσι νὰ τρέξῃ ἡ 'στέρα νὰ πὰ 'ς τὸν τόπον της.'

1.6.12. *threat*

1.6.12.1. Thessaly, monastery of Olympiotissa, cod. 97 (s. XVIII), p. 137, ed. Skouvara
1965-1966, 94

εἰς τὸν ἀστέρα. 'εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος,
ἀμήν. ἀστέρας εἶσαι πικρὸς καὶ μεμελανωμένος καὶ ἔχεις ὀνύχια ἑκατὸν πενήτηκοντα
πέντα καὶ νὰ πού σὲ δένω ἀπὸ τὴν σήμερον ἡμέραν νὰ ἀπέχῃς ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ
θεοῦ τάδε, νὰ μὴν τὸν τρώγῃς, νὰ μὴν πίνῃς, ὅτι εἶναι βαπτισμένος μυρωμένος τοῦ
θεοῦ παραδομένος. ἄπεχε ἀπ' αὐτὸν ὅτι στέλλει ὁ κύριος ἀόρατος τὸν ἀρχάγγελον
Γαβριὴλ καὶ σὲ κατακαίει καὶ σὲ καταφλογίζει καὶ σὲ ξερριζώνει τὰ δόντια σου. δὲν
ἠμπορεῖ νὰ σὲ βαστάξῃ, νὰ σὲ ὑπομένῃ· ἀμὴ σῦρε εἰς τὰ βουνὰ εἰς τὰ ἄγρια ζῶα.
ἐκεῖ εἶναι μία μεγάλη πέτρα καὶ σῦρε ἀπὸ κάτου καὶ φάγε ἀπ' αὐτὴν· αὐτὴ σε
βαστάζει, αὐτὴ σε ὑπομένει. ἀμήν. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ, ἀμήν.'

1.7. *command with third-person jussive*

1.7.1. St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 759 (s. IX), p. 67

ad ficta. scribis in charta uerba ista 'repellat uos pater et filius et spiritus sanctus amen.'

1.8. *dramatic form, questions*

with medicinal herb; wordplay, interlocking of words in physical cure and verbal
incantation (reseda, resedare)

1.8.1. Pliny *NH* 27.131 (Heim 1893 no. 49)

circa Ariminum nota est herba quam resedam uocant. discutit collectiones

inflammationesque omnes. qui curant ea addunt haec uerba 'reseda, morbis reseda, scisne

scisne quis hic pullus egerit radices? nec caput nec pedes habeant.’ haec ter dicunt
totiensque respuunt.

questions with animal analogy (cf. *hystera* type), an affinity with the *hystera* type; for colic
1.8.2. *Antidotarium Bruxellense* §147, ed. Rose 1894, 389 (Heim 1893 no. 54)
ad strophum. dicis haec uerba ‘quid iracundiariis? quid sicut canis iactas te? quid sicut
lepus resilis? quiesce intestinum et sta crocodile.’

combined with aetiological historiola of the affliction; apotropaic list of the Apollonios of
Tyana type (cf. 2.9.2)

1.8.3. bronze pendant now in London, purchased from Rev. Greville J. Chester in 1876
(the British Museum OA.9800, formerly 56324), ed. Bonner 1951 no. 51 (superseding the
incomplete notice given in Bonner 1950 no. 217) with photograph of cast (repr. Michel
2001 no. 455 with drawing and photograph of original). On one side, nimbed female
figure with raised hands, flanked by lions, above which an inscription (A); on the other,
quadruped trampling snake, above which an inscription (B). I offer several new readings
based on the photograph of Michel.

A λιμός σε ἔσπιρε | ν, ἀήρ ἐθέρισεν, φλ | ἐψ (ς)ε κατέφαγεν. τί | ὡς λύκος μασαῖσε,
τί | ὡς κορκόδουλλος κα | ταπίννις, τί ὡς λέω | ν βρώχις, τί ὡς ταῦρ | ος κερατίζις, τί
ὡς δ | ράκων εἰλί(ε)σ(α)ι, τί ὡ | ς παρᾶος κυμαῖσε;

B ἵππος, μῦλος, | εἴβις, ἐθύϊα κο | λῆ ἀνδρός, στρουθ | οκάμηλος, Ἀπολλώ | νιος ὁ
Τοιανεύς. | Ἰουλίης θυγάτερ | Παυλίνας παύι ὁ | [βρ]ώσκειται. ηοηα | η

A.9 ειλισσι amulet || B.4-5 Ἀπόλλω | ιοσοτοιδηεὺς ed. pr. || 6 δουλιασουσατερ ed.
pr. || 7 παυλινας παυιο ed. pr. || 8 vac. ωσωη... ηο ηι ed. pr. For βρώσκω
<βιβρώσκω cf. Etym. Magn. *Kallierges* p. 452 s.v. θνήσκω || 8-9 ηοηα | η: the
characters in 8 slope downward then rise again for what is read here as α; the single
character in 9 is rotated 45 degrees to the right, similar to the first η in 8.

address to ‘wind’ (apparently as source or concomitant of colic). This object and the one
below can be identified as nearly exact duplicates, which suggests that both were executed
from the same formulary text, and that the phrase φύλαξον καὶ ἴδια is a placeholder
where the name of the bearer was originally to be filled in; this personalization has been
carried out on the other side, in both cases.

1.8.4. bronze pendant acquired at Acre, now in the British Museum (OA.1374; not in
Michel), ed. Dalton 1901 no. 555 (maj. tr.); photographs in Barb 1972 fig. 3, cf. 346n4,
and Spier 1993 pl. 6d. On one side, standing nimbed figure holding flail over kneeling
figure, and sun and moon, above which an inscription (A: line 5 continues clockwise
around the edge); the other side inscribed (B); a number of improvements over ed. pr. are
possible.

A εἷς θεὸς | ὁ νικῶν τὰ κα | κὰ Ιαω Σαβαω | ὄν Σολομων | Μιχαηλ Γαβριηλ
Ουριηλ φύλαξον καὶ ἴδια.

B ἄν(η)με ἄνη | με, (μη) γαυροῦ. {ι} τί | ὡς {λε} λέον μέν | η; τί ὡς ταῦρος |
μυκᾶσε; τί ὡς δρ | άκων εἰλίεσ(αι); ἄν | ημος ἔδησεν, ἄγγ | ελο(ς) ἔλυσεν, κύρι | ος
μάγηρα ἀπού | γισεν, σ(τρό)φος ἀκο | ύσας ἔφυγεν. | φύλαξον Βαβί | ναν ἦν ἔτηκεν |
Θεδωσία.

B.1 ANMHE amulet, l. ἄνεμε || 2 ΜΕΤΑΥΡΟΥΙ Dalton || 3-4 l. μαίνη || 6 ΕΙΛΙΕCM
amulet, l. ειλύεσαι || 6-7 l. ἄνεμος || 9 μάγηρα: ΜΑΤΗΡΑ Dalton; perhaps for

μήτραν? || 9-10 *perhaps l. ἀπου(ρ)ισεν for ἀφώρισεν or ἀπουγι(α)σεν for ἀφυγίασεν*
 ? || 10 σ(τρό)φος *supplevi* : *σφος amulet*

1.8.5. bronze pendant, unknown provenance, described in the auction catalogue Wolfe and Sternberg 1989, 63 no. 197 with photograph. On one side, standing and kneeling figures (damaged) above which an inscription (A: line 5 continues clockwise around the edge); the other side inscribed (B). I transcribe from the photograph.

A εἷς θεὸς | ὁ νικῶν τὰ κα|κὰ ἰαω Σαββαω | ὃν Σολομων | Μιχαηλ Γαβριηλ
 Ουριηλ φύλαξον καὶ ἴδια.

B ἄνεμε ἄνε|με <μη> γαυροῦ. τί | ὡς [λέων] μέν|η; τί ὡ[ς τ]αῦρος | μυκᾶσε; τί
 ὡς δρ|άκων εἰλίεσ(αι); ἄν|εμος ἔδησεν, ἄγγ|ελο(ς) ἔλυσεν, κύρι|ος μαγηρα
 ἀπού|γισεν, σ(τρό)φος ἀκῶ|ύσας ἐφυγεν. | φύλαξον Θ[.]|..ν.τ[.]|θ...[-].

B.6 ΕΙΛΙΕCM *amulet* || *σφος amulet*

against demons

1.8.6. silver lamella from Egypt, s. III-IV AD, now in Cologne, ed. *P.Köln* VIII 338

ἐσκορκίζω πᾶν πνεῦμα πο|νηρὸν καὶ κακὸν κατὰ τοῦ μεγάλου | ὑψίστου θεοῦ τοῦ
 κτίσαντον τὸν οὐ|ρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰς θαλάσ|σας καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς
 ἐξελ|θεῖν ἀπὸ Ἀλλουτος ἦν ἔτεκεν Αν|νις τῆς ἐχούσης τὴν σφραγίδα | τοῦ
 Σολομονος, ἐν τῇ σήμε|ρον ἡμέρα, ἐν τῇ ἄρτι ὥρα, | ἥδη ἥδη ταχύ ταχύ. φυν(ά)ζω
 σ|ε πνεῦ(μ)α {λα} συνέχοντος κινούρα(ν) | διεν αλφανασσα μαρωχ ιεωχ ιαθ
 φρον|αμον ιαω σηθ ιμααμ φρει φιμακεραν|ιανιηρ βριμμεσον κιομμα πανια|μι
 βαρφαραλαξ οζομο· τί θλείβεις | τὴν Ἀλλουν μηδέν | σοι ἄδικον ποιήσασαν; |
 σφραγίδος Σολομονος | ἐν <μ>έσω τὰ δαιμόνια.

10 I. φωνάζω : φυνζω l. ὀρκίζω ed. pr. || 11-12 πνεῦαλα l. πνεῦμα ed. pr. |
 συνέχοντος (l. συνέχον) κινύρα(ν) (l. κινύραν) | διεν : συνέχον τὸ τόκσιν οὐ ῥα|δίαν
 ed. pr.

addressing the target with performatives

1.9. *first person: relating to the cure*

alliteration, tricolon, asyndeton

1.9.1. Marcellus 15.11 (Heim 1893 no. 40)

praecantabis ieiunus ieiunum tenens locum qui erit in causa digitis tribus id est pollice
 medio et medicinali, residuis duobus eleuatis. dices ‘exi (si) hodie nata, si ante nata, si
 hodie creata, si ante creata. hanc pestem pestilentiam, hunc dolorem, hunc tumorem, hunc
 ruborem, has toles, has tosillas, hunc panum, has panuclas, hanc strumam, hanc
 strumellam hac religione euoco, educo, excanto de istis membris medullis.’

2 <si> *suppl. Buecheler ap. Heim* || 5 hac religione *coni. Bernays ap. Heim* : hanc
 religionem *codd.*

for hemorrhoids

1.9.2. Marcellus 31.33 (Heim 1893 no. 41, in part)

luna xiii hora viii antequam exeant uel erumpant mori arboris folia oculos tres tolles
 digitis medicinali et pollice manus sinistrae et in oculis singulis dices ‘ἄψ ἄψ ἀφαίρεσαι’
 mittesque in coccum Galaticum et in Phoenicio lino conchyliatae purpurae conligabis et
 dices ‘tollo te hinc totam haemorrhoida. ἄψ ἄψ ἀφαιρῶ.’ et nudum eum cui remedio
 opus est praeligamine illo cinges.

2 ἄψ ἄψ ἀφαίρεσαι *conieci* : absi absa phereos *codd.* || 4 totam *corr.* Heim : tota *codd.* |
ἄψ ἄψ ἀφαιρῶ *conieci* : absis paphar *codd.*

1.9.3. Marcellus 21.2 (Heim 1893 no. 66)

ad corcum carmen. in lamella stagnea scribes et ad collum suspendes haec 'ante cane corcu
nec megito cantorem ut hos ut hos ut hos. praeparabo tibi uinum, leua libidinem, discede a
nonnita, in nomine domini Iacob, in nomine domini Sabaoth.

2 ut hos *corr.* Usener *ap.* Heim : utos *codd.* | leua *corr.* Grimm 1865a, 134 : leue *codd.*

tricolon

1.9.4. ex-Herten, cod. med. Hertensis 192 (s. XII), f. 36v, ed. Sudhoff 1917, 286 [private
possession, photographed at Leipzig, Institut für Geschichte der Medizin]
contra maculam. 'in nomine patris quaesiui te, in nomine filii inueni te, in nomine spiritus
sancti deleo te. Christus uincit, Christus regnat, Christus liberet te ab omni malo. domine
qui abstraxisti maculam a sancto seruo tuo Iob, absterge maculam istam. adiuro te macula
per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum ut non crescas sed arescas. exstingue exstingue
exstingue.' dic uersum 'si ambulauero in medio tribulationis' et pater noster ter.

combined with third person, for *malanus*, according to Eis 1964, 109-116 a nasal polyp

1.9.5. ex-Herten, cod. med. Hertensis 192 (s. XII), f. 88r, ed. Sudhoff 1917, 304-305
[private possession, photographed at Leipzig, Institut für Geschichte der Medizin]

1. ad draunculum. in primis dic pater noster ter tenens manum super malanum et tunc dic
'in nomine patris inueni te, in nomine filii circumiui te, in nomine spiritus sancti delebo te,
et ut aspidem et basiliscum conculcabit te et ueluti leonem et draconem circumcinget te,
inuocatio patris circumcingit te, maiestas filii circumcingit te, uirtus spiritus sancti
circumcingit te. destruet te deus pater, destruet te filius dei, destruet te spiritus sanctus.'
2. tunc fac per medium malanum signum sanctae crucis et dices 'crux patris, crux filii,
crux spiritus sancti. natus est Christus, passus est Christus, resurrexit Christus, fuge
inimice.' ter dic hoc carmen et sanabitur, probatum est.

I I. raunculum? || 5 dei *conieci* : de *cod.*

with Longinus historiola; for *ranclé*, instructions in Liegeois

1.9.6. Darmstadt, SB cod. 815 (s. XIII), f. 159v, ed. Haust 1941, 99

'in nomine patris quaesiui te, in nomini filii adiuro te, in nomine spiritus sancti delebo te.
super aspidem ambulabo et conculcabo te, et uelut leonem conteram te. circumcingat te
uirtus spiritus sancti, destruat te deus pater. natus est Christus, passus est Christus,
resurrexit Christus. fuge inimice. initium mundi et consummatio saeculi, uita et pax, ego
sum alpha et omega, primus et nouissimus. Longinus miles perforauit latus domini et
continuo sanguis et aqua exiuit et recessit ab illo dolor. agios agios agios crux Christi, crux
uincit, crux regnat, crux imperat.'

4 *post* inimice *vernac.* trois fois ce di *add. cod.*

1.9.7. *Hippiatrica Parisina* 1093 (Heim 1893 no. 44)

πρὸς δοθιῆνας. ἐὰν δοθιῆνας ἔχη ἵππος, πρὸ τοῦ πνοτροφῆσειν τοῖς τρισὶ δακτύλοις
κρατῶν εἰπέ 'ἐργάζομαί σε.'

1 τοῦ *corr. Oder-Hoppe* : τὸ *codd.*

for erysipelas; fresh elder leaves are burned, and used to anoint the patient.

1.9.8. reported from contemporary Kefallenia, Pagonis 1910

‘ἐγὼ σὲ φαρμακεύω, σὲ πικραίνω καὶ σὺ φαρμάκι καὶ πίκρα μὴ μοῦ κάμης.’

addressing the affliction; performatives; followed by prayer; against pustules.

1.9.9. reported from contemporary Phthiotis, Pompos 1910

‘μὲ τῇ βρακοζώνα σὲ σταυρώνω καὶ νὰ τῆνε πλυμένη, σπυρί, καλὸ σπυρί, αὐτοῦ ὁποῦ ἐβγῆκες νὰ μὴ ματαβγῆς, κὶ ἂν ματαβγῆς τίποτα νὰ μὴ κάνης. ἄγιε ἀνάργυρε καὶ θαματοურγέ, βάλε τὸ χεράκι σου νὰ φύγη τὸ σπυράκι.’

wordplay, accumulation of epithets

1.9.10. *Hippiatrica Parisina* 19 (Heim 1893 no. 43)

ἐπαιοιδῆ πρὸς μᾶλιν κτηνῶν. ‘μᾶλι ἀρθρίτ’ ἀρθριτικὴ κωφὴ Ἑλληνικὴ δηρὰ ξηρὰ κυνικὴ ἀπουρητικὴ ταυρικὴ οὐ μὴ μου περιγένη, ἐπάδω σε.’

$\overline{\Gamma}$ δηρὰ *coniec.* : δειρὰ *codd.* || 2 *corr. Oder-Hoppe* : ἀπουρητικὴ *cod.*, Heim | ἐπάδω *corr. Heim* : ἐπαίζω *cod.*, *Oder-Hoppe*

knot-tying; for θλάσμα in the foot

1.9.11. *Hippiatrica Parisina* 203 (Heim 1893 no. 75)

ἄλλο. λαβὼν κάνναβιν ποιήσον κόμβους τρεῖς ἐπὶ ἐκάστου κόμβου λέγων ‘εἰς θλα(σ)μὶν σε ἐφέλκω, ἀπολιθώθητι, ἀποξυλωθήτι, ἀποκορδυλώθητι.’ καὶ μετὰ τὸ δῆσαι τὰς τρεῖς δέσεις, περιτιθεὶς τὸ μεσοκύνιον τοῦ ζώου, πάλιν ἀποδεσμῶν ἀπλαῖς δέσεισι τρισὶ ταῦτα ἐπιλέγων καὶ τότε κόψας μαχαίρᾳ ρίπτε χαμαί.

$\overline{\Gamma}$ θλα(σ)μὶν *coniec.*, i.e. θλασμῖον < θλάσμα : θλαμιν *cod.* : θλασμὴν *coni.* Heim : θλάσιν *Oder-Hoppe* || 2 ἐφέλκω *coni.* Heim : ἐφεδεύω *cod.* || 3 δέσεις *corr. Miller* : δησεις *cod.*

for rash (ἀλαφροστιά), to be spoken by a left-handed person (ζερβοχέρης, cf. 1.13.4)

1.9.12. reported from contemporary Argyrades (Kerkyra), Salbanos 1929, 115-116

‘φεῦγα φεῦγ’ ἀλαφροστιά, | τὶ σὲ καίω μὲ τῇ στιά· | εἶμαι ζέρβας κυνηγὸς | κὶ ὅθε σ’ εὔρω σὲ βαρῶ.’

with description of the affliction; for tonsillitis

1.9.13. [modern Greece, from *Laographia*: publication reference missing]

‘σιλιούδια μιλιούδια | ἀνώγεια ἔχετε | κατώγεια δὲν ἔχετε. | ἡνοίωσά σε, ἡμοίωσά σε.’

with first-person performatives in the past tense; for an abscess

1.9.14. reported from contemporary Naxos, Emellos 1962, 195

‘ἡνοίωσά σε κ’ ἡμοίωσά σε | κ’ ἐμοιωμάρισά σε. | στράψου τὰ ὀπίσθια, | ἴσ τὰ βύθη τῆς θαλάσσης νὰ πᾶς, | νὰ πέσης καὶ νὰ μὴ φανερωθῆς, | μάτι ἀθρώπου νὰ σὲ ἴδῃ.’

similarly; for pustules

1.9.15. reported from contemporary Naxos, Emellos 1962, 177

‘ὁ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ | καὶ τὰ πάντα βοηθᾷ | καὶ ἡ παναγία ἡ κερά | ὅλα τὰ κακὰ σκροπᾷ. | ἡνοίωσά σε, ἡμοίωσά σε, | νὰ χαθῆς καὶ νὰ μὴ ἴξαναφανερωθῆς. | νὰ πᾶς

᾽ς τὰ βύθη τῆς θαλάσσης | ἐκεῖ ποὺ δὲν ἀκούεται τοῦ κόκορα ἢ φωνῆ | καὶ δὲν πετιέται τοῦ παιδιοῦ τὸ κουλούρι. | νὰ χαθῆς καὶ νὰ μὴ ᾽ξαναφανῆς.’

1.9.16. Demetrios Pepagomenos, *Hierakosophion* 23a, ed. Hercher 2:362
πρὸς κλαίοντα καὶ φλυαρὸν πρὸ τοῦ αἵρεσθαι τῆς στάσεως αὐτοῦ. ἐκ τῆς αὐλακος σκόροδον λαβῶν τρίψον καὶ διάχριε λέγων ᾽πρὸς κλαυθμόν σε διαχρίω.’

1.9.17. Demetrios Pepagomenos, *Hierakosophion* 23b, ed. Hercher 2:362
πῶς δεῖ θεραπεύειν ἰέρακα κλαίοντα πρὸ τοῦ ἐγεῖραι αὐτόν. λαβῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐλακος σκόροδον καὶ θλάσας αὐτὸ χριε τὸν ἰέρακα καὶ λέγε οὕτως ᾽χρίω σε ἵνα μηκέτι κλαίης.’

third person and first person performatives

1.9.18. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 1043 (s. XV), f. 154r

᾽έν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. Χριστὸς ἐγενήθη Χριστὸς ἐβαπτίσθη Χριστὸς ἐσταυρώθη Χριστὸς ἐτάφη Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ζωὴν ἡμῖν ἐδωρήσατο. φύγε ριγοπύρετε ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ τόνδε εἰς τὰ ὀνόματα τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ κύρια. σὲ ἐξορκίζω, σὲ δέννει Ηλ ὁ θεὸς Σαβαωθ παντοκράτωρ καὶ Ελωι ἵνα φύγῃς ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ τόνδε. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου ἀμὴν ἀμὴν.’

1.10. *barley wordplay, onomatopoeic gnashing of teeth*

1.10.1. *simple*, spoken by first-born

1.10.1.1. reported from contemporary Kalabruta, A. Oikonomou in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

᾽σιτάρι σπέρνω, κριθάρι θερίζω. ἄμ ἄμ κριθαράκι, | εἶμαι τὸ πρῶτο παιδι τῆς μάννας μου καὶ σὲ τρώω.’

1.10.1.2. reported from contemporary Aigion, Chatziotis 1911

᾽ἄμ ἄμ κριθαράκι, γιὰτ’ εἶμαι πρῶτο παιδι τῆς μάννας μου καὶ σὲ τρώγω.’

1.10.1.3. reported from contemporary Argalaste in Magnesia, Chatziotis 1911

᾽ἄμ κθαράκι, | ἄμ σταράκι, | ἄμ σπρὶ μαργαριτάρι. | ἄνεμος τό φερε, | ἄνεμος τὸ πάρη.’

1.10.2. *barking*

1.10.2.1. reported from contemporary Kastriion in Kynouria, Athanasopoulos 1911

᾽σιταρήθρα, κριθαρήθρα, | φεῦγ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδιοῦ τὸ μάτι, | εἶμαι πρῶτος θὰ σὲ φάου, βαου βαου βαου.’

1.10.2.2. reported from contemporary Aidepsia, E.D. Papanastasio in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

᾽ἄμ στάρι, | ἄμ κριθάρι, | εἶμαι πρῶτος | καὶ σὲ τρώω, | γαου γαου γαου.’

1.10.2.3. reported from contemporary Aidepsia, E.D. Papanastasio in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

᾽ἄμ στάρι, | ἄμ κριθάρι, | ἄμ σπυρὶ μαργαριτάρι, | εἶμαι πρῶτος νὰ σὲ φάω, | γαου γαου γαου.’

1.11. *binding*

to protect a house

1.11.1. papyrus amulet, s. V, ed. *P.Oslo I 5*, re-ed. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P 3.

χμγ | ωρ ωρ φωρ φωρ | αω Σαβαωθ Αδωναι Ελωε σαλαμαν ταρχι | δέννω σε
σκορπίε Ἀρτεμίσειε τιε διαφύλαξον τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον | μετὰ τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἀπὸ
παντὸς κακοῦ, ἀπὸ βασκοσύνης | πάσης, ἀερίνων πνευμάτων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνου
ὀφθαλ[μοῦ] | καὶ πόνου δεινοῦ [τοῦ] δῆγματος σκορπίου καὶ ὄφεως \καὶ κυν[ὸς]/
διὰ τὸ | ὄνομα τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ ναιασμελιζξοροωροασαασαη |
βαινωωωωχμαηηληναγκορη φύλαξον κύριε υἱὲ τοῦ | Δαυιδ κατὰ σάρκα, ὁ τεχθεὶς
ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας παρθένου | Μαρίας, ἅγιε ὑψιστε θεὲ ἐξ ἀγίου πνεύματος, δόξα σοι |
οὐράνιε βασιλεῦ, ἀμήν. α + ω + Α + Ω ιχθυσ

β \καὶ κυν[ὸς]/ *om. edd.*

against scorpions; for an explanation of the epithets in Artem- applied to the scorpion,
referring to a myth in which Artemis sent a scorpion to kill Orion, see Todd 1939, 58-59

1.11.2. *P.Oxy. XVI 2061* (s. VI), re-ed. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXVIIIa

ορ ορ φορ φορ Σαβ[α]ωθ | Αδωνε σαλαμα ταρ | χει Αβρασαξ. δέννω σε | σκορπίε
Ἀρτεμισίας | τριακόσια δεκάπεν | τε. Παχων πεντεκαι | δεκάτη | [...]

1.11.3. *P.Oxy. XVI 2062* (s. VI), re-ed. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXVIIIb

ωρ ωρ | φωρ φωρ | | αω | Αδωναι | Σαβ[α]ωθ | σαλαμαν ταρχει | δεννέω σαι
σκορπίε Ἀρτεμίσου ιγ'.

1.11.4. *P.Oxy. XVI 2063* (s. VI), re-ed. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXVIIIc

+++ | ωρ ωρ | [φ]ωρ φωρ | [Αδωναι | Σαλα]μαρχθαι | [δ]έννω σε | [σ]κ[ο]ρπίε |
Ἀρτημίσιε. | Φαμενωθ τεσσάρφ | φωρ ορ ορ οσοα | [*signs*]

1.12. miscellaneous

1.12.1. floor mosaic, s. V-VI, in a building (bath? ed. pr.) in Caesarea Maritima, ed.
Lehmann-Holum 2000 no. 98 with corrections of D. Feissel, *BÉ* (2002) no. 470 [*SEG L*
1466]. Within a *tabula ansata*:

πθόνε π | ατῶ σε.

1 1. φθόνε

1.12.2. floor mosaic from a taberna at Ostia, s. III or later, ed. *CIL XIV 4757*; cf.

Dunbabin 1991.

inbide calco te.

l. inuide

1.12.3. chalcedony from private collection (H. Seyrig), ed. *Bonner 1950* no. 74 with p. 36.
Brief commentary in A. Mastrocinque *Thetis* 10 (2003) [2004] 92-95 [*SEG LIII* 2239].

On one side, lion holding down indistinct round object with paw; the other inscribed
κρατῶ σε, ἔχω σε.

1.12.4. gem of unknown type in the unpublished collection of gem-impressions of T.
Cades (4:158) at the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut at Rome [apparently still in the
library at the DAI Rome, call-number T 166 h (1-4) (Arm.21) kl.Fol], mentioned in

Fossing 1929 no. 1530. “Representation of a hare fighting with a hammer against a dog” (Fossing) and inscription
ἔχω σε.

classical myth (έννοσίγαιε)

1.12.5. inscription on a limestone stele from Palaestina Tertia, ed. L. Di Segni in Westenholtz 2007 no. 64 [SEG LVII 1859]. At top, cross flanked by trees (poplars, ed. pr.), below which an inscription. I present a text on the basis of the published photograph in some places improved over ed. pr. (the text of which is non-sensical; the somewhat more plausible translation bears little relation thereto).

† θᾶπτον | ἄπειθει δυ[σ] | <μ>ενέστα[τε,] | έννοσείγ[αιε] | κ(αι) ἀργίκραυ[γε·] | σταυρὸν γ[άρ] | πέπογα σ(ωτῆ)ρα | έμό(ν), ὀλετῆρα | δὲ σόν. | † | Γάδιμα.

2 l. ἄπιθι : ἀπείθει ed. pr. (tr. ‘you ought to dismiss’) || 2-3 δ[.] | νενεστα[stone : δ[υσ] | μενεστα[τα] ed. pr. μ is expected but cannot be read here: for the form of that letter used by this cutter, cf. line 8 below; there is also vertical line to the left of ν, which may represent a false start in the cutting of the letter. || 4 l. έννοσίγαιε : έννοσει κ[(υρίο)υ] dub. ed. pr. || 5 ἄργ(ε)ι κραυ[γῆς] ed. pr. I take *ἀργίκραγος to be most likely a metathesized adjectival compound of ἄγριος and κραυγή, ‘shouting wildly’ (ἀγριόκραυγος might be expected, cf. ἀγριόφωνος) || 6 γ[ε] ed. pr. || 7 πέπογα apparently for πέπηγα | ὄρα stone || 8 εμο stone || 9 in fin. decorative lunate marking || 11 according to ed. pr., the signature of the cutter

1.12.6. *Hippiatrica Parisina* 979 (Heim 1893 no. 45)

Ἀψύρτου πρὸς βασκοσύνην. ‘βαῖνε, νεμεσῶ σ’, ἔξελθε ἀπόστηθι ἀπὸ τοῦ περιαιπτομένου ἵππου οὗ ἔτεκεν ἡ ἰδία μήτρα, βασκοσύνη, ὅσον γῆ ἀπέχει οὐρανοῦ.’

1 νεμεσῶ σ’ corr. Heim : νεμεσῶθ codd.

with second person

1.12.7. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2315 (s. XV), f. 241v, ed. Legrand 1881, 10; recollated γητεία περὶ σκορπίου. ‘σκορπίε, υἱὲ τοῦ σκορπίου, ὃς ἔχεις τὸ στόμα ἴσον καὶ τὴν οὐρὰν στραβὴν, σὺ εἶ πῦρ καὶ ἐγὼ ὕδωρ καὶ ρίκτω τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς τὸ πῦρ σου καὶ σβύνω το. ὀρ(κ)ίζω σε ἀπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ θεοῦ νὰ μήτε ἐνεγγίσης με μήτε βλάψης με μήτε τοὺς ἀκούοντάς με.’

3 ἐνε\γ/κήσης cod.

user has prepared home for bees

1.12.8. St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 190 (s. IX), p. 37 (cf. S. Baluze, *Capitularia regum Francorum* (Paris 1780), 2:664, who refers to a St. Gallen manuscript without shelfmark) ‘adiuro te mater apium per deum regem caelorum et per illum redemptorem filium dei te adiuro ut non te altum leuare nec longe uolare sed quam plus cito potes ad arborem uenire ibi te allocas cum omni tuo genere uel cum sociis tuis. ibi habeo bonum uasum paratum ubi uos ibi in dei nomine laboretis et nos in dei nomine luminaria faciamus in ecclesia dei et per uirtutem domini nostri Ihesu Christi ut nos non offendat dominus de radio solis sicut uos offendit de egalo flore, in nomine sanctae trinitatis amen.’

1 auiorum cod. || 2 potest cod. || 3 tua genera cod. | socia tua cod. || 3-4 bono uaso parato cod. || 6 flos cod.

another version in a different hand, the ink faded and partially obscured by modern bookstamp

1.12.9. St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 190 (s. IX), p. 1

‘adiuro te [] regem caelorum et per illum redemptorem filium dei te adiuro ut non te altum leuare nec longe uolare sed quam plus sciscitum potest ad arborem uenire ibi te allocas cum omni tuo genere uel cum sociis tuis. ibi habeo bonum uasum paratum ubi uos ibi in dei nomine laboretis et nos in dei nomine luminaria faciamus in ecclesia dei et per uirtutem domini nostri Ihesu Christi ut nos non offendat dominus de radio solis sicut uos offendit de egalo flore, in nomine sanctae trinitatis amen.’

2 autum *cod. a.c.* || 3 tua genera *cod.* | socia tua *cod.* | bono uaso parato *cod.* || 6 floris *cod.*

1.12.10. London, BL cod. Sloane 475 (s. XI), f. 136v

ut apes fugere non possint. ‘in nomine domini. sede mater argonilia cum tota tua familia. sanctificet dominus noster Ihesus Christus qui fecit caelum et terram, mare et omnia quae in eis sunt. sanctificet te, sanctificet sancta Maria mater domini nostri Ihesu Christi, sanctificet uos sanctus Petrus et sanctus Paulus qui tenent claues regni caelorum. non possis ad siluam fugere nec ad patriam reuerti. ego uobis habeo casas paratas de melli et lacte laudatas ut uos sedeatis per annos hilares casatae.’ scribe haec uerba in stellea et apiario pono et postea non fugiant.

1 possum *cod.* | con *cod.* || 5 possit ad silum fugire *cod.* | patrium reuitare *cod.* || 5-6 mel et lac lodatas *cod.* | 6 annann *cod.* | casatas *cod.* | stellea *pro stela?* || 7 ponon *cod.* | fuiat *cod.*

1.13. *threats*

‘contract’

1.13.1. *Geoponika* 13.5.4-5, attributed to Apuleius; omitted in MSS L and P; compiler’s disclaimer added in 13.5.6 (Heim 1893 no. 46, 13.5.4 only; cf. Weinreich 1938, 267-269) λαβῶν χάρτην ἔγγραφον εἰς αὐτὸν ταῦτα. ‘ἔξορκίζω μῦς τοὺς ἐνταῦθα καταλαμβανομένους, μή με ἀδικήσητε αὐτοὶ μήτε ἄλλον ἐάσητε. δίδωμι γὰρ ἀγρὸν ὑμῖν τόνδε’ καὶ λέγεις ποῖον, ‘εἰ δὲ ὑμᾶς ἔτι ὧδε ὄντας καταλάβω, παραλαβῶν τῶν θεῶν τὴν μητέρα διαιρήσω ὑμᾶς εἰς μέρη ἑπτὰ.’ ταῦτα γράψας κόλλησον τὸν χάρτην ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἔνθα εἰσὶν οἱ μύες πρὸ ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου – τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἔξω βλεπέτω – πρὸς αὐτοφυῆ λίθον.

addressing the affliction, probably with a threat (text fragmentary)

1.13.2. papyrus formulary, *P.Ant.* II 66 (s. VI), re-ed. *Suppl.Mag.* II 94

λόγ(ος) δὲ τοῦ νηροῦ οὔτος: ‘(magic words) σοὶ λέγω, τῷ πλήγμα | τι, μὴ σφύξης, μὴ φλεγμάνεις, | μὴ ὄδυνῶν κινήσεις, μὴ ὑγρὸν ποι | ήσεις, μὴ μελανίας ποιήσεις, μ[ή] | [σ]φάκελον κινήσεις. ἐὰν γὰρ σφύ | ξεις ἢ φλεγμάνης ἢ ὄδυνῶν κινή | σεῖς ἢ ὑ[γ]ρ[ὸ]ν ποιή[σ]εις ἢ μελ[ανίας] | ποιήσεις ἢ σφά[κ]ελον κ[ι]νήσε[ις] *traces*

wordplay with name of the target; ants

1.13.3. incantation from contemporary Cos, recorded in Rouse 1899, 163

‘κρατῶ ἕνα μύρμηκα | μύρμηκα πρωτομύρμηκα | καὶ πρῶτοι τὸ μυρμήκουν. | μάζοξε τάσκέρι σου | καὶ ’ς τὴν βοσκὴν ἀνάβα, | νὰ βρῆς δένδρον ἄκαρπον, | νὰ

φάγης τὸν καρπὸν του, | μὴ πάω καὶ βρῶ τοῦ μαύρου χοιροκάπρου τὸ μαλλί | καὶ
κόψω τὸν λαιμὸν σου.’

preceded by analogy; interlocking, a left-handed woman (ζερβή) shakes sparks onto the
face of the patient (cf. 1.9.12); for eruptions on the face (φωτιές)

1.13.4. reported from contemporary Samos, Brontes 1956, 231-232

‘ὅπως ζιβοῦν οἱ σπίθες, ἔτσι νὰ ζιβήσουν κι οἱ φωτιές. φευγᾶτε φωτιές, κὶ θὰ σᾶς
κάψη ὁ ζερβός.’

ζιβοῦν *ed. glosses σβήσουν*

1.14. *narrative*

present and past (cf. ‘encounters’ type); liturgical formula (qui me sanum ...)

1.14.1. Leiden, UB cod. SCA 28 (s. IX), f. 1v, ed. Heim 1893, 555; re-collated with dig.
facsimile

‘dum uenirem de oriente, uidi caballum morientem. adiuro te caballus per patrem et
filium et spiritum sanctum et per deum omnipotentem, infusarae de tuo corpore uertant in
tuos pedes et omnes infusarae exeant per tuum corpus. ueruna ueruna unde ueruna, mare
sub aqua non te condemnet. qui me sanum fecit, ille mihi praecipit “tolle grabatum tuum
et ambula in pace.” pater noster.’

ζιβοῦν *cod.* || 2 δμ *cod.* : dominum Heim | infusaras *cod.* || 3 infursairas *cod.* | tuo
corpore *cod.*

1.15. *assimilation of first person to powerful figure*

internal self-identification of the practitioner as biblical figure (Mary), and the affliction as
fish-sauce (garum, based on a new conjecture; suggested by the reference to the sea);
chiasmus (*cessa garum, garum cessa*)

1.15.1. Angers, BM cod. 91 (s. X), f. 23v (ed. Wickersheimer 1966, 13-14)

contra fluxum sanguinis propter boubona, feminae bonum. ‘resta sanguis et uitet anima
mala. sic modo sic mare recessat, sic recesset nares N. Maria mater domini dixi “staneat
non exeat sanguis guttatim.” Christi crux Christi crux Christi amen. pater noster. cessa
garum, garum cessa.’

ζιβοῦν *cod.* | boubona feminae bonum *conieci* (i.e. βουβῶνα) : bobana femina bona *cod.* | uitet
conieci : uiuet *cod.* || 2 staneat i.e. stet | recessat *conieci* : ne cesset *ed.* || 4 garum *conieci*
: ganum *cod.*

1.16. *third person: concerning miscellaneous powerful figures from myth*

Apuleius

1.16.1. additions to the *Euporiston* of Theodorus, ed. Rose 1894, 276

item incantas ad aurem ipsius, ‘sanguis imperat tibi Apuleius Madaurensis ut cursus tuus
stet.’

incantas *conieci* : in chartas Rose

classical myth; for swallowed bones

1.16.2. additions to the *Euporiston* of Theodorus, ed. Rose 1894, 283

item incantas ‘Lasana piscator exi foras et fac quod tibi iussit Iupiter.’

1.16.3. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 1.13 (cod. p. 202.21-24, ed. Önnorfors 2006, 1:18-19; Heim 1893, 557)

ad trauoratum, hoc est si in gula os de pisce haeserit siue alia res. de sinistra manu tangens cerebrum et de altera spinam nouies. ‘Lafana piscator exi et fac quae te iussit Iuppiter’ et exspues.

$\overline{1}$ trauoratum, hoc est si *correxī*: trauoratum trauoratum h si *cod.*: trauoratum, trauoratum h(o)si, (si) Önnorfors

1.16.4. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 1.13 (cod. p. 202.24-26, ed. Önnorfors 2006, 1:19; Heim 1893, 557)

item (ad) trauoratum aliter. sinistra manu alteri tanges cerebrum et dicis ‘Sana uenator, exi et fac quod Iuppiter iussit.’ nouies dicis et exspues.

$\overline{1}$ sanat *cod.*

performative, classical reference (Apollonios of Tyana); against epilepsy

1.16.5. Leiden, UB cod. VGF 25 (s. XVI), ff. 4v-5r

ἄλλο. λέγε ὡσαύτως καὶ πάτει | τὸν δάκτυλον τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ ποδὸς τὸν μέγαν
‘ἡεῖξ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τυάνων λέγει σοι “ἀνάστηθι,” λέγων ἄχρις οὗ ἀναστῆ οὕτως
– διὰ πείρας λέγω εἰρηκῶς – τρίτον, Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τυανεύς καλεῖ σε.’

$\overline{1}$ πάτε *cod.* || 2 Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τυάνων *conieci*: ἄλλων ὁ τυάνου *cod.*

mythological reference: performative, the subject of which is the personal name Κύθηρος, which in view of its rarity (*LGPN* s.v., six entries) likely evokes either the Phoenician namesake of the island of Kythera (Steph. Byz. s.v.), or the Kytheros who plotted against the sophist Skopelianos with the latter’s evil stepmother (Philostr. *VS* 1.21): incantation for use in medical prognostics

1.16.6. Florence, BML cod. Plut. 7.19 (s. XIV), f. 226v

ἄλλο. λέγε εἰς τὸ οὖς τοῦ ἀρρώστου ‘Κύθηρός σε καλεῖ.’ ἐὰν στραφῆ εἰς τὸν τοῖχον, ἀποθνήσκει, εἰ δὲ ἔξω, ζήσεται.

1.16.7. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 3.18 (cod. p. 270.13-15, ed. Önnorfors 2006, 1:89; Heim 1893 no. 120)

daemoni ne occurras nocte quocumque loco timueris hoc dicis ‘daemonia quoque in publico cadunt.’ dicis illi ad aurem ‘recede daemon, teleteni ueniunt.’

$\overline{2}$ teleteni *cf.* τελετή *Heim*

three kings including the New Testament Herod and perhaps another from contemporary realia (the Khazars); Old Testament reference to Elijah and the drought (*cf.* also the miraculous sweetening of the pot by Elisha in *LXX* 2 Kings 4:38-41); offering of a substitute sacrifice of vegetable and meat broth and fowl; destruction of the ‘house’ of the ants in analogy with an unknown extra-biblical tradition of the destruction of the ‘house of Nikodemos’

1.16.8. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 142, -ff. 158v-159r

ἄλλο. ‘καλὸν σε ἤϊρα, μέρμηκα πρωτομέρμηκα, μηνίουσί σε τρεῖς βασιλεῖς, ὁ Ἄζαρις ὁ Χάζαρις καὶ ὁ Ἡρώδης. ὦ βασιλ[εῦ], ὅτι νὰ περισυνάξετε τὰ μαυροκουρονόπουλά σας καὶ νὰ εἴσπατε ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ Ἀραρατ ὄρος καὶ φάγε[τε]

ἀκά(ν)θας καὶ τριβόλους καὶ μὴ ἐσθίετε κόπον βουδίων ἢ ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι μετὰ | τὸν ἅγιον Ἡλιαν τὸν νεφοκράτην βραζύνω καὶ καρπόζωμον καὶ λαρδόζωμον καὶ φέρειν ἔχω κοντὸν μετὰ κοττοπούλας, καὶ θέλησον καταφαγεῖν καὶ ἐλθεῖν θέλων πέμπτη ἡμέρα πρὶν τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατέλλοντος καὶ θέλω σας στοιχήσειν εἰς χίλια μερμηκοδέματα καὶ νὰ ἐξαλειφθῇ οἶκός σας ὡς τοῦ Νικοδήμου ὁ οἶκος. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου.’

1 μηνουσαι *cod.* || 4 βραζύνω (*i.e.* βράζω) : βρασυνων *cod.* || 5 κοττοπουλαγίς *cod.* || 6 θελησας και καταφαγοι *cod.* || 7 στιχισι *cod.*

figures from classical and biblical myth (Zacharias, Tartaros); threats; wordplay
1.16.9. Oxford, Bodleian *cod.* Auct. T. 4.4 (s. XIV?), f. 443r [pastedown in *cod.* of s. XV-XVI]

περὶ τοῦ διώξει μύ[ρηκας]· ‘ἀκούσατε οἱ ἄφρονες τῶν ἀφρόνων. μην(ι)άσας ὁ Ζαχαρίας καὶ ὁ Τάρταρ[ος]. ἐπάρετε τὰ μυρμηκοσκωληκόπουλά σας καὶ ἀνάβατε εἰς τὰ ἄγρια ὄρη καὶ φάγετε ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους καὶ μὴ τρώγετε τὸν καρπὸν ὃν μας ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός· καὶ τὰ προλάβετε, στρέψατε εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον, μὴ λειώσω λαρδόζωμον καὶ κραμβόζωμον καὶ καύσω σας καὶ τὰ μυρμηκοσκωληκόπουλά σας, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱ[οῦ] καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.’

4 προελαβετε *cod.* || 5 και και *cod.*

with performative of command, Alexander of Macedon; to be spoken over water, which is then sprinkled about the house; for rodents

1.16.10. private collection, *cod.* of s. XVIII copied on contemporary Cyprus, ed. Chatziioannou 1950, 21

‘δροικᾶτε ὄρη καὶ βουνὰ καὶ ποντικοὶ τοῦ τόπου. | ἐμήνυσέν σας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀλεξανδροπολίτης | νὰ πιάσης τὸ φουσάτον σου νὰ πάγης ἕς ἄλλον μέρος. | διατὶ ἂν δέν ἀκροαστῆς νὰ πάγης, πέμπουν τὸν γάτον τὸν μαῦρον τὸν μακρόνουρον τὸν γυαλλόματον τὸν λαμπρόστομον τὸν μακρόνυχον τὸν μακρόδοντον ὅπου ἢ γλωσσά του βγάλλει λαμπρὸν ἵπου μέσα καὶ τρώγει τὴν ρίζαν σου, ξηλείβγει τὴν γενεάν σου.’

2 Ἀλέξανδρος πολίτης *ed.*

deus magnus

(*ed. pr.* terms “exorcistic,” but this is not strictly true, in the absence of an exorcistic *adiuro* or *coniuro*, etc.); interplay of languages, Greek magical logoi at beginning of Latin text; use of metronym; Latin version of ἦδη ἦδη ταχύ ταχύ

1.16.11. inscribed terra cotta tile once in private collection (E. Dressel), purchased in Rome, ed. P.L. Bruzza *BCAR* 9 (1881), 165-173 with photograph.

ακρησιυγαθχωκαρε | ρακραναψωβεβερευου | separa te demonem a Florent | ia quem peperet Iusta quia | hoc iubet magnus deus, iam iam cito cito, in nomine | dei.

Adam

1.16.12. St. Gallen, SB *cod.* Sang. 751 (s. IX), pp. 441-442, ed. Heim 1893, 564

ut cito pariat mulier. ‘sicut Adam clamauit ad Euam, aduena, exi foras, | Adam tibi exspectat, agi ergo.’ *ter.*

1 tibi om. Heim

1.17.1. Christ

affliction called 'night-bird' (auis nocturna, cf. figure of owl); scripture (cf. *Apoc.* 5:5)

1.17.1.1. copper medallion pierced for suspension, purchased in Rome (Lovatti), ed. De Rossi 1869, 62; cf. Delattre and de Villefosse 1916, 141 and Perdrizet 1922, 29. On one side, figure of owl, around which an inscription (A) and stars, inscribed around the edge (B)

with third-person performatives

A dominus

B bicit te leo de tribu{s} Iuda, radis Daut

C Iesu (Chri)stus. | ligabit te bra|tius dei et sigil|lus Salomonix. | abis nocturna, | non baleas ad | anima pura et supra quis|uis sis.

\overline{B} l. uicit | l. radix || C.1 l. Iesus | (Chri)stus: χ stus *amulet* || 2-3 l. bracchius || 4 l. Salomonis || 5 l. auis | l. nocturna || 6 l. ualeas || 7 l. animam | l. puram

scripture (cf. *Apoc.* 5:5)

1.17.1.2. copper medallion found in the necropolis of the *officiales* at Carthage, ed. P. Delattre in id. and de Villefosse 1916, 137-138 with drawing; improved text in Perdrizet 1922, 29-30. On one side, owl, with inscription around the edge (A); the other inscribed in the field (B).

A † bicit leo de tribu{s} Iuda, radis Daud.

B invidia in|biziosa, nicil | tibi at anima p|ura et [m]unda. Mi|cael, Rafael, Ur|iel, G{a}briel. | † Victoria. †

\overline{A} l. uicit | l. radix || B.1 l. inuidia || 1-2 l. inuidiosa || 2 l. nihil || 3 TIDI *amulet as drawn* | l. ad | l. animam || 3-4 l. puram || 4 l. mundam

obscure text, but probably reference to the *auis*; scripture (cf. *Apoc.* 5:5)

1.17.1.3. copper medallion found in excavations at Carthage, ed. P. Delattre in id. and de Villefosse 1916, 136-137 with drawing. On one side, owl and stars, with inscription around the edge (A); the other inscribed in the field (B). The radical reconstruction in Perdrizet 1922, 29-30 is not entirely plausible.

A † bicit leo de tribu Iuda, radic[...].

B † inbiz|sa inarios|a inbicta das|atur abis q|is ne non tu[u]|m gellum fe|cerit iot|on fian

third-person performatives; scripture: Sedulius, *Carmen pascale* 3.23-25; cf. *Apoc.* 5:5

1.17.1.4. London, BL cod. Royal 12 D XVII (s. X), f. 51v, ed. Storms 1948, 258

(previously Cockayne 1864-1866, 2:136-137)

'adiuro uos frigores et febres per deum patrem omnipotentem et per eius filium Iesum Cristum, per ascensum et decensum saluatoris nostri ut recedatis de hoc famulo dei et de corpusculo eius quam dominus noster inluminare instituit. uincit uos leo de tribu Iuda, radix Daud. uincit uos qui uinci non potest. Christus natus Christus passus Christus uenturus. aius aius aius sanctus sanctus sanctus. inde salutiferis incedens gressibus urbes oppida rura uicos castra castella peragrans omnia depulsis sanabat corpora morbis.'

$\overline{2}$ discensum *cod.* || 3 quam *cod.* || 5 indie *cod.*

1.17.2. *child called by Christ*; usually with addition of historiolae of paradoxical biblical births

1.17.2.1. private collection, cod. of s. XV reported by P. Koukoules (*EEBΣ* 14, 101-102) 'τέξε, γυνή, ὡς ἡ Μαριαμ τὸν Χριστὸν, ὡς ἡ Ελισαβετ τὸν Πρόδρομον, ἔξελθε, τέκνον, καλεῖ σε ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ σε περιμένει. στῶμεν καλῶς.'

1.17.2.2. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316 (s. XV), f. 360v, ed. Oikonomu-Agorastu 1982 no. 149 *περὶ γυναικὸς γένναν. γράφε οὕτως 'Λάζαρε δεῦρο ἔξω, Χριστὸς σε καλεῖ. ἡ παρθένος σήμερον τὸν ὑπερούσιον τίκτει, τέξαι καὶ σύ, ἡ γεννᾶς, τὸ βρέφος. ἄκουε οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐνωτίζου ἡ γῆ. ἔξελθε βρέφος, ζῶν ἢ ἀποθαμμένον, καλεῖ σε Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος. μνήσθητι κύριε τῶν υἱῶν Εδωμ τὴν ἡμέραν Ἱερουσαλημ τῶν λεγόντων "ἐκκενοῦτε, ἐκκενοῦτε." καὶ αὐτὰ γράψον καὶ δῆσον εἰς πάνιον καὶ κολιάνδρον κουκκία ἔνδεκα καὶ ἄς δήση αὐτὸ παρθένος γυνή εἰς τὸ μερὶν τῆς ἐντὸς τῆς τικτούσης καὶ γεννᾶ.*

1.17.2.3. Thessaly, monastery of Olympiotissa, cod. 97 (s. XVIII), p. 28, ed. Skouvara 1965-1966, 80

περὶ λεχούσας γυναικὸς ὅπου νὰ κοιλιοπονᾷ καὶ δὲν ἔμπορεῖ νὰ γεννήσῃ. ὅταν ἡ γυναῖκα κοιλιοπονᾷ, νὰ λέγῃς οὕτως ἀπάνω τῆς, εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος τοῦ κορμίου 'ἔβγα βρέφος, καλεῖ σε ἡ γῆ, καλεῖ σε τὸ βάπτισμα. ἔβγα βρέφος, καλεῖ σε ὁ βαπτιστῆς Ἰωάννης. ἔβγα βρέφος, καλεῖ σε ὁ Χριστὸς. ἔβγα βρέφος, καλεῖ σε ἡ θεοτόκος ἡ καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐγέννησεν.'

cooption of liturgical object

1.17.2.4. Thessaly, monastery of Olympiotissa, cod. 97 (s. XVIII), p. 8, ed. Skouvara 1965-1966, 78

περὶ γυναῖκα ὅπου δὲν ἔμπορεῖ νὰ γεννήσῃ. ὅταν ἡ γυναῖκα κάθεται εἰς τὸ σκαμνὶ καὶ δὲν ἔμπορεῖ νὰ γεννήσῃ, στάσου εἰς τὴν δεξιάν τῆς μερέαν καὶ λέγε οὕτως 'ἔβγα βρέφος, καλεῖ σε ἡ γῆ. ἔβγα βρέφος, καλεῖ σε τὸ βάπτισμα. ἔβγα βρέφος, καλεῖ σε ὁ Χριστὸς. ἔβγα βρέφος, καλεῖ σε ἡ θεοτόκος, ὡς τὸν Χριστὸν ἐγέννησεν.' καὶ πάρε κεραμίδι ἀπὸ ἐκκλησίαν καὶ γράψον ταῦτα τὰ σημεῖα καὶ βάλον νὰ τὰ πατήσῃ ἡ γυναῖκα ἀπάνω μὲ τὸ δεξιὸν τῆς ποδᾶρι καὶ νὰ λέγῃς οὕτως 'ἔξελθε βρέφος, σὲ κράζει ὁ Χριστὸς, ἔξελθε.' καὶ νὰ τὸ εἰπῆς τρεῖς φορές καὶ ἐλευθερώνεται ἐκ τὸ βρέφος. [signs]

1.17.2.5. private collection, codex written on Crete (Katsidoni, Seteia, s. XIX), f. 9r, ed. Spyridakis 1942-1943, 65

'τὸ μέγα μυστήριον τοῦ θανάτου τὸ ἤκουσεν ὁ Λάζαρος καὶ ἀναστάθη, βρέφος ἔξελθε ἐκ λάκκου μητρικοῦ, ἔξελθε βρέφος, καλεῖ σε.' δύο.

1.17.2.6. Bonn, ULB cod. S 218 (s. XI), f. 40v, added by later hand in margin, ed. Heim 1893, 550; cf. Reiche 1976, 83

ad difficultatem pariendi probatum. 'Elisabet peperit praecursorem, sancta Maria genuit saluatorem. siue masculus sis siue femina, ueni foras, saluator reuocat te. omnes sancti dei intercedant pro ista femina.' quod scriptum supra genua tribus digitis ligas.

Old English instructions (to be written on wax, placed under the mother's foot)

1.17.2.7. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Junius 85 (s. XI), p. 17, ed. Storms 1948, 283 (previously Cockayne 1864-1866, 1:392)

‘Maria uirgo peperit Christum, Elisabet sterilis peperit Iohannem baptistam. adiuro te infans si es masculus an femina per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum ut exeas et recedas et ultra ei non noceas neque insipientiam illi facias, amen. uidens dominus flentes sorores Lazari ad monumentum lacrimatus est coram Iudeis et clamabat “Lazare ueni foras,” et prodiit ligatus manibus et pedibus qui fuerat quatruiduanus mortuus.’

1.17.2.8. London, BL Egerton MS 821 (s. XII), f. 53r-v
ista coniuratio dicatur tribus uicibus. | ‘ecce crucem domini totum fatum nostrum totum. Anna peperit Mariam, Silina peperit Remium, Elisabeth peperit Iohannem. quando Christus fuit natus nullus dolor fuit passus,’ et dic ‘a dolorem, fugias o tu dolor, Christus uocat te, ille Iesus te appellat si tu puer uel puella, exi foras de famula dei illa. sancta Maria Christum portauit et non doluit.’

² silima renuum *cod.*, i.e. Celina Remigium || 3 a dolorem, fugias *conieci* : a dolorum fugiat *cod.* || 4 uocate *cod.* | exiit *cod.*

1.17.2.9. Pisa, Arch. di Stato, Carte Roncioni 392 (s. XV), f. 81r, ed. Maltomini 1979
‘Anna peperit Mariam, Maria peperit magnificum redemptorem, Elisabet sterilis praecursorem peperit. o infans ueni foras, coniuro te per deum patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum ut exeas de tenebris ad lucem, siue masculus sis siue femina, siue sis mortuus siue sis uiuus, quia uocat te Christus qui uocauit Lazarum de monumentis.’

analogous psalm text (*Ps.* 115:16-17)

1.17.2.10. London, BL *cod.* Add. 24068 (s. XIII), f. 92v
ad partum mulieris. scribe hoc in pergameno longo et liga circa eam quae non potest parere. ‘disrupisti domine uincula mea, tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis et nomen domini inuocabo. qui dicunt exinanite exinanite. adiuro te infans per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum siue sis masculus siue femina siue sis mortuus uel uiuus ut exeas. uocat te Christus ad lucem ut uideas hunc mundum. Anna genuit Mariam et non doluit, Maria genuit Christum et non doluit, Elisabeth Iohannem. inpletum est tempus pariendi et peperit filium. Cilinia peperit Remigium. infans exi in nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi uocat te Christus benedictio dei patris et filii et spiritus sancti pax tibi.’

addressing target (infant), for birth; Elizabeth historiola; analogous psalm text (136:7)

1.17.2.11. Munich BSB cgm 54 (s. XIV), f. 106r, ed. Schönbach 1880, 70
ad partum bonum et probatum. ‘de uiro uir, uirgo de uirgine. uicit leo de tribu Iuda. Maria peperit Christum. Elisabet sterilis peperit Iohannem baptistam. adiuro te infans per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, si masculus es aut femina, ut exeas de uulua ista. exinanite exinanite.’ ista charta debet esse noua et ponatur super uentrem illius mulieris laborantis ad partum. et statim quando pariet deponatur libera.

¹ probatum r. *cod.*

1.17.2.12. Munich clm 100 (s. XII), f. 40r-v, ed. Rockinger 1858, 320n26. Notation of current foliation added, minor corrections made via facsimile.
quando mulier parturiendo periclitatur dicenda sunt haec. primum tange uentrem per umbilicum et dic ‘incretus pater, incretus filius, incretus et spiritus sanctus,’ et tunc dextrum latus ‘immensus pater, immensus filius, immensus et spiritus sanctus,’ et tunc ad sinistrum latus ‘aeternus pater, aeternus filius, aeternus et spiritus sanctus.’ hoc fac ter et dic ‘Anna peperit Samuelem, Elisabeth | Iohannem, Anna peperit Mariam, Maria peperit

Christum. infans, siue masculus siue femina, siue mortuus siue uiuus, exi foras, te uocat saluator ad lucem.’ hoc fac ter et lege euangelium ‘in principio’ super caput eius imposita manu, et da ei ad ieiunandum uigilam sanctae Margaretae, et tolle lignum unde uenter eiusdem mulieris potest amplecti, et fac ut foueat inde candelam, et offer eam in honorem sanctae Margaretae uirginis.

8 licnum cod.

analogous psalm text, historiola

1.17.2.13. fourteenth century manuscript in the royal library at Stockholm, p. 146, ed. Holthausen 1897, 85 (codex described in G. Stephens, *Archaeologia* 30 (1844), 349ff) ‘boro berto briore. uulnera quinque dei sint medicina mei. tahebal ggether guthman purld cramper. Christus factus est pro nobis obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis. de fructu uentris tui ponam super sedem tuam, quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo. Anna peperit Mariam, Maria peperit Christum. infans, Christus te uocat ut nascaris. in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen.’

combination with numerous other motifs, including sator arepo; historiola

1.17.2.14. fifteenth century cod. in private collection of the editor (ed. Brand in Ellis (ed.) *Popular Antiquities* (1841) 2:42), repr. J. Hoskyns-Abrahall, *The Academy* 26 (1884) no. 642, 122 [I omit the frequent interpunct-crosses]

For woman that travelyth of chylde, bynd thys wryt to her thye. ‘in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen. per uirtutem domini sint medicina mei pia crux et passio Christi. uulnera quinque domini sint medicina mei. sancta Maria peperit Christum, sancta Anna peperit Mariam, sancta Elisabet peperit Iohannem, sancta Cecilia peperit Remigium. arepo tenet opera rotas. Christus uincit, Christus regnat, Christus dixit “Lazare ueni foras,” Christus imperat, Christus te uocat, mundus te gaudet, lex te desiderat. deus ultionum dominus, deus proeliorum dominus. libera famulam tuam N. dextra domini fecit uirtutem agla alpha et Ω. Anna peperit Mariam, Elisabet procursozem, Maria dominum nostrum Iesum Christum sine dolore et tristitia. o infans siue uiuus siue mortuus, exi foras, Christus te uocat ad lucem. agyos agyos agyos. Christus uincit, Christus imperat, Christus regnat. sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus Christus qui es, qui eras, et qui uenturus es amen. bhurnon blictaono Christus Nazarenus rex Iudeorum fili dei miserere mei amen.’

with Mary

for birth; third-person performative; historiola (birth of Christ)

1.17.2.15. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2286 (s. XIV), f. 61r in marg.

ἄλλο εὐτόκιον. εἰπέ τῇ τικτούσῃ εἰς τὸ οὖς τόδε ‘τῆς θεοτόκου τικτούσης πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις ἠγάσθη. ἔξελθε καὶ σὺ παιδίον, καλεῖ σε ἡ κεχαριτωμένη ἵνα εὐφρανθῶσιν οἱ σε τεκόντες.’

‘light of the world and holy baptism’

combined with historiola of the birth of Isaac (*Genesis* 21)

1.17.2.16. Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 210 (s. XVIII), f. 61v, ed. Delatte 1927, 114

εἰς γυναῖκα ὅπου ἄργεῖ νὰ κάμη τὸ παιδίον. πιάσε εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν ὠτίον αὐτῆς καὶ εἰπέ τῆς ‘Σαρα ἔτεκεν υἱὸν ἐν γήρει αὐτῆς, ἔξελθε καὶ σὺ βρέφος καθὼς ἐξῆλθεν καὶ ὁ Λάζαρος ἐκ τοῦ τάφου, καλεῖ σε τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα.’

1.18. *saints*

Mary; against snakes

1.18.1. Vatican, BAV cod. Barb. gr. III 3 (s. XV), no folio reference given, ed. Vassiliev 1893, 334-335 [shelfmark no longer in use]

ἐξορισμὸς τοῦ ὄφεως, νὰ τὸ διώξῃ ἀπὸ τὸν τόπον ἔνθα ἔναι ἡ κατοικία του. λέγε ἄκουε φίδιν τί μας ἐμήνυσεν ἡ κυρά μας ἡ ἀφηγιώτισσα· “ἔπαρε τὸν λαόν σου καὶ τὸ γενολόγιόν σου καὶ ἔλα νὰ ὑπάτε εἰς τὴν πηγὴν. μήτε ἔλθῃς μήτε φανῆς μήτε εἰς κλίνην σου ἀπομείνης ἀπὸ ἡμῶν ἐφετὰ ἄμπαχα αὐτοῦ φαγεῖν.” στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ, ἀμήν.’ τὸ πρῶτ’ ἐξόρκισον καὶ ὄφιν οὐ σταθήσεται εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ, θεοῦ χάριτι.

$\bar{3}$ ὑπάμε *cod.*, Vassiliev || 4 ἡμεῖς *cod.*, Vassiliev || 6 χάριτος *cod.*, Vassiliev

Blasius

attribution of incantation to holy figure; meter (~anapestic); homoioteleuton (-βηθι ... -βηθι) for bones lodged in the throat

1.18.2. Aetius of Amida 8.54 (Heim 1893 no. 174)

ἄλλο. λέγε κατέχων τὸν λάρυγγα τοῦ πάσχοντος Ἐβλάσιος ὁ μάρτυς ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ λέγει “ἀνάβηθι ὁστοῦν ἢ κατὰβηθι.”

Zosimas

also historiola with Zosmias casting out bees, analogy

1.18.3. St. Petersburg, NLR cod. gr. 116 (s. XIV), f. 218r-v (ed. CCAG XII:169)

εὐχή τῶν μελισσῶν. ἰμέλισσά μου, μέλισσά μου, μήτερ τῶν μελισσῶν, νὰ ἔχῃς τὴν εὐχὴν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν γονέων σου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Ζωσιμαῦ τοῦ σε ἐκβάλλοντος ἀπὸ τὴν Συρίαν, κράτησόν μοι τὸν λαόν σου εἰς | τὸ ἀγγεῖον τοῦτο. ὡς ἠγάπησεν ἡ θεοτόκος τὸν Χριστόν, ἀγαπήσατε καὶ ἐσεῖς τὸ ἀγγεῖον τοῦτο. μὴ ὑψῶσιν, μὴ πετάσωσιν, μὴ ἀπάγουν ὅπου θέλουν· ὁ κύριος τὰ ἐπιτιμᾷ καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Ζωσιμαῦς.’

$\bar{1}$ εὐχή τῶν μελισσῶν *om. ed. pr.* || 2 τὸν σε ἐκβάλλοντα *cod.* | μου *cod.*

1.19. other figures

horse; meter (? choriamb / cretic)

1.19.1. *Hippiatrica Cantabrigiensia* 24.8 ed. Oder-Hoppe [also in London, BL cod.

Sloane 745, f. 107v]

πρὸς δυσουρίαν ἵππου θηλείας. εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν αὐτῆς ὠτίον εἶπε τρίς ἵππος σε καλεῖ, μὴ δυσούρει.’

$\bar{1}$ πρὸς δὲ δυσουρίαν ἵππάδος *Sloane 745*

Hebrew; for fever

1.19.2. Vienna, ÖNB cod. theol. gr. 244 (s. XV), f. 210v

γράψον καὶ εἰς μῆλα τρία καὶ φάγε τα ὀλόκληρα. ἡ χεὶρ κυρίου καταλάβῃ σε δαῖμον αὐδιε αἰγγιδιε καιανθε. φεῦγε ριγοπύρετε ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα. λέγει μοι ὁ Ἑβραϊκός, φησιν “σας ζαροερανος ωσδανουιος.” καὶ γράψε ταῦτα σαββάτω ἢ παρασκευῇ.

$\bar{1}$ ὀλοκερα *cod.* || 2 ριγοπυρετον *cod.*

1.20.1. flight and pursuit type, healing substance

wordplay (hordiologiae, hordeum, κριθή)

1.20.1.1. Marcellus 8.193 (Heim 1893 no. 58 in part)

item hoc remedium efficax. grana nouem hordei sumes et de eorum acumine uarulum punges et per punctorum singulas uices carmen hoc dices ‘φεῦγε φεῦγε κριθή, <κριθή> σε διώκει.’

² κριθή, <κριθή> *Niedermann* : φεῦγε φεῦγε κρείων (vel κρείττων) σε διώκει *coni. Heim*

with threat; wordplay, interlocking, ingredients mentioned in the incantation, δειάφη app. for θειάφι, crystalizations of sulfur; for σπιθοκόκκι (eruptions on the skin)

1.20.1.2. reported from contemporary Zakynthos, Klade 1957, 553

‘τὸ ξύδι καὶ τὸ μάραθο τὴ δειάφη κυνηγάει, τὸ ξύδι καὶ τὸ μάραθο τὴ δειάφη κυνηγάει, τὸ ξύδι καὶ τὸ μάραθο τὴ δειάφη κυνηγάει, καὶ ἂν δὲ φύγης σπιθοκόκκι, θὰ σὲ ψήσω, θὰ σὲ κάψω μὲ τὸ ἅγιο μάραθο.’

1.20.2. *flight and pursuit type, miscellaneous powerful figures*

meter (dactylic with respect to stress accent)

1.20.2.1. sardonix of unknown provenance now in St. Petersburg (Hermitage inv. ж 1517), ed. Koehler 1836, 21-22 with drawing; repr. Neverov 1976 no. 143 with photograph; Michel 2004 no. 18.2; Heim 1893 no. 59. Figure of Perseus holding head of Medusa, inscribed (read from photograph):

φύ[γε] | ποδάγρα Περσεύς σ|ε διώχι.

meter (iambic); for colic

1.20.2.2. Alexander of Tralles, *Therapeutica* 8.2, ed. Puschmann 2:377 (Heim 1893 no. 57)

λαβῶν δακτύλιον σιδηροῦν ποίησον γενέσθαι τὸ κρικέλλιον ὀκτάγωνον καὶ οὕτως ἐπίγραφε εἰς τὸ ὀκτάγωνον· ‘φεῦγε φεῦγ’ ἰοῦ χολή, ὁ κορδαλός σε ζητεῖ.’ τὸν δὲ χαρακτήρα τὸν ὑποκείμενον γράφε εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ δακτυλίου [*sign*].

excerpted in miscellany, with additional procedure; for internal pain

1.20.2.3. Thessaly, monastery of Olympiotissa, cod. 97 (s. XVIII), p. 99, ed. Skouvara 1965-1966, 89

περὶ πόνου λαγκόνου. ὅστις ἔχει λαγκόνι, νὰ κόψη ἀπὸ τοῦ μικροῦ παιδίου τὸν ὀφθαλόν, ὄντας τὸ κόπτη ἢ μαμὴ καὶ νὰ κάμη ἓνα πασβάνι ἀσημένιο καὶ νὰ τὸ βάλῃ μέσα καμπόσο ἄλας διὰ νὰ μὴν βρωμήσῃ καὶ νὰ τὸ ἔχη ζωσμένος ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἔχει τὸν πόνον. καὶ νὰ κάμη καὶ ἓνα δακτυλίδι ἀπὸ σίδηρον καὶ νὰ ἔχη ἀγκωνῆς ὀκτώ καὶ ὀλόγυρα νὰ γράφῃ οὕτως ‘φεῦγε φεῦγ’ ἰοῦ χολή, ἢ κορδαλός σε ζητεῖ.’ καὶ εἰς τὴν μέσην νὰ ἔχη τὸ σημάδι αὐτὸ ὅπου εἶναι κάτωθεν γραμμένο καὶ ὠφέλου. [*sign*]

⁵ φεῦγε ἰοῦ *conieci* : φω. γείου *Skouvara* | ἢ κορδαλός σε ζητεῖ *conieci* : ἢ κορδαλός. ἐζιτι *Skouvara*

1.20.2.4. [Pliny] *Physica*, from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 2.32 (cod. p. 231 bottom margin, ed. Önnersfors 2006, 1:49; Heim 1893, 559)

coli doloris praecantatio. coridali cor circa uentrem alligato lino aut licio et sanguine eius uentrem hominis perunge et dic ‘fuge coli dolor, corydalus te fugat.’ ipse autem et manducet.

¹ alligato *corr. Heim* : aligatum *cod.*

meter (dactylic)

1.20.2.5. Pliny *NH* 27.100 (Heim 1893 no. 68)

lapis uulgaris iuxta flumina fert muscum siccum, canum. hic fricatur altero lapide addita hominis saliuva, illo lapide tangitur impetigo, qui tangit dicit ‘φεύγετε κανθαρίδες, λύκος ἄγριος ὑμμε διώκει.’

$\overline{3}$ ὑμμε *Caesarius* : *hema codd.* : αἶμα *Mayhoff*

for hiccough

1.20.2.6. reported from contemporary Greece (no further context), Kyriakides 1922, 101 ‘φεύγα λούγκα, σὲ κυνηγάει ἢ δροῦγκα.’

classical mythology (Bacchus); interlocking, the recipe involves vinegar

1.20.2.7. additions to the *Euporiston* of Theodorus, ed. Rose 1894 p. 282

nam et scribis in ipsum locum qui patitur ‘ignis sacer fuge, Liber pater te sequitur.’

$\overline{1}$ Liber *correx*i : *Liur Rose*

to wake a sleeper

1.20.2.8. Glasgow, UL cod. Hunter 96 (T.4.13) (s. IX), f. 164r, ed. Sigerist 1923, 141 (repr. Önnersfors 1993, 216 no. 49), recollated

ad somnium. tria folia lactucae super umbilicum pone et noli illa tangere sed quando uixit experiat se uersa folia et experfactus est. ‘φεῦγε φεῦγε φεῦγε, ἄγρυπνός σε διώκει.’

$\overline{2}$ *correx*i : ΦεΥΓε ΦεΥΥεεΓΦΥΗαΥRoΥPTocceauωχι *cod.* : Önnersfors suggests ΦΕΥΓΕ ΕΚΦΥΓΕ for the second and third words. Önnersfors wrongly joins this recipe with the following one beginning *figissa. haec nuntia est deorum...*, which is of an entirely different type (request for dream visions).

1.20.2.9. inscribed gem (red jasper) now in Paris (Cabinet des Médailles), ed. Delatte and Derchain 1964 no. 280, repr. Michel 2004 no. 23.2; cf. Heim 1893 no. 60. On one side, Herakles fighting lion with magical signs and inscription (A); on the other, divine figure (Hecate?) with inscription (B).

A ἀναχώρι κολέ, τὸ θεῖόν σε διόκει.

B ιαω αβρασασξ

$\overline{A1}$ ἀναχώρει χολή, τὸ θεῖόν σε διώκει

1.20.2.10. gem (‘pierre noire, de forme ovale’) from Hadrumetum, shown to a native of Sousse (M.T. Gandolphe), ed. pr. P. Delatte *BCTH* 1922, pp. lxvi-lxvii no. 6 with majuscule tr. (‘sept lignes de caractères’), improved text of lines 1-5 in L. Robert, *RPh* 41 (1944), 41n4 [*OMS* III:1407], no discussion of the remaining text. On one side a divinity drawing a bow: ‘le dieu Soleil,’ ed. pr., perhaps the Phoebus-Apollo syncretism, in view of the bow; the other inscribed:

μηθί|γγηςμο|υ, β(ασ)κ(ο)σ(ύ)ν(η), δι|ώκι σε <ῆ>|λιο(ς), φ|θόν(ο)|μ.

$\overline{3}$ βκον *amulet*, Robert comments ‘l’amputation même d’une partie du nom détesté, notamment des voyelles, doit avoir quelque efficacité’ || 4-5 νλιου *amulet*, corr. Robert || 5-6 φ|θόν(ο)|μ *correx*i : φθονπμ *amulet*. The noun has apparently been attracted to the case of its apposite σε.

classical myth reference, for kidney ailments

1.20.2.11. Vatican, BAV cod. Barber. gr. III 3 (s. XV), no folio reference given, ed. Vassiliev 1893, 334

ἕτερον. 'φεῦγε σκίον, φεῦγε ἡμίσκιον· ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ ἄδου σε δεσμεύει.'

I τὸν ἄδον *cod.*, Vassiliev

classical myth; meter?

1.20.2.12. *Hippiatrica Parisina* 22, ed. Oder-Hoppe (Heim 1893 no. 65)

ποτὸν πρὸς μᾶλιν ... προσφυσῶν λέγε 'φεῦγε οὖν κακὴ μᾶλι, διώκει σε Ποσειδῶν.'

psalms, in combination with *Ps.* 90:1, such that φθόνος is addressed and the subject of διώκει is apparently ὁ κατοικῶν; meter (dactylic hexameter)

1.20.2.13. inscription on marble slab from Paros, s. V-VI, ed. Kiourtzian 2000 no. 60 [SEG L 775 (10)]

σταυρὸν ὄραξ, φθόνε, φεῦγε· τὰ γὰρ κακὰ νόσφι δι(ώ)κι | ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν βοήθια τοῦ ὑψίστου ἐν σκέπη τοῦ (>

I δίκι *stone*, I. διώκει

1.21.1. *Solomon*; 'detested' female demon

1.21.1.1. bronze medallion purchased at Smyrna, now in Paris (Cabinet des Médailles, coll. Schlumberger no. 68), ed. Schlumberger 1892, 74-75 no. 1 with drawing (repr. Manantseva 1994 no. 2 with photograph; Heim 1893 no. 61). On one side, holy rider lancing demon, with an inscription around the edge, clockwise from top (A); on the other side, the 'suffering eye' above which a legend (B), and around the edge another inscription, clockwise from top (C).

A † φεῦγε μεμισιμένοι, Σολομον σε δίοκι, Σισιννιος Σισινναριος.

B φ[θ]όνος

C † σφραγὶς Σολομονος ἀποδίοξον πᾶν κακὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ φοροῦντος(ς).

C φορουντο *amulet*, ου in ligature

1.21.1.2. bronze medallion, unknown provenance, described in the auction catalogue Wolfe and Sternberg 1989), 63 no. 196 with photograph. On one side, the holy rider, inscribed around the edge (A); on the other, lion, bound demon, and other figures, inscribed around the edge (B). I transcribe from the photograph; much is obscured by encrustation.

A φεῦγε μεμισιμένοι Σολομον [σε] δίοκ[ει --]

B Μιχαήλ Γαβριήλ Ουριήλ [Ρ]αφάηλ βοηθῆτε τοῦ φοροῦντος.

1.21.1.3. [Pliny] *De Medicina* 3.15.7 (Heim 1893 no. 56)

in charta uirgine scribis quod in dextro brachio ligatum portet ille qui patitur 'recede ab illo Gaio Seio, tertiana, Solomon te sequitur.'

1.21.2. *angel in place of Solomon*

1.21.2.1. bronze medallion purchased at Smyrna, ed. Schlumberger 1892, 74-75 no. 2 with drawing (Heim 1893 no. 62). On one side, angel lancing bound figure, inscription

around the edge clockwise from lower left (A); on the other side, lion trampling bound figure, with inscription clockwise from lower left (B).

- A † φεῦγε μεμισιμένοι, Ἀρλαφ ὁ ἄγγελός σε διόκι
B † σφραγίς Σολομονος φύλατε τὸν φοροῦντα.

1.21.2.2. bronze medallion in the Benaki Museum (inv. 11497), with inscription, ed. V. Phoskolou in Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002 no. 732 with photograph [SEG LV 1959] (cf. G. Vikan, *Tesserae. Festschrift für J. Engemann* (Münster 1991), 88-89). On one side, an angel striking a demon, and around the edge an inscription (A); on the other side, figure of lion with magical signs, around the edge an inscription (B).

- A † φεῦγε μεμισιμένοι, διόκι σε ὁ ἄγγελος Ἀραφ.
B † σφραγίς Σολο(μ)ωνος βοήθι τοῦ φοροῦ(ν)τι.

A1. μεμισημένη : μεμιασμένη SEG | ἄγγελος edd. || B colophonos amulet | φορουτι amulet

1.21.2.3. bronze medallion purchased at Constantinople, now in St. Petersburg (Hermitage ω-876), ed. Zaleskaia 1973 with photograph (repr. Manantseva 1994 pl. 14h). On one side, angel and other figures, around the edge an inscription (A). On the other side, ibis, snake and other figures, around which another inscription (B).

- A † φεῦγε μεμισιμένοι, διόκι σε ὁ ἄγγελος Ἀραφ.
B † σφραγίς Σολομονος βοήθι τοῦ φοροῦντι.

variant personalized with name of bearer

1.21.2.4. bronze medallion found in excavations at Carthage, ed. E. Babelon *BSAF* 1897, 190-192 and 394-395 (repr. in Manantseva 1994 pl. 14f). On one side, indistinct figures, perhaps an angel, around which an inscription (A), the end of which continues on an inner line, cut off by the punching of a suspension-hole; on the other, holy rider, Christ, and two other figures, and around the edge an inscription (B).

- A † φεῦγε μεμισιμένοι, διόκι σε ὁ ἄγγελος | Ἀρα[φ].
B † σφραγίς Σολομουνος βοήθι Ἰωάννου.

A.2 Ἀρ[χαφ] ed. pr.

φεῦγε repeated thrice

1.21.2.5. bronze medallion amulet with suspension hole found in excavations at Berytos (unstratified context, no. sf. 30; but in general from 'Roman and Byzantine levels'), ed. pr. Gatier 1998-1999, 163 with photograph (poor quality) [SEG LV 1635]. On one side, angel with staff, around which an inscription (A); on the other, holy rider, around which an inscription (B). The readings given by ed. pr. in B pose serious problems which are not addressed there, and where the text cannot be confirmed on the photograph I print it within brackets.

- A φεῦγε φεῦγε φεῦγε μεμισιμένοι, διόκι σε ὁ ἄγγελος Ἀρα[αφ]
B σφραγίς Σολομῶνος βοήθι [τὸν φοροῶ]ντα

B τὸς φέρουντας † ed. pr., both plural number and use of φέρω for φορέω unparalleled and difficult explain, no comment in ed. pr.

expansions with liturgical formulae, magical words

1.21.2.6. bronze medallion acquired at Smyrna, now in Paris (Cabinet des Medailles, coll. Fröhner no. 838), ed. Manantseva 1994 no. 4 with photograph. Both sides obscured by wear: on one, angel and other figures, indistinct, with inscriptions around the edge (A) and horizontally among the figures (B); on the other side, a lion with legend (C) and other figures, and around the edge another inscription (D).

- A φεῦγε μεμισιμένοι, διώκι [σε ὁ] ἄγγ[ε]λ[ο]ς Αρααφ.
 B ιαλους
 C ιαω
 D σφραγίς Σολομουνος βοήθι τοῦ φοροῦντι

\overline{D} φοροῦντι: ο and υ in ligature : φορο(ῦ)ντι *Manantseva*

with a second version involving Christ and a sword; meter, iambic opening in D
 1.21.2.7. bronze medallion purchased at Constantinople (Schlumberger), ed. Schlumberger 1892, 77-78 no. 3 with drawing (Heim 1893 no. 63). On one side, damaged, around the edge, clockwise from top an inscription (A), and in the field probably a scene with the adoration of the magi, below which two inscriptions (B-C). On the other side, figure of lion with magical characters, some letter-like, and other motifs, and around the edge, an inscription (D), clockwise from top.

- A [† φεῦγε μ]εμισιμένοι, διόκι σε ὁ ἄγγελος Αρααφ κ(αί) Ουριελ, φεῦγε μισ[ουμένη].
 B Εμμα[νουη]λ θε[ός]
 C Χριστός νικᾷ .[]
 D † τόκος θε(εο)ῦ, πάθος, διόκι σ' ἔξοθ(ε) κ(αί) μάχερα ὀξύτερον ἰλεοσ [..].

\overline{C} νικᾷ σε *Heim* || D ΤΟ ΚΟΣΘΥΠΑΘΟΣ ΔΙΟΚΙ ΣΕ ΖΟΘΥΚ ΜΑΧΕΡΑ ΟΞΥΤΕΡΟΝ ΙΛΕΟΣ *ed. pr.* : in the 1895 reprint at 122n3 is reported the suggestion of S.P. Stamoulis † ΤΟΚΟΣ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ ΠΑΘΟΣ ΔΙΟΚΙ Κ(ΑΙ) Ε(Ξ)ΘΟΥ (l. ΕΞΩΘΕΙ); the end of the inscription is still unclear perhaps ἴλεος (l. ἴλεως)?]

1.21.3. *Solomon and angel*

Solomon and angel; 'detested' female demon

1.21.3.1. bronze medallion said to have come from Cyzicus, ed. A. Sorlin Dorigny, *REG* 4 (1891), 287-296 with drawing; I present a text corrected along the lines suggested in Schlumberger 1892, 76n2, which can be confirmed on the drawing published in *ed. pr.* On one side, angel and holy rider lancing demon (A); on the other, figures including lion trampling bound figure, eye, and magical characters, among which an inscription (B), another inscription around the edge (C).

- A φεῦγε μεμισιμένοι, Σολομον σε διόκι κ(αί) ἄγγελος Αρααφ.
 B ἄγιος | ἄγιος | ἄγιος
 C Μιχαηλ Γαβριηλ Ουριηλ Ραφαηλ διαφύλαξον τὸν φορῶντα.

\overline{C} I. φορῶντα

1.21.3.2. bronze medallion acquired at Koula (near Smyrna), now in Paris (Cabinet des Medailles, coll. Schlumberger no. 67), ed. G. Millet *BCH* 17 (1893), 638 (repr. Manantseva 1994 no. 1 with photograph; errors in text). On one side, holy rider, demon, and angel, and around the edge an inscription (A); on the other side, various figures including Christ, angels, lion, and snake; around the edge (B) an inscription, continued in horizontal columns among the figures (C-G).

A † φεῦγε (με)μισιμένοι, Αρααφ ὁ ἄγγελός σε διόκι {κι} κὲ Σολομον ἀπὸ τοῦ φοροῦντ(ος).
 B σφραγίς τοῦ ζῶντος θε(ο)ῦ φύλαξον τὸν φοροῦντα. ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος
 C κ(ύριο)ς | σα|β|α|ω|θ
 D π|λί-
 E ρ|ις | ὁ οὐ|ρα|νὸ|ς
 F κ(αί) | ἡ | γῆ
 G τ|ῖ|ς | δ|ό|ξ|ι|ς

$\overline{\text{A}}$ μισιμενι *amulet*, l. μεμισημένη | τοῦ: ο and υ in ligature | φοροῦντ *amulet*, the ο and υ in ligature and the τ written above the line to mark the abbreviation || E.3 ο and υ in ligature

Christ

1.22.1. inscription on stone from the Tauric Chersonese, ed. Changuin 1938, 84 no. 13 with photograph [*BÉ* 1939 no. 244]: floral motif and cross, inscribed on the termini (A: reading left-bottom-top-right); inscription in the upper left and right corners (B).

A φ(ῶς) Χ(ριστοῦ) φ(ωτίζει) [π(άντας)].
 B φεῦγε ζῆλ[ε], | Χ(ριστό)ς σε δηόχι.

$\overline{\text{B.2}}$ δηόχι *via photograph*, l. διώκει : δηόκ[ει] *BÉ* : δηόχv[ει] *Changuin*

introducing a prayer for healing; rhythm

1.22.2. Glasgow, UL Ms Gen. 1026/12 (s. V), ed. *P.Oxy.* VIII 1151, re-ed.

Pap.Graec.Mag. P 5b

† φεῦγε πv(εῦμ)α | μεμισημένον | Χ(ριστό)ς σε διώκει· | προέλαβέν σε | ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ | θε(ο)ῦ καὶ | τὸ πv(εῦμ)α τὸ ἅγιον. | ὁ θε(ὸ)ς τῆς προβατι|κῆς κολυμβή|θρας, | ἐξελοῦ τὴν | δούλην σου | Ἰωαννίαν ἦν | ἔτεκεν Ἀναστασία | εἰ καὶ Εὐφημία | ἀπὸ | παντὸς κακοῦ. | † ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν | ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος | ἦν πρὸς τὸν θε(ὸ)v καὶ | θε(ὸ)ς ἦν ὁ λόγος· | πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ | ἐγένετο κ(αί) χωρεῖς | αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο | οὐδὲ ἐν ὃ γέγονε(v). | κ(ύρι)ε † Χ(ριστ)ὲ υἱὲ καὶ | λόγε τοῦ θε(ο)ῦ τοῦ | ζῶντος ὁ ἰασάμε|νος πᾶσαν νόσον | καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν, | ἴασαι καὶ ἐπίσκεψαι | καὶ τὴν δούλην σου | Ἰωαννίαν ἦν ἔτεκεν | Ἀναστασία ἡ καὶ | Εὐφημία καὶ ἀπο|δίωξον καὶ φυγάδευ|σον ἀπ' αὐτῆς πάντα | πυρετὸν κ(αί) παντοῖον | ῥῆγος ἀμφημερινὸν | τριτῆον τεταρτῆον | καὶ πᾶν κακὸν εὐχῆς | κ(αί) πρεσβείαις τῆς | δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς | θεοτόκου καὶ τῶν ἐνδόξων ἀρχαγγέ|λων κ(αί) τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐν|δόξου ἀποστόλου κ(αί) | εὐαγγελιστοῦ κ(αί) θεο|λόγου Ἰωάννου κ(αί) τοῦ | ἁγίου Σερῆνου κ(αί) τοῦ | ἁγίου Φιλοξένου κ(αί) τοῦ | ἁγίου Βῆκτωρος κ(αί) τοῦ | ἁγίου Ἰουστοῦ κ(αί) πάντω(v) | [τῶ]ν ἁγίων· ὅτι τὸ ὄνομά | σου κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θε(ὸ)ς ἐπεκαλεσά|[μ]ην τὸ θαυμαστὸν | καὶ ὑπερένδοξον καὶ | φοβερὸν τοῖς ὑπε|ναντίοις σου, ἀμήν.

$\overline{\text{I}}$ πvα pap. || 2 l. μεμισημένον || 3 $\overline{\text{X}}$ ς pap. || 5 $\overline{\text{th}}$ pap. || 6 $\overline{\text{pn}}$ α pap. || 7 $\overline{\text{th}}$ ς pap. || 11 ἰωαννιαν pap. || 13 l. ἡ || 17 $\overline{\text{th}}$ pap. || 18 $\overline{\text{th}}$ ς pap. || 20 l. χωρὶς || 23 $\overline{\text{ke}}$ pap. | ὑ pap. | $\overline{\text{xe}}$ pap. | υἱε pap. || 24 $\overline{\text{th}}$ pap. || 25 l. ζῶντος || 25-26 ἰασαμενος pap. || 28 ἴασαι pap. || 30 ἰωαννιαν pap. || 36 l. ῥῆγος || 37 l. τριταῖον τεταρταῖον || 38 l. εὐχαῖς || 38-39 εὐχῆς καὶ *D. Hagedorn, ZPE 145 (2003), 226* : εὐχεσ|θαῖ *ed. pr.* (l. εὐχεσε, *K. Preisendanz in Pap.Graec.Mag.*) || 39 l. πρεσβείαις || 42-43 ἀρχαγγέλων pap. || 46 ἰωαννου pap. || 49 l. Βίκτωρος || 50 ἰουστοῦ pap. || 52 $\overline{\text{ke}}$ $\overline{\text{th}}$ ς pap. || 54 ὑπερένδοξον pap. || 55-56 ὑπεναντίοις. ἀμήν † *ed. pr.*

1.22.3. St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 759 (s. IX), p. 67
ad ficta. collegis tres folios de hedera, in ipsos folios facis cruces tres et scribis in ipsos
‘fugite puncta Christus te persequitur’ et mittis super puncta et quomodo mutare coeperit
illos, alium folium super mittas. probatum est.

I dēdera cod. | ††† cod. | | 3 alius folius cod.

to be written around a sore [Old English instructions]

1.22.4. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Junius 85 (s. XI), p. 17, ed. Storms 1948 no. 41
‘fuge diabolus, Christus te sequitur. quando natus est Christus, fugit dolor.’

to protect grain; coinage of words (σιτόλαε as σῖτος + λεία ?)

1.22.5. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2091 (s. XV-XVI), f. 112v, ed. Doyen-Higuet 2006, 132
ἄλλο. ἵνα ποιήσης σταυρούς δώδεκα εἰς τὸ βήσαλον καὶ γράφης οὕτως ‘ἐν ὀνόματι
τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. φεῦγε σιτόλαε, Χριστὸς σε
διώκει.’

1.22.6. reported from contemporary Cyprus, Koukoules 1928, 476n4
‘πάψε πόνε τῶν ἀντέρων | κι’ ὁ Χριστὸς σε κατατρέχει.’

1.22.7. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 90
‘ἔβγα πόνε τῶν ἀντέρων | κι’ ὁ Χριστὸς σε κατατρέχει | μὲ τὸν πόδα, μὲ τὴν χέραν,
| μὲ τὴν ἀργυρὰν μαχαίραν.’

for fever

1.22.8. London, BL cod. Add. 24068 (s. XIII), f. 92v
‘in nomine domini crucifixi sub Pontio Pilato. signum Christi fugite febres cottidianae
biduanae triduaanae et recedite ab hoc famulo dei N et omnis chorus angelorum
persequatur uos.’

1.22.9. *Corpus Hippiatricorum Graecorum, excerpta Lugdunensia* 203 (Leiden, UB cod.
VGQ 50, f. 222r-v) ed. Oder-Hoppe
ἐξόρκιν τῆς λύσσης. ‘βρησκα βρησκα δεδεσηρ δεδεσηρ δεαιστε δεδεουρων ναουρ
ναουρ | σεδεοδεδης. φεῦγε ἀφνοδανκνολησία με, παρὰ κυρίου λέγοντος, ἀπὸ τὸν
δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα. στῶμεν καλῶς.’

1.22.10. Vatican, BAV cod. Barber. gr. III 3 (s. XV), no folio reference given, ed.
Vassiliev 1893, 335 [shelfmark no longer in use]
εἰς σιαζόμενον καὶ δαιμονιζόμενον. λέγε εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν οὖς τοῦ ζώου ‘χρῖσε αβρισδε
δεουρ δεδεουρ σουρ φεῦγε λυσιασμόν, τοῦ κυρίου λέγοντος. στῶμεν.’

flight only; combined with Christian formulae and prayer; for fever

1.22.11. Prague, *P.Prag.* I 6 (s. V), re-ed. *Suppl.Mag.* I 25
[† ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς] νικᾷ. ῥῦγος | [καὶ ῥιγ]οπύρετο | [ς καὶ πυ]ρετοῦ, ὁ υ | [[ἰος το]ῦ
θ(εο)ῦ σε κ|αταδιόκι. ἅγιος | ἄ[γί]ος ἅγιος κ(ύριο)ς | Σαβαστ. ἴασε Γεννατία τὴν |
δούλην σου. ἰ(ησοῦ)ς | Χ(ριστὸ)ς νικᾷ. †

Tantalus type

1.23.1. *simple*

1.23.1.1. additions to Theodorus *Euporiston* ed. Rose 1894, 276; cf. Barb 1952
in tria folia lauri scribis de sanguine ipsius ‘Τάνταλε πίε, πίε Τάνταλε, Τάνταλε πίε.’ et
de succo porri uirginis lauas folia ipsa et das ei bibere.

Τάνταλε πίε, πίε Τάνταλε, Τάνταλε πίε *cod.*

1.23.1.2. hematite now in Perugia (Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell’Umbria, coll.
Guardabassi inv. 1742), ed. *SGG* II Pe26 with photograph. On one side, uterine symbol,
within which an inscription (A); the other side inscribed (B).

A αειριουω
B πίε | Τάντα | λε.

Α αωω[*SGG*, reading the opposite direction; the rest via published photograph

1.23.1.3. Leiden, cod. VLQ 9 (s. VI), f. 102r-v, §185 (ed. Piechotta 1887, xii; cf. Heim
1893 no. 122 and Barb 1952)

ad profluuium sanguinis. scribis in charta et ligas de tela, si uir est, in collo, si mulier, in
umbilico, sic ut terram non tangat, ita ‘sanguinem bibe <Ta>ntale, Tantalē bibe
sanguinem, bibe sanguinem Tantalē.’

1-2 in umbilico *corr. Usener ap. Heim* : inuulico *cod.* || sanguinem bibe <Ta>ntale,
Tantalē, bibe sanguinem, bibe sanguinem *correxī* : sanguen uiuentale tantale uiue
sanguine uiuessanguine tantale *cod.* : sanguinem bibant talem. Tantalē, bibes sanguinem,
Tantalē *coni. Heim* (*beginning incantation at sic ut*).

1.23.1.4. Glasgow, UL cod. Hunter 96 (T.4.13) (s. IX), f. 166r, ed. Sigerist 1923, 146
(repr. Önnersfors 1993, 216 no. 50).

ad profluuium mulieris. prunis et adsedentes super cupulum mittis super carbones et in
carbonis mittis stercus caballinum et spongiam et super fumigabis diutissime et da ei bibere
rasuram de ebore cum uino et scribes in charta literas istas et super pectinem ipsius ligabis
‘Τάνταλος αίμα πίει, Τάνταλος αίμα πίει, Τάνταλος αίμα πίει.’

1 profluuium *correxī* : perfluuium *cod.* || 4 *correxī* :
TANTANΣΟΥΜΕΙΝΕΙΤΑΝΤΑΝΟΣΟΥΜΕΙΝΕΙΤΑΝΤΑΝΟΣΟΥΜΕΙΝΕΙ *cod.*,
Önnersfors suggests ταῦτα for TANTA and ΙΝΕΙ as ‘Imperativ von ΙΝΕΩ’ (*sic*)

1.23.1.5. Vienna, ÖNB cod. med. gr. 52 (c. 1300), f. 88v. On βλισκούνιον
(βλησκούνιον) see *DGE* s.v. βλησκούνιον, “poleo, Mentha pulegium” with citation of
scholia on Theocr. 5.56/57b and on Nic. Al. 128b

πρὸς τὸ στῆσαι ῥίνος αίμα. μετὰ ξύλου βλισκουνίου γράψον εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον
‘Τάνταλος διψᾷ.’

1.23.2. Tantalus type: Schwindeschema

1.23.2.1. hematite in Paris (Cabinet des Médailles), ed. Delatte and Derchain 1964 no.

364 with photograph; text given for first line only. Line 18 is the last visible on the
photograph, but it is possible that one additional line with the final ε was once present and
has been obliterated by wear.

διψᾷς Τάνταλαι ξμα πίε
ιψας Τάνταλαι ξμα πίε
ψας Τάνταλαι ξμα πίε

ας Τάνταλαι ἔμα πίε
 ς Τάνταλαι ἔμα πίε
 Τάνταλαι ἔμα πίε
 ανταλαι ἔμα πίε
 νταλαι ἔμα πίε
 ταλαι ἔμα πίε
 αλαι ἔμα πίε
 λαι ἔμα πίε
 αι ἔμα πίε
 ι ἔμα πίε
 ἔμα πίε
 μα πίε
 α πίε
 πίε
 ίε

$\overline{\Gamma}$ 1. Τάνταλε, αἷμα (*and passim*): διψᾶς Τάνταλ'; αἷμα πίε *ed. pr.*

1.23.2.2. hematite copied by Seyrig while in the possession of an antiquities dealer in Beirut, Seyrig 1934, 3-4 with drawing; repr. Bonner 1950 no. 144. The interpretation elaborated in Bonner 1950, 88-89 of διψᾶς, the noun, as a kind of snake, is incorrect; Seyrig's δίψας (cf. tr. "assoiffé") is closer to the truth. Neither ed. provides a full text; read from the photograph in Bonner (obtained from Seyrig).

διψᾶς Τάνταλε αἷ\μα πίε/
 ιψᾶς Τάνταλε αἷμαι πίε
 ψᾶς Τάνταλε αἷμαι πίε
 ᾶς Τάνταλε αἷμαι πίε
 ς Τάνταλε αἷμαι πίε
 Τάνταλε αἷμαι πίε
 άνταε αἷμαι πίε
 νταε αἷμαι πίε
 ταε αλιμαι πε
 αε αλιμαι πε
 ε αλιμαι πε
 αλιμαι πε
 λιμαι πε
 ιμ[αι] πε
 μ[αι π]ε
 α πε
 πε
 ε

$\overline{\Gamma}$ αἷ\μα πίε/: *the end added over the center of the line, for considerations of space*

1.23.2.3. hematite, in private collection (M. Kofler, Lucerne, inv. S 433), ed. Festugiere 1960-1961, 287-288 with photograph. On one side, standing armed figure (Ares?) at lower left, the rest inscribed (A); on the other side, uterine symbol flanked by snakes, around which an inscription (B: lines 5 and 6 read from top to bottom on the left and right, respectively, of the uterine symbol; 7 and 8 left to right at the foot of it).

A διψᾶς Τάνταλαι ἔμα πίε

ιψας Τάνταλαι ἔμα πίε
 ψας Τάνταλαι ἔμα πίε
 ας Τάνταλαι ἔμα πίε
 ς Τάνταλαι ἔμα πίε
 Τάνταλαι ἔμα πίε
 ανταλαι ἔμα πίε
 νταλαι ἔμα πίε
 ταλαι ἔμα πίε
 αλαι ἔμα πίε
 λαι ἔμα πίε
 αι ἔμα πίε
 ι ἔμα πίε
 ἔμα πίε
 μα πίε
 α πίε
 πίε
 ιε
 ε

B ὁ κύριος ὁ ἀ|πόκρυφος ἰ|ἀλσ/ε(ται) τὰ ἀπόκρ|υφα. | αδωνοει | σαβαω |
 ιαω | αεχιουω

[addendum] hematite gem, once coll. Luigi di Sannazaro, marchese Malaspina (1754-1835), now Pavia, Museo Archeologico, standing armed figure, with inscription (A); the other side inscribed (B). Ed. A. Stenico, “Un intaglio magico greco-orientale al museo di Pavia,” *Bollettino d. Soc. Pavese di Storia Patria* 32-33 (1973) 1-14 (ph.), with first line of A only.

A [δ]ιψᾱ(ς) Τάνταλαι ἔμα πίε
 [ι]ψας Τάνταλαι ἔμα πίε
 ψας Τάνταλαι ἔμα πίε
 ας Τάνταλαι ἔμα πίε
 ς Τάνταλαι ἔμα πίε
 Τάνταλαι ἔμα πίε
 ανταλαι ἔμα πίε
 νταλαι ἔμα πίε
 ταλαι ἔμα πίε
 αλαι ἔμα πίε
 λαι ἔμα πίε
 αι ἔμα πίε
 ι ἔμα πίε
 ἔμα πίε
 μα πίε
 α πίε
 πίε
 ιε
 ε

B
at top κύρι|ος ὁ ἀπό|κρυφος | ἰάσε(ται) τὰ ἀ|πόκρυφ[α].
left αδωνοει
right [σαβα]ωθ
bottom ιαω | αεχιουω

A.1 διψαι *amulet*, [δ]ιψᾶς ed. pr. | 1. Τάνταλε αἶμα : Τάνταλ' αἶμα ed. pr. || B.1 ὁ κύριος ed.pr. || 4 ἰάσετα(ι) ed.pr.

-without full diminution

1.23.2.4. hematite now in London (British Museum), ed. Michel 2001 no. 383 (maj. tr.) with photograph.

διψᾶς Τάνταλαι ἔμα πί\ε/
ιψας Τάνταλαι ἔμα πίες
ψας Τάνταλαι ἔμα πίες
ας Τάνταλαι ἔμα πίες
ς Τάνταλαι ἔμα πίες
Τάνταλαι ἔμα πίες
ανταλαι ἔμα πίες
νταλαι ἔμα πίες
ταλαι ἔμα πίες
αλαι ἔμα πίες
λαι ἔμα [πίε]

I πί\ε/: ε added above the center of the line, for considerations of space

shortened version Τάνταλαι ἔμα πίες, in which the figure ceases after the name of Tantalus is effaced

1.23.2.5. hematite in London (British Museum), Michel 2001 no. 384 with photograph.

Τάνταλ[αι ἔμα πί]\ε/
ανταλα[ι ἔμα πίες]
νταλα[ι ἔμα πίες]
ταλαι [ἔμα πίες]
αλαι ἔ[μα πίες]
λαι ἔ[μα πίες]
αι ἔ[μα πίες]
ι ἔ[μα πίες]
ἔ[μα πίες].

I [πί]\ε/ : ε added above the center of the line, for considerations of space. The traces of ε omitted in ed. pr., where the text Τάνταλ(ε) διψᾶς αἶμα πίες is reconstructed for the first line only.

shortened version διψᾶς Τάνταλε αἶμα; diminution is employed at the right end too in the final two lines, probably for considerations of space; a further manipulation of words, in that the magic words in (A) graphically surround the uterine symbol

1.23.2.6. hematite amulet in a private collection (Skoluda, Hamburg), ed. pr. Michel 1995, 383-385 with photograph [*SEG* XLV 2200 (12)]. On one side, uterine symbol surrounded by inscription with magical words and vowels, forming a rectangle (A: line 1 top left to right; 2 top right to bottom right; 3 bottom left to bottom right; 4 top left to bottom left); on the other side, at lower left a standing figure with helmet, shield and spear (Ares, ed. pr.), and in Schwindeschema with subtraction from left, an inscription (B). No text of A in ed. pr., erroneous majuscule tr. of first line only of B. Read here from published photograph.

A αδωνοει | θαδωα | αειουω | σαβαω
 B διψᾶς Τάνταλαι ἔμ\α/
 ιψας Τάνταλαι ἔμα
 ψας Τάνταλαι ἔμα
 ας Τάνταλαι ἔμα
 ς Τάνταλαι ἔμα
 Τάνταλαι ἔμα
 ανταλαι ἔμα
 νταλαι ἔμα
 ταλαι ἔμα
 αλαι ἔμα
 λαι ἔμα
 αι εμ
 ε

B.1 l. Τάνταλε (and *passim*) | ἔμ\α/: α written above α¹ in Τάνταλαι for considerations of space. l. αῖμα (and *passim*).

1.23.2.7. fragmentary hematite now in Los Angeles (Getty Museum, acc. 83.AN.437.50), ed. Michel 2004 no. 28.12.b (maj. tr. of first line only), with photographs Taf. IV.2 and 56.2. I transcribe from the photographs; only one side is pictured, and no mention is made of the other. This fragment of a larger original seems to have been filed down at a later date at the edges to give the appearance of a complete stone. The reconstruction given here is a shortened version of the formula; given the space available, it is less likely that the full version could have been carried through the full diminution, which would have required three additional lines below the surviving line 15. At lower, left, a lion-headed ithyphallic human figure.

[διψᾶς Τάνταλαι ἔμα]
 ιψας Τά[νταλαι ἔμα]
 ψας Τάν[ταλαι ἔμα]
 ας Τάντα[λαι ἔμα]
 ς Τάντα[λαι ἔμα]
 Τάνταλ[αι ἔμα]
 ανταλ[αι ἔμα]
 νταλ[αι ἔμα]
 ταλα[ι ἔμα]
 αλα[ι ἔμα]
 λα[ι ἔμα]
 αι [ἔμα]
 ι ἔ[μα]
 ἔ[μα]
 [μα]
 [α]

shortened version without the name of Tantalus, διψᾶς αῖμα πίε, based on a new reconstruction.

1.23.2.8. fragmentary hematite in the British Museum, Michel 2001 no. 382 with photograph; no reconstruction offered. The beginning and end appear to be complete, and the remains preclude the reconstruction of any form of the name Τάνταλος, assuming that the usual principles of subtraction operated at the lost left edge.

[διψᾶς, ἔμα] πίε
 [ιψας ἔμ]α πίε
 [ψας ἴμ]α πίε
 [ας εμ]α πίε
 [ς εμ]α πίε
 [εμ]α πίε
 [μ]α πίε
 [α] πίε
 πίε
 ίε
 ε

1.24. *Herakles type*

1.24.1. simple

1.24.1.1. inscription on marble block found near Sotirum on Thasos, , ed. *IG XII.8.687*, *addenda* p. x (ed. pr. M.N. Tod in Baker-Penoyre and id. 1909, 99 no. 15). Ed. pr. suggests that the block once formed part of the entry, letters “carelessly scrawled,” tentatively dated s. III-IV BC (ed. pr.).

Ἡρακλῆς | ἐνθά{δ}δε | κατοικ[[ι]]ῖ

2 ΕΝΟΑΛΔΕ stone || 3 κατοικ[[ι]]ι x stone

1.24.2. with prohibition

meter

1.24.2.1. inscription on an oscillum from Gela, found in an archeological context of s. III BC, ed. P. Orlandini, *Kokalos* 14-15 (1968-1969), 330-331 with photograph [*SEG XXVII* 648]. Cf. C. Gallavotti, *Helikon* 17 (1977), 123-125. A circular clay disk shaped as a human face on the front, inscribed on the back; two holes made towards the top for mounting, probably at the entrance to a house. Faraone 2009, 229-230 identifies trochaic tetrameter catalectic.

Ἡρακλῆς ἔν|θα κατοικεῖ· | μὴ ᾽σίτω μῆ|θὲν κακόν.

1.24.2.2. inscription on rock over the entrance to a cave-dwelling on Mt. Kerefto (Karafto, Karaftu) in Media, s. IV-III BC, ed. M.N. Tod in Stein 1940, 337-338 based on an inked squeeze (ed. pr. *CIG* III 4673, with corrections summarized in *SEG* VII 36, numerous reprints, including Kaibel *EG* 1138n, *I.Estremo Oriente* 269; Merkelbach-Stauber *SGO* III 12/04/01).

Ἡρακλῆς ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ, | μῆθὲν εἰσέλθοι κακόν.

Ἰ Ἡρακλῆ[ς] ἐν[θ]άδε *I.Estremo Oriente*, but the published drawing clearly shows the sigma, while there is no trace of epsilon; as for theta, its center-dot is visible on the drawing, and the gap between it and the preceding letter is due to the presence of a cleft in the rock-face, which the cutter has avoided || [ε]ισέλθοι *I.Estremo Oriente*, but the epsilon is clear on the drawing

1.24.2.3. inscription on a stone lintel in Side near the necropolis (Roman imperial period), ed. *I.Side* II 170 with improved text after recognition of type by Robert 1965, 266n1 (repr. Merkelbach-Stauber *SGO* IV 18/15/10); ed. pr. P. Paribeni and P. Romanelli, *Monumenti antichi* 23 (1914), 122 no. 85 with drawing (original lost).

[Ἡρακλῆς ἔ]νθα κατοικῖ· | [μῆδὲν εἰσίτω κ]ακόν.

2]IKON drawing in ed. pr. : corr. Robert

1.24.2.4. inscription a marble block seen at Karyai in Lakonia (now lost), said to be from Sparta, ed. pr. G. Daux *BCH* 93 (1969) 1024-1025 [*SEG* XLVII 351, cf. XL 343] from the notes of E. Dalleggio who copied the stone in 1937; Dalleggio describes the stone as a 'dalle funéraire' decorated with a relief carving of a standing, nude female figure holding a pinecone and a *kantharos*, below which an inscription.
Ἡρακλῆς ἐνθάδε κα | τοικεῖ. μηδὲν εἰσίτ[ω κα] | κόν.

1.24.2.5. dipinto in red on plaster of a wall of a taberna at Pompeii (now Naples, MANN inv. 4717, Ruesch 1206), s. I, ed. *CIL* IV 733, cf. Add. pp. 196 and 461 (repr. Kaibel *EG* 1138). In two columns, lines 1-3 in larger letters at left, 4-8 at right. The 'Taberna di Severus,' VIII.4.7 (*Strada d'Olconio*, "taberna no. 7" in the original *CIL* plan). Photograph in A. Varone, and G. Stefani, *Titulorum Pictorum Pompeianorum* () 366. There is also a ph. in K. Millnor, *Graffiti and the Literary Landscape in Roman Pompeii* (Oxford 2014) 235, but of inferior quality. Millnor determines based on the corresponding gap in the surviving plaster that it was originally placed "centred high on the western wall of the shop" (235).
ὁ τοῦ Διὸς | παῖς καλλι|νεικος Ἡρακλῆς | ἐ[νθ]άδαι | κατοικεῖ, | μηδὲν εἰ|σειαίτω | κακόμ.

1.24.2.6. inscription on a small marble altar from Mylasa, ed. *I.Mylasa* 343 (ed. pr. L. Robert *Hellenica* XIII (1965), 266n1; repr. Merkelbach-Stauber *SGO* I 01/15/01).
ὁ τοῦ Διὸς | παῖς καλλι|νεικος Ἡρακλῆς | ἐνθάδε κατοικῖ· | μηθὲν εἰ|σίτω κακό[ν].

1.24.2.7. inscription on marble threshold of a house on Thasos, s. III-IV, ed. P. Bernard and F. Salviat, *BCH* 86 (1962), 608-609 no. 23 with photograph of squeeze.
Ἡρακλῆς ἐνθ[άδε κατοι] | κεῖ· μηθὲν εἰσίτω | κακόν.

the primary evidence for restoring *Felicitas* is *CIL* IV 1454, *hic habitat Felicitas*; no evidence has been cited for the combination of *Felicitas* and the 'prohibition' and so Hercules seems just as likely a restoration.

1.24.2.8. mosaic pavement from a house in Salzburg (discovered during the excavations for a monument for Mozart in 1841, transferred to the Museum), ed. *CIL* III 5561 (ed. pr. G. Abeken *Bullettino dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 1841, 125; repr. Orelli-Henzen *ILC* III 7287). Heim mistakenly cites the Orelli-Henzen and *CIL* editions as two separate inscriptions (p. 510).
hic habitat [Hercules], | *nihil intret mali*.

1 [Felicitas] ed. pr. || 2 intret *CIL* : interet ed. pr.

fourth century BC (seen by Diogenes the Cynic); parody; meter. Cf. 6.39, with the imperative only (Heim 1893 no. 139); the two anecdotes are combined in Clem. Al. *Strom.* 7.4.26.1 and Theodoret of Cyrh, *Graecarum affectionum curatio* 6.20. The joke is elaborated, and set in Cyzicus, in the letter-collection ascribed to Diogenes himself ([Diogenes] *Epist.* 36.1).

1.24.2.9. Diogenes Laertius 6.50 (Heim 1893 no. 143)
νεογάμου ἐπιγράψαντος ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, 'ὁ τοῦ Διὸς παῖς καλλίνικος Ἡρακλῆς ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ, μηδὲν εἰσίτω κακόν,' ἐπέγραψε, 'μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἢ συμμαχία.'

parody

1.24.2.10. Vatican *Gnomologion* 564 (BAV cod. Vatic. gr. 743, s. XVI) (ed. Sternbach 1888; cf. Weinreich 1915)

Ἀττική γυνή ἰδοῦσα γράμμα ἐπὶ θυρῶν μέλλοντος γαμεῖν, “Ἡρακλῆς ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ, μηδὲν εἰσὶτω κακόν,” εἶπεν ‘νῦν οὖν ἡ γυνή οὐ μὴ εἰσελεύσεται.’

1.24.3 excerpted

1.24.3.1. inscription on limestone found in excavations at Alexandria, ed. pr. A. Rowe, *Bull. Alexandrie* 35 (1942), 151. Ed. pr. provides only a majuscule tr. and identifies the inscription as funerary; but H. Seyrig, by a personal communication noted in *BE* 1949 no. 222, suggests that Ἡρακλῆς marks the beginning of an instance of this formula, preceded by a wish for good fortune for whoever enters (apparently, a dwelling or other structure). εἰσιῶν, εὐτύχι. Ἡρακλῆς < >.

also play with languages: perhaps οὐαλης in 4 is to be taken as a transliteration of the Latin verbal form *uales*, not as a personal name (so ed. pr. p. 264, ‘le nom hellénisé de Valens’ and *IG*). Further, the vocables ου and οὐαλ which appear in 1-2 may be more than mere false starts, that is, they may represent the sort of manipulation of powerful words well attested in incantation-practice, here in an ascending schema bracketing the central mention of Herakles

1.24.3.2. graffito from Thasos (*odeon*), ed. *IG XII Suppl.* 424a (ed. pr. Y. Béquignon and P. Devambez *BCH* 56 (1932), 263).

ου οὐαλ | οὐαλ | ὁ τοῦ Διὸς παῖς καλλίνει | [κ]ο[ς] | ὁ Ἡρακλῆ οὐαλης.

1.25. variants with other divinities

1.25.1. *Hermes*

inscriptions in a recipe entitled *πρακτικόν* for text to be written on papyrus and sealed up inside a hollow figurine of Hermes; the assemblage should then be deposited in the wall of a building, to bring benefits to user and his activities therein. The non-Greek ψεντεβηθ which appears in the slot where the subject of κατοικεῖ is expected is presumably an Egyptian epithet for the Thoth-Hermes syncretism.

1.25.1.1. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574, f. 26v, ed. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.2365-2367 (the recipe in full runs from 2359 to 2372).

‘χαίωχεν ουτιβιλμενουωθ· | ατραυιχ· δὸς πόρον καὶ πρᾶξιν τῷ τόπῳ | τούτῳ, ὅτι ψεντεβηθ ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ.’

1.25.2. *Sisinnios and companions*

1.25.2.1. “soft black stone” pendant, once with suspension loop (now broken), from the Seyrig collection, ed. Mastrocinque 2014, 241 no. 692; Bonner 1950 no. 396.

A σαλα | μαξα | βαμεαλ | ζα

B Σίννι | ς ἐνθάδ | ε κατοι | κεῖ

A.1-2 σαλαμαζα Mastrocinque || B.1-2 ΣΙΝΝΙ Mastrocinque

1.25.2.2. bronze pendant found in excavations at the necropolis of Tyre, ed. Chébab 1986, 183 with photograph (maj. tr.) [so too *SEG XXXVI* 1316]. Damaged; one side illegible; on the other, based on the photograph the following inscription can be made out: φεῦγε | Αβιζιον, ἔ(ν)θα γὰρ κατ[οι] || [κ]ῖ Σισιννις κ(αἰ) | Σισιννια κ(αἰ) | ὁ λάβ(ρ)αξ κύω(ν) | [...]ια

2-3 ε|θα *amulet* || 4-5 κ, *amulet*

1.25.2.3. bronze pendant, seen and photographed by H. Seyrig in 1963, ed. Barb 1972, 353-357 with photograph. On one side, holy rider (only the head of horse and rider survive), above which an inscription (A: lines 9-10 perpendicular to the rest at far left, line 11 returns to the usual orientation picking up at the end of line 10; Barb had attempted to read 9-10 with horizontal orientation); the other side inscribed (B: line 10, of which the beginning is lost, runs perpendicular to the rest at the left edge; line 11 returns to the normal orientation). If the new readings in A.8-11 are correct, this might identify the ‘voracious hound’ as belonging to the biblical Solomon.

A ἀποστάτι | ἔρημοθέ | της λυτρία· ὑπ | ὃ θεόν ἐσμ | ε(ν) τῶν παντο | κράτορα καὶ
δι | μιουῦργον), ὄ(σ)τις (ἐ) | ὄρακέ σε ἵνα σε | γνώσομε. | [εἷς θε]ός | ὁ νικῶν τ(ὰ)
B φεῦγε φε | ὕγε Αβιζιον, | ἔνθα γὰρ κα | [τ]οικεῖ Σισινι | ς καὶ Σισινια | καὶ
λάβραξ κ | ἰον | Σολομονο | ς. ε | ἰμὶ ν | οσκαμ.

A.1 l. ἀποστάτει || A.3 ΑΙΤΡΙΑ Barb, arguing in commentary for a Semitic divine name; from the photograph the first letter most resembles Δ, for which Λ seems an easier error with this cutter, the word perhaps a by-form of λυτηρία, a female demon ‘who undoes.’ || 4-5 ἔς με Barb in comment. || 6-7 l. δημιούργον || 7-8 οορακε *amulet*, l. ἔώρακε, cf. Barb in comment. ὅτι (sic) ἔώρακέ σε Barb || 9 l. γνώσωμαι || 10 om. Barb, with the division γνῶσό(ν) με ὁ νικῶν ... || B.6 ΟΛΑΒΡΑΞ Barb || 6-7 l. κύων || 11 τ(ὰ) ΤΑΚ Barb, the τ and κ not visible on photograph

with aetiological historiola. the λάβραξ κύων perhaps associated with the Babylonian goddess Gula of Isin; on apotropaic dog statues among the Assyrians, and a collection of recipes for making such figures and inscribing them with apotropaic ‘names’ such as “conqueror of the unfriendly,” borne out by applied examples found in the palace of Ashurbanipal, see Faraone 1987, 269-270.

1.25.2.4. bronze pendant amulet, private collection (purchased by H. Seyrig in 1965), ed. Barb 1972, 344-353 with photograph. On one side, human figures, above and below which an inscription (A: lines 3-4 wrap counterclockwise around the edges); on the other, the ‘suffering eye,’ above which an inscription (B). Majuscules only in ed. pr.; new readings in A.3-4.

A ἵππος Μιχαηλ Γαβ | ιηλ Ουριηλ βοήθι. | λ[ιμ]ός σε ἔσπιρεν, ἄλιψ ἐθέρισε, φλῆψ
ἔ(φαγε). | σφραγίς θεοῦ μεθ’ ἡμῶν γενοῦ. | ἐγὼ εἶμι νοσκαμ. | κατάφαγε.
B φεῦε φεῦε Αβι | ζου· ἔνθα γὰρ κατοι | κῆ Σισινις καὶ Σισινια | καὶ ὁ λάβραξ
κοίων. | φύλαξον Κοοσταντῆ | νον ὃν ἔτεκεν {ε} | Χριστίνα. εἷς θεός.

A.3 [θε]ός Barb, but the λ is visible on the photograph and the reading paralleled || 4 ΑΛΕΥΕ Barb || B.1 l. φεῦγε φεῦγε || 2-3 l. κατοικεῖ || 4 l. κύων || 6 {ε}: θ Barb

1.25.2.5. fragmentary bronze pendant amulet, with suspension loop, collection of the American University at Beirut, ed. H. Seyrig, *Berytus* 1 (1934), 5-9 with drawing. I present an improved text along the lines suggested in Barb 1972 and Robert 1965, 267n1. On one side, meager remains of a figure, according to Seyrig a standing, bearded man, above which an inscription (A); on the other, a second inscription (B).

A ἵππος, Μιχαηλ, Γαβ | ριηλ, Ουριηλ, βοήθ[ι] | [λιμός σ]ε ἔσπιρεν ἄλιψ ἐθέ[ρισε
] | [σφραγίς θ]εοῦ μεθ’ ἡμ[ῶν].

B φεῦ φεῦ Αβιζι|ον· ἔνθα γὰρ κατοικῖ | [Σι]σίννις καὶ Σισιννία | [καὶ] ὁ
λάβραξ κοίων. φύ|[λαξ]ον Θεόδωρον ὄν ἔτη | [κεν Χ]ριστίνα. εἷς θεός.

B.1 l. φεῦγε φεῦγε || 4 l. κύων

1.25.3. Solomon

the identification depends on a new conjecture in a particularly corrupt passage;
incantation for epilepsy

1.25.3.1. Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 210 (s. XVIII), f. 82r, ed. Delatte 1927, 129

‘ταμαρα τανταρα χυρη βελους καισων τοζυρι νουδα ζηζαβουνε.’ εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν
ὠτίον τὸ λέγε δύο φορές, εἰς τὸ ἀριστερόν, μίαν ‘Σολομων ἐνθάδε εἶναι.’

2 Σολομων ἐνθάδε εἶναι *correxī* : σολομόν τη ην τηη *cod.* : Σολομῶντος εἶναι αὐτό
Delatte, punctuating with full stop after μίαν.

seal of Solomon; preceded by the flight and pursuit motif; for headache

1.25.3.2. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316 (s. XV), ff. 320v-321r, ed. Legrand 1881, 19

περὶ κεφαλαλίαν. ‘ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν τόπῳ κρανίου ἐσταυρώθη καὶ
ἐτάφη καὶ ἀνέστη. καὶ σὺ ρεῦμα ἀγριόρρευμα ἐξελθε καὶ ἀναχώρησε ἀπὸ τὸν
δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα, καὶ ἄγωμε εἰς τὰ ἄγρια ὄρη ἐνθα σημαντηρίου φωνὴ οὐκ
ἀναβαίνει. φεῦγε δαιμονικὸν συναπάντημα ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα· ὁ
Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς σε καταδιώκει, ὁ Ναζωραῖος, ὁ ἐσταυρωμένος, ὃν τρέμουσιν
ἄγγελοι, ἀρχάγγελοι, θρόνοι, κυριότητες, ἀρχαὶ καὶ ἐξουσίαι, ὃν τρέμει ὁ οὐρανὸς
καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ ἡ θάλασσα καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ. φεῦγε ρεῦμα ἀγριόρρευμα, φεῦγε
διάβολε ὁ βαστάζων τὸ ρεῦμα ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα. φεῦγε τῶν
πεντακισχιλίων ἐξάρχων, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς σε διώκει, αὐτῶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας,
ἀμήν, καὶ ἡ σφραγὶς τοῦ Σολομῶνος ἐνταῦθα, ἀμήν. σταυρωθέντος σου Χριστέ
ἀνηρέθη ἡ τυραννὶς, ἐπατήθη ἡ δύναμις τοῦ ἐχθροῦ· οὔτε γὰρ ἄγγελος, οὐκ
ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ’ αὐ|τὸς ὁ κύριος ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς. δόξα σοι. ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐγεννήθη καὶ
ἐν σταυρῷ ἐτέθη, ὁ Χριστὸς ἀνέστη καὶ ὁ διάβολος ἐτραυματίσθη.’

2, 7 ρέμμα ἀγριόρρεμμα *cod.* || 12 καὶ¹ om. Legrand

1.25.4. Abraham

amulet for a house; historiola related to the protection of doors; wordplay (ἰσχῦς,
ἐνισχύω). A similar text is copied on both front and back (front only in *Pap.Graec.Mag.*);

I am in the process of providing a fuller edition of this text.

1.25.4.1. Vienna, ÖNB P. gr. 19889, ed. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P 2a

ἡ ἰσχῦς τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ ἡμῶν | ἐνίσχυσεν, καὶ ἐπέβη | κύριος ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν | καὶ οὐκ
ἔασεν | τὸν ἐξολεθρεύοντα | εἰσελθεῖν. Ἀβραὰμ (ὦ)δε κατ[οικεῖ]. | τὸ αἴμ[α τοῦ
Χριστοῦ] | παῦσον τὸ κακόν.

1.25.5. Christ

1.25.5.1. inscription on a stone lintel in Namer (Syria), *IGLS XIII.2 9927* (original could
not be located for this edition; ed. pr. M. Dunand *AO 18* (1950), 161 no. 362 [*BE* 1953
no. 218]):

† ὁ θ(εο)ῦ παῖς θ(εὸς) Χ(ριστὸς) ἐνθάδε | κατοικεῖ A † ω μηδ’ ἐσεῖτο κ(ακόν).

1 θυ | θς χς *stone* | ενθαδε † *stone* || 2 κατοικε(ι) *IGLS* as if κατοικετ *stone*, but a serif
for ι seems more likely : κατοικε *ed. pr.* | μηδ’ *stone* (with apostrophe) : μηδ(έν) *edd.* |

εσειτοκ/ stone (*per drawing in ed. pr.: ο is quite small and squeezed between ο and κ; abbreviation marked by cross-stroke on lower leg of κ*) : εσειτ(ο) κ(ακόν) *edd. l. εσίτω.*

1.25.5.2. inscription on the stone lintel of a house, Refadeh (Syria), s. VI, ed. pr. Waddington-Le Bas 2607; improved text in Prentice *AAES* III, no. 120 (drawing)
† Ἰη(σοῦ)ς ὁ Ναζωρεῶς | ὁ ἐκ Μαρίας γεννε|θις ὁ υ(ιὸ)ς τοῦ θε(ο)ῦ ἐνθα | κατοικῖ, μὶ
ἔστω ὄδε | [κακόν]. ἐτελ(έσθη) τοῦ ἐξφ ἔτους. †

Ἰ η̅ς stone || 3 υ̅ς stone | θ̅υ stone || 5 [κακόν] *suppl. R. Ganszyniec, Eos 27 (1924), 57*
[SEG VII 812] | ετελ/ stone | ἐξφ stone

1.25.5.3. inscription on the stone lintel of a tomb, Herakeh (Syria), a. 523/4, ed. *IGLS* IV 1579 (ed. pr. W.K. Prentice, *AJA* 10 (1906), 140 and *AAES* III, p. 19 and *PIB* no. 1029). Perhaps a family tomb, cf. *IGLS* IV 1578.

† ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Ἰη(σοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς, ὁ υἱὸς κ(αὶ) λόγος τοῦ θε(ο)ῦ ἐνθάδε |
[κ]ατοικεῖ· μηδὲν ἰσίτω κακόν. κτίσθη μη(νὶ) Λῶρου ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) β' τοῦ ἐλω' ἔτους. |
† ἐν ὀνόματι πατρὸς υἱοῦ κ(αὶ) ἀγίου | πνεύματος. ἔκτισ(εν) Ἰωάννης Δόμνου.

Ἰ κ(αὶ): s stone | τοῦ: ου *in ligature* || 2 Λῶρου: ου *in ligature* | ἰνδ/ stone || 3 κ(αὶ): s
stone

1.25.5.4. inscription on the stone lintel of a church, Safita (mod. Saisaniye), ed. H. Lammens, *Le Musée Belge* 4 (1900), 284 no. 11 with drawing. The expected κακόν must have fallen out by mistake; surely the cutter cannot have meant to forbid anything at all from entering the church. Lammens regarded the Ἰορδάνης in line 2 as the nominative of a personal name, but more likely it refers to the river, as place of Christ's baptism and so invoked as apotropaic.

[Ἰη]σοῦς ὁ Χ(ριστό)ς ὁ τοῦ θε(ο)ῦ υ(ιὸ)ς ἐνθάδε κατοικ(ῆ)· | [μη]δὲ(ν) ἡ(ς)ίτω οἶκον
(κακόν). Ἰορδάνης. † | [κύριε] βοήθ[ει].

Ἰ Ἰ. κατοικεῖ. κατοικν stone : κατοικ(ε)ν *Lammens* || 2]δεηθιτω stone : [] δὲ ἡθίτω
οἶκον(όμος) *Lammens* | (κακόν) *supplevi*

1.25.6. saints

Phokas

-performative of binding (δένο σε, 5), addressing affliction; Herakles type (ὁ ἅγιος Φωκᾶς ὧδέ ἐστιν (cf. Tod 1939, 60); Schwindeschema with classical myth. date. reference (Ἀφροδίτη): is there an equation of the door of the house to be protected with this divinity? On the continued association of Phokas with the binding of reptiles in Byzantium see Koukoules 1926, 66.

1.25.6.1. Manchester, P.Ryl. inv. 452, ed. *P.Oxy.* VII 1060, re-ed. *Pap.Graec.Mag.*
christliches P2

† τὴν θύραν τὴν Ἀφροδίτην | φροδιτην ροδιτην οδιτην | διτην ιτην την την ωρ ωρ
| φωρ φωρ Ιαω Σαβαωθ Ἄδονε | δένο σε σκορπίε Ἀρτερήσιε. | ἀπάλλαξον τὸν
οἶκον τοῦτον | ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ ἐρπετοῦ | πράγματος, ταχὺ ταχύ. | ὁ ἅγιος
Φωκᾶς ὧδέ ἐστιν. | Φαμενωθ ιγ' ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) τρίτης. | ...

3 ἴτην *pap.* || 4 ἴω *pap.* || 8 [καὶ] πράγματος *Pap.Graec.Mag.*

Longinus and Patapios, for fever

1.25.6.2. London, BL Royal MS 16 C II (s. XV), f. 49v

περὶ ρίγους. 'εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου ἐνδόξου προφήτου προδρόμου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων. [signs]. Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ. ὁ ἅγιος Λογγῖνος καὶ Πατάπιος ὦδε κατοικοῦσιν εἰς τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα.'

$\overline{1}$ ρύγου *cod.* || 3 παζάππιος εἶδε κατοικεῖν *cod.*

1.26. *other scene-setting*

1.26.1. Marcellus 14.67 (Heim 1893 no. 64 and 102)

ad dolorem uuae. scribes in charta et collo laborantis linteolo suspendes 'formica sanguinem non habet nec fel; fuge uua ne cancer te comedat.'

on the invincibility of the saliva of a fasting person, Galen *De simpl. med.* 12:288-289 K

1.26.2. Marcellus 36.70 (Heim 1893 no. 93, also in part at no. 42)

carmen idioticum quod lenire podagram dicitur sic. in manus tuas exspues antequam a lecto terram mane contingas et a summis talis et plantis usque ad summos digitos manus duces et dices 'fuge fuge podagra et omnis neruorum dolor de pedes meos et omnia membra mea' aut si alii praecantas dices 'illius quem peperit illa. uenenum ueneno uincitur, saliuua ieiuna uinci non potest.' ter dices haec et ad singulas plantas tuas uel illius cui medebere spues.

also analogy with inaccessibility of the moon

1.26.3. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB *cod.* Sang. 751, 1.8 (*cod.* p. 198.13-17, ed. Önnarfors 2006, 1:14; Heim pp. 556-557)

<ad> dentium et capitis dolorem. contra lunam dicis haec 'luna noua, dentes noui, uermes putridi foras exite. quomodo ad te nec lupus nec canis adtingere potest, sic nec ad me, ne caput meum dolor aliquis adtingere possit.' hinc nomen in charta inscribis et <ad> caput ligas.

$\overline{3}$ hinc corr. Önnarfors : hunc *cod.* : hoc Heim

for headache

1.26.4. papyrus formulary, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XX.12-18, in three copies, P.Berlin gr. 7504, *P.Amh.* II 14 (now New York, Morgan Library), and P.Oxy. inv. 72/65(a) (ed. Maas 1942 in part; the remaining text in *Suppl.Mag.* II 88).

Φιλίννης Θε[σσο]αλῆς ἐπαοιδῆ π[ρὸς] κεφαλῆς π[ό]νον. | 'φεῦγ' ὀδύν[η κ]εφαλῆς, φεῦγε φθ[ίνουσ'] | ὑπὸ πέτ[ρα]ν· φεύγουσιν δὲ [λύ]κοι, φεύγ[ουσι] δὲ μώνυχες [ἴπ] | ποι [ἴ]μενοι | πληγαῖς ὑπ[ε]ρ[ε]ρ[ε]ρ[ε].

$\overline{18}$ [ἴ]μενοι *restitui* ex P.Amh. (ε[ξ] *leg. ed. pr.*), [ἴ]μενοι *Preisendanz*

meter (trochaic tetrameter catalectic, internal identification as *monostich*); a second part gives an alternative incantation to be written on a tin leaf, addressing the patient and opening with magical logoi; for sleep

1.26.5. London, BL Royal MS 16 C II (s. XV), f. 24r

1. πρὸς ἀγρυπνίαν. γράψον εἰς χαρτίον καινὸν μονόστιχον τόδε. 'ὕπνος ἔλθ', ἐλευθέρου μητρὶ ἔξεστι κοιμᾶσθαι.' καὶ μετὰ μίτου δήσας περιάπτε ἀριστερῶ βραχίονι.

2. ἡ γράφη εἰς πέταλον κασσιτέρινον ταῦτα τὰ στοιχεῖα ὦωω ηηη κκκ βαλκε βασιθης ἐπιτάσσω σοι κοιμᾶσθαι.’ γράφη ταῦτα καὶ εἰς ποτὸν ὄν μέλλει πίνειν καὶ κοιμήσεσθαι.

classical myth (Herakles); against epilepsy

1.26.6. Leiden, UB cod. VGF 25 (s. XVI), f. 5r

ἄλλο. λέγε ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ ὠτίῳ ἑγενέθλιον Ἡρακλέος ἐπιτηρεῖται σήμερον, ἀνάστηθι.’

Ἰ λέγων *cod.*

classical myth (νεκύσια)

1.26.7. Leiden, UB cod. VGF 25 (s. XVI), f. 4v

πρὸς ἐπιληπτικούς πίπτοντας. πρὸς τοὺς καταπεπτωκότας ἐξ ἐπιληψίας λέγε τῷ δεξιῷ ὠτίῳ τὸν μέγαν δάκτυλον πατήσας τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ ποδὸς Ἀσμοδαῖος σήμερον τὰ νεκύσια καὶ σὺ ὧδε τί ποιεῖς;’

figure of open door and flaming gates; writing to be written on the inside of maplewood cup, dissolved in water and drunk; for childbirth

1.26.8. St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 759 (s. IX), pp. 67-68

ad mulierem ut partum eiciat. scribis haec uerba in cupa maserinia, infundis et apud aquam pinsilem lauas, das bibere ἄpatens ianua, aperientur tibi portae incensae. per illum te coniuro qui exiit sine dolore de utero sanctae Mariae, adiuro te si es puer aut puella | ut exeas ut uideas splendorem saeculi.’

Ἰ cuba *cod.* | infundus *cod.* || 2 aqua pinsile *cod.* | genua *cod.* || 2-3 illo tibi *cod.*

divided action of three (patriarchs); play with name of target; to keep bees in place

1.26.9. quoted in Storms 1948, 139 (ed. Schöntal *Analecta Graecensia* via Kögel *Geschichte* II:56)

ne apes recedant de uase. scribe in lamina plumbea haec nomina et pone ad uas ubi exeunt. ἑin nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. ancillae dei quae facitis opera dei, adiuro uos apes apiculae fideles, deum timete, siluas non tangite, <a me non> fugite, fugam non tendite. Abraham uos detineat, Isaac uos detineat, Ioseph te praeueniat. adiuro te per uirginem dei genitricem Mariam et adiuro te per sanctum Ioseph ut illo loco sedeas ubi tibi praecipio. apes adiuro uos per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum ut non habeatis licentiam fugere filium hominis.’ pater noster et credo in deum.

1.27. *three vessels motif*

1.27.1. *simple*

for scorpion bite

1.27.1.1. reported from contemporary Kalabryta, A. Oikonomos in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

ἑτούτη τῇ ράχη, κείν’ τῇ ράχη, | εἶναι μία ἀχλαδοῦλα, | κρέμονται τρία καρδαράκια. | τὸ νά χει μέλι, τ’ ἄλλο γάλα, τ’ ἄλλο τοῦ σκορπιοῦ τὸ αἷμα. | πιε τὸ γάλα, φάε τὸ μέλι, χύσε τοῦ σκορπιοῦ τὸ αἷμα. | πᾶρε τὴν ὑγείά σου κ’ ἔλα.’

1.27.1.2. reported from contemporary Zakynthos, Klade 1957, 552

ἑκάτου ἑς τὸ γιαλὸ ἑς τὸν ἄμμο | εἶναι τρία καρδάρια, | ἑνα μέλι, ἑνα γάλα, | ἑνα τοῦ σκορπιοῦ τὸ αἷμα. | φάε τὸ μέλι, πιε τὸ γάλα, | σκρόπα τοῦ σκορπιοῦ τὸ αἷμα.’

wordplay on name of affliction

1.27.1.3. reported from contemporary Gytheio, Manolakos 1915-1916, 614

‘ὁ σκορπαῖος ὁ δίβουλος ὁ τρίβουλος | ὁ τρισκαταραμένος. | τρία κακκάβια βράζανε | τό να μέλι, τᾶλλο γάλα | καὶ τὸ τρίτο φαρμάκι. | φάε τὸ μέλι, πιέ τὸ γάλα, | χυοῦσε τὸ φαρμάκι τὸ πικρό.’

1.27.2. *variant with first person performatives*

the user spits three times on the wound; for scorpion bite

1.27.2.1. reported from contemporary Aidepsia, E.D. Papanastasio in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

‘κάτω ’ς τὸ τρίχينو γεφύρι, | τρία βεδούρια κρέμονται, | τὸ ἓνα μέλι, τὸ ἄλλο γάλα, | τὸ ἄλλο τοῦ σκορπιοῦ τὸ αἷμα, | τὸ μέλι τὸ τρῶμε, τὸ γάλα τὸ πίνουμε, | τοῦ σκορπιοῦ τὸ αἷμα τὸ χύνουμε.’

1.27.2.2. reported from contemporary Xerochorion, G. Rhousias in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913, 48-49 no. 8

‘ἀπὸ πέρα ἀπ’ τὸ ποτάμι, | τρία κακκάβια βράζανι, | τό να μέλι, τ’ ἄλλο γάλα, | τ’ ἄλλο τοῦ σκορπιοῦ τὸ φαρμάκι. | τὸ μέλι, τὸ γάλα τό φαγα, | τοῦ σκορπιοῦ τὸ φαρμάκι τό χυσα.’

1.28. *assimilation of target in narrative scenario*

with flight and pursuit; wordplay with name of affliction and with materials used in healing; for a spiderbite, the wound is rubbed with a mixture of oil (λαῖδι), vinegar (ξίδι), and fennel (μάραθο).

1.28.1. reported from contemporary Kephallenia, Kosmatos 1910

‘σφάλαγγε, τρισφάλαγγε, | σφαλαγγοπερίδρομε, | ποῦ πήες καὶ παινέθηκες, | τὸν κάλλιον ἄνδρα νίκησες. | κ’ ἡ παναγία σ’ ἄκουσε | καὶ σὲ καταράστηκε | νὰ συφιῆς νὰ μαραθῆς | σὰν τῆς ἀσφάκας τὸ κλαρί. | φεῦγα σφάλαγγε, τρισφάλαγγε | ποῦ σὲ κυνηγάει τὸ ξίδι καὶ τὸ λαῖδι | καὶ τὰ τρία κλωνιὰ τὸ μάραθο.’

2 συφιῆς *ed. glosses* ἐπουλωθῆς

addressing the affliction; against spiders; analogy with ingredients in a potion to be given to the patient (vinegar, oil, fennel)

1.28.2. reported from contemporary Kefallenia, Pagonis 1910

‘σφαλάγκι, σφαλαγκόδεμα καὶ σφαλαγγοπερίδρομο, | ὅποῦ παινιῶσουν κ’ ἔλεγεσ τὸν νέον νὰ μαράνης, | κ’ ἡ παναγία σ’ ἄκουσε καὶ σὲ ἐκαταράστη, | νὰ ξεραθῆς νὰ μαραθῆς, σὰν τς ἀσφάκας τὸ λουλοῦδι.’

1.28.3. reported from contemporary Zakynthos, Giannopoulou-Heptanesias 1951, 269

‘σφαλάγγι σφαλαγγόδρομος | σφαλαγγοπερίδρομος, | μεγᾶλον ἄντρα ’ς τῆ γῆς τὸν ἀπιστόμιε. | ἡ παναγία τὸν ἄκουσε, | βαρεῖα τὸν καταράθηκε, | καὶ τὸ κακὸ ἐχάθηκε.’

child addressed as camel

[likely because of the long gestation period of that animal (12 months according to Pliny *NH* 10.180). Önnorfors 1993, 210n11 takes the camelle of the cod. to be for camille, “vielleicht ung. ‘feines Knäblein.’”]; analogous performatives

1.28.4. the epistolary treatise ‘Theodorus Priscianus ad Octauium filium,’ added to the *Euporiston* of Theodorus, §4, ed. Rose p. 345
ad partum excludendum. dicas in aure sinistra ter ‘camele exi foras, fratres te ad lumen uocant.’

1 partem *Rose* | camelle *Rose*

with addition of New Testament historiolae

1.28.5. Munich, BSB clm 100 (s. XII), f. 40v, defective (ed. Rockinger 1858, 320n26; cf. Franz 1909, 2:199) [ed. pr. refers to a previous foliation (80r); in any case the text here appears on the verso]

item alio modo. ‘camele exi foras, te fratres uocant ad lumen. Anna peperit Samuelem, Elisabeth praecursorem. Maria peperit Christum, Elisabeth peperit Iohannem, sancta Maria saluatorem. in nomine Iesu rumpe < >’

1 kamelle cod.

1.29.1. *child addressed as Lazarus* (John 11:43)

1.29.1.1. papyrus formulary, Milan, P.Mil.Vogl. inv. 1245-1253 (s. V-VI), ed. Maltomini 1979, re-ed. *Suppl.Mag.* II 96.48-50

πρὸς γενοῦσαν. | ἤξερθε ἡς τοῦ μνεμίου σου, Χριστός σε | καλῖ. ὥσστρακον δεξιῶ μερῶ.

1.29.1.2. Bonn, ULB cod. S 218 (s. XI), ff. 40v,-41r added by later hand in margin, ed. Heim 1893, 550, cf. Reiche 1976, 83

quod si hoc tam cito non proderit, tunc in alio membranulo scribas ‘Lazare, ueni foras, | saluator reuocat te’ et supra pectus feminae mitte.

1.29.1.3. London, BL cod. Sloane 475 (s. XI), f. 22v

si mulier non potest parturire carmen. ‘exi Lazare, Christus te uocat. Anna peperit Mariam, Maria genuit Christum et non doluit. Christus te liberet, amen.’

1.29.1.4. Thessaly, monastery of Olympiotissa, cod. 97 (s. XVIII), p. 28, ed. Skouvara 1965-1966, 80

ἔπαρον κόπρον περιστερᾶς, κάπνισον αὐτήν ἐκεῖ ὅπου κοιλιοπονᾷ καὶ εἶπέ της ‘Λάζαρε δεῦρο ἔξω.’ καὶ θελήματι θεοῦ γεννᾶται.

additional assimilation of the mother to Sarah

1.29.1.5. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2510 (s. XIV-XV), f. 23r

1. πρὸς γυναῖκα μέλλουσαν τεκεῖν. ἔμβα καὶ εἶπέ αὐτῇ ἔνθα καθέζεται εἰς τὸ οὖς αὐτῆς ‘ἡ Σαρα τέκε υἱόν, ἔξελθε Λάζαρε, ὁ Χριστός σε καλεῖ.’

2. εἴτε οὐ θέλεις ἐμβεῖν εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα, γράψε αὐτὸ εἰς χάρτιν καὶ ἄς δῆσουν αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν μηρίον ‘κύριε βοήθει.’

2 τέκεν *cod.*, (ἔ)τεκεν *also possible* || 3 ἄς τὸ δῆσουν αὐτὸ *cod.*

biblical historiolae, identification of target with Lazarus, third person performatives (ἠνοίγησαν, καλεῖ)

1.29.1.6. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2219 (s. XV), f. 31v

πρὸς γυναῖκα γεννώσαν. εἶπε πρὸς ο[ῦς] ἄως ἔτεκεν ἡ θεοτόκος τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀπόνως καὶ ἡ Ελισαβετ τὸν Ἰωάννην, [φρῖ]ξον καὶ σὺ τὸ βρέφος, καὶ πύλαι οὐρανοῦ ἠνοίγησαν, ἔξελθε καὶ σὺ παιδίον, καλεῖ σε τὸ φῶς, καὶ Ἰάζαρε δεῦρο ἕξω.’

biblical historiolae; analogous psalm text (*Ps.* 136:7)

1.29.1.7. Vienna, ÖNB cod. theol. gr. 244 (s. XV), f. 210v

εἰς γέννησιν παιδίων. γράψον ταῦτα εἰς κεραμίδιον ἐκκλησίας μετὰ λόγχης καὶ θέσον εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος ταῦτα ἠμνησθητι κύριε τῶν υἱῶν Εδωμ τὴν ἡμέραν Ἰερουσαλημ, τῶν λεγόντων “ἐκκενοῦτε ἕως τῶν θεμελίων αὐτῆς.” ἡ θεοτόκος ἐγέννησε τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης καὶ ἡ Ελισαβετ συνέλαβε τὸν πρόδρομον. ἔξελθε βρέφος, καλεῖ σε ὁ Χριστός.’ καὶ εἶπε καὶ τοῦτο Ἰάζαρε δεῦρο ἕξω.’ καὶ λέγε τα ἐκ τρίτου εἰς τὰ ὦτα αὐτῆς.

4 ι[[αχλ]]ελισαβετ *cod.* || 5 \λε/γε *cod.*

assertion that ‘the virgin gives birth to Christ today’; analogous psalm text (*Ps.* 136:7)

1.29.1.8. Vatican, BAV cod. Vatic. gr. 952 (s. XV), f. 165r, ed. *CCAG* V.4:120

περὶ δυστοκίας. γράψον μετὰ κινναβάρεως οὕτως Ἰάζαρε, δεῦρο ἕξω, ὁ Χριστός σε φωνεῖ· ἡ παρθένος σήμερον τὸν Χριστὸν τίκει, τέξαι καὶ σὺ, ὦ γύναι, τὸ βρέφος. ἄκουε οὐρανὲ καὶ ἐνωτίζου ἡ γῆ· ἔξελθε, βρέφος, ἡ ζῶν ἡ ἀποθαμένον. ἠμνησθητι, κύριε, τῶν υἱῶν Εδωμ τὴν ἡμέραν Ἰερουσαλημ τῶν λεγόντων “ἐκκενοῦτε ἐκκενοῦτε,” αἰ αἰ βραχορα αἰ αἰ βραχορα.’ γράψον καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἡμέρᾳ Ἡλίου καὶ δῆσον εἰς τὸν δεξιὸν πόδα ἐπάνω τοῦ γόνατος. [*signs*]

1 δυστομίας *cod.*

historiola on Sarah; performative, the earth as the child’s mother calls it; combined with prayer

1.29.1.9. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2286 (s. XIV), f. 61r

ἄλλο. εἰς τὸ οὖς τῆς τικτούσης λέγε ἡ Σαρρα ἔτεκε προστάξει τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔξελθε Ἰάζαρε, καλεῖ σε ὁ Χριστός. ἄγγελε Μιχαηλ καὶ θυρωρὲ τῶν πυλῶν ὁ κλείων καὶ ἀνοίγων τοὺς ἐπτὰ οὐρανοὺς αὐτὸς διάνοιξον καὶ τὴν μήτραν τῆς νυνὶ κινδυνευομένης καὶ σῆς δούλης τῆς δεῖνος. ἐξέλθοι τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ βρέφος ἐκ τῆς κοιτίας αὐτῆς. ἔξελθε βρέφος, καλεῖ σε καὶ γῆ ἡ μήτηρ σου.’

said in ed. to be ‘for the fever’

1.29.1.10. London, BL cod. Sloane 3160 (s. s. XV), f. 129v, ed. Sheldon 1978 no. 83

‘in nomine patris, Lazarus, et filii ueni foras, et spiritus sancti, Christus te uocat, Christus tonat, Iohannes praedicat, Christus regnat. erex arex vymex Christi eleyzon eeeeeeeee.’

2 stonat *cod.*

1.29.2. *with Vergil*

Aen. 10.1

1.29.2.1. London, BL cod. Sloane 475 (s. XI), f. 23r

si mulier non potest parere. liga hoc ad dextrum crurem. ‘panditur interea domus omnipotentis Olympi. Anna genuit Mariam, Maria genuit Christum. Lazare ueni foras.’

2 omnipotis *cod.*

1.29.2.2. London, BL cod. Sloane 475 (s. XI), f. 113v
si mulier de partu laborat. scribe hoc in charta ‘panditur interea domus omnipotentis Olympi, ex tumba propera, Christus rex te uocat ut uideas lumen huius saeculi.’ hoc scriptum cum litio nouo ligare debes ad coxam mulieris dextram et cum exierit infans cito tolle ne sequatur matrix. probatum est.

1 scibe *cod.* || 2 tonna *cod.*

1.29.2.3. ex-Herten, cod. med. Hertensis 192 (s. XII), f. 88r, ed. Sudhoff 1917, 304
[private possession, photographed at Leipzig, Institut für Geschichte der Medizin]
ad mulierem quae non potest parere. scribe in panno lineo hunc uersum ‘panditur interea domus omnipotentis Olympi, ex tumba propera, Christus rex imperat ut uideas lumen huius saeculi.’ et liga sibi ad coxam et liberabitur et statim tolles ab ea.

2-3 ex ... saeculi *add. supr. lin. cod.* | tunna *cod.* | xre *cod.* || 3 saeculi *conieci*: feti *ed. pr.* (*prb. misreading abbr. seci*)

Ecl. 4.7

1.29.2.4. London, BL cod. Sloane 3564 (s. XV), ed. T. Hunt 1990, 92 [with Anglo-Norman instructions]
‘iam noua progenies de caelo dimittitur alto. Christus Maria Iohannes Elizabet Remigius Celina. Lazare ueni foras, adiuro te creatura dei utrum sis puer an puella in nomine patris et cetera, exi de utero. Christus te appellat qui te creauit et redemit et in saeculum iudicabit, amen.’

1.30. *adynatology, description of fabulous birds eaten without teeth, etc.*

1.30.1. *simple*

1.30.1.1. reported from contemporary Kerkyra, Kavasilas 1910, 650 no. 13
‘πέρα ’ς τὰ πράσινα βουνά, | εἶναι πράσινα δεντρά. | ἐκεῖ ναι πράσινα πουλιά, | κάνουν πράσινα αὐγά, | κάνουν πράσινα πουλιά. | τὰ πράσινα βουνὰ ἀνέβηκα. | χωρὶς πόδια τάνέβηκα, | χωρὶς χέρι τὰ πιακα, | χωρὶς χέρι τὰ μούτεψα, | χωρὶς σουβλί τὰ σούβλισα, | χωρὶς στιά τὰ ἔψησα, | χωρὶς στόμα τὰ φαγα, | χωρὶς κῶλο τὰ χεσα. | ἂν πιστεύης, λισουργιέ, χέσε καὶ κατούρησε.’

1.30.1.2. reported from contemporary Kerkyra, Salbanos 1929, 117-118
‘μέσ ’ς τὰ πράσινα δεδρά | πῆγα πράσινα πουλιά, | καὶ τὰ πράσινα πουλιὰ | κάμα πράσινες φωλιές, | καὶ οἱ πράσινες φωλιές | κάμα πράσινα τ’ αὐγά. | δὲ πιστεύεις λειξουριά; | χέσε καὶ κατούρησε.’

1.30.1.3. reported from contemporary Kefallenia, Pagonis 1910
‘ἀπάν’ ’ς τὰ πέρπερα βουνὰ | εἶναι πέρπερες φωλιές, | καὶ οἱ πέρπερες φωλιές | κάνουν πέρπερα αὐγά, | καὶ τὰ πέρπερα αὐγά | κάνουν πέρπερα πουλιά, | καὶ τὰ πέρπερα πουλιὰ | κάνουν πέρπερα αὐγά, | κι’ ἂν δὲν πιστεύης, λίξουρε, | πρόβαλλε καὶ κατούρησε.’

1.30.1.4. reported from contemporary Xerochorion, G. Rhousias in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913, 49 no. 10
‘κάτω ’ς τὰ κίτρινα λ’βαδάκια, | ἦταν κίτρινα κλαράκια, | κ’ ἦταν κίτρινα πουλάκια, | κ’ εἶχαν κίτρινες πουλίτσες, | κ’ εἶχαν κίτρινα αὐγούτσκα. | χωρὶς

ποδάρια πῆγα, | χωρίς χέρια τά πιασα, | χωρίς μαχαῖρι τά σφαξα, | χωρίς
σοῦβλα τὰ σοῦβλησα, | χωρίς φωτιά τά ψησα, | χωρίς στόμα τά φαγα· | σὰ δὲν
πιστεύης, λιγουργιά, | χέσι καὶ κατοῦρα.’

similarly, for τζανίν (jaundice)

1.30.1.5. reported from contemporary Cyprus, Sougla 1963, 425-426

‘‘ς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸ | τζαμαὶ ‘ς τὸν σ’ειλοποταμὸν | ἐβλάστησεν κίτρινον
δένδρον | μὲ κίτρινον κορμόν, | μὲ κίτρινα κλωνιά. | ταίρκασεν κίτρινον πουλίν, |
ἔκτισεν κιτρίνην φουλιάν, | ἐγέννησεν κίτρινα αὐκά, | ἔβκαλεν κίτρινα πουλιά. |
κίτρινα τ’ αὐτούδκια του, | κίτρινα τὰ ματούδκια του, | κίτρινα τὰ βρυούδκια του,
| κιτρίνη ἢ μουττούα του, | κίτρινο τὸ στομοῦίν του, | κιτρίνη ἢ γλωσσοῦά του. |
δίχως πόδκια ἔμπηκα, | δίχως σ’έρκα τᾶπιακα, | δίχως μασ’σαῖριν τᾶσφαξα, |
δίχως λαμπρὸν τᾶψησα, | δίχως ἄλας τᾶφαα. | ἂν μ’ ἐν πιστεύκης, ἔ τζανί, |
νέφανε ἔξω νὰ μὲ ‘δῆς.’

1.30.2. *alternate ending with John the Baptist*

1.30.2.1. reported from contemporary Paphos, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘‘ς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν ἔσ’ει τζίτρινον δεντρόν, | ἔσ’ει τζίτρινες ρίζες, τζίτρινον
κορμίν, | τζίτρινον φελλόν, τζίτρινα κλωνιά, τζίτρινα φύλλα, | τζίτρινα πουλιά
τσοιτάσαν, τζίτρινες φουλιές ἐκτίσαν, | τζίτρινα ἀβκὰ γεννήσαν, τζίτρινα ἀβκὰ
ξιπουλιάσαν | ἔχουν τζίτρινα πουλούδκια, τζίτρινα νυχούδκια, | τζίτρινην
μούττην, τζίτρινα φλαγγούδκια, | τζίτρινα ἀντερούδκια. | δίχως σ’έρκια τὰ
πκιασεν, δίχως πόδκια ἔμπηκεν, | δίχως μασ’σαῖριν τὰ σφαξεν, | τσαὶ δίχως
λαμπρὸν τὰ ἔψησε, τσαὶ δίχως ἄλας τὰ φαεν. | ἂν δὲν τὸ πιστεύκης, τσύρ-Γιάννη
κατέβα νὰ τὸ δῆς. | ὁ θεὸς, ὁ Χριστός, ἢ παναῖα εἶπαν του· “πκιάσε τσερὶν τσαὶ
λίβανον, βελόνιν τσαὶ ἀβκὸν τσαὶ ππαρᾶν ἀσημένον τσαὶ πὲ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ
πατρὸς τσαὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τσαὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος.”

1.31.1. *inversion of morning and evening* (cf. 6.4.4-5); the first to be said in the morning,
the second in the evening; for cankers.

1.31.1.1. reported from contemporary Kastrión in Kynouria, Athanasopoulos 1911

1. ‘καλησπέρα σου λειχῆνα, κ’ ὅσο εἶναι τῶρα καλησπέρα, τόσο νὰ σ’ εὐρ’ ἢ ἄλλ’
ἡμέρα.’

2. ‘καλημέρα σου λειχῆνα, κ’ ὅσο τῶρα εἶναι καλημέρα, τόσο νὰ σ’ εὐρ’ ἢ ἄλλ’
ἡμέρα.’

in reverse order; with address to the stars; wordplay on name of the affliction (ἄφτρα) and
‘stars’ (ἄστρα) for ἄφτρα

1.31.1.2. reported from contemporary Rethymna (Crete), Paraskeuides 1953, 154

1. ‘καλημέρα ἄστρα κι ἄφτρα | κι ὡς δὲν εἶναι καλημέρα, | ἔτσι νὰ μὴ σὲ βρῆ ἄλλη
μέρα.’

2. ‘καλησπέρα ἄστρα κι ἄφτρα | κι ὡς δὲν εἶναι καλησπέρα, | ἔτσι νὰ μὴ σ’ εὐρη
ἄλλη ἔσπέρα.’

1.31.2. with further statement of natural facts

1.31.2.1. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 87

‘καλημέρα σου λειχῆνα, | ὡς σὲ λέσιν κιόλα | ἔτσι νὰ ‘πομείνης κιόλα. | μὲ ἢ μούλα
κάμνει γάλα | μὴ ὁ μέρμηγκας μουστάριν | μὴδὲ σὺ νὰ κάμης ρίζαν | μὴδὲ
παρακλωναρίζαν. | ἄγιοι ἀνάργυροι καὶ θαματοουργοί.’

1.31.2.2. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 87-88
'καλημέρα σου λειχήνα, | τόσον εἶν καλή ἢ μέρα, | τόσον νὰ 'πομένης τσόλα. | με
ψύλλος κάμνει γάλα | με ὁ μέρμηγκας μουστάριν | μηὲ ἢ λειχήνα ρίζαν | μηὲ ρίζενον
κλωνάριν. | ἄμε 'ς τὰ ὄρη 'ς τὰ βουνὰ | νὰ τρώης ξύλα τσαὶ κλαδιά.'

1.32. *kneading*; to stop blood

1.32.1. reported from contemporary Kritsa (Crete), Tranta 1963, 521
'ἀνύπαντρη ἐζύμωνε καὶ μπουκιὰ ψωμί δὲν ἤδινε. | ἄκου θᾶμα, στάσου στάμα.'

similarly, with an 'incantress'

1.32.2. reported from contemporary Zakynthos, Giannopoulou-Heptanesias 1951, 267
'εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. γειτόνισσα ἐζύμωνε, | κανενοῦ
δὲν ἔδινε. | μέγα θαῦμα, | τὸ αἷμα στάμα.'

1.33. *command introduced with historiola, general*

alliteration; for menstrual bleeding

1.33.1. Marcellus 10.35 (cf. Heim 1893 no. 54)

item carmen hoc utile profluuiio muliebri 'stupidus in monte ibat, stupidus stupuit. adiuro
te matrix ne hoc iracunda suscipias.' pari ratione scriptum ligabis.

² matrix *corr. Heim* : *matris codd.*

alliteration/figura etymologica

1.33.2. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Auct. T. 4.4 (s. XIV?), f. 443v [pastedown in cod. of s.
XV-XVI]

ἕτερον. 'εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος. ἀναμέσον
διωδίου καὶ τριωδίου ἔστιν ἑπτὰ παιδικά, παιδίκει. φεῦγε τὸ μαλακὸν ἀπὸ τὸν
δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ, ἀμήν.'

short historiola with seven maidens; with first-person performatives in past tense; followed
by prayer; for pain

1.33.3. private collection, cod. from Kerkyra (s. XIX), ed. Salbanos 1929, 129

'εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς παναγίας, ὅτι ἔδεσα καὶ ἀπόδεσα τὸν
κεφαλόπονον, τὸν ἀνεμικόν, τὸν ἐξωτερικόν ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ τάδε. σῦρε εἰς
τὰ ἄγρια ὄρη καὶ ἄπεχε ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ τάδε. ἔδεσα καὶ ἀπόδεσα τὰς
ἀσθενείας ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ τάδε. ἑπτὰ παρθένες στέκουν καὶ δὲ ξορκίζουν.
σῦρε 'ς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν ὅλες οἱ ἑβδομήντα ἀσθένειες ἀπὸ τὰ κόκκαλά του,
ἀπὸ τὸ κρέας του, ἀπὸ τὰ σωτικά του καὶ ἀπὸ τὰ ἄνδρα του, καὶ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη νὰ
ἀπέχη ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ τάδε. ἅγιοι ἀνάργυροι πέμψατε ὦρα καλὴ πρὸς
τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ τάδε. ἀμήν.'

general theology

1.33.4. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 2.22 (cod. p. 227.12-18 and
bottom margin, ed. Önnertfors 2006, 1:44-45; Heim 1893, 558)

renium dolor uel cetera alia praecantatio. dicis haec 'dominus deus omnipotens his
dolorem saluat. angeli audierunt, prophetae cognouerunt, omnes saluati sunt. audi corce
et perage animam. dominus deus omnipotens saluat. angeli audierunt, prophetae
audierunt. audi dolor renium, exi a medullis ad ossa, <ab ossibus> ad pulpas, a pulpa ad
neruos, a neruo ad cutes, a cute ad pilos, a pilo in centesimum.' excutiens incantas, exspues
aut ter aut quinquies aut septiens aut nouies.

¹ domine cod. || 2 corce corr. Heim : croce cod., Ömmerfors (*quasi cruce[m] pro cruce*) || 3 perage corr. Vollmer ap. Heim : procipe cod. | domine cod. || 4 <ab ossibus> suppl. Heim

1.34. incest taboo, φιλεῖν (and also perhaps the sens. obsc. of περαίνω? *LSJ* s.v. II)

1.34.1. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2510 (s. XIV-XV), f. 25r

περὶ ρίνος ἔαν ῥέη αἷμα. 'υἱὸς καὶ μάνα ποτάμιν ἐπέρνουσαν καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τὴν μάναν φιλεῖν ἐζήτησεν. μὰ τὴν ἀνομίαν τὴν ἤκουσα, στᾶ μὴ στάξης.'

¹ I. ποτάμιον ἐπέραναν

1.34.2. Naples, BN cod. II C 33 (s. XV), f. 235v, ed. Delatte 1927, 621

περὶ μύτης. λέγε οὕτως 'υἱὸς καὶ μάνα (ἔνα) τὸν ἄλλον ἐνέτρεχαν, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς μάνας φιλι ἐζήτει. ὕπνωσον μύτη, τὸ παραχώρημα ἐν ἐκείνῳ, μύτη στᾶ.'

² φιλι i.e. φίλημα | ἐζήταν Delatte | παραχώρημα Delatte, cf. *Hsch.* s.v.

παραχωρημάτων | στά Delatte, on the form cf. *Choeroboscus Epimer.* ed. *Gaisford* p. 102.

1.35. *Joshua and Zacharias*

prayer with historiola of incantation of Joshua, Greek transliterated into Roman script [ὁ στήσας ἦλιον κατὰ Γαβασα καὶ (τὴν σελήνην) κατὰ φάραγμα, αἷμα Ζαχαρίου τοῦ προφήτου καὶ τῆς πιστῆς Βερονίκης, αἷμα στᾶ]; followed by Latin prayer with historiola of Zacharias

1.35.1. St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 877 (s. IX), p. 49. The unit pp. 33-88 probably produced at St. Gallen, and include a *medicinalis ars Ypogratias magistri* (pp. 33-49) and a metrological treatise (pp. 58-59): *Beccaria* 1956 no. 138

contra sanguinem. 'ho stias ilion catta cabon catta faranga emez zegario tu propitu ce ten pistiu epperonicis eme sta. qui fixisti sanguinem Zachariae inter templum et altare, tu fige sanguinem famuli tui illius.'

³ fie sanguine cod.

1.36. *Elijah and the drought* (3 Reg. 17)

preceded by prayer; for bleeding

1.36.1. Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 210 (s. XVIII), f. 64r, ed. Delatte 1927, 116

εἰς τὸ στήσαι αἷμα ἀπὸ τὴν μύτην. 'κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς πιστῆς βασιλείας Ἀχασαβ καὶ Ἡλίου τοῦ προφήτου. <εἰς> τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τὴν ἐδέξαντο οἱ ἑπτὰ οὐρανοὶ τοῦ μὴ βρέξαι ἐνιαυτοὺς τρεῖς καὶ μῆνας ἕξ, οὕτως καὶ σὺ πῆξον καὶ μὴν στάξης. εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.'

² Ἀχασαβ Barb 1948, 56n1 : αχασαμ cod. : Αβρααμ Delatte

1.37. *Jonah and Lazarus*

1.37.1. Aetius of Amida 8.54 (Heim 1893 no. 174); cf. *Collins* 2008a, 224

πρὸς ὄστοῦ κατάποσιν καὶ πρὸς ἀναβολὴν τῶν καταπειρομένων εἰς τὰ παρίσθμια. προσέχων τῷ πάσχοντι ἀνθρώπῳ ἀντικρυς καθεζομένῳ καὶ ποιήσας αὐτὸν προσέχειν σοι λέγε 'ἀνελθε ὄστοῦν, εἴτε ὄστοῦν ἢ κάρφος ἐστὶν ἢ ἄλλο ὅτιοῦν, ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Λάζαρον ἀπὸ τάφου ἀνήγαγε καὶ Ἰωνᾶν ἐκ τοῦ κήτους.'

1.38. *birth of Christ*

for sleeplessness

1.38.1. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Auct. T. 4.4 (s. XIV?), f. 443r [pastedown in cod. of s. XV-XVI]

εἰς ἀσθενῆ μὴ ὑπνοῦντα. γράφε εἰς φύλλον δάφ[νης] Ἐμαρίας γεννώσης πᾶσα φύσις ἠρέμωσε, καὶ σὺ οὖν ἄνθρωπε φρίξον ὑπνωσαι, εἰς τὸ ὄνο[μα] τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.'

similarly; preceded by prayer

1.38.2. London, BL Royal MS 16 C II (s. XV), f. 24v

1. καὶ γράψον εἰς τρία φύλλα δάφνης τάδε ἑκοφοσηλ κοκομφθισηλ δὸς ὑπνον ὑγίαν τῷ δεῖνι.' καὶ περὶ ἀπτε κροτάφοις καὶ μετώπῳ.

2. καὶ γράψον εἰς χάρτην ἑτῆς θεοτόκου γεννησάσης τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν πᾶσα ἡ φύσις ἠρέμησεν· ἠρέμησον οὖν καὶ σὺ ἄνθρωπε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ.'

with the seven sleepers of Ephesus (note the addition of a corroborating date for this event) and the birth of Christ; preceded by prayer; for sleep

1.38.3. Naples, BN cod. II C 33 (s. XV), f. 47v, ed. Delatte 1927, 615

εἰς ὑπνον. ἑκύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ κοιμήσας τοὺς ἁγίους ἑπτὰ παῖδας ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἐν ἑτει Γοθ' ὦν τὰ ὀνόματά εἰσιν ταῦτα, Ἐξακουστοδιανὸς Μαξιμιανὸς Ἰάμβλιχος Διονύσιος Ἀντώνιος Ἐξακουστός καὶ Ἰωάννης, κοίμησον καὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου ὁδεῖνα ὑπνον αἰνέσεως, ὑπνον ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενηθέντος πᾶσα πνοὴ ἠσύχασεν· οὕτως καὶ σὺ φρίξον ὑπνε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τῶν ἁγίων ἑπτὰ παιδῶν, ἀμήν.'

1.38.4. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2294 (s. XV), f. 83r-v

πρὸς τὸ ὑπνωσαι ἄρρωστον. γράψον οὕτως ἑκύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ κοιμήσας τοὺς ἁγίους ἑπτὰ παῖδας ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῆς Ἐφέσου ἀν' ἑτη σοβ' | ὦν τὰ ὀνόματά εἰσι ταῦτα, Ἐξακουστουδιανὸς Μαξιμιανὸς Ἰάμβλιχος Διονύσιος Ἀντώνιος Ἐξακουστός καὶ Ἰωάννης, κοίμησον καὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου δεῖνα ὑπνον ἀνέσεως, ὑπνον ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. τοῦ Χριστοῦ σεμνηθέντος πᾶσα πνοὴ ἠσύχασεν, οὕτως καὶ σὺ φρίξον ὑπνε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος καὶ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τῶν ἁγίων ἑπτὰ παιδῶν, ἀμήν.'

claim about painless birth of Christ; for labor pains

1.38.5. Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 210 (s. XVIII), ff. 61v-62r, ed. Delatte 1927, 115

ἄλλον περὶ γυναικός. ὅταν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη, πόνος οὐκ ἦτον· καὶ ἄρτι πόνος μὴ φανῆ. φεῦγε πόνε | καὶ πᾶν κακὸν ἢ ὀφθαλμὸς κακός ἢ κατάρρα καὶ μάγια ἀπὸ τῆν δούλην τοῦ θεοῦ ὁδεῖνα.'

fear and trembling at birth of Christ; to stop bleeding

1.38.6. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2294 (s. XV), f. 79r

εἰς τὸ στῆσαι αἷμα. ἑτὸν φόβον καὶ τὸν τρόμον ὄν εἶχεν ἡ γῆ ὅταν ἐπιβλήθη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς αὐτὴν καὶ ποιεῖ αὐτὴν τρέμειν καὶ διαρρεῖν, στᾶ αἷμα στᾶ μὴ στᾶξης.'

1.39. *baptism of Christ, halting of the Jordan*

for bleeding

1.39.1. Einsiedeln, SB cod. 319 (s. X-XI), p. 281

ad narem. 'sangui(s) sta stupe de nasa N., quod tibi uena sic stet (ut) Iordanis fecit ubi dominus baptizatus est qui conuertit petram usque in fontes aquarum. pater noster' usque in finem. hoc fac ter in aurem dextram.

I nars *cod. a.c.* | sta stupe *conieci* : statistupi *cod.*

1.40. *crucifixion, lancing*

for wounds

1.40.1. Paris, BnF cod. lat. 6862 (s. IX), f. 12v (ed. Wickersheimer 1966, 70)

ad uulnera praecantatio uel plagas et de qualibet causa factum fuerit uulnus. incantabis sic. 'sicut dominus noster Iesus Christus in cruce pendens lancea perforatus latere est et neque doluit neque tumuit neque fistulam fecit, sic et tu plaga neque doleas neque tumeas neque fistulam facias. in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti.' et sic medicamen quale uolueris desuper imponis. probatum est.

I factus *cod.*

asyndetic tricolon; for wounds

1.40.2. Leiden, UB cod. VLQ 50 (s. XV), f. 159v, ed. Oder-Hoppe *Corpus*

Hippiatricorum Graecorum, excerpta Lugdunensia c. 101

γοητεία περὶ τοῦ στῆσαι αἷμα. 'ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἔλαβεν <πληγὴν> μετὰ τὴν λόγχην εἰς τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ᾤμωξεν, οὐκ ἐθύμανεν, οὐκ ἐπυρομάχησεν. οὕτως καὶ σὺ πόνε μὴ στάξης, μὴ φλεγμονήσης, μὴ ἐκστάξης, μὴ θυμάνης, μὴ ἐπιρρευματίσης, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ <υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος>.'

I <πληγὴν> *supplevi*, cf. *Oder-Hoppe in app.cr.* || 2 ᾤμωξεν *corr.* *Oder-Hoppe in app.cr.* : ἔμωξεν *cod.* || 3 <υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος> *suppl.* *Oder-Hoppe*

combined with baptism

1.40.3. London, Wellcome Library cod. 542 (s. XV), f. 9r, ed. Sheldon 1978 no. 45

A charm for to staunch blood. 'Longius miles latus domini nostril Iesu Christi lancea perforauit et continuo exiuit sanguis et aqua in redemptionem nostram. adiuro te sanguis per Iesum Christum, per latus eius, per sanguinem eius, sta sta sta. Christus Iohannes descenderunt in flumen Iordanis, aqua obstipuit et stetit. sic faciat sanguis istius corporis, in Christi nomine et sancti Iohannis baptistae, amen.' et dicatur ter pater noster.

1.40.4. London, BL cod. Harley 2389 (s. XV), f. 29r, ed. Sheldon 1978 no. 48

To staunch blode. 'sanguis mane in te sicut fecit Christus in se. sanguis mane in tua uena sicut Christus in sua poena. sanguis mane fixus sicut Christus quando fuit crucifixus.'

similarly; to calm oxen

1.40.5. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 142 (s. XIV), f. 161r

εἰς βούδιον. '(Χριστὸς) ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ ἀνεχόμενος οὔτε ὤγκωσεν οὔτε ἐπόνεσεν οὔτε ἀπελάκτησεν ἀνάγκαστος· οὕτως καὶ σὺ βοῦ ἐν τῷ ζυγῷ ἔργαζε τὴν γῆν καὶ σῦρνε τὸν ζυγὸν καὶ τὰ ζυγόλωρα.' ἔπαρε ἀπὸ ἔλυα δ[] καὶ δῶσ'ς τὸν τρις εἰς τὸ καπ[] καὶ λέγε 'ὀρίζει σε ὁ Χριστὸς νὰ ὑπάγῃς πρὸς νὰ σύρῃς τὸν ζ[υγὸν] καὶ τὰ ζυγόλωρα.'

$\overline{1}$ ενγκοσεν *cod.* || 2 αλλα αγκοστος *cod.* | εσου *cod.* || 3 υπάγης *conieci* : π[.]εν *cod.*

1.41. *credal formula*

play on Christ's rising after three days and the three-day cycle of the fever (τριήμερος ... τριταΐε); modified φεύγειν/διώκειν, end of credal formula διώκων τούς δαίμονας leads into διὸ φεύγε); for fever

1.41.1. Oxford, Bodleian *cod.* Barocci 111 (s. XV), f. 115v

εἰς ῥῖγον. γράψον εἰς μῆλον ἢ εἰς κυδώνιον ἢ εἰς πρόσωπον ψωμίου καὶ δίδου ἐσθίειν ὅταν μέλλη ταράσσεσθαι. ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη, Χριστὸς ἐβαπτίσθη, Χριστὸς ἐσταυρώθη, Χριστὸς ἐτάφη, Χριστὸς ἀνέστη τριήμερος διώκων τούς δαίμονας· διὸ φεύγε καὶ σὺ ῥιγοπύρετε, τριταΐε τεταρταΐε καὶ καθημερινέ, ἀπὸ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἀμήν.'

1.41.2. Vienna, ÖNB *cod. med. gr.* 27 (s. XV), f. 182r (ed. *CCAG* VI:88)

εἰς ῥίγον. (γ)ράψον εἰς μῆλον ἢ εἰς κυδώνιον ἢ εἰς πρόσωπον ψωμίου καὶ δίδου ἐσθίειν ὅταν μέλλη ταράσσεσθαι. Ὀ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη, Χριστὸς ἐβαπτίσθη, Χριστὸς ἐσταυρώθη, Χριστὸς ἐτάφη, Χριστὸς ἀνεβίω τριήμερος διώκων τούς δαίμονας· διὸ φεύγε καὶ σὺ ῥιγοπύρετον τριταΐε τεταρταΐε καὶ ἡμερινέ, ἀπὸ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ δεινός· εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἀμήν.'

1.41.3. Vienna, ÖNB *cod.* 'philos. gr. 220' (s. XVI), no folio reference given; this shelfmark no longer in use, ed. Vassiliev 1893, 339

εἰς ῥῖγον. γράψον εἰς μῆλον ἢ εἰς κυδώνιον ἢ εἰς πρόσωπον ψωμίου καὶ δίδου ἐσθίειν ὅταν μέλλη ταράσσεσθαι Ὀ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη, Χριστὸς ἐβαπτίσθη, Χριστὸς ἐσταυρώθη, Χριστὸς ἐτάφη, Χριστὸς ἀνέστη τριήμερος διώκων τούς δαίμονας. διὸ φεύγε καὶ σὺ ῥιγοπύρετε τριταΐε διημερινὸν καὶ ἀμφημερινὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἀμήν.'

$\overline{4}$ διημερινὸν καὶ ἀμφημερινὸν *conieci* : δαίμονε καὶ ἀφημερινὸν *Vassiliev*

similarly, on theme of crucifixion

1.41.4. Paris, BnF *cod. suppl. gr.* 1603 (s. XVI), f. 326v, ed. Delatte 1927, 554

εἰς παροξυσμόν. εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. ὁ Χριστὸς ὑψώθη καὶ ὁ διάβολος ἐτραυματίσθη καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐσταυρώθη. εἰς τὸ κυρίου ὄνομα ὀρκίζω σε Οριου πυρετὸς διτταῖος, τριταῖος, τεταρταῖος, ὁ νυκτερινὸς καὶ καθημερινός, ἔξελθε.'

1.42.1. *historiolae of paradoxical biblical births, simple*

addressing the womb; informing it that the mother has given the child a name (?);

Elizabeth/John the Baptist *historiola*

1.42.1.1. epistolary treatise 'Theodorus Priscianus ad Octauium filium,' added to the *Euporiston* of Theodorus, §2, ed. Rose 1894, 341

item. scribes in charta pura, dextro femori alligabis 'Elisabet peperit Iohannem baptistam. aperi te mater illa eius, quia nomen facit quae parturit, et emitte ex te pecudem de homine creatum.'

delivery of dead child [English instructions, to be spoken]

1.42.1.2. London, BL cod. Add. 37786 (s. XV), f. 43r, ed. Sheldon 1978 no. 100
'in nomine patris et filii etc. Anna peperit Samuelem, Elizabeth praecursorem, Maria
saluatorem. et tu mulier fac quid in te. infans quicumque es aut infans masculus aut
femina, ueni foras ad baptismum.'

with English instructions; cancelled by later reader

1.42.1.3. Cambridge, UL cod. Ee. i. 15 (s. XV), f. 78v

'in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen. Anna peperit Samuelem, Elizabeth
praecursorem, Maria saluatorem, et tu mulier <ita> fac in te. <in>fans quicumque aut infans
masculus aut femina, ueni foras ad baptismum.'

1.42.2. with analogous psalm text (*Ps.* 136:7)

1.42.2.1. a parchment codex of the fourteenth century (no further identification given), f.
191v, ed. Jeitteles 1879, 311

ad partum mulierum. Swenne daz wîp ze chemnâten sol gên, sô sol man disen prief
schreiben und sol ir den legen ûf den bûch 'de uiro uir, uirgo de uirgine. uicit leo de tribu
Iuda. Maria uirgo peperit Christum, Elisabeth peperit Iohannem baptistam. adiuro te
infans per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, si masculus es aut femina, ut ex eas de
uulua ista, exinanite exinanite.' Als daz chindlîn geboren wirt, sô solt dû vil palde den prief
ab loesen.

1.42.2.2. from an herbal in a Bavarian manuscript of the fifteenth century (formerly
Hasslers Bibliothek in Ulm, no further identification given), p. 264, ed. Birlinger 1879, 74
no. 3. Wenn das weyb zw notten mit ainem chindt get. So leg diesen brieff auff ihren leyb
'de uiro uir, uirgo de uirgine, uiuat leo de tribu Iuda. Maria uirgo peperit Christum,
Elisabeth sterilis peperit Iohannem baptistam. adiuro te infans per patrem et filium et
spiritum sanctum, siue sis masculus siue femina, ut ex eas de uentre isto, exinanite
exinanite,' also dann das chind geboren worden, so sol man den brieff schier abnemen.

$\overline{2}$ Maria corr. Birlinger: Martha cod. || 4 exinanite exinanite correxi: exmamte exmamte
Birlinger

post-biblical

1.43. *stopping of the Euphrates by Christ*; preceded by an exorcistic invocation of angelic
power, followed by another request made of the angels; for bleeding

1.43.1. papyrus formulary, P.Heid. inv. G 1101 (s. V-VI), ed. Maltomini 1982, re-ed.
Suppl.Mag. I 32.8-11

'... ὁ γὰρ κύριος ἡμῶν ἐδ[ι]όκεντο ἀπὸ τὸν Ἰουδέον καὶ ἔλ[θ]εν εἰς τὸν Εὐφράτιν
ποταμ[ὸ]ν καὶ ἔπιξεν τὴν ῥάβδον αὐτοῦ καὶ | ἔστη τὸ ὕδρο. καὶ σὺ ρεῦμα στῆ[θ]ι
ὀν[ό]ματι {ν} κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶν τοῦ σταυρεθέντος | ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς μέχρι ὀνύχων.'

1.44. *Zacharias*

cf. Barb 1952, 41 and 44n6, with the suggestion that the antecedent of σύ is a hematite
stone which will have been placed on the nose in an accompanying ritual

1.44.1. added in the margin of a manuscript copy of Aetius of Amida (6.94 in Vatican,
BAV cod. Palat. gr. 199 (s. XIII), f. 121v [in left marg.], ed. Olivieri 1939, 143)

ἕτερος ὀρκισμὸς πρὸς αἰμορραγίαν ῥινός. 'εἰς τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ
παντοδυνάμου. ὁ προφήτης Ζαχαρίας ἐσφάγη ἐν τῷ ναῷ κυρίου καὶ ἐπάγη τὸ αἷμα
αὐτοῦ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὡσεὶ λίθος. οὕτω καὶ σὺ αἷμα στῆσον τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ

όδεινος, πήξον πάθος ώς έκεινο και ώς λίθος άποκυρωθη. όρκίζω σε εις την πίστιν της Βεραιωνικης αίμα πλέον μη στάξης. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου, άμήν.
'Ιησοῦς Χριστός νικᾷ.'

2 κυρίως *cod.*, *Barb op. cit. 42n1* considers maintaining the dative

combined with prayer

1.44.2. Paris, BnF *cod. gr. 2224* (s. XV), f. 64v

αίμα ρινῶν στήσεις οὔτως. πράσον μετὰ ὄξους και λιβάνου ένώσας έπίχριε έν τῷ μετώπῳ. γύψον μετὰ ὄξους έπιτίθει τῷ μετώπῳ λέγων 'στᾷ αίμα πήξει αίμα, ὁ πήξας και στήσας ώσει λίθον τοῦ άγίου Ζαχαρίου τὸ αίμα στήσον και τοῦτο την ὥραν ταύτην εις τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς και τοῦ υἱοῦ και τοῦ άγίου πνεύματος, άμήν.'

followed by a second address to the target introduced by historiola with lancing of Christ (2)

1.44.3. Paris, BnF *cod. gr. 2294* (s. XV), f. 79r

1. ἄλλο. γράφε μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ αίματος εις τὸ σκελί τοῦ πάσχοντος 'ὁ Ζαχαρίας πεφόνευτο έν τῷ ναῶ τοῦ θεοῦ (έγγύς) θυσιαστηρίου και ἔστη τὸ αίμα αὐτοῦ πεπηγὸς ώσει λίθος. και σὺ αίμα στήθι.'

2. τὸ ἄρας και ἄρας άπό τῆς γῆς ξύλον ἢ χορτίν και βάψας τῷ αίματι λέγε οὔτως 'λόγχην λαβὼν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἦν εἶδεν ἢ άμίαντος παρθένος και ὑπέραγνος θεοτόκος ἔθαύμασεν. και σὺ αίμα στήθι.'

2 διαστηρίου *cod.* || 4 άμίαντος *conieci* : αχσταντος *cod.*

combined with Longinus

1.44.4. for bleeding, to be written on the forehead or an amulet [instructions in Liegeois] Darmstadt, SB *cod. 815* (s. XIII), f. 158r, ed. Haust 1941, 98

'Longinus miles perforavit lancea latus domini, inde exiuit sanguis et aqua in remissionem peccatorum. Zacharias propheta decolatus est ante altare domini et coagulatus est sanguis eius. in nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi, sic et tu sanguis coagulare et sta in nomine domini.'

Zacharias combined with Veronica

1.44.5. Nicolaus Myreps. I.405, ed. Fabricius *Bibl. graec.* 13:8 (Heim 1893 no. 177)

adiuratio ad profluuium sanguinis narium sonans in hunc modum 'in nomine patris et filii et sancti spiritus amen.' debet autem qui dicturus est adiurationem hanc in manu sua retinere lapidem iaspida aut lapidem haematitem et sic dicere 'εις την κρίσιν την θέλουν ει δέ οί άπάβαδοι και οί άπάβαδες και οί τόκον λαμβάνοντες et crucifigentes dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, siste sanguinem.' et apprehendens in capite aegrotantis capillos dic ter. dein pone iaspidem in nares sanguinem effundentes atque dic 'credo in unum patrem omnipotentem' et 'pater noster qui es in caelis' et 'aue gratiosa' usque ad finem idque ter. post haec dic 'per nomen magnum dei omnipotentis propheta Zacharias in templo domini a uiris inquinis trucidatus est et sanguis eius tamquam lapis concreuit, sic et tuus sanguis concrecat et sistatur per seruum dei. adiuro te per fidem Veronicæ sanguinem ne amplius stilles. stes probe, stes cum timore amen.' hoc dic ter.

1.45. other saints

1.45.1. Martin

anaphora; mixture of Latin and magical words; against snake bite and poison;
1.45.1.1. St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 44 (s. VIII), p. 350 (ed. Jörimann 1925, 29)
item ad ipsum aut qui uenenum sumpserit. colligis rutam, dum colligis sic praecantes et
cum aqua pisili bibatur dicens ‘tremore expremore cesare cesare qua decentina procentina
perarum netredetas. Martinus descendit per montem cum ceruis ceruicina cum natriza
trigas cum matri borregas. ego tibi dixi ut illi mala non facias nec in corde nec in foro nec
foras ossa foras carni foras cor foras cuti foras pilo. ego tibi adcanto, ut ualeat incantatio
mea.’

I *ruta cod.*

1.45.2. *seven sleepers*

1.45.2.1. Engelberg, SB cod. 45 (s. XII), f. 157r, ed. Heim 1893, 555 [I omit the frequent
interpunct-crosses]

ante uermes. ‘bon pen na ason ad dentes. in eremo in monte Celion, ibi sederunt septem
fratres dormientes, Marcus Marcellinus Serapion Alexander Vitalis Philippus Dionysius.
per istos septem fratres dormientes coniuro uos uermes ut recedatis et hominem istum non
laedatis.’

1.46. *aetiology of the affliction: three bad children*

against pests

1.46.1. incantation from nineteenth-century Lesbos, recorded in Rouse 1896, 144

‘Ανανος Ανανίδα | τρία κακά παιδιά έποίηκα(ν), | τὸ ένα κάμπια, τὸ ἄλλο σφῆκα, |
τὸ ἄλλο ἀπείρωσ μυρμηκας. | ὅτι νὰ φᾶς, ὅτι νὰ πῆης, | νὰ ξουρισθῆς | ’ς τὰ ὄρη ’ς
τὰ βουνὰ | καὶ ’ς τᾶκαρπα τὰ δένδρα.’

I ἄνανῶς ἀνανίδα Rouse | | 2 έποίηκα(ν) *conieci* : έπήκα Rouse

1.47. *analogy: cosmological*

1.47.1. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 2.12 (cod. p. 220.1-3, ed.
Önnerfors 2006, 1:37; Heim 1893, 557)

ad linguae <dolorem>. haec dices ‘quomodo sol a patre et a matre exit, polum circat, et loco
suo reuertitur, sic et lingua loco tuo reuertaris,’ et duobus digitis pollicibusque unguis
manum et lanam cum manna imponis.

I <dolorem> *suppl. Önnerfors*

analogy, symmetrical tricolon

1.47.2. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 1.18 (cod. p. 207.6-8, ed.
Önnerfors 2006, 1:23; Heim 1893, 557)

item <ad> os ceruicale, infantibus praecantio. dicis sic ‘ut filio illius Gai Sei os patet, caelum
patet, stellae patent, et tu, os ceruicale, resili sursum.’

I ossum ceruicalem *cod.* | ut *corr. Önnerfors* : et *cod.* | | 2 sursum *corr. Skutsch ap. Heim*
: suso *cod.*

2. Performatives

2.1. *expressing the hoped-for result*

2.1.1. *first person*

meter (iambic)

2.1.1.1. hematite, now in Paris (Cabinet des Médailles), ed. Delatte and Derchain 1964 no. 261. On one side a reaper harvesting grain; the other side inscribed ἐργάζο|με κὲ οὐ | πονῶ.

1-2 1. ἐργάζομαι καὶ

meter (iambic)

2.1.1.2. hematite, now in Paris (Cabinet des Médailles), ed. Delatte and Derchain 1964 no. 262. On one side a reaper harvesting grain; the other side inscribed ἐργάζο(μ)|ε κὲ | οὐ πονῶ.

1-2 ΕΡΓΑΖΟΝΕ *amulet*, 1. ἐργάζομαι καὶ

Greek in Latin recipe; for *lippitudo* (i.e. ῥεῦμα of the eyes)

2.1.1.3. Marcellus 8.59

in lamella aurea acu cuprea scribes ‘οὐ ῥ(έ)ω, οὐ ῥ(έ)ω δῆ.’ et dabis uel suspendes ex licio collo gestandum praeligamen ei qui lippiet. quod potenter et diu ualebit si obseruata castitate die Lunae illud facias et ponas.

1 οὐ ῥ(έ)ω, οὐ ῥ(έ)ω δῆ *conieci* : ΟΥΡΩΟΥΡΩΔΗ *codd.*

metaphorical; laurel (δάφνη) being thought to protect against poison (ἀλεξιφάρμακον)

2.1.1.4. Diogenianus *Paroemiae* 4.78, similarly id. 2.28 and 4.14, Zenobius 3.12 (Heim 1893 no. 137)

Ἐφέσια γράμματα ἐπωδαί τινες ἦσαν ἄσπερ οἱ φωνοῦντες ἐνίκων ἐν παντί, ταῦτό τῆ δαφνίνην φορῶ βακτηρίαν.’

1 φωνοῦντες] φοροῦντες *Becker-Marquardt ap. Heim*

-not previously identified as magical, but a parallel perhaps in the psalm text prescribed in *Geoponika* 7.14 [see 5.4: γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ...] ; I know of no parallels among authentic amphora-inscriptions (which generally mark ownership, contents, etc.); it is possible that the writer was instead affixing some sign of approval, but in that case an indication of a personal name or official title might be expected.

2.1.1.5. inscription on amphora, found at Oxyrhynchus, ‘Roman,’ *SB I* 1944 (described in Grenfell and Hunt 1904-1905, 15; from the 1904-1905 excavation season).

ἐκ τούτου ἐγευσάμην.

2.1.2. *third-person*

Greek in Latin transliteration (perhaps for constipation: διάχυλος being the hoped for condition of the bowels)

2.1.2.1. *Antidotarium Bruxellense* §51, ed. Rose 1894, 377; cf. Heim 1893 no. 39

ad colum. in balneo posteaquam te lotus per sabana uestiueris et sederis, dicito intra te per te ‘διάχυλον διάχυλον διάχυλον.’

2 *diachylon diachylon diachylon Rose : diachylon diachylon diacholon cod. :*
διὰ κῶλον Heim

for catarrh

2.1.2.2. Leiden, UB cod. VGF 25 (s. XVI), f. 5v

ἄλλο. ὄνον ἢ ἡμίονον καταφιλησάτω ὁ κάμνων λέγων ‘κατάρρους ἴστη.’ καὶ παύσει.

for ophthalmia

2.1.2.3. Leiden, UB cod. VGF 25 (s. XVI), f. 6r

ἄλλο. κλυζόμενος τὰς κόρας λέγε ‘τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὴν φλέβα τηρεῖ,’ καὶ ἓνα παρ’ ἓνα ὀνυχίζου, καὶ οὐδέποτε ὀφθαλμιάσεις.

spitting; for breast cancer

2.1.2.4. *Antidotarium Bruxellense* §88, ed. Rose 1894, 383

ad cancrum in mamillis. submittes illi pedes de lecto quae necessitatem patitur, ita ut terram non tangat, et facies pugnos pollicis intus et dices in manus, hoc est inclusum in pugnis, ‘asca basca rastaia serc cercer recerel. nihil est, nihil est, nihil facturum erit quod ego ille aut illa filius Gariae Seiae <ha>b(e)o mamillis. si pectus habeo a te, deus, peto praestes.’ expues in manus semel et deduces ab umbilico sursum uersus per mamillas. ter hoc, ter ternis facies et remediabis.

4 *Gariae Seiae <ha>b(e)o mamillis conieci : gaia esseiaebo mamillis cod. : Gariae Seiae mamillis Rose*

third person performative, to protect vineyards, assertion that various blights are ἄδηλος; in two versions, spoken and inscribed, to be buried in the four corners of the vineyard; introduced by incipit of *John*

2.1.2.5. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2219 (s. XV), f. 32r-v

1. περὶ ἀμπελειῶν ἵνα | οὐ βλάπτονται παρὰ ἔρπετῶν. ‘κύριε βοήθει. ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. πάντα δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν. καὶ ἄδηλον χαλάζιν καὶ καυστηρία, ἀκρις καὶ βροῦχος, πᾶσα βρώσις, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.’ γράφε καὶ αὐτὸ ὡσαύτως καὶ θεὸς ἔνθα τὰ ἔρπετὰ μένουσιν.

2. ἄλλο. γράφε τὰ τε ἄνωθεν ὅσα εἶπον εἰς βήσαλον ἄθικτον καὶ χῶσον εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα μέρη τοῦ ἀμπελιῶνος.

3 *καυστηριαν cod.*

writing with blood, and upside-down; for nosebleed

2.1.2.6. Leiden, UB cod. VGF 25 (s. XVI), ff. 6v-7r

πρὸς τὰς ἐκ μυκτῆρος αἰμορραγίας διὰ πολλῆς ἔχον πείρας ἡμῖν. λαβῶν ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος γράφε ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ ἀνάποδα ἐπὶ ἀριστεροῦ κροτάφου ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ ‘ὅς δέ τις αἷμα(τος) | χρειάν οὐκ ἔχει παύσεται.’

for dog bite; tricolon

2.1.2.7. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 3.68 (cod. p. 278.27-29, ed. Önnorfors 2006, 1:98; Heim 1893, 561)

item, praecantatio. priusquam tangas dicis ‘canis mordet et stupet, non dolet.’ ter dicito et ter exspuito et ter terra mingito.

² terram corr. Heim

Greek in Latin text; on a tentative reading, performative references to a dog and its bite. The corresponding section in Theodorus is for the bites of humans and monkeys, but it is at least plausible that the writer of the additions opportunistically included it all the same. 2.1.2.8. additions to the *Euporiston* of Theodorus, ed. Rose 1894, 281

[ad humanum et simiae morsum.] de aqua frigida primum plagam tange et dices graece ‘μῶρος ὁ) κύων, μῶρον τὸ δάγμα τοῦ κυνὸς καὶ μῶρον <τὸ> στόμα.’

² <μῶρος ὁ> ... στόμα conieci : KYWNΘ-CΩPONTOα:PO-CΩPΩKYNΩCΩaΘ-CΩPΩNEΩNΩu cod.

2.1.2.9. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 3.68 (cod. p. 278.20-23, ed. Önnorfors 2006, 1:97; Heim 1893, 561)

item. accipes spongiam et delauas morsum ipsum et incantas de ipsa spongia et lauas de frigida aqua et dicis ‘frigidus canis et frigidus morsus est illius’ et spongiam cum aqua super uulnera ligas. hoc statim ut morsus est una aqua de aliqua re contingatur.

2.1.2.10. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316 (s. XV), f. 355v, ed. Oikonomu-Agorastu 1982 no. 83 περι κυνοθήκτους. ... ἄλλον. ὕδωρ ἀπὸ πηγῆς καὶ στάκτην μίξας λέγε ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τρίς ‘ψυχρὸν τὸ ὕδωρ, ψυχρὸς ὁ κύων, ψυχρὸν τὸ δάγμα τοῦ κυνός.’ καὶ δὸς πιεῖν.’

2.1.2.11. additions to the *Euporiston* of Theodorus, ed. Rose 1894, 307

[ad somnum] item. scribe in tria folia lauri ‘inceptat’ et nescienti sub capite pone.

meter (iambic); to stop blood

2.1.2.12. additions to the *Euporiston* of Theodorus, ed. Rose 1894, 276

in charta scribe ‘μένων μένων μένων.’

² μαινων μαινωαι μαινων cod., Rose

for birth

2.1.2.13. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Barocci 111 (s. XV), f. 116r, to ease a woman’s birth, write on parchment

ἄλλο. γράψον εἰς χαρτὴν βέβρανον καὶ βάλε εἰς τὸν κόλπον τῆς γυναικὸς ‘αλβανα λαβανα γυνή γεννᾶ.’

2.1.2.14. Vienna, ÖNB cod. ‘philos. gr. 220’ (s. XVI), no folio reference given; this shelfmark no longer in use, ed. Vassiliev 1893, 339

γράφε εἰς χάρτην βέβραναν καὶ βάλε το εἰς τὸν κόλπον τῆς γυναικὸς ‘αλβανα λαβανα γυνή γεννᾶ.’

dramatic form, question; tricolon, anaphora

2.1.2.15. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 1.1, cod. p. 186.9-10, ed. Önnorfors 2006, 1:2-3; Heim 1893 no. 556

ad capitis dolorem incantabis, exues terram et ter manu pectus tanges et hoc dices ‘caput dolet. quare dolet? non dolet.’

for a horse which has swallowed leeches

2.1.2.16. incantation from contemporary Lesbos, recorded in Rouse 1896, 143; accompanying ritual involves holding and blowing through a reed toward the sun
‘μὰ τὴν πέτραν ποῦ πατῶ, | τὸ καλάμι ποῦ κρατῶ, | τρέμει πέτρα, τρέμω ᾿γῶ, | κι ἄμύαλοι κι ἀκῶαλοι.’

with knot-tying

2.1.2.17. St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751 (s. IX), p. 437, ed. Heim 1893, 563
item ad inguinum dolorem. parte qua dolet surculum anitilimum ligabis tribus nodis et dicis in uno nodo ‘deus Abraham,’ alio nodo ‘deus Isaac,’ in tertio ‘deus Iacob circabis dolorem.’

I inguinum *corr. Skutsch ap. Heim* : sanguinem *cod.* | surculum *correx*i : sorculum *cod.* : furculam *Heim* || 2 circabis *conieci* : ‘deus Iacob.’ ter ligabis dolorem *Skutsch ap. Heim* : tercabis *cod.*

‘sanctification’ of target; to protect pigs; to be spoken over bread, to be fed in turn to the pig; interplay of languages, transliterated Greek ἅγιος as predicate of Latin period [instructions in Liegeois, which also intrude into the incantation]

2.1.2.18. Darmstadt, SB cod. 815 (s. XIII), f. 167r, ed. Haust 1941, 123
‘in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen. pater noster. aius est aius est aius est ille porcus qui de isto pane comederit, ne de thalau ne de partiolo ne d’autre enferteit ait malz ne mort, in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen.’

I *post noster in vernac.* et puis si dis *add. cod.*

2.2. the mechanism of the cure

2.2.1. general

2.2.1.1. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 1.13 (cod. p. 203.2, ed. Önnersfors 2006, 1:19; om. Heim)
si cui aliquid in canale haeserit. ‘catenam clausam aperio de claue.’

aperio *corr. Önnersfors* : aperi *cod.*

also a ‘signature’

2.2.1.2. [Pliny] *De Medicina* 2.13.4 (cf. Heim 1893 no. 26, on the basis of an inferior text)
pecudis lien recens super dolorem extenditur, dicente eo qui medebitur se lienem mederi, deinde in partiete dormitorii cubiculi tectorio includitur et ter nouies subsignatur eademque dicentur.

2.2.1.3. Marcellus 23.70 (cf. Heim 1893 no. 26)

si quis agnum recens natum confestim manibus diuellat lienemque eius ubi extraxerit calidum super lienem dolentis imponat ac fascia liget et dicat adsidue ‘remedio lienis facio,’ postera die sublatum de corpore eius parieti cubiculi in quo lienosus dormire solitus est luto prius inlito ut haerere possit imponat atque ipsum lutum uiginti septem signaculis signet ad singula dicens ‘lieni remedium facio,’ hoc tale remedium si ter fecerit, in omne tempus lienosum quamuis infirmum et periclitantem sanabit.

2.2.1.4. Marcellus 1.54 (Heim 1893 no. 29, in part; also excerpted in London, BL cod. Sloane 475 [s. XI], f. 117v)

cum intrabis urbem quamlibet, ante portam lapillos qui in uia iacebunt quot uolueris collige, dicens tecum ipse ad capitis dolorem te remedium tollere, et ex his unum capiti alligato, ceteros post tergum iacta nec retro respice.

2.2.1.5. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 3.54 (cod. p. 277.1-2, ed. Önnersfors 2006, 1:96; Heim 1893, 561)

ad lassitudinem. herbam artemisiam in sinistra manu teneto et dicis ‘remedio lassitudinem (in)constantiamque.’ in manu portata mire facit.

2.2.1.6. London, BL cod. Royal 12 D XVII (s. X), f. 115v, ed. Storms 1948, 262 (previously Cockayne 1864-1866, 2:318-321)

‘remedium facio ad uentris dolorem.’

2.2.1.7. Marcellus 8.52 (Heim 1893 no. 6, in part)

de manu sinistra muscam capies et dum capies dicere debebis nomen eius cui remedium facturus es, te ad curandos oculos eius muscam prendere, tum uiuam eam ligabis in linteo et suspendes collo dolentis nec retro respicies.

2.2.1.8. Marcellus 15.103 (Heim 1893 no. 30, in part)

ad ea quae faucibus inhaerebunt remedium. si os aut arista haeserit gulae, uel ipse cui acciderit uel alius confestim ad focum adcurrat et titionem uerset ita ut pars eius quae ardebat forinsecus emineat, illa uero quae igni carebat flammae inseratur. conuertens uero titionem ter dices remedii gratia te facere ut illud quod haeserit in faucibus tuis uel illius quem peperit illa sine mora et molestia eximatur. hoc inter certissima remedia subnotatum est.

to accompany the cutting of herbs; for the spleen

2.2.1.9. London, BL Royal MS 16 C II (s. XV), f. 18v

ὅταν δὲ κόπτῃς ταῦτα, ὀνομάτιζε αὐτὸν ὅτι ‘κόπτω ταῦτα χάριν θεραπείας τῆς σπλήνος τοῦ δεινός.’

2.2.1.10. [Apuleius] *De uirt. herb.* 91.2 ed. Ackermann (Heim 1893 no. 33)

ad colubri morsum. herbam ebulum tene et antequam succidas eam, ter nouies dices ‘omnia mala bestiae canto’ atque eam ferro quam acutissimo e limo secundum terram trifariam praecidito et id faciens de eo cogitato cui medeberis.

incanting; preceded by cosmological analogy with wordplay on name of affliction (ἄφτρα; cf. 6.4.4-5); interlocking, performed by aunt (πρωτοθεία, cf. 2.11.2.1-2); for thrush in children

2.2.1.11. reported from contemporary Samos, Brontes 1956, 231

‘ἀπόψε ἔχει ὁ οὐρανὸς ἄστρα κι τὸ πιδί μ’ ἄφτρα, | αὔριο μηδὲ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἄστρα μηδὲ τὸ πιδί μ’ ἄφτρα. | σοῦ τὸ ἀητεύω ἐγὼ ἢ θειά, μὴ τοῦ ’πουκαμίσου μ’ τὴν πσιωνὴ ποδιά.’

2 ἀητεύω ed. glosses γοητεύω

incanting, casting out, cutting; against γροφή

2.2.1.12. reported from contemporary Paphos, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

ἔφτασεν ἀνήστικον τσαὶ λιερόν, | γητεύκω τὴν γροφὴν ἀπὸ τὸν δεῖνα, | βκάλλω
ταῖς ριζούαις της, | βκάλλω ταῖς γενούαις της, | τσαὶ κόβκω τὸν ἀλύσσιν της. |
γητεύκω τὴν γροφὴν | μὲ τὴν ὕλην τῶν βουδικιῶν. | σὰν τρέσ'ει ὁ ἥλιος, τὸ
φεγγάριν, | τὰ ἄστρα, τὸ ποαλέτρικια | ὅπως τρέχουσιν οἱ ποταμοί, | ἔτσι νὰ
τρέξη τσαὶ ἡ γροφὴ | ἀπὸ τὸν δούλον τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς τσαὶ
τοῦ υἱοῦ τσαὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος ἀμήν.'

ποαλέτρικια *ed. glosses πόδια ἀλέτρια, i.e. Orion*

2.2.1.13. Varro *De lingua latina* 6.21 (Heim 1893 no. 92)

... hoc die solitum uinum nouum et uetus libari et degustari medicamenti causa. quod
facere solent etiam nunc multi cum dicant 'nouum uetus uinum bibo, nouo ueteri morbo
medeor.'

2 morbo uino *codd. : del. Festus p. 123 M, cf. Heim*

2.2.1.14. Marcellus 25.13 (Heim 1893 no. 109 and 175)

remedium ad nesciam sic. colliges herbam quae dicitur Brittanice die Iouis uetere luna et
liduna, siccabis et repones quia hieme non apparet. nam et uiridis prodest. teres hanc cum
tribus granis salis et cum piperis granis quinque aut septem, addes et plenum grande
cocleare mellis et uini potionem bonam et si uolueris modicum calidae aquae adicies et sic
bibendum dabis. sed hanc herbam ter dum tenes antequam colligas praecantare debes sic
'terram teneo, herbam lego, in nomine Christi prosit ad quod te colligo.' medicinalibus
digitis eam sine ferro praecides aut euelles.

6 in nomine Christi *interpol. cens. Niedermann*

2.2.1.15. Varro *Rer. rust.* 1.27 (Heim 1893 no. 55)

cum homini pedes dolere coepissent, qui tui meminisset, ei mederi posse. 'ego tui memini,
medere meis pedibus. terra pestem teneto, salus hic maneto in meis pedibus.' hoc ter
nouies cantare iubet, terram tangere, despuere, ieiunum cantare.

interlocking ritual act

2.2.1.16. Pliny *NH* 28.42 (Heim 1893 no. 76)

partus accelerat hic mas ex quo quaeque conceperit, si cinctu suo soluto feminam cinxerit,
deinde soluerit adiecta precatione se cinxisse, eundem et soluturum, atque abierit.

the husband strikes his wife in the back with his shoe; for childbirth

2.2.1.17. reported from contemporary Greece of s. XVIII-XIX, Polites 1917-1918, 325-
326, cf. Sonnini, *Voyage en Grèce et Turquie* (Paris 1801), 2:92-93 and E. Bybilakis,
Neugriechisches Leben, vergleichen mit dem Altgriechischen zur Erläuterung beider
[Berlin 1840], 3-4

ἔγὼ σὲ φόρτωσα κ' ἐγὼ σὲ ξεροφορτώνω.'

variant adding Christ

2.2.1.18. Cambridge, Trinity College cod. R.14.30 (s. XIII), f. 143v, ed. Meyer 1903, 289
ut mulier cito pariat. homo soluat suam cincturam et cingat parturientem ter et dicat 'ego
te cingo, Christus te soluat.'

2.2.1.19. Sextus Placitus 17.11, ed. Howald-Sigerist 1927, 275; cf. Heim 1893 no. 78 on the basis of an inferior text)
ut mulier cito pariat. homo uir si soluat semicinctium suum et eam praecingat et dicat ‘ego <ὁ> δήσας explico te laborantem.’

$\overline{\Gamma}$ cito pariat *corr.* Zotter *ap.* Önnarfors 1993, 184n58 : concipiat *codd.* || 2 <ὁ> δήσας *conieci*, desas *codd.* Vr Vi : de hoc *cett.*

2.2.1.20. additions to the *Euporiston* of Theodorus, ed. Rose 1894, 307-308
[ad somnum] item. in cultello scribes ter ‘occidi somnium’ et nescienti ponens sub capite.

interlocking ritual action, the user rubs the affected area with a flower; for cankers (άλειχίνα)

2.2.1.21. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 88
‘ἡ ἀλειχίνα κάμνει κάστρον | καὶ χαλῶ της το με τ’ ἄνθος.’

2.2.2. *specific to binding or nailing*

wordplay, anaphora, alliteration; meter (trochaic with respect to stress accent)

2.2.2.1. interpolation in a manuscript copy of Aetius of Amida (6.94) in Vatican, BAV cod. Pal. gr. 199 (s. XIII), f. 121v, ed. Olivieri 1939, 143)

ἄλλον πρὸς αἰμορραγίαν ρίνος. λ. λῶμα ποιήσας λευκὸν δεύσας ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος περιάπτε τῷ τραχήλῳ λέγων οὕτως ‘αἷμα αἵματι δήσας στέλλω.’

$\overline{2}$ αἷμα[[μα]] *cod.* | δεισας *cod.* : δεύσας *Olivieri*

against fever (θερμόργιο); interlocking ritual action: a relative of the patient finds a tree near a crossroads and makes a knot with a strip of cloth from the patient’s clothes.

2.2.2.2. reported from contemporary Kefallenia, Pagonis 1910

‘σὲ τοῦτο τὸ δένδρο ἐδῶ | ἔδεσα τὴν θέρμη καὶ τὸ ὄργιο, | καὶ ὅταν θὰ ἔλθω νὰ τὴν λύσω, | θέρμη νὰ τὸν πιάση πίσω, | καὶ ὅποιος θὰ τὸ λύση | θέρμη δὲν θὰ τὸν ἀφήση.’

symbolic nailing of the spleen, driving 40 small wooden nails into a leaf, and speaking the incantation over each one; the leaf is placed in the chimney such that it dries out

2.2.2.3. reported from contemporary Cyprus, Koukoules 1921, 339

‘εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. καρφῶνω τὴν σπλῆναν τοῦ δεῖνος, νὰ μαράνη, νὰ ξεράνη, εἰς τὸν τόπον της νὰ πάη.’

nailing, to protect livestock

2.2.2.4. Mykonos, Δημαρχεῖον *cod. s.n.*, ed. Koukoules 1921

ἅμα βγαίνει τὸ ἄστρο, νὰ βγάξουν τὴν καρδιὰ ἐνὸς ζώου καὶ νὰ πάρουν ἐννέα καλεμκεριά καὶ νὰ καρφώσουν λέγοντας ταῦτα τὰ λόγια ‘ἐδῶ καρφῶνω τὸ κακὸ τῶν ζωντανῶ καὶ νὰ μὴν τὸν ἐδώσω πλέον, ἀλλὰ σὰν σπάγος ᾿ς τὰγκάθια τῶν βουνῶν.’

$\overline{2}$ καλεμκεριά *ed. gl.* μανδήλια || 3 ἐδώσω *ed. gl.* χαλαρώσω (?)

with interlocking symbolic ritual action, binding, for dog bites

2.2.2.5. Paris, BnF *cod. suppl. gr.* 142 (s. XIV), f. 160r-v, ed. Almazov 1901, 323

πρὸς δέσαι σκύλους. δέσε τὰς χειρὰς σου ὀπισθεν καὶ πιάσε τὴν ἀριστεράν σου ποδίαν καὶ δέσε κόμπον καὶ λέγε οὕτως ἔδῶ δέννω τοὺς σκύλους | τοῦ τόπου τούτου, γλώσσας καὶ τὰ στόματα, νὰ μηδὲν ἔχουν ὅτι νὰ ἔλθουν ἀπάνω μου.’

Ἴ πρὸς δὲ σκύλους *Almazov* | ἐπίσης *Almazov*

color specification motif; interlocking ritual act, placing a pebble on the tongue
2.2.2.6. private collection, codex from Apokoronas on Crete (‘recent,’ ed.), ed. Koukoules 1926, 105-106

‘ὡς ἔδεσεν ὁ Σολομων τὸ θηρίον ἐν τῷ λάκκῳ καὶ ἔμεινεν ἀκίνητον, ἔτσι δένω κι’ ἐγὼ τοῦ δεῖνα χωρίου τοὺς σκύλλους, δένω τοὺς μαύρους, δένω τοὺς κοκκίνους, τοὺς ἄσπρους, τοὺς καφαλοὺς καὶ ἀπὸ ὅ τι μελέτι εἶναι νὰ μείνουν ἀκίνητοι. ὡς δὲ μιλεῖ τοῦτο τὸ χαλίκι, ἔτσι νὰ μὴ μοῦ μιλήσουνε καὶ νὰ μὴ με γαυγίσουνε στανικῶς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θεληματικῶς τοῦ διαβόλου.’

to protect livestock from predators

2.2.2.7. private collection, codex written on Crete (Katsidoni, Seteia, s. XIX), f. 6v, ed. Spyridakis 1942-1943, 63

‘εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος, ἀμήν. ἐπὰ δένω καὶ χαλινώσω καὶ λεπιάζω καὶ τυφλώνω τὸν κάτη καὶ τὴν κάτα, τὸ βίτσιλο καὶ τὴ βιτσίλα καὶ τὸν χιλιάδελο καὶ ὅλα τὰ κακὰ ἔχνη ὀγιά νὰ μὴ μποροῦ νὰ ματώσουν, πνίξουσιν καὶ νὰ φάσι τὰ ζῶα, τὰ ρίφια, τὰ ἀρνία τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ δεῖνα.’

wordplay and merism, days of the week; against wolves

2.2.2.8. reported from contemporary Athens, Koukoules 1928, 484

‘δένω τὴ λυκαίνα μὲ τὸ λυκόπουλλο, δένω καὶ τὸ μονόλυκο, δένω τὸν δευτερούλην, δένω τὸν τριτούλην, δένω τὸν τετραδούλην, δένω τὸν πεφτούλην, δένω τὸν παρασκευούλην, δένω τὸν σαββατούλην, δένω τὸν κυριακούλην, δένω καὶ παραδένω νὰ μὴν ἔχη ἀνάκαρα νὰ φάη τὸ γαῖδούρι τοῦ δεῖνος.’

to protect livestock from birds of prey

2.2.2.9. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 94

‘δέννω καὶ χαλινώννω τὰς μύτας καὶ τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ, δέννω καὶ χαλινώννω σκύλλον καὶ ἀλαποὺν καὶ οὐῖλλα τὰ συράμενα τῆς γῆς σε ἀνατολήν καὶ δύσιν, νὰ ναιν ἢ βοσκή τως καοῦρι καὶ καραβόλοι.’

2.2.2.10. reported from contemporary Gourgoubitsi (Euboeia), Koukoules 1928, 489

‘δένω τὸν ἀετό, τὸ χρυσαετό τὸ ξυφτεραετό τὸ γερακαετό· δένω τὰ ποδάριά του, δένω τὴ μύτη του, νὰ πέφτη καὶ νὰ παίρνη χώματα ἕς τὰ νύχιά του καὶ νὰ φεύγη νὰ πάη ἕς τ’ ἄγρια βουνὰ καὶ ἕς τ’ ἀλάλητα μέρη.’

interlocking ritual action, farmers encircle the crops with white thread, and tie knots in it at night when no one is watching to protect crops from birds

2.2.2.11. reported from contemporary Eurytania, Samaras 1975-1976, 336

‘δένω καὶ μποδαίνω τὰ πτηνὰ ἀπ’ τὸ καλάμπόκι.’

cooption of liturgy by insertion of incantation at a particular point (‘τὰς θύρας τὰς θύρας ἐν σοφίᾳ πρόσχωμεν’), against the night-demonness (στρίξ / στρίγλος etc.)

2.2.2.12. reported from contemporary Lakonia, Koukoules 1921, 342

‘ἐγὼ καρφώνω τὴ στρίλα.’

to affect the sex of the child; nails driven into wall

2.2.2.13. reported from contemporary Mesolongio, Koukoules 1921, 332
'καρφώνω τοῖς τσοῦπες καὶ κάνω ἀρσενικά.'

with analogy of binding the womb of the mule; for fever

2.2.2.14. reported from contemporary Emparo (Crete), Athanasopoulos et al. 1914
'ὡς ἤδεσεν ὁ ἅγιος Δημήτριος τοῦ μούλας τὴ μήτρα καὶ δὲ γενναῖ, δένω καὶ χαλινώσω κ' ἐγὼ τὸ ρίγο τὸ χολόριγο, τὸ σεβτόριγο, τὸ βιστιρόριγο, τὸ κακὸ ρίγο. μιὰ φορὰ τὸν ἐγέννησ' ἢ μάνα δου, μιὰ φορὰ νὰ τόνε πχιάση.'

with cosmological analogy; followed by adjuration of the target; interlocking, the user ties knots in the hemp rope attached to the ring on a house door; against the fox (άλουπός)

2.2.2.15. reported from contemporary Paphos, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914
'ὡς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς τσαὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τσαὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος τσαὶ νῦν τσαὶ αἰὲ τσαὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν. | σὰν δύννει ὁ ἥλιος, σὰν δύννει ἡ σελήνη, σὰν δύννουν τὰ ἄστρα | ἔτσι δὴνω χαλινώσω ταῖς ἐβδομηνταδυόμιση βλέες | τ' ἄλουποῦ τ' ἀρσενικοῦ τσαὶ θηλυκοῦ, | ὡς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς τσαὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τσαὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος τσαὶ νῦν τσαὶ αἰὲ τσαὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν. | ἐξορκίζω σε κακὸν ἀλοῦπι | ποῦ τ' ἀμμάτι τὸ γυαλίν, | ποῦ τὸ δόντιν τὸ καρφίν, | πάνω ὡς τὸ ὄρος τὸ βουνίν, | νὰ φᾶς μαζὶ, νὰ φᾶς γρουμπί, | τσαὶ τσεῖ νὰ ρήξης τὴν ὀρκὴν | ποῦ ταῖς ὀρνιθαις τοῦ δεῖνος νὰ μὲν πειράξης.'

with symbolic transfer of affliction, spitting into mouth of bird, binding red silk to its leg and releasing it (with accompanying address to the bird); for constipation (στένωσις)

2.2.2.16. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2315 (s. XV), f. 242v, ed. Legrand 1881, 11
χελιδόνια τρία πίασε καὶ πτύσε εἰς τὸ στόμα τοῦ πουλίου καὶ ἔπε ἔπαρε τὴν στένωσίν μου' καὶ δέσε καὶ εἰς τὸ ποδάριν τοῦ παντὸς ἑνὸς κόκκινον μετὰξι καὶ ἄφες τα καὶ ἄς ἔπασιν, καὶ ὅταν τὰ δένης ἔπε δένω ἐδῶ τὴν στένωσίν μου.'

1 φτύσε *cod.* | | 2 πᾶσα *cod.* | | 3 ἔπασιν *i.e.* ὑπάγωσιν

2.2.3. with added address to medicinal substance

2.2.3.1. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 3.51 (cod. p. 276.13-16, ed. Önnersfors 2006, 1:95; Heim 1893, 561)

ad crapulam, (ne) quisquam ebrius fiat. herbae anemones radicem tusam sublatam coniecto in locum eius quolibet nomismate, dictis uerbis dum tollitur 'tollo te anemone ut sis remedium ebrietati.' portata in coccineo panno mire facere dicitur.

2.2.3.2. [Apuleius] *De uirt. herb.* 24.1 ed. Ackermann (Heim 1893 no. 32)

ad oculorum uitia atque labores. herbam chamaemelon si quis ante solis ortum carpsit et dicat 'ad albuginem oculorum te carpo ut subuenias,' iuuat.

2.2.3.3. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 2.32 (cod. p. 232.15-18, ed. Önnersfors 2006, 1:50; cf. Heim 1893, 559)

item cum primo cucurbitam uideris, idem ipse radicem de canna acuta, ne ferrum tangat, sicut totam radas, et cum uino roseo mero ieiunus bibat stans. 'te,' dicat antequam bibat, '(bibō) remedium ad coli dolorem.'

2 istante *cod.* | | 3 (bibam) *suppl.* Önnersfors

2.2.3.4. Sextus Placitus 17.19 ed. Ackermann (Heim 1893 no. 34)

ad febres acerrimas. a uestigio spadonis discedentis a ianua si sustuleris quodlibet, dicens
'tollo te ut ille Gaius febribus liberetur.' nominabis eum ad cuius brachium suspensurus es,
ad id uero loqueris ad quod sustuleris.

accompanying the gathering of an herb (Old English instructions)

2.2.3.5. London, BL cod. Royal 12 D XVII (s. X), f. 57v, ed. Cockayne 1864-1866,
2:156-157

'tollam te artemesia ne lassus sim in uia.'

$\bar{1}$ tellam *cod.* | sum *cod.*

for rheum in the eyes

2.2.3.6. *Hippiatrica Cantabrigiensia* 8.18 ed. Oder-Hoppe [also in London, BL cod.
Sloane 745, f. 70v]

πρὸς ῥεῦμα ὀφθαλμοῦ. ... ἡ πηγάνου ρίζαν ἄρας τῆ ἀριστερᾶ χειρὶ περίαπτε λέγων
'αἴρω σε πρὸς ὀφθαλμοῦ πόνον τοῦ ἵππου τοῦδε τοῦ καλουμένου τόδε.'

metronym; for insomnia

2.2.3.7. Leiden, UB cod. VGF 25 (s. XVI), f. 5v

ἄλλον. λαβὼν θριδακίνην πρὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆς τῆ ἀριστερᾶ σου χειρὶ πρόρριζον
εἶπε τρίτον 'αἴρω σε πρὸς ὕπνον τοῦδε ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα.' καὶ λειώσας χρῶ τῶ
χυλῶ αὐτῆς χριῶν τὰ μέτωπα καὶ τοὺς κροτάφους.

followed by analogy; followed by further instructions about how to wear the plant as an
amulet, and how to punish the patient if he does not furnish the proper thanks for the
cure; for scrofula

2.2.3.8. Leiden, UB cod. VGF 25 (s. XVI), f. 7v

1. ἄλλο πρὸς χοιράδας. ἀπελθὼν ἔνθα φύεται ὑοσκύαμος ἐσπέρας παράγγειλον ὅτι
'αἴρω σε πρὸς τὰς χοιράδας ἵνα αὐτὰς ἀφανεῖς ποιήσης· τήρησον οὖν σου τὴν
δύναμιν.' καὶ παράπτηξον αὐτὴν ἤλω.

2. ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ὄρθρον λάμβανε σύρριζον τὰ αὐτὰ εἰπὼν καὶ ἐπιβάλλων τῶ
φράγματι ἄλας λέγε 'ὡς τοῦτο τὸ σπειρόμενον οὐ φύεται ἀλλ' ἀφανὲς γίνεται,
οὕτως ἀφανεῖς γενέσθωσαν καὶ τοῦ δεινὸς αἱ χοιράδες.'

2.2.4. *ritual drama, dialogue: splitting*

for warts

2.2.4.1. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Digby 69 (c. a. 1300), f. 100v (ed. T. Hunt 1990, 314)

ad idem. accipe ramum aliquem de ligno iuniperi et habeas aliquem qui tibi respondeat et
dicas primo 'scindo.' dicat alius 'quid scindis tu?' respondeas, N. nominetur ubicumque
sit, 'N. yive werten awei in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen.' sic dicatur ter et
totiens respondeatur. et dicatur pater noster ter, aue Maria ter.

$\bar{2}$ scindo *correx*i : sindo *cod.*

2.2.5. *nailing*

for headache

2.2.5.1. London, BL Royal MS 16 C II (s. XV), f. 66r-v

εἰς ἄνθρωπον ἔχοντα πόνον ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ. ποίει οὕτως. λαβὲ ἀπὸ τὸ ὀσπίτιν τοῦ ἀσθενούντος λεπτόν ἐν καὶ κόνιν ἢ στακτὴν καὶ ὄστρακον καὶ ἄλας, καὶ νὰ ἐπάρῃς τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸ πρῶτ' ἔμπροσθεν ὅ ἡλιος ἀνατέλλει καὶ νὰ μηδὲν στραφῆς εἰς τὰ ὀπισθεν νὰ ἰδεῖν μήτε δεξιᾶ μήτε ἀριστερᾶ, καὶ ἐάν σε ἀπαντήσῃ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἀλογήσῃ σε, μὴ ἀποκρίθητι αὐτῷ μήτε σὺ αὐτὸν ἀλογήσῃς, νὰ ὑπάγῃς εἰς σκίλλαν τὴν κοινὴν λεγομένην κρομιόσκιλλαν, νὰ καθῆσαι μετὰ τοῦ ἀσθενούντος, νὰ βάλῃς τὸ λεπτόν ἢ τὸ ὄστρακον εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τῆς βοτάνης, νὰ λέγῃς σὺ ὁ ἰατροῦν 'εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος καὶ τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου.' καὶ νὰ σε ἐρωτᾷ ἕτερος ἢ ὁ ἀσθενῶν ἢ ἄλλος, νὰ λέγῃ | 'τί καρφώνεις;' νὰ λέγῃ ὁ καρφώνων 'ὦδε καρφώνων τὸ ἡμικράνιον τὸν πόνον τὸν ῥιγισμὸν τὸ πᾶν κακὸν τῆς κεφαλῆς.' καὶ λέγε οὕτως ἕως τρεῖς καὶ πᾶσαν φοράν ἀκόντιζε τὸ λεπτόν ἕσω ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τῆς βοτάνης, καὶ εἰς τὸ τρίτον ἀκόντιζε αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ πᾶν. τελέσεις σταυρὸν καὶ θῆς τὸ ἄλας ἄνωθεν τὸ χωσθὲν λεπτόν καὶ τὴν κόνιν καὶ ἄνωθεν τούτων τὸ ὄστρακον καὶ τότε λέγε οὕτως 'ὡς οὐδὲ ἐγὼ θέλω ἐλθεῖν ὦδε νὰ σε ἐκκαρφώσω ἢ νὰ σε ἐπάρω, μηδὲ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ δεῖνα νὰ πονεύσῃ τὸ κρανίον αὐτοῦ.' ὅταν γοῦν ὑπάγῃς εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον ὅπου ἀποδένης, ἄγωμε ἀπὸ ἄλλον ὁδόν, καὶ ὅταν ἄρχῃ ἀπὸ ἄλλην, μήτε ὀπισθεν μήτε δεξιᾶ ἢ ἀριστερᾶ στραφῆς.

Ἰ ἔχον *cod.* || 3 στραφῆ *cod.* || 6 ὄστρακον *conieci* : ἀδρακτιν *cod.* || 12 τὸν χωσθέντα *cod.*

for hernia

2.2.5.2. Athens, EB *cod.* 1501 (s. XIX), f. 120r, ed. Koukoules 1921

διὰ ἐκείνους ὅπου κατεβαίνει τὸ ἀξίγκι τους. κόψε τὰ νύχια του καὶ τῶ χειρῶ του καὶ τῶν ποδῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τὰ μάτια του τρίχες καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν κορφὴν του καὶ ζύμωσέ τα μὲ κερὶ, κάμε το σὰν καρφίν. ἔπαρε ἓνα ἄνθρωπον μαζί σου, πήγαίνε εἰς ἓνα δέντρο. νὰ εἶναι μεγάλη ἐρορτή καὶ νὰ ἐρωτᾷ ὁ ἓνας τὸν ἄλλον 'τί κάνεις αὐτοῦ;' καὶ ὁ ἄλλος νὰ λέγῃ 'καρφώνω τοῦ δεῖνα τὸ ἀξίγκι' τρεῖς φορές, καὶ νὰ ἔχη μία τρύπα μὲ τὸ τρυπάνι καμωμένη, νὰ βάλῃ τὸ καρφί τὸ κέρινο μέσα καὶ μὲ χῶμα νὰ τὸ σκεπάσῃ καὶ νὰ φύγῃ καὶ γιαινεὶ ἀμέσως καὶ ἂν δὲν γιαινεὶ, νὰ τὸ μετακάμῃ ἕως νὰ τὸ πιτύχη. καὶ νὰ εἶναι ὕστερες τοῦ φεγγαρίου.

for kidney-stone; inscription of New Testament historiola (a version of *John* 7:38; cf.

5.6.5.1) on the belly of the patient with yellow dye (color of the hoped-for urine)

2.2.5.3. Athens, *cod.* Soc. Hist. 223 (s. XIX, Epiros), f. 66r-v, ed. Delatte 1927, 144

περὶ ἀνθρώπου ὁποῦ ἔχει πέτραν καὶ δὲν πορεῖ νὰ κατουρῇ. ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἂν θέλῃ νὰ λάβῃ ὑγίειαν, γράψῃ εἰς τὸ ὑπογάστριον αὐτοῦ ἐτοῦτα τὰ γράμματα μὲ κοκκίνην βαφὴν 'εἶπεν ὁ κύριος "ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, ποταμοὶ ρεύσονται ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ἰδόντος ζῶντος."' εἰ δὲ εἰς τὸ ὑπογάστριον αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀσθενῆ διὰ κάποιαν ἐντροπήν (δὲν ἐπιτρέπεται), γράψῃ τὰ εἰς κομμάτι χαρτὶ μὲ κοκκίνην βαφὴν καὶ δέσῃ το εἰς τὸ ὑπογάστριον αὐτοῦ. ἔπαρε ἀγριομολόχης τὴν ῥίζαν καὶ βράσῃ την, καὶ πίνῃ τὸ ζουμὶν μὲ ὀλίγον ἄλας νηστικός καὶ κατουρεῖ, ἔπαρε τὸ παπούτζι του καὶ ἄς πατήσῃ μὲ τὸ ποδάρι του εἰς ἄγριον συκιὰν καὶ εὐγαλε τὴν φλοῦδαν | ὅσον εἶναι ἢ μαύρη της. ἔπειτα ἔχε τέσσαρα καρφία ἢ ἔξι καὶ κάρφωσέ τα εἰς τὸν τόπον τῆς φλοῦδας καὶ καρφοῦντά τα νὰ σε ἐρωτᾷ ἄλλος 'τί καρφώνεις;' 'αὐτοῦ καρφώνων τὴν σπλήναν τοῦ ὀδεῖνα.' καὶ τὴν φλοῦδαν ὁποῦ εὐγαίνει, κρέμα την εἰς τὸν καπνὸν καὶ καθῶς ξεραίνει ἢ φλοῦδα, ἔτσι ξεραίνει καὶ ἡ σπλήνα.

8 καρφουνοντας *cod.*

for scrofula (τὰ χελώνια); repeated three times while striking nails with a stone into a fig-tree, then the stone is thrown over the shoulder; introduced by a prayer to the ἀνάργυροι Kosmas and Damianos.

2.2.5.4. reported from contemporary Kerkyra (Nymphai), Kavasilas 1910, 647 no. 5
'τί καρφώνεις αὐτοῦ;' 'καρφώνω τὰ χελώνια, τὰ θηλυκὰ τάρσεινικὰ τὰ νεροχέλωνα, τὰ ποτιστικὰ τὰ ἀναραϊδικὰ.'

for the spleen

2.2.5.5. reported from contemporary Athens, Asbeste 1962, 208
'τί καρφώνεις;' 'τοῦ τάδε τῆ σπλήνα.'

for fever

the practitioner plants nails in a tree between the fingers of the patient

2.2.5.6. reported from contemporary Lasta in Gortynia, Koukoules 1921, 338
'τί καρφώνεις αὐτοῦ;' 'θέρμες καρφώνω.'

against demon blamed for loss of item

2.2.5.7. reported from contemporary Naukratos, Koukoules 1921, 334-335
'καρφώνω.' 'τί καρφώνεις;' 'ἓνα διάβολο.' 'γιατί;' 'μοῦ χάσε μιὰ δεκάρα.' 'κάρφωσέ τον τὸν κερατᾶ.' 'ἔδῶ θὰ σ' ἔχω καρφωμένο ὡς ποῦ νὰ μοῦ τὴν εὔρης.'

2.2.6. binding

within a longer recipe including recitations of liturgy, measuring the patient with string; against epilepsy

2.2.6.1. Athens, Ἰστ.-Ἐθν. Ἐτ. cod. 126 (n.d.), ff. 6r-7v, ed. Koukoules 1926, 102-103
αὐτὴν τὴν βίτσα ποῦ ἔσχισες τὴν κάμνεις μίαν κολλοῦρα δένοντας τοῖς ἄκρες τὴν μίαν μεριάν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην μὲ τὸ μετὰξι αὐτὸ ὅπου ἐμέτρησες τὸ μισὸ κόκκινο καὶ ἄσπρο ἀπὸ τὴν ἄλλη καὶ δένοντας τὸν κόμπον ἀπὸ τὸ ἓνα μέρος νὰ εἰπῆ ὁ σύντροφος ὅπου τραυᾶς μαζί σου 'τί δένεις αὐτοῦ;' καὶ ἐσὺ νὰ τοῦ εἰπῆς 'δένω τὸ τελώνιον τὸ μεγάλο καὶ τρομερὸν ἀπὸ τὸν δεῖνα ἄνθρωπον.' καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὸ ἄλλο δέσιμον κάμνεις καὶ λέγεις τὸ ἴδιον.

for fever; the user measures the height of the patient with thread, ties three knots in it; a second participant asks what he is doing; the patient keeps the object for three days, then fumigates himself with it

2.2.6.2. reported from contemporary Mylasa (Caria), Koukoules 1928, 477-478
'τί κάνεις;' 'δένω τὴ θέρμη τοῦ τάδε.'

the user holds a folding knife (σουγιᾶς) and closes it, and a second participant asks what he is doing (1); he opens it again, and is again questioned (2); he throws the object away (3); merism, days of the week; against wolves

2.2.6.3. reported from contemporary Mani, Koukoules 1928, 483-484

1. 'τί κάμνεις;' 'δένω τὸ λύκο τὸν δευτεριάνονε τὸν τριταριάνονε ἢ τὸν τετραριάνονε.'
2. 'τί κάμνεις;' 'δένω τὸ λύκο | γῦρο γῦρο ἔς τὸ μάνδρι | καὶ μέσ' ὁ λύκος νὰ μὴν μπῆ, | ἀλλὰ κι ἂν μπῆ, | νὰ μπαίνη καὶ νὰ βγαίνη | καὶ τίποτα νὰ μὴν παίρνη.'
3. 'ὡς κουνεῖται ὁ σουγιᾶς, | ἔτσα νὰ κουνηθῆ κι ὁ λύκος.'

against demon blamed for loss of item, user ties knots in grass

2.2.6.4. reported from contemporary Schoretsana (Arta), Koukoules 1928, 481
'δένω, δένω.' 'τί δένεις;' 'τόν δαίμονα.' 'τί σόκαμι;' 'μ' πῆρι τοῖ τόπ'.' 'πῶς ἦταν τοῦ τόπ';' 'μαύρου.' 'μαύρη στράτα πῆρι.'

I-2 πῶς ἦταν τοῦ τόπ' *with variant* νὰ πάη νὰ τοῦ βρῆ

2.2.7. *stitching*, with cloth, needle, and thread
against wolves

2.2.7.1. reported from contemporary Naupaktia, Melinkou-Markantoni 1982-1984, 261
'ράβω, ράβω.' 'τί ράβεις;' 'τοῦ λύκου τὸ στόμα.'

2.2.7.2. reported from contemporary Kastania (Arta), Melinkou-Markantoni 1982-1984, 261
'ράφτω, ράφτω.' 'τί ράφτ'ς;' 'τὸ στόμα τ' λύκου.' 'ράψ' το κι καμάρωσέ το.'

more extensive list of parts of the target; head of sacrificed bird, with needle and thread,
against wolves

2.2.7.3. reported from contemporary Larisa, Melinkou-Markantoni 1982-1984, 262
'τί ράφτ'ς, μπάμπου;' 'τ' λύκ' τοῦ στόμα, τ' λύκ' τὰ μάτια, τ' λύκ' τ' αὐτιά κι τοῦ λύκ' τῆ μύτ', νὰ μὴν ἀκούει, νὰ μὴ βλέπ', νὰ μὴν οὐσμάει, νὰ μὴ καταλαβαίν'.'

2.2.8. *other acts*

the user drives splinters (τσίτες) into a leaf, with each one the dialogue being repeated; the
object is hung in the chimney to dry out; for disorders of the spleen

2.2.8.1. reported from contemporary Crete, Koukoules 1928, 506
'εἶντα κάνεις ἐκειά;' 'τῆ σπλῆνα τοῦ δεῖνα τσιτώνω, νὰ μαραθῆ καὶ νὰ ψυγῆ σὰν τὴν παπουτσοουκιά.'

planting a peg in the ground (μπήχνω for πήγνυμι); against demon blamed for loss of
item;

2.2.8.2. reported from contemporary Bitrinitisi in Doris, Koukoules 1921, 334
'μπήχνω μπήχνω.' 'τί μπήχνεις;' 'ἕνα διαβολάκι.' 'ἦ νὰ τὸ βρῆς ἦ νὰ τὸ σκάσης.'

burning, κάβου for κάπτω (καίω); for erysipelas

2.2.8.3. reported from contemporary Trichonis, Paraskeuasides 1956, 264
'τί κάν'ς εὔτου;' 'κάβου τοῦ κακό, τοῦ πονηρό, νὰ φύγ' 'ς τὰ β'νὰ τσι 'ς τὰ κλαδιά τσι νὰ μὴ γυρίσ' πλιά.'

2.3. *expressing the purpose of a ritual action*

2.3.1. [deleted]

2.3.2. Marcellus 26.129 (Heim 1893 no. 86)

in cubili canis urinam faciat qui urinam non potest continere dicatque dum facit ne in cubili suo urinam ut canis faciat.

2.3.3. [Pliny] *De Medicina* 2.19.1 (cf. Heim 1893 no. 86)

uerrini genitalis cinerem potare ex uino dulci oportet, in canis cubile urinam facere et haec uerba dicere, ne ipse urinam faciat ut canis in suo cubili.

2.3.4. St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751 (s. IX), p. 491, ed. Heim 1893, 564

ad cordis pulsum. scribis in charta pura, lino rudi ligabis genu ‘ut lupus ouem non tangat.’
luna quinta decima chelidonium colligis et cum sale dabis ei.

1 genu *correxi* : geno *cod.* : genae *Heim*

2.4.1. *announcing the affliction in request for healing*

prayer to the moon to take away part of the spleen; the user scratches the skin over the spleen with a knife in the form of a cross

2.4.1.1. reported from contemporary Kastriion in Kynouria, Athanasopoulos 1911

‘καλό ’ς τὸ φεγγάρι, | τὸ καλὸ τὸ παλληκάρι, | κάθε μῆνα γεννημένο, | κάθ’ αὐγὴ
χαιρετημένο, | τὸ δικό σου κεφάλι δεμένο, | τὸ δικό μου σιδερένιο. | ἔχω τρία
κομμάτια σπλήνα, | στείλε πάρε μου τὸ ἓνα | καὶ ἄσε μου τὰ δύο. | Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς
νικᾷ τὰ πάντα.’

2.4.2 *announcing the affliction as means of transfer to animal*

2.4.2.1. Pliny *NH* 28.155 (Heim 1893 no. 74)

quin etiam si quis asino in aurem percussus a scorpione se dicat, transire malum protinus tradunt.

2.4.2.2. *Geoponika* 13.9.6 (Heim 1893 no. 74)

Δημόκριτός φησι τὸν πληγέντα ὑπὸ σκορπίου καὶ εὐθέως εἰπόντα τῷ ὄνῳ
‘σκορπίος με ἔπληξεν’ οὐκ ἀλγήσειν, τῆς ἀλγηδόνης εἰς τὸν ὄνον μεταβαινούσης.

2.4.2.3. *Geoponika* 15.1.25

ἐὰν ὁ πληγῆς ὑπὸ σκορπίου εἰς τὸ οὖς εἴπη τοῦ ὄνου ‘σκορπίος με ἔπληξεν,’ οὐκ
ἀλγήσει, εἰς τὸν ὄνον μετελθούσης τῆς ἀλγηδόνης.

2.5. *precedent for cure*

reference to classical precedent

2.5.1. Bamberg, SB cod. L III 6 (s. IX-X), ed. Sigerist 1923, 30 (repr. Önnersfors 1993, 215 no. 48)

ad memoriam. est enim potentissimum si per singulos annos cum mel gustis dices haec
‘alotomentum sedraoton terfice isfinias nereta despone permofinet ment, haec mihi et
Platoni in usum erat.”

1 melle *cod.* | dicens *cod.*

2.6. *setting patient and cure within cosmology*

for gout

2.6.1. Marcellus 36.19 (Heim 1893 no. 114 in part)

florum moles et dices quamdiu moles ‘summum caelum, ima terra, medium
medicamentum.’ deinde simul omnia cocta colabis et ex his pedes cum opus fuerit
perfricabis.

ascending tricolon; symmetrical clauses (adjective-noun, adjective-noun, adjective-noun-verb)

2.6.2. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 1.8 (cod. p. 198.6-9, ed. Önnersfors 2006, 1:14; Heim 1893, 556)

item. cum uideris primum lunam nouam tenes aduersis manibus ad maxillam aliam aliam
manum et dices ‘noua luna, noui dentes, putres uermes exspuo.’ hoc ter dices et exspues.

preceded by prayer; followed by analogous psalm text (104:20); to release binding
2.6.3. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 362v, ed. Delatte 1927, 612

1. εἰς τὸ λύσαι δεδεμένον. λέξον οὕτως 'μέγα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Χριστοῦ. Χριστὸς ἀνέστη λύσας θανάτου τὰς πύλας καὶ τὰ δεσμὰ. λύσον καὶ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα ἵνα κινήται μετὰ τῆς γυναικός. νῦν ἀπολύης τὸν δοῦλόν σου, δέσποτα, ὁ ἀναστάς ἐκ τοῦ μνήματος καὶ τὰ δεσμὰ διαρρήξας τοῦ θανάτου. κύριε λύσον τὸν δοῦλόν σου ὀδεῖνα ἵνα κινήται μετὰ τῆς γυναικός του. ἅγιε Ἀθανάσιε Ἐρμόλαε τῆς ἁγίας Ὀρωλήσης ὡς ἔλυσας καὶ ἠλέησας τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα δύο αἰτίας τῶν μαγείων, λύσον καὶ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα. ἄδητος ὁ ἥλιος, ἄδητος ἡ σελήνη, ἄδητοι οἱ ἀστέρες, ἄδητος καὶ ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα. λύεται ὁ ἥλιος, λύεται ἡ σελήνη, λύνονται οἱ ἀστέρες, λύνονται καὶ αἱ ἐβδομήκοντα φλέβες τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα. ἀπέστειλεν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἔλυσεν αὐτόν.'

2. γράψον δὲ εἰς καυκὴν καινούργιον πράσινον ἢ εἰς μῆλον ἢ εἰς κυδώνιον. εὐρὲ δὲ ἄσπρον λουρὶν ἐλάφινον, τὸ πλάτος δακτύλων τριῶν καὶ γράψον σταυρὸν καὶ τὸ 'λύει τὰ δεσμὰ καὶ δροσίζει τὴν φλόγα ὁ τρισσοφεγγῆς τῆς θεαρχίας τύπος, ὕμνουσι παῖδες, εὐλογεῖτε τὸν μόνον σωτῆρα καὶ παντουργὸν εὐεργέτην ἢ δημιουργηθεῖσα σύμπασα κτίσις.' τὸ καυκὴν, τὸ μῆλον, τὸ λουρὶν νὰ τὰ θέσης νὰ ἀστρονομηθῇ, σὺν τούτοις καὶ τὸ βρακὶν του. καὶ τὸ πρῶτῃ βάλει νερὸν εἰς τὸ καυκὴν καὶ ἀποπλύνει καλῶς δὸς αὐτῷ πιεῖν νήστη. εἶτα ἄς φάγη καὶ τὸ μῆλον, ἄς ζωσθῇ καὶ τὸ λουρὶν κατὰ σάρκα καὶ ἄς ὑπάγη τότε εἰς τὴν γυναῖκά του.

1 λέγον Delatte

for unbinding

2.6.4. Bologna, Univ. Bibl. cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 347r, ed. Delatte 1927, 581-582
εἰς τὸ λύσαι ἄνδρα δεμένον. γράφε εἰς χαρτὶ καὶ δέσον εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν σου χεῖριν 'κύριος καραθοχ αριχ μαρι μαρι αρι.' ταῦτα γράφε μαύροις γράμμασι εἰς δύο χαρτῖα, τὸ ἐν βεβράινον καὶ τὸ ἕτερον βαμπύκινον. καὶ ὅταν εὕγη τὸ πρῶτον ἄστρον, ἔπαρον τὸν ἀσθενη ἔξω καὶ ποιήσον εὐλογίαν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς λέγε τρισάγιον ἀπολυτικὸν καὶ τὸν πεντηκοστὸν ψαλμόν. καὶ τὰ δύο χαρτῖα ἀνάγνωσέ τα εἰς τὸ κεφάλι. τὸ βεβράινον δέσον εἰς τὰ μέσα του, τὸ βαμπύκινον δέσε το μετὰ τὸ μαντύλι εἰς τὸ κεφάλι. τὸ δὲ βεβράινον μετὰ ἐλαφίου λουρὶν εἰς τὰ μέσα. καὶ ὅτε ἐνὶ δεῖπνον, πάλιν εὕγαλον ἔξω καὶ λέγε ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ κεφάλι οὕτως 'ἐλύθη ἡ γῆ, ἐλύθη ὁ οὐρανός, ἐλύθη ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα· ἐτρίχησεν ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ, ἐλύθη τὰ νεῦρα αὐτοῦ, ἐλύθη καὶ διελύθησαν, ἐλύθη ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ (θεοῦ) ὀδεῖνα.'

natural cycles; for worms

2.6.5. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2294 (s. XV), f. 79v
εἰς πύους φαρμακίαν. λαμβάνων χῶμα ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ράντιζε αὐτὸν τὸν τόπον ἔνθα οἱ σκώληκες εἰσὶν ἡλίου ἀνατέλλοντος ἐν τρισὶ πρῶταις καὶ λέγε οὕτως 'ὁ ἥλιος ἀνέτειλεν, χρυσαῖς ἀκτῖνας ἔρριψεν, ὁ ὄφις τὰ ἔνδυμα, ἡ ἔλαφος τὰ κέρατα, ἡ ἄμπελος τὰ φύλλα, καὶ ὁ δεῖνα τοὺς σκώληκας.'

performative scene-setting, analogy from natural world, expression of hoped-for result in present tense; for leeches

2.6.6. reported from contemporary Naxos, Emellos 1962, 190

‘ὁ ἥλιος ἀνατολικά ἀνατείνοντας | καὶ καταπλαγύνοντας, | τρέμει ἡ γῆς, τρέμει ὁ οὐρανός, | τρέμει ἡ πέτρα τοῦ γιαλοῦ, | μαύρη ’ναι ἡ τρίχα του, | πέφτει ἡ ἀβιδέλλα του.’

2.7. setting patient and cure within mythology

2.7.1. the Gorgon

wordplay on the homographs *os* ‘bone’ and *os* ‘mouth’

2.7.1.1. Marcellus 8.172 (Heim 1893 no. 94)

si arista uel quaelibet sordicula oculum fuerit ingressa obcluso alio oculo ipsoque qui dolet patefacto et digitis medicinali ac pollice leuiter pertractato ter per singula despuens dices ‘os Gorgonis basio.’ hoc idem carmen si ter nouies dicatur etiam de faucibus hominis uel iumentū os aut si quid aliud haeserit potenter eximit.

2.7.1.2. *Mulomedicina Chironis* 974, ed. Oder 1901

iumentum si spinam uel surculum uel ossum aut quodcumque in ore uel in faucibus habuerit, ut eicias, hoc ter respuens dicis ‘os Gorgonis.’

² respuens coniecti : r. iues *cod.* : various other conjectures in Oder and Ömerfors 1993, 200-201

2.7.2. *Ares* -cf. Faraone 2009, 247-248, who identifies a historiola and points to a possible origin in an iambic incantation (a hypothetical rewording Ἄρης ἔτεμεν τὸν πόνον τοῦ ἥπατος)

2.7.2.1. hematite in the British Museum, ed. Michel 2001 no. 385 (repr. Michel 2004 no. 5.1). On one side, magical characters; on the other, a standing figure with helmet, shield, and spear, around which an inscription, clockwise from lower left Ἄρης ἔτεμεν τοῦ ἥπατος τὸν πόνον[v].

2.7.2.2. hematite in the British Museum, ed. Michel 2001 no. 386 (repr. Michel, 2004 no. 5.1); on one side, magical characters; on the other, a standing figure with helmet, shield, and spear, around which an inscription, clockwise from lower left and spiraling inward Ἄρης ἔτεμεν τοῦ ἥπατος τὸν π|όνον[v].

¹ ἔτεμε[v] Michel, but v is visible on the published photograph || 1-2 π|όνον gem, the letters *ονο* are oriented in a column to be read top to bottom

2.7.3 Hades

followed by prayer

Greek prayer to Hades in Latin recipe; meter (iambic trimeter)

2.7.3.1. Marcellus 15.89 (Heim 1893 no. 117)

remedium ualde certum et utile faucium doloribus sic. scribes in charta haec ‘εἶδον τριμόρφου χρύσειον τὸ σάνδαλον | καὶ ταρταρούχου χάλκεον τὸ σάνδαλον. | σῶσόν με σεμνέ, νερτέρων ὑπέρτατε.’ quam chartam in phoenicio obuolutam lino conligabis colloque suspendes meminerisque ut mundus haec facias et ne tertia manu scriptura tangatur.

2.7.3.2. Ann Arbor, P.Mich. inv. 7 (s. III-IV), ed. pr. P.Mich. III 154, re-ed.

Pap.Graec.Mag. P LXX.12-19

‘ασκει κατασκει ερων ορεων ιωρ μεγα σεμνηρη | βαυι’ τρις, ‘φοβαντία σεμνή τετέ[λ]εσμαι καὶ εἰς | μέγαρον κατέ[βη]ν Δακτύλων καὶ [τ]ὰ ἄλλα εἶδον | κάτω,

παρθένος, κύων' καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ π[ά]ντα λέγε ἐπὶ | τριόδου καὶ στραφεῖς φεῦγε·
φαν[τ]άζεται γὰρ | ἐν τούτοις. λέγων δὲ λίαν νυκ[τὸς π]ερὶ οὐ θέλεις | καὶ καθ'
ὑπνους μηνύσει, κἄν ἐπὶ θάνατον ἀπάγη, | λέγε ταῦτα σκορπίζων σήσαμον καὶ
σώσει σε.

2.7.3.3. Pelagonius §278 (Heim 1893 no. 112)

praecantatio ad equos hordiatos siue ad torsionem, Apsyrti ἀπὸ πείρας ait 'equus telluris
flori natus, orcus, cognatus orcus pedem indit, uidi. nunc ego pedem indam orco, si
tortionatus, si hordiatu, si lassatus, si calcatus, si uermigeratus, si uulneratus, si
marmoratus, si roboratus, si equus non poterit esse. nociuum quia uidi orcum, his
carminibus istis equis dabo remedium.' hoc carmen in aurem dextram equo dices 'semel
natus, semel remediatus' et spuis in aurem. remediasti si frequentius incantaueris.

1 absyrty apopiras *cod.* || 1-2 telluris flori natus *corr. Heim* : aeluris florinacus *codd.* || 2
cognatus orcus *corr. Heim* : cognatos orcus orco *codd.* || 2 nunc ego pedem indam *Heim*
: non nego pedem *codd.* || 3 lassatus *Heim* : lassus *codd.* || 4 uidi *Bucheler* : uideor *codd.*

2.7.4. Artemis

first-person, expressing action of incantation; color-specification motif

2.7.4.1. inscribed bronze nail now in London (British Museum?): ed. pr. F. Orioli, *D'un
chiodo magico de' secoli della barbarie in Italia*; illustrated with drawing in G. Henzen
Annali dell' Instituto di corrispondenza archeologica 18 (1846), 214-217 with tab. H; text
given is that of Iahn, *Böser Blick* 107ff.; at the time of Henzen's writing, in a private
collection 'il sig. cav. Temple' in Naples; subject of further editions, see Bevilacqua 2001,
and since 1856 in the British Museum, bequeathed by Sir William Temple. Apparently in
the Dept. of Greek & Roman Antiquities, inv. 1856, 1226.758; but images obtained of the
item under that number show a nail which is now illegible, if it has in fact been correctly
catalogued; Heim 1893 no. 236 (normalized text only). From drawing of Henzen, ||
indicate faces.

(*sign*) domna Artemix k(u)r(ia) ne aureas solbe katena(s) tuas. en canes | tuo(s) agre(s)tes
si(l)baticos s(i)be albos sibe quenque colores aperta bu(ca). || cabe ne apeta(n)t rura
reqanbaquibenit baquireaqandkorast | | rasa. in corte nostra non intrent, pecora nostra non
tangant et a | | sinos nostro(s) no(n) moleste(nt). ter dico, ter incanto in signu dei et sicnu
Salomonis e | t sicnu de domna Art[e]mix.

1 KR nail | l. solue || 2 l. siluaticos siue | l. siue | l. cuiusque coloris || 3 l. caue |
apeta(n)t: at in *ligature* || 4 intrent: nt in *ligature (bis)* | tangant: nt in *ligature* || l. signo
|| 6 l. signo

2.7.5. miscellaneous

first-person performatives, also historical; classical myth; wordplay, anaphora; magical
logoi.

2.7.5.1. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Barocci 216 (s. XI?), f. 5r

πρὸς καταπότιον. 'Θεσσαλή Θεσσαλή ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἐλθοῦσα πρώτη καὶ εὐροῦσα
βοτάνας καὶ τὰ ἰσχυρώματα Θεσσαλή οὔσα λέγω, καὶ ἐλεύσομαι ὡς Λέοντος
κριτοῦ καὶ Κίρκης, εἴτε ὀστέον κατέπιες ἢ ξύλον ἢ ὄστρακον εἴτε λίθον ἢ ἄλλο τι,
ἀνεύγκαί αὐτὸ ἔξω· ἐρωκα κευλα κευλα· πιδα ἀσδυκερκαλιθερμιβιρου εἰπορταβ
πορτεν ἐρβουμου κου ἐξι οἴξει φει· πτύσον ἢ κατάπιε.'

3 κατεπισε *cod.*

2.7.5.2. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2244 (s. XV), f. 116r-v, quoted in part with some inaccuracies in McCabe 2007

πρὸς καταπότιον ὄφελος. ‘Θεσσαλή Θεσσαλή ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἐλθοῦσα πρώτη καὶ εὐροῦσα βοτάνας καὶ τὰ ἰσχυρώματα, Θεσσαλή οὔσα λέγω καὶ ἐλεύσομαι ὡς Λέοντος ἔχουσα ἐπωδὴν καὶ θεοῦ Ὀρφέως καὶ Δημοκρίτου καὶ Κίρκης, εἴτε ὁστέον κατέπιες ἢ ξύλον ἢ ὄστρακον εἴτε λίθον ἢ ἄλλο τι, ἀνεύγκαι αὐτὸ ἕξω. ερωκα κευλα κευλαπηδα ασδυρβεγκαλι θερμιβιρου ειπορταβποντε | νερβουμουκου εξει οξει φιη. πτύσον ἢ κατάπιε.’

3 κατέπισε *cod.* || 4 ἀνεύγκε *cod.*

situation of the Μοῖραι in the wilderness, in an incantation used by unwed girls seeking a dream-vision of their future husbands

2.7.5.3. reported from contemporary Κεφαλληνία, Pagonis 1910

‘μεγάλη τρίτη δένομαι, | τετάρτη συνεμπαίνομαι | ἔς τὸ ἔρημο, ἔς τὸν κάλαμο, | ἔς τὴν κολυμπήθρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ | ποῦ ἐκεῖ εἶναι οἱ Μοίραις οἱ χρυσαῖς, | ἐκεῖ ναι κ’ ἡ δική μου. | νὰ πάνε νὰ παραδείρουνε, | νὰ μοῦ εὔρουνε τὸν ἄνδρα μου, | νὰ τὸν ἰδῶ ἔς τὸ ὕπνο μου, | ἔς τὴν ὕπνοφαντασιά μου.’

a girl is dressed up to play the role of Πιπιρίτσα, led in procession around the fields; for rain

2.7.5.4. reported from contemporary, or slightly earlier Polygyro, Tasios 1929, 264

‘Πιπιρίτσα πιρπατεῖ, | τὸν θιὸ παρακαλεῖ, | “βρέξι θέ μου μιὰ βρουχή, | μιὰ βρουχή, μιὰ σιγανή, | νὰ ἀνθίσουν τὰ χουράφια, | νὰ καρπίσουν τ’ ἀμπιλᾶκια. | γκούβνου γκούβνου τὰ σιτάρια, | κὶ λαμνὶ τὰ κριθαράκια.”’

similarly

2.7.5.5. reported from contemporary, or slightly earlier Polygyro, Tasios 1929, 265

‘Πιπιροῦ δρουσουλουγάει, | τοὺν θιὸ παρακαλάει, | “θέ μ’ γιὰ δῶσι μιὰ βρουχή, | μιὰ βρουχή βασιλική, | γιὰ νὰ γέν τὰ σιτάρια μας, | γκούβνου τὰ κριθαράκια μας.”’

similarly

for rain, performed by a group of five or six children who went door to door in the village

2.7.5.6. reported from contemporary Eurytania, Samaras 1975-1976, 334

‘Βερβερίτσα περπατεῖ | τὸ θεὸ παρακαλεῖ | γιὰ νὰ βρέξη μιὰ βροχή, | μιὰ βροχή καλὴ καλὴ | ἔς τὰ σταράκια, ἔς τὰ κ’θαράκια | ἔς τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ παρασπὸρια.’

2.7.6. biblical and post-biblical

Elijah and the drought, the cooling of the fiery furnace, the births of Sarah, Elizabeth, and Anna, the freeing of Ruth and Sirach, and the magical binding and unbinding of St.

Cyprian; combined with prayer; to release binding of married couple

2.7.6.1. Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 210 (s. XVIII), f. 63r-v, ed. Delatte 1927, 116

εὐχή εἰς ἀνδρόγυνον δεμένον, νὰ τὴν διαβάσης ἐπὶ τῶν δύο των. ‘ἂν τις ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ τῶν εἰσπορευομένων εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἔφθασεν, ὁ πονηρὸς δαίμων ἔδεσεν αὐτόν, εἰς τέλος ἀπώλεσεν, ἀλλ’ ἔλυσεν αὐτόν τοῦ μὴ μείναι μετὰ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ. οὕτω λύω κάγω τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα. ὡς ἔλυσεν Ἥλιος τὰ ὕδατα καὶ ἔβρεξεν ὑετὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, λύσον κύριε τὸν δοῦλον ὀδεῖνα, λύσον τὰ δέσμα. λύει τὰ δέσμα καὶ δροσίζει τὴν φλόγα ὁ τρισσοφεγγῆς | τῆς θεαρχίας τύπος, ὕμνουσι παῖδες, εὐλογεῖ δὲ τὸν μόνον σωτῆρα καὶ παντοῦργον ὡς εὐεργέτην καὶ <ή>

δημιουργηθεῖσα σύμπασα κτίσις. ὡς ἔλυσας τὴν μήτραν Σαρᾶς, λῦσον κύριε τὸν δοῦλόν σου ὀδεῖνα, ὡς ἔλυσας τὴν μήτραν τῆς Ελισαβετ καὶ ἔτεκεν Ἰωάννη τὸν πρόδρομον, ὡς ἔλυσας τὴν μήτραν Ἀννης καὶ ἔτεκεν τὴν ὑπεραγίαν θεοτόκον, λῦσον κύριε τὸν δοῦλόν σου ὀδεῖνα, ὡς ἔλυσας τὸν δοῦλόν σου Σειραχ καὶ τὴν Ρουθ, ὡς ἔδεσεν ὁ ἅγιος Κυπριανὸς καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλυσεν, οὕτως κάγω λύω τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα. εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἀμήν.'

speaker, Christ, and livestock drinking; to purify spring-water

2.7.6.2. reported from contemporary Naxos, Emellos 1962, 190

‘πίνω ἄγω, πίνει ὁ Χριστός, | πίνουν χίλια πρόβατα, | κι ὅποιος τὸ μαγάρισε, | νά
‘χη χίλια κρίματα.’

2.8. *setting patient and cure within mythology by assimilation of patient or user to powerful figure*

2.8.1. *general*

2.8.1.1. Ann Arbor, P.Mich. inv. 7 (s. III-IV), ed. pr. *P.Mich.* III 154, re-ed.

Pap.Graec.Mag. P LXX.4-11

Ἐκάτης Ερεσχιγαλ πρὸς φόβον κολάσιος. | ἐὰν ἐξέρχηται λέγε τῷ ἔγῳ εἰμι
Ερεσχιγαλ | κρατοῦσα τοὺς ἀντ[ι]χειρας καὶ οὐδὲ ἐν δύνα|ται κακὸν αὐτῇ
γενέσθαι.’ ἐὰν δ’ ἐγγὺς ἐ|πέλθῃ σοι, ἐπιλαβόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς πτέρ|νης <δίωκε>
λέγων Ἐρεσχιγαλ παρθένε, κύων, δρᾶ|καινα, στέμμα, κλείς, κηρύκειον, [τ]ῆς
ταρτα|ρούχου χρύσειον τὸ σάνδαλον,’ καὶ παραίτησις.

self-identification with the medicinal substance; meter, two iambic trimeters (though the end of the first is rather rough)

2.8.1.2. Leiden, UB cod. VGF 25 (s. XVI), f. 8r

ἄλλο πρὸς στρόφους ἐντέρων. λαβὼν κόκκους τοῦ κυμίνου ἐπίθεε ἐν τῷ ὀμφαλῷ
καὶ λέγε ἐπιβαλὼν κατὰ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ τὸν δάκτυλον ‘κύμινόν εἰμι καὶ κύμινον
καλοῦμαι, εἰς ὀμφαλὸν κάθημαι καὶ στρόφους λύω.’

Ἰ ὀφθαλμῷ

identification of the practitioner with Old Testament figure (Adam)

2.8.1.3. Paris, P.Louvre 2391, ed. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P III.145-147

ἔγω [ε]ἰμι Ἀδὰμ προγε|νής· ὄνομά μοι Ἀδὰμ[μ]. ποιήσόν | μοι τὸ δεῖνα [πρᾶγ]μα.’

2.8.1.4. Angers, BM cod. 275 (s. IX), f. 108v (ed. in part Wickersheimer 1966, 14)

Alexander ad hydropicos. apprehendes serpentem fluuialem uiuum et suspendes in tecto
tuto ligneo per caudam cum fune longa capudiosum habenti per dies septem et ingredieris
ad ea hora quinta noctis cum lucerna et stans a longe dicebis hoc ‘ego sum protoplastus de
paradiso Adam, da mihi lapidem. ...’

3 protoplaustus *cod.*

language from historiolae, applied to the present time; for sleeplessness

2.8.1.5. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2219 (s. XV), f. 31v

περὶ ἀγρυπνίας ἀρρώστου. γράφε οὕτως Ἐμαριαμ γεννᾶ, πᾶσα φύσις ἠρέμει.’

biblical figure, Veronica, cf. *Mark* 5:25-34; writing with blood; for nosebleed

2.8.1.6. St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 759 (s. IX), p. 17

ad sanguinem de naribus sistendum. in Christi nomine in fronte scribis de ipso sanguine
‘ipsi nomen est Beronica, ipsa est quae dixit “si tetigero fimbriam uestimenti domini mei
salua ero.”’

² tegero *cod.* | Beronici *cod.*

for bleeding, to be written on the forehead [instructions in Liegeois]

2.8.1.7. Darmstadt, SB cod. 815 (s. XIII), f. 159r, ed. Haust 1941, 98

‘Veronica est ipsa quae dixit “si tetigero fimbriam uestimenti domini mei, salua ero.”’

used by women for sleeplessness

2.8.1.8. reported from contemporary Thrace, Kyriakides 1910 (*demotiki* paraphrase of
local dialect)

“ἅγια Μαρία Μαγδαληνή, | πῶς κοιμᾶσαι μοναχή;” | “ἄχ, ἀφέντη μου Χριστέ, |
δὲν κοιμοῦμαι μοναχή. | ἔχω Ναῦλο ἔχω Παῦλο, | ἔχω δώδεκ’ ἀποστόλους. |
φυλάγω νὰ ἔρθῃ ἡ δρίμη, | νὰ φάγη ἐλαιὰ φύλλο νὰ σκάση.”

livestock to be protected are claimed to belong to God and Job

2.8.1.9. London, BL cod. Sloane 475 (s. XI), f. 114r-v

carmen contra pestem animalium. ‘in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. peco|ra ista
sunt deo et Iob, animalia ista sunt deo et Iob. dominus liberet ea, fidelis sanctus Iob saluet
peccora ista per uirtutem sanctae crucis, amen.’

equating object to be protected (grain) with the body of Christ, adding a reference to
classical myth, that it is *not* Abaris (perhaps chosen because he was supposed to have lived
without eating, Hdt. 4.36)

2.8.1.10. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2091 (s. XV-XVI), f. 112r, cf. Doyen-Higuet 2006, 131

ἄλλο. ‘σῶμα Χριστοῦ Ἄβαρις οὐκ ἔστιν.’

divided action of three; for fever, to be written on leaves, with English instructions

2.8.1.11. fourteenth century manuscript in the royal library at Stockholm, p. 47, ed.

Holthausen 1897, 78-79 (codex described in G. Stephens, *Archaeologia* 30 (1844), 349ff)

‘Christus tonat’ ... ‘angelus nuntiat’ ... ‘Iohannes praedicat.’

2.8.2. *figures from classical myth*

nonce-words (τιμιόδωσα and πονοδώσα, apparently from τίμιος / πόνος and δίδωμι)
and perhaps on βρόχος (net) and βρόχω (gulp down)?

2.8.2.1. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Barocci 216 (s. XI?), f. 5r

πρὸς ὀστέον καταπότιον. ἔπαδε τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κατέχων ἠριτριτα
ἐ(π)ᾶδω τιμιόδωσα πονοδώσα Ἀσκληπιοῦ, ὃ ἔχει(ς) ἐν τῷ βρόχῳ βάλε αὐτὸ ἔξω.’

2.8.2.2. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2244 (s. XV), f. 116v

ἕτερον πρὸς ὀστέον καταπότιον. ἔπαδε τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κατέχων
ἠριτριτα ἐ(π)ᾶδω τιμιόδωσα πονοδώσα Ἀσκληπιοῦ ὃ ἔχει(ς) ἐν τῷ βρόχῳ βάλε
αὐτὸ ἔξω.’

for protection during whirlwind

2.8.2.5. reported from contemporary Macedonia, Abbott 1903, 251

‘ζῆ ζῆ καὶ βασιλεύει ὁ μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος.’

2.9. *πεινῶ* type

2.9.1 *simple form*

2.9.1.1. bronze medallion, American University in Beirut, ed. Seyrig 1934, 1-3 with drawing. On one side a bilingual inscription in Greek and Aramaic (A); on the other, figures of an ibis and a snake, above which an inscription (B).

A κύριε | βοήθι | Σαλομη | ἦν ἔτηκε | Ναρτηρ | *šlwm*.
B πινῶ.

$\overline{A.5-6}$ s.v.l. ἔτηκε | ν Αρτηρ, *Seyrig* || 7 in Aramaic characters, either ‘peace’ or the name of the bearer *Salom(e)*, *Seyrig* || B l. πινῶ

2.9.1.2. bronze pendant, purchased in Beirut for a private collection (Ayvaz), ed. Mouterde 1942-1943 no. 62 with drawing. On one side, holy rider lancing demon, around which, clockwise from bottom, an inscription (A: no text in ed. pr., I read from drawing); on the other side, ibis attacking snake, above which an inscription (B).

A [θ]εὸς ὁ νικῶν τ[ᾶ] κ<ακά>.
B πινῶ.

\overline{A} [θ]εὸς: *insufficient space for the usual εἶς (or ἴς)* || B l. πινῶ

2.9.1.3. bronze pendant, unknown provenance, described in the auction catalogue Wolfe and Sternberg 1989, 63 no. 189 with photograph. On one side, lion and holy rider lancing demon, and around the edge clockwise from middle left an inscription (A); on the other, ibis and snake, above which an inscription (B). Transcribed from photograph.

A ἴς θεὸς ὁ νικῶν τὰ κακά.
B ιαῶ σα | βαωθ Μιχ | ἀηλ βοήθ | η | . πινῶ.

\overline{A} l. εἶς || B.3-4 βοήθη: η² *written perpendicular at right edge, l. βοήθει*

2.9.1.4. bronze pendant purchased at Beirut, ed. Schlumberger 1892, 81 no. 8 with drawing. On one side, holy rider, above which an inscription clockwise from center-left (A: no text given in ed. pr., transcribed from drawing); on the other side, ibis (‘une autruche,’ ed. pr.) attacking snake, above which an inscription (B).

A εἶς θεὸς ὁ νικῶν τὰ κ<ακά>.
B ιαῶ | Σαβαῶ | πινῶ.

\overline{A} TAK *amulet* || B.3 l. πινῶ : ‘*je bois??*’ ed. pr.

2.9.1.5. bronze pendant, found in a tomb near Nahariya, ed. R. Reich, *RBi* 92 (1985) 386-387 with photograph and drawing [*SEG XXXV 1558*], with corrections of R. Pummer, *RBi* 94 (1987) 254n20 [*SEG XXXVII 1524*]. On one side, holy rider and inscription (A); on the other, what ed. pr. describes as ‘a few (decorative?) incisions’ are probably traces of the ibis-attacking-snake motif, above which an inscription (B).

A [εἶς] θεὸς ὁ νικῶν τὰ κα[κά].
B πιν | ῶ.

2.9.1.6. bronze pendant in the British Museum (G 594), ed. Michel no. 454 with drawing. On one side, holy rider, and around the edge an inscription, clockwise from lower left (A); on the other, ibis attacking snake, above which an inscription (B).

A εἷς θεὸς ὁ νικ(ῶν) τ[ᾶ] κ(ακά).
B πινῶ

\overline{A} νικ* τ[α]κ/ *amulet* : νικῶν τὰ <κακ>ά *Michel* || B *l.* πεινῶ : πίνω *Michel*

2.9.1.7. bronze pendant found in excavations at the necropolis of Tyre, ed. Chébab 1986, 184 with photograph [SEG XXXVI 1318]. On one side, ibis treading snake, surrounded by magical characteres of the ring-sign type and inscription (A, read from photograph); on the other side, more characteres of a similar kind, with what appears be an ouroboros around the circumference (no comment in ed. pr.; on the motif cf. *GMA* 48 with Kotansky's commentary on p. 250; add now Lancellotti 2002) and an inscription (B).

A Χ(ριστὸς) | Μιχαηλ | Γαβρ|ηλ | Σουρι|ηλ | Ιαω.
B Ιαω | Σαβαω | Μιχαηλ | Γαβρηηλ | λιμῶ | πινῶ

$\overline{A.1}$ ΧΣ *amulet* : *om. ed. pr., SEG* || B.6 *l.* πεινῶ : λ(ε)μιῶ | πινῶ *SEG*. For λιμῶ, which I take as a dative with πινῶ, λιμ(ώσσ)ω would also be possible; the sense is similar in either case.

variant with νικῶ

2.9.1.8. bronze pendant found in excavations in the necropolis of Tyre, ed. Chébab 1986, 183-184 with photograph [SEG XXXVI 1317]. On one side, figures much damaged but apparently the motif of the 'suffering eye' pierced by knives above and attacked by wild animals below, very schematically rendered; the tail of the snake and the legs of what could be ibeis or ostriches are visible, as are the blades of the knives. On the other side, holy rider, above which an inscription.

νικῶ.

\overline{I} νικῶ : ΝΙΚΩ *ed. pr., νικῶ SEG*

2.9.2. expansion into an apotropaic list, with the addition of Apollonios of Tyana and other entities

2.9.2.1. bronze pendant, found in excavations at the necropolis of Tyre, ed. Chébab 1986, 182 with photograph (unarticulated maj. tr.); improvements suggested in *SEG XXXVI* 1313. On one side, holy-rider image, above and below which, inscriptions (A and B respectively). On the other side, similar iconography as Seyrig's amulet, an ibis attacking a snake, above which is an inscription (C).

A εἷς θεός.
B εἷς θεὸς ὁ νικῶν τὰ κακά.
C ἵππος μῦ|λος εἶβις εὐθ|ῖτα κολῆ ἀνδρὸ|ς στρουθοκάμη|λος Ἀπολλούνη|ος ὁ
Τοιανεύς, | πινῶ.

\overline{B} κα[κά] *SEG*, but all letters visible on ph. || C.4-5 στρουῖθος, κάμηλος *SEG* || 5-6 Ἀπόλλωνι θεῶ τοῦ ἄνθους *SEG. l.* ἴβις, Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τυανεύς, πεινῶ. For μῦλος 'mule' cf. e.g. *Achmet Oneir. 194*.

2.9.2.2. bronze pendant purchased at Beirut, ed. Schlumberger 1892, 80-81 no. 7 with drawing (unarticulated maj. tr.); cf. Bonner, p. 215, who attributes readings to Schlumberger which do not appear in the latter's edition; in any case they seem quite plausible. I transcribe from Schlumberger's drawing. On one side, the holy-rider with inscription clockwise from middle-left (A); on the other side an inscription above the figure of a lion (B). Barb 1972, 352 is mistaken in seeing here the apocalyptic angel Ἀπολλύων; the figure is in fact Apollonios of Tyana; nor is Barb's identification of ἵππος as *pudenda muliebra* instead of the more common meaning convincing, in light of the three other animals named in this sequence.

A εἷς θεὸς [ὁ νικῶν] ν τὰ κακά.

B ἵππος μ|οἴλος εἶβ|ις εὐθυεῖα | κολεῖ ἄνδρ|ὸς (σ)τρουθο|κάμηλος | Ἀπολλό(νιος)

Ᾱ ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ [Ο ΝΙΚΩΝ] ΤΑ ΚΑΚΑ Schlumberger, but the final sigma of θεός is not visible on the drawing, and the final ν is shown as present || B.2-4 l. μῦλος, ἴβις || 4-6 as divided by Bonner: ΚΟΛΕΑΝΔΡ|Ο(Ν) ΣΤΡΟΥΘΟΚΑΜΗΛΟΣ Schlumberger || Ἀπολλό(νιος) *supplevi*: ΑΠΟΛΛΟ *amulet*: Ἀπόλλο(ν) (l. Ἀπόλλων) *dub. Bonner*]

2.9.2.3. hematite now in the British Museum, purchased from Joseph M. Shemtob in 1886, ed. Dalton 1901 no. 88 with drawing; cf. Dalton 1915 no. 554, H. Leclerq in *DACL* 6.1 s.v. "Gemmae" no. 237; repr. Spier 2007 no. 625 with photograph. On one side, urban scene (perhaps Alexandria, Spier); on the other, male figure, and on the bevel, clockwise from top an inscription, the right half missing:
Ἀπολῶνις ὁ Τουανεοῦς μ[ῦλος --]

μ[ῦλος] *supplevi*, *prb.* followed by some subset of the list of animals e.g. [ἵππος, ἴβις, στρουθοκάμηλος].

2.10.1. *cure as the command of a powerful figure*

meter (iambic, cf. Faraone 2009, 239)

2.10.1.1. Pliny *NH* 26.92 (Heim 1893 no. 136)

panos sanat panaces ex melle ... experti affirmare plurimum referre si uirgo imponat nuda ieiuna ieiuno et manu supina tangens dicat 'negat Apollo pestem posse crescere cui nuda uirgo restinguat.' atque ita retrorsa manu ter dicat totiensque despuant ambo.

κελεύειν formula; meter

2.10.1.2. Marcellus 29.23 (Heim 1893 no. 53, in part)

anulus de auro texta tunica fit exusta cui insculpitur uice gemmae piscis aut delphinus sic ut holochrysus sit et habeat in ambitu rotunditatis utriusque, id est et interius et exterius, Graecis litteris scriptum 'θεὸς κελεύει μὴ κύειν κόλον πόνους.' obseruandum autem erit ut si in latere sinistro dolor fuerit in manu sinistra habeatur anulus aut in dextra si dextrum latus dolebit. luna autem decrescente die Iouis primum in usu habendus erit anulus.

2.10.1.3. bronze pendant purchased in Antioch, a prism perforated lengthwise for suspension, ed. *IGLS* III 1083 (ed. pr. H. Seyrig *Berytus* 2 (1935), 48); cf. Faraone 2009, 236-237. Seyrig interprets it as an amulet for a horse ("Il s'agit sans doute des pieds des chevaux, que Phébus, l'aurige céleste et le patron des cochers du cirque, doit préserver. Le prisme devait être enfilé sur quelque harnachement"); but gout in human patients seems more probable. Inscribed on four faces, the line breaks correspond to the faces.

Φοῖβος κ|ελεύει μὴ | κυῖν πόν|ον πόδας.

1. κυεῖν

2.10.1.4. gold ring once in Florence, ed. King 1873, 197 [no drawing, no further description or inventory information]; cf. Faraone 2009, 235

† θεὸς κελεύει μὴ ἔχειν πόνους κόλον.

2.10.1.5. octagonal gold ring purchased in Beirut, now in Paris (Cabinet des Médailles, coll. Seyrig), ed. Faraone 2010, 213-215 with drawing. Faces of the octahedron are treated here as lines. No date in ed. pr., but the use of a *nomen sacrum* abbreviation (1) might suggest the third or the fourth century.

θ(εὸ)ς | κελεύει μὴ κ|ύειν κ|όλον π|όνον ἐ|ν δυνά|μι |αω.

1 ΘΕ ring || 7-8 l. δυνάμει : δύναμι Faraone, but in commentary ‘probably an iotacism’

third-person performative (conjectured reading); for birth (Old English instructions)

2.10.1.6. London, BL cod. Harley 585 (s. XI), f. 183r, ed. Storms 1948, 295

‘solui iubet deus te catenis.’

solui *conieci* : solue Storms | iubet *conieci* : iube Storms | te *conieci* : ter Storms

third-person performative invoking higher power, Old Testament historiola (*Genesis* 3:14), against ants

2.10.1.7. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316 (s. XV), f. 305r, ed. Legrand 1881, 17. Re-collated ἐρμηνεία περὶ μυρμηγκοῦς. ‘κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ εἰπὼν τὸν ὄφιν “τῷ στήθει καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ σου πορεύσει καὶ ἐγένου γῆν φαγεῖν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου,” οὗτος ὑποτάσσει τὸν μύρμηκα τοῦ μὴ κουβαλεῖν τὸν καρπὸν τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνος. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου.’

2 αὐτοῦ cod. (bis) | γῆν cod., γ corr. from τ || 3-4 στῶμεν ... φόβου om. Legrand

2.10.2. *first person variant*

meter (iambic)

2.10.2.1. octagonal gold ring said to come from Serbia or Macedonia, now in the National Museum of Belgrade (inv. 113/IV), s. VI-VII (ed. pr.), ed. Popovic and Popovic 2002 drawing and photograph; improved text in *SEG* LII 655.

θεὸς | κα|ιλεύ|ω μὴ | φύιν | κόλ|ω(ν) πό|νον

6-7 l. κόλον || 6-8 κόλω πόνον *SEG* : κολωπόνον *ed. pr.*

meter (iambic)

2.10.2.2. octagonal bronze ring, unknown provenance, now in London (British Museum, Franks bequest, 1897), descr. Marshall 1907 no. 641 with maj. tr. only; see now Zellmann-Rohrer 2015b. Apparently copied from another ring, but out of order; the original order of the faces is noted here in parentheses.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(1) (6) (7) (8) (2) (3) (4) (5)

θεὸς | κελ|(ε)ύω | (μὴ) | (κ)ύειν | π(ό)νο(ν) | (κ)όλον.

2-3 (6-7) ΚΕΛΘΥΩ *ring* || 4 (8) ΗΜ *ring* || 5 (2) ΥΕΙΝ *ring* || 6-7 (3-4) ΠΕΚΟΥΕΝ *ring* || 8 (5) ΟΛΟΝ *ring*

meter (trochaic)

2.10.2.3. gold ring, private collection (Schlumberger), purchased at Rome (Castellani, cat. no. 920), ed. Schlumberger 1892, 85-86 no. 15; cf. Drexler 1899, 608-609; Pradel 1909, 153; Faraone 2009. On the outside, a horned viper and magical words an characteres; on the inside, further characteres, above and below which:
κόλον μίτρας πάσευς | θεὸς κελεύω μὴ [κ]ύειν πόνον[ν].

1 I. μήτρας πάσης : μίτρα <ἐ>πασ<χε> Drexler || 2 ΥΣΙΝ *ring*, [κ]ύειν Faraone | πόνον[ν] Faraone, but there seems to be no space where the ν would have been lost, so best to regard it as simply omitted. Faraone reads in the order θεὸς κελεύω μὴ [κ]ύειν πόνον[ν] κόλον μιτρασπασευς, for which last he tentatively suggests I. μήτρας πάσης, but the logic for beginning in the lower register and reading upward is unclear. The iambic rhythm can still be maintained with the new order, but the incantation now forms a tetrameter.

2.11. insertion of patient into other imagined narrative

2.11.1. hungry wolf

with first-person reported speech (as of the wolf?); hunger and thirst, eating and drinking

2.11.1.1. bronze pendant, from a private collection (Newell), ed. Bonner 1950 no. 315 (repr. Michel 2004 no. 35.2). On one side representations of divinities; on the other, signs and an inscription (line-breaks added from photograph):

λύκος πιν{ο} | {ν}ῶν ἐβῶσ | κετο. πινῶ, | ὕδωρ διψῶ, | ἄρτον φάω.

1-2 I. πεινῶν : πίνων Bonner || 3 I. πεινῶ : πίνω Bonner || 5 I. φάγω

2.11.1.2. bronze pendant, unknown provenance, described in the auction catalogue Wolfe and Sternberg 1989, 63 no. 191 with photograph. On one side, figure of the holy rider, around which an inscription (A); on the other, a rampant quadruped (“lion” catalogue, but more likely a wolf, cf. the inscription), inscribed above (B). I transcribe from the photograph.

A εἶς θεὸς ὁ νικῶ[ν] τὰ κακὰ.

B λύκος πινῶν ἐβ[ό]σκετο. {χ}

A νικωτακα *amulet* || B.2-3 εβοκετο *amulet*

2.11.2. affliction going to the city

with flight and pursuit motif; for an infected wounds (ἄφτρα); wordplay, interlocking ritual action, an aunt (πρωτοθειά) wipes the wounds of the patient with her foot, when the first star appears at night (cf. 2.2.1.11)

2.11.2.1. reported from contemporary Kerkyra (Nymphai), Kavasilas 1910, 653 no. 22 ‘ἄφτρα καύτρα πάει ’ς τὴν πόλη, | πρωτοθειᾶς ποδιὰ τὴ διώχνη. | ἄστρο ἐφάνη, καύτρα ἐχάθη.’

2.11.2.2. reported from contemporary Kerkyra, Salbanos 1929, 116

‘ἄφτρα κάφτρα πάει ’ς τὴν πόλι, | πρωτοθειᾶς ποδιὰ τὴ διώχνη. | ἄστρο βγαίνει, ἄφτρα ἐχάθη.’

for swelling on the tongue (βάφτρα)

2.11.2.3. reported from contemporary Naxos, Emellos 1962, 187

‘ἄφτρα βάφτρα πάει ᾿ς τὴν πόλι, | ἡ ἄστρα ἔρχεται | κ’ ἡ βάφτρα ἐκεῖ ἀπομένει.’

2.11.2.4. reported from contemporary Naxos, Emellos 1962, 187

‘βάφτρα κι ἄστρο πᾶν’ ᾿ς τὴν πόλι, | τ’ ἄστρο πάει κ’ ἔρχεται | κ’ ἡ βάφτρα ᾿κεῖ ἀπομένει.’

2.11.3. *going to court with the affliction* (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* and edd. prr. wrongly interpret these in a literal sense as curses/prayers against human adversaries, in grouping them with *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P 15c, which probably does belong to that latter category)

note iota adscript

2.11.3.1. papyrus amulet, unknown provenance (s. VI), purchased in Cairo, now Tbilisi (Mus. Dzanasia), ed. *P.Ross.Georg.* I 24, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P 15a.

† ἄγγελοι ἀρχάγγελοι οἱ | κατέχοντες | τοὺς καταράκτους τῶν | οὐ(ρα)νῶν, οἱ
ἀνατέλλοντες | τὸ φῶς ἐκ τῶ(ν) | τεσσάρων γωνιῶν τοῦ κόσμου· ὅτι
δικάσιμον ἔχω | μετὰ τινῶν | ἀκεφάλων, | κρατεῖτε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐμὲ | ἀπολύσατε
| διὰ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ πατρὸς | καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.
τὸ ἐμοῦ αἷμα | Χριστοῦ τὸ ἐκχύθην ἐν τῷ | κρανίῳ | τόπῳ φῖσαι | καὶ
ἐλέησον. ἀμήν | ἀμήν | ἀμήν. | †

6 οὐνῶν pap. || 19 πρς pap. || 20 υῦ pap. || 24 χῦ pap.

2.11.3.2. papyrus amulet, unknown provenance (Edwards Collection, University College London), found folded with trefoil (clover) leaves enclosed; on the back “remains of a design in thick brown strokes, similar to Kufic writing” (ed. pr.), prp. cf. the ‘pseudo-Kufic’ designs in Byz. art. Ed. Quibell 1893; *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P 15b.

† ἄγγελοι ἀρχάγγελοι οἱ φυλάττοντες τοὺς | καταράκτας τῶν οὐρανῶν, οἱ
ἀνατέλλοντες τὸ | φῶς κατὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης· ὅτι δικασμὸν | ἔχω μετὰ κυνὸς
ἀκεφάλου. ἐὰν ἔλθῃ, κρατῖται αὐτοῦ | καὶ ἐμὲ ἀπολύσατε διὰ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ
πατρὸς | καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἀμήν. | αὐ σαβαωθ. | θεοτόκε
ἄφθαρτε ἀμίαντε ἀμόλυντε μήτηρ | Χριστοῦ μνησθητι ὅτι σὺ ταῦτα εἶπες, σοὶ |
πάλιν θεράπευσον τὴν φοροῦσαν, ἀμήν. †

41 κρατεῖτε || 8 l. σὺ | ταῦτά *Pap.Graec.Mag. dub. in app.*

with vow to saint not to eat meat

2.11.3.3. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Auct. T. 4.4 (s. XIV?), f. 443r [pastedown in cod. of s. XV-XVI]

εἰς πυρετόν. ἅγιε Ἰωάννη προφήτα καὶ πρόδρομε καὶ βαπτιστὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κρίσιν ἔχω μετὰ τοῦ ἀντιδίκου μου· ἐγὼ ἦλθον καὶ ἐκεῖνος οὐκ
ἦλθεν· λῦσαι ἐμένα καὶ δέσαι κεῖνον, καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀποτομήν σου κρέας οὐ μὴ φάγω.’

vow not to bathe or eat seasoned food

2.11.3.4. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2315 (s. XV), f. 244r, cf. Legrand 1881, 12; re-collated
(περὶ πυρετοῦ.) ‘δέσποινά μου ὑπεραγία μου θεοτόκε, ἀντίδικον ἔχω ἐγὼ ὁ δεῖνα
τὴν θερμασίαν καὶ ἀυπνίαν, καὶ ἐγὼ ἦλθα, ἐκεῖνα οὐκ ἦλθαν· καὶ ἐμὲ λῦσον καὶ ἐκεῖνα
δέσε. καὶ ὁμνύω σε εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τρία σάββατα οὐ μὴ

λου(σ)θῶ καὶ τρεῖς κυριακάδας τὸ ἄρτυμα οὐ μὴ φάγω. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ, ἀμήν.’

1 <περὶ πυρετοῦ.> *addidi, cf. the following recipe* περὶ πυρετοῦ. γράφε ... | μου² om.
Legrand || 2 ἦλθα ἐκεῖνα cod. : ἦλθα καὶ ἐκεῖνα Legrand || 3 λου^{θ/} cod. : λουσθῶ
Legrand

2.11.4. *seven golden brothers*, anaphora of χρυσο- compounds; said to be for diphtheria, but content refers to binding wild animals

2.11.4.1. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 84

‘ἐννιὰ ἀδερφάτσα ἤμασταν | χρουσὰ τσ’ ἀγαπημένα | τσ’ ἐπιάσαμεν τὸ χρουσουμάνναρον | τσ’ ἐνέβημαν εἰς τὸ βουνὸν | τσ’ ἐκόψαμεν τρία χρουσὰ ξύλα | τσαὶ τὰ δώσαμε ’ς τὸ χρουσοφὸν | τσαὶ μᾶς ἔκαμεν τρία χρουσὰ καρφικιά | νὰ καρφώσουμεν τὸν σαλιάρην | τὸν μυξιάρην τσαὶ τὸν σερόλαιμον.’

2.11.5. *other*

narrative, statement of hoped-for result as fact; interlocking, the user holds a black bird with yellow (κίτρινος) feet by the foot and speaks the words over its head; against jaundice (χρυσή)

2.11.5.1. reported from contemporary Gytheio, Manolakos 1915-1916, 610-611 no. 2

‘φεύγει τὸ φεγγάρι, φεύγει | ἀπὸ τὸ χρυσὸ μου παλληκάρι τὸ κιτρινοφορεμένο | καὶ κιτρινοβαμμένο. | τοῦ Ὀβραίου τὸ ταψὶ | τήνε παίρνει τὴ χρυσή. | ’ς τὰ βαθία τήνε πάει καὶ ’ς τὰ τάρταρα νερά, | καὶ δὲ θὰ γυρίση πιά.’

healing by Christ in present tense; reference to *similia similibus*; interlocking, a ceramic tile heated in fire, then wrapped in cloth, is rubbed over the affected area; against fever (πυρό)

2.11.5.2. reported from contemporary Gytheio, Manolakos 1915-1916, 610 no. 1β

‘ὁ Χριστὸς βλογάει | καὶ τὸν πειρασμὸν ξορκίζει. | ἡ μιὰ φωτιά βγάζει τὴν ἄλλη.’

2.12. *adynatology*

2.12.1. envisioning impossible scenario

2.12.1.1. additions to the *Euporiston* of Theodorus, ed. Rose 1894, 283

nam et haec uerba non praetermittas incantare ad ignem sacrum ‘ignis alget, foris urit, aqua sitit. quomodo hoc mendum ducitur, sic nec hoc doleat nec rubeat nec in malum se uertat.’

1 alget *conieci* : auget Rose || 2 ducitur *conieci* : duc Rose

2.12.1.2. Vegetius *Digesta artis mulomedicinae* 4.26, ed. Lommatzsch 1903

contra sanguinis fluxum. iumentis ad fluxum sanguinis, si de naribus effluat. scribis in charta pura et licio collo suspendis ‘focus alget, aqua sitit, cibaria esurit, mula parit. tasca masca uenas omnes.’

2.12.1.3. green plasma ring-stone now in London (British Museum inv. 56260), ed.

Bonner 1932, 365-367 (repr. Michel 2001 no. 327; Michel 2004 no. 11.5; Bonner 1950, 182; id. 1951 no. 20). On one side, lion-headed serpent with rays around head, on each of which is one of the seven Greek vowels (A); the other inscribed (B).

A α|ε|η|ι|ο|υ|ω

B χνουβις | ναβις | βιεννους | ὕδωρ διψῆ | ἄρτος πεινῆ | πῦρ ρειγοῖ.

2.12.2. *impossible agriculture*

invocation of the moon; for swellings

2.12.2.1. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316 (s. XV), ff. 361v-362r, ed. Oikonomu-Agorastu 1982 no. 161; recollated

περὶ ἐσωχάδων. | ὁ ἔχων ἐσωχάδας, ἔρχεται ὁ ἀσθενῶν καὶ προσπίπτει ἐπὶ ἀνατολὰς καὶ πατῶν τοῦτον ὁ ἱερεὺς μὲ τὸν δεξιὸν αὐτοῦ πόδα ἐπεύχεται οὕτως ‘χαῖρε σελήνη, χαῖρε σελήνη, χαῖρε σελήνη.’ τρίς. ‘χαιρετίζω σε σελήνη, ὀρκίζω σε εἰς τὸν κελεύσαντά σε γεννηθῆναι καὶ τὸν ἀναστάντα κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ θεόν, ὀρκίζω σε εἰς τὸν δρέπανον τοῦ Ζαχαρίου, ὀρκίζω σε εἰς τὸ ὠμοφόριον τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου, ἵνα ψύξης ἐσωχάδες, ἐξοχάδες αἱματώδεις καὶ ἐντεροχάδας καὶ τὸ ροχίν. ἐγὼ εὐχομαι καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ὑγίαν παρέχει. πλάκα ἢ χῶρα, ἄμμος ὁ σπόρος, κάμπος τὸ ζεῦγος· ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐβλάστησεν καρπὸν ἐκ τῆς πλάκας ὁ ἄμμος, μηδὲ ὦδε ἐσωχάδες ἢ ἐξοχάδες αἱματώδεις καὶ ἐντεροχάδες καὶ τὸ ροχίν ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ταύτης ἀναφυῇ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ δεῖνα. ἐπ’ ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς <αἰῶνας.>’

9 στόματος cod.

2.12.2.2. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 89

‘κάτω ’ς τὸν γιαιλλὸ ’ς τὸν ἄμμο | κάμνει ὁ κόκκινος ἀμπέλι | καὶ τὸν ἄμμο βάλλει σπόρο. | μήτε ὁ σπόρος νὰ νεμμήση | μήτε ὁ κόκκινος νὰ κάμη ρίζαν.’

inter 2-3 lacun. ind. ed.

with flight and pursuit motif; adynatology; wordplay with name of affliction (erysipelas, φώκιο), the material which ‘pursues’ it, the skin of a seal (φώκια) that is burned and used to fumigate the patient; addition of the mythical figure Φωκιανός in the narrative (of obscene content, ψωλή and ἀρκί for ὄρχις)

2.12.2.3. reported from contemporary Karpathos, Menas 1976-1978, 250

‘κόψε φώκιο, κι ἢ φώκια σὲ κυνηᾷ. ἄμε ’ς τὸν γιαλὸ ’ς τὸν ἄμμο, Φωκιανὸς κάμνει ζευγάρι, τὴν ψωλήν του βάλλει στᾶρι καὶ τ’ ἀρκία του ποάρι, κι ἄμε ’ς τὰ βύθη τῆς θαλάσσου, ἀποὺ μαντζουρέα δὲν ἀκούεται καὶ κουλλούρια δὲν πλάτσουνται.’

for erysipelas

2.12.2.4. reported from contemporary Kastellorizo, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘κάτω ’ς τοῦ γιαλοῦ τὸν ἄμμο | Φωτσανὸς κάμνει ζευγάρι | τᾶλετρόν του ν’ ἀσημένο | τσ’ αἰ ζυὸς του φυτιλλένος· | τσαὶ τὸν ἄμμο βάλλει σπόρον | τσαὶ τὴν θάλασσαν χωράφι, | μήε ἄμμος βγαίνει σπόρος | μήε θάλασσα χωράφι. | ὄξω τὸ κακόν, μέσα τὸ καλόν | εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.’

2.12.2.5. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 89-90

‘κάτω ’ς τὸν πασὺν τὸν ἄμμο | κάμνει ὁ Σφατσανὸς ζευγάρι | τσ’ εἶναι ὁ ζυγὸς του μηλιά | τσαὶ τ’ ἀλέτρινον του δάφνη, | εἶναι τσαὶ τὸ διτσειντράτσιν του | τριανταφυλιάς κλωνάρινον. | βάλλει τὴν θάλασσαν χωράφιν | τσαὶ τὸν ἄμμο σπόρο. | μὲ ὁ σπόρος νὰ νεμμήση | μὲ τὸ κότσινον νὰ φυτρώση. ’ς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς.’

2.12.3. *contradiction of natural fact*

2.12.3.1. Suda s.v. μύξος (Heim 1893 no. 103)

μύξος ὁ λαγογήρωσ παρ’ ἡμῖν. ἐπωδῆ· ‘ἀλέκτωρ πίνει καὶ οὐκ οὔρεϊ, μύξος οὐ πίνει καὶ οὔρεϊ.’ λέγεται δὲ εἰς δυσουρίαν ὄνου.

meter (iambic dimeter with respect to stress accent)

2.12.3.2. *Hippiatrica Cantabrigiensia* 24.5 ed. Oder-Hoppe [also in London, BL cod. Sloane 745, f. 106v]

πρὸς τοὺς μὴ δυναμένους οὐρεῖν. ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ ὄνυχι τοῦ ζώου τῇ ἀριστερᾷ σου χειρὶ γράφε, βέλτιον μὲν εἴ ἔστι χαλκοῦν γραφεῖον, εἰ δὲ μή, κἂν σιδηροῦν, τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἰδίου δεσπότη, καὶ εἰς τὸ οὖς δὲ τὸ ἀριστερὸν ἐπίλεγε τρίτον ‘ἀλέκτωρ ὕδωρ οὐκ οὐρεῖ.’ ἐδοκιμάσθη.

1 τοῦ ζώου ὄνυχι *Sloane 745* || 2 γράφον *Sloane 745* | μὲν οὖν *Sloane 745* || 3 τρίτου *Sloane 745*

unlikely absence of rodents

protection for crops [a German version in Munich, BSB clm 7021 (s. XIV), f. 171v, ed. Schönbach 1893, 35-36]

2.12.3.3. London, BL cod. Cotton Vitellius E XVIII (s. XI), f. 16r, ed. Cockayne 1864-1866, 1:397

ut surices garbas non noceant. has preces super garbas dicis et non dicto eos suspendis. ‘Hierosolima ciuitas ubi sorices nec habitant nec habent potestatem nec grana colligunt nec tritico congauident.’

1 this is theo bletsung thaerto *add. cod. post noceant* || 2 ciuitate *cod.* | surices *cod.* | habitent *cod.* | colligent *cod.* | triticum *cod.*

2.13. other scene-setting, statement of natural fact

interlocking, the user holds a grain of κριθός over the affected area

2.13.1. reported from contemporary Kastrisianika (Kythera), I.P. Photios in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

‘κριθός καὶ μὴ τσίτος. | κριθός καὶ μὴ τσίτος. | κριθός καὶ μὴ τσίτος. | μήτε κι’ ὁ μέρμηγκας χολή, | μήτε κ’ ἡ μῦγα σπλῆνα, | μήτε κι’ ἀπάνω κεφαλὴ | μήτε καὶ κάτω ρίζα.’

possibly related

2.13.2. *Hippiatrica Parisina* 17 ed. Oder-Hoppe (Heim 1893 no. 205 and 115)

φυλακτήριον πρὸς μᾶλιν παρὰ τοῦ φιλοσόφου. ‘μύρμηξ ψοφεῖ, πέλωρος κεφαλὴν οὐκ ἔχει, ἔλαφον πιάσας ἀμέλξω Μυσίαν παλαιτάτην καὶ αμαλαβανδα πιουρου ναζηλα αμελχανα βατεμανα τεκουπατου ιαβραξ.’ γράψας ἐν χάρτη καθαρῷ ἢ κασσιτερίνῳ περιάπτε.

2 παλαιτάτην *corr. Radermacher ap. Heim* : μαλαιτάτην *cod.*

3. Narrative

3.1. *present, statement of natural fact*

3.1.1. Marcellus 8.191 (Heim 1893 no. 101a, also cited in part at no. 50)

si in dextro oculo uarulus erit natus, manu sinistra digitis tribus sub diuo orientem spectans uarulum tenebis et dices ‘nec mula parit nec lapis lanam fert nec huic morbo caput crescat aut si creuerit tabescat.’ cum haec dixeris isdem tribus digitis terram tanges et despues idque ter facies.

3.1.2. Gargilius Martialis *De cura boum* 19, ed. Schuch. (Heim 1893 no. 101b, cf. also no. 42)

ad glandulas iumentorum. luna quattuordecim mane antequam manus laues, iumento omnia impedimenta tollis et manus sinistrae digito medicinali de glandula adprehendis et haec dicis mente precante ‘nec lapis lanam fert, nec lumbricus oculos habet, nec mula parit utriculum. cassia herbosa arbor fuit, manu humana haec ipsa concisa et carbo factus est. et si tuber, si panus, eualla. subula neceris nec radices agas.’ hoc semel dices.

3.1.3. Leiden, UB cod. VLQ 9 (s. VI), f. 100r (§170), ed. Piechotta 1887, xii (Heim 1893 no. 101c)

si quod uulnus in oculo nascitur, pollicem cum digito medicinali ter nouies circumducis et sic dicis quod ‘mula non parit’ et exspues ‘nec cantharus aquam bibit’ et exspues ‘nec palumba dentes habet’ et exspues, ‘sic mihi dentes non doleant’ et exspues.

$\overline{1}$ oculo *cod.* : oculos *Piechotta* (-s non apparet in *facsim.*) : oculis *corr. Heim* || 2 dicis ‘quod mula ... *div. Heim*

addition of mythological reference, Chnoubis

3.1.4. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2244 (s. XV), f. 154v

καταπότιον. ‘Χνουβι καταπίνοντος, ἐκεῖνο τόπον οὐκ ἔχει οὐδὲ αἷμα μύρμηξ οὐδὲ καρκίνος χολήν.’

$\overline{1}$ Χνουβι *conieci* (as *neuter?*) : κνουβι *cod.* | καταπίνοντας *cod.*

3.2. *present, having to do with healing*

performatives, paradox

3.2.1. London, BL cod. Add. 24068 (s. XIII), f. 92v

contra morsum rabidi canis. ‘baro bardana. illud humana parricidat sanat sanat parricidat.’

3.3. *present, wholly fantastic, miscellaneous*

alliteration, anaphora; meter (trochaic, stress-based); for leprosy

3.3.1. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 3.2 (cod. p. 265.26-28, ed.

Önnerfors 2006, 1:84; Heim 1893, 560)

item. uel(lere) tribus digitis comprehenso haec ter dicis et dispuito ‘furem ferum furca premet cum dolore fero, fur surgit foras.’

$\overline{1}$ uel(lere) *corr. Önnerfors* | ferum furca *corr. Heim* : firem furcam *cod.* || 2 cum dolore fero, fur surgit *corr. Heim* : dum dolore querufur furgit *cod.*

wordplay, interlocking, the user quenches a lit torch in a cup of water; for ἄφτρα

3.3.2. reported from contemporary Kastrisianika (Kythera), I.P. Photios in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

‘παπαῶς ἔρχετ’ ἀπ’ τῆ Ῥώμη, | ἄφτρα ἔβγαλε ἔς τὸ στόμα, | ἔσκυψε νὰ πιῆ νερό, | πέσαν τ’ ἄφτρα ἔς τὸ νερό.’

3.4. *anaphoric nonce-compounds, some variants in past*

3.4.1. *first person, πυρο-*; for breast pain

interlocking, the breast is heated by hot iron held at a distance

3.4.1.1. reported from contemporary Kastellorizo, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘πιάννω τὸ πυρομάνναρον | τσαὶ κόβγω τὸ πυρόγ κλαδί, | βράζω τὴμ μάντραν τὴμ πυρή. | πιάννω τὸ πυρόμαργο, | κόβγω τὸ δέντρον τὸ πυρό, | ἔς τὸ σκύλλον ρίχτω τὸ πυρό, | σὲ σέν’ ἀφήννω τὴδ δροσικιά.’

3.4.1.2. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 93

‘πσάννω τὸ πυρομάνναρον | καὶ πάω ἔς τὸ πυρόβουνον | καὶ κόφκω τὰ πυρόκλαδα | καὶ βράσσω τὴν πυρόμαντραν | καὶ βάλλω τὲς πυρόαιγες | καὶ παίρνω τὴν πυρόμουργαν | καὶ βάλλω τὸ πυρόγαλαν | καὶ κάμνω τὸ πυρότυρον | καὶ ρίχνω το τοῦ σκύλλου | καὶ παίρνει ὁ σκύλλος τὴν πικρὰν | καὶ τὸ πρᾶμαν τὴ γλυκάν.’

3.4.2. *first person, στριφτο-*; for colic

accompanying ritual action including cutting a twig into three pieces

3.4.2.1. reported from contemporary Naupaktia, Phourla 1979-1981, 131

‘πῆγα ἔς τοῦ στριφτόριμα | κι ἔκουσα στριφτόβριγῖς | κι ἔφκιασα στριφτοκάλαθου. | κι ὅσου βαστάει νιρὸ τοῦ καλάθ’ | ἄλλου τόσου νὰ βαστάξ’ κι οὐ στρόφους.’

3.4.2.2. reported from contemporary Greece (no further context), Kyriakides 1922, 103

‘παίρνω στριφτοτσέκουρα | καὶ πάω ἔς τὸ στριφτόλογγο | νὰ κόψω στριφτόβεργες | νὰ φτιάσω στριφτοκάλαθο. | ὅσο νερὸ κρατεῖ τὸ στριφτοκάλαθο, | τόσο νὰ σὲ κρατήση ὁ στρόφος.’

3.4.3. *first person, ἀνεμο-*; for erysipelas (ἀνεμοπύρωμα)

3.4.3.1. reported from contemporary Xerochorion, G. Rhousias in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913, 47 no. 3

‘πῆρα τὸ ἀνεμοτσέκουρο, | νὰ κόψ’ ἀνεμοπάλουκα, | νὰ φθειάσω ἀνεμόστρουγκα. | πῆρα τάνεμοκάρδαρο, | ν’ ἀρμέξω τς ἀνεμόγιδες | καὶ ἔς τάνεμοκάρδαρο | νὰ βάλλω τάνεμογάλα. | πῆρα τὴν ἀνεμοτσάντηλα, | νὰ βάνω τάνεμοτύρι, | νὰ τὸ πάω ἔς τάνεμοβοῦνι. | πῶς φεύγει ὁ ἥλιος ἔς τὸ βουνό, | ἔτσι νὰ φύγη τάνεμικὸ | καὶ νὰ πάη κεῖ ποῦ δὲ λαλοῦν οἱ πετεινοὶ καὶ δὲ βελάζουν γίδια.’

3.4.4. *first person, βουβο-*; for swelling in the groin (βουβών)

3.4.4.1. reported from contemporary Kastrisianika (Kythera), I.P. Photios in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

‘πάω ἔς τὸ βουβοπάζαρο, | νὰ πάρω βουβοσίδερο, | νὰ δώσω μιάνε τῆς κουφῆς. | οὔτε κι’ ἀπάνω κεφαλή, | οὔτε καὶ κάτω ρίζα, | οὔτε κι’ ὁ μέρμηγκας χολή, | οὔτε κ’ ἡ μῦγα σπληῖνα.’

3.4.5. *first person, κισαρο-*

for dysuria; ed. is unsure of interpretation of κίσσαρος, but I think it likely related to κύσσαρος and κυσός / κύστις, with which πουδα (~ *puenda*) would also fit, an absurd imaginary related to the affliction, the bladder and genitals

3.4.5.1. private collection, from Epirus (s. XIX), f. 11r, ed. Oikonomides 1953-1954, 24

‘παρὰ πουδα βουνὰ εἶναι κίσσαρα πουλία καὶ τὰ κίσσαρα πουλία κάνουν κίραφες φωλιές, με τὶς κισαρές φωλιές κάνουν τὰ αὐγὰ καὶ τὰ κίσσαρα τ’ αὐγὰ κάνουν κισαροπουλία. δίχως χέρια τὰ πίασα, δίχως στία τὰ ἔψησα, δίχως στόμα τὰ ἔφαγα, δίχως δόντια τὰ ἔκουκάλησα, δίχως λάρυγγα τὰ ἐδιάβασα. κὰν δὲν πιστεύης, χέσε καὶ κατούρησε.’

Ἰ παραπουδαβουὺ νὰ *Oikonomides* | κοσαρὰ *cod.* || 3 *post* κισαροπουλία *delevi ditto*: δίχως χέρια, ποδάρια, δίχως σοβλί τὰ ἔψησα ἀνέθηκας

3.4.6. *first person*, κουφο-; for glandular swellings (κουφή)

3.4.6.1. reported from contemporary Emparo (Crete), Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘ἀνεβαίνω ἀπάνω σὲ ψηλὸ βουνό, | παίρνω κουφοσκέπαρνο, | κόβω κουφοκόπαννο, | καὶ κοπανίζω τὴν κουφή, | κι’ οὔτε κάτω ρίζα, | κι’ οὔτε πάνω κορφή.’

with ‘good housemaster, bad housemistress’ motif; interlocking ritual action, said while holding a pruning-hook (κλαδευτήρι) and twigs (κληματόβεργα); for colic in livestock

3.4.6.2. reported from contemporary Aitolia, D. Loukopoulos in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

‘ἡ ἀγαθὴ ἢ ν’κουκρά, | οὐ πουνηρὸς οὐ ν’κουκύρς | φάκου βράζαν, λάρδου βράζαν, | σὶ τρεῖς λίτρις τσουκαλάκ’. | πῆρα κι γὰ τὸ στριφτὸ κλαδητράκ’ | κι’ τοῦ στριφτὸ μ’ κληματάκ’, | νὰ κόψου τοῦμ πουνόκαρδου | τοῦ ζῶου τούτου γιὰ νὰ τάφήσ’.

3.4.7. *first person and third person*, κουφο-
for erysipelas

3.4.7.1. reported from contemporary Samos, Brontes 1956, 232

‘κ’φὸς πατέρας, κ’φὸς παπαῶς, | κ’φὸς ὁ κύρης, κ’φὴ ἢ μάννα, | κ’φὸ πιδὶ ἔκαμε, κ’φὸς νουνὸς τὸ βάφτισε. | θὰ βγῶ ’ς τὸ κ’φοβούν’ νὰ κάμω κ’φόςυλα, | νὰ βάλω κ’φοβόιδα νὰ τὰ κ’βαλίσουν. | ὡς φεύγει ὁ νήλιος νὰ φεύγη κι τὸ κακὸ ἀπὸ πάνω.’

3.5.1. *third person*, κ(ου)φο-
for scrofula (χελῶνι)

3.5.1.1. reported from contemporary Emparo (Crete), Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘ὁ κουφὸς κουφὶ νέπηρε, καὶ κουφὰ παιδιὰ νέκάμα, | καὶ κουφοὶ σαν οἱ σάντολοι, καὶ κουφὸ καὶ τάχελῶνι.’

Ἰ σάντολοι *ed. glosses* ἀνάδοχοι

for deafness (κουφό) in children

3.5.1.2. reported from contemporary Kritsa (Crete), Koutoulakes 1962, 199

‘ὁ κουφὸς κουφὴν ἐπήρε | καὶ κουφὰ κοπέλια ἐκάμαν | καὶ κουφοὶ ἦσαν οἱ σαντόλοι, | κουφὰ ἦσαν τὰ κωλόπανα | καὶ κουφοὶ ἦσαν ὅσοι ἦσαν πέρα πόδε ὅλοι.’

for nosebleed

3.5.1.3. reported from contemporary Xerochorion, G. Rhousias in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913, 48 no. 4

‘κίνησε κφὸς γέρος, | πῆρε κφὸ τσικοῦρι, | νὰ πάη ’ς τὸ κφὸ βουνό, | νὰ κόψη κφὸ σκαμνί, | νὰ καθίση κφὴ λεχώνα, | νὰ κάνη κφὸ παιδί, | νὰ τὸ πάρη κφὴ μαννοῦ, | νὰ τὸ πάη σὲ κφ’ ἀκκλησιά, | νὰ τὸ βαπτίση κφὸς νουνός, | νὰ τὸ μυρώση κφὸς παπαῶς. νὰ βαθῆ, | τὸ αἶμα του νὰ σταθῆ.’

βαθῆ ed. glosses νὰ βουβαθῆ (?), but prp. better βαφτισθῆ

3.5.1.4. reported from contemporary Gytheio, Manolakos 1915-1916, 614 no. 13

‘κουφὸς κουφήν ἐγγάστρωσε, | πάνε ’ς τὸ κουφόλογγο, | νὰ κόψουνε κουκούτσουρο | νὰ σταυρώσουν τὴν κουφή· | μήτε κάτου ρίζα, μήτε πάνου πάνου κορφή.’

interlocking ritual action, the user cuts off the affliction *λούγγα* (genital warts?) with an axe (τσεκούρι), which is also mentioned in the incantation, which is set in a wood (λόγγο, ~ λούγγα)

3.5.1.5. reported from contemporary Kerkyra, Salbanos 1929, 118

‘ὁ κουφὸς ὁ κουφογιάννης ἐπήαινε μέσα ’ς τὸ κουφόλογγο μὲ τὰ κουφοτσέκουρα νὰ κόψη κουφοπάλουκα. ἐκεῖ βρῆκε τὴ κουφή. νὰ μὴν ἔχη μήδε πάτο μήδε κορφή.’

2 after ἐκεῖ βρῆκε τὴ κουφή, the user makes the cut.

3.5.1.6. reported from contemporary Kastrianika (Kythera), I.P. Photios in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

‘κουφὸς κουφή κουφὸ παιδὶν ἐκάμανε, | κουφή μαμμη τὸ δέχτηκε, | κουφὸς παπαῶς τὸ βάπτισε, | κουφὸς νουνός τὸ φώτισε.’

3.5.2. *with dialogue*; for glandular swellings (κουφή)

3.5.2.1. reported from contemporary Emparo (Crete), Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘κουφὸς κουφήν ἀπάντεσε | καὶ τὴν ἐχαίρετσε· | “ποῦ πᾶς κουφή;” | “πάω ’ς τὸν κουφόλογγο, | νὰ κόψω κουφοκόπαννο, | νὰ κοπανίσω τὴν κουφή, | νὰ μὴν κάνη οὔτε κάτω ρίζα, | οὔτε πάνω κορφή.”

3.5.2.2. reported from contemporary Emparo (Crete), Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘κουφὸς κουφοῦ ἐμίλησε | “ἔλα, κουφέ, νὰ φύγωμε, | νὰ πάμε ’ς τὸν κουφόλογγο, | νὰ κόψω κουφοκόπαννο, | νὰ σταυρώσω τὴν κουφή, | μήτε κάτω ρίζα | μήτε πάνω κορφή.”

3.5.3. *third person*, τυφλο- (blind); statement of natural fact; for ἀγιάθωνα

3.5.3.1. reported from contemporary Kastrianika (Kythera), I.P. Photios in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

‘τυφλὸς τυφλὴν ἀγγάστρωσε, | τυφλὸ παιδὶν ἐκάμανε. | οὔτε κι’ ὁ μέρμηγκας χολή, | οὔτε κι’ ἡ μῦγα σπλῆνα, | οὔτε κι’ ἀπάνω κεφαλή, | οὔτε καὶ κάτω ρίζα.’

3.5.4. *third person, further variants*

the ‘scarlet shepherd,’ anaphora of κοκκινο-; encounter with holy figures who nullify the personified affliction; interlocking, a coin charred in fire (πεπυρακτωμένη δεκάρα) and folded in felt is rubbed over the afflicted limb; against fever

3.5.4.1. reported from contemporary Teuthrone (Gytheion), Manolakos 1915-1916, 609-610 no. 1

‘ἀνιφορίζει ὁ τσοπάνης, | μέσ’ ἔς τὰ κόκκινα ντυμένος, | μὲ τὴν κόκκινή του ράβδο, | μέσ’ ἔς τὰ κόκκινα τὰ ροῦχά του· | πάει γιὰ τὰ πρόβατά του. | ἄξαφνα τὸν ἐμποδίζει | ὁ Χριστὸς κ’ ἡ παναγία | μὲ τὸ δαῦλο τῆς φωτίας, | μὲ τὸ κόκκινο μπακίρι· | πάνου ἔς τοῖς κεντιές τὸ σύρει, | κι’ ἀπ’ τὸν τόπο του τονὲ βγάζει, | αὐτὸν τὸν κόκκινο τσοπάνη, | καὶ μὲ τὴ φωτιά τονὲ καίει, | καὶ καθόλου δὲν τὸ λέει. | τότε σβήνει τὸνομά του | καὶ γυρεύει τὴ δουλειά του.’

a variant with John the Baptist, an encounter with Christ and Mary; interlocking, the user strikes a piece of wood three times with an axe; for erysipelas (ἀνεμοπύρωμα)

3.5.4.2. reported from contemporary Aidipsia, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘κίνησε ἀγ’ Ἰάννης ὁ πρόδρομος, | πῆρε τὸ ἀγιοσικοῦρι, | νὰ πάη ἔς τὸν ἀγιολόγγο | καὶ ἔκοβε ἓνα δέντρο χοντρὸ καὶ δυνατό. | καὶ κεῖ ποῦ ἔκοβε τὸ δέντρο τὸ χοντρό, | ἦλθε Χριστὸς καὶ παναγία. | “τί κάνεις αὐτοῦ, ἀγ’ Ἰάννη πρόδρομε;” | “κόβω ἓνα δέντρο χοντρὸ καὶ δυνατό. | ὅπως κόβω τὸ δέντρο τὸ χοντρὸ καὶ δυνατό, | ἔτσι νὰ κοπῆ καὶ ὁ πόνος ἀπὸ τὸν (δεῖνα), | ἀπὸ τὴν κεφαλὴν του νὰ πάη ἔς τὸν ἄγριο τὸν τόπο, | ἔς τὰ ἄκαρπα τὰ ξύλα, ἔς τὰ ἔρημα λιθάρια. | βάλει καὶ σύ, Χριστέ μου καὶ παναγία μου, τὴ χεῖρα σου, | νὰ φύγη ὁ πόνος νὰ πάη ἔς τὸν ἔρημο τὸν τόπο | καὶ ἔς τὰ ἄκαρπα τὰ ξύλα.”

dialogue with στριφτο-; for dysouria in animals

3.5.4.3. reported from contemporary Aigion, Chatziotis 1911

“θεῖα Σιγγοῦ, θεῖα Μιγγοῦ, | ποῦθε πάγει ὁ μπάρμπας μ’ ὁ Σιγγᾶς, ὁ Μιγγᾶς, | ὁ Σιγγομιγγοτσεκουρᾶς;” “πῆρε τὸ στριφτοκλαδέυτηρο, | καὶ πάγ’ ἔς τὸ στριφτόλογγο, | νὰ κόψη στριφτόβεργες, | νὰ φτειάση στριφτοκάλαθα. | κι’ ὅσο κρατοῦν τὰ στριφτοκάλαθα τὸ νερό, | τόσο νὰ κρατῆ καὶ τὸ ζῶ τὸ κάτουρό του.”

3.6. *past, wholly fantastic*

historiola, fitting choice for aiding digestion; asyndetic doublets

3.6.1. Marcellus 20.78 (Heim 1893 no. 84)

cum te in lecto posueris uentrem tuum perfricans dices ter ‘lupus ibat per uiam per semitam, cruda uorabat, liquida bibebat.’ physicum hoc ad digerendum de experimento satis utile.

3.6.2. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 2.14 (cod. p. 220.17-19, ed. Önnorfors 2006, 1:37; Heim 1893, 558)

⟨ad⟩ digestionem carmen. dicit haec ‘lupus carnem crudam ⟨uorat⟩, sanguinem bibit, nihil sibi nocuit. sic ego Gaius Seius quod de dextera accepi de sinistra deduco.’

¹ ⟨uorat⟩ *supplevi metri gr.* : ⟨uorauit⟩ Önnorfors || Önnorfors ends the incantation at deduco; Heim had continued it with digestionem, which is in fact the title of the next recipe in the manuscript.

3.6.3. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 1.4 (cod. p. 191.11-14, ed. Önnorfors 2006, 1:7-8; Heim 1893, 556)

ad procussum oculi praecantabis haec in oculum dextrum de manu sinistra ‘seruus fugitiuus recte caesus, ferro transfixus post uiam currebat et dicebat “hodie quod est, cras non est.”

3.6.4. London, BL cod. Sloane 475 (s. XI), f. 23r
contra malam uesicam carmen. ‘in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. quattuor sorores fuerunt, Ogedalina Zadalina Didalina Ipselina.’

2 ogedaline cod.

to release binding

3.6.5. Athens, EB cod. 1484 (s. XVI), f. 74r, ed. Koukoules 1926, 79

γράφει καὶ ἄς τὸ βαστῆ τρία ἡμερόνυκτα, νὰ τὸ ζωστῆ ὁ ἄνδρας εἰς τὴν μέσην του. γράφει ταῦτα ‘λε λε δδ ββ λε λε ση κε κβ ρυ ρυ κε κε. ὁ ἥλιος ἀνέτειλεν εἰς χαλκὸν ἄλῳνι καὶ εὔρε ἄνδραν δεμένον καὶ ἔλυσεν αὐτὸν τοὺς νεφροὺς καὶ τοὺς μηροὺς καὶ φλέβι αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ὑπογάστριον αὐτοῦ. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ, ἀμήν.’

cosmological, plowing with snakes, etc., cf. the impossible agricultural scenarios in 2.12.2; for a skin disease

3.6.6. private collection, from Epirus (s. XIX), f. 14r-v, ed. Oikonomides 1953-1954, 28-29

‘εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος, ἀμήν. ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. | μέσα κάτω ’ς τὸ λιβάδι | εἶχα δύο φίδια ζευγάρι | καὶ τὴν ὄχεντρα λάτρη | καὶ τὸν ἄμμο ὄλο στᾶρι | καὶ τὴν θάλασσα χωράφι | καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸ || ἄλῳνι. μὰ οἱ δικοὶ σπέρνουν τὸ στᾶρι, οἱ δὲ δῶ σπέρνουν τὴ φόκα † ὁ περλαμῆν τατήο †. ὄξω δροσοπίλα ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ τάδε ὅτι ὁ τάδε εἶναι βαπτισμένος μυρωμένος τοῦ θεοῦ παραδομένος, δὲν ἤμπορεῖ νὰ τὸ ὑπομένη μηδὲ μέρα μηδὲ νύκτα μήτε κάρτο ἀπὸ τὴν ὥραν. φέρτι μου ἄδολο κρασί καὶ φῖνο ροῦχο νὰ κόψω τὴν δροσοπίλα, τὴν θηλυκὴ καὶ τὴν ἀρσενικὴ, νὰ πάη εἰς τὰ ἄγρια βουνὰ καὶ ’ς τὰ ἄγρια κλαδία, νὰ μπῆ ’ς τῆς Μάνης τὰ βουνὰ, ’ς τῆς Μπαρμπαργιάς τὰ μέρη καὶ ὅπου ἐγὼ τὸ λόγο μου, ἡ παναγία τὸ χέρι της, ἀμήν. ἀέρας το ἤφερε, ἀέρας νὰ τὴν πάρη.’

two-word historiola to be written no specification of purpose in heading but the preceding recipe is for rabies (εἰς λύσσαν), and given the directions here for feeding the bread ‘to the one who has been bitten,’ it is probably for the same affliction.

3.6.7. Vatican, BAV cod. Barberin. gr. III 3, ff. 71r-85v, ed. Pradel 1907, 35, no foliation given; shelfmark no longer in use

εὐχή. ‘ἠύρησαν ἐδεδοίκεισαν.’ γράφει ταῦτα εἰς ὄψιν ψωμίου, δὸς φαγεῖν τῷ δαχθέντι.

1 τῷ δαχθέντι *correx*i : τὸ δαχθέν Pradel

deformation of Greek words surrounding a brief historiola (ἠύρησαν ἀφηύρηκεν τὴν λύσσαν ταύτην); possible mythological reference in ἀμπελουργέ (new conjecture; cf. *Suppl. Mag.* I 1, σταφυλοτόμος?), against rabies

3.6.8. Vienna, ÖNB cod. ‘philos. gr. 220’ (s. XVI), no folio reference given; this shelfmark no longer in use, ed. Vassiliev 1893, 335

εἰς λύσσαν. γράφει ‘αναηλ εἰσβιηλ ἀμπελουργέ μαμαιναντι ἔκτιλλε ἔκτιλλε βερκα δειαιδε ἀδεδαιουτωσ ἀφουσατοδιος ἠύρησαν ἀφηύρηκεν τὴν λύσσαν ταύτην, βρονιγκαταδε βρονικακαδε δεδεη ἠύρησαν ηυρισαδε.’

1 ἀμπελουργέ *conieci* : ἀμπελουρὰ Vassiliev | ἔκτιλες ἔκιλε Vassiliev

3.6.9. private collection, *iatrosophion* purchased in Macedonia (s. XVIII), ed. Abbott 1903, 361

εἰς λύσιν ἀνθρώπου. γράφε ταῦτα εἰς ψωμῖν καὶ δός του νὰ τὸ φάγη ἄκοηλ εἰσβηλ ἀμπελουρ(γ)ὰς περιμαρίας καμεναντων εκτιλεν εκπειλεν βρισκαδεδεος δεδεουσα το συφασατοδιος η̅̅ρε τήν λύσιν ταύτην.’

procedure for bleeding in women, involving churches, short historiola, analogy

3.6.10. Naples, BN cod. gr. II C 33, no folio reference given, ed. Vassiliev 1893, 340; not included in Delatte

εἰς γυνήν ρέουσαν αἷμα. νὰ ὑπάγη εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Νικόλαον καὶ κάμη τήν προσευχήν της, νὰ ποιῇ φορὰς τρεῖς· σκύλος ἐμβῆκεν καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐβγήκεν.’ καὶ νὰ ἐπάρη βήσαλον, νὰ τὸ βάλῃ εἰς ἕτερον ναὸν καὶ ἄς εἰπῇ ὡς οὐδ’ ἐγὼ ἐλπίζω νὰ ἔλθω ἐδῶ νὰ σε ἐπάρω, νὰ μηδὲ ἐμένα πιάση πλέον.’

said by a woman while holding in her right hand a pen and a red girdle of a prepubescent girl, striking the hooves of the horse three times in the shape of a cross; for colic in horses

3.6.11. reported from contemporary Aidespsia, E.D. Papanastasio in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

ἔκινησε ἡ γριά μετὰ τὰ σ’ρντάργια της, | μετὰ τὰ μιντάργια της | καὶ μετὰ ὅλα τὰ πάργαλά της, | νὰ πάγη νὰ ποτίσῃ τὰλόγά της | εἰς ταῖς χρυσαῖς ταῖς βρύσαις.’

for childbirth

3.6.12. reported from contemporary Oinous (Lakonia), Polites 1917-1918

ἔτώρα ποῦ ἐρχόμουνα, ἀπάντησα ἕνα μουλάρι μετὰ ἄσκια λᾶδι, κ’ ἔπεσαν τὰ ἄσκια καὶ χύθηκε τὸ λᾶδι.’

with first person performative of binding; to protect livestock against foxes

3.6.13. reported from contemporary Kos, Karanastases 1956, 80

ἔπάνω ἔς τ’ ὠρζιον τὸ βουνὸ | ἔκει βοσκὸς ἐκάθετον, | ἄρνια καὶ ρίφια ἤβλεπεν. | ὁ σκύλλος ὁ λυσκιάρης | τὸν ἐτριγύριζεν, | ἄρνια καὶ ρίφια νὰ τοῦ πάρῃ. | δέννω τὸ στόμαν της, | δέννω τὰ μάθκια της, | δέννω σαρανταμία φλέβαν τοῦ κορμιοῦ της, | μὴν ἔχη τόρμην νὰ γυρίσῃ | νὰ δῆ ἔπο τὰ νύχια καὶ πάνω. | ξορκίζω ἔς τὰ ὄρη ἔς τὰ βουνά, | ἔκει νὰ τρώῃς, ἔκει νὰ πίνῃς, | ἔκει νὰ κατοικᾶς.’

4 τόρμην ed. glosses τόλμην

3.7. past, mythical

Various interpretations of the historiola have been offered, as to what was burned on the mountain: Egyptian mythology, the burning of Horus (Koenen 1962), though this depends on the reading of an entirely reconstructed word [παῖς]; Ritner 1998 argues for a syncretism with definite Egyptian antecedents; cf. also the myth of Demophoon (*Hom. Hymn Dem.* and *Apollod. Bibl.* 1.31)

3.7.1. papyrus formulary, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XX.4-11, in three copies, P.Berlin gr. 7504, *P.Amh.* II 14 (now New York, Morgan Library), and P.Oxy. inv. 72/65(a) (ed. Maas 1942 in part; the remaining text in *Suppl.Mag.* II 88).

[--]ας Σύρας (Γ)αδαρηνη̅ς | [ἐ]παοιδῆ̅ | πρὸς πᾶν κατάκαυμ[α | ‘ -- μ]υστοδόκος κατεκα[ύθη, | ὑψ]οτάτω δ’ ἐν ὄρει κατεκαύθη̅ | ἐπτὰ λύ[κ]ων κρήνας, ἐπτ’ ἄρ[κτων], | ἐπτὰ λεόντων. ἐπτὰ δὲ παρθε̅|νικαὶ κυ[α]νώπιδες ἤρ(υ)σαν [ύ] | δωρ κάλπ[ι]σι κυανέαις καὶ ἔσ|βεσαν ἀκ[άμ]ατον πῦρ.’

incantation from a formulary, historiola with parallel actions of groups of seven, quenching of fire by maidens, similar to *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XX

3.7.2. papyrus formulary, P.Oxy. inv. 72/65(a) (s. IV), ed. *Suppl.Mag.* II 88.6-8
πρ(ὸς) ἐρυθρὸν λόγος· ‘ἐπτὰ [λύκων ... ἐπτ’ ἄρκτων] | ἐπτὰ λεόντων, ἐπτὰ [δὲ παρθενικάι κατε] | κολί/μισαν αἰθέριον πῦρ.’

incantation with historiola for headache; ‘sowing’ motif (Zeus sowed a grape-seed):

3.7.3. papyrus formulary, P.Lond. inv. 121 (s. III-IV), col. 5.33-35, ed. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.199-201

πρ(ὸς) ἡμικράνιον. λαβὼν ἔλαιον εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου εἰπέ λό(γον) | ‘ὁ Ζεὺς ἔσπειρεν λίθον ῥαγός, σχίζει τὴν γῆν. οὐ σπείρει, | οὐκ ἀναβαίνει.’

33 Π pap. | λ. pap. || 34 ουκ’ pap. | αναβαινει:// pap.

cf. banquet motif, affliction not invited; preceded by scripture, Homeric verses (10.564, 10.521, 10.572, 8.424); as presented in the formulary, a φυλακτήριον for protection during the summoning of divinities in lecanomancy, but most likely originally a separate recipe for blockage of the ear-canal (ἀμάρα).

3.7.4. papyrus formulary, Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574, f. 10r-v, ed. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* IV.821-829

‘ὡς εἰπὼν τάφροιο διήλασε μώνυχας ἵππους’ | ‘ἄνδρας τ’ ἀσπαίροντας ἐν ἀργαλέοισι φόνοισι’ | ‘αὐτοὶ δ’ ἰδρῶ πολλὸν ἀπενίζοντο θαλάσση’ | ‘τολμήσεις Διὸς ἄντα πελώριον ἔγχος ἀεῖραι.’ | ‘ἀνέβη Ζεὺς εἰς ὄρος χρυσοῦν μόσχον ἔχων | καὶ μάχαιραν ἀργυρέαν· πᾶσιν μέρος ἐπέδωκεν, ἀμάρα μόνον οὐκ ἔδωκεν, εἶπεν | δὲ “ἔξαφες ὃ ἔχεις καὶ τότε λήψει. φινωθερ | νωψιθερ θερνωψι” (κοινόν).

827 Ἀμάρα *edd.*, but no convincing identification as a person or divinity has been suggested; for ἀμάρα (*gen.* ‘channel’) in this sense cf. *LSJ* s.v. 2.

3.7.5. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 2.57 (cod. p. 254.20-25, ed. Önnertors 2006, 1:72-73; Heim 1893 no. 118)

ad membrorum omnium dolorem praecantatio. homini haec dicis ter nouies de manu sinistra digito medicinali et pollice, dices ‘uertigines audierunt Iouem patrem sibi adoptionem dedisse, ut si quid doleret, eadem die <qua> te nominasset, tu illi sanum faceres quod doleret. uertigo tui meminito, mihi sanum facies quod dolet.’ omnia nominabis.

1 uertigines *conieci* : uertigontes *cod.*, which Heim explains as perhaps a Gallic ethnic || 4 uertigo *conieci* : uertegontis *cod.*

classical myth, mixture of Latin and Greek in Latin recipe; for swallowed bones

3.7.6. additions to the *Euporiston* of Theodorus, ed. Rose 1894, 283

item incantes digitis medicinalibus iosum uersus deduces hoc sermone ‘Παλλὰς Γοργόνης ὄστᾶ κατέπιεν.’

2 ὄστᾶ κατέπιεν *conieci* : Pallas Gorgonis ostan caterpieni Rose

3.7.7. *Hippiatica Parisina* 22, ed. Oder-Hoppe (Heim 1893 no. 65)

ποτὸν πρὸς μᾶλιν ... προσφυσῶν λέγε ... καὶ ταῦτα ‘τρὶς ἐπτὰ θαλάσσια ζῶα, ἐπτὰ ἄρκοι ἐπτὰ λέοντες ἐπτὰ δελφῖνοι ἐδίωκον τὴν ἀγρίαν μᾶλιν.’

² *corr. Radermacher ap. Heim* : τ' (l. ζ') αρκοι επτα λεοντες επτα δελφινιοι *cod.*

featuring historical personage, the Roman emperor Trajan

3.7.8. Paris, BnF *cod. gr.* 2294 (s. XV), f. 79r

εις συκάμινον. περδικιάδα βοτάνην επίθεσ ἢ συκομορέας φλοιὸν καύσας πάσσε ἐπιλέγων οὕτως ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Τραιανὸς τρεῖς ἀντίας κακὰς εἶχε, τὴν αἰμορραγίαν καὶ τὴν συκαμινέαν.'

a king requests plants from some 'elders,' which they cannot supply because 'the ground-crawler' (ἡ χαμαιπετής, perhaps with a play on χαμαίπιτυς), has come down from the mountains and caused distress ('eating the genitals and the navel'), and which may well have been borrowed from a remedy for a different ailment, namely dysuria, which appears personified at the end, and the χαμαίπιτυς was known for its purgative diuretic effect (Paul. Aeg. 7.3.22); interlocking ritual practice, gathering and dividing up branches and leaves; then invocation of Christ; then closing with an address to the affliction, which is ordered to leave the patient and go into a tree; meter, trochaic rhythm (with respect to stress-accent: ρεῦμα ρεῦμα ἔξω βᾶ)

3.7.9. Vatican, BAV *cod. Barberin. gr.* III 3, ff. 71r-85v, ed. Pradel 1907, 35, no foliation given; shelfmark no longer in use

1. ἄγιε Ζωσιμᾶ ρῦσαί με καὶ ἐλέησέ με ἡ κυρία ἡ θεοτόκος ἡ Μελιτηνὴ μετὰ τὸν μονογενῆ υἱὸν της.' καὶ γράψον αὐτὸ καὶ εἰπέ ὅτι ἄμα τὸν φόβον καὶ τρόμον τὸν θεωρεῖ ὁ παπᾶς ὅταν τὸν ἀπαντήσῃ καὶ θέλῃ λειτουργήσῃ, σταμάτησε, πλέον μὴ δράμης.' καὶ εἰπέ αὐτὸν ἄμα δράμης.' καὶ εἰπέ αὐτὸν τρεῖς φορὰς στίχους.

2. δραγμὸν ὀρίζεις, δώδεκα κλωνοὺς καὶ τριαντάφυλλα, καὶ καταμέριζε. εἰπέ ἔμνησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς καλογήρους "πέμψατέ μοι χαμαίδρυα χαμαίριζα χαμαικίλιτρα καὶ τὸν ἐξάποδα γαλασιμίδαλον." καὶ οἱ καλόγηροι ἐμνήσαν τὸν βασιλέα "ὅτι νᾶ σε στείλωμεν χαμαίδρυα καὶ χαμαίριζα χαμαικίλιτρα καὶ ἐξάποδα ὡς γαλασιμίδαλον οὐκ ἔχομεν, διότι ἐκατέβηκεν ἡ χαμαιπετής ἀπὸ τὸ βουνὸν καὶ ἔφαγεν τὸν περίνεον, ὀμφαλόν, καὶ ἐδίστασεν ἡ δυσουρία." ὁ τοὺς ἤλους ὑπομείνας Χριστέ ὁ θεὸς καὶ δώσας χάριν τῷ πιστῷ σου ληστῇ παῦσον κρανίου τοῦ ἡμικράνου καὶ τοῦ ρευματικοῦ καὶ παντὸς πόνου κεφαλῆς. ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι οἱ κρατοῦντες τοὺς τέσσαρας ποταμοὺς τοῦ παραδείσου, Γεῶν Φισῶν Τίγριν καὶ Εὐφράτην, κρατήσετε τὸν πόνον τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα. ρεῦμα ρεῦμα ἔξω βᾶ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἔσβα εἰς χλωρὸν δένδρον, ὅτι ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὐ δύναται βαστάζειν.'

³ λειτουργήσῃ *Pradel* || 5 δραγμὸν *conieci* : δρισμὸν *cod.* : δρησμὸν *Pradel* | τραντάφυλλα *Pradel* | καὶ καταμέριζε *conieci* : κατὰ καὶ μερίζει *Pradel* (καὶ καταμέριζει *in app. cr.*) || 6 χαμόδρυα χαμόριζα χαμοκίλιτρα *Pradel*; χαμαίδρυα > χαμαίδρυον *pro* χαμαίδρυς | τὰ *Pradel* || 7 γαλασιμίδαλον *quid sit nescio* (γαλάκτινος ἀμύγδαλος?) || 8 διατὶ *Pradel* || 9 χαμοπετοῦ *Pradel* || 9-10 ἐδίστασεν ἰδισουρίαις *cod.* : ἐδίστασαν οἱ δυσουρίαις *Pradel* || 12-13 Φυσσῶν Τίγρις καὶ Ἐφράτης *Pradel* || 13 ραμα ραμα *cod.* : ῥέμμα ῥέμμα *Pradel* || 14 σέβα *Pradel* ('= εἰσέβα' *in app. cr.*)

3.8. *daughter of Orcus, etc.*

for menstrual bleeding

3.8.1. Bonn, ULB *cod.* S 218 (s. XI), f. 85r, added by later hand in margin, ed. Heim 1893, 554, cf. Reiche 1976, 202

herbam proserpinam, centenodia, quando uis ad profluuium mulieris dare, lege illam herbam die Iouis luna decrescente et dic 'herbula Proserpinatia, Orci regis filia, adiuro te per tuas uirtutes ut quomodo clausisti partum mulae, claudas undas sanguinis huius.' fac potionem et da ei bibere.

3.8.2. Vienna, ÖNB cod. 93 (s. XIII), f. 35v, ed. Haupt 1872, 528n (Heim 1893 no. 91) ad profluuium mulieris autem sic 'herbula Proserpinacia, Orci regis filia, quomodo clausisti mulae partum, sic claudas et undam sanguinis huius.'

for gout (as suggested by the reference to blood in the feet, but the cataphoric rubric points to a recipe for kidney stones)

3.8.3. St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 44 (s. VIII), p. 343, no. 51 in collection, ed. Jörmann 1925, 17

item ad ipsum. 'herba cennodia, Orci filia quae strinxisti partum mulorum stringe sanguinem in pedibus.' et colligis. hoc per ter dicere debes. sanat.

̄ Orcinati cod., ed. | qui cod., ed. | mulierum cod., ed.

for stopping blood

3.8.4. addition to Ps. Apuleius *Herb.* 18 (ed. Howald and Sigerist 1927, 289: addition in codd. β)

ad profluuium mulieris. ut supra das potionem incantans 'herbula Proserpinaca, Orci regis filia, quomodo clausisti mulae partum, sic claudes undas sanguinis huic.'

̄ Horci edd. || 2 clusisti ... cludas edd.

3.9. *crossing the water with God and the affliction motif*

for hiccoughs

3.9.1. reported from contemporary Crete, Bardakes 1926, 243

'ἐγὼ κι' ὁ θεὸς κι' ὁ λούξιγκας | ποταμὸ περνούσαμε. | ἐγὼ κι' ὁ θεὸς περάσαμε κι' ὁ λούξιγκας ἐπνίγη.'

3.9.2. reported from contemporary Kastrisianika (Kythera), I.P. Photios in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

'ἐγὼ κι' ὁ θιὸς κι' ὁ ῥόξυγκας πέλαγο περάσαμε | κι' ἐγὼ κι' ὁ θιὸς ἐβγήκαμε κι' ὁ ῥόξυγκας ἐπνίγη.'

3.9.3. reported from contemporary Gytheio, Manolakos 1915-1916, 615 no. 15

'ἐγὼ κι' ὁ θεὸς κι' ὁ λόξιγκας | περάσαμε 'ς τὸν ποταμὸ. | ἐγὼ κι' ὁ θεὸς περάσαμε | κι' ὁ λόξιγκας ἐπνίγηκε.'

3.10. *aetiology of the cure*, attribution to powerful figure of myth

3.10.1. Pliny *NH* 24.176 (Heim 1893 no. 108a)

philanthropon herbam Graeci appellant nasute quoniam uestibus adhaerescat ... medetur et subus effossa sine ferro addita in colluuiem poturis uel ex lacte ac uino. quidam adiciunt effodientem dicere oportere 'haec est herba argemon quam Minerua repperit subus remedium quae de illa gustauerint.'

3.11. *aetiology of the target, miscellaneous*

combined with encounter with sufferers of analogous affliction type

instructions for text as both spoken incantation and written amulet, complex of *historiola* involving Symeon the Stylite, Mary, and a maiden ‘Singaria’ (an ethnic? cf. the city Σίγγαρα in Arabia near Edessa; this is the conjecture of Delatte; the cod. has *σιρεκαρεα* and *σικαρεα* in the two occurrences of the word); part of a ritual for protection of a silk-factory (ἀκολουθία τοῦ μεταξαρίου, f. 79r: beginning with a troparion for St. Symeon, and a prayer for blessing of the μεταξάριον); I have added section numbers. The *historiola* in 2, of the *apantesis* type, provides an internal prescription

3.11.1. Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 210 (s. XVIII), ff. 80r-81v, ed. Delatte 1927, 128-129

1. ‘ἅγιε Συμεων στυλίτα, στόλισον στολίτας ἀργυροῦς, στόλισον στόλισον τὲς καλαμωτές. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ, ἀμήν. στήτω στήτω στήτω.’ λέγε την καὶ γράφε την εἰς τὸν τήταμον καὶ κάπνισον τοὺς σκώληκας εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ, ἀμήν, δι’ εὐχῶν τῶν ἀγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν.’ |

2. <περὶ> τὸν πεσόντα σκώληκα ἐκ τοῦ ἀγίου Συμεων τοῦ στυλίτου. ‘εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος. ὡς ἑκατέβηκεν ἡ κυρία θεοτόκος ἀπὸ τὰς σκηναὶς τοῦ παραδείσου, ὑπήντησεν αὐτῇ γυνὴ κόρη Σιγγαραία ὄδυρομένη καὶ κλαίουσα καὶ τριχομαδοῦσα καὶ πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεὸν ἀδημονοῦσα. καὶ εἶπεν ἡ κυρία θεοτόκος αὐτῇ “ὦ γύναι ὦ γύναι κόρη Σιγγαραία, τί θρηνεῖς καὶ ὀδύρεσαι καὶ βλασφημεῖς πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεόν σου;” καὶ αὐτὴ πρὸς τὴν θεοτόκον ἔφη “κυρία μου καὶ μητὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ μου, τρία ἔτη <ἔχω> ἀπολαβεῖν τὸν ἀργυρὸν σκώληκα τὸν πεσόντα ἐκ τοῦ ἀγίου Συμεων τοῦ στυλίτου καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλυπήθη οὐδὲ ἐστενοχωρήθη οὐδὲ ἐβλασφήμησα πρὸς θεόν μου· καὶ ἐδῶ ἦλθεν φθόνος, | φθάρμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κακούργου, βασκάνου καὶ ἀδικητοῦ, καὶ ἐφθόνησεν καὶ ἐζήλευσεν καὶ ἀδίκησεν αὐτόν. ἐπαραιτήθη τὸ ἔνδυμα τῆς ἀφθαρσίας καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ κόσμου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κλαίω καὶ ὀδύρομαι καὶ βοῶ.” καὶ λέγει ἡ κυρία θεοτόκος πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ εἶπεν “ὦ γύναι μὴν κλαίης καὶ ὀδυνᾶσαι οὐδὲ μὴ βλασφημῆς πρὸς τὸν κύριον τὸν θεόν σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπόστρεψον εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου καὶ βάλε οἶνον ἄκρατον καὶ ἀγίασμα τῶν ἀγίων θεοφανείων καὶ τρεῖς καὶ ἓνα καλαμίνθους καὶ τρεῖς ἐλαίας κορφὰς καὶ βάλε αὐτὰ εἰς δίσκον μετὰ τοῦ τιμίου σταύρου.”’

3. λέγε τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην ἐκ τρίτου | ‘κύριε ὁ θεὸς παντοκράτωρ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν’—καὶ προσζήτει ὀπισθεν τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην τοῦ μεταξαρίου—‘εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ, ἀμήν.’

4. ‘ὡς ἐξέθετον ὁ ἅγιος Συμεων ὁ στυλίτης εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ πόδιον του ἐσκωληκίασεν τρία σκωληκία. ἔπεσε τὸ χρυσὸν καὶ ἐχάθη τὸ ἀργυρὸν καὶ τὸ μεταξωτὸν ἀπέμεινε. καὶ ἑκατον δύο περιστόλια ἐστήσασι. ὡσπερ ἡ ἄμμος πληθύνει, καὶ εἰς τὸν θησαυρὸν ἐμβαίνει κουκούλια ἐκλαμπρα καὶ μεστὰ καὶ μεταξωτά, ἄς γένη τῶν ἀρχόντων ἡ τιμὴ καὶ τῶν πτωχῶν ἡ δόξα. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ, ἀμήν.’

5 <περὶ> *supplevi* | | 13 ἐδὰ Delatte | φθόνος <καὶ> φθάρμα *suppl. Delatte* | | 21-22 refer to the prayer edited in Delatte p. 128.1-13

garbled, but apparently originally a ‘suffering saint’ type in which the silkworms were blighted and the saint was given a prescription, including an incantation, for their restoration and future protection; to protect a silk factory

3.11.2. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 94

‘ὁ Συμεὼν ᾿ς τὴν ἔρημον | σαράντα χρόνους ἔζησεν | μηδ’ ἐραθύμησε | μηδ’ ἐβλαστήμησεν. | τὸ ἅγιόν του ῥαβδὶν ἐχτύπησε | κι ἅγιο σκουλουκάκιον ἔπεσεν. | ᾿ς τὸ σπίτι του τὸ πῆρε | κι ἐγίμωσεν ἑπτὰ ἀνώγια κι ἑπτὰ κατώγια. | τὸ κακὸν μάτιν, τὸ κακὸν συναπάντημα <> | κι ἐρώτησε <> | “βασιλικὸν τῆς ὑψώσης | νὰ τὸν

καπνίση τρεῖς φορές τὴν ἡμέραν· | ‘στάμα ἤλιε, στάμα ἡ γῆς, | στάμα καὶ τὸ
καματερόν μου | ’ς τὴν καλαμωτὴν μου πάνω.’”

aetiology, wordplay; for μουνιὰ (a cancer)

3.11.3. reported from contemporary Crete, Bardakes 1926, 242

‘Αδαμ ὁ πρωτόπλαστος ὄντεν ἐπρωτόβγηκεν ἀπὸ τὸν παράδεισο | τρία δένδρα ν’
ἐφύτεψε | ’ς τὴν ἀγία τράπεζα. | φύτεψε δάφνη καὶ μηλιά | καὶ τριῶ λογιῶ
μουνιὰ. | ἡ δάφνη κ’ ἡ μηλιά ν’ ἀθῆ | κ’ ἡ μουνιὰ νὰ ξεραθῆ.’

the user bores into the affected area with mulberry wood (μορέα) and then pours into the
opening the juice of the mulberry; for μούρο

3.11.4. reported from contemporary Kastrisianika (Kythera), I.P. Photios in

Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

‘’ς τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ περιβόλι | φυτρώσανε τρία δεντρολάκια· δαφνιά, μηλιά,
μουριά. | δαφνιά, μηλιά ριζώνει | καὶ μουριά τὰ ξεριζώνει. | κι’ ὁ Χριστὸς τὰ
εὐλογᾷ | κι’ ὅλα τὰ διασκορπᾷ.’

variant in the first person

3.11.5. reported from contemporary Crete, Bardakes 1926, 242

‘’ς τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴ τράπεζα τρία δένδρα φυτρώσα, | δάφνη ἐλιά καὶ μουνιὰ. ἡ
δάφνη κ’ ἡ ἐλιά νὰ γένη κ’ ἡ μουνιὰ νὰ ξερριζωθῆ.’

3.12. *three bad children motif*

3.12.1. Venice, BNM cod. gr. Z 511 (s. XVI-XVII), ff. 36r-37r, cf. Vassiliev 1893, 333-
334, recollated

ἐπιλαλία εἰς κάμπας. ἡ λαλόη ἡ κακολίμαστος τρία κακὰ ἐγέννησεν, τὴν ἀκρίδα καὶ
τὴν κάμπαν καὶ τὴν σκώληκα. ὁ ἥλιος ἀνατέλλοντα καὶ τὴν δροσίαν λύ|οντα,
ἔπεσεν ἡ κάμπα καὶ ἐφόφησεν. ὀρκίζω σε κάμπα κατὰ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ζῶντα, ὀρκίζω
σε κάμπα κατὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους, ὀρκίζω σε κάμπα κατὰ τοὺς δώδεκα ἀποστόλους,
ὀρκίζω σε κάμπα κατὰ τοὺς ’σαράκοντα μάρτυρας, ὀρκίζω σε <κάμπα> κατὰ τοὺς
τρεῖς στρατηλάτας, ὀρκίζω σε κάμπα κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, ὀρκίζω σε
κάμπα κατὰ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην, ὀρκίζω σε κάμπα κατὰ τοὺς τεσσάρους
ἀρχαγγέλους Μιχαηλ, Γαβριηλ, Ουριηλ, Ραφαηλ. σήκα τὸν λαόν σου καὶ ὕπαγε
ἄνω | εἰς τὰ ὑψηλὰ ὄρη ἐκεῖ νὰ ἴδῃς τὴν καθημερινὴν σου τροφήν.’

I [[]] κάμπας cod. : κάμπαν Vassiliev | | ἀλόχη conit. Heisenberg ap. Schermann 1919,
43 | | 8 σήκα Schermann ibid. : σίκα cod. : σήκω corr. Vassiliev

‘weaver and weaveress’

3.12.2. reported from contemporary Xerochorion, G. Rhousias in Athanasopoulos et al.
1912-1913, 48 no. 5

‘ἀνυφάντης κι’ ἀνυφαντίνα εἶχαν τρία κακὰ παιδιὰ. | λέει ὁ ἀνυφαντῆς τῆς
ἀνυφαντίνας, | “τί νὰ τὰ κάνωμε αὐτὰ τὰ τρία κακὰ παιδιὰ;” | “νὰ τὰ ξορκίσωμε ’ς
τὰ ὄρη, ’ς τὰ βουνά, ’ς τὰ ἄκαρπα κλαδιὰ, | νὰ πάνε ’ς τὴ θάλασσα νὰ πινηγοῦνε.”

‘Hun and a Hunness’ (if we suppose that Οὔννος or Οὔννικός underlies the uncertain
Χουνίανος and Κονίχα, etc.); against pests

3.12.3. private collection, from Epirus (s. XIX), f. 11r-v, ed. Oikonomides 1953-1954, 25

‘Χουνίανος καὶ ἡ Κονίχα τρία παιδιὰ κακὰ ἔκαμαν, τὴν λάλα καὶ τὸν σκάθαρον καὶ
τὴν ἀκρίδα. καὶ ὁ Κουνῆς ψυχομαχᾷ, καὶ ἡ Κονίχα “τουροτάκουνη μου,

ἀποθνήσκεις. τί νὰ τὰ κάμω τὰ παι|διά;” καὶ τῆς λέγει “ἔπαρε δῶδικα ἡμερετιῶν
στάκτη, πότιζε τα, στάκτωνέ τα καὶ ἀναποδοσούταξέ τα, ἓνα ἓνα ἀπαντάειν καὶ
κανένα νὰ μὴν μείνη.”

3.12.4. reported from contemporary Achaia, Rhodopoulos 1909, 700

‘ὁ Μπεκεκὲς κ’ ἡ Μπεκεκοῦ | εἶχαν τρία παιδιὰ κακά, | τὴν κάμπια, τὸ σκαθάρι | καὶ
τὸ κακὸ συναπάντημα. | ὁ Μπεπεκὲς ψυχομαχάει | κ’ ἡ Μπεκεκοῦ τόνε ῥωτάει.
“Μπεκεκὲ ψυχομαχᾶς τὰ παιδιὰ σου ποῦ τὰ φήνεις;” “᾿ς τ’ ἄγρια βουνὰ ᾿ς τ’ ἄγρια
λαγκάδια, | νὰ φάνε πέτρες καὶ βουνά, | πέτρες καὶ λιθάρια.”

interlocking ritual act, scattering ash about the affected area; meter

3.12.5. reported from contemporary Argurades (Kerkyra), Salbanos 1929, 115

‘Ἀνανὸς καὶ Ἀνανίχα | τρία παιδιὰ ἐκάμαν κ’ εἶχα, | τὴ λάλα καὶ τὸ σκαθαρό καὶ
τὴν κακὴν ἀκρίδα. | ὁ Ἀνανὸς ψυχομαχάει, | ἡ Ἀνανίχα τὸν ἐρωτάει, | “Ἀνανέ μου
κι ἄ πεθάνης, τὰ παιδιὰ τί θὰ τὰ κάνης;” “πάρε στάχτη, πότισέ τα, καὶ θερμὸ
ζεμάτισέ τα.”

3.12.6. reported from contemporary Kastriion (Kynouria), Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘Ἀνανὸς ψυχομαχάει, | Ἀνανοῦ τὸν ἐρωτάει. | “Ἀνανέ μου, σὺ πεθαίνεις, | τὰ
παιδιὰ σου ποῦ τ’ ἀφήνεις;” | “κάθε Πέμπτη καὶ Σαββάτο | ἀδιασκορπιζε τὴ
στάχτη | νὰ διασκορπιστοῦν κ’ ἐκεῖνα.”

3.13. *past transmission of the affliction*

with first person insertion; against τὸ μόρου

3.13.1. Vatican, BAV cod. Barber. gr. III 3 (s. XV), no folio reference given, ed. Vassiliev
1893, 335; shelfmark no longer in use

εἰς μόρου ζῶων ἢ ἀνθρώπου. εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου
πνεύματος, ἅγιοι ἀνάργυροι καὶ θαυματουργοί, ἐπισκέψασθε ἡμῶν τὰς ἀσθενείας.
δωρεὰν ἐλάβετε, δωρεὰν δότε. ὁ Κυῖλιος εἶχεν μόρου καὶ ἔδωσέ το τοῦ Χριστιανοῦ
καὶ ὁ Χριστιανὸς τὸ δίδει ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ ἡ θάλασσα τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς
τὸ δίδει τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων καὶ ἠῦρηκα τοῦ ὄρους ὄλον. ὡς λύεται ὁ δρόσος ἀπὸ τὰ
ἀκρωτήρια, οὕτως νὰ λυθῇ τὸ μόρου τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ ὁδεῖνα. στῶμεν καλῶς,
στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ.’

cf., for fever

3.13.2. reported from contemporary Zakynthos, Giannopoulou-Heptanesias 1951, 274

‘στραβολαιμισμένη μάνα | καὶ μαλαματένια κόρη | κάνουν μία δαιμονισμένη
ἐγγόνη, | ποῦ τρώει τὸ μπούσουλα μὲ τὰ ρουμπίνια, | ποῦ εἶναι ἀπὸ τὰ
σοπραφίνα. | ἡ δαιμονισμένη ἐγγόνη | τρώει τὴ θεία ἀπὸ τὸ Νιοχῶρι.’

² μπούσουλα *ed. glosses* κουτί (*Ital.*) | σοπραφίνα *ed. glosses* ἀπὸ τὰ πιὸ ὠραῖα (*Ital.*)

3.14.1. *narrative Schwindeschema*

aetiology; for pocks on the hands; another instance of σιλιούδι from Naxos. Some
connection to σιλίγνιον (‘wheat’) is possible; cf. also the proper name Σιλιγούδης in
Tzetzis *Ep.* 94 (Leone p. 137)

3.14.1.1. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 84

‘σιλιούδιν μιλιούδιν, | τοῦ σιλιουδιοῦ ἡ μάνα | ἔκαμε ἑφτὰ παιδιὰ· | ’ποῦ τὰ ἑφτὰ
ἐπομεῖναν ἔξι, | ’ποῦ τὰ ἔξι ἐπομεῖναν πέντε, | ’ποῦ τὰ πέντε τέσσερα, | ’ποῦ τὰ
τέσσερα τρία, | ’ποῦ τὰ τρία δύο, | ’ποῦ τὰ δύο ἓναν, | ’ποῦ τὸ ἓναν μὴ κανένα.’

similarly, for strain of the back (? ξάφνιασμα τῆς μέσης)

3.14.1.2. reported from contemporary Athens, Asbeste 1962, 209

‘γέννησε ἡ σιλιγούδα μας | κι ἔκανε ἔννια σιλιγουδάκια, | κι ἀπὸ τὰ ἔννια σιλιγουδάκια ἔμειναν ὀχτώ, | κι ἀπὸ τὰ ὀχτώ σιλιγουδάκια ἔμειναν ἑφτά, | κι ἀπὸ τὰ ἑφτά σιλιγουδάκια ἔμειναν ἕξι, | κι ἀπὸ τὰ ἕξι σιλιγουδάκια ἔμειναν πέντε, | κι ἀπὸ τὰ πέντε σιλιγουδάκια ἔμειναν τέσσαρα, | κι ἀπὸ τὰ τέσσαρα σιλιγουδάκια ἔμειναν τρεῖς, | κι ἀπὸ τὰ τρεῖς σιλιγουδάκια ἔμειναν δύο, | κι ἀπὸ τὰ δύο σιλιγουδάκια ἔμεινε ἓνα, | κι ἀπὸ τὸ ἓνα σιλιγουδάκι ἔμεινε κανένα.’

1 ed. notes ‘ἡ πληροφορήτρια δὲν ξέρει τί σημαίνει σιλιγούδα.’

for sore throat

3.14.1.3. reported from contemporary Samos, Brontes 1956, 232

‘σελιγουδὰς ἐπέρασε μ’ ἔννια σελιγουδάκια, | ἀπὸ ὀχτώ ἑφτά κι ἀπὸ ἑφτά ἕξι, | ἀπὸ ἕξι πέντε κι ἀπὸ πέντε τέσσαρα, | ἀπὸ τέσσαρα τρία, ἀπὸ τρία δύο, | ἀπὸ δύο ἓνα κι ἀπὸ ἓνα κανένα.’

for tonsillitis (γούλες)

3.14.1.4. reported from contemporary Kastellorizo, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘τοῦ Μάγκου τὰ γγονάτσα βούλλα ταν ἔννι’ ἀερφάτσα, ἀποὺ τὰ ἔννια ἐπομεῖναν ὀχτώ, ἀποὺ τὰ ὀχτώ ἑφτά, ἀποὺ τὰ ἑφτά ἕξι, ἀποὺ τὰ ἕξι πέντε, ἀποὺ τὰ πέντε τέσσαρα, ἀποὺ τὰ τέσσαρα τρία, ἀποὺ τὰ τρία δγὸ, ἀποὺ τὰ δγυὸ ἔναν, τσ’ ἀποὺ τὸ ἔναμ μῆδ’ ἓνα, μῆ’ ἔναμ μῆ μιὰ νὰ σὲ πομένη, εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.’

wordplay with name of affliction; for neuritis (νευρίδα)

3.14.1.5. [publication reference missing: *Laographia*]

‘νευρίδα νευριδούλα τοῦ στελίτα ἡ ἀδερφούλα, ὅπου ἔχε τοὺς ἔννια ἄδρεφους καὶ τὸ στελίτα δέκα. νευρίδα νευριδούλα, τοῦ στελίτα ἡ ἀδερφούλα | ὅπου ἔχε τοὺς ἔννια ἄδρεφους κι ἀπὸ τοὺς ἔννια μείναν οἱ ὀχτώ, κι ἀπὸ τοὺς ὀχτώ μείναν οἱ ἑφτά, κι ἀπὸ τοὺς ἑφτά μείναν οἱ ἕξι, κι ἀπὸ τοὺς ἕξι μείναν οἱ πέντε, κι ἀπὸ τοὺς πέντε μείναν οἱ τέσσαροι, κι ἀπὸ τσοὺ τεσσέρους μείναν οἱ τρεῖς, κι ἀπὸ τσοὺ τρεῖς μείναν οἱ δύο, κι ἀπὸ τσοὺ δύο ἔμειν’ ὁ ἓνας, κι ἀπὸ τὸν ἓνα δὲν ἔμεινε καένας. νευρίδα νευριδούλα, τοῦ στελίτα ἡ ἀδερφούλα, | φεῦγα ἀπόφτου κ’ ἔλα δῶ, σῆμερα σ’ εἶδα κι αὔριο νὰ μῆ σε ἰδῶ.’

variant in which the brothers speak in the first person; for pocks (βούλες) on the hands

3.14.1.6. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 83

‘ἔννια ἀδερφοῦλλες ἤμασταν, πού τες ἔννια ἐπομείναμεν ὀχτώ, πού τες ὀχτώ ἑφτά, πού τες ἑφτά ἕξι, πού τες ἕξι πέντε, πού τες πέντε τέσσαρις, πού τες τέσσαρις τρεῖς, πού τες τρεῖς δυὸ, πού τες δυὸ μιὰ, πού τῆ μιὰ μῆ καμμιὰ. ψημένα, μαραμμένα σὰν τοῦ Μᾶ τὰ χορταράκια. ἄγιοι ἀνάργυροι καὶ θαματοργοί.’

in second person; combined with address; for inflammation of the uvula (σταφυλίτης);

identification of the affliction with figure from classical myth (‘brother of Charon’); for σταφυλίτης (tonsillitis); the user rubs the affected area with two fingers; apparently begins with vocatives, but σταφυλίτη(ς) must also be the subject of εἶχεν

3.14.1.7. reported from contemporary Cyprus, Makrommates 1956, 248

‘σταφυλίτη μου, μηλίτη μου, καὶ ἀδελφὲ τοῦ Χάροντα – εἶχεν ἔννια ἀδέρκια, ἀπὸ τὰ ἔννια ὀκτώ καὶ ἀπὸ τὰ ὀκτώ ἑφτά καὶ ἀπὸ τὰ ἑφτά ἕξι καὶ ἀπὸ τὰ ἕξι πέντε καὶ

ἀπὸ τὰ πέντε τέσσερα καὶ ἀπὸ τὰ τέσσερα τρία καὶ ἀπὸ τὰ τρία δύο καὶ ἀπὸ τὰ δύο ἓνα. ὅ τι λοῆς τρέχει τὸ νερό, ὅπως τρέχουν ὅλα τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ ὀρίζοντος, ἔτσι νὰ τρέξη τὸ κακὸν καὶ ὁ σταφυλίτης ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ τάδε.’

combined with miscellaneous other content

3.14.1.8. reported from contemporary Cyprus, Pantelides 1909

‘ἐσηκώχηκα πού τὸ πορνόν· πρῶτον ἄστρον ἐγεννήθην· πρῶτος μὲ εἶδες, πρῶτος σὲ εἶδα. σταφυλίτη, μαβυλίτη, εἴσαστην ἑπτὰ ἀδέρκια, πού ἑπτὰ ἔξη, πού τὰ ἔξη πέντε νὰ μείνετε. σταφυλίτη, μαβυλίτη τὸ ἀδερφὲ τοῦ Χάροντα· εἴσαστην πέντε ἀδέρκια, πού τὰ πέντε τέσσερα, πού τὰ τέσσερα τρία, πού τὰ τρία δκυό. σταφυλίτη μαβυλίτη τὸ ἀδερφὲ τοῦ Χάροντα, πού τὰ δκυό ἓναν, τσ’ αἰ πού τὸ ἓναν μὲ ἓναν. ἐγιώ τὰ λόγια τσ’ ὁ θεὸς γιατρός.’

3.14.2. *simple list*

for sore throat

3.14.2.1. reported from contemporary Kastriion (Kynouria), Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘ἦταν ἑννέα ἀδέρφια, ἀπὸ τοὺς ἑννέα ἔμειναν ὀχτώ, ἀπὸ τὰ ὀχτώ ἑπτὰ, ἀπὸ τὰ ἑπτὰ ἔξι, ἀπὸ τὰ ἔξι πέντε, ἀπὸ τὰ πέντε τέσσερα, ἀπὸ τὰ τέσσερα τρία, ἀπὸ τὰ τρία δύο, ἀπὸ τὰ δύο ἓνα, ἀπὸ τὸ ἓνα δὲν ἔμεινε κανένα.’

3.14.2.2. reported from contemporary Xerochorion, G. Rhousias in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913, 48 no. 7

‘μιὰ φορὰ ἦτανε ἑννεὰ ἀδέρφια, ἀπὸ τὰ νιὰ μείνανε ὀκτώ, ἀπὸ τὰ ὀκτώ μείνανε ἑπτὰ, ἀπὸ τὰ φτὰ μείνανε ἔξι, ἀπὸ τὰ ἔξι μείνανε πέντε, ἀπ’ τὰ πέντε μείναν τέσσερα, ἀπὸ τὰ τέσσερα μείναν τρία, ἀπ’ τὰ τρία μείναν δύο, ἀπ’ τὰ δύο μείναν ἓνα ἴσ’ κανένα.’

3.14.2.3. reported from contemporary Crete, Bardakes 1926, 248

‘ὡς ἦτανε οἱ ἑννιὰ ἀδερφοὶ κ’ ἐμείνανε οἱ ὀκτώ, ἀπ’ τσ’ ὀκτώ οἱ ἑπτὰ, ἀπ’ τσ’ ἑπτὰ οἱ ἔξι, ἀπὸ τσοὶ ἔξι οἱ πέντε, ἀπὸ τσοὶ πέντε οἱ τέσσερις, ἀπὸ τσοὶ τέσσερις οἱ τρεῖς, ἀπὸ τσοὶ τρεῖς οἱ δύο, ἀπὸ τσοὶ δύο ὁ ἓνας, κι ἀπὸ τὸν ἓνα κανένας, ἔτσι νὰ μὴν ἀπομείνη κακὸ ’ς τὸν ἄρρωστο.’

for *baskania*

3.14.2.4. reported from contemporary Athens, Asbeste 1962, 211-212

‘ἦτανε ἑννιὰ ἀδερφοί, | ἀπὸ τοὺς ἑννιὰ ἔμειναν οἱ ὀχτώ, | ἀπὸ τοὺς ὀχτώ ἔμειναν οἱ ἑπτὰ, | ἀπὸ τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἔμειναν οἱ ἔξι, | ἀπὸ τοὺς ἔξι ἔμειναν οἱ πέντε, | ἀπὸ τοὺς πέντε ἔμειναν οἱ τέσσαρες, | ἀπὸ τοὺς τέσσαρες ἔμειναν οἱ τρεῖς, | ἀπὸ τοὺς τρεῖς ἔμειναν οἱ δύο, | ἀπὸ τοὺς δύο ἔμεινε ὁ ἓνας, | κι ἀπὸ τὸν ἓναν κανένας.’

combined with two other *historiolae*, the first (2) of the encounters with sufferer of analogous affliction type (cf. 3.39); the second (3) a new type in the first person, referring to a wedding by the seaside (cf. 3.51.4) where the sand and sea are to take away the sickness; for skin rash

3.14.2.5. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 88

1. ‘ἦμασταν ἑννιὰ ἀδέρφια | καὶ πού τὰ ἑννιὰ ἐπομείναν ὀχτώ | καὶ πού τὰ ὀχτώ ἐπομείναν ἑπτὰ | καὶ πού τὰ ἑπτὰ ἐπομείναν ἔξι | καὶ πού τὰ ἔξι ἐπομείναν πέντε | καὶ πού τὰ πέντε τέσσερα | καὶ πού τὰ τέσσερα τρία | καὶ πού τὰ τρία δύο | καὶ πού τὰ δύο ἓνα | καὶ πού τὸ ἓνα μὴ κανένα. | ὡς τρέχουν τ’ ἄστρον, οἱ ποταμοί, | ἔτσὰ νὰ τρέξη ὁ πόνος σου | νὰ φύη πού πάνω πού τὸν δεῖνα.

2. ‘ἐπέρασεν ἡ παναγιά, | “τί ἔχεις καὶ πονεῖς καὶ κλαίεις;” | “τὸ κόκκινο μὲ ἡῦρεν.” | “εὔρε φωτιάν, βάλε ἑφτὰ κανναβάτσα | καὶ κάμε τα ἑφτὰ κομμάτια | καὶ βάλε το ἀνάσκελλα καὶ κάψε το.”
3. ‘κάτω ᾿ς τὸν γιαλλὸ ᾿ς τὸν ἄμμον | κάμουν Ἀτσιγγάνοι γάμον | κι ἐμήνυσαν με νὰ πάω | νὰ τὰ πάρη ὁ γιαλλός, | τὸ βαρὺ τὸ κῦμα.’

divided action of three figures type (one does x, another does y, etc.), one of the actions being the hoped for healing

3.15. *three women*

3.15.1. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 2.32 (cod. p. 236.8-11, ed. Önnorfors 2006, 1:54; Heim 1893, 559)

item, coli dolor et matricis dolor. piperis grana tria, iuniperi unum teris, dabis in potione uini uel in aqua calida et dicis ter ‘tres sorores ambulabant, una uoluebat, alia cernebat, tertia soluebat.’ ter hoc dicis, ter expues, et da ut bibat.

² dicis *corr.* Heim : dicit *cod.*

combined with fell from the sky motif and adynatology; anaphora, alliteration, tricolon; for ‘corcum’

3.15.2. Marcellus 21.3 (Heim 1893 no. 100a)

item. ad id aliud carmen. ‘corce corcedo stagne, pastores te inuenerunt, sine manibus colligerunt, sine foco coxerunt, sine dentibus comederunt. tres uirgines in medio mari mensam marmoream positam habebant. duae torquebant et una retorquebat. quomodo hoc numquam factum est, sic numquam sciat illa Gaia Seia corci dolorem.’

⁴ Gaia Seia *corr.* J. Grimm *Kleinere Schriften* 2:151 : gaioseia *codd.*

cf. three vessels motif

3.15.3. Marcellus 28.74 (Heim 1893 no. 107)

item ad rosus tam hominum quam iumentorum praecantatio sic. pollice sinistro et duobus minimis digitis uentrem confricans dices ‘stabat arbor in medio mare et ibi pendebat situla plena intestinorum humanorum. tres uirgines circumibant, duae alligabant, una reuoluebat.’ hoc ter dices et ter pari modo terra contacta expues. si iumenta carminabis ‘intestinorum mulinorum’ uel ‘equorum’ uel ‘asinorum’ dices.

⁴ resoluebat *coni.* Usener *ap.* Heim

note also the mention of other analogous acts, they go down to the sea ἔντερα πλῦναι, ‘to wash the innards,’ and two of them ‘incant’ (ἄδειν, ἀπάδειν)

3.15.4. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2510 (s. XIV-XV), f. 23r

περὶ ἐντέρων πόνον ἀκριβῆς θεραπεία. κύμινον καὶ ἔλαιον βαλὼν εἰς τὸν ὀμφαλὸν τοῦ πάσχοντος καὶ ἐπάνω τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων λέγε τρίτον οὕτως ‘τρεις γυναῖκες ὑπῆγαν ἔντερα πλῦναι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἡ μὲν ἦδεν, ἡ δὲ ἀπῆδεν, ἡ δὲ ἔπαυσεν τὸν διωγμὸν τοῦ στρόφου τοῦδε.’ καὶ τρίτον ἔμπτυε καὶ παύσεται.

¹ ὀφθαλμὸν *cod.* ? || 2 γυνακαί *cod.*

for ἀφαλό (navel?)

3.15.5. reported from contemporary Xerochorion, G. Rhousias in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913, 48 no. 6

‘ἀπὸ πέρα ἀπ’ τὸ ποτάμι, | τρὶ’ ἀπάρθυνα κοράσια, | τὸ ’να στρίβει, τ’ ἄλλο νέθει, |
καὶ τ’ ἄλλο κουβαργιάζει. | κόπη τὸ μισὸ ποτάμι.’

3.16. *three angels*

internal reference to incantation of holy figures, flight and pursuit formula; for colic

3.16.1. St. Petersburg, NLR cod. gr. 116 (s. XIV), f. 218r, ed. *CCAG* XII:169

γοητεία τοῦ στρόφου. ‘πέραθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ στήκει δίσκος ἀργυρός. τρεῖς
ἄγγελους ἐνέχουν καὶ ἕτεροι {καὶ} τρεῖς ἄγγελοι ψάλλουν τὸ “κύριε ἐλέησον.” ὁ εἷς
δένει καὶ ὁ ἕτερος τὸν στρόφον ἀπολύει, “φεῦγε στρόφε,” καὶ ὁ ἕτερος “ὁ Χριστὸς σε
διώκει.”’

1 γιτία *cod.* : περὶ *ed. pr.* || 2 ἐνέχη *cod.* | δήνη *cod.* : δύνη *ed. pr.*

followed by Christological historiologiae; against nosebleed

3.16.2. private collection, from Epirus (s. XIX), f. 11v, ed. Oikonomides 1953-1954, 25

‘εἰς τὸ βουνὸ τοῦ Αραρατ | εἶναι λίμνη ματωτὴ | καὶ σταματωτὴ. | τρεῖς ἄγγελοι
τὴν κρατοῦν | καὶ ἄλλοι τρεῖς παρακαλοῦν | “στάσου λίμνη ματωτὴ.” ὡς καθὼς
ἐσταμάτησε ὁ Χριστὸς εἰς τὸν σταυρόν, ἔτσι νὰ σταματήσῃ καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἀπὸ τὴ
μύτη τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ τάδε. ἐσταμάτησε καὶ ἐξηράνθη ὡς τὴν λίμνη τοῦ Βαρθα,
νὰ ἦλθε ὡς θεοῦ θαῦμα.’

followed by Zacharias historiologia (2, missing the second member of the analogy, which
Delatte has attempted to restore by emendation of what is in fact properly part of the first
member; the second has fallen out entirely but will have followed ὁ ἕκδικος αὐτοῦ),
followed by address to the blood. Both to be written on the forehead with blood.

3.16.3. Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 223 (s. XIX, Epiros), f. 69r, ed. Delatte 1927, 145

1. ‘εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν βουνῶν στέκει στέκει λίμνη κιτρίνη, καὶ τρεῖς ἄγγελοι στέκονται
μὲ τρία ψαλίδια κίτρινα· τὸ ἐν κόπτει καὶ τὸ ἄλλο κόπτει καὶ τὸ τρίτον στέκει αἷμα.
στάσου αἷμα ἀπὸ τὸν δούλον τοῦ θεοῦ. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου, ἀμήν.’
| τοῦτο νὰ τὸ γράψῃς εἰς τὸ μέτωπόν του μὲ τὸ αἷμα ὅπου τρέχει ἀπὸ τὴν μύτην
του.

2. γράψε καὶ εἰς τὸ μέτωπον αὐτοῦ αὐτὰ τὰ γράμματα ‘Ζαχαρίας ἐσφάγη ἐ(ν)
να(ῶ), καὶ ὡσὰν τὸ αἷμα ἐπῆγαν ὡς ἀληθῶς (καὶ οὔτε) εὐγῆκεν οὔτε καὶ τρέχει
(οὔτε) φθίσειται ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὁ ἕ(κ)δικος αὐτοῦ (<). στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ
φόβου θεοῦ.’

5 ἐν ναῶ *correxī* : ἕνα *cod.*, *Delatte* || 6 εὐγῆκεν καὶ οὔτε *cod.* : εὐγῆκεν καὶ οὔτος
Delatte | <οὔτε> *supplevi* || 7 ἕ(κ)δικος *correxī* : ἐδικὸς *cod.*, *Delatte*

for nosebleed

3.16.4. reported from contemporary Crete [personalized], Bardakes 1926, 241

‘στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ, ἀμήν. | πάνω ’ς τὰ ὄρη ’ς τὰ ῥωστὰ |
τρέχει λίμνη κοκκίνη. | ἄγγελοι τῆνε βαστοῦσι, | ἄλλοι δένουν κι’ ἄλλοι λυοῦσι |
καὶ τὸ θεὸ παρακαλοῦσι. | στάσου λίμνη κοκκίνη | ’ς τὸ δούλο τοῦ θεοῦ Ζηρούχη.’

3.16.5. reported from contemporary Kritsa (Crete), Koutoulakes 1962, 201

‘πάνω ’ς τ’ ἀόρι ’ς τὸ βουνὸ | τρέχει λίμνη κοκκίνη. | τρεῖς ἄγγελοι τὴν κρατοῦνε |
κι’ ἄλλοι δένουν κι’ ἄλλοι λυοῦνε. | ἄκου θάμα, | στάσου στάμα.’

with fountain (βρύση); for nosebleed

3.16.6. reported from contemporary Kerkyra, Kavasilas 1910, 649 no. 10
‘μέσ’ ὅς τ’ Ἀνάρη τὸ βουνό, | τρέχει βρύση ματωτή, | ματωτή ξεματωτή. | τρεῖς
ἄγγελοι τὴν κρατοῦν | καὶ τὸ θιὸ παρακαλοῦν, | “στύψε, βρύση ματωτή, | ματωτή
ξεματωτή. τὸ μέγα ω, τὸ μέγα ω μετὰ φόβου πρόσκωμεν.”

3.17. *three birds eating and drinking sun, etc.*

against sunburn; accompanying ritual action in which a vessel is filled with water then thrown over the shoulder

3.17.1. reported from contemporary Kerkyra, Kavasilas 1910 (Nymphai), 652-653 no. 18
‘κάτω ὅς τὸν Ἄρτο ποταμὸ | τρία πουλάκια βόσκανε. | ἥλιο πίνανε, ἥλιο τρώγανε,
| καὶ τὸν ἥλιο σκαμαγκίζανε· μηδ’ ὁ ἥλιος τὰ χαλάει, | μήδε τὸ σκαμάγκισμα.’

for sunstroke (νηλιοῦριστής)

3.17.2. reported from contemporary Kastellorizo, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914
‘ἀντίπερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ | τρία πουλάτσα τσιλαλοῦν· | νήλιον τρώσιν, νήλιον
πίνουν, | νήλιον ἀποκαματίζουν. | παναία δέσποινα, | τσουρά μ’ ἄης Ἑλένη, | βγάρ’
τὸν νήλιον τὸγ κακὸν | ἀπὸ τὸμ μεαλοκούκκουδά σου.’

one bird provides an incantation of the flight-pursuit type; against sunburn

3.17.3. reported from contemporary Crete [personalized], Bardakes 1926, 248
‘ὅς τὸν Ἰορδάνη ποταμὸ | τρία πουλάκια κελαιδοῦν, | τὸ ἴνα τρώει, τ’ ἄλλο πίνει, τ’
ἄλλο κελαιδεῖ καὶ λέει | “φύγε ἥλιε κι ἄνεμε | κι ἀνεμόπυρο φεγγάρι | κι ἄμε κάτω ὅς
τὸ γιαλό, τὸ περιγιάλι, νὰ βρῆς ρίζιμιὸ χαράκι νὰ κατοικήσης κι ἀπὸ τοῦ δούλου
τοῦ θεοῦ Νταμουλῆ τὴν κεφαλή νὰ λείπης.”

interlocking, the patient drinks, is sprinkled with, and washes in water

3.17.4. reported from contemporary Cyprus, Kyriakides 1917-1918
‘τσεῖθθι δῶθθι τοῦ νεροῦ | τσ’ ἀντίπερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ | γρυσὸν δεντρὸν
ἐβλάστησεν, | γρυσὰ πολούδκια ἔβκαλεν | ὅς τοῦ ποτηροῦ τὸν κῶλον. | ἥλιον
ἐτρώαν, | ἥλιον ἐπίνναν, | ἥλιον ἐσυγνοκαταπίνναν. | σὰν τρέσ’ εἰ ὁ ἥλιος, | σὰν
τρέχουν τ’ ἄστρα, | σὰν τρέσ’ εἰ ἡ παναία ἡ δέσποινα νὰ πάη ὅς τὸν μονοενήν της,
ἔτσι νὰ τρέξει τσ’ αἰ τὸ κακὸν ποὺ τὴν τσ’ ἐφαλήν τῆς δούλης τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα.’

³ ed. glosses ἐσυγνοκαταπίνναν

crossed (non-sensically?) with cosmic disturbance / encounter with sufferers of analogous affliction type, with internal prescription of incantation (addressing the affliction) from Mary; accompanying ritual in which a vessel of water is exposed overnight to the influence of the stars, then placed on the face of the patient with the left hand and rubbed in with the fingers of the right; for sunstroke

3.17.5. private collection, cod. of s. XVIII copied on contemporary Cyprus, ed. Chatziioannou 1950, 22-23

‘πῦρι πῦρι ποταμὸς | ἔχει πύρινα πουλιά. | ἥλιον τρώσιν, ἥλιον πίννουν, | ἥλιον
ἴποκαματίζουν | καὶ κλαίουν καὶ κρακίζουσιν | καὶ τὰ δένδρα μαρανίσκουσιν. | καὶ
ἦλθεν ἡ παναγία μου ἡ δέσποινα καὶ εἶπέν των “εἶν’ τὰ ἔχετε πουλάκια καὶ κλαίετε
καὶ κρακίζετε καὶ τὰ δένδρα μαρανίσκετε;” καὶ εἶπέν της “πῦρι πῦρι ποταμὸς | ἔχει
πύρινα πουλιά. ἥλιον τρώσιν, ἥλιον πίννουν, | ἥλιον ἴποκαματίζουν | καὶ κλαίουν
καὶ κρακίζουσιν | καὶ τὰ δένδρα μαρανίσκουσιν.” | καὶ εἶπέν τους “δὲν ἔχει γυναῖκα
πενταδακτύλην νὰ πιάση νερὸν ἀσύντυχον νὰ ἴπῃ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ
υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος. λάμνε ἥλιέ μου ὅς τὴν μάναν σου, ἄστρα μου ὅς τὸν

οὐρανόν, φεγγάρι μου ἔς τὸν κύκλον σου καὶ ἀναχωρήσατε ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα, νὰ ἔξαπολύσῃ τὸ βάρος τῆς κεφαλῆς. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ, ἀμήν;”

3.18. *misc.*

divided action of two figures; for the spleen

3.18.1. reported from contemporary Emparo (Crete), Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘κῦρις καὶ γιὸς ἐστάθηκε πάνω πού τ’ ἅγιο βῆμα, | κι’ ὁ κῦρις κάνει τὸ σταυρὸ κι’ ὁ γιὸς κόβει τὴ σπλῆνα, | τὴ νερόσπληνα, τὴ ριγόσπληνα, τὴ κακὴ σπλῆνα, ὄχι τὴ καλή.’

one of which is the affliction, which sinks in the sand; for λουῖγκα (σπυρὶ ὑπὸ τὴν μοσχάλην)

3.18.2. reported from contemporary Xerochorion, G. Rhousias in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913, 52 no. 14

‘κίνησε δροῦγα κι’ τρουβγιᾶς καὶ λουῖγκα, | νὰ πάνε νὰ κολλήσουν ἀπὸ πέρα ἀπὸ τὸ γιαλό. | κ’ ἡ δροῦγα κι’ τρουβᾶς κουλλήσανε, | λουῖγκα ἔπιση μέσα ἔς τὸ γιαλό.’

Ἰ δροῦγα *ed. glosses* μεγάλο ἀδράκτι | τρουβγιᾶς *ed. glosses* λίθος λεῖος
στρογγύλος, δι’ οὗ ἔτριβον τὸ ἄλας

3.19.1. *bewitchment of calf*, reversed by its mother; for baskania

3.19.1.1. reported from contemporary Xerochorion, G. Rhousias in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913, 51 no. 13α

‘κάτ’ ἔς τὸ μακρυπλάτανο καὶ ἔς τὸ μακρὸν τὸγ κάμπο | ἦταν μιὰ ἀγέλη γελάδια. | βραγκλὴ γελάδα γέννησε, | βρακλὸ μοσκάρι ἔκαμε, | ἀνάτριχα τὸ κύτταξε, | ἀνάτριχα τὸ ἄγλειψε, | ἀνάτριχα τὸ βύζαξε, | ἀνάτριχα τὸ σήκωσε, | τὸ εἶδε ὁ γιὸς τῆς ἀβασκανίας καὶ τὸ ἀβάσκανε. | τοῦ ἔδε καὶ ἡ μάννα του | καὶ τὸ φίλησε ἀνάμεσα καὶ τὸ ξιαβάσκανε.’

βραγκλὴ *ed. glosses* ἡ ἔχουσα τὴν κοιλιά λιάρα

3.19.1.2. reported from contemporary Xerochorion, G. Rhousias in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913, 51 no. 13β

‘ἦτο μιὰ βρακλὴ γελάδα, | κ’ εἶχε ἓνα βρακλὸ μουσκάρι, | καὶ τὸ βγάλαν ἔς τὸ παζάρι νὰ τὸ πουλήσον | καὶ τὸ ἀβάσκανανε, | καὶ τὸ ἄγλειψε ἡ μάννα του καὶ τὸ ξεβάσκανε.’

reversed by Christ

3.19.1.3. reported from contemporary Phthiotis, Pompos 1910

‘μαύρη γελαδίτσα γέννησε ἔς τὴ μέση ἔς τὴν ἀγέλη. τὸ εἶδαν τᾶλλα τὰ γελάδια καὶ τὸ βάσκαναν. διάβηκεν ὁ Χριστὸς κ’ ἡ παναγιά. σκώθηκε ἡ μάννα σκούζοντα καὶ πῆγε ἔς τὸ Χριστὸ καὶ τὸν παρεκάλαγε. κι’ ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ σταύρωσε μὲ τὸ ραβδί του, καὶ σκώθηκε ἡ μάννα του καὶ τ’ ἀναπόγλυψε καὶ τὸ μουσχαράκι σκώθηκε καὶ βύζαξε.’

3.19.2. *doe and fawn*

3.19.2.1. reported from contemporary Kastrianika (Kythera), I.P. Photios in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

‘ἀπάνω ’ς τὰ ὄρη ’ς τὰ βουνὰ | ἄγριο λάφι γέννησε, | μαῦρο μουσκάριν ἔκανε· | ἄγγελος ἰπέρασε καὶ τὸ μάτιασε, | κί’ ὡς τὸ μάτιασε τὸ ἀνάλειξε | καὶ τοῦ πέρασε.’

combined with Schwindeschema; internal prescription of incantation by holy figures; against *baskania*

3.19.2.2. reported from contemporary Thrace, Kyriakides 1910 no. 47 (*demotiki* paraphrase of local dialect)

‘λαφίνα γέννησε, | ’ς τὸν κάμπο τὸ κατέβασε, | τὸ εἶδαν ἀρσενικοί, | τὸ εἶδαν θηλυκοί, | τὸ εἶδαν καὶ τὸ βάσκαναν. | ἀπὸ τὴν μάννα του γεννημένο, | ἀπὸ τὴν μάννα του λατρεμένο, | ἀπὸ τὸν Χριστὸ καὶ τὴν Παναγία γιατρομένο. λαφίνα γέννησε ἐννιά κουτάβια, ἀπὸ τὰ ἐννιά ἀπόμειναν ὀκτώ, ἀπὸ τὰ ὀκτώ ἐπτά, ἀπὸ τὰ ἐπτά ἕξι, ἀπὸ τὰ ἕξι πέντε, ἀπὸ τὰ πέντε τέσσερα, ἀπὸ τὰ τέσσερα τρία, ἀπὸ τὰ τρία δύο, ἀπὸ τὰ δύο ἕνα, κἂν κανένα. εἶπ’ ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ἡ Παναγία “νὰ γεννηθῆ, νὰ προουφαστῆ, νὰ παύσ’ ἀπὸ τὰ μυαλά του, ἀπὸ τὰ εἴκοσι τὰ νύχια του, ’ς τὰ ὄρη ’ς τὰ βουνὰ τὸ κακό, ἐκεῖ ποῦ δὲν λαλεῖ πετεινός, ἐκεῖ ποῦ δὲν μισουρίζει γάτα, ἐκεῖ ποῦ δὲν πιάνεται προζύμι.”

3.20. *fell from the sky motif, with adynatatology*

Ohlert 1894, 749-753 connects this and Heim 1893 no. 100a and c with a widespread folk-riddle on the sun melting snow

3.20.1. Marcellus 28.16 (Heim 1893 no. 100b)

carmen ad rosus siue hominum siue animalium diuersorum sic. palmam tuam pones contra dolentis uentrem et haec ter nouies dices ‘strophus a caelo cecidit. hunc morbum pastores inuenerunt, sine manibus colligerunt, sine igni coxerunt, sine dentibus comederunt.’

² strophus *conieci*, i.e. στρόφος : stolpus *codd.*

3.20.2. Pelagonius §121 (Heim 1893 no. 100c)

ad dolorem uentris praecantatio. manu uncta oleo uentrem perfricato cum hac praecantatione ‘tres scrofae de caelo ceciderunt, inuenit eas pastor, occidit eas sine ferro, coxit eas (sine igne, edit eas) sine dentibus. bene coxisti, bene coxisti, bene coxisti.’

³ (sine igne, edit eas) *supplevi*, cf. Heim

with flight and pursuit motif

3.20.3. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 1603 (s. XVI: CCAG VIII.4:7), f. 352v, ed. Delatte 1927, 555; recollated

εἰς στρόφον. ὁ στρόφος ἔπεσεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἤρπασαν αὐτὸν ἐπτά παρθένοι καὶ ἀνήλωσαν αὐτὸν χωρὶς μαχαίρας καὶ ὤπτησαν αὐτὸν χωρὶς πυρὸς καὶ ἔφαγον αὐτὸν χωρὶς ὀδόντων. φεῦγε πόνε καὶ στρόφε· ὁ Χριστὸς σε διώκει.’

¹ ἔπεσε Delatte || ² ὤφθησαν *cod.*

3.21. *encounter and redirection of target, dialogue*

earliest example: Artemis of Ephesus and Antaura, for migraine; probably represents copying directly from written formulary, note inclusion of heading

3.21.1. silver lamella, found in a stone sarcophagus at Carnuntum, s. I-II AD, ed. GMA 13 with drawing and photograph; see also Barb 1966. Line 16 written at left edge, perpendicular to the rest.

πρὸς ἡμίκρα|νον. Ἀνταύρα | ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς | θαλάσσης, ἀνε|βόησεν ὡς | ἔλαφος,
ἀνε|κραξεν ὡς βοῦς. | ὑπαντᾷ αὐτῇ | Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσ[ία,] | “Ἀνταύρα, πο[ῦ] |
ὑπάγεις;” “ἰς τὸ ἡ|μίκρ[ανον.]” | “[μ]ὴ οὐ[κ] ἰς τὰ ν[--.]” |]θη ἀπαλλαγῶν.’

Π1. εἰς || 121. ὑπάγεις || 131. εἰς

archangel Michael; a πνεῦμα

3.21.2. lead tablet, said to come from Cyprus, s. VII-VIII, discussion and partial ed. D.R. Jordan in id. and S. Giannobile *GRBS* 46 (2006), 84 no. 13 [*SEG* LVI 1836].

... κὲ λέγη α(ὐ)τῇ ὁ Μιχα[η] | λ ὁ ἀρχάγ(γ)ελος ‘πο(ῦ) πορεύγε (1. πορεύη);’
ἀπε|κρήθη τὸ πνεῦμα κὲ λέγη τῶ· | ‘ἀρχάγ(γ)ε ἐγὼ ἀπέλχομε ἥσει[λ] | θῆν ...’

archangel Michael and the demon Abizou; names

3.21.3. lead leaf found in excavations at Trikomo in Cyprus, s. VIII. Ed. pr. S. Giannobile *Mediterraneo antico* 7.2 (2004) 727-750 with photograph. Text could probably be improved, and *SEG* presents only the normalized text.

archangel Michael and demon; ὑπήντησεν ὁ | ἄγγελος τοῦ δέ|μον(ος) καὶ | λέγη |
αὐτῷ δέμονι (6-11, but apparently this historiola is defective); reference to ὦ θ(εὸς)
Ἀλεξά|νδρου, ὦ θ(εὸς) Π|ολυδώρου (1-3)

3.21.4. inscribed tile found in Reggio Calabria, early Byzantine, ed. L. D’Amore *ZPE* 152 (2005) 157-160 with photograph [*SEG* LV 1057]

Christ; migraine

emerging of the demonic power from the sea; the same affliction, migraine, is addressed; addition of credal formula, specifically a variant thereof which specifies that the crucifixion took place ‘in the place of the skull’ (τόπος κρανίου, i.e. Golgotha), somehow signaling power over the affliction, the ἡμίκρανον.

3.21.5. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316 (s. XV), ff. 319v-320r (ed. Legrand 1881, 17-18)

περὶ τὸ ἡμίκρανον. ‘εἰς τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ παντοδυνάμου. ὡς ἐξήρχετο
τὸ ἡμίκρανον, τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ ἡμικράνου, τὸ σύνεργον τοῦ διαβόλου ἀπὸ τὰ βάθη τῆς
θαλάσσης, καὶ ὑπήντησέν το ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ ἐπερώτησεν αὐτὸ
“ποῦ ὑπάγεις, τὸ ἡμίκρανον, τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ ἡμικράνου;” καὶ ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν “κύριε
τί με ἐπερώτησας; ἐγὼ ὑπάγω εἰς τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα, εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν του
νὰ καθίσω, τὸν ὀμυαλὸν του νὰ χύσω, | τὰ ὀμμάτιά του νὰ κινήσω.” καὶ ἀπεκρίθη ὁ
κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, εἶπεν αὐτῷ “ὑπαγε εἰς τοῦ Ἀραρατ τὸ ὄρος ὅπου
σημαντηρίου φωνὴ οὐκ ἀκούεται, ὅπου ἀλέκτορος φωνὴ οὐκ ἀκούεται, ἐκεῖ νὰ φᾶς,
ἐκεῖ νὰ πῆς, ἐκεῖ τὸν θυμὸν σου νὰ διαβάσῃς.” Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη ἐν Βηθλεεμ τῆς
Ἰουδαίας, Χριστὸς ἐσταυρώθη ἐν τόπῳ κρανίου· φεῦγε τὸ ἡμίκρανον, τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ
ἡμικράνου, ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα. στῶμεν καλὰ, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου.’

2 σύνεργον cod. : συνεργὸν Legrand || 3 ὑπήντησέν cod. : ὑπήντησέν Legrand || 6
ὀνόματιά cod. || 10 ἥμισον cod.

Christ; headache

3.21.6. Venice, BNM cod. gr. app. II 163 (s. XVI), f. 48, ed. Pradel 1907, 15-16

εὐχὴ ἡμικρανικὴ εἰς πονοκεφάλι. ἡμίκρανον ἐξήρχετο ἀπὸ θάλασσαν κρουόμενον
καὶ βρυχούμενον καὶ ὑπήντησε αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ
“ποῦ ὑπάγεις κράνιον καὶ ἡμικράνιον καὶ πονοκεφάλι καὶ ὀφθαλμόπονον καὶ
ἀνεμοπύρωμα καὶ δάκρυα καὶ λεύκωμα καὶ κεφαλοσκότωσης;” καὶ ἀπεκρίθη ὁ

πονοκέφαλος πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν “ὕπαγομεν ἵνα καθίσωμεν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ δούλου ὀδεῖνα.” καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν “βλέπε μὴ ὑπαγε εἰς τὸν δοῦλόν μου, ἀλλὰ φεύγετε καὶ ὑπάγετε εἰς τὰ ἄγρια ὄρη καὶ ἀνάβητε εἰς ταύρου κεφαλὴν, ἐκεῖ κρέας φάγετε, ἐκεῖ αἷμα πίετε, ἐκεῖ ὀφθαλμοὺς διαφθείρετε, ἐκεῖ κεφαλὴν σκοτώσατε κυμαίνετε διαστρέψατε. εἰ δὲ καὶ παρακούσετέ μου, ἐκεῖ σε ἀπολέσω εἰς τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος ὅπου κύων οὐχ ὑλακτεῖ ὁ τε ἀλέκτωρ οὐ φωνεῖ.” ὁ πῆξας ὄριον ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, στήσον τὸ κράνιον καὶ ἡμικρανὸν καὶ τὸν πόνον ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τοῦ μετώπου καὶ τῶν βλεφάρων (καὶ τῶν) μυελῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου, ἀμήν. καὶ κατὰ τοῦ βαίνοντος εἰς τὸν ἄδην καὶ συντρίψαντος τοὺς μοχλοὺς τῶν πυλῶν – κατ’ ἐκεῖνον γὰρ εἶσαι – ὀρκίζω σε μὴ τρώμαξε, μὴ φοβηθῆς, ἀλλὰ στᾶσον καὶ κάθησον εἰς τὸν ἴδιόν σου τόπον, μὴ ὑπερκακίσης, μὴ περιλακτίσης τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τὸ ὄνομά του.’ εἶτα λέγε τὸ πάτερ ἡμῶν ἐκ τρίτου καὶ ‘καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς,’ ‘χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη.’

1 ἡμικρανὴ *Pradel* || 3 ἡμικρανὴ *Pradel* | νέμο πύραμα *cod.* : νεμοπύρωμα *Pradel* || 5 *post* δούλου *suppl.* τοῦ θεοῦ *Pradel* || 7 ἀνάβητε *Pradel* || 9 παρακούσατε *Pradel* || 10 καύσιον *Pradel* || 12 *suppl.* *Pradel* || 13 *post* φόβου *suppl.* θεοῦ *Pradel* || 15 τὸ ἴδιον *Pradel*

archangels; for epilepsy

3.21.7. Naples, BN *cod.* II C 33 (s. XV), ff. 233v-234r, ed. Delatte 1927, 618-619; cf. Vassiliev 1893, lxviii

εὐχή εἰς τὴν ἐπιληψίαν ἤγουν εἰς τὸ γλυκὺ. ὡς ἐπήγαιεν τὸ γλυκὺ τὸ ὑπόγλυκον, τὸ ἄρσεν, τὸ θῆλυ, τὸ κίτρινον, τὸ πράσινον, τὸ στεγνόν, τὸ ὑγρόν, τὸ ἀνεπιθυριάρικον, τὸ ἀναβριάρικον, τὸ ἀξιργάρικον, τὸ βένετον, τὸ κόκκινον, τὸ (ἀπὸ) ἑβδομήκοντα δύο ἡμισυ γενεῶν, κυλίει καὶ ὑπαγαίνει {ὡς τὸ | γλυκὸν} νὰ ὑποφέρῃ κάπρον μαχόμενον, νὰ φέρῃ ἄλλον ἕνα ἀποβρουχούμενον, τὴν γῆν σταυρῶ χωρίζοντα, τὴν θάλασσαν ταρασσοντα. ὡς διέβαιεν, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὀρκίζει, καθορκίζει αὐτὸ καὶ λέγει “ποῦ ὑπάγεις τὸ γλυκὺ τὸ ἀρσενικόν, τὸ θηλυκόν, τὸ ὑπόγλυκον, τὸ κίτρινον, τὸ πράσινον, τὸ στεγνόν, τὸ ὑγρόν, τὸ ἀνεπιθυριάρικον, τὸ ἀναβριάρικον, τὸ βένετον, τὸ κόκκινον, τὸ ἀπὸ ἑβδομήκοντα δύο ἡμισυ γενεῶν;” καὶ ὑπήντησαν αὐτῷ Μιχαὴλ καὶ Γαβριὴλ καὶ εἶπασιν “ποῦ ὑπάγετε, ἑβδομήκοντα δύο ἡμισυ γενεαί;” καὶ εἶπον “ἡμεῖς ὑπαγαίνομεν εἰς τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα νὰ πῶμεν τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, νὰ φάγωμεν τὸν μυελόν του, νὰ σκοτώσωμεν τὸ φῶς του, ἵνα μὴ τὸν κόσμον ἀγάλλεται.” καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς “ὀρκίζω σε ἵνα μὴ εἰσέλθῃς εἰς τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα, ἀλλ’ ἵνα ὑπάγῃς ἄνω εἰς ὄρος ὅπου ἔναι ἔλαφος δικέριος, ἑξακέριος, ἵνα σέβῃς εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ. καὶ φάγε καὶ πίε ἐκεῖ τὸν κόσμον ἀγάλλων· ὅτι ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ βαπτισμένος ἔναι καὶ μυρωμένος καὶ οὐ δύναται κακὸν ὑπομένειν οὔτε ἡμέραν οὔτε νύκτα.” στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ, ἀμήν.’

4 γενεαίς *Delatte* | {ὡς τὸ γλυκὸν} *seclusi* || 6 διάβαιεν *Delatte* | ὑπάγει *Delatte* || 9 γενεαίς *Delatte* || 10 γενεαίς *Delatte* || 11 ἐμυαλόν *Delatte*

Michael; Καλή; against τὸ μάτι (baskania)

3.21.8. reported from contemporary Crete [personalized], Bardakes 1926, 245-246
 ‘ὡς ἄστραψ’ ἡ ἀνατολὴ κ’ ἐκίνησεν ἡ δύση, ἐκίνησ’ ἡ κερὰ Καλὴ νὰ πὰ νὰ κυνηγήσῃ, ἔσανάστροφα καβαλλαρὲ καὶ τὰ μαλλιὰ τση κάτω. ὁ Μιχαὴλ ἄγγελος τσ’ ἀπαντήχνη καὶ τση λέει “ποῦ πάεις κερὰ Καλὴ κερὰ Καλὴ κερὰ καλικωμένη,

‘ξανάστροφα καβαλλαρέ καὶ τὰ μαλλιά σου κάτω;” “πάω κοράσια νὰ μαράνω, ὄζα νὰ ξελερώσω, βούδια νὰ ζεζεulώσω, τῆς κακῆς μάννας τὸ γιὸ νὰ θανατώσω.” “μὴ πὰς κοράσια νὰ μαράνης, ὄζα νὰ ξελερώσης, βούδια νὰ ζεζεulώσης, τῆς κακῆς μάννας τὸ γιὸ νὰ θανατώσης. μόνο νὰ πὰς ’ς τὰ ὄρη, ’ς τὰ βουνά, νὰ βρῆς τ’ ἄγριο λάφι, νὰ μπῆς ’ς τὸ κεφάλι του καὶ νὰ σχαμουρῆσα κιόλας. δέξου γῆς τὸ πόνου τοῦ Θεοδώρη, δὸς του θέ μου τὴν ὑγεία του.”

Christ; βασκανία

3.21.9. reported from contemporary Aitolia, D. Loukopoulos in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

‘κίνησε ἡ βασκανία κ’ ἡ κακὴ καταναλωσιὰ, | τὸν Ἰησοῦ Χριστὸν ἀπάντησε. | “ποῦ πᾶς, βασκανία, κὶ κακὴ καταναλωσιὰ;” | “πάγω νὰ πιῶ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ δεῖνος | ἀπ’ τς ἔβδουμῆντα δύο φλέβις τοῦ κορμιοῦ του, | τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τῆς καρδιᾶς του.” | “πνεῦμα πονηρόν, πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον, | σὲ ἐξορκίζω νὰ μὴν πᾶς ’ς τὸν νέον | βαπτισμένον, μυρωμένον, τοῦ θεοῦ παραδωμένον, | ἀλλὰ νὰ ὑπάγης ’ς τοὺς μονόκερους, δίκερους, τρίκερους, τετράκερους, πεντάκερους, ἑξάκερους, ἑπτάκερους, ὀκτάκερους, ἑννεάκερους, δέκα κέρατα ’ς τὸν κόλο.”

Christ; *baskania*

3.21.10. reported from contemporary Xerochorion, G. Rhousias in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913, 51 no. 13γ

‘κίνησ’ ἀβασκαντήρα, | χαλκομαντλισμένη, χαλκοποδιμένη, χαλκοσιμπερωμένη. | ’ς τὴ στράτα, ποῦ πάγαινε, Χριστὸς ν’ ἀπάντησε, | ν’ ἀρώτησε, “ποῦ πᾶς, ἀβασκαντήρα, | χαλκομαντλισμένη, χαλκοποδιμένη, χαλκοσιμπερωμένη;” | “πάω ν’ ἀβασκάνω τὸν δεῖνα, | νὰ τὸν κοφοκεφαλίσω, νὰ τὸν κοφοποδαριάσω, | νὰ τοῦ πάρω τὴ φρόση τῆς καρδιᾶς.” | “τί ἔχεις, ἀβασκαντήρα, ἀπὸ τὸν δεῖνα; | αὐτὸς εἶναι βαπτισμένος, λαδωμένος, μυρωμένος, τοῦ θεοῦ παραδωμένος. | νὰ πᾶς ’ς τ’ ἄγρια κλαριά, ’ς τ’ ἄγρια βουνά, | κεῖ ποῦ δὲ σημαίνει παπᾶς, κεῖ ποῦ δὲ λαλεῖ πετεινός, | νὰ μετρήσης τὰ στέρια, τοῦ κάμπου τὰ λελούδια, τὴν ἄμμου τοῦ γιαλοῦ, | ν’ ἀβασκάνης, νὰ ξεθυμάνης, | τὰ στουρνάρια νὰ ξηράνης.”

Christ; anthrax (τὸ γαρμποῦνι)

3.21.11. reported from contemporary Kerkyra (Nymphai), Kavasilas 1910, 647 no. 4
‘ἄγιοι ἀνάργυροι καὶ θαματοουργοὶ Κοσμάς καὶ Δαμιανός, ἅγιος Μιλιανός κὶ ἅγια Κρήνη γιάτρισσα. ὁ Χριστὸς κατέβηκε ’ς τὸν Ἰορδάνη ποταμὸ κὶ ἀπάντησε τὸ γαρμποῦνι καὶ τοῦ πε “ποῦ πᾶς;” “πάω εἰς τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν δεῖνα.” “σ’ ἐξορκίζω εἰς τὸν βραχίονά μου τὸν ὑψηλὸ ἀπὸ τὴν ἄχραντον μητέρα, νὰ πὰς εἰς τᾶγρια βουνὰ καὶ τᾶγρια λαγκάδια ὅπου κεῖ κόττα δὲν λαλεῖ, κόττα δὲν κακαριέται, μικροῦ παιδιοῦ κουλοῦρι δὲν ψένεται· ἐκεῖ νὰ φᾶς ἐκεῖ νὰ πιῆς, ἐκεῖ ν’ ἀνεμοσκορπιστῆς.” ὡς ἐγλύτωσεν ὁ Χριστὸς τοὺς τρεῖς μάγους, ἔτσι νὰ γλυτώσῃ καὶ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν δεῖνα. ὁ Χριστὸς κ’ ἡ παναγιά νὰ τὸ διώξῃ. οὔτε κάτω ρίζα, οὔτε πάνω κορφή.’

Christ and Michael; three demons, their mother Dalida, and twelve children personifying various afflictions; internal prescription of incantation; prayer

3.21.12. Vatican, BAV cod. Barber. gr. III 3 (s. XV), no folio reference given, ed.

Vassiliev 1893, 336-337; shelfmark no longer in use

ἐξορκισμὸς εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀσθένειαν. εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. ὡς ὑπήγαινε ὁ Βελζεβουηλ καὶ ὁ Σαχαηλ καὶ Ζαζαηλ καὶ ἡ μάνα του ἡ μονοποδάρενα, τὰ ὀμμάτια της εἰς τὸν ὀπιστόλικον αὐτῆς, τὰ ὀνύχια αὐτῆς

εις τὰς πτέρνας, καὶ ἐβάσταζον τὰ δώδεκα παιδικά, τὸν κλαίοντα, τὸν στέλλοντα, τὸν λαβρίζοντα, τὸν ἐκσπῶντα, τὸν ὀλιγοθυμῶντα, τὸν ὀγκαρίζοντα, τὸν ἀδουστὴν κράζοντα, τὸν πτύοντα, τὸν κρούοντα εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ ὁδεῖνα, καὶ οἱ βοασμοὶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβαίνουσιν, {καὶ} ὑπήντησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος καὶ εἶπεν “ποῦ ὑπάγετε μετὴν μάνας σας τὴν μονοποδάρενα καὶ τὸν Βελζεβουηλ;” καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν “τί μας ἐρωτᾶς; ὡς ἦλθεν ὁ Βελζεβουηλ καὶ ὁ Σαχαὴλ καὶ ἡ μάνα τους ἡ μονοποδάρενα, τὰ δώδεκα παιδικὰ βαστάζοντα, καὶ βοασμοὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβαίνουσιν.” καὶ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς “ἀγώμετε καὶ πιάσετε πρὶν φάγη, πρὶν πίη, πρὶν ἐξυπνωθῆ, πρὶν ποδάρι βρέξῃ, καὶ ἐξορκίσετέ τον εἰς τὰ χερουβιμ καὶ εἰς τὰ σεραφιμ, εἰς (τὰ) πολυόμματα, εἰς τὸν βραχίονα τὸν ὑψηλόν, εἰς τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀσάλευτον.” καὶ εἶπαν τῇ Δαλιδα “ἔπαρε τὰ παιδιά σου καὶ ἄγωμε εἰς τὰ ἄγρια ὄρη, ὅτι ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ ὁδεῖνα οὐ δύναται τὸν πόνον βαστάζειν.” ἅγιε Πατάπτε ὁ καὶ πατάξας τοὺς δαίμονας, πάταξον καὶ τὸ ἀδελφικὸν τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ ὁδεῖνα. ἅγιοι ἀνάργυροι, βοηθήσατε τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὁδεῖνα.’

5 ἐξισπῶντα *Vassiliev* || 6 ὀπτύοντα *Vassiliev* || 12 ἐξαρκήσετε *Vassiliev* || 13 (τὰ) *supplevi* || 16 ἐπάταξας *Vassiliev*

3.21.13. Basel, UB cod. B v 21 (s. XIII), f. 120v (ed. Steinmeyer 1874, 560), defective ‘in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. tres angeli ambulauerunt in montem Sinai et obuiauerunt illis malae pestilentiae nessia nagedo stechedo crampho troppho gibt paralis is cancrum caducus morbus cum suis comitibus, et febris. tunc angeli dei interrogauerunt eas “unde uenitis uel quo pergitis?” quis responderunt “nos imus ad famulam dei N., ossa eius siccare, medullas euacuare, neruis et uenis insidias inducere et totum corpus eius inquietare.” tunc angeli dixerunt “adiuramus uos per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum et per sanctam Mariam, per angelos per archangelos per thronos et dominationes, per nouem ordines <).”

5 ora *cod.*

elaborated with Church Fathers; against back pain (ἥσκιο)

3.21.14. reported from contemporary Kephallene, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘δώδεκα ἄγγελοι δώδεκ’ ἀρχάγγελοι | καὶ τρεῖς στῦλοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, | Βασίλειος Γρηγόριος καὶ Ἰωάννης Χρυσόστομος | πήγανε ἀπάνω σὲ ὄρη σὲ βουνά, | ἐκεῖ ποῦ βασιλεύει ὁ ἥλιος, | καὶ περάσανε τ’ ἁγίου Γερασίμου τὴν πόρτα, | γιὰ νὰ βρουνε τὸ σπήλαιο ποῦ γεννήθηκε ὁ Χριστὸς | ἄσπαρτος καὶ οὐρανὸς ἀθεμέλιωτος. | ἐφτάσανε ’ς τὸ μέγα ἁγιασμό, | ἐκεῖ πόβαπτίσθηκε ὁ Χριστός, | κ’ εὐρῆκαν τὴν κολυμπήθραν καὶ πήρανε ἀπὸ τ’ ἅγιο μύρο, | καὶ ξορκοῦνε ὅποιος τὸ βγάλη ἢ ἄνδρας ἢ γυναῖκα, | καὶ πάλιν γυρίζουνε | κ’ ἀπαντήσανε τὸν ἥσκιο καὶ τὸν ἐρωτοῦνε | “ποῦ πᾶς, ἥσκιο;” | “πάω νὰ λοχεύσω τὸν σφόνδυλα τοῦ δεῖνα.” | κ’ οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ λένε | “ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος, | μὴ λοχεύσης παρὰ νὰ ξορκίσης καὶ νὰ γιατρέψης, | ὅπου σὲ κυνηγáει τὸ σημεῖο τοῦ σταυροῦ | καὶ τὰ λόγια τοῦ Χριστοῦ.”’

‘the son of ἐξαναστροφή’; the Forty Martyrs

3.21.15. reported from contemporary Crete [personalized], Bardakes 1926, 246

‘ὁ θαρμὸς ὁ καίμους | τσῆ ἔξαναστρόφης ὁ γιὸς | ἐπήγαινε | ’ς τὰ δίστρατα, ’ς τὰ τρίστρατα. | οἱ ἅγιοι Σαράντα τ’ ἀπαντήξανε καὶ τότε ῥωτῆξα | “ποῦ πάεις

θαρμέ, | ποῦ πάεις καϊμέ, | τῆ ἔξαστρόφης ν' υἱέ;" "ἅγιοι Σαράντα, κακὰ ποῦ κάμετε κι ἀπαντήξετέ μου καὶ κακαποδώσετέ με, ἀποῦ πήγαινα νὰ βρῶ παιδί 'ς τὴ κούνια νὰ θαρμίσω καὶ τὴ μάννα νὰ λαυρίσω." | "γύρισε θαρμέ | γύρισε καϊμέ | τῆ ἔξαστρόφης ν' υἱέ. | ἄμε πάνω 'ς τὰ ὄρη 'ς τὰ βουνὰ νὰ σκάψης νὰ βρῆς τὸ μαῦρο νέφι, νὰ φάης καὶ νὰ πῆς καὶ τῆ μαύρης λαφίνας τὸ παιδί νὰ θαρμίσης καὶ τὸ δούλο τοῦ θεοῦ Παντελῆ ν' ἀφήσης."

misc. holy figures; three animals (the animals are posed the usual question but not given the opportunity to reply; the divine forces simply aver that they have them surrounded) 3.21.16. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2286 (s. XIV), f. 60r in marg., mutil.

ἔξορκισμὸς ἄλλος εἰς κίνδυνον [ἔρυθρὸς καὶ] πορφυροῦς καὶ πυρρὸς [ἐπῆρ]αν τὰ ξίφη καὶ ἀνέβησαν ἄνω εἰς τὰ ὄρη τὰ ὑψηλὰ καὶ ὑπήντησαν κάπρον καὶ ρουσίαν καὶ χοιρόλαιμον καὶ εἶπαν "ποῦ ὑπάγεις κάπρε καὶ ρουσία καὶ χοιρόλαιμε; ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς γυρεύομεν."

1 [ἔρυθρὸς καὶ] πορφυροῦς καὶ πυρρὸς *conieci* : [...]πορφ() [...]πυρ() *cod.*

Solomon; keeping bees from flying away

analogy between the desired result for the present time with the providential dispensation of an Old Testament king for his λαός, and the request to the bees gains weight by this association; at the same time there is a collapsing, or telescoping, of time as Old Testament, New Testament, and hagiographic pasts contribute to the construction of a powerful *logos* (Delatte's suggested emendation, reducing the reference to an analogy, though logical, should thus be resisted). Solomon himself is already, paradoxically aware of the two following time-planes, as seen in his reference to Jesus Christ and St. Zosimos.

3.21.17. Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 210 (s. XVIII), f. 82r-v, ed. Delatte 1927, 129-130

εὐχή, εἰς μελισσία νὰ τὴν διαβάζουν. 'ὁ Σολομων ὑπήντησεν μελισσιῶν βρυχωμένων καὶ ἐρώτησεν αὐτὰ "ποῦ ὑπάγετε ἀγαπητοὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ;" καὶ εἶπαν "ὀδεύομεν εἰς ὄρος πρὸς κατοίκησιν." καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς "ὀρκίζω σας εἰς τὸν θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα, τὸν ποιητὴν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ζώσιμον τὸν ἐκβαλόντα τὴν μέλισσαν ἀπὸ τὴν μακαρίαν γῆν· στράφητε εἰς τὴν κοίτην σας καὶ κρεμάσθητε ὡς βότρυες ἐν τῷ κλίμακι καὶ πληθυνθήσεται ὁ λαὸς | τοῦ Ἰσραηλ." στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ, ἀμήν.'

2 ὑπᾶτε *cod.* || 3 αὐτὰ *cod.* || 6 πληθύνθητε (ὡς) ὁ λαὸς τοῦ Ἰσραηλ *Delatte*

3.22.1. *variants: first person*

for general healing

3.22.1.1. reported from contemporary Crete [personalized], Bardakes 1926

'ἀπὸ τὰ ὄρη ἔρχομαι, τὰ ὄρη καταβαίνω καὶ τ' Ἀδαμ τ' ἄρματα βαστῶ κι ὅπου τὰ ἔγγιζω γαίει. 'ς τὴ στράτα μ' ἀπαντήχνη ὁ φθαρμὸς ὁ καταραμὸς ὁ καταποντισμὸς τῆ κακῆς ὥρας τὸ γέννημα. "ποῦ πάεις φθαρμέ καταραμέ καταποντισμέ κακῆς ὥρας γέννημα;" "πάω δένδρα νὰ ξερριζώσω, βούδια νὰ ζεζευλώσω, ὄζα νὰ ξελερώσω, τῆ μάννας τὸ μοναχογιὸ πάω νὰ θανατώσω." "γάειρε φθαρμέ καταραμέ καταποντισμέ κακῆς ὥρας γέννημα, κι ἄμε κάτω 'ς τὸ γιολό, κάτω 'ς τὸ περιγιάλι, κ' ἐκεῖα νὰ ναι ἀρκοῦδα καὶ κατσόχοιρος, νὰ κάμης τυρίκι ἀπανωτύρι, κι ὅποιος φάει νὰ χορτάση, κι ὅποιος δῆ νὰ θαμάξη, κι ἀπὸ τὸ δούλο τοῦ θεοῦ Μανώλη νὰ λείψης."

followed by curse (2); for baskania

3.22.1.2. reported from contemporary Rethymna (Crete), Paraskeuides 1953, 153-154

1. ἄρχισεν ὁ φθαρμὸς καὶ ὁ καημὸς, | τὸ κακὸ ἰδεῖ, | τὸ κακὸ παρατήρημα τῆς
γειτονιάς. | τὸν ἔπιασα, τὸν ἐρώτησα | “ποῦ πᾶς φθαρμέ, ποῦ πᾶς καημέ;” | “πάω
νὰ ἴβρω κόρη νὰ μαράνω, | μωρὸ παιδί ἔς τὴν κούνια νὰ θερμολογήσω, | δέντρα νὰ
ξερριζώσω, | κοπάδι νὰ ξεκοπαδιάσω.” | τὸν ἔπιασα, τὸν ἔδεσα, | τὸν
ἐπισθαγκώνισα, | καὶ τοῦ λέγω | “γιὰ γεῖρε φθαρμέ | γιὰ γεῖρε καημέ | κι ἄμε ἔς τ’
ἄγρια βουνὰ καὶ ἔς τ’ ἄγρια λαγκάδια | νὰ βρῆς τοῦ ἀσβεστάρχου τὸ αἷμα, | νὰ τὸ
πιῆς κι ἀπ’ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ πλάσμα νὰ λείψης, | ἀπ’ τὸ κεφάλι του, | ἀπ’ τὰ μάτια του,
| ἀπ’ τ’ αὐτιά του, | ἀπ’ τὴ μύτη του, | ἀπ’ τὸ στόμα του, | ἀπ’ τὸ λαιμὸ του, | ἀπ’
τὸ στήθος του, | ἀπ’ τὴν πλάτη του, | ἀπ’ τὰ χέρια του, | ἀπ’ τὰ εἴκοσί του
δάχτυλα, | κι ἀπ’ τὰ εἴκοσί του νύχια.” | δέξου γῆς τὸ βάρος καὶ ὁ δεῖνα τὴν ὑγεία
του.’

2. ἂν εἶναι ἄντρας, νὰ πρηστοῦν τὰ πράματά του, | ἂν εἶναι γυναῖκα, τὰ στήθη
της.’

3.22.2. variants: *Christ and dog*

meter

3.22.2.1. reported from contemporary Crete, Koukoules 1928, 483

Ἵ Χριστὸς ἐπέρασε, | σκύλλος τὸν ἐγαύγισε | μὰ δὲν τὸν ἐδάγκασε. | σίδερα ἔς τὰ
πόδια του, | κλειδωνιὰ ἔς τὸ στόμα του.’

3.22.2.2. reported from contemporary Corinthia, Koukoules 1928, 483

Ἵ Χριστὸς ἐπέρασε, | σκύλλος δὲν ἐγαύγισε. | σίδερο ἔς τὰ πόδια σου, | κλειδωνιὰ ἔς
τὰ δόντια σου.’

3.23. *encounter and redirection of holy figures*

inscribed to be worn on the head; for migraine

3.23.1. London, BL Royal MS 16 C II (s. XV), f. 68r

εἰς ἡμικράνιον. εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.
ἠνεώχθησαν αἱ ἑπτὰ πύλαι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐξέβησαν οἱ ἑπτὰ ἀρχάγγελοι μετὰ
ἑπτὰ ξίφη τὰ κεκορημένα καὶ ἀπήντησεν αὐτοῖς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ
εἶπε “ποῦ ὑπάγετε οἱ ἑπτὰ ἀρχάγγελοι μετὰ ἑπτὰ ξίφη τὰ κεκορημένα;” καὶ εἶπον
“κύριε καλὸν τὸ ἐρώτημά σου. ἡμεῖς ὑπάγομεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν νὰ κόψωμεν
πεῦκον κέδρον καὶ κυπάρισσον.” καὶ εἶπε “μὴ ὑπάγετε εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν, ἀλλὰ
ὑπάγετε εἰς τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὁδεῖνα καὶ κόψετε τὸ αἷμα τὸ ρεῦμα τὸ ρευματικὸν
τὸ αἷμα τὸ ρεῦμα τὸ σταλάζον τὸ κρανίον τὸ ἡμικράνιον τὸ ἡμισυ τοῦ ἡμικρανίου.
στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου τοῦ
ποιήσαντος τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.’ τῆδε γράφεις τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὄνομα.
γράφε αὐτὸ ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄς τὸ βαστάζη εἰς κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

Ἰ ἡμικρανὸν *cod.* || 4 ἠκορημένα *cod.*

internal prescription of incantation by holy figure; note ἀντάρα used to describe the
patient’s condition (cf. Ἀνταύρα); for rheum in the eyes

3.23.2. private collection, from Epirus (s. XIX), ff. 3r-4r, ed. Oikonomides 1953-1954,
16-17

ξόρκι τοῦ ρίμματος. πρῶτα κάμε τὸν σταυρόν σου τρεῖς φορές, ἔπειτα ἀρχίνα ἔν
ἀρχῆ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος ἔκ τρίτου.
Ἵντας ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη, τὸ κακὸν ἐσκορπίστη. οἱ ἅγιοι ἀνάργυροι, πρῶτοι
ἱατροὶ τοῦ κόσμου, ἐσεῖς ὅπου ἱατρεύσατε πολλοὺς ἱατρεύσετε καὶ τὸν τάδε ἀπὸ τὸ

σπειρὶ τὸ ρίμμα· ἔχει πολὺ βάρος τοῦ κεφαλίου. ὡς ἐκίνησαν ἑπτὰ ἄγγελοι, ἑπτὰ ἀρχάγγελοι μὲ ἑπτὰ σπαθία, μὲ ἑπτὰ τζεκούρια βαρέα πελικημένα, ἕς τὴν στράτα ὅπου πηγίνασι κυρία τὸ ἀπανταίνει. “ποῦ πᾶτε ἑπτὰ ἄγγελοι ἑπτὰ ἀρχάγγελοι μὲ ἑπτὰ σπαθία, μὲ ἑπτὰ τζι|κούρια;” μὰ δὲν τὸ παντέχαμεν νὰ μᾶς ῥωτήσῃ κ’ ἐμᾶς καὶ μᾶς ἐρώτησεν νὰ τῆς εἰποῦμε. “πᾶ’ νὰ κόψωμε ἐλία μυρτία καὶ δάφνη νὰ κάνωμεν τράπεζαν τῆς θεοτόκου παρθένου Μαρίας.” καὶ λέγει “μὴν πᾶτε νὰ κόψετε ἐλία μυρτία καὶ δάφνη νὰ κάμετε τράπεζαν τῆς θεοτόκου παρθένου Μαρίας, μόν’ σῦρτε εἰς τὸν τάδε ὅπου ἔχει τὸ σπειρὶ τὸ ρίμμα ὅπου τὸν πονεῖ τὸ μάτι καὶ ἔχει ἀντάρα καὶ βάρος εἰς τὸ κεφάλι του καὶ δὲν ἤμπορεῖ νὰ σταθῇ οὔτε μέρα οὔτε νύκτα οὔτε κάρτο ἀπὸ τὴν ὥραν, ὅτι εἶναι βαπτισμένος μυρωμένος τοῦ θεοῦ παραδομένος. καὶ ἐπάρτετε βαῖον κλαδὶ ἐλαίας καὶ φύλλο ἀπὸ δάφνη, μαχαίρι μαυρομάνικο καὶ σκορπίδι ἀπὸ παλαιόπυργο καὶ πᾶρτε τὸ ἀνάταλμα τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ ξορκίσε|τέ το καὶ κηρύξετέ το νὰ πηγαίνῃ εἰς τὰ ἄγρια βουνά, ἕς τὰ ἄγρια κλαδία. ἐκεῖ πετεινὸς δὲ λαλεῖ, κόττα δὲν καρκαλεῖ, ἐκεῖ νὰ πηγαίνῃ νὰ καταντήσῃ νὰ κατασταθῇ. ἀγέρας το ἔφερε, ἀγέρας νὰ τὸ πάρῃ. ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ ἐξόρκισε κὶ μὲ τὸ μαυρομάνικο μαχαίρι τὸ ἔκοψε.” καὶ κάθε φορὰ ὅπου ἀρχινᾷς ξόρκισέ το ἐκ τρίτου.

Π ἔπονεῖ *cod.*

saint in place of pre-Christian weather divinity; against τὸ μάτι (baskania)

3.23.3. reported from contemporary Aitolia, D. Loukopoulos in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

‘ὁ ἅγιος Ἀντώνιος ἐκίνησε | μὲ τς ἀστραπὲς καὶ τὲς βροντὲς, μὲ τὸ νερὸ χαλάζι. | ὁ Χριστὸς τὸν ἀπάντησε· | “ποῦ πᾶς, ἅγιε Ἀντώνιε, | μὲ τς ἀστραπὲς καὶ τὲς βροντὲς, μὲ τὸ νερὸ χαλάζι;” | “πάγω νὰ χαλάσω ἢ τοὺς Κριτούς, μέγα ἔλεος.” | “μὴν πᾶς νὰ χαλάῃς ἢ τοὺς Κριτούς. | ὕπαγε εἰς τὰ ἄγρια βουνά, | εἰς τὰ ἄγρια βουνά, εἰς τὰ ἄκαρπα ξύλα, | κόψε δέντρος, πεύκας ξερρίζωσε· | κὶὰ δὲ στάσου εἰς τὸν τόπον σου καὶ νέρωσε, | σῦρε ἕς τὸ καλὸ σου.”

3.24. *three brothers – internal prescription of incantation by Christ*

for wounds

3.24.1. Venice, BNM *cod. gr. Z. 408* (s. XIV), f. 147r, ed. Legrand 1881, 25

εἰς πληγὴν καὶ πᾶσαν τομὴν ὠφέλιμον. εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. ὡς ἀπήγαιναν οἱ τρεῖς καλοὶ ἀδελφοὶ ἀνενόχλητοι ἀτάραχοι καὶ ἀσκανδάλιστοι εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν, διὰ τὸ ἵνα εὔρωσι βότανα νὰ ὠφελοῦσιν εἰς πᾶσαν τομὴν καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν πρᾶξιν καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τοὺς ὑπήντησε καὶ λέγει τοὺς “πόθεν ὑπάγετε τρεῖς καλοὶ ἀδελφοὶ ἀνενόχλητοι ἀτάραχοι καὶ ἀσκανδάλιστοι;” καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἀνταπεκρίθησαν “κύριέ μου, ὑπάγομεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν διὰ τὸ ἵνα εὔρωμεν βότανα ἵνα ὠφελοῦσιν εἰς πᾶσαν τομὴν καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν πληγὴν καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν νόσον.” καὶ λέγει αὐτοὺς “ὁμόσατε εἰς τὸν τίμιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν σταυρὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν θεοτόκον ὅτι οὔτε δῶρα νὰ ἐπάρτετε οὔτε κρυφὰ νὰ τὸ λέγετε, καὶ ἐγὼ νὰ σᾶς ἐρμηνεύσω.” καὶ ὤμοσαν εἰς τὸν τίμιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν σταυρὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν θεοτόκον ὅτι “οὔτε δῶρα νὰ ἐπάρωμεν οὔτε κρυφὰ νὰ τὸ λέγωμεν.” καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοὺς “ἀπέλθετε εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν καὶ ἐπάρτετε τῆς ἐλαίας τὸν καρπὸν καὶ τῆς ἀμνάδος τὸ μαλλὶν καὶ εἶπετε ὡς ἐλόγησε Λογγῖνος ὁ ἐκατόνταρχος τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ οὔτε ἐφλέγμαεν οὔτε ἤλκωσεν οὔτε τραῦμα ἐποίησε, νὰ μηδὲ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνος ἢ πληγὴ ἐλκῶση ἢ φλεγμονὴν ποιήσῃ, ἀλλ’ ἵνα ἰαθῇ καὶ εἴῃ ὑγιής.” εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.’

with SS. John, George, and Panteleemon; internal prescription of incantation

3.24.2. reported from contemporary Crete, Bardakes 1926, 240

ἄης Γιάννης κι' ἄης Γιώργης κι' ἄης Παντελεήμονας | ἐπηαίνανε νὰ μάθουν τὴ
γητεία | τοῦ σιδέρου τοῦ κοκκάλου | καὶ τῆ πέτρας καὶ τοῦ ξύλου. | ὁ Χριστὸς
τῶν ἀπάντηξε καὶ τοσοῖ ῥώτηξε “ἄη Γιώργη κι' ἄη Γιάννη κι' ἄη Παντελεήμονα |
ποῦ πάτε;” “ἀφέντη μου Χριστέ, τὰ κρυφὰ κατέεις καὶ τὰ φανερά δὲν κατέεις; πάμε
νὰ μάθωμε τὴ γητεία | τοῦ σιδέρου τοῦ κοκκάλου | καὶ τῆ πέτρας καὶ τοῦ ξύλου.”
| “σταθῆτε κ' ἐγὼ σᾶς τὴν ὀρμηνεύω. φανερά νὰ τήνε λέτε καὶ παράδες νὰ μὴ
παίρνετε. ὡς ἐβάρηκεν ὁ Ὀβριὸς ὁ Ζαχαριάς τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴ λαζαρία εἰς τὸ ζερβὸ
βυζὶ καὶ μουδ' ὀμπύασε μουδ' ὀβρίασε μουδὲ κακοσύνεψέ του, ἔτσι νὰ μὴν ὀμπυάση
νὰ μὴν ὀμβρίαση μουδὲ νὰ κακοσύνεψη ἢ πληγὴ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ Λάμπη.”

SS. Damianos, Kosmianos (sic) and Panteleemon; interlocking, the wound is dressed with
the materials mentioned in the incantation; against wounds, specifically dog-bite

3.24.3. reported from contemporary Gytheio, Manolakos 1915-1916, 613 no. 78

ἄγιος Δαμιανός, ἄγιος Κοσμιανός, ἄγιος Παντελεήμονας | ἐπηγαίνανε σὲ ὄρη σὲ
βουνά. | τοὺς ἀπάντησε ὁ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ τοὺς εἶπε | “ποῦ πάτε;” | “πάμε σὲ
ὄρη σὲ βουνὰ νὰ κόψουμε βοτάνι, | ἢ σκυλοδαγκαμιὰ νὰ γιάνη.” | καὶ τοὺς εἶπε
“γυρίστε πίσου | καὶ πᾶρτε ἀπὸ λάγια προβάτα μαλλὶ | κι' ἀπὸ λύχνο λάδι | κ' ἢ
σκυλοδαγκαμιὰ θὰ γιάνη.”

3.24.4. Leipzig, Pauliner Bibliothek cod. 73 (s. XIII), “auf dem letzten Blatte,” ed. Leyser
in Haupt and Hoffmann 1840, 323, repr. Köhler 1868, 184-185

‘tres boni fratres ambulabant per unam uiam et occurrit illis dominus Iesus Christus et ait
“tres boni fratres quo itis?” dicunt ei “domine imus ad montem colligere herbas
plantagonis percussionis et doloris.” et dixit dominus “uenite mecum et iurate mihi per
crucifixum et per lac beatae uirginis ut non in abscondito dicatis nec mercedem inde
accipiatis. sed ite ad montem Oliueti et tollite inde oleum oliuae, intingite in eo lanam ouis
et ponite super plagam et sic dicite ‘sicut Longinus miles latus saluatoris aperuit, non diu
sanguinauit, non rancuit, non doluit, non tumuit, non putruit, nec ardorem tempestatis
habuit, sic plaga ista quam carmino non sanguinet, non rancet, non doleat, non tumeat,
non putreat, nec ardorem tempestatis habeat. in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti,
amen.’” dic ter et dominicam orationem et ‘ne nos inducas in temptationem sed libera
famulum ab hoc malo et ab omni malo, amen.’

⁵ intingite *corr.* Köhler : intragite *cod.*

3.24.5. Cambridge, Christ Church College cod. 441 (s. XIII), p. 578

‘in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen. tres boni fratres unam uiam ambulauerunt,
et obuiauit eis dominus noster Iesus Christus, qui dixit eis “quo itis tres boni fratres?” qui
dixerunt “imus ad montem Oliueti, quaerere herbas percussionis, plagationis, sanationis et
doloris.” et dixit eis dominus noster Iesus Christus “uenite post me et iurate mihi per
crucifixum ut non in abscondito dicatis nec mercedem inde capiatis, sed ite ad montem
Oliueti et accipite lanam ouis, lucernam, et oleum oliuae et ponite ad plagam dicentes
‘sicut Longinus latus domini nostri Iesu Christi lancea perforauit, nec diu sanguinauit nec
ranclauit nec putruit nec tumuit nec doluit nec ardorem habuit, ita nec plaga ista diu
sanguinet nec ranclet nec putrescat nec tumeat nec doleat nec ardorem habeat.’” et ter
dicatur haec benedictio, in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen, et in fine cuiuslibet
benedictionis dicatur pater noster et aue Maria.

$\overline{7}$ lunginus *cod.* || 9 sanguineat *cod.* | ranclat *cod.* || 11 benedictio *cod.*

3.24.6. Cambridge, Trinity College *cod.* O.9.26 (James 1438; s. XIV), f. iv^v
ad restringendum sanguinem. ‘in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen. tres boni fratres unam uiam ambulauerunt, et obuiauuit eis dominus noster Iesus Christus qui dixit eis “quo itis tres boni fratres?” qui dixerunt “imus ad montem Oliueti quaerentes herbas percussiois plagationis sanationis et doloris.” et dixit eis dominus noster Iesus Christus “uenite post me et iurate mihi per crucifixum ut non in abscondito dicatis nec mercedem inde capiatis, sed ite ad montem Oliueti et accipite lanam ouis, lucernam, et oleum oliuae et ponite ad plagam dicentes ‘sicut Longinus latus domini nostri Iesu Christi lancea perforauit, nec diu sanguinauit nec ranclauit nec putruit nec tumuit nec doluit nec ardorem habuit, ita nec plaga ista diu sanguineat nec ranclat nec putrescat nec tumeat nec doleat nec ardorem habeat.’” et ter dicatur haec benedictio in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen, et in fine cuiuslibet benedictionis dicatur pater noster.

$\overline{7}$ lungius *cod.*

variant in which the brothers encounter Christ on the way back from Mt. Olivet; tricolon; within a French recipe

3.24.7. Cambridge, Christ Church College *cod.* 388 (s. XIV), f. 26r-v

‘ibant tres boni fratres ad monem Oliueti quaerentes herbas uulnera sanantes tollentes languores, et dixit eis Iesus obuiano cum eis “quo tenditis boni fratres?” responderunt ei “magister uenimus a monte Oliueti, quaerebamus herbas uulnera sanantes tollentes languores.” et dixit eis Iesus “coniuro uos boni fratres per mamillas quae lactauerunt dominum Iesum Christum et per quinque uulnera eius quod nullam capiatis inde mercedem neque siletis. ite in montem Oliueti et accipite oleum de arboribus et lanam de ouibus et ponite ista super uulnera dicentes ‘sanantur sicut uulnus quod Longinus miles fecit in dextero latere Christi, ut non putrescant nec ullis doloribus commoueantur.’” et dicas ‘uulnera quinque dei sint medicina mei, uera crux sit super istum uel istam.’ fac signum crucis in nomine | patris et cetera.

$\overline{3}$ uemus *cod.* || 7 longeus *cod.*

English title

3.24.8. London, BL *cod.* Sloane 962 (s. XV), f. 63r (ed. Pribsch 1894, 14; anew in T. Hunt 1990, 95, apparently ignorant of the earlier publication)

‘tres boni fratres ibant et per unam uiam ambulabant et obuiauuit eis dominus noster Iesus Christus et dixit eis “o boni fratres quo itis?” “domine et magister nos imus ad montem Oliueti ad colligendas herbas et doloris et plagationis.” et dixit eis “uenite post me et iurate in signis maximis et per uulnera Christi ut non abscondite dicatis neque mercedem inde capiatis sed ite ad montem Oliueti et accipite oleum oliuae et lanam ouis et ponite super plagam et dicite ‘sicut Longinus Hebraeus percussit latus domini nostri Iesu Christi et plaga illa non diu sanguinauit nec putruit nec doluit nec guttam fecit nec tempestatem habuit ardoris, sic fiat ista plaga. in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen. ut nec sanguinet nec putriat nec doleat nec guttam faciat nec senteat nec tumeat. in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen.’”

3.25. *sitting figures*

alliteration; meter (trochaic with respect to stress accent in siccant ... uenae); ascending tricolon with symmetrical clauses; follows a *potio contra guttam*
3.25.1. Bern, BB cod. A 92, unit XXIV (s. IX-X), f. 1r, 6 folia parchment fragment, part of a collection of medical recipes missing the beginning; descr. and ed. in *Catalogus codicum Bernensium* p. 129; cf. Beccaria 1956, 353-354; Heim 1893 no. 111
'stulta femina super fontem sedebat et stultum infantem in sinu tenebat. siccant montes, siccant ualles, siccant uenae, uel quae de sanguine sunt plenae.'

² quae corr. Heim : qui cod.

3.26.1. *ella super ella sedebat*

probably for kidney stones (lapides, cf. *TLL* s.v. I B [7.2.952.9ff])

3.26.1.1. Paris, BnF cod. lat. 3713 (s. XIII), f. 105r, ed. d'Alverny 1964, 6

haec est breue de petra. 'in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen. ella super ella sedebat, uirgam uiridem in manu illa tenebat. coniuro lapidem per deum omnipotentem et per sanctam Mariam uirginem et per Moysen prophetam, per Lucam per Iohannem et per Danielelem prophetam et per beato Petro apostolo et per beato Stephano martyre tuo. coniuro te ut dominus Iesus Christus defendat nos de hunc lapidem per suam uirtutem et per suam potestatem. Christus uincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperate. pater noster tribus uicibus.'

² uiridam cod.

internal reference to incantation; used in making a wand to be used in aggressive magic

3.26.1.2. London, BL Sloane MS 475 (s. XII), f. 112v, ed. d'Alverny 1964, 4

si inimicus tuus aut plures modios habuerit uini in suo cellario et non uis ut inde gaudeat, hoc fac. collige unam uirgam, inde collura cum oratione dominica et recide eam usque ad quatuor cubitos, postea finde eam totam per medium et fac illas duas partes a duobus hominibus per capita amborum sublata teneri. et deciens signum crucis faciens sic eam carmina 'ellum super ellam sedebat, et uirgam uiridem in manu tenebat, et dicebat "uirga uiridis, reuertere insimul" et orationem dominicam.' hoc tamdiu dic usque sibi inuicem illae duae partes in medio iungantur. statim autem ut uideris eas sibi inuicem copulari, stringe eas per medium pugno et recide quod supra et infra manum est, nisi illum durnum quem retinuisti de uirga iacta [*crypt. signs*] illud.

² inde collura : de colurno *coni. d'Alverny* || 4 abarum *cod. : alarum dub. coni. d'Alverny* | sublata *cod. | decen cod. || 8 durnum cf. Du Cange Glossarium s.v. 1 'mensura breuis'* || 9 *σραπσσημαρκ cod.*

3.26.1.3. London, BL Egerton MS 821 (s. XII), f. 59r-v

ut uirga simul ueniat. <uirga> tribus uulnis longa et cum oratione dominica collecta scissaque per medium, ita duobus hominibus tenentibus carmines 'alla super alla sedebat, uiridem uirgam in manu | tenebat, "uiridis uirga reueni simul," in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti in nomine amen.' hoc autem non bis aut ter facies sed tamdiu quousque simul ueniat.

² tenentes *cod.*

Christian exegesis added, and a second part with Old Testament historiola on the rod of Aaron (*Numbers* 17).

3.26.1.4. Paris, BnF cod. lat. 585 (s. XII), f. 84r, ed. d'Alverny 1964, 7
'ella super ellam sedebat, uirgam uiridem in manu tenebat.' ella Christum significat, uirga Mariam. 'ille qui in manu Aaron uirgam fecit florere istam uirgam faciat iungere. pater noster.'

as kernel of an adjuration of a wand, for various benefits

3.26.1.5. Oxford, Bodleian MS e Mus. 219 (s. XIII), f. 185v, f. 186r-v
ad coniunctionem uirgae. uirga sic debet incidi. accipe gladium cum albo manubrio et apprehende uirgam quae nata fuit in ipso anno cum oratione dominica, tenens eam in manu sinistra et in dextra gladium incide eam uno ictu et postquam fuerit incisa finde eam per mediam medullam et teneant duo pueri uirgines super renes suos. magister tenens manum dextram suam super uirgam debet eam sic coniurare 'in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen. coniuro te uirga per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum et per beatissimam Mariam et per omnes angelos et archangelos et per omnes patriarchas et prophetas et per omnes apostolos et euangelistas et per omnes martyres et confessores et per omnes uirgines et uiduas et continentes et per omnes sanctos dei, ut te coniungas, uirga. coniuro te per caelum quod te cooperuit, per terram quae te creauit, per aquam quae te manauit, per solem qui te calefecit, et per uentos qui <te> mouent ut habeas licentiam et potestatem iungendi et quodcumque facere uolueris complere ualeam, amen. ellam super ellam sedebat, uirgam uiridem in manu tenebat et dixit ellam "Christe qui uirgam Aaron in manu fecit florere et frondescere, faciat istam uirgam coniungere et quodcumque facere cum illa uolueris | ualeam complere, amen." increatus pater, increatus filius, increatus spiritus sanctus. [c. 5] per gloriosissimum nomen tuum tremendum et adorandum qui uirgam Aaron sacerdotis tui florere et frondescere fecisti, fac illam iungere et habere potestatem ad [*cryptograms*] et ad gratiam cunctorum hominum et ad feminam habendam et ad bellum et iudicium uincendum et ad mulieris partum, per unicum filium tuum qui tecum uiuit et regnat sanctus sanctus deus per omnia saecula saeculorum amen.'

⁵ dextram *add. sup. lin. cod.* || 6 uirgam *cod.* || 10 quod *correx*: qui *cod.* | quae *correx*: qui *cod.* || 18 cunctorum hominum *cryptograms* so *glossed in cod.* || 19 habendam *cryptograms* so *glossed in cod.* | mulieris *cryptograms* so *glossed in cod.*

3.26.2. variant with the wine-steward from *John 2:9*
(not identified by ed.)

3.26.2.1. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Digby 86 (s. XIII), f. 156rb, ed. T. Hunt 1990, 360n118
'sanctus architriclinus sedebat super scamnum et tenebat in sinistra manu runceam portantem hupes et scindebat per medium et tradidit partes duobus hominibus ut stringerent fortiter et benedixit cum manu dextra et sacra uerba loquebatur et dixit 'pater et filius et spiritus sanctus, adiuua hominem istum de ista febre calida uel frigida et partes iungent.' et dummodo iungunt dic pater noster et aue. et tunc scinde in medio partium coniunctarum quantum potes capere manu sed non attingant terram. et suspende illam partem in medio scissam ad collum infirmi per septem dies.

³ stringerent *correx*: springerent *cod.*

[similarly; its presence there somewhat belies the ed.'s claim that "the charms ... display an augmented Christian element which makes them little different from prayers"; no comment on the motif]; for fever

3.26.2.2. London, BL cod. Sloane 3160 (s. XV), f. 168v, ed. T. Hunt 1990

‘architriclinus in alte sedens uirgam coruli uirginiam inter manus tenens dicebat ‘sicut sacerdos in altari uerum corpus Christi ex diuina maiestate potestate sibi commissa conficit, et sicut beata uirgo Maria suis mamillis ipsum Christum lactauit oreque uirginio et impolluto osculabatur, sic coniuro te uirgam uirginiam ut adiuuas et coniungas te in medio osculando et habeas potestatem per eius uirtutem liberandi ac defendendi famulum dei N. ad modum crucis portatum ab omni uexatione febrium. in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen. adiuro te uirgam uirginiam per uirtutem sacratissimorum nominum dei adaye sadaye tetragrammaton sother emanuel sabaoth adonay ut adimpleas tibi praeceptum humiliter creatori obediendo. in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen. et dicatur quinquies si sit necesse, hoc est si uirga se non coniungat.

⁴ uirginiam *correxi* : uirginiarum *cod.* | | 5 defendendi *correxi* : defendi *cod.*

3.27. *sitting and healing*

3.27.1. *Hippiatrica Parisina* 156 ed. Oder-Hoppe (Heim 1893 no. 106); cf. McCabe 2007, 238

ἀφλέγμαντον. ‘Κίρκη καὶ Μήδεια ἐκαθέζοντο πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἡλίου, ἐζήτουν τὸ ἀφλέγμαντον εἴτε ἀπὸ λίθου εἴτε ἀπὸ ξύλου εἴτε ἀπὸ κυνοδέκτου· τὸ γὰρ ἔλκος ἀνήλιόν ἐστιν.’

¹ ἐκαθέζοντο *corr. Miller* : ἐκαθέζετο *cod.*

with adjuration; for *le dolour del crance* [instructions in Liegeois]

3.27.2. Darmstadt, SB cod. 815 (s. XIII), f. 159v, ed. Haust 1941, 99-100

‘Christus in petra sedebat et uermibus contradicebat “domine si sunt uiui, moriantur et si mortui, exeant foras.” adiuro uos mali uermes per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum et per angelum maiestatis et per suffragia omnium sanctorum ut non habeatis potestatem nocendi huic famulo tuo N sed libera famulum tuum N de uerme canceri franone a calpo et omnibus uermibus, amen.’

⁴ famulo tuo ... famulum tuum *fem. alt. add. cod. sup. lin.* | *post N in vernac.* dis pater noster *add. cod.*

3.28.1. *sitting and healing by the sea; with divided action*

divided action of three; internal reference to incantation

3.28.1.1. Paris, BnF Arsenal cod. 971 (s. XIII), f. 132v (incipit ed. Bozoky 2003, 44n43)

‘sanctus Nazarius, sancta Aquila, sancta Thecla supra mare sedebant. dixit sanctus Nazarius, dixit sancta Aquila, dixit sancta Thecla “exi macula de oculo isto.”’

divided action, as recommended by two

3.28.1.2. Vatican, BAV cod. Palat. lat. 772 (s. XII), ed. Monteverdi 1935, 432-435 (cf. Perz *MGH SS XIX:223*; repr. Bozoky 2003, 42n34)

‘in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. nelia telia in ripa de mari sedebat. telia dixit “secemus,” nelia dixit “secernemus” mala de oculis famuli maris.’

² secemus *correxi* : segemus *cod.* | secernemus *correxi* : secesssemus *cod.* | mala *correxi* : male *cod.* | maris *conieci* : mari *cod.*

3.28.1.3. Cambridge, Trinity College cod. O.8.27 (James 1402; s. XIII), unit iii, f. 5r, added in later hand (incipit only in catalogue, which is repr. in Bozoky 2003, 44n43)

‘dixit sanctus Nazarenus “eamus,” dixit sancta Thecla “eamus,” dixit sancta Macula “non eamus sed deleamus <maculam> de oculo famuli tui N. si est rubra, deleamus, si est nigra, deleamus, si est alba, destruet illam cardeat nardeat ypocreat Christophorus martyr. Christus uincit Christus regnat Christus imperat. adiuro te maculam per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum ut nec habeas potestatem in oculo isto stare nec in dentibus nec in pedibus neque in ullo loco duorum. libera famulum tuum N. deus agyos agyos agyos sanctus deus sanctus fortis sanctus et immortalis.’ ter pater noster.

2 <maculam> *supplevi* | famuli: *alt. -(a)e add. supr. lin. cod.* || 3 χ̄ρ̄c̄foros *cod.* || 6 famulum: *alt. -am add. supr. lin. cod.*

also addressing the target (*macula*) [instructions in Liegeois]

3.28.1.4. Darmstadt, SB cod. 815 (s. XIII), f. 159r-v, ed. Haust 1941, 99

‘adiuro te macula per patrem | et filium et spiritum sanctum ut non habeas potestatem stare in oculo N neque horam neque diem uel noctem. deus adiuuet te. sanctus Nazarius, sancta Thecla et sancta Aquilina sedebant super mare. dixit sancta Thecla “ambulemus,” dixit sanctus Nazarius “ambulemus,” dixit sancta Aquilina “eat macula de oculo istius N, si est alba, si est rubicunda uel nigra.” deus adiuuet te.’ pater noster, credo in deum.

5 si est *conieci* : sicut *cod.*

exorcism and prayer, bracketed at beginning and end by *historiolae*; the first with two saints sitting by the sea, the second with SS. Kosmas and Damianos ‘feeding on the manna of God’ and a dropping branch. There is also a Latin phrase transliterated into Greek, *sancta sancta*

3.28.1.5. Vatican, BAV cod. Barber. gr. III 3 (s. XV), no folio reference given, ed. Vassiliev 1893, 338; shelfmark no longer in use

ἔτερον. ‘ὁ ἅγιος Ναζάριος καὶ ἡ ἅγια Θέκκλη ἐπὶ θαλάσσης ἐκάθισαν. εἶπεν ὁ ἅγιος Ναζάριος “ὑπάγωμεν.” εἶπεν ἡ ἅγια Θέκκλη “οὐχί, ἀλλὰ ἐπαίρω πᾶσαν ἀσθένειαν τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα καὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ καθαρῖσωμεν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ. εἰ ξανθόν, ἄς λύεται, εἰ μαῦρον ἢ ἄσπρον, νὰ τὸ ἐξολοθρεύσῃ ὁ θεός. ὀρκίζω σε ἄρρωστία καὶ πόνε ἐν ὀνόματι) πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἵνα μὴ ἔχης ἐξουσίαν εἰς τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα. ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος, σαντα σαντα, κύριε ἐλέησον τὸν δοῦλόν σου ὀδεῖνα. ὁ ἅγιος Κωσμᾶς καὶ Δαμιανὸς {ὦς} ἔβοσκον τὸ μάννα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ βοσκόμενος ἔπεσεν κλάδος.’”

2 ἐπαίρω(μεν) *Vassiliev* || 5 σαντα σαντα ‘*est ital. santo*’ *Vassiliev* || 6 {ὦς} *seclusi*

3.28.2. holy figures replaced by affliction sitting by the sea; color motif

3.28.2.1. Reims, BM cod. 73 (s. IX), f. 91v, ed. Wickersheimer 1966, 154

‘alia nec lia nec gallina. supra ripa maris sedebat macula famuli tui illius, si alba, Christus spergat, siue rubra, Christus delet, siue nigra, Christus defigat. aios aios aios sancta crux, amen.’

1 siue *cod.* || 2 deficiat *cod.*

3.28.2.2. London, BL Harley MS 1772 (s. XI), ff. 122v-123r, spanning the entire top margin across both pages, damaged in places:

'[--] ne glorie ne glorie ne. [macul]a in ripa mare sedebat, macula de oculo famula dei, si est albah Christus .[--], si est nigra, delectat, si est rubra, Christus eam tollat. aios aios aios sanctus sanctus sanctus in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti.'

$\overline{1-2}$ si ... si ... si *correx*i : sit ... sit ... sit *cod.* || 2 *perhaps* ş[pergat] or đ[efigat]

3.29. *sitting and counting by the sea, adynatology*

counting the waves; for worms

3.29.1. London, BL *cod.* Sloane 475 (s. XI), f. 114r

item aliud 'Maria Martha super pontum sedebant, undas maris numerare uolebant. sicut non possunt undas maris numerare, sic non possint uermes isti amplius uiuere nec stare nec multiplicare.'

3.29.2. Oxford, Bodleian MS e Mus. 219 (s. XIII), f. 185v

item. carmen ad eundem. 'Maria et Martha super puteum sedebant, undas maris numerare uolebant. sicut non potuerunt undas numerare, sic non possent isti uermes in isto caballo amplius uiuere nec multiplicare.'

counting grains of sand

3.29.3. Luxembourg, 'Landesbibliothek, last page of a ms. of Augustine, *Comment. in ps.* (s. XI),' ed. Gallée 1894a, 266

'Martha super pontem maris stabat harenam maris enumerare, tantum quantum posset possent uermes in isto caballo nec uiuere nec crescere nec multiplicare nec nocere nec malefacere.' pater noster usque libera nos a malo.

$\overline{3}$ possent *conieci* : posset *cod.*, *del. ed. pr.*

with addition of statement about Job having had and not having worms; for toothache [instructions in Liegeois]

3.29.4. Darmstadt, SB *cod.* 815 (s. XIII), f. 158r, ed. Haust 1941, 95

'Maria stabat super pontum maris, harenam uolebat numerare maris sed non praeualuit, ita uermes in homine isto, et in caballo isto, in nomine domini nequeant crescere nec malum facere. Iob uermes habuit sed non habet, ita nunc iste post hanc horam non habeat in nomine domini.'

$\overline{2}$ *post et vernac.* se c'est des cevais *add. cod.*

3.30. *suffering saint: general*

analogy; I offer a new interpretation that it is a dialogue

3.30.1. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB *cod.* Sang. 751, 2.12 (*cod.* p. 220.4-7, ed. Önnersfors 2006, 1:37; Heim pp. 557-558)

lingulae praecantatio. nouies dices 'Iuno Iouem rogabat qui leuaret lingulam. "quomodo sol, quomodo luna, quomodo uespera, quomodo septentriones, quomodo Lucifer et Antifer redeunt, sic reuertatur loco suo, redeat lingula."' "

3.30.2. papyrus formulary, Glasgow, UL Ms Gen. 1026/16 (s. V), ed. *P.Oxy.* XI 1384.23-29, re-ed. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P 7; edition of further medical material on the same papyrus, Mazza 2007, 437-462.

ἄγγελοι κυρίου ἀνῆρθαν πρὸς μ[έσον] | τὸν οὐρανὸν ὀφθαλμοῦς | πονῶντες καὶ σφόγγον κρατοῦντες. λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ κυρίου “τί ἀνήρ|θατε ἀγνοὶ πανκάθαραι;” “ἴασιν λαβῖν | ἀνήλθαμεν ἰαῶ Σάββαθ, ὅτι σοὶ | δοινατὸς καὶ οἰσχιρός.”

Neptune standing on stone (*petra*)

3.30.3. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 1.11 (cod. p. 202, bottom margin, ed. Önnersfors 2006, 1:19; Heim 1893, 557)

ad tusellas. praecantans ‘Neptunus tusellas habebat, supra petram hic stabat, neminem habuit qui curaret, ipse curauit in falce sua triplice.’ hoc ter dicis.

3.31. *Christ and Peter (with variants)*

Christ sitting on marble, Peter suffering toothache

3.31.1. London, BL cod. Harley 585 (s. XI), ff. 183r-184r, ed. Storms 1948, 288 (previously Cockayne 1864-1866, 3:64-67)

‘Christus super marmoreum sedebat. Petrus tristis ante eum stabat, manum ad maxillum tenebat, et interrogabat eum dominus dicens “quare tristis es Petre?” respondit Petrus et dixit “domine dentes mei dolent.” et dominus dixit “adiuro te | migranea uel gutta maligna per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum et per caelum et terram et per uiginti ordines angelorum et per sexaginta prophetas et per duodecim apostolos et per quattuor euangelistas et per omnes sanctos qui deo placuerunt ab origine mundi, ut non possit diabolus nocere ei nec in dentes nec in aures nec in palato famulo dei illi non ossa frangere nec carnem manducare, ut non habeatis potestatem nocere illi, non dormiendo nec uigilando, nec tangatis eum usque sexaginta annos et unum diem, rex pax nax in Christo | filio, amen.” pater noster.

2 interrogebat *cod.* || 7 palpato *cod.*

Peter sitting on stone (*petra*); internal prescription; for worms

3.31.2. London, BL cod. Cotton Vespasian D XX (s. XII), f. 93r, ed. Storms 1948, 289-290

ad dentium dolorem. ‘Petrus sedebat super petram et manus suas tenebat ad maxillas suas et dixit Ihesus “Petre quid tristis sedes?” “domine, uermes in me. fac mihi benedictionem quam fecisti Lazaro quem resuscitasti de monumento.” “in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen, adiuro te migranus per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum ut tu amplius non possis stare nec in faucibus nec in dentibus nec in capite tuo, in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen.”’

2 uermes *vacat* in me *cod.* || 3 resciscitasti *Storms* | de mortuis *Storms* || 4 migranus *Storms* || 5 facibus *cod.*

internal prescription, Greek in Latin transliteration (ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς); for toothache

3.31.3. London, BL cod. Harley 2558 (s. XV), f. 195v, cf. in part Schulz 2003, 108 pro dolore dentium. ‘sanctus Petrus sedebat super marmoream petram et tenebat manus suas ad maxillas suas. uenit Iesus et dixit ei “Petre quid tristis?” “domine dentes mei dolent.” et dixit Iesus “sanitatem tibi do et omnibus portantibus ista uerba proper amorem tuum. a † g † l † a† agios † athanatos † hys kyrios † eleyson † hymas † pater noster et aue Maria quando dentes uestri dolent in nomine dei et sancti spiritus.”’

Mary; for worms

3.31.4. London, BL cod. Arundel 33 (s. XV), f. 87r (ed. Pribsch 1894, 16)

vor den tzanswern. ‘in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Maria super petram <sedens> maxillamque manu tenens, uenit filius dei et dixit ei “cur hic sedes maxillam in manu tenens?” respondit Maria “uenit ille uermiculus qui dicitur migranus et me mordet.” Iesus respondit “adiuro te migrane in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti ut exeas et inde recedas ab hoc famulo dei ut non noceas ei in dentibus aut in membro aliquo, per Christum dominum nostrum, amen.”’

² <sedens> *addidi* | in manuque *cod.* || 2-3 in manuque *cod.* || 3, 4 magran- *cod.*

Christ only (by error?) standing on bridge, mourning for sick horse

3.31.5. St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 550 (s. IX), p. 55 (ed. Piper 1880, 70)

‘Christus in ponte stabat tristis, superuenit Christus. “Christus quid stas tristis?” “pro illo caballo qui habet illum colorem et est illi homini qui habet nomen <N>. uerma habet, urescat et computrescat et numquam apparecat. uenit pater, tollat filius, minuit spiritus sanctus. uenit pater cum filio cum spiritu sancto, tollat ei potestatem, non habeat commeatum nec sus nec ius descendere nec cutem coram nec carnem perforare.’

⁵ commeatum *correx*: comiatum *add. cod. supr. lin.* | cutem *correx*: cute *cod.*

3.32.1. *Job and worms* [cf. *Job* 7:5, but that is only a passing statement, Job’s worms are not much emphasized in the *OT* account; on the other hand, *Testamentum Jobi* 46-47 attributes Job’s recovery to the gift of three χορδαὶ ποικίλαι from an angel, with which he ‘girds’ himself (περιεζωσάμην) and calls a φυλακτήριον τοῦ πατρός]

Job himself performs the Schwindeschema on the affliction

3.32.1.1. London, BL cod. Sloane 475 (s. XI), f. 114r

item ‘in nomine dei. Iob uermes habuit nouem. de nouem usque ad unum numerauit, de uno ad nullum. sic euanescent isti uermes.’

preceded by another historiola with angel

3.32.1.2. Vienna, ÖNB cod. lat. 93, f. 154r, ed. Zotter 1980, 274 (repr. Önnersfors 1993, 215 no. 47)

‘ab angelo annuntiatum est, ab archangelo destructum est. Iob uermes habuit et per uisionem domini mortui sunt et sanata fuerunt ulcera eius. Christe sic moriantur uermes et ulcera quae habet famulus domini ut numquam ei amplius nocere possint. agios agios agios, sanctus sanctus sanctus, fiat fiat fiat amen.’

¹ habuerit *cod.* || 2 fuit *cod.* | moriatur *cod.* || 3 possit *cod.* || 3-4 agyos aios ayos *cod.*

paradox; introduced by mixture of Latin and nonsense words; for worms in horse; color motif

3.32.1.3. Paris, BnF cod. lat. 2773 (s. IX), f. 109v, ed. Wickersheim 1966, sub codice

incipit carmen de nigro caballo. ‘primitus pater noster. o pars pullo leoparis et urro. leoparis et purreoparis et urreoparis et inopria est. in domo magmosin. in corro et incozim amare ostentim quod eldo eldo cocis uel maras zim. Iob uermes habuit et non habuit et dixit Iob ‘uermes mei uermes sunt. memento mei domine, libera me de sanguinibus quia uentus est uita mea.’ adiuro uos uermes per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum et per milia milium et decies centena milia et per sanctum Dionysium Rusticum et Eleutherium et per omnes sanctos dei ut non habeatis potestatem supra istum caballum nigrum, nec stare nec morare nec incidere in pelle nec in carne. item itemque.’

3.32.2. *Job and sick livestock*

as part of adjuration of grain; internal prescription of adjured grain

3.32.2.1. Cambridge, Christ Church College cod. 441 (s. XIII), p. 530

‘coniuro te hordeum per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, per Matthaem Lucam Marcum Iohannem, per uirtutes angelorum, archangelorum, per duodecim prophetas et per duodecim apostolos et per omnes martyres et per omnes innocentes et per omnes confessores et per omnes sanctas uirgines et per omnes dei electos, ut illa animalia quae de te mandicabunt nullum malum habeant, nec de tacto uel de tecto, nec de carbone nec de cenceria nec intus uel extra, nec aliquo alio languore. sanctus Iob sedebat tristis supra petram marmoream. tunc dominus uocauit eum et ait illi “Iob quid sedes et es tristis?” respondit Iob et dixit “domine dic mihi quid faciam animalibus quae donasti mihi. modo languor et infirmitas ea mihi abstulit.” tunc dominus ad eum ‘accipe hordeum in nomine meo carminatum et salua erunt per deum et per nomen meum.’ ter pater noster et credo in deum. postea sacerdos benedicat hordeum et aspergatur aqua benedicta et detur animalibus.

⁴ animali qui *cod.* || 6 cenceria *cod. add. in marg.*

Cambridge, Trinity College cod. O.9.26 (James 1438; s. XIV), f. iv^v

3.32.2.2. contra inopiam animalium. ‘coniuro te hordeum per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, per Matthaem Lucam Marcum et Iohannem, per uirtutes angelorum et archangelorum, per duodecim prophetas et per duodecim apostolos et per omnes martyres et per omnes innocentes et per omnes confessores et per omnes sanctas uirgines et per omnes electos dei ut illa animalia quae de te manducabunt nullum malum habeant nec de tacto nec tecto nec de carbone nec de centerea nec intus nec extra nec aliquo alio languore. sanctus Iob sedebat tristis supra petram marmoream. tunc dominus uocauit eum et ait illi “Iob quid sedes et es tristis?” respondit Iob et dixit “domine dic mihi quid faciam de animalibus quae donasti. modo languor et infirmitas ea mihi abstulit.” tunc ait dominus ad eum “accipe hordeum in nomine meo, carmina ter, et salua erunt per deum et per uirginem.” tunc pater et aue et credo, postea benedicat hordeum et aspergatur aqua et detur animalibus.”’

¹ inopiam *reading uncertain*

3.33. *Elijah*, on bronze chariot

3.33.1. Cambridge, Trinity College cod. O.7.37 (unit II: s. XI), f. 117r in marg.

carmen ad fluxum sanguinis etiam super absentem. ‘sanctus Elias super carrum aeneum sedebat, nares sanguine fluebant, dixit “domine deus meus, adiutor sis famulo tuo N. restrixistis flumen Iordanis quando Christus baptizatus fuit, sic restringas uenas famuli N. plenas sanguine. in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen.”’ ita dic et < >

² sanguis fluebat *cod.*

3.34. *other saints*

3.34.1. London, BL cod. Royal MS 2 A XX (s. VIII), f. 52r, via autopsy; ed. Storms 1948, 316

‘sanctus Cassius minutam habuit dominumque deprecatus fuit quicumque nomen suum portaret secum hoc malum non haberet.’ dic pater noster tribus uicibus.

¹ fuit *cod.* : est *Storms* || 2 portaret *cod.* : portatet *Storms*

3.34.2. London, BL cod. Cotton Caligula A XV (s. XI), f. 129r, ed. Storms 1948, 316
'sanctus Nicasius habuit minutam uariolam et rogauit dominum ut quicumque nomen
suum secum portaret scriptum (<). sancte Nicasi praesul et martyr egregie, ora pro me N.
peccatore et ab hoc morbo tua intercessione me defende, amen.'

2 portare *Storms*

for toothache, English title

3.34.3. fourteenth century manuscript in the royal library at Stockholm, pp. 145-146, ed.
Holthausen 1897, 84 (codex described in G. Stephens, *Archaeologia* 30 (1844), 349ff)
'sancta Apollonia uirgo fuit inclita cuius pro Christi nomine dentes extracti fuerunt. et
deprecata fuit dominum nostrum Iesum Christum ut quicumque nomen suum super se
portauerit, dolorem in dentibus destruat pater et filius et spiritus sanctus, amen.'

Marina; with cosmic disturbance; wordplay / nonce words (e.g. ἐκουτσοεφρίστηκεν,
'she was gut-wrenched,' ἐβαργιανεστέναξεν, 'she groaned out a deep groan'); for
backache

3.34.4. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 82-83
'ἁγία Μαρίνα ἐπέρασεν | ἀπὸ τὰ κατοικούμενα | ποὺ θεμελιώνναν ἐκκλησιάν. |
ἔσκυψεν νὰ πιάσῃ πέτραν | κι ἐκουτσοεφρίστηκεν | κι ἐξεκομπυλίστηκεν | κι
ἐβαργιανεστέναξεν | κι ὁ βαργιαναστενασμός της | 'ς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐκούστηκεν. |
καὶ τὴν ἔκουσαν τρεῖς ἄγγελοι | καὶ τὴ ῥωτοῦν κατασκασμένοι | "τί ἔχεις ἁγία
Μαρίνα | κι ἐβαργιανεστέναξες | κι ὁ βαργιαναστενασμός σου | 'ς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς
ἐκούστηκεν;" | "ἐπέρασα ποὺ τὰ κατοικούμενα, | ἔσκυψα νὰ πιάσω πέτραν | κι
ἐκουτσοεφρίστηκα | κι ἐξεκομπυλίστηκα." "καὶ δὲν εὐρέθηκεν | ἐφτακόμπυλον
καλάμιν | καὶ πενταδάκτυλον χέριν | νὰ τὸ σταυρώσῃ καὶ νὰ πῆ | 'εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ
πατρὸς (<);'"

suffering saint, with Mary; against φταρμό (baskania)

3.34.5. reported from contemporary Krete, Koutoulakes 1962, 196-197
'ἡ παναγία ὡς ἐλούσθη καὶ χτενίσθη, | 'ς τὸ χρυσὸ της θρονὶ ἐκάτσε, | καὶ
περνοῦσαν οἱ γελοῦδες, οἱ χειλοῦδες, οἱ κακὲς μελαναχειῖλες, | ἃ καλὸ 'πε, ἃ κακὸ
'πε, | φταρμὸς τὴν ἔπιασε. | καὶ ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς τῆς εἶπε "εἶντά 'χεις μάννα μου,
| εἶντά 'χεις μητέρα μου;" | "γυιέ μου, γυιέ μου, | τὰ κρουφὰ κατέχεις | καὶ τὰ
φανερὰ δὲν κατέχεις; | ὡς ἐλούσθην καὶ χτενίσθην, | 'ς τὸ χρυσὸ θρονὶ ἐκάτσα, | καὶ
μαδῆσαν τὰ μαλλιά μου | καὶ φυράξαν τὰ βυζὰ μου | καὶ τρέχαν τὰ μάτια μου
δάκρυα." | "κόντο δὲν εὐρέθηκε ἕνας ἄθρωπος | μυρωμένος νὰ πῆ πέντε, ἕξι, ἑφτά,
ὄχτώ, ἔννια πατερημούς, | ἔννια ἅγιοι νὰ σὲ βοηθοῦνε;"

5-6 third person pronouns corrected to first person where appropriate, apparently
carelessly copied from the first part in this version

[another garbled version of the suffering saint type with Mary, reported from
contemporary Krete, Koutoulakes 1962, 196-197, against φταρμό (*baskania*)]

three saints walking on a road (cf. 3.24); for a foundered horse

3.34.6. Vienna, ÖNB cod. 751 (ex theol. 259) (s. IX), f. 188r, ed. von Steinmeyer 1916,
370; cf. Grimm 1854, 1184

‘Petrus Michael et Stephanus ambulabant per uiam, sic dixit Michael “Stephani equus infusus, signet illum deus, signet illum Christus, et herbam comedat et aquam bibat.”

3.35. *suffering saint, banquet, John the Baptist*

internal prescription of incantation by Christ; for sunstroke

3.35.1. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 81-82

‘ὁ Χριστὸς ἔκαμεν τράπεζαν κι ἐκάλεσεν καὶ τὸν ἅϊ Γιάννην. μηδὲ τρώει, μηδὲ πίνει. τὴν τράπεζαν ἔσεισεν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ λέει “ἅϊ Γιάννη γιατί μηδὲ τρώεις μηδὲ πίνεις;” “ἥλιος ἐκάθισεν πάνω ὡς τὴν κεφαλὴν κι ἐμάρανεν κι ἐφλόισεν τὰ φύλλα τῆς καρδιάς μου.” “πίασε χερραπενταδάκτυλα ἐλιὰν καὶ βασιλικὸν τῆς ὑψώσης· ὀστάμα ἦλιε, ὀστάμα ἦλιε πὺ μάρανες κι ἐφλόισες τὰ φύλλα τῆς καρδιάς μου.””

3.35.2. reported from contemporary Kephallenia (Vlachata), Pagonis 1910, 468-469

‘κάτου ὡς τὸ γιαλὸ, κάτου ὡς τὸ περιγιάλι | Χριστὸς τραπέζι ἔστρωσε | καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους του ἐκάλεσε | κι ὅλοι τρώγουν καὶ πίνουν | κι ὅλοι τὸν θεὸν δοξάζουν. | κι ὁ ἅγιος ὁ Ἰωάννης | οὔτε τρώγει οὔτε πίνει | οὔτε τὸν θεὸν δοξάζει. | κι ὁ Χριστὸς τὸν ἐρωτᾷ· | “διατί, Ἰωάννη μου, | οὔτε τρώγεις οὔτε πίνεις | οὔτε ἐμένανε δοξάζεις;” “διατί ἦρτε ὁ ἥλιος καὶ κάθησε ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ καύκαλο τῆς κεφαλῆς μου καὶ δὲν μπορῶ οὔτε νὰ φάω οὔτε νὰ πιῶ οὔτε νὰ σὲ προσκυνήσω.” “πᾶρε νερὸ ἀμίλητο καὶ τρία κλωνιά ἀλάτι, καὶ πήγανε νὰ εὔρης βαπτισμένον μυρωμένον νὰ σὲ τὸ ξορκίσῃ νὰ σοῦ περάσῃ.””

3.35.3. reported from contemporary Kos, Zarraphte 1951, 305-306

‘ἀφέντης ὁ Χριστὸς κάλεσμα ἤκαμε | κι οὐλλοὺς τοὺς ἀποστόλους του ἠκάλεσε | κι οὐλλοὶ τρῶαν κ’ ἤπιναν | κι οὐλλοὶ θειοδόξαζαν. | κι ἓνας Γιάννης μόνος του, | τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ πρόδρομος | μηδ’ ἤτρωε μηδ’ ἤπινε | μεθὲ κ’ ἐθειοδόξαζε. | “εἶντὰ χεῖς κ’ εἶντὰ παθεῖς | ἅη Γιάννη πρόδρομε | κι οὔτε τρώεις οὔτε πίνεις | μήτε καὶ θηῖον δοξάζεις;” “ὡς τὸν δρόμον ποῦρκουμουν | τὸν νῆλιον ἴπντηξα, | τὰ κόκκαλά μου τσάκκισε, | τὰ κριάτα μου κοπάνισε, | μοῦ ῥιψε ὡς τὸ φῶς μου θάμβες, | ἐβδομηνταδύο φλέβες | τῆς κεφαλῆς μου σπάραξε | καὶ τὰ μυαλά μου τάραξε.” “ἐν εἶχε πούγετι | κανένα τάχατι | δαφτισμένο μυρωμένον | καὶ ἴπο τ’ ἅγια περασμένον | νὰ κόψη τρία κλωνία βασιλικόν, | νὰ πῆ ὀσταλᾶτε ὄρη καὶ βουνά, | νὰ ξερριζωθῆ νὰ φύῃ | ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν δοῦλον;””

3.35.4. reported from contemporary Kephallenia, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘κάτου ὡς τὸ γιαλὸ κάτου ὡς τὸ περιγιάλι | ὁ Χριστὸς τραπέζι ἔστρωσε | καὶ τς ἀποστόλους του κάλεσε, | κι ὅλοι πίνουν κι ὅλοι τρῶνε | κι ὅλοι τὸ θεὸ δοξάζουν. | ὁ ἅης Γιάννης | οὔτε τρώει οὔτε πίνει | οὔτε τὸ θεὸ δοξάζει. | κι ὁ Χριστὸς τὸν ἐρωτᾷ | “γιατί ἅη Γιάννη εἶτε τρώγεις εἶτε πίνεις | εἶτε μένανε δοξάζεις;” | “γιατί ἦλθε ὁ ἥλιος κ’ ἔκατο ἄπανου ὡς τὸ καύκαλο τοῦ κεφαλιοῦ μου, | γιὰ δαῦτο εἶτε πίνω εἶτε τρώγω | εἶτε ἐσένα προσκυνάω.” | κι ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ λέει | “πᾶρε νερὸ ἀμίλητο καὶ τρία κλωνιά ἀλάτι, | καὶ βρὲς βαπτισμένο μυρωμένο | νὰ σὲ ξορκίσῃ νὰ σοῦ περάσῃ.””

truncated

3.35.5. reported from contemporary Kastellorizo, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘κάλεσμαν ἔκαμεν αἱ ἀφέντης αἱ Χριστὸς | βούλους τοὺς ἀντζέλους | τσαὶ τοὺς ἀρκαντζέλους. | βουῖλοι τρῶσιν, βουῖλοι πίνουν, | βουῖλοι τὸν θεὸν δοξάζουν, | βουῖλοι τὸ σταυρόν τους κάμνουν. | αἱ ἅης Γιάννης αἱ πρόδρομος, | μήε τρώει, μήε πίνει, | μήε τὸν θεὸν δοξάζει, | μήε τὸ σταυρόν του κάμνει. | τὸν ἐρώτηξεν αἱ

ἀφέντης αἱ Χριστός: | “τί ἔσ’ εἰς, ἅγιέ μου Γιάννη Πρόδρομε, | μήε τρώεις, μήε πίνεις, | μήε τὸν θεὸν δοξάζεις, | μήε τὸ σταυρό σου κάμνεις;” | “τί νὰ σε πῶ, ἀφέντη τσαῖ Χριστέ μου; | νήλιον ἔσ’ εἰ τὸ κρανίμ μου | τσαῖ ὑρίζε τσεφαλή μου.”

3.36. *suffering saint, banquet, Mamas, for livestock*
against foxes

3.36.1. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 93

‘ὁ ἅγιος Μάμαντος κάλεσμα ἔκαμε, τοὺς ἁγίους οὐλλοὺς ἐκάλεσεν. οὐλλοὶ οἱ ἅγιοι ἐτρώσιν κι ἐπίνασι κι ὁ ἅγιος Μάμαντος οὔτε ἔτρωεν οὔτε ἔπινε, μόνον τὸν θεὸν ἐδόξαζεν. ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ πρόδρομος τὸν ἐρώτησεν “ἅγιε Μάμαντε, οὔτε τρώεις οὔτε πίνεις, μόνον τὸν θεὸν δοξάζεις;” “ἄρνιν καὶ ρίφιν ἀνέτρεφα σὲ ἄγριον βουνόν, τὸ ἐμέρωνα, σὲ χρουσήν μάντραν τὸ ἐπόκλειζα, μὲ χρουσήν κούππαν τὸ ἐπότιζα. καὶ ἦρτεν τὸ καλὸν ζῶον, ἡ ἀλώπηξ, καὶ μοῦ τὸ πῆρεν καὶ μοῦ τὸ ἔφαεν. καὶ δὲν εὐρέθεν ἄνθρωπος βαπτισμένος μυρωμένος ἀποῦ τὰ ἅγια μυστήρια περασμένος νὰ δέση τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς, τὰ δόντια αὐτῆς, τὰ μάτια, τὰ πόδια αὐτῆς, τὰς ἀδελφὰς αὐτῆς, τὰς ἐξαδέλφας αὐτῆς, μὲ κόκκινον κλώνον μετὰξι ’ς τῆς ἀγρολιᾶς τῆ ρίζα καὶ νὰ μὴν ἐ βλέπη ἡ ἀγρολιὰ τὴν θάλασσαν. ὅπως λοιπὸν δὲν ἐ βλέπει ἡ ἀγρολιὰ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἔτσι κι αὐτὴ νὰ μὴν ἔχη τὴν ἄδεια νὰ πάη ’ς τ’ ἄρνιά μου καὶ ’ς τὰ ρίφια μου, καὶ νὰ πάη ’ς τὰ ἄγρια βουνὰ καὶ νὰ τρώη ξυλομερμήγκους.”

wildcats

3.36.2. reported from contemporary Crete, in a manuscript record in the archives of the Ἱστορικὸν λεξικὸν at Sphakia (cod. 80a, p. 25), ed. Koukoules 1928, 488-489

‘ὡς ἔχει ἅϊς Μάμας χίλια πρόβατα καὶ μύρια γίδια, ἐφούσκωσε ἡ θάλασσα κι’ ἔβγαλε ἀρπακτὴν βιτσίλαν καὶ φιλάδελφον καὶ κάττη καὶ ἔφαγαν τὰ πρόβατα καὶ ἐσκόρπισαν τὰ γίδια. πάνω σὲ πέτραν ἔκατσε, σὲ ρίζιμιὸ χαράκι καὶ κλαίει καὶ θρηναῖται καὶ πολὺ παραπονᾶται. κι ὁ Χριστὸς περνᾷ ἀπὸ κεῖ, “εἴντά ’χεις αἱ Μάμα καὶ κλαίεις καὶ θρηναῖσαι καὶ πολὺ παραπονᾶσαι;” “ὡς εἶχα χίλια πρόβατα καὶ μύρια γίδια καὶ ἐφούσκωσεν ἡ θάλασσα κι ἔβγαλεν ἀρπακτὴ βιτσίλα φιλάδελφο κάττη καὶ φάγαν τὰ πρόβατα καὶ σκορπίσαν τὰ γίδια.” “ὦ παναγία, δὲ βρίσκεται ἄνθρωπος βαπτισμένος μυρωμένος τοῦ Χριστοῦ παραδομένος, νὰ ’χη μεγαλοπεφθιανὸ ἀντίδερο φαωμένο, νὰ βρῆ τρεῖς γλυμισιῆς ἀγριμικὸ λουρι ἢ τρεῖς κλωνιῆς μετὰξι ἢ τρεῖς κλωνιῆς Ἀλεξανδρινὸ λινάρι νὰ πάη ’ς τὴ ρίζα τῆς ἀσφαραγγιᾶς ἢ τοῦ ἀζούρου ἢ ἀγκαραθιᾶς νὰ δέση τὸν κάττη τὴν κάττα τὸν κόρακα τὴν κορακίνα τὸ φιλάδελφο τὴ φιλαδελφίνα, τὰ νύχια τῶν καὶ τὴν καρδιά τῶν, νὰ μὴν μποροῦν νὰ πειράξουν ἄρνια καὶ ρίφια τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ τάδε;”

birds of prey (βιτσίλοι)

3.36.3. reported from contemporary Nisyros, Koukoules 1928, 489

‘ὁ ἅγιος Μάμαντος κάλεσμα ἔκαμε καὶ οὐλλοὺς τοὺς ἁγίους ἐκάλεσε. καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Μάμαντος μὴδὲ ἔτρωγε μὴδὲ ἔπινε, μόνον τὸν θεὸν ἐδόξαζεν. ὁ ἀφέντης Χριστὸς τὸν ἠρώτησε “τί ’χεις ἅγιε Μάμαντε καὶ μήτε πίνεις, μόνον τὸν θεὸν δοξάζεις;” ὁ ἅγιος Μάμαντος τοῦ λέγει “ἄρνι καὶ ρίφι ἐμέρωνα, ’ς ἄγριο βουνὸ τ’ ἀνέτρεφα, σὲ μαρμαρμένα γούρνα τὰ πότιζα, σ’ ἀργυρῆ κασέλλα τὰ κλείδωνα. καὶ πέρασε τὸ καλὸ πουλλὶ τὸ μαλιάρὸ καὶ μοῦ τὰ πῆρε.” “καὶ δὲν εὐρέθη ἄνθρωπος γεννημένος κι ἀπὸ τ’ ἅγια περασμένος νὰ σοῦ κάμη κόκκινον κλώνον νὰ δέσης ἐλιάς κλώνον ποῦ δὲν ἐβλέπει θάλασσαν;” δένω ὅλους τοὺς βιτζίλους, οὐλα τὰ χιλιαδέρφια, τοῖς φτέρνες τῶν φτερούδων τῶν. δένω τὰ μάτια τῶν, τὰ νύχια τῶν. ὡς δὲν βλέπει θάλασσα τὴν ἐλιά, νὰ μὴν βλέπη κι αὐτὸς τ’ ἄρνια καὶ τὰ ρίφια μου.’

interlocking, tying of knots; combined with a second part addressing the affliction
3.36.4. private collection, codex written on Crete (Katsidoni, Seteia, s. XIX), f. 9r-v, ed. Spyridakis 1942-1943, 65

1. διὰ τὴν δέσση βιτσίλα. παράδειγμα τοῦ ἁγίου Μάμαντος. ὁ ἅγιος Μάμαντος κάλεσσε ἕκαμε καὶ ὄλους τοὺς ἁγίους ἐκάλεσε καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Μάμαντος μηδὲ ἔτρωγε μηδὲ ἔπινε, μόνο τὸν θεὸν ἐδόξαζε. καὶ ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς τὸν ἐρώτησε “τί ἔχεις ἅγιε Μάμαντε μηδὲ τρώεις μηδὲ πίνεις, μόνο τὸν θεὸν δοξάζεις;” “ἀρνὶ καὶ ρίφι ἐμέρων καὶ εἰς ἄγριο βουνὶ τὸ ἔβοσκα καὶ εἰς ἐμαρμαρμένα γούρνα τὸ ἐπότιζα καὶ εἰς ἀργυρῆ κασέλα τὸ ἔβανα καὶ ἐπέρασε τὸ μαλλιαρὸν πουλὶ καὶ μοῦ τὸ ἐπῆρε καὶ δὲν εὐρέθη ἄνθρωπος βαπτισμένος μυρωμένος καὶ ἀποῦ τὰ ἅγια μυστήρια περασμένος τὴν δέσση τοῦ καλοῦ πουλιοῦ τὴν μύτην του, τὴν δέσση τὰ ὀνύχιάν του, τὴν δέσση τὰς τζιοῦντας τῶν πτερούγων του.”

2. θὰ τὰ εἰπῆς τρεῖς βολὲς ταῦτα τὰ τρία λόγια καὶ τὴν δέσση εἰς κάθε λόγο ἕνα κόμπο ὅπου τὴν γενοῦν κόμποι ἑννέα | εἰς ἐκκόκκινο κλῶνο μετὰξι καὶ εἰς ἀγρολαίας κλῶνο. ἡ ἀγρολαία τὴν εἶναι εἰς μέρος ὅπου τὴν μὴν ἀνεδιάζη ἡ θάλασσα. ‘καὶ ὡς δὲν θωρεῖ ἡ ἀγρολαία τὴν θάλασσα, ἔτσι καὶ ἐσεῖς βιτσίλες τὴν μὴν ἔχετε ὀμμάτια τὴν κοιτάζετε τοῦ τάδε τὰ ἀρνιάν του καὶ τὰ ρίφιάν του ἕως ἕνα χρόνον, καὶ ἐγὼ σὰς προστάζω ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆ ἕως δύσει τὰ ψόφια καὶ τὰ βρομερὰ τὴν εἶναι ἐδικὰ σας.’ ὅταν θὰ τοῦ δέσσης, τὴν εἶναι ἡμέρα Σάββατο, ὅταν βουτὰ ὁ ἥλιος ὁ ρίπτῃ τοῦ ἀκτῖνες καὶ τὴν εἶναι αὐξήσις τῆς σελήνης, εἰς μετὰξι ἐκκόκκινο ὡς θὰ τὸ ἔχουν βγαρμένο ἀποῦ τὸν τὸρνον καὶ τὴν διπλώσουν τὴν μεπελονιά, τὴν τὸ ζερβοκλώση μία κόρη ὅπου τὴν μὴν ἔχη θωρώντα τὰ συνήθειά τζη.

16 ὁ cod. : ὅ(ταν) corr. Spyridakis

encounter with an angel, similar plot with livestock, but appropriated for human patients, inflammation τῶ νόζῳ

3.36.5. reported from contemporary Emparo (Crete), Athanasopoulos et al. 1914
‘ἅη Μάμας κλαίει καὶ θρηναῖται, | τοῦ θεοῦ παραπονᾶται. | ἄγγελος τὸν ἐρωτᾷ | “εἰντὰ ἔχεις ἅη μάμα καὶ κλαίεις καὶ θρηναῖσαι, | τοῦ θεοῦ παραπονᾶσαι;” | “ἀποῦ χα χίλια πρόβατα καὶ πεντακόσια γίδια | καὶ πῆα τα κάτω ἔς τὸ γιαλὸ ἔς τὸ περιγιάλι, | τὴν φάνε βοτρυλί τὴν χορτάσουνε | καὶ τὴ τρίχα τως τὴν λάξουνε. | κ’ ἐκεῖνα φάγα καὶ ψοφήσανε.” | “κοντὸ δὲν εὐρέθηκεν ἄνθρωπος | βαπτισμένος, μυρωμένος, | τοῦ θεοῦ παραδωμένος, | τὴν πιάση με μαυρομάνικο μαχαίρι, | τὴν κόψη ἐφτακόντυλο καλάμι, | τὴν κάμη ἐνιὰ πήρους, | τὴν καρφώση τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ τῶ νόζῳ τὸ φλέμονα, | τὸν ἄσπρο τὸ μαῦρο, τὴν σπλῆνα, τὸ σκῶτι, | ἔς τὴν καρδιά, ἔς τὸ αὐτί, | καὶ τὸ κάθε κακὸ | τὴν λείψ’ ἀποῦ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ τῶ νόζῳ.”

3.37. suffering saint, banquet, miscellaneous

Christ and apostles, ‘the little apostle’ has the affliction; for indigestion

3.37.1. reported from contemporary Kritsa (Crete), Koutoulakes 1962, 198-199

‘κάτω ἔς τὸ γιαλὸ ἔς τὸν ἄμμο | κάθονταν οἱ δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι | καὶ ὄλοι τρώνε καὶ ὄλοι πίνουν | καὶ ὄλοι τὸ θεὸν δοξάζουν. | τὸ μικρὸ τὸ ἀποστολάκι | μήτε τρώει μήτε πίνει | μήτε τὸ θεὸν δοξάζει | καὶ κρατεῖ του τὸ φεγγάρι | κατὰ νοῦ κατὰ κεφάλι. | καὶ ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς τοῦ λέει | “ὄλοι τρώνε ὄλοι πίνουν | καὶ ὄλοι τὸν θεὸν δοξάζουν. | καὶ τὸ μικρὸ τὸ ἀποστολάκι | μήτε τρώει μήτε πίνει | καὶ κρατεῖ μου τὸ φεγγάρι | κατὰ νοῦ κατὰ κεφάλι. | ὡς πῆσει τὸ ἀλάτι ἔς τὸ γιαλὸ καὶ τὸ ψωμὶ ἔς τὸ φοῦρνο | καὶ τὸ χιόνι ἔς τὴν μαδάρα, | ἔτσὰ τὴν πῆξη, τὴν σταθῆ.”

μισοὸ χριστάκι; for disorders of the spleen

3.37.2. reported from contemporary Crete [personalized], Bardakes 1926, 243

‘ὁ Χριστὸς χριστάκια διάβαζε, κ’ ἓνα μισοὸ χριστάκι μουδὲ τρώει μουδὲ πίνει μουδὲ περιδιαβάζει. ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ ρώτηξε “εἴντά ’χεις ἐσοὺ χριστάκι καὶ δὲν τρώεις καὶ δὲ πίνεις καὶ δὲ περιδιαβάζεις;” “ἡ σπληνὰ μου πόνεσε καὶ τὸ στομάχι μου πονεῖ καὶ δὲ μπορῶ νὰ φάω μουδὲ νὰ περιδιαβάσω.” “ὦ παναγία μου, κ’ ἐχάθηκεν ἄνθρωπος μυρωμένος βαπτισμένος κ’ εἰς τὸ θεὸ παραδομένος, νὰ πιάση μανάρα καὶ τρεῖς κλώνους βάτο, νὰ σύρη καὶ νὰ κόψη τὴ σπληνα τὴ κακὴ καὶ τὴ καλὴ νὰ ν’ ἀφήση τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ Στρατῆ.”

variant in which Christ calls snakes to banquet; one snake is injured; recipe for analogous healing sought by Christ from snake; wordplay with name of the target; against snakes

3.37.3. private collection, from Epirus (s. XIX), ff. 5v-6r, ed. Oikonomides 1953-1954, 19

‘εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἀμήν. ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. ἀφέντης ὁ Χριστὸς ἔκαμεν τράπεζαν, ὅλα τὰ φίδια τὰ ἐκάλεσεν διὰ νὰ φᾶν καὶ νὰ πιοῦν καὶ νὰ ξικοφαντήσουν. καὶ ἓνα φίδι κακόφιδο πικρὸ φαρμακωμένο δὲν ἤθελε νὰ φάη μῆτι νὰ πῆ μῆτε νὰ ξικοφαντήση. καὶ αὐθέντης ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ ἐρώτησεν καὶ τοῦ λέγει “μωρὲ φίδι κακόφιδο πι | κρὸ φαρμακωμένο, ὅλα τὰ φίδια τρώγουν καὶ πίνουν καὶ ξικοφαντοῦν, καὶ ἰσοῦ διατί δὲν τρῶς καὶ δὲν πίνεις καὶ δὲν ξικοφαντεῖς;” “ἀφέντη μου Χριστέ, ἐπειδὴ κὶ μὴ ρώτησες, νὰ σοῦ τὸ ’μολογήσω. χήρας υἱὸς ἐδιάφηκε, ζερβιὰ μεργιὰ μὲ πάτησεν, ἓνα κουλούκι μοῦ ἔβγαλεν, δεξὰ μεργιὰ τὸν ἔφαγα.” “μωρὲ φίδι κακόφιδο πικρὸ φαρμακωμένο, δὲν μοῦ λέγεις τὸ γιαντρικό του;” “αὐθέντη μου Χριστέ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ μὲ ρώτησες, νὰ σοῦ τὸ ’μολογήσω· ἄσπροι τζοχῆς καθάρια πίτιρα καὶ τὸ περισκοκλάδι, ὅθε πονεῖ, ἄς βάλῃ.” ἀμήν, κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ νικά, ἐκ τρίτου.

crossed with motif of the divided action of three birds; internal prescription of incantation by Mary

3.37.4. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 82

‘τρία πουλλάκια ἤμασταν, τὸ ἓναν μὴδὲ ἔτρωεν μὴδὲ ἔπινεν. κὶ ἐρώτησεν ἡ παναγία ἡ δέσποινα “οὐλλα τὰ πουλιὰ τρῶν καὶ πίνουν, καὶ σὺ μῆτε τρώεις μῆτε πίνεις;” “ὁ ἥλιος μὲ ἤυρε ’ς τὴ στράταν ποὺ πορπάτιουν κὶ ἐμάρανέν με τὲς σαράντα φλέες τοῦ κορμιοῦ μου.” “εὔρε ἓναν ἄσπρον παννὶν καὶ κάθισε κὶ εὔρε ἐννιὰ κουννιὰ ἐλιά, βασιλικὸ ’ς τὸ νερόν τῆς ὑψώσης, καὶ κάτσε πωρνὸν καὶ βράδυν καρσι ’ς τὸν ἥλιον καὶ ρίξε νερόν καὶ ’πέ ’ς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς στάμα ἤλιε. ὡς τρέχουν τ’ ἄστρα, οἱ ποταμοί, ἔτσὰ νὰ φύη τὸ κακὸν ποὺ πάνω του.”

3.38.1. *suffering saint, Alexander of Macedon*; with cosmic disturbance; to protect livestock from foxes

3.38.1.1. reported from contemporary Cyprus, Chaziioannou 1934, 111

‘ὁ βασιλὲς Ἀλέξαντρος Ἀλεξαντροπολίτης ἔρεξεν νὰ πᾶ ’ς τὰ Γεροσόλυμα, νὰ πᾶ νὰ προσῶνηση. ’ς τὸ ἄμε του ’ς τὸ ἔλα του ’ς τὸ πράσινον λειβάιν, ’ς τὸ δεκανίτσοῖν του ἐκούμπησεν τσ’ ἔγειρεν τσ’ ἔτσοῖμῆθη. τσ’ ἤρτεν τ’ ἀλοῦπιν τὸ καθοῦπιν τὸ δεκάθαρτον τῆς γῆς. ὅσα ἔφαν, ὅσα ἤπκιεν τσ’ ὅσα ἐκινδύνεψεν ἔφηκέν τα τσ’ ἐπῆεν. ἐξύπνησεν ὁ βασιλὲς Ἀλέξαντρος τσ’ αἰ κλαίει τσ’ αἰ θρηνίζει τσ’ αἰ τὸν κόσμον σκανδαλίζει. ἄκουσέν του ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου τσ’ εἶπεν “τρέξετε ἄγγελοι κὶ ἀρχάγγελοι κὶ εἶδασιν γῆ φτωχοῦ μιστάριν ἐκρατήσασιν γῆ ἀρφανὸν ἐδέρασιν γῆ χήραν ἀδικήσασιν.” κ’ οἱ ἀρχάγγελοι εἶπασιν “ὄχι κύριέ μου καὶ θεέ μου. μὲ χήραν ἀδικήσασιν μὲ ἀρφανὸν ἐδέρασιν μὲ φτωχοῦ μιστάριν ἐκρατήσασιν. ἐν

ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξαντρος Ἀλεξαντροπολίτης ἔρεξεν νὰ πᾶ ἴς τὰ Γεροσόλυμα, νὰ πᾶ νὰ προσσῦνήσῃ. ἴς τὸ ἄμε του ἴς τὸ ἔλα του ἴς τὸ πράσινον λειβάιν, ἴς τὸ δεκανίτσι του ἐκούμπησεν τὸ ἔγειρεν τὸ ἔτσι οἰμήθη. τὸ ἦρτεν τ' ἀλούπιον τὸ καθούπιον τὸ δεκάθαρτον τῆς γῆς. ὅσα ἔφαν, ὅσα ἦπκιεν τὸ ὅσα ἐκινδύνεψεν ἔφηκέν τα τὸ ἔπηεν. ἐξύπνησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξαντρος τὸ αἶ κλαίει τὸ αἶ θρηνίζει τὸ αἶ τὸν κόσμον σκανδαλίζει.” κ' εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς “ἐν ἔσει λιμὶν σκουλλὶν τὸ αἶ σ' ἔριν πενταδάχτυλον τὸ αἶ καρφὶν μονόπυρον νὰ πῆ ἴς τ' ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, δῆννω τὸ αἶ χαλινώννω ἐβδομηνταδυόμισυ βλέες τοῦ λαιμοῦ του, ἐξορκίζω τὴν μερκὰν τοῦ θεοῦ του, νὰ λείψῃ ἴπου τὰ γίδκια τοῦ δεῖνα τὸ αἶ νὰ πάῃ ἴς τοῦ δεῖνα;”

7 εἶδασιν for ἴδετε

first person variant; interlocking, at each instance of the word δῆννω, the user sticks a nail (καρφίον) into the earth and says δκιάσλε; for protection against foxes

3.38.1.2. reported from contemporary Cyprus, Kyriakides 1917-1918

ἔβουλήθηκα ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξαντρος Ἀλεξαντροπολίτης νὰ πάω ἴς τὰ Γεροσόλυμα νὰ πᾶ νὰ προσσῦνήσω. ἴς τὴν στράταν δκίαν ἐπήαινα ἡῦρα σ' ἴλια πρόβατα, σ' ἴλιους ἄρνους, κοῦκλον πετεινόν, ὄρνιθαν μαύρην, τὸ αἶ κατσέλλαν μὲ ἑκατὸ δαμάλους. μάντραν ἔχτισα τὸ ἔβαλά τα μέσα. ἐποστάθηκα, ἔγυρα τὸ αἶ ποτσ' οἰμήθηκα στέκοντα πᾶ ἴς τὸ δεκανίτσι μου. ἦρτεν τ' ἀλούπιον τὸ καθούπιον τὸ τελώνιον τῆς γῆς τὸ ὄχτρομούτσουνον τὸ κακομούτσουνον τὸ σουγλοδόντικον τὸ σουβλοπόδικον πὸν τὰ μάθκια του γυαλλὶν τὸ αἶ τὰ δόνκια του καρφίν, τὸ ἔφαν μου τὰ σ' ἴλια πρόβατα, τοὺς σ' ἴλιους ἄρνους, τὸν κοῦκλον πετεινόν, τὸ αἶ τὴν ὄρνιθαν τὴν μαύρην, τὸ αἶ τὴν κατσέλλαν μὲ ἑκατὸ δαμάλους. κλαίω τὸ αἶ θρηνίζω τὸ αἶ ποτάμια ξερανίσκω τὸ αἶ τὰ δέντρα μαρανίσκω. ἔρεσεν ἡ παναία ἡ δέσποινα μὲ τὸν μονοεὐνήν της τὸ εἶπεν μου. “τί κλαίεις τὸ αἶ θρηνίζεις τὸ αἶ ποτάμια ξερανίσκεις τὸ αἶ τὰ δέντρα μαρανίσκεις;” τὸ εἶπουν της. “ἔβουλήθηκα ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξαντρος Ἀλεξαντροπολίτης νὰ πάω ἴς τὰ Γεροσόλυμα νὰ πᾶ νὰ προσσῦνήσω. ἴς τὴν στράταν δκίαν ἐπήαινα ἡῦρα σ' ἴλια πρόβατα, σ' ἴλιους ἄρνους, κοῦκλον πετεινόν, ὄρνιθαμ μαύρην, τὸ αἶ κατσέλλαν μὲ ἑκατὸ δαμάλους. μάντραν ἔχτισα τὸ ἔβαλά τα μέσα. ἐποστάθηκα, ἔγυρα τὸ αἶ ποτσ' οἰμήθηκα στέκοντα πᾶ ἴς τὸ δεκανίτσι μου. ἦρτεν τ' ἀλούπιον τὸ καθούπιον τὸ τελώνιον τῆς γῆς τὸ ὄχτρομούτσουνον τὸ κακομούτσουνον τὸ σουγλοδόντικον τὸ σουβλοπόδικον πὸν τὰ μάθκια του γυαλλὶν τὸ αἶ τὰ δόνκια του καρφίν, τὸ ἔφαν μου τὰ σ' ἴλια πρόβατα, τοὺς σ' ἴλιους ἄρνους, τὸν κοῦκλον πετεινόν, τὸ αἶ τὴν ὄρνιθαν τὴν μαύρην, τὸ αἶ τὴν κατσέλλαν μὲ ἑκατὸ δαμάλους.” εἶπεν μου ἡ παναία ἡ δέσποινα. “δὲν ἔσει λιμὶν κλωστήν λινάριν τὸ αἶ καρφὶν μονόπυρον τὸ αἶ νὰ πῆς ἴς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ αἶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ αἶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἀμήν,” τὸ αἶ νὰ πῆς ἴς τὸ δῆννω ἀλουπὸν ἀρσενικόν τὸ αἶ θηλυκόν, δῆννω τὸ αἶ τὰ δόνκια του, δῆννω τὲς ἐνενηνταεὐνιά βλέες τοῦ λαιμοῦ του, τὲς ἐνενηνταεὐνιά τῶν ποδκιῶν του, τὲς ἐνενηνταεὐνιά τῶν σ' ἐρκῶν του, τὲς ἐνενηνταεὐνιά τῆς ράσῃς του, τὲς ἐνενηνταεὐνιά τῶν ἀμμαδκιῶν του. νὰ πάῃ ἴς τὸ ὄρος νὰ φάῃ ξύλον δέντρον ἄκαρπον, τὸ αἶ τὰ πρόβατα τοῦ δεῖνα νὰ μὲν τὰ πειράζῃ. εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ αἶ τοῦ υἱοῦ (τὸ αἶ) τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἀμήν.”

2 δκίαν *ed. glosses* ἐνῶ || 3 κοῦκλον *ed. gl.* ὑπερήφανον | κατσέλλαν *ed. gl.* ἀγελάς || 4 ἐποστάθηκα *ed. gl.* ἐκουράσθη || 5 δεκανίτσι *ed. gl.* ράβδος || 6 πὸν *ed. gl.* ποῦ εἶναι || 20 λιμὶν *ed. gl.* νῆμα

[a garbled version from contemporary Cyprus in Chaziioannou 1934, 110]

3.38.2. *addition of St. Mamas*; interlocking, a knot is tied when the word for binding (δήνω) is said

3.38.2.1. reported from contemporary Cyprus, Pantelides 1909

‘ἄγιε Μάμα, τίμιε τιμοφόρε ποῦ θέλησες νὰ κάμετε συμπεθερκὰν μὲ τὸν Ἀλέξαντρον τσ’ αἰ τὴν Ἀλεξαντρίαν του· ἐξέηκεν τσ’ αἰ σώρεψεν σ’ ἴλιους ἄρνους τσ’ αἰ σ’ ἴλιους ἔριφους τσ’ αἰ τὸν κοῦκον πετεινόν· τσ’ ἐφύαν του τσ’ ἐπήασιν πάνω ἔς τ’ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν ναῦρουν μονὴν νὰ μείνουν. τσ’ ἐλίμπησεν τ’ ἀλουῖπιν τὸ κατὰσαρκον τῆς γῆς τὸ φλοκκονοῦριν τσ’ ἔφαν τού τα, τσ’ αἰ κλαίει τσ’ αἰ θρηνίζεσαι. ἔρασσεν τσ’ ὁ δεσπότης μου ὁ Χριστὸς τσ’ αἰ λείει του “εἶντά σ’ εἰς, ἄη Μάμα τίμιε τιμοφόρε τσ’ αἰ κλαίεις τσ’ αἰ θρηνίζεσαι;” ἐπολοήχην τσ’ εἶπεν τού τα. “ἐθέλησα νὰ κάμω συμπεθερκὰν” καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τρεῖς φορές. ‘τσ’ αἰ τότε λαλεῖ του ὁ Χριστὸς· “ἔπαρε λιμὴν σκουλλὴν ἀπὸ χειρὸς γεναίικας, τσ’ αἰ πέ· δήνω ἀλουπούς, τοῦ ὄρου, τοῦ τραχόνου τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τοῦ γιαλοῦ, χηλυκούς, ἀρσενικούς ἔς τὲς ἐβδομήκοντα δύο ἡμισυ βλέβες τοῦ λαιμοῦ του· νὰ μὲν ἔσ’ ἡ ἐξουσίαν νὰ ντζίση πὰ ἔς τὴν αἴγιαν τοῦ δεῖνος, νὰ πάη πάνω ἔς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν, τσ’ ἔσ’ ἡ νὰ φάη νὰ πιῇ τσ’ αἰ νὰ ππέση νὰ τσ’ υλιστῇ, τσ’ αἰ νὰ κόψη τὸν θυμὸν τσ’ αἰ τὴν ὀρκὴν του.”’

with only St. Mamas

3.38.2.2. reported from contemporary Kritsa (Crete), Koutoulakes 1962, 202

‘ὁ ἅγιος Μάμας κλαίει καὶ θρηνᾶται | καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ παραπονᾶται. | “ἄγιε Μάμα, εἶντά ἔχεις καὶ κλαῖς καὶ θρηνᾶσαι | καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ παραπονᾶσαι;” | “ἄγιε Μάμα, τὰ κρουφὰ ξέρεις καὶ τὰ φανερά δὲν ξέρεις; | ἀπού ἔχα χίλια πρόβατα καὶ δυὸ χιλιάδες γίδια | καὶ πῆγά τα κάτω ἔς τὸ γιαλὸ ἔς τὸν ἄμμο | καὶ φάγανε δίφυλλο τρίφυλλο καλάμι | καὶ σπληνιάσανε καὶ φλεμονιάσανε. | κύριε ἐλέησον, κύριε ἐλέησον, κύριε ἐλέησον.” | “κόντο δὲν εὔρεθηκε ἕνας ἄθρωπος | μυρωμένος βαφτισμένος τοῦ θεοῦ παραδομένος, | τὴν μεγάλη πέμπτη κοινωνημένος, | τὸ μεγάλο σαββάτο λειτρουημένος, | νὰ κρατᾶ μαχαίρι μαυρομάνικο, | καλάμι μὲ τσοὶ τρεῖς κοντύλους, | νὰ καρφώση τὴν σπληνα, τὸ φλέμονα, | τὸ κάθε κακὸ πού ἔναι ἔς τὸν κόσμο;”

2 ἄγιε Μάμα *sic, prp. for e.g.* Χριστέ

3.39. *encounter with other sufferers of analogous affliction, general*

3.39.1. papyrus formulary, Glasgow, UL Ms Gen. 1026/16 (s. V), ed. *P.Oxy.* XI

1384.15-22, re-ed. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P 7; edition of further medical material on the same papyrus, Mazza 2007, 437-462.

‘ἀπήντησαν ἡμ[ῖν ἄρρωστοι ἄνδ]ρες | ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ κα[ὶ] εἶπαν τῷ κ(υρί)ῳ | “Ἰησοῦ, τί ἔνη θαραπία ἄρρω[στοις;]” | καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς “ἔλεον ἀπέδ[ωκα ἐ] | λήας καὶ σβύρν[α]ν ἐξέχ[υσα τοῖς] | πεποιθόσι τ[ῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ] | πατρὸς καὶ ἀγ[ί]ου [πν(εύματο)ς καὶ τοῦ] | υἱοῦ.”

15 [ἄρρωστοι] *conieci*: [τρεῖς] *suppl. Pap.Graec.Mag.*, [τινας] (*sic*) Mazza. *The vertical spit from which ed. pr. read the end of this line is now lost; judging from the complete lines 27-28 below, c. 15-20 letters are missing after the break, sufficient space for the proposed supplement and rather more than would be expected with what Preisendanz proposed – enquire at Oxford about an archival photo? || 17 τίς) ed. pr.*

internal prescription of incantation (γοητεία) by Christ: it is of the address to the affliction type, but is not exorcistic; it also addresses the earth (γῆ), and refers to a transfer of the affliction, which the earth is to receive the affliction and give health in its place to stop blood

3.39.2. Leiden, UB cod. VLQ 50 (s. XV), f. 160r, ed. Oder-Hoppe *Corpus Hippiatricorum Graecorum, excerpta Lugdunensia* c. 102

ἄλλο εἰς τὸ αὐτό. ὡς ἐπεριπάτει ὁ Χριστὸς εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς <Τι>βεριάδος, ὑπήντησε ἑπτὰ ἀνθρώπους πεπληγμένους, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ λίθων, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ ξίφους, ἄλλους ἀπὸ ἀγρίων θηρίων, <καὶ εἶπεν> “στραφοῦ δίκαιε Ἰωάννη καὶ εἶπέ τὴν γοητείαν ταύτην ἴμῃ πρησθῆς, μὴ φλεγμάνης, μὴ αἷμα καταρρίψης· ἔπαρον γῆ τὸν πόνον καὶ δὸς τὴν ὑγίαν.””

2 <Τι>βεριάδος suppl. Oder-Hoppe || 3 <καὶ εἶπεν> suppl. Oder-Hoppe

3.39.3. Vatican, BAV cod. Barberin. gr. III 3, ff. 71r-85v, ed. Pradel 1907, 36-37, no foliation given; shelfmark no longer in use

ἐξορκία τοῦ καβούρη. ὡς ὑπήγεν ὁ τίμιος πρόδρομος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ εὔρε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ αὐτοῦ χιλίους μυρίους ἀνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας, βρέφη ἀναρίθμητα – ἄλλοι ἀπὸ καβουρίου, ἄλλοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα δύο ἡμισυ ἐκβασιμάτων –, ἰδὼν καὶ ἐφοβήθη καὶ εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω ἐστράφη. καὶ ἀπήντησε αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ ὑπερώτησεν αὐτὸν “ποῦ ὑπάγεις τίμιε πρόδρομε;” “κύριέ μου ἐγὼ ὑπήγαινα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ ἡῦρα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ μου μυρίους χιλίους ἀνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας, βρέφη ἀναρίθμητα, ἄλλον ἀπὸ καβουρίου, ἄλλον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα δύο ἡμισυ ἐκβασιμάτων, καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτοὺς ἐστράφη εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω.” “ὑπάγε τίμιε πρόδρομε καὶ ὄρκισον αὐτὰ τὰ νοσήματα εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν θεοτόκον, νὰ ψυχῇ νὰ μαρανθῇ τὰ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ <θεοῦ> .””

3 ευγασι cod. : ἐβγασιμάτων suppl. Pradel || 10 what Pradel prints following the lacuna seems to be part of a separate recipe for the protection of crops (λάχανα καὶ ἀμπέλους); after θεοῦ perhaps e.g. ἐνοχλοῦντα νοσήματα

3.39.4. reported from contemporary Crete, Polites 1909, 366-367

ἄης Γιάννης πᾶνει κάτω στὸ γιαλὸ νὰ βαφτίση, | νὰ χαρῆ καὶ νὰ γυρίση. | ἴς τὸ δρόμο τ’ ἀπαντήξανε | χίλιοι μύριοι σκοτωμένοι | καὶ κουτσοκεφαλιασμένοι, | καὶ λυπήθηκε πολὺ καὶ γύρισε τὰ μπρὸς τὰ πίσω. εἰς τὸ γιαερμὸ τ’ ἀπάντηξεν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ τοῦ πε “εἶντά | ἴχεις, ἄη Γιάνη, κ’ εἶσαι | λυπημένος καὶ πικραμένος;” | “κάτω ἴς τὸ γιαλὸ ἐπήγαινα νὰ βαφτίσω | νὰ χαρῶ καὶ νὰ γυρίσω, | κ’ εἰς τὸ δρόμο ποῦ πήγαινα μ’ ἀπαντήξανε | χίλιοι μύριοι σκοτωμένοι | καὶ κουτσοκεφαλιασμένοι.” | “ἄη Γιάνη, νὰ σ’ ὀρμηνέψω μὴ γητεία, | κ’ ὅπου νὰ τὴν πῆς νὰ γαινή; | ὡς ἐβαρήκανε οἱ Ὀβραῖοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ | καὶ δὲ τοῦ κακοσύνεψε καὶ δὲν ὤμπυασε, | ἔτσι νὰ γιάνη κ’ ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ.””

3.39.5. reported from contemporary Crete [personalized], Bardakes 1926, 239-240

ἄης Γιάννης πᾶει κάτω ἴς τὸ γιαλὸ νὰ βαφτίση | νὰ χαρῆ καὶ νὰ γυρίση. | ἴς τὸ δρόμο τ’ ἀπαντήξανε | χίλιοι μύριοι σκοτωμένοι | καὶ κουτσοκεφαλιασμένοι. | λυπήθηκε πολὺ μ’ αὐτὸ τὸ συναπάντημα καὶ γάειρε τὰ πρὸς τὰ πίσω. ἴς τὸ γιαερμὸ τ’ ἀπάντηξεν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ τοῦ πε “εἶντά ἴχεις ἄη Γιάνη κ’ εἶσαι λυπημένος καὶ πικραμένος;” “κάτω ἴς τὸ γιαλὸ ἐπήγαινα νὰ βαφτίσω | νὰ χαρῶ καὶ νὰ γυρίσω. κ’ εἰς τὸ δρόμο ποῦ πήγαινα μ’ ἀπαντήξανε | χίλιοι μύριοι σκοτωμένοι καὶ κουτσοκεφαλιασμένοι.” “ἄη Γιάνη νὰ σ’ ὀρμηνέψω μὴ γητεία καὶ ἴς ὅποιο τὴ πῆς νὰ

γιαίνη ὡς ἐβαρήκανε οἱ Ὀβραῖοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ δὲ τοῦ κακοσύνεψε καὶ δὲν ὀμπύασε, ἔτσι νὰ γιάνη κ' ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ Μανουῖσο.”

for sunstroke (νηλιοῦριστής)

3.39.6. reported from contemporary Kastellorizo, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

ἄνω ἔς τὸ γιαλόν, κάτω ἔς τὸ περιγιάλι | σῖλιοι μύργοι τσεΐουνταν, | ἐτσυλιοῦνταν, ἐπορδγιοῦνταν, | τσαὶ τὸθ θκιὸμ παρακαλειοῦταν. | αἱ Χριστὸς ἐπέρασε | μὲ τοὺς ἀποστόλους του, | ἔς τὸ ράβδιν του κούμπησεν | τοὺς δγιαβάτες ρώτηξεν. | “τί ν' αὐτὸ ποῦ πάθασιν;” | μιὰ ἐργιὰ τ' ἀπάντησεν, | “ἀποῦ νήλιον τό χουσι.” | τὸ αἱ Χριστὸς ἀπάντησεν, | “νά βρης ἀϊκλαμιᾶς κορφὴν, | τῆς ἀργιστάρης τὸ γιαλί, | τῆς ἀϊκλαμιᾶς τὸ φύλλο | σῦρε, κόρη, τὸ ἔβγαρ' το.”

interlocking, the wound is dressed with the preparation recommended in the incantation

3.39.7. reported from contemporary Gytheio, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

ἄ Χριστὸς κ' ἡ παναγία, | τ' ἅγιο πνέμα, καὶ τὰ τρία | κίνησαν γιὰ νὰ περάσουν τὸν Ἰορδάνη ποταμό. | κεῖ βρῆκαν κομμένους πληγωμένους καὶ ματωμένους, | καὶ φοβήθηνα καὶ πίσου γύρανε. | εἶπ' ὁ Χριστὸς, ἡ παναγία καὶ τ' ἅγιο πνέμα | ἔς τοὺς κομμένους πληγωμένους καὶ ματωμένους | “πᾶρτε λᾶδι ἀπ' τὴν καντήλα τοῦ Χριστοῦ | καὶ λάγιο μαλλὶ προβάτου, | τοὺς νεκροὺς νὰ νταφιάζη | καὶ τοὺς λαβωμένους νὰ γιάνη.”

internal prescription of incantation by Christ (abbreviated form)

3.39.8. reported from contemporary Kritsa (Crete), Tranta 1963, 521

ἄ δεσπότης Χριστὸς ἐθέλησε νὰ πάη ἔς τὴν πόλι | νὰ βαφτίση νὰ χαρίση νὰ χαρῆ καὶ νὰ γιαγείρη. | ἔς τὴ στράτα τοῦ ἄντηξε κόσμος πολὺς | κι ἄθρωποι βαρισμένοι | μὲ σπαθιά καὶ μὲ μανάρια | καὶ μὲ ξύλινα κοντάρια. | “ὁ Ὀβραῖος ὁ Λουμπούνης | τὸ Χριστὸ ἐμαστούργευε καὶ ἐγήτευε | καὶ ἤγαινε καὶ δὲν ἐκακοσύνεψε | καὶ παράδες δὲν ἤπαιρνε.”

3.39.9. reported from contemporary Naxos, Emellos 1962, 183-184

ἄγιοι ἀνάργυροι καὶ θαυματουργοί, πρωτογιατροὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ διαμιανοί, δωρεὰν ἐλάβετε, δωρεὰν δότε ἡμῖν. ἔς ἐκείνη τὴ χώρα ποῦ ἐπῆγαν νὰ γιατρέψουνε οἱ ἄγιοι ἀνάργυροι ἔπεσε κακὸ καὶ πολὺ θανατικό. εἶδανε ἐφοβηθήκανε καὶ πίσω ἐστραφήκανε. τῶν ἀπαντᾷ ὁ Χριστὸς κοντὸ κοντὸ καλογεράκι καὶ τῶν εἶπενε “τί εἶδετε κ' ἐφοβηθήκατε καὶ πίσω ἐστραφήκατε;” “ἔς ἐκείνη τὴ χώρα ποῦ ἐπῆγαμε νὰ γιατρέψωμε ἔπεσε κακὸ καὶ πολὺ θανατικό. εἶδαμε ἐφοβηθήκαμε καὶ πίσω ἐστραφήκαμε.” “στραφῆτε, πᾶρτε τὰ ξυράφια σας, πᾶρτε τὰ γιατρικά σας. ἂν εὔρετε κόκκινο βλαττί, κόψετε πίσω βλαττί. ἂν εὔρετε ἄσπρο βλαττί, ἂν εὔρετε γλυκὸ βλαττί, κόψετε πίσω βλαττί.”

abbreviated historiola of encounter with sufferer of analogous affliction; against toothache

3.39.10. reported from contemporary Gytheio, Manolakos 1915-1916

ἄ τὸ δόντι κέντησε μαῦρο σκουληκάκι. | πέρασ' ἡ παναγία, | ἔτρεξε κι' ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ σύντριψε.

3.40. *first person variant, preceded by adynatology with fabulous birds etc.*

interlocking; the recipe given in the incantation is carried out in the ritual; for jaundice (τζανίν)

3.40.1. reported from contemporary Cyprus, Kyriakides 1917-1918

‘άντίπερα τοῦ Ἰορτάνη | τσ’ίτρινον δεντρίν ἐφάνην, | τσ’ίτρινα πουλιά λιμπίσαν, | τσ’ίτρινην φουλιάν ἐχτίσαν, | τσ’ίτρινα ἀγκά γεννήσαν, | τσ’ίτρινα πουλλάδκια ξιπουλιάσαν, | τσ’ίτρινα φτερούδκια εἶχαν. | δίχα πόδκια πάτησα, | δίχα σ’έρκα τὰ πκιασα, | δίχα μασ’αίριν τὰ σφαξα, | δίχα λαμπρόν τὰ ἔψησα, | δίχα δόνκια τὰ φα. | τὴν τσ’εφαλήμ μου πόνησα, | τὰ μάθκια μου γλομιάνασιν, | ἔκλαια τσ’αἰ θρήνιζα | τσ’αἰ τὸν θεὸν ἐδόξαζα. | ἔρεσεν ἡ παναῖα ἡ δέσποινα μὲ τὸν μονοενήν της. λέει μου | “εἴντά σ’εἰς τσ’αἰ θρηναῖς | τσ’αἰ τὸν θεὸν δοξολογαῖς;” | ἔκατσα τῆς τὰ ξήησα. | ἐπολοήθην τσ’ εἶπεν μου | “πκιάσε μπότην ἄπαννον | τσ’αἰ κριττάριν χόγλαστο | τσ’αἰ τρεῖς μούττες καλαθρωπάριν τσ’αἰ τύλιξέ το πάνω τσ’αἰ πὲ τὴν εὐκὴν ‘εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς τσ’αἰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τσ’αἰ τοῦ αἴου πνεύματος ἀμήν.”

Ἰ λιμπίσαν *ed. gl.* ἐσύχνασαν || 8 μπότην *ed. gl.* κανάτι πήλινον μετὰ λαβῆς | ἄπαννον *ed. gl.* καινούργιο | χόγλαστο *ed. gl.* βρασμένον || 9 καλαθρωπάριν *ed. gl.* μανδραγόρας

3.40.2. reported from contemporary Paphos, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘ς τὸν Ἰορτάνην ποταμὸν | ἐβλάστησεν γρουσὸν δεντρόν, | γρουσὸν κορμίν, γρουσὰ φύλλα, γρουσοὺς κλώνους, | χρουσὰ ἀγκά γεννήσασιν, | γρουσὰ πουλιά ξεβάλασιν. | κατέβησαν ὁ θεός, ἡ παναῖα, τσ’ ὁ Χριστός, | ἐρωτῆσαν με. | “ἔχω τρία πουλιά, ἕνα ἀσημένον, ἕνα μαλαματένον, τσαἰ ἕνα γρουσταλλένον, | τὸ ἀσημένον μου πουλι μῆτε τρώει, μῆτε πίννει, | μῆτε καὶ θεὸν δοξάζει.” | “ἔσ’εἰς ἥλιον ‘ς τὴν τσεφαλήν, | γεῖρε νερόν μέσ’ ‘ς τὸ γυαλλίν | τσαἰ γεῖρε το ‘ς τὴν τσεφαλήν. | δκιὸν τρέσ’εἰ ὁ ἥλιος, δκιὸν τρέχουν τᾶστρα, | δκιὸν τρέχουν οἱ ποταμοί, δκιὸν τρέχουν οἱ βρύσες, | δκιὸν τρέχουν οἱ κρίσες, | ἔτσι νὰ τρέξη τὸ κακὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνος.”

3.41. *two brothers bewitched*

two brothers, hunters and κλέφτες, encounter with Christ, Christ prescribes an incantation of the encounters-with-the-affliction type; against φταρμό (*baskania*)

3.41.1. reported from contemporary Kritsas (Crete), Koutoulakes 1962, 197-198

‘ὡς ἐκινήσανε τὰ δυὸ καλὰ ἀδερφάκια νὰ πᾶνε ‘ς τ’ ἄορι, ‘ς τὸ βουνὸ νὰ κυνηγέσουνε, νὰ σκοτώσουνε ἀγρίμια καὶ ἀγριμόπουλα, πέρδικες καὶ περδικόπουλα, μαλλιαρὴ γυναῖκα τοὺς ἐπάντηξε, τὰ ἄρματὰ τοὺς ἐπιαστήκανε, τὰ κουλούκια τοὺς ἐτυφλωθήκανε. καὶ ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς τοὺς λέει “εἴντά ‘χετε, δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ κλέφτες, καὶ παραπονᾶσθε;” “ἀφέντη μου Χριστέ μου, τὰ κρουφὰ κατέχεις καὶ τὰ φανερά δὲν ξέρεις; ὡς ἐκινήσαμε νὰ πᾶμε ‘ς τ’ ἄορι, ‘ς τὸ βουνὸ νὰ κυνηγέσουμε, νὰ σκοτώσουμε ἀγρίμια καὶ ἀγριμόπουλα, πέρδικες καὶ περδικόπουλα, μᾶς ἐπάντηξε μαλλιαρὴ γυναῖκα, τὰ ἄρματὰ μας ἐπιαστήκανε, τὰ κουλούκια μας ἐτυφλωθήκανε.” καὶ ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς τοὺς εἶπε “κοντὸ δὲν εὐρέθηκε ἕνας ἄθρωπος μυρωμένος βαφτισμένος τοῦ θεοῦ παραδομένος, τὴν μεγάλη πέμπτη κοινωνημένος, τὸ μεγάλο Σαββάτο λειτρουημένος, νὰ πῆ “ποῦ πᾶς φταρμέ;” “πάω νὰ κάτσω σὲ μικρὰ παιδιὰ.” “γιάγειρε φταρμέ, γιάγειρε κατακαμημένε, νὰ πᾶς ‘ς τὴν ἄβυσσο τῶν ἀβύσσων, ἐκεῖ ποὺ δὲν κράζουν πετεινοί, ποὺ δὲν λειτουργοῦν παπάδες, καὶ ποὺ δὲν πλάσσουνε μικροῦ παιδιοῦ κουλούρι;””

6-8 I have corrected the pronouns to the first plural which the version renders in third plural, *app. carelessly copied from the first part*

[in a garbled form in Tranta 1963, 521]

3.42. *children lamenting suffering of parent from analogous affliction; internal prescription of incantation*

in the performance, a larger group speaks the entire text up to the internal incantation, where a single person takes over; for erysipelas

3.42.1. reported from contemporary Naxos, Emellos 1962, 184-185

‘εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. κάτω ᾿ς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἦτανε τρί’ ἀπάθνενα κορίτσια κ’ ἐκλαῖαν κ’ ἐθρηνιόντανε καὶ ᾿ς τὸ θεὸ παρακαλιόντανε. καὶ τῶν ἀπαντᾶ ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ λέει “τί ἔχετε κορίτσια μου καὶ κλαῖτε καὶ θρηνιέστε καὶ ᾿ς τὸ θεὸ παραπονιέστε;” καὶ τὰ κορίτσια λένε “ἡ μάνα μας ἔχει ἀνεμοπύρωμα καὶ κλαίμενε πού θ’ ἀποθάνη.” καὶ λέει ὁ Χριστὸς “δὲν εὐρέθηκε κανεὶς νὰ πῆ ᾿εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος τρεῖς φορές, ἠνοιώσά σε ἠμνοίωσά σε ἤστρεψά σε ἤκαψά σε, ᾿ς τὰ βάθη τῆ θάλασσας νὰ πάη νὰ πνιγῆ ἐκεῖ πού δὲν ἀκούεται καμπάνα καὶ δὲ λαλεῖ πετεινός.”’

3.42.2. reported from contemporary Naxos, Emellos 1962, 183

‘κάτω ᾿ς τὸν Ἰορδάνη τὸ ποταμὸ κάθονται τρία κορίκια καὶ μοιρολογοῦν τὴ μάνα τους καὶ λένε “ἄοι μ’ ἀνέργυροι πρωτογιατροὶ τοῦ κόσμου ἐλεήσετέ το καὶ σκεπάσετέ το καὶ σκροπίσετέ το τὸ κακὸ ἀπὸ πάνω του. ἠμοίωσά σε, ἐμαγάρισά σε ὅ τι κι ἂν εἶσαι, νὰ χαθῆς καὶ νὰ μὴ ἔξαναφανερωθῆς.”’

for fever

3.42.3. reported from contemporary Kastriion (Kynouria), Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘᾿ς τὸν Ἰορδάνη ποταμὸ | τρία ἀδέρφια κάθουνταν | κ’ ἐκλαίγαν τὴ μάνα τους. | “τί κλαῖτε, παιδιά;” | “κλαῖμε γιὰ τὴ μάνα μας, | ποῦ ἔχει τὸ πυρὸ.” | “σῦρτε βρέστε κόκκινο παννὶ | καὶ λαμπριάτικο κερί | καὶ πέστε του νὰ πᾶ νὰ χαθῆ.” | Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾶ τὰ πάντα τοῦ δούλου σου.’

for erysipelas (ῥεσπίλας)

3.42.4. reported from contemporary Kritsa (Crete), Koutoulakes 1962, 202-203

‘ἐνῶ ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς ἐδιάβαινε, | τρία ὄρφανὰ τοῦ ᾿παντήξανε καὶ κλαίγανε | καὶ θρηνούσανε καὶ τοῦ παραπονούντανε. | “τί ἔχετε δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ | καὶ κλαῖτε καὶ θρηναῖτε | καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ παραποναῖστε;” | “καὶ τί θὰ μὴ ἔχωμε, ἀφέντη Χριστέ μας, | πού ἡ μάνα μας ἀπόθανε | μὲ τῆ κακῆς λοῆς τὴ ῥεσπίλα. | κύριε ἐλέησον, κύριε ἐλέησον, κύριε ἐλέησον.” | “καὶ κόντο δὲν εὐρέθηκε ἕνας ἄθρωπος | μυρωμένος βαφτισμένος τοῦ θεοῦ παραδομένος, | τὴ μεγάλη πέμπτη κοινωνημένος, | τὸ μεγάλο σαββάτο λειτρονημένος, | νὰ πιᾶση ἢ ἀσῆμι ἢ χρυσάφι ἢ μαυρομάνικο μαχαῖρι, | νὰ γητέψη τῆ κακῆς λοῆς τὴ ῥεσπίλα | καὶ νὰ μὴ τῆ ἀπομείνη | μήτε ἀπάνω κορφῆ μήτε κάτω ρίζα;”’

with the addition of Mary; introduced by prayer to the ἀνάργυροι; for erysipelas and δροσοπίλια

3.42.5. reported from contemporary Kerkyra, Kavasilas 1910, 647-648 no. 6

‘ἅγιοι ἀνάργυροι καὶ θαματοργοὶ πρῶτοι γιατροὶ τοῦ κόσμου, ὅπ’ ἐγιατρέψατε πολλούς, γιατρεῦτε καὶ τὸν δούλον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν δεῖνα, ἀπὸ τάνεμοπύρωμα κι’ ἀπὸ τὴ δροσοπίλια, ὅπου δὲν ἠμπορεῖ νὰ ὑποφέρη οὔτε μέρα οὔτε νύχτα, οὔτε ὥρα, οὔτε κάρτο ἀπὸ τὴν ὥρα. | ἦταν τρεῖς καμπάναις, τρεῖς ἐκκλησιαῖς | καὶ τρία παιδιὰ κ’ ἐκλαίανε. | κ’ ἐκεῖ ἐδιάβαινε ὁ ἀφέντης ὁ Χριστὸς κ’ ἡ παναγία ἡ δέσποινα καὶ τὰ ῥώτησε | “τί ἔχετε παιδιὰ μου καὶ κλαῖτε;” | “κλαῖμε γιὰτὶ ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἀφέντης μας κ’ ἡ μάνα μας | ἀπὸ τάνεμοπύρωμα κι’ ἀπὸ τὴ δροσοπίλια.” | “φέρτε μου ἐλιᾶς κλωνάρι, | μαυρομάνικο μαχαῖρι καὶ σκορπίδι ἀπὸ τὸν πύργο | καὶ

φυλλοκάλαμο | νὰ ξορκίσω νὰ σκορπίσω | τάνεμοπύρωμα καὶ τὴ δροσοπίλια | ἀπὸ τὸ δοῦλο τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν δεῖνα | νὰ πάη 'ς ὄρη σὲ βουνὰ | καὶ 'ς τᾶγρια λαγκάδια, | ὅπου ἐκεῖ κόττα δὲν λαλεῖ, | κόττα δὲν κακαρεῖται, | μικροῦ παιδιοῦ κολουῖρι δὲν ψένεται.”

for sunstroke

3.42.6. reported from contemporary Naxos, Emellos 1962, 185

‘τρία καλὰ κοράσια ’σμίξαν καὶ πᾶνε ’ς τὸ βουνὸ γιὰ νὰ μαζέψουν χορταράκια. δεσπότης τῶν ἀπαντᾶ κοντὸ κοντὸ καλογεράκι, “τρία καλὰ κοράσια, τί ἔχετε καὶ κλαῖτε καὶ θρηνηῖστε καὶ τὸ θεὸ παρακαλιέστε;” “μάννα ἔχομε, ὁ ἥλιος τὴν πέρασε μὲ τὸ ’ ἀχτῖνές του, μὲ τὶς λάφες του καὶ τσιλιέται καὶ θρηνηῖται καὶ ’ς τὸν θεὸ παραπονιέται.” “ἀμέτε βάρτε τρεῖς σταγόνες νερὸ καὶ πέτε ’εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος, ἀμήν.”’

for erysipelas

3.42.7. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 90

‘τρία ἀδέρφια ἐκάθουντον ’ς τὸ χαράκιν | κι ἐκλαῖαν κι ἐθρηνοῦντον | καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπαραπονιοῦντον. | καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπέρασεν καὶ τοὺς εἶπεν | “τί ἔχετε καλὰ παιδιὰ κι οὐλλον κλαῖτε καὶ θρηνηᾶτε | καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παραπονιέστε;” | “εἴχαμεν πατέραν καὶ μητέρα | κι ἐχάσαμεν τοὺς μὲ τ’ ἀνεμοπύρωμα.” | “ἔ κι ἐχάθησαν τρία κλαδιὰ βληχόνιν καὶ νὰ πῆτε | ’στάμα κυρὰ στάμα τὸν μονογενῆ σου.”’

3.42.8. reported from contemporary Zakynthos, Giannopoulou-Heptanesias 1951, 267

‘ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκατέβηκε εἰς τὸν κάμπο κ’ ἐπροβάτησε κ’ εὔρηκε τρία παιδάκια κ’ ἐκλαίγανε. “τί κλαῖτε;” “τὴ μάννα μας ποῦ ἔχει ἀνεμοπύρωμα.” “πάρε κόκκινον πανὶ καὶ λινάρι καὶ νερὸ ἀμίλητο καὶ βάρτε τῆ τε τα ἀπάνου καὶ θὰ τῆ περάσει.”’

3.43. *cosmic disturbance, general*

3.43.1. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 2.33 (cod. p. 236.20-21 and bottom margin, ed. Önnersfors 2006, 1:54; Heim 1893, 559)

item ad intestinorum dolorem. accipies oleum in manu, sic praecantabis ‘mons mugit, nymphae sitiunt, terra furit.’ hoc ter dicis et exspues singulis in oleo.

internal reference to incantation prescribed by divine figure

3.43.2. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Auct. T. 4.4 (s. XIV?), f. 443v [pastedown in cod. of s. XV-XVI]

περὶ τοῦ γλυκίου. ὡς ἐπεριπάτει ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς σὺν τῷ ἀγίῳ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ βαπτιστῇ εἰς τὰ μέρη τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, ἤκουσαν κτύπον μέγαν καὶ φωνὴν ἀνθρώπου ὀδυνομένου, καὶ λέγει πρὸς τὸν κύριον ὁ Ἰωάννης· “κύριέ μου, τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ κτύπος;” καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος· “ἄνθρωπον κρατεῖ τὸ μαλακόν, καὶ σπεῦσον ὧ Ἰωάννη καὶ εἶπε εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν αὐτοῦ ὡτίον, ‘φεῦγε ἡμισοδαίμων, φεῦγε τριτοδαίμων, ὁ κύριός σε διώκει καὶ ἡ ὑπεραγία θεοτόκος καὶ οἱ τέσσαρες εὐαγγελισταὶ ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα· φεῦγε Οσαβαο τοῦ σαβα ἢ μάνα, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.’

5 τριτοδαιμωνιον *cod. p.c.*

for dysuria in livestock

3.43.3. reported from contemporary Aidedpsia, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘κίνησαν τρεῖς κυράδες, πῆραν ἓναπραματάκι, | πῆγαν ᾿ς τὰ πράσινα λιβάδια νὰ φάη τρυφερό χορταράκι, | νὰ πιῆ κρύο νεράκι. | πέφτει καὶ ψοφάει, | σκούζουμε τὰ τέκνα καὶ βάζουμε, | καὶ τὰ δένδρα ξερριζώνονται. | πῆγε καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς | “τί ἔχετε τέκνα μου καὶ σκούζετε καὶ βάζετε, | καὶ τὰ δέντρα ξερριζώνετε;” | “εἴχαμε ἓναπραματάκι, | τὸ πῆγαμε νὰ φάη τρυφερό χορταράκι | καὶ νὰ πιῆ κρύο νεράκι.” | “πάρτε ἀπὸ πάρθενο κορίτσι, | πάρτε ἓνα κόκκινο ζουνάρι, | βαρεῖτε τὰ πίσω κάλιγά του, | καὶ τὰ προσθινὰ τὰ κάλιγά του, | νὰ σηκωθῆ νὰ τιναχτῆ νὰ κατουρήσῃ, | νὰ πάη ᾿ς τὴ δουλειά του.”

against a euphemistically named τὸ εὐλογητὸν (it is in the title called βλοητό, according to the ed. a kind of erysipelas)

3.43.4. private collection, codex written on Crete (Katsidoni, Seteia, s. XIX), f. 8r-v, ed. Spyridakis 1942-1943, 66-67

‘τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν εὐλογητὸν εἰς τὰς λιβάδας ἔπεσε, ἑπτὰ ἀμνάδας εὐρηκε, τῶν ἑπτὰ τὰς μήτρας ἔφαγε καὶ τὰς γλώσσας, ἐμβρουχίσθησαν, ἐμουγκίσθησαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐγανάκτησαν. καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τὸν ἀρχάγγελον Μιχαὴλ ἐπερώτησε “τί ὁ ἥλιος ἔδυνε, τὰ ἄστρα ἐθαμβώθησαν;” καὶ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος εἶπε “τί με ἐπερωτᾷς, κύριέ μου; τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν εὐλογητὸν εἰς τὰς λιβάδας ἔπεσε, ἑπτὰ ἀμνάδας εὐρηκε, τῶν ἑπτὰ τὰς μήτρας ἔφαγε.” | καὶ ὁ κύριος λέγει πρὸς τὸν ἀρχάγγελον “ρίψον αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ βάθος τῆς θαλάσσης· οὐρανόθεν ἔρριψαν αὐτὸ ἔξω, καὶ πάλιν τοῦ ἡλίου. δι’ οὗ τῶν ἀστρῶν θαμβωθέντων, τῶν ποταμῶν σφραγισθέντων, τῶν δένδρων συσταθέντων, ὀρκίζω σε, ἀποδίωξον εὐλογητὸν ἀπὸ τὸν δούλον τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα, τὸ τρισχάλεκτον καὶ μικτοχάλεκτον, τὸ καιόμενον τὸ φρυγόμενον.” καὶ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος εἶπε “ὀρκίζω σε καὶ ἐξορκίζω σε εἰς τὸν θρόνον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ἀσάλευτον καὶ εἰς τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα Χερουβειμ καὶ Σεραφειμ τοῦ ψυγῆσαι καὶ μαραθῆσαι ὡς τῆς ἀγριοσταφίδας τὸ κουκκὶ καὶ ὡς τοῦ Ἰωνα ἢ κολόκυνθα καὶ τοῦ ἀμπελίου τὰ φύλλα, ἐπ’ ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος, ἀμήν.”

3 ὁ Χριστὸς) *supplevi* | ἐπερώτησα *cod.* || 8 *post* συσταθέντων *ferme repetit cod.* καὶ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος ... κύριος λέγει, *quod seclusi* || 9 *post* ἀποδίωξον *rep. cod.* ὀρκίζω σε || 10 φρυγόμενον *conieci* : ραφυγομενον *cod.*, ρα’ φ(ρ)υγόμενον *Spyridakis* || 13 τὴν κολοκύθα *cod.*

five bad children (cf. 3.12); first-person speech of archangel; against crop pests

3.43.5. Athens, EB cod. 2468 (s. XV), f. 178r, ed. Oikonomides 1956, 262; here normalized

γιτία τοῦ ἀμπελίου καὶ χωραφίου. ὡς ἐγέννησεν ὁ ἕβδομος πέντε παιδιά κακὰ σκληρὰ καὶ πονηρά, ἀκρίδα, σκώληκας καὶ κάμπας, βροῦχον καὶ μαμουῖδι, καὶ ἔφαγαν τοῦ γεωργοῦ χωράφι κῆπον καὶ ἀμπέλι, τότε ὁ γεωργὸς θρηνῶν καὶ κλαίει καὶ ὀδύρεται καὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸν θρόνον ἐτάραξεν καὶ τὸ ὑποπόδιον αὐτοῦ ὑποστήδεται. καὶ τότε ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τὸν Μιχαὴλ τὸν ἀρχάγγελον ἠρώτησε “ὁ Μιχαὴλ ἀρχάγγελος, τί ἔχει ὁ γεωργὸς καὶ κλαίει καὶ θρηνεῖ καὶ ὀδύρεται καὶ τὸ ὑποπόδιον τοῦ θρόνου μου ἐτάραξεν;” ἐγὼ ἔλεγα “κύριέ μου καὶ οὐδὲν με θέλεις ἐρωτήσῃ, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶν με ἠρώτησας, νὰ σε τὸ ὁμολογήσω. ὡς ἐγέννησεν ὁ ἕβδομος πέντε παιδιά κακὰ σκληρὰ καὶ πονηρά, ἀκρίδα κάμπαν σκώληκον βροῦχον καὶ μαμουῖδι, καὶ ἔφαγαν τοῦ γεωργοῦ τὸν καρπὸν χωράφι κῆπον καὶ ἀμπέλι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κύριέ μου ὁ γεωργὸς κλαίει καὶ ὀδύρεται καὶ θρηνεῖ καὶ τὸν θρόνον σου ἐτάραξεν καὶ τὸ ὠραῖόν σου ὑποπόδιον.” τότε ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἐλάλησεν “ἄμη εἰπέ τοῦ ἕβδομου νὰ ἐπάρη

τὰ τέκνα του νὰ ὑπάγη ἅπαντα εἰς ὑψηλὸν βουνὶ νὰ φᾶσι ἄκανθαν νεανικὸν καὶ εὐδίγλωσσον οἷτινες βούλονται καὶ μέλλειν βουλήν βουληθῆναι κακὴν κατὰ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα πάντων καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ ἀμπελίου χωραφίου κήπου καὶ θρεψήματος καὶ ὑπάγετε εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πολλακίς ἐχθροῦ καὶ ἀντιδίκου ἡμῶν καὶ πάντων καὶ κλείσον τὰ χεῖλη καὶ τὰ στώματα χαλίνωσον.” τοὺς πολεμοῦντας ἡμᾶς δίκασον κύριε τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας καὶ πολέμισον τοὺς πολεμοῦντάς με. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου.’

Ἰ γιτίανι *cod.* || 5 ὑποστῆ δε ται *cod.* : ὑποσεῖεται *coni. dub. Oikonomides in app.cr.*
|| φᾶσι (*i.e.* φάγωσι) ἄκανθαν νεανικὸν *conieci* : μπάσι ἀγαθάν νεανίσκον
Oikonomides || 15 βουληθ() *Oikonomides* || 16 θρεψήματος *conieci*, *cf.* θρέψιμον :
θρεψυμα του *Oikonomides*

SS. Thomas, Kosmas, and Damian; for wounds

3.43.6. reported from contemporary Kalabrutia, A. Oikonomou in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

‘Ὁ Θωμᾶς, ὁ Κοσμᾶς κ’ ὁ Δαμιανὸς | ἐπῆραν λάδι ἀπ’ τῆς παναγίας τὸ καντήλι |
καὶ λάγια μαλλιά τσέρνα. | πᾶν νὰ γιατρέψουν τοὺς σφαγμένους, | τοὺς κομμένους
καὶ τοὺς σκυλοφαωμένους. | ὅσοι κ’ ἂν τ’ ἀκούσανε σκούζουν, βάζουν, | καὶ τῆ γῆς
ἀναταράζουν. | πᾶρε τὴν ὑγείά σου κ’ ἔλα.’

3.44. *birth*

impersonation of divinity? woman stands on the ark of Noah on Mt. Ararat and cries out in the words of Christ on the cross (though these are also of course from the psalter, 21:2); internal prescription of incantation by holy figures

3.44.1. St. Petersburg, NLR *cod.* gr. 116 (s. XIV), ff. 218v-219r

εἰς γέννησιν. ‘εἰς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Αραρατ, εἰς τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ Νωε, γυνὴ στήκει
λυσικόμος καὶ ἀνεβόα λέγουσα “κύριε ἵνα τί με ἐγκατέλιπες;” καὶ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τὸν
ἀρχάγγελον Μιχαὴλ “ὑπάγε εἰπέ εἰς τὸ οὖς αὐτῆς “ἔξελθε βρέφος, καλεῖ σε ἡ | θεία
καὶ ἁγία βάπτισις.”” γράφε αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ βήσαλον καὶ ὅταν βιάζηται ἡ γυνὴ δίδει
αὐτὸ εἰς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῆς καὶ παρ’ αὐτῆς γεννᾶται τὸ βρέφος.

Ἰ λυσόκομος *cod.*

meter: stress-based trochaic in βρέφος μόχθει, κράζει σὲ ἡ γῆ

3.44.2. Paris, BnF *cod.* gr. 2316 (s. XV), f. 360v, ed. Oikonomu-Agorastu 1982 no. 149;
recollated

ἄλλον. ‘ὁ θόρυβος ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἄγγελος τὸ ἤκουσεν ἐν οὐρανοῖς. “τί ἔστιν ὁ
θόρυβος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς;” “γυνὴ γεννᾷ τὸν γεννητὴν ὡς ἡ Ἐλισάβετ τὸν πρόδρομον,
ὡς ἡ θεοτόκος τὸν Χριστόν. βρέφος μόχθει, κράζει σὲ ἡ γῆ.”’

2 ἡ¹ om. Oikonomu-Agorastu

3.44.3. Venice, Seminario Patriarcale *cod. s.n.* (s. XVI), f. 153r, ed. Lampros 1912, 195
εἰς γυναῖκα νὰ γεννήσῃ εὐκόλα. γράψε εἰς τὰ ‘ὁ θόρυβος ἐγένετον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,
ἄγγελοι τὸ ἤκουσαν.’

3.44.4. Naples, BN *cod.* II C 33 (s. XV), ff. 234v-235r, ed. Delatte 1927, 619-620
εἰς γυνὴν ἣν οὐ δύναται τέξαι.

1. λέγε εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν αὐτῆς ὡτίον ἄγγελος ἐγένετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἔτρεχον οἱ ἄγγελοι καὶ οἱ ἀρχάγγελοι, καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἠρώτησεν “τί ἐνὶ ὁ θόρυβος εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν;” “κύριε μου, γυνὴ πονεῖ καὶ κοιλιόπνευσι καὶ οὐ δύναται γεννηθῆσαι.” λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ κύριος “ὑπάγετε, εἶπατε εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν αὐτῆς ὡτίον ἔξε γυνὴ ὡς ἡ Μαριαμ τὸν Χριστόν, ὡς ἡ Ελισαβὲτ τὸν πρόδρομον. ἔξελθε τέκνον· καλεῖ σε ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ σε περιμένει.” στῶμεν καλῶς.’ λέγε αὐτὸ ἐκ τρίτου.

2. εἰ δὲ τὸ κοιτάριον οὐ πεσεῖται, λέγε οὕτως ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ὑπάγαινον ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ καὶ ἐστράφη ὁ κύριος καὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ ἔφη “Πέτρε τί κλαίουσιν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ;” “κύριε μου, γυνὴ κοιλιόπνευσι καὶ οὐ δύναται γεννηθῆσαι.” “ἔλα Πέτρε, κάλεσε αὐτὴν ὧδε καὶ εἰπέ ἡ γυνὴ, καλεῖ σε ὁ Χριστὸς, Σαρρα Σαρρα Σαρρα. καὶ σὺ κοιτάριον πέσε, ὅτι καλεῖ σε ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ σε περιμένει.”

2 φόρυβος *cod.* || 3 φόρυβος *cod.*

3.44.5. Athens, *cod. Soc. Hist.* 210 (s. XVIII), f. 62r, ed. Delatte 1927, 115

ἄλλον περὶ γυναικὸς εἰς τὴν γένναν τῆς. ὡς ἐξήρχετο ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν, εἶδεν γυνὴν λυσίκομον, καὶ βοάζει καὶ λέγει νὰ γεννήσῃ θέλει καὶ οὐ δύναται. λέγει ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν “ὑπάγε εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν ὡτίον καὶ εἶπε ὡς ἐγέννησεν ὑπεραγία θεοτόκος τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, θὲς καὶ σὺ γεννήσεις τὸ παιδί,’ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τὸ βρέφος ὁ Χριστὸς σε καλεῖ καὶ ὑπεραγία θεοτόκος καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ πρόδρομος.” τοῦτο λέξον ἐκ τρίτου τὸ ἄνωθεν.

6 λέγον *cod.*, Delatte

analogous psalm text (*Ps.* 136:7) is applied such that the exclamation ἐκκενοῦτε ἐκκενοῦτε, constructed absolutely in the original, is complemented with the infant as its direct object

3.44.6. Athens, *cod. Soc. Hist.* 210 (s. XVIII), ff. 62r-63r, ed. Delatte 1927, 115-116

ἄλλον. καὶ γράψον σὲ χαρτὶ καὶ θέσ το εἰς τὸ ἀνώφλιον ἀπάνω. εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. τρόμος ἐγένετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι διὰ νεφέλης τρέχουν, οἱ νεκροὶ κινδυνεύουν. | ἔξελθε παιδίον ἐπὶ τοῦ πόρου σὺν τῇ ἀκολουθήσει. ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης ὡδεδυσαν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ εὔρον γυναῖκα κλαίουσαν, καὶ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ Ἰωάννῃ “ὑπάγε Ἰωάννη εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν μερὰν τῆς θύρας καὶ εἶπε ὅτι οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἠνοιχθήσονται καὶ φῶς ἔλαμψεν· δῖελθε καὶ σὺ παιδίον, καλεῖ σε ὁ κύριος καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν.” εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος καὶ τῆς κυρίας ἡμῶν θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, ὡς ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἀπὸ τοῦ κήτους καὶ ὁ Λάζαρος ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου, ἔξελθε καὶ σὺ τέκνον, ἔξελθε βρέφος, καλεῖ σε ἡ ὑπεραγία θεοτόκος καὶ ὁ τίμιος πρόδρομος. λαβα λαον βαδα. ἄκουσον Λάζαρε. καὶ ἀνέστη ἐκ τοῦ τάφου. μνήσθητι | κύριε τῶν υἱῶν Ἐδωμ τὴν ἡμέραν Ἰερουσαλημ, τῶν λεγόντων “ἐκκενοῦτε ἐκκενοῦτε ἀπ’ αὐτῆς τὸ τέκνον δίχως πόνου, δίχως ἀνάγκην.” εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.’

divided action of three (the three magi); analogous psalm text (*Ps.* 136:7)

3.44.7. private collection of the editor, addition in endpapers of a sixteenth century printed book (Gaigny, *Scholia on the Epistles of St. Paul*, Paris 1539), originally from the library of the Carmelite order at Milan (ed. Doble 1884, 78)

ut mulier pariat. ‘dominus noster Iesus Christus stabat in monte Oliueti cum discipulis suis et audiuit uocem mulieris parturientis et dixit Iohanni “uade et dic ad aurem dextram sic ‘Elisabet peperit Iohannem, Anna peperit Mariam, Maria me saluatorem mundi, sic pariat

ista domina sine dolore. o infans siue sis masculus siue sis femina, siue uiuus siue mortuus, ueni foras quia Christus uocat te ad lucem, Caspar te rogat, Melchior te uocat, Baldesar te extrahit. memento filiorum Edom qui dixerunt “exinanite exinanite.””” dicatur ter a dextra parte mulieris plane cum uno pater noster et una aue uero pro qualibet uice cum una candella benedicta prae manu deuote, et statim pariet, deo gratias amen.

3.45. *demon*

for epilepsy

3.45.1. Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 210 (s. XVIII), ff. 60v-61r, ed. Delatte 1927, 114 ἐρμηνεία εἰς ἄνθρωπον ὅταν τὸν εὔρουν τὰ καλά του ἤγουν τὰ δέρφια του. ὡς ἐπεριπάτει ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς μετὰ τὸν ἅγιον Ἰωάννη τὸν θεολόγον εἰς χώραν λεγομένην Γεθσημανει, ἤκουσαν κτύπον μεγάλον, καὶ λέγει ὁ ἅγιος | Ἰωάννης πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν “κύριε τί ἐστίν;” “ἄκουσον δίκαιε Ἰωάννη, ὅτι παιδίον κρατεῖ τὸ μαλακόν, καὶ ἄγωμε καὶ εἶπέ του εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν ὠτίον ὦ φεῦγε δαιμόνιον, ὦ φεῦγε δαιμόνιον, ὦ φεῦγε δαιμόνιον, τρίς, ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ.”” στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ, ἀμήν, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. ὑποῦτε ὑποῦτε τὸν κύριον. ἔπειτα οὐρανοὶ ἄνοιξαν καὶ ἑπτὰ ἄγγελοι εὐγῆκαν, ἐπῆραν ἕξι ἑπτὰ καλά, ἐπῆραν ἕξι ἑπτὰ καλά.’

9 *i.e.* ἐξέβησαν

transfer of affliction ‘to the earth’ (with new reading); against epilepsy

3.45.2. Vatican, BAV cod. Barber. gr. III 3 (s. XV), no folio reference given, ed. Vassiliev 1893, 337-338; shelfmark no longer in use

ἕτερον. ‘εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. ὡς ἐδιάβαινε ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄκουσεν βρυγμὸν καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ “ὑπάγετε ἴδετε μάθετε μὴ χήραν ἀδικοῦν, μὴ ὄρφανὸν παραπονοῦν ἢ μὴ τὸ μισθάριν κρατοῦν,” ὑπῆγαν καὶ ἔμαθαν οὐδὲ χήραν ἀδικοῦν οὐδὲ ὄρφανὸν παραπονοῦν οὐδὲ τὸ μισθάριν κρατοῦν. καὶ ἀπέστρεψαν εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ εἶπαν “κύριε μου οὐδὲ χήραν ἀδικοῦν οὐδὲ ὄρφανὸν παραπονοῦν οὐδὲ τὸ μισθάριν κρατοῦν, ἀλλὰ ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα· κατέβη τὸ ρεῦμα, τὸ λεύκωμα, τὸ τράχωμα καὶ ἔδωκαν εἰς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ δύναται τὸν πόνον ὑπομένειν.” καὶ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ “ὑπάγετε σταυρώσατε καὶ εἶπατε ‘ἔξαιρέτως τῆς παναγίας ἀχράντου ὑπερευλογημένης δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας ἐξερευξάτω τὸ ρεῦμα, τὸ τράχωμα, τὸ αἷμα, τὸ λεύκωμα, τὸ πάχωμα ἀπὸ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα, ὅτι τὸν πόνον οὐ δύναται βαστάζειν οὔτε ἡμέραν οὔτε ὥραν οὐδὲ ἐκτός, τοῦ Χριστοῦ λέγοντος. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ. ἡ γῆ ἀπάγει τὸ βάρος καὶ ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα τὴν ῥῶσιν.’”

2 βρυγμὸν *conieci* : βαρεμὸν *dub. Vassiliev* || 7 ἐκατέβη *Vassiliev* || 14 ἡ γῆ ἀπάγει *conieci* : ηγησαπαν *cod.* : ὑγιῆς ἅπαν *Vassiliev*

3.46.1. *first person scorpion type, grazing cow, etc.; general*

3.46.1.1. reported from contemporary Kephallenia, Pagonis 1910

‘ἄλλη φορά μου γέροντας, τωρὰ εἶμαι παλληκάρι. | κ’ εἶχα βόδι καὶ δαμάλι | καὶ τραῖ καὶ τραομάλλι, | εἶχα κέρινο ζυγὸ | καὶ καλαμένια μέση. | ἐπῆρα πάνου σὲ βουνὸ νὰ σπείρω | γοῦλο γοῦλο τὸ ρεβίθι | καὶ κλωνὶ κλωνὶ τὸ στάρι. | κ’ ἐβγῆκε ὁ

δίποδος, ὁ τρίποδος, | ὁ ἀναποδοκαμηλαυκάτος, | καὶ μ' ἔστρωξε ἔς τὸ δάκτυλό μου καὶ σκούζω καὶ φωνάζω. | κ' ὁ Χριστὸς μ' ἀπάντησε καὶ μὲ ρώτησε “τί ἔχεις, τέκνον μου, καὶ κλαῖς καὶ σκούζεις καὶ φωνάζεις;” “ἄλλη φορά μου γέροντας, τωρὰ εἶμαι παλληκάρι. κ' εἶχα βόϊ καὶ δαμάλι | καὶ τραῖ καὶ τραομάλλι, | εἶχα κέρινο ζυγὸ | καὶ καλαμένια μέση. | ἐπῆα πάνου σὲ βουνὸ νὰ σπείρω | γοῦλο γοῦλο τὸ ρεβίθι | καὶ κλωνὶ κλωνὶ τὸ στάρι. | κ' ἐβγῆκε ὁ δίποδος, ὁ τρίποδος, | ὁ ἀναποδοκαμηλαυκάτος, | καὶ μ' ἔστρωξε ἔς τὸ δάκτυλό μου καὶ σκούζω καὶ φωνάζω.” | καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς μοῦ λέει “σῦρε ἀπάνου σὲ βουνό, | ἐκεῖ ποῦ βγαίνει ὁ ἥλιος. | χύσε μέλι, χύσε γάλα, | χύσε τοῦ σκορπιοῦ τὸ αἷμα. | πᾶρε τὴν ὑγεία σου, | κ' ἔλα καμηλεῖά σου.”

internal prescription from Mary with three vessels motif; meter, *politikos stikhos* (?)

3.46.1.2. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 91

ἴσαν ἤμουν περισσοῦ γέροντας καὶ φέτι παλληκάριν, | ἐγὼ ἔς τὸν νοῦν μου τό βαλα νὰ κάμω ἓνα ζευγάριν. | βάλλω τὴν δάφνην ἄλετρο, | βάλλω τὰ ζευλοράμματα μετὰξιν ἐ πριχίμιν. | ἔς τὸν νῶμόν μου τὰ ἔβαλα, ἔς τὸν κάμπον κατεβαίνω, | σκίζω τὴν γῆν μὲ τ' ἄλετρον καὶ βάλλω τὴ σιτάριν. | ἐβρέθην τὸ κακὸν θεριὸν ποῦ λέσι γρικελόρος, | τὸ πόδιν μου ἐδάκκασε καὶ κλαίω καὶ θρηνοῦμαι καὶ πάνω θεὸν δοξάζω. | ἐνέφανεν ἡ παναγία ἡ δέσποινα, | “τί ἔχεις καὶ κλαίεις καὶ θρηνηᾶσαι καὶ πάνω θεὸν δοξάζεις;” | “τὸ πόδιν μου ἐδάκκασεν ποῦ λέσι γρικελόρος | καὶ κλαίω καὶ θρηνοῦμαι καὶ πάνω θεὸν δοξάζω.” | εἶπεν ἡ παναγία ἡ δέσποινα “ἔβγα πάνω ἔς τὸ ὄρος ἔς τὸ βουνόν, | ἔχει γοῦρναν μαρμαρένην καὶ σταυροπελεκημένην | κ' ἔχει μέλιν κ' ἔχει γάλας. πιὲ τὸ μέλιν, πιὲ τὸ γάλας, | κ' ἄφησ' τὸ φαρμάκιν.”

in the person of Peter; internal prescription from Mary

3.46.1.3. reported from contemporary Kephallenia, Pagonis 1910

εἶχα βόϊ καὶ βογάκι | καὶ τραῖ καὶ δαμαλάκι, | εἶχα κέρινο ζυγὸ | καὶ καλαμένιο ἄλετρι. | πάω τσοῦ κάμπους Ἐλληνας νὰ σπείρω | τὸ κλωνὶ κλωνὶ τὸ στάρι | καὶ τὸ γοῦλο τὸ ρεβίθι. | κ' ἐβγῆκε ὁ σκορπιός, | ὁ δίβωλος, ὁ τρίβωλος, | ὁ σαραντακέφαλος. | ἔς τὴν ζερβιά μου μ' ἔφαε, | ἔς τὴν δεξιὰ μου πόνεσε | καὶ παίρνω σκούζοντας, βλιάζοντας, | τὰ πέλαγα γυρίζοντας, | καὶ τσοῖ λιθιαῖς γκρεμίζοντας. | καὶ μ' ἀπανταίνει ἡ κυρὰ ἡ παναγία καὶ μοῦ λέει | “τί ἔχεις Πέτρο μου καὶ κλαῖς;” | “εἶχα βόϊ καὶ βογάκι | καὶ τραῖ καὶ δαμαλάκι, | εἶχα κέρινο ζυγὸ | καὶ καλαμένιο ἄλετρι. | πάω τσοῦ κάμπους Ἐλληνας νὰ σπείρω | τὸ κλωνὶ κλωνὶ τὸ στάρι | καὶ τὸ γοῦλο τὸ ρεβίθι. | κ' ἐβγῆκε ὁ σκορπιός, | ὁ δίβωλος, ὁ τρίβωλος, | ὁ σαραντακέφαλος. | ἔς τὴν ζερβιά μου μ' ἔφαε, | ἔς τὴν δεξιὰ μου πόνεσε | καὶ παίρνω σκούζοντας, βλιάζοντας, | τὰ πέλαγα γυρίζοντας, | καὶ τσοῖ λιθιαῖς γκρεμίζοντας.” | κ' ἡ παναγία μου λέει “νὰ πᾶς ἀπάνου ἔς ἐκεῖνο τὸ βουνὸ ποῦ ναι τρία καδάρια, | τὸ ἓνα μέλι, τ' ἄλλο γάλα, | τ' ἄλλο τοῦ σκορπιοῦ τὸ αἷμα. | πιὲ τὸ μέλι, πιὲ τὸ γάλα, | ρίπισ' τοῦ σκορπιοῦ τὸ αἷμα. | πᾶρε τὴν ὑγεία σου κ' ἔλα.”

3.46.2. *chasing crow*

3.46.2.1. private collection, from Epirus (s. XIX), ff. 21v-22r, ed. Oikonomides 1953-1954, 34

ἄμεσα κάτω ἔς τὸ λειβάδι | εἶχα βόιδι καὶ γελάδι | καὶ ἐπῆγα νὰ διβωλήσω, | νὰ | τριβωλήσω, | νὰ σπείρω τὸ γοῦλο τὸ ρεβίθι. καὶ ἦρθε μία κουτση στραβὴ κουρούνα νὰ μοῦ τὸ σπειροδιαλέξη καὶ ἄπλωσα νὰ πάρω σβῶλο διὰ νὰ τὴν βαρέσω, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔλαχεν ὁ σκορπιός ὁ ἐπτασκωληκοκέφαλος καὶ μὲ ἔφαγεν εἰς τὸ χέρι. καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐδιάβαινε οἱ ἅγιοι ἀνάργυροι καὶ λέγειν “ἔπαρε ἐλαιόλαδον παστρικό, σκορπίδι ἀπὸ τὸν πύργο καὶ ἀγριοπιδόφυλλα καὶ κοπάνισέ τα καὶ βάλ' τα ἐπάνω

καὶ δὲν θέλεις βλαφθῆ ἀπὸ τίποτας.” κι ὅπου ἐγὼ ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα. τὸν λόγον μου, ἡ παναγία τὸ χέρι της.’

3.46.2.2. reported from contemporary Kephallenia, Pagonis 1910

‘εἶχα βόϊ καὶ βογδάκι | καὶ τραῖ καὶ δαμαλάκι, | εἶχα κέρινο ζυγὸ | καὶ καλαμένιο ἀλέτρι. | πάω τσοῦ κάμπους Ἐλληνας | νὰ σπείρω | τὸ κλωνὶ κλωνὶ τὸ στάρι | καὶ τὸ γούλιο τὸ ρεβίθι. | κ’ ἐβγῆκε | μιὰ στραβὴ ζαβὴ κουροῦνα καὶ μῶτρωε, | τὸ κλωνὶ κλωνὶ τὸ στάρι

καὶ τὸ γούλιο τὸ ρεβίθι. | σκύφτω νὰ πάρω σβῶλο δίσβωλο. νὰ βαρήσω | τὴ στραβὴ ζαβὴ κουροῦνα. | κ’ εὐρέθηκέ νας σκορπιὸς καὶ μ’ ἔφαε ᾿ς τὸ δαχτυλάκι, | κ’ ἐπῆρα, σκουζόντες βλιάζοντες | τς ἐλιαῖς μαραίνοντες, | τὰ δένδρα ξεριζώνοντες. | καὶ μ’ ἀπανταίνει ὁ ἀφέντης ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ μοῦ λέει | “τί ἔχεις δοῦλέ μου καὶ κλαῖς;” | “εἶχα βόϊ καὶ βογδάκι | καὶ τραῖ καὶ δαμαλάκι, | εἶχα κέρινο ζυγὸ | καὶ καλαμένιο ἀλέτρι. | πάω τσοῦ κάμπους Ἐλληνας | νὰ σπείρω | τὸ κλωνὶ κλωνὶ τὸ στάρι | καὶ τὸ γούλιο τὸ ρεβίθι. | κ’ ἐβγῆκε | μιὰ στραβὴ ζαβὴ κουροῦνα καὶ μῶτρωε, | τὸ κλωνὶ κλωνὶ τὸ στάρι | καὶ τὸ γούλιο τὸ ρεβίθι. | σκύφτω νὰ πάρω σβῶλο δίσβωλο. νὰ βαρήσω | τὴ στραβὴ ζαβὴ κουροῦνα. | κ’ εὐρέθηκέ νας σκορπιὸς καὶ μ’ ἔφαε στὸ δαχτυλάκι, | κ’ ἐπῆρα, σκουζόντες βλιάζοντες | τς ἐλιαῖς μαραίνοντες, | τὰ δένδρα ξεριζώνοντες.” | μ’ ἐπῆρε καὶ μὲ σταύρωσε καὶ μοῦ λέει. | “νὰ πᾶς ἀπάνου ᾿ς τὸ βουνό, | ποῦ ναι τρία ραχιδάκια, | ποῦ ναι τρεῖς ἀγραπιδούλαις, | ποῦ ναι τρία καρδαράκια. | τό να μέλι, τ’ ἄλλο γάλα, | τ’ ἄλλο τοῦ σκορπιοῦ τὸ αἷμα· | πᾶρε τὴν ὑγειά σου κ’ ἔλα.”

3.46.3. other variants

3.46.3.1. reported from contemporary Kerkyra (Nymphai), Kavasilas 1910, 652 no. 17

‘εἶχα βόϊδι καὶ βογδάκι, | κ’ ἕνα μικρὸ δαμαλάκι. | κάνω καλαμίτσινο ἄλατρο | καὶ δαφνίτσινο ζυγὸ, | νὰ πάω νὰ σπείρω τὸ γούλο τὸ ρεβίθι. | ἐκεῖ βγαίνει ἡ καλὴ κακὴ κουροῦνα, | νὰ φάη τὸ γούλο τὸ ρεβίθι. | ἀσκώνω ἕνα σβῶλο παράσβωλο καὶ σκοτώνω τὴν καλὴ κακὴ κουροῦνα | καὶ μ’ ἔφαε ὁ σκορπιός. | πέρα ᾿ς τὸν Ἰορδάνη ποταμὸ εἶναι τρία γυαλιά· τό να μέλι, τᾶλλο γάλα, τᾶλλο τοῦ σκορπιοῦ τὸ αἷμα. νὰ τὸ πιῆ ὁ λαβωμένος, γιὰ νὰ γιάνη ὁ πονεμένος.’

3.46.3.2. private collection, from Epirus (s. XIX), f. 10v, ed. Oikonomides 1953-1954, 23-24

‘ἐβουλήθηκα νὰ σπείρω τὸ δίβωλο ρεβίθι, τὸ τρίβωλο, ἔκοψα ἀφόξυλη, ξύνω ἀλέτρι καὶ καλαμένο ζυγὸ νὰ σπείρω τὸ δίβωλο τὸ τρίβωλο ρεβίθι, ἔπεσε στραβὴ θαλὴ κουροῦνα νὰ τὸ σπειροδιαλέξῃ. ἀσήκωσα πέτρα νὰ τὴ βαρέσω τὴν στραβὴ θαλὴ κουροῦνα, ἔλαχε σκορπιὸς καὶ μὲ ἔφαγε εἰς τὸ χέρι, καὶ φωνάζω καὶ βρικόζω καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ταράζω καὶ τὰ δένδρα ξεριζώνω. “σοῦρπα μέλι γάλα, ξέρνα τοῦ σκορπιοῦ τὸ αἷμα καὶ νὰ πτύη.”

⁵ post ξεριζώνω *rep.* καὶ τὴν θ. τ. *cod.*

interlocking, a drug made from the specified ingredients is applied; against scorpion

3.46.3.3. reported from contemporary Gytheio, Manolakos 1915-1916, 613 no. 9

‘κάου σὲ ὄρη σὲ βουνά | εἶχανε βόϊδι βόϊδακα | δαμάλι δαμαλόπουλο. | μοῦ τὸ σπήκωσ’ ὁ σκορπαῖος. | “τί νὰ βάλωμε νὰ γιάνη;” | “τσόχα κι’ ἀγριαπίδι, | μαυρολάβικο μαχαῖρι, | νὰ γιάνη, νὰ περάση | καὶ νὰ μὴν ξαναφορμίση.”

nonsensical version in which the scorpion is placed in the first person role; interlocking, the wound anointed with milk and honey

3.46.3.4. reported from contemporary Zakynthos, Giannopoulou-Heptanesias 1951, 268
'ό σκροπέος | ό δίφυλλος ό τρίφυλλος ό έφτακαμαρωμένος | πάει 'ς τόν κάμπο
τρέχοντας νά σπείρει νά θερίσει | τó γουλό ρεβίθι. | τρία καρδάρια κρέμονται, | 'ς
τόνα μέλι, 'ς τ'άλλο γάλα, | 'ς τ'άλλο τά κοιλάντερα τού σκροπέου. | φάε τó μέλι,
πίε τó γάλα, | σκρόπα τó φαρμάκι τού σκροπέου.'

variant in which the speaker is 'counteracting magic;' internal prescription of incantation of the three vessels type; spoken over a fig leaf, which is then applied to the wound

3.46.3.5. reported from contemporary Paphos, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914
'άπό τήν δάφνην τσαί τήν έλιάν | άλετρον έκαμα, | κάτω 'ς τόν γιαλόν, κάτω 'ς τó
περιγιάλι | έννυασα τσαί δίπλασα | τσαί τά μαγικά ξερίζωσα | τσαί βρέθην τó
κακόν θερκόν | ποϋ λέουν γριτζελλόρον, | δεξιά έν ποϋ τον, ζαβρά έπολοήθη. |
τσαί κλαίω τσαί θρηνώ | τσαί τόν θεόν δοξολογώ. | τσαί έπέρασεν ή παναία ή
δέσοινα | μέ τόν υίόν της τόν μονογενή· | "τσαί σου, τί έσ'εις | τσαί τόν θεόν
δοξολοῶς; | 'ς τó όνομα τού πατρός τσαί τού υίου τσαί τού άγίου πνεύματος νϋν
τσαί άει τσαί εις | τούς αιώνας τών αιώνων άμήν. | πάνω 'ς τó όρος τó βουνι |
έσ'ει πέτρα μαρμαρένην | μαρμαροπελετζημένην, | έσ'ει μέλιν, έσ'ει γάλα, | φάε
μέλιν, φάε γάλα, | άφης τó φαρμάτζι, | τσαί έλα εις τó όνομα τού πατρός και τού
υίου τσαί τού άγίου πνεύματος νϋν τσαί άει τσαί εις τούς αιώνας τών αιώνων
άμήν."

simplified variant, with statement of natural fact

3.46.3.6. reported from contemporary Kastrianika (Kythera), I.P. Photios in
Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913
'ς τó βουνόν έπήγαινα, | τó σκorpion συνάντησα. | πόνο μου δουσε, φόβο τού
δωκα. | οϋτε κι' άπάνω κεφαλή, | οϋτε και κάτω ρίζα, | οϋτε κι' ό μέρμηγκας χολή |
οϋτε κ' ή μϋγα σπλήνα.'

3.47. *child, arch-child type* [likely has to do with St. Mamas / Mammes, a child-saint who communed with animals, lived in the wilderness]

3.47.1. *cow founders*

3.47.1.1. reported from contemporary Cyprus, Pantelides 1909
'ήμουν παιδίκιος άρχιπαιδίκιος τ'αι παιίν τ'αι παλληκάριν· έβουλήθηκα νά βλέπω
βούδκια τ'αι βουάλλες, τ'αι έπηρα τα κάτω 'ς τ' όρος τών Έλαιών νά τά
βοσσίσω, 'ς τόν 'Ιορδάνην ποταμόν νερόν νά ποτίσω. τ'αι άππήησεν ό βοϋς μου ό
καλλύττερος μέ τó περβόλιν τής Μαγδαληνης. "θέλεις χόρτον έφαεν, θέλεις
χορτολείβαον." τ'αι έππεσεν τ'αι στρουχνίζεται τ'αι ξαναστρουχνίζεται.
έστάθηκα τ'αι γιώ τ'αι κλαίω τ'αι φωνάζω τ'αι τόν θεόν δοξάζω. έρασσεν
τ'αι ό δεσπότης μου ό Χριστός· "είντά σ'εις παιδίκιο τ'αι κλαίεις τ'αι φωνάζεις τ'αι
τόν θεόν δοξάζεις τ'αι τόν θάνατόν σου κράζεις;" είπον του τότες τού Χριστού·
"ήμουν παιδίκιος" και τά λοιπά. τότες λαλει μου ό Χριστός· "πήαινε, παιδίκιο,
πάνω 'ς τ' όρος τών Έλαιών τ'αι έσ'ει τρία στεράτ'ια μέ τó μιαλλύττερον νά κόψης
μέ τó μιτσόττερον, νά κόψης τó μεσακόν, τ'αι δός τού βοϋ 'ς τά τ'έρρατα, τ'αι
δός τού βοϋ 'ς τήν σ'ίμπην, τ'αι δός του 'ς τά καπούλια, τ'αι πέ του άνου νά πᾶς
μέ τά ταίρκα, τ'αι σηκώννεται." ό Χριστός γιατρός.'

interlocking, the user crosses the patient with a staff made of στερατσιά

3.47.1.2. reported from contemporary Paphos, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

ἤμουν παίδκιος τσ' αντιπαίδκιος, | τσ' ἔγλεπα τὰ βούδκια τοῦ τουροῦ μου, | τὲς βούλλες τοῦ παπποῦ μου, | τσ' ἔφυνεν ὁ βοῦς μου ὁ μαῦρος, | ὁ καλύττερός μου ταῦρος, | τσ' ἔππεσεν μέσα ἔς τὸν τσηπον | τῆς Μαγταληνῆς Μαρίας, | τσ' ἔφαεν πᾶσα χόρτον, | τσ' ἔππεσεν χαμαὶ τσαὶ τσαίετουν. | ἐπέρνα τσαὶ ἡ παναία ἀπὸ τσεῖ τσ' ἀρώτησέν με | “εἴντα ἔσ' εἰς υἱὲ τσαὶ θρηνεῖς, | τσαὶ τὸν θεὸν δοξολοεῖς;” | εἶπεν τσαὶ τσεῖνος “ἤμουν παίδκιος τσ' αντιπαίδκιος, | τσ' ἔγλεπα τὰ βούδκια τοῦ τουροῦ μου, | τὲς βούλλες τοῦ παπποῦ μου, | τσ' ἔφυνεν ὁ βοῦς μου ὁ μαῦρος, | ὁ καλύττερός μου ταῦρος, | τσ' ἔππεσεν μέσα ἔς τὸν τσηπον | τῆς Μαγταληνῆς Μαρίας, | τσ' ἔφαεν πᾶσα χόρτον, | τσ' ἔππεσεν χαμαὶ τσαὶ τσαίετουν.” | εἶπεν τσαὶ ἡ παναία | “πήαινε εἶπε τοῦ τουροῦ, | νὰ πάη εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν | νὰ κόψη μίαν βίτσαν στερατσένην, | νὰ τοῦ δώση μίαν νεβρά, μίαν εἰς τὴν τσοιλιάν, | μίαν εἰς τὴν νουράν, | νὰ σηκωθῆ νὰ βουρᾶ.”

with flight and pursuit; against pain

3.47.1.3. reported from contemporary Cyprus, Koukoules 1928, 610-611

ἴπαψε πόνε τῶν ἀντέρων | τσ' αἰ ὁ Χριστός σε κατατρέσ' εἰ | μὲ τὴν πόην, μὲ τὴν μάχην, | μὲ τὴν ἀργυρῆν μαχαίραν, | μὲ τὴν δεξιάν του χέραν. | βούδκια τσ' αἰ ἄλογα ἔβλεπε πάνω ἔς τὸ μεσομέριν. ἀπήησεν ὁ βοῦς μου ὁ καλλίτερος εἰς τὸ περβόλιν τῆς Μαγδαληνῆς Μαρίας. “θέλεις μηλίιν ἔφαεν, θέλεις μηλινόχορτον.” τσ' αἰ ἔρεσεν ἡ παναία ἡ δέσποινα τσ' εἶπεν “τί ἔσ' εἰς παίδκιο τσ' αἰ κλαίεις τσ' αἰ φωνάζεις τσ' αἰ τὸν θεὸν ἐν ὀνομάζεις; σὰν τρέχουν τ' ἄστρον, σὰν τρέχουν οἱ καταρράκτες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἔτσι νὰ τρέξῃ τὸ πᾶσα κακὸν ἀπὸ τὸν δούλο τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα.” ἐπὶ ὀνόματος τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἀμήν.

3.47.2. cattle attacked by fox

3.47.2.1. reported from contemporary Cyprus, Koukoules 1928, 487

ἤμουν παίδκιος τσ' αντιπαίδκιος τσ' αἰ πανοῦρκον παλληκάριν, ἔπκιασεν χιλλίους ρίφους, χιλλίους κούκλους, τὸν κούκλιον πετεινόν, τὴν ὄρνιθα τὴν μαύρην, τοὺς ἔπκιασα, τοὺς ἔβκαλα ἔς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν. ἡῦρα βοσσ' ἦν τσ' ἐβόσσ' ἦσα, ἡῦρα μανδρὶν τσ' ἐμάνδρισα, τὴν πατερίτσαν μου ἐκούμπησα. ὁ ὕπνος μ' ἐπῆρεν. ἦρτεν τ' ἀλούπιον τὸ μουρμούτιν, μάδκιά του γυαλλιά τσ' αἰ δόνκιά του καρκιά, τόσα ἔφαεν, τόσα ἔπνιξεν, ἄλλα τόσα ἔφαεν τσ' ἐπῆεν. κλαίω τσ' αἰ φωνάζω τσ' αἰ τὸν αἴον θεὸν δοξάζω. ἔρρεσεν ἡ παναία ἡ δέσποινα μὲ τὸν υἱόν της τὸν μονοενῆ, εἶπέν μου “τί ἔσ' εἰς παίδκιο τσ' αἰ κλαίεις τσ' αἰ φωνάζεις τσ' αἰ τὸν θεὸν δοξάζεις;” “ἤμουν παίδκιος τσ' αντιπαίδκιος τσ' αἰ πανοῦρκον παλληκάριν, ἔπκιασεν χιλλίους ρίφους, χιλλίους κούκλους, τὸν κούκλιον πετεινόν, τὴν ὄρνιθα τὴν μαύρην, τοὺς ἔπκιασα, τοὺς ἔβκαλα ἔς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν. ἡῦρα βοσσ' ἦν τσ' ἐβόσσ' ἦσα, ἡῦρα μανδρὶν τσ' ἐμάνδρισα, τὴν πατερίτσαν μου ἐκούμπησα. ὁ ὕπνος μ' ἐπῆρεν. ἦρτεν τ' ἀλούπιον τὸ μουρμούτιν, μάδκιά του γυαλλιά τσ' αἰ δόνκιά του καρκιά, τόσα ἔφαεν, τόσα ἔπνιξεν, ἄλλα τόσα ἔφαεν τσ' ἐπῆεν. κλαίω τσ' αἰ φωνάζω τσ' αἰ τὸν αἴον θεὸν δοξάζω.” εἶπέν μου ἡ παναγία “νὰ βρης ἄθθρωπον πεντάνευρον, γυναῖκαν πενταδακτύλην, νὰ δήσης ἀλουπὸν εἰς τὰ ἔξι μέρη τῆς νισκιᾶς κατανάτολα.” “δήννεις με τσ' ἀφίννεις με, ἐγιώ ποῦ νὰ βρω νὰ φάω;” δήννω σε τσ' αἰ στέλλω σε ἔς τὸ ὄρος ἐλαιῶν τσ' ἔσεις νὰ φάῃ τσ' αἰ νὰ πκιῆς. εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς τσ' αἰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τσ' αἰ τοῦ αἴου πνεύματος, ἀμήν.

3.48.1. *pious wood-cutting gone awry, with cosmic disturbance, general*

9 brothers

internal prescription of incantation by Mary; for rheum in the eyes

3.48.1.1. private collection, from Epirus (s. XIX), ff. 4r-5v, ed. Oikonomides 1953-1954, 17-18

ἔν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. ὅπου ἦτον ἑννέα ἀδελφοὶ καλοὶ καὶ ἐπῆραν τὰ βορδωνία τους, τὰ βουδουτζικουρά τους εἰς τὸ αἷμα βοτησμένα καὶ εἰς τὸν ἥλιο τροχημένα καὶ ἐπῆγαν εἰς ὄρη, σὲ βουνά, διὰ νὰ κόψουν σήμαντρα, | σημαντρόξυλα τῆς παναγίας θεοτόκου τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν. οἱ δὲ καλὰ τὰ ἔκοψαν, οἱ δὲ καλὰ τὰ ἐπιλέκησαν. πρώτη τζικουριά ὅπου ἐβάρησε εἰς τὸ λεπτὸ κυπαρίσσι καὶ ἀπιτάθη ἓνα μικρὸ φιλικούδι καὶ ἐβάρησεν τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ τάδε εἰς τὸ μάτι. καὶ φωνάζει καὶ βρικόζει καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τaráζει καὶ τὰ δένδρα ξερριζώνει, τὰ βουνὰ ξεθεμελιώνει καὶ τὸν κουρνιακτὸ ρεπίζει. ἐκεῖ ἐδιάβαινε ἡ παναγία ἡ δέσποινα μὲ τοὺς ἁγίους ἀγγέλους καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους, μὲ τοὺς δώδικα ἀποστόλους, μὲ τὸν Πέτρον, μὲ τὸν Παῦλον, μὲ τοὺς ἁγίους ἀναργύρους, καὶ τὴν ἐσταμάτησαν καὶ λέγουν “τί ἔχει ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φωνάζει καὶ βρικόζει καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν | τaráζει καὶ τὰ δένδρα ξερριζώνει;” “φέρτε μου μαχαίρι μαυρομάνικο, σκορπίδι ἀπὸ παλιόπυργο καὶ βία ἀπὸ τὴν ἐκκλησία, νὰ κόψω νὰ ρίξω νὰ σκορπίσω τὸ ρίμμα τὸ ριμματικὸ τὸ σκοτικὸ τὸ ἄσπρο τὸ μαῦρο καὶ τὸ κόκκινο, νὰ πάη εἰς τὰ ἄγρια βουνὰ καὶ ἔς τὰ ἄγρια κλαδία. ὁ τάδε εἶναι βαπτισμένος τοῦ θεοῦ παραδομένος, κάθε τρίχα μετρημένος. πατὴρ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος. καὶ ὡς καθὼς σκορπίζει καὶ ριπίζει ὁ ἥλιος τὴν δροσὰ καὶ ἄνεμος τὴν ἀντάρρα, νὰ πάη ἔς τῆς Μάνης τὰ βουνά, ἔς τῆς Μπαρμπαργιάς τὰ μέρη, ἐκεῖ νὰ φάγη, ἐκεῖ νὰ πῖη, ἐκεῖ νὰ καταντήση. ἀγέρας τὸ ἦφερε, ἀγέρας νὰ τὸ πάρη. καὶ ἅγιοι ἀναργυροὶ γὰρ | τρεῦσατε τὸν δοῦλόν σας τάδε.” καὶ λέγε το τρεῖς φορές, κάθε φορὰ ὅπου ἀρχινᾷς. τέλος.

3.48.1.2. private collection, from Epirus (s. XIX), ff. 19v-21r, ed. Oikonomides 1953-1954, 32-33

ἔν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος, ἔκ τρίτου. ὅπου ἦτον ἑννέα ἀδελφοὶ καλοὶ καὶ ἐπῆραν τὰ βορδωνία τους τὰ βορδοτζικουρά τους εἰς τὸ αἷμα βοτησμένα καὶ εἰς τὸν ἥλιον τροχημένα καὶ πηγαίνανε εἰς ὄρη σὲ βουνὰ καὶ σὲ χαμηλὰ κλαδία νὰ κόψουν σήμαντρα, σημαντρόξυλα τῆς παναγίας θεοτόκου τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν. οἱ δὲ καλὰ τὰ ἔκοψαν, οἱ δὲ καλὰ τὰ ἐπιλέκησαν, πρώτη τζεκουριά ὅπου βάρησαν εἰς τὸ λεπτὸ κυπαρίσσι καὶ ἀπελύθη σκλίθρα καὶ ἀνεμοστροφίλος πονηρὸς καὶ ἐξωτερικὸς καὶ ἐβάρησι τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ τάδε, καὶ φωνάζει καὶ βρικόζει καὶ φλίβεται καὶ ὀδύρεται καὶ ἀναστενάζει. καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐδιάβαινε ἡ παναγία ἡ δέσποινα μὲ τοὺς ἁγίους ἀγγέλους καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους, μὲ τὸν Πέτρον, μὲ τὸν Παῦλο, μὲ τοὺς δώδικα ἀποστόλους, μὲ τοὺς ἁγίους ἀναργύρους, καὶ λέγουν “τί ἔχει ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ τάδε, καὶ φωνάζει καὶ βρικόζει καὶ φλίβεται καὶ ὀδύρεται καὶ ἀναστενάζει;” μὲ τοὺς ἁγίους ἀναργύρους ποὺ ἐκεῖ ἐσταμάτησαν, πρῶτοι ἰατροὶ τοῦ κόσμου, “τί ἔχει ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ;” “φέρτε μου μαχαίρι μαυρομάνικο, σκορπίδι ἀπὸ τὸν πύργο, σταυρὸν καὶ βίον ἀπὸ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν νὰ κόψω, νὰ ρίξω, νὰ ξορκίσω τὰ ριμματικὰ τὰ ἐξωτερικὰ τὰ πονηρὰ καὶ ἀερικὰ πνεύματα τῆς πονηρίας, νὰ ὑπάγουν ἔς τὸ πῦρ ῥτομασμένον, νὰ πᾶν ἔς τοὺς ἀγρίους λόγγους καὶ ἔς τοὺς ἀγρίους τόπους, ἐκεῖ νὰ καταντήσουν. ὁ τάδε εἶναι βαπτισμένος μυρωμένος τοῦ θεοῦ παραδομένος. πατὴρ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα. ὡς καθὼς σκορπίζει καὶ ριπίζει ὁ ἥλιος τὴν δροσὰ καὶ ἄνεμος τὴν ἀντάρρα, ἔτσι νὰ σκορπιστοῦν καὶ νὰ ριπιστοῦν καὶ νὰ ξορκιστοῦν τὰ ριμματικὰ ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ τάδε.” καὶ μὲ τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ νὰ μὴν εἰσέλθετε νὰ πειράξετε τὸν δοῦλο τοῦ θεοῦ τάδε, οὔτε αὐτὸν οὔτε τὴν φαμίλιαν του, καὶ ὅπου ἐγὼ τὸν λόγον μου, ἡ παναγία καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Γιώργιος τὸ χέρι τους. ἀμήν. τέλος.

7 brothers; addition of address to the earth to receive the affliction; for pain in the eyes
3.48.1.3. reported from contemporary Crete, Bardakis 1921, 556-557

‘ς τ’ ὄνομά σου θέ μου | κι ἀφέντη μου Χριστέ μου | κι ἅγιε Παντελεήμονα πρώτε
γιατρὲ τοῦ κόσμου | ὅπου γιατρεύεις τσοὶ πληγῆς καὶ διασκορπᾶς τσοὶ πόνους. |
ὡς ἦταν ἑπτὰ ἀδερφοί, | καλοὶ ἀδερφοί, | καὶ πῆραν τὰ μαναροσκέπαρνά των, | τὰ
χρυσᾶ καὶ τ’ ἀργυρᾶ των, | νὰ πάν’ ἀπάνω | ’ς τὰ ὄρη ’ς τὰ βουνὰ καὶ τσοὶ ψηλῆς
μαδάρες | νὰ κόψουν, νὰ ρίξουν, νὰ χρυσοπελεκήσουν ἀνωφίλιο κατωφίλιο, τῆ
πόρτα τοῦ παράδεισος. καὶ ’κεῖ ποῦ πελεκούσανε πεθειέτ’ ἕνα φλιτζακουδάκι καὶ
βαρύχνει ’ς τὰ ματάκια, | κλαίει καὶ θρηνεῖ, | τὸ θεὸ παρακαλεῖ | “ὦ παναγιὰ δὲ
βρίσκεται ἄνθρωπος μυρωμένος βαφτισμένος τὴν μεγάλη πέμπτη μεταλαβωμένος,
νὰ πιάση τὸ ἔλιᾶς τὸ κλωναράκι, καὶ μαυρομάνικο μαχαίρι νὰ κόψη νὰ ρίξη τὸ
λάρι, τῆ σκορδαψοῦ, τὸ πονάματο ἀπὸ τὰ μάτια τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ Μανούσου;”
| ὦ δέξου γῆς τὸ πόνου του καὶ δὸς του θέ μου τὴν ὑγεία του.’

3x7 + 3x8 + 3x9 brothers

interlocking, the user is to hold one of the items mentioned, gold or silver or an olive
branch, over the affected eye

3.48.1.4. reported from contemporary Crete, Bardakes 1926, 289 [personalized for an
Antroules]

‘τρεις ἑπτὰ τρεις ὀκτώ τρεις ἑννιά καλοὶ ἀδερφοί | ἐβγήκανε ’ς τὰ ὄρη ’ς τὰ βουνὰ
νὰ κόψουν νὰ ρίξουν νὰ πελεκίσουν | ἀνωφίλιο κατωφίλιο | πόρτα τοῦ
παράδεισος. | ἐκεῖ πετάχτηκε ἕνα ἄργυρο πελεκουδάκι καὶ βάρηκε τοῦ δούλου τοῦ
θεοῦ Ἀντρουλιῆ. παιδιὰ, καὶ δὲν εὐρέθηκεν ἕνας πενταδάκτυλος νὰ γυρίση τρεις
φορὲς τὴν ἁγία τράπεζα, νὰ πιάση | γῆ ἀργύρι γῆ χρυσάφι | γῆ ἀγριολιᾶς
κλωνάρι | νὰ γητέψη τὸ μύρι τὸ λάρι τὸ βλόητο τοὺς σκορδαπλιούς τὸ πονάματο
τοῦ γῆς. δέξου γῆς τὸν πόνου του καὶ δὸς του θεέ μου τὴν ὑγεία τοῦ Ἀντρουλιῆ.’

3x7 + 3x8 + 3x9 good *mastoroi*

3.48.1.5. reported from contemporary Xerochorion, G. Rhousias in Athanasopoulos et al.
1912-1913, 52 no. 15

‘τρεις ἑπτὰ, τρεις ὀκτώ, τρεις ἑννιά, | καλοὶ μαστόροι πῆραν τὰ τσικούρια, τὰ
τσικροπέλεκα, | νὰ πάν’ ’ς τὰ ὄρη, τὸ βνί, ’ς τὰ ὄρη, τὸ μοναστήρ, | κεῖ π’ ἀρχίσανε νὰ
τσικροπελεκήσουνε, | νὰ φκειάσουν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ράβδι καὶ τς παναγιᾶς ρόκα, |
πέχκει πελεκοῦδα καὶ βάρησε τὸν δεῖνα ’ς τὸ μάτι. | κλαῖνε καὶ θρήνονται τί νὰ τόνε
κάνε. | πέρασε Χριστὸς κι τσοῦ πε, | “τρεις ἑπτὰ, τρεις ὀκτώ, τρεις ἑννιά, | καλοὶ
μαστόρ, τί ἔχετε καὶ κλαίεστε καὶ θρήνευστε;” | καὶ τοῦ παν: “τρεις ἑπτὰ τρεις ὀκτώ
τρεις ἑννιά, | ἐμεῖς καλοὶ μαστόρ πῆραμε | τὰ τσικούρια, τὰ τσικροπέλεκα, | νὰ πάν
’ς τὰ ὄρη, τὸ βνί, ’ς τὰ ὄρη, τὸ μοναστήρ, | κεῖ π’ ἀρχίσαμε νὰ τσικροπελεκήσουμε, |
νὰ φκειάσουμε τοῦ Χριστοῦ ράβδι καὶ τς παναγιᾶς ρόκα, | πέχκει πελεκοῦδα καὶ
βάρησι τὸν δεῖνα ’ς τὸ μάτι.” | καὶ τσοῦ πε ὁ Χριστὸς, | “νὰ πᾶρτε μαυρομάνικο, |
νὰ τὸν γητέψετε, νὰ τοῦ γιάνη.”

7 + 8 + 9 brothers

interlocking, the user puts olive oil (ἔλαιον) and wool (μαλλίον) on the wound

3.48.1.6. reported from contemporary Kastrianika (Kythera), I.P. Photios in
Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

‘οὶ ἑπτὰ, οὶ ὀκτώ, οὶ ἑννιά δερφοὶ | πααίνανε νὰ κόψουνε ἀπὸ τῆς παναγιᾶς τῆς
δέσποινας | ἀνώφιλα κατωφίλα καὶ παραθυροστέμματα. | ἔπεσε πέτρα καὶ βάρηκε
’ς τὸ δεῖνα μέρος. | “βάλε του ἔλαιος ἀπὸ τὴν ἐλαία | κι’ ἀζεμάτιγο μαλλί· | ὡς δὲν
ἐκακουργήσανε τ’ ἀφέντη τοῦ Χριστοῦ οὐ πληγῆς | νὰ μὴν κακουργήση κι’ αὐτό.”

40 brothers

interlocking, the user takes wool from a black sheep, dips it in olive oil, lights it, and crosses the wound with it

3.48.1.7. reported from contemporary Kastrisianika (Kythera), I.P. Photios in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

‘σαράντ’ ἀδέλφια ἦτανε ᾿ς τὸ βουνὸ | καὶ κόβανε ἀνώφιλα καὶ κατώφιλα | καὶ παραθυρόξυλα. | καὶ πέφτει τοῦ ἐνοῦ τὸ μανάρι | καὶ βαραίνει του ᾿ς τὸ δεῖνα μέρος. | καὶ τοῦ πε ὁ ἅγιος Γιάννης ὁ πρόδρομος κ’ ἡ παναγία ἡ δέσποινα | νὰ πάρη μαλλὶ πὸ μαῦρο πρόβατο, | νὰν τὸ γητέψη νὰν τοῦ περάση. | ὁ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ | κι’ ὅλα τὰ κακὰ σκορπᾷ.’

one

internal prescription of incantation by Mary; against rheum in the eyes

3.48.1.8. reported from contemporary Kerkyra (Nymphai), Kavasilas 1910, 646 no. 2, from a ξορκίστρα named Rhigo Kefallinou (Ῥήγω Κεφαλληνοῦ)

‘ἅγιοι ἀνάργυροι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, πρῶτοι γιατροὶ τοῦ κόσμου ὅπου ἐγιατρέψετε πολλούς, γιατρέψτε καὶ τὸν δεῖνα. | ἐπῆρε τὰ τσεκούρια του | ᾿ς τσοῖ κόνες, κόνες κονισμένα καὶ ᾿ς τὸ αἷμα βουτηγμένα, | νὰ κόψη δέντρο πεῦκο κεπαρίσσι, | νὰ κάμη μάρμαρο καὶ χρυσὸ παράθυρο | τσῆ παναγίας τσῆ παρθένας. | μῆδε καλὰ ἐπελέκησε· πρώτην τσεκουριά, ποῦ βάρησε ἀπέταξε χρυσὴ κι’ ἀργυρὴ πελεκοῦδα καὶ πιτυχαίνει τὸ δεῖνα ᾿ς τὸ μάτι καὶ δὲ μπορεῖ νὰ πομένη, οὔδε μέρα, οὔδε ὥρα, οὔδε κάρτο ἀπὸ τὴν ὥρα. ἐκεῖ ἔτυχε καὶ διάβηκεν ἡ δέσποινα ἡ παναγία, καὶ ῥωτάει τί ἔχει ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ δεῖνα καὶ βανίζει καὶ μουγκρίζει. “δὲν τὸ ἔλπιζα, παρθένα μου, πῶς θὲ νὰ μὲ ῥωτήσης· τζᾶ καὶ μὲ ῥωτήσεις νὰ σοῦ τὸ μολοήσω. μῆδε καλὰ ἐπελέκησα, πρώτη τσεκουριά ποῦ ἐβάρησα ἀπετάχτηκε χρυσὴ κι’ ἀργυρὴ πελεκοῦδα καὶ πετάχτηκε ᾿ς τὸ μάτι μου.” τότες ἡ παναγία τῆς λέει “γιὰ μένανε λαβώθηκες· | φέρτε μου ἐλιόφυλλο, σκορπίδι ἀπὸ τὸν πύργο | νὰ σκορπίσω νὰ ξορκίσω | τὸ ῥῆμα τὸ ρεμάτισμα | τὸ κακὸ τὸ συναπάντημα | τὸ θηλυκὸ, τάρσενικό.”

9 τζᾶ : ed. glosses ἀφοῦ

Mary + Peter + Paul + 12 apostles + 13 angels

cosmic disturbance, internal prescription of incantation by Mary; against rheum in the eyes

3.48.1.9. private collection, copied from a manuscript book in contemporary Kerkyra (Nymphai), Kavasilas 1910, 646-647 no. 3, the book belonged to a notary (συμβολαιογράφος) named Th. Papoutsis who died some 20 years before the publication

‘ἐκίνησεν ἡ παναγία ἡ δέσποινα | μὲ τὸν Πέτρο καὶ μὲ τὸν Παῦλο, | μὲ τσοῦ δώδεκα ἀποστόλους | καὶ μὲ δεκατρεῖς ἀγγέλους | εἰς τὸν λόγγον | γιὰ νὰ κόψουν ξύλα γιὰ κάρβουνα, | καὶ ξύλα γιὰ θυμίαμα. | κ’ ἐβγῆκε μιὰ πελεκοῦδα | κ’ ἐκτύπησε ᾿ς τὸ μάτι τὸ δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν δεῖνα | καὶ μουγκρίζει καὶ φωνάζει | καὶ τὰ δέντρα στριγγρίζει. | καὶ τοὺς εἶπε ἡ παναγία “φέρτε μου μαυρομάνικο μαχαῖρι κ’ ἐλιάς κλωνάρι | νὰ ξορκίσω, νὰ συντρίψω | τὸ ῥῆμα, τὸ κάθε κακὸ | ὅπου ἔχει ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ δεῖνα εἰς τὸ μάτι.

ἅγιοι ἀνάργυροι καὶ θαματοουργοί, πρῶτοι γιατροὶ τοῦ κόσμου, ποῦ γιατρέψετε πολλούς, γιατρεῦτε καὶ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ (δεῖνα) ἀπὸ κάθε κακὸ ποῦ ἔχει εἰς τὸ μάτι, ἤγουν τὸ ῥῆμα τὸ σκυλήσιο, τὸ φιδήσιο, τὸ γατήσιο, τὸ ποντικῆσιο.’

Mary + Christ + 12 apostles + 12 prophets + 12 martyrs

cosmic disturbance, internal reference to healing by Mary; against rheum in the eyes

3.48.1.10. reported from contemporary Kerkyra, Salbanos 1929, 116-117

‘ή παναΐα ή κυρά ό παντοκράτορας και ό Ίησοϋς Χριστός έρχόδανε, έκινήσανε με δώδεκ’ άγγέλους, με δώδεκα προφήτες, με δώδεκα μαρτύρους, κ’ έρχόδανε μ’ άσημομάχαιρα μ’ άσημοτσέκουρα νά χτυπήσουνε νά κόψουνε νά πελεκήσουνε τση παναΐας τó δέδρο, τó παρεθυρόξυλο τση άγίας τραπέζας και τó δισκοπότηρο έκόψανε κ’ έγίνηκε. μα’ κεί ποϋ τó τσεκουροκόβανε και τó τσεκουροπελεκήσανε, άπετάκτηκε ή άγγίδα, ή πελεκίδα κ’ έπίτυχε τó δουϋλο τού θεοϋ δεΐνα. αυτός σκούζει, βλιάζει, τή γής αναταράζει, τή θάλασσα θολώνει, τά δέδρα ξερριζώνει. ή δέσποινα θιαματουργή παναΐα τότε ρώτησε και τού ’πε “τί έχεις παιδί μου ποϋ σκούζεις, βλιάζεις, τή γής αναταράζεις;” “με ’πίτυχε ή άγγίδα, ή πελεκίδα ’ς τó μάτι.” ή δέσποινα ή παναΐα τότες με τó χέρι της και με τó μαχαίρι της τó σταύρωσε, τó φύσησε, κ’ έφυε σαν τόν ήλιο. τó ’διωξε και πήε ’ς τ’ άγρια βουνά και ’ς τ’ άγρια λαγγάδια, πάνου τó άπατήτους γκρεμούς, ’ς τά πέτρινα γιοφύρια ποϋ έκει πουλι δέ διαλαλει, κόττα δέ κακαρείεται, μικροϋ παιδίου κουλούρι δέ φένηται. και πήε σαν τόν ήλιο ’ς τά βάθη τση θαλάσσης, ’ς τούς άγρίους τσοϋ τόπους.’

Mary + Christ

abbreviated version

3.48.1.11. private collection, cod. from Kerkyra (s. XIX), ed. Salbanos 1929, 133-134

‘ώς έκίνησε ή παναγία με τόν υίόν της τόν μονογενήν και παίρνει άσημοτσέκουρα, τσεκουροπελεκώντες ξαπετάζεται μία φλούδα και μικροπελεκούδα και ’πίτυχεν εις τó μάτι τού δουϋλου τού θεοϋ τάδε. σκούζει βλιάζει και τής γής αναταράζει. όλοι άγγελοι κυρίου νά τής βγάλης τή μουχλάδα τού ματιοϋ της. τó ρεϋμα κάτου ρεϋμα, νά πάη ’ς τ’ άγρια βουνά και ’ς τά χαμηλά άγκάθια. άγέρας τó ’φερε, ό Χριστός τó ’διωξε.’

3.48.2. *the brothers themselves injured*

variant in the first person, in which one of the brothers themselves is injured

3.48.2.1. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 84-85

‘έννια άδερφάτσα ήμασταν | χρουσά τó άγαπημένα | τó ’επιάσαμεν τó χρουσομάνναρον | τó ’επιάσαμεν τή χρουσόστραταν | τó ’ένέβημαν εις τó βουνόν | νά κόψουμεν πεϋκον τσαι λεϋκον | τσαι τσυππαρίσιν | νά κάμουμεν τής παναΐας | τó τίμιο ξύλον | τó ’επόνεσεν ό ένας μας άδερφός τó μάτιν του | τσαι κλαΐμεν τσαι θρηνιζούμεστε | πώς νά κάμουμεν, τί νά γένουμεν. | τσαι μās επάντηξεν ό άγιος Χριστός | τσαι μās ειπεν | “τί έσετε παιδιά μου τσαι θρήναστε;” | “έννια άδέρφκια ήμασταν | χρουσά τó άγαπημένα | τó ’επιάσαμεν τó χρουσομάνναριον | τó ’επιάσαμεν τή χρουσόστραταν | τó ’ένέβημαν εις τó βουνόν | νά κόψουμεν πεϋκον τσαι λεϋκον | τσαι τσυππαρίσιν | νά κάμουμεν τής παναΐας | τó τίμιο ξύλον | τó ’επόνεσεν ό ένας μας άδερφός τó μάτιν του | τσαι κλαΐμεν τσαι θρηνιζούμεστε | πώς νά κάμουμεν, τί νά γένουμεν.” “έχάθησαν παιδιά μου, | τής μαύρης πούλλας τά φτερά | νά βγάλετε έννια φτερά | νά τó σταυρώσετε;”

flight and pursuit motif; against rheum in the eyes

3.48.2.2. reported from contemporary from Kerkyra (Nymphai), Kavasilas 1910, 645 no.

1, from a καλαθοποιός named Th. Rhizou

‘τó ρήμα τó ρηματικό | τó κόκκινο τó πράσινο | τó φύλλο παγουνάτσο. | επήγαμε νά κόψουμε | τής κυράς παναγίας ανώφιλια κατώφιλια | τρία σημαντρόξυλα. | έκει

καλὰ τὰ κόψαμε, | καλὰ τὰ πελεκήσαμε, | καὶ πετάχτηκε σκλήθρα παράσκληθρα κ' ἐκτύπησε τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν δεῖνα 'ς τὸ μάτι. | φέρτε μαχαῖρι μαυρομάνικο | καὶ σκορπίδι κι' ἐλιᾶς κλωνάρι, | νὰ ξορκίσω νὰ ξοργίσω ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν δεῖνα | τὸ ῥῆμα τὸ ῥηματικό, | τὸ κακὸ τὸ συναπάντημα, | νὰ πάη 'ς ἄγρια βουνὰ καὶ 'ς ἄγρια λαγκάδια, | ποῦ κεῖ κόττα δὲ λαλεῖ, καμπάνα δὲ σημαίνει, | μικροῦ παιδιοῦ κουλοῦρι δὲν ψήνεται. | ἀγέρας τὸ ἤφερε, ὁ ἀφέντης ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ διώχνει, | κι' ὁ δεῖνα σὰν τὸ καλὸ τοῦ θεοῦ νὰ γένη.'

third person, one brother injured; cosmic disturbance

3.48.2.3. reported from contemporary Kephallenia, Pagonis 1910

ἄνοιξαν οἱ ἑπτὰ καταρράκταις τοῦ οὐρανοῦ | κ' ἐβγάλανε ἑπτὰ μαχαίρια μαυρομάνικα, | ἑπτὰ τσεκούρια μονόπυρα, | ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλους, ἑπτ' ἀρχαγγέλους, | καὶ τὰ πήρανε καὶ πήανε 'ς τὸ ἀγιόρος, | 'ς τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸν τάφο, | νὰ κόψουνε πεῦκο, λεῦκο κ' ἔλατο, | νὰ κάμουνε τσῆ παναγίας σημαντοῦρι, | τ' ἄη Γιανιοῦ σημανταρόξυλο | καὶ τῆς ἀγίας Ἄννας πόρταις. | κ' ἐπετάχτηκε ἓνα πελεκουδάκι | καὶ ἤρρηκε μιὰ ἀπὸ τς ἀδρεφαῖς τῶν ἀποστόλων μέσ' 'ς τὸ μάτι. | ἐκλαύθηκε, θρηνήθηκε, | 'ς τὸν κάτου κόσμο ἀγροικήθηκε, | κ' ἐπήανε 'ς τὸν ἀφέντη τὸ Χριστό, | καὶ ὁ ἀφέντης ὁ Χριστὸς τοὺς εἶπε | “μὴ ὄρφανὸ ἐδείρετε; μὴ χήρα ἐκομπῶστε; | μὴ ζεστὸ ἐζυμῶστε, καὶ κρύο ἐδώστε;” | “ὄχι ἀφέντη μου Χριστέ, | οὐδὲ ὄρφανὸ ἐδείραμε, οὐδὲ χήρα ἐκομπῶσαμε, | οὐδὲ ζεστὸ ἐζυμῶσαμε καὶ κρύο ἐδώσαμε. | ἀνοιξαν οἱ ἑπτὰ καταρράκταις τοῦ οὐρανοῦ | κ' ἐβγάλανε ἑπτὰ μαχαίρια μαυρομάνικα, | ἑπτὰ τσεκούρια μονόπυρα, | ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλους, ἑπτ' ἀρχαγγέλους, | καὶ τὰ πήρανε καὶ πήανε 'ς τὸ ἀγιόρος, | 'ς τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸν τάφο, | νὰ κόψουνε πεῦκο, λεῦκο κ' ἔλατο | νὰ κάμουνε τσῆ παναγίας σημαντοῦρι, | τ' ἄη Γιαννιοῦ σημανταρόξυλο | καὶ τσῆ ἀγίας Ἄννας πόρταις. | κ' ἐπετάχτηκε ἓνα πελεκουδάκι | καὶ ἤρρηκε μιὰ ἀπὸ τς ἀδρεφάδες τῶν ἀποστόλων μέσ' 'ς τὸ μάτι. | ἐκλαύθηκε ἐθρηνήθηκε | 'ς τὸν κάτου κόσμο ἀγροικήθηκε. | κ' ἐπήανε 'ς τὸν ἀφέντη τὸ Χριστό.” | καὶ ὁ ἀφέντης ὁ Χριστὸς τοὺς εἶπε | “δὲν εὐρέθηκε ἢ χρυσὸ ἢ ἀργυρὸ | ἢ ἄχρο ἢ κοντύλι, | νὰ ξορκίσετε τὸ ρίμμα, τὴν κατεβασιά, | τὸν πονόματο τὸ πονοκέφαλο, | νὰ τὸ ῥήξετε 'ς τὴ γῆ τὴν πομπισμένη, | ποῦ ἠμπορεῖ καὶ τὸ ὑπομένει; | ἔτσι θὰ ματαπεράση. τότε θὰν τὴν ἐματαύρη.” | ἅγιοι ἀνάργυροι καὶ θαματοουργοί, | πρῶτοι γιαιοὶ τοῦ κόσμου | δωρεὰν ἐλάβετε, δωρεὰν ἐδώκετε, | νὰ τῆς δώσετε τὴν ὑγεία τῆς, τὴ χαρὰ τῆς, | καὶ τὴ λευτεριά τῆς. δέξου γῆς τὸν πόνον τῆς καὶ δῶσ' τῆς τὴν ὑγεία τῆς.'

third person, all nine brothers injured; cosmic disturbance; against rheum in the eyes

3.48.2.4. reported from contemporary Kephallene, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

ἔπηγαν ἐννιὰ δελφοὶ | κ' ἐννιὰ τσεκουροπελεκᾶνοι | μ' ἐννιὰ μαχαίρια δίκοπα, | μ' ἐννιὰ τσεκούρια δίκοπα | νὰ κόψουνε πεῦκο λεῦκο ἐλιά καὶ κυπαρίσσι, | νὰ κάμουνε τῆς παναγίας τῆς θεοτόκου τὸ σημαντήριον. | ἐκεῖ τσόπιασαν' οἱ πόνοι καὶ τὰ ῥεματικά | καὶ σκούζουνε καὶ βλιάζουνε, | τὴν γῆν ἀνατρομάζουνε. | κι' ὁ Χριστὸς τς ἀπάντησε καὶ τοὺς λέγει | “ποῦ πάτε ἐννιὰ δελφοὶ κι' ἐννιὰ τσεκουροπελεκᾶνοι;” | “πάμ' ἀπάνω σὲ ὄρη σὲ βουνὸ | νὰ κόψουμε πεῦκο λεῦκο ἐλιά καὶ κυπαρίσσι, | νὰ κάμουμε τῆς παναγίας τῆς θεοτόκου τὸ σημαντήριόν τῆς. | κ' ἐδῶ μᾶς πιάσαν οἱ πόνοι καὶ τὰ ῥεματικά, | καὶ γιὰ δαῦτο σκούζουμε καὶ βλιάζουμε, | τὴν γῆν ἀνατρομάζουμε, | καὶ δὲν εὐρέθη κανὰς Χριστιανὸς νὰ μᾶς τὰ ξορκίσῃ | καὶ νὰ μᾶς τὰ γιαιοῦρη.” | κι' ὁ Χριστὸς τοὺς λέει | “σῦρτε πίσω ἐκεῖ ποῦ βγαίν' ὁ ἥλιος ταῖς ἀκτῖνες του, | ν' ἀφήκετε τοὺς πόνους σας καὶ τὰ ῥεματικά σας | καὶ πᾶρτε τὴν ὑγείαν σας κι' ἐλάτε καμηλεῖα σας.” | ἡ ἀγία Ἀγάθη τὰ ξώρκισε, ἡ ἀγία Ἀγάθη τὰ γιάτρεψε.'

3.48.3. *other variants*

accident averted through encounter with Mary; internal prescription of incantation by Mary; for eye pain

3.48.3.1. reported from contemporary Aitolia, D. Loukopoulos in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

‘κίνησαν πέντ’ ἀδέρφια, | σύντιχα κὶ πάντιχα μὶ τὰ τσικούρια ’ς τοὺν ὦμου, | νὰ πᾶν’ ἀπᾶν’ ’ς τς Νζώρτζιας τὰ βνά, | νὰ κόψνι κέδρα κ’ ἔλατα κὶ πεῦκα | νὰ φκειάσνι σημαντρόξ’λα τς κυρίας θιουτόκου. | ’ς τ στράτα π’ πάιναν, βρίσκνι τμ’ παναγία. | τὰ ρώτ’σ’ ἡ παναγία | “ποῦ πᾶτι πέντ’ ἀδέρφια, | σύντιχα κὶ πάντιχα μὶ τὰ τσικούρια ’ς τοὺν ὦμου;’ | ‘πᾶμ’ ἀπᾶν’ ’ς τς Νζώρτσιννας τὰ βνά, | νὰ κόψουμι κέδρα κ’ ἔλατα κὶ πεῦκα, | νὰ φκειάσουμι σημαντρόξ’λα τς κυρίας θιοτόκου.’ | ‘δὲμ πᾶτι νὰ κόψτι τ’ δεῖνα τοῦ μάτι, | ποῦ ’ν ἀπ’ ἀβασκανία, ἀπ’ ἀγρικὸ, ἀπανσπίθα. | ’ς ἄγρια βνά, ’ς ἄγρια λαγκάδια | κόκκουτους δὲ λαλεῖ, σκαφίδ δὲ ζ’μόν’νι. | ὅπου ἀρνειέτ’ Οὐβριὸς τοῦ Σαββάτου, | νὰ φηγ’ κὶ οὐ πόνους ἀπ’ τοῦ μάτ’.”

perhaps an abbreviated variant; for wounds

3.48.3.2. reported from contemporary Kalabryta, A. Oikonomos in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

‘ἐκίνησ’ ὁ γιωργὸς νὰ κόψη, νὰ πελεκήση, | νὰ φτειάση τοῦ Χριστοῦ ραβδὶ καὶ τῆς παναγίας σαμαρίτσα.’

σαμαρίτσα *i.e.* κούνια, λίκνον

3.49. *good housemaster, bad housemistress*

denial of hospitality; for intestinal pain

3.49.1. private collection, from Epirus (s. XIX), f. 21v, ed. Oikonomides 1953-1954, 33-34

‘καλόγηρος ἐδιάβαινε, | ’λεημοσύνην γύρευε. | ἀγαθὸς ὁ νοικοκύρης, | πονηρὴ ἡ νοικοκυρά, | φάκον ἐμαγείρευε, | λάρδον ἐπαράστηκε, | κλήμα ’ς τὰ στρόματα | καὶ λόθρο προσκέφαλα. νὰ παύση ὁ θεὸς τὸν πόνον τῆς καρδίας τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ τᾶδε.’ καὶ πρῶτα νὰ εἰπῆ τὸ ‘ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος’ φορὰς τρεῖς, ἔπειτα νὰ ἀρχινήση.

2 ἔμαγειρίβε *cod.* | λόδρος ἐπαράστικε *cod.* | στόματα *cod.*

internal reference to use of incantation, which is of the flight-pursuit type

3.49.2. reported from contemporary Crete, Bardakes 1926, 244

‘ὁ Χριστὸς ὅταν ἐπορπατοῦσε ’ς τὴ γῆς, ἐνυκτώθηκε ’ς ἓνα μέρος. ἐζήτηξε ἀπὸ μία νοικοκερὰ ἂν ἔχη τόπο νὰ κοιμηθῆ. τοῦ εἶπεν ὅτι δὲν ἔχει τόπο νὰ τοῦ δώση νὰ κοιμηθῆ. ὁ Χριστὸς ἔφυγε. ’ς τὸ δρόμο τοῦ ἀπαντήχνει ὁ ἄντρας τση. τὸν ἀρώτηξε ἂν ἔχη τόπο νὰ κοιμηθῆ. “μετὰ χαρᾶς ἔχουμε τόπο,” τοῦ λέει. παίρνει τὸ Χριστὸ καὶ τὸν πηαίνει ’ς τὸ σπίτι του. μὰ ἡ γυναῖκα του δὲν ἤθελε τὸ ξένο καὶ κακορέξησε. ἔψηνε κρέας καὶ τὸ κατέβασε κ’ ἔψησε φακὴ γιὰ νὰ μὴ τοῦ δώση κρέας νὰ φάη. δὲν τὸν περιποιήθηκε. τοῦ βάλε τρεῖς ἐλιές ’ς τὸ πιάτο κ’ ἓνα κομμάτι τσουδισμένο ψωμί. ὕστερα τοῦ βάζει κλήματα γιὰ κρεββάτι καὶ μία πέτρα προσκέφαλο. τὴ νύκτα πιάνει τὴ νοικοκερὰ πόνος ’ς τὴ κοιλιά. τση πήγαινε γιατρούς, τση πήγαινε γιατρούς, καὶ κανεὶς δὲν μπόρεσε νὰ τση πάψη τσοὶ πόνους. τότε ὁ ἄντρας τση πηαίνει καὶ ξυπνᾷ τὸ ξένο καὶ λέει του “ἔλα σὺ καὶ μπορεῖ νὰ κατέχης πρᾶμα νὰ γιάνη ἡ γυναῖκα μου.” πηαίνει τότε ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ τση λέει αὐτὴ τὴ γητεία “μὰ τσοὶ τρεῖς ἐλιές ’ς τὸ πιάτο, | μὰ τὴ τσουδισμένη φέτα, | κληματένιο τὸ κρεββάτι, |

πέτρα τὸ προσκεφαλάδι, | φύγε πόνο τῶν ἀντέρω | κι ὁ Χριστὸς σε παραδιώχνει |
μὲ τὸ δεξιό του χέρι.”

9-10 *sic ditt. ed.*

3.49.3. reported from contemporary Naxos, Emellos 1962, 177-178

‘καλὸς ὁ νοικοκύρης, | κακιὰ νοικοκυρὰ | ψάρια μαερεύγει, | χερνὸ ἀποκενώνει, |
κλήματα στρῶμ’ ἀπὸ κάτω | καὶ μιὰ πέτρα προσκεφάλι.’

followed by address to the affliction; for heart pain

3.49.4. reported from contemporary Xerochorion, G. Rhousias in Athanasopoulos et al.
1912-1913, 49 no. 9

‘ἀγαθὸς ὁ νοικοκύρης, πονηρ’ ἢ νοικοκυρὰ, | ἄφχου ἔβραζε, | σφαχτὸ ποδάρι μέσα,
| τρεῖς λιαῖς μέσ’ ἔς τὸ τσανάκι, | φελὶ ψωμί ἔς τὴν τάβλα, | κλῆμα στρῶμα, σακκὶ
σκέπασμα, πέτρα προυσκέφαλο. | ἔβγα πόνο, ἔμπα δρόσο.’

I ἄφχου *i.e.* στάρι

for stomachache in a child

3.49.5. reported from contemporary Kastrisianika (Kythera), from “an old man, P.
Koupellis,” I.P. Photios in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913, 57 no. 10β

‘νοικοκύρης ἀγαθὸς | καὶ νοικοκερὰ σκληρή, | λάρδον ἔμαγέρευε, | φάκο τὸν
κατάστεσε. | πιάνει ἀστέρας τὸ παιδί | κι ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ γιατρέψε.’

3.49.6. reported from contemporary Kastrisianika (Kythera), I.P. Photios in
Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913, 57 no. 10α

‘κράκον ἔμαγέρευε, | φάκον ἔμαρτύρησε. | γιὰ τὴ φέτα τὸ ψωμί, | ἄφησ’ ἀστέρας
τὸ παιδί.’

bad housemistress only; followed by address to the affliction; for stomach pain in children
[secondary exegesis from informant that the reference is to the tale about Christ]

3.49.7. reported from contemporary Theuthrone (Gytheion), Manolakos 1915-1916, 614
no. 11

‘πονηρὴ νοικοκυρίτσα λάρδωνε, μαγέρευε, | ἐπρόσφερε κλήματα γιὰ στρῶμα, |
λιθάρι γιὰ προσκέφαλο. | ἔβγα θερισμάρα ἀπ’ τοῦ παιδιοῦ τὸν ἀφαλό.’

with flight and pursuit motif; for colic [secondary exegesis from informant that the old
man is Christ]

3.49.8. reported from contemporary Zakynthos, Klade 1957, 553

‘ἀγαθὸς ὁ νοικοκύρης, | πονηρὴ ἢ νοικοκυρὰ, | τρεῖς ἐλιές ἔς τὸ σκουτελάκι | νὰ φάη
ὁ φτωχὸς καλογεράκης. | κρέας ἔμαγέρευε, | φάκον ἐξεκένωνε. | φεύγα στρόφε ἀφ’
τὴν ἀντέρα | τοῦ σὲ διώχνει ὁ Χριστὸς μὲ τὴ δεξὴ του χέρα.’

3.49.9. reported from contemporary Paphos, L. Philippou in Athanasopoulos et al. 1914,
530 no. 8

‘ἔβκα πόνε τῶν ἀντέρων, | τσ’ ὁ Χριστὸς σὲ κατατρέσ’ει | μὲ τὴν ἀργυρὴν τὴν
λόγχην | τοῦ φτωχοῦ τοῦ καλοήρου. | πέντε ἐλιές εἰς τὸ σκουτέλλι, | τσαὶ ψουμὶν
κορτὶν κομμένον | τσαὶ κρεβάτιν κλιματένον.’

against colic (κωλικόπονο)

3.49.10. reported from contemporary Athens, Polites 1883, 6

‘ἀγαθὸς ὁ νοικοτσούρης, | πονηρὴ ἢ νοικοτσουρά. | κούκκους ἐμαγέρευε, | λάδι παρατσήσουνε. | κλήματα τὰ στρώματα, πίτρα τσεφαλώματα. | ἔβγα πόνο, ἔβγα στρόφο, | ὁ Χριστὸς σε κυνηγáει | μὲ τὸ ἀργυρὸ μαχαίρι | καὶ μὲ τὸ χρυσὸ του χέρι.’

for intestinal pain

3.49.11. reported from contemporary Kephallenia (Μινιαῖς Λιβαθοῦς), Pagonis 1910, 469-470

‘ἀγαθὸς ὁ νοικοκύρης, | πονηρὴ ἢ νοικοκυρά. | λάρδο ἐμαγέρευε, | φάκον ἐφανέρωσε, | κλήματα γιὰ στρώματα, | πέτρα γιὰ προσκέφαλο. | ἔβγα πόνο ἀπ’ τ’ ἀντέρι, | ὁ Χριστὸς σὲ κυνηγáει | μὲ τὸ δεξιὸ του χέρι, | μαυρομάνικο μαχαίρι. | ὁ φτωχὸς καλογηράκης | τρεῖς ἐλιαῖς μέσ’ ’ς τὸ πιατάκι | τρεῖς φετούλαις τὸ ψωμάκι. | κλήματα τὰ στρώματά του, | λίθος τὰ προσκέφαλά του.’

against heart pain

3.49.12. reported from contemporary Cyprus, Polites 1883, 7n

‘ἀγαθὸς ὁ νοικοκύρης, | πονηρὴ ἢ νοικοκυρά, | φάκον ἐμαείρεψε, | λάρδον παραχένωσε. | πέντ’ ἐληαῖς εἰς τὸ σκουτέλλιν, | καὶ κορδὶν ψουμὶν καμένον, | καὶ κρομμύδιν σαπημένον. | φύγε πόνο τῶν ἐντέρων | κι’ ὁ Χριστὸς σε κατατρέχει | μὲ τὸ δίστομον μαχαίριν | καὶ μὲ τὴν χρυσοῖν του λόγχην.’

interlocking, the user menaces the heart of the patient with a black-handled knife; for heart pain

3.49.13. reported from contemporary Cyprus, Konstantinou 1954, 449

‘ἀγαθὸς ὁ νοικοκύρης, | πονηρὴ ἢ νοικοκυρά, | φάκον ἐμαείρεψεν, | λάρδον παρασ’ ὠνωσησεν, | πέντ’ ἐλιές εἰς τὸ σκουτέλλιν | καὶ κορδὶν ψουμὶν καμμένον | καὶ κρομμύδιν σαπημένον. | φύε πόνο τῶν ἀντέρων, | τὸ σ’ οἰνὶν σου ἐν κομμένον | τσ’ αἰ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐσένα τρέσ’ εἰ | μὲ τὸ δίκοπον μαχαίριν | τσ’ αἰ μὲ τὸ γρουσὸν ἀππάριν.’

followed by three vessels; interlocking, the user (ἡ ἰάτρισσα) crowns the patient with a garland of twigs (κλήμα), nine in number, each with three burls (ὄφθαλμοί); preceded by troparion of the Anargyroi; for intestinal pain

3.49.14. reported from contemporary Kastellorizo, A.S. Diamantaras in Athanasopoulos et al. 1914, 503-504 no. 3

‘φύε πόνο τῶν ἀντέρων, | τσ’ αἰ Χριστὸς σὲ καταδιώχτει | μὲ τὰ τρία του δαχτύλια | τσαὶ μὲ τρεῖς κοντύλους κλήμαν. | ἀβαθὸς αἰ νοικοτσούρης, | πονηρὴ νοικοτσουρά, | φάκκον ἔψηνηνε, | λάρδον ἐτσένωννε, | ψωμιὰ κλίθενα φούρριζε, | σίτενα ξιφούρριζε· | τρεῖς ἐλιές μέσ’ ’ς τὸ πινάτσιν, | τὸ φελλὶ ξεροκαμένο. | κλήματα αἰ στρωματσια μου, | πέτρα τὸ προστσέφαλόν μου. | ἀντίπερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ | ἔσ’ εἰ τρία σταμιὰ γεμᾶτα | τό ναν μέλιν, τᾶλλο γάλας, | τᾶλλο τᾶντερα τᾶθρώπου. | φὰ τὸ μέλιν, πὲ τὸ γάλας, | τσ’ ἄφησ’ τᾶντερα τᾶθρώπου.’

direct speech of the bad housemistress (?); flight and pursuit; for internal pain

3.49.15. reported from contemporary Cyprus, Makrommates 1956, 248-249

‘εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. | “δὸς τοῦ γέρου ψουμὶν καμένο | τσ’ αἰ τυριν σαρατσιασμένο | τσ’ αἰ κρεβάτιν χωματένο, | πάπλωμα χαλκωματένο | τσ’ αἰ μαυλούκαν μαρμαρένο.” | φύε πόνο τῶν ἀντέρων | τσ’ ἰ ὁ Χριστὸς σε κατατρέχει |

μέ τὸ δεξιόν του σ'έριν | κι ἂν σὲ φτάση κι ἂν σὲ φτάση, | τ' ἄντερόν σου ἐννὰ
σιονώση.'

3.50. *mocking maidens*

for stoppage of milk (or more generally, πόνος of the breasts)

3.50.1 encounter on the road

3 maidens; 1 old man; stoppage of milk

3.50.1.1. reported from contemporary Xerochorion, G. Rhousias in Athanasopoulos et al.
1912-1913, 46-47 no. 1

‘τρία κορίτσο’ ἀπάρθυνα | πῆραν τρία καρπομάχαιρα, τρία καρποκόφυνα, | νὰ πὰν
’ς τὸ Καρπενίσι, νὰ κόψουν καρπολάχανα. | στράτα πηγαίνανε, βρῆκαν ἓνα γέρο, |
πιθαμὴ μπόι, πιθαμὴ ποδάρια, πιθαμὴ χέρια. | γέλασαν καὶ ξεροκακάνιστηκαν. | “τί
εἶδετε, κορίτσια, καὶ γελάσετε | καὶ ξεροκακάνιστήκετε μὲ μένα τὸ γέρο; | νὰ βγῆ
ἀργυρὴ τρίχα μ’ πὸ τὰργυρό μ’ σαγόνι, | νὰ μπῆ ’ς τὰργυρό σας βυζί.” | “δὲ
γελάσαμ’ μὲ σένα, μπάρπα, | δὲν ξεροκακάνιστήκαμ’.” | “σὰ δὲ γελάσεται μὲ μένα καὶ
σὰ δὲ ξεροκακάνιστήκετ’, | νὰ βγῆ ἀργυρὴ μου τρίχα ἀπὸ τὰργυρό σας βυζί, | νὰ
μπῆ ’ς τὰργυρό μου σαγόνι, | νὰ χορτάση ἡ μάνα ὕπνο καὶ τὸ παιδί γάλα.”

3.50.1.2. reported from contemporary Xerochorion, G. Rhousias in Athanasopoulos et al.
1912-1913, 50 no. 12

‘κίνησαν τρία καλὰ κορίτσια, | πῆραν τρία καλὰ κοφίνια, | πῆραν καὶ τρία καλὰ
μαχαίρια, | πάνε νὰ βροῦν τρία καλὰ λάχανα. | τς στράτα, ποῦ πααίνανε, |
βρῆκαν ἓνα γέρο, πθαμόγερο. | εἶχε πθαμὴ μαλλιά, πθαμὴ φτιά, | πθαμὴ φρύδια,
πθαμὴ μάτια, | πθαμὴ στόμα, πθαμὴ γένεια, | πθαμὴ κορμί, πθαμὴ χέρια, | πθαμὴ
δάχλα, πθαμὴ ποδάρια. | γέλασαν καὶ ξεροκακάνισκανε. | “τί ἔχετε, κορίτσια, | καὶ
γελάσατε καὶ ξεροκακάνισκατε; | νὰ μὴν εἶδατε μένα, τὸν πθαμόγερο, | καὶ
γελάσατε καὶ ξεροκακάνισκατε;” | “ὄχι, παπποῦ. δὲν εἶδαμε σένα. | εἶδαμε ψάρι ’ς
τὸ βουνὸ | κι’ ἀλάφι ’ς τὸ γιαλό, | κ’ ἐγελάσαμε κ’ ἐξεροκακάνισκαμε.” | “σὰν
εἶδατε ψάρι ’ς τὸ βουνὸ | κι’ ἀλάφι ’ς τὸ γιαλό, | νὰ φύγη ἡ τρίχα ἀπ’ τὸ βυζί, | νὰ
χορτάση τὸ παιδί γάλα κ’ ἡ μάνα ὕπνο.”

9 maidens; stoppage of milk

3.50.1.3. reported from contemporary Aitolia, D. Loukopoulos in Athanasopoulos et al.
1912-1913

‘ἰννιά κουρίτσια κίνησαν | κι πῆραν τὰ λιήνια. | πάνι ’ς τὴ βρύση γιὰ νιρό, |
βρίσκουν ἓνα καλογεράκι. | νιὰ πιθαμὴ τὰ γένεια του | κι μία τὰ μαλλιά του. |
ἀφῆσαν τὰ λιγῆνια καταῆ, | κι τοὺν ἀγιλούσανι, | κι τοὺν περιγιλούσανι. | “σεῖς
ποῦ μὴ γιλάσιτι | κι μὴ περιγιλάσιτι, | νὰ βγ’ ἡ γιώρια τρίχ’ ἀπ’ τοῦ γιῶρι
πουγκάκι, | νὰ πάη ’ς τῆς κόρης τὸ βυζί, | νὰ μὴ χουρταίν’ ἡ κόρη ὕπνου κι τοῦ πιδί
τῆς γάλα. | ἂν δὲ μὴ γιλούσατι | κι δὲ μὴ περιγιλούσατι, | νὰ βγ’ ἡ γιώρια τρίχ’ ἀπ’
τῆς κόρης τοῦ βυζί, | νὰ πάη ’ς τὸ γιῶρι πουγκάκι, | γιὰ νὰ χουρταίν’ ἡ κόρη ὕπνου
κι τοῦ πιδί τῆς γάλα.”

breast pain

3.50.1.4. reported from contemporary Aitolia, D. Loukopoulos in Athanasopoulos et al.
1912-1913

‘κίν’σαν ἰφτὰ κουρίτσια ἀπάρθυνα | μὴ τὰ καλάθια δίκουπα, | μὴ τὰ μαχαίρια
δίκουπα | νὰ πὰ νὰ λαχανουλοῦσουν. | ’ς τ’ στράτα π’ πάλιναν | βρίσκνι τοῦ
Γιρουσόλυμου, | ποῦ εἶχι πιθαμὴ τὰρχίδια, πιθαμὴ τοῦμ πούτσου, πιθαμὴ τοῦγ

κόλου. | τὸν γέλασαν, τοῦγ | καταγέλασαν, | εἶπι κι' αὐτός, | “ἄς εἶνι, ἄς εἶνι, κόρη μ' | νὰ βγάλου τρίχ' ἀπ' τοῦ μπουκοῦνι μ' | νὰ σᾶς πουνέσον τὰ βζιά.” | “ἡμεῖς δουξάζουμι τοῦ θιό, τὴν παναϊά, τὴν ἀγία τριάδα κι δὲ μᾶς πουνουῖν τὰ βζιά.”

13 maidens; internal prescription; stoppage of milk

3.50.1.5. reported from contemporary Crete, Polites 1909, 373

‘ὡς ἐκινήσανε οἱ δεκατρεῖς νυφίτσαις, οἱ καλάϊς νυφίτσαις, καὶ ἐπήρανε τὰ σταμνάκια τους, τὰ χρυσομπαρτακάκια τους, νὰ πάνε νὰ γεμίσουνε, ἔς τὴ στράτα τοὺς ἀπάντηξε ἕνας κοντὸς κοντούτσικος, κοκκινοβρακούτσικος, τρὶς τὸ σῶμα, τρὶς τὴν ἡλικία, κ' ἐγελάσανε κ' ἐτσουτσουρίσανε· κ' ἐθάρρει πῶς τὸν ἐπαίξανε, καὶ λέει τους· “εἶντα γελάσετε; γιὰ μένα; καὶ εἶντα ἐτσουτσουρίσατε, ὅπου νὰ μπη τρίχα ἔς τὸ βυζί σας, τὸ γάλα νὰ σταθῆ, τὸ αἷμα νὰ κινήσῃ.” καὶ πιάνει τσοι ρίγος, τούρτουρο καὶ τς ἐτίναζε. καὶ γιαγέρνουν εἰς τὸ σπίτι καὶ τς ἀρωτήξανε. “εἶντά ἔχετε καὶ ἐγιαγύρετε εἰς τὸ σπίτι κ' ἐπιασέ σας ρίγος καὶ τούρτουρο;” “εἰς τὴ στράτα μᾶς ἀπάντηξε ἕνας κοντὸς κοντούτσικος, κοκκινοβρακούτσικος, τρὶς τὸ σῶμα, τρὶς τὴν ἡλικία, κ' ἐγελάσαμε, κ' ἐτσουτσουρίσαμε, κ' ἐθάρρει πῶς τὸν ἐπαίξαμε.” “γιαγύρετε νὰ τὸν ἐφτάσετε, πρὶν νὰ διαβῆ γεφῦρι, νὰ τοῦ πῆτε δὲν ἐγελάσαμε γιὰ σέ, καὶ δὲν ἐτσουτσουρίσαμε γιὰ σέ, μὰ εἶδαμε ἀγρίμι ἔς τὸ γιαλὸ καὶ ψάρι εἰς τὰ ὄρη.” ἄς ἔβγ' ἡ τρίχα ἀπὸ τὸ βυζί σας, τὸ αἷμα νὰ σταθῆ, τὸ γάλα νὰ κινήσῃ ὡς βρύση.’

3 maidens

interlocking, the user crosses the patient with some of her own hair

3.50.1.6. reported from contemporary Kastrisianika (Kythera), I.P. Photios in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

‘ἀπὸ τὸ βουνὸ κατέβαινε ἕνας καλόγερος, | δύο πιθαμὲς κορμί καὶ τρεῖς τὰ γένεια. | καὶ ἔς τὸ δρόμο τὸν ἀπαντήξανε τρία ὄμορφα κορίτσια καὶ γελάσανε | καὶ περιγελάσανε. | “τί ἔχετε, σεῖς κορίτσια, κ' ἐγελάσετε κ' ἐπεριγελάσετε; | ἂν ἐγελάσετε κ' ἐπεριγελάσετε γιὰ τὰ ὠραῖα μου γένεια, | νὰ βγῆ μία τρίχα ἀπὸ τὴν ὠραιότατή μου γενειάδα, | νὰ κάτση ἔς τοῖ ἐβδομηντα δύο φλέβες τῶ βυζιῶ σας, | νὰ μὴ χορταίνῃ ἡ μάννα ὕπνο καὶ τὸ παιδί γάλα.” | “δὲν ἐγελάσαμε κ' ἐπεριγελάσαμε γιὰ τὴν ὠραιότατή σου γενειάδα, | μὲν ἐγελάσαμε κ' ἐπεριγελάσαμε γιὰ τὰ ὠραῖα μας κάλλη.” | “ἂν ἐγελάσετε κ' ἐπεριγελάσετε γιὰ τὰ ὠραῖα σας κάλλη, | νὰ βγῆ ἡ τρίχα ἀπὸ τοῖς ἐβδομηντα δύο φλέβες τῶ βυζιῶ σας | καὶ νὰ κάτση ἔς τὴν ὠραιότατή μου γενειάδα, | νὰ χορταίνῃ ἡ μάννα ὕπνο καὶ τὸ παιδί γάλα.”

3.50.2. *refusal of hospitality*

interlocking, the breasts of the patient are placed in a sieve with wide holes, along with hair from her comb; a white stone (γαλαχτόπετρα) hung from her neck.

3.50.2.1. reported from contemporary Kephallenia, Kosmatos 1910

‘μιά πανώρια κόρη | κάθεται ἔς τὸ πανώριο παρεθύρι | καὶ βυζαίνει τὸ πανώριο τὸ παιδί της, | καὶ χτενίζει τὰ πανώρια τὰ μαλλιά της. | καὶ διαβαίνουνε | τρεῖς κουτσοί, τρεῖς στραβοὶ | καὶ τσῆ λένε· | “καλημέρα, πανώρια κόρη, | ποῦ κάθεσαι ἔς τὸ πανώριο παρεθύρι, | καὶ χτενίζεις τὰ πανώρια τὰ μαλλιά σου, | καὶ βυζαίνεις τὸ πανώριο τὸ παιδί σου. | ἔχεις κόμμοδο νὰ κοιμηθοῦμε | καὶ χρυσὸ σταμνὶ νὰ λουτροκοπηθοῦμε | καὶ ἀλογοταῆ νὰ φάνε τὰ ἀλογομούλαρά μας;” | καὶ τοὺς εἶπε· | “δὲν ἔχω φαεῖ νὰ φάνε τὰ ἀλογομούλαρά σας, | οὔτε χρυσὸ σταμνὶ νὰ λουτροκοπηθῆτε, | οὔτε κόμμοδο νὰ κοιμηθῆτε.” | τότες ἐκεῖνοι τσῆ πανε· | “νὰ σηκωθοῦνε οἱ ἐβδομηνταδύο τρίχες τοῦ κεφαλιοῦ σου, | νὰ βουλώσουνε τσοῖ

ῥῶγες τοῦ βυζιοῦ σου, | νὰ μὴ ματαχορτάση γάλα τὸ παιδί σου.” | καὶ διὰ μιᾶς ἐστρέφευε τὸ γάλα τοῦ βυζιοῦ της. | κ’ ἔτσι τοὺς ἐφῶναξε, πῶς | ἔχει κόμμοδο νὰ κοιμηθοῦνε. | καὶ χρυσὸ σταμνὶ νὰ λουτροκοπηθοῦνε, | καὶ φαεῖ νὰ φάνε τὰ ἀλογομούλαρα τους. | τότες κεῖνοι τῆ ματάπανε· | “τώρα ποῦ ἔχεις τὰ ὅσα σοῦ γυρέψανε, | νὰ σηκωθοῦνε οἱ ἐβδομηνηταδύο τρίχες τοῦ κεφαλιοῦ σου, | νὰ ξεβουλλῶσουνε τσοῖ ῥῶγες τοῦ βυζιοῦ σου, | νὰ χορταίνη γάλα τὸ παιδί σου.” | καὶ διὰ μιᾶς ἐκίνησε τὸ γάλα τοῦ βυζιοῦ της.”

3.50.2.2. reported from contemporary Kephallenia, Pagonis 1910

‘μιὰ κόρη ἐκαθότουνε | ’ς τὴ χρυσή της τὴν αὐλή, | ’ς τὴν ἀργυρὴ της πόρτα, | κ’ ἐκτένιζε τὸ χρυσὸ της τὸ μαλλί, | τὴν ἀργυρὴ της τρίχα. | κ’ ἐπέρασαν τρεῖς κουτσοί, τρεῖς στραβοί, | τρεῖς ἀναποδοκαμηλαυκάδες. | “κόρη ποῦ κάθεσαι ’ς τὴ χρυσή σου τὴν αὐλή, | τὴν ἀργυρὴ, τὴ χρυσή σου πόρτα | καὶ κτενίζεις τὸ χρυσὸ σου τὸ μαλλί, | τὴν ἀργυρὴ σου τρίχα, | ἔχεις σπίτι νὰ μείνουμε, | ταί, γιὰ τ’ ἄλογά μας, | ἔχεις καὶ ταμπουρόξυλα | γιὰ τὰ μπροστόκουρτά μας;” | “δὲν ἔχω σπίτι νὰ μείνετε, | ταί γιὰ τ’ ἄλογά σας, | οὔτε καὶ ταμπουρόξυλα | γιὰ τὰ μπροστόκουρτά σας.” | “νὰ κατεβοῦνε οἱ ἐβδομηνηταδύο τρίχες τοῦ κεφαλιοῦ σου, | νὰ βουλλῶσουνε τσοῖ ἐβδομηνηταδύο φλέβες τοῦ βυζιοῦ σου, | οὔτε σὺ νὰ χορταίνης ὕπνο, οὔτε τὸ παιδί σου γάλα.” | “γυρίστε ὀπίσω τρεῖς στραβοί, τρεῖς κουτσοί, | τρεῖς ἀναποδοκαμηλαυκάδες, | κ’ ἔχω σπίτι νὰ μείνετε, | ταί γιὰ τ’ ἄλογά σας, | ἔχω καὶ ταμπουρόξυλα | γιὰ τὰ μπροστόκουρτά σας.”

3.50.3. other variants

curse of angel; interlocking, the practitioner takes the patient’s hair, winds it around a comb, and makes the sign of the cross over her with it while repeating the incantation three times; stoppage of milk

3.50.3.1. reported from contemporary Kerkyra (Nymphai), Kavasilas 1910, 651-652 no. 16

‘κόρη, κόρη ἐκαθόντανε | ’ς τὸ ἔμπα ἔβγα τοῦ σπιτιοῦ της, | κ’ ἐκτένιζε τὴ χρυσή, χρυσή τὴν τρίχα | καὶ τὴν ἀργυρὴ πλεξίδα. | ἐκεῖ ἐδιάβηκε ἄγγελος, ἄγγελος καλόγερος, | καὶ ἡ κόρη σὰν τὸν εἶδε ἐγέλασε κ’ ἐφιλοκακαρίστηκε. | “κόρη μου, κί’ ἂν ἐγέλασες γιὰ μένανε, | νὰ σκιστῇ τὸ βυζί σου, | νὰ μπῆ ἡ τρίχα τοῦ γενειοῦ μου· | νὰ μὴ χορταίνη τὸ παιδί τὸ γάλα, | καὶ σύ, κόρη μου, τὸν ὕπνο. | κί’ ἂν δὲν ἐγέλασες γιὰ μένανε, | νὰ σκιστῇ τὸ βυζί σου | καὶ νὰ βγῆ ἡ τρίχα τοῦ γενειοῦ μου, | νὰ χορταίνη τὸ παιδί σου τὸ γάλα | καὶ σύ, κόρη μου, τὸν ὕπνο.”

crossed with encounter and redirection of affliction, with the maidens in the role of the holy protector; for sore throat (τὸ λαιμό)

3.50.3.2. reported from contemporary Xerochorion, G. Rhousias in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

‘κίνησαν τρία κορίτσια, | νὰ πάνε γιὰ λάχανα καὶ γιὰ μουσχοσέλινα, | βρῆκαν ἓνα γέρο καὶ μπαμπόγερο. | ἀρχίσαν τὰ κορίτσια καὶ γελάσανε | καὶ ξεροκακανιστήκανε.

“τί γελαῖτε, κορίτσια, καὶ ξεροκακανίζεσθε;” | “γελαῖμε μὲ σένα τὸ γέρο, τὸ μπαμπόγερο, | πῶχεις μιὰ πιθαμὴ κ’ φάλ’, μιὰ πιθαμὴ αὐτιά, μιὰ πιθαμὴ φρύδια, μιὰ πιθαμὴ μύτη, μιὰ | πιθαμὴ ποδάρια καὶ μιὰ πιθαμὴ νύχια.” | “δὲν εἴμ’ ἐγὼ μπαμπόγερος καὶ γελαῖτε μὲ μένα, κορίτσια, | παρὰ πάω νὰ κάνω τοῖς Χριστιανοῖ | νὰ πνέση ὁ λαιμός τους, χέρια τους, πόδια τους.” | τότε τὰ κορίτσια τὸν ἐξωρκίσανε καὶ τοῦ πανε νὰ πάη ’ς τᾶγρια βνὰ καὶ ’ς τὰ ρίζιμνιὰ λιθάρια.’

in first person, combined with golden brothers motif; for stoppage of milk / breast pain in women

3.50.3.3. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 85-86

‘τρεῖς ἀδερφοῦλλες ἤμασταν | χρουσὲς τσ’ ἀγαπημένες | τσ’ ἐπιάσαμεν τὴ
στράταν. | γέρον ἐπαντήξαμεν, | πιθαμὴν ἢ μύξα, | πιθαμὴν τὰ γένια | τσ’
ἐχαμογελάσαμεν | τσ’ ἐπόνεσεν ἢ μιὰ ἀδερφή | τὸ βυζῖν τσαὶ κλαίμεν | καὶ
θρηνούμεστε. | “τί ἔσετε τσαὶ κλαίτε | τσαὶ θρήναστε;” “ἢ ἀδερφή μας ἐπόνεσεν | τὸ
βυζῖν τσαὶ κλαίμεν | τσαὶ θρηνούμεστε.” “εἶδετε μέναν, πιθαμὴν ἢ μύξα, | πιθαμὴν
τὰ γένια | τσ’ ἐγελάσετε.” “ὄσι γέρο μου. | δὲν εἶδαμεν ἐσέναν, | εἶδαμεν τὸν
ἄλαφον τὸν μονοτσέρην | τὸ δυοτσέρην τὸν τριτοτσέρην | τὸν τετρατοτσέρην τὸν
πεντατοτσέρην | τὸν ἑξατοτσέρην τὸν ἑφτατοτσέρην | τὸν ὀχτωτοτσέρην τὸν ἔννιατοτσέρην |
τσ’ ἐγελάσαμεν.” | τσαὶ πιάννει μιὰ διάλαν | τσαὶ λέει | “ἀφοῦ εἶδετε τὸν ἄλαφον |
τὸν μονοτσέρην τὸ δυοτσέρην, | νὰ τρέξει ἢ σαρανταμιὰ | φλέα τῶν βυζιῶν σας |
τὸ μέλιν τσαὶ τὸ γάλαν.”’

3.51. *banquet, affliction not invited*

Charon; epilepsy; dramatic form and questions; meter, the last part, addressing the affliction, is in stress-based anapestic/iambic *politikos stikhos*

3.51.1. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2315 (s. XV), f. 245r, cf. Legrand 1881, 14; recollated
ἕτερον περὶ τοῦ γλυκίου. ἔπαρον ξύγγιν ἀνάλατον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βοτάνου καὶ ἄλειψε
τοῦτον μὲ μαχαίριν μαυρομάνικον καὶ λέγε τρίτον τὸν ἐξορκισμόν τοῦτον ‘εἰς τὸ
μέγα ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος. ὡσεὶ Χάρων ἔφαγε
καὶ ἔσφαξεν, καὶ ὄλα τὰ πάθη ἐκάλεσε, καὶ τὸ γλυκὺ οὐκ ἐκάλεσεν. καὶ διὰ τί τοῦτον
οὐκ ἐκάλεσε; διότι ῥέει, διότι στάζει, διότι τὸν τόπον ἀφανίζει. ἀμὴ ἔχε ἀνθὸν
ἀμπέλου καὶ ὄστοῦν βωδίου. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ, ἀμήν.’

Ἰ βοτάνους *cod.* || 3 ὡσεὶ Χάρων *conieci* : ὁ σιχέρον *cod.*, Legrand || 4-5 διότι ...
διότι ... διότι *conieci* : διατί (*ter*) Legrand || 5 στάσει *cod.* | ἀνθὸν *i.e.* ἄνθον, *pr. metri gratia* || 6 ὄστοῦ *cod.*

for epilepsy (τὸ γλυκὺ)

3.51.2. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 87

‘Ὁ Χριστὸς κι ἢ παναγιὰ | ἐκατέβησαν ’ς τὴν γῆν | κι ἐκάλεσαν Πέτρον Παῦλον |
καὶ τοὺς δώδεκα ἀποστόλους. | “τὰ γλυκὰ ἐν τὰ καλῶ | ποὺ βρωμοῦν ὡς γένουν |
καὶ ’ς τὸν κόσμον ἀπομένουν.” ’ς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς.’

for mange (κασσίδα)

3.51.3. reported from contemporary Emparo (Crete), Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘ὁ θεὸς κρητούρι νῆδωκε, | κι’ ὄλα τὰ πάντα τὰ καλεῖ, | τὴ κασσίδα δέ τηνε καλεῖ, |
γιατὶ βρωμεῖ καὶ δαίνει | κι’ ὄλο τὸ κόσμον ξεσιχαίνει. | φτού της.’

Ἰ κρητούρι *i.e.* κλητούρι

Jewish wedding (cf. 3.14.2.5); against spiders

3.51.4. reported from contemporary Kerkyra, Salbanos 1929, 126

‘τὸ Σαββάτο τὴν ἡμέρα | κάνουν οἱ Ὀβραῖοι γάμο. | ὄλον τὸν κόσμον τόνε καλοῦνε,
μὰ τὸ σφαλᾶγγι δέ το καλέσανε γιατί βρωμεῖ, γιατί ζαιχνεῖ, γιατί
στραβοκατουρεῖ. | πάρε δειάφνι, δειάφνισέ το, μάραθο καὶ μάρανέ το, | νὰ χτισθῆ,
νὰ μαραθῆ, νὰ μὴ ξεφανερωθῆ.’

paradoxology, the target is both invited and not invited; cosmic disturbance; for worms
3.51.5. reported from contemporary Cyprus, Pharmakides 1928, 610

‘ὁ Χριστὸς ἔκαμεν νόμον, ἐκάλεσε τὸν Πέτρον τσ’αὶ τὸν Παῦλον τσ’αὶ τοὺς δώδεκ’ ἀποστόλους, ἐκάλεσεν τσ’αὶ τὰ σκουλούτσα ἀπὸ τὸν ζῶον τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ. Δὲν τὰ ἐκάλεσεν, διότι βρωμίζουσιν τσ’αὶ ζουμίζουσιν τσ’αὶ τὸν κόσμον ἀποτατίζουσιν. ἔν εἰμ’ ἐγιώ ποῦ τὰ γητεύκω, ἔν, ὁ δεσπότης ὁ Χριστὸς τσ’ ὁ ἀφέντης ὁ θεός.’

3.52. *miscellaneous encounters*

migraine (ed. pr.’s identification of “the monster, familiar in the east, who is merely a shell; complete before, but hollow behind” is to be rejected); internal reference to incantation of the flight and pursuit motif type sent by a voice from heaven

3.52.1. private collection, seen on Cos, cod. of s. XVIII, ed. Rouse 1899, 171-172 (from ‘fol. 11’ of cod.)

‘πέρα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ στέκει ἕνας νέος τοῦ μισητοῦ ἡμικράνου καὶ κράζει μεγάλη τῆ φωνῆ, φαγεῖν θέλει κρέας ἀνθρώπου, ἡ μεγάλη ἴμηση τοῦ κρανίου. ἦλθε φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ εἶπεν “πτοήθητι πτοήθητι τὸν τοῦ Φαραῶ λαὸν καὶ τοῦ Ἰουδα τὸν ἀσπασμόν, διότι ὁ Χριστὸς σε διώκει καὶ ἡ ὑπεραγία θεοτόκος καὶ ὁ ἀσώματος. ἄρον κρανίτης, ἔξελθε καὶ ἀναχώρησον ἀπὸ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ.”’

2 ἢς μεγάλης μισητοῦ Rouse || 3 πτοήθητι²: πτοηθητοῦ | τὸ τοῦ Φαραῶν τὸ λαὸν Rouse

classical myth (Alexander; sibyl, Boreas); internal prescription of incantation, dialogue with the affliction concerning its origin; a second part calls for writing magical words on bread to be given to the patient to eat

3.52.2. Naples, BN cod. II C 33 (s. XV), ff. 46v-47r, ed. Delatte 1927, 613-614

1. εἰς λύσσαν, ὀφείλει ἵνα γίνηται ἀνατέλλοντος ἡλίου ἵνα γοητεύσης οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ πίνῃ ὁ νοσῶν. ἔν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. Ἀλέξανδρος ἐγενήθη εἰς Μακεδονίαν, καὶ ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος Μιχαὴλ καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν εἶπεν “ποῦ τρέχεις Ἀλέξανδρε;” καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη “τρέχω κύριε ἐμοῦ εἰς τινὰς χώρας, ἤκουσα ὅτι εἰσὶν κύνες λυσσῶντες καὶ ὑπάγω κόψαι τὴν γλῶσσαν τοῦ ἀφροῦ τῶν διωκομένων καὶ ἐλαυνομένων ἵνα μὴ λυσοῦσι καὶ ἵνα μὴ μιάνωσι τὰ πλάσματα τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.” καὶ ἠρώτησεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν “ἐὰν μιάνωσιν οἱ κύνες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τί ποιήσωμεν;” καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο “ἐπίχρε ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ εἰς τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου κακὸν οὐχ ἔξουσιν. ἐὰν δὲ λυσοῦσιν οἱ κύνες καὶ μιάνωσι τὰ κτήνη, βόας καὶ ὄνους, ἵππους, πρόβατα, αἰγίδια καὶ ἕτερα, λέγε τρεῖς φορὰς ‘τίς σε ἐγέννησεν, σκύλον;’ ἡ μάνα μου ἡ Σιβύλλα.’ καὶ τίς σε ἔσπειρεν;’ ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ Βορρᾶς.’ τίς σε ἔδωκεν τὴν λύσσαν;’ ὁ Σεβαστιανός.”’ | 2. γράψε δὲ καὶ τὰ φυλακτικὰ γράμματα ταῦτα εἰς ὄψιν ψωμίου καὶ σύντριβε εἰς τὸν οἶνον καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ ἐπίδος τῶν μιανθέντων ἵνα φάγωσιν, καὶ θαυμάσεις μεγάλως.

ἴθισθη βλεφζηκυκρθσφρνιαδεξζαδορειαααλολψομεμπρεζεδενεκπορκαδιθδεουδειαλυβεκαβρισεδεδεουςδεδεουςουρσωουρσωσευτεραετρονγενησπυρετωρὸνομάτωνφερωνικιθυγάτηργαρουφοςβρισκαβρισκαμηκοςδεδεουςδεουδεδεης.’

1 γητεύσης Delatte || 13 Σαβαστιανός Delatte; perhaps this is the Manichaean dux mentioned in Athanasius Hist. Ar. 59.1.

dialogue with the affliction on its origins

3.52.3. Vatican, BAV cod. Barber. gr. III 3 (s. XV), no folio reference given (ed. Vassiliev 1893, 335; shelfmark no longer in use)

ἐξορκισμὸς τῆς λύσσης. ‘ὡς ὑπήγαιναν τὴν περίχωρον δεκανοί, ὑπήντησαν σκυλὶν λυσιαιρικὸν καὶ ἐρώτησαν αὐτὸ “τί σε ἐπήρην, σκυλὶν;” “ἡ μήτηρ μου ἡ Εἰσεκελλία.” “τίς σου ἔδωκεν τὴν λύσσαν;” “ὁ Αἰχμ.” “τίς σου ἔκοψαν τὴν λύσσαν;” “ἄνθρωποι.” “τί κύριον ὄνομα;” “βερριανὸς βρισκεν βρισκαβδες βδεοῦρ σουρσοῦρ.” ἐγὼ γοητεύω καὶ ὁ θεὸς θεραπεύει.’

1 δεκανοί *conieci* : διάνοιαν καὶ *Vassiliev* || 2 τίς *corr. Vassiliev* || 3-4 τίς κύριος ὀνόματα *cod., Vassiliev*

multiple *historiolae*: encounters, and cosmic disturbance type (1), in which John the Baptist and the apostles travel to ‘the black fort’ and encounter seven *magissai* who are occupied with various magical practices (burial, knot-tying, and drugs are specified); the apostles order the *magissai* to throw the ‘magic’ into the Black Sea; twelve cows came and drank from the water, and their horns fell into the water and their tongues burned; cosmic disturbance, the heavens, the sea, the ships on them (εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐθυμώθη, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐκάμασιν δέησιν, καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ἐγύρισεν εἰς τὸ στασίδι τῆς, τὰ καράβια καὶ τὰ κάτεργα ἀνοίξασιν); remedy involving knot-tying in the ropes (ships’ ropes, ‘groaning’ from the strain of the storm); repeated numbers (12 apostles, 12 cows, 12 tents). Another is a prayer (2) but makes an interesting reference to Christ as ‘the one who bound the womb of the mule’ (cf. 3.8) and also addresses the sun and moon (cf. 7.5). Another is a first-person *historiola* (3), with dialogue with a personification of the affliction, ending in present-tense performatives (τὰ πονηρὰ τρὶς ἐπάτησα, τρὶς διώχνω). The last is a short *historiola* ending in a prayer (4), returning to the theme of defence against φάρμακα.

3.52.4. Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 210 (s. XVIII), ff. 68r-71r, ed. Delatte 1927, 120-122 with 653; in part Koukoules 1926, 96

1. εἰς μάγια εἶναι καλὸν τοῦτο. ‘ὡς ἐπήγαινεν ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ πρόδρομος με τοὺς δώδεκα ἀποστόλους εἰς τὸ μαῦρον χαράκι, ἐκεῖ ἦν ἑπτὰ μάγισσες, καὶ τὰ μάγια ἐκάνανε καὶ τὰ ἀντίμαγα καὶ τὰ | διασκελίσματα καὶ τὰ κομποδέματα καὶ τὰ φάρμακα. καὶ ἐρωτήξασιν οἱ ἅγιοι “εἶντα κάνετε ἐδῶ, ἑπτὰ μάγισσες ἀξαγόρευστες καὶ ἀμεταλλάβαστες;” ἐκεῖνες ἀπεκρίθησαν καὶ εἶπον “ἅγιοι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐδῶ μας ἐπλερώσανε νὰ κάμωμε μάγια καὶ κομποδέματα, ἀντίμαγα καὶ διασκελίσματα καὶ φάρμακα, καὶ ζῆτινι τὰ κάμωμε νὰ κλαίη καὶ νὰ θρηνηῖται καὶ νὰ βρουχᾶται καὶ καλὸν νὰ μὴν ἔχη, μήτε ἐκεῖνος μήτε ἡ φαμελία του οὐδὲ τὸ πρᾶγμά του καὶ νὰ πτωχαίνει.” καὶ λέγουν των οἱ ἅγιοι “ἡμεῖς, θεόργιστες, σᾶς λέγομεν, ἀπὸ τὸν θεὸν ἀφωρισμένες στρέψατε ὀπίσω καὶ τὰ τριόδια περάσατε, εἰς τὴν μαύρην θάλασσαν τὰ ρίξετε.” ἐπήραν τα καὶ ἔμπρος καὶ ὀπίσω ἔστρεψαν καὶ τὰ τριόδια ἐπεράσασιν καὶ εἰς τὴν μαύρην θάλασσαν τὰ ρίξασιν. δώδεκα ἀγελάδες ἐπήγασιν καὶ ἔπιαν, καὶ τὰ κέρατά τους | ἐπέσασιν εἰς τὸ νερόν καὶ αἱ γλῶσσές των ἐκάηκαν. εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐθυμώθη, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐκάμασιν δέησιν, καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ἐγύρισεν εἰς τὸ στασίδι τῆς, τὰ καράβια καὶ τὰ κάτεργα ἀνοίξασιν. δώδεκα σχοινία στένουν καὶ εἰς πᾶν σχοινίον ἔδεναν κόμπους, ὡσάν ἐκεῖνα τὰ μάγια ἔδειξαν καὶ ἐφανέρωσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ θεοῦ. ὅπου ἀναγινώσκεται τὰ λόγια ταῦτα, νὰ ἐξολοθρευθῇ πᾶν κακόν, πᾶσα διαβολικὴ συνεργία ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα.

2. Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ. ὥστε ὁ ταπεινὸς καὶ ἀνάξιος δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ Κυπριανός, ἐδεήθη τῷ θεοῦ καὶ ἐπαρεκάλεσα κύριον τὸν θεόν μου τοῦ λυτρώσαι ἐκ πάντων κινδύνων καὶ συκοφαντίας καὶ καταλαλίας καὶ γλωσσοφαγίας καὶ πάσης μαγείας πονηροῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν, τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀπὸ | ὀργῆν αὐθεντίας καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ ἀνελλίπου καὶ ἀνελπύστου καὶ πολεμίου. στήθι

ὁ ἥλιος ἐκ δεξιῶν μου καὶ ἡ σελήνη ἐξ ἀριστερῶν μου καὶ τὰ ἄστρα ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ βαστάζοντος τοὺς ἑπτὰ πλανῆτες τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῶν ἀστέρων. ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ τὴν μήτραν τῆς μούλας δέσας τοῦ μὴ γεννᾶν καὶ χαλνεῖ τὴν εὐτοκίαν, τοὺς δύο βασιλεῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων χαλινώσας, τοῦ μεγάλου Γεωργίου ῥήτορας καὶ τοὺς ἕξ ἱερεῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὕτως δέσε κύριε καὶ χαλίνωσον πᾶσαν φαντασίαν, ἱερεῖς, ἀρχιερεῖς, ἐπισκόπους, βασιλεῖς καὶ ῥηγάδες, φίλους καὶ γειτόνους ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀμήν. στώμεν καλῶς μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ, ἀμήν.

3. Ἐφ' ἐξηγέρθηκα ταχὺ καὶ ἐνιψάμην χεῖρας καὶ τὴν καλὴν μου ὄψιν ἀνατράνησα καὶ εἶδα ἄνθρωπον κακὸφθαλμον καὶ κακοπόδαρον. ἐπηρώτησα αὐτὸν λέγων “πόθεν ἔρχεσαι, ἄνθρωπε κακὸφθαλμε καὶ κακοπόδαρε;” | ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπε ἐκεῖνος εἶναι ἡ κακὴ ὥρα, τὸ κακοποδαρικὸν καὶ τὸ κακὸν συναπάντημα, καὶ ὑπάγει ὑπὸ ἀπολεσίαις, δεῖξον καὶ φωνάξον φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, τὴν κεφαλὴν κλῖνον, τὰ μάτια γέμισον αἷμα, τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπολύσον. καὶ εἶπον “ὀρκίζω σε εἰς τὸ δρέπανον καὶ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰς τὰ Χερουβιμ καὶ Σεραφίμ καὶ εἰς τὰ πολυόμματα, ὀρκίζω σε εἰς τὸ δρέπανον τοῦ προφήτου Ζαχαρίου καὶ εἰς τὸ θεϊκὸν γάλα τῆς ὑπερευλογημένης θεοτόκου καὶ εἰς τὸ χριστοπουλὶ ποῦ κάθετα εἰς (τὴν κορυφὴν) τοῦ δεσπότη Χριστοῦ καὶ εἰς τοὺς τέσσαρας στύλους τοὺς ἐλεφαντίνους. ὀρκίζω σε εἰς τοὺς ἀγγέλους (>) ὅπου στέκουν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ κράζοντας τὸ ‘ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος Σαβαωθ, πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ.’ ὀρκίζω σε εἰς τὸν λόγον ὃν ἤκουσαν τὰ ὄρη καὶ ἐτρόμαξαν καὶ τὰ δένδρα ἐξερριζώθησαν. εἰς τοὺς ὄρκους σε ὀρκίζω | νὰ στραφῆς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ ἄγωμε εἰς τὰ ἄγρια ὄρη (>που) ἀλέκτορος φωνῇ οὐκ ἀκούεται, ἐκεῖ στέκει δένδρον μονόκλωνον μονόφυλλον· ἐκεῖ φάγε καὶ πῖε, ἐκεῖ ῥίψε τὸν θυμόν σου, ἀμὲν ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ δὲν δύναται τὸν θυμόν σου καὶ τὸ κακὸν σου νὰ βαστάξῃ, τὴν φυγὴν, τὸν φρικιασμόν τῶν κακῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τὸν ἀνατρανισμόν τῆς καρδίας καὶ τὰς δώδεκα γενεάς. τὰ πονηρὰ τρεῖς ἐπάτησα, τρεῖς διώχνω. πατὴρ υἱὸς καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, σκέπε καὶ συγχώρησον τὸν δοῦλόν σου ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.”

4. Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ. ὡς ἐπήγαιναν ἡ ἁγία Φωτεινὴ (καὶ) ἡ ἁγία Ἀναστασία ἡ φαρμακολυτρία, ὅπου ἔχυσεν τρεῖς λίτρες φαρμάκια, λῦσον καὶ τὰ κακὰ καὶ πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν φαρμακείαν καὶ μαλακίαν καὶ | φαντασίαν ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα.

2 ἡῦρε *Koukoules* : ἔκυραν *Delatte* || 4 τί νὰ *Delatte* || 6 ὄτινος *Delatte* || 10 ὀμπρὸς *Delatte* || 14 σκηναῖα *Delatte* || 15 πᾶσαν σκηνην *Delatte* : -νὶ *cod.* || 30 ἔφω *correxī* : εὐθύς *Delatte* : το *ις cod.* || 34 φωνάξον *Delatte* | κλῖνον *correxī* : κλῖνε *Delatte* | γέμισον *Delatte* || 35 ἀπολήσον (*sic*) *cod.* : ἀπόλυσον *Delatte* || 39 α9 (*sic*) *cod.* || 43 ἄγρια *corr. Delatte* : τρία *cod.*

ritual planting of knife in the ground, to ward off hail

3.52.5. reported from contemporary Trikkala in Corinthia, *Koukoules* 1921, 336

‘μάννα καὶ δυχατέρα πηγαίναν τὴν ἀκροπελαγιά κι’ ἀπαντήσαν τὸ Χριστὸ καὶ τὴν παναγιά, στάθηκαν. ἔτσι νὰ σταθῆ καὶ τὸ χαλάζι ὄξω ἀπὸ τὰ ὄρη, ὄξω ἀπὸ τὸν τόπο, νὰ πάη ’ς τ’ ἄγρια βουνὰ ὅπου πετεινὸς δὲ λαλεῖ, σκυλλὶ δὲ βαβίζει, παππᾶς δὲ λειτουργεῖ. στώμεν καλῶς.’

cosmic disturbance on angels coming forth for healing; against inflammation of the eyes, believed to be caused by pollen (τῆς σπάκας τάλευράκι)

3.52.6. reported from contemporary Gytheio, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘ἄστραψ’ ἢ ἀνατολή, ἐβρόντησε κ’ ἢ δύση. | καταβαίνουσι ἄγγελοι κι’ ἀρχάγγελοι.
| ἢ παναγία τοὺς ἐμίλησε | “ποῦ πάτε ἄγγελοι κι’ ἀρχάγγελοι;” | “πάμε νὰ
σταυρώσουμε | τῆς σπάκας τάλευράκι | ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα.”

3.53. *Biblical narratives: Old Testament*

destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah; as contraceptive

3.53.1. addition to Ps. Apuleius *Herb.* 90 (in cod. M = ‘fragmenta Monacensia
(Emeracensia), s. VII), ed. Howald and Sigerist 1927, 293

ut mulier non concipiat. scribis in charta pura et mulieri suspendis ‘sicut subuersa est
Sodoma et Gomorra manu <>’

1 subbersa edd. (*beginning the incantation with Sodoma*) || 2 manum edd.

incantation of Joshua (*Joshua* 10:12)

3.53.2. Vienna, ÖNB cod. med. gr. 52 (c. 1300), f. 91v, ed. *CCAG* VI:88

πρὸς τὸ στήσαι αἷμα. ‘κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἀβρααμ καὶ Ἰσαακ καὶ Ἰακωβ ὁ στήσας τὸν ἥλιον
κατὰ Γαβαω καὶ τὴν σελήνην κατὰ φάραγγα, στήσον τὴν φλέβα τοῦ αἵματος.’

drought brought on and released by Elijah (*1 Kings* 17-18)

3.53.3. Vienna, ÖNB cod. med. gr. 27 (s. XVI), f. 123v, ed. *CCAG* VI:88

πρὸς τὸ στήσαι αἷμα. εἶπε οὕτως ‘ἐκ τῆς ἀβροχίας τοῦ ἁγίου Ηλια ἔτη τρία ὁ
οὐρανὸς οὐκ ἔβρεξεν, ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ, ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ καὶ ἡ γῆ
ἐσιδερώθη. ἀλλὰ ἀπόστειλον τὸν ἄγγελόν σου τὸν Ραφαηλ καὶ δῆσον καὶ
βούλωσον τὰς φλέβας τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ
υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.’

man. alt. add. in marg. superstitiosum ad sistendum sanguinem

fiery furnace in *Daniel*; for fever

3.53.4. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2315 (s. XV), f. 244r, ed. Legrand 1881, 12

περὶ πυρετοῦ. γράφε εἰς χαρτὴν ‘Ἀνανια Ἀζαρια καὶ Σαμουηλ, ὡς οὐχ ἦψατο πῦρ ἐν
τῇ καμίνῳ Βαβυλῶνος, οὕτως ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἅς διώξεται ὁ
ρίγοπυρετὸς ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα.’ καὶ ἅς τὸ βαστάζη ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ.

2 ἅς Legrand : εἰς cod.

water from the rock, *Numbers* 20:11; the wording is a composite of *Psalms* 77:20 and
104:41) preceded by magical logoi; for dysuria

3.53.5. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419 (s. XV), f. 265v, ed. Delatte 1927, 491

περὶ δυσουρίας στραγγουρίας καὶ τῶν ἐν δακτύλῳ παθῶν, καὶ ἰάματα τούτων.
λάβε τέττιγας ὅσας βούλει καὶ ξήρανον ἐν σκιᾷ. εἶτα ἐκ τῶν τεττίγων οὐγγίαν
μίαν, καρκίνων ποταμίων οὐγγίαν μίαν, ταῦτα λειοτριβήσας οἴνω Χίω δὸς πιεῖν
καὶ θαυμάσεις. λέγε δὲ ἐν τῷ πίνειν ταῦτα ‘ἰαου ειαραφακ εβοαλεμ εαβραχμα
ιαωηλ. διέρρηξας πέτραν καὶ ἐρρύησαν ὕδατα καὶ χεῖμαρροι κατεκλύσθησαν.’ εἶτα
λαβὼν λίθον εὐτυχῆ δρακόντιον γλύψον ἐν αὐτῷ ἔλαφον πολυκέρων καὶ ὀπισθεν
αὐτῆς ταῦτα [*signs*].

3.54. *Old and New Testament combined*

the wife of Lot (*Genesis* 19:26) and the virgin birth, examples of preservation, invoked to
protect grain; play with and invention of words

3.54.1. St. Petersburg, NLR cod. gr. 116 (s. XIV), f. 218v
εἰς σῆτον. ἔν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ πνεύματος. ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Λωτ ἐγένετο
στήλη ἀλός, οὔτε ἠύρωθη οὔτε ἐκόπη οὔτε ἐσκωληκίασεν. ἡ παρθένος ἔτεκεν καὶ
παρθένος ἔμεινεν. τοῦ Χριστοῦ γεννηθέντος πᾶσα πλάνη πέπαιται. στῶμεν καλῶς,
στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου.’

$\overline{2}$ εὔρωθη *cod.*, apparently from *εὔρώω (εὔρώς)

3.55. *New Testament: birth of Christ*

incantation for object stuck in throat

3.55.1. St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 217 (s. VIII-IX), p. 260

item aliud. ad aurem eius qui patitur in gutture spinam dicis tertio lente ‘Christus de Maria uirgine natus est.’

$\overline{1}$ gutture *cod.* | lenti *cod.* || 2 uirginatus *cod.*

said into ear of patient suffering from obstruction in throat

3.55.2. Salzburg, Bibliothek der Erzabtei St. Peter, fragments of codex of s. IX described in Beccaria 1956, 103-104

item aliud. ad aurum eius qui patitur in gutture spinam dicis tertio lente ‘Christus de Maria uirgine natus est.’

$\overline{1}$ terciolenti *cod.*

3.55.3. Bamberg, SB cod. med. 2 (L. III 6: s. IX-X), f. 26r-v, ed. Jörimann 1925, 65

item aliud. ad aurem eius qui patitur in gutture spinam dicis tertio lente ‘Christus de Maria uirgine natus est.’

$\overline{1}$ lenti *cod.*

3.55.4. St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751 (s. IX), p. 442

‘arabicasta, Elisabet sine dolore peperit, quicisanem.’

[English instructions: to be written on parchment and bound on the body]

3.55.5. London, BL cod. Add. 34111 (s. XV), f. 73r, ed. Sheldon 1978 no. 99

‘in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen. sancta Maria peperit et mater illa non doluit, Christum genuit qui nos suo sanguine redemit. alpha et omega. Christus uincit, Christus imperat.’

$\overline{1}$ non *correxi* : nostre *cod.*

introduced by historiola of birth of Christ; followed by variant of flight and pursuit motif

3.55.6. additions to the *Euporiston* of Theodorus, ed. Rose 1894, 315 (cf. Schmid 1960)

ad ilii dolorem. ‘quando Christus natus est, omnis dolor passus est. exi dolor, Christus te sequitur.’

in present tense

3.55.7. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316 (s. XV), f. 370v, ed. Oikonomu-Agorastu 1982 no. 266

περὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι γάλα γυναῖκα. ἡ παρθένος προμαθῶν θεοῦ κελεύσει παρθένος
τικτούση γάλα τίκτει παρθένος.’ γράψον ταῦτα μετὰ μέλιτος καὶ ἡλιώσας νῆστιν
ἡμέραν δὸς πῖιν τρεῖς πρωϊάς.

1 πῶσμανθῶν cod. : προσμαθῶν Oikonomu-Agorastu || 3 πρωϊὰς cod.

followed by prayer with New Testament historiola, credal formula, Aramaic words of
Christ, historiola of analogous healing

3.55.8. St. Petersburg, NLR cod. gr. 116 (s. XIV), f. 218v

ἔἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. τῆς παρθένου
τεκούσης καὶ πάσης φύσεως διαίρεται σύν τε ῥίγω καὶ διὰ πυρετῶν, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα
τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, μητρὸς δὲ κυρίου. κύριε. ἐγεννήθη
ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ πέμπτῃ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων παρεδώθη ἐσταυρώθη ἐτάφη καὶ τῇ
τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνέστη. ἰλη ἰλη λιμα σαβαχθανη, τουτέστιν θεέ μου θεέ μου ἵνα τί με
ἐγκατέλιπες τὸν δούλόν σου; νῦν καὶ αἶί.’

2 ἀδιαίρεται cod. | ῥίγου cod.

3.56. *birth of Christ with other biblical births, etc.*

to be written and placed on the belly of the mother [French instructions]

3.56.1. Paris, BnF cod. NAL 356 (s. XII-XIII), f. 72v, ed. Meyer 1906, 52

‘Maria peperit Christum, Anna Mariam, Selina Remigium.’

to be written and placed on the belly of the mother [French instructions]

3.56.2. London, BL cod. Sloane 1611 (s. XIII), f. 147r, ed. Meyer 1911, 538

‘Maria peperit Christum, Elizabeth Iohannem, Selina Remigium. sator arepo tenet opera
rotas.’

with *sator arepo*

3.56.3. Cambrai, BM cod. 351 (s. XIII), ed. Salmon 1891, 261

‘Maria peperit Christum, Anna Mariam, Elizabeth (Iohannem) et Celina Remigium. sator
arepo tenet opera rotas.’

Elisabeth ... Celina *conieci* : Elisabeth eclina cod.

to be written and placed on the belly of the mother [instructions in Namurois]

3.56.4. Darmstadt, SB cod. 2769 (s. XV), f. 221r, ed. Haust 1941, 198-199

‘Maria peperit Christum, Anna Mariam, Elizabeth Iohannem, Cilinia Remigium.’

3.56.5. London, BL cod. Harley 3 (s. XV), f. 128r, ed. T. Hunt 1990, 90

quod si ista non sufficiant, tunc si sacerdos uel clericus praesens sit, legat schedulam istam
subscriptam ter ultra mulierem in partu laborantem. deinde mulier schedulam isam ponat
super umbilicum suum et ibi ligetur suaviter, et statim si deus uoluerit pariet sine periculo
sui aut infantis, si cum bona fide aut deuotione haec fiant. ‘in nomine patris et filii et
spiritus sancti, amen. Maria peperit Christum, Anna peperit Mariam, Elizabeth peperit
Iohannem baptistam, Maria peperit dominum nostrum Iesum Christum sine immunditia
et absque dolore. in nomine illius praecipimus et meritis sanctae Mariae matris eius et
uirginis et sancti Iohannis baptistae ut ex eas infans siue masculus sis siue femina de utero
matris tuae absque morte tui uel illius, in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen.’

with similar instructions in French

3.56.6. London, BL cod. Harley 273 (s. XIV), f. 113r, ed. T. Hunt 1990, 90

‘in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen. Anna peperit Mariam, Elizabeth Iohannem baptistam, sancta Maria dominum nostrum Iesum Christum sine corde et absque dolore. in nomine illius meritis et precibus sanctae Mariae uirginis et sancti Iohannis baptistae exi infans siue sis masculus siue femina de utero matris tuae absque dolore et absque morte tui et absque illius. pater noster.’ et debes dicere has litteras tribus uicibus super caput eius.

3.57.1. *claim about affliction at birth of Christ: dogs*

3.57.1.1. reported from contemporary Teuthrone (Gytheion), Manolakos 1915-1916, 612 no. 7α

‘ὁ Χριστὸς ὄντες γεννήθη | σκυλί δὲν εὐρισκόντανε, | κι’ ἂν εὐρισκόντανε δὲν ἔτρωγε, | κι’ ἂν ἔτρωγε δὲν ἀφόρμιζε, | γιὰτ’ ἦτα ὁ στόμας τοῦ κλειστὸς | κι’ ὁ κῶλός τοῦ ἀνοιχτός.’

ADD reported from contemporary Teuthrone (Gytheion), Manolakos 1915-1916, 612 no. 7

ὄντας γεννήθη ὁ Χριστὸς | σκυλί δὲν ὑπαρχε, | κι’ ἂν ὑπαρχε δὲν ἐδάγκασε, | κι’ ἂν ἐδάγκασε δὲν ἀφόρμισε.

3.57.1.2. reported from contemporary Gourgoubitsi (Euboia), Koukoules 1928, 482

‘ὅταν γεννήθηκ’ ὁ Χριστὸς, σκυλλί δὲν ἦτανε, κι’ ἂν ἦτανε, δὲν δάκωνε, κι’ ἂν δάκωνε, δὲ μάτωνε, κι’ ἂν μάτωνε, δὲν ὠμπύαζε, κι’ ἂν ὠμπύαζε, δὲν πόναιε. σιδεροστιά τὰ πόδιά τοῦ, νὰ ξεραθοῦν τὰ δόντια τοῦ.’

3.57.1.3. reported from contemporary Crete, Koukoules 1928, 483

‘ἐκεῖα ποῦ γεννήθηκε ὁ Χριστὸς, σκύλλος δὲν ἐπάτησε, κι’ ἂν ἐπάτησε, δὲν ἐδάγκασε, γιὰτὶ ἦτανε σίδερα ’ς τὸ στόμα ντοῦ κι’ ἀλυσίδες ’ς τὰ πόδιά τοῦ.’

3.57.1.4. reported from contemporary Naxos, Emellos 1962, 193

‘ὅταν γεννήθην ὁ Χριστὸς, ὁ σκύλος ἦτανε τυφλός.’

3.57.2. hornets (σκοῦρκος)

3.57.2.1. reported from contemporary Gytheio, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘ὁ Χριστὸς ὄντε γεννήθη, | σκοῦρκος δὲν ἐμελετήθη. | κι’ ἂν ἐμελετήθη, δὲν ἐδάγκασε, | κι’ ἂν ἐδάγκασε, δὲν ἐπρήστηκε, | κι’ ἂν ἐπρήστηκε, μὲ τὸ σημεῖο τοῦ σταυροῦ ἔγιανε.’

3.57.3. bees

3.57.3.1. reported from contemporary Gytheio, Manolakos 1915-1916, 612 no. 5

‘ὄντες γεννήθη ὁ Χριστὸς | μέλισσες δὲν ὑπαρχον, | κι’ ἂν ὑπαρχον δὲν ἐδάγκωναν, | κι’ ἂν ἐδάγκωναν δὲν ἀφόρμιζε, | κι’ ἂν ἀφόρμιζε μὲ τὸ σημεῖο τοῦ σταυροῦ ἔγιανε.’

Crucifixion, Longinus type, without Longinus

3.58.1. *general*

3.58.1.1. Paris, BnF cod. lat. 6882 (s. IX), f. 8r, ed. Wickersheimer 1966 sub codice

‘dominus noster Iesus Christus in cruce pendeat, lancea per latus eius perforata fuit, illa plaga nec doluit nec tumuit. sic tu plaga nec doleas nec tumeas neque fistulam facias.’

3.58.1.2. Vatican, BAV cod. Barber. gr. III 3 (s. XV), no folio reference given, ed.

Vassiliev 1893, 334; shelfmark no longer in use

ἐξορκισμὸς εἰς λάβωμα σιδήρου ἢ λίθου ἢ ξύλου. ‘ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ ἐκεντήθη λόγχῃ καὶ οὐκ ἐφλέγμαενεν, οὐκ ἔσηψεν, οὐκ ἐπυρομάχησε. καὶ ἐσὺ κομμίδι τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα μὴ ὀγκεύσης, μὴ φλεγμαίνης, μήτε σήψης, μὴ πυρομαχίσης, ἀλλὰ ἰάθητι. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ <φόβου θεοῦ>.’

2 λόγχην Vassiliev || 3 ὀγκεύσης *coni.* Heisenberg *ap.* Schermann 1919, 45 : ὀρκεύσης Vassiliev

anonymous third person plural

3.58.1.3. reported from contemporary Kerkyra (Nymphai), Kavasilas 1910, 649 no. 9

‘τς εἰκοσιτρεῖς τοῦ Μαρτιοῦ | τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπιάκανε | καὶ τὸν ἐσταυρώσανε, | τὰ καρφιά τοῦ βάλανε, | αἷμα ἔβγαλε, | ἔμπυο δὲν ἔβγαλε.’

3.58.2. with ‘the Hebrew’

3.58.2.1. reported from contemporary Kynouria, Mantzouranis 1915-1916

‘ὁ ἄβριος λωβὸς τὸ Χριστὸ ἐλόχεψε, | μήτε ματώνει, μήτε κατώνει, | μήτε τομὴ κάνει. | Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικάει τὰ πάντα. | λόγχῃ ἐκεντήθη, αἷμα ἔβγαλε, | ὄμπυο δὲν ἔπιασε.’

3.58.2.2. reported from contemporary Emparo (Crete), Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘ὡς ἐχύθηκεν ὁ ἄβραϊὸς ὁ ντουλουφανᾶς | καὶ δάκασε τὸ δεσπότη τὸ Χριστὸ | καὶ δὲν ἤμπυασε καὶ δὲν ἐκακοσύνεψε, | ἔτσα νὰ μὴ μπυάση καὶ νὰ μὴ κακοσυνέψη | μουδὲ τούτη ἢ λαβὴ | ἔς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνος.’

given various names

3.58.2.3. reported from contemporary Gytheio, Manolakos 1915-1916, 614 no. 10

‘ὁ ἄβραϊὸς Βαραβᾶν | τὸ Χριστὸ ἐλόχεψε, | οὔτε αἷμα ἔβγαλε, οὔτε ἔμπυασε.’

reported from contemporary Crete [personalized], Bardakes 1926, 240-241

‘ὡς ἐβάρηκεν ὁ ἄβριος ὁ Ζαχαριᾶς μία μαχαιρία ἔς τὸ δεξί του βυζὶ καὶ μουδ’ ὀμπύασε μουδ’ ὀβρίασε μουδὲ κακοσυνέψέ του, ἔτσι νὰ μὴν ὀμπυάση νὰ μὴν ὀβρυάση νὰ μὴ κακοσυνέψη καὶ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ Νικολῆ ὁ πόδας.’

3.58.2.4. reported from contemporary Crete [personalized], Bardakes 1926, 241

‘ὡς ἐβαρήθηκεν ὁ ἄβραϊὸς ὁ Θαλασσινὸς ἔς τὸ ζερβὸ βυζὶ οὔτ’ ὀμπύασε οὔτ’ ὀβρυάσε, ἔτσι νὰ μὴν ὀμπυάση καὶ νὰ μὴ κακοσυνέψη ἢ πληγὴ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ Βασίλη.’

3.59. with *Longinus*

for a stitch (Old English instructions)

3.59.1. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Junius 85 (s. XI), p. 17, ed. Storms 1948, 286 (previously Cockayne 1864-1866, 1:393)

‘Longinus miles lancea punxit dominum et restitit sanguis et recessit dolor.’

ponxit *cod.*

inscription of Greek letters on the patient in blood

3.59.2. Cambrai, BM cod. 689 (s. X-XI), f. 139^v, ed. Wickersheimer 1966, 16
contra profusionem sanguinis. Longinus miles latus domini lancea aperuit et continuo
exiuit sanguis et aqua et recessit dolor. agios agios agios sancta crux sancta crux sancta
cruce Veronicæ agiaton crux domini nostri Iesu Christi contra profusionem sanguinis
istius famuli dei N. fiat amen.' pater noster tribus uicibus. tunc deinde facias istos tres
characteres: primum in fronte de suo sanguine Y, secundum in scapulas ita formatam Γ,
tertiam in naribus ita Y. postea dicat 'uagiaton sanguinolenta pluir hares instat uno die
hasi ymon recede. pater noster qui es in caelis, libera famulum dei N. a profusione
sanguinolenta. amen.'

5 caractere *cod.*

3.59.3. Munich, BSB clm 100 (s. XII), f. 74^v, ed. Rockinger 1858, 320-321; recollated
contra fluxum sanguinis. 'truncha musa daffatana qurri truna musa daffatana clusa sihic
feda cala feda palafeda deuulnera. Longinus magnus fecit plagam magnam. nepocine
poluit, olim fac tolio, amen. Longinus miles lanceauit dominum Iesum Christum, exiuit
sanguis et aqua. Iesus, sta sanguis, Christus, chrisma strangula uenam limis murmur
accessus, amen. pater noster. sta sta sta sicut flumen Iordanis stetit.' tribus uicibus.

1 contra fluxum sanguinis *om.* Rockinger

two versions of Longinus motif in the same incantation

3.59.4. Munich, BSB cgm 92 (s. XIII; addition of s. XIV/XV following medical treatise),
f. 18^v

ad fluxum sanguinis. proprio sanguine scribe et tecum habe. 'sanctus Longinus perforauit
latus Christi et exiuit sanguis et aqua. per hunc sacrum sanguinem coniuro te et contestor
ut stes et amplius non exeas de hoc famulo dei N. Christus uincit, Christus regnat, Christus
imperat. Longinus miles lanceauit dominum et exiuit sanguis et aqua. sanguis stet,
stagnum stat. Christus uincit.'

for wounds (no heading in cod.)

3.59.5. Cambridge, Christ Church College cod. 405 (unit I: s. XIII), f. 7^r

'sicut Longinus Hebraeus lancea figit latus domini nostri Iesu Christi, nec diu sanguinauit
nec ranclauit nec tumuit nec putruit nec doluit nec tempestatem ardoris habuit, et ita
plaga ista nec sanguinet neque ranclat neque tumeat neque putreat neque tempestatem
ardoris habeat, in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen.'

1 longeus *cod.* | | 3 putreat *cod.*

3.59.6. Cambridge, Trinity College cod. O.9.26 (James 1438; s. XIV), f. iv^v

item pro eodem. 'Longinus miles latus domini lancea perforauit, continuo exiuit sanguis et
aqua, sanguis redemptionis et aqua baptismatis. in nomine patris cesset sanguis, in nomine
filii restet sanguis, in nomine spiritus sancti non exeat sanguis et aqua. credimus quod
sancta Maria est mater dei et uere infantem genuit Christum, ita restent uenae tuae in
nomine patris et filii et cetera.' pater noster et aue Maria.

1 eodem *reading dub.* | lungeus *cod.*

English instructions [noted by one reader with maniculus, and cancelled by a later one]

3.59.7. Cambridge, UL cod. Ee. i. 15 (s. XV), f. 14^v

‘Longinus miles Hebraeus latus perforauit et continuo sanguis et aqua exiuit redemptionis. in nomine patris sistitur sanguis N. famuli, in nomine filii restitur sanguis N, in nomine spiritus sancti non exeat sanguis N, sed sicut credimus quod sancta Maria est mater dei et uere infantem genuit Iesum Christum, sic resistant tuae uenae quae sanguine sunt plene.’

⁵ est *cod.*

English title

3.59.8. London, BL cod. Sloane 962 (s. XV), ff. 38v-39r, ed. T. Hunt 1990, 93

‘Longius Hebraeus cum lancea percussit latus domini, sanguis exiuit et aqua et lanceam ad se retraxit. tetragrammaton Messias Emmanuel Sabaoth. ita cesset sanguis exire ab isto Christiano sicut istud uerum est. in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen.’

3.60. *variant with Nicodemus and nails*

to extract foreign objects (ballista-missile, lance, iron)

3.60.1. London, BL cod. Sloane 962 (s. XV), f. 45v, ed. T. Hunt 1990, 94

ad extrahendum ferrum carmen. ‘Nicodemus extraxit clauos plagarum domini nostri Iesu Christi et sanguis et aqua exiuit. itaque sicut ista uerba sunt uera, ita exeat iste carellus siue lancea siue ferrum de carne uel ab osse istius Christiani, in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen.’ et dicitur ter et qualibet uice pater noster et aue Maria.

3.61. *Other crucifixion*

credal formula, analogy with emphasis in the credal formula the ‘place of the skull’ (ἐν κρανίου τόπω) as the site of both crucifixion and resurrection, in a remedy for headache (περὶ κρανίων)

3.61.1. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316 (s. XV), f. 320r, ed. Legrand 1881, 18

περὶ κρανίων. ‘εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη ἐν Βηθλεεμ τῇ πόλει, Χριστὸς ἐσταυρώθη ἐν κρανίου τόπω, Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐν κρανίου τόπω. ὡς ἐκεῖνος κεφαλὴν οὐκ ἐπόνεσεν, μηδὲ ὁ δούλος τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα πονέσῃ κεφαλὴν ποτε.’

historiola, tricolon; inscription on cross with self-reference to cross

3.61.2. London, BL Royal MS 16 C II (s. XV), f. 25r

εἰς τὸ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῶν δαιμόνων ἢ ἐν νυκτὶ ἢ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ. ποιήσον σταυρὸν μυρικίνον καὶ γράψον εἰς αὐτὸν ταῦτα. ‘σταυρὸς παγείς ἐπὶ γῆς, διάβολος ἐτραυματίσθη καὶ ὁ ἅγιος ἠλευθερώθη.’

Christ’s body in the tomb; against breast-pain (but the reference to σῖτος suggests that the incantation has been borrowed from a recipe with a different purpose)

3.61.3. Vatican, BAV cod. Barber. gr. III 3 (s. XV), no folio reference given, ed. Vassiliev 1893, 334; shelfmark no longer in use

εἰς πόνον μαστοῦ. γράφε αὐτὰ καὶ κρέμασον εἰς τὸν μαστὸν λέγων οὕτως ‘τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ σῶμα ἐν τάφῳ ἔμεινεν ἄκοπον καὶ ἄσηπτον καὶ ἄβρωτον· οὕτως νὰ μείνη καὶ ὁ σῖτος τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος νῦν.’

crucifixion as truth, sets up analogy

3.61.4. Oxford, Bodleian MS e Mus. 219 (s. XIII), f. 184r

si equus fuerit infusus in ambobus pedibus anterioribus, uena colli [...]atur et moueatur paulatim et ad aquam postea ducatur et intret et bibat si uult et sanabitur. et istud carmen

ibi dicas et pone super dextrum pedem equi tuum dextrum pedem et facies crucem super caput eius et pone ad aurem eius os tuum et dic 'hodie est hora in qua dominus noster fuit natus et deus fuit captus et in cruce suspensus. sicut hoc uerum fuit, ita tu sis equus sanus' et dic ter 'amen' et manum ad quattuor membra illius pone, scilicet ad duo anteriora et duo posteriora [et super quoque] membro 'pater noster' cantetur. postea mictatur aliquantulum solis [...] et suffla in naribus.

3.62. *Christ and Judas*

3.62.1. Demetrios Pepagomenos, *Hierakosophion* 22a, ed. Hercher 2:361-362, cf.

Koukoules 1926, 68

ἄλλο πρὸς ἀπολωλότα, πῶς εὔρεθῆ. ἐν τῷ ἀστραγάλῳ σου τῷ ἀριστερῷ μικρὸν ξυλάριον λαβὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοντοῦ ἐν ᾧ προσκαθέζεται δῆσον λέγων 'ὡς ὁ Ιουδας οὐκ ἔφυγε τὸν Χριστὸν, οὕτως καὶ σὺ γνώρισον ἐμέ.' οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὀρκισθεὶς φεύζεται.

3.62.2. Demetrios Pepagomenos, *Hierakosophion* 22b, ed. Hercher 2:361-362, cf.

Koukoules 1926, 68

πῶς δύνатаί τις εὔρεῖν τὸν ἀπολεσθέντα ἰέρακα. ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ σου σφυρῷ δῆσον βραχὺ ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἰέραξ ἐκάθητο καὶ λέγε 'ὡσπερ ὁ Ιουδας ἐγνωκῶς τὸν Χριστὸν ὅστις ἦν οὐκ ἔδωκε αὐτῷ, οὕτω καὶ σὺ ᾧ ἰέραξ γνώθι ἐμέ τὸν δεσπότην σου.' καὶ ἐὰν οὕτως τῆ ἐπαιοιδία κατακληαίνης αὐτόν, οὐκέτι φεύζεται.

3.63. *Veronica* (cf. *Mark* 5:21-49)

3.63.1. Munich clm 100 (s. XII), f. 74r-v, ed. Rockinger 1858, 321 (notation of modern foliation added)

item. istud scribe in tribus singulis oblatiis et manduca | per tres dies. 'Veronica tetigit fimbriam uestimenti domini et stetit sanguis, fluxum sanguinis constrinxit.'

3.64. *post-biblical, elaboration on biblical personages (cf. suffering saint): miscellaneous* stopping of the Jordan

3.64.1. Milan, BNA cod. B 8 sup. (s. XIV?), f. 54r

contra inimicos. si quis timet inimicum et uideat illum uel illos uenire contra se, faciat ter signum crucis dicendo 'in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti' aut dicendo ista 'dominus deus interiecit unam uirgam in fluuium Iordanem, ipsa restitit. ita possit sanguis meus et caro mea resistere contra omnia ista arma.' et ita potes secure expectare et etiam transire super ensem nudis pedibus.

2 dicendo *supr. lin. add. cod.*

binding wolves and muzzling lions on Mt. Sinai; followed by prayer

3.64.2. private collection, Βερναρδάκειο μαγικὸ κώδικας (s. XIX), f. 428r-v, ed.

Papathomopoulos 2006, 281

φυλακτήριον Μωυσεως καὶ Ααρων. ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Σινα, τὸν λύκον ἔδεσαν καὶ τὸν λέωντα ἐχαλίνωσαν. οὕτως δέσον, σιδήρωσον τὰς γλώσσας τῶν ἐπιλαλούντων μου κακά, κατὰ τοῦ δούλου σου δεῖνα, ἅγιοι πάντες ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης, βοήθησέ μοι τὸν δοῦλόν σου δεῖνα τὸν ἔχοντα τὸ φυλακτήριον | τοῦτο καὶ φύλαξέ με τὸν δοῦλόν σου δεῖνα καὶ ἐὰν εἰς πόλεμον εὔρεθῆ οὐ μὴ φοβηθῆ οὔτε σπαθὶ οὔτε μαχαίρι οὔτε κοντάρι οὔτε φωτιά οὔτε ἄλλο ὄπλον ἀλλὰ νὰ βγαίνῃ μετὰ τιμῆς.' ἰδού. [signs]. νὰ τὸ βαστᾷ 'ς τὸν τράχηλόν του. τέλος.

2 λέων *cod.*

Enoch and Elijah; against τὸ μάτι (baskania)

3.64.3. reported from contemporary Aitolia, D. Loukopoulos in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

‘ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. ὡς ἂν τὸ δικό του ἐγένετο καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἐγένετο. νέφους ἐφάνη, ἀστραπή καὶ βροντὴ καὶ νεφέλη καὶ ἔπαρον αὐτοὺς ἕως τρεῖς καὶ τάφοντες, καὶ εἶπον Ενωχ καὶ Ηλια “πᾶρον τὰ ἔργα σου καὶ ρίψε τα εἰς ἔρημους τόπους, ἐκεῖ ὅπου κόκκοτος δὲ λαλεῖ, παπᾶς δὲ λειτουργάει.” στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ. ἀμήν.’

[[3.64.4. empty]]

3.65. *Zacharias*

3.65.1. Paris, BnF *cod. gr.* 2228 (s. XIV), f. 28r

περὶ τοῦ στῆσαι αἷμα. γράψον μετὰ πτεροῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἐξερχομένου αἵματος εἰς τὸ μέτωπον ‘Ζαχαρίας ὁ προφήτης σφαγείς ἐν τῷ ναῷ κυρίου, ἔπηξεν τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐγένετο ἰσχυρὸν ὡσεὶ λίθος.’

3.65.2. Oxford, Bodleian *cod.* Barocci 88 (s. XV), f. 165r

εἰς αἱμορραγίαν ῥινός. ‘Ζαχαρίας ἐσφάγη ἐν ναῷ κυρίου, καὶ πέπηγε τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ λίθος, καὶ οὐκ ἐξαλειφθήσεται ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὁ ἔκδικος αὐτοῦ· ἀλλὰ σὺ κύριε ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων στῆσον τὴν ρεῦσιν ταύτην τοῦ αἵματος.’

3 ρροσι *cod.*

3.65.3. reported from contemporary Gytheio, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘ὁ Ζαχαρίας ἐφονεύθη | ’ς τοῦ κυρίου τὴν αὐλή, | καὶ τὸ αἷμα πέτρα νὰ γένη.’

also use of scripture (*John 1*)

3.65.4. Thessaly, monastery of Olympiotissa, *cod.* 97 (s. XVIII), p. 14, ed. Skouvara 1965-1966, 79

περὶ ἄνθρωπον ὅπου τρέχει ἡ μύτη του αἷμα πολὺ. ἔπαρε ἀπὸ τὸ αἷμα ὅπου τρέχει ἀπὸ τὴν μύτην τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ βάλ’ το εἰς ἀγγεῖον καὶ βάλε καὶ λιανολίθαρα τρία ἀπὸ τὴν γῆν μέσα εἰς τὸ ἀγγεῖον ὅπου ἔχει τὸ αἷμα καὶ νὰ γράψῃς εἰς τὸ μέτωπον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὕτως ‘Ζαχαρίας ἐσφάγη ἐν ναῷ κυρίου καὶ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ πέπηγεν ὡς λίθος ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ οὐκ ἐξαλειφθήσεται ἕως οὗ νὰ ἔλθῃ ὁ ἔκδικος αὐτοῦ, ἀμήν.’ καὶ νὰ γράψῃς καὶ ‘ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ, ἀμήν.’

followed by prayer

3.65.5. Paris, BnF *cod. gr.* 2091 (s. XV-XVI), f. 112r, ed. Doyen-Higuet 2006, 131, recollated

εἰς ῥώθωνος αἱμοραϊαν. ‘ὁ ἅγιος Ζαχαρίας ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἐσφάγη καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ πεπηγὸς ὡσεὶ λίθος καὶ οὐκ ἐξαλειφθήσεται ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὁ ἔκδικος αὐτοῦ. κύριε ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων, στῆσον τὴν ρύσιν τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ δούλου σου τοῦ δεῖνος.’

I αἱμοραίας Doyen-Higuet

combined with historiola of prayer of Joshua (*Joshua 10:12-14*), for nosebleeds
3.65.6. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2315 (s. XV), f. 245r, cf. Legrand 1881, 13; recollated
περὶ τοῦ στήσαι αἷμα ἀπὸ ρίνα ἀνθρώπου. λέγε γοῦν οὕτως, ὅτι ὁ ἅγιος Ζαχαρίας
ἐν ναῶ κυρίου ἐσφάγη καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ὡς λίθος· καὶ ὁ στήσας τὸν ἥλιον
κατὰ Γαβραωθ καὶ τὴν σελήνην κατὰ φάραγμα, στήσον καὶ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ δούλου τοῦ
θεοῦ δεῖνος. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ, ἀμήν.’

3 σελήνην *correxi* : κηνήν *cod.*, κοινήν *Legrand* | καταφάρυγμα *cod.*, *Legrand*

3.66. *St. Paul first person narrative*

incantation with first-person historiola of Paul, bitten by an echidna while building a fire;
the setting seems to refer to Job, might Σικελίας be an error for Συρίας? But that would be
the *lectio facilior*... Paul is an imagined world, the fact that he gets as far as Sicily
contributes to the sense of a powerful figure with far-reaching dispensation (e.g.
Apollonios of Tyana)

wordplay; addition of historiola on Moses; to be said over water, which activated water is
to be given to whoever has brought news of the snakebite, and the patient will be healed

3.66.1. London, BL cod. Royal 16 C II (s. XV), ff. 47v-48v

εὐχή κατὰ τῶν ὄφεων. εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου
πνεύματος. ἐγὼ Παῦλος ὁ καὶ Σαῦλος καλούμενος λιθοβοληστὴς τῶν ἁγίων
ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ διώκτης τῶν κηρύκων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὕστερον δὲ Παῦλος ἀντὶ Σαύλου
καὶ ποιμὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ συμφωνητὴς τῶν κηρύκων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, | ἐξῆλθον τοῦ
συνάξει φρυγᾶνα, ἐκ δὲ τῶν φρυγᾶνων ἐξεληθοῦσα ἔχιδνα ἐκρεμάσθη εἰς τὸν δεξιὸν
μου ἀντίχειρα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἐδειλίασα οὐδὲ ἐφοβήθην, ἐπεὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπῆλθέ μοι
καὶ δύναμις ὑψίστου ἐπεσκίασέ μοι, καὶ ταύτην ἀπορρίψας μέσον τῆς φλογός,
κατεκαύθη. ἐγὼ δὲ παθῶν οὐδὲν εἰς ὕπνον ἐτράπη. καὶ κατελθὼν ὁ ἀρχάγγελος
Μιχαὴλ ἐφώνησε μοι λέγων “ἔγειρε Παῦλε καὶ λαβὲ τὴν βίβλον ταύτην καὶ ὀρκισον
ἔξω τὰς ἑβδομήκοντα γενεὰς τῶν ὄφεων καὶ εἶπέ· ἔξορκίζω ὑμᾶς τοὺς τὴν ἀρχαίαν
νύσταξιν λαβόντας ὄφεις, ὄφιν τὸν φολιδοειδῆ, ὄφιν τὸν χλωρόν, ὄφιν τὸν
δικέφαλον, ὄφιν τὸν περικέφαλον, ὄφιν τὸν περικέφαλον, ὄφιν τὸν λαγόδρομον τὸν
ἐν δρομίῳ ἀναβάτην καὶ τυφλὸν καὶ ὠμματωμένον, ἔχιδναν τὴν σκολιὰν καὶ τὴν
διεστραμμένην, ὀρκίζω καὶ ἐξορκίζω πάντας τοὺς σκολιούς καὶ διεστραμμένους
ὄφεις ἵνα ὅπου εὐρέθη εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν ἀγκῶνα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γεγραμμένη τοῦ πιστοῦ
καὶ κεχαριτωμένου Παύλου ἢ ἐπιτίμησις, μὴ τολμήσητε προσπαῦσαι, ἀλλὰ φύγετε
ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἔφυγον οἱ δαίμονες ἐκ προσώπου Παύλου. ἀνέθηκε Μωυσης ἐπὶ
στήλης ἄκος φθοροποιῦ λυτηρίου καὶ ἰοβόλου δήγματος καὶ ξύλω τύπῳ σταυροῦ
τὸν πρὸς γῆν συρόμενον ὄφιν συνέδησεν.” | λαβὲ μάχαιραν μαυρομάνικον καὶ
νερόν εἰς ἀγγεῖον καὶ σταύρωσον αὐτὸ τρεῖς φορές καὶ εἶπέ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐπάνω τοῦ
ὑδατος καὶ πιέτω ὁ μαντόφορος καὶ ὑγιανεῖ ὁ δαχθεῖς.

5 ἐκρεμασθεις *cod.* || 9 εχουσ() *cod.* || 10 νυσταραν *cod.* | φωλοηδην *cod.* || 11
χληρον *cod.* || 12 λαοδρουν *cod.* || 20 μανταφορος *cod.*, *l.* σημαντοφόρος *or cf. Lat.*
mandatum and μανδάτωρ *in* 3.66.4?

in this version Paul does suffer terribly from the bite; it also seems to be set before his
conversion (note the opening, and the angel’s address Σαῦλε Σαῦλε)

3.66.2. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 142 (s. XIV), ff. 161v-162r

ἐγὼ ὁ Παῦλος ὁ διώκτης καὶ λιθοβοληστὴς τῶν τιμίων σκεύων, καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐν τῷ
θάρρει μου εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ συνάξας φρυγᾶνων πληθύν, ἐκεῖθεν αἴφνης ἔχιδνα

ἐξελθοῦσα ἐκρεμάσθη εἰς τὸ ἀντίχειρον τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρός. ἐγὼ διὰ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐξετίναξα αὐτὴν καὶ κατεκαύθη μετὰ τῶν φρυγάνων. καὶ δεινὸν παθῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήγματος εἰς ὕπνον ἐτρέπην, καὶ ἔλθων ὁ ἀρχάγγελος Μιχαὴλ ἐφώνησέν μοι λέγων “Σαῦλε Σαῦλε ἀνάστας ἔγειραι καὶ [δ]έξαι τὴν βίβλον ταύτην καὶ εὐρή[σ]εις ἐν αὐτῇ ἱστορίαν γεγραμμένην [οὐ]χ ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς παθόντος ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ πολλῶν· ‘[ἐξ]ορκίζω τὰς ἐξήκοντα γενεὰς τῶν ἐρπόντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, | ὄφιν τὸν δράκοντα καὶ τὸν βασιλίσκον, ὄφιν τὸν νεφελοειδῆ, δράκοντα τὸν γενναῖον, ὄφιν τὸν δεκαχάλινον, ὄφιν τὸν δωδεκαχάλινον, ὄφιν τὸν ἀερόβατον, ὄφιν τὸν τυφλὸν καὶ ἀόμματον, ἔχιδνα τὴν σκολιὰν ἣτις βαστάζει τὸ φάρμακον εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῆς σιαγόνα, ἣτις ἂν δάκνη ἄνθρωπον, ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν τοῦ ζῆσαι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ εἴκοσι τέσσαρας γενεὰς τοῦ φάλαγγος καὶ τὸν σκορπίον τὸ ἀποφύσιμα τοῦ διαβόλου· ὅπουδ’ ἂν τὸ θηρίον τεθνήσκειται, ὁ δὲ δαχθεὶς ἰαθήσεται εἰς δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ.’”

1 διωχθεὶς *cod.* | λιθοβοληθεὶς || 11 αὐτῆς ἀγονα *cod.* || 12 σφαλαγγοσ *cod.*

3.66.3. Venice, BNM *cod. gr. Z. 408* (s. XIV), f. 152r, ed. Legrand 1881, 26-27 εἰς δήγμα ὄφεως. ἔγὼ Παῦλος ὁ ὑβριστῆς καὶ διώκτης καὶ λιθοβολιστῆς τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησιῶν γέγονα τίμιον σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἦλθον ἐν τῇ Αὐσίτιδι Σικελίας, καὶ συνάξας φρυγάνων πληθύν, εὐθύς ἔχιδνα ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐξελθοῦσα ἐκρεμάσθη εἰς τὸν δεξιὸν μου ἀντίχειρα. ἐγὼ δὲ ἔχων πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἀπετίναξα αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀναφθείσῃ φλογὶ καὶ ἐκάη μετὰ τῶν φρυγάνων, καὶ μηδὲν τι παθῶν ἐκ τοῦ δήγματος εἰς ὕπνον ἐτρέπην. ἔλθων δὲ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος Μιχαὴλ ἐφώνησέν μοι λέγων “Σαῦλε καὶ Παῦλε, ἔγειραι καὶ δέξαι τὴν βίβλον ταύτην, καὶ ἀνοίξας αὐτὴν εὐρήσεις ἱστορίαν γεγραμμένην οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς παθόντος μόνον, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ πολλῶν.” καὶ περὶ ὄρθρον ἀναστὰς ἐδεξάμην τὴν βίβλον καὶ ἀνοίξας αὐτὴν εὗρον γεγραμμένα οὕτως “ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς τὰς ἐξήκοντα πέντε γενεὰς τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐρπόντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, εἰς τὸν θρόνον τὸν φοβερὸν καὶ ἀληθινόν, εἰς τὸν πύρινον ποταμὸν τὸν ἐξερχόμενον ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν καὶ τοῦ ὑποποδίου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων αὐτοῦ, ὄφιν τὸν βλάπτοντα καὶ τὸν βασιλίσκον, δράκοντα τὸν γενναῖον, ὄφιν τὸν τετραχάλινον, ὄφιν τὸν δωδεκαχάλινον, ὄφιν τὸν δένδροαναβάτην, ὄφιν τὸν λαγωοδρόμον, ὄφιν τὸν νεφελοειδῆ, ὄφιν τὸν τυφλὸν καὶ ἀόμματον, ὄφιν τὸν κορακοειδῆ, ἔχιδναν τὴν σκολιὰν τὴν ἔχουσαν τὰ φάρμακα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα αὐτῆς, ἣτις ἂν δάκνη ἄνθρωπον ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἰαθῆναι· ἔστι δὲ καὶ σκορπίος ὅσπερ ἀποφύσιμά ἐστι τοῦ διαβόλου· σὺν τούτοις δὲ καὶ τὰς εἴκοσι τέσσαρας γενεὰς τοῦ φάλαγγος· οἷον οὗ φθάση τοῦ πιστοῦ καὶ κεχαριτωμένου Παύλου τοῦ παρόντος ἀφορισμοῦ ἢ ἐπιτίμησις, τεθνήσκει· εἰ δὲ φθάσει, τὸ μὲν θηρίον αὐτίκα τεθνήσκειται, ὁ δὲ δαχθεὶς ἰαθήσεται, εἰς δόξαν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀμήν ἀμήν.” ὁ λέγων σὺ ταῦτα, βάλε ὕδωρ καθαρὸν εἰς ἀγγεῖον νέον καὶ ἐξορκίσας τὸ ὕδωρ τρισσῶς λέγων τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην πότισον τὸν δαχθέντα καὶ ἰαθήσεται. εἰ δ’ οὐκ ἔστιν οὗτος, πότισον ὕδωρ τὸν μανδάτορα καὶ ἰαθήσεται ὁ πάσχων, εἰ καὶ μακρόθεν ἐστίν.

20 σφάλακος *cod.* | οὐ Legrand

3.66.4. Paris. *gr. 2219* (s. XV), f. 34v, ed. CCAG VIII.4:113-114 περὶ τοῦ ἂν δάκνη ὄφιος ἄνθρωπον. ἔγὼ ὁ Παῦλος ὁ διωκτὸς καὶ λιθοβόλητος γέγονα πάλιν τίμιον σκεῦος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ Αὐσίτιδι Σικελίας, καὶ συνάξας φρυγάνων πλῆθος, εὐθύς ἐκεῖθεν ἔχιδνα ἐξελθοῦσα ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκρεμάσθη εἰς τὸν

δεξιόν μου αντίχειρα· ἐγὼ δὲ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἔχων παρὰ θεοῦ ἐξετίναξα αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ φλογί τῇ καιομένη καὶ ἐκάη μετὰ τῶν φρυγάνων· ἐγὼ δὲ μηδὲν δεινὸν τι παθῶν τῷ σώματι εἰς ὕπνον ἐτρέπην, καὶ ἔλθων ἀρχάγγελος Μιχαηλ ἐφώνησέ με λέγων· “Σαῦλε καὶ Παῦλε, ἔγειρε καὶ δέξου τὴν βίβλον,” ἥτις καὶ εἶχε τὴν ἱστορίαν γεγραμμένην οὕτως· “ἐξορκίζω τὰς ἐξήκοντα γενεὰς τῶν θηρίων καὶ ἰοβόλων τῶν ἐρπόντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν θρόνον τὸν ἀληθινὸν καὶ τὸν πυρινὸν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐξερχόμενον ἐκ τοῦ ὑποποδίου τῶν πόδων τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὄφιν τὸν βλάπτοντα καὶ τὸν βασιλίσκον δράκοντα τὸν δεινόν, ὄφιν τὸν δενδραναβάτην, ὄφιν τὸν νεφελοειδῆ, ὄφιν τὸν κροκοειδῆ, ὄφιν τὸν τυφλὸν καὶ ἀόμματον, τὴν ἔχιδναν τὴν σκολιὰν τὴν ἔχουσαν τὸ φάρμακον εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγὼνα αὐτῆς, ἥτις ἂν δάκη ἄνθρωπον, ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἰαθῆναι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸν σκορπίον τοῦ διαβόλου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς κδ’ γενεὰς τὰς ἀπὸ φαλάγγων, ἕως οὗ φθάσῃ τοῦ πίστου Παύλου τοῦ χαριτωνύμου ἀποστόλου ἢ ἐπιτίμησις, δι’ οὗ τὸ δάκνον θηρίων θηξέται εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ.” ταῦτα ἐξορκίσας ὕδωρ καθαρὸν πότισον τὸν ἀποσταλέντα καὶ ἄλειψον {καὶ} τὴν τομὴν τοῦ δηχθέντος καὶ ὑγιανεῖ.

Paul historiola against snakebite; internal reference to ἱστορία
 3.66.5. Vienna, ÖNB cod. theol. gr. 104 (s. XV), f. 228r, ed. Vassiliev 1893, 330-331
 εὐχή τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου εἰς τὸν δάκοντα ὄφιν. ἔν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. ἐγὼ Παῦλος διώκτης καὶ λιθοβολιστὴς γέγονα τῶν τιμίων σκευῶν καὶ ἐξῆλθον ἐν τῷ θάρσει μου εἰς Σικελίαν. καὶ συνάξας φρυγάνων πλῆθος, ἐξαίφνης ἐκείθεν ἔχιδνα ἐξελθοῦσα ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκρεμάσθη εἰς τὸν δεξιόν μου ἀντιδάκτυλον. ἐγὼ δὲ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἔχων ἀπετίναξα αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ φλογί τῇ ἀναφθείσῃ καὶ ἔκαιεν μετὰ τῶν φρυγάνων· ἐγὼ δὲ μηδὲν παθῶν δεινὸν ἐκ τοῦ δήγματος εἰς ὕπνον ἐτρέπην. καὶ ἔλθων ὁ ἀρχάγγελος Μιχαηλ ἐξεφώνησέ μοι λέγων “Παῦλε Παῦλε ἔγειρε καὶ δέξαι τὴν βίβλον ταύτην καὶ εὐρήσεις ἐν αὐτῇ ἱστορίαν γεγραμμένην οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς παθόντος ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ πολλῶν.” καὶ περὶ ὄρθρου ἀναστὰς ἐδεξάμην τὴν βίβλον ταύτην ἧς ἐνυπῆρχεν γεγραμμένον οὕτως· “ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς, τὰς ἐξήκοντα πέντε ἡμῖσι γενεὰς τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐρπόντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, εἰς τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ εἰς τὸν θρόνον τὸν ἀληθινὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν πύρινον ποταμὸν τὸν ἐξερχόμενον ἐκ τοῦ ὑποποδίου τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ, ὄφιν τὸν βλάπτοντα καὶ τὸν βασιλίσκον δράκοντα τὸν γενναῖον, ὄφιν τετραχάλινον, ὄφιν τὸν δενδροαναβάτην, ὄφιν τὸν δωδεκαχάλινον, ὄφιν τὸν λαγοδρόμονα, ὄφιν τὸν νεφελοειδῆ, ὄφιν τὸν τυφλὸν καὶ ἀόμματον, ὄφιν τὸν κορακοειδῆ, καὶ ἔχιδναν τὴν σκολιὰν τὴν ἔχουσαν τὰ φάρμακα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῆς σιαγῶνα – ὃν ἂν δάκη ἄνθρωπον ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν – ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὄφιν τὸν σκορπίον τὸ ἀποφύσισμα τοῦ διαβόλου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς εἴκοσι τέσσαρας γενεὰς τοῦ φαλαγγίου. ἕως οὗ φθάσῃ τοῦ πιστοῦ καὶ κεχαρισμένου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὸ ἀφόρκισμα καὶ ἡ ἐπιτίμησις δειχθῆ, εὐθέως ἰαθήσεται εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ, ἀμήν.” αὐτὰ ἐξόρκισον ὕδωρ καθαρὸν, πότισον καὶ ἄλειψον τὸν ἀδικηθέντα· εἰ δὲ ἐστὶ μήκοθεν ὁ ἀδικηθεὶς, τὸν λαλήσαντα πότισον καὶ ἰαθήσεται ὁ ἀδικηθεὶς.

6 δήγματος *corr. Krumbacher BZ 3 (1894) 191* : δείγματος *Vassiliev* || 19 ἐπεὶ *Vassiliev* || 20 ἀσπαλάγγου *Vassiliev* | κεχαρισμένου *corr. Krumbacher BZ 3 (1894) 191* : κεχαρισμοῦ *Vassiliev*

3.67. *similar narratives*

first-person narrative of Luke and Phokas, similar to that of Paul

3.67.1. Athens, Ethn. Bibl. cod. 1265 (s. XVI-XVII), f. 35r, ed. Koukoules 1926, 106-107; Delatte 1927, 83 with 652

γοητεία εἰς δῆ(γ)ματα θηρίων. ἅγιε Λουκᾶ, Φουκᾶ, σιδεροπενταδάκτυλε, στήσον πάλλων σίδερων, δῆσον ὄφιν ἔχιδναν καὶ πᾶν κακὸν συρόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ὤρισε κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἀπὸ ἡλίου δύνοντος ἵνα μὴ σαλεύσεται. “ὡς ἐκοιμούμουν μοναχόν, ἦλθεν ἄγγελος κυρίου Γαβριηλ καὶ εἶπέ μοι ‘πῶς κοιμᾶσαι μοναχόν;’ καὶ εἶπον πρὸς αὐτὸν ‘οὐδὲν κοιμοῦμαι μοναχόν, ἀλλὰ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ μου, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν μου, ὁ τίμιος σταυρὸς εἰς τὰ στήθη μου, οἱ ἅγιοι ἀπόστολοι ἔνθεν μου κάκειθέν μου, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἀνοικτόν· ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ μελετᾶ.’” στήσον πάλλων σίδερων, δῆσον ὄφιν ἔχιδναν καὶ πᾶν κακὸν συρόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἀμήν.’ [drawing of man brandishing sword, with legend] Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾶ.

δῆ(γ)ματα *conieci* : δῆματα *cod.* | φοῦκτα *Delatte* || 6 σπίτια *Delatte*

prayer of John to Christ for protection from poison; signs of translation from Greek; to be chanted over liquid which is then given to the patient to drink [Old English instructions]; cf. Barb 1953b

3.67.2. London, BL cod. Harley 585 (s. XI), f. 151r-v, ed. Storms 1948, 266

‘tunc beatus Iohannes iacentibus mortuis his qui uenenum biberunt intrepidus et constans accipiens et signaculum crucis in eo dixit “deus meus et pater et filius et spiritus sanctus, cui omnia subacta sunt, cui omnis creatura deseruit et omnis potestas subiacta est et metuit, expauescit cum nos te ad auxilium inuocamus, cuius auditu nomina serpens conquiescit et draco fugit, scilicet uipera, et rubita illa quae dicitur rana quieta extorpescit, scorpius exstinguitur, et regulus uincitur, et phalangius nihil noxium operatur, et omnia uenenata et adhuc ferociora repentia animalia noxia tenebrantur et omnes aduersae salutis humanae radices arescunt. tu domine exstingue hoc uenenatum uirus, exstingue operationes eius mortíferas et uires quas in se habent euacua et da in conspectu tuo omnibus quos tu creasti oculos ut uideant, aures ut audiant, cor uti magnitudinem tuam intellegant.” et cum hoc dixisset totum semet ipsum armauit crucis siga et bibit totum quod erat in calice, et postea quam bibit dixit “peto ut propter quos bibi conuertantur ad te domine et ad salutem quae apud te est. te illuminante mereantur.”’ per eundem < >.

2 in eo dixit *conieci* : meo dixit *cod.* : benedixit *Storms* || 4 cuius *conieci* : curis *Storms* || 6 regulas *cod.*, i.e. *Gk.* βασιλίσκος | phalagius *correxī* : sphalagias *cod.*, i.e. *Gk.* φαλάγγιον

4. Names

4.1. *personal name of the patient or target*

4.1.1. writing the patient's name in blood on his forehead; for nosebleed

4.1.1.1. Marcellus 10.33 (Heim 1893 no. 8)

de sanguine ipso qui fluit nomen eius in fonte scribe cui medendum est aduersum profluuium narium. statim subuenies.

4.1.1.2. *Antidotarium Bruxellense* §52, ed. Rose 1894, 378

ad fluxum de naribus, experimentatum. de ipso sanguine nomen eius cui fluit litteris Latinis in fronte scribis ad cannam, et statuisti.

writing upside-down

4.1.1.3. [Pliny] *Physica*, from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 1.7 (cod. p. 197.4-7, ed.

Önnerfors 2006, 1:13; Heim 1893, 556)

infirmis, sanguis cui currerit multum et non poterit restringere. scribe de sanguine eius in fronte ipsius de grano turis nomen ipsius inuersis litteris, apices deorsum, et mox statuet.

$\overline{2}$ statuet *correxi* : statu *cod.* : istatuet *Önnerfors* : stat *Heim*

4.1.2. writing and reading of the name of patient; for hiccough; alternate version for an illiterate patient, dissolving the writing in water

4.1.2.1. additions to the *Euporiston* of Theodorus, ed. Rose 1894, 284

item nomen eius in manu eius rectis litteris scribe et legere illum hoc ipsum nomen cogis. si autem illitteratus fuerit, ipsum nomen ex aqua lauabis et ei illud potui dabis.

similarly, but with the name written in reverse

4.1.2.2. additions to the *Euporiston* of Theodorus, ed. Rose 1894, 327

item nomen eius in manu eius retroactis litteris scribes et legere illum hoc nomen facies. si autem litteratus non fuerit, ipsum nomen de manu eius ex aqua calida lauabis, et bibat.

4.1.3. spelling out the name letter by letter to accompany the tying of knots; for eye disorders

4.1.3.1. Marcellus 8.62 (Heim 1893 no. 7, in part)

oculos cum dolere quis coeperit ilico ei subuenies si quot litteras nomen eius habuerit nominans easdem totidem nodos in rudi lino stringas et circa collum dolentis innectas.

4.1.4. ingestion of names and parents' names, to settle quarrels in married couples, written on laurel leaves along with magical signs, burned, dissolved, and given to the quarrelsome one to drink

4.1.4.1. Naples, BN cod. II C 33 (s. XV), f. 235r, ed. Delatte 1927, 620

περὶ <τοῦ> ἀνδρόγυνον εἰρηνεῦσαι. γράφε ταύτας τὰς χαρακτῆρας εἰς τρία φύλλα δάφνης μετὰ μόσχου καὶ ζαφορᾶς καὶ ῥοδοστάγματος. καὶ γράψον καὶ τῶν δύο τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τῶν γονέων. εἶτα καῦσον αὐτὰ τὰ φύλλα καὶ δὸς κρύφα, νὰ πῆι με κρασί ἢ με νερόν ἢ με ἀγίασμα, ἐκείνου ὁποῦ μισᾷ τὸν ἄλλον.

4.1.5. the patient's mother's name; for hiccough

4.1.5.1. Leiden, UB cod. VGF 25 (s. XVI), f. 8r

ἄλλο. πταρμὸς κινούμενος παύει λυγμὸν. λεγέτω ὁ λύξων τὸ τῆς μητρὸς ὄνομα καὶ παύεται.

4.2.1. name of the owner of an animal

4.2.1.1. Pelagonius §129 (Heim 1893 no. 12a)

si equi intestina doluerint <et> fuerit tortionatus, remedium incredibile quod per se ostenditur. nomen domini eiusdem animalis in corona pedis dexteri grafio perscribito.

ī <et> *suppl. Ihm* || 2 ostenditur *corr. Heim* : ostendē *cod.*

4.2.1.2. *Hippiatrica Parisina* 603 Oder-Hoppe (Heim 1893 no. 12b)

ἐὰν ἵππος ἔντερα πονέσῃ, βοήθημα δύσπιστον καὶ παράδοξον πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον πάθος. εἰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ δεσπότης ἐπάνω τοῦ κύκλου τοῦ δεξιοῦ ὄνυχος τοῦ ἵππου γραφίῳ ἐπιγράψῃς, εὐθέως ἰαθήσεται.

4.2.1.3. Pelagonius §126 (Heim 1893 no. 13a)

aliud de experimento. nomen domini in dextra ungula dolentis equi aut seruus aut quilibet alius scribat.

4.2.1.4. *Hippiatrica Parisina* 201 Oder-Hoppe (Heim 1893 no. 13b)

πρὸς <θλάσμα>. γράψον εἰς τὴν ὄνυχα τοῦ πάσχοντος ποδὸς τοῦ ζώου τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἰδίου δεσπότης.

ī <θλάσμα> *suppl. Oder-Hoppe ex C* : αὐτὸ M

4.2.2. addition of the type of animal

4.2.2.1. Pelagonius §458 (Heim 1893 no. 14)

ad tortiones hoc facito. nomen domini de atramento in ungula pedis dextri prioris scribe et quid sit cui scribis. remediabis.

4.3. other symbolic applications of name of target

‘naming’ coals after livestock, bringing them into the house, for protection

4.3.1. Milan, BNA cod. E 37 sup. (s. XVI), f. 373v, ed. Delatte 1927, 340

περὶ ἔξω μενόντων ζώων. ἀπολεσθέντων ζώων τινῶν καὶ μενόντων ἔξω φυλακῆς, φυλάξῃ αὐτὰ οὕτως, τοῦ μείναι ἄβρωτα τοῖς θηρίοις. λαβὼν κάρβουνα σβεστὰ κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ζώων, ἐξελθὼν τῆς οἰκίας βλέπε τὴν τρεμουντάναν. καὶ ταύτην βλέπων ἐπονόμαζε τὰ ζῶα, ἀνὰ ἑνὸς καρβούνου μεταχειριζόμενος εἰς ὄνομα ἑνὸς ἐκάστου ζώου λέγων ‘φυλαχθήτω τὸ παρὸν ζῶον ὑπὸ τραμουντάνας.’ καὶ οὕτως εἰσερχόμενος ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐπίθῃς τὰ ἐπονομασθέντα κάρβουνα.

for a safe sea voyage, write the name of the traveler, the name of the home city, the πραγματεία, and the ship; the object is to be buried at the root of a vine

4.3.2. Vienna, ÖNB cod. phil gr. 108 (s. XV), f. 29r, ed. Delatte 1927, 635

εἰ δὲ βούλῃ πλεῦσαι ἀκινδύνως, γράφε τὸ σὸν ὄνομα καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἧς μέλλεις ἐκδημεῖν καὶ τῆς πραγματείας καὶ τοῦ πλοίου μετὰ μέλανος εἰς χαρτὶ βαμβύκινον καὶ χῶσον αὐτὸ εἰς ῥίζαν κληματίδος, καὶ τότε πορεύου.

4.4. proper names of powerful figures

4.4.1. pagan

writing name of Athena on olive leaf, for headache: the context does not suggest practical application in the Byzantine period, rather it is part of a *ἱστορία* about olives in classical Greece, beginning with the account of how Athena and Poseidon contended over the Athenian acropolis as the first land to appear from the primeval waters, then going on to give human uses for the olive, first the crowning of athletic victors, then this amuletic use; Heim's conjecture about Athena's birth and headaches has no support in this context, rather it seems that Athena's power more generally in cosmogony is appealed to

4.4.1.1. *Geoponika* 9.1.5 (Heim 1893 no. 89)

ῶνησε δέ ποτε καὶ ἀπήλλαξε κεφαλῆς ἄλγημα φυσικῶς, φύλλῳ ἐλαίας ἐπιγράψαντες Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ μίτῳ τὸ φύλλον τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀναδήσαντες.

names and epithets of Zeus, Apollo, and Dionysos, to be said in gathering an amuletic plant

4.4.1.2. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419 (s. XV), f. 199r, ed. Delatte 1927, 468

τὸ βότανον τὸ λεγόμενον πετανος ἐστὶν θεῖον καὶ ἱερόν· Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καλοῦσιν τοῦτο ταναοζα. αὕτη ἢ βοτάνη ἔοικε τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ λαμβάνεται ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ αὐτῆς, ἐπιλέγων καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ἔϋιε ἄναξ Ζεὺς Βοιωτὲ ἄναξ Ἀπόλλων· τὰ φύλλα γὰρ αὐτῆς (ὀ) βαστάζων ἐν ἄρχουσιν καὶ ἐξουσιασταῖς ἔνδοξος καὶ θαυμαστὸς ἀναφανήσεται.

$\overline{1-2}$ πετανος, ταναοζα *litt. cryptographicis* || 3 Βιοτέ Delatte

philosophers

4.4.1.3. [Pliny] *Physica*, from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 3.18 (cod. p. 272.12-15, ed. Önnersfors 2006, 1:91; Heim 1893 no. 121)

item quartanariis. philosophorum nomina in pittacio scribis Ἐπιγράψαντες Πυθαγόρας, Δημόκριτος, Σωκράτης, Πλάτων, et ad horam accessionis nomina philosophorum supra scripta e<dito ... > illum a quartana.

$\overline{2}$ adora Heim | e<dito> *suppl.* Önnersfors

4.4.2. *Old Testament*

4.4.2.1. Adam; note that it appears as an acrostic for the four celestial regions (ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία) appears in the Sibylline oracles (3.24-26).

4.4.2.1.1. *Geoponika* 13.8.4 and 14.5 (Heim 1893 no. 173)

ὄφεις δὲ περιστρεφῶνι οὐχ ὀφλήσουσιν ἔαν ἐν ταῖς τέτταρσι γωνίαις ἐπιγράψῃς Ἀδαμ, ἔαν δὲ ἔχη θυρίδας, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς.

-perhaps borne out: inscription of cardinal directions (as merism?); internal reference to incantation

4.4.2.1.2. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316 (s. XV), f. 365v, cf. Oikonomu-Agorastu 1982 no. 183

περὶ πόνον κεφαλῆς ἡμικράνου. γράψας χαρτὶν δόρκιον Ἀνατολή ἄρκτος δύση μεσημβρία. ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβ λέγων τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὸν κρανίον ἀπὸ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνος.

$\overline{1}$ δόρκιον *coniecti* : ὑδῶρκιον cod. : ὑδῶρ (ὄρκιον) Oikonomu-Agorastu || 3 κρανίον (φεῦγε) *suppl.* Oikonomu-Agorastu

4.4.2.2. prophets

Amos; inscribed on hooves of horse; for colic

4.4.2.2.1. Vatican, BAV cod. Vatic. gr. 114 (s. XV), f. 141r, ed. Doyen-Higuet 2006, 173
ἄλλο. ἐπίγραφον εἰς τοὺς τέσσαρας πόδας τοῦ ἵππου, εἰς τὸν ἕνα ‘α,’ εἰς τὸν ἄλλον
‘μ,’ εἰς τὸν ἄλλον ‘ω,’ εἰς τὸν ἄλλον ‘ν.’

Amos and Nahum

4.4.2.2.2. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2286 (s. XIV), f. 83r, ed. Doyen-Higuet 2006, 47; recollated

1. στρόφους ἵππων καὶ βοῶν καὶ ἄλλων ζώων ἰάση οὕτως. γράφε εἰς τὸν ἕνα
ὄνουχα τὸν δεξιὸν τοῦ ἀλόγου ἄλφα καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀριστερὸν ‘μ’ καὶ εἰς ὀπισθεν δεξιὸν
‘ω’ καὶ εἰς τὸν λαῖον ‘ν,’ ἵνα ἀποτελεσθῆναι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ προφήτου Ἀμων.
2. ἢ γράφε εἰς τὸν δεξιὸν ἔμπροσθεν ὄνουχα ν, εἰς δὲ τὸν ἀριστερὸν α, καὶ εἰς τὸν
ὀπισθε δεξιὸν ου, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀριστερὸν μ, ὡς ἀποτελεσθῆναι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ
προφήτου Ναουμ.

$\overline{2}$ εἰς <τὸν> *Doyen-Higuet* || 3 ἵνα *cod.* : ὡς *Doyen-Higuet* | ἀπολεσθῆναι *Doyen-Higuet*

4.4.3. *New Testament*

4.4.3.1 *three magi*

4.4.3.1.1. private collection, Βερναρδάκειο μαγικὸ κώδικας (s. XIX), ff. 269vr-270r, ed.
Papathomopoulos 2006, 156

ἕτερον διὰ τὸν σεληνιασμένον. ὅταν πέφτη ὁ ἄνθρωπος κάτω, πές του εἰς τὸ ὠτίον
τὸ δεξιὸν τρεῖς φορές | ‘Μελχεων Βαντασαφ Γασπαρην’ καὶ μπήγεις ἕνα μαχαίρι ἔς
τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος τοῦ ἀσθενῆ καὶ παύει.

4.4.3.1.2. from an herbal in a Bavarian manuscript of the fifteenth century (formerly
Hasslers Bibliothek in Ulm, no further identification given), p. 118, ed. Birlinger 1879, 74
no. 4.

Gegen die vallundt sucht. ... schreyb zu derselben sucht die vers und auch die namen der
heyiligen dreyen künig Caspar, Balthasar, Melchior an, ‘haec si quis secum portauerit
nomina regum, soluitur a morbo domini pietate caduco.’ Die vers sol man schreybm an
ein briefel und sol ains an den hals hahen, ee das dy Sunn auffgee der den siechtumb hat.

$\overline{3}$ regnum *cod.* | caduca *cod.*

different version of the names; written, dissolved, and given to drink

4.4.3.1.3. Florence, BML cod. Plut. 70.5 (s. XIV), f. 226v

τὰ τῶν μάγων ὀνόματα τῶν προσκυνησάντων τὸν κύριον· Ἀτωρ Σατωρ καὶ
Περατωρας. ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ἐὰν δηχθεῖς τις ὑπὸ ὄφεως ἢ σκορπίου ἢ ἄλλου
ιοβόλου ἔρπετοῦ καὶ θηρίου ἐπιγράψῃ ἐντὸς καινῆς χύτρας μετὰ λιπαροῦ δαδὸς
καιομένης καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἀγιάσματος τῶν ἀγίων θεοφανίων ἐπικλύσῃ τὴν χύτραν
καὶ ἐπιδώσῃ τῷ δηχθέντι, εἰ πάρεστι, καὶ πῖη, ἰᾶται. εἰ δέ ἐστι μήκοθεν ὁ δηχθεῖς καὶ
ἐπιδώσει τῷ μηνυτῇ τοῦ δηχθέντος, παραχρῆμα ἰᾶται ὁ δηχθεῖς.

4.4.3.2. shepherds present at the nativity of Christ

4.4.3.2.1. Florence, BML cod. Plut. 70.5 (s. XIV), f. 226v

τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἐν Βηθλεεμ ποιμένων· Μισαηλ Ἀχηλ Κυριακὸς καὶ Στέφανος.
ἅτινα ἐπικαλούμενα ρύουσι τὸ ἀπολλύμενον κτήνος.

4.4.4. generic name of holy figure

4.4.4.1. *Hippiatica Cantabrigiensia* 61.5 Oder-Hoppe

ἀντιπαθὲς εὐπόριστον τοῦ αὐτοῦ [sc. Ἀφρικανοῦ]. ... εἰς δὲ τὸ μὴ πληγῆναι ὑπὸ σκορπίου, εἰς κασσιτέρινον πέταλον ἐπίγραψον ‘ἀββᾶς’ καὶ περιδέσμι τοῦτο τῷ τραχήλῳ τοῦ ζώου.

4.4.5. miscellaneous

letter of the alphabet; also ‘Zosimos’ (saint?); to stop bleeding

4.4.5.1. Florence, BML cod. Plut. 7.19 (s. XIV), f. 226r

φυσικὸν δόκιμον. λέγε εἰς τὸ εὐώνυμον ὠτίον τοῦ πάσχοντος ‘σίγμα’ καὶ παύεται τὸ αἷμα, ἢ εἰπὲ τρίτον ‘Ζώσιμος.’

4.5. manipulation of powerful names

4.5.1. Schwindeshcema or similar

Ἡριχθονιη (l. Ἐριχθόνιη edd., but Faraone 2012, 28 argues against this resolution, preferring Ἐριχθονίη); performative statement that Christ heals the named bearer (A).

4.5.1.1. papyrus amulet, Cologne, P.Köln inv. 851 (s. VI), ed. Wortmann 1963, re-ed.

Suppl. Mag. I 34 (cut from a documentary text; arranged in three columns, here from left to right, A-C).

A Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς | θερα|πεύει | τὸ ρῖγος | καὶ τὸν | πυρετὸν | καὶ πᾶσαν | νόσον τοῦ | σώματος Ἰωσηφ τοῦ φοροῦν|τος τὸ φυλακτήριον.

B Ἡριχθόνιη | ριχθονιη | ιχθονιη | χθονιη | θονιη | ονιη | νιη | ιη | η

C λύκος λευ|κὸς λύκος λευ|κὸς θεραπευ|σάτω τὸ ρίγο|πύρετον Ἰωσηφ. | ταχύουσι. [*signs*]

Ἐρι(χ)θόνιος; for headache

4.5.1.2. Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 210 (s. XVIII), ff. 74v-75r, ed. Delatte 1927, 125

φυλακτήριον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν. ‘κύριε ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν Ἀβρααμ Ἰσαακ καὶ Ἰακώβ, λῦσον τὴν ὀδύνην τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα, τὸ ἡμίκρανον. ὀρκίζω σε, πᾶν ἀκάθαρτον τὸ πάντοτε καθήμενον ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀναχώρησον ἔχον αὐτὸν (τὸν) κεφαλόποννον αὐτοῦ καὶ διαφύλαξον τὸ ἡμίκρανον. τροφὸν σκουδαὸς ἔξελθε ἀπὸ τὸν δούλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα. Μιχαηλ Γαβριηλ Ουρουηλ καὶ Ραφαηλ. εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ. πβτπτπκ. Ἐρι(χ)θόνιος ἀβλαθαναηλ χθονιος | ριχθονιος βλαθαναηλ λαθαναηλ θωνος ἀθαναηλ ονιος ἀφανηλ οινος ναελιο ηλις λιο ἀθναφρος ἀθνοφρις θενοφρον ενοφαρνεφια φετη. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ, ἀμήν.’

7 Ἐρι(χ)θόνιος *conici* : Ἐριθώνιος *Delatte*

form of θεός, in doxology

4.5.1.3. Florence, BML cod. Plut. 7.19 (s. XIV), f. 257r

πρὸς ὕπνον φυσικόν. εἰς φύλλα δάφνης γράψον ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ‘θεῶ χάρις,’ τῷ δευτέρῳ ‘εὼ χάρις,’ τῷ τρίτῳ ‘ὦ χάρις’ καὶ θές ὑπὸ τὴν κεφαλὴν.

1-2 θεόχαρις ... εὼκαρις ... ὠκαρις cod.

4.5.2. anagram

for colic in horses, anagram of the name of the prophet Amos, to be written on the hoof

4.5.2.1. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Barocci 111 (s. XV), f. 116r

εἰς (σ)τρόφον ἵππου. γράφε εἰς τὸν πόδα αὐτοῦ· ‘α ω μ ν,’ εἰς πάν(τα) δὲ στρόφον ἄλειφε τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἀγριοπίσσην ζεστήν.

² ζεστον *cod.*

4.5.2.2. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316 (s. XV), f. 346v, ed. Doyen-Higuet 2006, 49
εἰς στρόφον ἵππου. γράψον εἰς τοὺς τέσσαρας πόδας αὐτοῦ ‘α ω μ ν.’

4.5.2.3. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2294 (s. XV), f. 79v
εἰς στρόφον ἵππου. γράφε εἰς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ἵππου ‘α’ ‘ω’ ‘μ’ ‘ν.’

4.5.3. *amplification*

4.5.3.1. *Hippiatrica Parisina* 62 (Heim 1893 no. 212 and 90)

ἄλλο <πρὸς δυσουρίαν>. γράφε καὶ περίαπτε θεοῦ ἐπὶ κλησιν ἐπικαλούμενος
‘βαρναβαθ θ θ καὶ σεχθαβαγγγα, ἐπικαλοῦμαι καὶ θεὸν Αβρααμ μ μ μ, λῦσον
φλέβας σὺν δυσουρίᾳ καὶ ρεῦσον ὡς ὁ Νεῖλος ποταμὸς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς κατεχόμενος.’

¹ <πρὸς δυσουρίαν> *suppl.* Oder-Hoppe

4.6. *other analogous names*

4.6.1 *name of goal*

for insomnia

4.6.1.1. additions to the *Euporiston* of Theodorus, ed. Rose 1894, 307

[ad somnum.] lactucam cum terra sua euelles et quattuor folia tolles et in singulis scribes
‘ὑπνος’ et singula folia ligabis per singulos pedes lecti.

² ὑπνος *Rose in app. cr. : ΥααNOC cod.*

4.6.2. *personal names of widows*

accompanied by tying knots; for swelling in the groin

4.6.2.1. Pliny *NH* 28.48 (Heim 1893 no. 38)

inguinibus medentur aliqui liceum telae detractum alligantes nouenis septenisue nodis, ad
singulos nominantes uiduam aliquam atque ita inguini adalligantes.

4.6.2.2. Marcellus 32.21 (cf. Heim 1893 no. 38)

inguinibus potenter medebere si de licio septem nodos facias et ad singulos uiduas nomines
et supra talum eius pedis alliges in cuius parte erunt inguina.

4.6.2.3. [Pliny] *De Medicina* 2.22.2 (cf. Heim 1893 no. 38)

inguina priusquam ex ulcere intumescant, in licio facere nouem nodos oportet et ad
singulos nominare singulas mulieres uiduas, tum licium alligare ad talum uel cruri uel infra
genu.

4.6.2.4. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 2.52 (cod. p. 251.7-9, ed.
Önnerfors 2006, 1:69; Heim 1893, 560)

inguinibus. nomina mulierum uiduarum nouem per singulos nodos licium super talum
<alligas> et dicis singulis nodis singula nomina, protinus tollit.

¹⁻² super talum <alligas> *suppl.* Önnerfors : <ligas> super talum *Heim*

4.6.2.5. [Pliny] *Physica florent.-prag.* 2.43.3 ed. Winkler

inguina priusquam exulcerentur uel intumescant, in licio item facere nouem nodos oportet atque ad singulos nominare singulas mulieres uiduas ac tum licium alligare ad talum uel cruri uel infra genu.

I -ntur uel *del. Winkler* | item *del. Winkler*

for headache

4.6.2.6. *Antidotarium Bruxellense* §64, ed. Rose 1894, 380

ad capitis dolorem. papyrum tenes in manibus tuis et nominas septem uiduas quas nosti et facis septem nodos in eo et in fronte ligabis.

widows and wild animals; for swelling in the groin

4.6.2.7. Marcellus 32.19 (Heim 1893 no. 38, in part)

in sparto uel quocumque uinculo quo holus aut obsonium fuerit innexum septem nodos facies et per singulos nectens nominabis singulas anus uiduas et singulas feras et in crure uel brachio cuius pars uulnerata fuerit alligabis. quae si prius facias antequam nascantur inguina omnem inguinum uel glandularum molestiam prohibebis, si postea, dolorem tumoremque sedabis.

4.6.3. name of deceased

written, burned, giving it to the patient to drink, for sleeplessness

4.6.3.1. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2510 (s. XIV-XV), f. 22v

γράψον ὄνομα θανόντος, ἔπειτα καῦσον τὸ χαρτίν, τὴν δὲ τέφραν δίδου πίνειν καὶ θαυμάσεις.

4.6.4. animals (cf. Apollonius of Tyana list)

artfully constructed list; for headache

4.6.4.1. [Pliny] *Physica*, from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 1.1 (cod. p. 184.1-3, ed.

Önnerfors 2006, 1:1; Heim 1893, 555-556)

ad capitis dolorem. ascribes in papiro ferarum nomina et ad caput ligabis 'lea, leo, taurus, tigris, ursus, panthera, pardus.' dum ligaueris in silentio, dicis ipsa nomina.

4.6.5. rivers

written on the feet; for dysoria in animals

4.6.5.1. Thessaly, monastery of Olympiotissa, cod. 97 (s. XVIII), p. 144, ed. Skouvara 1965-1966, 95

περὶ ἀλόγου ὅπου δὲν ἠμπορεῖ νὰ κατουρήσῃ. γράψον εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα ποδάρια τοῦ ἀλόγου ᾗς τὰ ὀνύχια 'Φησῶν Γεῶν Τίγρις καὶ Εὐφράτης.'

4.6.5.2. Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 223 (s. XIX, Epiros), f. 71v, ed. Delatte 1927, 145

περὶ <τοῦ> ὅταν δὲν ἠμπορῇ ἄλογον νὰ κατουρήσῃ. γράψε εἰς τέσσαρα ποδάρια τοῦ ἀλόγου ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα 'Φισῶν' 'Γεῶν' 'Τίγρις' καὶ 'Εὐφράτης' καὶ ὑστέρως κατουρεῖ.

4.6.5.3. private collection, Βερναρδάκειο μαγικὸ κώδικας (s. XIX), f. 374v, ed.

Papathomopoulos 2006, 221

εἰς πόνον ἀλόγου ὅπου δὲν ἠμπορεῖ νὰ κατουρήσῃ. γράψον εἰς τὰ τέσσαρά του ὀνύχια ταῦτα 'Γεῶν Φισῶν Τίγρις καὶ Εὐφράτης.' καὶ κατουρεῖ καὶ τοῦ περνᾷ καὶ ὁ πόνος.

4.6.5.4. reported from contemporary Aitolia, D. Loukopoulos in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

‘Φισῶν, Γιῶν, Τίγρι, Αὐφράτη.’

4.6.6. miscellaneous

for bruises on the foot of a horse

4.6.6.1. *Hippiatrica Parisina* 202 Oder-Hoppe (Heim 1893 no. 242)

ἄλλο. γράψον ὑπὸ τὴν στεφάνην τοῦ ζώου μετὰ μαχαιρίου ἴλλοψ, ἰχθύς, νῆσος.’

ἴλλοψ *correxi*, cf. *LSJ* s.v. : ἰλώψ *cod.*, *Oder-Hoppe* : ἔλ(λ)οψ *Miller*

4.7. manipulation of other analogous names

4.7.1. diminution of name of affliction or associated divinity

σταφυλή (grape)

4.7.1.1. lapis lazuli amulet, now in Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, coll. Froehner (cf. Cahier XIV, p. 36), ed. Daniel and Maltomini 1989; Mastrocinque 2014, no. 591. On one side, representation of grapes; the other inscribed.

σταφυλή | ταφυλη | αφυλη | φυλη | υλη | λη | η

σταφυλοτόμος (grape-cutter); probably to heal swelling in the uvula (σταφυλή)

4.7.1.2. papyrus amulet, Florence, *P.Laur.* III 58 (s. III), re-ed. *Suppl.Mag.* I 1

σταφυλ[λοτόμος] | ταφυλλο[το]μ[ο]ς | αφυλλοτομος | φυλλοτομος | υλλοτομος | λλοτομος | λοτομος | οτομος | τομος | ομος | μος | ος | ς †††

Schwindeschema of γοργωφωνας. If in fact the fem. acc. pl., most likely seems a reference to demons to whom the fever is attributed, the name being a compound of γοργός and φωνή, ‘fierce voiced,’ cf. the Γοργοφόνη wife of Perseus, or a more specific reference to the mythical Gorgo, ‘Gorgon-voiced.’ Cf. the gold lamella (anonymous private collector in London, said to come from Syria or Asia Minor, dated to s. II) published in Kotansky 1995, an inscribed prayer to Jesus beginning ἀπόστρεφε | Ἰησοῦ τὴν | γοργῶπα (1-3). Or perhaps γοργόφωνα was intended as the epithet of Athena in e.g. E. *Ion* 1478. See most recently Faraone 2012, 30, who supports more radical emendation proposed by Daniel and Maltomini (commentary to *Suppl.Mag.* I.5), to emend to γοργωφων(ω)ς as standing for γοργοφόνος, as epithet of Perseus. Around this figure, the words of the invocation are arranged in a spiral; if γοργωφωνας does refer to malevolent forces, perhaps a figurative circumscription; for fever.

4.7.1.3. papyrus amulet, Berlin, *BGU* III 956, s. III-V, found at Kom Mahdije, rolled up and tied with red string, re-ed. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XVIIIb. [now lost]

γοργωφωνας | οργωφωνας | ργωφωνας | γωφωνας | ωφωνας | φωνας | ωνας | νας | ας | ς | ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματος θεραπεῦσαι | Διονύσιον ἦτοι Ανυς ὄν ἔτεκεν Ἡρακλία ἀπὸ πα[ν]τὸς | ῥίγου(ς) καὶ πυρετοῦ ἢ το[ῦ] κα(θ)ημερινοῦ ἢ μίαν παρὰ | μίαν, νυκτερινοῦ τε καὶ ἡμερι(νοῦ) ἢ τετρ(α)δ(ί)ο(υ), (ἦ)δη ἦδη ταχύ ταχύ.

complex manipulation, adding, then subtracting (κῦμα prb. underlies cuma, as suggested in Faraone 2012, 7, and symbolizes the blood)

4.7.1.4. Marcellus 10.34 (Heim 1893 no. 97)

scribes carmen hoc in charta uirgine et linteo ligabis et medium cinges eum uel eam quae patietur de qualibet parte corporis sanguinis fluxum sic ‘u cuma cu cuma u cuma cuma uma ma a.’

²⁻³ *conieci, cf. Faraone 2012, 7: sycycuma cucuma ucuma cuma uma ma a Niedermann*

manipulation of the name of the affliction; emigranius (*hemicranius*, ἡμικράνιον)

4.7.1.5. St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 44 (s. IX), p. 341, ed. Jörmann 1925, 12

cui emigranius caput laedit. herba uiola caput stringe et scribis in charta ‘emigranius grani oranio ani onio io o.’ sanat.

for *lippitudo*; no explanation offered by Heim, but perhaps ῥ(εῦμ)α

4.7.1.6. Pliny *NH* 28.29 (Heim 1893 no. 200)

M. Seruilius Nonianus princeps ciuitatis non pridem in metu lippitudinis, priusquam ipse eam nominaret aliusue ei praediceret, duabus litteris Graecis PA chartam inscriptam circumligatam lino subnectebat collo.

4.7.2. numerical diminution of affliction in list

4.7.2.1. Marcellus 15.102 (Heim 1893 no. 96)

glandulas mane carminabis si dies minuetur, si nox ad uesperam, et digito medicinali ac pollice continens eas dices ‘nouem glandulae sorores, octo glandulae sorores, septem glandulae sorores, sex glandulae sorores, quinque glandulae sorores, quattuor glandulae sorores, tres glandulae sorores, duae glandulae sorores, una glandula soror. nouem fiunt glandulae, octo fiunt glandulae, septem fiunt glandulae, sex fiunt glandulae, quinque fiunt glandulae, quattuor fiunt glandulae, tres fiunt glandulae, duae fiunt glandulae, una fit glandula, nulla fit glandula.’

4.7.2.2. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 1.11 (cod. p. 201, bottom margin, ed. Önnersfors 2006, 1:18; Heim 1893, 557)

praecantatio ad faucium dolorem. haec dices, manus inuersas tergori inducis ita ut ‘septima tusella, sexta tusella, quinta tusella, quarta tusella, tertia tusella, secunda [II duo cod.] tusella, prima tusella, ⟨nulla⟩.

² *corr. Önnersfors: septema tus VI seilla seta tusella cod.*

4.7.3. *wordplay with name of affliction*

4.7.3.1. Marcellus 14.26 (Heim 1893 no. 80)

laboranti uuae haec cura succurrit. de uua passa eliges granum quod unum intrinsecus nucleum habeat eumque in phoenicio alligabis et faucibus id est in regione uuae inseres et tenebis et dices ‘uua uuam emendat.’ mox ipsum phoenicium supra uerticem eius tenebis et idem dices cumque ter ipsum feceris et carminaueris collo dolentis subligabis.

nonce-words; tricolon

4.7.3.2. St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 752 (s. IX), p. 160, ed. Bernfeld 1929; recollated

ad matris dolorem. ‘in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. domine deus militiae angelorum, ante quem stant angeli cum magno tremore, amen amen amen. matrix matrix matrix, crinita matrix, rufa matrix, alba matrix, pulposa matrix, sanguinaria matrix, capitanea matrix, nephritica matrix, splenetica matrix, demoniaca ⟨matrix ⟩.’

3 crinita *conieci* : *scrinia cod., Bernfeld* || 4 *neufredica explenetica cod., Bernfeld* |
(matrix) *supplevi*

Heim suggests that *pu* may be onomatopoeia for puffing; perhaps also sounding out the first letter of name of affliction (paronychium)?

4.7.3.3. Marcellus 18.30 (Heim 1893 no. 52)

de paranychio parietem continges et rursum digitum ducens dices ter ‘pu pu pu numquam ego te uideam per parietem repere.’

4.7.4. *symbolic amplification*

the words *θάλασσα*, *κρήνη*, and *ποταμός* arranged in various figures on what is probably a papyrus amulet (folded, a bearer is named, with metronym): the three words are written in full and abbreviated with the first letter, each in an enlarged version and then repeated numerous times in a smaller size; possibly a reference to the Nile; edd. compare Heim 1893 no. 90, and suggest, plausibly I think, that the amulet may have combatted dysuria.

4.7.4.1. Copenhagen, *P.Haun.* III 50 (s. III-IV), re-ed. *Suppl.Mag.* I 8

[Αυρήλι]ος Ἰσιδωρ[ο]ς μητρός Ταυσερίου. | [θάλα]σσα Θ θθθθθθθθθθθθ | κρήνη Κ κκκκκκκκκκ | ποταμός Π ππππππππππππππ.

4.8. *numbers*

counting; for bleary eyes

4.8.1. Marcellus 8.55

ut omnino non lippias. cum stellam cadere uel transcurrere uideris, numera et celeriter numera donec se condat: tot enim annis quot numeraueris non lippies.

contemplating a number; for hiccough

4.8.2. Leiden, UB cod. VGF 25 (s. XVI), f. 8r

ἄλλο. κατέχων τῆ ἄριστερᾶ χειρὶ τὸν τέταρτον ἀριθμὸν αὐτῷ προσεχέτω καὶ πάυεται.

4.9. *secret names*

4.9.1 *known to the user only*

4.9.1.1. London, BL cod. Sloane 475 (s. XI), f. 111r

uti causa te nemo uincere possit. herbam uerbenam colligis die Iouis mane et sic dicas ‘humana uerbenam uocant et ego dico te domina uictoria. tu uicisti uentos et pluuias, gelores et grandines, tempestates, sic et ego inimicos meos et inimicas meas per te uincere possim maiores et minores, neque contra te aliquis agere possit.’ et iam ipsam herbam tecum habebis et hoc septies dices.

$\overline{2}$ uiristi *cod.* || 3 gelores *i.e.* gelus

French instructions

4.9.1.2. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Rawlinson C 814 (s. XIV), f. 4r

‘elituspia alii te dicunt et ego te dico sponsa solis quia cum sole surgis cum sole aperis et cum sole claudis. pulcherrima omnium herbarum, decorem solis eiusque roseum fulgorem sequeris. adiuro te, exorcizo te per deum uerum id est per Christum natum ex Maria uirgine, per illius natiuitatem, per passionem et mortem eius, et per eius gloriosam resurrectionem et per caeli ascensionem et per tremendum diem iudicii. exorcizo te per beatissimam uirginem Mariam dei genitricem et domini nostri Iesu Christi et per omnes

angelos et archangelos, per patriarchas et prophetas, per apostolos, per martyres, per confessores et uirgines dei, te adiuro ut habeas firmitatem quae possideas hanc uirtutem et hanc potestatem ut qualiscumque homo uel femina tactus fuerit ex te statim in me conuertantur corde.’

4.9.2. *different names known to different ethnic groups*

attribution to classical figure

4.9.2.1. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Baroc. 216 (s. XI?), ff. 4v-5r

περὶ καρποβολίας, τουτέστιν περὶ οὗ διεβεβαιοῦτο ὁ φίλος ὁ ἀπὸ Μαντινείας ὅτι βελόνην καταποθεῖσαν ὑπὸ παιδίου ἐποίησεν ἐπαναβῆναι· ἀρμόζει δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ κτηνῶν, καλεῖται δὲ καρποβολία. ἐάν τις καταπίη ὀστέον ἢ ἄλλο τι, ἐάν κτήνος ἐάν τε παιδίον, λαβὼν ὕδωρ καὶ ἐπειπὼν τοὺς ἱερούς λόγους δὸς αὐτῷ ῥοφήσαι καὶ κόνισον τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ ἀναβήσεται. ‘πάτερ τῶν πρώτων γενομένων ὃν οἱ Μάγοι μορζον καλοῦσιν, οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι < >, ὃν Πέρσαι αρτεουα τρισταεμθη, ἡ ἔρξαις οὕτω χαμαὶ ἀναπέμψαι ὃ κατέπιεν ὃ ἔχων χαρζάνην χολὴν πεῖν < > φθάρθαι.’

⁵ ὃν *correxi* : οἱ *cod.* || 7 χαρζάνην < χάρζανος (?) *quid sit nescio*, cf. *Sophokles Lex.* s.v. χαρζάνιον (‘strap,’ ‘ornament’), Dig. Akr. (Grottaferrata) 4.182 χαρζανίσας τὴν οὐράν (‘twisted,’ ‘whipped’?)

4.9.2.2. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2244 (s. XV), f. 116r

περὶ καρποβολίας διάταξις. τοῦτό ἐστι περὶ οὗ διεβεβαιοῦτο ὁ φίλος ὁ ἀπὸ Μαντινείας ὅτι βελόνην καταποθεῖσαν ὑπὸ παιδίου ἐποίησεν ἐπαναβῆναι· ἀρμόζει δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ κτηνῶν, καλεῖται δὲ καρποβολία. ἐάν τις καταπίη ὀστέον ἢ ἄλλο τι, ἐάν κτήνος ἐάν τε παιδίον, λαβὼν ὕδωρ καὶ ἐπειπὼν τοὺς ἱερούς λόγους δὸς αὐτῷ ῥοφήσαι καὶ κόνισον τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀναβήσεται. ‘πάτερ τῶν πρώτων γενομένων ὃν οἱ Μάγοι μορζον καλοῦσιν, οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι < >, ὃν Πέρσαι αρτεουα τρισταεμθη, ἡ ἔρξαις τοῦ χαμαίαν ἀναπέμψαι ἢν κατέπιεν ὃ ἔχων χαρζάνην χολὴν πεῖν < > φθάρθαι.’

⁵ ὃν *correxi* : οἱ *cod.* || 6 ἦν *correxi* : ἡ *cod.*

5. Scripture

5.1. Homer

5.1.1. single lines or two consecutive lines

Il. 1.60; Achilles speaks of the plague ravaging the Greek army

5.1.1.1. Berlin, P.Berl. 9873 (s. IV), p. 22.10-13, ed. Poethke, Prignitz, and Vaelske 2012 (superseding *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXIIa.1 and Brashear 1992a)

πρ(ὸς) πυρετόν. [..] κασιπτερίνον πέταλλον | φορίτω απ[.]λα[c. 7]
ἐπι[γρε]γρ(αμμένον) | ἄψ ἀπονοστήσειν [εἶ] κεν θανατόν [γ]ε | φύγωμεν.'

Il. 1.75; the seer Calchas answers Achilles, "you bid me tell of the wrath of Apollo..."

5.1.1.2. Birmingham, P.Harris inv. 303a front (s. III-IV), ed. Zellmann-Rohrer forthcoming a; on the back, pharmacological medical recipes

πρὸς ἔμαροοῦσαν. ἔμηνιν Ἀπό[λλωνος] | ἑκατελαβέτοο ἄνακτος. γρά[ψον εἰς |
δ]έρμα [...] καὶ περῖαψον κ[--].

41. αἰμοροοῦσαν || 51. ἑκατηβαλέταο

Il. 2.95

5.1.1.3. Alexander of Tralles *Therapeutica* 12, 2:581 Puschmann (Heim 1893 no. 152)
λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὀμηρικὸν στίχον ἑτετρήχει δ' ἀγορή, ὑπὸ δ' ἔστοναχίζετο γαῖα
χρυσῶ πετάλω γράφειν αὐτὸν οὔσης σελήνης ἐν ζυγῶ, κάλλιον δὲ πολὺ ἔαν ἐν
λέοντι εὐρεθῆ.

the same verse applied; cf. Kotansky 1991, 118 and 134n83; Collins 2008, 225-226; most likely the analogy is simply of the wish-fulfillment kind, that the feet should be healed of gout so that the patient can stride vigorously over the ground just as the Homeric warriors did

5.1.1.4. gold lamella now in Washington (Dumbarton Oaks acc. 53.12.52); ed. Ross 1965, 2 no. 29. When acquired, it was rolled, probably for storage in an amulet case. Dated s. III or later in ed. pr. Notation of line break added from photograph.

τετρήχει δ' ἀγορή, ὑπὸ δὲ σ|τεναχίζετο γαῖα.

11. τετρήχει

applied, *Il.* 24.171-175 as graffiti on the plaster of a wall in a house at Rome, found in salvage excavations at Via S. Basilio. very probably of apotropaic function, as suggested in *BE*; the further suggestion there that it may have been written following the use of an oracle (repeated by Collins 2008, 226-227) is less likely: the copying of a portion of the alphabet below (ι-ω in a square four letters to a side, proceeding in columns from top to bottom, then left to right) should not be confused with the numeric key to the Ὀμηρομαντεῖον in *Pap.Graec.Mag.* VII, especially since in a true oracle consultation we would expect the numbers returned to be in a random order. Rather, the alphabet must contribute some mystical power to the assemblage, as is already suggested in *BE* with further reference to F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie*.

5.1.1.5. ed. pr. Pietrogrande and De Marco 1938, 422-425 (ph.); repr. *BE* 1950 no. 233, dated to s. II-III. Re-collated with ph.

[θά]ρσι Δαρδανίδα | [Πρί]αμε φρεσὶ μηδέ | [τι] τάρβη· | οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ κα|[κ]ὸν
ὀσσομένη τόδ' [ι]κά|[νω] ἄλλ' ἀγανά [φ]ρονέ|[ου]σα· Διὸς δ[έ] τοι ἄ]νγε|[λός] εἶμι

ὄς [σεῦ ἄν]ευ[θ]εν ἐ|[ὼν] μ[έ]γα κή[δε]τε ἠδὲ ἔλε|[αίρει]. λύσεστα[ί] σ' ἐκέλευν
Ὀλύμ|[πι]ος Ἐχτορα δῖον. | ινρη | κξσχ | λοτψ | μπυω.

3 [τ]άρβ[ει] *ed.pr.* || 4-5 [κ]α|[κόν] *ed.pr.* || 5 [ά]ντωμένη *ed.pr.* | τό[δ' ἰ]κ[ά- *ed.pr.*
|| 6 [ά]λλὰ ἀ[γ]ανὰ [φρ]ονέ- *ed.pr.* || 7 [ἄ]νγε- *ed.pr.* || 8-9 [έ]ων] *ed.pr.* || 9
κ[ήδε]τε *ed.pr.* || 10-11 Ὀλύμ|[πι]ο[ς] *ed.pr.*

Il. 2.548; Athena rears the mythical, autochthonous Erechtheus, king of Athens
5.1.1.6. Berlin, P.Berl. 9873 (s. IV), p. 22.20-23, ed. Poethke, Prignitz, and Vaelske 2012
(superseding *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXIIa.9-10); re-collated with digital image
πρ(ὸς) μαζῶν καὶ μήτρας πόνον. | '[θρέψε] Δι[ὸς θ]υγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζειδωρος
ἄ[ρ]ουρα {ν} | [c. 5] λίτῶ φορούμενος ἢ καὶ λεγό|[μενος].'

1 μαζῶν *edd., corr. from* μαζον || 2 [γρ(άφε)] *suppl. edd.*

Il. 3.40; contraceptive; reproach of Hektor to Paris
5.1.1.7. Berlin, P.Berl. 9873 (s. IV), p. 22.23-25, ed. Poethke, Prignitz, and Vaelske 2012
(superseding *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXIIa.11-13); collated with digital image
[ἀσύλλη]μπ[το]ν. 'αἴθ' ὄφελος ἄγον[ός] | [τ' ἔ]μεναι ἄγαμ[ός] τ' ἀπολέσθαι.' γρ(άφε)
εἰς πέτ[αλ]|[λον c. 5 καὶ ἔ]μβ[α]λε ἡμίονου τρίχας.

1 [ἀσύλλη]μπ[το]ν *edd.* | α[ἴθ' *edd.* || 1-2 εἰς στήλας [καὶ περίβ]αλε *edd.*

Il. 4.141; purpose unclear, context of the Homeric line is the bleeding of Menelaos from
an arrow-wound
5.1.1.8. Berlin, P.Berl. 9873 (s. IV), p. 23.14-16, ed. Poethke, Prignitz, and Vaelske 2012
(superseding *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXIIa.14-16)
πρ(ὸς) [c. 5] γρ[ά]φ[ε] τῶ[υ]τ[ον] τῶ[ν] στίχον καὶ δὸς | φ[ο]ρ[εῖν] 'ὥς [δ'] ὄ[τε τι]ς
[έ]λέ[φαντα γυνή φοίνικι | μήνη.'

Il. in its entirety is recommended as a remedy for the quartan fever: simply because of the
wordplay *quartana / quartus* ?

5.1.1.9. Quintus Serenus, *Liber medicinalis* 907 (Heim 1893 no. 158)
Maeoniae Iliados quartum suppone timenti.

Il. 5.127-128; Athena tells Diomedes that she has removed the mist from his eyes which
previously hid the various gods fighting alongside the Greeks and Trojans – cf. cult of
Athena Ὀφθαλμῖς at Sparta (Paus. 3.18.2)
5.1.1.10. Lucian *Charon* 7 (Heim 1893 no. 104)
EPM· καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐγὼ ἰάσομαί σοι καὶ ὄξυδερκέστατον ἐν βραχεῖ ἀποφανῶ παρ'
Ὀμήρου τινὰ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐπρωδὴν λαβῶν, κάπειδὰν εἶπω τὰ ἔπη, μέμνησο
μηκέτι ἀμβλυώττειν, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς πάντα ὁρᾶν. ... 'ἀχλὺν δ' αὖ τοι ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν
ἔλον ἢ πρὶν ἐπῆεν | ὄφρ' εὖ γιγνώσκῃς ἡμὲν θεὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα.'

Il. 5.291; Athena guides the spear of Diomedes through the skull of Pandaros
applied

5.1.1.11. serpentine amulet now in the Wiesbaden Museum, ed. H. Rumpf, *Jahrbücher
für classische Philologie* 93 (1866), 716-720 with drawing; text improved here along the
lines suggested by Rumpf and confirmed on the drawing; cf. Heim 1893 no. 157, who

refers to this edition but does not account for all the improvements suggested there over the previous edition of Becker). Reprinted in *IG XIV 2580* (2).

ῥεῖνα παρ' | ὀφθαλμόν, | λευκούς δ' ἐ|πέρησεν ὀ|[δόν]τ[ας]

1 ῥεῖνα || 3-4 Λ|ΠΕΡΗΣΕΝ *amulet, with four-bar sigma*

applied nearly exact duplicate of the above, including the error -ΔΛ for ΔΕ at the end of the third line and the archaizing four-bar sigma in line 4

5.1.1.12. chalcedony gem of unknown provenance, ed. *SGG I* no. 390 with drawing; on the iconography cf. Faraone 2013a, 104 (reference to *SGG* wrongly given as 290). On one side representation of the 'suffering eye' attacked by animals; the other inscribed: ῥεῖνα παρ' | ὀφθαλμόν | <λ>ευκούς δ' ἐ|πέρησεν ὀ<δόντας>

2 ΟΦΘΑΛΛΙΟΝ *SGG, but cf. drawing* || 3 ΔΕΥΚΟΨΟΔΛ *drawing: ΔΕΥΡΟΥΔΛ SGG* || ΠΕΡΗΣΕΝΟ *drawing: ΟΕΡΗΣΕΝΟ drawing, with four-bar sigma*

Il. 5.387; Ares endured (τληῖ, 5.385) when Otos and Ephialtes bound him (speech of Dione to Aphrodite when the latter complains of having been wounded by Diomedes)

5.1.1.13. *Georonica* 10.87.6 (Heim 1893 no. 154)

ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος ἐν τοῖς Γεωργικοῖς αὐτοῦ φησι συνέχειν τὸν καρπὸν καὶ τὸ Ὀμηρικὸν ἔπος γραφόμενον 'χαλκῆ δ' ἐν κεράμῳ δέδετο τρισκαίδεκα μῆνας.'

Il. 5.749 = 8.393; gates of Olympos open to admit Hera

5.1.1.14. *Hippiatrica Cantabrigiensia* 10.5 ed. Oder-Hoppe

πρὸς τὸ συλλαβεῖν στείραν ἵππων. ... ἢ ἐν χαρτίῳ γράψας περιάπτει 'αὐτόματα δὲ πύλαι μύκον οὐρανοῦ ἄς ἔχον ὤραι.'

Il. 8.170; Zeus sends a warning sign to the Trojans

(Note contrasting comments of later readers: Ms M adds in margin ἄπιστα ληρεῖς καὶ λόγους τῶν ἀφρόνων; the Homeric verse has been omitted in Ms H, and this has been noted in the margin, λείπει ὁ τοῦ Ὀμήρου στίχος· βάνουσος γάρ τις καὶ ἀμαθῆς ἐκ τοῦ πρωτοτύπου ἐξαλείψατο. καταστοχαζόμενος δὲ τις ἴσως ἂν εὔροι τὸν Ὀμηρὸν ἀναλεγόμενος.)

5.1.1.15. *Georonica* 7.31.2 (Heim 1893 no. 153)

οὐκ ἂν δὲ μεθυσθεῖ ὁ πίνων εἰ χαμαιπίτυος κλάδοις ἐστεμμένος εἴη ἢ εἰς πρῶτον ποτήριον λέγων τὸν Ὀμηρικὸν στίχον τοῦτον 'τρὶς δ' ἄρ' ἀπ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων κτύπει μητίετα Ζεὺς.'

Il. 10.139; the wise Nestor wakes up the crafty Odysseus

to be written on a child 'unable to learn' (the writer may have conflated the beginning of the verse with that of 10.140, ἐκ δ' ἦλθε κλισίης, see app.cr.); to be done on day of Hermes

5.1.1.16. Florence, BML cod. Plut. 28.34 (s. XI), f. 83v (ed. Kroll 1898, 131; catalogued as *CCAG I*, cod. 12)

πρὸς παιδία κακομαθῆ ὄντα πρὸς πᾶσαν μάθησιν. 'φθεγξάμενος, τὸν δ' αἶψα περὶ φρένας ἤλυθ' ἰωή,' τοῦτον γράψον ἐν Ἑρμῇ παιδίῳ μὴ δυναμένῳ μαθεῖν.

1 τὸν δ' αἶψα *correxi*: τόνδε ἐκ δ' *cod.* || 2 ἐν ῥ *cod.*

Od. 11.109 = 12.323 (cf. *Il.* 3.277); warning not to molest the cattle of the watchful Sun

for eye disorders

5.1.1.17. Marcellus 8.58 (Heim 1893 no. 105)

hoc etiam remedium indubitate impetus oculorum si praeuenias prohibebit scriptum in charta uirgine. εὔρεσ(ις ἀ)πὸ πείρας. ‘Ἡέλιος ὃς πάντ’ ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ’ ἐπακούει.’ quod ad collum dolentis licio suspendi debet, sed et coeptam atque inueteratam lippitudinem sedat, si in faciendo ac suscipiendo praeligamine castimonia ab utroque seruetur.

2 Apsyrta εὔρεσ(ις ἀ)πὸ πείρας conieci, cf. *Pelagonius 19*: † ΟΥΒΡΣ † ΠΟΠΕΙΡΑΣ † *Neidermann* (Heim tr. differently in minuscules but without sense)

Od. 11.634-635; Odysseus explains the fear which led him to leave the underworld before he saw all he might have liked to see
incantation which can also be written down for an amulet; for bone or other object stuck in throat

5.1.1.18. Marcellus 15.108 (Heim 1893 no. 95 and 151)

ad os siue quid aliud haeserit faucibus hi uersus uel dicendi in aurem eius qui offocabitur uel scribendi in charta quae ad collum eius lino alligetur. quo remedio nihil est praestantius. ‘μή μοι Γοργείην κεφαλὴν δεινοῖο πελώρου | ἐξ Ἄιδος πέμψειεν ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνεια.’

5.1.2. combinations of disparate verses

Il. 1.75 + *Il.* 1.96 (for the second part see chapter 3 and catalogue)

5.1.2.1. Berlin, P.Berl. 9873 (s. IV), p. 22.13-20, ed. Poethke, Prignitz, and Vaelske 2012 (superseding *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXIIa.2-9); collated with digital image

1. ἄ[λλ]ο αἰμαροικόν. μῆνι[ν] Ἀπόλλων[ο]ς ἐκατηβελέτα(ο) ἄνακτ[ο]ς | εἰς δέρμα λ[α]γωῦ γρ(άφε), αἰμάροϊαν ἰᾶται. |

2. τοῦ {ς} δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντος καὶ ἀχαριστήσαντο[ς] | λαβὲ βαλοῦ παρ’ αὐτοῦ τὰ περίαμμα, πρόσβαλε ρίζαν καὶ θὲς ὑπὲρ [κ]απν[ὸ]ν καὶ | πρόσγρ(αφε) τοῦτο τὸν στίχον | ‘τοῦνεγ’ ἄ[ρ]’ ἄλκε’ ἔτωκεν ἐκηβόλος | ἦδ’ ἔτι δώσει.’

1 μῆνι[ν] edd. | ἐκ[ατ]ηβελέτα(ο) edd. | δέ[ρ]μα edd. || 2 γρ/ παρ : [..] edd., cf. comm. || 4 τοῦνεγ’ edd. | ἄλκε’ edd. | [ἦ]δ’ edd.

Il. 8.424 + 10.193 + 10.564 + 10.521 + 10.572 + 5.385

the last of these verses belongs to the same passage on the binding of Ares excerpted above in the *Geoponika*; to restrain anger (θυμοκάτοχον)

5.1.2.2. papyrus formulary, Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574, f. 7r, ed. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.467-474

θυμοκάτοχον πρὸς φίλους. ‘τολμήσεις Διὸς ἄντα πελώριον ἔγχος αἰῖραι’ | ‘αἰρείτω, μὴ χάρμα γενώμεθα δυσμενέεσσιν’ | ‘ὡς εἰπὼν τάφροιο διήλασε μώνυχας ἵππους’ | ‘ἄνδρας τ’ ἀσπαίροντας ἐν ἀργαλέησι φονῆσι’ | ‘αὐτοὶ δ’ ἰδρῶ πολλὸν ἀπενίζοντο θαλάσση’ | ‘τλῆ μὲν Ἄρης ὅτε μιν Ἰώτος κρατερός τ’ Ἐπιάλτης.’

Il. 5.385 + 8.424 + 10.193

similarly, with fewer verses in a different order, in the same formulary

5.1.2.3. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574, f. 10v, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.830-834

θυμοκάτοχον πρὸς φίλους. ‘τλῆ μὲν Ἄρης ὅτε μιν Ἰώτος κρατερός τ’ Ἐπιάλτης’ | ‘τολμήσεις Διὸς ἄντα πελώριον ἔγχος αἰῖραι’ | ‘αἰρείτω, μὴ χάρμα γενώμεθα δυσμενέεσσιν.’

Il. 10.564 + 10.521 + 10.572

protective amulet (τρίστιχος Ὀμήρου πάρεδρος); the Homeric text itself is disposed such that the last word of each verse-line is placed on its own manuscript-line. In the amulet, they are to be written on an iron sheet, whose various protective powers are enumerated; a further invocation is to be said while dipping the sheet as part of the accompanying ritual. Here the verses appear in an order in which they give a sort of continuous sense: charioteer drives horses ... and (also) the men gasping in the awful slaughter ... and they wash off lots of sweat in the sea (accumulated from battle)

5.1.2.4. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574, f. 24v, ed. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.2145-2151; the recipe continues through 2240.

τρίστιχος Ὀμήρου πάρεδρος. ὥς εἰπὼν τάφροιο διήλασε μώνυχας | ἵππους' | ἄνδρας τ' ἀσπαίροντας ἐν ἀργαλείοισι | φόνοισιν' | αὐτοὶ δ' ἰδρῶ πολλὸν ἀπενίζοντο | θαλάσση.'

5.1.3 *Homer with Homeric elaborations*

Il. 14.233; the rest an original composition in Homeric diction, cf. in particular *Il.* 14.236 (Hera asks Hypnos to put Zeus to sleep) and *Od.* 13.79 (of Odysseus sleeping on the Phaeacian ship en route to Ithaca, καὶ τῶ νήδυμος ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἔπιπτε)

5.1.3.1. Leiden, UB cod. VGF 25 (s. XVI), f. 5v

ἄλλο ἐκ τῶν Ὀμήρου, ποιεῖ δὲ ὑγιαίνουσι καὶ νοσοῦσι. λέγοντος γὰρ τοῦ πάσχοντος τρίτον, ὕπνώσει. ὕπνε ἄναξ πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων, κοίμησον στέρνοισιν ἐμοῖσιν ἐὼν καὶ βλεφάροισιν ἢ νήδυμος ἔμπεσε τυτθὸν ὄφρ' ἕκασ ἐλθοίμι ἀνίης.'

² τε *correxi*: τῶν *cod.* | | 3 ἐμοῖσι νέον *cod.* | εκα ελθο\ι/μι ανης *cod.*

5.1.4. *pseudo-Homer*

a verse not in *Il.* or *Od.* but considered Homeric (cf. Martianus Capella 1.9.19), and cf. *Il.* 3.39; recommended by Alexander Abunotichensis against plague

5.1.4.1. Lucian *Alexander* 36 (Heim 1893 no. 159)

ἓνα δὲ τινα χρησμόν, αὐτόφωνον καὶ αὐτόν, εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῶ λοιμῶ διεπέμψατο. ἦν δὲ τὸ ἔπος ἓν· Ῥοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμης λοιμοῦ νεφέλην ἀπερύκει.' καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἰδεῖν τὸ ἔπος πανταχοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν πυλώνων γεγραμμένον ὡς τοῦ λοιμοῦ ἀλεξιφάρμακον.

5.1.5. *Other Greek hexameter*

palindromic Greek hexameter verse in Latin recipe, followed by Latin translation also in hexameter; but Collins 2008, 211 probably overstates his case in citing it as evidence for continuity of the use of Homeric verses in the Middle Ages; it may recall *Il.* 24.451, as Daly suggests, but the resemblance is not particularly close, and in any case it is copied *verbatim* from *AP* 16.387b, requiring no direct acquaintance with Homer.

5.1.5.1. London, BL cod. Royal 2 A XX (s. VIII), f. 49v, ed. Daly 1982. I supplement the Greek portion further than Daly but based on his identification.

'libera me de sanguinibus deus deus salutis meae AMICOC APΔIN OPOΦIΦ(O)PON <H>ΔPACA CIMO. fodiens magnifice contextu<m> fundauit tumulum. urugma domine adiuua.'

¹⁻² *i.e.* ἀμήσας ἄρδην ὀροφηφόρον ἠδρασα σῆμα | | 2 urugma *cf. Gk.* ὄρυγμα

5.2. *Vergil*

Aen. 4.129 = 11.1; Dawn rises from Ocean

written on the upper part of a doorframe, to ease birth

5.2.1. epistolary treatise ‘Theodorus Priscianus ad Octauium filium,’ added to the *Euporiston* of Theodorus, §4, ed. Rose 1894, 345

item ut cito pariat mulier. scribes in limine superiore ostii ‘Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit.’

for quartan fever

5.2.2. [Pliny] *Physica*, from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 3.18 (cod. p. 272.15-16, ed. Önnorfors 2006, 1:91; Heim 1893 no. 121 and 160)

item. in charta scribis ‘Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit.’

Ecl. 4.10; the goddess of childbirth Lucina asked to favor the birth of the heavenly *noua progenies*

written on papyrus with grape-juice

5.2.3. epistolary treatise ‘Theodorus Priscianus ad Octauium filium,’ added to the *Euporiston* of Theodorus, §2, ed. Rose 1894, 340-341

de muliere quae tarde parit. scribes in charta pura de uua tincta ‘casta faue Lucina, tuus iam regnat Apollo.’ et de licio dextro femori alligabis, et cum enixa fuerit, statim solues.

5.3 *unidentified Latin hexameter verse*

corrupt fragment of otherwise unknown Latin verse, probably originally in hexameter, describing the effect of the celestial bodies on the ocean; further incantation referring to three rivers; meter (? hexameter); to stop blood (Old English instructions); ascending tricolon with balanced clauses; alliteration and anaphora

5.3.1. London, BL cod. Royal 2 A XX (s. VIII), f. 16v, ed. Storms 1948, 292; cf. Barb 1968, 486-487

‘Oceani interea motus siderum motus uertat. restringe tria flumina, flumen aridum feruens, flumen pallidum parens, flumen rubrum acriter de corpore exiens. restringe tria flumina, flumen cruorem restringens, neruos liniens, cicatrices concupiscens, tumores fugans. per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum.’

Ȫ Oceani Storms | inter ea Storms | siderum conieci : sidera Storms | restringe Storms |
trea Storms | ueruens Storms || 3 restringentem Storms | liniens conieci : limentum
Storms | cicatricis Storms | concupiscente Storms | fugante Storms

5.4. *Old Testament: Psalms*

5.4.1. *Ps.* 1:3

to protect crops

5.4.1.1. *Geoponika* 10.87.8 (Heim 1893 no. 162)

πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀποβάλλειν τὰ δένδρα τὸν καρπὸν. Σωτίωνος ... ὁμοίως κατέχει τὸν καρπὸν ἐὰν γράψῃς καὶ προσδήσῃς εὐφυῶς τῷ δένδρῳ ταῦτα ‘καὶ ἔσται ὡς τὸ ξύλον τὸ πεφυτευμένον παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὑδάτων ὃ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ δώσει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπορρυήσεται.’

5.4.1.2. Aetius of Amida, *Iatrika* 13.54

οὔτε δὲ κάμπαι οὔτε σκώληκες ἄψονται τῶν δένδρων ἐὰν γράψας ἐπιδήσης ἐν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ ψαλμοῦ ‘καὶ ἔσται ὡς τὸ ξύλον τὸ πεφυτευμένον’ ἕως τοῦ ‘δώσει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπορρυήσεται.’

5.4.1.3. Aetius of Amida, *Iatrika* 13.54

τὰ φυτευόμενα οὐ βλάπτουσι κάμπαι ἢ σκώληκες ἐὰν σικίου ἀγρίου ρίζαν ἀποβρέξας ἐν ὕδατι, ἐν τούτῳ τὰ σπέρματα βρέξης, ἢ κόψας καὶ μίξας ὕδατι, ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ φυτευόμενα βρέξον, ἢ γράψας εἰς ὄστρακον, ρίψον ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, τὸ ἔσται ὡς τὸ ξύλον τὸ πεφυτευμένον.’

for sterility in animals

inscribed within pentalpha on hoof of sterile mare

5.4.1.4. *Corpus Hippiatricorum Graecorum, excerpta Lugdunensia* 202 ed. Oder-Hoppe; recollated

περὶ ἵππας στείρας, ἵνα συλλάβῃ. ποίει οὕτως μετὰ μαυρομανικίου μαχαιρίου πένταλφα εἰς τὸν ὄνυχα τῆς ἵππης ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς πεντάλφας ‘ὁ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ δώσει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπορρυήσεται, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἂν ποιῇ κατευοδωθήσεται.’

² τοῖς ἵπποις *cod.* : τῆς ἵππου *Oder-Hoppe* || *post* ἵππ- <καὶ γράψον> *suppl.* *Oder-Hoppe*

to ease birth; to be written on ostrakon, the letters dissolved and given to the patient to drink

5.4.1.5. Paris, BnF *cod. gr.* 2286 (s. XIV), f. 61r

περὶ εὐτοκίας. γράψον τὸ ‘μακάριος ὁ ἀνὴρ’ μέχρι τὸ ‘ὁ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ δώσει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ’ εἰς ὄστράκινον καινὸν καυκίον καὶ βαλῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ὕδωρ λείωσον τὰ γράμματα καὶ δὸς πίνειν τῇ कुούση καὶ ὄψει θεοῦ βοήθειαν μεγάλην.

5.4.2. *Ps.* 26:1-2

for court cases, and *dromos* (‘[travel on] the road’)

5.4.2.1. Vienna, ÖNB *cod. theol. gr.* 244 (s. XV), f. 210v

ἕτερον. λέγε ἀκομ() καὶ τὸ ‘κύριος φωτισμός μου καὶ σωτήρ μου, τίνα φοβηθήσομαι; κύριος ὑπερασπιστῆς τῆς ζωῆς μου, ἀπὸ τίνος δειλιάσω;’ τοῦτὸ καλὸν ἐστὶν καὶ εἰς τὸν δρόμον.

to protect livestock

5.4.2.2. Paris, BnF *cod. gr.* 2286 (s. XIV), f. 83v

ἐπίγραφον εἰς τὸν ὄνυχα τοῦ ἀλόγου ἢ εἰς κέρας τοῦ βοῦς ‘ἐν τῷ ἐγγίσειν ἐπ’ ἐμέ κακοῦντας τοῦ φαγεῖν τὰς σάρκας μου, οἱ θλίβοντές με καὶ οἱ ἐχθροί μου αὐτοὶ ἤσθηνσαν καὶ ἔπεσον.’

for intestinal worms

5.4.2.3. Nicolaus Myrepsinus 14.8, ed. Fabricius *Bibl. graec.* 13:6 (Heim 1893 no. 164)

lumbricis expellendis recipe rheibarbari, mymecochorti singulorum scrupulum unum, terito ut pollinem et irrigato cum aqua sanctarum apparitionum dei. postea in catinum non inquinatum scribe eiusmodi ‘dominus illuminatio mea et seruator meus, quem timebo? dominus protector uitae meae, a quo trepidabo? dum appropinquant aduersus me affligentes, ut edant carnes meas, tribulantes me et inimici mei ipsi infirmati sunt et ceciderunt.’

5.4.3. *Ps.* 28:3

inscription of crosses on skin, for a horse ailment *mort*, on which see Eis 1964, 88-108

5.4.3.1. Vienna, ÖNB cod. lat. 2532 (s. XII), ed. Eis 1949, 93

si equus habet morth. sume gladium et incide ei crucem in fronte, aliam in clune et sic sume stercus humanum, pone in cruce, protinus sanus est. item canta hunc uersum ter 'uox domini super aquas, deus m[aiestatis] i[n]to[nuit], d[ominus] s[upra] a[quas] m[ultas].' numquam errat[ur]us erit.

5.4.4. *Ps.* 28:7

to fight fire, written and thrown into the fire

5.4.4.1. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2219 (s. XV), f. 31v

εἰς ἐμπρησμόν. γράφε εἰς βήσαλον 'κύριε βοήθει. φωνή κυρίου διακόπτοντος φλόγα πυρός' καὶ ῥίπτε ἐπάνω τοῦ πυρός.

5.4.5. *Ps.* 33:9

to be inscribed on vessel to preserve wine

5.4.5.1. *Geoponika* 7.14 (Heim 1893 no. 161 in part)

ἐπίγραμμα ἀπαράβατον εἰς τὸ μηδέποτε τρέπεσθαι τὸν οἶνον. Ἀφρικανοῦ. ἀμήχανον τραπήναι ποτε τὸν οἶνον ἐὰν ἐπιγράψῃς ἐν τῷ ἀγγεῖῳ ἢ ἐν τοῖς πίθοις ταῦτα τὰ θεῖα ῥήματα 'γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ κύριος.' καλῶς δὲ ποιήσεις καὶ εἰς μῆλον οὕτω γράφων, ἐμβάλλων τὸ μῆλον εἰς τὸν οἶνον.

preceded by liturgical formula

5.4.5.2. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2294 (s. XV), f. 80r

εἰς τὸ μὴ τραπήναι οἶνον. γράφε οὕτως εἰς τὸ ἀγγεῖον 'στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου, ἀμήν. γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ κύριος.' ὁμοίως καὶ εἰς μέλι.

5.4.6. *Ps.* 34:1

for court cases

5.4.6.1. Vienna, ÖNB cod. theol. gr. 244 (s. XV), f. 210v

ὅταν ὑπάγῃς εἰς κρίσιν, λέγε 'δίκασον κύριε τοὺς ἀδικοῦντάς με, πολέμησον τοὺς πολεμοῦντάς με.'

5.4.7. *Ps.* 41:2

to make bees and pigeons 'desire' to stay in their places; followed by first- and third-person performatives

5.4.7.1. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2219 (s. XV), f. 32r

περὶ μελισσῶν καὶ περιστερῶν ἵνα ποθήσωσι τὸν τόπον. 'ὄν τρόπον ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ἔλαφος ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων, οὕτως ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου πρὸς σέ ὁ θεός, οὕτως αἱ περιστεραί καὶ αἱ μέλισσαι ἵνα ἐπιποθήσωσι τὸν τόπον τοῦτον εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. ἐγὼ στοιχῶ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς φυλάττει.' ταῦτα γράφε ἐν καλυπτῷ ἀθίκτῳ καὶ θῆς ἔνθα καταμένουσι.

5.4.8. *Ps.* 45

for court cases

5.4.8.1. Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 210 (s. XVIII), f. 64r, ed. Delatte 1927, 117

καὶ εἰς κρίσιν ἔμπης. λέξον πρῶτον τὸν τεσσαρακοστόπεμπτον ψαλμὸν τοῦ ψαλτηρίου 'ἐπὶ σοὶ κύριε ἤλπισα.'

1 ἐμπῆς *Delatte* | λέγον *cod.*, *correxī*

specifically 45:1, 10 for war

5.4.8.2. Athens, *cod. Soc. Hist. 210* (s. XVIII), f. 64r-v, ed. *Delatte 1927*, 117

εἰς πόλεμον ἐμπῆς. λέξον ἐκ τρίτου καὶ οὐ σταθῆ ἔμπροσθέν σου ἀντίδικος, ‘καὶ θυρεοὺς κατακαύσει ἐν πυρί, | ὁ θεὸς καταφυγὴ καὶ δύναμίς μου.’

1 ἐμπῆς *Delatte* | λέγον *cod.*, *correxī*

5.4.9. *Ps. 47:1-7*

for birth

5.4.9.1. *Hippiatrica Cantabrigiensia 10.3* ed. *Oder-Hoppe* (also in L = BL *cod. Sloane 745*, f. 23v)

ἐὰν μὴ δύναται γεννηῆσαι ἵππος. γράψον εἰς τὰς δύο πλευρὰς αὐτῆς τὸν τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔβδομον ψαλμὸν ἕως τοῦ ‘ἐκεῖ ὠδῖνες ὡς τικτούσης.’

5.4.10. *Ps. 64*

to calm storms at sea, with a written version involving the inscription of the same text on an ostrakon, with a magical sign, which is to be thrown into the sea in the event that the incantation by itself is unsuccessful; a further prayer is included.

5.4.10.1. St. Petersburg, *cod. Academicus Musaei Palaeographici*, f. 58v, ed. *CCAG XII:123*

εἰς κλύδωνα θαλάσσης. νὰ διαβάσης τὸν ψαλμὸν τοῦτον κεφάλαιον ἐξήκοντα τέσσαρα ‘σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος ὦ θεὸς ἐν Σιων.’ νὰ τὸ διαβάσης, εἰ δὲ καὶ δὲν ἐξεύρης, γράψον αὐτὸν καὶ βάσταζε καὶ τὴν κάτωθεν χαρακτῆρα, εἶτα πίασε ἐλαιόλαδον καὶ ἄγωμεν εἰς τὴν πρύμνην ἢ πρῶραν τοῦ πλοίου καὶ χύσης εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπτὰ σταλαγματίες καὶ εἰπέ ταῦτα καὶ κάμης σημεῖον σταυροῦ ὑγρὸν μετὰ Χριστοῦ λέγων ‘σιώπασον φῆμισον ὁ κύριος’ καὶ τὰ λοιπά.

4 <τῆν> πρῶραν *ed. pr.* || 5 ἔλεγον *ed. pr.*

5.4.11. *Ps. 67:2*

against snakes

5.4.11.1. Cambridge, Trinity College *cod. O.7.37* (unit III: s. XII), f. 155v

ut serpens stet quietus, dic ‘exurgat deus et dissipentur inimici eius.’ si uis ut fugiat, dic ‘et fugiant qui oderunt eum a facie eius.’

5.4.12. *Ps. 68*

combined with liturgical formula, for storms at sea

5.4.12.1. St. Petersburg, *cod. Academicus Musaei Palaeographici*, f. 58v, ed. *CCAG XII:123*

ἕτερον. διάβασον καὶ κεφάλαιον ἐξήκοντα ὀκτώ ψαλμὸν ‘σῶσόν με ὦ θεὸς μου ὅτι εἰσήλθοσαν ὕδατα ἕως ψυχῆς μου· στῶμεν καλῶς στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ ἀμήν.’

5.4.13. *Ps. 72*

for favor from those in power

5.4.13.1. Athens, *cod. Soc. Hist. 210* (s. XVIII), f. 64r, ed. *Delatte 1927*, 117

ἐὰν θέλῃς νὰ ζητήσης χάριν ἀπὸ αὐθέντας. γράψον τὸν ἐβδομηκοστόδουον ψαλμὸν τοῦ ψαλτηρίου ὡς ἀγαθὸς ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἰσραηλ' καὶ κρέμασέ τον εἰς τὸν δεξιὸν σου βραχίονα.

5.4.14. *Ps.* 73

to be spoken over water, which is then sprinkled in a place troubled by evil spirits, before the foundation of a house

5.4.14.1. Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 241 (s. XVIII), f. 108v, ed. Delatte 1927, 137

νὰ θεμελιώσης οἶκον. ψαλμὸς ἐβδομηκοστότριτος ἵνα τί ὁ θεὸς ἀπόσω εἰς τέλος' καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. διὰ πνεῦμα πονηρὸν διάβασε τὸν ψαλμὸν ἀπάνω εἰς νερὸν φορὲς ἑπτὰ καὶ ράνε τὸν τόπον καὶ θεμελίωσε οἶκον ἢ ἄλλον.

5.4.15. *Ps.* 104:20

for releasing binding of married couple

5.4.15.1. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 636 (s. XVII), f. 130v

εἰς τὸ λῦσαι ἀνδρόγυνον. ὦρα πέμπτη ἀπέστειλεν βασιλεὺς καὶ ἔλυσε αὐτόν, ἄρχων λαοῦ καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτόν' καὶ τὰς χαρακτῆρας ταύτας [*signs*] καὶ γράψον εἰς δέρβινον χαρτὶ καὶ βάστα περι(απτ)όμενον.

21. δερμάτινον ? || 31. περιαπτόμενον ?

similarly; to be written on liturgical dish, washed off in water which is then to be drunk by the patients

5.4.15.2. Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 210 (s. XVIII), ff. 37v-38r, ed. Delatte 1927, 111-112

ἕτερον. γράφε εἰς ἄφορον σκουτέλι καὶ ἄς λειτουργήσῃ ὁ ἱερεὺς. εἶτα ἄς τελειώσῃ μέγαλον ἀγιασμόν, ὡσὰν τελειώσῃ ἢ λειτουργία, καὶ ἄς τὸ πίουσι τὸ ἀνδρόγυνον διακοπὰς τρεῖς ἡγουν καθὼς τοὺς κοινωνᾶ ὁ ἱερεὺς ὅταν τοὺς | εὐλογᾶ, καὶ ἂν ἠξεύρου, ἄς λέγουν τὸ 'πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα θεόν.' [*square of 29 letters or syllables, surrounding which:*] ἀπέστειλεν βασιλεὺς, ἄρχων λαοῦ, καὶ ἔλυσε καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτόν.'

similarly; to be written on one half of a sheet of paper and given to the husband to eat; the wife is to eat the blank half

5.4.15.3. Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 223 (s. XIX, Epiros), f. 85r, ed. Delatte 1927, 147

ἔπαρε χαρτὶ καὶ κόψε το δύο μερίδια καὶ γράψε εἰς τὸ ἕν ἐτοῦτα τὰ γράμματα ἀπέστειλεν βασιλεὺς καὶ ἔλυσε αὐτούς, ἄρχων λαοῦ καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτόν.' καὶ ὡσὰν τὸ γράψῃς, δὸς τὸ χαρτὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ὅπου ἔχει τὰ γράμματα καὶ ἄς τὸ φάγῃ, ἔτσι φθίε καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῆς γυναικὸς ὁμοίως νὰ τὸ φάγῃ.

4 ἄλλο (καὶ δός το) *suppl. Delatte*

for releasing binding in general; written on fruit

5.4.15.4. Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 210 (s. XVIII), f. 63v, ed. Delatte 1927, 116

ἄλλο. γράψον εἰς μῆλον καὶ φάγε ἀπέστειλεν βασιλεὺς καὶ ἔλυσε αὐτόν, ἄρχων λαοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτόν.'

5.4.16. *Ps.* 105:30

against crop pests, to be written on bricks and deposited in the four corners of a vineyard

5.4.16.1. Vienna, ÖNB cod. med. gr. 52 (c. 1300), f. 88v

εἰς βροῦχον καὶ κάμπην. ‘εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. ἔσθη Φινεες καὶ ἐξιλάσατο καὶ ἐκόπασεν ἢ θραῦσις.’ ταῦτα γράψον εἰς βήσαλον καὶ τίθει εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα μέρη τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος καὶ οὐ μὴ βρωθῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ βρούχου· ἢ εἰς χάρτην καὶ κρέμασον τὸ χαρτίον ἐπὶ τοῦ δένδρου εἰ ἔχει καρπὸν καὶ οὐ φθαρήσεται.

5.4.17. *Ps.* 117:16

for fever; written on three pieces of fruit, given to the patient to eat

5.4.17.1. Paris, BnF cod. NAL 229 (s. XII), f. 7r

illum uersum diuide in tria, ‘dextera domini fecit uirtutem’ in primo cum una cruce, in secundo ‘dextera domini exaltauit me,’ in tertio ‘dextera domini fecit uirtutem’ et adiunge orationem ‘parce domine parce famulo tuo N ut dignis flagellationibus castigatus in tua miseratione respiret.’

1 cruce † *cod.* || 2 me †† *cod.* | uirtutem ††† *cod.* || 3-4 famulo tuo ... castigatus *fem. suff. add. supr. lin. cod.*

5.4.18. *Ps.* 136:7

written on old ostrakon; to ease birth

5.4.18.1. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2286 (s. XIV), f. 61r

ἄλλο. γράψον εἰς κεράμιον τὸ ‘μνήσθητι κύριε τῶν υἱῶν Εδωμ’ ἕως ‘τῶν θεμελιῶν αὐτῆς’ καὶ τίθει αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος αὐτῆς.

5.4.18.2. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Baroc. 111 (s. XV), f. 116r

εἰς γυναῖκα ἵνα γεννήσῃ. γράψον εἰς ὄστρακον παλαιὸν ‘μνήσθητι κύριε τῶν υἱῶν Εδωμ, τῶν λεγόντων “ἐκκενοῦτε ἐκκενοῦτε.”’

5.4.18.3. Vienna, ÖNB cod. ‘philos. gr. 220’ (s. XVI), no folio reference given, ed.

Vassiliev 1893, 339; shelfmark no longer in use

πρὸς τὸ γεννηῆσαι γυνήν. γράφε εἰς ὄστρακον παλαιὸν ‘μνήσθητι κύριε τῶν υἱῶν Εδωμ τῶν λεγόντων “ἐκκενοῦτε ἐκκενοῦτε.”’

with historiolae of Lazarus and Jonah

5.4.18.4. Thessaly, monastery of Olympiotissa, cod. 97 (s. XVIII), p. 28, ed. Skouvara 1965-1966, 80

ἐκεῖ ὅπου κοιλιοπονᾷ νὰ διαβάσῃς ἀπάνω της οὔτως ‘μνήσθητι κύριε τῶν υἱῶν Εδωμ τὴν ἡμέραν Ἱερουσαλημ τῶν λεγόντων “ἐκκενοῦτε ἐκκενοῦτε ἕως τῶν θεμελιῶν αὐτῆς,” ὡς ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Λάζαρος ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου καὶ ὁ Ἰωνας ἐκ τοῦ κήτους.’

5.5. *other Old Testament*

Genesis 1:22, 1:28, 8:17, 9:1, 9:7; to protect young birds; addressing the target

5.5.1. Vienna, ÖNB cod. 751 (ex theol. 259) (s. IX), f. 188r, ed. Gallée 1894b, 208

ad pullos de nido. ‘crescite et multiplicamini et uiuite, et implete terram.’

Joshua 10:12, an analogous incantation, cf. the *Thaumata* of Kosmas and Damianos 20.56-64, where the author cites *Joshua* 10:12 (στήτω ὁ ἥλιος κατὰ Γαβαὼ καὶ ἡ σελήνη κατὰ φάραγγα Ελωμ) as an analogy for how the saints ‘commanded the blood to stop through prayer’ (προσέταξαν διὰ τῆς προσευχῆς στήναι).

5.5.2. Vienna, ÖNB cod. med. gr. 52 (c. 1300), f. 92r, ed. CCAG VI:88

πρὸς τὸ στῆσαι αἷμα ρίνος. γράφε εἰς τὸν ὠμοπλάτην τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ‘στήτω ὁ ἥλιος κατὰ Γαβαω καὶ ἡ σελήνη κατὰ φάραγγα.’

5.6. *New Testament*

5.6.1. *Mark 5:25-34*; cf. Munich clm 100 (s. XII), f. 74r-v

applied

5.6.1.1. unidentified black stone, found in excavations on Samos, s. VII context, ed. pr. W.R. Megow in Kienast 2004, 125 no. 766, with photograph (maj. tr.); *SEG* LIII 880 (articulated and supplemented edition). Similar iconography as above, but inscription on obverse only (with figures of Christ and the woman).

[καὶ γυνὴ οὖσα ἐν ῥύσει αἵματ | [ος δώδεκα ἔτη] καὶ πολλὰ παθοῦσ | [α ὑπὸ πολλῶν
ἰα]τρῶν καὶ δαπανή | [σασα τὰ παρ’ αὐ]τῆς πάντα καὶ μη | [δὲν ὠφεληθε]ῖσα ἀλλὰ
μᾶλλον | [ν εἰς τὸ χεῖρον] ἐλθοῦσα, ἀκούσ | [ασα περὶ τοῦ Ἰ]ησοῦ, ἐλθοῦσα ἐν τῷ |
[ὄχλῳ ὀπισθε]ν ἤψατο τοῦ ἱμα | [τίου αὐτοῦ· ἔ]λεγεν γὰρ ‘ἐ | [ὰν ἄψωμαι κ]ἂν τῶν
ἱμ | [ατίων αὐτοῦ] {αψο} | [σωθήσο]μαι.’ καὶ εὐ | [θὺς ἐξηρ]άνθη ἡ πη | [γὴ τοῦ
αἵ]ματος α | [ὕτῆς] καὶ ἔγνω | [τῷ σ]ώματι ὅ | [τι ἴα]ται ἀπὸ τ | [ῆς] μάστι | [γος]
αὐτῆς. †

7]Υ̅ amulet : [Ἰησοῦ]υ̅ *SEG*

similarly, significant variants on the biblical text

5.6.1.2. hematite, now in New York (MMA acc. 17.190.491), ed. A.R. Gansell in Kalavrezou 2003 no. 165 with photograph; *ICA* 41 N56 MMet G10,001. Cf. Tuerk 1999. On one side, woman kneeling and touching the garment of a standing Christ (inscribed, A, 1-11; with legend added above Christ, B); on the other, an orant woman flanked by trees (continued inscription, 12-18) [similar iconography without text on a jasper intaglio, Athens, Benaki Museum GE 13527 (*ICA* 41 A86 MBk A15,004).]

A † κὲ ἡ γυνὴ | οὖσα ἐν ῥύσει ἔ | [ματος ἔ]τι | κὲ πολλ(λ)ὰ | <πα>θοῦσα {η} κὲ
{ἐ}δα | πανίσα<σα> μιδὲ | ν ὀφελεθοῦ | σα ἀλλ(λ)ὰ μᾶλλον ... > ἡ δρ | α | μοῦσα <> || †
[ἐ]ξηράν | θη ἡ πηγὴ το | ῦ <αἵ>ματησ | μοῦ αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ | <ὀ>νόματι τ | ῆς πίστεος
αὐ | τῆς

B Ἰησοῦ]ς Χ(ριστό]ς

1 l. καὶ | γυνὴ || 2 l. ῥύσει || 2-3 l. αἵματος || 3 l. ἔτη || 4 l. καὶ || 5 l. καὶ || 5-6 l.
δα | πανήσασα || 6-7 l. μηδὲ | ν || 7-8 l. ὠφεληθεῖ | σα || 14-15 l. αἵματισμ | οῦ || 15 l.
τῷ || 17 l. πίστεως || 17-18 l. αὐ | τῆς || B Ψ̅ (*figure*) ΧΣ amulet

5.6.2. *Matthew 9:18-19*; *Mark 5:25-34*; for bleeding in women

5.6.2.1. Nicolaus Myrepsinus 1.405, ed. Fabricius *Bibl. graec.* 13:8 (Heim 1893 no. 165) adiuratio ad omnem sanguinis eruptionem ex utero aut immodicum fluorem mulierum. scribe in charta hunc psalmum primo Sabbato priusquam sol oriatur et liga ad dextrum brachium eius ‘miserere mei deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam,’ quamdiu sanguis effluxerit. deinde et alteram chartam scribe ex euangelio uerbum hoc loquente Iesu ‘ecce princeps quidam accedens adorauit eum dicens “filia mea modo defuncta est, sed ueni et impone manum tuam super illam et uiuet.” et surgens Iesus secutus est eum et discipuli illius. et ecce mulier sanguinis profluuio laborauerat duodecim annos. accedens a tergo tetigit fimbriam uestimenti illius. dixerat enim intra se “si tantum tetigero uestimentum illius, ero salua.” at Iesus conuersus ut uidit illam dixit “confide filia, fides tua saluam te fecit.” et salua facta fuit mulier a tempore illo.’ liga hanc chartulam ad

dextrum mulieris femur eadem die, primo aegrotantis Sabbato, priusquam sol oriatur et illic permitte quoad laborans mulier sanetur a morbo.

3 brachium manus *cod.*

5.6.3. *Matthew* 8:14

to be written on fruit and fed to patient

5.6.3.1. Thessaly, monastery of Olympiotissa, *cod.* 97 (s. XVIII), p. 495, ed. Skouvara 1965-1966, 112

εἰς ῥῖγον. γράψον εἰς μῆλον κόκκινον ἄνω καιρῶ ἐκείνω ἐλθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Πέτρου, εἶδε τὴν πενθερὰν αὐτοῦ βεβλημένην καὶ πυρέσσουσαν καὶ ἤψατο τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτὴν ὁ πυρετὸς καὶ ἠγέρθη καὶ διηκόνει αὐτόν.' καὶ δὸς τοῦ πάσχοντος φαγεῖν.

5.6.4. *John* 1, accompanying ritual nailing of hail

5.6.4.1. private collection, *iatrosophion* purchased in Macedonia (s. XVIII), ed. Abbott 1903, 363

περὶ νὰ σταματήσης χαλάζιν. ὅταν ἰδῆς ὅπου ἀρχίζει νὰ πέφτη χαλάζιν, τῆς ὥρας νὰ ἔχης μαυρομάνικον μαχαίριν ἢ ξύλινα ἢ κοκκαλένια τὰ μανίκια, νὰ τὸ πάρης εἰς τὸ χέριν σου τὸ δεξιόν, νὰ σταματήσης τὰ νέφη καθὼς εἶναι, ἤγουν νὰ τὰ στρώσης εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὅπου ρίκτουν τὴν βροχὴν καὶ τὸ χαλάζιν, νὰ εἰπῆς ἔτσι ἔν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος.' καὶ καθὼς τὸ εἰπῆς, παρευθὺς νὰ καρφώσης τὸ μαχαίριν εἰς τὰβλαν ἢ εἰς γῆν καὶ τῆς ὥρας στέκεται τὸ χαλάζιν.

5.6.5. *John* 7:38 (cf. 2.2.5.3); for dysuria

writing on the patient; for kidney-stone

5.6.5.1. Thessaly, monastery of Olympiotissa, *cod.* 97 (s. XVIII), p. 10, ed. Skouvara 1965-1966, 78

γράψον εἰς χαρτὶ μὲ κόκκινα γράμματα εἰς τὴν πέτσα τοῦ ὑποκοιλίου αὐτοῦ, ἂν εἶναι μικρὸν παιδί, εἰς τὸ χαρτὶ καὶ κόλλησον τὸ χαρτὶ εἰς τὸ ὑπογάστριν αὐτοῦ ἔειπεν ὁ κύριος ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, ποταμοὶ ρεύσουσιν ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ." καὶ κόλλησον εἰς τὸ ὑπογάστριν καὶ μὲ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐβγαίνει ἡ πέτρα.

5.6.6. *John* 19:30; to stop bleeding

written in figure (spernix for sphaera, i.e. an arrangement in which the full phrase is written in the middle, then diminishes upwards and downwards with one letter subtracted from each end in each line, ending with -ma-)

5.6.6.1. Cambridge, Trinity College *cod.* O.9.26 (James 1438; s. XIV), f. iv^v

pro eodem. 'consummatum est.' uelut spernix scribatur in fronte uel in collo cum proprio sanguine.

5.7. *mixture of Old and New Testament*

to be written on leaves, two with text from Psalms (6:2, 6:3-4), one with Aramaic words of Christ on the cross (cf. *Matthew* 27:46, *Mark* 15:34); to be eaten by the patient, for fever.

5.7.1. Paris, BnF *cod.* gr. 2315 (s. XV), f. 240v, cf. Legrand 1881, 9; recollated

εἰς ῥιγίον. γράψον εἰς πρασόφυλλα τρία ἢ εἰς σκορδόφυλλα, εἰς τὸ πρῶτον ἄκυριε μὴ τῶ θυμῶ σου ἐλέγξης με μηδὲ τῆ ὀργῇ σου παιδεύσης με,' εἰς τὸ δεύτερον ἄλεήσόν με κύριε ὅτι ἀσθενῆς εἰμι, ἴασαί με κύριε ὅτι ἐταράχθη τὰ ὀστέα μου, καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μου

ἐταράχθη σφόδρα, εἰς τὸ τρίτον ἴλει ἴλει λιμα σαβαχθανι, θεοῦ θεῖον θαῦμα.’ καὶ ἄς τὰ τρώγη νηστικός.

4 $\overline{\lambda}$ αμα *Legrand*

5.8. *mixture of biblical texts and original composition*

psalms 2:10; 99:3-5; 148:5; 46:4; 77:19-25; *Matthew* 26:26-30

5.8.1. papyrus amulet, Manchester P.Ryl. Greek Add. 1166 verso, s. VI (publication in Mazza forthcoming)

5.9. *credal formulae*

fever amulet, writing a creed-formula on bread and feeding it to the patient

5.9.1. Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 210 (s. XVIII), ff. 59v-60r, ed. Delatte 1927, 113

ῥετζέτα σὲ καρτάνα. νὰ τὴν γράφουν σὲ ψωμί καὶ νὰ ἦναι κυριακὴν ἢ σάββατον ταχυτέρου· ἀκατούρητος νὰ τὴν γράφῃ σὲ ψωμί νὰ τρώγη ἄρρωστος νηστικός· | ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη, ὁ Χριστὸς ἐβαπτίσθη, ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπεριτεμήθη, ὁ Χριστὸς ἐσταυρώθη, ὁ Χριστὸς ἀνέστη.’

1 \overline{i} .e. recepta, quartana

5.10. *liturgy*

writing and drinking; for crying child

5.10.1. Naples, BN cod. II C 33 (s. XV), f. 237v, ed. Delatte 1927, 621

εἰς παιδίον ὅταν κλαίῃ. εἰς φύλλον δάφνης (γράφε) καὶ λειώσας πότιζε. ὀτῶμεν καλῶς, ὀτῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ, ἀμήν.’ [*signs*]

writing on bread, for fever

5.10.2. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Barocci 111 (s. XV), ff. 115v-116r

ἄλλο. γράψον εἰς πρόσωπον ψωμίου ἡ ἀγάπη ὁ πατήρ.’ καὶ ὅταν μέλλῃ ταράσσεσθαι, ποιήσον τρεῖς | μετανοίας εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν θεοτόκον καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἰωάννην τὸν πρόδρομον καὶ ἐσθιέτω, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ ὑγιαίνει, γράψον ἡ ζωὴ ὁ υἱός.’ καὶ ἐσθιέτω πάλιν ὁμοίως. καὶ εἰς τὸ τρίτον γράψον ἡ παράκλησις τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος, ἀμήν.’

3 μὴ *supr. lin. add. cod.*

5.11. *miscellaneous hymns*

5.11.1. hexameter verses (στίχοι) attributed to Chrysostom, not part of any otherwise known work

for inflammation

5.11.1.1. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Baroc. 88 (s. XV), f. 170v

εἰς πύρωμα, τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου. ὥς πυρὸς αἰσθομένου φοβερὰν φλόγα χειρὶ δροσίσεις, φροντίδας ἀργαλ[έα]ς καὶ ἐμὰς κατάπασσον ἀρωγὲ Χριστέ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν.’

1 $\overline{\chi\rho}$ in monogram cod. || 2 ἐμὰς *correxi* : ἡμᾶς *cod.*

here be written in the shape of a cross (σταυροειδῶς); the most likely reconstruction seems to me to be that the first στίχος (ὥς ... καλύπτεις) is to be written vertically, downwards, and the second is to be written horizontally left to right so as to intersect it where fall the ε of φοβερὴν (vertical) and the ε of ἐμὰς (horizontal), such that the two lines share this ε.

5.11.1.2. *Hippiatrica Cantabrigiensia* 16.3 ed. Oder-Hoppe

τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου. τοὺς ὑποκειμένους στίχους γράψον ἐν σωματώῳ χάρτη σταυροειδῶς καὶ τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ τὸ πάθος ἐνσκήπτει ἐπιδέσμι. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι ἄς πυρὸς αἰθομένου φοβερὴν φλόγα χειρὶ καλύπτεις, φροντίδας ἀργαλέας καὶ ἐμὰς κατάπαυσον, ἀρωγέ.’

5.11.1.3. London, BL cod. Sloane 745, f. 86v [hippiatrika], cf. Oder-Hoppe in app. to *Hipp.Cant.* 16.13

τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου. τοὺς ὑποκειμένους στίχους γράψον ἐν σωματώῳ χάρτη σταυροειδῶς καὶ τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ τὸ πάθος ἐνσκήπτει ἐπιδέσμι. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι ἄς πυρὸς αἰθομένου φοβερὴν φλόγα χειρὶ δροσίσεις, φροντίδος ἀργαλέας καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀπάλλαξον, ἀρωγέ Χριστέ.’

6. Analogy

6.1. *patient's own body*

natural condition

for migraine; interlocking ritual involving cutting hair from the part of the head which feels no pain, placing it on the part that does

6.1.1.1. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Baroc. 88 (s. XV), f. 16r

ἡμικρανίου φυσικὸν βοήθημα. ἐκ τοῦ μὴ πονοῦντος μέρους τῆς κεφαλῆς κόψον ὀλίγας τρίχας περίθες τῷ ἀλγοῦντι μέρει λέγων ἔν ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος οὐ πονεῖ, μηδὲ σὺ πονέσης πλέον.' τρὶς εἰπὼν σὺν θεῷ ἰαθήση.

$\overline{2}$ μέρος *cod.*

6.1.2. *altered condition*

6.2. *animals*

6.2.1. *natural condition*

hen gathers chicks; symmetry (uocat conuocat ... uoco ne doleat ne noceat)

6.2.1.1. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 2.12 (cod. p. 220.7-10, ed. Önnorfors 2006, 1:37; Heim 1893, 558)

lingulae praecantatio. duobus manibus tangis de melle et dicis haec 'quomodo gallina pullos suos uocat conuocat, sic et ego illius Gai Sei lingulam uoco ne doleat ne noceat eum, sed loco suo redeat,' et sic facies quomodo gallina tredecim.

bull's horn

6.2.1.2. additions to the *Euporiston* of Theodorus, ed. Rose 1894, 292

uarices uiri seu mulieris grauidae. bouis masculi fimum calidum cum aceto acerrimo teres et in balneo prius inductum tunc linteolo calidum impones. sed luna decrescente facies et haec uerba dices 'quomodo cornua bouis masculi sicca sunt et stricta, sic et cui fit, illi Gaio Seio, uarices siccae et strictae sint.'

natural process of weaving of spider

6.2.1.3. Marcellus 14.68 (Heim 1893 no. 83; cf. no. 10)

araneam quae sursum uersus subit et textit prendes et nomen eius dices cui medendum erit et adicies 'sic cito subeat uua eius quem nomino quomodo aranea haec sursum repit et textit.' tum ipsam araneam in chartam uirginem lino ligabis et collo laborantis suspendes die Iouis sed dum prendes araneam uel phylacterium alligas ter in terram spues.

dog avoids urinating in its *cubiculum*

6.2.1.4. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 2.45 (cod. p. 247.13-16, ed. Önnorfors 2006, 1:64; Heim pp. 559-560)

incontinentia urinae. in cubilem canis urinam facere utile est inque eo uerba dicere 'quomodo canis in cubili suo meiat, sic et ille meiare possit in cubili quo dormit, ne ipse urinam faciat in suo cubili.'

adherence of leeches

interlocking ritual action, the patient given the ash of burned leeches to drink; for fertility

6.2.1.5. Thessaly, monastery of Olympiotissa, cod. 97 (s. XVIII), pp. 27-28, ed. Skouvara 1965-1966, 79-80

περι γυναικός όπου δέν κάνει παιδί, τήν ιατρείαν νά κάμη παιδί. ἕτερον. ἔπαρε ἀβδέλλες τρεῖς καί δέσε τες ἀπό τήν μέσην καί κρέμασέ τες ἀπάνωθεν τῆς φωτίας ἕως νά ξηρανοῦν καί νά τρίβονται καλά. | καί τότες νά τες τρίψης νά τες κάμης στάκτην. καί αὐτήν τήν στάκτην νά τήν βάλῃς εἰς φαγῖν καί εἰς καυχῖν όπου νά ἔχη κρασίον καί νά τὸ πῆν ἢ γυναῖκα. καί νά τὸ ὀνοματίσης ἤγουν νά εἰπῆς οὕτως ὅτι 'καθὼς κολλοῦν οἱ ἀβδέλλες εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὕτως νά κολλήσῃ καί παιδί ἀπὸ τήν γυναῖκα όπου τὸ πίνει, τὸ ὄνομά της ὁ δεῖνα.' καί νά τὸ πῆν τὸ βράδι ὅταν θέλῃ νά πέσῃ εἰς τὸ στρῶμά της μὲ τὸν ἄνδρα της καί ἄς μείξῃ μὲ τοῦτον καί ἐγγαστρῶνεται.

6.2.2. *animals, condition altered by the user*

fly bound as amulet, cannot fly out of the house, so too the patient's rheum (should not flow out)

6.2.2.1. Vienna, ÖNB cod. med. gr. 52 (c. 1300), f. 90r; cf. *Kyranides* 3.28

ἐὰν δὲ τῆ εὐωνύμῳ χειρὶ ἀγρεύσης μυῖαν καί βαλῶν ἐν ράκει καί περιάψῃς ὀφθαλμικῶ ρευματιζομένῳ, ἰάσῃ· οὕτω δὲ λέγε ὅτε περιάπτεις 'ὡς αὕτη ἡ μυῖα ἀφίπτται ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου, οὕτως καί τοῦδε ἡ ὀφθαλμία καί τὸ ρεῦμα.'

blindness of dead snake used as materia medica

6.2.2.2. Marcellus 8.199 (Heim 1893 no. 81)

collyrium diamisyos quod facit ad aspritudines oculorum tollendas et ad lacrimas substringendas ... [*list of ingredients and preparation*] ... quidam adiciunt huic collyrio uiperam siccam et arefactam bene in sole tamquam si sit sallita. hanc ergo si uolueris adicere, exossabis prius et linteolo inuolues atque ita super eam uinum unde collyrium hoc temperandum est defundes, sed prius eam sic praecantabis 'ne lacrimus exeat, ne extillet, ne noceat.' dices autem 'quomodo tu non uidēs, sic et tuus sucus gustatus nulli noceat, sed ob rem propter quam adiecta es proficias bene curatione precor.'

desiccating frog

6.2.2.3. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 2.42 (cod. p. 245.9-12, ed. Önnorfors 2006, 1:63; Heim 1893, 559)

ranae rubetae uiuae pedes posteriores resticula alligato pueroque immobile resupinato ramicem aduersa rana saepius tundito. dices 'quemadmodum ista arefiet, sic huius pueri ramex exarefiat,' atque ita uel arida arbore uel in fumario eam suspendito.

3 rami cod.

6.3. *objects*

6.3.1. *natural condition*

erectness of stake; interlocking ritual involving plant; for erection

6.3.1.1. St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751 (s. IX), p. 412, ed. Heim 1893, 563

item. palum de uinea euellat et in eadem cauerna ex qua illum euulserit mingat eumque inuersum ibidem reponat et quod deorsum fuerat mergatur in terra cum his uerbis quae dices septies et totiens exspuis 'quemadmodum hic palus erectus est, sic et natura mea erigatur et fortis sit.'

infertility of salt; as part of a ritual for gathering a medicinal herb which includes a prayer to the herb itself; the incantation is to be said after the herb has been plucked

6.3.1.2. Leiden, UB cod. VGF 25 (s. XVI), f. 6v

καὶ ἐπίβαλε κατὰ τοῦ τόπου μέρος ἄλατος λέγων ‘οἱ ἄλες οὔτοι οὔτε φύουσιν οὔτε βλαστάνουσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ βλαστάνοντα τήκουσι καὶ ἀναύξητα ποιοῦσιν. οὔτω μηδὲ ὁ σύρριγξ μηδὲ ὁ αἰγίλωψ τοῦδε ἢ τῆσδε μὴ αὐξηθῆ ἢ μήτε ὑγρανθῆ ἀλλὰ ξηρανθήτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν γενέσθω.’

6.3.2. *altered condition*

millstone ceased from its course; interlocking ritual involving chip of stone from millstone; for menstrual bleeding

6.3.2.1. Ser. Sam. 651-655 (Heim 1893 no. 87)

quod si feminei properabit sanguinis imber, | est qui frustra molae percussu decutit uno, | quorum aliquot lanis tectum ad praecordia nectit, | haec simul incantans sisti debere cruorem | ut lapis ille uiae solitos iam destitit orbis.

pebbles hidden from the sun

6.3.2.2. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 3.18 (cod. p. 272.26-28, ed. Önnorfors 2006, 1:91; Heim 1893, 561)

item. de quadriuo collecti lapilli tres, subiectos in <ca>cabo abscondito et dicis ‘quomodo hos sol uidere non potest, sic et illos quartanae non uideant.’

subiectos Önnorfors | <ca>cabo corr. Heim

dust thrown by user

interlocking ritual involving throwing dust; color specification motif; for worms in livestock

6.3.2.3. Palladius *De veterinaria medicina* 14.17

tempore antequam sol exeat, priusquam uentrem purges uel mingas, subsidebis pedibus patentibus et tollis puluerem qualem ante te potueris inuenire, aut de stabulo laetamen tollis de manu sinistra primo, et iactas intra pedes tuos post te et dicis ‘quomodo istud iacto, sic iacentur uermes de caballo illius albo aut nigro aut cuius fuerit coloris.’ item de manu dextra iactas et dicis similiter, et item de manu sinistra iactas, ut supra dicens. hoc et boui et equae et omni pecori succurrit.

bush cut by user

interlocking ritual involving cutting plant; color motif (specification of color of horse, cow, etc., to be healed); for worms in livestock

6.3.2.4. Palladius *De veterinaria medicina* 14.17

item ad eam rem aliud similiter probatum. rubum unde nascitur incidis mane ante solem et dicis ‘quomodo istum incidi, sic incidantur uermes a caballo uel boue illius uario uel albo uel cuiuslibet coloris.’

dissolution of salt

6.3.2.5. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 1.4 (cod. p. 190.23-26, ed. Önnorfors 2006, 1:7; Heim 1893, 556)

erat quidam qui hoc remedio certissima sanitate profruebatur. salis tribus micis sumptis cum a puteum aquae uenisset, singulas in puteum deiciens ita precabatur ut ‘quemadmodum hic sal seritur et ad nihilum reducitur, sic mea lippitudo coalescat.’

dissolving salt in water; apotropaic, at weddings

interlocking, in the ceremonial dressing of a bride, three lumps of salt are placed in a bowl and the house is sprinkled with the brine; apotropaic, against enemies (ὄχθροί for ἐχθροί)

6.3.2.6. reported from contemporary Athens, Polites 1910, 168-169
'ὅπως λειώνει τ' ἀλάτι νὰ λειώσουν οἱ ὀχτροί.'

6.3.2.7. reported from contemporary Greece (no further information), Lawson 1910, 20
'ὅπως λυώνει τὸ ἀλάτι, ἔτσι νὰ λυώσουν οἱ ὀχτροί.'

interlocking words and ritual action; for dissolving curses: a man who is near death dissolves salt in water, then sprinkles his kin with it, while saying the incantation.

6.3.2.8. reported from contemporary Kythnos, Polites 1910, 168-169
'ὡς λειώνει τ' ἀλάτι, νὰ λειώσουν οἱ κατάραις μου.'

interlocking words and ritual action; to dissolve curses, women throw salt three times into the lamp in front of the iconostasis of the house, and say the incantation three times.

6.3.2.9. reported from contemporary Syme, Polites 1910, 168-169
'ὡς λειώνει τ' ἄλας, νὰ λύσουν οἱ κατάραις μου.'

desiccating pig's liver

6.3.2.10. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 2.21 (cod. p. 224.23-27, ed. Önnersfors 2006, 1:41; om. Heim)

spleneticis. porcellus mox interficitur, tollis splenem ipsius, cum umecto mittis in calice cum uino ueteri et antequam bibat pro(ferat) p(er) ter 'quomodo hoc siccet, sic et mihi splenem siccet,' et tollis splenem umectum, in pultario ligas et in fumo pultarium suspendis.

² pro(ferat) p(er) *corr.* Önnersfors

knife which has shed human blood

6.3.2.11. Athens, EB cod. 1527 (s. XVIII), f. 22v, ed. Koukoules 1926, 85

διὰ νὰ λύσης ἀνδρόγυνο δεμένο. νὰ εὔρης ἓνα σπαθὶ ὅπου νὰ ἔχη ἄνθρωπον κομμένο, νὰ τὸ τραβήξης ἕως μία ἀπαλάμη ἔξω ἀπὸ τὸ φηκάρι καὶ νὰ εἰπῆς τρεῖς φορές 'ὡς στέκει τὸ σπαθὶ κορδωμένο, νὰ στέκη καὶ ὁ γαμβρὸς ὁ δεῖνα.' τὸ ὄνομά του νὰ τὸ εἰπῆς τρεῖς φορές καὶ νὰ τὸ βάλουν ἔτσι ἀπὸ κάτω εἰς τὸ προσκέφαλό τους τὸ βράδου καὶ τὴν ἀρραβῶνα τῆς γυναικὸς νὰ τὴν πάρη ὁ ἄνδρας νὰ κατοικήσῃ μέσα καὶ ξαμποδέονται.

6.3.2.12. private collection, *iatrosophion* purchased in Macedonia (s. XVIII), ed. Abbott 1903, 358-359

διὰ νὰ λύσης ἄνδρα δεμένον. ἔπαρον μαχαίριν ὅπου ἔκαμε φονικὸν καὶ ὅταν υπάγη νὰ κοιμηθῆ ὁ δεδεμένος, ἄς βάνη τὸ μαχαίριν εἰς τὰ σκέλη του καὶ τότε ἄς κοιμηθῆ. καὶ ὅταν ἐξυπνήσῃ, ἄς εἰπῆ ταῦτα τὰ λόγια 'ὡς τοῦτο τὸ μαχαίριν ἐδυνήθη νὰ κάμη φονικὸν ἤγουν νὰ σκοτώσῃ ἄνθρωπον, οὕτως νὰ δυνηθῆ καὶ τὸ ἐδικόν μου σῶμα νὰ πέσω μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς μου τοῦ δεῖνα.' καὶ πάραυτα πεύτει μὲ τὴν γυναῖκά του.

³ αὐτοῦτο *cod.*

6.4. *cosmological*

natural cycle of the sun

6.4.1. Alexander of Tralles 2, p. 583 (Heim 1893 no. 204)

προφυλακτικὸν ποδάγρας. λαβῶν πέταλον χρυσοῦν σελήνης ληγούσης γράφε ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ ὑποκείμενα καὶ ἐνδήσας εἰς νεῦρα γεράνου, εἶτα ὁμοιον τῷ πετάλω

σωληνάριον ποιήσας, κατάκλεισον καὶ φόρει περὶ τοὺς ἀστραγάλους ἵμει θρευ μορ
φορ τευξ ζα ζων θε λου χρι γε ζε ων. ὡς στερεοῦται ὁ ἥλιος ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι τούτοις
καὶ ἀνακαινίζεται καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, οὕτω στερεώσατε τοῦτο τὸ πλάσμα καθὼς
ἦν τὸ πρὶν, ἤδη ἤδη ταχὺ ταχύ. ἰδοὺ γὰρ λέγω τὸ μέγα ὄνομα ἐν ζῷ ἀναπαυόμενα
στερεοῦνται. ιαζ αζυφ ζυων θρευξ βαιν χω ωκ. στερεώσατε τὸ πλάσμα τοῦτο
καθὼς ἦν τὸ πρῶτον, ἤδη ἤδη ταχὺ ταχύ.'

against sunstroke

6.4.2. reported from contemporary Kephallene, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

ἄως βγαίνει ὁ ἥλιος καὶ περιπλέει | βουνὰ λαγκάδια καὶ δάσια, | τῆ γῆ, τῆ
θάλασσα, τὰ πάντα ὅλα, ἔτσι νὰ ἔβγη καὶ ὅποιος τὸν ἔχει καὶ νὰ πάη 'ς τῆ
καθολικιά του θέση.'

inaccessibility of the moon; classical mythology (moon as daughter of Jupiter); vow

6.4.3. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 2.22 (cod. p. 227.18-20, ed.
Önnerfors 2006, 1:45; Heim 1893, 558)

renium dolor. dicis hoc 'domina luna, Iouis filia, quomodo lupus non tangit te, et sic et
renes meos dolor non tangat. si renem manducauero, offendo.'

disappearance of stars at daybreak (cf. 1.31); for thrush in infants (ἄφτραις)

6.4.4. reported from contemporary Kastellorizo, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

ἄπόψε ἔσ'εἰ ἄστρα, ἔσ'εἰ τσ' ἄφτρα. | ἄργιο μῆε ἄστρα μῆε ἄφτρα.'

ἄργιο *i.e.* αὔριον

for warts (μπαρδαβίτσα)

6.4.5. reported from contemporary Katachorion, Chatziotis 1915-1916

ἄπόψε ἀστέρια, ἀπόψε μπαρδαβίτσα. | τὴν αὐγὴ μῆτ' ἀστέρια, μῆτε
μπαρδαβίτσα.'

6.5. *mixed*

objects, animals, and parts of the human body

double tricolon, A-B-(c-d-e)

6.5.1. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 2.26 (cod. p. 229.7-11, ed.
Önnerfors 2006, 1:46-47; Heim 1893, 558-559)

ad uentris dolorem et coagularem infantium praecantatio. dicis haec 'quomodo rota se
uoluet, quomodo uipera se flectet, quomodo lacerta, quomodo intestinum, quomodo
fimbriae exeunt de loco suo, sic et tu quantum glutiaris ama locum tuum tibi coagularem
cuius lac bibisti.'

² quomodo *corr. Heim* : quod *cod.*

against parasites in goats

6.5.2. reported from contemporary Crete, Polites 1909, 366-367

ὡς ρίχτει ὁ ἥλιος τς ἀχτῖνες του κ' ἢ συκιά τὰ φύλλα τση κ' ἢ μουρνιά τὰ φύλλα τση
καὶ τὸ μαῦρο βοῦι τῆ τριχιά του, ἔτσι νὰ πέσουνε καὶ τὰ φτυσομάμουνα ἀπὸ τοῦ
ρόδωποῦ τράου τῆ κεφαλῆ.

⁶ *with var.* ἀπὸ τοῦ φρογῆς (or τοῦ κερατσούλας) αἴγας τῆ κεφαλῆ.

6.5.3. reported from contemporary Crete, Bardakes 1926, 245

‘ὡς ρίχτει ὁ ἥλιος τς ἀχτῖνές του κ’ ἡ συκιά τὰ φύλλα τση κ’ ἡ μουρνιά τὰ φύλλα τση καὶ τὸ μαῦρο βοῦι τὴ τριχιά του, ἔτσι νὰ πέσουνε καὶ τὰ φτυσομάμουνα ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥοδωποῦ τράου τὴ κεφαλή.’

interlocking, the user scatters a handful of dust

6.5.4. reported from contemporary Emparo (Crete), Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

‘ὡς ρίχτ’ ὁ ἥλιος τς ἀχτῖνες του, | κ’ ἡ θάλασσα τὰ κύματα, | κι’ ὁ τράος τὰ πηδήματα, | κι’ ὁ μαῦρος βοῦς τὴ τρίχα του, | κ’ ἡ μαύρ’ ἀηλεὰ τὰ κέρατα, | νὰ ῥήξη καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ζῶ τὸ δεῖνα | τσοὶ μαργαριταρένιους του.’

for worms

6.5.5. reported from contemporary Kerkyra, Kavasilas 1910, 653 no. 19

‘ὁ ἥλιος εἰς τὰνάτελα, | κ’ ἡ κόρη ’ς τὸ ’ξικάθαρμα, | κόκκιν’ ἡ μανίκα της. | ὅπου δέκα κ’ ἔντεκα, | νὰ πέφτουν τὰ σκουλήκια, | στραβὰ καὶ κουτσοκέφαλα.’

7. Miscellaneous

7.1.1. *ritual drama with tree*

supplying tree with bread and salt, instructing it to ‘receive’ (i.e. entertain) the ‘guests’ which will come ‘tomorrow’ (i.e. the affliction); for quartan fever

7.1.1.1. [Pliny] *De Medicina* 3.15.8 (Heim 1893 no. 69)

item. panem et salem in linteo de licio alliget et circa arborem licio alliget et adiuret per ter panem et salem ‘crastino hospites mihi uenturi sunt, suscipite illos.’ hoc ter dicat.

7.1.2. *bargin made with tree*

to make a fruitless tree bear fruit again

7.1.2.1. *Geoponika* 10.83.1-2

δένδρον ἄκαρπον καρποφορεῖν. Ζωροάστρου. συζωσάμενος καὶ ἀνακομβωσάμενος καὶ λαβῶν πέλεκυν ἢ ἀξίνην, μετὰ θυμοῦ πρόσελθε τῷ δένδρῳ, ἐκκόψαι τοῦτο βουλόμενος. προσελθόντος δέ σοί τινος καὶ παραιτουμένου τὴν τούτου ἀποκοπήν, ὡς ἐγγυητοῦ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος καρποῦ γινομένου, δόξον πείθεσθαι καὶ φείδεσθαι τοῦ δένδρου, καὶ εὐφορήσει τοῦ λοιποῦ.

for bleeding in women

7.1.2.2. Vienna, ÖNB cod. med. gr. 52 (c. 1300), f. 89r

πρὸς αἰμορροῦσαν. ἄρον τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς τρίχας καὶ ὕπαγε εἰς δένδρον ξηρὸν καὶ δῆσον αὐτὰς ἐπιλέγων οὕτως ‘ξηρανθείη ἡ ρύσις τοῦ αἵματος τῆς δεῖνος, καὶ μηδεὶς κόψη τὸ δένδρον τοῦτο.’

² τοῦ δεῖνος *cod.*

interlocking, the user ties three knots in a twig; for fever

7.1.2.3. reported from contemporary Katachorion, Chatziotis 1915-1916

‘ἂν ἐγὼ σὲ λύσω | νὰ ξαναθερμαθῶ.’

7.1.3. *bargin made with tree, analogy*

striking tree to shake off fruit, as analogy for the cure; for warts, cf. 2.2.4-5

7.1.3.1. London, BL cod. Sloane 475 (s. XI), ff. 115v-116r

si tu ipse aut amicus tuus quamuis longissimo terrarum spatio a te diuisus uerrucas habuerit, hoc modo si uis statim tollere possis. perquire arborem iuniperum et accedens ad eum tenens aliquam uirgam in manu dic orationem dominicam, pater noster. cum dixeris ‘sed libera nos a malo,’ percute de uirga | arborem fortiter et ut fructus uel folia cadant et dic ‘sicut cadit modo fructus de isto arbore, sic cadant omnes uerrucae homini illi N. uel feminae N. de manu uel pede suo uel alio membro.’ eadem quippe hora perdet eas omnes ac si numquam fuerint.

⁴ uí[[e]]\r/ga *cod.*

7.2. *ritual drama with divinity*

ritual with dialogue with Καλή τῶν ὀρέων, amulets to suspend on a horse, including epic diction from classical Greek (ὕψιπέτης) and another word ἀνεμοφθόρος with a resonance of Old Testament poetry (LXX *Hosea* 8:7). It is not possible to establish this with certainty, but it seems at least plausible that the directions for the horse amulets are meant

to come from the mountain divinity herself; the phrasing *καθώς σοι λέγω* supports this attribution, as such a first-person intrusion would be unusual at this place in the recipe. 7.2.1. Bologna, Univ. Bibl. cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 357r and Vienna, ÖNB cod. phil. gr. 108, f. 364r, ed. Delatte 1927, 600

〈περὶ τῆς καλῆς τῶν ὀρέων〉. τὴν πρώτην τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνὸς λάβε μέλι καὶ κοκκονάρια εἰς σκουτέλαν καὶ βάμματα διαφορὰ μεταξωτά. γράφε δὲ εἰς χαρτὶν ‘λινωμω κουωρω.’ ἔπαρον αὐτὰ καὶ ἄγωμε εἰς βουνὶν τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν καὶ θεῖς αὐτὰ τὸ μεσημέριν εἰς πέτραν ριζίμεαν καὶ κρυβῆς. καὶ ἔρχεται ἡ δέσποινα τῶν ὀρέων καὶ λέγει ‘τίς ἐμοὶ ἐποίησεν τοῦτο τὸ καλόν;’ καὶ ἀποκρίθητι ‘ἐγώ, καὶ θέλω τόδε καὶ τόδε.’ καὶ λέγει ‘ὑπάγε, γενέσθω σοι ὡς θέλεις. ποιήσε δὲ τὸ μετάξιν γατάνιν καὶ κρέμασέ το εἰς τὸν σφόνδυλον τοῦ ἀλόγου σου καὶ γράψε καὶ εἰς χαρτὶν “ἀνεμοφθόρος” καὶ δῆσον εἰς τὸν δεξιὸν πόδα, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀριστερὸν τὸν ἔμπροσθεν “ἀετὸς ὑψιπέτης” καὶ εἰς τὸν ὀπισθε τὸν ἕνα “νίκη” καὶ εἰς τὸν ἄλλον “δύναμις.” καὶ ποιήσας δὲ αὐτὰ φύλαξον καὶ κρέμασον αὐτὰ καθὼς σοι λέγω, καὶ τρέχει ὡς ἀετός.’

5 ἐμὲν cod. || 9 *correxī* : ποιήσον ... φυλακτὸν *Delatte*

7.3. *ritual drama with celestial bodies*

7.3.1. *moon*

dramatic form, dialogue with the moon; to bind wolves

7.3.1.1. private collection, Βερναρδάκειο μαγικὸ κώδικας (s. XIX), f. 32r-v, ed. Parathomopoulos 2006, 48-49

νὰ δέσης λύκους, εἰς φεγγάρι καινούργιον. σήκωσε τὰς χεῖράς σου πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ λέγε ‘καλῶς τὸ νέο φεγγάρι, καλῶς μοι ἦλθεν ἡ νέα κυριακή, καλὴ ἔσπερα. τί ‘μᾶς ἔφερες ἀπὸ τὸ ταξίδι; “ἦφερα ἀλύσους καὶ χαλινάρια, νὰ χαλινώσω λύκους καὶ λύκαινες καὶ ἀλωπέκων στόματα καὶ νὰ δέσωμεν τὰς ἀλώπεκας ὅλας καὶ ὀλωνῶν τῶν λύκων τὰ στόματα καὶ τὰ | μάγουλά τους καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς πόδας τους νὰ μὴν ἐγγίξουν τὰ πράγματα τοῦ δεῖνα, νὰ μὴν τὰ ἀγγίξουν οὔτε νὰ τὰ φονεύσουν οὔτε τὰ ἀρνιά του οὔτε τὰ κατσικιά του οὔτε τὰ πρόβατά του μήτε τὰ γίδιά του μήτε τὰ γελάδιά του μήτε τὰ ἄλογά του μήτε τὰ μουλάρια του μήτε τὰ γαδούρια του μήτε τὰ ὀρνίθιά του μήτε ἄλλα ζῶά του, ἀλλὰ νὰ εἶναι ἀλυσσοδεμένοι καὶ χαλινωμένοι. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ, ἀμήν.” καὶ νὰ βαστᾶς εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου ἕνα λουριὶ ἀπὸ ἐλαφοτόμαρον ὅταν λὲς τὸν ὀρκισμὸν τρεῖς φορές, καὶ εἰς κάθε φοράν νὰ δένης ἀπὸ ἕνα κόμπων.

9-10 στῶμεν ... θεοῦ *resolvi*, ς μ κ λ σ ς μ μ τ φ β θ υ *cod.* (*reproduced as if magical characteres in ed. pr.*)

predatory animals

7.3.1.2. reported from contemporary Crete, Koukoules 1928, 488

‘φεγγάρι μου λαμπροτάτο καὶ λαμπροτιμημένο, εἴντά ‘κουσες κι εἴντά μαθες ‘ς τὸν κόσμον ποῦ γυρίζεις; “δὲν εἶδα ἄλλο τίποτα παρὰ κάτω ‘ς τοῦ Μουετῆ τ’ ἀλώνι εἶδα χίλια ἀλόγατα δεμένα μετὰ τὴν κατακουρκουμωτὴ κατακουρκουμωμένα.” ἔτσα νὰ κατακουρκουμωθῆ ὁ λούπαρδος κι ἡ λουπαρδίνα, ὁ γάττος κι ἡ γάττα, καὶ νὰ λείψουν ἀπὸ τὸ ὄρνιθες τοῦ δεῖνος.’

7.3.2 *star*

7.3.2.1. Naples, BN cod. II C 33 (s. XV), f. 233v, ed. Delatte 1927, 618. In margin next to the title, drawing of hand grasping rodent.

εις ποντικούς. “καλή σπέρα σου, πρῶτον ἄστρον καὶ φῶς φωτίας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.”
 “ἴνα τί με προσχαιρετᾶς, καλὲ ἀγουρίτζι;” “προσχαιρετῶ σας νά μου εἴπης ἀπὸ
 πόθεν ἀνατέλλεις.” “ἔρχομαι ἀπὸ τὰς ἑπτὰ ἡμισυ θαλάσσας τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ἀπὸ τὰ
 ἑπτὰ ἡμισυ ἄλμυρὰ πηγάδια.” “τὸ βαστᾶς, τί με βαστᾶς;” “τρία
 σιδηρομολυβδοχαλινάρια νὰ σιδηρομολυβδοχαλινώσω τοὺς ποντικούς ἀρσενικούς
 καὶ θηλυκούς, τοὺς ἄνω καὶ τοὺς κάτω· ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς Τωνομαντούφος μου
 ἐμήνυσεν νὰ τοῦ πέμψω ἓν, δύο ποντικοδέρματα καὶ τὸ ἴμιον τοῦ ἴμιου. τὸ λοιπὸν
 ἐὰν οὐδὲν ἴμισέσετε ἀποδῶ, ἐσᾶς τὸ θέλω κακόν.” λέγε δὲ ταῦτα ἕως ἡμέρας τρεῖς
 ἀνὰ καθὲν ἑσπέραν φορὰς τρεῖς εἰς τὸ πρῶτον ἄστρον. καὶ ἔχε σκουλούδια καὶ δένε
 πᾶσαν φορὰν ἓν κόμπον, ἔπειτα βάλει εἰς πῦρ.

4 ἄρμυρὰ *Delatte* || 6 τῶν Ὀμαντούφος *Delatte* || 9 βάλων *Delatte*

internal prescription of incantation by divine figure

7.3.2.2. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 142 (s. XIV), ff. 160v-161r, cf. *Almazov* 1901, 334

περὶ τοῦ ἀποδέσαι ὀρνέων στόματα. ἄπαρε καὶ βῆ ἡμέραν πρὶν ἡλίου
 ἀνατέλλοντος καὶ λέγε οὕτως “καλῶς μας ἦρτες πρῶτον ἄστρον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τί
 μας ἤφερες ἀπὸ τὴν Συρίαν καὶ Ῥώμην;” “ἤφερα χιλίους μυρίους ὀδόντας τῶν
 θηρίων νὰ δέσω τῶν ὀρνέων τὰ στόματα, λύκον λύκαιναν, κουρούνας καὶ
 κουρουνοπούλας, ἄλωπούς ἄλωποπούλας, πέρδικα περιστέρια ὀξιακονάδι κόρακα
 καὶ τὸν κλούνιον· ἔπαρε μαχαίριν μαυρομάνικον καὶ κάρφωσε καὶ ἔπαρε κάρναβιν
 Ἀλεξανδρινὸν χάνοσον ἀπόδεσον | τῶν χιλίων μυρίων ὀρνέων τὰ στόματα καὶ
 τὸν κλέπτην τὸ δεξιὸν τοῦ χέρι τοῦ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον τοῦ δούλου
 τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνος.”

Ἰ ὀρνεον. παρασκευὴν ἡμέραν *Almazov* : ἠπαπαρας *cod.* | βην *cod.*, *pro* βῆθι || 6
 χάνοσον *sic cod.*, *pr. aor. imper. of* χάσκω || 7 κλέπτην *om. Almazov* || 8 τοῦτον *om.*
Almazov

with variant of the banquet, infliction not invited motif (cf. 3.51); wordplay on the name
 of the affliction (ἄφτρα) and ‘star’ (ἄστρο); further adynatology (cf. 1.31.1-2)

7.3.2.3. reported from contemporary Teuthrone (Gytheion), *Manolakos* 1915-1916, 611
 no. 4

ἄστρο πρωτάστρο τούρανοῦ καὶ πρωτοκαλεσμένο, | ὅλη τὴ γῆ τὴν ἐκάλεσες, τὴ
 γῆ τὴν οἰκουμένη, | τὴν ἄφτρα δὲν ἐκάλεσες τὴν τρισκαταραμένη. | τὸ πρωτὶ, καλὴ
 σπέρα ἄφτρα, | τὸ βράδυ, καλὴ μέρα ἄφτρα. | οὔτε ἄφτρα τὸ πρωτὶ, οὔτε ἄφτρα τὸ
 βράδυ. | κι’ ὅσο εἶναι καλὴ σπέρα | κι’ ὅσο εἶναι καλὴ μέρα | τόσο νὰ σέ βρῆ ἢ ἄλλη
 μέρα.’

7.4 address to celestial body, rhetorical question

meter, nearly dactylic hexameter

7.4.1. *Hippiatrica Parisina* 692, printed in the ed. of Oder and Hoppe under *Hippiatrica*
Berolinensis 86.3 (and not in the corresponding place in *Hipp. Paris.*) apparently because
 the heading of 86.3 attributes the remedy to Pelagonios, and the Latin version of
 Pelagonios includes the incantation, while the Berlin version omits it; indeed it contains no
 incantations whatsoever (*Heim* 1893 no. 113b)

Πελαγωνίου πρὸς τὰ ἀπὸ ἐχίδνης δῆγματα καὶ μυγαλῆς καὶ φαλαγγίου.
 συμβάλλεται τοῖς πεπληγμένοις γῆ ἀπὸ μυρμηκιάς ἐγχυματιζομένη μετὰ οἴνου καὶ
 αὐτὰ δὲ ἀποτρίβειν τὰ πλήγματα. ἡ δὲ θεότης φιλεῖ λιπαρὰ ῥήματα καὶ ὁ ἥλιος
 τῶν ἵππων ἰδικὸς ἐστὶν δεσπότης καὶ χαίρων πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἔρχεται θεραπείαν

ἐπικαλούμενος οὕτως· ὅτε τὴν γῆν λαμβάνεις λέγε ‘δέσποτα ἥλιε θερμὲ καὶ ψυχρὲ, τοσοῦτόν με ἀπηλλοτριώσας;’ τοῦτο λέγων ἔμβαλε κατὰ τοῦ λαιμοῦ τὸ βοήθημα.

³ ἢ δὲ θεότης φιλεῖ λιπαρὰ ῥήματα *correxi* : ἢ δὲ θεοφίλη λιπαρὰ παρήματα *cod.* : μὴ δὲ θεοφιλῆ <ἐλλίπη> λιπαρῆ ῥήματα *Oder-Hoppe*

7.4.2. Pelagonius §283 (Heim 1893 no. 113a)

item si uipera aut phalangion aut mus araneus momorderit, prodest terram formicarum cum uino faucibus infundere aut ipsa uulnera confricare. sed et uerba religiosa non desint, nam sol peculiariter dominus equorum inuocatus ad medelam adest. quem hoc modo cum terram positam talparum coeperis tollere inuocabis sic ‘tu sol diuine calide et frigide tantum mihi abalienasti?’ hoc dices et supra scriptam medelam faucibus infunde.

⁴ positam *resolvi* : p^o *cod.* (*del. Ihm*) | sic tu *Heim* : ictu *cod.*

7.5. invocation of celestial body, for healing

7.5.1 sun

to dry out a patient’s spleen

7.5.1.1. Paris, BnF *cod. gr.* 2316 (s. XV), f. 372r, ed. Oikonomu-Agorastu 1982 no. 274
περὶ σπλήνας. λαβῶν ὄξος καὶ σίτινον ἀλεύριν ἔψησον καὶ θές ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν σπλήναν καὶ λάλει τὴν γητεῖαν ταύτην ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου ‘χαίροις ἥλιε, χαίροις κύρ ἥλιε τῷ ἀνατείλαντί σε θεῶ, τοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι ἐπὶ κορυφᾶς δένδρων καὶ ὀρέων τὸν θρόνον τὸν ἀσάλευτον, τὰ ἄστρα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τὸ ὕψος τοῦ κόσμου, τὸ ὕψωμα τοῦ ἡλίου. ψῦξον, μάρανον τὴν σπλήναν τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα, καὶ ὀμνύει ἄλλον σπλήνα οὐ μὴ φαγεῖν.’

² κυρίλλιε *cod.* || ⁵ ὀμνήη *cod.* : ὀμνύη *Oikonomu-Agorastu* || ⁶ φάγην *cod.* : φάγην *Oikonomu-Agorastu*

to dry out a kidney ailment

7.5.1.2. Vatican, BAV *cod. Barber. gr.* III 3 (s. XV), no folio reference given, ed. Vassiliev 1893, 334; shelfmark no longer in use

ἐξορκισμὸς διὰ τὰ νεφρά. ‘ἥλιε ἀνάτειλε καὶ ἠλίωσον τὸ σκίον ἀπὸ τὸν δούλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ἀπὸ τὰ νεφρά του, ὅτι τὸν πόνον οὐ δύναται βαστάζειν οὔτε ἡμέραν οὔτε νύκτα.’

¹ ἀνέτειλε *cod.* (*pref. Krumbacher BZ 3 [1894] 191*)

7.5.2 moon

for toothache

7.5.2.1. London, BL Egerton MS 821 (s. XII), f. 60r

ad dolorem dentium. ‘domina luna libera me de omnes iniurias, de febres et de serpentes et de dolores de dentes’ tres uices, ‘sanctus sanctus sanctus agios agios agios.’

7.5.3. sun and moon, miscellaneous

imperatives referring to the sun and moon, in analogy with cure of fever; likely a reflex of the Joshua historiola

a reflex of the Joshua type, for fever; ritual involving the tying of knots, writing which is to be dissolved and drunk

7.5.3.1. manuscript in private possession seen on Cos, s. XVIII, ed. Rouse 1899, 165
ρίγος καθημερινός. νὰ τὸ διαβάξης τρεῖς φορές καὶ νὰ δένης ἔς τὸ χέρι τοῖς μία
βαμπακερὴ κλωστή τρεῖς κόμπους καὶ νὰ τὸ γράψης καὶ ἔς ἓνα ἄσπρο ρίζανάκι. νὰ
τὸ λυώσης μὲ νερὸ νὰ τοῖς τὸ ποτίσης. ἴσῃτω ὁ ἥλιος τῆς ἀνατολῆς, στήτω καὶ ἡ
σελήνη, στήτω καὶ τὸ ρίγος ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα, ἀμήν.’

3 τῆς σελήνης *codd.*, Rouse

with analogy

7.5.3.2. reported from contemporary Kos, Zarraphte 1951, 308

ἴσῃτω τῆς ἀνατολῆς ὁ ἥλιος, | στήτω καὶ τὸ φέγγος τῆς σελήνης, | στήτω καὶ τὸ
ρίγος τὸ τρίτῳ τοῦ δεῖνα. | ὡς τρέχ’ ὁ νήλιος κ’ ἡ σελήνη | καὶ φεύγ’ ἡ φλόγα κι ἡ
πυρὰ τως, | ἔτσὰ νὰ τρέχη καὶ νὰ φεύγη | ἡ πᾶσα φλόγα καὶ πυρὰ τοῦ δεῖνα.’

7.5.4. *star*

address to star; interlocking, a torch is quenched in a vessel of water; for thrush in infants
(ἄφτρα)

7.5.4.1. reported from contemporary Gytheio, Athanasopoulos et al. 1914

ἄστρο πρωτάστρο τούρανοῦ κατέβα κάνε κρίση, | νὰ θεραπέψης τὸ δοῦλό σου
τὸν δεῖνα. | σβύνει ἡ δαύλα ἔς τὸ νερό, | σβύνει ἡ ἄφτρα ἔς τὸ λαιμό.’

7.6. *addresses to medicinal substances*

7.6.1. *plants and plant products*

classical mythological references, attribution of incantations (*praecantationes*) to Asklepios
(cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 3.51 μαλακαῖς ἐπαιδαῖς ἀμφέπων); against miscarriage (? cf. app. cr. in
ed.)

7.6.1.1. addition to [Apuleius] *Herb.* 114 (ed. Howald and Sigerist 1927, 295: addition in
codd. β γ; one manuscript (Vr) a second hand has added a condemnation and
substitution: quod hic sequitur non ualet, sed pro hoc dicatur pater noster et credo).
herbam sicidem agrian sic legi oportet mense Iulio cum herbae maturescunt, luna tertia,
ita ut ab omnibus mundus sis. precaberis autem eam, sic dicis ‘hygia, summa nutrix
draconum, per matrem terram te adiuro ut curis, praecantationibus Asclepii herbarum
doctoris incantationem meam perferas illibatam.’

4 doctorem *codd.* | illibatam *codd.*

adjuration of healing substance, wine used to remedy bewitchment (*envouteure*), by
immersing the objects used in the bewitchment (*ymages*, *clous*) therein; instructions in
French

7.6.1.2. Évreux, BM cod. 23 (s. XIII-XIV), f. 166v, ed. Meyer-Joret 1889, 576

‘exorcizo te uinum per illum qui in Chana Gallileae lymphas conuertit in uinum, qui mare
rubrum filiis Israel emisit atque per centum quadraginta quattuor milia ... de terra et per
nouem ordines angelorum et per decem uerba legis et per quinque libros Moysi et per
quattuor euangelistas et per sanctam Mariam matrem domini nostri Iesu Christi.’

7.6.2. *animals let go after substance removed*

address to lizard whose liver has been removed as materia medica

7.6.2.1. Marcellus 22.41 (Heim 1893 no. 71)

lacertam uiridem prende et de acuta parte cannae iecur ei tolle et in phoenicio uel panno
naturaliter nigro alliga atque ad dextram partem lateris aut brachii laboranti epatico

suspende sed uiuam lacertam dimitte et dicito ei ‘ecce dimitto te uiuam. uide ut ego quemcumque hinc tetigero epar non doleat.’

7.6.3. *animal to which affliction is transferred*

7.6.3.1. Marcellus 29.35 (Heim 1893 no. 72, in part)

lepori uiuo talum abstrahes pilosque eius desub uentre tolles atque ipsum uiuum dimittes. de illis pilis uel lana filum ualidum facies et ex eo talum leporis conligabis corpusque laborantis praecinges. miro remedio subuenies. efficacius tamen erit remedium ita ut incredibile sit si casu os ipsum id est talum leporis in stercore lupi inueneris quod ita custodire debes ne aut terram tangat aut a muliere contingatur, sed nec filum illum de lana leporis factum debet mulier ulla contingere. hoc autem remedium cum uni profuerit ad alios translatum cum uolueris et quotiens uolueris proderit. filum quoque quod ex lana uel pilis quos de uentre leporis tuleris solus purus et nitidus facies. quod si ita uentri laborantis subligaueris plurimum proderit ut sublata lana leporem uiuum dimittas et dicas ei dum dimittis eum ‘fuge fuge lepuscule et tecum aufer coli dolorem.’

for toothache

7.6.3.2. Marcellus 12.24 (Heim 1893 no. 70)

dolorem rumpes cum calciatus sub diuo supra terram uiuam stans caput ranae adprehendes et os aperies et spues intra os eius et rogabis eam ut dentium dolores secum ferat et tum uiuam dimittes et hoc die bono et hora bona facies.

1 rumpes cum *corr.* Heim : rumperum *codd.* | caput eius *codd.*

7.6.3.3. Marcellus 12.46 (also excerpted in London, BL cod. Sloane 475 [s. XI], f. 117r) cum primum hirundinem uideris tacebis et ad aquam nitidam accedes atque inde in os tuum mittes. deinde digito obsceno id est medio tam manus dextrae quam sinistrae dentes fricabis et dices ‘hirundo tibi dico, quomodo hoc in rostro iterum non erit, sic mihi dentes non doleant toto anno.’ iterum alium annum et deinceps sequentibus similiter facies si uolueris remedii huius quotannis manere beneficium.

wordplay on names, the κοπτόκωλος (pustule), the bird (κόττα) whose leg (κῶλο) is placed on the affected area

7.6.3.4. reported from contemporary Aidepsia, E.D. Papanastasio in Athanasopoulos et al. 1912-1913

‘πάρε πίσω κόττα τὸ κῶλο σου.’

7.7. *miscellaneous prayers*

7.7.1. to pagan gods

Apollo

7.7.1.1. Paris, BnF cod. lat. 6862 (s. IX), f. 15r, ed. Wickersheimer 1966, 70

contra pustella. ‘Apollo medicus, adiuro te per trecentos sexaginta et quinque dies quos habet annus uersus ut extollas tumores dolores de corpore humano dico praedico sandara mola maledicta pustella.’

Hercules and Juno

7.7.1.2. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 1.13 (cod. p. 202.29-30, ed. Önnorfors 2006, 1:19; Heim 1893, 557)

<ad> trauoratum equi, bouis, asini. ‘Hercules et Iuno regina, adueniatis huic caballo, boui, uel asino qui est trauoratus.’

7.7.2. *Christian god*

progressive removal of affliction; meristic specification of origin of affliction; for worms (Heim's identification as 'contra fleumata' is not correct, he omits and apparently misinterprets the first part of the incantation)

7.7.2.1. St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751 (s. IX), p. 452, ed. Heim 1893, 564

'fleumata † leudomata † oblomata † soacra † soacrata † mellena et magite. adiuua me deus saluator meus in adiutorio tuo, adiuua nos cantare et praecantare una cum sancto Zenone, Abraham, et sancto Raphael et sancto Oriel, choris angelorum, et sancto Damiano. purga manu sua, hic moue uermem de ossibus si a garo uermem, si uermem fartum cello, moue de ossibus si uermem rimo, moue de ossibus, si uermem graneum, hic mouat. de ossibus in pulpam, de pulpa in pellem, de pelle in pilum, de pilo in terram suscipe, quia carnis portare non potest, nec die nec in nocte.' tolle siligineam farinam et mel mitte in frixoria, fac corpus unum et mitte in pellem et pone in malanno et pone de terra qui dicitur milo; si quadrupedia est, pone in bucca. et sic homo ossa mature sanefiet.

3 choris angelorum *correxi* : corangelorum *cod.* : chorum angelorum *Heim* || 4 uermem *correxi* : uerme *cod.* : uermes *Heim et passim* | ossa *cod. et passim* || 5 graneum *correxi* : graneo *cod.* || 9 ossa *om. Heim* | mature *correxi* : materba *cod.*

analogy?

7.7.2.2. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 2.32 (cod. p. 232.1-4, ed. Önnorfors 2006, 1:49; Heim 1893, 559)

item coli doloris <re>medium. lupi cor siccum tritum siue cinis factum, ex eo duobus digitis tollis et in mero die Iouis dabis. prius super calicem cum iam puluerem miseris facies signum Christi et sic dicis 'torquitor sic deus Christus liberat eum.' hoc ter dicis.

1 dolorem *cod.* | <re>medium *corr. Önnorfors*

7.7.3. unnamed power

-homoioteleuton

7.7.3.1. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 1.13 (cod. p. 202.26-28, ed. Önnorfors 2006, 1:19; Heim 1893, 557)

<ad> trauoratum. si quid in ore haeserit, sic incantabis ter carmen 'causam secernas a me, sanum facias continuo, excreato, elicito, traicito, foras mittito.'

1 causam secernas *corr. Önnorfors* : ciuilecernas *cod.* || 2 elicito *corr. Önnorfors* : dicito *cod.*

7.8. *interplay of language*

7.8.1. *Latin into Greek*

7.8.1.1. *performatives*

Latin in Greek transliteration (? *custos*)

7.8.1.1.1. Marcellus 32.25 (Heim 1893 no. 199)

si quis ab equitando aut ambulando inguen habuerit scribat in charta 'κύστος' et ad femur sibi alliget. cito sanabitur.

1 κύστις *vel* κύσθος *disc. Heim*

Greek into Latin, incantation with the three magi, *Gaspar fert myrram, tus Melchior ...*; for epilepsy

7.8.1.1.2. Vienna, ÖNB cod. phil. gr. 321 (s. XIII), f. 309v (ed. Makris 1995, 401)

‘γασποφερμυραν τους μηρτζιενε.’

sator arepo

dissolving words in water; for sleep

7.8.1.1.3. Vienna, ÖNB cod. phil. gr. 108 (s. XV), f. 31r

περί ύπνου, να κοιμηθῆ ἄσθενῆς. γράψαι ταῦτα [*signs*]: ἄς λύσαν να πῆ με τὸ νερόν ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ‘σατηρ αρεπω τενετ ωπερ ρητας.’

written and given to the patient to eat; against rabies

7.8.1.1.4. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 636 (s. XVII), f. 131r

ὅταν φάγη τὸν ἄνθρωπον σκύλος λυσιάρης γράψον ταύτας καὶ δὸς φαγεῖν ‘σατωρ | αρεπω | τενετ | ωπερα | ρωτας.’

written on paper and given to the patient to eat; against rabies

7.8.1.1.5. Athens, cod. Bibl. Senat. 124 (s. XIX: a. 1815), f. 273v, ed. Delatte 1927, 141; cf. *CCAG X:36*, cod. 20

ἐὰν φάγη σκύλος λυσιάρης τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἔπαρον τὰ κάτω στοιχεῖα καὶ γράψον αὐτὰ εἰς ἑννέα χαρτῖα καὶ δὸς αὐτοῦ να τὰ φάγη ἡμέρες ἑπτὰ, ἀπὸ χαρτῖα δύο κάθε ταχύ, καὶ ὕστερα να φάγη καὶ γιοκαρὶ βοτάνι, σπειρία δύο. ‘σατορ | αρεπο | τενετ | οπερα | ρωτας.’

$\overline{3}$ ροταρ *cod.*

for general protection, with addition of two names of holy figures from the Old Testament

7.8.1.1.6. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 636 (s. XVII), f. 1v

φυλακτήριον ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ συναντήματος καὶ αὐθέντου ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἀπὸ ἐχθροῦς. ‘σατορ | αρεπο | τενετ | ωπερα | ρωτας | Δαυιδ Σολομων.

$\overline{2}$ ΤΕΝΕΠ *cod.*

Christian exegesis of *sator arepo* as standing for the five wounds of Christ in Arabic, prescribed as a remedy for rabies to be written and eaten by the patient, on offering-bread if the patient is human, on a regular pastry if an animal

7.8.1.1.7. cited at third hand from an unnamed contemporary Greek source, Legrand 1881, 19

ἰατρικὸν διὰ τὴν λύσσαν. ‘σατορ αρεπο τενετ οπερα ρωτας.’ τὰς ἄνω πέντε λέξεις γράψε εἰς καθαρὸν χαρτὶ τρὶς καὶ ἀφ’ οὗ περιτυλίξη τὸ χαρτάκι με ψωμί ἄς φάγη ὁ ἄσθενῆς τὸ πρῶτὸ τὸ μεσημέρι καὶ τὸ βραδὺ ἀπὸ ἑν, ἐὰν ἦναι ἄνθρωπος, με προσφοράν, ἐὰν δὲ ὁποιοῦδήποτε εἶδους ζῶον, με παστρικὸν ψωμί, καὶ οὕτως ἰατρεύεται. αἱ λέξεις σημαίνουν τὰς πέντε πληγὰς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀραβικά.

7.8.1.2. *manipulation of name of affliction*, by reverse writing

σουβρομ for μορβους (*morbis*)

7.8.1.2.1. glass paste gem, ed. Harrauer 1992 no. 1 with photograph. On one side, lion-headed snake-man composite; on the other, inscription

σουβ|ρομο|χωαχα|νονν|[,]α

²⁻⁵ ed. points to an underlying Lat. hoc non n[oce]a(τ) or hoc non n[ox]a, neither of which seems probable

7.8.1.3. other powerful words

δομνος i.e. *domnus* for *dominus*

7.8.1.3.1. yellow jasper from private collection (C. Bonner), ed. Bonner 1950 no. 241 with photograph. On one side, lions and human figures; the other inscribed (line-breaks added from photograph):

ιαω | σαβαωθ | δομνος.

7.8.1.4. to express command / prayer

Half-Latin, half-Greek inscription enjoining silence (in magical ritual; Latin *fauete linguis*)

7.8.1.4.1. amulet of unspecified type now in Paris (Cabinet des Médailles inv. 270), ed. L. Robert *JS* 1 (1981), 34 [*SEG XXXI* 1597], no facsimile. On one side, the three Graces; on the other, a woman offers fruit to the anguipede divinity, with inscription.

λιγουε σιγα̃τε.

^{λίγουε} i.e. *linguae*, Robert

bilingual Greek and Latin inscription, prayer δαθε σαλυθεμ | ετ υικτωριαμ (7-8, i.e. date salutem et uictoriam), identification of bear with metronym

7.8.1.4.2. folded gold leaf, from Roman Britain (c. 75-125 AD), ed. Tomlin 2004 with photograph (*SEG LIV* 1011); see also id. and M.W.C. Hassall *Britannia* 37 (2006) 481-482 no. 51

signs | *signs* | *signs* ιαω *signs* | *sign* αβρασαχ | πανηη αβλαν|ναθαναλβα | δαθε σαλυθεμ | ετ υικτωριαμ | Tib(erium) Cla(udium) Similem quem pe|perit Herenia Marcellina

⁷⁻⁸ i.e. date salutem et uictoriam || 9 tib clauim *tablet*, I. Tiberio Claudio Simili

macaronic

7.8.1.4.3. Thessaly, monastery of Olympiotissa, cod. 97 (s. XVIII), p. 471, ed. Skouvara 1965-1966, 108

διὰ νὰ λύσης ἀνδρόγυνον ἀποδεμένον. βάλε κρασὶν εἰς caput mortis ξηρὴ νὰ τὸ πῖη et dixerint sic 'sicut ἐδέχθησεν ὁ Χριστὸς animam ταύτης caritis καὶ ἡ γῆ ἔλυσε corpus eius, ἔτσι solueret nostra magia' καὶ bibant uinum λέγοντας καὶ λύνονται.

¹ καπουτ μορτις *cod.* || 1-2 ετ διξεριτ σικ σικουτ *cod.* || 2 ανιμαμ *cod.* | καπουτ *cod.* || 2-3 κορπους εις *cod.* || 3 σολβερετ νοστρα magia *cod.* | bibar uinum *cod.*

Latin incantation with the names of the three magi, and also a Latin prayer to Christ invoking saints and asking for healing (contra morbum caducum ... dei nomen. Caspar, Melchior, Balthasar ... Susanna, Agathe, Latzia (?), Cosmas et Damianos, Lina, Cletus et Cyprianus. domine Iesu Christe, filius dei altissimi, tu me libera de isto morbo per meritum beatae uirginis gloriosae et per suffragium apostolorum Petri et Pauli et sancti Donati, alpha et omega, amen); mixture of Greek as well, and magical words (βελφαμουλ φαμουλ)

7.8.1.4.4. Leiden, UB cod. VLQ 50 (s. XV), ff. 160v-161r, ed. Oder-Hoppe *Corpus Hippiatricorum Graecorum, excerpta Lugdunensia* c. 104

περὶ ἀδελφικοῦ. κοντρα μορβουμ καδουκαμ. ἄβελφαμουλ φαμουλ δεηνομεν. Κασπαρ, Μελχιωρ, Βαλτοσαρ. ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ἰσχυρὸς ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ὠσαννα. Σουσάννα, Ἀγαθή, Λατζία, Κοσμεν εθ Δαμιᾶνος, Λίνα, Κλέτους εθ Τζιπριάνους, ντομινε ντζιεζουμ κριστε, φιλιους δεκει αλτισιμ τουμ λιμπερα δε ιστο μορβομ περ μερτι μπεατα βιρντζινε γλωριουζα εθ περ | σουφραγο αποστολορουμ Πέτρο εθ Πανουλι εθ σαντου Δονατι, αλφα εδ ωμ, αμην. ὀφείλεις δὲ ποιεῖν εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν διάταξιν λειτουργίας πέντε εἰς λῆψιν τῆς σελήνης πέμπτη καὶ σαββάτω, καὶ νὰ τὸ λέγη εἰς πᾶσαν λειτουργίαν ἀπάνου εἰς τὸν πάσχοντα, καὶ νὰ τὸν ρίπτῃ εἰς τὰ ἅγια, καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐξυστερινὴν λειτουργίαν νὰ τὸ γράψῃ εἰς χάρτην βεβράινον, καὶ νὰ τὸ δένη εἰς τὸν αὐχένα τοῦ πάσχοντος.

2 Βαλτοσαρ. ἅγιος *correxī* : Βαλτοσαραγ. ὁ Oder-Hoppe, cf. *app.cr.*

procedure for epilepsy involving the writing and speaking of an incantation including magical words and a Latin prayer transliterated into Greek (noticed by Vassiliev but not fully deciphered, and so numerous improved readings are possible; I do not note these differences from ed. pr. individually; cf. Fournier 1896 and Schermann 1919, 52-53). In 6-11 we can detect *contra morbum caducum libera famulum (uel) famulam dei in nomine Caspar, Melchior, Balthasar ... Susanna, Agathe, Latzia, Cosmas et Damianus, Lina, Asclepius et Cyprianus. domine Iesu Christe, filius dei altissimi, tu libera de isto morbo per meritum beatae uirginis gloriosae et per suffragium apostolorum Petri et Pauli et sancti Donati.*

7.8.1.4.5. Vatican, BAV cod. Barber. gr. III 3 (s. XV), no folio reference given, ed. Vassiliev 1893, 336; shelfmark on longer in use

περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφικοῦ ὅταν πιάσῃ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ὀφείλεις ποιεῖν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν διάταξιν λειτουργίας πέντε εἰς λῆψιν σελήνης τῆ πέμπτη καὶ τῷ σαββάτω καὶ νὰ τὸ λέγη εἰς πᾶσαν λειτουργίαν ἀπάνω εἰς τοῦ πάσχοντος καὶ νὰ τὸν ρίκτη εἰς τὰ ἅγια καὶ εἰς τὴν ὄλου ἐξυστερινὴν λειτουργίαν νὰ τὸ γράψῃ εἰς χαρτὴν βεβράινον καὶ νὰ τὸ δένη εἰς τὸν αὐχένα τοῦ πάσχοντος ταῦτα ἴσοδορο σαφιλ μοδοχ χοχοηλ βολοτρορ αβιαλ δοναε σκοπορο γολγολ απειαθ νοσοβορο μοθορο εκλιοβ αμνηαθ θονοβολ θαναβιλ τουτρα μορβουμ καιδουκαμ λιοβ φαμουλ φαμουλ δε ηνομει Κασπαρ Μελχιωρ Βαλτασαρ. ἅγιος θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ὠσαννα Σουσάννα Ἀγαθη Λατζια Κοσμεν εθ Δαμιανος Λινα (Α)σκελπους εθ Ζιπριανους. δομινε Τζεσουμ Κριστε, φιλικους δεκρι αλτησημ τουμ λιπερα δε ιστο μορβορ περ μερτι μπεατα βερτουσε γλυριουζα εθ περ σουφραγο αποστολρουν Πέτρο εθ Παυλω εθ (σ)αντου Δονατι αλλα εδωμ αμεν. απρααμ απρααμ και απραγμουσ φακει σακει μινιακει, καὶ τὸ πάτερ ἡμῶν τρεῖς φορές. εδυδυ εζαρωτ εζαρετ. Χριστέ ἐλέησον, κύριε ἐλέησον τὸν δούλόν σου ὀδεῖνα ἀπὸ τὸ δαιμονιακὸν σκίον ὀποῦ ἔχει. καὶ εἶπέ αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν αὐτοῦ ὠτίον.

1 ὀφείλεις *corr. Krumbacher BZ 3 (1894) 191* : ὠφείλεις Vassiliev || 4 χάρτα(ν) Vassiliev || 14 αὐτῷ Vassiliev

Latin prayer to a saint in Greek transliteration; some distortion, some hybridization of Latin forms with Greek declensional endings (νοστρου), but a Latin original containing 'in nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi sancte ... per nostra uerba adsis ... in domine' can be discerned.

7.8.1.4.6. Leiden, UB cod. VLQ 50 (s. XV), ff. 143v-144r, ed. Oder-Hoppe *Corpus Hippiatricorum Graecorum, excerpta Lugdunensia* c. 61

περὶ σκλέπας. | ὀφείλεις ὥρα μεσονυκτίου λέγειν εἰς τὸ ὠτίον τοῦ ἵππου τὴν πρῶτην, πέμπτην καὶ τῷ σαββάτῳ ἀφ' οὗ ἀποχύσει τὸ φέγγος αὐτοῦ ἢν <ν>ομινε ντομινε νοστρου ντιεζου γγριστου σαντου σαντακιος εἰς τὴν περ μως βερβις ασις του βαδεον ἢ μαῦρον καβάλου αρουλ αψαμωσ Σωλομων αλη ντομηνε.' ὀφείλεις δὲ λέγειν τὸν ἵππον τὴν χροίαν ἢ ἐστιν, 'ὦ ἵππε μαῦρε σιδήρρε ἢ βάδελτε ἢ δάγαλε.'

2 <ν>ομινε *supplevi* || 3 ντιεζου γγριστου *corr. in marg.* : Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ *a.c.*

7.8.1.5. *incerta*

perhaps Latin *deus Ourisel excludo Basasar*

7.8.1.5.1. Florence, BML cod. Plut. 7.19 (s. XIV), f. 258r

πρὸς ἡμικρανικόν. γράψον εἰς χαρτὴν καινὸν καὶ δῆσον ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ μετὰ πρωτομίτου 'δεους ουρισε λεξ κλουδω βασασαρ.'

7.8.2. *Greek into Latin*

7.8.2.1. *liturgical formula (Chrysostom)*

written in a cross on the forehead, i.e. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου; instructions in Anglo-Saxon

7.8.2.1.1. Oxford, St. John's College Ms. 17 (s. XII), f. 175r, ed. Singer 1918. On the page, line 1 is the horizontal bar, line 2 the vertical; both end with crosses.

'stomen calos | stomen meta fobu.'

1 calcos *cod.* || 2 fofu *cod.*

7.8.2.1.2. ex-Herten, cod. med. Hertensis 192 (s. XII), f. 36v, ed. Sudhoff 1917, 285

[private possession, photographed at Leipzig, Institut für Geschichte der Medizin]

contra fluxum sanguinis de naribus. tolle de ipso sanguine et scribe in pergamento ita, faciens crucem. 'stomen kalos, stomen meta phobu.' et alliga fronti eius. si non steterit fluxus sanguinis, scribe iterum eadem uerba et pone ad utrumque tempus et deo uolente cessabit. probatum est.

1 kalaos *cod.* | methophow *cod.*

7.8.2.2. *prayer*

prayer with historiola from *Joshua 10*; to be written on fruit, for fever. The transliterated portion (*nostisas ... metafo*) corresponds to a Greek original something like ὁ στήσας τὸν ἥλιον ἐπὶ Γαβαωθ καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἐπὶ φάραγγα Αἰλων, στήσον καὶ τὸ ῥίγον τοῦ δούλου κυρίου τοῦ δεῖνος [*nomen*] στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου).

7.8.2.2.1. Paris, BnF cod. NAL 229 (s. XII), f. 7r

item scribe ista uerba in tribus malis 'nostisas tolimon epigabaoth ketonsilini epipharanga elom stisom ketorigo tudulii kytudeu nomen stomen kalos stomen metafo.'

7.8.2.3. *incerta*

7.8.2.3.1. additions to the *Euporiston* of Theodorus, ed. Rose 1894, 308

[ad somnum.] facies pilam de cera et scribe in ea 'ὁ βαστάζων τὸν χροσα ινα ιταν ταχὺ αββατσαξο αλενοσιε το αιβδενος νραιωεε ει dormiat ille quem peperit illa' et ad nasum sibi teneat et olfaciat.

ob'actaZONTONXOCAINAITAN TAXEI aB BATYαZOαLENO CIETO
αIBDENOCNPαΙΩEE EI *cod.*

Greek in Latin recipe (? τομᾶ from τομάω), assertion that the eye 'needs cutting'; or perhaps a floating imperative, τόμα τόμα ('cut, cut [away the affliction]')
7.8.2.3.2. Leiden, cod. VLQ 9 (s. VI), f. 104v, §201, ed. Piechotta 1887, xiii (Heim 1893 no. 225)

ad oculorum dolorem. 'τομᾶ τομᾶ' scribes in charta pura. hoc nomen scribis et nomen ipsius qui dolet oculos et de licio ligabis in capite et mox sanabitur.

τ̄ τομᾶ τομᾶ *conieci* : tomatoma *cod.*

possibly Greek in Latin (duo for δέω?), performative of binding; cf. scorpion amulets with δέννω σε etc.

7.8.2.3.3. Pliny *NH* 28.24 (Heim 1893 no. 243)

Attalus adfirmat, scorpione uiso si quis dicat 'duo,' cohiberi nec uibrare ictus.

7.9. magical words

seven Greek vowels

7.9.1. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Baroc. 150 (s. XV), f. 6r [end of recipe for a protective concoction]

... καὶ κόπτων λέγε 'α ε η ι ε υ ω.'

magical logoi, divine names, ταχύ ταχύ

7.9.2. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Baroc. 150 (s. XV), f. 11r-v

ἐμπλαστρον ποδαλγικὸν ἢ λεγομένη δι' οὖρων, ἦν καὶ Ἀφρικανὸς ὑπογράφει, ἔστι δὲ πεπειρα(μένη). ἀγνοῦντα γὰρ μὴ παρίδης. ταῦτα δὲ Ἄδριανὸς καῖσαρ ἐδωρήσατό τινα συγκλητικῶ. ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ <πρὸς> τὸν παροξυσμὸν οὕτως. ἐὰν ἐπίτασις σφοδρὰ γένηται, ἐπιτεθεῖσα παραχρῆμα ἄπονον ποιεῖται τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ, τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἀναστάντα περιπατεῖν ἀνεμποδίστως παρέχει. αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ μεγάλη δύναμις τοῦ φαρμάκου. εἰ γὰρ τις μετὰ τινος πόνου ἐστὶ χρώμενος αὐτῇ, ἀδιαλείπτως ἐπὶ μῆσι δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶ φεύξεται τὴν ποδάλγαν, οὐ μόνον δὲ ταύτην ἀλλὰ καὶ χειράγραν καὶ ἄρθρα καὶ πᾶσαν νευριτικὴν νόσον. σκευάζεται δὲ οὕτως. λαβὼν οὖρον ἡμιόνου ἄρεως ξέστα τέσσαρα λαθραίως, ἔπειτα δὲ μετὰ τὸ τεθεῖναι τῶ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ φάρμακον ἰώμενος ποδαλγίαν κατὰ τινα συμπάθειαν· βαλὼν οὖν ὕδωρ καὶ λιθαργύρου γράμματα δύο λύσον καλῶς καὶ ἐπίβαλε ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦτου οὖρου κατ' ὀλίγον ὀλίγον ἄρχις οὗ γένηται μέλιτος πάχος. εἶτα βάλε | ἐν κακκαβίῳ ἐλαίου παλαίου γράμμα ἐν καὶ μίξας τὸ οὖρον ἅμα τῇ λιθαργύρῳ ἔψε ἐν μαλακῶ πυρὶ κινῶν ἐπιμελῶς ἕως οὗ γένηται ἀμόλυντον. ἐμπλάσας δὲ ὀθονίῳ ἀπόθου καὶ ὄψῃ μεῖζον τῆς ἐπαγγελίας. ἡ δὲ σύνθεσις τοῦ φαρμάκου ἀμετάδοτος τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐστίν. ὁ μέντοι Ἀφρικανὸς ἐνεργέστερον γίνεσθαι τὸ φάρμακον πεποίηκεν· ἐὰν τις ἔψων τοῦτο πτύση ἅπαξ εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ τοῦτο ποιήση σιγῶν, ἔσται λέγων ταῦτα 'μαρμαρω κύριε σαβαωθ ὁ πάντα τέμνων καὶ ἀναλίσκων, ἀνάλυσον τὸ πάθος τῆς ποδάλγας τῆσδε ταχύ ταχύ οχωχοχω.'

2 πεπείρα *cod.* | ἀνδριανὸς *cod.* || 7 ἀλλὰ [[καὶ ποδαλ]] *cod.* || 8 ἄρεως i.q. ἄρσενος || 13 ἔψε *cod.* || 14 ὄψειⁿ *cod.*

mixture of magical logoi and Greek (?); for rabies

7.9.3. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Baroc. 84 (s. XV), f. 174r

ὁπότεν δάκη λυσσιασμένον ζῶον ἕτερον ζῶον, ἔπαρον ψωμὸν ἀχείρητον ἤγουν ὀλόκληρον καὶ γράψον εἰς τὰ τρία μέρη τοῦ ἄρτου ταύτας τὰς λέξεις ‘διδοιβρικας ευρικας διδοιβρικαν.’ εἶτα κόψον διὰ μαχαίρας τὰ προλεχθέντα γράμματα ἐκ τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ δὸς αὐτὰ τῷ πάσχοντι φαγεῖν καὶ οὕτως ἔσεται ἄτερ κακοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἀδικηθήσεται. ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ἐάν τὰ προλεχθέντα λεξίδια ἄτινα ἔφημεν γράφεσθαι ἐν τῷ ὀλοκλήρῳ ψωμῷ, ἤγουν τὸ ‘διδοιβρικας ευρικας διδοιβρικαν,’ φάγη ὁ πάσχων ἐντὸς τῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν, οὐ μὴν οὖν ἀδικηθήσεταιί ποτε τὸ σύνολον· εἰ δὲ ἡμέραι τῶν τεσσαράκοντα παρέλθωσιν, οὐδεμίαν ὠφέλειαν τρυγήσει ὁ πάσχων ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων τούτων, ἀλλὰ κίνδυνον ὀφλήσει καὶ θάνατον.

Ἰ λυσσιασμένον *cf.* Bellum Troianum 12389 | ἀχείρητον *cf.* Schol. Vet. in Soph. OC 698 φύτευμ’ ἀχείρητον· ὅτι ἀπέσχοντο τῶν μοριῶν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι || 2-3 *l.* διδοῖ εὔρηκας εὔρηκας διδοῖ εὔρηκαν?

mixture of magical logoi and Greek (?); for rabies

7.9.4. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Baroc. 111 (s. XV), f. 116r

εἰς λύσσαν. γράψον ‘ακαηλ εισβηηλ αμπελουρα μαμαιναντι ικτιλες εκτιλε βρισκα δεαιδε δεδαιη αδιδαιουτως αφουσατοδιος ηβρισην αφηβρικεν την λύσσαν ταύτην. βρονηγκαταδε βρονικακαδε δεδηη ηβρισην ηβρισαδε.’

7.10. *Schwindschemata of magical logoi*

7.10.1. Ser. Sam. 935-939 (Heim 1893 no. 98)

inscribis chartae quod dicitur ‘abracadabra,’ | saepius et subter repetes sed detrahe summam, | et magis atque magis desint elementa figuris | singula quae semper rapies, et cetera figes, | donec in angustum redigatur littera conum.

for headache

7.10.2. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316 (s. XV), f. 334r, ed. Delatte 1927, 549

εἰς κεφαλαργίαν. γράψε εἰς χαρτὴν τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ ἄς τὸ κρατῆ ὁ πάσχων εἰς τὴν κάραν αὐτοῦ. ἰδοὺ καὶ τὰ λόγια ‘αβλαθανααλ βλαθανααλ λαθανααλ αθανααλ θανααλ ανααλ νααλ ααλ αλ λ’

Ἰ κεφαλουργίαν cod. || 2-3 αλβαθαναηλ βλαθανααλ ναθανααλ αθανααλ θανααλ ανααδ νααλα αλααλ cod.

7.11. *type uncertain*

incantation with possible reference to Pythagoreans (uita faua priuata? Apollonios of Tyana as another Pythagorean semi-divine wonder-worker), for snake bite; accompanying ritual involving straining water through the practitioner’s thrice-folded shirt-sleeve

7.11.1. Cambridge, Christ Church College cod. 297 (s. XIII-XIV), f. 158r

ad morsum serpentis. triplica gironem dextrum lateris camisiae tuae et aquam proice super et collige inferius tribus uicibus dicendo nomen illius qui patitur et uerba ista ‘caro caros in uita faba priuata’ et postea da aquam bibere percusso uel nuntio ab eo misso.

3 inbita faua cod.

‘Ismaelite’

7.11.2. Engelberg, SB cod. 45 (s. XII), f. 157r, ed. Heim 1893, 555 [I omit the frequent interpunct-crosses]

contra fluxum sanguinis. ‘caro cruce fac restringere Ismahelite famulae tuae N. amen. in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, protege domine famulam tuam N. ab hoc malo et ab omni infirmitate corporis et animae. contra hoc signum nullum stet periculum.’ [signis]

-address to the flesh itself, to heal bleeding, first as ‘caro cari,’ flesh of a beloved, then as ‘Ishmaelite,’ referring to *Genesis 37* (? the bloody robe brought home instead of Joseph, who had been sold to the Ishmaelites):

7.11.3. Munich, cgm 92 (Tegernsee, s. XIII), f. 8v, ed. Pfeiffer 1863, 141

Swenne dir gesaget werde, daz ein mensch vast bluote, sô sende dînen boten hize wazer unde gebiut dem boten, daz er niene spreche unterwegs. Sô dir daz wazer brâht werde, sô seihe iz einhalb durch dîn hemedede in ein ander vaz unde sprich danne disin wort ‘in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, N. caro cari te confirma Ismahelite.’ Daz tue drîstunt unde gip dem boten ze trinchen, ob der dâ niht sî der dâ bluotet: zwâre ez verstêt als palde.

5 cari te confirma Ismahelite *conieci* : carice confirma Ysmaheli te *cod.*

metaphor?; interlocking incantation and ritual

7.11.4. [Pliny] *Physica* from St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 751, 3.16 (cod. p. 268.11-12, ed. Önnorfors 2006, 1:87; Heim 1893 no. 119 and p. 560)

praecantatio ad combustum, ne fiat ulcera. dicis haec ‘ut ferrum candens lingua restringat, ne noceat.’ <et lingito ter>.

I linguam *cod.* || 2 <et lingito ter> *supplevi*, cf. the preceding recipe (ed. *ibid.*), which ends ...et lingito ter et exspuito.

against snake bite

7.11.5. St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 44 (s. VIII), p. 350, ed. Jörimann 1925, 29

ad morsum serpentis qui foras tectum mordit, denuntiet, et sic praecantetur ‘nera nela neria nerella que lei salsa. iacis. uiuat filius illi.’ uerba ista ter dicere debes.

I denunciit *cod.* || 1-2 nera ... salsa *litt. capital. cod.*

Chapter 2 catalogue

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1. direct

1.1. manipulation of names

name of target and magical signs, depositing it where she will walk over it

1.1.1. Athens, EBE cod. 1265 (s. XVI-XVII), f. 46r, ed. Delatte 1927, 91 with 653
εἰς ἀγάπην παντοπεινῆν. γράψον τὸ ὄνομά της καὶ τὰς κάτωθεν καὶ βάλ' τας νὰ
τὰς διασκελίση ἡμέραν δευτέραν [*signs*].

name of target and metronym, in blood of animal, depositing it where she will walk over it

1.1.2. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX), f. 284r, ed.
Parathomopoulos 2006, 167

ἕτερον περὶ ἀγάπην γυναικῶν. ἔπαρε νυκτερίδα καὶ σφάξε την με καλάμι καὶ με τὸ
αἷμά της γράψε ταῦτα τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὸ ὄνομά της καὶ τῆς μητρός της καὶ βάλε τα
νὰ τὰ διασκελίση καὶ νὰ θαυμάσης.

name of target and metronym, in blood of animal; with magical signs

1.1.3. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX), f. 484r, ed.
Parathomopoulos 2006, 314

περὶ ἀγάπης. γράψε τὴν κάτωθεν σφραγίδα τοῦ ἀγγέλου με τὸ μελάνι καὶ με τὸ
αἷμα τοῦ ἀστακοῦ, ἡμέρα Παρασκευῆ, ὥρα τῆς [*sign*]. γράψε καὶ τὸ ὄνομά της καὶ
τῆς μάνας της καὶ ἀγγιξέ την με αὐτὴν τὴν σφραγίδα εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν της μέρος καὶ
ἔρχεται καὶ σὲ βρίσκει. [*signs*].

name of target, signs

1.1.4. St. Petersburg, NLR cod. gr. 646 (s. XVIII), ff. 28v-29r [cryptogr.] (inc. and des. in
CCAG XII:41)

γράψον τὲς κάτωθεν χαρακτῆρες εἰς καθαρὸν χαρτὶν καὶ κάπνισέ το με θυμίαμα
ἀρσενικὸν καὶ τὸ ὄνομά της καὶ βάστα το. [*signs*].

1.1.5. St. Petersburg, NLR cod. gr. 646 (s. XVIII), f. 29r [cryptogr.] (inc. and des. in
CCAG XII:41)

γράψον τὲς κάτωθεν χαρακτῆρας καὶ τὸ ὄνομά της [*signs*].

for use by a woman

1.1.6. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX),. 424r-v, ed.
Parathomopoulos 2006, 277

περὶ κορασίδα ὅπου δὲν ἔχει τύχη ἢ ριζικόν. γράψε τὸ ὄνομά της καὶ τῆς μητέρας
της | καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὅπου θέλει νὰ πάρη ἐκείνη καὶ τῆς μητρός του με τὶς
χαρακτῆρες ἐτούτες νὰ τὰς βαστάζη εἰς τὸν δεξιὸν της ἄγκωνα. [*signs*] τέλος.

name of target inscribed on fruit

1.1.7. Athens, EBE cod. 1265 (s. XVI-XVII), f. 53v, ed. Delatte 1927, 94

εἴ ποτε θέλεις εἰς ἀγάπην νὰ κάμνης. πιάνης μῆλον με τὸ δεξιὸν χέρι καὶ χαράσσης
τὸ ὄνομά της 'ς τὸ μῆλον τρεῖς βολὲς με τὸ ἴδιον χέρι σου τὸ δεξιόν.

name inscribed on effigy

1.1.8. Milan, Bibl. Ambros. cod. E 37 sup. (s. XVI), f. 374r-v, ed. CCAG III:41-42 (cod.
17), improved text in Delatte 1927, 641

εις φίλτρον. ὅταν ἔσται Σελήνη ἐν τῷ Καρκίνῳ, ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ Σελήνης ποιήσον εἰκόνα μετὰ στανίου ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι οὐτινος χρήζεις ἔχειν καὶ ὀνομάτιζε καθ' ἐν τῶν μελῶν | καὶ γράψον ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ ὄνομα ἧς θέλγεις καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης (καὶ) τοῦ Λέοντος καὶ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀγγέλων ἡγουν Λέοντος Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἡλίου καὶ Ἄρεως· καὶ ἔγγισον ἀκμήν.

effigy cast in fire

1.1.9. Milan, Bibl. Ambros. cod. E 37 sup. (s. XVI), f. 373v, ed. *CCAG* III:42 (cod. 17), improved text in Delatte 1927, 642

ἀποτέλεσμα. ἐν ὥρᾳ Ἀφροδίτης, Σελήνης οὐσης ἐν Αἰγοκέρῳ, ποιήσον εἰκόνα μετὰ κηροῦ παρθένου ὅποιας χρήζεις καὶ γράψον ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ὄνομα Λέοντος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ βάνε νὰ ἀναλυῶνῃ εἰς τὴν ἐστίαν.

4 ἰστίαν *Delatte*

two effigies 'mixed' together while their names are said aloud, burial of objects

1.1.10. Milan, Bibl. Ambros. cod. E 37 sup. (s. XVI), f. 376r-v, ed. *CCAG* III:44 (cod. 17), improved text in Delatte 1927, 644

ἀποτέλεσμα. ἐν Ταύρῳ οὐσης Σελήνης τῇ πρώτη ἡμέρᾳ καὶ κεραίας (κατὰ) προσώπου Διδύμων, ποιήσον δύο εἰκόνας μετὰ κηροῦ παρθένου εἰς ὀνόματα δι' οὐ βούλει φίλτρον πράξει ἡγουν ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἀλοχίδος καὶ γράψον τὰς χαρακτήρας Διδύμων καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ταύρου ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ μίγνυε ἀλλήλων τὰ | πρόσωπα καὶ χῶσον ἔνθα εἰσβαίνουσι.

3 ἀνέρος καὶ ἀλουχίδος *Delatte* || 5 εἰσεβένουσι *cod.*

name and metronym of target and sign written on ostrakon, placed in fire

1.1.11. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419 (s. XV), f. 40v and Vienna, ÖNB cod. phil. gr. 108, f. 359r, ed. Delatte 1927, 447

αὕτη ἡ σφραγίδα ἐστὶν Μονταεὺ τοῦ ἀγγέλου. γράφεται δὲ ἐν ὀστράκῳ ἀκαύστῳ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ὥρᾳ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, (καὶ) τὸ ὄνομα ἐκείνης καὶ τῆς μάνας τῆς, καὶ τιθέμενος εἰς πῦρ. ἔρχεται ἀσφαλῶς.

name and metronym of target and sign written on ostrakon, placed in fire

1.1.12. Athens, cod. Gennadios 45 (s. XVI), f. 39r, ed. Delatte 1959, 316-317

ἕτερον. τὴν σφραγίδα Μοντιελ τοῦ ἀγγέλου γράψον μετὰ αἵματος καὶ μελανίου μαύρου ἐν ὀστράκῳ ἀκαύστῳ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ὥρᾳ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τὸ ὄνομά τῆς καὶ τῆς μητρός τῆς καὶ τίθει εἰς πῦρ. καὶ ἔρχεται ὅταν καταπέσουν οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἰς τὸν ὕπνον. ἰδοὺ ἡ σφραγίς [*seal*].

name of target and parents' names inscribed on metal sheet, placed in fire

1.1.13. Milan, Bibl. Ambros. cod. E 37 sup. (s. XVI), f. 375r, ed. *CCAG* III:43 (cod. 17), improved text in Delatte 1927, 643

ἀποτέλεσμα. ἐν ὥρᾳ Ἀφροδίτης, οὐσης Σελήνης ἐν Κριῶ, γράψον εἰς λάμαν σιδηρᾶν μετὰ σιδηροῦ στόλου τὰς χαρακτήρας Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Κρόνου καὶ Κριοῦ καὶ τὰς ὀνομασίας Ἀφροδίτης Κρόνου καὶ Κριοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἧς θέλγεις καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς καὶ πύρωνε ἐν τῷ πυρί.

1 λάμαν *cod.* || 3 νομασίας *Delatte*

name of target only written on new lamp wick, plus signs; stepping over it

1.1.14. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 696 (s. XVIII), f. 68v

πρὸς ἀγάπην γυναικός. ἔπαρε ἓνα φυτίλι καινουργὸν καὶ γράφε ἀπάνου του τὸ ὄνομα τῆς γυναικός καὶ ταύτας τὰς χαρακτήρας καὶ βάλε το νὰ τὸ διασκελίση καὶ θέλεις ἰδεῖν θαῦμα. [*signs*].

1 φουτωλη *cod.*

name of user and goal ('for a wife') inscribed, placed in fire

1.1.15. Milan, Bibl. Ambros. cod. E 37 sup. (s. XVI), f. 373v, ed. *CCAG* III:45 (cod. 17)

περὶ ἀλοχίδος. ἐν ὥρᾳ Ἀφροδίτης, Σελήνης (οὔσης ἐν) Αἰγοκέρῳ, ποιήσον εἶδωλον δι' ὀνόματος οὔτινος χρήζεις καὶ γράψον ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομά σου καὶ τὰς χαρακτήρας Ἀφροδίτης καὶ ὀνόματα ἀγγέλων Λέοντος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ πύρων ἐν φλογί.

name of target + user

1.1.16. Thessaly, monastery of Olympiotissa, cod. 97 (s. XVIII), p. 85, ed. Skouvara 1965-1966, 83

περὶ ἀγάπης. λάβε ματραγόνας φύλλον καὶ ρίζαν μολοχίου, τὸν ζουμὸν σμίξας ποιήσον μελάνη καὶ γράψον εἰς λευκὸ παννὶ τούτους τοὺς χαρακτήρας καὶ τὸ ὄνομά σου καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ὁποίας θέλεις. εἶτα πλύνον τὰ γράμματα καὶ πότισον αὐτὴν καὶ θαυμάσεις εἰς τοῦτο. [*signs*]

inscription of name of user and target, both with metronyms, on raw gut, casting in lamp

1.1.17. Athens, EBE cod. 1265 (s. XVI-XVII), f. 41v, ed. Delatte 1927, 86

περὶ ἀγάπης. ἔπαρε γαστρίν ὤμὸν καὶ γράψε τὲς κάτωθεν καὶ τὸ ὄνομά της καὶ τῆς μάννας καὶ τὸ ἐδικόν σου καὶ τῆς μάννας σου. καὶ κάμε το τὴν παρασκευὴν ὥραν πρώτην τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ (γράψον) τὸν ἄγγελον καὶ τὸν δαίμονα. καὶ βάλε το ἔς τὸ λαμπρόν, καὶ νὰ θαυμάσης.

3 (γράψον) *suppl. Delatte*

name of user and target and metronyms, to be buried so that she will step over it

1.1.18. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX), f. 282v, ed.

Parathomopoulos 2006, 166

ἕτερον διὰ ἀγάπην. γράψε τὸ ὄνομά της καὶ τῆς μητρός της καὶ τὸ ἐδικόν σου καὶ τῆς μητρός σου καὶ τὰς κάτωθεν χαρακτήρας καὶ τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς ὥρας καὶ βάλε τα νὰ τὰ διασκελίση καὶ νὰ θαυμάσης. ἰδού [*signs*].

name of target and user inscribed on fruit, given to target to eat; additional incantation with erotic curse

1.1.19. Athens, Ethn. Bibl. cod. 1265 (s. XVI-XVII), f. 38r, ed. Delatte 1927, 77-78

1. ὁμοιον. ταῦτα ποιήσον ἡμέραν ἐβδόμην ὥρα πρώτη. γράψον εἰς μῆλον τὸ ὄνομά σου καὶ τῆς γυναικός καὶ τὰς χαρακτήρας ταύτας 'γαμφιριελ ονιθ δελεγηλιελβουα φριτενετ χιλεουλε.' καὶ δῶσε τῆς γυναικός νὰ τὸ φάγη·

2. καὶ λέγε οὕτως 'λαβὲ καὶ φάγε πρὸς ἀγάπην ὥστε μηδὲν δύνεσαι κοιμηθῆναι μήτε ὑπομεῖναι ὥστε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν μου πληρώσης.'

sacrifice of bird in the name of target

1.1.20. Athens, cod. Gennadios 45 (s. XVI), f. 39r, ed. Delatte 1959, 317

ἔπαρον πουλί ὅπου τὸ λέγουν σφραγκῶ καὶ ἔβαλε ἐκ τὴν δεξιάν του πτέρυγα πτερὸν καὶ ποιήσον κονδύλιον εἰς τὸ ὄνομα ὅπου θέλεις. καὶ σφάξε το μετὰ ἀκρίου. γράψον τὴν βοῦλλαν μετὰ αἵμα του καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ ἔγγιξον, καὶ ἄς τὸ διασκελίση καὶ νὰ θαυμάσης [*signs*].

sacrifice of bird 'in the name of' user and target

1.1.21. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸ κώδικας (s. XIX), f. 485v, ed. Parathomopoulos 2006, 316

διὰ ἀγάπην. πάρε ἓνα πιτσούνι, σφάξε το ἴς τὸ ὄνομά σου καὶ εἰς τὸ ὄνομά της ὅπου θέλεις καὶ γράψε τὰς κάτωθεν χαρακτῆρας τοῦ Σολομῶντος μετὰ τὸ αἷμα εἰς τὴν ὥραν τῆς [*sign*] καὶ ἄγγιξέ τας καὶ σὲ ἀκολουθᾷ. [*signs*].

sacrifice of bird, subsequent utterance of name

1.1.22. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸ κώδικας (s. XIX), f. 489r, ed. Parathomopoulos 2006, 318

ἕτερον. πάρε πουλίον, τάγισέ το σιτάρι καὶ κεχρί, ἔπειτα σφάξε το καὶ πάρε αὐτὰ τὰ δύο ὅπου τὸ τάγισες, ξέρανέ το, κάμε το σκόνη ὡσὰν ἀλεύρι, τάγισε ὅποιαν θέλεις καὶ ὀνομάτισε αὐτὴν καὶ θέλεις θαυμάσης.

intertwining of names of user and target

1.1.23. Munich, BSB clm 7021 (s. XIV), f. 190r

[...] accipe [...] primo uid[...] tuam et [...] et ipsam [...] ad balneum [...] absterge sudorem [...] plenus fit de sudore corporis tui statim exiens de balneo uade ad molendinum sine intermissione accipiens ibi puluerem farinae pendentem in ...is et tunc exprime sudorem de....ago illam commiscendo fac oblatam quantae magnitudinis ... scribas nomen tuum postea nomen illius quam amas, iterum nomen tuum secunda uice nomen mulieris per ordinem in circuitu oblatae et [nomen tuum] et nomen illius textim ita quod unam accipias litteram nominis tui et ... perficiens sic textim in ... oblatae scribe de sanguine digiti tui anulari haec tria nomina 'urbigine t....g... recibo' et haec tria nomina de sanguine ... seruaguel carg... et de...o haec tria 'fustalatin binel pantateron.' postea contere oblatam eandem decoquens eam in puluerem et ipsi in cibo uel in potu. quo facto amabit te super omnes nec poterit uiuere sine te. hoc experimentum experientia approbatum didici improbabiliter esse uerum.

intertwining of names of user and target

1.1.24. London, Wellcome Library cod. 517, f. 82v

scribe cum sanguine tuo de digito tuo anulari sinistrae manus primam litteram tui nominis et postea nominis mulieris quam diligis primam litteram et sic facias nomina ut fiat quasi unum nomen, quae nomina siue scripturam porta ad biuium die Iouis in crepusculo et ponas sub terram hanc chartam et circueas eam tribus uicibus sinistro modo et reuertaris ad hospitium non restrospectando sequenti die Iouis, reuertaris eadem quasi hora et iterum circueas locum ubi charta iacet recto modo et leua tunc chartam et redi tunc ad hospitium simili modo sicut prius et fac lignum de buxo et impone chartam cui superpone speculum et percures quod illa inspiciat et ardebit in amore tuo ardentissime. istud saepissime in Toletto probatum est.

$\overline{3}$ ad corr. ex d-

name of target with magic words

1.1.25. London, BL cod. Add 18752 (s. XIV-XV), f. 72v

ad procurandum amorem mulieris. scribe in parcimenta uirginea 'alyxa paterus matremou satribus epalaxamis' et nomen mulieris, 'foue master matryaa feffrei mifyaa amas mytryaa roef iuaelas epalaxamis.'

1.2 performatives

1.2.1. Delatte and Derchain 1964 no. 324: green jasper, on one side, Psyche bound to a tree, Eros (labelled with legend Ἐρως) holding a torch to her feet; above the heads of the figures, ὡς σὺ ἐμέ, and below, κἀγὼ σέ. On the other side, anguipede alectrocephalid figure with shield and legend Ιαω.

1.2.2. Delatte and Derchain 1964 no. 332: green jasper, on one side, Ares holding a chain by which Aphrodite is bound, with inscription δέδεσαι δικαίως; on the other side, inscription αβλα|θανα|λβα.

performatives said over fruit, epic diction

papyrus formulary, from mummy cartonnage from Abusir el Melek, s. I BC/I AD, now

1.2.3. Berlin, P.Berl. inv. 21243, *Suppl.Mag.* II 72 i 5-14

ἐπὶ μῆλο[υ] ἐπωδή: τρίς. | βα[λ]ῶ μῆ[λ]οῖς [c. 4] δώσω τόδε φάρμα|κ[ον] καίριον
αἰεὶ βρωτὸν θνητοῖς ἀν|θρώποις καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν. ἦ ἄν | δῶ μῆλω τε
βάλο{ν} μῆλω τε πατάξ[[α]]\ω{ι}/, | πάντα ὑπερθεμένη μαινοῖτο ἐπ' ἐμῆι |
φιλότῃ, ἥτε ἐν χειρὶ λαβο[ῦ]σα φάγοι | ἦ ἐν κόλπῳ καθῆται μὴ | παύσῃτο
φιλῶν με. Κυπρογένεια τέλει | τελέαν ἐπαοιδῆν.

7 αἰεὶ pap. | | 9 l. τε βάλω : τ' ἔβαλον *Suppl.Mag.* | παταξῶ^ω pap.

'Alexandrian'; the end of a previous incantation, probably on a similar theme of self-identification of Artemis but also refers to Dionysus

1.2.4. Tebtunis (?), now Yale, P.CtYBR inv. 1206 recto, col. i.1-2

[--] τήνδ' ἰοῖς ἐὰν πατάξω ἐρρωτικ[ο]ῖς | μελήσῃ Διῶνυσέ σοῦ μυστῶν ἐπωδῶν.

'Alexandrian'; narrative incantation, contents obscure; for use by a woman on a man (?)

papyrus formulary, from mummy cartonnage from Abusir el Melek, s. I BC/I AD, now

1.2.5. Berlin, P.Berl. inv. 21243, *Suppl.Mag.* II 72 i 15-27

φ....σται [c. 9].θελεηλε....τα | ε..[.]τα[...].δ. ἔλαβόν σου [τὸ ὄ]μμα. ὁ δεῖ[ν]α· |
ἔλαβόν σου [τῆ]ν ψυχὴν. ὁ δεῖ[ν]α· c. 5]μην σου | τοῦ αἵματος. [ὁ δεῖ[ν]α·]
ἐχρησάμη[ν σου c. 7] | ὁ δεῖ[ν]α· κατέφα[γόν] σου τὸ ἥπαρ. ὁ δεῖ[ν]α· [c. 5]σά|μην
σου τ[ὸ δέ]ρμα. ὁ δεῖ[ν]α· ἐποίησα. ἦ θεὰ ἦ | ἐν τῶι οὐρ[αν]ῶι αὐτὸν προκ[α]τῖδε
καὶ ἐ[γ]έ|νετο αὐτῶ[ι π]άντα κατὰ ψυχὴν .[.]...... | ὁ δεῖ[ν]α· ἀφ' ἧς ἡ[μ]ῆρας <καὶ>
ῶρας σοι [...]...... | ναν ..[.]θεῖσα ἠ σταθεις[?] ἐμπεσ[...]. εἰς ἔρωτα, | εἰς φιλ[ί]αν [κ]αὶ
εἰς <σ>τοργὴν [...].[.]. | ἀποθάνω. [ῶ] πότνια θεὰ ι[c. 8]εραιωι | τέλεσόν μ[οι]
τελέαν ἐπαοιδῆν.

charitesion; analogy from natural world, for the progression cf. perhaps the transmission of μορβουν in the Byz text

1.2.6. Oxyrhynchus, s. I, now Oxford, inv. 20 3B.35/C(1)a, *P.Oxy.* LXV 4468, verso i.1-17

]χομενα βοτάνης | [--] τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῆς δρόσον | [--] πρόσωπον καὶ χάριν | [--] ἐν
τῆδε ἡμέρᾳ μὴ λούσῃ | [--] δοῦχε Πλούτωνος ἀνακτος | [--] Ζεῦ κύδιστε μέγιστε

κ(αι) | [--] κ(αι) Ἐρμῆ Μαιάδος υἱὲ κ(αι) Ἥρα | [-- Ἄφρο]δείτη χαριτοδότειρα βαβραῖ
 | [--] μουσαί ερεοβαζαγρα | [--].. χαρίτων ἀνάμεστοι διανα | [--].. [.] δρόσον
 βάλλοντες | [--].. ν ἄπ'
 Ὀλύμπου, εἰς γαῖα(ν) δὲ | [--]φυ.η καὶ ἀπὸ γαίης | [--]ος χέουσα· οὕτως κἀγὼ | [--
]υ δρόσον χρεῖομαι τῶδε | [--] δωρήσατέ μοι χαριτήσια | [--] τὴν δ(εῖνα) δ(εῖνος).

12 γαῖα(ν)δε ed. pr.

applied, performatives and self-identification

1.2.7. unknown provenance, now Geneva, lead tablet, Bibl. Publ. et Univ. T.Genav. inv. 269, s. II, *Suppl.Mag.* I 38

καταδεσμεύω σαι, ἡ Θεόδοτις Εὖς, εἰς τὴν οὐρὰν τοῦ ὄφρα καὶ εἰς | τὸ στόμα τοῦ
 κορκοδείλου καὶ τοῖς κέρασι τοῦ κρειοῦ καὶ τῶ ἰῶ τῆς ἀσπί|δος καὶ ταῖς θριξὶ τῆς
 ἐλούρου καὶ τῶ προσθέματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἵνα μὴ δυ|νηθῆς ἑτέρω ἀνδρὶ συνμιγῆναι
 πώποτε μῆτε βινηθῆναι μῆτε πυγι|σθῆναι μῆτε ληκάζειν μηδὲ καθ' ἡδονὴν <ποιήσης>
 μεθ' ἑταίρω ἀνθρώπῳ | εἰ μὴ μόνος ἐγὼ, ὁ Ἄμμωνίων Ἐρμιταρὶς. ἐγὼ γὰρ μόνος
 ὑπάρχω | Λαμψουρη οθικαλακ αἰφνωσαβαω στησεων υελλαφοντα | σανκιστη
 χφυρις ων. τελείωσον τὸ τοῦ φιλτροκαταδέσμου | —τοῦτο ἐχρήσατο ἡ Ἴσις—ἵνα ἡ
 Θεόδοτις Εὖς μηκέτι λάβη πείραν ἐταί|ρου ἀνδρὸς ἢ ἐμοῦ μόνου, τοῦ Ἄμμωνίωνος,
 δεδουλαγωγημένη, ὑ|στρωμένη{ν}, ζητοῦσα ἀεροποτουμένη τὸν Ἄμμωνίωνα
 Ἐρμιταρὶς καὶ | μηρὸν μηρῶ πελάση καὶ φύσει[ι]ν φύσει πρὸς συνουσίαν ἀεὶ εἰς τὸν
 ἀεὶ χρό|νον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς. ἔστιν δὲ τὰ ζώδια ταῦτα. (*drawings*)

writing on tin tablet

1.2.8. P.Duke inv. 729, side (↓), 19-27, ed. Jordan 2006, 163

κατάδεσμ[ος c. 10] ποιήσης το[c. 5 ἄ] ξης διὰ [c. 10 ἐ]ὰν κρίνη, ἐ[ὰν μὴ κρίνη.] |
 ποιεῖ πά[ντα. λαβῶν τάβλαν] κασιτερίν[ην ἐγγά]ραξον τ[c. 10] φιλίτω με [τὸν
 δ(ε)ῖ(να) ὄν ἔ]τεκ(εν) ἢ δ(ε)ῖ(να) [ἢ δ(ε)ῖ(να) ἦν ἔτεκ(εν) ἢ δ(ε)ῖ(να) καὶ ἐν πά]ση
 περιπτ[ώσι. ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν] | τάβλαν [c. 10] ὅτι· 'καταδῶ [τὴν δ(ε)ῖ(να) αἰγυ] | ππιστὶ
 κ[ατὰ c. 10] (*signs*) | (*signs*) [c. 10] [φιλίτω με] | ἢ δ(ε)ῖ(να) διὰ τῶ[ν --].'

19 ποιῆς τὰ ed. pr. || 20 e.g. [χαρακτήρων] ed. pr. || 22 τ[οὺς χαρακτῆρας καὶ] ed.
 pr. || 23 τεκ pap. || 24 [ταύτην ἐγγάραξον καὶ] ed. pr. || 25 κ[ατὰ τοῦ μεγάλου
 θεοῦ] ed. pr., possibly κ[ατὰ pap.? || 26 the first three signs in this line transcribed as IAI
 in ed. pr. || 27 τῶ[ν χαρακτήρων τούτων] ed. pr.

erotic magic, inscription of text and signs on animal skin, with which the target is to be touched

1.2.9. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419 (s. XV), f. 144r-v (a portion not written by Mediates but contemporary), ed. Delatte 1927, 456

ὅταν ἐστὶν ἡ Ἄφροδίτη ἐν τοῖς Ἰχθύσι καὶ ἡ Σελήνη διαμετρεῖ αὐτὴν ἢ ἐξαγωνίζει
 αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰγοκέρωτος ἢ τριγωνίζει αὐτὴν ἐν Καρκίνῳ οὔσα, τότε γράψον εἰς
 περιστερᾶς δέρμα ἢ πέρδικος ἢ δόρκιον τὰ γράμματα ταῦτα μετὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων
 μετὰ αἵματος [c. 7] ἀσπίλου καὶ ἔγγισον αὐτὴν μετ' αὐτὸν καὶ ποιήσεις τὸ θέλημά
 σου. εἰσὶν δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα· φραν γραφωσε σαρια αυτου παργεζορζε βασιλέα
 τῶν δαιμόνων φα ορισει ἐξορκίζω αγγε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ παρερεηλ | περσουσα
 γαραλοζ περ λουτζιφερ διὰ τοῦ βελζεα τοῦ ἀρχιτελοῦς τοῦ πρίγκιπα τοῦ εἰδικοῦ
 σας, ὅτι ἐγὼ ὑπάγω εἰς τὴν ὁδεῖνα καὶ ὅταν προσπαύσω αὐτὴν μετὰ τὸ χαρτὶν
 τοῦτο, ἐκείνη νὰ κάμη τὸ ἐμὸν θέλημα.' γράφε δὲ καὶ τοὺς τοιοῦτους χαρακτῆρας.

for use by a woman on a man, narrative and performatives with stars, erotic curse; accompanied by tying of knots; repeated at night for forty nights
[addendum] reported from contemporary Sparta, Megas 1941-1942, 111
'τρία ἄστρα εἶναι ἔς τὸν οὐρανόν, τὸ ἕνα πεινάει, τ' ἄλλο διψάει καὶ τ' ἄλλο νυστάζει. ἔς τὸ πρῶτον δίνω φαῖνὰ φάη, ἔς τὸ ἄλλο δίνω νερόν να πιῆ, ἔς τὸ τρίτον δὲν τοῦ δίνω ὕπνον να κοιμηθῆ. δένω τὸ νοῦ του, δένω τὸ λογισμό του, δένω τὸ ἀριστερὸ ἀρχίδι τοῦ γιοῦ τῆς τάδε γιὰ μένα τὴν τάδε τὴν κόρη τῆς τάδε.'

1.3. wish for analogical outcome

1.3.1. St. Petersburg, NLR cod. gr. 646 (s. XVIII), f. 6r [cryptogr.], inc. and des. in CCAG XII:39

εἰς ἀγάπην γυναικός. ὡσάν ἀγαπάει τὸ μέλι σιτομέλι ἔς τὸ βοτάνι, ἔτσι να ἀγαπήσῃ καὶ ὁ δεῖνα τὴν δεῖνα. καὶ ὡσάν ἀγαποῦν τὰ παλλικάρια τὰ ὄμορφα κορίτσια, ἔτσι να ἀγαπάῃ ὁ δεῖνα τὴν δεῖνα. καὶ ὡσάν τρέχουν οἱ μεθυστάδες ἔς τὸ καλὸν κρασί, ἔτσι να τρέχῃ καὶ ἡ δεῖνα πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα.' [model for drawing with signs and faces of man (left) and woman (right): at left, τὸ ὄνομά του, at right τὸ ὄνομά της]

1 σοβοτάνη cod. || 2 ὄμορφα sic. cod. l. εὐμορφα ?

1.3.2. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX), f. 16r-v, ed. Parathomopoulos 2006, 38

περὶ ἀγάπης ἀνδρογύνου. τριψε μαγνήτην λίθον καὶ λέγε ἑκαθὼς ἀγαπάει ὁ μαγνήτης τὸ σίδηρον καὶ τὸ σίδηρον τὸν μαγνήτην, ἔτσι να ἀγαπήσῃ καὶ ὁ δεῖνα τὴν δεῖνα. πότισον με τὸ κρασί | τὸ ὄλον τῶν τεσσάρων ὀνομάτων.

psalm 41 in erotic magic, setting up analogy, placement of inscribed text in path of target, then dissolution of text in water, burial at house of target

1.3.3. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 696 (s. XVIII), f. 2v, ed. Delatte 1927, 548

ψαλμὸς μα' ὄν τρόπον ἐπιποθεῖ εἶναι ὠφέλιμος εἰς ἀγάπην γυναικός. γράψε τον με μόσχον κρόκον καὶ κιννάβαρι εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν τῆς σελήνης εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κύρου τῆς καὶ τῆς μάνας τῆς καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ κύρου του εἰς χαρτὴν μόρικον καὶ τοὺς κάτω χαρακτῆρας καὶ αὐτά· ὄν τρόπον ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ἔλαφος ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων, οὕτως να ποθῆ καὶ να τρέξῃ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ ἡ καρδία τῆς δεῖνος τῆς κόρης τῆς δεῖνος εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην, εἰς τὸν πόθον τοῦ δεῖνος τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ δεῖνος.' καὶ βάνε τὸ χαρτὴν εἰς τὴν διάβασιν τῆς γυναικός να τὸ διασκελήσῃ. ἀφ' οὗ τὸ διασκελήσῃ, πάρον τὸ χαρτὴν καὶ λείωσε τοὺς χαρακτῆρας καὶ τὰ γράμματα καὶ τὰ ὀνόματά τους με ῥοδόσταγμα καὶ χῦσέ το εἰς τὸ σπίτι τῆς [signs].

1.4. wish for erotic curse

denial but in comparatively mild language, of ability to sacrifice and have the favor of Aphrodite (or, enjoy sex)

1.4.1. similar curse placed by the same man on two different women, on the same tablet lead tablet found in a tomb in excavations at Akanthos (now Thessalonike Museum inv. I.160.79/1987), s. IV/III B.C., ed. pr. E. Trakosopoulou-Salakidou, "Κατάδεσμοι ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀκανθο," in A.-P. Christides and D. Jordan (edd.), ΓΛΩΣΣΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΓΕΙΑ. ΚΕΙΜΕΝΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΗΤΑ (Athens 1997), 153-169: 160-161 with photograph and drawing; republished by D.R. Jordan in *The World of Ancient Magic*

1999, 120-123 [SEG XLVII 871]. The last line of A added between the first and second lines.

A Παυσανίας Σίμην τὴν Ἄν|φιτρίτου καταδεῖ μέχρι ἂν Παυ|σανία ποίησῃ ὅσα Παυσανίας βούλεται | καὶ μή τι ἱερείου Ἀθηναίας ἄψασθαι | δύναίτο μήτ' ἢ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἠδέως αὐτῇ | εἶη πρὶν ἂν Παυσανίαν ἐνσχῆ Σίμη. | ταῦτα δεῖ μηδεὶς ἀναλύσαι ἀλλ' ἢ Παυσανίας.

B Μελίσης Ἀπολλωνίδος | Παυσανίας καταδεῖ Αἴνιν, μή τι ἱερε[ί]ου ἄψασθαι δύναίτο μήτε ἄλλου ἄγα|θοῦ ἐπήβολος δύναίτο γενέσθαι πρὶν | ἂν Παυσανίαν ἰλάσῃται Αἴνις. vac. | ταῦτα δε[ί] μηδεὶς ἀναλύσαι ἀλλ' ἢ Παυσανίας.

A.3 βούληται ed. pr. || 4 Ἀθηνᾶς ed. pr. || 5 μή τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἠδέως αὐτῇ ed. pr. : μήτῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἰλέως αὐτῇ Jordan || 6 σχῆ ed. pr. || 7 δὲ ed. pr., i shown in drawing, l. δη, cf. B.6 || B.1 Μελ[ί]σης ed. pr. || 4 πρὶν ed. pr. || 6 δὲ ed. pr. | Παυσανία[ς] ed. pr.

simple wish for erotic curse

1.4.2. lead tablet, found in tomb at Carthage, ed. Audollent 1904 no. 227 (CIL VIII 12507). Text (A), around which in a rectangle, Greek letters as magical signs

A uratur | Sucesa | aduratur | amo⟨re⟩ et | desiderī⟨o⟩ | Sucesi
B signs

A.4-5 amouet | desiderī tablet, Audollent in text but cf. app.cr.

to inflict sleeplessness (ἀγρυπνητικόν), sea-shell

1.4.3. London, BL P.Lond. inv. 121 (Pap.Graec.Mag. P VII.374-376)

ἀγρυπνητικόν· ὄστρακον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης γράψον· | ἴψα ἰαωα[ι] ἀγρυπνεῖτω μοι ἢ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα. ἐκείνη τῇ νυκτὶ | ἀγρυπνήσει.

374 <λαβών> ὄστρακον Pap.Graec.Mag.

1.5. wish for erotic curse with analogy

used by woman on man, modern Greek: the user takes unfledged chicks and throws them in a fire, with the incantation

1.5.1. reported from Rethymna on Crete, G.N. Hatzidakis ap. Kuhnert 1894, 55
'ὅπως λαχταρίζουν τὰ πουλιά, νὰ λαχταρίσῃ καὶ ὁ δεῖνα δι' ἐμένα.'

wish, preoccupation / mild threat of torment, metonymy; preceded by adjuration of the moon; ritual involving mothers of a male and female infant, respectively, nursing the children together and switching them back and forth; some of the milk is collected, exposed to the stars over night (ἑξάστρημα, ἑξάστρισμα), and added (along with the text of the wish, ground up? cf. αὐτὸ τὸ τρίβης καὶ ρίχνης) to coffee or food and given to the target; appears to be primarily intended for use by women

1.5.2. copied from a manuscript in use on contemporary Cyprus in Belefontes 1978, part 2, p. 93 (procedure, entitled τὸ μανόγαλο, 'mothers' milk,' begins p. 90)

'ὅπως γεμίσει τὸ φεγγάρι, ἔτσι νὰ γεμίσῃ ὁ νοῦς τοῦ τάδε ἤτε ὁ νοῦς τῆς τάδε κόρη τῆς τάδε,' (πάντοτε θὰ προφέρετε τὸ ὄνομα τῆς μάνας των), 'ἔτσι νὰ γεμίσῃ ὁ νοῦς τοῦ καὶ ὁ λογισμὸς τοῦ ἀπὸ μένα, ἢ εἰκόνα μου νὰ μὴν φεύγῃ ἀπὸ ἔμπροστά του, ἢ ψυχὴ του νὰ μὴν ἠσυχάζῃ ἂν δὲ μὲ βλέπει. ὅπως δὲν λείπουν τ'ἄστρα ἀπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸ, ἔτσι νὰ μὴ λείπω ἀπὸ τὸ νοῦ τοῦ καὶ ἀπ' τὴν καρδίαν του. ὅπως κλαῖνε τὰ

μωρὰ ὅταν τοὺς πέρνει ἡ μάνα τὸ βυζί, ἔτσι νὰ κλαίῃ γιὰ μένα τὴν τάδε κόρη τῆς τάδε, ὁ τάδε, ἢ θὰ λὲς φωναχτὰ τὸ ὄνομα ποῦ θέλεις, ἢ νὰ ἀγαπάῃ ἐμένα.’

wish for erotic curse, addressed to stars, with analogy

1.5.3. Athens, cod. Gennadios 45 (s. XVI), f. 39v, ed. Delatte 1959, 317

ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ὥρᾳ Ἀφροδίτης κόψε τὰ κδ’ ἠνύχια καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν κεφαλὴν σου μαλλὶν καὶ ἀπὸ τὰς μασχάλας σου. καὶ βάλε τα εἰς οὐκον ἄσπρον καὶ κάψε τα καὶ κάμε τα ἀθάλην καὶ βάλε τα εἰς ἀφόριον γλαστρὶν νὰ ἀστρονομηθοῦν νύκτας τρεῖς καὶ λέγε ἑξάστερον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἐσεῖς τρέχετε ἡμέραν καὶ νύκταν καὶ σταματισμὸν δὲν ἔχετε. ἔτσι καὶ ἡ δεῖνα ἢ θυγάτηρ τῆς δεῖνος νὰ μὴν ἔχη ἀνάπαισιν οὔτε ἡμέραν οὔτε νύκταν ὅσον ὅπου νὰ κάμη τὸ θέλημά μου.’

1 κδ’ ἠνύχια *sic Delatte, pro κ’ ὠνύχια* ?

erotic magic, text and a sign written on a bird’s egg, inflicting an erotic curse, the egg to be boiled in oil (analogy). some cryptography

1.5.4. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419 (s. XV), f. 40v and Vienna, ÖNB cod. phil. gr. 108, f. 359r, ed. Delatte 1927, 447

τοῦτο τὸ σημεῖον γράφεται ἐν ὠῶ ὀρνίθας μαύρης καὶ ἔστιν ἀπὸ δοκιμῆς ἄριστον εἰς ἀγάπην. <καὶ γράφε> ἢ δεῖνα νὰ κάμνοιτο ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ ἀγάπῃ ὡς τοῦτο τὸ ὦν καίεται. ἢ δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν στάκτῃ θερμῇ ἠσύχως. [*sign, with legend ἢ δεῖνα*].

2 <καὶ γράφε> *suppl. Delatte* | κάμνη τὸ *Delatte*

similarly, text and sign written on egg, placed in warm ash

1.5.5. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419 (s. XV), f. 159v, ed. Delatte 1927, 466

ἕτερον περὶ ἔρωτος. τοῦτο τὸ σημεῖον [*sign*] ἢ ὀδεῖνα νὰ κάμνοιτο ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ ἀγάπῃ γράφεται ἐν ὠῶ ὀρνίθας μελαίνης εἰς ἀγάπην, καὶ ἔστιν ἀπὸ δοκιμῆς ἄριστον <γράφε καὶ> ἢ ὀδεῖνα νὰ κάμνοιτο ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ ἀγάπῃ ὡς τοῦτο τὸ ὦν θερμαίνεται. καὶ ἢ δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν θερμοσποδιᾷ θερμῇ ἠσύχως. καὶ μετ’ αὐτὸ λαμβάνεις τὸ σὸν θέλημα.

1, 3 κάμνη τὸ *Delatte* || 2-3 <γράφε καὶ> *suppl. Delatte*

erotic magic, inscription on animal skin, to be brought near target and deposited so that she will walk over it, placing erotic curse on the target, denial of food and drink and (perhaps) urination and defecation

1.5.6. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419 (s. XV), f. 144v (a portion not written by Mediates but contemporary), ed. Delatte 1927, 456-457

ἕτερον εἰς ἔρωτα θαυμάσιον. ἔστω ὠροσκόπος ἐν ἰχθύσι καὶ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἢ δὲ Σελήνη ἐξαγωνίζῃ αὐτὴν ἀπὸ Αἰγοκέρωτος ἢ ἀπὸ τριγώνου θεωρῇ αὐτὴν ἐν Καρκίνῳ. καὶ γράφε ἐν δορκίῳ χαρτίῳ καὶ ἔγγισον αὐτὴν μετ’ αὐτό. εἶτα βάλε νὰ τὸ διασκελήσῃ εἰς τὸ κατώφλιον. γράφε δὲ οὕτως: ‘καίκε καρα σεμπεριθου και συμη καθολου [hexalpha] θ γ δ ν σ θανης· καὶ σὺ ὀδεῖνα νὰ μηδὲν τρώγῃς, νὰ μηδὲν πῖης, οὔτε νὰ κατουρῇς [D. dub., crypt.] καὶ εἰς τὸ περισσὸν οὔτε νὰ χέζῃς [D. dub., crypt.] ἔως οὔ νὰ ἔλθῃς εἰς ἐμὲ τὸν ὀδεῖνα νὰ λάβῃς λόγον ἐκ τὸ στόμα μου καὶ φίλημα ἐκ τὰ χεῖλη μου.’

two incantations with analogy, male target; interlocking ritual act

1.5.7. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419 (s. XV), f. 140v, ed. Delatte 1927, 448

1. περί φίλτρου δόκιμον. ἄπελθε εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν καὶ τὸ πρῶτον [.....] ὅπου θέλεις πιάσειν, βάλε το εἰς τὴν μασχάλην σου ἀπέσω καὶ ὀνομάτιζε ὄν ἂν βούλη καὶ εἶπε οὕτως ὡς τρέμει τοῦτο τὸ [.....] εἰς τὴν μασχάλην μου ἀπέσω καὶ χαυνώνεται ἡ καρδία του, οὕτως νὰ τρομάξῃ καὶ ἡ καρδία τούτου ὄν ὀνοματίζω ἐδῶ διὰ ἐμέ, ὁ θέλων φαγεῖν τὸ [.....] τοῦτο.’

2. ἔκτοτε ἔπαρον βεργὶν ἢ καλάμιν ἀπὸ τὴν λίμνην ἢ ἀπὸ ποταμὸν ὅπου τὸ δέρνει ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ εἶπε οὕτως ὡσπερ τὸ βεργὶν τοῦτο τρέμει ἀπὸ τὸν ἄνεμον καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ νερὸν καὶ ἀναμονὴν οὐκ ἔχει, οὕτως καὶ ὄν ὠνομάτισα νὰ τρέμη ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ δι’ ἐμέ ἔστ’ ἂν με ἴδῃ καὶ ὑπομονὴν νὰ μηδὲν ἔχη.’ εἶτα τὸ κάμνε σουβλὶν καὶ σούβλισε αὐτὸ καὶ ἔψησον καὶ δὸς φαγεῖν.

4 διατεμεν *cod.*

analogous wish for erotic curse; potsherd inscribed with the target’s name placed in fire
1.5.8. Athens, EBE *cod.* 1265 (s. XVI-XVII), f. 40r, ed. Delatte 1927, 84

ἔτερον. πιάσον ἓνα κεραμίδιν καὶ γράψον τὲς κάτωθεν καὶ τὸ ὄνομά της καὶ βάλ’ το εἰς λαμπρὸν τὸ μεσημέριν νὰ βράξῃ καὶ λέ[γε] ὡς τρέμει καὶ ἡ καρδία τῆς δεῖνος, νὰ μηδὲν φάγη, νὰ μηδὲν πῖνῃ ἢ καλὴ μου, ἢ ποθητὴ μου, μηδὲν ἀγαλλιάσῃ ἢ δεῖνα ἢ κ[όρη] τῆς δεῖνος. ὡς ἄπτει τοῦτο τὸ κεραμίδιν, [οὔ]τως νὰ ἄψη καὶ ἡ καρδία της καὶ ὁ νοῦς τῆς δεῖνος τῆς καλῆς μου, τῆς ποθητῆς μου εἰς τὸν πόθον μου καὶ ὅς τὴν γλυκεῖάν μου ἀμαρτίαν τοῦ κορμίου μου. καὶ ὡσάν θέλω ἐγώ, νὰ γένη τὸ θέλημά μου, ἀμὴν ἀμὴν.’ [*signs*].

ritual practice with effigy and nails, performatives

1.5.9. Athens, Ethn. Bibl. *cod.* 1265 (s. XVI-XVII), f. 38r, ed. Delatte 1927, 77 with 652

ὄμοιον. ἔπαρον κερὶν παρθένον ἤγουν ἀκάπνιστον καὶ λαβὲ αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς γυναικός. καὶ ποιήσον εἰκόνα εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δεῖνος ἤγουν νὰ ζωγραφίσῃς τὴν νεότην της καὶ σκάψε τὴν ἰστίαν καὶ κάρφωσέ αὐτὴν ἀνάσκελα εἰς τὸ στήθος μετὰ ἀκάνθης ῥάμνου τὴν οἱ Λατῖνοι στακιαν ουροενα, καὶ ἂν δύνεσαι νὰ κλέψῃς ἀπὸ χαλκῆαν καρφίν, ἀμεινον ἤγουν νὰ μὴν μείνης εἰς τὸν χαλκῆν, διὸ ἐκεῖνον εἶναι καλόν. καὶ κάρφωνε καὶ λέγε οὕτως ἔδῶ κάρφωνω τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς καὶ τὸν νοῦν τῆς δεῖνος γυναικός ἵνα ἀποθνήσκῃ διὰ ἐμέ καὶ νὰ μὴν ἡμπορῇ νὰ φάγη οὔτε νὰ πῖνῃ οὔτε νὰ κοιμηθῇ, ἀμὴ ὡσάν ἡ θάλασσα δὲν ἔχει ἀναμονὴν, οὕτως νὰ μὴν ἔχη ἀναμονὴν ἢ δεῖνα κόρη τῆς δεῖνος διὰ ἐμέ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀγάπην. βλέπε, κάρφωνω τὴν ἰστίαν σου.’ εἶτα ὑπάγε παρέξω ἀδημονεῖν καὶ δέρνε αὐτὴν καὶ λέγε οὕτως ὡς τρέμει καὶ τί νὰ ποιήσω ἐγώ ὁ ἐλεεινὸς ὄχουμένα, τί νὰ ποιήσω ἐγώ ὁ ἄθλιος, ὅπου ἢ δεῖνα γυναῖκα ἀποθνήσκῃ διὰ ἐμέ;’ καὶ χῶσον καὶ ἄψον πῦρ.

3 ἰστίαν *Koukoules, Kyriakides 1932, 591* : ἰσκιὰν *Delatte* || 4 ουροενα *prb. Lt.*

uerbena, *not rubeam as Delatte* || 5 ἀμεινον *Koukoules, Kyriakides 1932, 591* : -ος

Delatte || 9 ἰστίαν *Koukoules, Kyriakides 1932, 591* : σκιὰν *Delatte*

double procedure with incantations and plant, the first for general favor, the second erotic
1.5.10. Athens, *cod.* Gennadios 45 (s. XVI), ff. 36v-37r, ed. Delatte 1959, 314-315

1. περί τοῦ ἀνεμοστρουκλίου ἤγουν τοῦ ἔρωτος βοτάνου. ἐὰν σκάψῃς τὴν γῆν εἰς τὰς κγ’ τοῦ Ἀπριλίου ὥρα πρώτη τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀπὸ τὸ βράδυ ἔπαρον ἄλας ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον, πάγαινε εἰς τὸν τόπον, βάλ’ τα εἰς τὴν ρίζαν, χῦσον τὸ κρασὶ εἰς τὴν ρίζαν καὶ εἰς εἴτι θέλεις τὸ ὀνομάτισε διὰ ὅποιαν δουλείαν χρήζεις. καὶ τὸ ταχὺ πρὶν νὰ ἐκβῆ ὁ ἥλιος ὥρα πρώτη ὡσάν σου γράφω ἄνωθεν σκάψον αὐτὸ καὶ ἐκβαλέ το

καὶ βάλε το εἰς τὸ ἐξάστερον νὰ ἀστρονομηθῆ νύκτας τρεῖς. καὶ ὅταν τὸ βάνης νὰ ἀστρονομηθῆ, λέγε οὕτως | ‘ἐξαστέρι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἐσεῖς τρέχετε καὶ δὲν σταματᾶτε, ἔτσι νὰ τρέχουν οἱ ἄνθρωποι μικροὶ καὶ μεγάλοι εἰς ἐκεῖνον ὅπου βαστᾶ τὸ βότανον.’

2. καὶ ὅταν θέλῃς νὰ κόψῃς ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ὀνομάτισε τὸ περὶ εἴτι θέλεις. εἶτα ἔπαρον στουπία καὶ κάμε τσέρκον καὶ βάλε τὸ κομμάτιν τὸ βοτάνιν εἰς τὴν μέσην τοῦ τσέρκου καὶ μὲ στίαν ἄναψε τὰ στουπία καὶ λέγε ὅταν καίουνται τὰ στουπία οὕτως ‘ὡς καίουνται ταῦτα, ἔτσι νὰ καίηται ἡ καρδιά τῆς δεῖνος διὰ τὸν δεῖνα.’ καὶ βάστα αὐτὸ εἰς τὴν μασχάλην σου ἡμέρες ἑννέα καὶ πότισον καὶ ἔγγιξον αὐτὸ ἐκεῖ ὅπου θέλεις σὺ καὶ νὰ θαυμάσῃς. αὐτὸ τὸ εὐγάνουν καὶ τὴν ἀγίαν Ἀνάστασιν τῆς Λαμπρᾶς.

cryptography through Roman transliteration

1.5.11. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX), ff. 490v-491r, ed. Parathomopoulos 2006, 319

περὶ ἀγάπης. ‘ὡς γυρίζει ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ τὰ ἄστρα καὶ τὸ φεγγάρι καὶ οἱ μύλοι καὶ οἱ ἐπτὰ πλανῆτες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἔτσι νὰ γυρίξῃ καὶ ὁ νοῦς τῆς κόρης τῆς δεῖνα πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα. καὶ ὡς γυρίζει ὁ χρόνος καὶ γυρίζει ὁ τροχὸς τοῦ ἀμαξίου καὶ | ὡς γυρίζει ὁ μύλος καὶ ὡς τρέχουν οἱ Χριστιανοὶ ἔς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἔτσι νὰ γυρίσῃ καὶ ὁ νοῦς τῆς δεῖνα πρὸς τὴν ἀγάπην μου, καὶ ὡς λάμβουν τὰ κύματα τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ σκορπίζουν, ἔτσι νὰ κτυπᾶ ἡ καρδιά της καὶ νὰ ἔρθῃ νὰ μὲ ἀνταμώσῃ.’

I peri agapis cod. || 5 lampun ta kimata tis thalassis cod.

wish for erotic curse with analogy; interlocking, broil live fish, and hit them with a stick; speak the incantation, then pulverize them and give the dust to the target to drink

1.5.12. reported from contemporary Macedonia, Abbott 1903, 227

‘ὅπως λαχταροῦν αὐτὰ τὰ ψάρια, ἔτσι νὰ λαχταρήσῃ κ’ ἡ νεῖα π’ ἀγαπῶ.’

wish for erotic curse with analogy, burning egg; interlocking

1.5.13. from a manuscript seen on Cos, s. XVIII, ed. Rouse 1899, 169 (‘fol. 15’ of the manuscript)

ἔπαρον αὐγὸ ὁποῦ νὰ τὸ ἔχει ἡ ὀρνίθα γεννημένο ἡμέρα πέμπτη, νὰ εἶναι μαύρη ἡ ὀρνίθα, καὶ γράψον εἰς αὐτὸ ταῖς κάτωθε χαρακτῆραις σημειωμένα γράμματα. καὶ διάβαζε καὶ λέγε ὡς ‘κάθως καίεται καὶ βράζει τοῦτο τὸ αὐγὸ, ἔτσι νὰ καίηται καὶ ἡ καρδιά της καὶ τὰ φιλοκάρδια της καὶ τὰ σωθικά της ὁδεῖνα διὰ ἑμένα, νὰ μὴ πορῆ νὰ φάγῃ οὔτε νὰ πῖνῃ οὔτε νὰ κάμῃ οὔτε νὰ κοιμηθῇ οὔτε ὄρεξιν νὰ ἔχῃ νὰ ἰδῆ τὸν κόσμον. ὁ νοῦς της καὶ ὁ λογισμὸς της νὰ εἶναι διὰ ἑμένα.’

4, 6 διατεμαινα cod. : τὰ μένα Rouse

1.5.14. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX), ff. 67v-68r, ed. Parathomopoulos 2006, 68

ἕτερον. πάρε αὐγὸν γεννημένον Πέμπτην καὶ γράψε τὰ κάτωθεν τριγύρω του. ἔπειτα βάλε το εἰς τὴν φωτίαν καὶ λέγε ἕως νὰ καῖ ὅλον τὸ αὐγὸν ‘καθὼς καίεται καὶ βράζει τοῦτο τὸ αὐγὸν, ἔτσι νὰ καίεται ἡ καρδιά τῆς δεῖνα, τὰ φυλλοκάρδια της καὶ τὰ ἐσωτερικά της καὶ τὰ συκώτιά της δι’ ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα, ἕως νὰ κάμω τὸ θέλημά μου, νὰ τὴν ἔχω εἰς τὸ θέλημά μου, νὰ μὴν ἡμπορῆ νὰ φάγῃ οὔτε νὰ πῖνῃ οὔτε | νὰ κοιμηθῇ, ἕως νὰ κάμω τὸ θέλημά μου.’ ἰδοὺ ἐκεῖνα ὅπου γράφονται ‘ααρη ζαγχιμαλ βελαλουτ βαγιαβ [sign] χαζαραθ βεσαρ παλαλαβος.’

burning egg, with additions

1.5.15. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικός κώδικας (s. XIX), f. 68r-v, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 68

ἕτερον περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ. λάβε αὐγὸν μαύρης ὀρνίθας γεννημένον τὴν Παρασκευὴν καὶ νὰ μὴν εἶναι συνουσιασμένη μετὰ πετεινὸν εἰς τὴν πρώτην ὥραν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης νὰ ὀρκίσῃ καὶ τὸν πλανήτην καὶ τὸν ἄγγελον καὶ τὸν δαίμονα τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας καὶ γράψῃ ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ αὐγὸν τὰ ὀπισθεν μετὰ μόσχον κρόκον καὶ ῥοδόσταμον | καὶ βάλε το ὑποκάτω εἰς τὴν χοβόλην καὶ ἀπὸ πάνω ἀναψε φωτίαν καὶ λέγε ἔτσι 'καθὼς ζεσταίνεται καὶ βράζει τὸ αὐγὸν ἔτσι νὰ ζεσταίνεται καὶ νὰ βράζῃ καὶ τῆς δεῖνα ἢ καρδιά δι' ἐμένα τὸν δεῖνα. καὶ καθὼς ἀγαπᾷ ἢ μητέρα τὸ παιδί της, ἔτσι νὰ ἀγαπᾷ καὶ αὐτὴ ἐμένα, νὰ μὴν ἠμπορῇ νὰ φάγῃ οὔτε νὰ πῖνῃ οὔτε νὰ κοιμηθῇ οὔτε νὰ καθῆσῃ οὔτε νὰ γελάσῃ χωρὶς νὰ ἰδῇ ἐμένα. κουλλουβελαχου εχετ ἀλλαχουσαμετ λεμγελιτ βελεμ γιουβλετ βελεμ γιειουλλεχου κιουφουβεν εχετ.'

wish for erotic curse with analogy, candle; interlocking; scripture, psalm

1.5.16. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸ κώδικας (s. XIX), f. 67r-v, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 67-68

ἕτερον. παίρνεις τρεῖς φορὰς τὸ χῶμα ὅπου ἐπάτησεν μετὰ τὸ δεξιὸν ποδάρι, μετ' ὀλίγον τὸ ζυμώνεις μετὰ κίτρινον κηρί καὶ βάζεις φυτίλι ἀπὸ βαμπάκι καὶ τὴν νύκτα εἰς τὲς τρεῖς ὥρες τὸ ἀνάπτεις καὶ διαβάζεις τὸν ψαλμὸν 'ἦρα τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου εἰς τὰ ὄρη' καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπτὰ φορὰς καὶ ἔπειτα λέγεις 'ὡς καίεται τοῦτο τὸ κηρί, οὔτω νὰ καίεται καὶ ἡ καρδιά τῆς δεῖνα τῆς κόρης τῆς δεῖνα δι' ἐμένα τὸν δεῖνα τὸν υἱὸν τῆς δεῖνα. νὰ μὴν ἠμπορῇ νὰ φάγῃ οὔτε νὰ πῖνῃ οὔτε νὰ κοιμηθῇ ἕως νὰ κάμω τὸ θέλημά μου.' τότε σβήνεις τὸ κηρί καὶ | κάμνεις τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπτὰ βραδιὰς καὶ τὴν ἐβδόμην φορὰν ἀφήνεις τὸ κηρί νὰ καῖ ὅλον.

wish for erotic curse with analogy, inscribed effigy; oddly the incantations refer to burning of a ceramic (sherd), but the procedure calls for a wax effigy

1.5.17. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸ κώδικας (s. XIX), ff. 310r-311r, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 185

ἔπαρε ἀγιοκέρι παστρικὸν τὴν Παρασκευὴν τὸ πρῶτ' ὅταν ἐβγαίῃ ὁ ἥλιος, νὰ τὸ πλάσῃς ὡσάν τῆς γυναικὸς τὸ σχῆμα ἴδιον εἰδωλον καὶ νὰ γράψῃς τὸ ὄνομά της εἰς τὰ στήθη της καὶ νὰ καθῆσῃ τὴν Παρασκευὴν τὸ βραδύ καὶ παίρνεις ἓνα τοῦβλο καινούργιον καὶ γράφεις τὲς κάτωθεν χαρακτηῖρες ἐπάνω καὶ τὸ ὄνομά της μαζί, καὶ νὰ ἔχῃς ἀναμμένην φωτίαν καὶ νὰ καθῆσῃς ἕως ὥρας ἐπτὰ καὶ νὰ βάνῃς τὸ τοῦβλο 'ς τὴν φωτίαν καὶ νὰ λέγῃς 'ὡς καίεται ἐτούτῃ ἢ κεραμίδα, ἔτσι νὰ καίεται καὶ τῆς | δεῖνα ἢ καρδιά διὰ ἐμένα τὸν δεῖνα, οὔτε νὰ φάγῃ οὔτε νὰ πῖνῃ οὔτε νὰ κοιμηθῇ, ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν νὰ μὴν ἔχῃ, ἕως νὰ ἔλθῃ νὰ με ἀνταμώσῃ. ὁ νοῦς της καὶ ὁ λογισμὸς της νὰ εἶναι εἰς ἐμένα καὶ νὰ σηκωθῇ νὰ ἔλθῃ.' αὐτὰ θὰ λέγῃς ἐπτὰ ὥρες ὅταν θὰ βάνῃς τὴν κεραμίδα εἰς τὴν φωτίαν. ρίχνεις καὶ ὀλίγον μαστίχι καὶ ἀπὸ ὀλίγον νὰ πυρώνῃς καὶ τὴν εἰκόναν ὅπου θὰ κάμῃς ἀπὸ τὸ κηρί καὶ πυρώνοντας λέγε οὕτως 'ὡς πυρώνεται τούτῃ ἢ κεραμίδα, ἔτσι νὰ πυρώνῃ καὶ τῆς δεῖνα ἢ καρδιά διὰ ἐμένα τὸν δεῖνα.' ἰδοὺ οἱ χαρακτηῖρες ἀνωθεν εἶναι: | [signs] τέλος.

wish for erotic curse with analogy, burning tablet inscribed with names and effigies; added analogy with urination, user urinates on tablet

1.5.18. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸ κώδικας (s. XIX), ff. 478r-479r, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 310-311

διὰ ἀγάπην ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικός. πάρε ἓνα τοῦβλον, γράψον μὲ μαχαίριον ἀπὸ τὸ ἐν μέρος τὸ πρόσωπόν σου καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ ἄλλον τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἢ τῆς γυναικός ὅπου θέλεις νὰ σὲ ἀγαπήσῃ. ἂν εἴν' ἀνδρας, τὸ κάμνεις μὲ μουστάκια, εἰ δὲ γυναίκα μὲ βυζιά καὶ μὲ μαλλιά. τὸ ὅποιον τοῦβλον βάλε το εἰς τὴν φωτίαν νὰ | κοκκινήσῃ καλὰ. ἔπειτα ἔβγαλέ το ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τὴν φωτίαν καὶ ρίξε του ἐπάνω ὀλίγον ἀγιοκέριον καὶ ἄλειμμα καὶ ὀνομάτιζε ἔτσι 'ὡς καθὼς λειώνει τὸ ἀγιοκέρι καὶ τὸ ἄλειμμα, ἔτσι νὰ λειώσῃ ἡ καρδιά τῆς δεῖνα ἢ τοῦ δεῖνα διὰ λόγου μου. καὶ καθὼς καίει καὶ ἀνάπτει, ἔτσι νὰ καίεται καὶ ἡ σκούφιά της εἰς τὸ κεφάλι της καὶ τὸ κεφάλι της εἰς τὴν σκούφιά της, τὰ μαλλιά της εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν της καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ της εἰς τὰ μαλλιά της, καὶ τὸ ὑποκάμισόν της εἰς τὸ σῶμά της καὶ τὸ σῶμά της εἰς τὸ ὑποκάμισόν της, τὸ βρακί της εἰς τὸν κῶλόν της καὶ ὁ κῶλός της εἰς τὸ βρακί της, τὰ καλτσούνιά της εἰς τοὺς πόδας της καὶ οἱ πόδες της εἰς τὰ καλτσούνιά της, ἡ καρδιά της εἰς τὸ σῶμά της καὶ τὸ σῶμά της εἰς τὴν καρδίαν της.' ἔπειτα τὸ βάζεις πάλιν εἰς τὴν φωτίαν καὶ | καίει καλὰ. ὕστερα τὸ βγάζεις καὶ κατουρεῖς ἀπάνω του καὶ λέγεις οὕτως 'δὲν βράζει τὸ οὖρος τοῦτο ἀλλὰ βράζει ἡ καρδιά τῆς δεῖνα διὰ λόγου μου, καὶ καθὼς δὲν ἠμπορῶ ἐγὼ καὶ ὅλος ὁ κόσμος χωρὶς νὰ κάμουν τὸ οὖρός των, ἔτσι νὰ μὴν ἠμπορῇ καὶ ὁ δεῖνα νὰ κάμῃ χωρὶς ἐμένα.' καὶ ἐνεργεῖ θαυμασίως τὸ παρόν. Παρασκευὴ καὶ Δευτέρα δὲν γίνεται, ὅτι εἶναι ἡμέρα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, εἰδὲ τὲς ἄλλες ἡμέρες γίνεται.

adjuration of substances to be fed to target; with analogies, erotic curse, use of metonyms
1.5.19. Athens, EBE cod. 1265 (s. XVI-XVII), f. 25r-v, ed. Delatte 1927, 62-63
[defective]

'[... μῆ]τε νὰ ἠμπορέσῃ νὰ ἀγαπήσῃ ἢ νὰ ἔχῃ ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον ἠγαπημένον παρὰ ἐμέ, νὰ ἔχῃ τὰ σπλάγχνα της ὅλα καὶ τὰ θάρρη της καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην της ὅλην εἰς ἐμέ. ὡσὰν ἔχει ὁ πατέρας καὶ ἡ μάνα καὶ οἱ καλοὶ γονεῖς τὰ παιδιά των καὶ ὡσὰν ὁ σκύλος ἀγαπᾷ τὸν αὐθέντην του, ἔτσι καὶ ὅσοι σε μυρισθοῦν, ὅσοι σε πιάσουν, ὅσοι σε φάγουν νὰ ἔχουσιν ἀγάπην εἰς ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα τὸν υἱὸν τῆς δεῖνος. εἶτα ὀρκίζω (σε) χόρτον πῆγανον εἰς τὴν γῆν ὅπου σ' ἔκαμεν καὶ εἰς τὴν φοβερὸν καὶ μεγάλον θεὸν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ὅπου ἀπετίμησε τὴν συκὴν καὶ ἐξηράνθη, καὶ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς κυρίας δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, ὀρκίζω σε εἰς τὰ ἑννέα τάγματα τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων καὶ εἰς τοὺς δώδεκα ἀποστόλους καὶ εἰς τοὺς τέσσαρας εὐαγγελιστὰς Ματθαῖον Μάρκον Λουκᾶν καὶ Ἰωάννην, ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὅπου σε θέλει ἐγγίξῃ καὶ σε φάγῃ, νὰ καίηται ἡ καρδιά του διὰ ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα τὸν υἱὸν τῆς δεῖνος, ἢ ἀνδρὸς ἢ γυναικός οὔτινός σε δώσω ἵνα σε φάγῃ, ἵνα σε μυρισθῇ, ἵνα σε ἐγγίξῃ, καθὼς καίεται τὸ κήρινον εἰς τὴν φωτίαν καὶ τὸ τεάφιν εἰς τὴν πουλβέρην, ἔτσι νὰ καίηται καὶ νὰ ἀνάπτῃ ἡ καρδιά της καὶ ἐκείνης διὰ ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα. πάλιν ὀρκίζω σε χόρτον πῆγανον εἰς τὰ ἑπτὰ χαρίσματα τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος καὶ εἰς τὰς δέκα ἐντολὰς ὅπου ἔδωκεν τῷ Μωυσεῖ ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦ Σινα, καὶ εἰς τοὺς δώδεκα ὀρισμούς καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον σύμβολον καὶ εἰς τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ Σολομῶντος καὶ εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα μέρη τοῦ κόσμου καὶ εἰς τὰ δώδεκα ζώδια τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἑπτὰ πλανήτας καὶ εἰς τὴν δύναμιν ὅλων τῶν βοτανῶν καὶ χόρτων, διὰ τὴν μεγάλην χάριν καὶ ἐνέργειαν νὰ κάμῃς ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἄνθρωπον νὰ μὴν ἠμπορέσῃ νὰ ἀγαπήσῃ ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον, μόνον ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα, καὶ νὰ μὴν ἔχῃ ἀνάπαυσιν οὔτε νὰ σταθῇ οὔτε νὰ φάγῃ οὔτε νὰ πῖνῃ οὔτε νὰ κοιμηθῇ διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην τὴν ἐδικὴν μου, νὰ εἶναι πάντοτε εἰς τὸ θέλημά μου, νὰ κάμῃ τὸ θέλω καὶ ὅ τι τῆς λέγω. ἐγὼ σε ὀρκίζω εἰς τὸν γεννηθέντα καὶ βαπτισθέντα καὶ παθόντα καὶ ταφέντα καὶ ἀναστάντα καὶ ἀναληφθέντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ καθιζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν | τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς Χριστὸν θεὸν κύριον, νὰ με ὑπακούσῃς ὅ τί σε εἶπα καὶ νὰ εἶσαι εὐλογημένον εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν

ἄνθρωπον ὅπου σε πιάση, ὅπου σε ἐγγίξῃ, ὅπου σε μυρισθῇ, ὅπου σε φάγη, νὰ εἶναι κρατημένος καὶ δεδεμένος εἰς τὸ θέλημά μου, νὰ κάμῃ τὴν ὄρεξίν μου ὅ τι τῆς λέγω. καθὼς ὁ ἄνθρωπος δὲν ἠμπορεῖ νὰ ζῇ χωρὶς αἷμα, οὔτε ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὅπου σε θέλει φαγεῖν, ὅπου σε πιάση, νὰ μὴν ἠμπορῇ νὰ ζῇ χωρὶς ἐμὲ καὶ χωρὶς τὴν ἀγάπην μου. ὀρκίζω σε χόρτον πῆγανον εἰς τὸν ἥλιον εἰς τὴν σελήνην καὶ εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν πέτραν ὅπου ἐκτύπησεν ὁ Μωυσης καὶ εἰς τοὺς τέσσαρας ποταμοὺς ὅπου ἐκβαίνουν ἀπὸ τὸν παράδεισον καὶ εἰς τὸν στῦλον καὶ εἰς τὴν νεφέλην τοῦ Μωυση ὅπου ἔφεγγεν τὴν νύκταν καὶ εἰς τὴν κιβωτὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ράβδον καὶ εἰς τὸ μάννα καὶ εἰς τοὺς τρεῖς πατριάρχας, Αβρααμ Ἰσαακ καὶ Ἰακωβ ἐξόχως. εἰς τὸ ὄνομα ἐκείνου τοῦ ποιητοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς ὅπου εἶπε καὶ ἐγένοντο ὅλα τὰ βότανα καὶ χόρτα, ἐσὲ ὀρκίζω χόρτον πῆγανον νὰ κάμουν τὸ θέλημά μου καὶ τὴν ὄρεξίν μου ὅσοι θέλουν σε φαγεῖν, σὲ πιάσουν, σὲ [μυρισθ]οῦν, σὲ ἐγγίξουν. ἐγὼ σὲ ὀρκίζω, χόρτον πῆγανον, σὲ ἀφορίζω νὰ ἔχῃς χάριν νὰ ἠμπορέσῃς νὰ δέσῃς τὴν καρδίαν τὰ μυαλὰ καὶ τὰ συκώτια [καὶ καρδίαν] καὶ τὴν θύμησιν τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν, νὰ καίηται καὶ νὰ μαραίνηται διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην μου ὥστε νὰ εἶναι πάντοτε εἰς τὸ θέλημά μου καὶ νὰ κάμῃ τὴν ὄρεξίν μου, νὰ εἶναι εἰς τὴν ὄρεξίν μου κεκρατημένη, εἰς τὴν ὄρεξίν μου καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην τὴν ἐδικήν μου, νὰ μὴν ἔχη καμμίαν ἀνάπασιν οὔτε νύκτα οὔτε ἡμέραν οὔτε νὰ φάγη οὔτε νὰ πῖη οὔτε νὰ κοιμηθῇ, μόνον νὰ ἴλιγοθυμᾷ, νὰ καίηται, νὰ τρέμῃ ἡ καρδία του διὰ ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα τὸν υἱὸν τῆς δεῖνος.’

3 γονεῖς <διὰ> Delatte || 34 τρεῖς *correx*i : ζ’ Delatte

2. invocation of divinities

2.1. name of divinity only

2.1.1. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574 (s. IV), f. 14v, ed. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* IV.1265-1274

Ἀφροδίτης ὄνομα τὸ μηδενὶ ταχέως | γινωσκόμενον· ‘Νεφεριηρι.’ τοῦ|το τὸ ὄνομα. ἐὰν γυναικὸς ἐπιτυχεῖν | θέλης εὐσχήμονος, καθαρὸς γενό|μενος ἐπὶ ἡμέρας γ’, ἐπιθύσας λίβανον, | τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα ἐπικαλεσάμενος αὐ|τῷ καὶ εἰσελθὼν πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα | ἐπτάκις ἐρεῖς αὐτὸ κατὰ ψυχὴν βλέ|πων αὐτῇ, καὶ οὕτως ἐξήξει. τοῦτο | δὲ ποίει ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ζ’.

2.2. simple request

2.2.1. *SEG LX 1037*, gold lamella, found in the necropolis of San Cassiano, Riva del Garda, middle-late Roman. ed. pr. Mastrocinque 2010 with photograph; new readings here from photograph.

ιαω | *signs* | *signs* | *signs* | σαβαωθ. | ἵνα ἐμὲ φιλήσῃ | Ἄδωνις τὸν ἔτε|κεν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ, | ἔρωτι καὶ πόθῳ.

6 ινα: ν *corr.* ex α || 7 ΟΛΟΔΙC Mastrocinque | 1. ὄν || 8 ἡμὶ ἰηρὰ τοῦ Mastrocinque

2.2.2. unknown provenance, linen, now Cologne, P.Köln inv. 5512, s. III/IV, *Suppl.Mag.* I 44

(*signs*) ιοχο (*signs*) σιμ (*signs*) Φνου (*signs*) | φθονθων (*signs*) | (*signs*) περκμημ Βιου Βι|ου Βιβιου (*signs*) | (*signs*) | (*signs*) | (*signs*) οχερο (*signs*) | νουρι επνεβαῖ σερπωτ’ μου|ἴ σρο ριντ’ μηῖ μηῖ η[ἴ] ου Ου|σιρι σερφουθ μουῖ σρο μη[ἴ] | μηῖ. ταχέω[s] ἄξον ὡδε [Τα]|πιάδαν ἦν ἔ[τε]κεν Δη|μητρία Ἀχ[ιλ]λᾶτι ὄν | ἔτεκεν Ἐλένη διὰ | τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ ἀώ[ο]ρου, | Βακαξιχυχ, τοῦ τὰ | πάντα πεπιστεύμέ|νου, Ευλαμω. ἄξατε τὴν | Ταπιάδα τῷ Ἀχιλλᾶ, ἥδη | ἥδη, ταχύ ταχύ.

2.2.3. Brown ironstone in private collection (Newell), ed. Bonner 1950 no. 156 with p. 117 (ed. pr. C. Bonner, *PAPHS* 85 (1942), 466-471 (ph.); repr. Michel 2004 no. 30.6.e). depiction of Isis-Hecate with whip and torch on one side, surrounded by magic words, running in a spiral clockwise outwards from the head of the figure (Bonner's identification of πρὸς πέτ(α)λα within it seems unlikely. The inscription of the first hand (the same hand as on the other side) forms a rough rectangle, the second is made in the middle of it, and is larger and less skilled.

A

ωαιωωαιουενωιαηενουεμαρζακριμωθεραφρωφιαβλαβιουιουλευλανθιβηρομαχθερκ
αχλαβωρδεξλολιχηωαιφρενουμερζωρπροσπετλααρθερμαιμαδυζωρ

B (M1) ἄξον Ἀχειλλᾶν ὄν ἔτεκεν Σεραπιάς Διονυσιάτι ἢ(ν) τέτοκεν Σεραπιάς.
(M2) ἢ ἄξον | ἢ κατὰ κλε|ινον

2.2.4. gem in private collection (Sossidi no. 14), Michel 2004 no. 15.4, Taf. 88.2, with majuscule tr.; here tr. from plate. Not previously identified as erotic. Decoration includes figure of Eros.

βλαρθα|ρειμιαραχ|θα τήν συν|γεινομέν|ην πυρὶ φλέ|ξατε ωσαρ|βαθαιρας

5-6 ΦΑΕΞΑ ΤΕ *Michel*

charitesion specifically for a man to use on a woman, prayer to Helios

2.2.5. Hermopolis Magna (Eschmunen), now Berlin, P.Berol. 9873 (s. IV), p. 23.17-26, ed. *P.Aktenbuch* p. 47 (cf. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* XXIIa.18-27). Recollated

Χαῖρε, Ἥλιε, χαῖρε, [Ἥ]λιε, χαῖρε, [ἐ]π[ι] ο]ύρανὸν | θεέ, τὸ ὄνομά σου
παντοκράτωρ· [vac. ἀ]πὸ τοῦ | ἐπτά οὐρανοῦ δό[ς] μοι χάριν στ[άσι]μον | πρὸς
πᾶσαν ἀνθρωπίνην γε[v]εῖαν | καὶ πάσας γυναῖκας, μάλιστα πρὸς τὸν | δεῖνα
δεῖνος). ποιήσ[όν] με καλὸν παρ' αὐτῆ γενέσθαι | ὡς ἴαω, πλούσιον ὡς σαβαωθ,
φιληθῆ|ναι ὡς λαῖλαμ, μέγαν ὡς βαρβαραν, | ἔντιμος ὡς μιχαηλ, ἔνδοξας [ὡς] |
γαβριηλ, καὶ χαριτώσομ[αι.]

17 χαῖρ[ε] P.Aktenbuch | 1. ἐπὶ οὐρανῶν ὑπ' [ο]ύρανὸν P.Aktenbuch || 18
π[αν]τ[ο]κράτωρ[ος] P.Aktenbuch || 20 γε[v]εῖαν P.Aktenbuch || 22 ΔΔ pap. :
δεῖ(να τοῦ) δεῖ(νος) P.Aktenbuch || 26 χαριτώσο[μαι] P.Aktenbuch

applied erotic magic; 'leading' only, no erotic curse; drawing of Bes

2.2.6. Fayum, now in Oslo, P.Oslo inv. 434, s. IV, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXIX.

θατθαραθαυθωλθαρα θατθαραθαυθωλθαρα | ατθαραθαυθωλθαρα
ατθαραθαυθωλθαρα | τθαραθαυθωλθαρα τθαραθαυθωλθαρα | θαραθαυθωλθαρα
θαραθαυθωλθαρα | αραθαυθωλθαρα α[ρ]αθαυθωλθαρα | ραθαυθωλθαρα
ραθαυθωλθαρα | αθαυθωλθαρα αθαυθωλθαρα | θαυθωλθαρα θαυθωλθαρα |
αυθωλθαρα αυθωλθαρα | υθωλθαρα υθωλθαρα | θωλθαρα θωλθαρα | ωλθαρα
ωλθαρα | λθαρα λθαρα | θαρα θαρα | αρα αρα | ρα ρα | α α | ἐξορκίζω σε τῶ(ν)
δώδεκα στοιχείων | τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἰκοσιτέσσερα στοιχεί|ων τοῦ κόσμου, ἵνα
ἄγης μοι Ἡρακλῆν ὄν ἔτεκεν [Τα] | αἴτις πρὸς Ἄλλοῦν, ἧς ἔτεκεν Ἀλεξανδρία, ἦδη
ἦδη, ταχύ ταχύ.

name of Aphrodite, writing on leaf, dissolving ink

2.2.7. P.Duke inv. 729, side (↓), 1-13, ed. Jordan 2006, 162

πόσιμον πεπιρασμ[έν]ον ὑπὸ πολλῶν. λαβῶ[ν ἐν φύλ] | λον ἀμπέλου τῆ ἀρ[ισ]τερᾶ
 χιρὶ δυοὶ δακτύλοις κ[ατά]θες | εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν χίρα καὶ καθυπόγραφον εἰς τ[ὸ
 φύλλον] | ζ(μύ)ρ(νη) τὰ ὑποκείμενα ὀνόματα· καὶ γὰρ ἀπόρρη[τα. τὸ ὄνο] | μά ἐστιν
 τῆς Ἀφροδίτης· ‘αζανδω ιαζα[c. 8] | αζαραοιαβαλη[.]αρμαρ\ι/δα φνουι α[c. 8
] | ζαθεωου αβρασαξ εεε ηη ιιι οοοοο [υυυυυ] | ωωωωωωω. φιλ[ί]τω με ἢ δ(ε)ἰ(να)
 τὸν δ(ε)ἰ(να) θίω κα[ἰ] ἀπορ | ρήτω καὶ ἀκαταπαύστω ἔρωτι. ὑπόταξε ἐμ[οἱ] τῶ
 δ(ε)ἰ(να) | ἥδη β̄ τὰχὺ β̄.’ [ἐ]κλυσο[ν] τὸ φύ[λλον] ἐν ἀκράτῳ [οἶνω c. 3] | .. [c. 4] ..
 c. 9] υσ[.] δὸς πείν καὶ [c. 8 ἔ] | ὡς τεσο[αράκ]ις].

10 [] pap. [β]’ ed. pr. | [οἶνω καὶ (?)] ed. pr.

2.2.8. small lead diptych pierced by nails, T.Heid.Arch.Inst. inv. F 429a-b, s. II,
Suppl.Mag. I 37 (cf. *SEG XXXIX 1745 I* (B. Borell, *Statuetten, Gefässe und andere
 Gegenstände aus Metall (Katalog der Sammlung antiker Kleinkunst des Archäologischen
 Instituts der Universität Heidelberg 3.1)* (Mainz 1989), 53-54 no. 56 with photo; ed. pr. F.
 Boll, “Griechischer Liebeszauber aus Ägypten auf zwei Bleitafeln des Heidelberger
 archäologischen Instituts,” *SHAW 1* (1910), 3-11 with photograph; cf. *Archiv 9* (1930)
 147 and 149). representation of mummy beside lines 3-5; possibly from Panopolis based
 on onomastic grounds (Τμεσις, mother of the target)

Ἵριων Σαραποῦτος, | ποίησον καὶ ἀνάγκα | σον | Νίκην | Ἀπολ | λωνοῦ | τος
 ἐ | ρασθῆ | ναι Παι | τοῦτ[ος] | ἦν ἔτ[εκ] | ε Τμσιως. | ποίησον Νίκην Ἀ | πολ | λωνοῦτος
 | ἐρασθῆναι Παντοῦ | τος ἦν ἔτεκεν | Τμσιως ἐπὶ ε// | μῆνας.

fragmentary but probably applied object perhaps to be deposited in tomb; invocation,
 with drawing, probably the demon invoked

2.2.9. unknown provenance, now Vienna, P.Vind. inv. G 29273, s. IV, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P
 LXIV

κατάκτλιο | ν, ἄξον, ἐπί | πεμψον. ἐπι | καλοῦμέ σε | τὰ ἅγια ὀνό | ματα ψινα | ψ[ι]να
 κραδι | δα ψιωμοιψ. | ..προκυλιν[] | ..καριαιω.. | []

1-21. κατάκλινον : κατάκτινον Preisendanz

2.2.10. very fragmentary remains of formulary from Oxyrhynchus with probably
 exorcistic invocation for erotic magic, Cairo, Jd’É 60140, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P LXVII

[.....].....[..... δ]ε[ἰ] γράφειν] εἰπόντ[α τὸ]ν λόγον | καὶ (ἀ)ψύχων καὶ ἐνψύχων·
 αγε[.....]. αουμα[...]. εβ.- | θνόβαμα βαβουα[.]εὺ δαλαν[αλα]δ αλκουμι [..]ουτιζται |
 αααα ιιιι εουα βουβιθα [χ]αναχ σανμαχανα | καὶ κεχνου Βουζά, |
 [σ]ανμαχα[να] | [σ]αμμαχαρά σφαμβης εποκρ[...]. αχθ Κάτ ετα βαι | καρκοπτω
 κοπ[τω] καρβαρ[....]αηα πτοκοπτο караβα[ρ] | β]αρουτα Θάθ, [Χρε]νψενθ[αῆς,
 Β]ερβάλ, [Π]ώ, [Π]αρπ[.]ρπα(ρ). ἐ(ξ)ορ | [κί]ζω σε κατ[ὰ] τοῦ ἀγί[ου] ὀνό[ματος] το[ῦ]
 δαίμο[νος] τοῦ ἡίου σ[ου] | ω—]ωρος βαρβαρ[αθαμ Ἀ]δωνα[ίου] θεοῦ Σ]αβαώ[θ],
 Ἀβρασάξ .. | ...]ψε.. τα.[Φονοβουβ]οήλ, Ἐ[ρ]μοῦ χθονίου Θουώθ ἀρχε | δαμά]
 φωκενσ[εψ] ευ] ἀρε—εκταθου μισ[ονκται ...ηἰ | ἰάω] ηωηω κα[...η]ωῖω ωῖωη
 σε[σενγεν βαρφαργ | γης ἐρ]ηκισι(θ)φ[η] αρ]αραχαράρα ηφ[θισικηρ] ἰα | βεζεβ—]υθ
 ἰά[ω]σαμ φθησα[μ.....ερηκι | σιφθη] αραραχα[ραρα] ηφθισικηρ[ε..... |]ηἰ
 ἰάω [ηωη]ω—κα. τῶ ἐξ[ορκισμῶ] τούτῳ ἐ | ξορκί]ζω [σε τὸν κα]ἰ
 διορκισ[θέντα]μένων | [..... τῶν τεθνηκότων] ἐν θανά | [τω
 ἄωρω τὴν δεῖνα ἦν ἔτεκεν] ἡ δεῖνα, | [..... δεῖνα ὄν] ἔτεκεν ἢ δ(εῖνα) |
 [---]εἶρηκεν | [---]ων

exorcism, corpse analogy; Latin in Greek transliteration

2.2.11. tablet found near Carthage at Bir ez Zitoun, ed. Audollent 1904 no. 231

±10 περα | ±8 [κου]ωρουμ | ±9 [κ]ουω ρορ | ±9 μαγνα ουτ | διας ουτ
κουωμο | [δο ...] α νουντιο ρηγισ | ι μορτους αβ ιλ | [λα δετ]ινητουρ ανιμα | οκ
λοκο σικ ετ | ±7 κουιους εστ | τη δητινεατουρ | [ιν ομ]νε τεμπους ιν α | [μωρ]ε ετ
δεσιδερι[ο] Μαρ | [τ]ιαλικι κουεμ πεπεριτ | Κορωναρια σερρουσεμ λω | κνημεω
τριπαρνωχι α | [β]ρασαρξ σχωομονοε ευ | φνεφερησα μαλχαμα | ιαρεμμουθου
χεννειθ | ατιουρο ουως περ ουνκ πρε | [πο]σιτου σουπερ νεκεσσι | [τατ]ης τερρε σικ ετ
τε | δομινους αιη απερ | .. ουτ ει[ξ] ακ διη οκ μομεντο | ±8 ις ±9 | traces | ατε
ιλλ[α]ς ησου ±7 | αμετ Μαρτιαλε ουτ ο {μ} | μνι μουλιεβρι ωρας μ[ε] ιν | μεντε αβεατ
ετ τωτα διε | [ιν α]νιμω αβεατ αμωρε με | [ουμ] νιμ ±8 | ±8 τις μαγνα τυ | [±5
δομ]ινουμ ιαμ ιαμ | ±9 πεγια.

5 ουτ conieci : .. τ Audollent | | 8 δετ]ινητουρ supplevi :]ινητουρ Audollent

.... quorum ... quo ... magna ut ... ut quomodo ... a nuntio regis ... mortuus ab illa
detinetur anima ... hoc loco, sic et cuius est ... detineatur in omne tempus in amore et
desiderio Martialici quem peperit Coronaria serrousem..lo knemeo triparnokhi abrasarx
skhoomonoe euphneferesa malkhama iaremmouthou khenneith. adiuro uos per hunc
praepositum super necessitates terrae, sic et ... dominus ... ut ex hac die, hoc momento ...
amet Martialem, ut omni muliebri hora me in mente habeat et tota die in animo habeat
amorem meum ... dominum iam iam ...

2.2.12. Tebtunis (?), now Yale, P.CtYBR inv. 1206 recto, coll. ii.12-iii.10

[φί]λτρον τῶν [c. 10]σον δύο | [..]ψεε[...].σ[c. 10]χον ενχυ.. | [..]οντου[c. 12
]λμένου ε[--] | [..]ν εκ του[c. 12]σεις ευχ[--] | η οϊνον η υδωρ. επαδε σου τα κο[ινά]
| και εως εαν αποθανη τηλικουτο φιλησει. επωδη ως Αφροδείτης νεμ | ως
πρ[..]λησ[..] ως γη[c. 15] | γης αξ[..] [c. 5] σελη[c. 15] | [..]ευμα ως κ[c. 20
] | [ο]υτως η δεϊνα πρ[c. 20] | ...ερ[c. 25] | .σπ[c. 25] | επ[α]οιδην. [

inscribing a tin sheet and throwing it into the sea, using copper nail from shipwrecked ship
2.2.13. London, BL P.Lond. inv. 121 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.462-466)

φίλτρον κάλλιστον. επίγραφον επί λάμνας κασιτερίνης τούς χαρακτήρας
καί τὰ ὀνόματα καί οὐσιάσας οἷα δήποτε οὐσία ἔλιξον καί βάλε
εἰς θάλασσαν. οἱ δὲ χαρακτῆρες οἶδε· (signs) ιχαναρμενθω· χασαρ· ποιήσατε τὴν
δεῖνα φιλεῖν ἐμέ' (κοινά). | γράφε ἐν ἡλω κυπρίνω ἀπὸ πλ[ο]ίου νεναυαγηκότος.

potion and inscription on papyrus; to be dissolved in potion

2.2.14. London, BL P.Lond. inv. 121 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.969-971)

πότισμα καλόν· λαβών χαρτίον ἱερατικόν | ἐπίγραφε· 'Ἰάω ω εσταβισα | ση
τουρεωσαν αθιαχνιωουηνου αχημαχου. | φιλείτω με ἡ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα ἐμέ, τὸν
δεῖνα, πιούσα τὸ ποτόν.'

by touch

2.2.15. London, BL P.Lond. inv. 121 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.973-980)

Ἀγώγιμον παράψιμον. | λαβών κάνθαρον ἡλιακὸν ζέσον μύρω καλῶ | καὶ λαβών
τὸν κάνθαρον τρίψον μετὰ κατανάγκης | βοτάνης καὶ βάλε εἰς βησίον ὑελοῦν καὶ
λέγε τὸν λόγον | τὸν ὑποκείμενον β'· 'θωβαρραβαυ, Μιχαήλ | Μιχαήλ· Οὔσιρι φορ·
φορβα, Ἀβριήλ· σεσεγγεν βαρ | φαραγγης, Ἰάω, Σαβαώθ, Ἀδωναῖε, Λαίλαμ,
ἐπαναγ | κάσατε τὴν δεῖνα τῆ[ς] δεῖνα, ἐὰν ἄψαιμι, ἐπακολουθῆσαι'.

exorcistic invocation of Cerberus; making inscribed figurine of dog, putting into its mouth bone from the skull of a person of violent death, writing on a *pittakion*, putting this on a tripod and the dog on top of it, saying the incantation until the dog barks; opening the door and finding the target outside

2.2.16. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574, ff. 21v-22r (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.1872-1927), space left at beginning

<...> μηδένα δίδασκε. ἔστιν | γὰρ καρτερόν λῖαν καὶ ἀν|υπέμβλητον, ποιοῦν πρὸς |
πάντας αὐθήμερον, ἀ|πλῶς ἐσημένως, λῖαν καρ|τερώτατον. ἔστι δέ· λαβὼν |
κηροῦ οὐγκίας δ', ἄγνου καρποῦ | οὐγκίας ἧ', μάννης δραχμᾶς δ'. ταῦτα | λειώσας
χωρὶς ἕκαστον, μίση|γε τῆ πίσση καὶ τῷ κηρῷ | καὶ πλάσον κύνα δακτύλων | ὀκτώ,
χάσκοντα. ἐνθήσεις | δὲ εἰς τὸ στόμα τοῦ κυνὸς | ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου κεφαλῆς βι|αίου
ὀστέον καὶ ἐπίγραφον | εἰς τὰς πλευρὰς τοῦ κυνὸς | τοὺς χαρακτῆρας τούτους· |
ΧΖΟΠΨΧ | Ψ καὶ θήσεις ἐπὶ τρί|ποδα τὸν κύνα. ἐχέτω δὲ | ὁ κύων τὸν πόδα
ἐπηρμέ|νον τὸν δεξιόν. γράφε | δὲ εἰς τὸ πιττάκιον ταῦτα | τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ ἃ
θέλεις· | 'Ἰάω αστω ἰωφῆ' καὶ | θήσεις ἐπὶ τὸν τρίποδα τὸ πιτ|τάκιον καὶ ἐπάνω
τοῦ πιτ|τακίου στήσεις τὸν κύνα καὶ | λέγε ταῦτα πολλάκις τὰ ὀνό|ματα. καὶ
εἰπόντος σοῦ τὸν λό|γον ὁ κύων συρίζει. καὶ | ἐὰν συρίσειεν, οὐκ ἔρχεται. | ἐπίλεγε
οὔν πάλιν τὸν λόγον, | κἂν ὑλακτήσῃ, ἄγει. εἶτα ἀνοί|ξας τὴν θύραν εὐρήσεις
πα|ρὰ ταῖς θύραις, ἣν θέλεις. πα|ρακείσθω δὲ τῷ κυνὶ θυμι|ατήριον, εἰς ὃ ἐπικείσθω
λί|βανος, λέγων τὸν λόγον. λόγος· | 'βαυκύων, ἐξορκίζω σε, Κέρ|βερε, κατὰ τῶν
ἀπαγξαμέ|νων καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ | τῶν βιαίως τεθηκότων· | ἄξον μοι τὴν δεῖνα
τῆς δεῖνα, ἐμοί | τῷ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα. ἐξορκίζω σε, | Κέρβερε, κατὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς
κε|φαλῆς τῶν καταχθονίων θεῶν· | ἄγε μοι τὴν δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα ζουχ | ζουκι το
παρ· υφηβαρ|μω ενωρ· σεκεμι· κρι|ουδασεφῆ· τριβεψι· | ἄγε μοι τὴν δεῖνα τῆς
δεῖνα, ἐμοί, τῷ δεῖνα, | ἥδη ἥδη, ταχύ ταχύ.' ἐρεῖς δὲ καὶ | τὸν κατὰ πάντων λόγον.
| ταῦτα δὲ ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ ποιή|σεις, καθαρῷ τόπῳ.

self-identification as divinity; exorcistic address (to divinity?); putting a portion of one's food and drink in the temple, invoking a divinity, third-person imperative formulae; a 'test,' the user when seeing the target should blow three times in her direction, and she'll smile (21-23)

2.2.17. London, BL P.Lond. inv. 124 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P X.1-23), recollated (some supplements pretty doubtful and would be better removed)

[κατὰ πότιμον] καὶ βρώσιμον [λ]αβὼν | [μερίδια τὰ] πρῶτα βάλλε εἰς|
παραψίδιον | [ναοῦ λέγων] οὕτως· 'ὁ δεῖνα, ἀπε[στ]αλμένος | [μοι ἦς ὑπηρε]τῆς καὶ
ἐπὶ τὰ π[α]ρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ | [ἐπιδράμης] καὶ τελέσης. τὸ [ὄ]νομά μοι· ωἰ | [] 'Ἰάω
Σαβαώθ [Ζα]βαρβαθιά | [Ἄδωναί], φιλίτω με ἢ [δεῖνα], τὸν δεῖνα, θῖον |
[ἔρωτα κα]ὶ ἀνεξαλίπτ[ως.] | [λό]γος λεγόμενος· | ['ὀρκίζω σέ κ]αὶ τὸ περί σε
ἔχ[ο]ν πνεῦμα· | [λέγει σοι ὁ μ]έγας καὶ ἰσχυρὸς θε[ὸς] Σαθις | [πεφωσθ μου]ρωφ'
Ἄνουρ ουφ[ιριγχ]· ἡ δεῖνα, εὔστρε|πτος οὔσα ἐμοί, ἰδέ με \κai/ εἰδοῦσ[α ἐρ]άσθητί
μου, | [δυνήσεται δ' ο]ύδεις ἀντιλέγει[ν] φθοροχηβ: αθα | []ν θαραμηχι·
ε[ο]ψηριψου: αχορσωθια | []θιε η νουσου [φ]θαπα αποουροθ' | []η χοαδουστρω
πρωθιαψιωρ· | []ς χομαρχωχ' χαναχουωρρ' ηλουκουμφα'. | [-- 'ἡ δεῖνά μ]ε ἰδοῦσα
ἐρασθῆ μου, ἀντερῖση | [δὲ μήποτ' ἐμοί], ὁ μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρὸς θεός, δι' <αἰδ>οῦς'. |
[ιδῶν δὲ τὴν δεῖνα τρ]ῖς φύσημα ποίει μακρὸν εἰς αὐτήν | [ἀτενίζων, κ]αὶ προσγελαῖ
αὐτὴ τόδε. σημείον γὰρ τῆς | [φιλίας ἐστὶ το]ῦτο.

8 ornamental filler at the end of this line || 19 [ἄλλως ὁ λόγος] *Pap.Graec.Mag.* || 20 δι' <αἰδ>οῦς so. *Pap.Graec.Mag.*, δι\ε/ουc pap.? || 22 l. τότε

written invocation to a god to make the target love the user, come to his house, etc; no erotic curse; exorcistic

2.2.18. London, BL P.Lond. inv. 148 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XIc)

τοῦτο γράφεις εἰς ἱερατικὸν βιβλίον καὶ θ[ἔς] | ἐξορκίζω σε τὸν Ἰαβω θεόν· | στρέψον τὴν καρδίαν τῆς δεῖνα | ἧς ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα ὄν | ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα, κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ | Ἰαβω, Μασκελλει Μασκελλω, | Φ[α]ινουκενταβαω, ποίησον ἐπι|τυχεῖν τῆς συνουσίας τὸν δεῖνα, | ἐμέ, Ἀβλαναθαναλβα | βλαθαναβα | ναθανδα | αναθανα | ναβαναι | αβθωωθ | βαρβαχα | βαρβαχα | Ἀβρασάξ | αω[ιαμα]ρ[ι] | σερφουθει | ε ει η ι η ι ασαααα ιιιιι | θεὸ ὁ [Βαρ] | βαραι, [ὑπ' ἐμόν] | ὄροφ[ον ἐλθέτω ἡ] | δεῖνα, ἦν [ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα, καὶ] | φιλ[εῖτω ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα ὄν] | ἔτε[κεν ἡ δεῖνα εἰς] | τὸν [ἅπαντα] | χρό[νον τῆς] | ζωῆ[ς αὐτῆς] | ἔραμ[ένη μου] | ἔρω[τι αἰωνίω] | ἦδη [ἦδη, ταχύ ταχύ].

to cause sleeplessness, in an erotic context, involving a bat; direct imperative formula to be inscribed on the bat's wing, ἀγρυπνεῖτω ἡ δεῖνα, ἕως συμφωνήση (378), also an invocation to a divinity; drawing of seated woman

2.2.19. Leiden, P.Leid. inv. J 384, coll. 11-12 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XII.376-394). Ed. R.W. Daniel, *Pap.Colon.* XIX (1991), 23-24.

ἀγρυπνιτικόν. λαβὼν νυκτερίδαν ζῶσαν ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς πτέρυγος ζωγράφησον ζ(μύ)ρ(νη) | τὸ {υ} ὑποκείμενον ζῶδιον, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς τὰ ζ' ὀνόματα) κατὰ γραφὸν θ(εο)ῦ καὶ ὅτι· | 'ἀγρυπνεῖτω ἡ δεῖ(να), ἦν δεῖ(να), ἕως συμφωνήση.' καὶ οὕτως αὖ αὐτὴν ἀπόλυσον. ἐν ἀποκρούσει | δὲ αὐτὸ ἀποτελεῖ τριταίας οὔσης τῆς θεοῦ, καὶ ἄπνους τελευτήσῃ μὴ διαμηκύνῃ | σα ἡμέρας ζ'. λύσειν οὐκ ἔχει τοῦτο οὐδεπώποτε. ἐὰν δὲ βουλευῆ ποτέ, μὴ | ἀπόλυε αὐτὴν, ἀλλ' ἔχε τηρουμένην αὐτὴν, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιεῖ. ὅτε δὲ βούλει λῦ|σαι, ἐξαλίψας πηγαίω ὕδατι ἐπὶ τῶν πτερυγῶν καταγραφέντα ἀπόλυσον | τὸ ὀρνύφιν. τοῦτο δὲ μὴ πράττε εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ μεγάλῃς ἐπιβουλήσ. ἔστιν οὖν | τὸ ζῶδιον τόδε. | τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς πτέρυγος | καταγραφόμενά εἰσιν ταῦτα· 'ἐπικαλοῦ|μαί σε, τὴν μεγίστην θεόν, | θαθαβαθαθ | πετενναβουθι | πεπτουβαστει|ησουσουαιρα|μουνουθι|ασχελιδονηθ | βαθαριβαθ. | ἀγρυπτείνω ἡ δεῖ(να) δι' ὅλης νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας, ἕως θάνῃ, ἦδη β, ταχύ β.'

377 ὑπο- pap. | 378 pap. | 379 pap. || 379 αὔπνους pap. || 382 ὕδατι pap. | <τὰ> ἐπὶ suppl. Preisendanz || 387 εἰσιν pap. : εἰσι Daniel || 391 πεπτουβασ[[θ]]\τ/ει pap. || 396 l. ἀγρυπνεῖτω

leading (ἀγωγή) ascribed to King Pitus (with a Thessalian connection, at 2133 Πίτυς is said to be Θεσσαλός), framed as a letter to King Ostanēs; long set-up, relatively short incantation (2088-2098), with interesting reward/threat scenario for the invoked δαίμων

2.2.20. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.2001-2139)

Πίτυος ἀγωγή. 'βασιλεῖ Ὀσάνῃ Πίτυς χαίρειν. | ἐπειδὴ μοι παρ' ἕκαστα γράφεις περὶ τῆς | τῶν σκύφων ἀνακρίσεως, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγη|σάμην σοι ἐπιστεῖλαι τήνδε τὴν οἰκονομί|αν ὡς οὔσαν ἀξιέραστον καὶ δυναμένην | σοι ὑπεραρέσκειν. καὶ σοι ὑποτάξω ἀπεν|τεῦθεν τὴν οἰκονομίαν, ἐν ὑστέρῳ δέ σοι | αὐτῶν τὰ μελάνια δηλωθήσεται. | λαβὼν ὑμένα ὄνειον καὶ ἀποξηράνας | ἐν σκιᾷ ἐπίγραφε ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ζῶδιον | τὸ μηνυθησόμενον καὶ κύκλω τὸν | λόγον τοῦτον· 'αμασι· νουθι· αφθε|χενβωχ· πουπαῖειχενρι· τα λουθι|ανι· σερανομηγρεντι· ει βιλ· | λονουχιχ· ειτα φορ· χορτομνου|θι· θραχ· φιβωβι· αντερω· πο|χορθαροχ· εβοχ· λεσανουαχ· | φεορωβις· τραῖον· κωβι· ινου|νια· σαφωβι· χιμνουθι· ασρω· | χνουφνεν· φαρμι· Βολχο|σήθ· εφουκτερω· αβδιδανπι|σήθ· εφουκτερω· αβδιδανπι-

ταυ· εαε· βολ· σαχυ· αχχε|ριμα· εμιντο· ρωωρια· | εν Ἀμοῦν ακρεμφθο·
 ουτραυνιελ· | λαβοχ· φεραχι αμενβολ· βηχ· | οσταουα βελθω· ἐξορκίζω σε,
 νε|κύδαιμον, κατὰ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ καὶ ἀπαραι|τήτου θεοῦ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀγίων αὐτοῦ
 | ὀνομάτων, παρασταθῆναί μοι ἐν τῇ | ἐρχομένη νυκτί, οἶα εἶχες μορφῇ, καὶ |
 χρηματίσαι μοι, εἰ δυνατὸς εἶ ἐπιτε|λέσαι τὸ δεῖνα πρᾶγμα· ἦδη, ἦδη, ταχύ, ταχύ· |
 εἶτα ἐλθῶν, ὅπου κεῖται <τις>, ὡκέως, ἢ ὅπου | τι ἀπορέριπται, εἰ κείμενον <μὴ>
 ἔχοι(ς), | ὑπόστρωσον τὸν ὑμένα πρὸς κα|ταφορὰν τοῦ ἡλίου. ἄπιθι <εἰς οἴκους>, καὶ
 πάντως | παρέσται καὶ παρασταθῆσεται σοι ἐν | ἐκείνη τῇ νυκτί. ἀπαγγέλλει δέ
 σοι, πῶς | ἐτελεύτησεν, καὶ ἐρεῖ σοι πρότερον, εἰ | σθένει τι πρᾶξαι ἢ διακονῆσαι. καὶ
 λαβῶν | καλπᾶσου φύλλον ζωγράφησον τῷ μη|νυθησομένῳ σοι μέλανι τὴν θεὸν
 τὴν | σοι μηνυθησομένην καὶ κύκλω τὸν λόγον | τοῦτον (καὶ θές αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς
 κεφαλῆς | ἐκτεταμένον τὸ φύλλον καὶ ἐπιστε|φάνου αὐτὸν τῷ κισσῷ τῷ μέλανι, |
 καὶ πάντως σοι παρασταθῆσεται διὰ νυ|κτὸς δι' ὀνείρων καὶ δεηθήσεται σου |
 λέγων· 'ὁ θέλεις, ἐπίταξον, καὶ ποιῶ·')· | 'φουβελ· ταυθυ Ἄλδε· μινωουριθι· |
 σενεχω· χεληθιχιτιαθ· μου | χω αριαντα· ναραχι μασκελλι (λόγος). αεβιθω· αχαῖλ·
 χασσουνισου·
 σουνιαρτενωφ· αρχερεφθουμι· | βολφαῖ· αρωχω· αβμενθω· φορφορβα·
 χνουχιοχοιμε· ἐξορκίζω <σε>, νεκύδαιμον, | κατὰ τῆς Ἀνάγκης τῶν Ἀναγκῶν
 παραγε|νέσθαι πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸν δεῖνα, ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρα, | ἐν τῇ σήμερον νυκτί, καὶ
 συνθέσθαι | μοι τὸ διακονῆσαι. εἰ δὲ μή, ἑτέρας | κολάσεις προσδόκα·' ἐπὰν δὲ
 συνθῆ|ται, εὐθέως ἀναστὰς καὶ λαβῶν | ἱερατικὸν κόλλημα γράψον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ |
 σοι μηνυθησομένῳ μέλανι τὸ ζῶδιον τὸ μηνυθησόμενον | καὶ κύκλω τὸν λόγον
 τοῦτον καὶ ὑπόθες αὐτῷ, | καὶ παραυτὰ ἄξει καί, ἐὰν ἢ ἄσχετος, ἀνυ|περθέτως,
 μίαν ἡμέραν μὴ ὑπερθέμενος. | πολλάκις δὲ οὐκ ἔσται τοῦ φύλλου τοῦ καλ|πᾶσσου
 χρεία, ἀλλ' ἐν δευτέρῳ τὸ πιττά|κιον τεθήσεται ἐπεντειλαμένου σου τὸ |
 διακονῆσαι σοι. ἄγει δὲ καὶ κατακλίνει | καὶ ὄνειροπομπεῖ καὶ κατέχει καὶ
 ὄνει|ραιτητεῖ ἅμα. ταῦτά ἐστιν, τὰ ἐπιτελεῖ | ἡ μόνη πραγματεία· πρὸς τό, τὸ
 πράσ|σεις, τὰς κοινολογίας μόνας μετὰστρεφε. | πλεῖστοι δὲ τῶν μάγων παρ'
 ἑαυτοῖς τὰ | σκεύη βαστάξαντες καὶ ἀποθέμενοι | ἐχρήσαντο αὐτῷ παρέδρω καὶ
 τὰ προ|κείμενα διὰ πάσης ὀξύτητος ἐπετέ|λεσαν· ἔστιν γὰρ ἄνευ πάσης
 λεσχο|λογίας, ἐν εὐκοπίᾳ δὲ τῇ πάσῃ εὐ|θέως τὰ προκείμενα ἐκτελῶν. λόγος. | 'σοὶ
 λέγω, τῷ καταχθονίῳ δαίμονι, |
 τῷ ἢ οὐσία τῆσδε ([τ]οῦ[δε]) ἐσωματίσθη ἐν | τῆδε τῇ νυκτί· πορεύου, ὅπου κατοικεῖ
 ἦδε | (ἢ ὅσδε), καὶ ἄξον αὐτὴν πρὸς ἐμέ τὸν δεῖνα ἢ διὰ | μέσης νυκτὸς ἢ διὰ τάχους.
 ποίησον τὸ δεῖνα πρᾶγμα, | ὅτι τοῦτο θέλει καὶ ἐπιτάσσει σοι ὁ ἅγιος θεὸς | Ὅσιρις
 Κμηφι σω. τέλεσον, δαῖμον, τὰ ἐν|θάδε γεγραμμένα. τελέσαντι δέ σοι | θυσίαν
 ἀποδώσω, βραδύναντι δέ σοι κολά|σεις ἐπενεγκῶ, ἃς οὐ δύνασαι ἐνεγκεῖν, | καὶ
 διατέλεσόν μοι τὸ δεῖνα πρᾶγμα, ἦδη, ἦδη, ταχύ, ταχύ·' | ἔστιν δὲ τὰ μελάνια τῆς
 πραγματείας | τάδε· καταγράφεται δὲ ὁ μὲν ὑμῆν | αἷματι ὀνειῶ ἀπὸ καρδίας
 ἐσφαγμένου, | ᾧ συμμίσγεται αἰθάλη χαλκέως. | τὸ δὲ τῆς καλπᾶσσου φύλλον
 αἷματι ἱερακείῳ, | ᾧ συμμίσγεται αἰθάλη χρυσοχόου. | τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ χάρτου
 αἷματι ἐνχέλωσ, | ᾧ συμμίσγεται ἀκακία. | ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτω ποιεῖ καὶ
 διεκτελέ|σας γνοίης, πόσης φύσεως ἔχεται ἡ οἰκο|νομία αὕτη ἐν τῇ πάσῃ εὐκοπίᾳ
 πάρεδρον | οἰομένη τὰ σκεύη. φύλασσε δὲ σεαυτόν, | οἶω βούλει φυλάγματι. ἔστι δὲ
 τὸ εἰς τὸν | ὑμένα γραφόμενον ζῶδιον· ἀνδριάς | λεοντοπρόσωπος περιεζωσμένος,
 | κρατῶν τῇ δεξιᾷ ῥάβδον, ἐφ' ἣ ἔστω δρᾶ|κων, τῇ δὲ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ὄλη |
 ἄσπις τις περιειλίχθω, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ στόματος | τοῦ λέοντος πῦρ πνεέτω. τὸ δὲ εἰς
 φύλ|λον τῆς καλπᾶσου ἐστὶν ζῶδιον τοῦτο· | Ἐκάτη τριπρόσωπος ἐξάχειρ
 κρατοῦσα | ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν λαμπάδας, <ἐκ> δεξιῶν με|ρῶν τῆς ὄψεως ἔχουσα βοὸς
 κεφαλὴν, | ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀριστερῶν κυνός, ἢ δὲ μέση | παρθένου, σάνδαλα

ὑποδεδεμένη. | τὸ δὲ εἰς τὸ χάρτιον· Ὅσιρις ἐστολισμένος, | ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι
μηνύουσιν. κάτοχος σφραγῖς | πρὸς τοὺς ἀκαταλλήλους τῶν σκύφων, | ἔτι δὲ καὶ
τὸ μὴ λέγειν μηδὲ ἔν πάνυ | ποιεῖν τούτων· σφράγιζε τὸ στόμα | τοῦ σκύφου ἀπὸ
ρύπτου θυρῶν Ὀσίρεως | καὶ θηκῶν χῶμα(τος). λαβὼν σίδηρον | ἀπὸ ἀναγκοπέδης
ψυχρηλατήσας ποίη|σον δάκτυλον, ἐφ' ᾧ γεγλύφθω λέων ἀκέ|φαλος, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς
κεφαλῆς ἐχέτω | βασιλείον Ἰσιδος, πατεῖτω δὲ τοῖς ποσὶ | σκελετόν (ἵνα ὁ δεξιὸς
ποὺς πατῆ τὸ κρα|νίον τοῦ σκελετοῦ), μέσον δὲ τούτων γλαυ|κῶπιν αἴλουρον τὸ
γοργόνειον ἐνδε|δραγμένην κάρα, κύκλω τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα· | ἱαδωρ ιββα
νιχαιοπληξ βριθ.

2.2.21. Hermopolis Magna (Eschmunen), now Berlin, P.Berl. inv. 11737, ed.
Pap.Graec.Mag. P XIXb.1-3. Recollated from image

‘[] δῆ(ν) δ(εῖνα) ἰ[ς] | τὸν δεῖνα [κομίζ]οι’. τὰ κοινά. μήτω | ι ἐπὶ φύλ(λ)ων
χαλπάσ(ου) ζ(μύ)ρ(νισον) (*sign*)

1 l. τὴν δεῖνα : τῆ δεῖνα *Pap.Graec.Mag.* | ἱ[pap., om. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* | | 2-3 μητωῖ
pap., l. μίτω : μίλτω *Pap.Graec.Mag.* | | 3 χαλπας pap. : χαλπάσ(ου) *Pap.Graec.Mag.*

incantation to said over a potion, ‘diadem of Moses’

2.2.22. London, BL P.Lond. inv. 121 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.619-627)

ἐκ τοῦ Διαδήματος Μουσέως. | κυνοκεφαλ[ιδ]ιον βοτάνην λαβὼν κεί(μενος) ἔχε ὑπὸ
τὴν γλῶτταν σου | καὶ πρῶτῃ ἀναστάς(ς), πρὶν λαλῆς, ἐπίλεγε τὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ
ἀθεώρητος | ἔσει πρὸς πάντας. ἐπὶ δὲ ἐπὶ ποτ[ή]ρια εἴπης καὶ δώσης | γυναικί,
φιλήσει σε, ὡς ἔστιν ἐπὶ πά[ντ]ων λόγος οὗτος· | ‘αρεσκιλλίουσ: θουδαλεσαι
κραμμ[α]σι χαμμαρ | μουλαβωθ[:] λαυαβαρ: χουφαρ: φο[ρ]: φωρβαω: σαχι |
Ἄρβαχ: μαχιμασω ἰάω, Σαβαώθ, Ἄδωναι’. πρὸς ὃ θέλεις, | λέγε. ‘ποίησον τὴν
δεῖνα πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα’. κοινά, ὅσα θέλεις.

deposition with a βιοθάνατος (6)

2.2.23. Hermopolis Magna (Eschmunen), now Berlin, P.Berl. inv. 11737, ed.
Pap.Graec.Mag. P XIXb.4-17

ἀγωγή ἐπὶ κυνός: ἰς τωμίον | ἱερατικὸν γρ(άψον) ζ(μύ)ρ(νη) κὲ καταθοῦ ἰ[ς] |
βιοθάνατων: ‘κατὰ τοῦ Σενακωθο | αρποφυγ καμουο ορψ θω ουχ | πετι ανουπ
πετιοπαριν αυτ | κινοθεν χυχ ααα ροψ υίχθεν | κρεμμε σεχαξθνε νεουφθε | ἀκηχ
χα[κε] πωφοπι κα|χε ἀνοχ [7] ηθμη | αρι μησ θοδ [6] πε, | σὺ δυνάμεν[ο]ς [--] | τὸ
σῶμα ἀν[έ]γειρε | κὲ ὕπακε ε[ἰ]ς τὴν δεῖνα, | ἔως ἔθην [...]’

4 ἰς pap. l. εἰς τομίον | | 5 γρ pap. : γράψας *Pap.Graec.Mag.* | ἱ[pap. : [εἰς]
Pap.Graec.Mag. | | 6 ἔξορκίζω σὲ) κατὰ *Pap.Graec.Mag.* | | 16 ὑπ- pap. l. ὕπαγε | | 17
l. ἔλθη, the incantation likely ends in this line, since there is a bottom margin below it and
no paragrahus, e.g. [εἰς ἐμὲ τὸν δ(εῖνα)]

spinning of the fates

[addendum] Alexandria, lead tablet, now Paris, BnF Cabinet des Médailles inv. C 3844, s.
II-III, ed. *Suppl.Mag.* II 54 (cf. Audollent 1904 no. 38), with emendations of D.R. Jordan,
ZPE 100 (1994) 322-323 [SEG XLIV 1444]. Found “inter Alexandriae rudera” by
Poussou, brought to the royal library at Paris (ed. pr. F. Lenormant, “De tabulis devotionis
plumbeis Alexandrinis,” *RhM* n.s 9 [1854], 369-382). Jordan op. cit. urges the
identification of “erotic conquest”

ε[ρη]κισιθφα{μ}ραχααραρηφ[θισι]κηρε χ..σεω· παράλαβε Άννιαν[όν, | Έρ]μη
 χθόνιε αρχεδαμα Φωχενσεψευ σαρερταθου μισονκα[ικ[τ] | κ[α]ι Πλούτων
 Υεσεμμιγαδων μααρχαμα και Κόρη Ερεσχιγαλ ζ[α|βαρ]βαθουχ και Φερσεφόνη
 [ζα]υδαχθουμαρ· όρκίζω σε κ[α|τ]ά τοῦ όνόματος τῆς Γῆ[ς] κευημορι μωριθαρχωθ
 κα[ι] | Έρμη χθόνιε αρχεδαμα Φωχενσεψευ σαρερταθου μισον|καικτ και Πλούτων
 Υεσε[μμι]γαδων μααρχαμα και Κόρη | Ερεσχιγαλ ζαβαρβαθουχ [κ]αι Φερσεφόνη
 ζαυδαχθουμαρ· | έπιλάθοιτο Άννιανός τῆς ι[δ]ίας μνήμης και Ήωνικοῦ μό|νου
 μνημονευέτω. έπικαλοῦμαί σε, τῆν πάντων άνθρώ|πων δυνάστειραν, παμφόρβα,
 ρήξιχθων, ή και άννευγ|καμένη τὰ τοῦ Μελιού[χ]ου μέλη και αύτόν τόν
 Με|λιοῦχον, Ερεσχιγαλ, Νεβουτοσουαληθ, έρεβεννή, | άρκυια, νέκυι, Έκάτη,
 Έκάτη άληθῆ, έλθετε και τε|λειώσατέ μοι τῆν πραγματείαν ταύτην. Έρμη χθό|νιε,
 αρχεδαμα Φωχενσεψευ σαρερταθου μισονκαικτ | και Πλούτων Υεσεμμιγ[α]δων
 μααρχαμα και Κόρη | Ερεσχιγαλ ζαβαρβαθουχ και Φερσεφόνη ζαυδαχθου|μαρ και
 δαίμονες οἱ έν [τ]ούτω τῶ τόπω έστέ, συν|έχετε μοι τῶ Ήωνι[κ]ῶ Άννιανού τῆν
 ισχύν | {τῆν ισχύν}, τῆν δύναμιν, ίνα συλλάβηστε αύ|τόν και παραδοίτε άώροις,
 ίνα κατατήξητε αύ|τοῦ τὰς σάρκες, τὰ νεῦρα, τὰ μέλη, τῆν ψυχῆν, ίνα | μη δύνηθῆ
 Ήωνικῶ άντίος έλθεῖν μηδέ κατ' έμοῦ | άκοῦσαι τι κακόν μηδέ βλέψαι, έτι δέ και
 ύποπε|πτωκώς μου ύπό τούς πόδες έως νεικηθῆ. έπέκλω'σε' | [γ]άρ αύτῶ ταῦτα ή
 πανδυνάστειρα άνασσα Μασκελλει | Μα[σ]κελλω Φνουκενταβαω ορεοβαζαγρα
 ρήξιχθων | ίππόχθων πυριπηγανυξ πότνια Γῆ χθονία μευηρι | μοριθαρχωθ. όρκίζω
 σε κατὰ σοῦ όνόματος ποιῆσαι | τῆν πρᾶξιν ταύτην και τηρῆσαι μοι τόν
 κατάδεσμον | τοῦτον και ποιῆσαι αύτόν ένεργῆ. Έρμη αρχεδαμα | Φωχενσεψευ
 σαρερταθου μισονκαικτ και Πλούτων | [Υ]εσεμμιγαδων μααρχαμα και Κόρη
 Ερεσχιγαλ | [ζα]βαρβαθου'χ' και Φερσεφόνη ζαυδαχθουμαρ και δ[αί|μον]ες οἱ έν
 τῶ τόπω τού[τρω] φοιτῶντες τελε[ιώ]σατε τῆν πρᾶξιν ταύτην [και κα]τάσχετε
 [τῆ]ν φιλι[αν] | [Άννιανο]ῦ πρὸς Ήωνικ[όν] έρωτι στορ[γῆ] ά[διαλύ]τρω | [---
]μερινη κ[---].εθητο[c. 4] ματο[c. 2]

36-37 τελε[ιώ]σατε] *Jordan* : τελε[ειώ]σατε] *Suppl.Mag.* || 37 ταύτην [και
 κα]τάσχετε *Jordan* : ταύτη[n· κα]τάσχετε *Suppl.Mag.* || 38 [έ]ρωτι στορ[γῆ]
 ά[διαλύ]τρω] : [πρ]ώτιστον, [ά]διαλύ[τρω] *Suppl.Mag.* || 39 [--- e.g. άγάπην
 καθη]μερινῆ κ[αι ---].εθητο[c. 4] ματο[c. 2] *Jordan* : [άπό τῆς σ]ῆμερον
 ήμ[έρας]εθητο[...].ματο[...]. *Suppl.Mag.*

instructions for amulet; male target
 2.2.24. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 360v and Vienna, ÖNB cod. phil. gr. 108 f.
 362r, ed. Delatte 1927, 606
 εις άγάπην. 'φέρει φέρε φέρε ό δεῖνα.'

bath imagery
 2.2.25. London, BL cod. Sloane 371 (s. XIV), ed. Wardale 1952, 11
 nota ad coitum, ad amorem. oua formicarum si ponantur in balneum mulieris
 inflammatur matrix ita quod uelit nolit ciet eam coire mulierem. scribe 'amet lauet te
 Misael.'

2 lauet *conieci* : lamet ed. pr.

instructions for amulet for erotic purposes, perhaps to be buried in the floor (a second
 hand in the Bologna manuscript has added και κατώφλιον)

2.2.26. Bologna, UB. cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 361r and Vienna, ÖNB cod. phil. gr. 108 f. 362r, ed. Delatte 1927, 607

μετὰ [κοπρίου] ἄσπρης περιστερᾶς λειωμένου μετὰ ὀξειδίου δριμέως [γράφε] ‘τυρας νδραης γαλιαν κίνησε τὴν ὀδεῖνα εἰς τὸν ὀδεῖνα.’

μετὰ ... ὀδεῖνα *cod. Bolon.*, τυρας ... ὀδεῖνα *accedit cod. Vind.* || 1 κοπρίου ... γράφε *supplevi, litt. crypt. not resolved in Delatte*

2.2.27. London, Wellcome Library cod. 517, f. 225r-v, in a treatise entitled *liber Appolledey*

si mulieris fauorem desideras imaginem suam facias hora Iouis et eius die mulieris aut Veneris et eius die creas uel in mundissimo pergamento | uirgineo pingat et scribantur in capitibus nomina dominorum et in pectore nomina planetarum et hora actionis non taceatur haec oratio ‘o Iouis et Veneris amabiles spiritus amorem meum illius cordi adhibete semper imaginem meam illius cordi imprimite ut quamdiu res ista durauerit se mihi ad uoluntatem meam exhibeat potentia creatoris.’ deinde si sint metallinae in consistorio ad quam amor dirigitur cum sigillia planetarum suorum subhumetur; si pictae, qui amari uult secum munde deferat et maxime ante eam qua uult amari.

5 adhi[[hi]]bete *cod.* | iste *cod.* || 7 picteis *cod.* || 8 amori *cod.*

2.3. invocation of divinities for erotic curse

2.3.1. lead tablet found at Athens (now EM inv. 9332), apparently no full edition, Audollent 1904 no. 51, cf. Ziebarth 1899 no. 2. Undated, “aus später Zeit” (Ziebarth), letter-forms suggest s. II-III

... ἐνβάλλετε πυρετούς χαλε[πούς εἰς] πάντα τὰ μέλη Γαμε|τῆς ἦν ἔτεκεν [Υγία Μακρο]βίω, κατακαίνετε καταχθονί[ζε]| τε κα[ὶ τὴν] ψυχὴν κὲ τὴν καρδίαν Γαμετῆς ἦν ἔτεκεν Υγία | [Μακροβίω ...]ωθ ἐνβάλλετε πυρετούς χαλεπούς εἰς [πάντα] | [τὰ μέλη]δεσω.....

2-3 καταχθονί[ζε]| τε *conieci*: καταχθόνι[οί]| τε *Audollent* || 4 κα[ὶ ...] *Audollent*

2.3.2. lead tablet, found at Sousse, necropolis, ed. A. Audollent, “Rapport sur deux fragments de lamelles de plomb avec inscription découverts à Sousse (Tunisie),” *BCTH* 1908, 290-296. Text 2, also on lead, omitted because very exiguous.

[Perse]phone oblig| [o ... inc]olumitatem | [... ex h]ac die ex hac | [hora ut obliuiscatur patris et matris et] omnium suo| [rum ... amor]is insani e[a] | ...] amore et d| [esiderio meo uratur ... ha]nc obl[igo ...

2 [illius quam peperit illa] *suppl. Audollent* || 6 [sed] amore *suppl. Audollent*

[addendum] lead tablet probably from Sousse, now Louvre inv. MND 1476, ed. by Audollent 1930

[...]ns met̄a | [... ex hac die ex] hac hora ex hoc m[omento obliuiscatur patris | et matris et suorum omn]ium [et amicoru]m omnium et omnium u[ir]rorum | [...]n[... in]sanien[s ... ins]aniens u[igil]an[s ±3 ur]atur comburatur ardeat sp[... amore et] | [de]siderio meo obli[go] caelum terram aq[uias ...] et haera immobile set dom[us] | amoris huius Veram adiuro te per mag[na ±3 n]omina eius dei qui sub terra [...] | osornophri oserchochlo erboonthi im[... h]r±3 mnephi blochnemio sar[basmisarab ... de] | tinentem sempiternum

amorem quī [±8] ego Optatus commendo deo[... Veram quam] | peperit Lucifera et nulli
ali attendat nisi[i] mihi soli, neminem alium [in mente habeat nisi me] | Optatum quem
peperit Ammia P...ia a Saphonia. consummatum consu[mmatum consummatum] | coliga
in sempiterno tempore.

4 sp[iritus ?] *Audollent* || 9 {et} nulli *Audollent*

2.3.3. lead tablet, found in Roman cemetery at Hadrumetum, ed. Audollent 1904 no. 265. Opisthographic.

A alimbeu | columbeu | petalimbeu | faciatis Victoria | quem peperit sua | uulua
amante fu|rente pre amore | meo neque somnu | uideat donec at me | ueniat puella[r]u
d[eli] | cias.

B δεσucus ballinc|um lolliorum | δε κυρρου actus | ne possit ate me | uenire; et tu
quiquum|que es demon | te oro ut illa cogas | amoris et desiderii [mei] causa ueni|[re at
me].

A.5-6 *Suaulua Audollent, as if the mother's name (the same correction should be made
in Audollent 1904 no. 264, 13) || B.4 l. ante?*

Latin in Greek transliteration

2.3.4. lead tablet, found in Roman cemetery at Hadrumetum, ed. Audollent 1904 no. 267. lines 23-25 written top to bottom in right margin

[--] | [c. 10] ηναρο[.] | [c. 5] ρζο..αχ.. | ε...ρωταρξο... | [σ]ειδεροσανδαλε |
[ε]ρ[ε]σχειγαλ | [δ]α[μ]ναμενευς σε[ρ]ιροχε | [σε]μεσειλαμ σατραπερκμηφ | ε[θ]μομαω
μαρχαχον | χθαμαρζαξ ζαρακ[α]θαρα | θωβαρραβαν θαρναχαχα | παραιθερε
ακραμμαχαμαρει | λαμψουρη λαμψουρη | σεσεργεοβαρφαραγγης | κωγιτε
Βουωσα κουαμ | [π]επεριτ Πάπτη αμαρε | .η "Οππιουμ κουεμ πεπεριτ | Ουενε[ρ]ια
αμωρε σακρω σινε | ιντερμισσιωνε. νον ποσσιτ | δορμειρε Βουωσα νεκουε ησσε | [c.
7] Β[ουωσα] νεκουε αλιουτ | [--] | σεδ αβρομπατουρ ετ μη σωαδ[c. 7] | ο[υ]ιδερετ
ομνιβους διηβους αδξ[c. 8] | ουσκουε αδ διεμ μορτις σουε ι[c. 8]

5 [σ]ειδεροσανδαλε *supplevi*, σιδηροσανδαλε : [κ]ειδεροσανδαλε *Audollent* || 17
perhaps Τιβ. ?

Latin in Greek transliteration

2.3.5. lead tablet, found in Roman cemetery at Hadrumetum, ed. Audollent 1904 no. 270
αδ[ιουρ]ο επ[.] περ μαγνουμ δεουμ ετ | περ [αν]θεροτας .. ετ περ εουμ κουι αβ[ε]τ |
αρχεπτορεμ σουπρα χαπουθ ετ περ σε|πτεμ σθελλας ουυθ εξ κουα ορα | οχ
σομπ[.] π[.] οσουερο νον δορμιαθ Σεξ|τιλλιος Διονισιε φιλιους ουραθουρ | φουρενς νον
δορμιαθ νεκουε σεδεατ | νεκουε λοκουατουρ σεδ ιν μεντεμ αβ|ιατ με Σεπθιμαμ Αμενε
φιλια. ουρα|θουρ φουρενς αμορε ετ δεσιδεριο | μεο ανιμα ετ χορ ουραθουρ Σεξτι|λι
Διονισιε φιλιους αμορε ετ δεσιδε|ριο μεο Σεπτιμες Αμενε φιλιε. του αυ|τεμ αβαρ
βαρβαριε ελοεε σαβαοθ | παχνουφου πυθιπεμι φαχ Σεξτι|λιουμ Διονισιε φιλιουμ νε
σομνου|μ χονθινγαθ σεθ αμορε ετ δεσιδε|ριο μεο ουραθουρ ουιους σιπιριτουσ | ετ
χορ χομβουρατουρ ομνια μεμ|βρα θοθιους χορπορις Σεξτιλι Διοι|σιε φιλιους. σι
μινους, δεσχενδο ιν α|δυτους Οουρις ετ δισολουαμ θεν | θαπ[ε]εν ετ μιτταμ ουθ [[α
φουλ]] | α φλουμινε φερατουρ. | εγω ενιμ σουμ μαγνουσ | δεχανουσ δει μαγνι δει |
αχραμμαχαλαλα.ε.

22-23 θεν θαπ[ε]εν i.e. τήν ταφήν, a double transliteration

2.3.6. lead tablet, found in Roman cemetery at Hadrumetum, now in Paris ('MNG. 1780'), ed. Audollent 1904 no. 266.

[c. 11] ope commendo tibi quo[d] | [c. 9] mēlla ut illan inmittas dae|[mones] aliquos infernales ut non pes|[c. 6] is me contemnere sed faciat | [quodcu]mque desidero Vettia quem pepe|rit Optata, uobis enim adiutantibus | ut amo[r]is mei causa non dormiat non ci|bum non escam accipere possit. | καρκεγευθιμοιμωκθιεωδα | ωκεεντιμοιθεψε | [signs] obligo Vettie [quam] | peperit Optata sensum sap[i]entiam et [intel]lectum et uoluntatem ut amet me Fe[licem] | quem peperit Fructa ex ha[c] die ex h[ac] hora], | ut obliuiscatur patris et matris et [propinquo]rum suorum et amicorum omnium [et aliorum] | uirorum amoris mei autem Fe[licis] quem | peperit Fructa. Vettia que[m] peperit Optata | solum me in mente habeat [c. 6 dormi]ens uigilans uratur friga[ur] c. 6 | ardeat Vettia quam peper[it] Optata c. 5] | [a]moris et desiderii m[ei] causa].

2-3 dae[mones] *supplevi*, cf. *Audollent comm.* || 9-11 *not transcribed in Audollent, facsimile only* || 20 friga[ur] *supplevi* : frig(e)at *Audollent in commentary*

2.3.7. tablet found in tomb at Carthage of 'officiales familiae imperatoriae,' ed. Audollent 1904 no. 230. Opisthographic.

A καταξιῶ [q]ui es Aegypto magnus daemon | et aufer illae somnum usquedun ueniat at me | et animo meo satisfāciat. τραβαξίαν omnipotens daemon adduc | amante aestuante amoris et desiderii mei cau|sa. νοχθιριφ qui cogens daemon coge illa | m[ec]un coitus facere. | βιβιριξι qui es | f[ort]issimus daemon ὑργυε [c]oge illam uenire ad me aman|te aestuante amoris et desiderii mei | causa. ρικουριθ agilissime daemon in Aegypto et agita | a suis parentibus a suo cubile εἰ αἰετι quicum|que caros habes et coge illa me amare, mihi conferre ad me | desiderium.

B [omitted, no connected sense, readings of Audollent very doubtful]

A.11-12 meum | [m] *Audollent*

2.3.8. Robert 1981, 28n4 and 35-36 n 1: a previously unpublished 'imprécation' from Hadrumetum, of which he quotes lines 11-13 and 20-27 [*SEG XXXI 895*]; according to Jordan 1985 no. 148, it is now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, acc. 83.AI.244, gift of Stefan Hornak; cf. *Getty Museum Journal* 12 (1984), 259 no. 158, where it is said to have been an anonymous donation

ἀνυγέτωσάν μοι αἰ πύλαι τοῦ Ἄδου καὶ ἐξε[γεί]ρας ἀνάπεμ|ψόν μ[οι] τῶν ὑπὸ σέ νεκρῶν πν[ε]υ[μ]άτων ἓνα δαίμονα φόβω | [καὶ] τρό[μ]ω κατεχόμενον ... ἐπὶ τὴν Ποστοῦμαν [ἦν ἔτ]εκε[ν Τ]ερτοῦλλα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν | Τερτουλλίαν ἦν ἔτεκεν Φλαουία καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Περπετούαν τινες | υἱοὶ εἰσιν Οὐολούσιος καὶ Φαυσσανος καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Κάνδιαν | ἦν ἔτεκεν Σουκέσσα· κατάδησον καὶ κράτησον αὐτὰς ἔρωτι | καὶ πόθω· ἀγρυπνεῖτωσαν, μεριμνεῖτωσαν δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς καὶ | ἡμέρας οἷστρω καὶ πόθω ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμῇ φιλίᾳ, ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμῷ ἔρωτι | τοῦ Γαίου ὄ(ν) ἔτεκεν Οὐιταλῖς· καὶ ἐπιθυμία πυρούμενοι τὰς | ψυχὰς, τὰς καρδίας, τὰς σπλανχνὰς αὐτῶν, βασανιζόμενοι | ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς ζωῆς μου χρόνον ... "même litanie l. 33-37, après les impératifs κατάδησον καὶ καῦσον, φλέξον, πύρωσον καὶ ἄξον μοι τὴν Ποστοῦμαν ἦν ἔτεκεν Τερτοῦλλα et la suite."

2.3.9. lead tablet, found in Roman cemetery at Hadrumetum, Audollent 1904 no. 271, Wunsch 1912 no. 5

horcizo se daemonion pneumn to enthade cimenon to onomati to agio αωθ | αβ[α]ωθ
 τὸν θεὸν τοῦ Αβρααν καὶ τὸν ἰαω τὸν τοῦ Ἰακου, ἰαω | αωθ αβαωθ θεὸν τοῦ
 Ἰσραμα, ἄκουσον τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐντείμου | καὶ φ[οβ]εροῦ καὶ μεγάλου | cae apelthe
 pros ton Orbanon hon etheken Urbana `καὶ ἄξον αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν` | Δομιτιανὴν ἣν
 ἔτεκεν Κ[αν]διδα ἐρῶντα μαινόμενον ἀγρυπνοῦν | τα ἐπὶ τῇ φιλίᾳ αὐτῆς καὶ
 ἐπιθυ[μ]ία καὶ δεόμενον αὐτῆς ἐπανελθεῖν | εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ σύμβιο[ν] γενέσθαι.
 ὀρκίζω σε τὸν μέγαν θεὸν | τὸν αἰώνιον καὶ ἐπαιώνιο[ν] καὶ παντοκράτορα τὸν
 ὑπεράνω τῶν | ὑπεράνω θεῶν. ὀρκίζω [σ]ε τὸν κτίσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν
 θά|λασσαν. ὀρκίζω σε τὸν διαχωρίσαντα τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς. ὀρκίζω σε | τὸν
 διαστήσαντα τὴν ῥάβδον ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, ἀγαγεῖν καὶ ζεῦξαι | τὸν Οὐρβανὸν ὃν
 ἔτεκεν Οὐρβανὰ πρὸς τὴν Δομιτιανὰν ἣν ἔτεκεν | Κανδιδα ἐρῶντα βασιανίζομενον
 ἀγρυπνοῦντα ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπιθυμία αὐ|τῆς καὶ ἔρωτι ἴν' αὐτὴν σύμβιον ἀπάγη εἰς τὴν
 οἰκίαν ἑαυτοῦ. ὀρκί|ζω σε τὸν ποιήσαντα τὴν ἡμίονον μὴ τεκεῖν. ὀρκίζω σε τὸν
 διορίσαν|τα τὸ φ[ῶς] ἀπὸ τοῦ σκότους. ὀρκίζω σε τὸν συντρίβοντα τὰς πέτρας. |
 ὀρκί[ζω] σε τὸν ἀπορήξαντα τὰ ὄρη. ὀρκίζω σε τὸν συνστρέφοντα τὴν | γῆν ἐ[πι
 τ]ῶν θεμελίων αὐτῆς. ὀρκίζω σε τὸ ἅγιον ὄνομα ὃ οὐ λέγεται, ἐν | τῷ ἰσα... ω
 ὀνομάσω αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ δαίμονες ἐξεγερωσίν ἐκθαμβοὶ καὶ περί|φοβοὶ [γ]ενόμενοι,
 ἀγαγεῖν καὶ ζεῦξαι σύμβιον τὸν Οὐρβανὸν ὃν ἔτεκεν | Οὐρβανὰ πρὸς τὴν
 Δομιτιανὰν ἣν ἔτεκεν Κανδιδα ἐρῶντα καὶ δεόμε|νον αὐτῆς, ἤδη ταχύ. ὀρκίζω σε
 τὸν φωστῆρα καὶ ἄστρα ἐν οὐρανῷ ποιή|σαντα διὰ φωνῆς προστάγματος ὥστε
 φαίνειν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις. | ὀρκίζω σε τὸν συνσεῖσαντα πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην καὶ
 τὰ ὄρη | ἐκτραχηλίζοντα καὶ ἐκβρά[ζ]οντα, τὸν ποιοῦντα ἔκτρομον τὴν [γ]ῆ|ν
 ἄπασ(αν καὶ) καινίζοντα πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας. ὀρκίζω σε τὸν ποιή|σαντα
 σημεῖα ἐν οὐρανῷ κ[αὶ] ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, ἀγαγεῖν καὶ ζεῦξαι | σύμβιον τὸν
 Οὐρβανὸν ὃν ἔ[τ]εκεν Οὐρβανὰ πρὸς τὴν Δομιτιανὴν ἣν | ἔτεκεν Κανδιδα ἐρῶντα
 αὐτῆς καὶ ἀγρυπνοῦντα ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπιθυμία αὐ|τῆς δεόμενον αὐτῆς καὶ ἐρωτῶντα
 αὐτὴν ἵνα ἐπανεῖλη εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν | αὐτοῦ σύμβιο[ς] γενομένη. ὀρκίζω σε τὸν θεὸν
 τὸν μέγαν τὸν αἰώ|νιον καὶ παντοκράτορα ὃν φοβεῖται ὄρη καὶ νάπαι καθ' ὄλην
 τὴν οἰ|κουμένην δι' ὃν ὁ λείων ἀφείησιν τὸ ἄρπασμα καὶ τὰ ὄρη τρέμει | καὶ [ἡ γῆ]
 καὶ ἡ θάλασσα, ἕκαστον ἰδάλλεται ὃν ἔχει φόβον τοῦ κυρίου | α[ἰ]ω[νίου] ἀθανάτου
 παντεφόπτου μεισοπονήρου ἐπισταμένου τὰ | γ[ενόμε]να ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ καὶ κατὰ
 θάλασσαν καὶ ποταμούς καὶ τὰ ὄρη | καὶ [τὴν] γῆ[ν] αωθ αβαωθ τὸν θεὸν τοῦ
 Αβρααν καὶ τὸν ἰαω τὸν τοῦ Ἰακου | ἰαω αωθ αβαωθ θεὸν τοῦ Ἰσραμα, ἄξον ζεῦξον
 τὸν Οὐρβανὸν ὃν | ἔτεκεν Οὐρβα(νὰ) πρὸς τὴν Δομιτιανὰν ἣν ἔτεκεν Κανδιδα
 ἐρῶντα | μαι[ν]όμενον βασιανίζομενον ἐπὶ τῇ φιλίᾳ καὶ ἔρωτι καὶ ἐπιθυμία | τῆς
 Δομιτιανῆς ἣν ἔτεκεν Κανδιδα, ζεῦξον αὐτοὺς γάμω καὶ | ἔρωτι συμβιοῦντας ὅλω
 τῷ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν χρόνω, ποιήσον αὐ|τὸν ὡς δοῦλον αὐτῇ ἐρῶντα
 ὑποτεταχθῆναι μηδεμίαν ἄλλη[ν] | γυναῖκα μήτε παρθένον ἐπιθυμοῦντα, μόνην δὲ
 τὴν Δομιτια[νὰν] | ἣν ἔτεκεν Κανδιδα, σύμβιον ἔχειν ὅλω τῷ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶ[ν]
 χρόνω,] | ἥδη ἥδη ταχύ ταχύ.

5 etheken conieci for ethesn Audollent, readings as the Greek abbreviation κ(αί),
 phonetically κε

epic diction, mixture of Egyptian and Greek divinities

2.3.10. papyrus formulary, unknown provenance, now Munich, BSB inv. Gr. 216 (s. I
 BC), ed. *Suppl.Mag.* II 71

fragments of multiple incantations, their order not apparent, but includes the request the
 target lie with the user “as the earth and the sky” (ἡδιστα καθεύδιν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ... ὡς γῆ καὶ
 οὐρανός[ς], fr. 2.4-5), that the target “join black (i.e. pubic hairs) with black” (μέλανι

κολλήσ[η], fr. 5.2), first person speech declaring love for female target, to Anubis (Ἄνουβι, Ἄνουβι, φιλω τὴν [δεῖνα], fr. 9.2 [δεῖνα *supplevi*, cf. *comm. in Suppl.Mag.*]); exorcistic invocation of a demon “by all the gods in Hades” to “lead” the female target (ἐξορκ[ίζω – τ]οὺς ἐν Ἄδη θεοὺς ... ἄγαγε τὴν δ[εῖνα], fr. 14.2-4), request that female target be kept sleepless (ἀγρυπνίαν δότε τῇ δῖνα, fr. 22.4) and the stock closure [τελείτε τελ]έαν ἐπαοῖδην (fr. 2.5-6). Epic diction in e.g. the phrase [χαλε]ποῖσιν τ’ ἄλγεσιν (fr. 19.2)

for use by woman on man, invocation of sun to torment the target

2.3.11. papyrus formulary, from mummy cartonnage from Abusir el Melek, s. I BC/I AD, now Berlin, P.Berl. inv. 21243, *Suppl.Mag.* II 72 ii 9-17

χαῖρε Ἥλιε, χαῖρε ἀνατέλλων, χαιρέτωσαν δὲ οἱ σὺν σοὶ ἀναθέλλοντες θεοί, | χαιρέτω δὲ κ..... οὐ περὶ θ...[.] οὐ περ[ι c. 20 ο]ὐδὲ | περὶ ἀργυρίου ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ δεῖνα τ[c. 30] | μένει κατατρ[έ]χω, αὐτὸς δέ με φεύγει [c. 25] | θέντα σοὶ τὴν δ[.]... κ(αὶ) ποιήσαντά σε βασ..[c. 5] ε.νοσ..[c. 10] | ἀνατολῶν μήτε δύσεων μήτεν.[c. 10] φ[.]τι μὴ πίοι μ[ή]τε | καθίσαι μήτε [.]ωσαι ἀλλὰ ἔχοι με ἐν .[c. 25] | κ(αὶ) ἄδημος ἦτω ἕως ἂν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἕως [c. 25] | αἰώνιον θεῖον [c. 5]..τον[.] μὴ ε...[c. 8]...[c. 6] | ἐντολ[.]...[.]... ἐὰν μὴ [c. 18] ἐμη ημω[c. 6] | ἐὰν διαλίποις [.]ε.. βασαν[ι]ῶ σε ἕως ἂν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔλθ[η]ς καὶ πορεύ[η c. 5] | traces αν.[.]δεκ..ε. traces [c. 5] | τὸν δε[ῖ]να ἀγάγης [Ἥ]λιε .i..[.]ωσα traces [c. 5] | τὴν αἰεῖ ἐμ[.]...η.ιον ἡμέρα τὸν δ(εῖνα) ...ονε..υμαι ἀμφ. | ἐζωμαι χα.[.].. traces .[.]μαι.. traces μαιτον..νειδη.. | επαυ...πα traces [.]...εαν καὶ ..[c. 8].. πρότνια | Κυπρογένεια τέλει τελέαν ἐπαοῖδην.

invoking corpse demon

2.3.12. fragment of formulary, unknown provenance, now Athens, PSA Athens inv. 70, s. I, *Suppl.Mag.* II 73 ii 1-18

[...]ταρ ουτω[--] | π..ωθοι και ο .[--] | ἐκ παντὸς τόπ[ου -- ὑπαγε εἰς πάντα] | τόπον καὶ πᾶσα[ν οἰκίαν καὶ ἄξον μοι τὴν δ(εῖνα).] | ἐὰν καθεύδη μὴ [καθευδέτω, ἐὰν φάγη μὴ | φαγέτω, ἐὰν πίν[η μὴ πινέτω, ἕως ἔλθῃ πρὸς] | ἐμέ, τὸν δ(εῖνα), καὶ μ[--] | .[.].. καὶ τὸ μ[--] | [...] φίλτατον [--] | [. ἦ]δη ἦδη [--] | [δ(εῖνα) ..] ἔτεκεν ἢ [δ(εῖνα) --] | εἰς πάντα τόπον [--] | θῦε δέ, μὴ ε[--] | πῦρ καὶ βαλῶν [--] | ε.ρ ιαλφης θι[- -] | .[.].. χιωχ[--] | ου[....] ἐπὶ τ[--] | [τελεί]αν ἐπα[οιδήν].

applied

2.3.13. unknown provenance, papyrus with lock of hair, now Princeton, P.Princ. inv. GD 7665, s. III, *Suppl.Mag.* I 40

ακραχαμιφωνχωωθψαυς | κραχαμιφωνχωωθψαυ | ραχαμιφωνχωωθψα | αχαμιφωνχωωθψ | χαμιφωνχωωθ | αμιφωνχωω | μιφωνχω | ιφωνχ | φων | ω | (signs) | ἄξον τὴν Πτολεμαῖδα ἦν | ἔτεκεν Ἑλένη τῷ Πτολε[μαί]ω ὃν ἔτεκεν Διδύμη. πύρωσον τῆς αὐτῆς τὸ | ἦπαρ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν | καρδίαν καὶ τὴν ψ[υ]χὴν ἕως | ἄν' ἐκπηδήσασ[α] | ἔλθῃ ἢ Πτολεμα[ί]ς ἦν ἔτεκεν Ἑλένη πρ[ὸς] τὸν Πτολεμαῖον | ὃν ἔτεκεν Διδύμη ἦδη, τᾶχύ.

applied

2.3.14. unknown provenance, papyrus, now Cologne, P.Köln inv. 5514, s. IV, *Suppl.Mag.* I 43

Θωβαραβαυ τευθραιαιαιαω βακαω | φλεν νοφ εφοφθε αμου αμιμ | βαιν· βααρα ααλω β..ααρα | αααααα εεεεεε ηηηηηη | ιιιιι οοοοοοο υυυυυυ ωωωωωωω | ἀεροπέτησον τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν | καρδίαν Λεοντίας ἦν ἔτεκεν μήτρα | Εὔα καὶ μὴ

έάσης αύτην φαγῖν | μήτε πῖν μήτε ύπνου τυχῖν | έως δ'αν έλθη πρὸς έμέ
Δίος|κ[ο]υρον δν έτεκεν Θεέκλα, ήδη ήδη, | τ[α]χὺ ταχύ. (*signs*)

applied

2.3.15. Egypt, triangular lead tablet, now in Leiden, T.Leid.Inst. inv. V 34, s. III/IV, *Suppl.Mag.* I 41 (ed. pr. P.J. Sijpesteijn, ZPE 24 (1977) 89-90 [SEG XXVII 1243]; with D.R. Jordan, GRBS 26 (1985) 197 no. 189)

σιτ κουμ | αιουω ιηση | ιηω νο ιεω | αιηου ευ ιση ια|ω αυεια ιωα ιηω | ηα ιαω
ωαι. άξιω και | παρακαλω την δοίνα|μήν σου και την έξουσίαν | σου, ηκιαεου
ασωρ ασκατανθιρι | σετωνεκοιι άξον Τερμοϋτιν την | έτεκεν Σοφία Ζοηλ τω έτεκεν
| Δροσερ έρωτι μανικω και άκαταπ|αύστω, αφ'θ'άρτω, ήδη, ταχύ.

applied, exorcistic; used by a woman on a woman

2.3.16. Hawara, P.UCL inv. 312, s. II. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXII. No published image.
“[W]ritten in a very rude hand” ed. pr. (J.G. Milne and R. Wunsch, *Archiv* 5 [1913] 393
and 397; repr. with correct interpretation Hunt (1929), 156-157; previously described in
F. Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe* [London 1889] 37 no. 312 as “Deed; 14 l.,
frag.”)

έξορκείζ[ω] σε, Ευάγγελε, | κατά του Άνουβι[δο]ς και | του Έρμου και [τ]ων
λοι[πών] πάν|των κάτω, άξαι και καταδ|ήσαι Σαραπιάδα,ήν έτε|κεν Έλένη, έπ'
αύτην Έρα|είδαν ήν έτεκεν Θερμο|υθαριν άρτι, άρτι, τα|χὺ ταχύ. έξ ψυχής και
καρδίας | άγε αύτην την Σαραπιά|δ[α] ήν έτεκεν ειδια μήτρ|α, μαι οτε ελβωσατοκ
| αλαουβητω ωειο[---] |.αην, | άξον και κα[τάδησον]| την ψυχή|ν και καρδιαν
Σαραπιάδο|ς ήν έτεκεν [..... έπ' αυ]| την Έραεί|δαν ήν έτεκε|ν Θερμουθα[ριν ... | ..]
αύτης, [άρτι άρτι, ταχὺ ταχύ].

11-12 <Έλένη> ειδια μήτρ|α Preisendanz || 15 την *conieci* : ονν ed. pr. : ονν Hunt : ον
Preisendanz || 16 [Έλένη] Preisendanz || 18-19 [μήτ|ρω] αύτης Preisendanz

applied, invocation to Anubis; used by a man on a woman; erotic curse; thigh-to-thigh
phrasing (22-23); target to be placed at the feet of the user; the signs in 1-2 are a
palindrome, some of them majuscule Greek letters, beginning with Δαμνίπη

2.3.17. Strasbourg, P.Stras. inv. 1167, s. IV, ed. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XVIIa
(*signs*) | (*signs*) | Άνουβι, θεέ έπίγε|ιε κ|αι ύπόγειε και ούρ[ά]νιε, | κύον, κύον, κύο|ν,
ά|νάλαβε σεαυτοϋ την πᾶσαν | έξουσίαν και πᾶσ[α]ν δύναμιν κατά της Τιγηροϋ |
ήν έτεκεν Σοφία· <ά>νάπαυσον αύτην της ύ|περηφανείας και τ[οϋ] λογισμοϋ και της
| αίσχύνης. άξον δ[έ] μ|οι αύτην ύπό | τους έμούς πόδας [έρ]ωτικῆ έπι|θυμια
τηκομένην έν πάσαις | ώραις ήμεριναῖς και νυκτερι|ναῖς, άεί μου μιμνησκομένην |
τρώγουσαν, πίνου[σα]ν, έργαζομέ|νην, όμιλοϋσαν, κ[οι]μωμένην, |
ένυπνιαζομένην, όνειρώττουσαν, | έως αν ύπό σου μαστιζομένη έλθη | ποθοϋσά με,
τάς χείρας έχουσα πλήρεις, | μετά μεγαλοδώρου ψυχής και χαριζομέ|νη μοι έαυτήν
και τᾶ έαυτης [κ]αι έκτελοϋσα | ά καθήκει γυναιξ[ιν πρὸς άνδρ]ας και τῆ έμῆ | και
έαυτης έπιθυ|μία ύπη]ρετουμένη άόκνω[ς] | και άδυσωπήτως μηρόν μηρω και
κοιλίαν κοιλία | κολλωσα και τὸ μέλαν αύτης τω έμω μέλανι ήδυτάτω. | ναί, κύριε,
άξον μοι την Τιτηροϋν, ήν έτεκεν Σοφία, έμοι τω Έρμεία, δν έτεκεν Έρμιόνη, | ήδη
ήδη, ταχὺ ταχύ, τῆ σῆ μαστιγι έλαυνομένην.

[[to the right of this, *Schwindeschema* of αβλαναθαναλβα ακραμμαχαμαρι such that
the first line has αα, one letter is added to each end in successive lines, and then this is
reversed, arriving at αα again in the final line]]

applied, exorcistic of a νεκυδαίμων, refers to deposition in tomb (new reading, 15); erotic curse; some hair still stuck to the sheet (“Mit braunroten Haaren,” Preisendanz, still visible in digital image; in “Papyrus magica inedita,” *Aegyptus* 4 [1923] 305, Preisendanz speculated that the hairs came from the armpits or pudendum of the target, “pilorum cirrus badiorum de amatae alis resectorum seu de ipso feminali utcunque desumptorum”) 2.3.18. Hermopolis Magna (Eschmunen), now Berlin, P.Berl. inv. 9909, s. IV/V, ed. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* XIXa; recollated. Front (across fibers; note also kollesis running horizontally c. 2 cm from bottom), brown ink

ενθι ενθω θοσου ηρις ηρις ι[...]νουω ουι δε βαθαρ Νηιθ Νηιθ, ηιαωθ ουορ καωθις, σαμι σαμις, οφορ ανουιφω χθεθωνι νουηρ | ιωθ αωθ ουωρ τενοχ τενοχ, [β]ιβιου βιβιου, μουσιν μουσιν, σμωσομ, Θεουούθ, οκεβενουσι ενσι ειψηι, ουωρ, ουωρ, οσαραμωκς, | Θαθ, Θαθ, ενθουω κομμουοα, [φι]ανοχ, φιανοχ, σωφ, χθενθεβενχ ενθεβεχ ηχθενθεβεθ, υιαβωυ, Λαιλάμ, Άρμιωούθ, σων αυ ιφι | ως διαρ νεβες χινει, νουθι νουθι, κομωα ραφωρ, Άρσαμωσι, στεοβαοχ, άνοχ Φρῆ, Φρι, χορβαι μαι, [Αβα]ώθ Ιάω, ιφι ρομβαοθ, | χασουχ χωουχ, ρινγχ, σφηχ χοου[χ]ορφι, μουισρω καμπυχηρ, γοργιωριε, λαμπιπυρσι σειροε, όμβρ[ιμ]ε, ματεορσι ναφισσαωθα, ώ | Όσορ Μνευει, ώ Όσάραπι Σάραπι, ώ Όσορ Νοβηχις, Όσορ Μνευει, ώ Όσορ Νωφρις, θω θω θω ιθι ιθι [ιθι] μου θουρι, χασουχ, χθεθωνι | μαψιθυριμαψ τιτι νυξβι, Άμο[υ]ν, βλαμουνηθ, Βιωθ, θωδιαραξ φορβορβαβωρ, Χωσοήθ, Βολχοσθή, [Ερ]εσχιγάλ, Άρσαμω, Άρσενοφρη, | βιρβη καφιω, Ιάω, ηια ιαη ηι ηια, [χ]ιμνουθ, Άρβιωθ, καραχαραξ φραξ αξ, νουμωρ το ταχαν το, Φρῆ, ταυα[ν], χουχε χουχε, χωξ χωξ, χουχοθι, | χουχε, χωξ χωξ, χουχοθι, | Μασκελλι Μασκελλι Φνουχε[ν]ταβαώθ, όρεοβαζάγρα, ύπόχθων, Ιωουθ, Ιαωουθ, αι αι αι ου ου ου, βαρ[βαρ]αι, βαλημασηθ, κηχι, Άθωρ, | σενεζεζουθ σορο ορμεα χθ...βαρμαρ φριουρεινγξ, Μασκελλι Μασκελλω Φνουκενταβαώθ, όρεοβαζάγρα, ρηξιχθων, ίππόχ|θων, πυριπηγανύξ, όρεοπη[γ]ανύξ, λεπεταν λεπεταν, φριξ φρωξ, Βία, Μάστιγξ, Ανάγκη, μαντ[ου]ενοβοήλ, θουρα κρινη ζουχε, | πιππη, βεχοχ τα νικα ακωυ[.]ητο, Κούρα, σανκανθαρα σανκιστη δωδεκακιστη ιε ηι εη κινξ[τ]αβακινξ ταβακινξ, Ιώ μολπή, | Ιώ καθαλθ <Σ>αμας, σαιωβοθωρ [] βαιωωρ βαιωρ, αθαρβαιω, ζασαρ, θαρραιω, μελητης τῆς κρατερᾶς Ανάγκης, τῆς διοικουσης τα | έμα πράγματα, τα τῆς ψυχῆ[ς μο]υ έννοήματα, η ούδεις άντιπειν δύναται, ου θεός, ουκ άγγελος, ου δαίμων, άνέγειρέ μοι σεαυτόν, | νεκυδαίμων, και μη βια[σθει]ης, αλλά δέλεσον τα ένγεκραμμένα και έντιθαίμενα έν τώ σημάδι του(το), ηδη ηδη, ταχύ ταχύ.

(intricate arrangements of logoi in Schwindeschemata etc.)

σῦρ[ε], ώσον πᾶν μέλος του νεκρου τουτου και το πνεύμα τουτου του σκηνώματος και ποιησον αυτόν διακονῆ|σαι προς την Κάρωσα, ην έτεκε Θελώ. ναί, κύριαι δαίμον, άξον, καῦσον, φλέξον, πύρωσον, σκότωσον κεομένην, πυρουμένην, κέ(ν)τη <βα>|σανισομένην την ψυχήν, την καρδιαν τῆς Κάρωσα ην έτεκεν Θελώ, άχρις αν έκπηδήσασα έλθη προς Άπαλώς ον έτεκεν | Θεονίλλα, επί έρωτα και φιλιαν τῆ άρτι ώρα, ηδη ηδη, ταχύ ταχύ. έφ' όσον κεῖται παρα σοι το θεϊον μυστήριον, μη έάσης αυτήν την Κά|ρωσα ην έτηκεν Θελώ, μη ειδ[ίω] άνδρι μνημονεύει μη τέκνου, μη ποτου, μη βρωτου, αλλά έλ[θη] τηκομένη τῶ έρωτι και τῆ φι|λία και συνουσία, πλειστω(ς) ποθου[μ]ένη προς τῆ συνουσίαν τῶ Άπαλώς ον έτεκεν Θεονίλλα, έν τῆ ά[ρτι ώ]ρα | ηδη ηδη, ταχύ ταχύ.

Ι βοσου ed. pr. || 15 έντεθειμένα *Pap.Graec.Mag.*, reporting reading of pap. as εντιθεμενα | έν τῶ στόματί σου *Pap.Graec.Mag.* – σταμαδι possible, but not στομ-. Crossbar of τ- is plain, σου cannot be read. || 50 φλεξον clear on photo : όλεσον *Pap.Graec.Mag.*, reporting reading of pap. as ωλεσον | [και]ομένην *Pap.Graec.Mag.* ||

51-52 κρητη|σανισομενην pap. || 52 [ἐλ]θη *Pap.Graec.Mag.* || 53 ἔρωτι καὶ φιλίᾳ ἐν *Pap.Graec.Mag.* | [ἐφ'] *Pap.Graec.Mag.* || 54 [ιδίω] *Pap.Graec.Mag.* | μνημονεύειν *Pap.Graec.Mag.* | [τη]κομένη *Pap.Graec.Mag.* || 55 τὴν *Pap.Graec.Mag.* | τοῦ *Pap.Graec.Mag.*

-applied, exorcistic, used by a woman on a man; a single sheet; an invocation to a νεκυδαίμων for a general erotic curse; neatly arranged; repetition; internal reference to the text as writing on a πιττάκιον (74-75); hair enclosed in the original, which was rolled up. New ed. by Jordan omits all of what he calls “Magical Words,” so I have replicated them exactly as in *Pap.Graec.Mag.*

2.3.19. Unknown provenance, now Paris, Louvre, P.Louvre inv. 3378, ed. Jordan 1988 (cf. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XVI).

ὀρκίζω σε, νεκύδα[ι]μον, κατὰ τοῦ μηθ[.]ου μαχερεμα φαχε[λε]ζ[εθι] αλωια | βαθαβλεουχαχι Ἄβαώς, οἰώχαλ ἀράχραυχ[.]ου αμερρα | μαχερθα φαχελεξεθι· ποιήσο[ν] φθείνειν καὶ κατατήκεσθαι | [Σ]αραπίωνα ἐπὶ τῷ ἔρωτι Διοσκοροῦτος ἦν ἔτεκε Τικαι | [κ]αὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ ἔκτηξον καὶ τὸ αἷμα [αὐτοῦ] ἔκθη[λα]σον φιλίᾳ, | ἔρωτι, ὀδύνη, ἕως ἔλθη Σαραπίων ὃν ἔτεκε παῖσα [μ]ή[τ]ρα | πρὸς Διοσκοροῦν ἦν ἔτεκε Τικαι καὶ ποιήση τὰ καταθ[ύ]μ[ι]ά μου | πάντα καὶ δια[μείν]η ἐμὲ φιλῶν, ἕ[ω]ς ὅτου εἰς Ἄιδη[ν] ἀφίκηται. | ὀρκίζω σε νεκυδαίμονα κατὰ τ[οῦ] Ἄδωναίου Σαβ[α]ώθ αμαραχθει | αξιαωθ αζαρ θεὸς αθρῶα σου [7] ομαλαξα θε[ε] ...]εν μαρατα | αχω χιμι νεμεγαφ υ[.]α[χι]λθτεε μαρ[αδθ]α θαρβι αψωχ[...]. [π]οίησον φθει | [ν]ειν καὶ κατατήκεσθαι Σαραπ[ί]ωνα ὃν ἔτεκε παῖσα μήτρα ἐπὶ | τῷ ἔρωτι Διοσκοροῦτος ἦν ἔτεκε[ε] Τικαι καὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ | ἔκτηξον καὶ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἔκθη[λα]σον φιλίᾳ, ἔρωτι, ὀδύνη, | [ἔ]ως ἔλθη Σαραπίων ὃν ἔτεκε[ε] παῖσα μήτρα π[ρ]ὸς Διοσκοροῦν | [ἦ]ν ἔτεκε Τικαι καὶ ποιήση τὰ καταθ[ύ]μ[ι]ά μου πάντα καὶ διαμείνη | [ἐ]μὲ φιλῶν, ἕως ὅταν εἰς Ἄιδη[ν] ἀφίκηται. ὀρκίζω σε νεκυδαίμων κατὰ τ[οῦ] ὕ [.....] ὠρωνυ[...]. λι[...]. εὐλ[αμ]ω[σι]... | ..]μεραθα· ποιήσον φθείνειν κα[ι] κατατήκεσθαι Σ[α]ραπίων[α] | ὃν ἔτεκε παῖσα μήτρα ἐπὶ τ[ῷ] ἔρωτι [Διο]σκοροῦτος ἦν ἔτεκε Τικαι κα[ι] | τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ ἔκτηξον [κ]αὶ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἔκθη[λα]σον | φιλίᾳ, ἔρωτι, ὀδύνη, ἕως ἔλθη [Σ]αραπίων ὃν ἔτεκε παῖσα μήτρα | πρὸς Διοσκοροῦν ἦν ἔτεκε Τικου καὶ ποιήση τὰ καταθ[ύ]μ[ι]ά μου πάντα καὶ διαμει[ν]η ἐμὲ φιλῶν, ἕως ὅταν | εἰς Ἄιδη[ν] ἀφίκηται. ὀρκίζω σε νεκυδαίμων κατὰ τ[οῦ] ὕπο | στηηαλεβμου εὐα[...]. νεκελα[...]. τοσαν[...]. ακετοριμισεφονυμι | στασαχη αμωτ[ι]λω νεβου[τοσουαληθ·] ποιήσον φθει[ν]ειν καὶ κατατήκεσθαι | Σαραπίωνα ὃν ἔτεκε παῖσα μήτρα ἐπὶ τῷ ἔρωτι Διοσκοροῦτος | ἦν ἔτεκε Τικαι κ[αὶ τῆ]ν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ ἔκτηξον κ[αὶ] τὸ αἷμα αὐ[τ]οῦ ἔκθη[λα]σον φιλ[ί]α, ἔρω[τι], ὀδύνη, ἕως ἔλθη Σαραπίων | ὃν ἔτεκε παῖσα μήτρα πρὸς Διοσκοροῦν ἦν ἔτεκε Τικαι καὶ | ποι[ή]ση τὰ καταθ[ύ]μ[ι]ά μου πάντα καὶ διαμείνη ἐμὲ φιλῶν, | ἕως [ὅταν εἰ]ς Ἄιδη[ν] ἀφίκηται. ἔξορκίζω σε νεκυδαίμων κατὰ | τοῦ μ[.....]μαση λεαι[...]. μεα[...]. ρμω[...]. σεγε β[...]. δησαωουα | φεσφτου ἀμίαντον ηι ὀνόματα(?) [9] ξαι | βαιμεβοτησαι φθασιαν· σαιεξεεθα χθεθω ου νεβιωθν | λαιουθ· ποιήσον φθείνειν καὶ κατατήκεσθαι Σαραπίωνα | ὃν ἔτεκε παῖσα μήτ[ρ]α ἐπὶ τῷ ἔρωτι Διοσκοροῦτος ἦν ἔτεκε Τικαι καὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ ἔκτηξ[ο]ν κ[αὶ τ]ὸ αἷμα αὐ[τ]οῦ ἔκθη[λα]σον [φι]λίᾳ, ἔ[ρ]ωτι, ὀδύνη, ἕως ἔλθη Σαραπίων | ὃν ἔτεκε παῖσα μήτρα πρ[ὸ]ς [Δι]οσκοροῦν ἦν ἔτεκε[ε] Τικαι | [κ]αὶ ποιήση τὰ καταθ[ύ]μ[ι]ά μου πάντα καὶ δ[ι]α[μείν]η ἐμὲ φιλῶν, | ἕως ὅτου εἰς Ἄιδη[ν] ἀφίκηται. ἔξορκίζω σε νεκυδαίμων | κατὰ τοῦ φθοι κι[...]. ωσε [.....] αυθειοκρ[α].....]ει | απο ειρραθειβωθιμια προσημοπερναι[...]. ενε | α[...]. σ[...]. τασηθωννεβαι λεισει· ποιήσον φθείνειν κα[ι] κατατήκεσ[θα] Σαραπίωνα | [ὃ]ν ἔτεκε παῖσα μήτρα ἐπὶ τῷ ἔρωτι Διοσκο[ρο]ῦτος ἦν ἔτεκε | Τικαι καὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ ἔκτηξον καὶ τὸ αἷμα αὐ[τ]οῦ | ἔκθη[λα]σον

φιλία, ἔρωτι, ὀδύνη, ἕως ἔλθη Σαραπίων | ὄν ἔτεκε πᾶσα μήτρα πρὸς Διοσκοροῦν
 ἦν ἔτεκε Τικαυι | καὶ ποιήσῃ τὰ καταθ[ύμι]ά μου πάντα καὶ διαμεί[νη] | ἐ]μέ φιλῶν,
 ἕως ὅταν εἰς [Ἄ]ιδην ἀφίκηται. [ἐξο]ρκίζω σε | νεκυδαίμονα [κ]ατὰ τοῦ μεγον
 Ἀβᾶῶθ, ου[...], ουογδουκο | ...ηρη[...], ομμα κελαρο[...], οντβεια· ποιήσον φθείνει[ν]
 καὶ κατατήκε|σθαι Σα[ρ]απίωνα ὄν ἔτεκαι πᾶσα μήτρα ἐπ[ι τ]ῷ ἔρωτι |
 Διοσκοροῦτος ἦν ἔτεκε Τικαυι καὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ | ἐκτίξον καὶ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ
 ἐκθήλασον φιλία, ἔρωτι, | ὀδύνη, ἕως ἔλθη Σαραπίων ὄν ἔτεκε πᾶσα μήτρα | πρὸς
 Διοσκοροῦν ἦν ἔτεκε Τικαυι κα[ι π]οιήσῃ τὰ κα[τα] | θύμιά μ[ο]υ πάντα κα[ι]
 δια[μ]είνη ἐμέ φιλῶν, ἕως ὅτ[αν] εἰς Ἄιδην ἀφίκηται. | ὀρκίζω σε νεκυδαίμ[ο]ν κατὰ
 [τ]οῦ [Ἀδω]ναί[ο]ν ..] δῶ [.....]εξιακην | νεκαροπλήξ μιδεκλιβια αυκα[...]
 λευειμεθ[...], εξεννε | Κομμι Βιου· ποιήσον φθείνειν καὶ κατατή[κ]εσθαι Σ[αραπίων]α
 ὄν ἔτεκε πᾶσα μήτρα | ἐπὶ τῷ ἔρωτι Δι[ο]σκ[ο]ρ[ο]ῦτος ἦς ἔτεκε Τικαυι καὶ [τὴν
 καρδίαν] α[ὐ]τοῦ ἐκτίξον | καὶ τὸ α[ἱ]μα αὐ[τοῦ] ἐκθήλασον φιλία, ἔρωτι, ὀδύνη,
 [ἕως ἔλθη Σα]ραπίων ὄν ἔτεκε | πᾶσα μ[ή]τρα πρὸς Διοσκοροῦν ἦν ἔτεκε Τικαυι καὶ
 [ποιήσῃ τὰ κα]ταθύμιά μου | πάντα [κ]αὶ διαμείνη ἐμέ φιλῶν,] ἕως ὅτου εἰς Ἄιδην
 ἀφίκηται. c. 18] | traces

a group of objects produced probably by the same person: a specialist hired by multiple clients

applied magic, invocation, erotic curse; used by a man on a man

Especially in view of what really looks like an address on the verso (no comment in Hunt), I wonder whether this is an imitation of a letter to the dead; probably found in cemetery at Hawara, though Hunt says “presumably it was among the *casual products of the surface soil* of the Hawâra cemetery” (155, my emphasis)

-papyrus found bundled with a clay figurine (papyrus rolled up, figurine bound to the roll with thread: drawing of the assemblage before unrolling in F. Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoë* [London 1889] pl. XX.8); Hunt describes the figurine as “a rude approximation to human shape” (157)

2.3.20. Hawara, cemetery, now Oxford, ex-Ashmolean Museum (inv. 18), now Sackler, Papyrology Rooms?, s. II-III, ed. A.S. Hunt, “An Incantation in the Ashmolean Museum,” *JEA* 15 [1929] 155-157 (with pl. XXXI, 1, of the assemblage still bound up, repr. in photo in A.K. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs* (Berkeley 1986), fig. 79: inventory number visible, prb. 1898.7840), *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXIIa.

Ὅς ὁ Τυφῶν ἀντίδικ | {κ} [ὄς] ἐ(σ)τιν τοῦ ἡλείου, οὔτο |ς καῦσον καρδίαν καὶ ψυ|χὴν
 αὐτοῦ Ἀμωνείου οὔ | ἔτεκεν Ἐλέλι καὶ εἰδία μῆ|τρα, αδωνα(ι) αβρασαξ πι|ν[ο]ῦτι
 καὶ σαβᾶως, καῦσ|ον ψυχὴν καὶ καρδίαν | αὐτοῦ Ἀμωνείου οὔ ἔτε|κεν Ἐλένη(η) ἐπ’
 αὐτὸν Σερα|πιακῶν ὄν ἔτεκεν θρεπτ|ή, \ἀρτ[ι]/ [ἄ]ρτι, ταιχὺ ταχύ, τῆ α| [ύ]τῆ ὄρα
 καὶ τῆ αὐτῆ ἡ|μέρα, ἐξουτῆς συνκατὰ|μειξον τὰς ψυχὰς ἀν|φοτέρων καὶ πύησον |
 αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀμώνειων | ὄν ἔτεκεν Ἐλένη αὐ|τὸν Σεραπιακὸν ὄν ἔτ|εκεν θρεπτή
 πᾶσαν ὄρ|αν καὶ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν καὶ | πᾶσαν νύκτα· διο αδω|ναι οἴψειστε θεῶν, οὔ |
 ἐ(σ)τιν τῶνομαι τῶ ἀλει|θινὸν διο ὦ καὶ αδωναί.

added on the back: ὦναι | Σερα|πιακοῦ (*sealing*)

5-6 εἰδία μήτρα Preisendanz || 11-12 and 20 Θρέπτη Preisendanz || 22 διὸ Preisendanz
 || 25 διο ὦ καὶ *conieci* : διοω καὶ Hunt : διώκω Preisendanz

applied, probably the same hand as the previous two

2.3.21. Hawara, now Cairo Museum Jd’É 60636, s. II/III, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P LXVIII (ed. O. Guérard, “Deux textes magiques du Musée du Caire,” in *Mélanges Maspero* 2 (Cairo 1934), 201-212 :201-206)

Ὦς ὁ Τυφῶν [ἀντίδικό] |ς ἐστὶν τοῦ Ἡ[λίου, οὕτω] |ς καὶ καῦσον [τὴν ψυχὴν] |
 Εὐτύχους, ὃ[ν] ἔτεκεν Ζω[ο]σίμη, ἐπὶ αὐτῆ[ν] Ἐρ[ι]είαν, | ἦν ἔτεκεν Ἐ[ρ]χη[ελιώ]· |
 ἀβρασάξ, καῦσον αὐτοῦ | Εὐτύχους τὴν ψυχὴν | καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἐπ' α[ὐ]τὸν
 Εὐτύχην, [ὃ]ν ἔτεκε |ν Ζωσίμη, ἄρτι, ταχύ, | ταχύ, τῆ αὐτῆ ὄρα καὶ | τῆ αὐτῆ ἡμέρα.
 Ἄδω | ναί, καῦσον τὴν ψυχ[ὴν] Εὐτύχους καὶ τ[ὴν] καρδίαν ἐπ' αὐτ[ὴν] Ἐρ[ι]είαν, [ῆ]ν
 ἔ[τεκε]ε[ν] | Ἐ[ρ]χη[ελιώ], [ἄ]ρτι, ταχ[ύ], ταχύ, τῆ αὐτῆ ὄρα | καὶ τῆ αὐτῆ ἡμέρα.
 on the back: [---].κη | [---]π | [ο] | νοῦ

novel reference to the persistence of the effect even after the user's death

2.3.22. Tebtunis (?), now Yale, P.CtYBR inv. 1206 recto, coll. iii.11-iv.10 [n.b. it is not absolutely certain that col. iv follows col. iii, no direct joins between the frs., but nothing prevents it, and this is the most economical placement]

φ[ί]λτρον. λα[βῶν --] | [..] καὶ ον [---] | [..]ενοσ[---] | [..]πασα .. [---] | [..] ἔμοι ἢ δεῖνα [---] |
 [έ]μή[ν]υ καὶ σῆν ἐνμισγο[c. 5]ομένην φιλό | [τ]ητα ἦν ἐμοὶ ἐν κατε[c. 5]ειπεσ ὅς ἂν
 τοῦ | [τ]ο φάγη καὶ σου μελαν[c. 5]παρέικηται λήση | [π]ατρὸς καὶ μη[τ]ρὸς καὶ
 τ[ῶν] αὐτ[ο]κασιγνήτων | πάντων δη[c. 5]εανδρ[c. 5]ειν ἔαν γὰρ ἐγώ | πρῶτός τι
 πάθω καὶ [ψυχὴ] ἐμή ἐκλίπη φάος | ἢ(ἐ)λίοιο, κάκεῖ σου ψυχὴ [πρὸ]ς ἐμὸν τάφον |
 [ἀ]μφιπέτοιτο κλαίου[σά τε] καὶ ὀδυρομένη | [κ]αὶ μο[c. 5]ημέν[η c. 6]ι· πότνια
 Κύ | [πρι τ]έλει τ[ε]λείαν ἔπασο | δὴν.

leading (ἀγωγή), invoking Hekate; interesting use of Doric forms, τὰν Ἐκάταν (2730);
 epic forms and diction; and interesting content, summoning the ἄωροι and 'heroes' who
 died unmarried and childless to torment the target

2.3.23. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574, f. 30r-v (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.2705-2781)

ἄλλη ἀγωγή· λαβῶν κύμινον Αἴθιο | πικὸν καὶ αἰγὸς ποικίλης παρθένου | στέαρ καὶ
 ὁμοῦ ποιήσας ἐπίθυμα | ἐπίθυε πρὸς Σελήνην ιγ, ιδ, ἐπὶ | γείνου θυμιατηρίου, ἐπὶ
 δώματος | ὑψηλοῦ, ἐπὶ ἀνθράκων. λόγος· | 'δεῦρ', Ἐκάτη, γιγάεσσα, Διώνης ἢ |
 μεδέουσα, Περσία, Βαυβώ, Φρού | νη, ἰοχέαιρα, ἀδμήτη, Λυδή, | ἀδαμάστωρ,
 εὐπατόρεια, | δαδοῦχε, ἠγεμόνη, κατα(καμ)ψυψαύχε | νε, Κούρη· κλυθι, διαζεύεσσα
 | πύλας ἀλύτου ἀδάμαντος, Ἄρτε | μι, ἢ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐπίσκοπος ἦσ(θ)α, | μεγίστη,
 πότνια, ῥηξίχθων, σκυ | λακάγεια, πανδαμάτειρα, εἰνοδία, | τρικάρανε, φασφόρε,
 παρθένη | σεμνή· σέ καλῶ, ἔλλοφονα, | (δο)λόεσσα, Ἀυδναία, πολύμορφε· | δεῦρ',
 Ἐκάτη, τριοδίτι, πυρίπνοα | φάσματ' ἔχουσα χὰτ' ἔλαχες | δεινὰς μὲν ὁδοὺς,
 χαλεπὰς δ' ἐπι | πομπὰς· τὰν Ἐκάταν σε καλῶ | σὺν ἀποφθιμένοισιν ἄωροις, | κεί
 τινες ἡρώων ἔθανον ἀγύ | ναιοί τε ἄπαιδες, ἄγρια συρίζοντες, | ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸν
 ἔδοντες, (οἱ δέ· ἀνέμων εἶδωλον ἔχοντες)· | στάντες ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς τῆς δεῖνα
 ἀφέλε | σθε αὐτῆς τὸν γλυκὺν ὕπνον, | μηδέποτε βλέφαρον βλεφάρω κολ | λητὸν
 ἐπέλθοι, τειρέσθω δ' ἐπ' ἐ | μαῖς φιλαγρύπνοισι μερίμναις. | εἰ δέ τιν' ἄλλον ἔχουσ' ἐν
 κόλποις κατάκειται, | κείνον ἀπώσασθω, ἐμὲ δ' ἐν φρεσὶν ἐν | καταθέσθω καὶ
 προλιποῦσα τάχιστα | ἐπ' ἐμοῖς προθύροισι παρέστω, δαμνο | μένη ψυχῆ ἐπ' ἐμῇ
 φιλόττητι καὶ εὐνή. | ἀλλὰ σύ, ὦ Ἐκάτη, πολυώνυμε, παρθέ | νε, Κούρα, (ἐ)λθέ, θεά,
 (κ)έλομαι, ἄλως φυ | λακὰ καὶ ἰωγή, Περσεφόνα, τρικά | ρανε, πυρίφοιτε, βοῶπι,
 βουορφορβη, | πανφόρβα, φορβαρά· Ἀκτιωφι, Ἐρεσχι | γάλ Νεβουτοσουαληθ·
 παρὰ θυραῖς πυ | πυληδεδεζω ῥηξιπύλη τε. δεῦρ' Ἐκά | τη, πυρίβουλε, καλῶ σε ἐπ'
 ἐμαῖς ἐπα | οἰδαῖς· μασκελλι μασκελλω· φνου | κενταβαωθ· ὄρεοβαζάγρα ῥηξίχθων |
 ἵπποχθων· ὄρεοπηγανύε· μορμο | ρον τοκουμβαι (κοινόν)· μαινομένη ἢ δ(εῖνα) ἢ | κοι
 ἐπ' ἐμαῖσι θύραιοι τάχιστα, λη | θομένη τέκνων συνηθείης τε το | κήων καὶ στυγέουσα
 τὸ πᾶν ἀνδρῶν | γένος ἠδὲ γυναικῶν ἐκτὸς ἐμοῦ, | τοῦ δεῖνα, μόνον με δ' ἔχουσα
 παρέστω, | ἐν φρεσὶ δαμνομένη κρατερῆς | ὑπ' ἔρωτος ἀνάγκης. θενωβ· | τιθεληβ·
 ηνωρ· τευθηνωρ· | πολυώνυμε, κυζαλευσα παζαους. | διὸ καλλιδημα καὶ σαβ' |

φλέξον ἀκοιμήτω πυρὶ τὴν ψυχὴν | τῆς δεῖνα. καὶ Ὑρίων καὶ ὁ ἐπάνω κα|θήμενος
Μιχαήλ· ἐπτὰ ὑδάτων | κρατεῖς καὶ γῆς, κατέχων, ὄν κα|λέουσι δράκοντα μέγαν
ακροκο|δηρε μουίσρω Χαρχαρ Ἀδωναί, | Ζεῦ δη Δαμναμενεῦ κυνοβι|ου εξαγρα·
κοινόν. Ἴω πασικράτεια | καὶ Ἴω πασιμεδέουσα· Ἴω παντρε|φέουσα Ζηλαχνα· καὶ
σααδ· | σαβιωθη· νουμιλλον· ναθο|μεινα· αἰεὶ κεινηθ· ἄλκιμος | Θησεὺς ονουξ,
περίφρον Δαμνα|μενεὺς, ἀμυναμένη, αλκία | θεά, νέκεια, Περσία | σεβαρα, ακρα.
σπεῦδε τάχιστα, | ἤδη ἐπ' ἑμαῖσι θύραισι παρέστω' | (κοινόν).

invocation of Aphrodite with threat to bind Adonis in Hades, leading (ἀγωγή), epic
diction

2.3.24. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574, f. 32r (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.2892-2942)

ἀγωγή. πρὸς τὸν ἀστέρα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης | ἐπίθυμα· περιστερᾶς λευκῆς αἷμα καὶ
στέαρ, | ζυῦρνα ὠμή καὶ ὀπτὴ ἀρτεμισία, ὁμοῦ ποίει κολ|λούρια καὶ ἐπίθυε πρὸς
τὸν ἀστέρα ἐπὶ ἀμ|πελίνων ξύλων ἢ ἀνθράκων. ἔχε δὲ καὶ ἐγ|κέφαλον γυπὸς εἰς
τὸν ἐπάναγκον, ἵνα ἐπι|θύης, ἔχε δὲ καὶ φυλακτήριον θηλείας ὄνου | ὀδόντα τῶν
ἄνωθεν δεξιοῦ σ(ι)αγονίου ἢ μόσχου | πυρροῦ ἱεροθύτου, ἀριστερῶ βραχίονι
ἀνου|βιακῶ ἐνδεδεμένον. | ἐπάναγκος τῆς πράξεως· | 'εἰ δὲ καθὼς θεὸς οὔσα
μακρόψυχόν τι ποιήσης, | οὐκ ὄψη τὸν Ἀδωνιν ἀνερχόμενον Αἴδαο. | εὐθὺ δραμῶν
ἤδη τοῦτον ἐγὼ δῆσω δεσμοῖς | ἀδάμασιν· φρουρήσας σφίγξω Ἴξιόνιον | τροχὸν
ἄλλον, κούκετι πρὸς φάος ἤξει, κολαζὸ|μενος δὲ δαμείται· διὸ ποιήσον, ἄνασσα, |
ἴκετῶ· ἄξον τὴν δεῖνα, ἦν δεῖνα, τάχιστα μολοῦσαν | ἐλθεῖν ἐν προθύροις ἐμοῦ
τοῦ δεῖνος, οὗ ἢ δεῖνα, | φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ, οἴστρω ἐλαυνομένην, | κέντροισι βιαίοις
ὑπ' ἀνάγκη, σήμερον, ἄρτι, | ταχύ. ὀρκίζω γάρ σε, Κυθήρη· νουμιλλον |
βιομβιλλον· Ἀκτιωφι Ἐρεσχιγάλ· Νεβου|τοσοσαληθ· φρουρηξία θερμιδοχη
βαρεω|νη· ἐπάναγκος· ἀφρογενῆς Κυθήρεια, | θεῶν γενέτειρα καὶ ἀνδρῶν,
αἰθερία, χθο|νία, Φύσι παμμήτωρ, ἀδάμαστε, ἀλληλοῦ|χε, πυρὸς μεγάλου
περιδινήτεια, | ἢ τὸν ἀεικίνητον ἔχεις περιδινέα Βαρζαν | ἄρρηκτον· σὺ δὲ πάντα
τελεῖς, κεφαλὴν τε πόδας τε, | σαῖς τε θελημοσύναις περιμίγνυται ἱερὸν | ὕδωρ,
ἠνίκα κινήσεις τὸν ἐν ἄστροις χεῖ|ρεσι Ῥουζω, ὀμφαλὸν ὄν κατέχεις, κόσμου. | κινεῖς
δὲ τὸ(ν) ἀγνὸν [ἴμ]ε[ρο]ν εἰς ἀνδρῶν ψυ|χάς, ἐπὶ δ' ἀνδρα γυναῖκας· κἀνδρὶ γυναῖκα
| τίθησι ἐράσμιαν ἤματα πάντα. ἡμετέρη | βασιλεία, θεά, μόλε ταῖσδ' ἐπαοιδᾶς,
πό|τνια Ἀρρωριφρασι, Γωθητινι, Κυπρογένεια, | σοῦίης θνοβοχου· θοριθε
σθενεπιοῦ ἄνασσα | σερθενεβηη, καὶ τῇ δεῖνι, ἦν δεῖνα, βάλε πυρσὸν | ἔρωτα, ὡστ'
ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ δεῖνος, οὗ ἢ δεῖνα, φιλότητι τα|κῆναι ἤματα πάντα. σὺ δέ, μάκαρ,
Ῥουζω, | τάδε νεῦσον ἐμοί, τῶ δεῖνι, ὡς σὸν ἐν ἄστροις | ἐς χορὸν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα
ἦξας ἐπὶ λέκτρα μι|γῆναι, ἀχθεῖς δ' ἔξαπίνης καὶ τὸν μέγαν | ἔστρεφε Βαρζαν,
στρεφθεῖς τ' οὐκ ἀνεπαύσατ' | ἐλισσόμενός τε δονεῖται ... διὸ ἄξον μοι τὴν δεῖνα, ἦν
δεῖνα, | φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ· σὺ δέ, Κυπρογένεια θεά, | τέλει τελέαν ἐπαοιδῆν· ἐὰν
ἴδης τὸν ἀστέρα | λαμπυρίζοντα, σημειῖον, ὅτι ἐκρούσθη, ἐὰν δὲ |
σπινθηροβολοῦντα, ἐν τῇ ὁδῶ ἦλθεν, ἐὰν | δὲ παραμήκην ὡς λαμπάδα, ἤδη ἦξεν.

complex additional analogical ritual, inscribing sea-shell and throwing it into a bath
furnace; relatively simple request for erotic curse expanded with longer exorcistic
incantation with divine names etc.

2.3.25. London, BL P.Lond. inv. 121, col. xiii (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.467-490)

λαβῶν ὄστρακον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ζωγράφησον εἰς αὐτὸ | ζυμυνομέλανι τὸ
ὑποκείμενον ζῶδιον Τυφωνιακὸν καὶ κύκλω | αὐτοῦ τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ βάλε εἰς
ὑποκαυστήριον βαλανείου. ὅταν δὲ | βάλῃς, δίωκε λέγων ταῦτα τὰ ἐν τῶ κύκλω
ἐγγεγραμμένα | καὶ ὅτι· ἄγε μοι τὴν δεῖνα, ἦ(ν) δεῖνα, ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς
ἄρτι | ὥρας καιομένην τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν, ταχύ ταχύ, | ἤδη ἤδη· ἔστι δὲ

τὸ θεώρημα τὸ ὑποκείμενον. διώκων δὲ | τὸν λόγον (λέγε) τὴν ἀ[ρ]χήν· θεὸς οὗτος Ἀναγκῶν, ὠκηση: ἐρηι[α]ρεμιν: | ἐντηνταιν: φοου τωνκτω· μνη σιεθων: Ὅσιρι: ἐνα[β]ῶθ: | ψανου: Λαμψουωρ: Ἰεου: ιω: ιω: αι: ηι: ει: αι: ει: αω: ἄγαγέ | μοι τὴν δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα· καὶ τὰ λοιπά. ἐστὶν δὲ τὸ ζώδιον. | “Ἐρωσ, Ἐρωτύλλε πασσαλεον ητ`, ἀπόστειλόν μοι τὸν ἴδιον (ἄγγελον) | τῆ νυκτὶ ταύτη δηλοῦντά μοι περὶ τοῦ τινος πράγματος. τοῦ(το) γὰρ ἐποί|ησα κατ’ ἐπιταγὴν Πανχουχι: θασσου: ἄφ’ οὗ ἐπιτασσόμενος | ποιήσεις, ὅτι ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τῶν τεσσάρων κλιμάτων | τοῦ κόσμου· Ἀψαγαήλ: χαχου: μεριουτ: μερμεριουτ: καὶ κατὰ | τοῦ ἐπάνω τῶν τεσσάρων κλιμάτων τοῦ κόσμου: κιχ: μερμε|ριουθ: (κοινόν.) ἐπίθυμα τοῦτο· λαβῶν ρύπου ἀπὸ σανδαλίου σου | καὶ ῥητίνης καὶ κόπρου περιστερᾶς λευκῆς ἴσα ἰσῶν ἐπίθου | πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον λέγων. φυλακτήριον τούτου· γράψον τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα | εἰς πέταλον κασσιτερινόν· Ἀχαχαήλ: χαχου: μαρμα|ριουτι· καὶ φόρει περὶ τὸν τράχηλον. μετεπικαλέσας | εἴσελθε παρὰ σεαυτῶ, κο(ί)μισον τὸν λύχνον καὶ κοιμῶ | ἐπὶ ψιάθ(ου) κλίνῃ καινη.

invocation of sun

2.3.26. London, BL P.Lond. inv. 121, col. xxix (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.981-1009)

[ἀ]γώ[γιμον. ἀπὸ πάντων σαυτὸν ἀγν]ίσας | ἡμέρ[ας λέγε τὸν λό(γον) τοῦτο]ν σὺν ἀνατολῇ· | “Ἥλιε [.....ε, ἀλλὰ] δεῦ|ρό μο[ι, κυρία Ἀκτιῶφι, Ἐρεσχιγὰ]λ Περσεφ[ό]νι: ἄγε [μοι καὶ κατάδησον τῆ]ν δεῖν’, ἦν δεῖνα, [εἰς] | τὸν ἐπ’ ἔρ[ωτι αὐτῆς τηκόμενο]ν, τὸν ἄρτι [χρό]ν[ον, καί]ε ἐκπληρώσου[σ]αν τοῦ δεῖνα, ὃν ἔτεκε δεῖνα, | τὰ νυκτε[ρινὰ καταθύμια, ν]αί, κύριε Νε|θμομαω [Ἥλιε· εἴσβηθι] τῆς δεῖνα, ἦ[ν] ἡ δεῖνα, | ἐπὶ τὴν [ψυχὴν καὶ καῦσον τὴν καρ]δίαν, | τὰ σπλάγ[χνα, τὸ ἦπαρ, τὸ πνεῦμα, τὰ ὀσῶ. κ]α|λῶς μο[ι τέλει ταύτην τὴν ἐπα]οιδήν, | ἦδη, ἦδ[η, ταχύ, ταχύ]. Προσ]βλέπ[ων τὰ] | ἀπηλιω[τικὰ μέρη λέγε· ‘σὺ εἶ ὁ βρο]ντῶν, ὁ βρέχων | καὶ ἀστ[ράπτων κατὰ τὸν] καιρὸν καὶ κατα|ξηρά[νας ὡσαύτως. δε]ῦρό μοι, χρημάτισον’. κοινὰ | ἢ ὅτι ἂν [θέλης γράφω, χ]εῖρα ὑπόχρισον.

at the top of this column there are further traces, probably of a title, should be added as 980a

baths

2.3.27. Fayum, now Oslo UB inv. 302 (old inv. number 21 on recto), *P.Oslo* I 3 recto = *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXVIII, s. IV; re-collated with photo

[--] καιρὸν ἄγνευσον [ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας καὶ] | [λαβῶν] ζυρνομέλανον εἰς) χάρτην κ[αθαρόν γραφε] | [πλα]κάδιον βαλανίων· δεῦρό μοι, [--] | [--] τὴν δύναμιν ἔχουσα [--] | [--] καὶ βάσισον ἰς τὸν οἶκον, [--] | [--] δειδίξασα καὶ κρύψασα [--] | [--] πύλης· αὐτῆς γὰρ αὐ[---] | [--] προσδοσί τῆ σῆ δυ[νάμει] | [ἄγε] μοι τὴν δ(εῖνα) (τῆς) δ(εῖνα), ὅτι συ [--] | [--] ὑπνον τυχῖν καὶ λο[---] | [--] ἐνκέφαλον σὺν τοῖ[ς --] | [--] ἱεῶν ιδώλων πλο[---]

Ἰ κ]αῖρον *Pap.Graec.Mag.* | | 3]κάδιον *Pap.Graec.Mag.* but cf. comm. | | 5 l. βάδισον εἰς | l. οἶκον | final trace omm. edd., τ[ῆς δ(εῖνος)] cannot be read, but perhaps τῆς was omitted and this is the descender of the Δ abbreviation? Or ἱ for ἦ, “where so-and-so is, hiding and fear” | | 9 συντο[*Pap.Graec.Mag.* | | 11 συντ[*Pap.Graec.Mag.* | | 12 ἰδ-pap., l. ειδώλων | πλα(ο?) *Pap.Graec.Mag.*

2.3.28. Fayum, now in Oslo, P.Oslo inv. 420, col. iv, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXVI.101-133 (with drawing below): erotic magic, ἔμπυρον (102); no further rubric; inscription on

papyrus and spoken invocation of Egyptian divinity, with erotic curse (burning, thirst, sleeplessness), repeated in variant form below the drawing (125-133)
ἄλλο ἔμπυρον. λαβὼν χάρτην καθαρὸν γράφε τὰ ὑπο(κεί)μενα | ὀνόματα καὶ τὸ
ζώδιον ζυμυρομέλανι καὶ λέγε | τὸν λόγον τρίς. ἔστιν δὲ τὰ γραφόμενα ὀνόματα |
καὶ τὸ ζώδιον τοῦτο· ἄκλυθί μοι, ὁ κτίζων καὶ ἐρημῶν | καὶ γενόμενος ἰσχυρὸς θεός,
ὄν ἐγέννησεν λευκή | χοιράς, ἀλθακά, εἰθαλλαθα, σαλαιοθ, ὁ ἀναφανείς | ἐν
Πηλουσίῳ, ἐν Ἥλιου πόλει, κατέχων ῥάβδον σιδηρᾶν, | ἐν ἧ ἀνέφραξας τὴν
θάλασσαν καὶ διεπέρασας ἀνε(κ)ξη|ράνας πάντα τὰ φυτά, ἄξον ἐμοὶ τῶ δεῖνα τὴν
δεῖνα καιο|μένην, πυρουμένην, ἀεροπετουμένην, πεινῶσαν, | διψῶσαν, ὕπνου μὴ
τυγχάνουσαν, φιλοῦσαν ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα | ὃν ἔτοκεν ἡ δεῖνα, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ καὶ τὴν
θηλυκὴν ἑαυτῆς | φύσιν τῆ ἀρσενικῆ μου κολλήσῃ, ἦδη ἦδη, ταχὺ ταχύ. [drawing
with *logoi*] ἄξετέ μοι τῶ δεῖνα | ὃ ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα τὴν | δεῖνα ἣν ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα |
καιομένην, πυρου|μένην, ἀεροπετου|μένην, φιλοῦσαν | ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα ὃν ἔτεκεν | ἡ
δεῖνα, ἦδη ἦδη, ταχὺ ταχύ. | τέλει.'

applied, on ostrakon

2.3.29. Oxyrhynchus, now Oslo, P.Oslo inv. 570, s. II. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* O 2

οοωοοασηηηηηαωωωωωηηη | .ιει εεηηη ηρωειωταωωω | ..υηηη ααα ηηηωαιαα
ωωωω | ..υεωωωοοε λαθ αρματρωαεα | .οχυσοιοιο νύχιε ναραεεαεαα | ...ος Βαλ,
Σαβαϊώθ, ω[.]μαως αιο | υεωαωωυνεωαεωαεωα | αριθωσααααα σκιρβευ Μίθρευ |
Μίθρα ωαρυβιβαω θυμω ησασ | εασυεεασυεαε μουλα α[6] | [6] ιμισυ ουλατσίλα
μουλα|[θι] ααιηιιιι αι εω εω ιεε ωαιη | ααση..ηη ιη οαοαα [7] | αα αλο αλαρω,
αρω αρω, υυυ ιηηη | ηηηηηηηη ιιιιιιιι απησηη ηια | αιη ωνωωωωωωωωωω ιεου ι ειειε |
ιιειε οαωαωω βααααααααααα | αααααα οοοοοο υυυυυυυυ | εεεεε
ωωωωωωωωωωωωωω | ωωωη ωωωω αηιουω αηιουω | αηιουω, σουμαρτα,
μαξ, ακαρβα, | μιυχθαν, Σαλααμ, αθιασκιρθο | δαβαθαα ζασ ουαχ κολ μολ | Φρῆ
ζωχραιε ζανεκμητ, Σατρα|πειν, εβλαραθα αρναιαυσααα | εαε α(ε)ηιουω ηηηηη ο
αοαα | ωοαοαωηαω· καῦσον, πύρω|σον τὴν ψυχὴν Ἄλλοῦτος, | τὸ γυναικίον
σῶμα, τὰ μέ|λη, ἕως ἀποστῆ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰ|κίας Ἀπολλωνίου. κα|τάκλινον Ἄλ|λοῦν
πυρετῶ, νό|σῳ ἀκαταπαύστῳ, | ἀσίτῳ Ἄλλοῦν, | ἀσυνέτῳ | Ἄλλοῦν.
on concave side: ἀπάλλαξον Ἄλλοῦν ἀπὸ Ἄ|πολλωνίου, τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς. | δὸς
Ἄλλοῦτι ὕβριν, μῖσος, ἀ|ηδίαν, ἕως ἀποστῆ τῆς οἰκί|ας Ἀπολλωνίου, ἄρτι, ταχύ.

fragmentary, unclear whether truly a "formulary" as titled in ed. or rather a single recipe copied on a sheet; it does end with paragraphos, but no text visible beneath that

2.3.30. Oxyrhynchus, now Oxford, P.Oxy. inv. 84/59 (a), s. III/IV, *P.Oxy.* LXVIII
4672

νῦξ Ἐκάτη[ς], Ἐκάτη δέ μου ἄγγελος | ἔστω καὶ πορευθεῖσα καὶ σταθῖσα | πρὸς
κεφαλῆς δῆς δεῖνος) ἧς ἔτεκεν | ἡ δεῖνα) περίλε αὐτῆς τὸν ὕπνον | ἕως
ἐξανηπαθῆσαα εἴλη πρὸς | ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα) τῆς δεῖνος) φιλοῦσά με καὶ ἀ|γαπῶσά
με καὶ ζητ[οῦσ]α τὴν μου | συνουσίαν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆ[ς ζω]ῆς αὐ|τῆς χρόνον. (vac.)
ατρακ[...]τα|τρακα' τετρακύων' τετρ[α]υ|λάκτ[α]' ἀγρυπνείτ[ω] | ἡ δεῖνα) τ[ῆς
δεῖνος]) | φι[λοῦσά με] καὶ ἀγαπῶ[σά με τὸν δεῖνα]) | τῆς [δεῖνος]) καὶ ζητο[ῦσά
μου τὴν] | συν[ουσία]ν ἐπ[ὶ τὸν τῆς ζωῆς] | αὐ[τῆς χρόνον]

Ἰεκατη', μου' pap. Ἐκάτη ed. pr., possible traces of the upper left of the bow of c? if not, perhaps also νῦξ Ἐκάτη, Ἐκάτη δέ μου; surely the δέ suggests a contrast between two parallel clauses || 2 εστω' pap. || 4 only " visible above [υ], [ύ]πνον ed. pr. || 7 μου τῆ(ν) ed. pr., the final stroke is better regarded as the final υ as in line, μου || 11 so ed. pr. in comment., unsuppl. in text || 15 [πάντα χρόνον] suppl. ed. pr.

applied, imperfectly copied from formulary leaving in title; a second hand fills in names of the *nekydaimones* invoked; ed. pr. interprets ἔνπυρον as “burnt offering,” but perhaps simply the burning to be inflicted on the target

2.3.31. Oxyrhynchus, P.Oxy. inv. 23 3B.3/K(1-2)a, s. IV-V, ed. *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4674
ἀγώμημον ἔνπυρον ἐπὶ ὀστράκου θαλασσίου. | ἐπικαλοῦμέν σοι τὸν μέγαν δαίμονα,
ὁ | μέ[[ν]]γας τύροννος ἐν τῇ γῆ κεί τῷ οὐρα|νῶ, πρικταὶ βασιλεῦ· ὄφελον
ἠδυνάμην | σου εἰπῖν τὸ ἀληθινὸν ὄνομα ανοχ ηου | σεβανα σαπρα[.]αλ φθαμοθ
ψ[.]ψ αμου|ν θααβαωθ σθωθ εφραμουσ | ταβαωθ μαρεθριθιυη αρβαθιαωθ. |
ἐπικαλοῦμε (m2?) Ταησις Ανιλλα \Ταιων/ (m1) ὑμᾶς | εἶνα μοι συνπαρασταθῆται
καὶ [[πε]] δῶτε | αὐτῇ φῶτα. ἐπικαλοῦμε ὑμᾶς [[τα.]] | πνου'κενταβαωθ πορενηθῆναι
| πρὸς τὴν δεῖν(α) τὴν δεῖνα ἔκσπασον | αὐτὴν ἐκ{κ} τῆς οἰκ(ί)ας αὐτῆς κε|ομένη
τὰ ἔν[τερα] τὰ σηλάνχνα [τ]ὸν | μυηλὸν ὁπῶς [...] αρακα... α[.] δ(εῖνα) | ἐμὲ τὸν
δ(εῖνα) ὄν ἔτεκεν ἢ δ(εῖνα) ἤδη [[ταχύ]] | ταχύ \β/ | (*drawings, characteres, logoi*).

2 σα ed. pr. || 11 ed. pr. is doubtful about φωτα, but it seems that ‘to put light to her,’
i.e. inflame her, makes tolerable sense || 13 δν την δ pap. : δεῖνα) υς τὴν δεῖνα) αι ed.
pr., the αι must be a graphic copying error for N || 15 l. σπλάγχνα, another graphic
copying error || 16 l. μυελὸν : ηλον ed. pr., cf. commentary

2.3.32. Oxyrhynchus, sheet of papyrus activated in erotic ritual, now Oxford, P.Oxy. inv.
84/68(a), s. IV/V, *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4673; additional discussion in Amirav 2005
[lines 1-25 are signs, a drawing of Seth, logoi, and doubtful traces except for 18, ἐξορκίζω
σαι]

... αὐτὴν τῷ Ἐλένω ὄν ἔτεκεν | Ταπιαμ ἔστ' ἂν χίλησιν χίλη συνάψουσιν καὶ τὸ
λευκὸν τῷ | μέλανι ὅτι ἐξορκίζω σοι κατ[ἀ] | τῆς κρατεᾶς ἀνάκης μασσκε[λλι] |
μασκελλω φνουκενταβα[ωθ] | οροεβας ζαγρρηχιθων ιπ|ποχθων υπ... τ υγαυ...

27 χίλησιν χίλη[α] ed. pr.

leading (ἀγωγή), specifically inflicting sleeplessness on the target

2.3.33. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574, f. 32v (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.2943-2967)
ἀγωγή ἀγρυπνητική. λαβῶν νυκτερίδος | ὀφθαλμούς ζῶσαν αὐτὴν ἀπόλυσον καὶ
λαβῶν | σταίτιον ὠμὸν ἢ κηρὸν ἄπυρον πλάσον κυ|νάριον καὶ τὸν δεξιὸν
ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς νυκτε|ρίδος εἰς τὸν δεξιὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τοῦ κυναρίου ἐν|θῆς καὶ τὸν
εὐώνυμον ὁμοίως εἰς τὸν εὐώνυμον. | καὶ λαβῶν βελόνην διεῖρων τὴν οὐσίαν | εἰς
αὐτὴν τὴν βελόνην, διεῖρον διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλ|μῶν τοῦ κυναρίου, ἵνα ἡ οὐσία
φαίνεται, καὶ βά|λε αὐτὸ εἰς κωθώνιον καινὸν καὶ πιττακίσας | αὐτὸ σφράγισον
αὐτὸ ἰδίω δακτυλίω ἔχον(τι) | κορκοδείλους ἀντικεφάλους αὐτοῖς καὶ κατὰ|θου
αὐτὸ εἰς τρίοδον σημειωσάμενος, ἵνα, | ἂν θέλης αὐτὸ ἀρεῖν, εὕρης. λόγος ὁ
γραφόμενος εἰς τὸ πιττάκιον· | ἐξορκίζω σὲ τρίς κατὰ τῆς Ἑκάτης | Φορφορβα
βαιβω φωρβωρβα, ἵνα ἀποβά|ληται τὸ πυρινὸν ἢ δεῖνα ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ ἢ καὶ |
ἀγρυπνῆ κατὰ νοῦν μηδένα ἔχουσα, εἰ μὴ | ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα μόνον. ἐξορκίζω σὲ κατὰ
τῆς Κόρης | Τριοδίτιδος γενομένης, ἢ τ' ἔστιν ἀλη|θῆς ἢ μήτηρ τ· [...] (τοὺς θέλεις)
φορβεα | Βριμω νηρηατο δαμων· Βριμων σεδνα· | δαρδαρ· πανοπαῖα, ἰωπη·
ποίησον τὴν δεῖνα | ἀγρυπνοῦσάν μοι διὰ παντὸς [αἰῶνος].'

2.3.34. Fayum, now in Oslo, P.Oslo inv. 420 col. viii, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXVI.186-
203 (with drawing below): erotic magic, ἀγωγή, no further rubric; to be written on an
ostrakon; exorcistic invocation to Hekate, short erotic curse

ἀγωγή. εἰς (ὄ)στρακον ὠμὸν χαλκῶ γραφίω· | “Ἐκάτη, σ’, Ἐκάτη, τρίμορφος,
 πεπληρωμένων | πάντων πάσης σφραγισμῶν, ὀρκίζω σε, | τὸν μέγαν ὄνομα
 τοῦ Ἀβλαθανα, καὶ | τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Ἀγραμαρι, ὅτι σε ὀρκίζω, | σε, (ὄς) τὸ πῦρ
 Ὀνυρ κατέχε[ι]ς καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ, (τὴν) δεῖνα | πυρωθῆναι, διώκειν πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν
 δεῖνα, ὅτι | κατέχω μὲ τὴν δεξιὰν τοὺς δύο δράκωντας | καὶ τὴν νίκην τοῦ Ἰαω
 Σαβαώθ, | καὶ τὸ μέγαν ὄνομα Βιλκατριμοφεχε, | τὸ πῦρ παλλομένη,
 στουτουκατουτου δια|φιλῆ(σ)αί με καιομένην, πυρουμένην πρὸς | με, ναί,
 βασανιζομένη(ν). Συγκουτουὲλ ἐγώ.’ (γράφει) ἡ χαρι|κτῆρας, οὕτως· ‘δός γέ μοι
 τὴν χάριν πάντων, | Ἄδωναί’ (signs)

leading (ἀγωγή), ritual to be performed ὅπου ἦρωες ἐσφάγησαν καὶ μονομάχοι καὶ
 βίαιοι (1394); speaking incantation over bread saved from one’s meal, then throwing it
 away, then collecting κόπρια from the place, throwing it into the target’s house, going
 away, and going to sleep; lengthy incantation with interesting narrative motifs, epic
 diction, and tricolon (1399-1434), lengthy Greek with lots of tricolon, epic diction;
 modified procedure with another incantation if the first fails (1434-1495), containing a
 further narrative motif (1471-1479)

2.3.35. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574, f. 17r-v (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.1391-1495)

ἀγωγή ἐπὶ ἡρώων ἢ μονομάχων | ἢ βιαιῶν. καταλιπὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρτου | οὗ
 ἐσθίεις, ὀλίγον καὶ κλάσας ποιήσον | εἰς ἐπτὰ ψωμούς καὶ ἐλθὼν, ὅπου ἦρωες |
 ἐσφάγησαν καὶ μονομάχοι καὶ βίαιοι, | λέγε τὸν λόγον εἰς τοὺς ψωμούς καὶ ῥίπτε, |
 καὶ ἄρας κόπρια ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου ὅπου πρᾶσ|σεις, βάλε ἔσω παρ’ αὐτὴν ἧς ποθεῖς,
 καὶ πο|ρευθεῖς κοιμῶ. ἔστιν ὁ λόγος ὁ λεγόμενος | εἰς τοὺς ψωμούς· ‘Μοῖραις,
 Ἀνάγκαις, | Βασκοσύναις, Λοιμῶ, Φθόνω καὶ φθι|μένοις ἀώροις, βιομόροις πέμπω
 τρο|φάς· τρικάρανε, νυχία, βορβοροφόρβα, | Παρθένε, κλειδοῦχε Περσέφασσα, |
 Ταρτάρου Κόρη, γοργῶπι, δεινή, πυρι|δρακοντόζωνε παῖ· ὁ δεῖνα ἐκ τῆς τροφῆς |
 ἑαυτοῦ καταλείψανα δάκρυσιν ἔμιξεν | καὶ στενάγμασιν πικροῖς, ὅπως αὐτὸν |
 καρπίσησθε βασάνοις ἐχόμενον, | ἦρωες ἀτυχεῖς, οἱ ἐν τῷ δεῖνα τόπῳ συν|έχεσθε,
 λειψίφωτες ἀλλοιόμοροι· | τὸν δεῖνα καρπίσασθε τὸν πονοῦν|τα καρδίαν, ἔνεκεν
 τῆς δεῖνα, τῆς ἀσεβοῦς | καὶ ἀνοσίας. ἄξατε οὖν αὐτὴν βασανι|ζομένην, διὰ τάχους
 εἰουτ Ἀβαώθ· ψακερβα· Ἀρβαθιά· λαλαοῖθ· | ιωσαχωτου· αλλαλεθω· καὶ σὺ,
 κυρία | βορβοροφόρβα· συνατρακαβι βαυ|βαραβας ενφνου· Μορκα· Ἐρεσχιγὰ[λ]
 | νεβουτοσουαληθ· πέμπσον δὲ Ἐρινύν, | Ὀργογοργοιστριαν, ψυχὰς καμόν|των
 ἐξεγείρουσαν πυρί, ἦρωες ἀτυ|χεῖς ἡρωίδες τε δυστυχεῖς, οἱ ἐν τού|τω τῷ τόπῳ, οἱ
 ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, οἱ | ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, οἱ ἐπὶ ταῖς μυρίναις | σοροῖς· ἐπακούσατέ
 μου καὶ ἐξεγείρα|τε τὴν δεῖνα ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ καὶ ἀφέ|λεσθε αὐτῆς τὸν ἠδὺν
 ὕπνον ἀπὸ τῶν | βλεφάρων καὶ δότε αὐτῇ στυγεράν μέ|ριμναν, φοβερὰν λύπην καὶ
 μετα|ζήτησιν τῶν ἐμῶν τύπων καὶ θέ|λησιν τῶν ἐμῶν θελημάτων, ἄχρισ | ἂν
 ποιήσῃ τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα αὐτῇ | ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ. κυρία Ἐκάτη Φορβα φορβω | βαρβαρω
 φωρφω φωρβαῖ, | εἰνοδία, κύων μέλαινα.’ ἐπὶ δὲ ταῦ|τα ποιήσας ἐπὶ γ’ ἡμέρας
 μηδὲν τε|τα ποιήσας ἐπὶ γ’ ἡμέρας μηδὲν τε|λήσ, τότε τῷ ἐπανάγκω χρῶ τούτῳ· |
 ἐλθὼν γὰρ εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον καὶ ποιή|σας πάλιν τὸ τῶν ψωμῶν, τότε ἐπίθουε |
 ἐπὶ ἀνθράκων καλπασίνων βόλβι|θον βοὸς μελαίνης καὶ λέγε ταῦτα, | καὶ πάλιν
 ἄρας τὰ κόπρια ῥίπτε, ὡς | οἶδες. ἔστι δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα (ἐπὶ) ἐπιθύματος | ταῦτα·
 “Ἐρμῆ χθόνιε καὶ Ἐκάτη χθονία | καὶ Ἀχέρων χθόνιε καὶ ὠμοφάγοι | χθόνιοι καὶ θεὲ
 χθόνιε καὶ | ἦρωες χθόνιοι καὶ Ἀμφίραε | χθόνιε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι χθόνιοι | καὶ
 πνεύματα χθόνια καὶ Ἄμαρ|τίαι χθόνια καὶ Ὀνειροὶ χθόνιοι | καὶ Ὀρκοὶ χθόνιοι καὶ
 Ἀρίστη χθονία | καὶ Τάρταρε χθόνιε καὶ Βασκανία | χθονία, Χάρων χθόνιε καὶ
 ὀπά|ονες χθόνιοι καὶ νέκυες καὶ οἱ δαί|μονες καὶ ψυχὰ ἀνθρώπων πάν|των·
 ἔρχεσθε σήμερον, Μοῖραι καὶ | Ἀνάγκη, τελέσατε τὰ γινόμενα | ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγωγῆς

ταύτης, ὅπως ἀξητέ | μοι τὴν δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα, ἐμοί, τῷ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα (κοινόν), | ὅτι ἐπικαλοῦμαι· Χάος ἀρχέγονον, | Ἔρεβος, φρικτὸν Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, | νάματα Λήθης Ἀχερουσίατε λί|μνη Ἄιδου, Ἐκάτη καὶ Πλουτεῦ | καὶ Κούρα, Ἑρμῆ χθόνιε, Μοῖραι | καὶ Ποιναί, Ἀχέρων τε καὶ Αἴακε, | πυλωρὲ κλείθρων τῶν αἰδίων | πυλωρὲ κλείθρων τῶν αἰδίων, | θᾶττον ἀνοιξον, κλειδοῦχέ τε Ἄνου|βι φύλαξ. ἀναπέμψατέ μοι τῶν νε|κύων τούτων εἶδωλα πρὸς ὑπη|ρεσίαν ἐν τῇ ἄρτι ὥρα ἀνυπερθέτως, | ἵνα πορευθέντες ἄξωσί μοι, τῷ δεῖνα, | τὴν δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα. κοινόν. ἢ Ἴσις ἔβη συνό|μενον ἀδελφὸν ἔχουσα ἐν ᾧ|μοις, Ζεὺς δὲ κατελθὼν ἀπ' Οὐλύμ|που ἔστηκε μένων τὰ εἶδωλα | τῶν νεκύων ὑπάγοντα πρὸς τὴν | δεῖνα καὶ ποιοῦντα τὸ δεῖνα πρᾶγμα. κοινόν. ἦλθον | πάντες θεοὶ ἀθάνατοι καὶ πᾶσαι | θεαὶ ἰδεῖν τὰ εἶδωλα τῶν νε|κύων τούτων. μὴ μέλλετε οὖν | μηδὲ βραδύνητε, ἀλλ' ἀποπέμπε|τε, θεοί, τὰ εἶδωλα τῶν νεκύων | τούτων, ὅπως ἀπελθόντα πρὸς | τὴν δεῖνα ποιήσωσι τὸ δεῖνα πρᾶγμα, κοινόν, | ὅτι ὑμᾶς ἐξορκίζω κατὰ τοῦ Ἰάω | καὶ τοῦ Σαβᾶωθ καὶ Ἀδωναί πα|τραξιλυτρα· βουρρεφαωμι ασ|σαλκη αἰδουναξ σεσενγεν (λόγος) | βαλιαβα ερεχχαρνοι· αβε|ριδουμα· σαλβαχθι εισερσε|ραθω· εισερδα ωμι σισιφνα· | σισαεδουβε· αχχαριτωνη | αβεριφνουβα ιαβαλ δενα|θι ἴθρουφι· ἀναπέμψατε τὰ εἶδω|λα τῶν νεκύων τῶνδε πρὸς τὴν δεῖνα | τῆς δεῖνα, ὅπως ποιήσωσιν τὸ δεῖνα πρᾶγμα.' κοινόν.

applied; baths; choliambic meter

2.3.36. Hermopolis, oval lead tablet, now Florence, BML inv. 14487, s. III/IV, *Suppl. Mag.* I 42; inscribed on both sides, lines 63-66 on the back

στυγνοῦ σκότους ἔδρασμα, χαρχαρό|στομα σκύλαξ, δρακοντέλιξε, τρικαρανοστρεφή, | κευθμωνοδίτα, μόλε, πνευματηλάτα, σὺν Ἑρινύσιν | πικραῖς μᾶστιξιν ἠγριωμέναις· δράκοντες ἱεροί, μεν|άδες, φρικτὲ κόραι, μόλετ' αἰς [ἐπα]οιδᾶς τὰς ἐμὰς θυμουμέ|νας· πρὶν ἢ με ἀνάγκη τοῦτον ἐκπέισαι ται ῥωπῇ ποίησον πυρσόπνευ|στον δαίμων(α)· ἄκουε καὶ πύησον ἅπαντα ἐν τάχι δρᾶσαι μηδὲν ἐναντι|ωθεῖς ἐμοί· ὑμῖς γὰρ ἐστὶ τῆς γαίης ἀρχηγέται. ἀλαλαχος ἀλληχ Ἄρμαχι|μενευς μαγιμενευς ἀθινεμβης ἀσταζαβαθος αρταζαβαθος ωκουμ | φλομ λογχαχιναχανα θου Αζαηλ καὶ Λυκαηλ καὶ Βελιαμ καὶ Βελενηα | καὶ σοχσοχαμ σομοχαν σοζοχαμ ουζαχαμ βαυζαχαμ ουεδδουχ· διὰ τούτου τοῦ ναικουδαίμονος φλέξον τὴν καρδίαν, τὸ ἦπαρ, τὸ πνεῦμα Γοργονία ἦν αἵταικεν Νιλογενία | ἐπ' ἔρωτι καὶ φιλίᾳ Σοφία ἦν αἵτεκεν Ἰσάρα· καταναγγάσεται Γοργονία ἦν αἵτεκεν Νιλογε|νία, βληθῆναι Σοφία ἦν αἵταικεν Ἰσάρα εἰς τὸ βαλανῖον, καὶ γενοῦ βαλάνισσα{ν}· καῦσον, ποίρω|σον, φλέξον τὴν ψυχὴν, τὴν καρδίαν, τὸ ἦπαρ, τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπ' ἔρωτι Σοφία ἦν αἵτεγεν Ἰσάρα· ἄξατε | Γοργονία ἦν αἵτεκεν Νιλογενία, ἄξατε αὐτήν, βασανίσατε αὐτῆς τὸ σῶμα νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμαίρας, δαμάσα|ται αὐτὴν ἐκπηδῆση ἐκ παντὸς τόπου καὶ πάσης οἰκίας φιλοῦσα(ν) Σοφία {η} ἦν αἵτεκεν Ἰσάρα, ἐκδότην αὐτὴν | ὡς δούλην ἑαυτὴν αὐτῇ παρέχουσα(ν) καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῆς [κ]τήματα πάντα, ὅτι τοῦτο θέλι καὶ ἐπιτάσσει ὁ μέγας | θεός, ἰαρτανα ουουσιω ιφενθανχωχαινοσεωχ αειπιουω ἰαρτανα ουουσιου ιφουενπευθαδει | αννουσεω αειπιουω. ἄναξ μάκαρ ἀθανάτων, Ταρτάρου σκῆπτρα λαβών, στυγνοῦς δὲ δεινῆς | φοβεραῖς καὶ βιαρπάγου Λήθης, σαὶ τ' ἐπικραὶ τρέμουσι Κερβέρε χῆται, σύ τ' Ἑρινύων μᾶστιγγος εὐψό|φους ῥήσις· τὰ Περσεφόνης λέκτρα σὰς φρένας τέρπεις, ὅταν ἐπ' εὐναῖς ταῖς ποθουμέναις | χοροῖς, εἶθ' ἄφθιτον Σάραπιν ὄν τρέμι κόσμος, ἴδε σε Ὅσιριν ἄσ{σ}τρον Ἑγύπτου γαίης· σὸς γὰρ διάκτωρ | ἐστὶν πᾶ{ι}σοφος καὶ πα(ί)ς, σὸς δ' ἐστὶν Ἄνουβις, εὐσεβῆς φθιτῶν κῆρυξ· δεῦρο ἐλθέ, τὰς ἐμὰς γνώμας | τέλει, ἐπί σαι κρυπτοῖς τοῖσδαι συνβόλοις κλήζω· αχαιφω θωθω αιη ιαη αι ια ηαι ηια ωθωθ ωφιαχα | εμεν βαρασθρομουαι μωνσυμφιρις τοφαμμιεαρθειαηαιμα σααωωεουασε ενβηρουβα αμεν ου[ρα-]|λις σωθαλις σωθη μου

ρακτραθασιμουρ αχωρ αραμε χρεϊμει μοιτβιψ θαβαψραβου θλιβαρφ[ιξ] | ζαμενηθ
 ζαταρατα κυφαρταννα αννε Ερεσχιγαλ επλανγαρι[βω]βωθιθοηαλιθαθθα
 διαδ[αξ] | σωθαρα σιερσειρ συμμυθα φρενωβαθα ωαη.. λειχοιρετακεστρεν
 ιωαξιαρνευ κορυνευκν[υορο] | αλις σωθεωθ δωδεκακιστη ακρουροβορε σωκ..ρουμε
 σουχιαρ ανοχ ανοχ βριττανδρα σκυλμ[.] | αχαλ βαθραηλ εμαβριμα χρημλα
 αοστραχιν. αμου σαληνασαι τατ χολας σωρσανγαρ μαδου[ρε] | βοασαραουλ
 σαρουχα σισισρω ζαχαρρω ιβιβι βαρβαλ σοβουχ ωσιρ ουwai Αζηλ
 αβαδαωτ[.] | ιωβαδαων βερβαισω χιω υ υ υ φθωβαλ λαμαχ χαμαρχωθ βασαρα
 βαθαραρ νεαιπεσχιωθ[.] | φορφορ ιυζζε υζε χυχ χυχ χυχ. καταναγγάσεται
 Γο(ρ)γονία ἦν ἄταικεν Νιλογενία βληθῆναι Σ[ο] | φία, ἦν αἴταικεν Ἰσάρα, εἰς τὸ
 βαλανῖον αὐτῆ· ναί, κύριε, βασιλεῦ χθονίων θεῶν, καῦσον, ποίρω[σον,] | φλέξον
 τὴν ψυχὴν, τὴν καρδίαν, τὸ ἥπαρ, τὸ πνεῦμα Γοργονία ἦν αἴτεκεν Νιλογενία ἐπ’
 ἔρωτι [καί] | φιλία Σοφία ἦν αἴτεκεν Ἰσάρα· ἄξατε αὐτὴν Γοργονία, βασανίσατε
 αὐτῆς τὸ σῶμα νυκτὸς καὶ | ἡμαίρα· δαμάσεται αὐτὴν ἐκπηδήσαι ἐκ παντὸς τόπου
 καὶ πάσης οἰκίας φιλοῦσα(ν) Σοφία ἦν αἴτε | κεν Ἰσάρα ἐκδότην Γοργονία ὡς δούλην
 ἐ[αυ]τῆ(ν) παρέχουσα(ν) καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῆς κτήματα πάντα· | ναί, κύριε, βα(σι)λεῦ
 χθονίων θεῶν, συντέλεσον τὰ ἐ[γγ]εγραμμένα τῷ πεδάλῳ τούτου, ὅτι ἐξορκίζω
 σαί | τὸν ὅλον κόσμον, ἀρχὴν μίαν, μεμερισμένον, Θωβαραβαν Σεμεσειλαμψ
 σασιβηλ σαραηφθω Ιαω ιεου | ια θυηοηω αειηιουω πανχουχι θασσουθο Σωθ Φρη
 ιπεχενβωρ Σεσενγεν Βαρφαραγγης ωλαμ βωρω | σεπανσασε θωβανσθω ιαφθω
 σου θουο. θιῶ μή μου παρακούσης τῆς δεήσεως, ἀλλὰ ποιήσον Γοργονία ἦν
 αἴται | κεν Νιλογενία κατανάγγασον αὐτὴν βληθῆναι Σοφία ἦν αἴτεκεν Ἰσάρα εἰς τὸ
 βαλανῖον αὐτῆ· καῦσον, πύρωσον, | φλέξον τὴν καρδίαν, τὸ ἥπαρ, τὸ πνεῦμα
 Γοργονία ἦν αἴτεκεν Νιλογενία ἐπ’ ἔρωτι καὶ φιλία Σοφία ἦν αἴτε | κεν Ἰσάρα, ἐπ’
 ἀγαθῷ· βολχοζη γονστι οφθη, καῦσον, πύρωσον τὴν ψυχὴν, τὴν καρδίαν, τὸ
 ἥπαρ, τὸ πνεῦμα | Γοργονία, ἦν ἔτεκεν Νιλογενία, ἐπ’ ἔρωτι καὶ φιλία Σοφία, ἦν
 αἴταικεν Ἰσάρα, ὅτι τοῦτο θέλει ὁ μέγας | θεός, αχχωρ αχχωρ αχχαχ πτουμι
 χαχχω χαραχωχ χαπτουμη χωραχαραχωρ απτουμι | μηχωχαπτου χαραχπτου
 χαχχω χαραχω στεναχωχευ καὶ σισισρω σισι φερμου Χμουωρ Ἀρουηρ | Αβρασαξ
 Φνουνοβοηλ οχλοβα ζαραχωα βαριχαμω ὄν καλοῦσιν βαχαμ κηβκ.
 καταναγγάσεται Γορ | γονία ἦν αἴταικεν Νιλογενία βληθῆναι Σοφία ἦν ἔτεκεν
 Ἰσάρα εἰς τὸ βαλανῖον αὐτῆ, φιλησε αὐτὴν φίλτρον, | πόθον, ἔρωτι ἀκαταπαύστῳ.
 θηνωρθσι θηνωρ Μαρμαραωθ κρατεοχει ραδαρδαρα ξιω χιω χιωχα | σισεμβρηχ
 ηχβερηχ χαχ ψεμψοι οψ εμφρη χαλαχ ηρερε τωρχειραμψ μωψ μαλαχηρμαλα |
 χιβηρθυλιθα χαραβρα θωβωθ· καῦσον, ποίρωσον τὴν ψυχὴν, τὴν καρδίαν, τὸ
 ἥπαρ, τὸ πνεῦ | μα Γοργονία, ἦν αἴτεγεν Νιλογενία, ἐπ’ ἔρωτι καὶ φιλία Σοφία ἦν
 αἴταικεν Ἰσάρα (...) φίλτρον, πόθον, .. | ἔρωτι· ηνωρ θηνωρ Αβρασαξ Μιθρα πευχρη
 Φρη Αρσενοφρη αβარი μαμαρεμβω Ιαω Ιαβωθ· | ἔξαν, Ἦλιε μελιοῦχε μελικέτωρ
 μελιγενέστωρ κμη μ Αβλαναθαναλβα Ακραμμα | χαμμαρι Σεσενγεν Βαρφαραγγης,
 ἄξον Γοργονία ἦν αἴτεκεν Νιλογενία ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔ | ρωτος Σοφία ἦν αἴτεκεν Ἰσάρα·
 καῦσον, ποίρωσον τὴν ψυχὴν, τὴν καρδί[αν,] | τὸ ἥπαρ, τὸ πνεῦμα, καομένη,
 πυρουμένη, βασανιζομένη Γοργονία | ἦν αἴτεγεν Νιλογενία, ἕως ἂν βληθῆναι
 Σοφία ἦν αἴτεκεν Ἰσά[ρα,] | ις τὸ βαλανῖον, καὶ κενοῦ βαλάνισσα {ν}. | στυγνοῦ
 σκότους ἔδρασμα, χαρχαρόστομα σκύλαξ, δρακο[ν] | τέλιξε, τρικαρανοστρεφῆ,
 κευθμωνοδίτα, μόλε, πνεῦμα | τηλάδα, σὺν Ἐρινύσιν πικραῖς μαστηξιν ἡγριωμαίναις·
 [δρά] | κο {κο} ντες ἱεροί, μανάδες.

invocation to Σελήνη; attributed to a Claudianus, introduction claims discovery of a book
 in the temple of Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία at Aphroditopolis (Pathyris, modern Gebelein south
 of Thebes)

2.3.37. London, BL P.Lond. inv. 121, coll. xxv-xxvi (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.862-918)
Κλαυδιανου̅ σεληνιακόν και ούρανοῦ και ἄρκτου τε | <λετή> ἐπὶ σεληνιακῶν. ἡ βίβλος
ἦδ' αὐτή, <δ>ώδεκα ἰ|δία θεῶν, ἠυρέθη ἐν Ἀφροδιτοπόλει <παρα> τῆ θεᾶ μεγίστη |
Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανια, [ἦ]τις τὰ πάντα περιέχει. ἔστιν δὲ | ἡ κατασκευὴ τῆς κ[υ]ρίας
Σελήνης οὕτω γινομένη· λαβῶν | πηλὸν ἀπὸ τροχοῦ [κ]εραμικοῦ μίξον μίγματος |
τοῦ θείου και πρόσβαλε αἰγὸς ποικίλης αἷμα και πλάσον | κυρίαν Σελήνην
Αἰγυπτίαν, ὡς ὑπόκειται, σχηματιζο|μένην παντόμορφον, και ποιήσον ναὸν
ἐλάινον, | και πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον μὴ θεωρησάτω τὸ σύνολον. | και τελέσας αὐτὴν τῆ
κατὰ πάντων τελετῆ <ἀπόθου>, | και ἔσται προτετελεσμένη. χρίση δὲ αὐτὴν και τῶ
| σεληνιακῶ χρίσματι και στεφανώσεις και ὄψέ, | ὥρα ε' νυκτός, ἀπόθ[ο]υ αὐτὴν
πρὸς σελήνην ἐν [οἴκ]ω καθαρῶ. | ἐπίθυσθε δὲ και τὸ σεληνιακὸν ἐπίθυσμα, και διώκων
| τὸ ὑποκείμενον ἐξῆς ὄνειροπομπήσεις, κατα|δήσεις· ποιεῖ γὰρ μεγάλως πρὸς
Σελήνην <ἦ> κλησις. προχρισά|μενος δὲ <μετὰ> τοῦ χρίσματος ἐντεύξῃ. και <ἔστιν> ὁ
λόγος σεληνιακός· | 'ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε, δέσποινα τοῦ σύνπαντος κόσμου, |
καθηγουμέν(η) συστήμα(τ)ος τοῦ σύμπαντος, θεὰ μεγαλοδύναμη, | [δαίμ]ων
ἰλαρῶπι, νυχία, ἠροδία, φεροφορη αναθρα |...ουθρα ἐξ(ακ)ούσ[α]σα τὰ ἱερά σου
σύμβολα δὸς ροῖζον | [και] δὸς ἱερὸν ἄγγελον ἠ παρέδρον ὄσιον διακονή| [σου]τα
τῆ σήμερο[ν ν]υκτί, ἐν τῆ ἄρτι ὥρα προκυνη | Βαυβῶ φοβειος μηε, και κέλευσον
ἀγγέλῳ ἀπελθεῖν | πρὸς τὴν δεῖνα, ἄξει αὐτὴν τῶν τριχῶν, τῶν π[ο]δῶν· |
φοβουμένη, φανταζομένη, ἀγρυπνοῦσα ἐπὶ τῶ ἔρωτί μου | και τῆ ἐμοῦ φιλία, τοῦ
δεῖνα, ἠκοι σηκῶ.' ὠδε ἠ ῶδη ἔστιν. ὅταν | δὲ ἴδῃς τὴν θεᾶν πυρρὰν γινομένην,
γίνωσκε, ὅτι ἄγει ἠδη, | και τότε λέγε· 'δέσποτι, ἐκπεμψον ἄγγελόν σου ἐκ τῶν |
παρεδρευόντων σο[ι], καθηγουμένον τῆς νυκτός, ὄ[τι] ἐξορκίζω <σε> τοῖς μεγάλοις
ὀνόμασιν | σου, ἂ οὐ δύνα(ται) σοι παρακοῦσαι οὔτε ἀέριος οὔτε ὑπόγειος |
μεσουρφαβαβορ: βραλ ἰηω: Ἰσι η: πρόσ|ελθέ μοι, καθῶς ἐπικέκλημαί σε· | Ὁρθῶ
Βαυβῶ νοηρε· κοδηρε σοιρε σοιρε | Ἐρεσχιγάλ: σανκιστη δωδεκακιστη
ἀκρουρο|βόρε: κοδηρε: σαμψει: ἄκουσόν μου τῶν | λόγων και ἐκπεμψόν σου τὸν
ἄγγελον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς α' ὥρας | διατάσσοντα, Μενεβαιν, και τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς β' ὥρας, |
Νεβουν, και τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γ' ὥρας, Λημναι, και τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς δ' ὥρας | Μορμοθ, και τὸν
ἐπὶ τῆς ε' ὥρας, Νουφιηρ, και τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ς' ὥρας, | Χορβορβαθ, και τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ζ'
ὥρας, Ὁρβεηθ, | και τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς η' ὥρας, Πανμωθ, και τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς θ' ὥρας, |
Θυμενφρι, και τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἰ' ὥρας, Σαρνοχοι[β]αλ, | και τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ια' ὥρας,
Βαθιαβηλ, και τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ιβ' ὥρας, | Ἀβραθιαβρι, ἴνα μοι ποιήσης τόδε· ἄξις,
[δ]αμάσης | Ἀβραθιαβρι, ἴνα μοι ποιήσης τόδε· ἄξις, [δ]αμάσης |
ἐν τῆ σήμερον ἡμέρα, ἐν τῆ σήμερον νυκτί, και | μὴ δυνηθῆ ἠ δεῖνα ἠ ὁ δεῖνα
ἐπιτυχεῖν, ἔως ἐλθοῦσα | πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸν δεῖνα, <διαμείνη> πληροφοροῦσα, ἀγαπῶσα,
στέργουσα | ἐμέ, τὸν δεῖνα, και μὴ δυνασθῆ ἄλλῳ ἀνδρὶ συνμιγῆναι, | εἰ μὴ ἐμοὶ
μόνῳ.' πολλάκις δὲ δίωκε τὸν λόγον, και ἄξει | και καταδεσμεύσει, και ἐρασθήσεται
σου εἰς τὸν τῆς ζωῆς | χρόνον. ὅταν δὲ ἄξις και συγγένηταί σοι, τότε ἄρας |
ἀπόθου τὴν θεᾶν, οὐσίαν αὐτῆ δούς, και ἠλίῳ μὴ δείξης, | και οὐ καταπαύσεται
ἐρχομένη, ἐρῶσα. ἐπὶ δὲ ὄνειρο|πομποῦ ὡσαύτως ποιήσεις, ἔως οὗ ἀπαρτίσης, | ἂ
βούλη. ἔστιν δὲ ἰσχυρὰ ἠ δύναμις. ὑπόκειται τὸ ζῶδιον.

exorcism, burning, lip to lip, hair to hair, belly to belly, black to black image; names the
nekydaimon invoked; drawing of Seth and logoi (ed.'s A-D), then inscription (E)

2.3.38. unknown provenance, lead tablet, now Duke, Perkins Library, P.Duke inv. 230, s.
IV, ed. D.R. Jordan *GRBS* 40 (1999) 159-170 [*SEG XLIX* 2382], cf. Jordan 2000 no. 94
[c. 4] λλοθουκ [c. 4] | ημα[] ρθ[] ουμι [c. 4] | [] αθελεθυμωννεμαρ | Ιαω [c. 3] ησι [] |
Ιω Ιω α [c. 3-4] ... [] | αειηουοιη (vac.) α (vac.) | ἐξορκίζω σοι | δαίμων κατὰ | τοῦ
μεγάλου | θεοῦ Ἐρηκιση | φθη Αραρα | χαραρα Ηι | φθησικηρ | [ε.] φερσογε | [] ν Ιωη

Ιω|ερβηθ Ιω|πακερ|βηθ Ιωβολχοσηθ Ιωψενχαν Καϊ|γχωωχ· Κλωπάτριν
 Πατρακίνου, | ἄξον {τε} τὴν Τερηου(ν) ἦν ἔτεκεν Απια | πρὸς ἐμαί, Δίδυμων ὧν
 ἔτεκεν Ταιπιαμ, | πυρουμένην, φλεγόμενη(ν), βασανιζόμενη(ν) | τὴν ψυχὴν, τὸν
 νοῦν, τὸ γύναιον σῶμα, | ἕως ἔλθη πρὸς ἐμαί, Δίδυμων (ὧν ἔτεκεν) Τεπιαμ, | καὶ
 κολλήση αὐτῆς [τ]ὰ χίλη εἰς τὰ χίλη | μου, τὴν τρίχαν εἰς τὴν τρίχαν μου, τὴν
 γαστέραν εἰς τὴν γαστέραν μου, τὸ μελάνιον | εἰς τὸ μελάνιον μου, ἕως τελέσω
 τὴν συνουσία(ν) | μου καὶ τὴν ἀρσενικὴν μου φύσιν μετὰ τῆς γυν|αικίας αὐτῆς
 φύσεως· ἤδη ταχὺ β'.

an aggressive, probably erotic, incantation the bulk of which is a narrative and aretology of the sun with strong Egyptian influence (the user claims to know the god's various animal forms and place of residence in Egypt), request for torment of a female target (ἔκρηξον κ(αί) ἔξαιμον ποιήσον τὴν δ(εῖνα) δ(εῖνος), 38-39); threat to disturb the burial of Osiris (29-37)

2.3.39. Oxyrhynchus, now Oxford, P.Oxy. inv. 20 3B.35/C(1)a, s. I, P.Oxy. LXV 4468, recto col. 1 1-col. ii 5

] | [c. 30]ς ἄλκι[μος --] | [.]... [c. 25]μβρίου Διός· [--] | τοὺς ὀφθαλμ[οὺς c. 17]σας
 τοὺς ὀφθαλ[μοὺς] | καὶ σκότος [ἐγένετο τοῖς] εἰδῶλοις πᾶσι, ταῖς μορφαῖς πάσαις, |
 τοῖς χρώμασι π[ᾶσι c. 6] σου πάσηι ἤκέ μοι β', σπεῦσον β', | ταχὺ β' [.] [.] [c. 6
 ἐξ]αιμάτ[ι]σον τὴν δ(εῖνα) δ(εῖνος) ἐν τῇ σήμερον | ἡμ[έ]ρα [c. 12] οἶδά σου τὰ
 ὀνόματά κ(αί) τὴν πορὴ | αν σου ἐν τῶι [οὐραν]ῶι, οἶδά σου καὶ τὰς μορφάς. ἔχεις
 μορφήν | [ἐ]ν [το]ῖς τετράποσιν ζώοις ἢ ἔστιν τράγος, ἢ μορφή σου ἐν τοῖς | [ἰ]εροῖς
 ζώοις ὀρνέοις \η/ φοῖνιξ, ἢ μορφή σου ἐν τῶι ποταμῶι | ἀλάβης ὁ μέλας, ἢ μορφή
 σου ἐν τῶ ὄρει λέων, ἢ μορφή σου | [ἐ]ν τῇ γῆι κύνθαρ, ἢ μορφή σου ἐν τοῖς
 δένδροισι καρδάμων | ἄγιον. ἢ πόλις] σου Ἡλιούπολις ἔστιν. κυνοκέφαλος ὄνομά
 | σ[ο]ι αἰών, ἢ μορφή σου ἐν τοῖς τετράποσιν ταῦρος, ἐν τοῖς | ἔρπετοῖς ὄνομά σοι
 [ὄ]φις, ἢ βοτάνη σου ἄνηθον. τὸ ἐξ σοῦ ἐπι|φανὲς ὄνομα [c. 5]ρω σου ἐν τῶι
 οὐρανῶι Ὀλυμπος | [c. 12] ὄνομά σοι ὁ ἐπιφαίνων Ὀλύμπιος, ἐν τῶ | [c. 8] [c. 6
 δ]υσμαῖς οἱ ζῶ[ντες] κ(αί) ἀφανιζόμενοι | . α. [c. 17] πάντα κ[(αί) τὰ] δένδρη πάντα
 κ(αί) τὰ | [ἄ]πτερα [πάντα κ(αί) οἱ ὀδοιποροῦ]ντες πάντες κ(αί) οἱ ὑπο| [.] νοντες
 ἐν τῶι ὑγρ[ῶι]. ἐξοῦ τὸ ζῆν ἔχομε[ν]. ἀνοίξας | [τοῦ]ς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπ[.]ας τὸ φῶς
 πάσηι μορφῇι ἐξ οὗ ζῆι. | [ἐ]ὰν φανῆς, ἰλαροὶ γίν[ο]νται πάντες. ἐὰν δύνῃς, θάνατος
 | γίνεται κ(αί) σκότος γίνεται. τῶν ἀγαθῶ \ν/ σου πάντες. ὄνομά σοι | ἥλιος,
 νήπιος, ἄγιος, τ[ι]τάνηος, ἄλκιμος, μέγιστος, ὁ ἐπι|φανεὶς ἐκ τοῦ ὀμβρίου Διός. ἤκέ
 μοι κ(αί) ἐπάκουσόν μου | ἰλαρὸς ὧν κ(αί) ἐπακουσάτωσάν μοι οἱ θεοὶ κ(αί) αἱ θεαί· |
 ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρα ἔκρηξον κ(αί) ἔξαιμον ποιήσον | τὴν δ(εῖνα) δ(εῖνος). ἐὰν δὲ μὴ
 ποιήσητε, πορεύσομαι εἰς Φάγρων πόλιν | κ(αί) εἰς Αβωνβον κ(αί) εἰς Ἡλιούπολιν
 κ(αί) στρέψω τὰ ὀσῶ τοῦ | ἀγίου φοίνικος μεγίστου κ(αί) ἐπιχεῶ ἔλαιον ἀληθινόν
 | καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὸ(ν) ἀλη[θιν]ὸν σμάραγδον | οὗ ἔστιν σου ὁ τάφος καὶ
 ἀνύξω το [c. 9]ρον οὗ κεῖται | ὁ μέγιστος Ὀσειρις ἐν τῶι ἀπλάτω [c. 7]αι
 διακινεῖνται | ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ οἷ [c. 5]... σ [c. 9]νηται οὗ οἱ | τέσσαρες
 κυνοκέφ[αλοι c. 15] οὔντες | αὐτὸν κ(αί) ἐξαφ[.] [c. 20] κ(αί) γένηται | εἶδωλα [--] |
 νωνται[--] | ἐν τῇ σ[.] [--] | ἡμέρα[--]

9 ἢ *conieci* : ed. pr., in comment. dub ὄ

target to be placed at the feet of the user (cf. P.Stras. inv. 1167); use of metronym, an *agoge*, for use by either woman or man (indeed perhaps primarily intended for use by women)

2.3.40. copied from a manuscript in use on contemporary Cyprus in Belephontes 1978, part 2, p. 85

για να ἔλθῃ αὐτὸς ὅπου ἀγαπᾷς. λὲς τὰ κάτωθι. ‘καχταχτηλ νεχταχτηλ
λεχταχτηλ μεχταχτηλ φεχταχτηλ σεχταχτηλ. νὰ τὸν συκώσετε τὸν τάδε υἱὸν τῆς
τάδε,’ ἂν εἶναι γυναῖκα, θὰ πῆς ‘τὴν τάδε κόρην τῆς τάδε, νὰ τὸν φέρετε ἕς τὰ πόδιά
μου κλαίγοντας σὲ μένα τὴν τάδε ἢ τὸν τάδε.’

formula added in the blank space at the end of a miscellany. Numerous signs of direct translation from Greek (Herren sees the reverse, as a composer drawing intentionally on Latin-Greek glossaries and other lexical sources: 1987, 39-41); Dronke correctly asserts identity as erotic, after Herren had called it a “prayer ... intended for the purification of the suppliant’s beloved” (ibid. 26). On the manuscript, see W.M. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae* (Cambridge 1915), 459; id., *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 1 (1896), 361; id., *Early Welsh Script* (Oxford 1912), 22-26; ed. pr. V.H. Friedel, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 2 (1899), 64-72. Dronke reads *exscrutentur* from *exscrutare* (*exscrutari*), on which see *TLL* s.v., but the sense seems less than satisfactory to me; it is one thing to ask the various divinities to ‘search out’ the target, but to repeat this for each member of her body confers little additional benefit, in contrast to adding specificity in the torment called down upon her; this also follows less abruptly after the opening figure of the descent of *amor* upon the target, as the intended effect. *Euacuo* could be translating ἐκκενώω, ἐρημόω? It is probably to be read as ‘empty out’ in the sense of the removal of thought of/affection for anyone else besides the user, as in the Greek cases (‘may she forget all kin’ etc.), not Dronke’s ‘take away.’ According to Dronke 1988, who persuasively disassociates it from the *loricae* and connects it with Graeco-Roman erotic magic, it is intended for “rhythmic chant.”

2.3.41. Leiden, UB cod. VLQ 2 (s. IX-X, Welsh), f. 60r, from digital facsimile; cf. Herren 1987, 90-93; Dronke 1988

‘domine exaudi’ usque in finem. ‘descendat meus amor super illam, excrucientur omnia membra illius pro amore meo, excrucientur omnia membra illius pro amore meo, a uertice capitis usque ad plantas pedum, capillos cutem uerticem frontem tergum cerebrum oculos palpebras nares genas aures labia dentes gingiuas facies linguam oraculum atque sublinguam, maxillas gutturem atque canalem, digitos linguas pectusculum humerum saliuam ceruicem scapulas brachia ungulas manus pugnos pugillos palmas cor iecur pulmones stomachum hepar chidripem intestina et omnem uentrem, dorsum latera cutis umbilicum et omnem uulgam compaginem, artus uenas carnes exitus cibi medullas intestinas uentris neruos uires et uirilites, posteriora ungues adipēs pernas femorum genua tibias orula suras et crura, pedes calcanea phalangas digitos unguulas sanguinem et omnia membra illius. euacuat deus cor N pro amore meo N. adiuro uos omnes archangeli pro ut euacuatis cor illius pro amore meo. euacuat Gabriel cor N pro amore. euacuat Michael cor N pro amore. euacuat Raphael, euacuat Uriel, euacuat Sariel, euacuat Panahiel. adiuro uos angeli archangeli patriarchae confessores apostolos martyres ut euacuatis cor N pro amore meo. adiuro uos throni dominationis cherubin et seraphin ut euacuatis cor N pro amore meo. adiuro uos martyres ut euacuatis cor N pro amore. adiuro uos omnes uirgines et uiduae, adiuro uos sancti, adiuro uos omnes uirtutes caelestes ut euacuatis cor N. adiuro uos caelum et terram et solem et lunam et omnes stellas, fulgura et nubes et uentos et pluuias et ignis et calorem ut euacuatis cor N pro amore. adiuro uos noctes et dies, tenebrae et luna ut euacuatis, adiuro uos ligna omnia et lapides et onera et momenta ut euacuatis cor N pro amore meo. adiuro uos uolucres caeli et omnes bestiae agri et iumenta et reptilia ut euacuatis cor N pro amore meo. adiuro uos pisces maris et omnes uermes terrae et omnes uirtutes et potestates quae super caelum et terram, sub caelo

et terra et sub mare sunt ut euacuatis cor N pro amore. adiuro uos Petri et Pauli reliquias et omnium sanctorum ut euacuatis cor N pro amore meo. adiuro uos Matthaues Marcus Lucas et Iohannes ut euacuatis cor N pro amore meo.’

$\bar{\Gamma}$ i.e. Ps. 101 in toto, Dronke | descendat cod. | excrucientur conieci : eascrutentur cod. (et passim) || 3 crebrum cod. || 4 gignas cod. | oraculum as dim. of ora (<os) ? cf. στομάτιον : i.q. ‘voice’ Dronke, cf. Novum Glossarium, but from the rest of the list we expect a concrete physical member, not a product thereof || 5 sublinguam cf. ὑπογλωσσίς | guttorem cod. | canalem conieci : anelam cod., Dronke (‘breath’ as if anhelum?) | linguas cod. : inguinas coni. Herren in comm. || 6 scabulos cod. | pugillis cod. | iacor cod. || 7 pulmonei cod. | hepar i.e. ἥπαρ : effare cod. | chidripem intesquina cod., from χύτρα? womb, bladder? or χέδροπα / χέδροψ ? : chidripem in {t}esquina Herren, ‘probably a latinization of ὕδρωψ, -ωπος, in the sense of “watery discharge”’ in comment. || 8 umbiculum cod. | cibos cod. : ciborum Herren || 9 uirilies cod. | unges cod. || 10 genuas cod. | surras cod. | cruras cod. | calcanea conieci : calcina cod. | phalanges conieci (i.q. ‘bones’ cf. φάλαγξ) : palantas cod. | sanguinem cod. || 12 pro <amore meo> ut Dronke | cor N pro a. cod. || 13 mihael cod. | amo. cod. | raphiel cod. || 15 chiruphin cod. || 18 (et) et omnes \s/tellas cod. | fulgora cod. || 19, 20 euacū cod. || 20 lumen coni. Herren | onera conieci : onore cod. : ore Dronke (l. horae) || 21 uacū cod. || 24, 25 euac cod. | cor pro cod. || 25 et reliquias omnium cod.

formulary

2.3.42. Zurich, SB cod. C 58/275 (s. XII), ff. 92r-94r, ed. Wackernagel 1876, 287-288

1. ‘in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. deus Abraham, deus Isaac, deus Iacob, deus qui de costa primi hominis Euam coniugem creasti, eam sibi in adiutorium instituisti ut essent cor unum et anima una et isti duo in car|ne una, ita ut homo relinqueret patrem et matrem et adhaereret uxori suae uerissime, deus qui praecepisti me de sancta trinitate, deus uerax et ipsa ueritas, adiuro te per nomina tua sancta quae sunt ineffabilia nomina alpha et ω tetragrammaton agla salech Iesus on, sicut a tribus pueris flammam ignis remouens extinxisti, Sidrac Misaac et Abdenago, iram rixam discordiam inter me et maritum meum N extinguere | facias, nos concordem reddas et in amore meo illum consistere usque in finem uitae meae concedas, ut nec uir nec mulier mihi in amore suo noceat sed potius me solam diligat et uera dilectione teneat. quanta fuit inter Adam et Euam et inter Abraham et Saram et inter Ioseph et sanctam Mariam, nunc amorem concedat deus N marito meo, amen.

2. ‘tu qui es alpha et ω, coniurationem facio per magos Caspar Melchior Bal|thasar, Leuiatan protine et crinite, Sidrac Misaac Abdenago, Christus on elyon tetragrammaton elely emmanuel abra abraa abraham abracala abrachalaus ua ua ha sara saza ziuetelet, uos creaturas dei coniuro per deum uiuum, per deum uerum, per deum sanctum, coniuro uos per sanctam Mariam matrem domini, coniuro uos per sanctum Michaellem et per omnes angelos et archangelos dei, coniuro uos per sanctum Io|hannem baptistam et per omnes patriarchas et prophetas dei, coniuro uos per sanctum Petrum et per omnes sanctos apostolos dei, coniuro uos per sanctum Stephanum et per omnes martyres dei, coniuro uos per sanctum Siluestrum et per omnes confessores dei, coniuro uos per sanctam Agnem et per omnes uirgines dei ut feriat et incendatis cor et mentem N in amorem meum.’

prayer inscribed on parchment [later bound in paper codex of s. XV, a digest of auctoritates from Aristotle]; with magical words; direct address to, ‘conjuring of’ the target husband to ‘do all my will’; also reference to the hart at the waters, as in the Greek material; a wife seeking to mend her marriage, so far consistent with Faraone’s ἔρωσ /

φιλία typology, but yet she also asks that he ‘lust for’ her and ‘be all aflame in love for her’ (*concupiscat et in meo amore totus ardeat*); ed. suggests the Elizabeth of the artifact is the daughter (d. 1361) of King Casimir the Great.

2.3.43. Kazimierz, Biblioteki Jagiellonskiej cod. 655 frag. (s. XIV), ed. Zathey 1984-1985, 63-64

‘deus in nomine tuo, amen. domine deus patrum nostrorum, deus Abraham deus Ysaac deus Iacob, deus qui de costa primi hominis [A]dae Euam formasti et sibi in adiutorium constituisti, ut essent unum cor una anima et duo in carne una, domine Iesu qui praecepisti mihi ut cre[de]rem in sanctam trinitatem, patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, unum deum omnipotentem, deprecor te domine mi Iesu Christe [qui] de tua gratia praecepisti ut homo rel[inqu]eret patrem et matrem et adhaereret uxori suae uerissime, fac, quaeso, domine mi Iesu Christe, inter me Elizabeth et coniugem meum Theoderic[um] caritatem constantiam et sincerem dilectionem. o sancta trinitas, te deprecor per nomen sanctum tuum ineffabile alpha et o[mega] ut sicut tribus pueris Sydr[ach] Mysach et Abdenago mitigasti flammam ignium, sic omnem iram rixam odium et discordiam inter me Elizabeth et coniugem meum Theod[ericum] extinguere digneris, ut nec uir nec mulier nec diabolus aut ulla creatura et pars insidiantis inimici mihi Eliza[beth] in amo[re coniu]gis mei nocere ualeat sed me absentem siue praesentem super omnes mulieres diligat et concupiscat et in meo amore totus ardeat. ille amor [sit] inter me et coniugem meum Theodericum sicut fuerit amor in[ter] Adam et Euam, inter Abraham et Saram, inter Mariam et Iohannem, inter Christum et ecclesiam. et hunc a[morem] fac quaeso domine mi Iesu Christe, inter me Elizabeth et coniugem meum Theodericum. coniuro te Theoderice per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum et sanctam Mariam matrem domini nostri Iesu Christi et cuncta sidera quae caeli continent foedera, inter haec nomina domini nostri Iesu [Ch]risti summi atque aeterni dei, ely eloy eloe yosdy sabaoth adonay tetragrammaton saday messyas sother emanuel panthon pancraton adon agla nepheton crathon Iesus Christus [I]esus Nazarenus principium finis uita alpha et o[mega] agios orthas yskyros athanatos thebeos phyeton arethon melchar stramchon dominus deus pater et filius et spiritus sanctus. ut sicuti cer[uu]s desiderat uenire a[d] fontes aquarum ita tu Theoderice desideras uenire ad me Elizabeth ad faciendam omnem meam uoluntatem. ueni cum humilitate Christi, cum sanctitate Mariae, cum castitate Iohannis, cum armis {Iob} Iacob, cum fiducia Petri, cum constantia Pauli, cum dilectione Abrahae, cum mansuetu[dine] Isaac, cum pietate Iacob, cum lege Moysi, cum fortitudine Dauid, cum sapientia Salomonis, cum adiutorio domini nostri Iesu Christi qui uiui[t] et re[g]nat deus per omnia saecula saeculorum, amen. scripta sunt uerba praecedentia Elizabeth et Theoderici coniugis eius.

22 uita *conieci* : uitis *ed.*

instructions for amulet for erotic purposes, incantation with erotic curse, attribution to Ἡλιόδωρος παπᾶς

2.3.44. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 361r and Vienna, ÖNB cod. phil. gr. 108 f. 365v, ed. Delatte 1927, 607

‘εὐ εὐια καθιβία Διόνυσε ὑπάγετε ἐγρίγορα ὑπάγετε εἰς τὴν δεῖνα, ἀπὸ τριχῶν τὴν ἐπάρετε καὶ κατάκαυσον ἀμεττεικερε ἵνα κράζη ἐσεῖς ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ἐγὼ μὲ τὴν δούλην σου. κατάκαυσον τὴν καρδίαν τῆς διὰ τὸν δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος τὸν υἱόν. ἐὰν τρώγη, νὰ τὸ ρίξη, ἐὰν πῖη, νὰ τὸ χύση, ἐὰν στέκη εἰς ὁδόν, νὰ τρέχη νὰ ἔρχηται.’ Ἡλιοδώρου παπᾶ δόκιμον, νὰ γένωνται ἐν ὥρᾳ Ἀφροδίτης μετὰ κινάβάρως καὶ ῥοδοστάγματος.

2 κατάκουσον *conieci* : κατα...σοπ *Delatte* | έσεῖς *conieci* : ο.σησ... *Delatte*, cf. έσύσεοκ(ύριο)ς as his reading of the Vienna cod.

instructions for amulet for erotic purposes, incantation with invocation of Aphrodite, erotic curse

2.3.45. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 361r and Vienna, ÖNB cod. phil. gr. 108 f. 365v, ed. *Delatte* 1927, 607

‘χρυσότρεπτέ μου Ἀφροδίτη, πρῶτόν σε προσκυνῶ, δεύτερόν σε ἰκετεύω, τρίτον σε παρακαλῶ. ὕπαγε, ἐγρίγορα ὕπαγε, ὕπαγε εἰς τὴν δεῖνα, κατάκουσον τὴν καρδίαν τῆς διὰ τὸν δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος τὸν υἱόν,’ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τὰ λόγια τῆς πράξης, ‘ἐὰν τρώγη, ἐὰν πίνη, ἐὰν στέκη, νὰ τὴν κινήσῃ τὴν δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνος ἔς τὸν δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος τὸν υἱόν. κατάκουσον τὴν καρδίαν τῆς δεῖνος.’

2.3.46. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX), ff. 65v-66v, ed. *Papathomopoulos* 2006, 67

ἕτερον περὶ ἀγάπης. παίρνεις ἑπτὰ λογιῶν μετὰξι, μίαν κλωστήν ἀπὸ κάθε καλόρου, ὅποιοιδήποτε χρώματος ἐκτὸς | μαύρης θεωρίας, ὅταν ἡ σελήνη εἶναι εἰς τὸ περίσσευμα. ὅταν ἔβγη τὸ πρῶτον ἄστρον, θεωρεῖς τὸ ἄστρον καὶ λέγεις ταῦτα τὰ λόγια ‘ὀρκίζω σας κατὰ τοῦ διαβόλου, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῆς κολάσεως, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἡγουμένων τῶν μεγάλων καὶ κατὰ τοῦ δράκοντος τοῦ ἑπτακεφάλου καὶ κατὰ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀρχόντων τῆς κολάσεως σας ἀσταρωθ βατραχον ἀσμελεκ ἀσμοδαρ, ὅτι ἐσεῖς νὰ ὑπάγετε εἰς τὴν δεῖνα, τὴν κόρην τῆς δεῖνα, νὰ τῆς βάλετε ἑπτὰ δαιμόνια ἐρωτικά εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τῆς καὶ ἑπτὰ εἰς τὸν νοῦν τῆς νὰ τῆς σηκώσουν τὸν νοῦν τῆς καὶ τὸν λογισμόν τῆς, διὰ νὰ ἀγαπήσῃ | ἐμένα. καὶ ἑπτὰ εἰς τὴν ἐνθύμησίν τῆς νὰ ἐνθυμᾶται ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ἀκαταπαύστως ἐμένα. νὰ μὴν ἔχη ἐνθύμησιν οὔτε πατρός οὔτε μητρός οὔτε ἀδελφῶν οὔτε παιδίων οὔτε κανενὸς εἰς τοῦτον τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλὰ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα νὰ εἶναι ὁ νοῦς τῆς εἰς ἐμένα. τόσον νὰ μὲ ἀγαπήσῃ ὅπου νὰ μὴν ἡμπορῇ οὔτε νὰ φάγη οὔτε νὰ πῆ οὔτε νὰ κοιμηθῇ ἕως νὰ κάμω τὸ θέλημά μου καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν μου. νὰ τῆς βάλετε ἑπτὰ δαιμόνια τῆς πορνείας εἰς τὴν φύσιν τῆς, νὰ φωνάζη καὶ νὰ ἐπιθυμᾷ ἐμένα τὸν δεῖνα τὸν υἱὸν τῆς δεῖνα. ἐδῶ νὰ δέσετε τὸν νοῦν τῆς καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην τῆς, ἀμήν.’ τρεῖς φορές.

tying knots; order to higher power to send and place demons inside of the target

2.3.47. Athens, Hist. Soc. cod. 115 (s. XVIII), f. 14r-v, ed. *Delatte* 1927, 16-17

ἑτέρα ἐρμηνεία περὶ ἀγάπης ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν. ὅταν βασιλεύσῃ ὁ ἥλιος, τὸ πρῶτον ἄστρον ὅπου φανῇ ἐκείνην τὴν ὥραν νὰ σταθῆς ἀντικρὺ του καὶ νὰ λάβῃς τριῶν λογιῶν μετὰξι, κόκκινον μαῦρον καὶ πράσινον, καὶ νὰ τὰ ἀνακατώσῃς ἕνα μὲ τᾶλλο. ἔπειτα νὰ τὰ στρίψῃς νὰ τὰ κάμῃς ἕνα. ἔπειτα ἄρχισε τὸν κάτωθεν ὀρκισμόν καὶ δέσε ἕναν κόμπον, ἔπειτα ἄρχισέ τον. καὶ πάλε δέσε τὴν βραδυάν. ἑπτὰ βολές νὰ τὸ λέγῃς καὶ ἑπτὰ κόμπους νὰ δέσῃς ἕως τρεῖς βραδυές. καὶ ὅταν πρῶτον ἴδῃς τὸ ἄστρον, νὰ τὸ περικαλέσῃς καὶ νὰ τοῦ εἴπῃς· ‘περικαλῶ σε ὦ ἄστρον, παραδίδω με εἰς ἐσένα ἵνα ποιήσῃς τὸ ζήτημά μου.’ νὰ τὸ εἴπῃς τρεῖς βολές τὸ ‘περικαλῶ σε ὦ ἄστρον,’ εἶτα ὀρκίζε τὸν ὀρκισμόν. καὶ ὅταν πῆς τὸν ὀρκισμόν, τὸ φῶς σου καὶ ὁ νοῦς σου νὰ μὴν ἦναι ἀλλοῦ, ἀλλὰ μόνον εἰς τὸ ἄστρον νὰ βλέπῃς. ἰδοῦ καὶ (ὁ) ὀρκισμός. ‘ὀρκίζω σας καὶ καθορκίζω σας κατὰ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα δύο ἀρχόντων τῶν δαιμονίων, κατὰ τὸν Βερζεβεουλ καὶ κατ’ τῶν δύο μεγάλων καὶ κατ’ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα δύο Ἄιδου τῆς κολάσεως καὶ κατὰ τῶν κεφαλαίων καὶ κατὰ τῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἀρχόντων τῆς κολάσεως Ἀσθοροτ Φακατορ Νεληνας Ρεκετ καὶ κατὰ τῆς μεγάλης βασιλείας, ὀρκίζω σας καὶ καθορκίζω σας ὅτι ἐσεῖς νὰ πᾶτε εἰς τὴν ὀδεῖνα τῆς ὀδεῖνα θυγατέρα, νὰ βάλετε ἑπτὰ δαιμόνια ἐρωτικά εἰς τὴν

ἐνθύμησίν τῆς καὶ δώδεκα δαιμόνια εἰς τὴν σάρκα τῆς νὰ φωνάζῃ διὰ τὸν ὀδεῖνα, καὶ νὰ δέσῃ τὴν καρδίαν τῆς, οὔτε νὰ φάγῃ οὔτε νὰ πῖν οὔτε νὰ κοιμηθῇ ἕως οὔ νὰ πληρώσῃ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ ὀδεῖνα. καὶ εἰς τὴν δυνάμιν σας παραδίνω, οὔτε νὰ φάγῃ οὔτε νὰ πῖν οὔτε νὰ κοιμηθῇ ἕως οὔ νὰ πληρώσῃ τὸ ζήτημα τοῦ ὀδεῖνα. ὦ δαίμον τῆς πορνείας, γλίγωρα, νὰ δέσετε τὴν ὀδεῖνα νὰ ποιήσῃ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ ὀδεῖνα ὀγλίγωρα.'

invocation of demons to carry out erotic curse against an ἀρχόντισσα erotic magic. curse includes making target forget all others but the user, denial of sleep, drink, and food. demons are to make her come to him wherever he is; send five τεχνῖται to teach her his will

2.3.48. London, BL cod. Harley 5596 (s. XV), f. 29r-v, ed. Delatte 1927, 422-424, recollated

ἐὰν θέλῃς ποιῆσαι μίαν ἀρχόντισσαν νὰ σε ἀγαπήσῃ. ὀρκίζω σας ὦ δαίμονες οἵτινες ἐστε λίαν ἰσχυροὶ καὶ δυνατοὶ καὶ ἔχετε ἐξουσίαν ποιῆσαι ὅ τι καὶ ἂν θέλητε, ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ σαβαωθ αδωναι ὅς ἐστιν θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰακώβ, ὅστις ἐξελέξατο παρὰ πάσας τὰς γενεὰς καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὸν Ἰσραὴλ, ὥστιν παρέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια. ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς κατ' ἐκείνου τοῦ λαλήσαντος τὸν Μωυσῆ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Χωρηβ, ἐν ὄρει Σινα, καὶ παραδίδοντα αὐτοῦ τὰ ἅγια μυστήρια. ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸν θεὸν τὸν φωτεινὸν οὗ τὸ βάθος τῆς σοφίας ἀμέτρητον καὶ τῆς λαμπρότητος αὐτοῦ ἀνεξιχνίαστον, τὸν μαστιγώσαντα ἕνδεκα πληγαῖς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἀγαγόντα τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἐξ αὐτῆς. ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τῆς διαρρηξάσης ῥάβδου τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν κατὰ Μωυσῆ προστάξαντος ταῦτα ποιῆσαι, διαγαγεῖν τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ διὰ θαλάσσης. ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς φοβερᾶς ἧς ἐλυτρώσατο κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ καὶ ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ. ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς πνεύματα εἰς τὰ ἁγιάσματα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ (σκήνης) καὶ εἰς τὰς γεγραμμένας δακτύλω θεοῦ πλάκας. ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς δαίμονες εἰς τὴν τρά(πε)ξαν τῶν ἄρτων τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου καὶ εἰς τὴν στάμνον τὴν τὸ μάννα ἔχουσαν καὶ εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων καὶ εἰς τὰς ψαλμωδίας τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων καὶ εἰς τοὺς ὕμνους τῶν ἱερέων. ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν πίστιν ἣν ἐκέκτητο ὁ πατριάρχης Ἀβραὰμ καὶ εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν τοῦ δικαίου Μελχισεδεκ καὶ εἰς τὴν τάξιν τοῦ Ἀαρων. ὦ ὑμεῖς δαίμονες οἱ οἰκοῦντες τὴν πορνείαν καὶ οἱ διανοούμενοι ἀγάπην ἀνδρὸς πρὸς φιλίαν τῶν γυναικῶν, ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς καὶ σφίγγω καὶ ἀποσφραγίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τῶν ῥηθέντων ὀνομάτων καὶ κατὰ τῶν ῥηθέντων ὀρκισμῶν τοῦ μὴ βραδύναι ὑμᾶς ἐν τινὶ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ εὐρίσκεσθε, καὶ εὐρίσκετε τὴν δεῖνα ἤντινα ἐγὼ θέλω καὶ ἀγαπῶ, ἵνα ὑπάγετε τοῦ παραλαβεῖν τὴν αὐτῆς καρδίαν καὶ {τοῦ} ἐγείρετε τὸν λογισμὸν αὐτῆς πρὸς μὲ τὸν δεῖνα, μὴ ἔχη ἐνθύμησιν πατρὸς ἢ μητρὸς ἢ ἀδελφοῦ ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτῆς ἢ φίλου ἀρσενικοῦ ἢ θηλυκοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐνθύμησιν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμοῦ τοῦ δεῖνος, καὶ ἵνα ποιήσετε αὐτὴν ἀγαπήσῃ με πάνυ σφόδρα ἀγάπην ἀνεπιλήσιμον(α) σφόδρα σφόδρα καὶ τοιάνδε ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι μήτε φαγεῖν μήτε πῖν μήτε κοιμηθῆναι μήτε ἄλλην τινὰ ἄνεσιν ἔχη ἕως οὔ θέλω ἐγώ. εἴη εἰς τὴν ὄρεξίν μου καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν μου. καὶ ἵνα ἔρχεται καὶ εὐρίσκη με ὅπου ἂν ἐγὼ ὑπάρχω καὶ ἵνα αὐτῇ δοκῇ καὶ φαίνηται μηδένα τινὰ ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ γῆς εἶναι ἀλλὰ ἐμένα μόνον. ὦ ὑμεῖς δαίμονες ἀφήτε ἐπ' αὐτὴν τεχνίτας πέντε οἵτινες διδάξουσιν αὐτῆς τὴν ὄρεξίν μου καὶ τὸ θέλημά τῆς καρδίας μου, καὶ ἵνα διδάσκωσιν αὐτὴν καθὰ ἡμέρας τὴν ἐνθύμησίν μου, βάλετε ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς τὸ ὀρεκτόν, ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτῆς τὸ ἄπαιστον, ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῆς τὸ ταχινόν, ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτῆς τὸ ἀχόρταστον, ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς αὐτῆς φλεψὶ τὸ ἀκίνητον, ἵνα ἔρχηται καὶ

να εύρισκε με ὅπου ἂν ἐγὼ <ῶ>. τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ ἀμέλητε, ἀλλὰ ταχέως κατὰ τάχος ὅσον συντομώτατα.’

Γ σε cod. || 5 ὦτινι corr. Delatte : ἄτινα cod. || 6-7 ἐν τῷ ὄρει Χωρηβ, ἐν ὄρει Σινα : ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινα Delatte (corr., χωριβ non intellegens?) || 7 παραδόντος αὐτῷ Delatte || 9 ραύδον cod. || 10 κατὰ cod. : καὶ τοῦ Delatte || 11 ἥς cod. ἤ corr. Delatte || 13 ἀγιάσματα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ <σκήνης> Delatte : ἅγια μετὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ cod. || 17 οὐκέκτιτω cod. || 22 καὶ¹ del. Delatte | τὴν corr. Delatte : ἡ cod. | ἵνα del. Delatte || 23 τοῦ corr. Delatte : καὶ cod. || 24 ἔχη corr. Delatte : ἔχων cod. || 25 <να> ἀγαπήση suppl. Delatte || 30 αὐτὴν corr. Delatte || 31 νύκτα <καὶ> ἡμέραν corr. Delatte | βάλλοντες corr. Delatte || 32 τὸν ἄπαυστον cod. : ἀκατάπαυστα corr. Delatte | ταχύνον Delatte || 33 ἀνίκητον corr. Delatte | <ῶ> suppl. Delatte | ταχέως <ὑπάγετε> Delatte

adjuration of apple, historiola of Eve; performatives, self-identification with the devil; cryptography through Roman transliteration

2.3.49. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX), ff. 489v-490v, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 318-319

διὰ ἀγάπην. πάρε ἐν μῆλον κόκκινον καὶ ἐν κρομμύδι ἄσπρον εἰς τὴν γέμωσιν τῆς σελήνης καὶ βάλε τα νὰ ἀστρονομιστοῦν. κόψε τὸ κρομμύδι καὶ βάλε τὸ ζουμί του εἰς ἐν φυτζᾶνι καὶ γράψε τοὺς ἑπτὰ πλανήτας ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ μῆλον. γράψε καὶ τὸν δαίμονα τῆς ὥρας καὶ διάβασε τὴν εὐχὴν τοῦ πλανήτου τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ πρόσταξε τὸν δαίμονα μὲ τὴν προσταγὴν τοῦ πλανήτου καὶ σοφοῦ Σολομῶντος καὶ τότε λέγε ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ μῆλον ἔτσι φορὲς ἑπτὰ ἔτσι νὰ γένη καθὼς ὀρίζω ταχαπλ. ὀρκίζω σε μῆλον κατὰ τοῦ Αδαμ καὶ τοῦ διαβόλου δεῖνα, ἐγὼ ὁ διάβολος ποὺ ἐπλάνησε τὴν Εὐαν, ἔτσι καὶ ὁποῖα φάγη τὸ μῆλον τοῦτο, νὰ καίεται ἡ καρδιά τῆς κόρης τῆς δεῖνα εἰς τὴν | ἀγάπην καὶ εἰς τὸν πόθον τοῦ δεῖνα υἱοῦ τοῦ δεῖνα. ὀρκίζω σε μῆλον εἰς τῶν τριῶν τὰ ὀνόματα σαπελ φομπελ κεανιελ εἰς ἐκείνην ὅπου θέλω νὰ τὴν ἔχω, νὰ τὴν νικήσης τὴν κόρην τῆς δεῖνα βελβουλ ηνεχα κεμτουχα αλααν κειπη ορηδης. ὀρκίζω σας εἰς τὸν ἄρχον<τα> βερζεβουλ νὰ πᾶτε εἰς δούλην τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα, εἰς τὴν κόρην τῆς δεῖνα καὶ νὰ μὴν τὴν ἀφήσετε νὰ ἔχη ἀνάπαυσιν, οὔτε νὰ κοιμηθῆ οὔτε νὰ ἀγαλλιάσῃ ἕως νὰ ἔλθῃ νὰ βρῆ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα υἱὸν τοῦ δεῖνα. ὀρκίζω σε καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἑπτὰ πλανήτας.’ [signs]. λέγε τα φορὲς ἑπτὰ. ἔπειτα βάλε τὸ μῆλον ἔς τὴν λόγχην τῆς | φωτίας καὶ γύριζε το ἔλαφρὰ γύρου τριγύρου ἔς τὸ χέρι σου καὶ ἔχε ἔγνωσαν νὰ μὴν χαλάσουν τὰ γράμματα καὶ λέγε ἔτσι ὡς καίεται καὶ βράζει τὸ μῆλον, ἔτσι νὰ καίεται καὶ νὰ βράζῃ καὶ ἡ καρδιά τῆς κόρης τῆς δεῖνα εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ δεῖνα καὶ νὰ προστάξῃς καὶ τὸν δαίμονα νὰ πάγῃ χωρὶς ἄλλο, νὰ μὴν τὴν ἀφήσῃ νὰ ἔχη ἀνάπαυσιν ἕως νὰ ἔλθῃ νὰ μὲ βρῆ, νὰ κάμῃ τὸ ζήτημά μου τέλειον καὶ ἀληθινόν.’

Γ δια agapi cod. | ena milon cod. || 3 demona cod. || 4 planita tis cod. | demona cod.

invocation of demons with erotic curse, ritual practice with wax effigy of target into which the heart of a dove is inserted, placed by lamp

2.3.50. Athens, EBE cod. 1265 (s. XVI-XVII), f. 43r, ed. Delatte 1927, 87

περὶ ἀγάπης γυναικός. ἔπαρον κερὶν ἀπὸ τὰ φῶτα καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀγάπην ἢ ὑπαπαντὴν καὶ κάμε μίαν κόρην κερίνην. ἔπειτα πάρε ἓνα περιστέριν ἄσπρον καὶ ἐκβαλε τὴν καρδίαν του καὶ τρύπα τὴν κόρην ὅπου ἔκαμες εἰς τύπωσιν τῆς γυναικός. καὶ ὅταν τὴν σφάξῃς τὴν περιστερᾶν, ἄς εἶναι εἰς τὰ ὀνόματα τῆς ἐκείνης ὅπου θέλεις. καὶ θὲς τὴν καρδίαν τῆς περιστερᾶς μέσα εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τῆς κόρης. καὶ βάλε

νερόν καθαρὸν εἰς ἀγγεῖον ἄπαννον καὶ στάσου κατὰ τὴν μεσημβρίαν καὶ βάστα τὴν κόρην καὶ βάλ' τὴν νὰ βαπτισθῇ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα ὅπου θέλεις καὶ 'πὲ 'βαπτίζεται ἡ δούλη τοῦ ἔρωτος ἡ δεῖνα ἡ κόρη τῆς δεῖνος.' ἔπειτα γράψε εἰς τὴν κόρην τὴν κερίνην τὰ κάτωθεν εἰς τὸ μέτωπόν της ταῦτα 'κεγιθ τοσος δρουαγνα σουβρεισιε.' ἔπειτα ἄψε λαμπρὸν καὶ θές τὴν κόρην ἀπὸ μακρὰ νὰ μὴν λυώση τὸ κερὶν καὶ γύρισ' τὴν γύρους ἐπτὰ καὶ λέγε 'ὀρκίζω σας ἐσᾶς πνεύματα τὰ τῆς ἀγάπης εἰς τὸν αὐθέντην σας τὸν Βερζεβουλ, ὀρκίζω σας καὶ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια, ὀρκίζω σας εἰς τὸν παντοκράτορα θεὸν ὅπου σας ἔπλασεν, νὰ πᾶτε εἰς τὴν δεῖνα τὴν κόρην τῆς δεῖνος νὰ τὴν φέρητε, νὰ μὴν ἔχη ὄρεξιν οὐδὲ νὰ φάγη οὐδὲ νὰ πῖη οὐδὲ νὰ κοιμηθῇ, ἀμὲ ὅλως δι' ὅλους νὰ τὴν φέρητε,' καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα θέλης, 'μόνον νὰ τὴν δαιμονίζητε καὶ νὰ ἀποσκουφώνητε τὸ στόμα της εἰς τὸν λαιμόν της καὶ τὰ παπούτσια εἰς τὸ χέριν της καὶ νὰ κτυπᾷ ἔμπρος μου.' [signs].

10 μὲν *Delatte*

piercing of effigy, sending a demon to torment the target, incantation, use of metonymy, target is made to come to the user, ritual performed at crossroads

2.3.51. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419 (s. XV), f. 145r (a portion not written by Mediates but contemporary; ed. Delatte 1927, 459-460)

περὶ ἔρωτος. εἰ βούλη στείλαι δαίμονα εἰς μίαν γυναῖκα ὅπου ἀγαπᾷς διὰ νὰ τὴν δίδη πειρασμὸν πάντοτε ἄχρι ἂν ποιήσης τὸ θέλημά σου, ποιήσον ὁμοίωμα ὁμοιον αὐτῆς καὶ γράψον πρὸς τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ εἰδώλου τοδεδιδη καὶ εἰς τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῆς τὴν δεξιάν φανγκωθ, εἰς δὲ τὴν λαιὰν Ἀρων, καὶ εἰς τὸν δεξιὸν πόδα θετζελ, εἰς δὲ τὸν ἀριστερὸν βουτον, εἰς δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν φανται. καὶ ὅταν βούλη νὰ τὴν κάμης νὰ ἔλθῃ ἐν ἰδίῳ θελήματι, λάβε καρυοφυλλάτον καὶ σύνθλασον αὐτό. χρίσον τὸ καθόλου σου σῶμα καὶ λάβε εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου μάχαιραν καινὴν καὶ πετεινὸν λευκὸν καὶ ὑπαγε εἰς τριόδιον τῇ ἐβδόμῃ εἰς ὥρας ἐπτὰ. ἔχε δὲ καὶ μετὰ σοῦ μίαν λεκάνην καὶ κόψον τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ἄνωθεν εἰρημένου καὶ ρίψον αὐτὴν μακρεάν. τὸ δὲ σῶμα βάλε αὐτὸ ἐντὸς εἰς τὴν λεκάνην διὰ νὰ στραγγίση τὸ καθόλου αἷμα. εἶθ' οὕτως τίθει τὸ εἶδωλον εἰς τὸ μέσον τῆς λεκάνης εἰς τὸ αἷμα. καὶ ποιήσον κύβον τετράγωνον μετὰ σταυροῦς τεσσάρων καὶ εἰς τὸν καθὲν σταυρὸν γεγραμμένα ταῦτα· 'ελωι αδωναι αββα σαβαωθ.' εἶτα ἔκβαλε ὅλα σου τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ λάβε τὴν λεκάνην καὶ τὸ εἶδωλον καὶ βάλε τὴν μάχαιραν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ εἰδώλου καὶ λέγε ταῦτα· 'ὦ πρίγκιπα καὶ μέγας ρῆγα τοδεδιδη ὅποιος εἶσαι ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν πορνείαν καὶ εἶσαι γεγραμμένος εἰς τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῆς ὀδεῖνα τῆς ὀδεῖνα τῆς θυγατρὸς καὶ αφανγγωθ καὶ αρων οἴτινες εἶσθεν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς καὶ ἐσὺ θετζελ καὶ κουτον ὅπου εἶσθεν εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτῆς καὶ ἐσὺ φανται ὅπου εἶσαι εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς, οἴτινές ἐστε ὧδε γεγραμμένοι εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς ὀδεῖνα τῆς ὀδεῖνα τῆς θυγατρὸς. ὀρκίζω σας εἰς τὸν θεὸν ὅπου σας ἐποίησε καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ εἰς τὰ ὀνόματα τοῦ θεοῦ τετραγράμματον ἀγλα αδωναι καὶ εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἄλφα καὶ ὦ ὅστις ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος, ὅτι ἐσὺ τοδεδιδη μὲ τοὺς συντρόφους σου νὰ μηδὲν λείψης ἕως ἂν νὰ τὴν παρακινήσετε εἰς τὸ νὰ ἔλθῃ εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν θέλημα καὶ νὰ με εὔρη καὶ νὰ τὴν εὔρω εἰς τὴν θύραν μου, εἰς τὸ νὰ με ἀναμένη.' ἔκτοτε ὑπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου καὶ θέλεις εὐρεῖν αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν θύραν σου. τὴν δὲ λεκάνην καὶ τὴν φόρμαν ἔχε αὐτὰ περισωρευμένα καὶ ὅταν χρήζης νὰ τὴν ἔχῃς εἰς τὸ θέλημά σου, ὑπαγε εἰς τριόδιον ὡς προεῖπαμεν καὶ ἐξόρκιζε καὶ πάντοτε θέλεις τὴν εὐρίσκειν εἰς τὸ θέλημά σου.

piercing of effigy, incantation with performative utterances

2.3.52. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419 (s. XV), f. 273r-v (a portion not written by Mediates but contemporary), ed. Delatte 1927, 501; similar version appears in Milan BNA cod. H 2 inf. (s. XVI), f. 235v according to Delatte 1927, 630 (inc. and des. only)

έρωτικὸν δόκιμον. ἔπαρον κηρὸν ἄκαμπτον ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἕκτη πρὶν τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆς, σελήνης αὐξούσης, καὶ ποιήσον αὐτὸ ὁμοίωμα εἰς ὄνομα οἴου βούλοιο. καὶ ποιήσον αὐτὸν ἢ κοντὸν ἢ μακρὸν πρὸς τὸ ὁμοίωμα ἐκείνου. καὶ ἔχε ἐξ ἑτοίμου μίαν βελόνην καινήν καὶ γράφε μετ' αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ εἰδώλου τὸ ὄνομά της καὶ εἰς τὸ στῆθος τὸ ὄνομα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς. γράφε δὲ καὶ εἰς χαρτὶν παρθένον τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα 'λουτζηφερ βεελζεβουλ ασταροτ.' ἔπειτα σχίσον τὸ κορμὶν ἀπὸ τὴν ῥάχιν ὀπισθεν καὶ βάλε τὸ χαρτὶν. βάλε δὲ καὶ ὀλίγον βαμβάκι καινὸν καὶ πάλιν σφάλησον αὐτό. καὶ ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν κλειδωσιν τοῦ κορμίου γράψον μετὰ βελόνης ἐξάγγουλα τρία. καὶ πάλιν μετ' αὐτὸ τὸ βελόνιν γράφε εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τὸ σὸν ὄνομα καὶ εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν, τῆς μητρὸς σου. εἶτα πῆξον τὸ βελόνιν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν λέγων οὕτως 'ὥσπερ καρφώνεται τὸ βελόνιν τοῦτο, οὕτως νὰ καρφωθῇ καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη μου εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τῆς δεῖνος <τῆς δεῖνος> τῆς θυγατρὸς.' καὶ ἐντύλιξον αὐτὸ μετὰ μανδυλίου καὶ ὅταν βούλη ποιῆσαι τὸ σὸν θέλημα, ποιήσον ἀνθρακιὰν ἑτοιμον τῇ νυκτὶ καὶ πύρωνον τὸ εἶδωλον ἄχρι ἰδρώση. λέγε δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐξορκισμὸν τοῦτον φορὰς ἑννέα 'ὀμνύω σας δαίμονες λουτζηφερ βεελζεβουλ καὶ ασταροτ, νὰ με δουλεύσητε ταύτην τὴν ὥραν καὶ νὰ ποιήσητε τὸ θέλημά μου.' καὶ μηδὲν τὸ ἀφήσης νὰ λυώση. εἶτα ἐκβαλον καὶ φύλαξον. ποιήσον δὲ αὐτὸ νύκτας τρεῖς. εἶτα κόψον αὐτὸ εἰς μέρη ἕξ καὶ ποιήσας ἀνθρακιὰν, μοίρασον τὴν αὐτὴν ὁμοίως ὥσπερ τὸ εἶδωλον. καὶ βάλε <εἰς> ἕκαστον μέρος τῆς ἀνθρακιᾶς <ἐν> μέρος τοῦ εἰδώλου. λέγε καὶ τὸν ἐξορκισμὸν εἰς ἕκαστον φορὰς ἑννέα, ἄχρισ ἂν πληρωθῶσιν καὶ τὰ ἕξ μέρη. ἔστιν δὲ δόκιμον ἐὰν καλῶς νοήσης αὐτό.

9 κοιλίαν <τὸ ὄνομα> *suppl. Delatte* || 11 <τῆς δεῖνος> *suppl. Delatte* || 11-12 τὴν θυγατέρα *Delatte* || 18 *suppl. Delatte*

effigy inscribed with names of user and target, both with metronym, piercing effigy, inserting inscribed paper inside effigy, incantation, analogy

2.3.53. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419 (s. XV), f. 147r (a portion not written by Mediates but contemporary), ed. Delatte 1927, 461

ἕτερον ὁμοίωμα [...]. ἔπαρον κηρὸν ἄκαμπτον καὶ ποιήσον εἶδωλον ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἕκτη ἀνατέλλοντος Ἡλίου εἰς αὐξῆσιν Σελήνης εἰς ὄνομα οἴας βούλη καὶ ποιήσον τὸν κηρὸν πρὸς τὴν ἐρωμένην ἢ κοντὸν ἢ μακρὸν. εἶτα ἔπαρον μίαν βελόνην καινήν καὶ γράψον μετ' αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ κεφάλιν τοῦ εἰδώλου τὸ ὄνομά της, καὶ εἰς τὸ στῆθος τὸ ὄνομα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς, καὶ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τὸ ὄνομά σου, καὶ εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν τῆς μητρὸς σου. γράφε καὶ εἰς χαρτὶν τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα 'σπι λουτζηφερ μπαλκαμπελζεβη ασταρωτ.' ἔπειτα σχίσον τὸ κορμὶ ἀπὸ τὸ ὀπισθεν μέρος καὶ βάλε τὸ χαρτὶν. τίθει δὲ καὶ ὀλίγον βαμβάκι καινὸν καὶ πάλιν σφάλει αὐτό. ἐπάνω δὲ εἰς τὴν κλειδωσιν αὐτῆς ποιήσον μετὰ τὸ βελόνιν ἐξάλφας τρεῖς. ἔπειτα πῆξον τὸ βελόνιν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ εἰδώλου λέγων οὕτως 'ὥσπερ ἐμπήγω ἐγὼ τὴν βελόνην καὶ καρφώνω εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ εἰδώλου τούτου, τοιούτως νὰ καρφωθῇ καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη μου εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τῆς δεῖνος <τῆς δεῖνος> τῆς θυγατρὸς.' καὶ τύλιξον τὸ εἶδωλον μετὰ τὸ μανδίλι. καὶ ὅταν θέλῃς νὰ ποιήσης νὰ ἔλθῃ εἰς τὸ θέλημά σου, ἔχε ἀνθρακιὰν ἑτοιμον τὴν νύκτα γύρωθεν καὶ στῆσον τὸ κορμὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον, τὴν δὲ ἀνθρακιὰν γύρωθεν καὶ λέγε τὸν ὄρκον τοῦτον ἕως φορὰς ἑννέα 'ὀμνύω σας, δαίμονες σπι λουτζηφερ μπαλκαμπελζεβη καὶ ασταροτ, νὰ με δουλεύσητε δι' ἐκάστην τὴν ὥραν καὶ νὰ κάμνητε τὸ θέλημά μου.' καὶ μηδὲν τὸ ἀφήσης νὰ λυώση πολὺ, ἀλλὰ μόνον νὰ ἰδρώση. ἔκτοτε ἐκβαλον αὐτὸ καὶ φύλαξον. καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσον νύκτας τρεῖς. εἶτα

κόψον αὐτὸ εἰς ἕξ κομμάτια καὶ ποιήσον τὴν ἀνθρακιὰν εἰς ἕξ μέρη καὶ εἰς πᾶν μερτικὸν τίθει κομμάτιν λέγων εἰς τὸ καθὲν κομμάτιν τὸν ὄρκον φορᾶς ἐννέα, ἄχρι ἂν τελειωθῶσι καὶ τὰ ἕξ κομμάτια, καὶ θαυμάσεις.

2.3.54. St. Petersburg, NLR cod. gr. 646 (s. XVIII), ff. 27r-28v [cryptogr.] (inc. and des. in *CCAG* XII:41)

περὶ ἀγάπην γυναικός. κόψον τὰ εἴκοσι νύχιά σου καὶ μάλια τῆς κεφαλῆς σου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μασχαλῶν σου καὶ ὀμματοφύλλων σου τρίχας καὶ βάλε τα εἰς σέσηκο ἄσπρον καὶ βάλε το εἰς τὴν φωτίαν νὰ τὸ κάμης στάκτην καὶ εὐρὲ ἀγγεῖον καινουργὸν ὅπου νὰ ἔκβη ἀπὸ τὸ καμίνιν καὶ βάλε τὴν στάκτην μέσα. εἶτα πιάσον χαμόρυγκαν καὶ νυκτερίδα καὶ σφάζε τα καὶ πάστωσέ τα καὶ βάλε τα μέσα εἰς τὸ τσουκάλιν καὶ βάλε τα ἔξω νὰ ἀστρονομοῦν νύκτας | τρεῖς καὶ ὀνοματίζης καὶ λέγε 'εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δεῖνα, ἐσεῖς ἕξ ἀστέρια πλανητὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἐσεῖς τρέχετε καὶ οὐδὲν σταματᾶτε νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν. ἔτσι καὶ ἡ δεῖνα διὰ ἐμὲ νὰ μὴν ἔχη ἀνάπαυσιν νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ἕως οὗ νὰ ποιήσῃ τὸ θέλημά μου.' καὶ δός την ἀπὸ τὴν στάκτην καὶ ἄς φάγη.

2 ἄμασχάλον *cod.* | ματοφηλά *cod.* || 5 ὄξο *cod.* || 6 πηλαλητα *cod.* || 6-7 δηατέμένα *cod.* || 7 ἀναπαυσησην *cod.*

used by women on men, addressed to the first star seen at night; erotic curse, to be carried out by 'three wolves'

2.3.55. reported from modern Crete, Phrankaki 1947, 7-8

'ἄστρι πρωτάστρι τ' ὄρανοῦ, πρῶτα προσκυνῶ σε κ' ὕστερα παρακαλῶ σε. νὰ μοῦ πέψης τοῖ τρεῖς λύκους, τὸν κουτσὸ καὶ τὸ στραβὸ καὶ τὸν καλύτερό σου, νὰ πᾶνε 'ς τοῦ δεῖνα, νὰ μποῦνε ἀποῦ τὸν κῶλόν του, νὰ βγοῦνε ἀποῦ τὴ μύτη του, νὰ μποῦνε ἀπὸ τὴ μύτη του, νὰ βγοῦνε ἀποῦ τὰ μάθια του, νὰ μποῦνε ἀποῦ τ' αὐθιά του, νὰ πιάσουνε τοῖ ἑβδομηνηταδυόμισυ φλέγες τοῦ κορμίου του, νὰ μὴ μπορᾶ φάη, νὰ μὴ μπορᾶ σταθῆ, νὰ μὴ μπορᾶ κοιμηθῆ, μόνο ν'ἄρθῃ νὰ μὲ βρῆ.'

2.3.56. Nuremberg, Germanische Museum cod. fol. 3015a, primarily German, medical content, s. XVI-XVII, f. 283r, ed. Bartsch (1855), 328

ad amorem in mulieribus. uade ad rutam in die solis ante ortum et perminge eam in nomine eius quam diligis et aspergas sale et post occasum fac similiter et effodias eam tota radice et uade domum et pone eam in calidos cineres dicendo haec uerba 'el ol omel qui amoris estis magistri, coniuero uos et praecipio uobis ut sicut ista ruta uritur in hoc cinere, ita mentem N urifaciatis in amore meo, ita ut requiem nullam habeat donec meam uoluntatem perfecerit.'

3 in calidos cineres *glossed* in heiße aschen *cod.* || 4 hac *cod.* || 5 amori meum *cod.* | nullum *cod.* || 6 meum *cod.*

address to substance (rue); Ps. 42

[addendum] Heidelberg, UB cod. Pal. Germ. 263 (s. XVI: medical, alchemical, demonological texts), f. 267v

de ruta. uade in die Solis ubi sit ruta et pone super eam pedem sinistrum et dic hanc coniuurationem 'coniuero te ruta per patrem filium et spiritum sanctum, per deum uiuum qui te creauit ex nihilo, coniuero te ruta per horas diei, per sanguinem domini, per omnes uirtutes caelorum, coniuero te ruta per omnes angelos dei, per martyres confessores uirgines uiduas, et per omnes sanctos quos elegit deus ante mundi constitutionem, et per omnes

seniores, per cherubim et seraphim et quatuor euangelistas, Lucam Marcum Iohannem Matheum, et per potestatem et per omnes uirtutes caelestium ut quamcumque mulierem aut uirginem tetigero cum temone pedum ultra nec dormit nec sedeat nec comedat nec bibet nec aliquid faciat donec uoluntatem meam adimpleuerit.’ postea lege psalmum ‘sicut ceruus desiderat,’ quo finito absconde et serua.

8 tetigere cod. | (c\g/um temone pedem ultra) cod. || 9 denec cod.

2.3.57. Cambridge, Trinity College cod. O.1.58 (James 1082), f. 140r-v

‘<...> ardeat et aestuat se sicut ferrum in fornace donec ad me uenerit et uoluntatem meam carnalem mecum iacendo adimpleuerit, fiat fiat amen. coniuro uos spiritus praenominatos per deum caeli qui uos creauit et de caelo proiecit, coniuro uos per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum et per uirtutem caelorum et per omnia quae mouentur in caelo et in terra et in mare et in omnibus abyssis, coniuro uos per tres reges qui adorauerunt deum, Iasper Melchior Balthazar, et per tres pueros qui missi fuerunt in fornacem Babylonis ardentem, scilicet Sydrak Misak Abdenago, ut statim et sine mora ueniat in locum ubi N filia N sit et illam sine mora die ac nocte accipiat in uirtute uestra et potentia et potestate uestra in gemitu et luctu et torqueatis ut ita ardeat in amore meo sicut ferrum ardeat in fornace, ita quod non dormiat nec requiescat nec alibi cogitare <possit> nisi de me donec ad me uenerit et uoluntatem meam carnalem mecum iacendo adimpleuerit, fiat fiat amen. coniuro te Sathan per deum nostrum Iesum Christum et per eum qui creauit te et de paradiso te proiecit, coniuro te per crucem domini nostri Iesu Christi, coniuro te per a()es beatae Mariae uirginis, coniuro te per sanctum Iohannem baptistam et per Salomonem et per eius sigillum et characteres qui te et omnes spiritus includit in uase uitreo ut facias et praecipias seruis tuis praenominatis ut sint sine mora parati festinare ueritate et totaliter perficere sine mendacione et sine aliqua falsitate quod ego praecepi eis, ut noctis horis et momentis praenominatis N ita firmiter at crudeliter diligenter et efficaciter in corde et corpore torqueatis ut N ardeat in amorem meum sicut ferrum in fornace ita quod non dormiat nec requiescat nec alibi cogitet nisi de me donec uoluntatem meam in omnibus perfecerit. et si non feceris istud <quod> praecipio tibi, puteus infernalis te absorbeat et super te maledictio dei omnipotentis descendat et maneat super te per saecula saeculorum et beatae Mariae uirginis et omnium sanctorum dei {et} super oculos tuos et maledicant | sanguinetates uestras nisi cito feceritis quod praecipio uobis, scilicet tibi Sathan et seruis tuis tecum praenominatis, fiat fiat amen.’

[below, text in concentric rings: outer: Marcus Matheus Lucas Iohannes; middle: esto mihi domine turris fortitudinis a facie inimici; a g b a]

7 filia N sit *conieci* : sit si^t N *cod.* || 10 nisi *add. cod.* || 15 characteres *conieci* : karecte *cod.* | uitro *cod.* | ut *conieci* : (et) *cod.* || 22 per s (et) ss *cod.*

2.3.58. Munich, BSB clm 849 (s. XV), ff. 65r-67v; ed. Kieckhefer 1998, 293-295; recollated with digital facsimile [part of a sub-set entitled *experimenta bona et probata et uerissima primo de modo scribendi bel et ebal*] nota in feria quinta nouis uestibus indutus et balneatus in crepusculo scribe in costam nomen tuum et mulieris, ‘bel’ et ‘ebal,’ bel’ in principio et in medio nomen tuum et nomen mulieris, in fine ‘ebal.’ et pone ad ignem et fac cremari costam et quando est in maximo calore uel furore, lege coniurationem quae sequitur et consequeris desideratum. | ‘coniuro uos spiritus infernales bel et ebal quorum nomina in ista costa scripta sunt et in igne ardescunt per omnes uirtutes caelorum et terrae, per thronos principatus et potestates et dominationes, per cherubin et seraphin et per omnia quae sub caelo sunt ut numquam

requiem habeatis quoniam cor eius in amore mei ita ardere faciatis ut numquam dormire comedere nec bibere nec ire nec stare nec flere nec ridere nec aliquod opus perficiat quin cordis mei desiderium prius adimpleat. item coniuro uos bel et ebal quorum nomina in igne ardescunt per dominum omnipotentem et per Iesum Christum filium eius et per spiritum sanctum et per uirtutem sancti dei et per ipsam prouidentiam dei et per terram et mare et profundum abyssi et per clementiam et per uisionem dei, per noctem et tenebras et per tremendum diem iudicii ut numquam requiem habeatis quoniam corpus eius in amore mei ita ardere faciatis ut numquam dormire comedere nec bibere ire nec stare nec iacere nec flere nec ridere nec aliquod opus perficere ualeat quin cordis mei desiderium penitus adimpleatis. item coniuro uos bel et ebal quorum nomina in igne ardescunt per deum | uerum per deum uiuum per deum sanctum qui uos et cuncta creauit qui Adam et Euam de limo creauit qui fecit angelos suos spiritus qui scit praesentia praeterita et futura qui habet clauis caeli, claudit et aperit, claudit et nemo aperit, per eum qui fuit mortuus et resurrexit qui est principium et finis, alpha et o, primus et nouissimus, ut numquam' et cetera. 'coniuro uos o bel et ebal quorum nomina in igne ardescunt per haec sancta nomina dei ely eloy eleon tetragrammaton tupanoel fabanoel sabaoth sathay adonay' et cetera. 'coniuro uos per uirtutem qua dominus noster Iesus Christus ianuis clausis ad discipulos suos intrauit' et cetera. 'coniuro uos bel et ebal quorum nomina in igne ardescunt per spineam coronam quam dominus noster Iesus Christus in capite sustinuit et per fixuram clauorum qui pias manus et pedes transfixerunt et per sanguinem et aquam de latere fluentem et per lacrimas beatæ uirginis Mariae et per mortem et sepulturam Christi, per resurrectionem et ascensionem Christi ut numquam requiem habeatis quin cor mulieris in amore ita ardere faciatis quod numquam dormire comedere nec bibere nec stare nec sedere nec ridere nec aliquod opus perficere ualeat quin cordis mei desiderium | penitus adimpleat et quod illud nullatenus obmittatis, haec praecipio uobis per eum qui uiuit et regnat in saecula saeculorum, amen amen amen.'

8, 14 quin *corr. Kieckhefer* || 11 inige *cod. a.c.* || 12-13 et mare *cod. : et om. Kieckhefer* || 13 clemenciam <dei> *Kieckhefer* || 14 cor(pus) *cod. : cor corr. Kieckhefer ('MS corus')* || 17 adimpleat *corr. Kieckhefer* || 20 <qui> claudit ... <qui> claudit *Kieckhefer* || 23-24, 25 et cetera *om. Kieckhefer* || 25 dissipulos *cod.* || 31 <nec flere> nec ridere *Kieckhefer* || 32 obmittat *corr. Kieckhefer*

2.3.59. Munich, BSB clm 849 (s. XV), ff. 32r-33r; ed. Kieckhefer 1998, 229-231; re-collated with digital facsimile

per hoc experimentum constringitur homo mulier uir spiritus bestia cuiuscumque condicionis existat. haec nomina in hunc modum sint scripta in spatula postquam hoc totum adimpletum fuerit quod uis eligere tibi. si aliquem spiritum constringere uolueris, scribe nomen eius in spatula inter b et e et in nomine quod est belan. si aliquem hominem constringere uolueris, scribe nomen illius inter l et a. si uero aliquam bestiam constringere uolueris, scribe nomen eius inter a et n et colorem eius. pro spiritibus uero atque hominibus et pro mulieribus agendum est ita et in eadem hora in qua expleta spatula fuerit ab actione ibi oportet ut in primis perquirantur ligna ex spina alba uel ligna quae uagantur in aquis et facias inde ignem carbonisque collige et in ollam nouam mitte et desuper paulatim pone spatulam et paulatim augmentando ignem donec spatula calefiat et tunc inuoca praedictos spiritus et dic hanc coniurationem 'asyel castiel lamisniel rabam erlain belan, uobis praecipio.' si pro homine uel muliere quem uel quam in tuo amore accendere uolueris, sic dicas 'ut statim' et cetera, secundum quod infra continetur. si uero pro spiritu, | nomina illum spiritum quem uis ut ueniat ad te patenter humiliter pulchra facie et blando sermone dicendo 'coniuro uos asyel' et cetera 'ut N spiritum N qui potestatem

habet super omne quod ab eo quaerere uolo ad me uenire faciatis patenter humiliter blando sermone, eius forma ut dixi, scilicet militis pulcherrimi, ad complendum omnia quae ei praecipere uoluerō.’ et cum pro uiro aut muliere hoc facere uolueris, fac ei prius notum ubi te inuenire possit quia nisi te inueniet protinus furore suo insaniet. si pro bestia, ‘coniuro praedictos spiritus ut constringant illam bestiam quam uolo ne de loco in quo est se remouere ualeat donec uoluerō, asyel castiel lamsiyel rabam erlain elam belan. ego uos coniuro per deum uerum per deum uiuum qui uos creauit et per eum qui Adam et Euam formauit et per eum qui mare creauit aridamque fundauit, qui facit angelos suos spiritus et ministros suos ignem urentem qui nouit ea quae non sunt sicut ea quae sunt, qui habet clauis mortis (et) inferni, ipse enim primus et nouissimus, principium et finis, alpha et o, et qui uiuit et fuit mortuus et reuixit, qui uocauit deum patrem eius alphagrammaton, per hoc nomen uos coniuro et per sanctum et ineffabile nomen dei tetragrammaton et per id nomen quod nemo nouit nisi ipse | qui est uerbum dei et per haec nomina dei hely heloy heloe sabaoth elion adonay saday et per omnia nomina eius et per ipsius uirtutem et per omnes uirtutes caelorum. item coniuro uos per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum et per sanctam trinitatem et unitatem dei et per illam coronam quam dominus noster Iesus Christus in suo capite habuit et per lac beatæ Mariae uirginis et per haec praedicta nomina et per omnes uirtutes eorundem et per istam coniurationem praecipio uobis ut statim et cito et uelociter et sine mora seducatis cor et mentem N in amorem meum et sicut haec spatula calefit et incenditur, ita illum uel illam N incendatis et calefaciatis igne mei amoris et ita ut numquam quiescere ualeat donec meam adimpleuerit uoluntatem in nomine quod est belan’ et cetera. item nota quod spatula supradicta debet esse asinina uel leporina uel anserina uel caponina secundum diuersos.

[f. 32v, figure with labels: haec est figura spatulae, asyel castyel lamsiyel rabam erlain delam belam leo; vertically: belan]

I (uel) bestia *Kieckhefer* || 4, 37 belan *correx*: bel *cod.* || 8 lingna *cod. (bis)* || 9 facias *conieci*: faciat *cod.* || 12 bolam *cod.*: belam *corr. in marg.*: (et) Belam *Kieckhefer* | qua *cod.* || 17 (et) pulcherimi *Kieckhefer* || 19 pro cuius *Kieckhefer* || 20 uolo *correx*: uis *cod.* || 21 uoluerō *correx*: uolueris *cod.* | belam *cod.* || 25 (et) *suppl. Kieckhefer* || 26 refixit *cod. a.c.* || 38 diuersos (usus?) *Kieckhefer*, but more likely sc. e.g. scriptores, nigromanticos, *vel sim.*

with sending of dream

2.3.60. London, Wellcome Library cod. 517, f. 231v

ut mulier sequatur te. in camera tua uel in secreto loco recipe zonam tuam et fac nodum in zona ita quod circumdet te ut circulus et sta in medio dicendo istam coniurationem ter tribus noctibus et caue ne benedices te in illis noctibus et eas tunc ad lectum tuum dicendo ‘assit mihi gratia sancti spiritus amen et det mihi petenti quod uolo quod cupio in hoc officio. desidero peto et supplico lasbrayn calibrayn arbahuc arbahoc coniuro uos demones omnes per belzebuc principem uestrum et per omnes potestates aereas terreas aquas et infernales quas habent principes super uos et deum uestrum et per omnes legiones uestras et per ista sancta nomina alpha et o tetragrammaton agla ely eloy uau heth ioth sabaoth adonay et per omnia sancta nomina dei quae ore pollutario ausus sum nominare ut uos eatis ad N et faciatis ea(m) ardere concupiscere in amore meo et somniando ista praesenti nocte [[noct]] polluat in amore meo naturali ad emissionem sui seminis ei uideatur quod continue super eam coeam faciendo opus naturale’ et hoc ter dicas et fiet.

2.4. invocation of divinities for erotic curse introduced by performatives

epic diction, self-identification as Artemis; variant procedure in which the incantation is both spoken and written on papyrus, then burned along with hair

2.4.1. Tebtunis (?), now Yale, P.CtYBR inv. 1206 recto, coll. i.3-ii.10

φίλτρον. ἢ ἐπώδη· Ἄ[ρ]τεμις εἰμι Διὸς καὶ | Λητοῦς ἠὺ[στέφανος (?) το]ξοφόρος
θυγάτηρ, | Φοῖβο[ς] δέ μοί ἐστ]ιν ἀδελφὸς αὐτοκα|σίγνητο[ς c. 5] ὁρώσα
γεγημένη | υ. ενο [c. 5] ἐγὼ φιλότιτι ἀνευ| [c. 10]σαν τ[ῶ] θείω [..][.] | [c. 10
]... [c. 10] | [c. 15] [c. 10] | μηδέ τις ἀθανάτων μήθ' ἠρώων | πολυφήμων μήτε
ὑπὸ ταρταρείων | οἱ Τειτῆνες καλέονται στέρξαιτο | φίλον κῆρ ἀλλὰ σὺ τοξοφόρε
Ἄρτεμι | ἄλλοι τε θεοὶ μάκαρες τήνδε τελεῖ|τ' ἐπαοιδήν. | τ[ὸ] αὐτό. λαβὼν δύο
τρίχας τῆς γυναι|κὸς λέγε τὴν ἐπώδ[η]ν ἐφ' ἡμέρα[ς] γ̄ | [εἶ]τα πρῶτῃ νή[σ]της
[..]τρ[.] ἐν [ἡ]μέρα | [..]ς καῦσον [τὰ]ς τρ[ί]χας μετὰ βυβλα|ρίου ἐν ῶ ἢ ἐπώδη. [vac.] vac.

self-identification with divinity; narrative; copying of formularly; for use on man by woman; with drawing of Artemis “multimamma” under the text (illustration in *Pap.Graec.Mag.*² vol. 2, Taf. IV.2; Maltomini 1980; and Heidelberg Papyrussammlung website); copied on the back of a document (now published separately as *P.Hamb. IV 273*, dated to s. III; according to editor [D. Hagedorn], the contents are perhaps “Steurangelegenheiten”; very likely an official document)

2.4.2. Unknown provenance, now Heidelberg, P.Heid. inv. 2170, s. III, *Pap.Graec.Mag. P LXXVIII* with corrections of Maltomini 1980, 371-374). Recollated with photograph [εἰς πάντα τό]προν, ἢ εἰς οἰκίαν ἢ εἰς ἐργασ[τήριον. | ἄγει γυναῖ]καν πρὸς ἄνδρα, τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ μ[ονίμους | αὐτοὺς ποιεῖ] καὶ πτιτικούς. λαβὼν λεπ[ίδα μο|λιβῆν γρ]άψον ἦλω τὸ ζῶδιον λέγων οὗτ[ως | c. 5]. ‘καταφλέσω τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὴν [ψυχὴν | καὶ τὸ γυν]αικεῖον τῆς δεῖνα) ἦν ἔτεκε δεῖνα) ἦ[ν | ἔτεκε]εν ἡ δεῖνα), ὡς ὁ Τυφῶν τὸν Ὅσειριν [οὐκ | εἶασ]εν ὑπνοῦ τυχεῖν. ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι Δ[ιὸς παῖς | Ἄρτεμις Μα]σκέλλι Μασκέλλω Φνοῦν Κε[νταβα|ὠθ Ὀρεοβά]ζαγρα Ῥησίχθων ἰππόχθ[ων Πυριπη] γανύξ· τέλ]εσον δέ μοι τοῦτο, παντοφ[αῆς, θεῶν | καὶ δαιμ]όνων φωσφόρε σεμνή’. | vac. ὄνόματι θεοῦ παντ[οκράτορος· |]ωια[.]αω[.]ιαω.

31. πιστικούς || 4-5 ὄνομα | τὸ ὑποκ(είμενον) κα]ι *Pap.Graec.Mag.*, perhaps οὗτ[ως ‘κατα|καύσω κα]ι, the suggestion of Maltomini || 5-6 τὴν [ψυχὴν | τοῦ δεῖνα εἰς] ἡμέρον *Pap.Graec.Mag.* || 8-9 δεσπότης | τοῦ Μα]σκέλλι *Pap.Graec.Mag.* : δεῖλος κτλ. Maltomini || 13 ὄνομα *Pap.Graec.Mag.* || 14 [ἰά]ω ἰάω [ἰ]άω *Pap.Graec.Mag.*

applied, exorcistic, used by a woman on a man; a single sheet; an invocation of various divinities for binding (καταδεῖν); neatly arranged, e.g. tricolon in ἐπιλήση γονέων, | τέκνων, φίλων (4-5); internal reference to the text as written on a πυξίδιον

2.4.3. Unknown provenance, now Alexandria, P.Alex. inv. 491, s. III, *Pap.Graec.Mag. P XV*

ἐ[π]ιδήσω σε, Νίλε, τὸν καὶ Ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα, ὃν ἔτεκε Δημητρία, κακοῖς μεγάλοις, οὐδὲ θεῶν | οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων εὖρω σοι καθαρὰν λύσιν, ἀλλὰ φιλήσεις με Καπετωλίαν, ἣν ἔτεκε Πεπεροῦς, | θεῖον ἔρωτα καὶ ἔση μοι κατὰ πάντα ἀκόλουθος, ἕως ἂν ἐγὼ βούλωμαι, ἵνα μοι ποιῆς ἃ ἐγὼ θέλω | καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῃ, καὶ μηδενὸς ἀκούης εἰ μὴ ἐμοῦ μόνης Καπετωλίνας, ἐπιλήση γονέων, | τέκνων, φίλων. π[ρο]σεξορκίζω ὑμᾶς δαίμονες τοὺς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ, Αλυσηηλ | ...λιονω Σουαφαλω Λυβαλολυβηλ Οικαλλισσαμαεω Λυβαλαλωνη Λυλωηυ Λυοθνοῖς | Οδισσασον Αλελαδα. Καπετωλίνα ἔχω τὴν εὐρωστίαν, καὶ ἐπιτυχῶν Νεῖλος ἀποδώσεις τὰς | χάριτας. πάντας Ἐσ(ι)ῆτας καὶ τοὺς ἀγάμους καὶ ἀνεμοφορήτους

ἀφιάσι. ἐνθῶ τὴν παρακατα|θήκην ταύτην, ἵνα μοι τελέσητε πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ
 πιττακίῳ γεγραμμένα, δι' ἃ ὀρκίζω | ὑμᾶς δαίμονες τὴν συνέχουσιν ὑμᾶς βίαν καὶ
 ἀ[νά]γκην· τελέσατέ μοι πάντα | καὶ εἰσπηδήσατε καὶ περιέλετε Νίλου, οὗ ἔστιν ἡ
 οὐσία, τὸν νοῦν, ἵνα μου ἐρᾷ Καπετωλίνας | καὶ ἀσάλευτός μου ἦ Νίλος, ὃν ἔτεκε
 Δημητρία, πάση ὥρα καὶ πάση ἡμέρα. | διορκίζω ὑμᾶς δαίμονας κατὰ τῶν ὑμῶν
 πικρῶν ἀναγκῶν τῶν ἔχουσῶν | ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀνεμοφορήτων, Ἰω Ἰωε Φθουθ Εἰω Φρη,
 ὁ μέγιστος δαίμων Ἰαῶ Σαβαῶ | Βαρβαρε Λαιλαμψ Ὅσορνωφρι Εμφερα, ἐν τῷ
 οὐρανῷ θεὸς ὁ μονογενής, | Βαρβαρε Λαιλαμψ Ὅσορνωφρι Εμφερα, ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ
 θεὸς ὁ μονογενής, | ὁ ἐκσαλεύων τὸν βυθόν, ἐξαποστέλλων ὕδατα καὶ ἀνέμους·
 ἐξαφες τὰ πνεύμα | τα τῶν δαιμόνων τούτων ὅπου μού ἐστιν ἡ πύξις, ἵνα μοι
 τελέσωσι τὰ ἐν τῷ | πυξιδίῳ ὄντα, ἥτε ἄρσενες ἥτε θήλειαι, ἥτε μικροὶ ἥτε μεγάλοι,
 ἵνα ἐλθόν|τες τελέσωσι τὰ ἐν τῷ πυξιδίῳ τούτῳ καὶ καταδήσωσι Νίλον τὸν καὶ |
 Ἄγαθὸν Δαίμονα, ὃν ἔτεκε Δημητρία, ἐμοὶ Καπιτωλίνα, ἣν ἔτεκε Πιπερο[ῦς | ὄλο]ν
 τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ χρόνον. φιλή με Νίλος φίλτρον αἰώνιον. ἦδη ἦδη ταχ[ύ ταχύ.]

applied

2.4.4. Assiut, papyrus, found in clay vessel, sealed, with two wax figurines melted together,
 wrapped up by the papyrus, now Cologne, P.Köln inv. 3323, s. V, *Suppl.Mag.* I 45

δεσμεύω σαι δεσμοῖς ἀλοῖτοις Μοῖρε χθόνιοι καὶ τὴν κραταιὰν Ἀνάγκην, ὅτι
 ἐξορκίζω | ὑμᾶς, δέμονες, τοὺς ἐνθάδε κιμένους καὶ ἐνθάδε διατραφομένους καὶ
 ἐνθάδε δια|τρίβοντες καὶ τοὺς ἐνθάδε κούρους ἀώρους. ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ
 ἀνικήτο|υ θεοῦ Ἰαῶ: Βαρβαθιαῶ: βριμιαῶ: χερμαρι: ἐγείρεσθαι δέμονες, οἱ ἐνθάδε |
 κίμενοι, καὶ ζητήσατε Εὐφημίαν, ἣν ἔτεκεν Δωροθέα, Θέων(ι) ᾧ ἔτεκεν Προεχία· | δι'
 ὅλης νυκτὸς ὑπνω μὴ δυνηθῆ τυχῖν, ἀλλὰ ἄξατε αὐτήν, ἕως ἔλθη εἰς πόδας | αὐτοῦ
 ἐρῶσα ἔρωτα μανιώδη καὶ στοργὴν καὶ συνουσία(ν). ἔδησα γὰρ αὐτῆς | τὸν
 ἐγκέφαλον καὶ τὰς χῖρας καὶ τὰ ὑποχόνδρια καὶ τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν | καρδίαν πρὸς
 φιλίαν ἐμοῦ Θεώνος. ἐὰν δὲ παρακούσητε καὶ μὴ ταχέ|ως τελέσηται ὃ λέγω ὑμῖν,
 οὐ δύνατε ὁ ἥλιος ὑπὸ γῆν, οὔτε ὁ Ἄδης | οὔτε ὁ κόσμος οὐκ ἔστιν. ἐὰν δὲ ἄξηταί μοι
 Εὐφημίαν ἣν ἔτεκεν Δω|ροθήα, ἐμοὶ Θεώνι ᾧ ἔτεκεν Προεχία δώσω ὑμῖν Ὅσιριν
 Νοφριωθ: | τὸν ἀδελφὸν τῆς Ἰσιδος, καὶ ἔρι τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ καὶ ἀναπαύσεται |
 ὑμῶν τὰς ψυχὰς. ἐ[ἄ]ν δὲ μοι μὴ τελέσητε ἃ λέγω ὑμῖν, κατακαύση ὑμᾶς | ὁ
 Εωνεβυωθ: ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς, δέμονες, οἱ ἐνθάδε κίμενοι ἰεω | ιιιαῖα: ἠῖα: ἰαῶ: ιαη: ιαῶ:
 αλιλαμψ: κατατίθημι ὑμῖν εἰς τὴν γῆν | τῶν κυνῶν· Εὐφημίαν πρὸς φιλίαν ἐμοῦ
 Θεώνος δεσμεύσατε, | δέμονες· ἐναρῶ ὑμῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν θεῶν στήλην, ἐναρῶ ὑμῖν
 κατὰ τῶν ἐν ἀδύ|τω {ν}, ἐναρῶ ὑμῖν κατὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων τοῦ παντεπόπτου θεοῦ
 ἰα: ἰα: | ἰα: ἰω: ἰω: ἰω: ἰε: ἰε: ἰε: ουωα: Αδωναί. ἐξορκίζω τὸν ἐν ᾧ ἀπευ|δόκησας καὶ
 τὸ αἷμα ὃ ἔλαβεν ὁ μέγας θεὸς Ἰωθαθ: ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κα|τὰ τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τῶν
 τεσσάρων κέντρων ἀνέμων. μὴ μου παρα|κούσηται, ἀλλὰ τάχιον ποιήσατε, ὅτι
 ἐπιτάσσει ὑμῖν Ἀκραμμαχαμαρι: | Βουλομενθορεβ: Γενηομουθιγ: Δημογενηδ:
 Ἐγκύκλιε: Ζηνοβιωθιζ: | Ησκωθωρη: Θωθουθωθ: Ιαεουωῖ: Κορκουνοκ:
 Λουλοενηλ: | Μοροθοηπναμ: Νερξιαρξιν: Ζονοφορηαξ: Ορνεοφαο: Πυροβορυπ: |
 Ρερουτορη: σεσενμενουρες: Ταυροπολιτ: Υπεφενουρυ: Φιμεμα|μεφ: Χεννεοφοεox:
 Ψυχοπομποιαψ: Ὑρίων ἀληθινέ. μὴ | πάλιν ἀναγκασῶ τὰ αὐτὰ λέγειν ἰωη: ιωη:
 ἄξατε Εὐφημίαν ἣν ἔτεκεν | Δωροθήα Θεώνι ᾧ ἔτεκεν μήτηρ Προεχία, φιλοῦσάν με
 ἔρωτι καὶ πό|τω καὶ στοργῇ καὶ συνουσίᾳ, ἔρωτι μανιώδη· καύσατε αὐτῆς τὰ μέλη,
 | τὸ ἥπαρ, τὸ γυνεκτῶν σῶμα, ἕως ἔλθη πρὸς ἐμέ, φιλοῦσά με καὶ μὴ
 παρα|κούουσά {ν} μου. ὅτι ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τῆς κρατεᾶς Ἀνάγκης Μασκελ|λι
 Μασκελλω Φνουκενταβαωθ ορεοβαζαγρα ρηξιχθων | ἰππόχθων πυρίχθων
 πυριπηγανυξ λεπεταν λεπεταν μαντουνοβοηλ: | εἶνα καταδήσατέ μοι Εὐφημίαν,
 ἐμοὶ Θεώνι, φιλίᾳ καὶ ἔρωτι καὶ πόθῳ ἐπὶ | χρόνων μηνῶν δέκα ἀπὸ σήμερον, ἥτις

ἔστιν Ἄθυρ κε β (ἰ)νδικ(τίωνος). | καὶ πάλιν ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος ὑμῶν, εἶνα μὴ μου | παρακούσητε· καὶ πάλιν ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ ἔχοντος τὸν ἀέρα· καὶ | πάλιν ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τῶν ἑπτὰ θρόνων ἀχλαλ: λαλαφενουρφεν(:) | βαλεω: βολβεω: βολβεωχ: βολβερω: υφθω: καὶ κατὰ τοῦ ἀπαρετή | του θεοῦ Χμουωρ: Αβρασαξ: ιφενθανχουχαίνχουχεωχ: συνλάβε | τε Εὐφημίαν καὶ ἄξατέ μοι αὐτήν, ἐμοὶ Θέωνι, φιλοῦσαν ἔρωτι μανιώδη· | καὶ καταδήσατε αὐτήν δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις, ἰσχυρῶς, ἀδαμαντίνοις πρὸς | φιλίαν ἐμοῦ, Θεώνος, καὶ μὴ ἐάσητε αὐτήν φαγῖν, μὴ πῖν μηδὲ ὕπνου | τυχῖν μηδὲ πῆξε μηδὲ γελάσαι, ἀλλὰ ποιήσατε αὐτήν ἐκπηδησαι ἀπὸ | παντὸς τόπου καὶ πάσης οἰκίας καὶ καταλίψε πατέρα, μητέρα, ἀδελφούς, | ἀδελφάς, ἕως ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμέ, Θεώνα, φιλοῦσά {ν} με, ἐρῶσά {ν} με θῖον | ἔρωτα ἀκατάπαυστον καὶ φιλίαν μανικὴν· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἕτερο[ν] ἔχι ἐν κόλ | ποῖς, ἐκίνον μὲν ὑπερθέσθω καὶ {καὶ} ἐπιλαθέσθω καὶ μισήση, ἐμὲ δὲ | φιλήση καὶ ἀγαπήση καὶ στοργήση, καὶ τὰ αὐτῆς ἐμοὶ χαρίσητε, καὶ μὴ | δὲν παρὰ ἐμὴν {ν} γνώμην πράξῃ. τὰ ἅγια ὀνόματα ταῦτα καὶ ἐ δυνάμεις | αὐταὶ ἐπισ{σ}χυρήσατε καὶ τελῖτε τελίαν τὴν ἐπαυδὴν, ἦδη ἦδη, ταχύ ταχύ.

20-21 ἐν ωαπ εὐ | δοκήσας ed. pr.

applied

found as part of ensemble, papyrus sheet wrapped round embracing wax figurines in clay vessel sealed with lid

2.4.5. Unknown provenance, now Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, ÄS inv. 6792 (plus figures [ÄS 6791] and vessel [ÄS 6793]), s. IV, ed. Brashear 1992b

δεσμεύω σε δεσ[μοῖς] ἀλύτοις Μοῖραν χθονίαν καὶ τὴν κραταιὰν Ἀνάγκην | πρὸς φιλίαν ἐμοῦ τοῦ Πρίσκου ὃν ἔτεκεν Ἀννους. ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς | τοὺς δαίμονας τοὺς ἐνθάδε κειμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐνθάδε διατρίβον | τας καὶ τοὺς ἐνθάδε [δ]αίμονας βιοθανάτους. ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κα | τὰ τοῦ ἀνικάτου θεο[ῦ] ιαω βαρβαθιαω βρεμα ι χε[ρ]μαρι ἐγεί | ρεσθαι δαίμονες οἱ ἐνθάδε κείμενοι καὶ ζητήσατε τὴν Ἴσιον | ἣν ἔτεκεν ἠ Ἄυει καὶ ἄξατε αὐτήν πρὸς ἐμ[ἐ] τὸν Πρέσκον ὃν | [ἔτεκε]ν Ἀννους ἐπὶ ἔρωτι μανικῶ καὶ φιλία ἠδονικῆ δι' | ὄλης νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας μὴ δυναμένη ὕπνου τυχεῖν ἀλλὰ | [...] ἰσκομεγειν μ[...] λον ἐμοῦ τοῦ Πρίσκου ὃν ἔτεκεν Αν | [νους] πρ[ὸς] ἔρωτας καὶ φιλίαν. ἔδησα γὰρ αὐτῆς τ[ὸ]ν ἐνκέφα | λο[ν] κα[ὶ] τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὰ ὑποκόντρια καὶ τὴν | φύσιν πρὸς φιλίαν {μου} ἐμοῦ τοῦ Πρίσκου ὃν ἔτεκεν Ἀννους. ἐάν | δὲ παρακούσητε καὶ μὴ τελέσητε ἅ | λέγω ὑμῖν οὐ δύνη ὁ ἦλι | ος ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν οὔτε ὁ ἄδης οὔτε ὁ κό[σμος] οὐκ ἔστιν. ἐάν δὲ ἄξητε | τὴν Ἴσιον ἣν ἔτεκεν Ἄυει ἧς ἔστιν ἡ οὐσία ἐκ παντὸς τόπου | καὶ ἐκ πάσης οἰκείας ἐκ πάσης ῥύμης πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν Πρίσκον ὃν | ἔτεκεν Ἀννους ἐπὶ ἔρωτι μανικῶ καὶ φιλία ἠδονικῆ δώσω | [ὑ]μῖν Ὅσ(ι)ρ(ι)ν Νοφριωθ [τὸ]ν ἀδελφὸν τῆς Ἴσιδος καὶ αἶρει τὸ ψυχρὸν | ὕ[δ]ωρ καὶ ἀναπαύσει ὑμῶν τὰς ψυχάς. ἐάν δέ μοι μὴ τελέσητε ἅ | λέγω ὑμῖν κατακαύση ὑμᾶς ωσομβεωθ. ἐξορκείζω ὑμᾶς | [τ]οὺς δαίμονας κατὰ τοῦ μεγ[ά]λου θεοῦ ιεω ιαι ιαι αη ιαιαωια | ηια[...] αλιλεμψ κατατ[ίθ]ημι ὑμῖν εἰς τὴν γῆν τῶν κυνῶν | τῆς Ἴσιδος ἣν ἔτεκεν Ἄυει (ἧ)ς ἔστιν ἡ οὐσία πρὸς φιλίαν ἐμοῦ | τοῦ Πρίσκου ὃν ἔτεκεν Ἀννους. ἄξατε καὶ δεσμεύσατε τὴν | Ἴσιον ἣν ἔτεκεν Ἄυει δ...ς ἐνερω ὑμῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν θεῶν | στήλην ἐνερω ὑμῖν κατὰ τῶν ἐν ἀδ[ύ]τρω {ν} ἐναρῶ ὑμῖν κατὰ | [τ]ῶν ὀνομάτων τοῦ παντεπόπτου θεοῦ ιαιαω ιωιωω ιε | ιεε ουωα αδωναι. ὀρκίζω τ[ὸ]ν ἀρα[...] ἐν ῶ ἀπεδίκησας | καὶ τὸ αἶμα ὃ ἔλαβεν ὁ μέγα[ς] θε[ὸς] ιωθ[αθ] τελίσσατε ἅ ἐπιτάσ | σει [ὑ]μῖν Ἀκραμμαχαμαρι καὶ μ[ὴ] π[άλ]ιν ἀναγκ[α]σθῶ τὰ αὐτὰ λέγειν | [...] ηαιωικω c. 6 τ[ὴν] Ἴσιον ἣν ἔτεκεν Ἄυει καομένην | βασανιζομένην πρὸς ἐμὲ τ[ὸν] Πρίσκο[ν] ὃν ἔτεκεν ἠ Ἀννους | ἐπὶ φιλία μανικῆ καὶ ἔρωτι [ἠδονικῶ] ἐπὶ τῆ σήμερον ἡμέρα | [c. 18] χο[c. 5] ἐξ[ορκ]ίζω ὑμᾶς [κατὰ τῆς] κρατε | ἄς ἀνάγκης μασκελλι μασ[κελλω

φ]νουκενταβαωθ αρεοβ | [ζα]γ[ρα] ρησιχθων ίπποχθω[ν] πυρ[ι]πηγανυξ
περ[ι]πηγανυξ | ίνα άξητε και δεσμεύσατε τήν Ίσιν ήν έτεκεν Αυει προς φι | λίαν μου
του Πρίσκου ον έτεκεν ή Αννους και πάλιν έξορκίζω ύ | μάς κατά του βασιλεύοντος
ύμων ίνα μη παρακούσητε και πά | λιν έξορκίζω ύμάς κατά τών καθημένων επί τών
τεσσάρων | κέντρων <τών> άνέμων ίνα μη παρακούσητε και πάλιν έξορκίζω | ύμάς
κατά του έχοντος τον άέρα μη παρακούσητε και πάλιν | έξορκίζω ύμάς [κατά τών]
έπτὰ θρόνων αχλαλ αλα φεν | ωθ βαλαω βεω βολβη βολβηε βολβεωωθ
βολβεωωθ | βολβεωωθ υωφθω και πάλιν έξορκίζω ύμάς κατά του άπαραι | τήτου
χνουωρ αβρασαξ [ι]ψενθανχουχαϊνχουχεωχαχ | συνλάβετε τήν Ίσιν ήν έτεκεν Αυει
ής έχετε τήν ουσίαν και | καταδήσατε αυτήν δεσμοίς αλύτοις ισχυροίς άδαμαντίνοις
| επί έρωτι μανικῶ και φιλία ήδονικῆ και μηρόν μηρῶ | και χειλος χειλω
κολλησάτω εις τὰ συνουσιάσαι έμοι | τῶ Πρίσκῶ [όν] έτεκεν Αννους μηδὲ βινηθήτω
ύπό άλλου {αν} | άνδρὸς ει μη έμοῦ μόν[ου Πρί]σκου ον έτεκεν Αννους δι | άξατε
δεσμεύσατε και παράξατε τήν Ίσιν ήν έτεκεν Αυει προς | [έμ]έ τον Πρίσκον ον έτεκεν
Αννου[ς --].ον πασ.. | [c. 4] c. 10 ε τελίαν τήν [έπαιοι]δήν, [ήδη ήδ]η ταχύ ταχύ.

26 δ .. πς ed. pr., prb. δαίμονες, cf. comm. ad loc. | | 29 <έξ>ορκίζω ed. pr. | έν ωαπ
ε(ύ)δικήσας ed. pr. | | 35 [--] ρκ[c. 5]υμα ed. pr., cf. comm. | | 35-36 κρατε| .. ed. pr.,
cf. comm. | | 38 ε...σατε ed. pr., cf. comm. | | 43 <ίνα> μη ed. pr. | | 54 ...ε..τε ed. pr. |
παρα...τε ed. pr.

2.4.6. Hawara, lead tablet, s. II-III, now Cairo Museum Jd'E 48217, ed. *Suppl.Mag.* I 46
παρακατα{θ}τ[ι]θομαι ύμειν, θεοίς καταχθον[ίοις] και θεαίς καταχθονίαις,
Πλούτωνι | Υεσμιγαδωθ και Κούρη Περσεφόνη Εροσχιγαλ και Άδώνιδι τῶ και
Βαρβαριθα και Έρμη | καταχθονίω Θεουθ και Άνουβιδι κραταιῶ Ψηριφθα, τῶ τὰς
κλειδας έχοντι τών καθ' Άδ[ου], | και δαίμοσι καταχθονίοις, άώροις τε και άώραις,
μέλλαξί τε και παρθένοις, έν{ν}ιαυτούς [έξ έ] | νιαυτών, μήνας εκ μηνών, ήμέρας έξ
ήμερῶν, νύκτας έγ νυκτών, ώρας έξ ώρῶν· όρκ[ίζω] | πάντας τους δαίμονας τους
έν τῶ τόπω τούτω, συνπαράστατε τῶ δαίμονι τούτω· διέγι | ρέ μοι σεαυτόν, νέκυσ
δαίμων, όστις ποτέ ει, είτε άρσης είτε θήλια, και ύπαγε ις {ις} πάντα τόπον και | εις
πᾶν άμφοδον και εις πᾶσαν οικίαν, και κατάδησον Έρωνοῦν, ήν έτεκεν Πτολεμαίς,
έμοι Ποσι | δωνίω ον έτεκεν Θεσενουβάσθις όπως μη βινηθῆ, μη πυγισθῆ, μη λεικάση,
μηδέν προς | ήδονήν ποιήση άλλω άνδρι ει μη έμοι μόνω Ποσιδωνίω, ίνα μη
δύνηται Έρωνοῦς μη | φαγεῖν, μη πειν, μη στέργειν, μη καρτερεῖν, μη εύσταθεῖν, μη
ύπνου τυγχάνειν έκτός έμοῦ | Ποσιδωνίου, ότι όρκίζω σε κατά του όνόματος του
φοβεροῦ και τρομεροῦ, οὔ ή γῆ άκούσασα | τὸ όνομα άνοίγεται, οὔ οι δαίμονες
άκούοντες τὸ όνομα έμφοβοι τρέμουσι, οὔ οι ποταμοί και | θάλασσαι άκούουσαι τὸ
όνομα έμφοβοι φοβοῦνται, οὔ αι πέτραι άκούουσαι τὸ όνομα ρήσσονται· όρκί | ζω
σε, νέκυσ δαίμων, όστις ποτέ ει, είτε άρσης είτε θήλια, κατά του Βαρβαραθαμ
χελουμβρα | βαρουχαμβρα Αδωναιου και κατά του Αβραθ Αβρασαξ Σεσενγεν
Βαρφαραγγη και κατά του | Ιαω ιωα πακεπτωθ πακεβραωθ σαβαρβαριαωθ μαρει
ένδόξου και κατά του Μαρμαραιωθ και | κατά του Μαρμαραωθ Μαρμαραυωθ
μαρμαραχθα αμαρζα μαρει βαιωθ· μή μου πα | ρακούσης, νέκυσ δαίμων, όστις ποτέ
ει, και ύπαγε ις πάντα τόπον και ις πᾶν άμφο | δον και εις πᾶσαν οικίαν, και ένεγκέ
μοι Έρωνοῦν, ήν έτεκεν Πτολεμαίς, και κατάσχεσ αυτής | τον βροτόν και τον
ποτόν· μη έάσης Έρωνοῦν άλλου άνδρὸς πείραν λαβεῖν ει μη έμοῦ | μόνου
Ποσιδωνίου ον έτεκεν Θεσενουβάσθις· έλκεται Έρωνοῦν τῶν τριχῶν και τῶν |
σπλάγχχνων αυτής προς έμέ Ποσιδώνιον πᾶσαν ώραν του αιώνος, νυκτός και
ήμέρας, | μέχρι οὔ έλθη Έρωνοῦς προς έμέ Ποσιδώνιον και άδιαχώριστόν μου
αυτήν ποιήσης μέ | χρι θανάτου, ίν' έχω αυτήν Έρωνοῦν ήν έτεκεν Πτολεμαίς

ὑποτεταγμένην ἐγὼ Πο|σιδώνιος ὄν ἔτεκεν Θεσενουβάσθις ἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς μου, ἤδη | ἤδη, ταχύ ταχύ. ἐὰν τοῦτό μοι ποιήσης, ἀπολύσω σε.

2.4.7. Middle Egypt (?), lead tablet found in clay vessel with clay female figurine, bound and pierced, now Paris, Louvre inv. E 27145, s. II-III, ed. *Suppl.Mag.* I 47
παρακατατίθεμαι ὑμῖν τοῦτον τὸν κατάδεσμον, θεοῖς καταχθονίοις, Πλούτωνι καὶ Κόρη Φερσεφόνη | Ερεσχιγαλ καὶ Ἀδώνιδι τῶ καὶ Βαρβαριθα καὶ Ἑρμῆ καταχθονίω Θεουθ Φωκενσεψευ ερεκταθου μισον|κταικ καὶ Ἀνούβιδι κραταιῶ Ψηριφθα, τῶ τὰς κλειδας ἔχοντι τῶν κατὰ Ἄδους, καὶ δαίμοσι κατα|χθονίοις, θεοῖς, ἄωροις τε καὶ ἄωραις, μέλλαξι καὶ παρθένοις, ἐνιαυτοῖς ἐξ ἐνιαυτῶν, μήνασι | ἐκ μηνῶν, ἡμέραις ἐκ ἡμερῶν, ὥρασι (ἐξ) ὥρων, νύκτες ἐκ νυκτῶν· ὀρκίζω πάντας τοὺς δαί|μονας τοὺς ἐν τῶ τόπῳ τούτῳ συναρραστῆναι τῶ δαίμονι τούτῳ Ἀντινόω· διέγειραί μοι σε|αυτὸν καὶ ὑπαγε εἰς πᾶν τόπον, εἰς πᾶν ἄμφοδον, εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν, καὶ κατάδησον Πτολε|μαῖδα ἦν ἔτεκεν Αἰας τὴν θυγατέρα Ὡριγένους ὅπως μὴ βινηθῆ, μὴ πυγισθῆ, μὴ|δὲν πρὸς ἡδονὴν ποιήσῃ ἐταίρω ἀνδρὶ εἰ μὴ ἐμοὶ μόνῳ, τῶ Σαραπάμμωνι, ὄν ἔτε|κεν Ἀρέα, καὶ μὴ ἀφῆς αὐτὴν φαγεῖν, μὴ πείν, μὴ στέγειν μήτε ἐξελεῖν μήτε | ὑπνου τυχεῖν ἐκτὸς ἐμοῦ, τοῦ Σαραπάμμωνος οὗ ἔτεκεν Ἀρέα· ἐξορκίζω σε, νεκύδαιμον | Ἀντίνοε, κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματοε [τοῦ] τρομεροῦ καὶ φοβεροῦ, οὗ ἡ γῆ ἀκούσασα τοῦ ὀνό|ματος ἀνυγήσεται, οὗ οἱ δαίμονες ἀκούσαντες τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐν φόβῳ φοβοῦνται, | οὗ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ πέτραι ἀκούσαντες (τοῦ ὀνόματος) ῥήσ[ονται]· ὀρκίζω σε, νεκύδαιμον Ἀντίνοε, | κατὰ τοῦ Βαρβαρθαμ χελουμβρα βαρού|χ| Ἀδωναι καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀβρασαξ καὶ | κατὰ τοῦ Ἰαω πακεπτῶ πακεβραωθ σαβαρβαφαι καὶ κατὰ | τοῦ Μαρμαραουωθ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Μαρμαραχθα μαμαζαγαρ· μὴ παρα|κούσης, νεκύδαιμον Ἀντίνοε, ἀλλ' ἐγειραί μοι σεαυτὸν καὶ ὑπαγε εἰς πᾶν τό|πον, εἰς πᾶν ἄμφοδον, εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν καὶ ἄγαγέ μοι τὴν Πτολεμαῖδα, | ἦν ἔτεκεν Αἰας τὴν θυγατέρα Ὡριγένους· κατάσχεσ αὐτῆς τὸ βροτόν, | τὸ ποτόν, ἕως ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸν Σαραπάμμωνα, ὄν ἔτεκεν Ἀρέα, | καὶ μὴ ἐάσης αὐτὴν ἄλλου ἀνδρὸς πείραν λαβεῖν εἰ μὴ ἐμοῦ μόνου, | τοῦ Σαραπάμμωνος· ἔλκε αὐτὴν τῶν τριχῶν, τῶν σπλάγχχνων, | ἕως μὴ ἀποστῆ μου, τοῦ Σαραπάμμωνος οὗ ἔτεκεν Ἀρέα, καὶ ἔχω | αὐτὴν, τὴν Πτολεμαῖδα ἦν ἔτεκεν Αἰας τὴν θυγατέρα Ὡριγένους | ὑποτεταγμένην εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς μου, | φιλοῦσάν με, ἐρῶσ[ά]ν μου, λέγουσάν μοι ἃ ἔχει ἐν νόῳ. ἐὰν τοῦτο | ποιήσης, ἀπολύσω σε.

2.4.8. Unknown provenance, lead tablet, now in Ann Arbor, T.Mich. inv. 6925, s. II-III *Suppl.Mag.* I 48 [sections A-I, *logoi* and *Schwundeschemata*, are omitted here]
ἀβεραμενθωουλερθεξαναξεθρελυωθνεμαρεβα, | παρατίθημι ὑμῖν τὸν κατάδεσμον τοῦτον, θεοῖς καταχθονίοις, Πλούτωνί τε καὶ Κόρη Ὡσεμμειγαδων καὶ Κούρη Περσεφόνη | Ερεσχιγαλ καὶ Ἀδώνιζι τῶ καὶ Βαρβαριθα καὶ Ἑρμῆ καταχθονίω Θεουωθ Φωκενσεψευ εαρεκταθου μισονκταιχ καὶ Ἀνούβιδι | κρατεῶ Ψηριφθα, τῶ τὰς κλειδας ἔχοντι τῶν κατὰ Ἄδους, καὶ δέμοσι χθονίοις, θεοῖς, ἄωροις τε καὶ ἄωρες, μέλλαξι τε καὶ παρθένοις, ἐνιαυ|τοὺς ἐξ ἐνιαυτῶν, μήνας ἐξ μηνῶν, ἡμέρας ἐξ ἡμερῶν, νύκτας ἐξ νυκτῶν, ὥρας ἐξ ὥρων· ἐξωρκίζω σε, πάντας τοὺς δαί|μονας τοὺς ἐν τῶ τόπῳ τούτῳ, συναρρασταθῆνε τῶ νεκυδαίμονι· (ἐγειρέ μοι σεαυτόν, νεκυδαίμων,) ὅστις ποτὲ εἶ, ἦτε ἄρσης εἶτε θήλια, καὶ ὑπαγε εἰς πᾶν τόπον, | εἰς πᾶν ἄμφοδον, εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν, καὶ κατάδησον Κοπρίαν, ἦν ἔτεκε μήτηρ Ταῆσις, ἧς ἔχῃς τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς, Αἰλουρίωνι | ᾧ ἔτεκε μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία, ὅπως μὴ βινηθῆ μεδὲ πυγισθῆ μήτε ἡδονὴν ποιήσῃ ἐτέρῳ νεανίσκῳ ἢ ἄλλῳ ἀνδρὶ | εἰ μὴ μόνῳ Αἰλουρίωνι ᾧ ἔτεκε μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία, ἀλλὰ μητὲ δυνηθῆ μήτε φαγεῖν μήτε πῖν μήτε ὑπνου τυχεῖν διὰ παν|τὸς μήτε εὔσταθῖν ἢ ἰσυχάζιν τῆ ψυχῆ ἢ τῆς

φρεσί ἐπιζητοῦσα Ἐλουρίωνα ὄν ἔτεκε μήτηρ Κοπρία, ἕως οὗ ἐκπηδήση
{ἐκπηδή|ση} ἐκ παντός τόπου καὶ πάσης οἰκίας Κοπρία ἦν ἔτεκε μήτηρ ὀνόματι
Ταῆσις ἥς ἔχισ τὰς τρίχας πυρουμένη καὶ ἔρθη πρὸς Ἐλουρίωνα | ὄν ἔτεκε μήτηρ
ὀνόματι Κοπρία, φιλοῦσα ἐρώσα ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς, ἐξ ὅλου πνεύματος, φίλτροις
ἀκαταπαύστοις καὶ ἀδιαλίπτοις | καὶ παραμονίμοις ἐρωτικοῖς Ἐλουρίωνα ὄν ἔτεκε
μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία, ἔρωτι θίω ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας, ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρτι | ὥρας
ἐπὶ τὸν λοιπὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἀτῆς Κοπρία χρόνον, ὅτι σε ἐξωρκίζω, νεκυδαίμων, κατὰ
τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ φοβεροῦ καὶ τρο|μεροῦ, οὗ ἢ γῆ τὸ ὄνομα ἀκούσασα ἀνυγήσετε,
οὗ οἱ δαίμονες τὸ ὄνομα ἀκούσαντες ἔμφοβοι τρέμουσιν, οὗ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἐ |
θάλασσε τὸ ὄνομα ἀκούσαντες ταρασσόντε, οὗ ἐ πέτρε τὸ ὄνομα ἀκούσαντες
ρήσσωντε, κατὰ τοῦ Βαρβαριθαμ Βαρβαριθααμ | χελομβρα βαρουχαμβρα
Αδωναιου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Αμβραθ Αβρασαξ Σεσενγεν Βαρφαραγγης καὶ κατὰ τοῦ
Ιαω Σαβαωθ Ιαεω | πακενψωθ πακενβραωθ σαβαρβατιαωθ σαβαρβατιανη
σαβαρβαφαι μαρι ἐνδόξου Μαρμαραωθ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ουσερβεν|τηθ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ
Ουεερπατη καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Μαρμαραυωθ μαρμαραχθα μαρμαραχθαα αμαρδα μαρι
βεωθ· μή μου παρακούσης τῶν | ἐντολῶν, νεκυδαίμων, ὅστις ποτ' ἴ, εἴτε ἄρρης εἴτε
θήλια, ἀ(λ)λ' ἔγειρέ μοι σεαυτὸν καὶ ὕπαγε εἰς πᾶν τόπον, εἰς πᾶν ἄμφοδον, | εἰς
πᾶσαν οἰκίαν, καὶ κατάδησον Κοπρίαν ἦν ἔτεκε μήτηρ Ταῆσις ἥς ἔχισ τὰς τρίχας τῆς
κεφαλῆς, Αἰλουρίωνι ᾧ ἔτεκε | μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία, ὅπως μὴ βινηθῆ μηδὲ
πυγισθῆ μήτε ἡδονὴν ποιήσῃ ἄλλω νεανίσκω ἢ ἐτέρω ἀνδρὶ, ἀλ|λὰ μητέ δυνηθῆ
μήτε φαγῖν μήτε πῖν μήτε ὕπνου τυχῖν μήτε ἡσυχάζιν τῆ ψυχῆ ἢ τῆ διανοία
ἐπιζητοῦσα διὰ παντός ἡμέ|ρες κέ νυκτὸς Ἐλουρίωνα, ὄν ἔτεκε μήτηρ ὀνόματι
Κοπρία, φιλοῦσα ἐρώσα ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας, ἐξ ὅλου πνεύματος, ὡς τὴν ἑαυ|τῆς ψυχὴν
Κοπρία, ἥς ἔχισ τὰς τρίχας, φιλοῦσα ἔρωτι θίω μέχρι θανάτου Αἰλουρίωνα ὄν ἔτεκε
μήτηρ ὀν{ον}όματι Κοπρία, ἦδη | ἦδη, ταχύ ταχύ. (signs) | (signs) |
ωεωεουωαιωαωαω ωαεωαουωα αααααα αεωαεαεω ιαω ιαω αειω |
ἀεο...ωαηω αιναεω Ιαεω μαρζα | μαρι βέωθ, μή μου παρακούσης τῶν ἐντολῶν, |
νεκυδέμων, ὅστις ποτ' ἴ, ἀλλ' ἔγειρέ μοι σεαυτὸν | καὶ ὕπαγε εἰς πᾶν τόπον, εἰς πᾶν
ἄμφοδον, | εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν, καὶ ἄξον Κοπρίαν ἦν ἔτε|κε μήτηρ Ταῆσις ἥς ἔχισ τὰς
τρίχας, Ἐλουρί|ωνι ᾧ ἔτεκε μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρί(α), πυρου|μένην, καομένην,
τηκομένην τὴν ψυχὴν, | τὸ πνεῦμα, τὴν γυνεκίαν φύσιν, φιλοῦσαν | ἐρώσαν ἔρωτι
θίω Ἐλουρίωνα ὄν ἔτεκε | μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία, μέχρι θανάτου, ἦδη | ἦδη, ταχύ
ταχύ. ἐγὼ εἰμι Βαρβαδωναιαί | Βαρβαδωναι, ὁ τὰ ἄστρα κρύβων, ὁ τὸν οὐ|ρανὸν
κρατέων, ὁ τὸν κόσμον ἀληθεύων, | ιαθεουν ιατρεουν σαλβιουθ Αωθ | Αωθ
σαβαθιουθ ιατ'θεραθ Αδωναιαί | ισαρ συρια βιβιβε βιβιουθ ναθω | Σαβαωθ
αιαναφα αμουραχθη σαταμα | Ζεὺς αθερεοφιλαω.

complex of three texts: two lead tablets and clay pot inscribed with ink
metrical, performative motifs about going down to the underworld and seeing the various
sandals, cf. Marcellus 15.89 and P.Mich. inv. 7 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P LXX) with Jordan
2001, 186-193; also *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.2293-2294, 2334; P VII.786
2.4.9. Oxyrhynchus, lead tablet, part of assemblage, s. II-III, now Cologne, T.Köln inv. 1,
Suppl.Mag. I 49

ιαεωβαφρενεμουνοθιλαρικριφιαεουαιφικριραλιθονουομενερφα | φιλίτω Ματρῶνα ἦν
ἔτεκεν {ταγ}[] Ταγένη ἥς | βωεαι Ιαω Αδωναι Ελωε βαρουχ Αδωναι | ἔχισ τὴν
οὐσίαν, Θεόδωρον ὄν ἔτεκεν Τεχωσις ἐπὶ | τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς, ἦδη
ἦδη, ταχύ ταχύ. | παρακατατίθημι ὑμῖν τοῦτον τὸν κατάδεξμον, θεοῖς
κα|ταχθονίοις καὶ Πλούτωνι Υεσσεμιγαδων, Ὁρθῶ βαυ|βῶ Κόρη Περσεφονίη
Ερεσχιγαλ καὶ Ἀδώνιδι τῶ Βαρβα|ριωνηθ καὶ Ἑρμία καταχθονίω Θεουθ
Φωκενταζε|ψευ καὶ Ἀνούβιδι καρτερῶ Ψηριχθα κανχενε[...]θ, τῶ | τὰς κλῖδας

ἔχοντι τῶν καθ' Ἄδους πυλῶν, κα[ἰ δαίμ]ο[σι κα] | ταχθονίοις, θεοῖς, <άώραις> τε καὶ
 άώροις, μέλλαξι τε [καὶ παρ] | θένοις, ἐνιαυσίους ἐξ{ξ} ἐνιαυτῶν, μῆνες ἐκ μ[η]νῶν,
 ἦ | μέραις ἐξ{ξ} ἡμερῶν, νύκτε{κτε}<ς> ἐκ νυκτῶν, ὥρεσιν [ἐξ] {ξ} ὠρ[ῶ]ν· | [ὄρ]κίζω
 πάντα τοὺς δέμονας τοὺς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τ[ού]τῳ συμ | [{συμ}] παρασταθῆναι τῷ
 δέμονι τούτῳ· ἐγειρέ μοι σεαυτὸν | [ἀπὸ τ]ῆ[ς] ἐχούσης σε ἀναπαύσεως καὶ ὕπαγε
 εἰς πᾶν | [τό]πον καὶ εἰς πᾶν ἄμφοδον [ε] καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν | [καὶ π]ᾶν καπηλίον,
 καὶ ἄξον, κατάδησον Ματρῶναν | [ἦν ἔτ]εκεν Ταγένη{ς} ἧς ἔχισ τὴν οὐσίαν, ἐ τρίχες
 τῆς | [κεφ]αλῆς αὐτῆς, ταύτην, ὅπως μὴ βινηθῆ, μὴ πυγισθῆ, μὴ | [λαι]κάση, μήτε
 ἀφρο(δι)σιακὸν ἐπιτελέση μεθ' ἑτέρου, μὴ | [ἄλλ]ῳ ἀντρί συνέλθῃς εἰ μὴ Θεοδώρῳ,
 ὃν ἔτεκεν Τεχῳσις, | [ἄλλ]ὰ μ[ὴ] δυ]νηθήτω πῶποτε Ματρῶνα χωρὶς Θεοδώρου' |
 [μὴ καρτε]ρῖν, μὴ εὐσταθῖν μηδὲ ὕπνου τυχεῖς νυκτὸς | [ἦ] ἡμέρας, Ματ[ρ]ῶνα ἦν
 ἔτεκεν Ταγένη οὐ ἴσιν ἐ τρίχες | [τῆς κεφαλῆς] αὐτῆς, χωρὶς Θεοδώρου ὃν ἔτεκε
 Τεχῳσις, | [ὅτι ἐξορκί]ζω σε, νεκυδέμων, κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ τρο | [μεροῦ κ]αὶ
 φοβεροῦ, οὐ ἠ γῆ ἀκού{ο}ουσα τὸ ὄνομα ἀνύγετε | {[ἀν]ύ[γε]τε, οὐν οἱ δέμονες}, οὐ
 οἱ δέμονες ἀκούοντες τὸ ὄνομα ἔμφοβοι τρέμουσιν, οὐ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἐ θάλασσα
 ἀκού | [ο]ντες τὸ ὄνομα ἔμφοβοι τρέμουσι, <οὐ αἰ πέτραι ἀκούουσαι τὸ ὄνομα>
 ῥήσσονται ὄρ[κί]ζω σε, νεκυδέμων, ἴτε ἄρσης ἴτε θήλια, κατ[ὰ τοῦ] | Βαρβαθαθα
 χαλουμβρα βαρουχ Αδωναιου | θεοῦ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Αβρασαξ βραῳσα
 'βα'βαρβαριαωθ | σαβαρβαριαωθ Σεσενγε Βαρβααραφαργ'γης μαρι | ονιοξας καὶ
 κατὰ τοῦ Μαρμαραχθα μαλαμαρζα μαρι βα | [ρι]ωθ· μή μου παρακούσης,
 νεκυδαίμων, ὅστις ποτ' [ου] | [εἶ, κ]αὶ ἐγειρέ μοι σεαυτὸν, ὅτι ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τῆς
 κυρίας | [Ε]κάτης Ἀρτέμιδος, δέμων· δαμνω δαμνολυκα'κη' | δαμνίππ[α]η
 δαμνομενια δαμνοβαθιρα | δαμνοβαθιρι δαμνομενια | δαμηαμωνη | δαμηαμωνη
 βριαω Αρσενοφρη αχεωπηθιθου | ρακρινια . Ακτιωφι Ερεσχιγαλ Νεβουτοσουαληθ
 | σαλβαναχαμβρη Υεσσεμιγαδων Ὁρθῶ Βαυβῶ | νοηρε κοδηρε συῖε σανκιστη
 δωδεκακιστη ἀκρου | βορε | β | ρα ἀκρουροβορέ [ο] νυκτιτρόμε· ὀρκίζω σε | κατὰ τῶν
 φρικτῶν σου ὀνομάτων αθθα βαβαραθα | βαραθαθ βαβριθηεαθ βαρβααρα Ιαωθ
 βριθ | μαρχθαχαμα .. αχθαο αρμαχα ζαραχθα | κα[λ]εσάντρα, βιασάντρα,
 κατανικάντρα· ὀρκίζω | σε, [νεκ]υδαίμων, φορβορ φορ[βα]φορβα αρχισ[.]. |
 νειχαρ]οπληξ, ἐντινόν σου τὸ τόξος εἰς τὴν καρ[δί]αν Ματ[ρ]ῶνας ἦν ἔτεκεν Ταγένη
 ἧς ἔχισ τὴν οὐσ[ί]αν, ἐπ' [ἔ]ρωτι καὶ φιλία Θεοδώρου ὃν ἔτεκεν Τεχ[ω]σις. |
 αμ.[..].θα, φυσιτρόμε, νυκτιτρόμε, κελύω σ[ε]· “στέμ]μα, κλ[εῖς, κη] | ρύκ[ιο]ν, τῆς
 Ταρταρούχου χάλ(κ)εον τὸ σάνδαλον, τῆς δε[c. 6] | που χρύσειον τὸ σάνδαλον·
 ἰδῶν δὲ ἐγὼ ἔφυγον τ[ὴν σιδη] | ροσάνδαλον, ἔβην δὲ ἐπ' ἴχνοις χρυ(σ)οσανδάλου
 Κόρη[ς]· σωσόν | με, σωσίκοσμε, Δήμητρος κόρη.” ἐπιτελοῦσά μοι τὸν
 [κατά] | δεσ[ς]μον τοῦτον ἄξον, κατάδησον Ματρῶναν [ἦν ἔτε] | κ[ε]ν Τ[α]γένη ἧς
 ἔχισ τὴν οὐσίαν, ἧς ἔχι ἐν ν[ό]ω Θεόδω | ρος ὃν ἔτεκεν Τεχῳσις. “ασκι κατὰ σκι[ερῶν]
 | ὀρέων μελαναυγία χῶρον <Περσεφόνης> ἐκ κήπρου [ἄγει πρὸς ἀ] | μουλγὸν
 ἀνάγκης τὴν τετραβάμονα π[αῖς ἀγίην Δῆ] | μητρος {ς} ὀπ[η]δῶν, ἐξ ἀμακαντορίας
 [νασμοῦ θα] | λεροῖο γ[ά]λακτος, θεσομενον <...> λαμπάδος ἰνωδί[α] | Ἐκάτη
 φρεϊκῶιδι φωνῆ βαρβαρεὸν κράζουσα θεὰ . | [2-3] ν ἡγεμονεύεις. νύξ, ἔρεβον
 σκότιον, ἐών, | φάος, Ἄρτεμις ἀγνή, εξετωνεπε τετραβάμων δορκ .[.] | πασαεα
 καιστῶ ἀγαλλομένη Ἄφροδίτη, Περσεφονίη, φορβη | ιωχαρις οιωαιαιω πρόσκοπη
 ιωδαμασεα.” φύλαξον ἄλυ | τον τὸν κατά {τα} δεζμον τοῦτον εἰς αἰῶνα· βωρφο[ρ
 1-2?] | φορβα φορ φορβα φωρβωρ φορβα φορβα β[ορ] | φ]ορβα φορβα φαβη
 φωρφορ φωρφορ· ἄξ[ον,] | κατάδησον καὶ ἀγρύπνησον Ματρῶναν ἦν ἔτεκεν |
 Ταγένη ἧς ἔχισ τὴν οὐσίαν, ἧς ἔχι ἐν νόω Θεόδω | ρος ὃν ἔτεκεν Τεχῳσις, φιλοῦσα <ν>
 αὐτὸν νυκτὸς | καὶ ἡμέραις, πάσα ὥρα τοῦ αἰῶνος αὐτῆς, | καὶ [μηδένα] ἐκ {κ} τὸς
 Θεοδώρου, | ἦδη ἦδη, ταχὺ ταχύ, | ἄρτι ἄρτι.

2.4.10. Oxyrhynchus, lead tablet with assemblage, s. II-III, now Cologne, T.Köln inv. 2, ed. *Suppl.Mag.* I 50

[φ]ιλίτω Ματρῶνα ἦν ἔτεκεν | Ταγένη {ς}, οὗ ἐσιν ἐ τρίχες τῆς κεφα | λῆς αὐτῆς, φιλίτω Θεόδωρον | ὃν ἔτεκεν Τεχῶσις, ἦδη, ταχύ. | παρ[α]καταθήμη ὑμῖν τὸν κατὰ | δεσ {ζ}μον τοῦτον, θεοῖς κατα | χθονίοις, Πλούτωνι καὶ Κόρη | καὶ Περσεφόνη καὶ δέμονες κα | ταχθονίοις, νεκροῖς, <ἁώραις> τε καὶ ἁώ | ροις, παρθένοις καὶ μέλλαξιν, συν | παρασταθῆναι τῶ δέμονι τούτῳ· | ὅστις ποτὲ εἶ, 'Καμη[ν]ίς', νεκυδαίμων, ἔγει | ρέ μοι σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐχούσης | σε ἀναπαύσεως· ἐξορκίζω σε γὰρ | κατὰ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματος, οὗ φρί | σι τὰ ὄρη καὶ τρέμι τὰ δεμόνια· | οἴπαγε εἰς [ου] πᾶν τόπον καὶ εἰς ἴ | ἄμφοδον καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν | καὶ εἰς πᾶν καπηλίον, καὶ κατὰ | δησον Ματρῶναν ἦν ἔτεκεν | Ταγένη ἧς ἔχισ τὰς τρίχες τῆς κεφα | λῆς αὐτῆς, ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ Θεοδώρου | ὃν ἔτεκεν Τεχῶσις· ποιήσον τὴν | Ματρῶναν ὑποταγῆναι Θεοδώρῳ, | μηδαμῆ ἐκτὸς Θεοδώρῳ, μη[δε] | δὲ ὑπνου τυγχάνη Ματρῶνα | νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέραις, ἕως ἔλθη | Ματρῶνα πάση ὥρᾳ πρὸς Θε | οδώρον φιλοῦσα αὐτόν, καὶ <ποιήσον> | τὴν Ματρῶναν ἦν ἔτεκεν | Ταγένη ὑπήκοον εἶναι Θεο | δώρῳ· ἐξορκίζω σε γὰρ κα | τὰ τοῦ ἐνδόξου ὀνόματος | [οβ] Οβαχ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Βαρβα | ραθαμ βαρουχ βαρουχα | βαρουχ Αδωναιου θεοῦ | σαβαρααμ χαβαρα | αμ | σαβαρααμ χαβαρααμ .[.] | Αδωναιίου Αβρασαξ | Σεσενγε Φαραγγης Ιαω | Ιαω μεμβρεωθι τεφρε | ωθι Ιαρβατιαω Αρβατιαοθ | Ακραμμαχαμαρει Ακραμμα | χαμαρει ἐνδόξω Μαμαρα | ωθ Μαρμαριουωθ Μαρμα | ιοθ Μαρμα[ρ]ι'ά'οθ χθαμα | αμαζε μαρι βαριοθ· ὀρκίζω | σε, μὴ παρακούσης τῶν ὄνο | μάτων, ἀλλὰ ἐξέγειρε σεαυ | τὸν καὶ ὕπαγε εἰς πᾶν τόπον, | ὅπου ἐστὶ Ματρῶνα ἦν ἔτε | κεν Ταγένη ἧς ἔχισ τὴν οὐ | σίαν, καὶ ἀπελθε πρὸς αὐτὴν | καὶ κατάσχεσ αὐτῆς τὸν ὕ | πνον, τὸ ποτόν, τὸν βρο[το] | τόν, καὶ μὴ ἀφῆς Ματρῶναν | ἦν ἔτεκεν Ταγένη ἧς ἔχισ | τὴν οὐσίαν, ἄλλου ἀντρός | φιλίαν ἔχιν καὶ στοργήν, | εἰ μὴ Θεοδώρῳ, ὃν ἔτ | εκεν Τεχῶσις· ἔλκε τὴν | Ματρῶναν τῶν τριχῶν, | τῶν σπλά(γ)χνων, τῆς ψυχῆς', | τῆς καρδίας, ἕως ἔλθη πρὸς' | Θεόδωρον, καὶ ἀχώριστον | αὐτόν ποιήσον μέχ(ρ)εις θα | νάτου νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέραις, | πάσα ὥρᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος, | ἦδη ἦδη, ταχύ ταχύ, ἄρτι ἄρ'τι'. | ἄμ μοι τοῦτο τελέσης, | λύσω σε ταχέως.

2.4.11. Oxyrhynchus, inscribed clay vessel, part of assemblage, s. II-III, now Cologne, O.Köln inv. 409, *Suppl.Mag.* I 51

...[.]...[.]...[.]... φιλείτω Ματρῶνα, ἦν ἔτεκεν Ταγένη ἧς ἔχεις τὴν οὐσίαν, τὰς τρίχας] | τῆς κεφ[αλῆς αὐτῆς, Θεό]δωρον, ὃν ἔτεκεν Τεχ[ωσις]. ἐξορκίζω σε, νεκυδαίμων, κατὰ τοῦ Βαρβα[ρα] | θαμ β[α]ρουχ βαρου[χ]α [Αδων]αιου θεοῦ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ [c. 30 | Σ]εσ[ε]νγεν Φαρ[α]γγης Ιαω [Ι]αω καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Μ[αρ]μαρα[ω]θ]. μὴ μου παρακο[ύ]σης, νεκυδαίμων, ὅστις ποτ' εἶ, καὶ ἔγειρέ | μοι σεαυτὸν καὶ ἀπελθε πρὸς τὴν Ματ[ρῶ]ναν, ἵνα χαρ[ί] | [σηταί μοι] πάντα τὰ ἐ[αυτῆς, καὶ ἐπιτέλεσον μοι τοῦτον τὸν] | κατὰ δεσ {ζ}μον, ἦδη ἦδη, ταχύ· ὅτι ἐξορκίζω c. 6]ος δέμω[ν, c. 30] | νωφρις σαξα βαφαρ· τέλει ταχύ τ[αχύ c. 10]...[c. 30] | ὡς ἡ ἴσις τὸν Ὅσιριν ἐφ[ί]λησεν, οὕτως φιλείτω ἡ Ματρῶνα τὸν] | Θεόδ[ω]ρον ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον [τ]ῆς ζωῆς [αὐτῆς, ἦδη ἦδη, | τα]χύ ταχ[ι].ε[λύ], σήμερον. | []. Ιαω Σαβαωθ Αδων[αι] βαρβαραθαμ] | βαρουχα βαρού[βα]χ[] | ἐξορκί[ζω σε κατὰ ὄνομα]τος τοῦ [Αβρα]σαξ.

procedure for erotic magic, inscribing two statues made from wax or clay from a potter's wheel, one male and one female, the male armed like Ares and striking the female, the female on her knees, activated with οὐσία from the target; the female figure inscribed all over with magic words, on her chest her metronym; the user pierces the female figure with

13 pins (περόνη), first in the brain, with the performative motif περονῶ σου, ἡ δεῖνα, τὸν ἐγκέφαλον (323), and the rest in various other areas (2 in ears, 2 in eyes, 1 in mouth, 2 in sides, 1 in hands, 2 in genitals, 2 in feet), each time saying περονῶ τὸ ποιὸν μέλος τῆς δεῖνα, ὅπως μηδενὸς μνησθῆ πλὴν ἐμοῦ μόνου, τοῦ δεῖνα (327-328); a lead sheet inscribed and bound to the figurines with thread with 365 knots, and also read aloud; the assemblage is deposited at sunset παρὰ ἀώρου ἢ βιαίου θήκην (333), along with fresh flowers; this inscription includes epic diction and a reference to ἐπαιδαί (μηδὲ σὺ μνησίης κρατεραῖς ἐπ' ἐμαῖς ἐπαιδαῖς, 407)

2.4.12. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574, ff. 5r-7r (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.296-466)

1. φίλτροκατάδεσμος θαυμαστός· λαβὼν κηρὸν (ἢ πηλὸν) | ἀπὸ τροχοῦ κεραμικοῦ πλάσον ζῶδια δύο, ἄρρε | νικὸν καὶ θηλυκόν· τὸν μὲν ἄρσενα ὡς Ἄρεα | καθωπλισμένον ποιήσον τῆ ἀριστερᾶ χειρὶ | κρατοῦντα ξίφος, καταπλήσσοντα αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν | κατακλεῖδα τὴν δεξιάν, αὐτὴν δὲ ὀπισθάγγωνα | καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα καθημένην, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν | ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἄψεις ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ τραχήλου. |

2. γράψον δὲ εἰς τὸ πλάσμα τῆς ἀγομένης· ἐπὶ μὲν | τῆς κεφαλῆς· ἴση ἰάω ἰθι οὐνε βριδω | λωθίων νεβουτοσουαληθ'· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς δε | ξιάς ἀκοῆς· 'ουερ μηχαν·' ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς εὐωνύ | μου· 'λιβαβα ωῖμαθοθο', ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὀρά | σεως· 'ἀμουναβρεω·' ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ὀφθαλ | μοῦ· 'ωρορμοθιο αηθ·' ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου· | 'χοβουε·' ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς δεξιᾶς κλειδός· 'αδετα | 'χοβουε·' ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς δεξιᾶς κλειδός· 'αδετα | μερου·' ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ βραχίονος· | 'ενε ψα ενεσγαφ·' ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου· 'μελ | χιου μελχιεδια', ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν χειρῶν· | 'μελχამελχου αηλ·' ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ στήθους τὸ | ὄνομα τῆς ἀγομένης μητρόθεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς | καρδίας· 'βαλαμιν Θωούθ·' καὶ ὑπὸ τὸ ὑπογάστριον | 'αοβης αωβαρ·' ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς φύσεως· 'βλιχιανεοι | ουωῖα', ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς πυγῆς· 'πισσαδαρα·' ἐπὶ δὲ | τῶν πελμάτων τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ· 'ελω·' τοῦ δὲ ἄλλο[υ]· | 'ελωαιοε·'

3. καὶ λαβὼν δεκατρῆις βελόνας | χαλκᾶς πῆξον α' ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου λέγων | 'περονῶ σου, ἡ δεῖνα, τὸν ἐγκέφαλον', καὶ β' εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς | καὶ β' εἰς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ α' εἰς τὸ στόμα καὶ β' | εἰς τὰ ὑποχόνδρια καὶ α' εἰς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ β' | εἰς τὰς φύσεις καὶ β' εἰς τὰ πέλματα καθ' ἅπαξ λέ | γων· 'περονῶ τὸ ποιὸν μέλος τῆς δεῖνα, ὅπως μη | δενὸς μνησθῆ πλὴν ἐμοῦ μόνου, τοῦ δεῖνα·'

4. καὶ λα | βῶν πλάτυμμα μολυβοῦν γράψον τὸν λόγον τὸν | αὐτὸν καὶ δῖωκε καὶ συνδήσας τὸ πέταλον τοῖς | ζῶδιαις μίτω ἀπὸ ἴστοῦ ποιήσας ἄμματα τεξε, | λέγων, ὡς οἶδας· 'Ἀβρασάξ, κατάσχεσ, τίθεισαι | ἡλίου δύνοντος παρὰ ἀώρου ἢ βιαίου θήκην, παρα | τιθῶν αὐτῶ καὶ τὰ τοῦ καιροῦ ἄνθη. λόγος ὁ γρα | φόμενος καὶ διωκόμενος· 'παρακατατίθεμαι | ὑμῖν τοῦτον τὸν κατάδεσμον, θεοῖς χθονίοις | Ὑεσεμιαδων καὶ Κούρη Περσεφόνη Ἐρεσχιγὰλ | καὶ Ἀδώνιδι τῶ Βαρβαριθα, Ἐρμη καταχθονίω | Θωούθ φωκενταζεψεν αερχθαθου μι | σονκται καλβαναχαμβρη καὶ Ἀνούβιδι κρα | ταιῶ ψιρινθ, τῶ τὰς κλεῖδας ἔχοντι τῶν καθ' Ἄι | δου, θεοῖς καὶ δαίμοσι καταχθονίοις, ἀώροις τε | καὶ ἀώραις, μέλλαξί τε καὶ παρθένους, ἐνιαυτοὺς | ἐξ ἐνιαυτῶν, μῆνας ἐκ μηνῶν, ἡμέρας ἐξ ἡμε | ρῶν, ὥρας ἐξ ὥρῶν. ὀρκίζω πάντας δαίμονας | τοὺς ἐν τῶ τόπῳ τούτῳ συναρρασταθῆναι τῶ δαί | μοι τούτῳ· καὶ ἀνεγείρε μοι σαυτόν, ὅστις ποτ' εἶ, | εἴτε ἄρρην, εἴτε θῆλυς, καὶ ὑπαγε εἰς πάντα τόπον | καὶ εἰς πᾶν ἄμφοδον καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν καὶ ἄξον | καὶ κατάδησον· ἄξον τὴν δεῖνα, ἢν δεῖνα, ἢς ἔχεις τὴν οὐ | σίαν, φιλοῦσάν με τὸν δεῖνα, ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα· μὴ βινη | θήτω, μὴ πυγισθήτω μηδὲ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ποιή | [σ]η μετ' ἄλλου ἀνδρός, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἐμοῦ μόνου, τοῦ δεῖνα, | ἴνα μὴ δυνηθῆ ἡ δεῖνα μήτε πείν μήτε φαγεῖν, μὴ | στέργειν, μὴ καρτερεῖν, μὴ εὐσταθῆσαι, μὴ ὑπνου | [τ]υχεῖν ἡ δεῖνα ἐκτὸς ἐμοῦ, τοῦ δεῖνα, ὅτι σε ἐξορκίζω κατὰ | τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ φοβεροῦ καὶ τρομεροῦ, οὐ ἢ γῆ ἀκούσα | [σ]α τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀνοιγήσεται, οὐ οἱ δαίμονες | ἀκούσαντες τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐνφόβου φοβηθήσονται, | οὐ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ αἱ πέτραι ἀκούσαντες τὸ ὄνομα | ῥήσονται. ὀρκίζω σε, νεκύδαιμον, εἴτε ἄρρης, | εἴτε θῆλυς, κατὰ τοῦ

ἔταξας ἐν ἀνθρώποισι δαῖναι | νήματα Μοιράων, καὶ σαῖς ὑποθημοσύνησι. | κλήζω
δ' οὔνομα σόν, Ὡρ', ὄν Μοιρῶν ἰσάριθμον· | ἀχαῖφω θωθω φιαχα αἶη ηῖα ἰαη· ηῖα |
θωθω φιαχα· ἴλαθί μοι, προπάτωρ, κόσμου | θάλος, αὐτολόχευτε, πυρφόρε,
χρυσοφαῖ, | φαεσίμβροτε, δέσποτα κόσμου, | δαῖμον ἀκοιμήτου πυρός, ἄφθιτε,
χρυσεόκυκλε, φέγγος ἀπ' ἀκτίνων καθαρὸν πέμπων ἐπὶ γαῖαν | πέμπων τὸν
δαίμονα ὄνπερ ἐξήγησάμην, τῇ δεῖνα (κοινόν). ἄλλως τὸ ὄνομα ἀχαῖ φωθωθω αἶη·
ηῖα· | ἰαη· ηῖω θω θω φιαχα, ἄλλως ἀχαῖ φωθωθω αἶη ἴηα ηαῖ ἰαη· | αἶη ἴηα
ωθωθω φιαχα.'

Ἰ κηρόν (ἡ πηλόν) *Pap.Graec.Mag.*

incantations and making a ξίφος Δαρδάνου; includes a performative motif, κλίνω τὴν
ψυχὴν τοῦ δεῖνα

2.4.13. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574, ff. 20r-21v (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.1716-1870)

ξίφος Δαρδάνου· πρᾶξις ἢ κα|λουμένη ξίφος, ἧς οὐδέν ἐστιν | ἴσον διὰ τὴν
ἐνέργειαν· κλί|νει γὰρ καὶ ἄγει ψυχὴν ἀντι|κρυσ, οὗ ἂν θέλης, λέγων τὸν | λόγον
καὶ ὅτι· 'κλίνω τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δεῖνα.' | λαβῶν λίθον μάγνητα τὸν | πνέοντα
γλύφον Ἀφροδίτην | ἰππιστὶ καθήμενην ἐπὶ Ψυ|χῆς, τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ κρατοῦ|σαν,
τοὺς βοστρύχους ἀναδου|μεομένην, καὶ ἐπάνω τῆς | κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς· ἀχμαγε |
ραρπευει· ὑποκάτω δὲ | τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τῆς Ψυχῆς | Ἔρωτα ἐπὶ πόλου ἐστῶτα,
λαμ|πάδα κρατοῦντα καομένην, | φλέγοντα τὴν Ψυχὴν. ὑποκά|τω δὲ τοῦ
Ἔρωτος τὰ ὀνόματα | ταῦτα· ἀχαπα Ἄδωναῖε | βασμα χαρακω Ἰακῶβ· Ἰάω η·
φαρφαρηῖ· εἰς δὲ τὸ | ἕτερον μέρος τοῦ λίθου Ψυχὴν | καὶ Ἔρωτα
περιπεπλεγμέ|νους ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς πό|δας τοῦ Ἔρωτος ταῦτα· σσς-|σςσς,
ὑποκάτω δὲ τῆς | Ψυχῆς· ηηηηηηηη· γλυφέν|τι δὲ τῷ λίθῳ καὶ τελεσθέντι | χρῶ
οὕτως· λαβῶν αὐτὸν | ὑπὸ τὴν γλῶσσάν σου στρέφε, | εἰς ὃ θέλεις, λέγε τὸν λόγον
τοῦ|τον· ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε, τὸν ἀρχη|γέτην πάσης γενέσεως, τὸν διατείναντα τὰς
ἑαυτοῦ | πτέρυγας εἰς τὸν σύμπαντα | κόσμον, σὲ τὸν ἀπλατον καὶ | ἀμέτρητον, εἰς
τὰς ψυχὰς πά-

σας ζωογόνον ἐμπνέ|οντα λογισμόν, τὸν συναρ|μοσάμενον τὰ πάντα τῇ ἑαυ|τοῦ
δυνάμει, πρωτόγονε, παν|τὸς κτίστα, χρυσοπτέρυγε, με|λαμφαῖ, ὁ τοὺς
σώφρονας | λογισμοὺς ἐπικαλύπτων | καὶ σκοτεινὸν ἐμπνέων οἷ|στρον, ὁ κρύφμιος
καὶ λάθρα | ἐπινεμόμενος πάσαις ψυ|χαῖς· πῦρ ἀθεώρητον γεν|νᾶς βαστάζων τὰ
πάντα | ἔμψυχα οὐ κοπιῶν (αὐ)τὰ βασα|νίζων, ἀλλὰ μεθ' ἡδονῆς ὄδου|νηρᾷ τέρπει,
ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα | συνέστηκεν. σὺ καὶ ἐντυγ|χανόμενος λύπην φέρεις | ποτὲ μὲν
σώφρων, ποτὲ δὲ | ἀλόγιστος, δι' ὃν ὑπὲρ τὸ καθῆ|κον τολμῶντες οἱ ἄνθρω|ποι
ἐπὶ τὸν μελανφαῖ | σε καταφεύγουσιν. νεώτατε, | ἄνομε, ἀνίλαστε, ἀλιτάνευ|τε,
αἰδῆ, ἀσώματε, οἰστρο|γενέτωρ, τοξότα, λαμπαδοῦ|χε, πάσης πνευματικῆς |
αἰσθήσεως, κρυφίων πάν|των ἀναξ, ταμία λήθης, | γενάρχα σιγῆς, δι' ὃν τὸ φῶς |
καὶ εἰς ὃν τὸ φῶς χωρεῖ, νή|πιε, ὅταν γεννηθῆς ἐν|κάρδιος, πρεσβύτατε, ὅταν |
ἐπιτευχθῆς· ἐπικαλοῦμαι | σε, τὸν ἀπαραίτητον, τῷ | μεγάλῳ σου ὀνόματι·
αζαραχθαραζα λαθα | ιαθαλ· συυ λαθαῖ· | αθαλλαλαφ· ιοιοιο· αἰ | αἰ· αἰ· αἰ ουεριευ·
οιαῖ· | λεγετα· ραμαῖ· αμα· ρα|ταγελ· πρωτοφανῆ, νυ|κτιφανῆ, νυκτιχαρῆ,
νυ|κτιγενέτωρ, ἐπήκοε, | ερηκισιθφη αραραχααρα | ηφθισικηρε Ἰαβεζεβυθ | ἰῶ
βύθιε· βεριαμβω | βεριαμβεβω· πελάγιε | μερμεργου· κρύφιε καὶ | πρεσβύτατε
ἀχαπα· Ἄδω|ναῖε· βασμα· χαρακω· Ἰακῶβ· | Ἰάω· Χαρουήρ· Ἀρουήρ· Λαίλαμ· |
Σεμεσιλάμ· σουμαρτα· μαρβα· | καρβα· μεναβωθ· ημια· ἐπὶ|στρεψον τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς
δεῖνα εἰς | ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα, ἴνα με φιλή, ἴνα μου | ἐρᾷ, ἴνα μοι δοῖ τὰ ἐν ταῖς χερ|σὶν
ἑαυτῆς. λεγέτω μοι τὰ ἐν | τῇ ψυχῇ ἑαυτῆς, ὅτι ἐπικέκλη|μαι τὸ μέγα σου ὄνομα.'
εἰς δὲ | πέταλον χρυσοῦν τὸ ξίφος | τοῦτο γράφε· εἰς Θουριήλ· | Μιχαήλ· Γαβριήλ·

Οὐριήλ· | Μισαήλ· Ἰρραήλ· Ἰστραήλ· | ἀγαθὴ ἡμέρα γένοιτο τῷ ὀνόματι, καὶ ἐμοί,
 τῷ εἰδότηι αὐτὸ | καὶ περικειμένῳ, τὴν ἀθάνατον καὶ ἄπτωτον ἰσχὺν τοῦ | θεοῦ
 παρακαλῶ. δὸς δέ μοι | πάσης ψυχῆς ὑποταγὴν, ἧς | ἂν ἐπικαλέσωμαι. καὶ δὸς |
 τὸ πέταλον καταπεῖν πέρδι | κι καὶ σφάξον αὐτὸν καὶ | ἀνελόμενος φόρει περὶ | τὸν
 τράχηλον ἐνθεῖς εἰς | τὴν λεπίδα παιδέρωτα | βοτάνην. ἔστιν τὸ ἐπί | θυμα τὸ
 ἐμψυχοῦν τὸν Ἐ | ρωτα καὶ ὅλην τὴν πρᾶξιν· | μάννης δραχμαὶ δ', στύρακος
 δραχμαὶ δ', | ὀπίου δραχμαὶ δ', ζμύρνης <δραχμαὶ δ'>, λίβα | νος, κρόκος, βδέλλα ἀνὰ
 | ἡμίδραχμον. ἰσχάδα λιπα | ρὰν μίξας ἀναλάμβανε | οἴνῳ εὐώδει πάντα ἴσα καὶ |
 χρῶ εἰς τὴν χρῆσιν. ἐν δὲ | χρήσει πρῶτον ἐπίθου, καὶ | οὕτως χρῶ. ἔχει δὲ καὶ
 πρᾶ | ξιν πάρεδρος, ὅς γίνεται | ἐκ μορέας ξύλου· γίνεται δὲ | Ἐρωσ πτερωτὸς
 χλαμίδα | ἔχων, προβεβληκῶς τὸν | δεξιὸν πόδα, κοῖλον ἔχων | τὸν νῶτον. εἰς δὲ
 τὸ κοίλωμα | βάλε χρυσοῦν πέταλον κυ | πρὶω γραφείω γράψας ψυχρη | λάτω
 τινὸς τὸ ὄνομα· | Ἐρωσ πτερωτῆς—γενεῶν μοι | πάρεδρος καὶ παραστάτης | καὶ
 ὄνειροπομπός. καὶ ἐλ | θῶν ὀψὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἧς βού | λει, κροῦε τὴν θύραν αὐτῆς |
 τῷ Ἐρωτι καὶ λέγε· ἰδέ, ὦδε | μένει ἡ δεῖνα, ὅπως παρασταθεῖς | αὐτῇ εἴπησ, ἃ
 προαιροῦμαι, | ὁμοιωθεῖς ᾧ σέβεται θεῷ ἢ δαι | μονι. καὶ ἐλθὼν σου εἰς τὸν | οἶκον
 θὲς τράπεζαν καὶ | ὑποστρώσας σινδόνα κα | θαρὰν καὶ ἄνθη τὰ τοῦ καιροῦ | θὲς
 ἐπάνω τὸ ζῶδιον, εἴτα | ἐπίθου αὐτῷ καὶ λέγε τὸν | λόγον συνεχῶς τὸν τῆς |
 ἐπικλήσεως καὶ πέμπε, | καὶ ποιήσει ἀπαραβάτως. | ὅταν δὲ κλίνῃς τῷ λίθῳ, |
 ἐκείνη τῇ νυκτὶ ὄνειρο | πομπεῖ· ἄλλη γὰρ ἄλλων ἔχεται.

2.4.14. London, Wellcome Library cod. 517, paper page inserted post f. 204, backwards in current disposition

1. primum experimentum amoris et certissimum in toto mundo et uocatur amor hereos et etiam flos florum omnium experimentorum amoris. et incipies in die Veneris prima hora post mediam noctem luna crescente. tunc recipe unam tegulam nouam et recentem et scribe in ea imaginem illius personae et dic 'ego N formo et facio tibi imaginem in forma et similitudine istius personae N, istius mulieris.'

2. et debe(s) sculpere cum tallo supra tegulam incipiendo capite descendendo et dic 'o Venus adiuua me.' et uideas in parte meridionali et scribe imaginem sicut patet retro supra tegulam.

3. postea facies ignem de ligno et surge et accipe tegulam in sinistra manu et uerte te ad meridionalem partem et lege istam orationem scilicet 'omnipotens sempiternus deus qui in principio caelum et terram creasti, mare et omnia quae in eis sunt, qui Adam et Euam ad similitudinem tua(m) creasti et in paradiso terrestri misisti et eis ne a ligno comedere praecepisti, qui incredulis angelis propter superbiam inferni(s) tradidisti, qui Susannam a falso crimine liberasti, qui Iudit de [[oli]] manu Oliferni liberasti, Daniele de lacu leonis, tres pueros de camino ignis ardentis, Ionam de uentre ceti, et Adam de profundo inferni precioso sanguine redemisti et Paulum de mari et Petrum de uinculis liberasti et conseruasti, te supplex supplex piissime pater inuoco deprecans quatenus me querente me pulsante per tuam magnam potentiam constingere possim illos malignos spiritus angelos qui potestatem habent constringere uirum in mulierem et mulierem in uirum, principaliter illos quattuor spiritus qui uim habent et potestatem super illos spiritus in orbis quattuor partibus uidelicet Astaroth Godras Aroth Vymon.' dic istam orationem ter.

4. postea dic istam coniurationem uersus meridiem 'o princeps meridionalis Astaroth, coniuro te cum omnibus sub collegio existentibus qui potestatem habent ad amorem mulierum siue uirorum | per alpha et o [[et]] et primum et nouissimum abros abios ruben rubert caste caste hely messyas sabaoth adonay sother emanuel. coniuro uos Astaroth cum omnibus sub collegio existentibus qui habent potestatem ad amorem mulierum siue uirorum per annuntiationem domini nostri Iesu Christi, per caelum et terram, mare et

omnia quae in eis sunt, per quattuor uentos, per quattuor elementa, per septem planetas et per caelum emperium et per uirtutem istius nominis tetragrammaton quod in fronte tulit Aaron et per caput principis et regis uestri Luciferi et per eius coronam qui religatus est in inferno et per omnes potestates infernales et a quibus potest coniuurari ac [[sub]] suppeditari ut a proprio loco uestro meridionali recedat et tam cito sine mora eatis ad filiam N talis mulieris N ut ita crudeliter eum uel eam in amore meo inflammetis ut istud opus imaginis quod factum est ad formam et similitudinem N ut sicut ista imago inflammetur in igne isto, sic ardeatur ac inflammetur corpus eius N taliter ut nullo modo durare neque quiescere dormiendo uigilando stando sedendo bibendo comedendo iacendo sic quod ad me cogitet quousque ad me ueniat et totaliter uoluntatem meam adimpleuerit.’ sic coniuurabis omnes quattuor spiritus quilibet per se cum suis collegiis coniuurabis in oriente et Aroth cum suis collegiis in australi et Godras cum suis collegiis in occidente. et quando prima coniuuratio est facta uel lecta etiam ponas uel iacias tegulam in igne nouem uicibus debetis legere coniuurationem quattuor uicibus sic in sero et de mane quater tribus diebus uel quattuor uel quinque uel septem et sine dubio ueniet cum die uel furibunda fiet.

15 igne cod. || 18 inuoca cod. a.c. || 22 coniuurationem cod. a.c., then the entire word crossed out and the letter o added in front || 34 inflammatis cod. || 36 inflammetis cod. | ardet cod. | inflammet cod.

2.4.15. Munich, BSB clm 849 (s. XV), ff. 8r-11v; ed. Kieckhefer 1998, 199-203; re-collated with digital facsimile

cum uolueris habere amorem a quacumque muliere uis siue longinqua siue propinqua, tam nobili quam proletaria in quacumque die uel nocte uis siue in augmento siue in amicitiae decremento, primo debes habere quandam columbam totam albam et chartam factam de cane femina dum est in amore, de qua est habere leuissimum. et debes scire quod praedicta charta potentissima est ad amorem mulieris habendum. debes etiam habere calamum aquilae. et in loco occulto accipere dictam columbam et cum dentibus morde eam penes cor ita ut cor egrediatur et cum calamo aquilae in dicta charta cum dicto sanguine scribe nomen illius quam uis, formare imaginem mulieris nudae quam melius scis, dicendo ‘formo talem N filiam talis quam habere desidero, nomine istorum sex spirituum calidorum, uidelicet tubal sathan reuces cupido afalion duliacus, quod ipsa me diligat super omnes uiuentes istius mundi.’ qua facta scribe in fronte nomen eius et hoc nomen ‘tubal’ dicendo ‘tu es talis filia talis, de cetero ad meam uoluntatem disposita, et tu es tubal in fronte eius, te iubeo permanere ligando sensus eius capitis sui ad me tantummodo cupientem.’ postea adhuc scribe in brachio suo dextro ‘sathan’ et in | sinistro ‘reuces.’ quibus scriptis sic dic ‘sicut tu sathan et tu reuces estis scripti in hac imagine facta nomine talis, ita continuo affligatis brachia ista sua ut aliquid facere nequeat sed me amplecti desideret.’ quo facto iterum scribe penes cor imaginis nomen tuum dicendo ‘sicut in corde istius imaginis sum, ita talis N die nocteque me in corde suo habeat.’ quo facto scribe supra uuluam imaginis hoc nomen ‘cupido’ dicendo sic ‘sicut tu cupido es super uuluam istius imaginis, ita semper maneat super uuluam talis accendendo ipsam ut omnes uiros istius mundi despiciat et me tantummodo cupiat et ignis amoris mei ipsam torqueat et inflammet.’ quo facto scribe in crure dextro ‘afalion,’ in sinistro ‘duliacus.’ quibus scriptis dic ‘sicut tu afalion et tu duliacus estis scripti in hac imagine, ita sedeatis in cruribus talis affligendo crura eius propter amorem uehementem mei quod non uelit ire nec ire desideret aliquo nisi huc.’ quibus dictis accipe ipsam imaginem ambabus manibus et flexis genibus dic sic ‘adtraxi cor et mentem talis per hanc imaginem et prouoco in ipsam inuocatione forti quod ipsa me diligat cupiat et affectet et etiam tota

nocte in somno aspiciat, per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum qui uiuit | et regnat et imperat in aeternum.’ quibus dictis habeas myrrham et saffranum et facto igne dictam imaginem suffumiga dicendo hanc coniurationem ‘coniuro uos omnes demones in hac imagine scriptos per dominos uestros quibus obedire tenemini, scilicet sobedon badalam et lerith, quatenus talem cuius imago est hoc nomine figurata in amore meo accendere debeatis ut die nocteque in me cogitet in me speret donec cum affectu meam compleuerit uoluntatem et sicut in hac imagine scripti et fixi estis, ita in ipsa recumbatis donec de ea faciam quidquid uelim.’ hac igitur coniuratione ter dicta et facta suffumigatione habeas caudae pilum cuiusdam equi et suspende dictam chartam cum dicto pilo ita ut moueatur ab aere et dimitte stare. illa uero die uel sequenti uel alia uel quando potes ad illam mulierem accedas et procul dubio libentissime te uidebit dicens sine te stare non posse et hoc habeas pro constanti et tuo animo faciet uoluntatem et super omnia te diliget in aeternum si bene seruaueris imaginem eius nomine figuratam in qua uirtus talis existit. immo et de hoc magis est admirandum, hoc est signum, antequam uidisses ipsam statim facta hac imagine | cum ad eam accesseris erit de <te> taliter philocapta quod dum te uiderit quod non recedas ab ipsius coniunctione priuatus, immo de omni quod uolueris contentus habebis. si uero ad eam non possis accedere siue timore aut loci distantia aut aliqua interueniente causa, potes ipsam apportari facere per supradictos demones qui ita efficaces sunt quod si esses in oriente in una hora ipsam ob occasu portarent sine aliquo periculo, et similiter reportarent sine aliqua diuulgatione. et ut sit facta imago ut dictum est et suspensa illa die in aliqua hora diei sufflas in ipsa ita quod flatu tuo moueatur et similiter secunda die et tertia die. in nocte uero ipsius diei tertii uel etiam in ipsa die solus uel cum tribus sociis fidelibus accipe dictam imaginem et cum illo pilo liga ipsam ad collum tuum et pendet in pectore tibi. et habeas quendam ensem et in terra fac circulum cum dicto ense. facto circulo stans intus uoca socios si habeas qui nihil faciant nisi quod in circulo sedeant et ludum uideant, quos si non habueris quod melius est. habeas stilum ferreum et circa circulum scribe ut hic apparet cum silentio semper. quo facto | dic hanc coniurationem. *[figure of circle labeled in center locus magistri and around edge clockwise from top rator lampoy despan brulo dronoth maloqui sacola gelbid mascifin nartim et lodani]*. ‘coniuro uos demones in hoc circulo sculptos quibus data est potestas et potentia ducendi et alligandi mulieres in amore uirorum per uirtutem et potentiam maiestatis diuinae et per thronos et dominationes et potestates et principatus illius qui dixit et facta sunt et per illos qui non cessant clamare una uoce dicentes “sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus sabaoth, pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua, hosanna in excelsis, | benedictus qui uenit in nomine domini, hosanna in excelsis,” et per haec nomina pauentia et tremantia uos, scilicet rator lampoy despan brulo dronoth maloqui sacola gelbid mascifin nartim et lodani, et per anulum istum qui hic est et per innumerabiles potentias uestras et ma(gist)rorum uestrorum quod ubicumque sitis de locis uestris sine mora surgatis et ad talem pergatis et statim sine fallacia ipsam huc ducatis et cum uolueris ipsam reportabitis et de hoc nemo sentiat uel perpendat.’ qua dicta ter uersus anulum aspiciendo audies quandam uocem dicentem ‘ecce nos sumus’ et statim eos uidebis, sex domicellos pulchriores et mites tibi eadem uoce dicentes ‘assumus hic parati tibi parere benigne. dic igitur quid uis et statim subito faciemus.’ tu autem dices ‘eatis ad talem et mihi ipsam sine mora ducatis.’ quibus dictis subito recedent, ante horam ipsam sine laesione portabunt. et scias quod nullus ipsorum potest ingredi circulum sed ipsam apportent apud ipsum et ipsa porriget tibi manum et intus ipsam trahis. quae aliquantulum est attonita, tamen uult libentissime | tecum stare. doceo etiam te quod quanto maiorem circulum facis, melius est tibi quare in eo potes facere circulum et in ipso melius extendere. si enim aliquid tui esset ultra signum circuli, malum esset tibi. uenta itaque muliere, omnes spiritus euanescent, potes enim retinere hanc mulierem in dicto circulo quantum tibi placet quare cum mulier ingreditur

circulum, dicere debes illis spiritibus ‘unus uestrum uadat ad locum a quo talem apportauistis et in forma ibidem maneat donec ipsam hic habuero.’ hiis dictis omnes abient cum silentio. cum autem illa die ac nocte ac mense ac anno quando tibi placuerit quod ipsam ad domum uolueris reuertere dic sic ‘o uos spiritus qui talem huc duxistis, accipite ipsam et ad domum suam portate, et quotiens ipsam reuoluero, ipsam sitis in reportando subiecti, uenite igitur per miras ualentias quas ineffabiliter exercemini.’ quibus ter dictis uenient quinque spiritus qui eam te uidente portabunt. memento enim quando ipsa egreditur circulum in dicendo ‘uale’ tangere ipsam cum imagine quam habes ad collum quare in aeternum pro hac te diliget et neminem praeter te uidere curabit. imaginem semper interim quod cum muliere | moraris ad collum retinere debes quae semper ipsi mulieri inuisibilis apparebit et cum ipsa abierit, dissolue ipsam a collo tuo et in quoddam uasculum diligenter reconde et ipsa recondita dilue totum circulum et secure egrediaris. et quando iterum ad te uenire uolueris fac ut desuper dictum est et nota quod experimentum est efficacissimum et in eo nullum periculum est. quo solo experimento Salomon habebat quascumque mulieres uolebat. et haec dicta sufficiant pro habendis mulieribus. et debet fieri cum sollempnitatibus maximis.

2̄ proletaria *conieci* : p(ro)lipia *cod.* (‘meaning plebeia?’ *Kieckhefer*) || 3 decremento *Kieckhefer* || 8 <debes> formare *Kieckhefer* || 18 noctuq(ue) *cod.* || 19 wulu- *cod.* et *passim* || 25 accipit *cod.* || 32 Berith *cor.* *Kieckhefer* || 33 noctuq(ue) *cod.* || 34 recumbaris *cod.* || 37 illa(m) *cod.* || 38 dicere <se> *Kieckhefer* || 39 super te omnia *cod.* || 42 <te> *suppl.* *Kieckhefer* || 44 aliq° *cod.* || 45 tamen potes *Kieckhefer* || 47 dimulgatio(n)e *cod.* || 51 quandam *cod.* || 54 quo facto *ditt. cod.* || 65 ma(gist)rorum *conieci* : maiorum *Kieckhefer* || 69 parare *cod.* || 73 wult *cod.* || 74, 77, 86 quia *Kieckhefer* || 76 euanent *Kieckhefer* (*euanēt cod.*) || 78 forma <eius> || 79 qua *a.c.* || 84 exercimini *cod.* || 88 qui *cod.* || 89 ipsum *cod.* || 90 quando <eam> *Kieckhefer*

2.4.16. Munich, BSB clm 849 (s. XV), ff. 29v-31v; ed. Kieckhefer 1998, 226-228; re-collated with digital facsimile

recipe ceram uirginream arte uirginizatam et hoc in die Iouis uel in die dominico hora Veneris uel hora Iouis. ex dicta cera facias imaginem ad carbones accensas sine fumo in una olla positos et habeat magister de capillis mulieris pro qua uult facere et tres filis saetae rubeae. et habeas tecum cultellum albi manubrii ad hoc factum et uade ad locum ubi artifex facit acus et tu facias facere ab eodem artifice hora solis usque ad horam Saturni. deinde magister | habeat duos socios fideles et uadat ad arborem fructiferam et faciat magister circulum et incipiat magister artem facere siue imaginem mulieris pro qua facis semper murmurando in corde tuo ‘tu belial tu astaroth tu paymon ad hoc sitis opus mihi adiutores’ et similiter murmurando dices ‘ego N formo istam imaginem in amorem talis ut ualeat ad quod facta est et tu belial pernicialis princeps ad hoc opus sis mihi adiutor.’ et tunc magister faciat imaginem de praedicta cera incipiens hora Iouis descendendo usque ad horam Saturni. et sic formata imagine faciat fieri | magister ab artifice perito nouem acus qui eas faciat corpore balneatus et nitidis uestibus indutus, faciat dictas acus hora solis usque ad horam Saturni. postea magister fingat dictas acus in imagine ita collocando unam in capite aliam in humero dextro tertiam in sinistro quartam ubi cor consueuit ab hominibus assignari ita dicendo ‘sicut ista acus fingitur in cor istius imaginis, ita fingatur amor N in amorem N quod non possit dormire uigilare iacere sedere ambulare sic quo usque in meum exardescat amorem,’ quintam in umbilico sextam in femore septimam in latere dextro octauam in sinistro nonam in ano. sic formata imagine christianizes ipsam imponendo sibi nomen pro qua facis submergendo ter et dicendo ‘quomodo uocatur?’ et respondetur ‘N,’ et tu debes dicere ‘ego baptizo te N in nomine

patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen.’ et postea pone imaginem in panno nouo et mundo dimittendo ab hora solis usque ad horam Martis. deinde facias istam coniurationem sub arbore fructifera ad carbones accensos et uoluas te uersus orientem et dicas ‘coniuro talis N caput tuum crines tuos oculos tuos aures tuas genas tuas, coniuro talis cerebrum tuum, coniuro N tunicas | cerebri tui, scilicet duram et piam matrem, coniuro N oculos tuos, coniuro N tunicas oculorum tuorum, coniuro N frontem tuam, coniuro N dentes tuos, coniuro N os tuum, coniuro N mentum tuum, coniuro N nasum tuum, coniuro N nares tuas, coniuro N palatum tuum, coniuro N gingiuas tuas, coniuro N guttur tuum, coniuro N humeros tuos, coniuro N spatulas tuas, coniuro N pectus tuum, coniuro N mamillas tuas, coniuro N corpus tuum, coniuro umbilicum tuum, coniuro N femur tuum, coniuro N renes tuos, coniuro N latera tua, coniuro N anum tuum, coniuro N costas tuas, coniuro N uuluam tuam, coniuro N genua tua, coniuro N crura tua, coniuro N talos pedum tuorum, coniuro N bracchia tua, coniuro N digitos manuum tuarum, coniuro N manus tuas, coniuro N ungues manuum tuarum, coniuro N cor tuum, coniuro N pulmonem tuum, coniuro N bucellas tuas, coniuro N stomachum tuum, coniuro N totam personam tuam, coniuro N totam substantiam tuam ut non possis dormire nec sedere nec iacere nec aliud artificiale facere donec meam libidinosam compleueris uoluntatem. coniuro te per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, per magistrum artis, per uirtutem ipsius, per sapientiam Salomonis, per uerum sabaoth, per uerum seraphin, per uerum emanuel, per omnia corpora sanctorum | quae iacent in Roma, per lunam et solem et dominum maiorem et per lac uirginis, per sanctam Mariam matrem domini nostri Iesu Christi, per eucharisma sanctum, per corpus et sanguinem Iesu Christi. coniuro uos et exorcizo uos, impero uobis ut sicut ceruus desiderat fontem aquarum, ita desideret N ad meum amorem. et sicut coruus desiderat cadauera mortuorum, ita desideras tu me. et sicut cera ista liquefacta a facie ignis, ita desideret N in meum amorem quod non possit’ et cetera. signa autem mulieris haec sunt et sequentur, solitudo inuolutio capitis ploratus gemitus percussiones euigilationes eiulationes. tunc magister siue ille qui facit uadat ad illam et si uiderit illam solam stantem et sedentem, tunc corroboret magister coniurationem usque ad quintam diem. et si illa in terra omnino fuerit, consumatur. si autem fuerit in uilla aut (in) aliam ciuitatem transierit, tamdiu magister faciat coniurationem quo usque illa possit uenire. et in hoc fuerunt concordantes nigromantici omnes astrologici Hispani Arabici Hebraei Chaldaei Graeci et Latini. et extractum fuit istud experimentum de secretis artibus imaginariae artis de floribus omnium experimentorum.

[f. 30r, figure of circle, in center locus magistri; around edge tu belial tu astaroth tu paymon ad hoc sitis opus mihi adiutores [michi opus cod. a.c.]]

1 \hoc/ cod. || 3 wult cod. || 4 facti cod. || 9 astaroth cod. || 10 inicialis Kieckhefer || 11 \tunc/ cod. || 17 (uel) ambulare {sic} Kieckhefer || 19 (mulieris) Kieckhefer || 25 tunicas tuas cod. a.c. || 26 cerebru(m) cod. || 31 umblicum cod. || 32 wul- cod. || 33 tales pedum tuarum cod. || 35 ungw- cod. || 39 mgrm cod. : magistratum Kieckhefer || 43 sangw- cod. | (et) impero Kieckhefer || 44 desiderat cod. : desideres Kieckhefer || 45 liquefacta conieci : liquefacit cod. || 48 (et) eiulationes Kieckhefer || 49 et cod. : aut corr. Kieckhefer || 50 (in) supplevi || 52 astroloyci cod. | hyspan cod. : Hispanici Kieckhefer || 53, 54 (ex libro) de suppl. Kieckhefer

[addendum] Heidelberg, UB cod. Pal. Germ. 263 (s. XVI: medical, alchemical, demonological texts), f. 267r

experimentum ad amorem. die et hora Veneris luna crescente fac imaginem de triplici cera uirginea pascali et communi. scribe in fronte eius ‘uirilidari,’ in pectore ‘pedicis aries scriba

celiel,' in papillis 'gemini ybsiex arcibra labra libra,' in latere dextro 'anaelimera,' in latere sinistro 'Venus belial' et dic 'coniuro uos angelos ministres amoris N uel alii quibuscumque nominibus nominati sitis qui habetis potestatem turbandi homines luxuria, quod sicuti ego N talem formo imaginem in nomine N, ita uolo et desidero et commoneo uos angelos supradictos N uel quibuscumque nominibus uocemini per deum creatorem per solem et lunam et septem planetas per duodecim signa zodiaci et per omnia signa firmamenti lucentia et per quatuor literas scriptas agla alpha et omega tetragrammaton, per ipsa nomina otheos yskiros athanatos et statim eatis ad domum N et eam calefaciatis in amorem meum et caniligitis et uoluatis cor suum ut me tantum amet uti uolo et desidero et ita tormentetur sicuti calefit imago ista facta nomine suo, ita tormentetur N filia N in amore meo N et tantam penam et accensionem et inmeratis ita quod omni nocte somniat se esse mecum in luxuria et ubicumque sit et illud tormentum ei inferatis et eam sentire faciatis et hoc in omni loco taliter tormentum quod non possit neque dormire neque uigilare donec fiat quod uolo.'

3 pastulis cod. || 5 luxertia cod. || 10 calefaceatis cod. || 11 caniligitis prp. cf. caligo? || 13 inmeratis prp. immitatis? || 16 denec viat cod.

[addendum] Heidelberg, UB cod. Pal. Germ. 263 (s. XVI: medical, alchemical, demonological texts), f. 269r-v

ad amorem. recipe ceram fluentem ex candela consecrata, crines de capite mulieris quam desideras, fac candelam ad longitudinem pollicis. ex una parte istius candelae scribe 'cinerabunt' et nomen eius, ex altera parte autem accende candelam et dic 'ego N coniuro uos spiritus coniugatores amoris guel abbas sathanas belzebub qui estis perscrutatores cordium et illud custoditis per patrem filium et spiritum sanctum. coniuro uos per patriarchas et prophetas et quatuor euangelistas, coniuro uos per castitatem sanctorum uirginum, coniuro uos per fidem sanctorum confessorum, per continentia(m) sanctarum uiduarum, coniuro uos per intercessionem omnium sanctorum qui placuerunt deo ab origine mundi usque ad consumationem saeculi, ego coniuro uos spiritus per cherubin et seraphin, per thronum et dominationes, per potestates, per uirtutes caelorum, coniuro uos spiritus per incarnationem domini nostri Iesu Christi, per passionem et gloriosam resurrectionem et mirabilem ascensionem ut circumdatis omnia uiscera | eius et uisum et gustum auditum tactum et ambitum eius et non detis ei aliquam quietem eundo stando transeundo dormiendo uigilando nec ullum opus faciendo nisi impleat uoluntatem meam et ardeat in amore meo sicut ardebant discipuli in amore domini nostri Iesu Christi. et sit tota dilectio inter me et eam sicut inter Adam et Euam.

[addendum] Heidelberg, UB cod. Pal. Germ. 263 (s. XVI: medical, alchemical, demonological texts), f. 267v

aliud experimentum. funde duas imagines in die Solis, unam pro te in hora Iupiteris, aliam pro muliere quam desideras in hora Veneris. et fac ut una aliam osculetur et amplectatur. in capite earum scribe nomina uestra cum sigillis planetarum. postea suffumiga eas cum cinamomo et croco et dic 'o uos spiritus amoris Iouis et Veneris, coniuro uos ut faciatis illam N ardere in continuo amore erga me et ut imprimatis meam imaginem et recordationem in cor eius ita ut quam diu durent imagines illae, ipsa me ueneretur amet et pareat secundum omnem meam uoluntatem.' postea sepeliantur imagines in loco ubi ipsa habitat.

2.5. slander

leading (ἀγωγή); making a lamp, 'slander' against the target as sacrilegious

2.5.1. London, BL P.Lond. inv. 121 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.593-619)

ἀγωγή ἀσχέτου· λαβὼν [λύχνο]ν ἐπ[τάμ]υξον | ἀμίλτωτον ποίησον ἐλλύχνιον
[ἀπ]ὸ πλοίου | νευαυαγηκότος καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τ[ο]ῦ [α'] ἐλλυχνίου | γράφε ζμύρνη
Ἰάω:, ἐπὶ τοῦ β' Ἀδωνάι, ἐπὶ τοῦ γ' | [Σα]βαῶθ:, ἐπὶ τοῦ δ' Παγουρη, ἐπὶ τοῦ ε'
Μαρ|[μορ]ουθ:, ἐπὶ τοῦ ς' Ἰαεω, ἐπὶ τοῦ ζ' Μιχαήλ, | καὶ βαλὼν ἔλαιον εἰς τὸν
λύχνον θές ἐπὶ θυρίδα | τῶ νότῳ βλέπουσαν. ἦτω δὲ καὶ ἀρτεμισίας | σπεῖρα ἐπὶ
τὸν λύχνον (κατὰ περι[φορὰν] λύχνου), καὶ δίωκε τὸν λόγον· ἐπικαλοῦμαι | ὑμᾶς,
τοὺς δυνάστας, μεγάλους θεοὺς, τοὺς | λαμπυριζομένους ἐν τῇ ἄρτι ὥρα, ἐν τῇ |
σήμερον ἡμέρα, χάριν τῆς ἀσεβοῦς δεῖνα. αὕτη γὰρ εἶρηκεν, | ὅτι ὁ Ἰάω πλευρᾶς
οὐκ ἔχει, ὅτι Ἀδωνάι ἐπὶ χόλω βία ἐβλήθη, : ὅτι Σαβαῶθ ἔβαλεν τὰς τρεῖς
κραυγᾶς. ἡ δεῖνα εἶρηκεν | ὅτι· ὁ Παγουρη ἀρσενόθηλυς ἔφυ'. ἡ δεῖνα εἶρηκεν | ὅτι·
ὁ Μαρμορουθ ἀπεκάπη'. ἡ δεῖνα εἶρηκεν | ὅτι· ὁ Ἰαεω οὐκ ἐπιστεύθη τὴν
λάρνακα'. ἡ δεῖνα | εἶρηκεν ὅτι· ὁ Μιχαήλ ἀρσενόθηλυς ἔφυ'. | οὐκ ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ
λέγων, δέσποτα, ἀλλ' ἡ ἀσεβῆς δεῖνα. | διὸ ἄξατέ μοι αὐτὴν φλεγομένην,
ὑποτασσομένην, | ὕπνου μὴ τυχεῖν, μέχρις ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμέ'. λέγε ζ'. | ἐὰν μὲν ὁ
π[ρ]ῶτος λύχνος πταρῆ, γνῶ, ὅτι εἴλημπαται | ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος. ἐὰν δὲ ὁ β',
ἔξηλθεν. ἐὰν δὲ ὁ γ', περι|πατεῖ. ἐὰν δὲ ὁ δ', ἦκει, ἐὰν δὲ ὁ ε', ἦκει εἰς τὸν πυλῶνα. | ὁ
ς', εἰς τὸν πεσσόν. ὁ ζ', ἦκει εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν. ἄγει δὲ καὶ | διαποντίους· ἵνα αὐτὸν τὸν
λύχνον [ἐ]νθῆς ἐν ὕδατίῳ | ὑπαι[θρίῳ, ἦτω δ]ὲ κάτω το[ῦ] λύ[χν]ου β[ᾶ]ρις
παπυρίνη, | καὶ δί[ωκε τὸν] λόγον ς'.

606 ἔχει, <ἡ δεῖνα εἶρηκεν> suppl. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* | ἐβλήθη. : <ἡ δεῖνα εἶρηκεν>
Pap.Graec.Mag.

2.5.2. Fayum, now in Oslo, P.Oslo inv. 420, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXVI.134-160 (no drawing): erotic magic, ἀγωγή, with rubric θαυμαστή, ἥς μεῖζον οὐδέν; invocation of divinities, using 'slander,' narrative with cosmic disturbance motif; erotic curse; also direct address to the female target (156-160)

ἀγωγή θαυμαστή, ἥς μεῖζον οὐδέν. λαβὼν ζμύρναν | καὶ λίβανον ἀρσενικὸν βάλε
εἰς ποτήριον καὶ ἀρχὴν ὄξους, | καὶ τρίτη ὥρα τῆς νυκτὸς βαλὼν εἰς τὸν στροφέαν
σου τῆς | θύρας λέγε τὸν λόγον ζ'. ἔστι δὲ ὁ λεγόμενος λόγος οὗτος· | 'ἐγείρεσθε, οἱ
ἐν τῶ σκότει δαίμονες, καὶ ἀνάλλεσθε ἐπὶ τὰ πλιν|θία καὶ κόπτεσθε τὰ στήθη
πηλωσάμενοι τὰ πρόσωπα. διὰ | γὰρ τὴν δεῖνα ἦν ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα τὰ ἀνόμιμα ῥᾶ
θύεται· πῦρ, πῦρ, | <ἀ>νομία, ἀνομία. ἡ γὰρ Ἰσις ἀνεβόησεν μεγάλην κραυ(γ)ήν, |
καὶ συνεταράχθη ὁ κόσμος· στρέφεται ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερὰν κλί|νην, καὶ διαρήσεται αὐτοῦ
τὰ δεσμὰ τοῦ τε δαιμονιακοῦ εἶνε|κεν τῆς ἐχθρᾶς καὶ ἀσεβοῦς τῆς δεῖνα, ἥς ἔτεκεν <ἡ>
δεῖνα. σὺ δέ, Ἰσι | καὶ Ὅσιρι καὶ χθονὸς <δαίμονες> Ἀβλαμουνηχῶθ, Ἀβρασάε, |
καὶ δαίμονες οἱ ὑπὸ τὸν χθόνον, ἐγείρεσθε, οἱ ἐκ τοῦ βάθους, | καὶ ποιήσατε τὴν
δεῖνα ἦν ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα ἀγρυπνεῖν, ἀεροπε|τεῖσθαι, πεινώσαν, διψῶσαν, ὕπνου μὴ
τυγχάνουσαν, ἐρᾶσθαι | ἐμοῦ τοῦ δεῖνα, οὗ ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα, ἔρωτι σπλαγχνικῶ, ἕως
ἂν ἔλθῃ | καὶ τὴν θηλυκὴν ἑαυτῆς φύσιν τῇ ἀρσενικῇ μου κολλήσῃ. | ἐὰν δὲ θέλῃ
κοιμᾶσθαι, ὑποστρώσατε αὐτῇ σιττύβας ἀκαν|θίνας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κοτράφων
σκόλοπας, ἵνα μοι ἐπινεύσῃ | ἐπὶ ἐταιρωτικῇ φιλίᾳ, ὅτι ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς, τοὺς κατὰ τοῦ
πυρὸς | τεταγμένους, Μασκελλι, Μασκελλω, Φνουκενταβαῶθ, | ὀρεοβαζαγρα,
ῥηξίχθων, [i]ππίχθων, πυριπηγαναε. | δέδεσαι, ἡ δεῖνα, τοῖς νεύροις τοῦ ἱεροῦ
φοίνικος, [i]νά φιλῆς | διόλου τὸν δεῖνα, καὶ οὐ μὴ σὲ λύσῃ οὐ κύων βαυβύζων, οὐκ
ὄνος | ὀγκώμενος, οὐ γάλλος, οὐ περικαθάρτης, οὐκ ἦχ[ο]ς κυμβάλου, | οὐ βόμβος
αὔλου, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ φυλακτήριον περὶ πᾶν, | ἀλλὰ κρατεῖσθω τῶ
πνεύματι.

Homeric diction, even outside of ‘hymns’, e.g. κυνοκεφάλιο at 2582

2.5.3. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.2436-2617)

ἀγωγή· σκευὴ ἐπιθύματος σεληνιακοῦ | ἄγουσα ἀσχέτους καὶ ἀνουσιάστους
μο|νομέρους, κατακλίνει γενναίως καὶ ἀνα|ρεῖ ἰσχυρῶς, ὄνειροπομπεῖ καλλίστως,
| ὄνειραιτητεῖ θαυμαστῶς καὶ ἐν πλείσταις | ἀποδείξεις ἐθαυμάσθη οὐδεμίαν
ἔγκλι|σιν ἔχουσα τούτων. ἐπίθυμα· ἐπεδείξατο | Παχράτης, ὁ προφήτης
Ἑλιουπόλεως, | Ἄδριανῶ βασιλεῖ ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὴν | δύναμιν τῆς θείας αὐτοῦ
μαγείας. ἤξεν | γὰρ μονόωρον, κατέκλινεν ἐν ὥραις β’, ἀνεῖ|λεν ἐν ὥραις ζ’,
ὄνειροπόμπησεν δὲ αὐτὸν | βασιλέα ἐκδο(κ)μι(ἀ)ζοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ὄλην | ἀλήθειαν
τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν μαγείας· καὶ θαυ|μάσας τὸν προφήτην διπλᾶ ὀψώνια αὐτῶ |
ἐκέλευσεν δίδοσθαι. λαβῶν μυγαλὸν | ἐκθέωσον πηγαίῳ ὕδατι καὶ λαβῶν
καν|θάρους σεληνιακοὺς δύο ἐκθέωσον ὕδα|τι ποταμίῳ καὶ καρκίνον ποτάμιον καὶ
| στῆρ ποικίλης αἰγὸς παρθένου καὶ κυνο|κεφάλου κόπρον, ἴβεως ὡὰ δύο, στύρακος
| δραχμὰς β’, ζυμύρης δραχμὰς β’, κρόκου δραχμὰς β’, κυπέρεως |
Ἰταλικῆς δραχμὰς δ’, λιβάνου ἀτμήτου δραχμὰς δ’, μονο|γενῆς κρόμμυον· ταῦτα
πάντα βάλε εἰς | ὄλμον σὺν τῶ μυγαλῶ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς | καὶ κόψας καλλίστως ἔχε
ἐπὶ τῶν χρεῶν | ἀποθέμενος εἰς πυξίδα μολιβῆν. | καὶ ὅταν βούλη πράττειν,
ἀνελόμενος | ὀλίγον καὶ ποιήσας ἀνθρακιὰν ἀνα|βάς ἐπὶ δώματος ὑψηλοῦ ἐπίθυε
λέγων | τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἀνατολῆς οὔσης, καὶ παρα|χρῆμα ἤξει. λόγος·
ἄσταλήτω μοι | πᾶσα νεφῶν σκοτία, καὶ ἐπιλαμψά|τω μοι ἡ θεὸς Ἄκτιῶφις καὶ
ἀκουσά|τω μου τῆς ἱερᾶς φωνῆς· βαίνω γὰρ | καταγγέλλων τὴν διαβολὴν τῆς
μια|ρᾶς καὶ ἀνοσίας, τῆς δεῖνα· διέβαλεν γὰρ | σου τὰ ἱερὰ μυστήρια ἀνθρώποις εἰς
| γυνῶσιν. ἡ δεῖνά ἐστιν ἡ εἰποῦσα ὅτι· <οὐκ> ἐγὼ εἰμι | εἰποῦσα ὅτι· ἐγὼ ἴδον τὴν
μεγίστην | θεὸν καταλιποῦσαν τὸν πόλον τὸν οὐ|ράνιον, ἐπὶ γῆς γυμνοσάνδαλον,
ξίφη|φόρον, ἄτοπον ὄνομα <ὄνομά>σασαν· ἡ δεῖνά ἐστιν | ἡ εἰποῦσα· ἐγὼ τ(ὴν
θεὸν) αἶμα πίνουσιν· | ἡ δεῖνα εἶπεν, οὐκ ἐγὼ, Ἄκτιῶφι Ἐρεσχιγὰλ |
Νεβουτοσουαληθ· φορφορβα· Σα|τραπάμμων. χοιριξίη· σαρκοβόρα· | βάδισον
πρὸς τὴν δεῖνα καὶ βάσταξον αὐ|τῆς τὸν ὕπνον καὶ δὸς αὐτῇ καῦσιν ψυ|χῆς,
κόλασιν φρενῶν καὶ παροίστρη|σιν, καὶ ἐκδιώξασα αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς | τόπου καὶ
πάσης οἰκίας ἄξον αὐτὴν ὧδε, | πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸν δεῖνα· ταῦτα εἰπὼν θῦσον καὶ
ἀνα|στενάξας ἀναποδίξων κατάβηθι, καὶ πα|ραχρῆμα ἐλεύσεται· ἔπεχε δὲ τῇ
ἀγομένῃ, | ὅπως ἀνοίξης αὐτῇ, εἰ δὲ μή, τελευτήσει. | ἐπὶ κατακλίσεως τούτοις
χρῆσαι τοῖς λόγοις | προστιθεὶς ὅτι· <κατάκλινον τὴν δεῖνα, ἦν δεῖνα.> | ἐπὶ δὲ
ἀναίρέσεως λέγε· ἀνάσπασον αὐτῆς | τὸ πνεῦμα, κυρία, τῶν μυκτῆρων τῆς δεῖνα·
| ἐπὶ δὲ ὄνειροπομπῶν· ὁμοιωθεῖσα, ὥ σέβει|ται θεῶ. ἐπὶ δὲ ὄνειραιτητοῦ λέγε·
ἄσταλήτω μοι, κυρία, καὶ χρημάτισόν μοι περὶ | τοῦ δεῖνα πράγματος· καὶ
παρασταθήσεται σοι καὶ ἅπαν|τα ἐρεῖ ἀψευδῶς. μὴ οὖν εὐχερῶς πράσ|σης, εἰ μὴ
ἀνάγκη σοι γένηται. ἔχει δὲ | φυλακτήριον πρὸς τὸ μή σε καταπεσεῖν· εἴωθεν γὰρ
ἡ θεὸς τοὺς ἀφυλακτῆριστοὺς | τοῦτο πράσσοντας ἀεροφ(ερ)εῖς ποιεῖν καὶ | ἀπὸ
τοῦ ὕψους ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ρίψαι. διὸ οὖν | ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην καὶ τοῦ φυλακτηρί|ου
τὴν πρόνοιαν ποιήσασθαι, ὅπως ἀδι|στάκτως πράσσης. κρύβε. λαβῶν ἰε|ρατικὸν
κόλλημα φόρει περὶ τὸν δεξιὸν | βραχίονά σου, ἐν ᾧ ἐπιθύσεις. ἔστι δὲ | τὰ
γραφόμενα ταῦτα· μουλαθι· χερ|νουθ· αμαρω· μουλιανδρον· διαφύ|λαξόν με ἀπὸ
πονηροῦ παντὸς δαίμονος, | ἥτοι ἀρσενικοῦ πονηροῦ ἢ θηλυκοῦ. κρύ|βε, υἱέ.
δεύτερος λόγος μετὰ τὸ θῦ|σαί σε πρῶτον· κάλλιον δὲ σέ ἐστιν εἰπεῖν | πρὸ τοῦ σε
ἐπιθύσαι. ἔστιν δὲ λόγος συνά|ψας τῶ πρώτῳ· <θύω σοι> τόδ’ ἄ|ρωμα, Διὸς τέκος,
ἰοχέαιρα, Ἄρτεμι, | Περσεφόνη, ἐλαφηβόλε, νυκτοφάνεια, | τρίκτυπε, τρίφθογγε,
τρικάρανε Σελήνη, | θρινακία, τριπρόσωπε, τριαύχενε καὶ τριοδίτι, | ἢ τρισσοῖς.
ταλάροισιν ἔχεις φλογὸς ἀκάματον πῦρ | καὶ τρίοδον μεθέπεις τρισσῶν δεκά|δων

τε ἀνάσσεις καὶ τρισὶ μορφαῖσι | καὶ φλέγμασι καὶ σκυλάκεσσι. δεινὴν | ἐξ ἀτόνων
 πέμπεις ὀξεῖαν ἰωὴν, φρικτὸν | ἀναυδήσασα θεὰ τρισσοῖς στομάτεσσι. | κλαγγῆς
 σῆς ἀκούοντα τὰ κοσμικὰ πάντα | δονεῖται, νερτέριαί τε πύλαι καὶ Λήθης | ἱερὸν
 ὕδωρ καὶ Χάος ἀρχαίτατον καὶ Ταρ|τάρου χάσμα φαεινόν· ἦν πάντες ἀθά|νατοι,
 ἦν τε θνητοὶ ἄνθρωποι, οὖρεά | τε ἀστερόεντα, νάπαι καὶ δένδρεα πάντα | καὶ
 ποταμοὶ κελαδοῦντες ἰδ' ἀτρύγετός τε | θάλασσα, (vac.) | ἠχώ ἐρημαίη καὶ
 δαίμονες οἱ κατὰ κόσμον | φρίσσουσί σε, μάκαιρα, ἀκούοντες ὅπα δεινὴν. | δεῦρ' ἴθι
 μοι, νυχία, θηροκτόνε, δεῦρ' ἐπ' ἀγωγῆς, | ἤσυχε καὶ δασπληῆτι, τάφοις ἐνὶ δαίταν
 ἔχουσα, | εὐχαῖσιν ἐπάκουσον ἐμαῖς, πολυώδυνε Σελήνη, | ἡ νυκταιροδύτειρα,
 τρικάρανε, τριώνυμε Μῆνη, | Μαρζουνη, φοβερὰ καὶ ἀβρονόη καὶ Πειθώ, | δεῦρ' ἴθι
 μοι, κερατῶπι, φαεσφόρε, ταυρεό|μορφε, ἵπποπρόσωπε θεά, κυνολύγματε, | δεῦρο,
 λύκαινα, καὶ μόλε νῦν, νυχία, χθο|νία, ἀγία, μελανείμων, ἦν ἀνακυκλεῖται | κόσμου
 φύσις ἀστερόφοιτος, ἠνίκ' ἄγαν | αὔξης. σὺ τὰ κοσμικὰ πάντα τέθεικας· | γεννᾷς
 γὰρ σὺ πάντα ἐπὶ χθονὸς ἠδ' ἀπὸ | πόντου καὶ πτηνῶν δ' ἐξῆς παντοῖα | γένη
 παλίνεδρα, πανγεννήτειρα | καὶ ἐρωτοτόκεια Ἀφροδίτη, λαμπα|διά, φαέθουσα καὶ
 αὐγάζουσα Σελήνη· | ἀστρο|δ|ία καὶ οὐρανία, δαδοῦχε, πυρίπνου, |
 τετραπροσωπεινή, τετραώνυμε, | τετραοδίτι· χαῖρε, θεά, καὶ σαῖσιν ἐπω|νυμίαις
 ἐπάκουσον, οὐρανία, λιμενῖ|τι, ὀρίπλανε εἰνοδία τε, νερτερία, | βυθία, αἰωνία
 σκοτία τε· ἐλθ' ἐπ' ἐμαῖς | θυσίαις καὶ μοι τόδε πρᾶγμα τέλεσον | εὐχομένῳ τε
 ἐπάκουσον ἐμοί, λίτομαί | σε, ἄνασσα· τούτῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπ[αν]αγκασι|κῶν χρῶ·
 δύναται γὰρ πάντα ἐπιτελεῖν, | μηδὲ πυκνῶς δὲ ποίει πρὸς Σελήνην, | εἰ μή, <δ>
 ἐπάξιον ἦν ἐνεργείας, πράσσεις. | ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπιθυμάτων | ἐνδιαβόλων
 ὄντων χρῶ τῇ ὑποκει|μένη στήλῃ λέγων οὕτως. ἔστιν δὲ | ἐπάναγκος λόγος γ'. ἡ
 δεῖνά σοι θύει, | θεά, δεινόν τι θυμιάσμα· αἰγός τε | ποικίλης στέαρ καὶ αἶμα καὶ
 μύσαγμα, | ἰχῶρα παρθένου νεκρᾶς καὶ καρδίαν | ἁώρου καὶ οὐσίαν νεκροῦ κυνὸς |
 καὶ ἔμβρυον γυναικὸς καὶ λεπτὰ πί|τυρα τῶν πυρῶν καὶ λύματα ὄξυ|όντα, ἄλα,
 στέαρ ἐλάφου νεκρᾶς | σχῖνόν <τε> μυρσίην τε, δάφνην ἄτε|φρον, ἄλφιτα καὶ
 καρκίνοιο χηλάς, | σφάγγον, ρόδα, πυρῆνά τε καὶ κρόμ|μιον τὸ μόνον, σκόρδον τε,
 σύκων | ἄλφιτον, κόπρον κυνοκεφάλιο | ὧν τε ἴβεως νεᾶς—ἄ μὴ θέμις—τοῖς |
 σοῖς ἔθηκε βωμοῖς, ξύλοις τε τοῖς ἀρκευ|θίνοις φλόγας πυρὸς βαλοῦσα | ἱέρακα τὸν
 πελαγοδρόμον καὶ γυῖπά σοι | σφαγιάζει (vac.) | καὶ μυγαλόν, τὸ σόν, θεά,
 μυστήριον μέγιστον. | ἔλεξε δ' ἄλγη ταῦτά σε δεδρακέναί ἀπηνῶς· | κτανεῖν γὰρ
 ἄνθρωπὸν σε ἔφη, πιεῖν τὸ δ' | αἶμα τούτου, σάρκας φαγεῖν, μιτρὴν τε σὴν | εἶναι
 τὰ ἔντερα αὐτοῦ, καὶ δέρμα ἔχειν δορῆς | ἅπαν κείς τὴν φύσιν σου θεῖναι, <πειν> αἶμα
 ἱέρακος | πελαγίου, τροφήν τε κἀνθαρόν σοι. ὁ Πᾶν | δὲ σῶν κατ' ὀμμάτων γονὴν
 ἀθέμιτον ὤρσε· | ἐκγίνεται κυνοκέφαλος, ὅταν αἰ μηνιαῖαι | καθάρσεις· σὺ δ',
 Ἄκτιῶφι, κοίρανε, μόνη | τύραννε, κραιπνὴ Τύχη θεῶν καὶ δαιμό|νων
 νεβουτοσουαληθ'· ἰωῖ· λοιμου λαλον | Συριστί· ἠταρονκον βυθου πνουσαν·
 κα|θινβερασ· εστοχεθ· ορενθα· αμελχερι|βιουθ· σφνουθι· στίξον πικραῖς τιμωρίαις |
 τὴν δεζῖνα) τὴν ἄθεσμον, ἦν πάλιν ἐγὼ σοι κατὰ|τροπον ἐναντίως ἐλέ|γξω. καλῶ
 σε, τριπρό|σωπον θεάν, Μῆνην, ἐράσμιον φῶς, Ἑρμῆν | τε καὶ Ἑκάτην ὁμοῦ,
 ἀρσενόθηλυν ἔρνος, | τε καὶ Ἑκάτην ὁμοῦ, ἀρσενόθηλυν ἔρνος, | μουφωρ· Φόρβα,
 βασίλεια Βριμῶ, δεινὴ | καὶ θεσμία καὶ Δαρδανία, πανοπαῖα, δεῦρο, | ἰωιη, παρθένε,
 εἰνοδία καὶ ταυροδρά|καινα σύ, Νύμφη καὶ ἵπποκύων καὶ ν(ε)υ|σίκρανε καὶ Μινῶη
 τε κραταιή· εαλα|νινδω, δεῦρο, ατεης ενιδελιδιμα | ἄνασσα φαιαρα· μηδιξα
 εμιθηνῖω, | μόλε μοι, ἴνδεομη, δεῦρο, Μεγαφθη, | δεῦρο ἦξει, ἄγε μοι τὴν δεῖνα
 τάχιστα, τὴν πάν|τα σαφῶς, θεά, αὐτὸς ἐλέγξω, ὅσα σοι θύου|σα δέδορκεν.'

3. non-verbal procedures

3.1. non-phonological: signs, *characteres* etc.

3.1.1. Athens, EBE cod. 1265 (s. XVI-XVII), f. 40r, ed. Delatte 1927, 84

ἕτερον. γράψον τὲς κάτωθεν εἰς πανὶν λινὸν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ὅπου θέλεις καὶ δῆσέ το εἰς τὸν βραχίονά σου καὶ βλέπε [τὴν] διαβαίνουσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον φιλεῖ σε [*signs*].

2 διαβαίνοντας *cod.*

written on fruit and given to the target to eat; male target (?)

3.1.2. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419 (s. XV), f. 147v (a portion note written by Mediates but contemporary; ed. Delatte 1927, 465

ταῦτα γράφε εἰς καθαρὸν μῆλον ἵνα μὴ φανῶσι τὰ γράμματα καὶ δὸς του φαγεῖν αὐτὸ ἀγνώστου. καὶ ἔστιν δόκιμον [*signs*].

written on fruit and given to the target to eat

3.1.3. Athens, EBE cod. 1265 (s. XVI-XVII), f. 40r, ed. Delatte 1927, 84

εἰς ἀγάπην. γράψον εἰς μῆλον καὶ δὸς φαγεῖν καὶ ἔνι δόκιμον [*sign*].

to be written and brought near the target

3.1.4. copied from a manuscript in use on contemporary Cyprus in Belephonetes 1978, part 2, p. 77

περὶ ἀγάπης. γράψον τοὺς κάτωθι χαρακτῆρες εἰς ἀγέννητο χαρτὶν (ἡμέραν) καὶ ὦραν Ἀφροδίτης μὲ αἶμα μαύρου σκύλου καὶ ἄγγιξε οὐτινος θέλεις καὶ ἔρχεται κατὰ πόδι σου στασιόν. ἰδοὺ οἱ χαρακτῆρες [*signs*].

1 (ἡμέραν) *supplevi*

signs, to be written on the user's palm and brought near the target

3.1.5. copied from a manuscript in use on contemporary Cyprus in Belephonetes 1978, part 2, p. 79

δι' ἀγάπην. γράψον εἰς παλάμην σου μὲ κινάβαριν καὶ ζαφρὰ τοὺς κάτωθι χαρακτῆρες, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς τοῦ ἡλίου, καὶ ἄγγιξε ὅποιον θέλεις καὶ θὰ θαυμάσης. [*signs*].

3.1.6. copied from a manuscript in use on contemporary Cyprus in Belephonetes 1978, part 2, p. 85

γὰ ἔρωτα. γράψε το 'ς τὸ χέρι σου. γράψε 'ς τὸ ζερβὶ σου χέρι ἡμέραν παρασκευὴν καὶ ἐγγίζεις ὄντινα θελήσης ἢ χαιδεύεις τὸ πρόσωπόν του καὶ σ' ἀγαπάει παράφορα καὶ τρελλένεται. ἰδοὺ οἱ χαρακτῆρες θὰ τοὺς γράψης μὲ μόσχον ζαφρὰν καὶ κοκκινάβαριν. [*signs*].

3.1.7. St. Petersburg, NLR cod. gr. 646 (s. XVIII), f. 12v, ed. CCAG XII:40

εἰς φίλτρον. γράψε 'ς τὴν παλάμην σου τὴν ἀριστερὰν καὶ δεῖξέ το [*signs*].

1 ἀπαλάμη *cod.* | ἄριστερήν *cod.*

3.1.8. St. Petersburg, NLR cod. gr. 646 (s. XVIII), f. 13r [cryptogr.] (inc. and des. in CCAG XII:40)

ομοίως. γράψον φίλτρον ἕς τὴν παλάμην σου τῷ πρώτῳ πέφτῳ τῆς σελήνης πρὶν τοῦ ζ' καὶ δεῖξέ το καὶ νὰ θαυμάσης. [*signs*].

I απαλαμη *cod.*

3.1.9. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX), ff. 485v-486r, ed. Parathomopoulos 2006, 316

διὰ ἀγάπην. γράψε τὸ κάτωθεν μὲ αἷμα πετεινοῦ ἄσπρου μὲ τὸ κονδύλι καὶ χαρτὶ τῆς τέχνης καὶ δεῖξέ της κατὰ πρόσωπα, καὶ νὰ θαυμάσης. εἶναι ἄνωθεν. | [*signs*].

3.1.10. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX), f. 486v, ed. Parathomopoulos 2006, 317

περὶ ἀγάπης. γράψον τὲς κάτωθεν χαρακτηῆρες ὅταν βασιλεύῃ ὁ ἥλιος, ὥρα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, κάψε τις καὶ βάλ' τις ἐμπρὸς ἕς τὸ κατώφλιόν του καὶ ἔρχεται καὶ σὲ βρίσκει εἰς τὰς τέσσαρας ὥρας τῆς νυκτός. [*signs*]

3.1.11. Vatican, BAV *cod. Vat. gr. 952* (s. XV), f. 164v, ed. *CCAG V.4:11-120*

περὶ φίλτρον καὶ νίκης κριτηρίου. λαβὼν ἄργυρον καθαρὸν ποιήσον αὐτὸν πλάκα στρογγύλην ἐν ὥρα καὶ ἡμέρα Ἀφροδίτης, παρασκευῆ, ὥρα πρώτη ἢ ὀγδόη ταύτης καλῶς ἐχούσης, ἐγκόλασον τὰς σφραγίδας ταύτας, εἶτα ἐπικαπνίσας ἀλόην, ἄμπαρ, μαστίχην καὶ συντόμως φέρων αὐτὴν ἐνειλημμένην ἐν λευκῷ σηρικῷ, καὶ φορεῖς ἐν ἀνδρογύνῳ μὴ δυναμένῳ συνοικεῖν μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς, ἐλκύσεις αὐτὴν καὶ θαυμάσεις. ἢ γυναικὶ δεῖξας καὶ δούς εἰς γάμον ἄξεις. ἀποπλύνας τε ὕδατι πηγῆς καὶ ποτίσας οἶον θέλεις πρὸς τὸ σὸν θέλημα ἐλκύσεις. ζέματί τε χαμαιμήλων ἀποπληθύσεις, ῥαντισθέντος ἐν τόπῳ κριτηρίου πάντας μετοίσεις εἰς δίκαιον καὶ συμβίβασιν, περιστερεῶνα τε καὶ σίμβλα πληθυνεῖς, πραγματείας τε αὐξήσεις ἐν τόπῳ, καὶ τὴν κλίνην σου ῥαντίσας αὐξήσεις πρὸς τὰς συντελέσεις, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ σου ἐγκυμονήσει. [*signs*]

burial in floor of target's house

3.1.12. Athens, *cod. Gennadios 45* (s. XVI), f. 39r, ed. Delatte 1959, 316

ταῦτα εἶναι περὶ ἀγάπης καὶ ἔρωτος. ἔπαρε λάφινον τομάρι καὶ γράψε ἄνωθεν μετὰ αἵματος νυκτερίδος ταύτας τὰς χαρακτηῆρας καὶ θεῖς ἐν τῷ κατωφλίῳ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῆς [*signs*].

buried in the target's floor

3.1.13. copied from a manuscript in use on contemporary Cyprus in Belefontes 1978, part 2, p. 83

περὶ ἀγάπης. γράψον τοὺς κάτωθι χαρακτηῆρες ἡμέραν πέμπτην σὲ καθαρὸν χαρτὶν μὲ πένναν ἀπὸ φτερόν περιστερίου καὶ χῶσε εἰς τὸ κατώφλιον ἐκείνης ἢ ἐκείνου ποῦ θέλεις νὰ σ' ἀγαπήσῃ καὶ θὰ θαυμάσης. αὐτὰ γίνονται δυνατότερα ἢ τὰ γράψης σὲ δέρμα γαιδουρίου ἢ ταύρου. ἰδοὺ οἱ χαρακτηῆρες τοὺς ὁποίους νὰ γράψης μὲ κρόκον καὶ κινάβαριν. [*signs*].

3.1.14. copied from a manuscript in use on contemporary Cyprus in Belefontes 1978, part 2, p. 77

ἕτερον περὶ ἀγάπης. γράψον τοὺς κάτωθι χαρακτηῆρες ἡμέραν καὶ ὥραν Ἀφροδίτης καὶ χῶσε ἕς τὸ κατώφλιόν του. [*signs*].

signs [omitted in *cod.*] to be written on egg, placed on doorstep of target

3.1.15. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419 (s. XV), f. 147r (a portion not written by Mediates but contemporary), ed. Delatte 1927, 463

ἕτερον φίλτρον. γράφε ταῦτα εἰς μαύρης ὀρνίθας ὠὸν ἐν πρώτη Σελήνης μετὰ κινναβάρεως καὶ ῥοδοστάγατος καὶ ὑδραργύρου καὶ γάλα ἀνθρωπομόρφου καὶ ζωμοῦ εὐπατορίου καὶ θὲς ἐν τῷ κατωφλίῳ.

written with ink mixed with ash from target's hair, buried such that she will step over it

3.1.16. copied from a manuscript in use on contemporary Cyprus in Belephontes 1978, part 2, p. 84

περὶ ἀγάπης. γράψον τοὺς κάτωθι χαρακτῆρας με κινάβαριν καὶ με κρόκον καὶ νὰ ἔχης καὶ ἀπὸ τὰ μαλλία τῆς νὰ τὰ κάψης καὶ νὰ κάνης ἓνα με τὸ μελάνιν καὶ γράψον εἰς χαρτὴν παρθένον καὶ βάλε το νὰ τὸ διασκελίση καὶ τελειώνει ἡ δουλεῖα σου. [*signs*].

written with blood of a young woman, then buried in a road and stepped over, then worn on the person

3.1.17. copied from a manuscript in use on contemporary Cyprus in Belephontes 1978, part 2, p. 88

διὰ ἔρωτα. θὰ γράψης ἡμέρα παρασκευὴν καὶ ὥραν πρώτην ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς τοῦ ἡλίου με αἶμα γυναικὸς νέας σὲ ἀγέννητον χαρτὴν καὶ θὰ τὸ βάλῃς νὰ περάσῃ ἀπὸ πάνω του στρατός, δηλαδὴ θὰ τὸ ἔχῃς πολὺ λίγο θαμμένο καὶ ὕστερα ἀπὸ τὸ πέρασμα θὰ τὸ πάρῃς νὰ τὸ κρατᾷς ἐπάνω σου ἔς τὴν ἀριστερῇ σου μερία καὶ σ' ἀγαποῦνε ὅποια θελήσῃς. ἰδοὺ οἱ χαρακτῆρες [*signs*]. τοὺς χαρακτῆρες θὰ γράψῃς με κινάβαριν ῥοδόσταμον καὶ σαφρὰν ἤγουν κρόκον.

written with animal blood and blood of target, to be touched to her skin

3.1.18. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419 (a portion not written by Mediates but contemporary; s. XV), f. 147r, ed. Delatte 1927, 463

ἕτερον δόκιμον. ἔπαρε ἀλεκτορίδα λευκὴν καὶ ποιήσον κονδύλιν με τὸ πτερόν αὐτῆς εἰς ὄνομα τῆς ἐρωμένης καὶ μετὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτῆς γράψον εἰς νεφέλης ἀντίτυπον τὰς χαρακτῆρας ταύτας καὶ ἔγγισον τὴν ἐρωμένην εἰς σάρκα γυμνὴν καὶ εὐπορήσεις [*signs*].

measuring the target's footprint with wood, then writing on the wood (?) magical signs, burying it in her floor

3.1.19. Athens, Ethn. Bibl. cod. 1265 (s. XVI-XVII), f. 45r, ed. Delatte 1927, 653

διὰ νὰ κάμῃς τὴν γυναῖκα νὰ ἔλθῃ εἰς τὰ πόδιά σου. ἔπαρον τὸν ἄξαμον τοῦ ποδίου τῆς με ξύλον καὶ γράψον τὰς κάτωθεν εἰς δύο ὥρας τῆς νυκτὸς [καὶ] χῶσέ τας εἰς τὸ κατώφλιόν τῆς, καὶ νὰ θαυμάσῃς.

3.1.20. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Wood empt. 18, f. 31v

item. aliud. scribe has characteras cum sanguine tuo in die Iouis ante solis ortum et porta tecum usque in diem Sabati et postea tangas eam super nudam carnem uel monstres ei quam uis diligere et sub quacumque die in hora ueneris istud facias [*signs*].

3 faciat cod.

3.1.21. Cambridge, Trinity College cod. O.1.58 (James 1082), f. 137v

ut mulier sequatur te. scribe has litteras in manu tua sinistra ante ortum solis [*signs*] et tange eam scilicet mulierem et sequatur te.

I sinistra cod.

3.2. non-graphic

dissolution, re-constitution, and re-dissolution of candle; cryptography through Roman transliteration

3.2.1. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικός κώδικας (s. XIX), f. 489r, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 318

διά ἀγάπην. πάρε ἓνα κομμάτι κηρίου μετὸ ὅποῖον τρῖψε ὄλον σου τὸ σῶμα, ἔπειτα ἀνάλυσέ το, κάμε τὸ κηρίον μετὰ φυτίλι καὶ ὅποιαν θέλεις, ἀναψέ το ἔμπρος της καὶ ἐν τῷ ἅμα θέλει σε ἀγαπήσῃ.

I dia agapi cod.

dirt from the target's right footprint to be exposed to the liturgy for forty days, then deposited so that she will step over it

3.2.2. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419 (s. XV), f. 144v (a portion not written by Mediates but contemporary), ed. Delatte 1927, 458

ἕτερον. λάβε χῶμα ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἰχνοποδίου αὐτῆς καὶ ἄς λειτουργηθῇ ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα. εἶτα βάλε αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ κατώφλιον καὶ ἄς τὸ διασκελήσῃ αὐτὴ πάλιν καὶ θαυμάσεις.

similarly

3.2.3. copied from a manuscript in use on contemporary Cyprus in Belephonates 1978, part 2, p. 89

διὰ νὰ ἀγαπηθῆτε ἀπὸ ἓνα πρόσωπον. διὰ νὰ ἀγαπηθῆς ἀπὸ ἓνα πρόσωπον μέχρι νὰ τρελλαθῇ γιὰ σένα, πρόσεξε νὰ πάρῃς χῶμα ἀπὸ τὸ δεξιὸ ποδάρι, δηλαδὴ ἐκεῖ ποῦ πάτησε καὶ ἄφισε σημάδι. τὸ χῶμα αὐτὸ πρέπει νὰ παραμείνῃ ἔς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρες καὶ ὕστερα θὰ φυλάξῃς τὸν καιρὸ ποῦ ἡ σελήνη εἶναι ἔς τὴ γέμισί της καὶ εἰς ἡμέραν παρασκευῆν, θὰ τὸ ἀπλώσῃς ἐπάνω σὲ ἓνα πράσινο πανὶ ἀφόριο ἀπὸ τὰ μεσάνυχτα μέχρι τῆς ἀνατολῆς τοῦ ἡλίου εἰς τὸ ὕπαιθρον. τὴν ἄλλη ἡμέρα τὸ ἀγιασμένο καὶ ἔξαστριμένο χῶμα πρέπει νὰ τὸ ρίξῃς ἔς τὸ κατώφλι νὰ τὸ διασκελήσῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ποῦ ἀγαπᾷς, καὶ τρελλένεται γιὰ τὸν ἔρωτά σου.

animals in erotic disposition

3.2.4. Cambridge, Trinity College cod. O.1.58 (James 1082), f. 145r

pulvis amatoris fit hoc modo. accipe pullos hirundinum cum toto nido antequam terram attingant et ponantur super pannum mundum uersus solem ut fame moriantur. et cum inueneris quosdam amplexantes et rostris osculantes, de illis hoc modo fac puluerem, combura in noua olla uel costa et fac puluerem, quam distempera cum oleo uiridi et tange in carne quam diligis et amabit te nimis, et si in cibo uel in potu dederis, insaniet pro te.

I pulli cod. | 2 attingat(ur) cod. | morientur cod.

Fumigation, for harmony between spouses

3.2.5. Cambridge, Trinity College O.1.21 (s. XII; English; antidotary), f. 38v

fumigium ad coniugatas quae uiris aliquo maleficio inuicem odiose habent. fac sic. buge caput et caudas siccas et intra domum in qua utriusque sunt subfumiga et statim maleficium soluitur. et hoc perfecte fit de rana sicca quae inuenitur nec studiose quaerendum.

2 meleficiu*m cod.*

sword to be burned, then the dust cast at the target

3.2.6. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419 (s. XV), f. 144v (a portion not written by Mediates but contemporary), ed. Delatte 1927, 458

ἔπαρε ῥομφαίαν καὶ καῦσον αὐτήν καὶ ποιήσον τέφραν εἰς λεῖψιν τῆς Σελήνης ὅταν ἔχη ἡμέραν μίαν καὶ ῥίψον ἐπάνω εἰς ἥν) ἂν ποθῆς καὶ θαυμάσεις καὶ ἔχεις τὸ σὸν θέλημα.

2 ἥν) *suppl. Delatte*

kissing

3.2.7. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Wood empt. 18, f. 31v

ad amorem mulierum. accipe brome et pone in loculo tuo et audi tres missas dominicales et postea pone in ore tuo et osculare quamcumque uolueris et habebis quod poteris.

activating mirror with blood of cat wounded *in coitu*

3.2.8. Marburg, UB cod. B 20 (s. XV), f. 114r, ed. Dietrich 1867, 215

item cattus cum sit in coitu caudam eius inferius abscinde, ita quod tres guttas sanguinis possis capere, hoc facto accipe speculum et perfora eum subtus uitrum, ita quod appareat uitrum per lignum, et praedictas guttas mitte in foramen, postea cooperias cum cera uirginea et facias mulieres intus uidere, et statim amabunt te.

inserting blood of user into egg, having hen incubate egg, giving the result to the target to eat

3.2.9. Harvard, Houghton cod. Lat. 235 (s. XV), f. 38r-v [medical recipes in Latin and English]

fac ter phlebotomiam in mense Martii de uena cordis sinistrae partis brachii et sanguinem illum pone in ouo uel ouis gallinae extracto illo quod intra ouum et obtura bene et pone sub gallina ouante | in Martio et cum alia oua sua pullos fecerit, inuenies in ouis tuis quasi figuram hominis quam desiccabis ad solem uel alibi secrete et nide facies puluerem et de puluere illo da cuicumque uolueris in cibo uel potu et amabit te ultra modum.

1 ΦΔΗΩΒΩΘΩΜΛρΗ *crypt. cod.*

4. scripture

psalms, hymn

4.1. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419 (s. XV), f. 199r, ed. Delatte 1927, 467

περὶ ἔρωτος. τὸ βότανον τὸ λεγόμενον κραζία λαμβάνεται καὶ αὐτὸ εἰς τὴν ὥραν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐπιλέγων τοὺς τοιοῦτους ψαλμούς, τὸ 'ὄν τρόπον ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ἔλαφος' καὶ τὸ 'ἐξηρεύξατο ἡ καρδιά μου' καὶ τὸ 'μακάριοι πάντες οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον' καὶ τὸ 'χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη' ἐκ τρίτου. καὶ τότε ἐξελε τὴν βοτάνην καὶ βάλε εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῆς ὄρνιθος ὠὸν καὶ ἄλας. καὶ ἔχε ἐμπρὸς πεπηγμένας μαχαίρας τρεῖς μελανομανίκους. καὶ τὸ μὲν δροσερὲς τρίψας δὸς πίνειν ἦν ἂν ἐρᾶς, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον εἰς μῖσος.

5. Other text

5.1. invocation of material or other agent

sea-shell

5.1.1. London, BL P.Lond. inv. 121 col. ix (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.300a-310)

ἀγώγιμον αὐθωρον· λαβὼν ὄστρακον θαλάσσιον γράφε τὰ ἅγια | ὀνόματα διὰ αἵματος ὀνίου μελάνου. λόγος· ἔξορκίζω σε, | ὄστρακε, κατὰ τῆς πικρᾶς Ἀνάγκης (μασκελλι—λόγος) καὶ κατὰ | (τῶν ἐπὶ) τῶν Τιμωριῶν τεταγμένων λακι λακιω λακιμου | μουκιλα κιλαμου ιωρ μουωρ μουδρα μαξθα | μουσαθα· ἄξον τὴν δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα—κοινόν ὅ τι—μὴ παραμείνατε, | ἀλλ' ἄξον αὐτὴν ουχ ουχ χαυνα μουχλιμαλχα | μαντωρ μουρκανα μουλιθα· μαλθαλι μουι ηηι υ|υυ ση αιη υωω αηι αηι αωα αωα αωα ιαω ωαι | ωαι αιω ωια ιωα ια[ω] ωαι, ἄξον τὴν δεῖνα' (κοινά). σελήνης αὐξανομένης | ἐν κριῶ ἢ ταύρω. [καὶ κοινά, ὅσα θέλεις.]

305 ὅ τι (θέλεις) *Pap.Graec.Mag.*

lamp, to inflict sleeplessness; a sort of secret name with lamp

5.1.2. London, BL P.Lond. inv. 121 col. xi (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.376-384)

ἄλλο· λυχνιον λαβὼν ἐλλυχνιάσον | καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγε· ἔξορκίζω σέ, λύχνε, κατὰ τῆς | μητρός σου, Ἐστίας Μηραλληλ (β'), καὶ κατὰ τοῦ | πατρός σου, Ἡφαίστου Μελιβου Μελιβου Μελι|βαυβα[υ· ἀγ]ρ[υπ]νείτω' καὶ κοινά. τὰ δὲ γράμματα εἰς τὸ | ἐλλύχνιον [γράφε]· 'χιιιι/ιι' καὶ οὐσιάσ[ας δίω]κε | τὸν ἐπάνω λόγον. ποίει δὲ καὶ σιδήρου π[έταλ]ον. | ὁ λόγος· ψύγητι, σίδηρε, καὶ χιῶν γενοῦ· ἐγ[ὼ γάρ] εἰμι | Μελιβου Μελιβου Μελιβαυβα[υ' καὶ κ]οινά.

inscribed metal sheet, exorcistic, in the name of a divinity resembling Bacchus / Dionysus; stepping on it

5.1.3. London, BL P.Lond. inv. 121 col. xiii (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.459-461)

φίλτρον κάλλιστον. ἐπίγραφον ἐπὶ λάμνας κασσιτερίνης χαράξας. γράφον | καὶ θές ὑπερπατῶν. καὶ τὰ γραφόμενά ἐστιν ταῦτα· ἔξορκίζω σε | κατὰ τοῦ ἐνδόξου ὀνόματος Βακχίου' (καὶ κοινά, ὅσ' ἂν θέλης).

combined address to the potion and the names said over it

5.1.4. London, BL P.Lond. inv. 121 col. xi (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.385-389)

ποτήριον καλόν. ἐ[πι] ποτηρίου λέγε ζ'. 'Κανωπ[ι]τι προη | ρωδοχ[.]φ καλυψας ερεκιν ποθηξας ερατευν | μορφος Χάρις Φαφιети Εἴσι ω Βούβαστι Ποθωπι, | ἔξορκίζω ὑμᾶς, ἅγια ὀνόματα τῆς Κύπριδος, ὅπως, | ἐὰν καταβάτε εἰς τὰ σπλάγχ[υ]να τῆς δεῖνα, (ἦν) ἢ δεῖνα, ποιῆσαι φιλεῖν.' κοινά.

oil

5.1.5. Thebes, now London, P.BM inv. 10588 verso, coll. i-ii, s. III, ed. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P LXI.1-38; Demotic collection on recto

φίλτρον ἐπαινετὸν λα]βὼν ἔλαιον | καθαρὸν καὶ βωτά[νην σεῦ]τλος καὶ κλώνας | ἐλαίας ἄρον ἐπτὰ φύλ[λα] καὶ ὁμοῦ πάντα τρίψας | ἐπίχυννε εἰς τὸ ἔλαιον, ἄχρι οὗ ὡς ἔλαιον | γένηται, καὶ βαλὼν αὐτὸ εἰς ἄγγ[ο]ς ἀνάβα ἐπὶ δώμα(τος) | (ἢ ἐπὶ γῆς) πρὸς τὴν σε[λ]ήνην καὶ λέγε τὸν λόγον ζ'. | 'σὺ εἰ τὸ ἔλαιον, οὐκ εἶ δὲ ἔλαι[ο]ν, ἀλλὰ ἰδρῶς τοῦ | Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος, ἢ μύξα τῆς [Ἰ]σιδος, τὸ ἀπόφθεγμα | τοῦ Ἡλίου, ἢ δύναμις τοῦ Οὐσίριος, ἢ χάρις τῶν θεῶν. | ἀπολύω σε πρὸς τὴν δεῖνα, τὴν ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα. ἦ | διακόνησόν μοι πρὸς τὴν δεῖνα, πρὶν σοι ἐπαναγκαστ(ικ)οὺς θεοὺς | ἐνέγκω, ἐὰν μὴ πέμψης, ἐπεὶ σιδηρᾶς θύρας ῥήξω αὐτός. | οὐκέτι ἐπὶ ταῦτά σε πέμψω, οὐδὲ χρεῖα ἐστὶν | τούτων, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τὴν δεῖνα, ἦν ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα, ἴνα, ἐὰν ἀφῆ σ(ε) | αὐτῆς τὴν κεφαλὴν πιᾶσης. σκότωσον αὐτὴν· μὴ

γνώ|τω, ποῦ ἔστιν. πῦρ ὑποκάτω αὐτῆς γενοῦ, ἄχρι οὗ ἔλθῃ | πρὸς ἐμέ, ἵνα με φιλή
 εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, καὶ μὴ δυνηθῇ μήτε | πιεῖν μήτε φαγεῖν, ἄχρι οὗ ἔλθῃ πρὸς
 ἐμέ, ἵνα με φιλή | εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον. ἐξορκίζω σε τὸν μέγαν θεὸν | τὸν [ἐ]πὶ τῆς
 ὀροφῆς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Ἄρβαιηθ/ Μουθ/ Νουθ/ | Φθωθω/ Φρη Θωούθ/ Βρεισον
 Θώθ· ἐπ[ά]κουσόν μοι, θεὲ | μέγιστε, ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ (ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ), ἵνα |
 πυρώσης [τ]ὴν καρδίαν, καὶ φιλείτω με, ὅτι περὶ ἐμὲ ἔχω | τὴν δύναμ[ι]ν τοῦ
 μεγάλου θεοῦ, οὐκ οὐκ ἔξ[ε]στιν ὄνομα | οὐδενὶ [όν]ομάζειν, εἰ μὴ μόνω ἐμοὶ διὰ τὴν
 αὐτοῦ | δύναμιν, [..]ευριω μοι/ αεεθί/ εωηη/ φηουαβ/ Φθᾶ αχε/ ανου/ | Ἦσι
 ενεσ[...].ε θουλ/ φιμοιου. ἐπάκουσόν μοι διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην, | ὅτι σε ὦν[όμ]ασα διὰ
 τὴν δεῖνα, ἦν ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα, ἵνα με φιλή καὶ ποιήσῃ, | ὅσα θέλω, [καί] ἐπιλάθηται
 πατρὸς καὶ μητ[ρό]ς, ἀδελφῶν, ἀνδρός, | φίλου, π[λ]ὴν ἐμοῦ μόνου τούτων
 πάν[τ]ων ἐπιλάθηται'. | ὅταν δὲ ποιῆς, ἔχε μετὰ σεαυτοῦ δάκτυλον σιδηροῦν, |
 ἐφ' ὃν γέγλυπται Ἄρποκράτης ἐπὶ λωτῶ καθήμενος, | καὶ ὄνομά ἐστιν αὐτῶ
 Ἄβρασάξ. ἐὰν δὲ θέλῃς αὐτὴν | παῦσαι, λαβῶν κάρθαρὸν ἡλιακὸν θὲς ἐπὶ τὸ μέσ[ον]
 τῆς | κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς καὶ λέγε αὐτῶ· ῥύψῃσον τὸ ἐμὸν φίλτρον, | εἶδωλον Ἡλίου·
 αὐτός σοι ἐπιτάσσει ποιῆ[σ]αι'. καὶ ἄρας αὐτὸν | ἀπόλυσον ζῶντα. εἶτα λαβῶν τὸν
 δάκ[τυ]λον δὸς αὐτῇ φορεῖν, | [κ]αὶ εὐθέως [ἀ]παλλαγῆσεται.

wine

5.1.6. London, BL P.Lond. inv. 121 col. xix (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.643-651)
 ποτήριον, λίαν θαυμαστόν. λόγον λεγόμενον εἰς τὸ ποτήριον λέγε ζ'. | 'σὺ εἶ οἶνος,
 οὐκ εἶ οἶνος, ἀλλ' ἡ κεφαλὴ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. | σὺ εἶ οἶνος, οὐκ εἶ οἶνος, ἀλλὰ τὰ
 σπλά[γ]χνα τοῦ Ὀσίρεως, | τὰ σπλάγχνα τοῦ Ἰάω, Πακερβηθ: Σεμεσιλάμ | ωωω
 η παταχνα ιασα.' (κατ' ἀνάγκας· ἄβλαναθαναλβα | ἀκραμμαχαμαρει εεε, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς
 ἀνάγκης τεταγμένος, | Ἰακούβ' Ἰα Ἰάω, Σαβαώθ, Ἄδωνάι, Ἄβρασάξ'). ἐφ' ἧς ὥρας
 | ἐὰν καταβῆς εἰς τὰ σπλάγχνα τ[ῆς] δεῖνα, φιλησάτω | με, τὸν δεῖνα, [εἰς τὸ]ν
 ἅπαντα τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς χρόνον.'

sulfur, with narrative; on Jewish influence see Bohak 2008, 202-206

5.1.7. Fayum, now in Oslo, P.Oslo inv. 420 verso, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXVI.295-311
 ἀγωγῆ, ἔνπυρον ἐπὶ θεῖου ἀπύρου, οὕτως· λαβῶν θεῖου ἀπύρου | βόλους ἐπτὰ
 ποιήσον πυρὰν ἀπὸ ξύλων ἀμπελίνων. | λέγε τὸν λόγον τοῦ[του] κατὰ ἓνα βόλον
 καὶ βάλε ἐν τῶ | πυρ(ί). ἔστι δὲ ὁ λόγ[ος] οὗτος· ἠ]νοίγησαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ τῶν
 οὐρανῶν, | καὶ κατέβησαν [οἱ ἄγγ]ελοι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ κατέστρεψαν τὴν πεν|τάπολιν
 Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορα, Ἄδαμ(ά), Σεβουίη καὶ Σηγῶρ. | γυνὴ ἀκούσασα τῆς φωνῆς
 ἐγένετο ἀλατίνη στήλη. | σὺ εἶ τὸ θεῖον ὃ ἔβρεξεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον Σωδόμων καὶ |
 Γομῶρων, Ἄδαμὰ καὶ Σεβουίη καὶ Σηγῶρ, σὺ εἶ τὸ θεῖον, | τὸ διακονῆσαν τῶ
 θεῶ—οὕτω κάμοι διακόνῃσον πρὸς τὴν δεῖνα, | τῶ δεῖνα, καὶ μὴ αὐτὴν ἐάσης
 κοιμᾶσθαι μηδὲ ὑπνοῦ τυχεῖν, | ἕως ἔλθοῦσα ἐκτελέσῃ τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης μιστήριον.'
 | βάλλων εἰς τὸ πῦρ λέγε· ἐὰν σε βάλω εἰς τὸ πῦρ, ὀρκίζω σε | κατὰ τοῦ μεγάλου
 παπ ταφε Ἰάω// Σαβαώθ// Ἄρβαθιάω// | ζαγουρη// παγουρη// καὶ κατὰ τοῦ
 μεγάλου Μιχαήλ// | Ζουριήλ// Γαβριήλ// σεσενγενβαρφαραγωγῆς// Ἰσραήλ, |
 Ἄβραάμ//· ταύτην ἄξον τὴν δεῖνα) τῶ δεῖνα).'

fire from lamp

5.1.8. Leiden, P.Leid.Inst. inv. 21 recto, col. 1, s. III, ed. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P LXII.1-23 (cf.
P.L.Bat. I 21); same formulary includes horoscope and psephistic divination
 Ἔστω δὲ ὁ λύχνος ὄδ(ε) κρεμαστός, ἀμίλτ(ωτος). χρηστῶ ἐλαίω λυχνίαζε [κα]ὶ
 κ[ε]δρῶ. | 'σὺ [εἶ] τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον τὸ παρακείμ[ε]νο | τῶ μεγάλω θεῶ
 Ὀσορνωφρι Ὀσορ[νωφρι, | δι]ακονήσας αὐτῶ, ὅτε ἠράσθη τῆς ιδ[ία]ς | [ἀ]δελφῆς

Σνεφεθῦτος καὶ ἔδραμες | ἕξ ἐπὶ ἐξήκοντα σχοίνους καὶ περιε|κύκλευσας ἕξ ἐπὶ
ἐξήκοντα ὄρη· οὕτω | δ[ι]ακόνη[σ]ον κάμοί, τῶ δεῖνα, πρὸς τὴν δεῖνα. εἰ δὲ | μῆ,
ἐρῶ [τ]ὰ ὀκτῶ γράμματα τῆς [Σ]ελή|νης τὰ κατεστηριγμένα εἰς τὴν καρδίαν |
[το]ῦ Ἡλίου. εἰ δὲ μέλλω λέ[γ]ειν καὶ οὕτω ἐ|πορεύθης, εἰσελεύσομαι ἐσώτερος τῶν
| [ἐ]πτὰ πυλῶν τῶν περὶ Δαρδανιήλ καὶ σεί|σω τὸ στ[ε]ρέωμα [τ]ῆς γῆς, καὶ
συνελεύσει|ται τὰ δ' στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, ἵνα [ἐ]κ τοῦ|των μηδὲν γένηται.
ἀναλύθητι εἰς τὴν σε|αυτοῦ φύσιν καὶ μίγητι τῶ ἀέρι καὶ γενοῦ | πρὸς τὴν δεῖνα τῆς
δεῖνα' (κοινά) 'καὶ κάταξον αὐτὴν | ἐ[μ]οὶ π[υ]ρὶ τῶ κεραυνίῳ. ἐξορκίζω σε θεὸν
μέ|γαν τὸν ἐν τῇ καθαρᾷ γῇ κείμενο[ν], ᾧ τὸ πῦρ | ἄσβεστον δι' αἰῶνος παράκειται
αθουιν αθουιν αθουιν | ιαθαουιν σιβελθιουθ ιατητ ατατητ, Ἄδωνέ'. | κοινά.

myrrh; also motif of secret name, πάντες σε λέγουσιν Ζμύρναν, ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω σε

σαρκοφάγον καὶ φλογικὴν τῆς καρδίας (1503-1505)

5.1.9. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574, f. 18r-v (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.1496-1595)

ἀγωγή ἐπὶ ζμύρνης ἐπιθυομένης. | ἐπιθύων ἐπὶ ἀνθράκων δίωκε | τὸν λόγον.
λόγος· 'σὺ εἶ ἡ Ζμύρνα, ἡ πι|κρά, ἡ χαλεπή, ἡ καταλλάσσου|σα τοὺς μαχομένους, ἡ
φρύγουσα | καὶ ἀναγκάζουσα φιλεῖν τοὺς | μὴ προσποιουμένους τὸν Ἔρωτα. |
πάντες σε λέγουσιν Ζμύρναν, | ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω σε σαρκοφάγον καὶ | φλογικὴν τῆς
καρδίας. οὐ πέμπω | σε μακρὰν εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν, οὐ πέμ|πω σε εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, ἀλλὰ
πέμπω | σε πρὸς τὴν δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα, ἵνα μοι δια|κονήσης πρὸς αὐτήν, ἵνα μοι |
ἄξης αὐτήν. εἰ κάθηται, μὴ κα|θήσθω, εἰ λαλεῖ πρὸς τινά, μὴ | λαλείτω, εἰ ἐμβλέπει
τινί, μὴ ἐμ|βλεπέτω, εἰ προσέρχεταιί τινι, μὴ | προσερχέσθω, εἰ περιπατεῖ, μὴ |
περιπατεῖτω, εἰ πίνει, μὴ πινέτω, | εἰ ἐσθίει, μὴ ἐσθιέτω, εἰ καταφι|λεῖ τινά, μὴ
καταφιλεῖτω, εἰ τέρπε|ταί τινι ἡδονῇ, μὴ τερπέσθω, | εἰ κοιμᾶται, μὴ κοιμάσθω,
ἀλλ' ἐμέ | μόνον, τὸν δεῖνα, κατὰ νοῦν ἐχέτω, | ἐμοῦ μόνου ἐπιθυμῶ, ἐμέ μό|νον
στεργέτω, τὰ ἐμὰ θελήματα | πάντα ποιέτω. μὴ εἰσέλθης αὐ|τῆς διὰ τῶν
ὀμμάτων, μὴ διὰ τῶν | πλευρῶν, μὴ διὰ τῶν ὀνύχων | μηδὲ διὰ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ μηδὲ
διὰ | τῶν μελῶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς, | καὶ ἔμμεινον αὐτῆς | ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ
καῦσον | αὐτῆς τὰ σπλάγχνα, τὸ στήθος, τὸ ἦπαρ, | τὸ πνεῦμα, τὰ ὀστά, τοὺς
μυελούς, | ἕως ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸν δεῖνα, φιλοῦ|σά με καὶ ποιήσῃ πάντα τὰ
θε|λήματά μου, ὅτι ἐξορκίζω σε, | Ζμύρνα, κατὰ τῶν τριῶν ὀνο|μάτων Ἄνοχω,
Ἀβρασάξ, | Τρω καὶ τῶν ἐπακολουθοτέρων | καὶ τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων Κορ|μειωθ,
Ἰάω, Σαβαώθ, | Ἄδωνάι, ἵνα μοι τὰς ἐντο|λὰς ἐπιτελέσης, Ζμύρνα· ὥς | ἐγὼ σε
κατακάω καὶ δυνατὴ εἶ, | οὕτω ἦς φιλῶ, τῆς δεῖνα, κατάκαυ|σον τὸν ἐγκέφαλον,
ἔκκαυσον | καὶ ἔκστρεψον αὐτῆς τὰ σπλάγ|χνα, ἔκσταξον αὐτῆς τὸ αἷμα, | ἕως
ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸν δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα. | ὀρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ | μαρπαρκουριθ·
νασα|ρι· ναιεμαρε παιπαρι | νεκουρι. βάλλω σε εἰς | τὸ πῦρ τὸ καόμενον καὶ
ὀρ|κίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ παντοκρά|τορος θεοῦ ζῶντος ἀεί· ὀρκί|σας σε καὶ νῦν ὀρκίζω
σε | Ἄδωνάι· Βαρβαρ Ἰάω· | Ζαγουρη· Ἀρσαμωσι· αλα|ους· καὶ σαλαως· ὀρκίζω |
σε τὸν στηρίζοντα ἄνθρω|πον εἰς ζωὴν· ἄκουε, ἄκουε, | ὁ μέγας θεός, Ἄδωναῖε |
εθνια, αὐτογενέτωρ, | ἀείζων θεέ, ειωη· Ἰάω | αἰῶ αἰω φνεως σφιντης | Ἀρβαθιάω
Ἰάω ιαη ιωα | αι ὀ ὦν Οὐήρ γονθιαωρ | Παραηλ· αβρα· βραχα· |
σοροορμερφεργαρ· μαρ|βαφριουῖριγξ Ἰάω | Σαβαώθ, Μασκελλι | Μασκελλω (ὁ
λόγος). | αμονσωε· Ἄνοχ· | ριγχ· φνουκεν|ταβαωθ· σουσαε | φινφησηχ· μαφι|ραρ·
ανουριν· Ἰβα|ναωθ· Ἀρουήρ· Χνουφ· | Ἄνοχ· βαθι· ουχ Ἰάρ|βας· βαβαυβαρ· Ἐλωαί·
| ἄγε μοι τὴν δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα πρὸς ἐμέ, | τὸν δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα, ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ, |
ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ, ἐν τῇ ἄρτι | ὥρα μουλωθ· φοφιθ· φθωιθ· | [Φ]θωύθ· πενιων·
ἐπικα|λοῦμαι καὶ σέ, τὸν τὸ πῦρ κρα|τοῦντα Φθαν Ἄνοχ, εἰσάκου|σόν μου, ὁ εἶς,
μονογενῆς | μανεβια βαῖβαῖ· | χυριρων· θαδειν, | Ἄδωνάι· Ἐροῦ νουни | μιωνωχ·

χουτται | Μαρμαρανώθ· ἄξον | τὴν δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸν δεῖνα | τῆς δεῖνα, ἄρτι, ἄρτι, ἦδη, ἦδη, ταχύ, ταχύ.' | λέγε δὲ καὶ τὸν κατὰ πάντων | λόγον.

myrrh

5.1.10. Fayum, now in Oslo, P.Oslo inv. 420 verso, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXVI.333-360
ἀγωγή ἐπὶ [ζι]μύρνης. λέγε τὸν λόγον [κ]αὶ [β]άλε ἐπὶ τὴν | πλάκαν τοῦ βαλανίου,
ἔστιν δὲ ὁ λόγος οὗτος· | 'Ζμύρνα, Ζμύρνα, ἢ παρὰ θεοῖς διακονοῦσα, ἢ ποταμούς
κ[αὶ] | ὄρη ἀναταράξασα, ἢ καταφλέξασα τὸ ἔλος τοῦ Ἀχαλδα, | ἢ κατακαύσασα
τὸν ἄθεον Τυφῶν(α), ἢ σύμμαχος | τοῦ Ὠρου, ἢ προστάτις τοῦ Ἀνουβέως, ἢ
καθοδηγὸς τῆς | Ἰσιδος· ὁπότεν σε βάλω, Ζμύρνα, ἐπὶ τὸν στρόβιλον τῆς | πλακὸς
τοῦ βαλανίου τούτου, ὡς σὺ κάη, οὕτως καὶ σὺ καύ|σεις τὴν δ(εῖνα), ὅτι σε
ἐξορκίζω κατὰ τῆς κραταιᾶς | καὶ ἀπαραιτήτου Ἀνάγκης Μασκελλι Μασκελλω, |
φνουκενταβαώθ, ὄρεοβαζάγρας, ῥηξίχθων, | ἰππόχθων, πυρίχθων, πυριπαγανυξ,
λεπεταν | λεπεταν μαντουνοβοη καὶ κατὰ τῆς τούτου Ἀνάγκης | λακι λακιω
λακιω[υδ] λακιωυδα· ἄξον, καῦσον | τὴν δεῖνα (κοινὰ ὅσα θέλις), ὅτι σε ἐξορκίζω
κατὰ τῶν | κραταιῶν καὶ μεγάλων ὀνομάτων· θειλωχνου | ιθι πεσκουθι
τετοχνουφι σπευσουτι Ἰάω, Σαβαώθ, | Ἀδωναί, παγουρη, ζαγουρη, Ἀβρασάξ,
Ἀβραθιάω, | Τερηφαήλ, μοισρω, Λειλαμ, Σεμεσιλαμ, θοοου | ἱε ηω Ὄσιρ Ἄθουμ
χαμνευς φεφαων | ἱε ηω Ὄσιρ Ἄθουμ χαμνευς φεφαων | φεφεωφαῖ φεφεωφθα. ἔγειρε
σεαυτήν, Ζμύρνα, | καὶ ὕπαγε εἰς πάν(τα) τόπον καὶ ἐκζήτησον τὴν δεῖνα καὶ |
ἄνοιγον αὐτῆς τὴν δεξιὰν πλευρὰν καὶ εἴσελθε ὡς | βροντή, ὡς ἀστραπή, ὡς φλώξ
καομένη, καὶ ποίησον | αὐτὴν λεπτὴν, χ[λωρ]άν, ἀσθενήν, ἄτοναν, ἀδύνα|μον ἐκ
π[αντ]ὸς [τοῦ σ]ώματος αὐτῆς ἐ[νεργή]ματος, | ἕως ἐκπηδήσασα ἔλθη πρὸς ἐμ[έ],
τὸν δεῖνα τῆς] δεῖνα (κοινὰ | ὅσα θέλις), ἦδη ἦδη, ταχύ ταχύ.'

womb of target; φυσικλείδιον, with narrative motif of the love of Isis and Osiris and Penelope and Odysseus, φιλίτω με ἢ δεῖνα εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα αὐτῆς χρόνον, ὡς ἐφίλησεν ἢ Ἰσις τὸν Ὄσιριν, καὶ μινάτω μοι ἀγνή, ὡς Πηλενόπη τῷ Ὀδυσσῆϊ (288-289)

5.1.11. Fayum, now in Oslo, P.Oslo inv. 420, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXVI.283-294
φυσικλείδιον. λαβῶν ῥὸν κορώνης καὶ κορωνοποδίου βοτάνης | χυλὸν καὶ χολὴν
νάρκας ποταμίας τρίψον μετὰ μέλιτος καὶ λέγε | τὸν λόγον, ὅταν τρίβης καὶ ὅταν
συνχρήν τὸ αἰδοῖόν σου. ἔστι δὲ | ὁ λόγος ὁ λεγόμενος· 'σοὶ λέγω, μήτρα τῆς δῖνα,
χάνε καὶ δέξαι τὸ | σπέρμα τοῦ δεῖνα καὶ σπ[έ]ρ[μ]α τὸ ἀκρατὲς τοῦ ἰαρφε αρφε
(γράφε). | φιλίτω με ἢ δεῖνα εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα αὐτῆς χρόνον, ὡς ἐφίλησεν ἢ Ἰσις | τὸν
Ἄσιριν, καὶ μινάτω μοι ἀγνή, ὡς ἢ Πηλενόπη τῷ Ὀδυσσῆϊ. | σὺ δέ, μήτρα, μνημόνευέ
μου εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα τῆς ζωῆς | μου χρόνον, ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἀκαρναχθας'. ταῦτα λέγε
τρίβων, | καὶ ὅταν χρίσης τὸ αἰδοῖον, καὶ οὕτω συγγίνου ἢ θέλις, | καὶ σὲ μ(ό)νον
ἀγαπήσει καὶ ὑπὸ μηδενός ποτε κοινωή|σεται, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ σοῦ μόνου.

charitesion, address to myrrh with narrative, analogous use of myrrh by Isis
papyrus formulary, from mummy cartonnage from Abusir el Melek, s. I BC/I AD, now
5.1.12. Berlin, P.Berl. inv. 21243, *Suppl.Mag.* II 72 ii 15-27

λαβῶν μύρον ἔπασσον καὶ χρεῖσον τὸ πρόσωπον· σὺ εἶ τὸ μ[ύ]ρ[ο]ν ᾧ ἢ Εἴσις
χρε[ι]σαμένη | ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν τοῦ Ὄσειριος κόλπον τοῦ αὐτῆ[ς] ἀνδρὸς καὶ
ἀδ[ε]λφοῦ καὶ ἔδωκας αὐτῆ[ς] | τὴν χάριν ἐπ' ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· δός μοι τασε[c. 10].
τασ[c. 10] | η[...]. [c. 25] εἶρε τὸν δεῖνα ἢ τὴν δεῖνα. δέσ[ποι] | να Ἰσι τέλει τελέαν
ἐπαοιδήν.

Herb

[addendum] Venice, BNM cod. gr. V 7 (s. XIV), f. 118v. Cod. of medical content, addition to main text (excerpts from Galen and Chrysobalantes) but probably not much later (cf. Sonderkamp 1987, 225)

εἰς ἔρωτα. ἄγωμε κατὰ τὴν πρώτην τοῦ Μαρτίου μηνὸς σὺν τῷ παιδίῳ καὶ εὐρήσεις βότανον τὴν λεγομένην βαλλαριανὰ λατινικῶς, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι στάχος. γονατίζων ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς χαιρετῶν οὕτως ‘χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη, ὁ κύριος μετὰ σοῦ,’ ἕως τέλους, ποιῶν αὐτὸ ἐκ τρίτου ἕως τρίτης ἡμέρας μετὰ τρισαγίου καὶ τοῦ πάτερ ἡμῶν. ἀρραβωνίζων μετὰ χρυσοῦ δακτυλιδίου αὐτὴν τε καὶ σέ, ἐπιλέγων οὕτως ‘διὰ τοῦτό σε ἀρραβωνίζομαι, ὡς τρόπον ἄρα καὶ καθ’ ὃν δώσω σοι, χάριν ἔρωτος ποιῆς αὐτοὺς κλίνεσθαι πρὸς με τὸ ἐμοὶ θέλημα πληροῦντες.’ μετὰ δὲ τρίτην ἡμέραν κόψας αὐτὸ τρίψον καὶ βαλὼν γαλὰ γυναικεῖον μητρός τε καὶ θυγατρὸς καὶ ἀγιάσματος τῶν ἀγίων θεοφανίων, ὡσαύτως καὶ μόσχον καὶ μα(γ)νήτην καὶ ἄλευρον γυναικὸς καθαρᾶς ἔνωσον μετὰ τοῦ ἀλεύρου καὶ ποίει σιλίγνια καὶ δίδου φαγεῖν ὅπου δ’ ἂν καὶ θελήσης.

⁷ sic cod., l. τὸ ἐμὸν θέλημα ποιῶντας || 9 καθαρῆς cod. || 10 σιλίγνια ex σιλίγνιον i.q. ‘bread made from fine wheaten flour,’ Lampe s.v.

5.1.13. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316 (s. XV), ff. 336v-337r. Part of a collection of recipes, at the end of which, αὗται εἰσιν αἱ ἐρμηνεῖαι τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῆς σελήνης καὶ τῆς λιθικῆς καὶ τοῦ πασχαλίου τέλος (f. 338r)

ἀλώπηξ ἔάν τις αὐτὴν ἀγρεύσῃ ζῶσαν, λέγει ὡς ‘δι’ ἀγάπην ἀγάπην ἃ σε | θέλω’ καὶ ὁ δεξιὸς τῆς ὄρχις ξήρανε αὐτὸν καὶ τρίψον, δὸς πόσιν καὶ οὕτως ἡ γυνὴ πάνυ σε ἀγαπήσει.

5.1.14. Cambridge, Trinity College cod. O.1.58 (James 1082), f. 137v

ad habendum unum amorem. uade in hortum ubi multa poma crescunt et accipe pomum et non tangat terram et scribe super pomum ista nomina ‘Adam obruas gratia dei amen.’ et da pomum cuilibet puellae cuius amorem desideras.

² obreas cod.

5.1.15. London, Wellcome Library cod. 517, f. 224r

scribe ista tria nomina in pomo scilicet ‘belzebuc lucifer sathanas’ postea dic hanc coniurationem ‘coniuro te pomam per haec tria nomina quae in te scripta sunt ut omnes creaturae quae de te gustauerint inextinguibili amore me diligant donec uoluntatem meam adimpleuerim.’

conjunction of herb for use in erotic magic, rather corrupt; erotic curse

5.1.16. London, Wellcome Library cod. 517, ff. 109r-110r

ad colligendum herbam ualerianam. uade in die Veneris, melius est in festo sancti Iohannis baptistae et ea inuenta stans uersus oriente(m) genu flexo signa eam dicens et signa ‘in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen’ et dicas ‘pater noster’ totum, ‘angeli et archangeli congratulentur.’ postmodum dicas ‘gloria in excelsis deo’ totum et ‘credo in deum’ totum. postea dicas ‘aue Maria’ et cetera. eam accipias in manu dextra, ‘herba rogo te, coniuro te per deum qui te creauit et per nomina domini nostri Iesu Christi sanctissima, scilicet hebor sabaoth adonay abuco ohac hyon propem hon sadayc plefeye assoreye ugyon frygyon sigion bygnon blandinus sandinus glandius caranus canbrifiem panbrifiom sem brifiom sgeribrifim reffeyes heffeyes teffeses morbidanos albeduos ydidanos bydenos samax paux unaux euax renes penes seynes senes constortes brisas pexes grices iafiges

mafiges safiges cafiges mortuconses herconses potromcos torcomcos millam scida gulenfida ciboncida cilensida satis loncida. adiuro te et exoro te, contestor te o herba ualeriana ut praestes uirtutes tuas quattuor, haec nomina, per <quae> coniuro te, uolete per cupio te cum omnibus uirtutibus tuis quas deus tribuit tibi, coniuro te ut omnes in potu siue in cibo dederō de radice aut super caput porrexero, statim in amore meo cor <im>mutabiliter ardeat et uoluntatem meam faciat et sicut ignis comburit siluam, itaque taliter etiam ne comburatur et ardeat die ac nocte dormiendo et uigilando nec | quidpiam operis faciendo donec meam impleat uoluntatem.’ hac coniuratione facta per dominum et dicendo causam ter, recollige excepta eam cum radice et si potest super acell() tribus diebus et tribus noctibus et postea accipe eam et pone in alio loco sic dicendo ‘in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen. coniuro te herbam quia bona ualore tuo coengaris et quae ualens ad omnia quae uocaris in campo siue in platea, in foro siue in iudicio ante regest et iudices et principes, auge amicos, confunde et inimicos, amorem regum et iudicum et reginarum et maris mulierum et quae ualet in omnibus adiuua me te deprecantem et deposcantem.’ et immo dicis ‘ualeriana et maxima quare tantam uirtutem dedit tibi deus quare fortissimum et uictorissimum martigan profanes existis et qui pauperes potentes facis mirabilia magna operis per quae iugis matogen cum martha et plua subiacent yhanes qui potestates et magni principes seruiunt et obediunt et quare quicumque te habent, quicumque ulli habent. in nomine patris inueni te, in nomine filii cum anulo aureo circumdo te, in nomine spiritus sancti similiter adoro te.’ postea dicas hanc coniurationem ‘coniuro te herbam per patrem et filium [[et filium]] et spiritum sanctum creatorem caeli et terrae, coniuro per beatam Mariam uirginem [[t]] matrem domini nostri Iesu Christi, coniuro te per patriarchas et prophetas, coniuro te per apostolos et euangelistas et per omnes martyres et confessores et per omnes uirgines dei et per omnes sanctos et sanctas dei, coniuro te per sanctum Michaellem Gabrielem Raphaellem Tubielem et Imolem et per omnes angelos et archangelos dei, coniuro te per solem et lunam et stellas eorundem, coniuro te per nomina angelorum, coniuro te per uirginitatem eius pueri et omnium puerorum | et omni(s) tecum, puer uirgo. coniuro te per ar()nas maris uolatilia caeli ut tam uirtutem habeat qui super se portauerit adeo per te utpote quem uoluerō possim facere quod ardeat in amore meo et reddet placabiles amicos faciat concordēs.’ ista coniuratio debet fieri sic et dicis etiam omnibus uicibus sic ‘in nomine filii adiuro te in nomine spiritus sancti te.’ et dic ter pater noster, aue Maria, credo in deum patrem et fiat.

¹⁷ ne corr. from ny (?) || 18 quispiam *cod.* | hanc coniurationem factam *cod.*

addressing target, herb for erotic and other aims, motif of secret name
 5.1.17. London, Wellcome Library cod. 517, ff. 122v-123v [in margin, in later hand of s. XVI/XVII, hec que sequitur non sunt fide digna (sic)]
 si quis herbam solsequium colligeret et benedictum et consecratum super se portauerit uel habuerit, si in uinculis positus fuerit, mox ut dicta ligamina tetigerit dissoluentur, et si aliquis uel aliquae inter spatulas de eius radice tegerit quicquid ab eo uel ea postulauerit impetrabit. faciet autem sic. si uis haberes ante ortum solis dices contra orientem in die Iouis euolutis pedibus has preces ‘Elitropia, alii dicunt te esse elitropiam, ego uero sponsam solis quod cum sole clauderis et aperis omnium herbarum pulcherrimam decorem solis eiusque roseum colorem sequeris. te igitur adiuro et exorcizo per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum et per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum natum ex Maria uirgine et per ipsius natiuitatem per passionem et crucem eius per mortem et gloriam eius per gloriosam resurrectionem domini et ascensionem eius ad caelos et per tremendum diem iudicii magni. adiuro te et exorcizo te per omnes angelos et archangelos per prophetas et patriarchas martyres et confessores monachos atque heremitas uirgines et uiduas dei

omnipotentis. adiuro te ut habeas firmitatem uirtutemque possideas et potestatem experiaris dei omnipotentis omniumque sanctorum eius, ut qualiscumque creatura inde tacta fuerit per me de te statim in meo amore ardeat et me diligat toto corde tota mente in aqua extra amnem in igne extra rogam in silua cum bosco uel extra in oppido extra castrum in ecclesia extra monasterium in foris extra mercatum in uia extra uallem in montes extra colles in ualles extra colles in ciuitate extra metropoles in lecto extra stratum in mane ex(tra) meridiem. te coniuro in hortis uereneis in nemoribus intus maris, te coniuro in patulo m()pido, coniuro te in omni et per omnia me amare super | omnia me diligere facias et de me semper cogitare et per omnia coniuro te quatenus per haec omnia eis extimatrix figetur meae formae meae staturae amatrix meae semitae et inuestigatrix meae in umbris amplexatrix. exorcizo te per deum Abraham per deum Isaac per deum Iacob per deum Elye per deum Enoch decollatis eis uel meae amoris inextinguibili mente me diligas aptis omnia desideria mea compleas deus meus actricem conuertendam exmoliendam et angeli eius Michael Gabriel Raphael cherubin et seraphin. hos sanctos inuoco mane nocteque quatenus nec diabolus nec ullus mala bestia ulla res nociua ualeat nostros amores ipsorum desideria mutareque mentes uigilando dormiendo neque die neque nocte neque manducando neque bibendo nec in luna noua nec in ueteri. adiuro te herbam quae uocaris solsequium atque inquieto per deum uiuum per deum uerum per deum sanctum in cuius potestate constant omnia per angelos et archangelos per thronos et dominationes per principatus et potestates per octo beatudines per quinque prudentes uirgines et per caelum, uirtutes, per sanctam Mariam non praetermissis quattuor euangelistis ut exorcizent te praeparis festinando ad cor meum et ad mansionem meam quaecumque creatura per me de te tacta fuerit. exorcizo te per 24 seniores ante deum stantes, adiuro te et inuoco te per sexaginta milia innocentium ut tota intentione tua et uirtute tua illa quam de te (te)tigero meam impleat uoluntatem et in omnibus semperque meo amore perseueret cum caritate. insuper quaecumque uincola inde tetigero de te dissoluantur. idcirco te colligo et recipio in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen.’ | et quinque missas cantari facias in honore quinque uulnerum domini et quinque pater noster et dabis quinque elemosinas quinque pauperibus. haec uera et experta sunt ista perfecta sine dubio.

5 p(re)ses cod. || 13 possidias cod. || 14 experte cod. || 20 diligeris cod. || 21 cogitaris cod. | quatinus cod. || 27 quatinus cod. || 28 mutaris que cod.

5.2. magical *logoi* only

saying the secret name of Aphrodite in the presence of the target

5.2.1. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.1265-1274)

Ἀφροδίτης ὄνομα τὸ μηδενὶ ταχέως | γινωσκόμενον· ‘Νεφεριηρι.’ τοῦ|το τὸ ὄνομα, ἐὰν γυναικὸς ἐπιτυχεῖν | θέλης εὐσχήμονος, καθαρὸς γενό|μενος ἐπὶ ἡμέρας γ’, ἐπιθύσας λίβανον, | τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα ἐπικαλεσάμενος αὐ|τῷ καὶ εἰσελθὼν πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα | ἐπτὰκις ἐρεῖς αὐτὸ κατὰ ψυχὴν βλέ|πων αὐτῇ, καὶ οὕτως ἐξήξει. τοῦτο | δὲ ποιεῖ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ζ’.

to be said while kissing

5.2.2. London, BL P.Lond. inv. 121 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.405-406)

φίλτρον ἐπὶ φιλίας. καταφιλῶν λέγε· ‘ανοκ’ θαζι·ν επιβαθα | χεουχ· χα ανοκ ανοχ’ χαριεμουθ· Λ[αί]λαμ.’ κοινά.

φίλτρον. ἐπὶ *dist.* *Pap.Graec.Mag.*

“a philter that functions by incantation,” to be said while kissing

5.2.3. London, BL P.Lond. inv. 121 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.661-663)

φίλτρον ἐπὶ λαλήματος. καταφιλῶν λέγε· ‘ανοκ: | θαρνεπιβαθα: χεουχχα ανοα
ανοκ χαριεμοχθ’ | Λαίλαμ.’

661 φίλτρον. ἐπὶ Preisendanz

to inflict sleeplessness (ἀγρυπνητικόν), writing in blood on a bat

5.2.4. London, BL P.Lond. inv. 121 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.652-660)

ἀγρυπνη[τι]κὸν διὰ νυκτερίδος. <λαβῶν> αἷμα μελάνης | βοὸς ἢ α[ιγ]ὸς ἢ Τυφωνίου,
ἔξαιρέτως δὲ αἰγός, γράφε | ἐπὶ τῆς δ[ε]ξιᾶς πτέρυγος· ‘βωρφωρ φορβα φορφαρβα
| φωρβωρφορβα· φορβα φορβα φορβα: βαφαιη: | φω[ρβα]φωρ: βαρβα:’ ἐν ὑπὸ τὸ
ἐν [τι]θ[εῖς ὡς] πλινθίον | καὶ [κοινά, ὅσα] βούλει. ἐπ[ὶ] δὲ [τῆς] εὐ[ω]νύμου
πτέρυγος | γράφε [τάδε τ]ῶ αὐτῶ τύπω· ‘φορφωρ: φορβα: βορφορ: | φορβα·
βορφορ: φορβα φορφορ: φορβαβωρ· | βορβορβα: φωρφωρ φορβα,’ ὁμοίως κοινά,
ὡς βούλει.

prb. derived from the *Kyranides* (1.5.27-31? cf. M. Waegeman *AC* 61 (1992) 237-242 [SEG XLII 1804]), making a ring-amulet with a depiction of Aphrodite; note the term ἀγωγή and the use of the tongue of the ἵυγξ στρουθίου; the procedure is indicated for use on men as well as women

5.2.5. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419 (s. XV), f. 159v, ed. Delatte 1927, 466

περὶ ἔρωτος ἀποτελεσματικὸν δόκιμον. γλύψον εἰς λίθον μαγνίτην τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὀρθὴν γυμνὴν ἀναδεδεμένους ἔχουσας τοὺς πλοκάμους, τῇ μὲν ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τόξον ἐντεταμένον ἔχουσας, τῇ δὲ δεξιᾷ βέλος. ποιήσης δὲ τοῦτο ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τῇ ὥρᾳ αὐτῆς. καὶ γύρωθεν αὐτῆς τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα· ‘νεμπιηνε ηπεχ.’ ὀπισθεν δὲ γράψον ἧγουν γλύψον ταῦτα [signs]. καὶ ὑποκατακλείσας ἠριγγίου βοτάνης ρίζιον ἢ ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος καὶ ταῶνος ἐγκέφαλον ξηρόν καὶ ἐκ τῆς καρδίας ὀλίγον καὶ ἵυγξ στρουθίου τὴν γλῶτταν ἢ καὶ τὸ ὀρθοπύγιον καὶ τὸ παρθετικὸν αἷμα τῆς χρυσαθέμου καὶ ἀνθρώπινον οὖρον ὀλίγον, ποιήσης δακτύλιον χρυσοῦν ὑποκατακλείσας τὰ πάντα καὶ ἄνωθεν τούτων πάντων τὴν γλυφὴν καὶ φόρει. καὶ ἔστι χρήσιμος πρὸς ἀγωγὴν γυναικῶν. λαβῶν δὲ κηρὸν ἀκαμπτὸν ἐντύπωσον εἰς αὐτὸ τὴν ὑποκειμένην γλυφὴν καὶ δὸς γυναικὶ ἢ πέμψον. καὶ οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ διαλυθεῖσα ἔρωτος ἦξει, εἰ μόνον ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ λήψεται. πλὴν δὲ ὄρα μήπως ὁ δακτύλιος ἐν τῇ συνουσίᾳ κομίζεται διὰ τὸ αἰσχροῦν. τοῦτο ποιεῖ καὶ πρὸς ἄρρενας.

13 ποιεῖ Delatte

image of target to be drawn and labeled with magic words

5.2.6. copied from a manuscript in use on contemporary Cyprus in Belehontes 1978, part 2, p. 84

περὶ ἀγάπης. γράψον εἰκόνα εἰς ἀγέννητον χαρτὶ καὶ μὲ χρυσᾶ γράμματα γράψε ‘αμας’ καὶ εἰς τὸ χεῖριν καὶ εἰς τὸ κεφάλιν ‘θωρατ,’ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ‘ελκω.’ καὶ ὅποιος σὲ ἴδῃ λουλένεται εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην. εἶναι θαυμάσιον καὶ δόκιμον ἀπὸ Σολομωνικῆ ζμύρνης.

5.2.7. Oxford, Bodleian cod. Wood empt. 18, f. 33v

ad amorem mulieris impetrandum. scribe in uirga coruli unius anni scilicet ‘pax pix abyra syth samalic’ et cum uirga praedicta percute eam tribus ictibus in capite et statim osculare eam postea et sine dubio habebis amorem illius.

$\overline{3}$ habebit *cod.*

on fruit

5.2.8. Cambridge, Trinity College cod. O.1.58 (James 1082), f. 138r

ut possis habere amorem mulieris. accipe pomum antequam cadat super terram et scribe in eo haec ‘gliscos tardam et ameli’ et da ei ad comedendum et diliget te, faciet quicquid uolueris.

5.2.9. London, Wellcome Library cod. 517, f. 70v

si uis ut mulier sequatur te. scribe has litteras in pergameno uirgineo ‘goboham cadal sinel metri soy.’

5.2.10. Cambridge, Trinity College cod. O.1.58 (James 1082), f. 136r

ut mulier te amet. scribe in uirga ‘anelana atra capaxa faxan et amen.’ cum parte illa in qua scripta sunt tange eam super carnem nudam et diliget te.

analogical joining of effigies inscribed with magical logoi

5.2.11. London, Wellcome Library cod. 517, f. 223r

ad amorem. ad amoris prouocationem fiant duae imagines argenteae uel stagneae hora cuiuslibet diei et nomina horarum et dominorum suorum in capitibus sculpantur et in uentribus eorum haec id est nomina amoris, ‘amonacilym melchacilym caanalyn farteilin horaicilin afraicilin bodracilin.’ postea cum cera optima pectora inuicem coniungantur et etiam in domiciliis eorum sepeliantur et in aeternum se diligent. anathema est. prima hora cuiuslibet diei dicitur libitum, secunda hora dicitur cenorum, tertia hora dicitur kanen, quarta hora dicitur cilgim, quinta dicitur ceaalat, sexta dicitur temphez, septima dicitur lator, octaua dicitur iafacul, nona dicitur baton, decima dicitur iahon, undecima dicitur uehini, duodecima dicitur kabiahalam.

$\overline{4}$ pectoris *cod.* || 5 anathemat $\overline{cod.}$

co-opting church ritual

5.2.12. San Marino, Huntington Library HU 1051 (s. XV, England), f. 85v

propter amorem mulieris. accipe panem benedictam in die dominica de manu sacerdotis in ecclesia et in die Veneris proximae sequentis scribe in pane praedicto nomen illius quem cupis habere amore et ista nomina ‘salmon anay adonay blestias’ cum sanguine primi digiti manus sinistrae et in dominica tunc proximae sequentis uade ad ecclesiam, pone illum panem in aqua benedicta et statim postea deponere illum de aqua et sicca contra solem et inde fac puluerem et da in cibo uel in potu cuius nomen scriptum et ipsa amabit te sicut uitam suam.

$\overline{1}$ [[amquus]] imqerm mhlzrezs *crypt. cod.* | benedictam *cod.* || $\overline{2}$ [[fac]] scribe *cod.* || $\overline{3}$ amore : amqer *crypt. cod.* | cum {cum} *cod.* || $\overline{4}$ p(er)m *cod.* || $\overline{5}$ [[illam]] *cod.*

6. separation for erotic aims

by simple performatives

6.1. Nemea, lead tablet dumped fill in a pit over which a large building was constructed west of Nemea River, inv. IL 327, s. IV B.C., ed. pr. S.G. Miller, *Hesperia* 49 (1980) 196 with ph. before unfolding (pl. 47d) [SEG XXX 353], cf. Jordan 1985 no. 56. The large building has subsequently been identified as the Heroon of Opheltes mentioned in Paus. 2.15.3 [SEG XL 317]

ἀποστρέφω Εὐβούλαν | ἀπὸ Αἰνέα ἀπὸ τοῦ | προσώπου ἀπὸ τῶν ὄφ|θαλμῶν
[ἀπὸ] τοῦ στόμα|τος ἀπὸ τῶν τιθθίαν | ἀπὸ τᾶς ψυχᾶς | ἀπὸ τᾶς γάστρους ἀπὸ |
[τ]οῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶ|κτοῦ ἀφ' ὅλου τοῦ σώμα|τος. ἀποστρέφω Εὐβού|λαν ἀπ'
Αἰνέα.

Ἰ Εὐβουλαν ed. pr. et passim || 8 φωλίου is the suggestion of Jordan, reported in commentary; this seems at odds with τιθθίαν and ψυχᾶς above

by deposition with corpse (addressed by name) and δαίμονες, analogy with impossibility of digging up and reading tablet, a woman curses the marriage of another woman and a man, with the goal of getting the man for herself

6.2. Pella, lead tablet deposited in tomb in necropolis, s. IV B.C., SEG XLIII 434, cf. Jordan 2000 no. 31, E. Voutiras, *Διονυσοφῶντος γάμοι. Marital Life and Magic in Fourth Century Pella* (Amsterdam 1998) [SEG XLVI 776]

[Θετί]μας καὶ Διονυσοφῶντος τὸ τέλος καὶ τὸν γάμον | καταγράφω καὶ τᾶν ἀλλᾶν
πασᾶν γυ|ναικ]ῶν καὶ χηρᾶν καὶ παρθένων, μάλιστα δὲ | Θετίμας, καὶ
παρακαττίθεμαι Μάκρωνι καὶ | [τοῖς] δαίμοσι. καὶ ὀπόκα ἐγὼ ταῦτα διελέξαιμι |
καὶ ἀναγνοίην πάλειν ἀνορόξασα, | [τόκα] γᾶμαι Διονυσοφῶντα, πρότερον δὲ μὴ·
μὴ γὰρ | λάβοι ἄλλαν γυναῖκα ἀλλ' ἢ ἐμέ, | [ἐμέ δ]ὲ συνκαταγηρᾶσαι
Διονυσοφῶντι καὶ | μηδεμίαν ἄλλαν. ἰκέτις ὑμῶ(ν) γίνο|[μαι ..]αν οἰκτίρετε
δαίμονες φίλ[ο]ι· δαγινὰ γάρ ἱμε | φίλων πάντων καὶ ἐρήμα. ἀλλὰ | [ταῦτ]α
φυλάσσετε ἐμὶν ὅπως μὴ γίνηται ταῦτα | καὶ κακὰ κακῶς Θετίμα ἀπόληται. | [c. 4
] ΑΛ[---] ΥΝΜ ΕΣΠΛΗΝ ἐμός, ἐμέ δὲ | εὐδαίμονα καὶ μακαρίαν γενέσται· | [---
] ΤΟ[---] Ε Ε ὩΑ ΜΕΤΕ[---]

6 cf. Hsch. Δ 5 s.v. δάγμονος· οἰκτρός, πένης, ἔλεινός [perhaps to be corrected to δαγινός?]: ΔΑΓΙΝΑΓΑΡΙΜΕ ed. pr., δαπ(ε)ινὰ γάρ ἱμε L. Dubois REG 108 (1995) 190-197, endorsed by C. Brixhe, *Κατὰ διάλεκτον* 43-62

6.3. Knossos, MHA inv. 5330, inscribed, unworked chunk of steatite found in grave, s. I A.D. (grave of s. I B.C./A.D.), SEG L 930 (edd. pr. Grammatikaki and Litinas 2000 with photo).

ηρηγυς vac. σωβερ | χωχαρεβερεγ | vac. ας | φαρκμαψω | χώρισον | τὸν
Πρειμο|γένην ὄν | ἔτεκ(ε)ν | ἡ Ἄρτεμε|ις | ἀπὸ τῆς Δά|φνης ἧς ἔ|τεκ(ε)ν | ἡ
Δ|ἀφ|νη.

3-4 φαρκμα\ασ/ψω edd. pr., the letters seem rather to have been squeezed in as the end of the logos in 2, then a new line begun for the next logos || 8 ετεκν stone : ἔτεκαιν ed. pr.

6.4. Unknown provenance, serpentine gem, now London, British Museum OA inv. 9976 (ex EA 56505, reg. 1889,1014.151, acquired from G.J. Chester), ed. Bonner 1950 no. 150 (repr. Michel 2001 no. 497; Michel 2004 no. 28.10; CBd-855). Bonner's text does not account for line breaks; read here from the photograph published by Michel. Inscribed on both sides (A-B) and on bevel (C).

A χωρίσατε | Ἱερακίων | α ερακαξ ὄ | ν ἔτεκε Σερ | ηνίλλα ἀπὸ Σ | ερηνίλλας τ | ἥσ
 ἔτεκε | Διδύμη
 B ἐπιτά | σι γὰρ ὁ μ | [έγα]ς θεὸς κ | ητυγχωχ | ιηφαγκ | ιαφυτ
 C . βερβερστας

6.5. Unknown provenance, serpentine gem, now Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery acc. 42.1415, ed. Michel, 2004 no. 28.10 with majuscule tr.; read here from photo published by Michel (Taf. 98.1)
 χαισι | καυαψυσω | βερβετα | ς χωρίσαι Θερ | μουθιν ἀπὸ | Εὐδαίμον(ος)· ἐπιτά(σσει)
 | γὰρ ὁ μ | έγας θεός.

ἘΥΔΑΙΜΩ.. (Ε)ΠΙΤΑ(ΣΙ) Michel

simple wish, ἀπομισέω

6.6. lead tablet found grave at Rome near Porta Ardeatina, now Antiquarium Comunale (inv. 10453), s. III: ed. pr. G. Bevilacqua, *ZPE* 117 (1997), 291-293 [*SEG XLVII* 1510], cf. Jordan 2000 no. 85. Text is probably complete, contra presentation in *SEG*.

(*signs*) | X A | πρὸς μίσηθρον ἴνα ἀπομισήσι Ἔρωσ Φη | λικίσιμαν κέ ἀπομισηθῆ ἀπὸ αὐτῆς.

by exorcism; signs

6.7. Cumae, lead tablet found in grave, now British Museum (inv. GR 2001.11-5.1), s. III, now D.R. Jordan *Mnemosyne* 56 (2003) 666-679 [*SEG LIII* 1075] (cf. Audollent 1904 no. 198, *IG XIV* 872)

(*signs*) | [Ορ c. 2 αια]οφιοφοριος... [c. 5] | ηθιτουτω σουπεμονδεσ... [c. 5] | δαίμονες καὶ πνεύματα οἱ ἐν τῷ [τό] | πω τούτῳ θηλυκῶν καὶ ἀρρενικ[ῶν], | ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸ ἅγιον ὄνομα τοῦ | Ερηκισιφθη αραραραχααρα ηφθι[σικηρε] | Ιαω Ιαβεζεβουθ· λανα βεσαφλαν [c. 4] | []νηκιπαμμουροφαντιναξο [c. 8] | ὁ τῶν ὄλων βασιλεύς, ἐξεγέρθητι, κ[αὶ] | ὁ τῶν φθιμένων βασιλεύς, ἐξαφέ[θητι] | μετὰ τῶν καταχθονίων θεῶν· ταῦτα γὰρ | γέινεται διὰ Οὐαλερίαν Κοδράτιλλαν | ἦν ἔτεκεν Οὐαλερία Εὔνοια ἦν ἔσπει | ρε Οὐαλέριος Μυστικός· ὡς τὸ φῶς ἀγγέ | λει θεοῖς τὰ κ[ατὰ] σκότος κατ' ἐπιταγήν | []οτ[]φερρο [c. 4] | ε νορσερχεμ[]νε [c. 2] | μελ ει, διάκοπτ[ε] τῆ]ν στοργήν, τὴν | φιλιαν· δῆς αὐτὴν [εἰς Τάρ]ταρα· τοῖς | δὲ ἐν φωτὶ δὸς α[ὐτὴν] μ]εισεῖν· εἰς χό | λον θεῶν, εἰς φόβον, εἰς[ε]λθέτω [ἡ Οὐαλερία Κοδράτιλλα, ἦν ἔτεκ]εν | Β[α]λερία Εὔνοια, ἦν ἔ[σ]πειρε Βαλέριος | Μυστικός· μεισε[ίτω] αὐτὴν, λήθην | αὐτῆς λαβέτω Βετρούβιος | Φῆλιξ ὄν ἔτεκεν Βετρούβια Μαξίμιλ | [λα, ὄ]ν ἔσπει[ρε Βετρού]βιος Εὐέλπιστος | [c. 17] | εχει Τυφῶν | μα [c. 6] | ον Βαρβαρουθ | ατα αχων· δότε {εἰς μ[εῖ] | σος} Βετρούβιῳ Φήλικι ὄν ἔ[τεκ]ε Βε | τρουβία Μαξίμιλλα, ὄν ἔσπειρε Β[ετ]ρούβιος Εὐέλπιστος, εἰς μεῖσος ἐλθεῖν | καὶ λήθην λαβεῖν τῶν πόθων | Οὐαλερίας Κοδρ[α]τίλλης ἦν ἔσπειρε | Βα[λέριος Μυστ]ικ[ός], ἦν ἔτεκε Βαλερία | [Εὔνοια c. 7] | το· κατέχετε ὑμεῖς | [c. 11] | τα]ῖς λοιπαῖς τειμωνιαῖς | [c. 13] | ας; ὅτι πρώτη ἠθέτησε | [Βετρούβιον Φ]ήλικά τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα· | [c. 12] | Ιακουβηινυτον [c. 3] | τα | [c. 14] | [c. 4]

addressing the substance, lizard; with slander

6.8. Thebes, now London, P.BM inv. 10588 verso, coll. ii-iii, s. III, ed. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P LXI.39-59 (possibly continued in very fragmentary state through col. 4); Demotic collection on recto

ἀγω[γή]· ἄγει γ]υναῖ[κ]α[ν ἀ]δικισθε[ῖσαν ὑπὸ το]ῦ ἀνδρός· | λαβῶ[ν] καλαβῶ]την ἀπὸ ταριχε[ῖων ζῶν]τα π[ε]ρὶ κείνα | βάλε τ[ὸν αὐτὸν καλ]αβῶτην εἰς ἀγγ[ῖον]

σιδη]ροῦν, καὶ | λαβῶν [ἄνθρακας ἀ]πὸ χαλκείου, ὁπότ[αν πῦρ ἀν]άπτουσιν, |
 βάλε α[ὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ἀγ]γεῖον μετὰ τοῦ κ[αλαβῶτ]ου καὶ ἔκ[κ]αυσον | ἐν τοῖς
 [ἄνθραξι καὶ πο]ῶν λέγε· ‘καλαβ[ῶ]τα, κα]λαβῶτα, | ὡς ἐμ[ίση]σέν σε Ἥλιος καὶ
 πάντ[ες θεοί], οὕτως | μισεί[τω τ]ὸν ἄνδρα ἢ [δεῖνα] εἰς τὸν ἄ[παντα] χρόνον κα[ὶ]
 | αὐτῆ[ν ὁ ἀ]νήρ.’ ὅταν δὲ συνεψηθῆ, [τὸν καλα]βῶτην | ἔπειχε εὐθ[ε]τον μὴ
 ἄψασθαι τοῦ [ἀγγείου]. ἄρσας | δὲ τὸ ἀγ[γεῖον, ἐν ᾧ] ἐνήφηται, πρόσσελ[θε αὐτῶ
 τ]ῶ πυλῶνι | λέγων· ‘[καλαβῶ]τα, κ]αλαβῶτα, μισείτ[ω σε ὁ Ἥλιος κ]αὶ |
 ἄνθρω[ποι πάντες, ὅ]τι ἡ δεῖνα κ[ατ]αστῆν[αι λέγει τὴν Ὀ]σερον | νώφρι[ος Φαπρῶ
 Ο]ύσ[ι]ριδ[ος] θεοῦ τ[αφῆν] καὶ [κ]ατα|βεβρῶ[σθαι ὑπὸ σοῦ. εἶ]δωλε
 β[ι]ανδαθ[ρη....], εἶδωλε | Τυφῶ[νος σακτ]ιετη σογ[γ]ηθ/, εἶδωλε Ἀβρασάξ,
 ἀναξ[ιβοα,] | εἶδωλε [Ἰάω· μὴ πρ]οσέλθη [ῆ] δ[εῖνα] διὰ [τοῦ πυλῶ]νος, ἀφ’ ἧς |
 ὥρας ἐὰν ὁ Ἥλιος αὐγάσῃ] τὴν γῆ[ν ἐπὶ ὅλον τὸν] χρόνον, | ὅσον συ[ναυξάνει
 τὸν Ποτ]αμὸν ἐκ Ποτα]μοῦ, ὅσον | θάλλει[ὁ ἐρινεός]. ὅσ’ ἀν] θέλη[ς, κοινὰ λέγει
 καὶ ἀπο]χώρησον.]

addressing the substance, mustard-seed

6.9. fragment of formulary, unknown provenance, now Florence, P.Laur. inv. III/472, s. V, ed. *Suppl.Mag.* II 95 side →, 1-20

[c. 6] . [--] | [c. 5] ατησ[--] | [c. 6] .. [--] | [c. 6] μυρικ[--] | [c. 5] .. ατα[--] | [c. 6] ασσα[--]
] | [c. 7] δεῖνα). κοι(νόν). [--] | .. κ[..] β[..] βριαψ [ιω Ἐρβηθ ιω] | Πακερβηθ ιω
 Βολχ[οσηθ βασδούμα] | Ὄσερω Απομψ Π[αταθναξ κοκκο] | λοπτολιν χ..κ. [c. 5 ιω
 θαθθα] | βραβο. ἀβιαστικός λόγος· Τυφῶν | Σηθ, πᾶσα ν’ μαγίαν ἐπιτελ[c. 8] |
 διάκοπον τὴν δεῖνα [ἀπὸ τοῦ δεῖνα), ἀβεραμενθω] |
 ουθλερθεξαναξεθ[ρελθουσωνεμα] | ρεβα. καὶ εἰπέ· σίναπι, [οὐκ εἶ σίναπι,] | ἀλλὰ
 ὀφθαλμὸς τοῦ Ἀ]ἰῶνος, τὰ ἔντερα | τοῦ ταύρου, τὸ ὑ[--] | τοῦ Ἄπιδος . [--] |
 κοι(νόν). διερχ[..]

17 <ὁ> ὀφθαλμὸς] *Suppl.Mag.*

addressing the substance, mustard-seed, separation for erotic aims

6.10. fragment of formulary, unknown provenance, now Florence, P.Laur. inv. III/472, s. V, ed. *Suppl.Mag.* II 95 side ↓, 3-16

[. [.] . ο [--] | [--] κοι(νόν). [--] | [--] . ἀλλὰ ἡ βλέψις [--] | [-- τ] οὔ Αδωναι, ἡ δύν[αμις --] | [--
] σ τοῦ μεγάλου θε[οῦ --] | [-- σίν]απι, ἵνα διακόψ[ης --] | [--] . ἔχθραν ἕως θα[νάτου --
] | [--] . ν[.] εἰ[σέ]λθης εἰς τὴν ο [--] | [--] .. αὐτοὺς ὡς τὴν [--] | [--] ἀκούσασα περὶ το[ῦ --] | [--
 - τ] οὔ Ὀσίρεως ανε. [.] . [--] | [--] . [c. 9] καὶ φοβερὰ καὶ ε[.] . [--] | [--] ν κατεκαυσα [--] | [--
 κ]αὶ σύ, σίναπι, α [--] | [-- τῆ]ν οἰκίαν τῆς δεῖνα [--] | [--] πάροδον αι. [

manipulation of names

6.11. manuscript in private collection, from Apokoronas on Crete (‘recent,’ ed.), ed. Koukoules 1926, 96

πῶς νὰ κάμης τὸ ἀνδρόγυνον νὰ μαλώνη. νὰ βρῆς δύο ἀβγά, νὰ γράψης εἰς μὲν τὸ
 ἓνα τὸ ὄνομα τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῆς μάννας της καὶ νὰ τὸ δώσης νὰ τὸ φάγη ὁ
 γάττος, εἰς δὲ τὸ ἄλλο νὰ γράψης τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῆς μάννας του καὶ νὰ
 τὸ δώσης τοῦ σκύλλου νὰ τὸ φάη.

7. locking womb / preserving faithfulness / chastity

'sealing' of a woman while her husband is away, writing her name on paper, sealing it with wax, and depositing it near a cooper's anvil

7.1. Cambridge, Trinity College cod. R.15.36 (s. XV-XVI), f. 2v

ἀναχωροῦντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γράψον τὸ ὄνομα τῆς γυναικὸς εἰς χαρτίον καὶ σφράγισον αὐτὸ μετὰ κηροῦ καὶ χῶσον αὐτὸ ἀποκάτω εἰς τὸν ἄκμονα τοῦ χαλκέως. καὶ ὅτε ἔλθῃ ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἔκβαλον αὐτό. εἰ δὲ μή, οὐ δυνήσεται συνελθεῖν τῇ γυναικί.

7.2. Florence, BNL cod. Plut. 86.14 (s. XV), f. 27v, ed. Delatte 1927, 625 with 654

ἀναχωροῦντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γράψον τὸ ὄνομα τῆς γυναικὸς εἰς χαρτίον καὶ σφράγισον αὐτὸ μετὰ κηροῦ καὶ χῶσον αὐτὸ ἀποκάτω εἰς τὸν ἄκμονα τοῦ χαλκέως. καὶ ὅτε ἔλθῃ ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἔκβαλον αὐτό. εἰ δὲ μή, οὐ δυνήσεται συνελθεῖν τῇ γυναικί.

inscription of an effigy of the wife with the name of her husband

7.3. Milan, Bibl. Ambros. cod. E 37 sup. (s. XVI), f. 378r, ed. *CCAG* III:46 (cod. 17), improved text in Delatte 1927, 647

ἵνα ἀλοχίς μένη ἐγκρατῆς καὶ εὐγενῆς διὰ τοῦ πόσεως αὐτῆς. ποιήσον εἶδωλον μετὰ κηροῦ παρθένου ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ, Σελήνης ὑπαρχούσης ἐν Παρθένῳ, καὶ γράψον ἐν αὐτῷ ὄνομα ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὰς χαρακτῆρας Ζυγοῦ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτῶν καὶ χῶσον πρὸς ἐμβασίας αὐτῶν.

erotic restraint of a woman, use of effigy

7.4. Milan, Bibl. Ambros. cod. E 37 sup. (s. XVI), ff. 374v-375r, ed. *CCAG* III:42 (cod. 17), improved text in Delatte 1927, 642

ἀποτέλεσμα. ἵνα ἀλουχίς ἥς θέλγεις μὴ δυνήσεται ἐτέρῳ φωτὶ μιγῆναι εἰ μὴ σοί, καὶ περὶ σοῦ πάντοτε μνεῖαν ποιῆται, ποίησον μίαν εἰκόνα μετὰ κηροῦ παρθένου ἐν ὥρᾳ Ἀφροδίτης, οὔσης Σελήνης ἐν Αἰγοκέρῳ, καὶ γράψον ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς ὀνομασίας καὶ σημεῖα Διὸς καὶ Ἄρεως σημεῖον καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ὀνομασίαν καὶ φύλαξον τὴν εἰκόνα.

⁴νομασίαν Delatte

womb-locking procedure

7.5. Athens, EBE cod. 1265 (s. XVII), f. 34v, ed. Delatte 1927, 82-83; cf. Koukoules 1926, 93

εἰς κλείδημα γυναικάς. πιάσον κλειδὶν Σαρακηνικὸν καὶ εἰπέ 'εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, κλειδῶνω τὴν δούλην τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα ὡς ἐκλείδωσεν ὁ Μωυσης τὴν Ἀμανθίραν, οὕτω νὰ κλειδωθῇ καὶ ἡ μήτρα τῆς δεῖνα νὰ μηδὲν ἀνοίξῃ, ἡ καρδία τῆς δεῖνα παροῦ νὰ 'στε κλειδωμένη ὑπ' πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.'

³ Ἄμμὰν θύραν Delatte, Jacoby ap. Koukoules, cf. Dt. 23:3, tr. 'Moses verschloß Amman die Tür.' || ⁴ παροῦ Delatte, cf. app. | νὰ ἦστε Delatte

8. miscellaneous

two effigies deposited together, for reconciliation

8.1. Milan, Bibl. Ambros. cod. E 37 sup. (s. XVI), ff. 377v-378r, ed. *CCAG III:46* (cod. 17), improved text in Delatte 1927, 647

ὅπως δύο μέρορες ἐν ὁμονοία φιλίας ἔσονται. Ἡλίου ὄντος ἐν Καρκίνῳ, Σελήνης δὲ ἐν Διδύμοις ἐν ὥρᾳ Ἀφροδίτης ῥέξον εἶδωλα δύο μετὰ κηροῦ ἐπ' ὀνόματος δι' ὧν βούλει ἐν ὁμονοία εἶναι καὶ τὰς χαρακτῆρας Διδύμων καὶ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἀγγέλων Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ τίθει εἰς τόπον ἔνθα στέκουσι.

analogy with burning paper; added analogy with Christ; for reconciliation

8.2. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικός κώδικας (s. XIX), f. 279r-v, ed. Parathomopoulos 2006, 163

ἕτερον περὶ μίσος ἀνδρογύνου. γράψε εἰς χαρτὴν καινούργιον τὴν κάτωθεν χαρακτῆρας καὶ βάλε τὴν εἰς τὴν φωτίαν καὶ κάψε τὴν καὶ λέγε οὕτως 'ὡς καίεται τοῦτο τὸ χαρτὶ μὲ τὰς σφραγίδας, ἔτσι νὰ καίεται καὶ ἡ καρδιά τῆς δεῖνα ἢ τοῦ δεῖνα,' ὅποιος ἀπὸ τοὺς δύο ἔχει τὴν γρίνιαν, 'καὶ καθὼς ἀγαπάει ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἔτσι νὰ ἀγαπάη καὶ ἡ δεῖνα τὸν δεῖνα τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς καὶ αὐτὸς | τὴν γυναῖκά του τὴν δεῖνα.' καὶ τὴν στάχτην τοῦ χαρτίου νὰ τὴν ποτίσης ἢ νὰ τὸν ποτίσης καὶ νὰ θαυμάσης. [*signs*] τέλος.

4-5 καὶ ἡ δεῖνα τὸν δεῖνα *ditt. cod.*

for reconciliation with a male enemy, writing name and goal on coal, burning it

8.3. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικός κώδικας (s. XIX), f. 290r, ed. Parathomopoulos 2006, 173

ἐὰν θέλῃς μὲ τὸν ἐχθρόν σου νὰ ἀγαπήσης, γράψε εἰς ἓνα κάρβουνον τὸ ὄνομά του καὶ ὅ τι ἐπιθυμεῖς καὶ τὸ καίεις καὶ τὴν στάχτην τὴν ἐγγίξεις ἐπάνω του καὶ ἀγαπῶν. τέλος.

Chapter 3 catalogue

1. Ritual curses

- 1.1.1 direct performative
- 1.1.2 + analogy
- 1.2.1 direct wish
- 1.2.2 + analogy
- 1.3. prayer
(+ various other elements?)
- 1.4. scripture
- 1.5 narrative
- 1.6 ritual drama
- 1.7 graphic manipulation
- 1.8 *logoi*
- 1.9 non-verbal

2.1 – procedure for revelation of thief

- 2.1.1 – eye
 - 2.1.1.1 – prayer
 - 2.1.1.2 – scripture
 - 2.1.1.3 - hymn
 - 2.1.1.4 - *logoi*
- 2.1.2 – bread and cheese (sometimes just bread, sometimes just cheese)
 - 2.1.2.1 – prayer
 - 2.1.2.2 – narrative
 - 2.1.2.3 - scripture
 - 2.1.2.4 – name
 - 2.1.2.5 – *logoi*
- 2.1.3 – psalter
- 2.1.4 – turning of various other materials
- 2.1.5 - miscellaneous

2.2 – procedure for compulsion of thief to make restitution

- 2.2.1 – prayer
- 2.2.2. – narrative, performatives
- 2.2.3 – scripture

2.3 – procedures for general torment of thief (probably with the goal of compelling restitution)

- 2.3.1 - prayer

2.4 – procedure to compel fugitive (thief) to return

- 2.4.1 – analogous manipulation of name
- 2.4.2 – three patriarchs
- 2.4.3 – scripture
- 2.4.4 – addressing the target
- 2.4.5 - conjuration
- 2.4.6 – *logoi*

1. Ritual curses

1.1.1 – direct performative

1.1.1.1. Athens, monument of Philopappos, lead tablet, undated, ed. Wünsch 1897 no. 55, side A, lines 16-20: following list of names, τούτους ἐγὼ καταδίδημι ἅπαντας ἐν μολύβδῳ καὶ ἐν κη|ρῶ καὶ ἐμ [πο]τῶι καὶ ἐν ἀγρίαι καὶ ἐν ἀφανί(αι) κα(ι) ἐν ἀδοξίαι | καὶ ἐν ἧτ(η)ι καὶ ἐμ μνήμασιν καὶ αὐτούς | καὶ οἷς χρωῶνται ἅπαντας | παῖ[δας καὶ] γυ[ναῖκας].

1.1.1.2. Peiraeus, lead tablet found in a tomb, ed. Wünsch 1897 no. 97
Μικίωνα ἐγὼ ἔλαβον καὶ | {καὶ} ἔδησα τὰς χεῖρας καὶ | τοὺς πόδας καὶ τὴν
γλῶσσαν | καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ εἴ τι μέλλει {ε} | ὑπὲρ Φίλωνος ῥῆμα μοχθηρὸ | {καὶ
τὴν} |ν φθέγγεσθαι, ἢ γλῶσσα αὐτοῦ | μολυβδος γένοιτο. καὶ κέντ | [η]σον α[ύτ]οῦ
τὴν γλῶσσαν καὶ | εἴ τι μέλλει ἐργάζεσθαι, ἀνόνη | τα αὐτῶι γίνοιτο καὶ ἄχωρα |
καὶ ἄμοιρα καὶ ἀφανῆ αὐτῶι | [ἄ]παντα γένοιτο. Ἰππονῶι | [δ]ην καὶ Σωκράτην
ἐγὼ | [ἔ]λαβον καὶ ἔδησα τὰς | [χε]ῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας καὶ | [τῆ]ν γλῶσσαν καὶ
τὴν ψυχ|ήν καὶ εἴ τι μέλλουσιν | ὑπὲρ Φίλωνος ῥῆμα μοχθ|ηρὸν ἢ πονηρὸν
φθέγγεσθαι | ἢ κακόν τι ποῆσαι, ἢ γ[λ]ῶσ|σα αὐτῶν καὶ ἢ ψυχὴ μόλυ|βδος γένοιτο
καὶ μὴ δύναιντο | φθέγγεσθαι[ι] μηδὲ ποῆσαι, ἀλλὰ | τὴν γλῶσσαν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν |
αὐτῶν κέντησον, καὶ εἴ τ[ι] | αὐτοῖς ἐ[σ]τι ἢ μέλλει τι εἶνα[ι] | χρήματα ἢ οὐσία ἢ
ἐργασία | ἅπαντα ἀνόνητα καὶ ἄ|χωρα καὶ ἄμοιρα πάντα | αὐτοῖς γένοιτο καὶ
ἀφανῆ | αὐτοῖς ἔστω. | {Ἀριστῶ ἐγὼ} | Ἀριστῶ ἐγὼ ἔλαβον καὶ ἔδη | [σ]α τὰς
χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας | καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν καὶ τὴν ψυ|χὴν καὶ μὴ δύναίτο ὑπὲρ
Φί|λωνος φθέγγεσθαι ῥῆμα πο|νηρὸν ἀλλὰ ἢ γλῶσσα αὐτῆς μό|λυβδος γένοιτο
καὶ κέντησον | αὐτῆς τὴν γλῶσσαν.

addressing the target; found in a circular tomb, five lead tablets found in the boundary wall; only one text published, but ed. notes that ‘the remaining three’ curse Euphiletos and his wife, Kephisodotos and his wife, Euthudemos and Krites

1.1.1.3. Athens, 131-137 Πειραιῶς Street, now Peiraios Museum ΜΠ 11948, lead tablet, SEG LVII 297, ed. pr. Petritaki 2009, 464-465

[Ἐκ]άτη χθονία, Ἄρτεμι χθονία, Ἐρμῆ χθονίε | ἐπιφθόνησον Φαναγόραι καὶ
Δημητρίῳ | καὶ τῶι καπηλήῳ καὶ χρήμασι καὶ κτήμασι. | δήσω τὸν ἐμὸν ἐχθρὸν
Δημήτριον καὶ Φανα|γόραν ἐν αἵματι καὶ κονίαι (nail hole) | σὺμ πᾶσιμ φθιμένοις·
ὁδὲ σε λύσε πρώτη πεν|θετηρίς, τοιότῳις ἐγὼ δήσω δεσμῶι, | [Δ]ημήτριε, ὥσπερ
κρατερῶτατον | [ἐ]ν γλώττει κυνωτὸν ἐπεγκρόσω.

Throughout, ed.pr. prints iota adscript as subscript. 3 καπηλείῳ ed. pr. || 4 τὸν γ' ἐμὸν ed.pr. || 5 κονίαι (sic) ed.pr., prb. KONIAI followed by chance marks associated with the nail hole) || 6 σύμπασιν ed.pr. | 1. οὐδέ σε λύσει : ὁ δέσε λύσε ed.pr. : ὅδε σ' ἔλυσε C. Feyel BE (2010) no. 223 (2) || 7 l. τοιούτῳις, improper iota adscript : τοιοσῶις ed.pr. || 9 [ἐστὶ]ν ed. pr. | κυνωτὸν metaphorically? cf. the name of a dice-throw in Pollux Onomasticon 7.205, citing the comic playwright Euboulos, and Theognostus Canones 121 κυνωτός, βώλου ὄνος [should βόλου be read?].

epic diction, meter

1.1.1.4. Attica, lead tablet, ed. Wünsch 1897 no. 108; B.1 written upside-down and in the case of the second name, retrograde

A δῆσω ἐγὼ Σωσικλείαν κα[ι κ]τήματα | καὶ μέγα κῦδος καὶ πρᾶξιν καὶ νοῦν,
ἐ|χθρὰ δὲ φίλοισι γένοιτο. δῆσω ἐγὼ κ|είνην ὑπὸ Τάρταρον ἀερόεντ[α] | δεσμοῖς
ἀργαλείοις σύν θ' Ἐκάτ(η)ι χθο|νίαι.
B Σωσίκλεια. Βιπτῶ. | καὶ Ἐρινύσιν ἠλιθιώναις.

performatives; retrograde writing

1.1.1.5. Rome, lead tablet pierced with nail found in burial near catacombs of S.

Domitilla, s. I/II, ed. Bevilacqua 2014

[c. 12-14 κ]ατορύσσω καὶ | δέδεκα καὶ καταδεσμεύω | εἰς ψυχρὸν τάφον, εἰς πυρὰν
καὶ |ομένην, εἰς θάλασσαν, βάλλω εἰς | ποταμόν, εἰ[ς λο]υτρῶνα, εἰς μέγαρο[ν] |
Εὐφρονα Τρύφωνος Σιφίου υἱὸν Ἀλε|ξανδρέα καὶ Φίλιππον Ἐξανίτην | ἀθλητήν
καὶ Ἀπίωνα Ἀρίστωνος | Ἀλεξανδρέα ἐπικαλούμενον Πῶ[λο]ν | ἀθλη[τ]ήν [...
]να[.]ω[.] | Ἀλεξανδρέα ἀθλητήν, Ἀρτέμωνα, | Νικολάου Ἐφέσιον παλαιστήν, |
Πρωτογένην Τρύφωνος Ἀλεξανδρέα | ἀθλητήν, Τρύφωνα Λευκίου Ἀλεξανδρέα |
ἀθλητή[ν], Ἀγά[θ]ανδρον Ἀριστάρχου | Κῶιον ἀθλη[τ]ήν, Μαρίωνα Διοδώρου |
Τραλλιανόν, Διονύσιον Σαρδιανόν, | Μηνόφαντον Ἐφέσιον, Λεύκιον Πινά|ριον
Ἡρακλείδου υἱὸν Ἀλεξανδρέα | [Α]ντιπᾶν Τιμ[c. 6 Ἀ]λεξανδρέα | [c. 20]
Ἀλε|[ξανδρέα] ἀ[θλητήν,] Ἀμμωνα | [c. 8] Ἀλεξα[νδρέ]α παλαιστήν, |
[Αντίπα]τρον παν[c. 8]ε[c. 5]ρασ[...] πόδας γ[ό]να[τα ...] | (*further traces
through line 36*)

1.1.1.6. Tébessa (Theveste), once Museum of Algiers, ed. pr. P. Roesch, *BAA* 2 (1967-
1968) 231-237 (wrongly identified as erotic), early Roman, cf. Jordan 1985 no. 136.

Writing within a ruled rectangle; found rolled up, and unusually the writing (according to
ed. pr.) was on the exterior. Ed. pr. takes ἐν τῇ εἰδία γονῆ as “dans sa proper
descendance,” but more likely her womb, LSJ s.v. III 2.

[Σατορνί]ναν καταδῶ καθάψωνο εἰς(ς) πικρὸν | [θάνατον] καὶ κατα(δ)ῶ αὐτήν ἐν τῇ
εἰδία γονῆ | [καὶ ἀπο]κόπτω τῇ Σατορνίνα. πίκρα καὶ δι|[νὰ Σατο]ρνίνα ἔσται
πρὸς τὸν δάνατον. | [---] c. 8 τῇ Σατορνίνα. ἀπολλύω | [τῇ Σατο]ρνίνα διὰ μανίας
ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρτι ὥρας | [ἦδ]η ἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἦδη ἦδη ἦδη | ταχύ ταχύ ταχύ
ἀποκόπτω πᾶσαν αὐ|κτὴν) ταχύ διὰ τῶν αἰώνων | ταχύ (sign) ἦδη (sign)

1̄ καθάψω νοεὶ ed. pr., “j’attacherai à son esprit un --- amer” || 2 ---α, κατ[αδῶ] ed. pr.
|| 3 [καὶ γένο]ιτο τῇ Σατορνίνα ed. pr. dub. || 3-4 δι|[νὰ ἔως Σατο]ρνίνα ed. pr. || 5
τῇ Σατορνίνα || 8-9 αὐ|[κτὴν] ed. pr. || 10 ταχύ ταχύ ταχύ ed. pr.

1.1.1.7. Kenchreai, Koutsongila Ridge necropolis, lead tablet found unrolled, on the floor
of tomb 22, now inv. KM043, Faraone and Rife 2007, cf. *SEG* LVII 332 (text not
entirely faithful to ed. pr.)

κάτω Βία Μοῖρα Ἀνάγκε· καταγράφω | [τ]ὸν ἄραντά μοι φακάριν[εα]. σκιάσδω |
ἐκ τριχὸς ἐκ κεφαλ(ο)ῦ (αὐ)το(ῦ) ἐκ [.]Ε μετώπου | ἐξ{ξ} ἐνκεφάλου Φλ[c. 5
]οφ[ω]να, ΜΙΣΟΥΣ, (ἀ)κοάς, | ρεινὸς {υς}, ὀδόντας στό[μα]τος, τράχη[λ]ον,
μασ|τούς, κοιλίαν, πλευ[ράς], θ[ορ]οῦς, πυγῆδ{α}ια, | ὀπισθομήρο, γόνατα,
κερκίδας, πόδας, | δακτύλους, ὅσον καὶ εἰκοσι ἔχει. εἰ μὴ, ἐκ|δ(δ)είκησαν καὶ
ἐξεθέρῃσον τὸν Καικη|λίου, ἄναξ Χαν Σῆρεια Αβρασαχ.

6-7 πυγῆδ{α}ια ὀπισθομήρο(υ) edd.pr. || 9-10 Καικήλ(ι)ου edd.pr.

introduced by prayer

1.1.1.8. Jerusalem, lead tablet found in collapsed ‘mansion,’ inv. B.81885, ed. Ben Ami, Daniel, and Tchekhanovets 2013, dated to between 285-363

ἐ[λ]θέ μοι ὁ κατὰ γῆν χθ[όνι]ε | δαίμων ὁ κρατῶν καὶ δεσμεύ[ων] Αβρασαξ, ἐλθέ
 Ἐκάτη τρίμορ | φε βασιλεία Ερεσχιγαλ, ἐλθέ μοι | βασιλεῦ Πλούτων τῶ μεγά | λω
 σου ὀνόματι Υεσεμιγα | δων, ἐλθέ μοι Γῆ χθονία καὶ Ἑρμῆ | χθόνια καὶ Πλούτων
 καὶ Φερσε | φόνη βασιλεία. κρούω καὶ κατα | κρούω καὶ καθηλῶ Ιεννυτος ὄν | ἔτεκεν ἡ
 μήτρα τὴν γλῶσσαν | τὰ ὄμ[μ]ατα τὸν θυμὸν τὴν ἔριν | τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν χρόνισιν
 τὴν ἔναν | τίωσιν ὅπως μὴθὲν ὑπεναντι | ὥση ὅπως μὴθὲν ὑπεναν | τίον εἴπη ἡ
 καταπράξη πρὸς | Κύρ[ιλ]λαν ἦν ἔτεκεν ἡ μή | τρα [.] [.]ον ἀλλὰ ὑποταγῆ | αὐτῆ ὁ
 Ιέννυς ὄν ἔτεκεν ἡ μή | τρα. πότνια Φερσεφόνεια, τέλει | [τ]ελέαν ἐπαοιδῆν. *signs* | [.]
signs νε ευηια | [.]α ηαω ιαωθ ιαβωθ ια | [ω]θ ιαβωχ αμαβωθ ιαβωχ.

curse against thief

1.1.1.9. Delos, lead tablet found in a well in a house, now Delos Museum inv. B 7539, Jordan 2002, cf. *SEG* LIII 813

side A κύριοι θε(οὶ) οἱ Συκονα οἰκοῦντε | ς, κυρί(α) θε(ὰ) Συρία ἢ Συκονα οἰκ[ο]ῦ | σα,
 ἐκδικήσετε καὶ ἀρετὴν | γεννήσετε κὲ διοργιάσετε | τὸν ἄραντα τὸν κλέψαντα τὸ
 δρ | άκιν τοῦ(ς) συνιδότες τοὺς μέ | ρος λαβόντες ἴδε γυνὴ ἴτε ἀ | νήρ.
 side B [κύριοι] θεοὶ οἱ Συκονα κατοικῶν | [τες, κυρ]ία θε(ὰ) Συρία ἢ κατοικ[οῦ(σα)]
 Συκονα, | [ἐκδικ]ήσετε κὲ (ἀ)ρετὴν γενήσετε. | καταγράφο τὸν ἄραντα τὸν
 κλέ | ψαντα τὸ δραύκιν, καταγράφο τοὺς | συνιδότες τοὺς μέρος λαβόντες, |
 καταγράφο αὐτὸν τὸν ἐνκέφαλον | τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ[ν], τὰ νεῦρα τοῦ | κλέψαντος
 τὸ δρ[α]ύκιν, τὸν συνι | δότον, τῶ(ν) μέρος λαβόντον, καταγρά | φο τοῦ ἄραντος τὰ
 οἰδέα, τὰ ἀνανκῆ | α αὐτοῦ, τὰς χίρε(ς) αὐτῶν τὸν ἀράντον | κὲ κλεψάντον τὸ
 δραύκιν τὰ γόνα | τα τοὺς πόδος ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς μέ | χι\ρ/ι ἄκραν ὀνύχον τ(ὸν)
 δακτ[ύλον] | αὐτῶν τὸν ἀράντον τὸ δραύκ[ιν] | τὸν συνιδότον κὲ [μέ]ρος
 λα | [β]όντον ἦδε γυνὴ ἦδ[ε] ἀν | [ή]ρ.

A. 6 τοὺς συνιδόντας Jordan but cf. drawing | B.3 γενέεσθε Jordan but cf. drawing

1.1.1.10. Unknown provenance, papyrus handbook, now London, BL P.Lond. inv. 121, coll. xii-xiii, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.429-458, recollated

κάτοχ[ος παντ]ὸς πράγμ(ατος) κ(αὶ) ἐπὶ ἀρμάτων πο(ιῶν). ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ [[διάκοπος
 καὶ κατακλιτ[ικ]ὸν καὶ κατακοπτικὸν καὶ ἀναιρετικὸν καὶ ἀνα]] | στρεφόμεν{α}ον
 πρὸς <ᾶ> θέλεις. ὁ δὲ λό(γος) ὁ λεγόμε(νος) ὀργίζεαι δαίμονας | καὶ εἰσκρίνει {α}.
 πλάκαν ἐς μολιβῆν ἀπὸ ψυχροφόρου τόπου | ἐνχάραξον ὁ βούλει γενέσθ(αι), καὶ
 τελέσας ἐν ἀρώμασιν | φαιοῖς οἶον ζμύρνα, βδέλλη {ς}, στύρακι καὶ ἀλοῆ καὶ
 θύμα {ν} | μετὰ ἰλῦος παρὰ ποταμόν, ὄψε ἡ μέσης νυκτός, ὅπου | ροῦς ἐστὶν ἡ
 παραρέον βαλανίου, ἢ εἰς θάλασσαν, δῆσας | αὐτῶ σπάρτω, βάλε φέρεσθ(αι) εἰς
 τὸν ροῦν ἵνα ὅτε θέλεις, | ἐκλύσης. ἐὰν δὲ θέλης ἀπολύσαι, λύσον τὸ πλάτυμα, δίωκε
 | τὸν λό(γον) ζ, καὶ ὄψει πρᾶγμ(α) θαυμαστόν. πορεύου δὲ ἀνεπι | στρεπτεῖ μηδενὶ
 δούς ἀπόκρισιν, καὶ λουσάμενος καὶ | βαπτισάμενος ἀνάβα παρὰ σαυτ[ὸ]ν καὶ
 ἡσύχαζον ἀψύχοις | τροφαῖς χρώμενος. γρ(άφε) δὲ χαλκ(ῆ) βελόνη ἀκεφάλω. ἔστι
 δὲ | τὰ γραφ(όμενα)· ὀρκίζω σε, δέσποτα Ὅσιρι, κατὰ τῶν σῶν | ἀγίων
 ὀνομάτων· ουχιωχ· ουσεναραναθ· ουσιρει· ουσερ | ραννουφθι· οσορνουφθι· ουσερ
 μνευει· ουσερσετεμενθ· | αμαρα μαχι· χωμασω εμ μαῖ· σερβωνι εμερ ισι· | αρατωφι·
 εραχαξ· εσεοιωθ· αρβιωθι· αμενχουμ· | μονμοντ ουζαθι· πηρ ουννεφερ εν ωωω,
 παραδίδωμί σοι, | δέσποτα Ὅσιρι, καὶ παρακατατίθεμαί σοι τήνδε τὴν πρᾶξ(ιν), |
 κοιν(όν). ἐὰν δὲ καπαρυκτικὸν ποι(ῆς), ἢ <εἰς> ποταμόν ἢ γῆν ἢ θάλασ(σαν) | ἡγουν
 ἢ θήκην ἢ εἰς φρέαρ, γρ(άφε) τὸν λό(γον) τὸν Ὀρφαϊκόν· ἀσκει | καὶ τασκει λέγων,

καὶ λαβῶν μίτον μέλανα βάλε ἄμματα | $\overline{\tau\epsilon}$ καὶ ἕξωθεν περίδησον, λέ(γων) πάλιν
 τὸν αὐτὸν λό(γον) καὶ ὅτι· ‘δια|τῆρησον τὸν κάτοχον’ ἢ κατάδεσμον, ἢ ὁ ἄν ποιῆς,
 καὶ οὕτως | κατατίθεται. ἢ γὰρ (σελήνη) τὸ ὑπολόγιον διοδεύουσα, ὁ ἔαν εὐρη, |
 λύει. τούτου δὲ γενομένου διαμένει ἄμα ἐπιλέγοντός σου | καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῷ τόπῳ
 τούτῳ. μὴ ταχὺ με(τα)δίδου τινί· | εὐρήσεις γὰρ μετὰ πολλοῦ καμάτου.

$\overline{429}$ πραγ^μ κ pap. | πο pap. in monogram || $\overline{431}$ λ_o pap. | ὁ om. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* |
 λεγο^μ pap. || $\overline{433}$ γενεσθ/ pap. | $\overline{434}$ θύμω *Pap.Graec.Mag.* || $\overline{435}$ ἴλυος pap. |
 ποταμοῦ *Pap.Graec.Mag.* | ὅπου pap. || $\overline{436}$ ἢ εἰς θάλασσαν *transp. ad v. 437*
Pap.Graec.Mag. || $\overline{437}$ αὐτήν *Pap.Graec.Mag.* | φερεσθ/ pap. || $\overline{439}$ λ_o pap. | πραγ^μ
 pap. || $\overline{442}$ γρ/ pap. | χαλκ/ pap. || $\overline{443}$ γραφ/ pap. | οσιρι pap. || $\overline{444}$ over ουχιωχ
 prb. λ_o for λόγος, the o quite small and overlapping the crotch of λ; *Pap.Graec.Mag.*
 reads λ. || $\overline{449}$ πραξ/ pap. || $\overline{450}$ κοῖ pap. | I. κατορυκτικὸν | ποῖ pap. | θαλας/ pap.
 || $\overline{451}$ ἢ ῥοῦν corr. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* | γρ/ pap. | λ_o pap. || $\overline{453}$ λ_e pap. | λ_o pap. | ὅτι
 pap. || $\overline{454}$ ὁ pap. || $\overline{455}$ $\overline{\tau}$ pap. | ὑπολογιον pap. : ὑπόγειον corr. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* |
 ὁ pap. || $\overline{458}$ καματου >>- και κοῖ οσαν θελ/ pap., the latter transposed by
Pap.Graec.Mag. to the next recipe (line 461)

1.1.1.11. Unknown provenance, papyrus handbook, now Leiden, National Museum of
 Antiquities inv. J 384, col. vi.4-14, s. IV, ed. Daniel 1991, 12, cf. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P
 XII.179-189

ἐὰν βούλη τινὰ ὀργιζόμενόν σοι τινα παῦσαι, γράψας [εἰς c. 4] ὄν ζ(μύ)ρ(νη) τὸ τῆς
 ὄρ|γῆς ὄνομα τοῦτο· ‘χνεωμ’ καὶ κράτει τῆ εὐωνύμῳ χ[ειρὶ καὶ λ]έγε· ‘κατέχω τὴν |
 ὄργην πάντων, μάλιστα τοῦ δεῖ(να), ἢ ἔστιν χνεωμ.’ | ‘κύριε, χαῖρε, τὸ χαριτήσιον
 τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς οἰκ[ο]μέν[η]ς· οὐρανὸς ἐγένετο | κομαστήριον αρσενοφρη, ὁ
 βασιλεὺς τῶν οὐρανῶ[ν θεῶν αβ]λαναθαναβλα, | ὁ τὸ δίκαιον ἔχων,
 ακραμμαχαμαρει, ὁ ἐπίχαρις θεῖ[ος, σανκ]ανθαρα, ὁ τῆς φύσε|ως ἡγεμῶν,
 σατραπερκμηφ, ἢ γένεσις τοῦ οὐρανοῦ [κόσμου], αθθαννου | αθθαννου, αστραφαι,
 ιαστραφαι, πακεπτωθ, πα[c. 7] ηριντασκλιουθ | ηφιω μαρμαραωθ. ἢ παρρησία μου
 μὴ με ἔν|καταλειπ[έτω, ἀλλ’] ἀκουσάτω μοι | πᾶσα γλῶσσα καὶ πᾶσα φωνή, ὅτι
 ἐγὼ εἰμι Περταω [c. 6] μνηχ σακμηφ | ιαωουεη ωηω ωηω ιεουωηηιαηα ιηωουει,
 δός μ[οι c. 5] ὡς ὁ ἐὰν βούλη.’

$\overline{4}$ [βύσσ]ον *Pap.Graec.Mag.* | \overline{ZP} in monogram pap. : ζμύρνησον *Pap.Graec.Mag.* || $\overline{5}$, $\overline{6}$
 $\overline{\chi\eta\epsilon\omega\mu}$ pap. || $\overline{6}$ $\overline{\Delta}$ pap. || $\overline{8}$ $\overline{\alpha\rho\sigma\epsilon\nu\omicron\phi\rho\eta}$ pap. | $\overline{\lambda\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\alpha\nu\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha}$ pap. || $\overline{9}$
 $\overline{\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\chi\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota}$ pap. || $\overline{10}$ $\overline{\sigma\alpha\tau\rho\alpha\pi\epsilon\rho\kappa\mu\eta\phi}$ pap. | $\overline{\alpha\theta\theta\alpha\nu\nu\omicron\upsilon}$ pap. || $\overline{11}$ $\overline{\alpha\theta\theta\alpha\nu\nu\omicron\upsilon}$
 pap. | $\overline{\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\phi\alpha\iota}$ $\overline{\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\phi\alpha\iota}$ $\overline{\pi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\pi\tau\omega\theta}$ $\overline{\pi\alpha}$ pap. | $\overline{\eta\rho\iota\nu\tau\alpha\sigma\kappa\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\theta}$ pap. || $\overline{12}$ $\overline{\eta\phi\iota\omega}$
 $\overline{\mu\alpha\rho\mu\alpha\rho\alpha\omega\theta}$ pap. || $\overline{14}$ [μοι εὐμεν]ῶς *Pap.Graec.Mag.*

neat rising tricolon; metronym; deposition with divinities of spring, found in spring at
 Poggio Bagnoli, now at Arezzo, ed. Audollent 1904 no. 129 (*CIL* XI 1823).

Opisthographic

A Q. Letinium | Lupum qui et | uocatur Cau|cadio qui | est fi[lius] Sal|lusti[es
 Vene]|ries siue Ven[e]|riosos, hunc ego apud uos|trum

B numen de|mando deuo|ueo desacri|fico uti uos a|qu`a`e feruentes | siu[e u]os
 Nimfas | [si]ue quo alio no|mine uoltis adpe|[l]ari, uti uos eu|m interemates |
 interficiates | intra ann|um i(st)um.

$\overline{I3}$ itusm tablet, Audollent

binding of married couple; interlocking ritual at wedding, tying knots

1.1.1.12. private collection, codex from Crete ('medieval,' ed.), repr. Koukoules 1926, 76
ἔπαρε μίαν κλωστήν ἀπὸ καννάβι, μίαν κλωστήν λινῆν, καὶ μίαν μεταξωτὴν. ὅταν
δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀναγινώσκει εἰς τὴν στεφάνωσιν τὸ 'στέφεται ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα
τὴν δούλην τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα,' λέγει σὺ 'δένεται ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα τὴν δούλην
τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα.' καὶ σμίγεις τὲς κλωστὲς δένων συγχρόνως καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ ἓνα
κόμπον, καὶ πάλιν ἐπαναλαμβάνοντος τοῦ ἱερέως ἐκ δευτέρου καὶ ἐκ τρίτου τὰ
αὐτά, καὶ δένονται.

binding of husband and wife, accompanied by tying knots in a linen thread at the moment
in the marriage ceremony when the priest says 'εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός'

1.1.1.13. reported from contemporary Crete, Phrankaki 1978, 243

'δένω νύφη καὶ γαμπρὸ καὶ 'ς τὴ μέση πατασμός.'

binding of married couple and reversal

1.1.1.14. Venice, BNM cod. gr. Z 501 (s. XIV), ff. 174v-175r

1. δῆμα ἀνδρογύνου. 'δύνω τον ἀπὸ τὰ κότζια, ἀπὸ τὰ στραγάλλια, δύνω τον
ἀπὸ τὰ γόνατα, δύνω ἀπὸ τὰς κώξας, δύνω ἀπὸ τὰς κουτάλας καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν
σφόνδυλον καὶ τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα δύο ἡμισὺ του γλώσσας καὶ τὰ ἐξήκοντα ὀρμίδια
νὰ μὴ ἔχη δύναμιν νὰ σμίκτη τὴν δεῖνα. καὶ δύνω αὐτοὺς μετὰ καννάβιν. ἀνέκλεψε
καὶ οἶδα ἵππάρια καὶ κηλώνια καὶ φοράδια. καὶ δύννω τὸν κήλωνα αὐτοῦ ὅπου
ὑπάγει εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ δύνω αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ σώματα νὰ μὴ ἔχη δύναμιν νὰ πέση
μὲ τὴν νύμφην τὴν δεῖνα.'

2. λῦμα. 'ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. λύω τὸν
δεῖνα καὶ τὴν δεῖνα. ἐκεῖ πέρα τὴν μαύρην θάλασσαν στήκει ὁ χαλκὸς γαμβρὸς μετὰ
χαλκὰ πρόσωπα πεντήκοντα. καὶ λύω τὰ στραγάλλιά του καὶ λύω τὰ κότζιά του
καὶ λύω | τὰ γόνατά του καὶ λύω τὰ κάπουλλα καὶ λύω τὰ ἀπάκιά του καὶ λύω
τὰς κουτάλας του καὶ λύω τὰ ἐξήκοντά του ὀρμίδια τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα καὶ
τῆς δεῖνα.' ἐπαίρη ἀπὸ τὸ ὄσπιτι ἐλάδι καὶ κερὶ καὶ πάλιν δύο παπύρια καὶ ἄπτη
αὐτὰ εἰς λυχνάριον καὶ λέγε 'ἅγιε Σίνιε καὶ Σισίνιε καὶ Σισινοθόδωρε καὶ Ἰσίδωρε,
ἅγιε Ζῆνε καὶ Τύχη,' καὶ ἁγίους ὅσους θέλεις, περισκελλε ἐπτὰ φορὰς καὶ τότε θέτει
ὑποκάτω τοῦ κρεβατίου καὶ εὐθὺ λύνονται.

binding of tongues; writing on the tongue of a bird; scripture, *Ps.* 66

1.1.1.15. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419 (s. XV), f. 273v, ed. Delatte 1927, 502 with 654

περὶ γλώσσης [οὔραγος]. ἀνάσπασον γλώσσαν οὔραγος καὶ γράψον ἐπάνω εἰς
αὐτὴν μετὰ αἵματος ῥομφαίας ταῦτα 'δένω τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μου ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ.' εἶτα
λάβε σκόρδον μονοσκέλιδον καὶ κηρὸν ἐκ λειψάνου, ὁμοίως καὶ ἀπὸ σάβανον καὶ
ὀδόντα καὶ χοῦν καὶ ὀστέον καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κύβου. ταῦτα πάντα βάλε εἰς κανάτιν
κλεψιμὸν καὶ τύλιξον, καὶ μετὰ τὸ τυλίξει ἀνάγνωσον τὸν ἐξηκοστόεκτον ψαλμὸν
καὶ φύλαξον εἰς τὸ κεφάλιν σου.

binding of tongues

1.1.1.16. St. Petersburg, NLR cod. gr. 575 (s. XVII), f. 144r

εἰς τὸ δῆσαι γλώσσας. 'εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου
πνεύματος. μεχριαηλ σελημ αειλλαμ χαηλ ραχαμαηλ χουτο κιειχαρα ξαηλ. ἔφραξα
καὶ ἐχαλίνωσα ὅλα τὰ στόματά των {ων} καὶ τὰ δέσματά των, δῆνω καὶ
χαλινώνω τὲς ἐβδομήκοντα δύο ἡμισυ φλέβες τοῦ λαιμοῦ τοῦ δεῖνος ἀπὸ τὸν δεῖνα
καὶ τὲς ἐξήκοντα δύο τοῦ φινιδίου. ἐξορκίζω σας εἰς τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς
γῆς ὅπου ἐποίησεν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα τάγματα τῶν

ἀγγέλων νὰ κάμητε τοῦ κωνωπίου τὴν φωνὴν καὶ τοῦ κάττου τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ὁ δεῖνα νὰ κάμη τοῦ λέοντος τὴν φωνὴν καὶ τοῦ δράκοντος τὴν δύναμιν.’

3 δεσμαυτῶν *cod.* || 6 κουνουπιῦ *cod.* || 7 τοῦ λέοντος *coniec.* : το ἔλεος *cod.* | δράκου *cod.*

performatives, for binding

1.1.1.17. Vatican, BAV *cod. Reg. 181* (s. XIV), f. 13r, ed. Koukoules 1926, 56 (cf. Allen 1890, 292-293 with pl. IV); among signs to be written as part of a phylakterion for use in court; within a cartouche ornamented with ring-signs
‘ὁ δεῖνα δέννεται ἐδῶ.’

I. δυν(ας) *cod.*

binding of tongue and general subjugation of enemy, ritual involving speaking to a donkey, gathering wax from its ear, for analogy to beast of burden; personalized for a named user, Christodoulos

1.1.1.18. Athens, EBE *cod. 1265* (s. XVI-XVII), ff. 56v-57v, ed. Koukoules 1926, 97; Delatte 1927, 96-97; cf. Kyriakides 1932, 592

εἰς γλωσσόδημα. πίασε ἀπὸ τὰ ὠτία τοῦ γαιδάρου κερὶν ἀπομέσα [καὶ] τοῦ κερίου τὴν ζοῦραν τοῦ ὠτίου του πιάνης εἰς τὸ ὄνομα [τοῦ] ἀνθρώπου τοῦ δεῖνος ὡσπερ ἂν τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τοῦ γαιδάρου [καὶ λέγε ?] χαλινῶνω καὶ χαῶνω τον καὶ κωλοσύρνω τον καὶ εἰς | τὰ χεῖρά μου σύρνω τον καὶ παίρνω τον ὅπου θέλω καὶ ὑποτάσσεται μου καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν βουλήν μου καὶ εἰς τὸ θέλημά μου καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑποταγήν μου καὶ εἰς τὰ τσαρούχιά μου, εἰς τὸ θέλημά μου καὶ εἰς τὴν φωνὴν μου καὶ εἰς πᾶσάν μου δουλείαν καὶ ἐξουσίαν καὶ εἰς τὸν ὀρισμὸν μου, εἰς στρατουργίαν εὐγάλω τον, στρώνω τον, φαδιάζω τον, φορτώνω τον καπίστρια εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν του, παίρνω τον, τυφλώνω τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς του, τὰ βλέφαρά του, τὰ μάτιά του, ζώνω τὸν ἀνανοῦν του καὶ τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ τὸ νοητικὸν του καὶ φρονητικὸν του, χαλινῶνω τὸ στόμα του με τὸ χαλινάριν, τὰς σιαγόνας αὐτοῦ, τὰ κατωσαγοῦνα δὴνω, χαλινῶνω, γλωσσοδὴνω, χαῶνω τους, παίρνω τὸ σίδερον, χαλινῶνω τὴν γλῶσσάν του νὰ μὴ λαλήσῃ, νὰ μὴ συντύχῃ τίποτες ἢ μικρὸν ἢ μεγάλον κακολόγημα διὰ λόγου μου τοῦ δεῖνος. ἐγὼ καθαλλικεύω τον, ῥαβδίζω τον, παίρνω τον ὅπου θέλω. ἔτσι δὴνω, γλωσσοδὴνω, χαῶνω τον, τυφλώνω τον, σκοτίζω τὸν νοῦν του, τὸν λογισμὸν του, τὴν διάνοιάν του, τὰ ὠτία του, τὴν φύσιν του, τὴν γενεαλογία του, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς του, τὴν γλῶσσάν του, τὰ κατωσαγοῦνά του. καὶ ὅσους μου ἢ συγγενάδες ἰδίους συναδέλφους καὶ φίλους μου καὶ γειτόνους μου καὶ μακρογειτόνους (φανερούς) ἢ κρυφοὺς ἢ συνηθείας μου φανερούς ἢ κρυφοὺς, ἄρχοντες ἀρχές ἐξουσίες βασιλεῖς ἡγεμόνας ἢ πᾶσαν ὀφφίσιον τοῦ αὐτοῦ τόπου ἢ πάντα ἀνθρωπον ἀρσηνικὸν ἢ γυναῖκα θηλυκὴν ἢ πλούσιος ἢ πένης ἢ δοῦλος ἢ ἐλεύθερος, δὴνω τους γλωσσοδὴνω τους καταστρώνω τους σελλώνω χαλινῶνω τους, μουτταρώνω τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τους, τὴν γλῶσσάν τους, τὴν φωνὴν τους, τοὺς καταλαλοῦντάς με τὸν λόγον τους, νὰ μὴ δύνουνται | νὰ ποιήσουν κακὸν διὰ ἐμένα, διὰ λόγου μου ἢ κρυφίως ἢ φανερά, νὰ ἦναι ὡς ξύλα ἄλαλα, ὡσπερ οἱ λίθοι νὰ μὴν ἔχουσι γλῶσσαν ἢ λόγον ἢ ὁμιλίαν διὰ ἐμένα τὸν Χριστόδουλον, νὰ μὴ βλέπουσι ὡσάν ἄγγελον, νὰ μὴν ἔχουν ἐξουσίαν κατ’ ἐμοῦ (λέγειν) λόγον οὐδὲ ὁμιλίαν ἀτύχη. ἐπὶ ὀνόματος τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος, ἀμήν.’

9 ἀνανοῦν *Kyriakides* : ἀνὰ νοῦν *edl.*

to bind the tongues of enemies, performatives; scripture

1.1.1.19. Athens, EBE cod. 1265 (s. XVI-XVII), ff. 25v-26r, ed. Koukoules 1926, 94; Delatte 1927, 63-64 with 652

1. εἰς γλωσσόδημα. εἰς τὸ δῆσαι τὰς γλώσσας τῶν ἐχθρῶν, εἰς τὰς ἰη τῆς Σελήνης λέγε ‘ἐγὼ ὁ δεῖνα περὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς περιγράφω ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδαμ καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ θυγατέρας τῆς Εὐας ἵνα μὴν ἔχη | τινὰς ἐχθραν κατ’ ἐμοῦ τοῦ δεῖνος ἢ ἄρχων ἢ πλούσιος ἢ πένης ἢ εἰς τὸ σπίτι μου ἢ εἰς τὰ παιδιά μου ἢ εἰς τὰ πράγματά μου.’

2. καὶ ἔπαρον ζάχαριν καὶ πίσσαν καὶ γράφε οὕτως ‘δήνω τὰς γλώσσας καὶ τοὺς λάρυγγας τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου μαζὺ καὶ τὰ στόματα αὐτῶν με ζάχαριν, με πίσσαν, με μελάνιν μελανῶνω τους, μαυρίζω τους καὶ ζοφῶνω τους,’ καὶ λέγε κατ’ ὄνομα καὶ τὰ ὀνόματά τους, ‘νὰ μὴν ἔχουν ἐξουσίαν κατ’ ἐμοῦ. ἀναστήτω ὁ θεὸς καὶ διασκορπισθήτωσαν οἱ ἐχθροί μου καὶ οἱ ἀγα[πῶ]ντες τὸν θεὸν ἐλθήτωσαν μετ’ ἐμοῦ. καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μου ἐπιτιμῶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. φεύγουν ἀπὸ ἐμέναν, ἀμήν.’ γράφε καὶ τὰς χαρακτῆρας ταύτας. [*signs*]

to bind the tongues of enemies, performatives; scripture

1.1.1.20. Athens, EBE cod. 1265 (s. XVI-XVII), f. 44r, ed. Delatte 1927, 89

εἰς γλωσσόδημα. ‘ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. πάντα δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο (οὐδὲ ἓν). τοῦτο δὲ στρέφει πάντας ἐχθροὺς, καὶ ἄκακοι ἔσονται οἱ δεῖνα ἐνώπιόν μου, ἐμοῦ τοῦ δεῖνος ἀμαρτωλοῦ (δούλου) κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ. κατεύθυνα τὴν ὁδόν μου καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μου κατήσχυνα. κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ καταβάς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ περιπατήσας ἐν τῇ γῆ καὶ κλείσας τὸν λίθον τῆς ἀβύσσου, δῆσον χάβωσον χαλίνωσον καταισχύνας πάντας τοὺς πολεμοῦντάς με δικαίως καὶ ἀδίκως. καὶ ἐγὼ ὁ ρυόμενος ὁ δεῖνα καὶ τοὺς ἔδησα. ἅγιος ὁ θεὸς ὁ καταισχύνας τοὺς δώδεκα βασιλεῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τοὺς ῥήτορας καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς, δήνω χαβῶνω χαλινῶνω πᾶσαν γλῶσσαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῶν δεῖνα. καὶ καταισχυνθήτωσαν καὶ ἀποστραφήτωσαν καὶ ἀπολέσθωσαν καὶ ἀποστραφήτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω πάντες οἱ θλίβοντές με. ἀρχάγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ Μιχαὴλ καὶ Γαβριηλ, Ουρουηλ καὶ Ραφαηλ, βοηθήσατε ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ. ἅγιοι ἀπόστολοι ἅγιε Ἰωάννη πρόδρομε ἅγιε Ἰωάννη θεολόγε, βοηθήσατε τοῦ δούλου σου δεῖνα. ἅγιοι ἀπόστολοι προφῆται καὶ μάρτυρες, ὅσοι καὶ δίκαιοι καὶ ἱεράρχαι οἱ καλὸν τὸν ἀγῶνα τελέσαντες καὶ τὴν πίστιν τηρήσαντες, οἱ ἔχετε παρρησίαν πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην Χριστὸν τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν, βοηθήσατε καὶ φυλάξατε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ δούλου σας τοῦ δεῖνα τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ. ἐπὶ ὀνόματος τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἀμήν.’ καὶ γράψον καὶ τοὺς ψαλμοὺς ρα ρζ καὶ τὲς χαρακτῆρες. καὶ γράψον τὸ πρωτόπεμπτον τῆς Σελήνης καὶ κάπνισ’ τὸ χαρτὶν [μὲ ἄμ]παριν καὶ τότε βάλε τὸ χαρτὶν εἰς μεταξωτὸν πανὶν πράσινον καὶ βάστα το καὶ ἄμε εἰς αὐθέντας καὶ εἰς ἄρχοντας καὶ εἰς ἐπισκόπους. καὶ ὅ τι θέλεις γίνεται. [*signs*]

symbolic locking

1.1.1.21. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX), ff. 31r-32r, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 48

ἕτερον. νὰ δέσης τοὺς ἐχθροὺς σου. ἔπαρε μία κλειδωνίαν καινουργίαν καὶ λέγε οὕτως ‘εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ παντοδυνάμου θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος καὶ εἰς ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα οβελ αμνηνμ βαθαημ, ἐγὼ κλειδῶνω με ταύτην τὴν κλειδωνίαν ὅλας τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ ἀνδρεῖς ἐκείνων οἱ ὅποιοι βάνονται ἐναντίον μου. κλειδῶνω τοὺς πόδας τους,

τὰς χεῖράς των καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς των | νὰ μὴν μὲ βλέπουν, οἱ χεῖρές των νὰ μὴν πιάνουν, οἱ πόδες των νὰ μὴν περιπατοῦν. καὶ ὡς καθὼς κλειδώνω τὴν κλειδωνίαν ταύτην, ἔτσι νὰ κλειδωθοῦν καὶ νὰ κατασφαιλισθοῦν τὰ στόματά τους καὶ τὰ ἕτερα μέρη τους καὶ μέλη τοῦ σώματός τους καὶ κορμίου των, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ παντοδυνάμου θεοῦ τοῦ δυνατοῦ, νὰ κοποῦν αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου καὶ ἀντιδίκων μου, ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν, νὰ εἶναι κομμένες καὶ νεκρωμένες καὶ ἀκίνητα ὅλα τὰ ἔργα τους, ἀμήν.’ καὶ σφαλεῖς τὴν κλειδωνίαν καὶ θέλουν | μείνη ἀκίνητοι. καὶ ὅταν θέλῃς νὰ τοὺς λύσης, ἄνοιξον τὴν κλειδωνίαν καὶ λέγε οὕτως ‘ὑπάγετε εἰς τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ παντοδυνάμου θεοῦ τοῦ δυνατοῦ.’ καὶ οὕτως εἶναι δόκιμον μὴν τὸ κάμῃς εἰς ἓνα νὰ φυλαχθῆς. τέλος.

1.1.1.22. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX), ff. 483r-484r, ed. Parathomopoulos 2006, 314

νὰ δέσης τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου. πάρε μίαν κλειδαρίαν καινουργίαν καὶ λέγε τὰ κάτωθεν ‘εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ παντοδυνάμου θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος καὶ εἰς ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα οβελ αμνημ βαθαιημ, ἐγὼ κλειδώνω | μὲ ταύτην τὴν κλειδωνίαν ὅλας τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκείνων οἱ ὅποιοι βάνονται ἐναντίον μου. κλειδώνω τοὺς πόδας τους, τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς των νὰ μὴν βλέπουν, οἱ χεῖρές των νὰ μὴν πιάνουν, οἱ πόδες των νὰ μὴν περιπατοῦν. καὶ ὡς καθὼς κλειδώνω τὴν κλειδωνίαν ταύτην, ἔτσι νὰ κατασφαιλισθοῦν τὰ στόματά τους καὶ τὰ ἕτερα μέρη τους, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ παντοδυνάμου θεοῦ τοῦ δυνατοῦ, νὰ κοποῦν αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου καὶ ἀντιδίκων μου, νὰ εἶναι κομμένες καὶ νεκρωμένες καὶ ἀκίνητα ὅλα τὰ ἔργα τους, ἀμήν.’ καὶ σφαλεῖς τὴν κλειδωνίαν καὶ θέλουν μείνη ἀκίνητοι. καὶ ὅταν θέλῃς νὰ τοὺς λύσης, ἄνοιξε τὴν κλειδαρίαν καὶ λέγε οὕτως ‘ὑπάγετε εἰς τὴν δύναμιν | τοῦ παντοδυνάμου θεοῦ τοῦ δυνατοῦ.’ εἶναι δόκιμον, μὴν τὸ κάμῃς εἰς ἓνα νὰ φυλαχθῆς.

binding sexual potency, the user ties seven knots in red silk, which is buried after the incantation

1.1.1.23. reported from contemporary Cyprus, Koukoules 1928, 457

‘δὴννω τὴν φλέβα τῶν νεφρῶν σου καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν σου φλέβα τὴν κινουῦσαν εἰς ἁμαρτίαν γυναικός, δὴννω καὶ τὸν ἀφιδρῶνά σου καὶ τὸν γροῦππον τῆς ψωλῆς σου καὶ τὸν σπόρον σου. δὴννω σε ἀπὸ χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν καὶ τὰ εἴκοσί σου δάκτυλα καὶ ἀπὸ τριχῶν τῆς κεφαλῆς σου. ὁ νοῦς σου καὶ ὁ λογισμὸς σου νὰ εἶναι μὲ τοὺς ἀποθαμμένους.’

binding sexual potency, the user writes the target’s name on paper

1.1.1.24. reported from contemporary Pontus, Koukoules 1928, 458

‘ἐδῶ δένω τὸν δεῖνα.’

to bind a married couple; a wax string is covered in dung and melted in hot water, with an incantation; the knotted string can also be given to a fisherman, and when in use, submerged, the husband feels discomfort

1.1.1.25. reported from Rethymna on Crete, G.N. Hatzidakis ap. Kuhnert 1894, 55

‘δένω τὴ νύφη καὶ τὸ γαμβρό.’

binding sexual potency, used by a woman, who makes a rectangular net, saying with each knot the incantation; the object is placed on an altar in a church for 40 days, then placed in the sea to be tossed by 40 waves, then sewn into the target’s clothing

1.1.1.26. reported from contemporary Hermoupolis (Syros), Koukoules 1928, 470

‘δένω τὸν δεῖνα νὰ μὴν μπορῆ νὰ πάῃ μὲ κάμμιά.’

binding, during the marriage ceremony, the user holds and locks a lock (κλειδωνιά)

1.1.1.27. reported from contemporary Epirus, Koukoules 1928, 454

‘δένω καί κομποδένω τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὴν δεῖνα.’

binding, during the marriage ceremony, the user binds cornel-cherry wood with a cord

1.1.1.28. reported from contemporary Epirus, Koukoules 1928, 456

‘δένω καὶ κομποδένω τὸ γαμπρὸ δεῖνα.’

binding during the marriage ceremony, tying knots in thread

1.1.1.29. reported from contemporary Naxos, Emellos 1962, 192

‘δένω κι ἀποδένω τσοὶ σαράντα δύο ντου φλέβες, κι ὅταν θὰ πάη νὰ πέση, νὰ μπῆ διάολος ᾽ς τὴ μέση.’

binding, during the marriage ceremony, the user holds and locks a lock (κλειδωνιά)

1.1.1.30. reported from contemporary Kephallenia, Koukoules 1928, 454

‘κλειδώνω τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὴν δεῖνα.’

1.1.1.31. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX), f. 486v, ed. Parathomopoulos 2006, 317

νὰ νικᾶς τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου. γράψον τὲς κάτωθεν χαρακτῆρες, βάστα τες εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν σου καὶ ὅταν τοὺς ἰδῆς λέγε ᾿ἄφνου σὲ εἶδα καὶ ᾿φνου περιέδεσά σε καὶ ᾿φνου ἐπῆρα τὸν νοῦν σας καὶ τὰ μάτιά σας. εὐχὴν ἡλίου διάβασον, αὐτὸ νὰ γίνεταί καλῶς.

$\overline{2}$ περιέδεσά σε *conieci* : περιδετε *cod*.

binding of married couple; performatives, first-person narrative

1.1.1.32. private collection, from Apokoronas on Crete (‘recent,’ ed.), ed. Koukoules 1926, 77

ἕτερον. δέσιμον ἀνδρογύνου ἂν εἶναι καὶ πέντε χρόνους στεφανωμένοι. ‘παίρνω ἀγριμήσιο λουρί, κανναβικὸ μετὰξι, πάω ᾽ς τὰ ὄρη ᾽ς τὰ βουνὰ νὰ βρῶ τὸ διάβολο. γραίης σίγη, ὄρη του Ζαβούκλη, νὰ δένω ἀνδρογύναικο ἀγαπημένο ᾽ς τὴν σφάκα, ᾽ς τὴν ἀγριοσκία, ᾽ς τὴν ἀσκελετοῦρα. δένω τὸ δοῦλο τοῦ διαβόλου δεῖνα καὶ τὴ δούλη τοῦ διαβόλου δεῖνα. ἐγὼ δένω κι ᾽εὺς διάβολε σφίγγε. ὡς δένει ἢ νερατζαθιά τσ᾽ ἄθους, δένω κι ᾽εγὼ τὸν δοῦλο, δένω τὸν νοῦν του, δένω τὴν μέσην του, δένω τὸ φῶς του, νὰ γαυρίζη νὰ μουγγρίζη, τὰ παιδιὰ του νὰ μισήση καὶ ᾽ς τὴν κλίνη του ὅταν πάη νὰ ναι μὲ τὸ διάβολο ὡς πλαγιάζει. ὁ δαίμων μὲ τὰ παιδιὰ του ᾽ς τὸ σπίτιν του, ᾽ς τὸ πρᾶμά του, ᾽ς τὸ τσικάλιν του, καὶ ᾽ς τὸν ἀποθαμόν του ᾽ς εἶναι καὶ δικός του.’

sending the fox (άλουπός) into someone’s pasture; performatives, said near the pasture, and at the end a stone is thrown into it

1.1.1.33. reported from contemporary Paphos, L. Philippou in Athanasopoulos et al. 1914, 532 no. 12

‘πέμπω τὸν ἄλουπὸν τσαὶ ἄλουποῦν, | τζυροῦδες τσαὶ μανάδες, | ἀγγόνια τσαὶ δισάγγονα, | ὅσα ἐγεννήθηκαν τὴν τζερκατζὴν τσαὶ πάει ᾽ς τὸ Σάββατον, | πέμπω σας εἰς τὴν μάντραν | νὰ φᾶτε τσαὶ νὰ πνίξετε | τσαὶ αἶμα πολὺ νὰ χύσετε.’

1.1.1.34. Johann Weyer, *De praestigiis daemonum* 5.5 (1568 ed. p. 464)

si furem, sagam, inimicum secus laedere uoles et malum tolli. ante solis exortum die sabbathi ramum auellanae anniculum abscindes sic dicens 'ego te ramum huius aestatis reseco in illius nomine quem caedere aut mutilare institui.' inde in mensa sternatur tegumentum additis his uerbis 'in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti.' ter haec et sequentia recitentur et incute 'droch myrroch esenaroth betu baroch ass maaroht.' postea dic 'sancta trinitas puni hunc qui id mali designarit atque hoc aufer per magnam iustitiam tuam.' 'eson elion emaris ales ege' in tegumentum incute.

1.1.2 – direct performative with analogy

graphic analogy; four nail-holes, indicating piercing after folding/rolling

1.1.2.1. lead tablet said to come from Liosia (Attica), acq. Sarajevo Museum in 1896, ed. Münsterberg 1907, 376-377; cf. Jordan 1985 no. 40. In three columns (A-C), but A.6-10 begin a new column that B eventually overlaps.

A

λι[...]νκαλ | καταδῶ. | ὡσπερ ταῦτα | ἀνένπαλιν | οὔτ[ω] | ἐκείνει | (ἀ)νέμπαλιν
{α} | πάντα γένοιτο | καὶ ἔπη | καὶ ἔργα.

B

αιλνκαλι καταδῶ. | ὡσπερ ταῦτ' ἀνένπαλιν | οὔτως γένοιτο Καλλίαι | ἀνένπαλιν
| {ανεμπαλι[ν]} | πάντα | καὶ | ἔργα καὶ | [ἔπ]η καὶ χεῖρας | καὶ πόδας | καὶ
γόνα[τ]α | καὶ ψυχὴν.

C

νταιπακο | καταδῶ. | ὡσπερ ταῦτα | ἀνένπαλιν | οὔτω Π[ατ]αίκοι | πάντα
ἀ[ν]ένπαλι[ν] | γένοιτο καὶ ἔπη | καὶ ἔργα καὶ χεῖρες | καὶ πόδες | καὶ ψυχὴ.

A.1 a woman's name, e.g. Καλλίστην : (Φυλάκιον?) ed. pr. | B.1 i.e. Καλλίαν | 11
[γ]όνατα ed. pr. but clear on dr. | C.1 i.e. Πάταικον | 6 [ἀν]ένπα[λι]ν ed. pr. but cf.
dr.

corpse analogy

1.1.2.2. Menidi, lead tablet, now in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum inv. G.514.1, s. IV BC,
ed. Jordan 1999, 118-119, cf. Audollent 1904 no. 52

Κέρκις | Βλάστος | Νίκανδρος | Γλυκερά | Κέρκιν καταδῶ καὶ λόγους καὶ | ἔργα τὰ
Κέρκιδος καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν παρὰ τοῖς ἡθέοις καὶ ὀπότα | ν οὔτοι ταῦτα
ἀναγνώσιν, τότε | Κέρκιδι καὶ τὸ φθένεσθαι. | Θέωνα καταδῶ, αὐτὸν καὶ τὰς |
παιδίσκας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τέχνην | καὶ τὴν ἀφορμὴν καὶ τὴν | ἐργασίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ
λόγους καὶ | ἔργα αὐτοῦ. Ἐρμῆ χθόνιε, ταῦτα | σὺ κάτεχε καὶ ἀνάγνωθι | ταῦτα
τέως ἂν οὔτοι ζῶσιν.

analogy with corpse, possibly a woman curses a rival lover

1.1.2.3. lead tablet found at Athens, ed. Audollent 1094 no. 68. Orpisthographic.

A [κα]ταδῶ Θε[ο]δώρα[ν] πρὸς [τ]ῆ | [ν] παρὰ Φε[ρρε]φάττη καὶ πρὸς | [τοὺς]
ἀτελ[έ]σ[τους]· ἀτελής [ε]ῖ[η] αὐτῆ | | [κα]ὶ ὅ τι ἄμ πρὸς Καλλίαν διαλ[έγειν]
μέλ | [λη] καὶ πρὸς Χαρίαν ὅ τι ἂν διαλέγ[ειν] μέλλῃ | | καὶ ἔργα καὶ ἔπη καὶ
ἐργασίας απρ | ἔπη λόγον ὃν ἄμ πο[τε] καὶ λέ[γει] καταδῶ (?) | | [Θεο]δώραν πρὸς
Χαρίαν ἀτελῆ αὐτῆ[ν] εἶ[ν]αι | | [καὶ ἐπι]λαθέσθαι Χαρίαν Θεοδώρα[ς] καὶ τοῦ
π[α] | [δι]ο[υ] τοῦ Θεοδώρας ἐπιλαθέ[θ]αι Χαρί[α]ν | | [καὶ τῆς] κοίτης τῆς [π]ρὸς
Θε[οδω]ρα[ν].

B [καὶ ὡς] οὔτος [ὁ νεκρὸς] ἀ[τ]ε[λ]ῆς κ[εῖται], | [οὔτως] ἀτέλεστα εἶ[ν]αι
Θεοδώραι πάντ | [α κα]ὶ ἔπη καὶ ἔργα τὰ πρὸς Χαρίαν καὶ πρὸς | [τοὺς] ἄλλο[υ]ς
ἀνθρώ[π]ο[υ]ς. καταδῶ [Θε]ο[δω]ρα[ν] | [π]ρὸς τὸν Ἐρμῆν τὸ[ν] χθόνι[ον] καὶ
πρὸς το[υ]ς | [ἀτε]λέστο[υ]ς καὶ πρὸς τὴν [Τ]ηθύ[ν], [π]άντα [καὶ] | [ἔπη] καὶ ἔργα τὰ
πρὸς Χαρίαν καὶ το[υ]ς ἄλλο[υ]ς | [ἀνθ]ρώπο[υ]ς καὶ [τῆν] κοίτην τὴν π[ρ]ὸς
Χαρίαν, | [ἐπι]λαθέ[θ]αι Χαρίαν τῆς κ[οί]της, [Χ]αρ[ίαν] | καὶ το[υ] παιδίου
[Θε]ο[δω]ρα[ς] ἐπιλαθέ[θ]αι | [σθαι ἢ]σ[περ] ἐρᾶ[ι] ἐκεῖ[νος]. | γ ο

addressed to corpse

1.1.2.4. Boiotia, round lead tablet, now Thebes Museum, ed. Ziebarth 1934, 1040-1042 no. 23. Side A inscribed in spiral clockwise inward from top; side B in regular lines

A ὡσπερ τὸν Θεόναστε ἀδύνατο[ς] εἶ χειρῶν πο[δ]ῶν | σώματος πράξη τι, ἠκονομήση τι, φίλιμεν παργίνη κακὰ | ἴδεμεν, οὕτως κῆ Ζωῖλος ἀδύνατος μένει, δι' Ἄνθειρον | βαίνιμεν κῆ Ἄνθειρα Ζωῖλον τὸν αὐτὸν τ(ρ)όπον | φιλατα κῆ Ἐρμᾶ κατὰ φυλατα χιπυτα | ἀλλαλοφιλίαν κῆ εὐνὰν κῆ λάλησιν κῆ φίλησιν | Ἀνθείρας κῆ Ζωῖλω κῆ ατοουναν τὰ [πὸ]τ ἀλλάλως | συναλλάγματα. ὡσπερ κῆ ὁ μόλυβδος οὗτος | ἐν τινι <τόπωι> χωριστῶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, | οὕτως Ζωῖλος χωρισμένο(ς) παρ' Ἀνθήρας τὸ σῶμα | κῆ ἄψιν <κῆ> τὰ φλείματα κῆ τὰ <συνουσιάσματα | τὰ Ζωῖλου κῆ Ἀνθείρας κῆ φ(ό)βον Ζωῖλω ἐνεγίνειν | καταγράφω κῆ ἀπορίαν κατὰ σφραγιῖδα.

B γρ... γ... ακο τοιαύταν | μισο... τες αλλα αλωσαι αν | κύχ ἀλίσκοις θιέ Ἄνθειρον κῆ Ζωῖλο(ν) | ... σ... τάνδε νύκτα κῆ ετινιταν | [μῆ] μετ' ἀλλάλων γίνεσθ(αι) κῆ αφ... ε Τιμοκλῆν τὸ αὐτὸ εωθογεα λατ | ως περιφιμμίση ἀνθρώπους ἐνδέρσας | ... παμφοιρντο κατάδεσμον | εδεμ μμ π... τω, οὕτως κῆ Ζωῖ | λ[ος] ηρει ἀμμρεπισωφίω κι | μ ν εἰ κῆ ἐπιτελεῖ π... εἰς ατετον | ο... κατάδεσμον οὗτον κῆ λιτοφεσχ | τ... απαλοχ c. 9 αὔτις ἔστω | λαλῶντα [π]όνφο {γ}λυ[γας] | .. [κ]ῆ ἀμναστ(α) βαστ[---]εο | ὡσπερ ὁ μόλυβδος ὀρώρυχτ(αι) π[ά]ν | παν κατορωρυγμένο(ς) κῆ στει α | αμ νζν, οὕτως κῆ Ζωῖλωι | α κατορύχοις κῆ ἐργα[σ]ία κῆ | οἰκονομία κῆ φιλία κῆ | τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα.

A.1 ἢ <οἰ>κονομήση *corr. Ziebarth* | A.3 l. ἄνθειρον | A.9 πεοσι *tablet* | A.10 <κε>χωρισμένο(ς) *corr. Ziebarth* | A.11 l. φιλήματα

1.1.2.5. lead tablet found just outside Rome on the Via Latina among tombs, ed. Audollent 1904 no. 139 (*CIL* I 818 etc.), probably curse against rival lover quomodo mortuos qui istic | sepultus est nec loqui | nec sermonare potest, seic | Rhodine apud M. Licinium | Faustum mortua sit nec | loqui nec sermonare possit. | ita uti mortuos nec ad deos | nec ad homines acceptus est, | seic Rhodine apud M. Licinium | accepta sit et tantum ualeat | quantum ille mortuos quei | istic sepultus est. dite pater, Rhodine | tibi commendo uti semper | odio sit M. Licinio Fausto. | item M. Hedium Amphionem, | item C. Popillium Apollonium, | item Vennonia Hermiona, | item Sergia Glycinna.

performative of deposition (παρατίθεμαι) with Abrasax; corpse analogy

1.1.2.6. Savaria (Szombathely), lead tablet found in the necropolis, late Roman (s. III-IV), now Savaria Museum inv. R.85.3.650, ed. *SEG* XL 919 (Gáspár 1990), cf. Jordan 2000 no. 53

Αβρασαρξ παρατίθεμαί | σοι Ἄδιεκτον ὄν ἔτεκεν | Κουπέιτα, ἵνα ὅσον χρόνον | ὤδε κείται μηδὲν πράσσοι | ἀλλὰ ὥς σὺ νεκρὸς εἶ, οὕτως κακῆ | νος μετὰ σοῦ, εἰς ὀπόσον χρόνον ζῆ.

analogy between the impossibility of return for those who reach Persephone to the impossibility of the targets to gain the τέλος of their δίκη

1.1.2.7. Attica, lead tablet rolled around a nail, coll. Froehner, now lost, ed. Robert 1936, 12-14 no. 11 from Froehner's copy, cf. Jordan 1986 no. 42

καταδ[έω] τὸς ἐνθαῦτα ἐνεγεγραμμένος καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυν | αἱκας ὅσοι ἐνθαῦτα ἐνεγεγραμμένοι εἰσὶν πρὸς Ἐρμῆν κάτοχον καὶ Γ | ἦν καὶ Περσεφόνειαν καὶ ὅσπερ οἱ

παρ[ὰ] ταύτην ἀφικνῶνται οἴκαδε νοστῶσι, ὅτως οἱ ἐν|θαῦτα ἀντίδικοι τέλος
λαβόντων τῆς [δίκ]ης. | (*list of names, left by Robert in majuscules*)

analogical ritual with puppy

1.1.2.8. Chagnon (Aquitaine), tablet-diptych pierced with nail, ed. Audollent 1904 no. 111-112

A denuntio personis infra|scribtis Lentino et Tasgillo | uti adsin ad Plutonem | [et]
at Proserpinam hinc a[beant]. quomodo hic catellus nemin[i] | nocuit, sic neque illos
icodima nec illi hanc litem uincere possint. | quomodi nec mater huius catelli | defendere
potuit, sic nec aduo|cati eorum e[os d]efendere non | possint, sic il[o]s [in]imicos

B auersos ab hac l[i]te esse. quo|modi hic catellus auersus | est nec surgere potesti, |
sic nec illi. sic traspecti sin[t] | quomodi ille. | quomodi in hoc m[o]nimont[ο] ani|malia
ommutuerun nec surge|re possun, nec illi. nut|atracatetracati gallara | precata egdarata
he|hes celata mentis abla|ta.

5 neque illos *conieci* MQVIIMLOSICODIMA Audollent || 18-19 surg`st`e|re tablet

corpse analogy; desposited in the tomb of a Jew

1.1.2.9. Athens, EBE cod. 1265 (s. XVI-XVII), f. 22v, ed. Delatte 1927, 59; cf. Koukoules 1921

ἓνας ἄνθρωπος ὅταν θέλη νὰ καταλύσῃ τὸν ἐχθρόν. γράφε ἡμέραν σάββατον ἢ
τρίτην ἀπὸ τῆς κ τοῦ φεγγαρίου καὶ ὕστερα καὶ βάλ' το εἰς Ἑβραϊκὸν κιβουῖριν μὲ
μῖαν κλειδονίαν καὶ λέγε 'ἐδῶ ἐκλείδωσαμεν μὲ τὸ χέριν τοῦ Σολομῶν ἐτοῦτα τάδε
σημεῖα εἰς Ἑβραϊκὸν μνημοῦριν, καὶ ὅσῳ δὲν λαλεῖ ὁ ἀποθαμμένος καὶ δὲν βλέπει καὶ
δὲν τρώγει καὶ δὲν πίνει μηδὲ χέζει οὐδὲ κατουρεῖ, ἀμή κεῖται τε ἄλαλος καὶ κωφὸς
καὶ τυφλὸς καὶ δὲν χάσκει καὶ στόμα δὲν ἔχει, ἔτσι νὰ γένη καὶ ὁ δεῖνα, νὰ μὴν
ἡμπορῇ νὰ σπαράξῃ πού ποτες. καὶ ἐκλείδωσα τὰ κάλλη του νὰ χαθῇ ἢ ὄψις του,
νὰ ἀλλάξῃ ὁ λογισμὸς του, νὰ σκάσῃ νὰ πλαντάξῃ νὰ χαθῇ ἀπὸ τὸν κόσμον, νὰ
στραφῇ νὰ ὑπάγῃ ἐκεῖ ὅπου ὑπάγει ἐτοῦτος ὁ ἀποθαμμένος. νὰ γένη ὡσὺν ἐτοῦτος
καὶ ὅσῳ ἐννοῖαν ἔχει ἐτοῦτος διὰ τὸν κόσμον καὶ διὰ τὸ σπίτιν του ἢ διὰ τὰ παιδιά
του ἢ διὰ ἀνθρώπους καὶ φίλους, ἔτσι καὶ ὁ δεῖνα νὰ καταντήσῃ.' καὶ νὰ τὰ λέγῃς
ἔτσι καὶ τότε νὰ τὰ ρίξῃς εἰς τὸ μνημοῦριν μέσα. νὰ φύγῃς ἀποκεῖ καὶ νὰ μὴν γυρίσῃς
νὰ κυττάξῃς ὀπίσω. καὶ θέλει φύγῃ καὶ χαθῇ ἀπὸ τὸν κόσμον. μοναχὰ κάμε το τρία
φεγγάρια, καὶ ἂν δὲν τύχῃ τὴν μῖαν, τυχαίνει τὴν ἄλλην ὅτι εἶναι δοκιμασμένον
πολλὲς φορές.

ἐχθρόν [του] Delatte

to bind a male-female couple, meristic specification of body; metronym; additional
procedure to release via scripture, hymn, cf. Gregorios Pardos *Exegesis in canonem
iambicum de festo die spiritus sancti* 22 (ode 8, *heirmos*)

1.1.2.10. Athens, EBE cod. 1265 (s. XVI-XVII), f. 45v, ed. Delatte 1927, 90

1. εἰς δῆμα ἀνθρώπου καὶ γυναικός. πίασε μετὰξιν κόκκινον καὶ κανάβιν καὶ
κλωστήν μελανὴν καὶ σμίξε τα καὶ εἶπε 'ὡς εἶναι δημένοι ὁ Ἥλιος καὶ ἡ Σελήνη καὶ
τὰ ἄστρον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ἔτσι νὰ ἦναι δημένος ὁ δεῖνα μὲ τὴν δεῖνα. δὴνῶ τῆς
νεφρῆς των γονοτόκες καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν φλέβα τὴν κινουῦσαν εἰς ἀμαρτίαν. καὶ νὰ
δὲν ἡμπορῇ νὰ κινήσῃ πάτον τῆς δεῖνα. δὴνῶ ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ὡς ποδῶν, δὴνῶ τῆς
ἐβδομήκοντα δύο φλέβες, δὴνῶ τοὺς τριακοσίους ἐξήκοντα πέντε ἀρμούς, δὴνῶ καὶ
τοὺς σφονδύλους τῆς ράχης του, δὴνῶ ἑπτὰ σφονδύλους χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν καὶ τὴν

φλέβα τὴν κινουῦσαν τοῦ κορμίου τοῦ δεῖνα τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς δεῖνα ἀπὸ τὴν κόρη τῆς δεῖνα, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ ἔς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.'

2. καὶ ὅταν θέλης νὰ τὸν λύσης· ἴλναι τ[ὰ δεσμὰ] καὶ δροσίζει τὴν φλόγα καὶ τὴν δεῖνα ἀπὸ τὸν δεῖνα.'

binding for separation of man from woman

1.1.2.11. reported from contemporary Cyprus, Koukoules 1928, 453

ἔπι ὀνόματος τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. εἶπεν ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς "εἰς δύνειν τε καὶ λύειν δίδω σὰς ἐξουσίαν." οὕτω καὶ ἐγὼ ἐκ στόματος τοῦ θεοῦ δὴννω τὸν δεῖνα υἱὸν τῆς δεῖνα, δὴννω τὰ δώδεκα σφονδύλια τῆς ράχης του, δὴννω τὸ κλειδὶν τῶν νεφρῶν του, δὴννω τὲς ἐβδομήκοντα δύο ἡμισυ φλέες τοῦ σώματός του, δὴννω τὴν βασιλικὴν φλέαν τῆς καρδίας τοῦ δεῖνος τὴν κινουῦσαν εἰς ἁμαρτίαν, δὴννω τὸν μὲ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ διαβόλου βεελζεβουλ καὶ μὲ τὰ ἰδικὰ μου χέρια καὶ ὅσον ἀπέχει ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀπὸ τὴν γῆν, ἔτσι ν' ἀπέχη ἀπὸ τὴν δεῖνα.'

2 δύναιμιν τε Koukoules

binding of married couple; performatives, analogy

1.1.2.12. private collection, manuscript from Apokoronas on Crete (contemporary according to ed.), ed. Koukoules 1926, 76-77

δέσιμον ἀνδρογύνου ἂν εἶναι καὶ πέντε χρόνους στεφανωμένο. κυριακὴν βράδν ὅταν βγαίνει τὸ πρῶτον ἄστρον, νὰ βαστᾶς κόρδες τῆς λύρας πεσμένες, νὰ βλέπης τὸ ἄστρο καὶ νὰ λέγης ἄς δένει ὁ ἥλιος, ἄς δένεις καὶ σὺ τᾶστρο, ἔτσι δένω κι' ἐγὼ τὸ δοῦλο τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα καὶ τὴν δούλην τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα στανικῶς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θεληματικῶς τοῦ διαβόλου. δένω τσοὶ τριακοσίους ἐξήκοντα πέντε ἄρμους τῆς ράχεώς του, δένω τσοὶ σφονδύλους του, δένω τὴ βασιλικὴν του φλέβα τῆς κοιμηθείσης ἁμαρτίας ταύτης.' νὰ τὸ πῆς ἐφτὰ βολὲς καὶ νὰ δέσης ἐφτὰ κόμπους, ἕνα σὲ κάθε βολά.

curse against enemy; soap pierced with five pins

1.1.2.13. reported from contemporary Crete, Megas 1941-1942, 109

ἄς ἐκάρφωσαν τὸ Χριστὸ εἰς τὸν τίμιον σταυρό, ἔτσι καρφώνω κι' ἐγὼ τὸ δοῦλο τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα, στανικῶς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θεληματικῶς τοῦ διαβόλου μὲ τὴν δύναιμιν τοῦ Γαραζαηλ. καρφώνω τσοὶ 365 ἄρμους τῆ ράχης του, τσοὶ φύλιασες τῶν κοκκάλων τοῦ σώματός του, καρφώνω τσοὶ σφεντύλους τῆ ράχης του καὶ ὅ τι ἀνάπαψη ἔχει ἢ θάλασσα, ἔτσι ἀνάπαψη νὰ ἔχη τὸ σῶμά του, ὅσον καιρὸ τὸν ἔχω καρφωμένο ἔς τὸ σαποῦνι.'

binding, with narrative of Elijah

1.1.2.14. reported from contemporary Rhodes, Papachristodoulos 1962, 91

οὕτως ἔδεσεν ὁ προφήτ' Ἡλίας τὰ νέφη τ' οὐρανοῦ χρόνους τρεῖς καὶ μῆνες ἕξι, δέννω τὸν δεῖνα, δέννω τὸ φῶς τῶν ἔμματιῶν του, δέννω τὴν νευροραχοκοκκαλιάν, τὰ νεῦρα τῶν χειρῶν του.'

performatives, binding a husband and wife, said during their wedding in the church, the user takes a candle, ties three knots in it (i.e. the wick?) while holding it over a knife, says the binding three times, and keeps the knots and knife together for three days; with each word the word *διάβoλε* is also said

1.1.2.15. reported from contemporary Paphos, L. Philippou in Athanasopoulos et al. 1914, 532 no. 11

‘γὴννει ὁ προφήτης Ἡλίας τὸν ἥλιον τσαὶ τὸ φεγγάρι τρεῖς χρόνους τσαὶ τρεῖς ἡμέραις· | ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐσκότισεν τρεῖς χρόνους τσαὶ τρεῖς ἡμέραις· | νερὸν χαμαὶ δὲν ἔσταξεν τρεῖς χρόνους τσαὶ τρεῖς ἡμέραις. | γήνω τὴν μήτραν τῆς μούλας τοῦ δεσπότη, παῖν δὲν ἔκαμε, | γήνω τσαὶ τὸν δεῖνα μὲ τὴν γεναῖκάν του, | νὰ μὲν ἰππεύη τρεῖς χρόνους τσαὶ τρεῖς ἡμέραις.’

1.1.2.16. Heidelberg, UB cod. Pal. germ. 229, f. 99r

ut equus claudicat. fac crucem in uestigio pedis dextrae cum litteris infra scriptis et fige in medio crucis clauum de ligno cypressi et postea dic 'sicut dominus noster Iesus Christus affixus ligatus et conclauatus in sancta cruce erat, sic eque ligo et uinculo te in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen.' haec est figura [*sign*].

¹ claudicat *cod.*

1.2 - wish

1.2.1 - simple

1.2.1.1. Touloumi (Bromousa, Chalkis), inscribed kantharos found in tomb, ed. Papabasileiou 1902, 113 no. 10; the tomb opened in P.'s excavations in the summer of 1902. Undated in ed., s. IV BC? Inscribed on the outside in three registers, inside the foot of the cup clockwise from top spiralling inward (A), a continuation of this but oriented upside-down, counterclockwise from top in a single band, and a recapitulation in another band to the outside of that, oriented the same direction as B, counterclockwise from top, the last two letters spiralling outward

A Δαίτωνι ἀτέλεστα γίνεσθαι τὰγαθά.
B καὶ πάντα τὰ τε ὄντα καὶ εἴ τι ἐλπίσει.
C ἀμήχανα κᾶπορα αὐτοῖ πάντα τὰγαθά.

A Within A there are three subregisters, from outside to inside ΔΑΙΤΩΝΙ ... Γ, ΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΤΑ, and ΓΑΘΑ || C πάντα ... αὐτοῖ divisit ed. pr., but the fact that –ΘΑ is set on a new line outside of the main band of the rest of the text suggests that it is the ending

1.2.1.2. Pantikapaion, black-glazed ceramic vessel ('salinum,' ed.) found in a tomb ('in parte septentrionali montis qui dicitur Mithradatis, prope rupem quam caput saccari nominant (Sacharnaia Golova),' ed.), s. V/IV B.C., with drawing of phallus, ed. Diehl 1923, 227-229. A complex of four tombs excavated in 1883 by the Russian Archeological Commission, uncertain in which of these the vessel was found.

Παρθενίῳ ὁ κύων τὴν ψωλὴν δάκοι.

apparently dropped into a grave through a tube, cursing a 'sinner' with worms and sickness (or perhaps addressing the worms already in the tomb?); the tube was a feature of the original tomb, intended to admit water, wine, and unguents as offerings to the dead (ed. pr.)

1.2.1.3. Messina, lead tablet found in necropolis at S. Placido (tomb 48), Roman Imperial period, *SEG* IV 47 (edd. pr. Orsi and Comparetti 1916, 167-169), cf. Jordan 1985 no. 114. Orpisthographic

A Βαλερίαν Ἀρσινόην τὴν σκύ|ζαν σκώλληκες, τὴν ἀμαρ|τωλὸν Ἀρσινόην κ(αί) μελεάν.
B Βαλερίαν Ἀρσινόην τὴν ἀμαρ|τωλὸν νόσος, τὴν σκύζαναν σῆψις.

B.2 σκύζαν{αν} *SEG* but cf. app. cr.

applied

binding of tongue, name of target and metronym written on paper enfolded with a yellow powder

1.2.1.4. report of find of object in the foundation of a building in Galata (Istanbul), Koukoules 1928, 471

‘Μηνᾶ υἱὸς τῆς Μαγδαληνῆς νὰ πιαστῆ ἡ γλῶσσά του.’

binding sexual potency, the user ties seven knots in linen thread

1.2.1.5. reported from contemporary Cyprus, Koukoules 1928, 457

‘ὁ δεῖνας μὲ τὴν δεῖνα νὰ μὲμ σμίξη μετὰ τῆς εἰς ἀμαρτίαν.’

1.2.2 – with analogy

1.2.2.1. Peiraeus, lead tablet found in tomb, retrograde, undated, ed. Wunsch 1897 no. 67; opisthographic but only scant traces read for the reverse in ed.

Ὀνητορίδης Ε[ὺη]κθ[ι]δης | Ἀρχέδικος Ναύκριτος | Φιλοξενίδης | Δημήτριος Αἰγυπτία | Φιλόδημος Προκλείδης | Ἀρίστουλλα | καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἐκείνων· ὥσπερ ταῦτα ψυχρὰ καὶ ἐπαρίστερα, | οὕτως τὰ Κράτητος τὰ ῥήματα ψυχρὰ [καὶ | ἐπαρί]στερα γέν[οι]το κα[ῖ] τῶν μετ' ἐκ[είνω]ν μη | [νυτῶ]ν καὶ τῶν δικα[στῶν] | ...σαι c. 8 εχε το

1.2.2.2. Attica, lead tablet, ed. Wunsch 1897 no. 106

A [καταδεδέσθω c. 6] πρὸς τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν χθόνι[ον καὶ τὴν Ἑκάτην τὴν χθονίαν,] | [κατα]δεδέσθω c. 5] πρὸς τὸν Ἑρ[μῆν] τὸν [χθόνι]ον [καὶ τὴν Ἑκάτην τὴν χθονίαν, | καταδε[δέ]σθω Ἀσπασία πρὸς τὸν Ἑρμῆ[ν] τὸν [χθόνι]ον κα[ῖ] τὴν Ἑκά[την τὴν χθονίαν, | καταδε[δέ]σθω Σωκράτης π[ρ]ὸς τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν χθόνιον καὶ τ[ῆ]ν Ἑκάτην τῆ[ν χθονίαν, | καταδε[δέ]σθωσαν οἵτινες πρὸς τούτων εἰσὶν σύνδικ[οι] τοῖς ἐνθαῦτα γεγραμμένοις, | καταδε[δέ]σθω Ἀπιστία πρὸς τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν χθόνιον καὶ τὴν Ἑκάτην τὴν χθονίαν, | [κατα]δεδέσθω Λυδὸς πρὸς τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν χθόνιον καὶ τὴν Ἑκάτην τὴν χθονίαν, | καταδεδέσθω Μαν[ῆς] πρὸς τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν χθόνιον καὶ | τὴν [Ε]κάτην τὴν χθονίαν.

B καὶ ὡς οὗτος ὁ μόλυβδος ἄχρηστος, ὡς ἄχρηστα εἶναι τῶν ἐνταῦθα γεγραμμένων | καὶ ἔπη καὶ ἔργα | [---] τῶν ἐνταῦθα γεγραμμένων [---] | [---] καὶ ΕΚΤΟ[---]

1.2.2.3. Attica, lead tablet, ed. Wunsch 1897 no. 107

A [Φ]ερέν[ικο]ς πρὸς τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν χθόνιον καὶ [τὴν Ἑ]κάτην χθονίαν καταδεδέσθω· Γαλήνην, ἥτις Φερεν[ί]κωι, καταδέω πρὸς Ἑρμῆν χθονικὸν καὶ Ἑκάτην χθονίαν κατα[δ]έω· καὶ ὡς οὗτος ὁ βόλυβδος ἄτιμος καὶ ψυχρὸς, οὕτως ἐκένος καὶ τὰ ἐκένω ἄτιμα [κ]αὶ ψυχρὰ ἔστω καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκένο ἅ περι ἐμὸ λέγοιεν καὶ βολευοῖατο. | Θερσίλοχος Οἰνό[φιλος] Φιλώτιος καὶ εἴ τ[ι]ς ἄλλος Φερενίκωι σύνδικ[ος, πρ]ὸς τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν χθόνι[ον] καὶ Ἑκάτην χθονίαν καταδεδέσθω· Φερενίκο κα[ῖ] ψυ|χὴν καὶ νὸν καὶ γλῶτταν καὶ βολὰς καὶ [τ]ὰ πράττει καὶ τὰ περι ἐμὸ βολε[ύ]εται, ἅπαντ' αὐτῶι ἀντία ἔστω καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκένο βολεύοσιν καὶ πράττοσιν. | καὶ ὅσον <...>

B Ἑρμῆς χθόνιος | καὶ Ἑκάτη χθονία.

hostile influence; cf. the fugitive slave procedures

1.2.2.4. Oxyrhynchus, P.Oxy. inv. 50.4B 23/J (1-3)b, s. III/IV, ed. *Suppl.Mag.* II 56 ὥσπερ στρέφετε ὁ ἐρμῆς | τοῦ μύλου καὶ ἀληθῆτε τοῦ|το τὸ πιτάκιον, οὗτος στρέψον | τὸν ἐνκέφαλον καὶ τὴν | καιδίαν καὶ πᾶσαν διά|νοϊαν Ζητουν ἢ ἐπικα|λουμένη Καλημέρας. | vac. ἤδη ἤδη ταχύ ταχύ.

21. μυλαίου || 51. καρδίαν

to make a husband hate his wife, corpse analogy, ritual involving dirt gathered from around corpse at three, nine, and forty days after the burial

1.2.2.5. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419, f. 144v, ed. Delatte 1927, 456

ἐὰν βούλη ποιῆσαι ἵνα μισῆσαι τις τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ. γράφε εἰς τρία δάφνης φύλλα πεντάλφας τρεῖς. ἔπαρον δὲ καὶ χῶμα ἀπεθαμένου ἀπὸ τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν μέσην καὶ τοὺς πόδας, εἰς τὰς τρεῖς καὶ εἰς τὰς ἐννέα καὶ εἰς τὰς τεσσαράκοντα. σύνθλασον τὰ φύλλα καὶ μίξον αὐτὰ μετὰ χῶμα καὶ στάσου εἰς τὴν μέσην τοῦ

τάφου καὶ λέγε οὕτως· 'τῆς δεῖνα καὶ τοῦ δεῖνα ἢ ἀγάπη νὰ χωρισθῆ ὡσπερ ἐχωρίσθη οὗτος ὁ ἀπεθαμμένος τὸν κόσμον.'

corpse analogy

1.2.2.6. Athens, EBE cod. 1490 (s. XVIII), f. 16v, ed. Delatte 1927, 140

ἔπαρε ἀπεθαμμένου κόκκαλο καὶ γράψε τὴν χαρακτῆρα τούτη καὶ βάλε τὴν εἰς τὸ κατώφλιό του ἀποκάτω, καὶ λέγε 'ὡς καθὼς ἐτοῦτος ὁ ἀπεθαμμένος δὲν εἶναι εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐτοῦτο, ἔτσι καὶ ἐτοῦτος ὁ δεῖνα νὰ κοπῆ ἢ ζωὴ του, <αἱ> ἡμέρες του, αἱ ἐβδομάδες του, οἱ μῆνες του, οἱ χρόνοι του. νὰ ἐξολοθρευθῆ, νὰ 'πάγη εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸν κόσμον ποῦ εἶναι <ὁ> ἀπεθαμμένος.' [signs] καὶ βάλε τα νὰ τὰ διασκελίση ἀποπάνωθεν καὶ γράφε καὶ τὸ ὄνομά του ἀπάνω του εἰς τὸ κόκκαλο.

5 δρασκιλισι cod. : ἀδρασκελήση Delatte

analogical ritual, burial of ritually activated object in the floor of the target's home

1.2.2.7. Athens, cod. Gennadios 45 (s. XVI), ff. 34v-35r, ed. Delatte 1959, 311

εἰς ἐναντίον ἐχθρῶν. λαβὼν κηκίδι καὶ διάργυρον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ ἐχθροῦ σου {καὶ} πρῶτον χῦσον εἰς τὴν τρύπα | τοῦ κηκιδίου αἷμα βατράχου, εἶτα βάλε τὸ διάργυρον καὶ ὡς βούλει ὀνομάζων λέγε οὕτως 'ὡς τρέχει καὶ σκορπίζεται τὸ διάργυρον, οὕτως νὰ σκορπισθῆ καὶ ὁ ἐχθρός μου ὁ δεῖνα καὶ μὴ μαζωχθῆ εἰς τὸ σπῆτι τοῦ πλέον.' καὶ χῶσε αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ κατώφλιον.

analogical burning of tile, formula reminiscent of erotic curse

1.2.2.8. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικός κώδικας (s. XIX), ff. 294v-295r, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 176

διὰ νὰ κάμης ἐχθρὸν νὰ φύγη ὅπου θέλεις. γράψον τὶς κάτωθεν χαρακτῆρες εἰς παλαιὸν κεραμίδιν καὶ βάλ' το εἰς τὴν φωτίαν καὶ λέγε οὕτως 'ὡς καίεται τοῦτο τὸ κεραμίδι, ἔτσι νὰ καίεται τοῦ δεῖνα ἢ καρδιά ἢ τῆς δεῖνα ἢ καρδίτσα, νὰ μὴν ἡμπορῆ | νὰ σταθῆ ἐδῶ 'ς τὴν χώραν ἢ εἰς τὸ χωρίον, οὔτε νὰ φάγη οὔτε νὰ πῆ, μόνον νὰ εἶναι ὁ νοῦς του καὶ ὁ λογισμὸς του ἐκεῖ 'ς τὸν τόπον τὸν δεῖνα,' ὅπου ἐκεῖ θέλεις, 'ἐκεῖ νὰ φύγη χωρὶς ὑπομονήν.' ἰδοὺ οἱ χαρακτῆρες [signs].

binding husband and wife; cryptography by Roman transliteration

1.2.2.9. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικός κώδικας (s. XIX), f. 491r-v, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 319

νὰ δέσης ἀνδρόγυνον. ἔπαρε κλωστήν λινὴν καὶ μεταξὶ κόκκινον καὶ δέσε κόμπους ἐπτὰ εἰς τὴν πρώτην ὥραν τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ λέγε φορὲς τρεῖς εἰς κάθε κόμπον 'ὡς δένει ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη τὰ ἄστρα καὶ τὸ φῶς, οὕτως δένω καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὴν δεῖνα. δένω τοὺς ἀρμούς τῶν ποδαριῶν τους, τῶν ποδῶν τους καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τους καὶ ἐπτὰ σφονδύλια τῆς ράχης των. δένω καὶ τὰς ἐβδομηντα δύο ἡμισυ φλέβας | τοῦ σώματός τους, δένω καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν φλέβαν τους νὰ γένουν ὡσὰν βαμπάκι τοῦ δεῖνα καὶ <τῆς> δεῖνα.'

I na desis antroginon epare clostin linin ce metacsi cocinon ce dese compus cod.

to accompany the piercing of a wax effigy of the bridegroom

1.2.2.10. reported from contemporary Rethymna (Crete), G.N. Hatzidakis ap. Kuhnert 1894, 44n1

'τόσους πόνους εἰς τὸ κορμὶ τοῦ δεῖνα.'

for binding the ‘fate’ of a young woman, analogy with soap thrown into a spring; use of metronym

1.2.2.11. reported from contemporary Crete, Phrankaki 1978, 244

‘ὡς λυώνει τὸ σαποῦνι, ἐτσὰ νὰ λυώνη κι’ ἡ τάδε ἡ θυγατέρα τῆς τάδε.’

for death of young woman, in two parts, on Good Friday: in the first, a black candle is burned halfway down; in the second, the wick is tied, then bound to a shell and thrown into the sea

1.2.2.12. reported from contemporary Crete, Phrankaki 1978, 245

1. ‘ὡς λυώνει τὸ κερὶ, ἐτσὰ νὰ λυώση καὶ ἡ δεῖνα.’

2. ‘ὡς δένεται τούτη ἡ κλωστή, ἐτσὰ νὰ δεθῆ καὶ ἡ μοῖρα τῆς τάδε, μοῖρα μὴ γρωνίση, τὸ κηθίο τῆς νὰ σαπίση, ἄντρας μὴ τηνε γάμη, ἄθος νᾶν’ ἡ μοῖρά τῆς, πατσάβρες τὰ προκία τῆς, σάβανο τὰ σεντόνια τῆς, τὰ λινά τῆς, τὰ παλετσερά τῆς, σ’ ἓνα φαρδοσάκκουλο νὰ μποῦν τὰ κόκκαλά τῆς. ἀμὴ μία, ἀμὴ δύο, τρισαμὴ σαρανταδύο.’

against an enemy, accompanied by tying of knot in a string

1.2.2.13. reported from Rethymna on Crete, G.N. Hatzidakis ap. Kuhnert 1894, 55

‘ὅπως λεῖ τὸ κερὶ τοῦτο, νὰ λύση καὶ νὰ χαθῆ καὶ τὸ κορμὶ τοῦ δεῖνα.’

infliction of fever

1.2.2.14. Marburg, UB cod. B 20 (s. XV), f. 113v, ed. Dietrich 1867, 214-215.

item ut aliquis febricitet, fac fieri tres clauos ad modum domini nostri Iesu Christi et uade ad arborem quae dicitur *lspm* et imprime hos clauos dicendo ‘sic sicut ista lrbrr tremuit, ita ille et illa tremulet et febricitet, quamdiu hi clauus sunt lrbrrn infixi.’

separation, analogy of dog and cat

1.2.2.15. Heidelberg, UB cod. Pal. germ. 229, f. 101r

ad faciendum inimicitiam. accipe ouum unum ouatum in die Iouis per nigram gallinam et coque in urina eorum et ipsa die dominica. postea ipsa die Iouis de nocte sepeli illud ouum in quadriuo in ipsorum nomine amborum. postea ipso die dominico superueniente lumine mane affode ouum et munda acrosa et postea partire ipsum per medium cum uilo uno et scribe nomen mulieris in acutiore acumine oui et nomen uiri in aliud acumen et partem illius oui in qua scriptum est nomen mulieris da cattae uni et partem oui in qua nomen uiri est scriptum da cani uni et dic in projectione ‘sicut canis et catta se inuicem odio habent et omnes cattae et canes inuicem habent odium, sic N et N se odio inuicem habent die noctuque.’

³ after quadriuo, + || 5 de cod. || 6 de cod. | uno cod.

curse; interlocking ritual with candle

1.2.2.16. Johann Weyer, *De praestigiis daemonum* 5.6 (1568 ed. pp. 464-467)

ut res furto sublata restituatur, anathema magicum. ... ‘ex autoritate dei omnipotentis patris et filii et spiritus sancti et sanctae Mariae uirginis matris domini nostri Iesu Christi et sanctorum angelorum et archangelorum et sancti Michaelis et sancti Iohannis baptistae et ex uice beati Petri apostoli et aliorum apostolorum et sancti Stephani et omnium martyrum, sancti Syluestri et sancti Adalberti et omnium confessorum et sanctae Alegundis et sanctarum uirginum et omnium sanctorum qui sunt in caelo et in terra quibus data est potestas ligandi atque soluendi, excommunicamus damnamus maledicimus uinculo anathematis et a liminibus sanctae matris ecclesiae segregamus illos

fures sacrilegos seu raptos operarios consiliarios coadiutores coadiutrices qui hoc furtum siue malum perpetraverunt, siue sibi inde aliquid usurpauerunt, sit pars eorum cum Dathan et Abiron quos terra propter eorum peccata et superbiam deglutiuit, sit etiam pars illorum cum Iuda traditore qui dominum pretio uendidit, amen, et cum Pontio Pilato et cum eis qui dixerunt domino deo “recede a nobis, uiarum tuarum scientiam nolumus.” fiant filii eorum orphani, sint maledicti in ciuitate, maledicti in agro, in campo, maledicti in silua, sint maledicti in domibus, in horreis, in lectulis, in cubiculis, maledicti in curia, in uia, uilla, maledicti in castro, maledicti in flumine, maledicti in ecclesia, in coemeterio, in tribunalibus iudicii, maledicti in foro, in bello, morando, loquendo, maledicti tacendo, maledicti manducando, uigilando, dormiendo, bibendo, maledicti palpando, maledicti sedendo, iacendo, maledicti stando, maledicti in otio, in omni opere, maledicti in toto corpore, in tota anima et in quinque sensibus corporis, maledicti in omni loco, maledicti fructus uentris eorum, maledicti fructus terrae eorum, maledicta sint omnia quae eorum sunt, maledictum caput eorum, ora, nares, nasus, labia eorum, fauces eorum, dentes eorum, oculi, pupillae eorum, cerebrum, palatum, linguae eorum, guttura, pectora, corda, uenter, iecur, uiscera omnia, stomachus, maledictus splen, umbilicus, uesica, maledicta crura, tibia, maledicti pedes, pedicae eorum, maledicta colla, maledictae scapulae, maledicta dorsa eorum, maledicta brachia, maledictus cubitus, maledictae manus eorum, digitus, maledicti unguis in manibus et in pedibus, maledicta costa, genitura, genua, maledicta caro eorum, maledicta ossa eorum, maledictus sanguis eorum, maledicta pelles corporis eorum, maledicta sit medulla in ossibus eorum, maledictus sit superior pars a capite usque ad plantas eorum, quicquid interest, totum maledicatur, scilicet quinque sensus sui, uisus, auditus, gustus, odoratus, et tactus. et maledicantur in sancta cruce et in Christi passione et cum quinque uulneribus Christi et cum effusione sanguinis Christi et cum lacte uirginis Mariae. adiuro te Lucifer cum omnibus satellitibus tuis, cum patre et filio et spiritu sancto et cum humanitate et natiuitate Christi et cum uirtute omnium sanctorum ut nullam habeas requiem diebus neque noctibus donec perducas eos ad interitum, siue mergantur in fluminibus siue suspendantur uel deuorentur a bestiis siue comburantur siue interficiantur ab inimicis et odio habeantur ab omnibus uiuentibus. et sicut dominus beato Petro apostolo et eius successoribus quorum uices tenemus et nobis quamuis indignis potestatem contulit, ut quodcumque ligaremus in terris ligaretur et in caelis, et quodcumque solueremus in terris solueretur et in caelis, sic illis si emendare noluerint caelum claudimus et terram ad sepeliendum negamus, sed sepeliantur in pascuis asinorum. insuper sit terra maledicta in qua sit sepultura eorum, pereant in futuro iudicio, conuersionem cum Christianis non habeant, neque corpus domini cum in mortis articulo sunt suscipiant. fiant tamquam puluis ante faciem uenti et sicut Lucifer abiectus est de caelo, et sicut Adam et Eua de paradiso expulsi sunt, sic expellantur de quotidiana luce. item consociati sint cum illis quibus dominus dicit in die iudicii “ite maledicti in ignem aeternum qui paratus est diabolo et angelis eius, ubi uermis non morietur nec ignis extinguetur.” et sic candela de manibus meis eiecta extinguitur, sic opera eorum et animae eorum in fetore barathri extinguentur nisi reddant quod furati sunt infra certum terminum.’ ‘amen’ dicant omnes. postea cantabitur ‘media uita in morte sumus’ et cetera.

1.3.1 - prayer: simple

prayer for ‘judgment’ with an enemy, and that the enemy come to harm

1.3.1.1. Unknown provenance, papyrus sheet, now P.Vind. inv. G 19929, s. VI, ed.

Pap.Graec.Mag. P 15c

† κ(ύρι)ε, ὁ δεσπ(ότης) τῆς οἰκουμένης, | ἐκδίκησόν με | μετὰ τοῦ ἐναντιοῦν | τός με
καὶ μετὰ τοῦ | ἐκβαλό(ν)τος με | ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου μου, | καὶ ταχὺ κύριε | ἀπόδος
αὐτῷ [[καί]] | ἵνα ἐμπέση εἰς χεῖρας | στεραιωτέρ(ας) αὐτοῦ.

1 κε δεσπ\ pap. || 9 ἵνα pap. || 10 στεραιωτερ/ pap.

1.3.1.2. Unknown provenance, papyrus sheet, P.IFAO s.n., s. VI, *Suppl.Mag.* II 61

† † † ἅγιος ὁ θεός, Καβριηλ, Μηχαηλ, ποίωσαι τὴν ἡκανών μου· μέγα |
κύριε ὁ θεός, πατάξιον Φηραδέλφης· καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς, | κύριε κύριε κύριε ὁ θεός
θεός, πατάξιον μετ’ αὐτῆς. ὁ {υ} | [I]ησοῦ Χρηστός, ἐλέησόν μοι καὶ ἀγούου μου,
κύριε.

3 I. θεός : θεό[ο]ς *Suppl.Mag.*, the evidence for cancellation is not convincing | [υ]
Suppl.Mag., similarly there is no evidence of cancellation

1.3.1.3. Unknown provenance (perhaps Achmim), now P.Ups. inv. 8, s. VI, *Suppl.Mag.*

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front

[c. 18] κ[ύ]ρι[ε] ὁ θε[ός] ν γνῶτ[ωσαν] | πάντες, ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεός
ἀντιλήμψεταιί μου. κατιδιωχθήτω | Δίδυμος καὶ Σεηρίνη ἡ ἐμοῦ θυγάτηρ οἱ
καταδιώξαντές με | πάλαι. καταξηρανθήτω τὸ σῶμα ἐν κλίνοις, ὡς ἐθεάσω κ[αὶ τὸ]
| ἐμὸν παρὰ τῶν καλυψάντων τὴν ἡμετέραν αἰδῶ. κύρ[ι]ε, δε[ῖ]ξον | αὐτοῖς
ταχεῖαν τὴν δύναμίν σου. τὰς ἐπιβουλά[ς τ]ῶν κ[αρδ]ι[ῶν] | αὐτῶν κατὰ τῶν
φιλτάτων μου τέκνων ἀπρά[κτου]ς π[οί]η[σον.] | καταλαβέτωσαν τὸ βῆμα,
ὅπουδαν σύ, ὦ κύριε δέσ[ποτα, κρίνης.] | vac. ἐγὼ ἐ[λ]εινὸς κλα[ίω]ν καὶ στέν[ων
νυκ]τ[ὸς καὶ] | vac. ἡμέρας ἐπιδέδωκ[α] τὰ ἐμὰ θ[εῶ] τῶν ὄλων | vac. δεσπότη
εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τῶν κ[α]κουργιῶν ὧν | vac. πέπονθα παρὰ Σεηρίνης κ[αὶ Διδύμου.] |
[υ]ἰὲ θεοῦ μεγάλο[ιο], τὸν οὐδέποτ’ ἔδρακεν ἀνὴρ, | [ὸ]ς τυφλοῖσιν ἔδωκας [ι]δεῖν
φάος ἡλίου, | [δ]εῖξον δ’ ὡς τὸ πάροιθε θεουδέα θαύματα σεῖο. | ἡμετέρων
καμ[ά]των μνημῆια [τ]ῖσον ἀμοιβήν, | [ο]ὺς κάμον, οὺς ὑπ[έ]με[ι]να μιῆς ἐπίηρα
θυγατρός, | ἐχθροὺς ἡμετέρο[υ]ς στερεαῖς ἐνὶ χερσ[ι] πατάσσω.

back

ἐκδίκησον ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ Εμμανουηλ, ἐκδίκησ[ον.]

front, 9 ἐ[λ]εινὸς Bell : [Σαβ]εῖνος *Suppl.Mag.*

1.3.1.4. Unknown provenance (perhaps Achmim), now P.Hamb. inv. 58, s. VI, ed.

Suppl.Mag. II 60

στήλη αἰνομόρου πολυπενθέος ἐστὶ Σαβεῖνο[υ] | ὅς κακὰ πόλλ’ ὑπέμεινε μιῆς ἐπίηρα
θυγατρός. | [υ]ἰὲ θεοῦ μεγάλοιο, τὸν οὐδέποτ’ ἔδρακεν ἀνὴρ, | ὅς τυφλοῖσιν ἔδωκας
ιδεῖν φάος ἡλίου, | δεῖξον ἐν ἀνθρώποισι καὶ αὐτίκα τῖσον ἀπάντη | [ἐ]χθροὺς
ἡμετέρους [κρατ]εινῆ | ἐχθροὺς ἡμετέρους στερεαῖς ἐνὶ χερσὶ πατάσσω.

introduced by logoi

1.3.1.5. London, BL P.Lond. inv. 121, col. xi, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.396-404; recollated φιμωτικὸν καὶ ὑποτακτικὸν γενναῖον καὶ κά|τοχος. λαβ(ών) μόλιβ(ον) ἀπὸ ψυχροφόρου σωλήνος ποίησον | λάμναν καὶ ἐπίγραφε χαλκ(ῶ) γραφ(είω) ὡς ὑπόκειται | καὶ θές παρὰ ἄωρον· *signs* | Βαχυχ *signs* ααλουγικι ελωαι· βαινωωωωχ· | *signs* ευλαμω φνουβενε ειζοχορ | μοβορ φω χορβα ζαχει αναχια *signs* | φωρφορβα φωρφορβα σεμεσιλαμ αρχεντεχθα | ασχελιδοηλ· κατάσχε· κοιν(ά), ὡς ἂν βούλη.

396 ὑπο- pap. || 397 λαβ/ μολιβ/ pap. || 398 χαλκ* γραφ/ pap. || 403 φωρφορβα *Pap.Graec.Mag.* || 404 Ἀσχελιδονηλ *Pap.Graec.Mag.* || 404 κοί pap. | βούλη (- pap.

1.3.1.6. London, BL P.Lond. inv. 121, col. xii, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.417-422, recollated κάτοχος. γρ(άφε) εἰς πέταλλον κασσιτέρινον χαλκῶ γραφίω | πρὶν ἡλίου ἀνατολῆς τὰ ὀνό(ματα) ‘χρημ[ι]λλον μουλοχ· | καμπυ· χρη ωφθω· μασκελλι· λό(γος), ‘ερ[η]κισιφθη ιαβεξεβυθ.’ | ἔπειτα βάλε εἰς ποταμὸν ἢ εἰς θάλασσαν πρὶν (ἡλίου) ἀνα|τολῆς. συνεπίγραφε καὶ τούτους τοὺς χαρακτῆρας ‘*signs* | θεοὶ κραταιοί, κατέχετε.’ κοιν(ά), ὅσ’ ἂν θέλεις.

417 γρ/ pap. || 418 ὄο pap. | χρημ[ι]λλον’ pap. || 419 λο pap. | -κισιφθη/ pap. || 420 ποταμόν, εἰς *Pap.Graec.Mag.*, noting (but relegating to app.cr.) the supplement (ἦ) of *Hopfner 1:610* | ? pap. || 422 κοί pap.

1.3.1.7. London, BL P.Lond. inv. 121, coll. xxvi-xxvii, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.925-939 ἄλλο καὶ ὑποτακτικόν. λαβών λεπίδα μολιβῆν | ἀπὸ ζυγοῦ μούλων καὶ γρ(άφε) χαλκ(ῶ) γρ(αφείω) τὰ ὑποκείμενα ὀνό(ματα) | καὶ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας καὶ θές ὑπὸ τὸ πέλμα σου | τοῦ εὐωνύμου ποδὸς λιβανωτίσας ἐπιμελῶς. | εἰσὶν δέ· (*rectangular border, with text and signs*) | νολεανουν|εβρεβα|ολοθιερων|δενδενξουν|τουβαντωνι κάτεχε | τὴν ὄργην τοῦ δεῖ(να) καὶ πάν|των τὸν θυμ(όν) κ(αί) τὰς γλώσσας, ἵνα | μὴ δυνηθῶσιν λαλεῖν τῶ δεῖ(να). | (*signs*) | (*signs*)

925 γρ/ χαλκ/ γρ/ pap. | ὑπο- pap. | ο within square pap. || 935 Δ pap. || 936 θυμ Κ pap. | ἵνα pap. || 937 Δ pap.

1.3.1.8. London, BL P.Lond. inv. 121, col. xxvi, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.940-968 θυμοκάτοχον καὶ ὑποτακτικόν. εἰς χάρτ(ην) καθαρὸν | διὰ ζυμυρομέλανος \καθαρο(οῦ)/ γρ(άφε) τὰ ὀνό(ματα) ταῦτα σὺν τῇ στήλ(η)· | ἰωερβηθ (*figure*) ιωπακερβηθ | ἰωερβη (*figure*) ωπακερβηθ | ἰωερβ (*figure*) πακερβηθ | ἰωερ (*figure*) ακερβηθ | ἰωε (*figure*) κερβηθ | ἰω (*figure*) ερβηθ | ἰ (*figure*) ρβηθ | βηθ | ηθ | θ | ιωσεσεσρω | ωσεσεσρω | σεσεσρω (*vac.*) ιωπημψ | εσεσρω (*vac.*) ωπημψ | σεσρω (*vac.*) πημψ | εσρω (*vac.*) ημψ | σρω (*vac.*) μψ | ρω (*vac.*) ψ | ω | ‘δεῦρό μοι, ὁ ἐν τῶ στερεῶ πνεύματι, ἀόρατος, | παντοκράτωρ, κτίστης τῶν θεῶν· δεῦρό μοι, | ὁ ἀκαταμάχητος δαίμων. δεῦρό μοι, ὁ τὸν | ἴδιον ἀδελφὸν μὴ λυπήσας, Σήθ· δεῦρό μοι, | πυριλαμπές πνεῦμα· δεῦρό μοι, ὁ ἀκατα|φρόνητος θεός, δαίμων, καὶ φίμωσον, | ὑπόταξον, καταδούλωσον τὸν δεῖ(να) τῶ δεῖ(να) καὶ ποίη|σον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας μοι ἔλθη.’

940 χαρτ pap. || 941 καθαρ/ γρ/ pap. | ο within square pap. | στηλ pap. || 964 λ[υ]πήσας Pap.Graec.Mag. | σηθ pap. || 967 ὑπο- pap. | Δ τω Δ pap. || 968 >>>>- pap.

1.3.1.9. London, BL P.Lond. inv. 124, col. ii, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P X.24-35

θυμοκάτοχον, πρὸς πάντας ποιῶν· ποιεῖ γὰρ πρὸς ἐχθροὺς | καὶ κατηγόρας καὶ ληστῶν καὶ φόβους καὶ φαντασμοὺς | ὀνείρων. λαβ(ών) λάμναν χρυσᾶν ἢ ἀργυρᾶν χάραξον | ἐπ' αὐτῆς τοὺς χαρακτῆρας καὶ τὰ ὀνό(ματα) καὶ τελέσας φόρει | καθαρῶς. ἔστι δέ· | (rectangular border with signs and text, including) | ἀβλαναθαναλβα | ακραμμαχαμαρει | αι ση λαιλεμ ταεω ωαωαιωαι αιηιουωωουιηεα

25 ληστὰς corr. Pap.Graec.Mag. || 26 λαβ// pap. || 27 ο in box, doubled, pap.

1.3.1.10. Oxyrhynchus, lead tablet, T.Köln inv. 4, s. III, ed. *Suppl.Mag.* II 53, with five additional unplaced fragments

ευλαμω [--- ἐπι]καλοῦμαι ἐπιτελ[---] | υλαμωε [---] αν ὑπὸ γῆν | λαμωευ [---] τουνουλ υνπα | αμωευλ [---] νσα | μωευλα [---] ιτατη του | ωευλαμ [---] στρο σα | π ρ [---] αχυχ βαχυχ βακα | κ[---] βαχυχ[.....] χυ | αιωνα [---] χυχβαζαχυχ | τον ...ου[---] χ [βα]δητοφωθι | βαψι βιβιωθ . αρλ[c. 10] φιλχαλωχακον | κοχλωκον οχλωιο[.]..λ[.] ακ κιαβ· δησον, κα | τάδησον τὰ ν[εῦ]ρα, τὰ μέλη, τὸν νοῦν, τὰς φρένας, | τὴν διάνοιαν, τὰ τριακόσια ἐξήκοντα πέ[ν]τε μέλη καὶ νεῦρα τῶν περὶ τὸν [.... ὄν] | ἔ[ν]τεκεν Ταειᾶς καὶ Ἀφούν ὄν ἔτεκεν [Ταεῖς] | τῶν ἀθλητῶν δρομέων, ἵνα μὴ [c. 8] | μιν μηδὲ εὐρωστῆσαι, ἀλλὰ ἀγρυ[πνείτωσαν] | δι' ὄλης νυκτὸς καὶ ἀποβάλλ[έ]τωσαν [πᾶσαν] | τροφήν ἐπὶ κακώσι καὶ νοῦ [c. 7] | σι ν αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἰσχύ[σωσι δρα] | μῖν, ἀλλὰ ὑστερίτωσαν ὑστε[c. 7] | καὶ κατάσχεσ αὐτῶν τῶν περὶ [τὸν c. 5] | ὄν ἔτεκεν [Τ]α[εῖας] κ[αὶ] Αφούν ὄν ἔτε[] κεν Ταεῖς [c. 20] | ὑπ[ὸ] πάντων[ν]υ[c. 10] | κρανεῖον .ν[.]ν κώλυσο[ν c. 10] | καὶ ἀμαύρωσον αὐτῶν τοὺς [ὀφθαλμούς,] | ἵνα μὴ ἰσχύσωσιν τραμῖν [c. 10] | καὶ ἐνεάδι, ἀμαυρου...[c. 7] | τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως, κύριε [c. 7] | Αβρασαξ[---]

(properly a *thumokatochos*?)

1.3.1.11. Unknown provenance (Egypt), lead tablet, now Paris, P.Sorbonne inv. 2063, s. IV, ed. *Suppl.Mag.* II 57

ὀρκίζω σε, νεκυδαίμων ὅστις ποτὲ εἶ κατὰ τῆς κυρίας Βριμῶ προκύνη Βαυβῶ | νυκτοδρόμα, βιασάνδρα, καλεσάνδρα, κατανικάνδρα, λακι λακιμου | Μασκελλει Μασκελλω Φνουκενταβαωθ ορεοβαζαγρα ῥηξίχθων ἱππόχθων | πυριπήγανυξ, κατάσχεται τὴν ὀργήν, τὸν θυμὸν Παωμίου ὄν ἔτεκεν | [ῆ Τ]ισᾶται, ἤδη ἤδη, ταχύ ταχύ. | ευλαμω | υλαμωε | λαμωευ | αμωευλ | μωευλα | ωευλαμ | ναί, κύριε, σισισρω σισι φερμου Χνουωρ Αβρασαξ Φνουνοβοηλ | vac. οχλοβαζαρω vac. | vac. διὰ τὸ ἅγιον vac. ερηκισιθφηαραραχααραηφθισικηρε | ὄνομα Ιωβεζεβυθ vac. ρηκισιθφηαραραχααραηφθισικηρ | βύθιε Ζεῦ vac. ηκισιθφηαραραχααραηφθισικη | ιωβαριαμβω vac. κισιθφηαραραχααραηφθισικ vac. οπλομυρτιλοπλη[ξ] | μερμεριου Αβρασαξ vac. ισιθφηαραραχααραηφθισι vac. εξανακερων[ιθα] | ευλαμω | σικηρεαραραχααραηφθισ vac. λαμψαμερω | ευλαμ | ωμαλυε | ικηρεαραραχααραηφθι vac. λαμψαμαζων | ευλα | μαλυ vac. ευλαμω | κηρεαραραχααραηφθ vac. βασυμ Ιαω | [ευ]λ | αλ vac. υλαμω | φηαραραχααραηφ vac. οπλομυρτιλοπληξ | [ε]υ | α vac. λαμω | ηαραραχααραη vac. αναχαζα | ε | αμω | αραραχααρα vac. εξανακερωνιθα | μω vac. ραραχααρα vac. αναξαρναξα | ω vac. αραχααραρ vac. κερασφακερωνας | κατάσχεται τὸν

θυμόν, τήν | ὀργήν Παωμίου, ὄν ἔτεκεν | ἡ Τισᾶτε, ἦδη ἦδη. vac. α | ταχύ ταχύ. |
αχαρα vac. φαμεταθασμαξαρανα | ρχαρ vac. βασυμ Ιαω ιακινθου | κατάσχεται τήν
ὀργήν, τόν | θυμόν Παώμιτος ὄν ἔτεκεν | vac. ἡ Τισᾶτε, ἦδη ἦδη, ταχύ ταχύ. |
βελιας βελιωας αρουηου Ἄρουηλ Χμουχ Χμουχ· δῆσον, κατά|δησον τήν ὀργήν, τόν
θυμόν Παώμιτος, ὄν ἔτεκεν ἡ Τισᾶτε· | ὅτι σε ἐπικαλοῦμαι τόν μέγαν σωματοειδῆ
ἄσώματον | [τ]όν τὸ φῶς κατασπῶντα, τόν κύριον τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως, |
ιαωηιωιαιου Ιαβορ Σαβαωθ λενταμαουθ | [ε]ρηκισιθφηαραραχααραραηφθισικηρε
Ιωβεζεβυθ | μερμεριου Αβρασαξ ιαηιαηε· κατάσχεται τήν ὀργήν, τὸ[ν] | θυμόν
Παώμιτος ὄν ἔτεκεν ἡ Τισᾶτε τόν νοῦν, τὰς φρένας | ὅπως μὴ ἀντίπη ἡμῖν, ἐμοὶ
τ(ῶ) ὠριγένι ὄν ἔτεκεν Ἰούλλη ἡ καὶ | Θεοδώρα, ἀλλὰ εὐήκοος ἡμῶν γένηται, ἦδη
ἦδη, ταχύ ταχύ.

1.3.2 – prayer with analogy

graphic analogy

1.3.2.1. Attica, lead tablet, now Berlin, Antike Sammlung, s. IV BC, ed. Curbera 2015, 143-144 no. 1; cf. Wunsch 1897 no. 110

Πρῶτον· ὥσπερ ταῦ|τα ἀνα(ν)τί[α], οὕτως καὶ | τῆς ἀγοραίας Πρῶτο | ἀνα(ν)τία
ἔη ἀπα(ν)τα, | καὶ Ἑρμαρίο ιτομξνοε | στιματερη Ἄράτο πω|λετοῖ(ν) παρὰ
Πρῶτον· | ὄτω[ς] καὶ Ἄετο(ν) πωλητήν· | κατὰδε καὶ αὐτὸς | καὶ τή(ν) τέχνην.

5-6 i.e. Τιμοξένο | Τιμαρέτης

bilingual; with performative and analogy with lead

1.3.2.2. Carnuntum, lead tablet found in cemetery (rubble at the southern gate), ed. Egger 1926, 136-156 and 160-162

sa(nc)te Dite pa|ter et Vera | Cura et Cerber|e auxilie q(u)i tenes | limina inferna siue |
{siue} superna | *signs within tabula ansata* | *signs within tabula ansata* | Σολούμνος
σφραγείς φορῖ|ται ἐν ὄρω τοῦ ὠλ[εσθῆναι]. | *signs u[os] pre[co]r fa[ci]a[tis]* |
[Eudemum c. 7 a]d r[egnum inf]|ernum quam cel[e]risi[me]. | (vac.) infra dies noue(m)
ua|sum reponat. defigo Eudem[um]. | nec[et]i[s] eum pesimo leto, ad inf|[er]os d[ucat]is
eundem recoligatis | m[anibu]s, ministeria infernorum | [d]eum. cuodi ic plubus podus
h(a)bet, sic et | [E]ud(e)mus h(a)beat u[o]s iratos, inter la(r)uas | [c. 5]ate ia(m) hostiat
quam celerissime.

20 [---] inter hos (f)iat prop. Egger in add. (160)

(tacit) graphic analogy

1.3.2.3. Ptuj (Slovenia), lead tablet, found in excavations in a pyre-grave with nail and clay lamp, s. II, now Maribor Museum (inv. 1508); writing retrograde and upside-down; ed. von Premerstein 1906; cf. Preisendanz 1935, 157; inscribed on both sides and folded, retrograde writing, and vertical orientation alternates in a complex schema not reproduced here, see drawing in ed. pr. outside = A, inside = B.

A Paulina auersa sit | a uiris omnibus et deficsa sit ne quid

B possit mali facere. | Firminam clodas ab o|mnibus humanis.

A.2 uiris: r corr. ex t || B.2 [cl]od[as] ed. pr., traces on dr.

use of frog

1.3.2.4. Unknown provenance, London, BL P.Lond. inv. 124, col. ii, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P X.36-50

ἄλλος· ὑποτακτικὸν Ἀπόλλωνος. λαβὼν λάμναν | μολιβοῦν ἀπὸ ἡμίονον γρ(άφε)
τὰ ὑποκείμενα ὀνό(ματα) | καὶ βάλλε εἰς αὐτὸ γλῶσσαν βαθράκου. λό(γος) | ὅταν
καταθιῆται τὸ πέταλλον σὺν τῷ βαθράκῳ | εἰς τὸν δεξιὸν σου σαντάλιον· ὡς
ταῦτα τὰ ἅγια ὀνό(ματα) | πατεῖται, οὕτως καὶ ὁ δεῖ(να), κοιν(όν), ὁ ἐπέχων,
ιωχχ | Ἀβρασάξ | αεισιουω χυχ` Μιχαήλ νυσευ | εησιουω
χυβαχυχ` Ραφαήλ νυχιευ | ησιουωαε βαχαχυχ` Γαβριήλ αωχη |
ιουωαει βακαξιχυχ` Σουριήλ μεχευ | ουωαειη βαζαβαχυχ` Ζαζιήλ
Ἰάω | υωαειηιο βαδητοφωθ` Βαδακίήλ Σαβαώθ | ωαειηιο
Βαινωωωωχ` Συλιήλ Ἄδωναί | Ἀβρασάξ | (*signs*) | ὑπόταξόν μοι | τὸ \ν/
δεῖ(να). ἦδη β” ταχύ, ταχύ.

36 l. ἄλλως | λάμναν <ἢ πέταλον> corr. Pap.Graec.Mag. || 37 γρ/ pap. | ο in box, doubled, pap. || 38 λο pap. || 40 ο in box, doubled, pap. || Δ pap. | κοι pap. || 50 Δ pap.

1.3.2.5. Unknown provenance, now Leiden, National Museum of Antiquities inv. J 384, col. xi.15-25, s. IV, ed. Daniel 1991, 22, cf. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XII.365-375

διάκοπος.

ἦς ταρείχου ὄστρακον ἐπίγραφον χαλκῶ γραφείω λόγος καὶ ἐπιδίωκε καὶ θές | ὄπου εἰσίν, ὄπου ὑποστρέφονται, ἐπιλέγων ἅμα καὶ τὸν λόγον· ἐπικαλοῦμέ σοι | τὸν ἐπὶ κενῶ πνεύματι δεινόν, ἀόρατον, μέγαν θεόν, τὸν πατάξαντα γῆν καὶ | σείοντα τὸν κόσμον, ὁ φιλῶν ταραχὰς καὶ μεισῶν εὐσταθείας καὶ σκορπιζῶν | τὰς νεφέλας ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ιαία ιακουβιαί, ιωερβηθ ιωπακερβηθ ιωβολχοσηθ | βασδουμα παταθναξ, αποψς οσεσρω αταφ θαβραου ηω θαθθαβρα | βωραρα αροβριθα βολχοσηθ κοκκόλοιπτολη ραμβιθνιψ, δότε τῇ δεῖ(να) | τῆς δεῖ(να) μάχην, πόλεμον· καὶ τὸν δεῖ(να) τῆς δεῖ(να) ἀηδῖαν, ἔχθραν, ὡς εἶχον Τυφῶν καὶ Ὅσιρις. | εἰ δὲ ἀνὴρ ἐστὶν καὶ γυνή· ὡς εἶχον Τυφῶν καὶ Εἴσις. ἰσχυρὲ Τυφῶν, μεγαλοδύναμε, τὰς σὰς δυνάμεις ἀποτέλει.'

16 - ης pap. : εἰς *Pap.Graec.Mag.* : τῆς Daniel || 19 σεμνότατον Daniel | σκορπιζῶ pap. || 22 Δ pap. || 23 Δ pap.

analogical ritual with frog

1.3.2.6. Fayum, now Oslo, P.Oslo inv. 420, s. IV, col. ix, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXVI.231-255

λαβῶν λάμναν μολιβῆν γράψον | χαλκῶ γραφίω τὰ ὑποκείμενα ὀνόματα | καὶ τὸ ζῶδιον, καὶ χρίσας αἵματι νυκ|τερίδος, τὴν λάμναν ἐλίξας κατὰ τρόπον, | ἀναπτύξας βάθρακον φροῦνον | βάλε εἰς τὴν γαστέραν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ράψας | λίνω ἀνουβιακῶ χαλκῇ βελόνῃ κρέ|μασον εἰς κάλαμον χωρίου ἐξ τριχῶν | οὐρᾶς βοὸς μελάνης τοῦ ὀπιστίου, ἐξ ἀ|νατολῆς τοῦ χωρίου πλησίον ἀνα|τολῶν ἡλίου. | ὄσιρισεσεγ· γενβαρφαργγης | οσιρισεσε (vac.) γγενβαρφ | (vac.) σιρισεσε (vac.) γγενβαρφ | (vac.) ιρ[ι]σεσε (vac.) γενβαρφ | ρι σεσε (vac.) γενβαρφ | (vac.) ις εσε (vac.) γενβαρφ | (vac.) ς εσεγ (vac.) ενβαρφ | (vac.) ε σεγ (vac.) βα | (vac.) σεγγεν (vac.) β | εγγεν | [γγ]εν | [γ]ε | ερικισηφηαραραχααραφθισικηρα | ρικισιφθηαραραχααραφθισικηρ | ικισιφθηαραραχααραφθισικηρ, | βάθρον. | κύριοι ἄγγελοι, ὅσπερ ὁ βά|θρακος οἶτος καταρέει | καὶ ξηρένεται, οὕτως | καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ δεῖ(να) τὸ | ἔτεκεν ἢ δεῖ(να), ὅτι ὄρ|κίζω ὑμᾶς, τοὺς | κατὰ τοῦ πυρὸς τεταγ|μένους μασκελλι | μασκελλω' καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, | κοινά.

apparently also with rooster; fragmentary, following a list of names

1.3.2.7. Carthage, lead tablet, ed. Audollent 1904 no. 222, side A 12-13 and B 1-5

A ... [aduersu]s me ommute[scant] | [c. 7 lo]qui [quomodi]

B huic gallo lingua | uiuo extorsi et defi|xi sic inimicorum | meorum linguas ad|uersus me ommutescant ...

fuller analogous ritual with rooster; note also interesting phrasing of metronym formula

1.3.2.8. Carthage, tablet found in tomb of imperial officials, Audollent 1904 no. 241 (*CIL* VIII 12511)

signs | σεμεσιλαμ δαματαμενευς λησ'θ'ννα | λλελαμ λαικαμ ερμουβελη ιακουβιαι ωερβηθ | ιωπακερβηθ ηωμαλθαβηθ αλλασαν καταρα. ἐξορκί|ζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τῶν μεγάλων ὀνομάτων ἵνα | καταδήσητε πᾶν μέλος καὶ πᾶν νεῦρον Βικτωρικοῦ | ὀ[v]

ἔτεκεν [γ]ῆ μήτηρ παντός ἐνψύχου τοῦ ἡνιόχου τοῦ | βενέτου καὶ τῶν ἵππων
αὐτοῦ ὧν μέλλι ἐλαύνιν, Σεκουν|δινοῦ Ἰούβενιν καὶ Ἄτβοκᾶτον καὶ Βούβαλον καὶ
Βικτωρικοῦ | Πομπηιανοῦ καὶ Βαιανοῦ καὶ Βίκτορος καὶ Ἐξιμίου κα|ὶ τῶν
Μεσσαλῶν Δομινάτορα καὶ ὅσοι ἐὰν συνζευχθῶ|σιν αὐτοῖς. κατάδησον αὐτῶν τὰ
σκέλη καὶ τὴν ὀρμὴν καὶ | τὸ πῆδημα καὶ τὸν δρόμον, ἀμαύρωσον αὐτῶν τὰ |
ὄμματα ἵνα μὴ βλέπωσιν, στρέβλωσον αὐτῶν | τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἵνα μὴ
[π]νέωσιν. ὡς οὔτ|ος ὁ ἀλέκτωρ καταδέδεται τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ {τ} καὶ τῆ |
κεφαλῇ, οὔτως καταδήσατ[ε] τὰ σκέλη καὶ τὰς χῖρας καὶ τὴν | κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν
καρδίαν Βικτωρικοῦ τοῦ ἡνιόχου τοῦ βενέ|του ἐν τῇ αὔριν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἵππους
οὓς μέλλι ἐλα|ύνιν, Σεκουνδινοῦ Ἰούβενιν καὶ Ἄτβοκᾶτον καὶ Βού|βαλον καὶ
Λαυριᾶτον καὶ Βικτωρικοῦ Πομπηιανὸν καὶ | Βαιανὸν καὶ Βίκτορα καὶ Ἐξιμίου[μ]
καὶ τῶν Μεσσάλης | Δομινᾶτον καὶ ὅσοι ἐὰν αὐτοῖς συνζευχθῶσιν. [ἔ]τι ἐ|ξορκίζω
ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ ἐπάν[ω] τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θεοῦ, | τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβι, ὁ
διορίσας τὴν γῆν | καὶ χωρίσας τὴν θάλασσαν, ἰαω ἀβριαω ἀρβαθιαω | ἀδωναι
`σαβαω´ ἵνα καταδήσητε Βικτωρικ{τ}ὸν τὸν ἡνι|οχον τοῦ βενέτου καὶ τοὺς ἵππους
οὓς μέλλι ἐλαύνιν, | Σεκουνδινοῦ Ἰούβενιν καὶ Ἄτουοκᾶτον καὶ Βικτωρικοῦ |
Πομπηιανὸν καὶ Βαιανὸν καὶ Βίκτορα καὶ Ἐξιμίουμ | καὶ τῶν Μεσσάλης
Δομ[ι]νᾶτον ἵνα ἐπὶ νείκην μ[ῆ] | ἔλ[θωσι]ν ἐν τῇ αὔριν ἡμέρᾳ ἐν τῷ κίρκω, ἤδη ἤδη
| ταχὺ τα[χύ]. | *signis*

references to accompanying analogical ritual

1.3.2.9. Kos, probably found in the Roman baths, now Kos Museum inv. M18, E48, s. IV
AD, *SEG XLVII* 1291, cf. Jordan 2000 no. 51

Α εὐχή κατακλητική κατὰ Ἑρμία Π[---]ΕΩΤΟΥ· *vacat* | ἐπικαλοῦμέ σε ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς
ἀσβέστου διαβάσεως, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων[ν] | κακῶν πραγμάτων τεταγμένος, ὁ μισῶν
οἰκίαν εὐσταθ[οῦ] | σαν, ἔμοχαρῆ, μισηρέ, διάβολε, μοιερέ, ἄστατε καὶ κακόθυμε, |
ἀβεραμενθω λό(γος) ἰωερβηθ, ἰωπακερβηθ, ἰωβολχοσηθ, | ἰωπαταθναξ,
ἰωεποσαρω, ἰωαπομψ, ἀροκομν, ουλερξακα|κε, βαραία ἐξεκεντερησθε, βληρεθατκυ
βηρεθαφσθιθ· | ὡς σοὶ μέλλις ἐνπυροῦσθ(αι) κ(αὶ) κέεσθεν, φλογίζεσθ(αι) σὺν τοῖς |
ἀγίοις ὀνόμασιν, οὔτως καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ, ἡ καρδία, ὁ νοῦς, τὰ σπλάνχνα, | ἡ δύναμις
Ἑρμία, ὃν ἔτεκεν Πιθιάς, φλογισθῆ πυρετοῖς ἀγρίοις ἐν κρ|εβάττω ταλεπωρίας διὰ
πάσης ὥρας καὶ ἡμέρας κ(αὶ) νυκτός, τη|κόμενος, διαρέων, ἐκμυαλιζόμενος, ἕως
θανατωθῆ· ὄτ[ι] | ὀρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ κ(αὶ) ἀπαρετήτου θ(εο)ῦ
ἀρχοιφορέως, | κραχ ἰω νιριφιοψυθαεραφσοχρα Σηθ ἰακωνβιθ κοχλ[οσηθ] | βε,
ποιήσατ(ε) Ἑρμίαν Πιθιάδος ἀγρυπνῖν, φαντάζεσθ(αι), ἐξε| [κ]χρωβίζεσθ(αι),
καταρεῦσεν, ἐφόσον τὸ σὸν εἶδωλον σὺν τοῖς | ἱεροῖς ὀνό(μασιν) πυρεφλογίζεσθε [-
-]θυσιουθχουτ ἰω δααλαιβ | [---]βερῖου ωωοο ἀριο.καμμαχχωεκιθωιαυμρω |
ἰακουμβηθ ερβητ ἰναεθίου σεσωρωωωσ βολχ[οσηθ] | , ωνοι ωνοοι ηελαωφωωωωω
πακερβηθ ωξῖω χαβρ α[ξ- -] | [φ]νεςφνηριφιχνοφुरεχαερεχα.αστραν χ[---] |
εαρνακαχαπηεσκιφθι ρεωοσοοθπυρ ν[- -]κο[---] | ὁ ὦν ζην ζων ζαβαων ζαπε ζον
ζας θ(εὸ)ς ἕως κα[---]μρα | ἀριωεῖο θ(εὸ)ς · ἐπικαλοῦμέ σε τὸν ἐν [---] πυρίνει συνπ[-
-] κτυποῦ | [ντα] καὶ ἀκούοντα, ἅγιος ἐπικαλούμενος Σηθ, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆ[ς ----] | νενήσας,
γέα ἔχων, ὁ γεννηθῆς, ὃν ἔτεκεν Ἡλίου πόλις, ὁ τοὺς | Τιτάνας πολεμήσας, ὁ τὸν
κνώδακα τοῦ οὐ(ρα)νοῦ κατέχων, | ὁ ἀνύγων γῆν κ(αὶ) πορευόμενος, ὁ ἐπὶ τὴν
ἄτραμχων· ἀβεραμεν|θω λόγε, ἀχωρ λό(γος)· τὰ ἅγια καὶ ἰσχυρὰ ὀνό(ματα) τοῦ
ἰσχυροῦ Τυ(φῶνος)· ὡσπερ ἐν τῇ | ποιρᾶ ταύτη πυροῦσθ(αι) σὺν τῷ ἀγίω
Τυ(φῶνι) δ(αίμονε)ς, Ἑρμίαν τὸν υἱὸν Πιθιάδο[ς] | τὸν δινὸν κ(αὶ) ἄνομον καύσατε,
πυρώσατ(ε), φλέξατ(ε), ἕως θανα|τοθῆ, ΗΣΧΗΙΑΝΕΣ, νοσῶν κ(αὶ) ἐκμυαλιζόμενος

B [ώ]ς τύκεται [- - - -]ι ἐν τῷ πυρὶ τούτῳ, οὕτως κ(αὶ) Ἑρμίας ὁ Πιθιάδος | [---
] κεόμενος ἐν κρεβάττῳ ταλεπωρίας | ἐκμυαλισθῆ κ(αὶ) θανατωθῆ *vacat*

graphic analogy

1.3.2.10. Athens, Agora, lead tablet found in well, Agora inv. IL 72, s. II/III, ed. Jordan 1975; cf. Jordan 1985 no. 23

[c. 13]βαβαρφορβαρβαβορ [c. 9]βορφαβαιη | [κραταιὲ Τυφῶ]ν παραδίδωμί σοι
Ἐρωτὰ ὄν ἔτ]εκεν Εἰσιγ[έ]νεα ἵνα κα]ταστρέψης αὐτὸν καὶ τῆ[ν γνώ]μην αὐτοῦ |
[καὶ εἰς τὸν ζοφ]ώδη σου ἀέρα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτ[ῶ δ]ῆς εἰς τὸν | [τῆς λήθης
ἀφ]ώτιστ[ο]ν αἰῶνα καὶ καταψύξῃ[ς] καὶ ἀπολέ[σης πάσας τὰς πράξεις ὅσα]ς
μέλλει ποιεῖν, κατα[ψύξ]ῃς καὶ μὴ | [c. 15 πρᾶξαι] ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἐπιβάλλῃτ[ραι] ὅ τι
πράτ[τ]ειν | [μέλλει Ἐ]ρῶς μορζουνηαλχεινη περπε[ρ]θαρωνα[ι]αιη |
[παραδί]δω[μ]ί σοι Ἐρωτὰ ὄν [έ]τεκεν Εἰσιγένεια κραταιὲ Τυφῶν |
[κολχλο]ιτοντονο σθη σαβαω[θ]εα αναξ [α]πομξ φριουριγξ | επιαφανισε[ι κα]ἰ
επιφανι[σ]μω καὶ ψυξικο[λ]χοι χειλωψ | ψυγητω Ἐρως καὶ αἰ σὺν αὐ[τ]ῶ
πραγματεῖαι, ναὶ κραταιὲ | Τυφῶν ιαω ιακουβια ιωερβ{ }ηθ βολχοσηθ παταθναξ |
απωμψ σησερρω ψυγ[ή]τω Ἐρως καὶ αἰ σὺν αὐτῶ πραγμα|τεῖαι. ὡς ταῦτα τὰ
ὀνόματα ψύχεται, οὕτως καὶ Ἐρωτος | ψυχέσθω τὸ ὄνομα, ἢ ψυχή, ἢ ὀργή, ὁ νοῦς,
ἢ προθυμία, ὁ λο|γισμός. ἔστ[ω] κωφός, ἄλαλος, ἄνους, ἀκάρδις, ὡς μη|δὲν
ἀκούων περίεργον.

graphic analogy

1.3.2.11. Athens, Agora, lead tablet found in well, Agora inv. IL 372, s. II-IV, ed. Elderkin 1937, 383-389. In two columns, the break after line 28

βαρβαφορφορβαρφορβαρ βορα βορβορ βαρβα | φορβαβαιη κραταιὲ Τυφῶς
παραδίδωμί σοι | Φιλοστράταν ἦν ἔτε(κεν) Γοργιππία ἵνα αὐτῆς καταψύξῃς | πᾶν
αὐτῆς τὸ πνεῦμα τῆν ζωὴν τὴν δυνάμιν τὴν | ἰσχὺν τὸ σῶμα τὰ μέλη τὰ νεῦρα τὰ
ὀστᾶ τὰς φλέ|βας τὰς ἀρτηρίας τὴν καρδίαν τοὺς ὄνυχας τὸ ἥπαρ | τὸν πλεύμονα
τὰ ἐντὸς πάντα. ναὶ κύριε Τυφῶς | ἐκδίκησον [[c.10]]ν ἔτεκεν [[?]] | ..ω καὶ βοήθησον
αὐτῶ ὅτι Φιλοστράτα ἦν ἔτεκε | Γοργιπ[πία c. 10]ν τὴν ἱερωσύνην αὐ|τῆς Ἀφ c. 15
α ἐνσχοῦσα κοινὸν | [---] | [--- το]ύτων ἐκπίουσα | ἀλλὰ ὁ μορξ.... ν.... πετειερε
αρωια | αιαι καταψύξον πά[ντα] σὺν Φ[ιλο]στράτ[α] ἦν ἔτεκε | Γοργιππία τὸ
πνεῦμα [τὴν ζωὴν] τὴν δύνα|μιν τὴν ἰσχὺν τὸ σῶμα τὰ μέλη τὰ νεῦρα τὰ ὀστᾶ |
τὰς φλέβας τὰς ἀρτηρίας τὴν καρδίαν τοὺς ὄνυ|χας τὸν πλεύμονα τ[ὸ ἥπαρ] τὰ
ἐντὸς πάντα. | κραταιὲ Τυφῶς c. 10 α τε βασου | εα α αααααπα [κα]τάψυξον
ἐπὶ | ἀφανισμῶ πορα υ τὴν Φιλο[στρά]ταν ἦν ἔτε|κε Γοργιππία Ἰα[ώ] Ἰακούβια Ιω
Ερβηθ Ιω | Βολχοσηθ τεβαπαγαφοεαμαχ Ἄποψωε | φω
σετνεφηηωενονεσουριφρευκων | λειηερινιρικη φοραικεν, ὡς ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόμα|τὰ
ψύχεται, οὕτως καὶ Φιλοστράτας ἦς ἔτεκε Γορ|γιππία καταψ[υχέ]σθω τὸ πνεῦμα ἢ
ζωὴ ἢ δύναιμις | ἢ ἰσχὺς τὸ σῶμα τὰ μέλη τὰ νεῦρα αἰ φλέβες τὰ ὀστᾶ | αἰ ἀρτηριαὶ
ἢ καρδία οἱ ὄνυχες τὸ ἥπαρ ὁ πλεύμ[ω]ν [τ]ὰ | ἐντὸς πάντα ἵνα παραλυθῆ. |
Αιεαωε | λερθεξαιωζεθρελυωδαιεμαρεβαιεβα | ππιαταωαωεαιεωδηδηδηπαχπαχ
| κύριε Τυφῶς παράλυσον Φιλοστράταν ἦν ἔτεκε | Γοργιππία καὶ κατάψυξον τὰ
μέλη τὸ σῶμα τὴν | δύναιμι τὴν ἰσχὺν τὸ πνεῦμα τὴν καρδίαν | τὸ ἥπαρ τὰ νεῦρα
τὰς ἀρτηρίας τοὺς ὄνυχας τὰς | χεῖρας τοὺς πόδας ὅτι α[---] | ...εμενησαι παρωτιδ[---
-]τε|χς περι της τους [---] | λα κακὰ περιπ[---] | θεὸν Τυφῶνα [---] | να[---]αα
διομο|φα αυωκρ[---]κετενοεαυτ| [---]π[---]φ[---]ἐκτεκε | [---]Φιλοστρά|ταν ἦν ἔτεκεν
[Γοργιππία ---] ααααα πα|ραλύση καὶ κατα[ψύξη ---] νκεννελ | Τυφῶς κ[---
παρ]άλυσον Φιλοστρά|ταν ἦν ἔτεκεν [Γοργιππία] ἀλλὰ | κατάψυξον, |
κατάψυξον πάλιν [---] τα αλ | [---]

4 τη tablet

analogical torment of animals (cf. rooster and dog examples in the ancient curse tablets)

1.3.2.12. Athens, EBE cod. 1265 (s. XVI-XVII), f. 22r-v, ed. Delatte 1927, 58-59

ε(ι) θέλεις τὸν ἐχθρόν σου πολλὰ πτωχόν. ἔπαρε ποντικὸν μικρὸν ἀμαλλίαστον καὶ ἕναν κάβουραν καὶ πόδιν λαγοῦ καὶ διάργυρον καὶ χῶσέ τα εἰς τὸ κατώφλιον τοῦ ἐχθροῦ σου καὶ λέγε 'καθὼς ὁ ποντικὸς εἶναι χωρὶς τρίχες καὶ μαλλίν, ἔτσι καὶ ὁ δεῖνα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ δεῖνα νὰ ἦναι μαλακὸς | χωρὶς βίον καὶ χωρὶς καλὸν ἀπὸ τὴν σήμεραν εἰς ἅπαντα. καὶ ὡσὰν δὲν ἔχει ἐτοῦτος ὁ ποντικὸς τρίχες ἀπάνω του, ἔτσι καὶ ὁ δεῖνα. καὶ καθὼς φεύγει ὁ ποντικὸς καὶ φοβᾶται τὸν κάττα, ἔτσι νὰ φεύγη καὶ ὁ δεῖνα καὶ νὰ τὸν κατακυνηγοῦσιν ὅλοι, νὰ τὸν διώχνουν. καὶ καθὼς ὁ κάβουρας ἔπαγαίνει τῆς ἀναποδίας, ἔτσι καὶ ὁ δεῖνα. καὶ καθὼς ὁ λαγὸς φεύγει ἀπὸ τοὺς σκύλους, ἔτσι νὰ φεύγη καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ ῥιζικὸν ἀπὸ τὸν δεῖνα. καὶ καθὼς ὁ διάργυρος πέφτει καὶ δὲν μαζώνεται, ἔτσι νὰ πέση καὶ νὰ φθαρθῇ ὁ βίος καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ ῥιζικὸν τοῦ δεῖνα, νὰ μὴν ἔχη ποτὲ καλοσύνην.' καὶ βάλε το καὶ ἄς ἦναι γ' ἢ ζ'.

1 ε(ι) θέλεις *coniec* : ἐθέλεις Delatte || 4 εἰσάπαντα Delatte

1.3.3 – prayer with narrative motif

curse framed as ἐπιστολή

1.3.3.1. Attica (Κοτανᾶ), lead tablet, ed. Wünsch 1897 no. 102

A ἐπιστοσλήν | πέμπων | [δ]αίμο(σιν) | καὶ Φρεσσεφῶνες | κομίσας | Τιβιτίδα
| τὴν Χοιρίνης | τὴν ἐμὴ ἀδικῶσαν, | θυγατ(έρα) | ἄνδρα | καὶ τρία (π)αιδία |
ἐκείνης | δύο θήλεα καὶ ἓν ἄρρεν· | Παγκράτη Μαντ(ίαν) | Διόφαντον | Μεταγένη.

B κατόχ(ους) τὴν (Γῆν) | τὸς πύκτας | τοὺς Ἀριστόμαχος καὶ
Ἄρι(σ)τών(υ)μο(ς) | κάτεχε τὴν δ[ύ]ναμιν ἅπασ(αν) ἐκ(είνων). | Εὐανδρία ἢ
Χαρι(κ)λέδο θυγάτηρ (τὸν) [---] | [---] | ἢ Ἀριστοκράτος | ταύτ(ην) ὅλην κάτεχε |
Φερσεφῶνη. | πάντας (τού)τους κατέ(χε)τε Ἐρμῆ Ἄϊδη | ὦ [δ]αίμων παρὰ σ(αυ)τῶι
Γαλήν(η) ἢ | Πολυκλέας θυγάτηρ.

A.3 ΑΙΜΟΝΙΣ tablet || B.11 ΤΑΙΔΙΑ tablet

curse framed as ἐπιστολή; adynaton-analogy

1.3.3.2. Peiraeus, lead tablet pierced with nail, ed. Wünsch 1897 no. 103

A Ἐρμ(ῆ) καὶ Φερσεφ(όν)η τήνδε ἐπιστο(λ)ήν ἀπο(πέμ)πω ὅπ(ο)τε ταῦτα ἰς
ἀνθρώπος ἀμαρ(τω)λος φ(έ)ρω, | αὐτός, Δίκη, τυχεῖν τέλος δίκης. | Καλλικράτης
Ἀναξικράτους, Εὐδίδα(κ)τος | Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ... ος Θεόφι(λος) | .. ρ(ο)ς Πλ(ι) ...
Χαρίνος Καλλένικος Κινεῖαν | δωρος [Λυσί]μαχος Φιλοκλῆς [Δη]μόφιλος | καὶ
σύνδικοι καὶ [εἰ] τις ἄλλος [φίλος] | α(ὐ)τοῖς Δημοκρ(ά)της τὸν περὶ τῆς δίκης |
δικαζ(ό)μενον Μνησίμαχος Ἀντί(φίλος).

B Λῦσις Δωροθέου Ἀρχῖνος Χαρίνος | Μενεκλέους Νικοκρ(ά)της].

A.9 τ(ὸ)ν Wunsch but drawing has ΤΟΝ

motif of gift; corpse analogy; I think the analogy is more likely with the opponents losing their mental faculties, not an assertion of certainty (“De même qu’[il est certain que] nous ne te connaissons pas, de même [il est certain que] ... vont se présenter [au tribunal] pour faire une chose terrible ...”)

1.3.3.3. Olbia, found in tomb, present location unknown, ed. Bravo 1987 (cf. poor earlier ed. of Skorpil; cf. Jordan 1986 no. 173

[ὦ]σπερ σε ἡμεῖς οὐ γεινώσκομε(ν), οὕτως Εὔπο(λ)ις καὶ Διονύσιος | Μακαρεὺς
Ἄρι(σ)τοκράτης | κα(ὶ) Δημόπολις [Κ]ωμαῖος, | Ἡραγόρης ἐπὶ [δ]ινὸν πρᾶγμα
παρα(γ)είνονται, κ(α)ὶ Λεπτίνας | Ἐπικράτης Ἐστιαῖος. | ἐπ(ὅ)τι πρᾶγμα
[π]αρα(γ)είνονται, ἐπ(ὅ)τι να μαρτυρίην ὅτοι νῶ ἦσαν, | ὦ(σπερ) ἡμεῖς σε. [ῆ]ν δέ
μοι αὐτοὺς | κατάσχης καὶ κ(α)τά(λ)άβης, ἐ(γ)ὼ δέ σε | τειμήσω καὶ σο(ι) ἄριστον
δ(ὦ)ρ(ο)ν παρασκε(υ)άσω].

9 ο[ῦ]τοι (ἐ)κ(ο)ινώ(ν)ησαν Bravo || 10 ὦ(σπερ) Bravo but no trace of alleged ρ on drawing and Skorpil has very different reading || 11 “ου π(α)ρά(λ)άβης?” Bravo in app.cr., but drawing suggests against π | ΕΠΩ tablet || 13 παρασκε(υ)άσω Skorpil : παρασκε(υ)άσω Bravo

addressing corpse; opisthographic, similar form to SEG IV 47

1.3.3.4. Messina, lead tablet found in necropolis at S. Placido (tombs 54-55), Roman Imperial period, ed. Orsi and Comparetti 1916, 154-160 (unarticulated, not reproduced

here); new readings here from drawing; cf. Jordan 1985 no. 112. Deposited beside the skull of one of two skeletons

A Νυμφικὲ παρακατατίθεμέ τοι τὰ δ'· | ἐπίκτησιν λαβὸν αὐτᾶς ταχῆς κ κ | []σιν
ἵνα κατακρ...χω.. κὲ ἀπάξις | αὐτε πᾶν τάκιστα κὲ καταχ[ω|ρ]ῆς αὐτὲ κομιδὴν τε
ἀνθρώπινον.

B [Νυ]μφικὲ παρακατατίθεμέ τοι | [τ]αὐταν ἵννα αὐτὰν ἀπάξις· | ὅς τάκιστα
λάβε αὐτᾶς [?] | , ακαδιν κὲ τρέχε ἵνα αὐτὰν κατα | ,ισ,οκε ἀνθρώπ.. μη.. τε,μεα |
[ἀ]λλὰ καταπν c. 5

B.3 οσταχίετα drawing

vivid metaphor of sending the target as a fine gift, combined with the letter motif; also performative

1.3.3.5. Lilybaion, found in tomb, now in Palermo Museum, s. II BC, ed. Gàbrici 1941, 296-299 (cf. the notice in *Epigraphica* 5-6 [1943-1944], 133 no. 1929), cf. *SEG* XXXIV 952; Jordan 1986 no. 109; recollated with drawing. Opisthographic; retrograde.

A
δέομαί σου κά[τω] | χε Ἐρμῆ, κάτωχ[ε] | Ἐρμ[ῆ], σοὶ καὶ οἱ | πολλοὶ παραιτηταὶ |
δειακονοὶ Τελκί[ν]ε[ς]. | δῶρον τὸ πέμπτο | ἀδεικουμένη ΙΜΑ | ἐροτὸ | παδείσκη
καλὴν | δοροῦμαι σοὶ καλὸν | σταν ο τατορα καλὴ | Πρεῖμα Ἀλλεῖα ἔχον[τ] | α
τρείχας καλὰς πρόσσο[πο] | ν καλὸν μέτοπον καλὸν [ό] | φρῦς καλὰς ὀφθαμοὶ καλο[ί]
| δύο {ο} παρεια[ί] δύο μυκτῆρ[ε]ς [στ] | ὅμα ὀδόντες ὄτα ρεῖα | τράχηλος ὤμοι
ἀκρόχειρα | κατορύσσο εἰς α... | μνημα εἰς τὸ ἐπαφρόδειτον. | Ἀλλεῖα Πρῖμα αμ..
[α] | ὑτῆς τὴν [ἐ]πειστολήν [---] | καὶ τὸ ψομίον αὐτ[ῆς ...].. [---]

B
στῆθος | [μα]σθοὶ δύο κ | [---]ενα καρδεῖαν | [---]φει ὁ Κέρβερὸς | [Ἀλλί]ας Πρεῖμας |
[λό]φος καλός, σῶμ | [α καλόν,] ἡ μηροὶ κάλοί, α | [ί κ]νημαὶ καλαί, ἀκρ[]οτέρ]ια
καλά, ἅπαντα | [τ]ὰ εἴλατη καλά. Ἄλ | [λία Πρ]εῖμα παραδεῖδο | [μι τὸ]ν Ἐρμῆς ἵνα
αὐτὴν | [παραδό]σει τῆ κύρει ἄδευ | [κεῖ ---]... ἐροτὸ Ἐρμῆ κατε | [χθ]όνειε ἵνα ἀπόξις
| [Πρ]ηῖμαν Ἀλλεῖαν | [---]αδ.. εἰο τῆ κύρει | [Περσε]φόνη κατορύσσο εἰς | [Ἄ]ιδην.

A.1-2 κά | το Ἐρμῆ ed. pr., but cf. drawing, KA vac. ΛC | 5 δὲ ἀνικόννοι ed. pr. | | 7
παδει κνουμενη ιμα ed. pr. | | B.1 φτηθος ed. pr. B.2 [μα]σθοὶ supplevi | | B.2-3
κ[ηδουσι]ενα ed. pr. | | B.4]φει ed. pr. | B.17]α δορειο ed. pr. | B.17-18 κυρει | [α] ed.
pr.

insertion of the user into imagined narrative about summoning Cerberus; performatives
1.3.3.6. Unknown provenance (Rome?), lead tablet, now in Baltimore (Johns Hopkins),
ed. Fox 1912, 16-19 with drawing

bona pulchra Proserpina, [P]lut[o]nis uxor, | seiue me Saluiam deicere oportet, | eripias
salutem, c[or]pus, co]lorem, uires, uirtutes | Ploti. tradas [Plutoni] uiro tuo. ni possit
cogitationibus | sueis hoc uita[re. tradas] illunc | febrī quartan[a]e, t[ertian]ae,
cottidia[n]ae, | quas [cum illo l]uct[ent, deluctent; illunc] | eu[in]cant, [uincant], usq[ue
dum animam] | [eiu]s eripia[nt. quare ha]nc uictimam | tibi trad[o, Prose]rpi[na, sei]ue
me | Proserpin[a sei]ue m[e Ach]eruos `iam` dicere | oportet. m[e mittas a]rcessitum
canem | tricipitem qui [Ploti] cor eripiat. polliciarus | illi te daturum t[r]es uictimas, |
palma[s, ca]rica[s], por[c]um nigrum, | hoc sei pe[rfe]cerit [ante mensem] | M[artium].
haec P[r]oserpina Saluia tibi dabo | cum compote fe[cer]is. do tibi cap[ut] | Ploti
Auon[iae. Pr]oserpina S[alua]ia, do tibi fron[tem Plo]ti. Proserpina Saluia, | do [ti]b[i]

su[percilia] Ploti. Proserpin[a] | Saluia, do [tibi palpebra]s Plo[ti]. | Proserpina Sa[lui]a, do tibi pupillas | Ploti. Proser[pina] Saluia, do tibi nare]s, | labra or[iculas, nasu]m, lin[g]uam, | dentes P[loti], ni dicere possit | Plotius quid [sibi dole]at; collum, umeros, | brachia, d[i]git[os, ni po]ssit aliquit | se adiutare; [pe]c[tus, io]cinera, cor, | pulmones, n[on] possit senti[re] quit | sibi doleat; [intes]tina, uenter, um[b]licu[s], | latera, [n]i p[oss]it dormire; scapulas, | ni poss[it] s[a]nus dormire; uiscum | sacrum, nei possit urinam facere; | natis, anum, [fem]ina, genua, | [crura], tibias, pe[des, talos, plantas], | [digito]s, ungis, ni po[ssit] stare [sua] | [ui]rt[ute]. se iue [plu]s, se iue paruum | scrip[tum fuerit], quomodo quicqu[id] | legitim[e scripsit], mandauit, seic | ego Ploti ti[bi] tr[ado], mando, | ut tradas, [mandes me]nse Februari[o] | [e]cillunc. mal[e] perdat, mal[e] exset, | [mal]e disperd[at. mandes, tra]das, ni possit | [amplius] ullum [mensem] aspic[ere], | [uidere, contempla]re.

13 l. pollicearis || 30 sentique *tablet*

1.3.3.7. Unknown provenance (Rome?), lead tablet, now in Baltimore (Johns Hopkins), ed. Fox 1912, 19-22 with drawing. Text begins on front (A), continues on back (B).

A [b]ona pu[lchra] Proserpina, Plutoni[s] | [u]xsor, se iue [me Saluiam] deicere oportet, | eripias salu[tem], corp[us], colorem, uires, | uirtutes Au[on]ia[e]. t[r]adas Plutoni | uiro tuo. [ni possit cogitati]onibus s[ueis] hoc | quicquid uit[are]. protinus tradas illanc | feбри quart[an]ae, tertianae, cottidianae, | quas cum illa [l]uctent, deluctent, illanc | euincant, uincant, usque dum animam | eius eripiant. [qu]are hanc uictimam | [tibi] trado, [Proserpin]a, se iue me | [Pros]erpina, se iue me Ach[er]uosiam dicere | [opo]rtet. me m[ittas] arcessitum canem | [tricipi]te[m, qui Auonia]s cor eripiat. | [pollicearis illi te dat]urum tres uictim[as], | palmas, carica[s], porcum ni]grum, hoc sei | perfecit ante mensem Martium. haec | [Salu]ia tibi dabo cu[m] compotem feceris. | do tibi caput [A]uoniae]s. Proserpina Saluia d[icit] | tibi frontem Auonia[e]. Proserpina Saluia | do tibi supercilia [Auonia]es. Proserpina | [Sa]luia, do tibi palpe[bra]s Auoniaes. Proserpi[na] | [S]aluia do [tibi] pupillas [Auonia]es. [Proserpina] | [Sal]uia do [tibi] oricula[s, la]bra, [nares], nasum, | [de]ntes, liguam Auoniae, ni dice[re] possit | [Auonia] quid [sibi] [do]leat; [collum, umer]os, | [br]achia, digito[s, ni] possit ali[quid] | se adiutare; pec[tus, ioci]nera, cor, | pulmones, ni [possit] quit sentire | quit sibi doleat; [intes]tina, uenter, | umblicus, scapul[as], latera, ni po[ssit] | dorm[ire]; uiscum sac[r]um, ni possit | urinam f[ac]ere; [nati]s, femina, | anum, gen[ua, crur]a, tibias, pedes, | talos, [p]la[n]tas, digi[os], ungis, ni | [po]ssit [stare] su[a] uirtu]te. se iue | plus [seu]e p[ar]uum [scri]ptum | fuerit, quomodo quicquid legitime | scripsit, mandauit, seic ego [Auonia]m | tibi trado, man[do], ut tradas [illanc] | [m]ensi Februario. [male perdat, male] exset],

B male disperd[at. mand]es, tr[adas], | nei po[ssit] amplius ullum | mens]em aspicere, ui[dere], | contemplare.

1.3.3.8. Unknown provenance (Rome?), lead tablet, now in Baltimore (Johns Hopkins), ed. Fox 1912, 22-25 with drawing. Text begins on front (A), continues on back (B).

A bona pulch[ra] Proserpin]a, Plutonis uxor, | se iue me S[al]uia[m] dicer]e oportet, eripias | salutem, corp[us], colorem, uires, uirtutes | Maximae Vesoniae. tra[das] Pluton[i] | uiro [tuo]. ni possit cogitationibus suis hoc | quicquid uitare. protinus tradas illanc | feбри quartanae, tertiana, [cottidianae], | quas cum illa luctent, deluctent, illanc | euincant, uincant, usque dum anima[m] | eius eripiant. quare hanc uictima[m] | tibi trad[o] Proserpina se iue me Pros[erpina] | se iue me [Acherusiam] dicere oportet. me | mitto arcessitum canem tr[ic]ep[item], | qui [Maximae Vesonia]e cor eripiat. | pollicearis illi te daturum tres uictimas, | palm[as], caricas, porc]um

nigrum, | hoc sei [p]erf[ecerit an]te mense Martium. | ha[e]c [Salui]a ti[bi] dabo] cum
 compote[m] | fece[ri]s. do tibi ca[put] Max[i]mae Vesoniae. | P[roser]pina S[alui]a do
 tibi frontem | Ma[x]imae [Vesoni]ae. Proserpina S[alua]ia, | do tibi super[cilia V]esoniaes.
 Proserpina | Saluia do tibi palpetras Maximae Vesoni[ae]. | Proserpina Saluia do tibi
 pupillas Vesoniae. | Proserpina Saluia do tibi oriclas, labras, | nares, nasum, lingua, dentes
 Maximae | Vesoniae, nei dicere possit Maxima | Vesonia quid sibi doleat; collum, |
 umeros, bra[cchia], digitos, ni possit aliquit | se [adi]utar[e; pectus, ioc]inera, cor, |
 pulmone[s, ni possi]t sentire quit sibi | doleat; i[n]te[stina], uenter, umb[licus], | scapulae,
 [latera], n[i] possit dormire]; | uiscu[m] sacrum], n[i] possit u]rina[m] | face[re; natis, anum,
 femina], | genua, [ti]bia[s, crur]a, pedes, | talos, [plantas, digito]s, ungis, ni | possit sta[re
 sua uir]tute. se iue plus | se iue par[uum scriptu]m fuerit, | quomod[o quicquid legitime]
 scripsit, | man[dauit, seic ego M]ax[im]am | Veso[niam Proserpina tibi]
 B trado, m[ando ut tradas illa]nc | mensi Februar[io. male] male | male perdat,
 [male e]x[s]et, | male disp[er]dat. tr[a]das | ni possit [a]mpliu[s] ullum | [m]ensem
 aspi[c]ere, uid[e]re, | contempar[e].

hexameter meter, in part; epic diction; reference to horn of ox
 1.3.3.9. Cyrenaica, lead tablet, ed. Pugliese Carratelli 1961-1962, 324-325; improved text
 in Gallavotti 1963, 450-454; cf. Jordan 1985 no. 150

δεῦρ[ο] Τύχαν καλέω· νῦν δὴ | τὺ τῆδε παρῆμεν σύν | τε Ζηνὶ σύν τε δυοῖς
 Χά|ρισσιν. (vac.) | Πραξιδικὰ κῶρα μεγάλητο(ρος) | Ἀγλαοκάρπου δῆσόν μοι |
 Φερονίκας γλῶσαν χῆράς | τε πόδας τε {ποδας τα}. ταῦτα δὲ | ἐγὼ ἐρησῶ ἐν
 βοέωι κέρατι | πολιᾶς ὑπένερθέ τε γαίας.

5 μεγάλη τῶ ed. pr. || 8 πόδας {τε ed. pr.

in the style of the ancient Egypt letters to the dead, a letter petitioning a νεκυδαίμων, not
 to listen to the judicial adversaries of the petitioner, but rather to inflict sickness upon them
 1.3.3.10. Unknown provenance, papyrus sheet, now Leipzig, P.Lips. inv. 9418, s. III B.C.,
Pap.Graec.Mag. P LI

[π]αρακαλῶ σε, νεκύδαιμον, | [κ]αὶ τ[ῆ]ν περί σε [γ]εγονυῖαν | ἀνάγκην θανάτου,
 εἶδω|λον θεῶν, ἀκούσαι τοῦ | ἐμοῦ ἀξιώματος καὶ ἐκ|δικῆσαι με Νειλάμμωνα | ὄν
 ἔτεκεν Τερεῦς ὅτι | Ἐτῆς δέδωκε ἀναφόριον | κατ' [ἐ]μοῦ ἢ κατὰ τῆς ἐ|μῆς θυγατρὸς
 Αὐγχιος | ἢ τέ[κ]νω[ν] αὐ[τ]ῆς ἢ ὧν | [ἐ]ὰν ὄ[σι] μ[ε]τ' ἐμοῦ, μὴ ἀκού|σαι αὐ[τ]ῶν
 τῶν δεδοκό[τ]ω[ν] κα[θ'] ἡμῶν, ἦτοι | [ἀ]πὸ Ἐρμ[ο]ῦ ὄν ἔτεκεν | [ῆ] Εὐ...
 [λ]εγ[ο]μένου | [Ἀ]πελλῆς ἢ ἀπὸ Ἄρποχρά|του ὄν ἔτεκεν Τερεῦς, | [ὄντος] κακ[ο]ῦ
 ἀνδρὸς καὶ | ἀσ[ε]βοῦς εἰς [ἐ]μέ τὸν | πα[τέ]ρα. ἀξιῶ σε, νεκύ|δ[αι]μον, μὴ αὐτῶν
 ἀκού|σαι, ἀλλὰ μόνου] ἀκούσαι | ἐμοῦ, Νειλάμ[μ]ωνος], ὅσι|ου ὄντος εἰς θε|ούς,
 αὐτ[ο]ὺς | [δὲ ποιῆσαι ἀσ]θενεῖς εἰς | [τὸν ἅπαντα αὐτ]ῶν βίον.

the reference to depriving the corpse of burial is probably metaphorical (along the lines of
 Egyptian 'slander'), not to be taken literally (as in *Suppl.Mag.*, "because she has neglected
 his burial")

1.3.3.11. Unknown provenance (Egypt, perhaps Saqqara), wood tablet covered in pitch,
 now Paris, T.Louvre inv. AF 6716, s. I, ed. *Suppl.Mag.* II 52; "presque completement
 couverte de bitume" when found, but now cleaned. Lines 1-15 on front, 16-24 on back.
 Physical form of the tablet is interesting: not a perfect rectangle, two 'tabs' protrude at the
 top and bottom right corners (seen from front)

σαοραυινιενουτι'ο' | ἐξορκίζω σε τοὺς | θεοὺς τοὺς ἐνδὰ | {α}θι καὶ τοὺς
 σαρα|φάκους καὶ τοὺς' | θ(ε)οὺς σου [π] τοὺς | κατ' Ἄδου περὶ | Σενβλυπνωτῶτος'·

| κρᾶξον εἰς τὸν | Ἄδην, μὴ ἀφῆς | τοὺς ἐν Ἄδω τοῦ | ς θεοὺς καθεύδι | ν. τὴν ταφήν | σου ἀπεστέρηκε τὸ λοιπόν. | μὴ ἀφῆς τοὺς | θεοὺς καθεύδι | ν. εἰσακούσι σε | ὁ Οὔσιρις, ὅτι | ἄω{ο}ρος καὶ | ἄτεκνος καὶ | ἀγύναις καὶ | ἀχάβισσος. | κς̄.

7 σενβλυν-: υ corr. ex ο

formulary recipe on papyrus sheet, for text to be inscribed on lead, the front has the text, the back the accompanying drawing, addressing an ἄωρος, with Egyptian-style ‘slander’, 1.3.3.12. Unknown provenance, P.Iand. inv. 266, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P LVIII, s. IV, with corrections in Jordan 2004; lines 1-14 on recto, 15-39 and drawing on verso
]...αισ[---] | [---]σ[---] | traces | [---]αλ[α[---] | ος κατα [c. 14] | λ(αβών) λάμναν ἐκ μολῖβ[ο]υ | τολ [c. 36] | ‘σὺ λέγω τῷ ἄώρω τῷ κ[ληθέντι καὶ παρει] | λημμένω ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνόμου Τυφῶνος· ἐπιτάσσει σοι | ὁ μέγας θεός, ὁ ἔχ[ων ἄνω τὴν κατεξουσίαν καὶ τὸ βα] | σίλιον [τ]ῷ νερτέ[ρων θεῶν· παράλαβε τόνδε τὸν ἄνο] | μον [καὶ ἄσε]βῆν, ὅτι οὗτ[ός ἐστιν ὁ καύσας τὸν παπυρῶ] | να τ[οῦ Ὀσειρέω]ς καὶ φα[γῶν τῶν ἰχθύων τῶν ἱερῶν. παρ] | ἄλαβ[ε τὸν δεῖνα ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα ...] | [*three lines of illegible traces*] | [c. 25]. σ(ελήνης) [π]ληρωθ[ε]ί[σ]η[ς .ε] | [c. 24 ἐ]νθυμάτων θυμ[ιάσα]ς | [c. 24 ἀπο]λείχη, σιτουλας ἐκ[πεπω]κώς | [c. 22 ὑπ]ὸ μέσου τοῦ στήθ[ο]υς | ἰὼ Ἐρβῆθ | ἰακουμβία | ἰὼ Πακερβῆθ | ἰὼ Βολχοσήθ | βασσαουμ | κοχλωτα | τετομη | [c. ?]βασσαουμ | Παταθνάξ | ὄσεσρω | ἰωιω Πακερβῆθ | κεαχ ἔλθῃ | ω Ἀβρασάξ | κοι(νόν) | αμενθωου | [λερ]θεξαναξ | [εθρ]ελυωθ | [νε]μαρεβα.

‘slander’ against the target, addressed to an ἄωρος, that Osiris commands her torment because she has burned his papyrus-boat and eaten the flesh of the sacred fish, etc. 1.3.3.13. Rome (?), lead tablet, ed. Audollent 1904 no. 188, with emendations in Jordan 2004. Side A has logoi and characteres (not transcribed here); side B, the text.
[σοῖ] λέγω τῷ ἄώρω τῷ [κλ c. 6] | [c. 3]ουντι Μῆρη καὶ παρε[ιλημμέ] | νω ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνόμου Τυφῶ[νος ὅτι] | ἐπιτάσσει σοι ὡ μέγας Ὡσε[ιρις ὁ] | λαβώ(ν) τὴν κατεξουσίαν κ[αὶ τὸ] | βασιλείων τῶν νερτερίων θεῶ[ν,] | παράλαβε Νεικωμήδην, δείωκ[ε] | καθημερινὰς ἀθαραπίας [ἐπὶ] | τώνδε τῶν ἄνωμων καὶ ἀσεβ[ῆ] | ὥτι οὕτως ἐστιν ὡ καύσας τῶν | παπυρῶνα τοῦ Ὡσειρέως κα[ὶ] | φαγῶν τὰ κρέα τῶν ἰχθύων τῶν | ἀλαβήτων, Νεικωμήδην ἦν ἔτεκα[ι] | [Φ]λαμμεῖνα. ἐξω[ρκί]ζω σε ουνν[.] | [c. 10]ω[.]οῖσ[---]

1.3.3.14. Fayum, now Oslo, P.Oslo inv. 420, s. IV, col. i, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXXVI.1-9 κάτοχος, εἰς πάντα ποιῶν. λαβών λάμναν μολιβῆν | ψυχρήλατον γράφε χαλκῶ γραφίω τὸ ὑποκείμενον ζώδιο[ν] | καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ κατατίθου πλησίον καταντικρύς· | ἔλθῃ, Τυφῶν, ὁ ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπτίαν πύλην καθήμενος, | ἰω ερβῆθ, ὁ τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφὸν σφάξας, ἰω πα | κερβῆθ ἰω βολχοσηθ ἰω απομψ ἰω σεσενρω | ἰω βιματ ἰακουμβίαι ἀβερραμενθω ουλερθ[ε] | ξαναξ εθρελυωθμε μαρεβα του σθη βολ | κολ, ἄονκον τόν σου υἱὸν φροῖξον.’ [followed by drawing inscribed with *logoi*, inc. ἰω ερβῆθ]

91. ἄοκνον

with complex procedure involving cat, inscribed lamellae, which seems to be conceived primarily for aggressive use against athletes and horses in races, but has multiple other applications (see the closing summary)

1.3.3.15. Unknown provenance, ex-coll. Mimaut, now P.Louvre inv. 2391: opisthographic roll, coll. i-xi on the recto and xii-xxii on verso; all in same hand; some Coptic portions; re-edition of the 'hymn' at lines 198-228 in Tissot 2013.

Unknown provenance, now Paris, P.Louvre inv. 2391, s. IV, coll. i-vi, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P III.1-164

[λαβών αἴ]λουρον [ἐκποίη]σον Ἐσιῆν ἐ[μβαλών | τὸ σ]ῶμα[α ἐς] τὸ ὕδωρ· [ἐ]ν [ῶ] πνίγεις, λέγε εἰς τ[ὸν] νῶ | [το]ν. λόγος ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πνίξεως· δεῦ[ρό μ]οι, | [ὁ ἐ]πὶ τῆς μορφῆ[ς] τῆς τοῦ Ἡλίου, ὁ αἰ[λουρ]ο | [πρ]όσωπος θεός, κ[α]ὶ ἰδὲ σοῦ τὴν μορφῆν τὴν | ἀδικομένην ὑπὸ [τῶ]ν ἀντιδίκων σου, [τῶ]ν δεῖ(να), | [ἴ]να ἀνταποδῆς αὐτοῖς καὶ καταπράξη[ς τὸ] δεῖ(να) | πρᾶγμα, ὅτι ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε, ἱερόν πνε[ῦ]μα· | ἴσχυσον καὶ εὐτόνησον κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρ[ῶ]ν σ]ου, | τῶν δεῖνα, ὅτι ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τῶν ὄν[ο]μα[τά]των | βαρβα[θ]ι[α]ω [β]αιν[ω] χω[ω]χ[ω] νιαβ[ω]αιθ[ω]α[β]ρα[β] | σεσενγεν βαρφαραργησ c. 15 | φρειμί, ἔγειρόν μοι σεαυτόν, ἐλουροπρ[ό]σω | πος θεός, καὶ ποιήσον τὸ δεῖνα πρᾶγμα· κοι[νά]. | λαβών δὲ τὸν ἔλουρον ποιήσον λάμ[να]ς τρεῖς, | μίαν μὲν ἐν τῶ πρωκτῶ, μίαν δὲ ἐν τ[ῶ] στόμα | τι, μίαν ἐν τῶ λάρυγγι, καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑ[πὲρ] τὸ | πρᾶγμα γράψον εἰς χάρτην καθαρὸν [κιν] | ν[α]βάρη, [εἴ]τα τὰ ἄρμα[τα] καὶ τοῦ[ς] ἡνιόχους καὶ [τοῦ]ς | δι[φ]ρους καὶ τοῦς μονάτορας, καὶ περιέ[λι] | ξον εἰς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἐλούρου καὶ θάψ[ον] | κ[α]ὶ ἄψον λύχνους ζ̄ ἐπάνω πλείθω[ν] ζ̄ | ὠ]μῶν καὶ θῦσον αὐ[τ]ῶ καπνίζων στ[ύρ] | α]κα [κα]ὶ εὐφραίνου. ἔχε σῶμα αὐτοῦ κ[α]ὶ | καταφύλαττε αὐτὸν ἢ ἐν μνή[μ]ατι ἢ ἐν | τ[ῶ] τόπῳ [τοῦ] τ[ά]φου // δῦ[σον] |]ο χρώμασι[]. ας καὶ ταφ... |]θες, βλέπ[ων] [τῶ] ἀπληλιώτη, χῶσ[ον] | λέ]γων· ἄγγε[λε ...] [Ση]μέα χθονία ... | []ονε· δὸς ἀσφα[]]μητε χθόνιε, [τὸν] ἵπ[π]ων δρόμον [κα]ὶ ἄκτωρης // ἔ[χε] |]· ν κατεχ[] [φωκ] ενσεψευ // αρεισ[τα] | ...]μοι τὸ πνεῦμα ... | [c. 5 τό]που δαίμονα ... | καὶ γ[ε]νηθήτω μοι τὸ [δεῖνα] π[ρᾶ]γμα ἢ [δ]η, ἢδη, ταχύ, | ταχύ· ὅτι ὀρκίζω σοι τὸ[ν] τό[π]ον [τ]οῦτον, τὴν ὥραν | ταύτην κατὰ τοῦ ἀπα[ρ]ετήτου θεοῦ // θα // χωχα | ειν χουχεωχ καὶ κα[τ]ὰ τοῦ μεγάλου χθονίου θεοῦ | αριωρ' ευωρ' καὶ κατὰ [τ]ῶν ἐπικειμένων σοι ὀνο[μά]των· ποιήσον τὸ δεῖνα [π]ρᾶγμα· κοινά. ἄρας δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς πνίξε[ω]ς ῥᾶνον [ἐπὶ] τῶ σταδίῳ | ἢ ἐν τῶ τόπῳ, ὅπου πρά[σσει]ς· λόγος [λεγ]όμενος, ὅτε ῥένεις, εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ τ[ῆ]ς πνίξεω[ς], οὔτ[ος]· ἐπικα[λοῦ]μαί σε, τῶν πάντων[ν] ἀνθρ[ώ]πων γ[ενέ]τιρα, | τὴν σηναναγκασαμέν[η]κν τὰ μέλ[η] το[ῦ] Μελιούχου | καὶ αὐτὸν Μελιούχον οροβαστρια [Νε]βουτοσου | αληθ, ἀρκυία, νεκυία, Ἐ[ρ]μη, Ἐκάτ[η], Ἐρμη, Ἐρμη | κάτη ληθ· αμουμα[ο]υτερμω[ρ]· ὀρ]κίζω σε, | τὸν ἐν τῶ {πω} τόπῳ [τ]ούτῳ ἐπη[γερ]μένον | δαίμονα, καὶ σέ, τὸν δ[αί]μονα τοῦ [αἰ]λούρου πνευ[μα]τωτοῦ· ἐλθέ μοι ἐν τῇ σήμ[ε]ρον ἡμέρα | καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρτι ὥρας καὶ ποιήσόν μοι τὸ δεῖ(να) πρᾶγμα· | κοινά, ὅσα θέλεις. χυχβαχυχ βα[χα]χυχ βαχαξι | χυχ· βαζαβαχυχ· βαια | χ]αχυχ· βαζητοφωθ | βαιν χωωωχ· ανιβω[ω]ωχ χωχε, [] φιωχεν | γηβρωχθω μυσσαγα[θ] χεωω []ω Σαβαώθ, | ευλαμωσι ηηλαξιμα []θαχωχ]αξ ἴν | χουχεωχ· ἐν μὲν τῶ [α' καὶ γ' πετάλω] ἐν ῶ [ὀρ]κί]ζεις | ἐστὶν τοῦτο· ἴαεω [] | αεω] βαφρενεμουν οθ[ι]λαρικριφθναι | υ]ιανθφιρκιραλιθ[οννομενερ] | φαβωεα | '[αβλαν]αθαναλβα | [αβλαν]αθαναλβα.' | κ[]. | ἐπ[ὶ] δὲ τῶ β' πε]τάλω τιθεμέν[ω] διὰ τ[ῶ]ν καμ[α]ρῶ]ν | ἐστὶν τ[οῦ]το· 'τρεβα α[β]εραμ]ενθω[υθ]λερα | εξ[αν]αξε[θρ]ελθωωεθνε[μα]ρεβα'. | καρδιακῶς, | ὡς βότρυς. | 'Ιωερβηθ | ιωπακερβηθ | ιωβολχοσηθ | ιωαπομψ | ιωπαταθναξ | ιωακουβια | ιωσηθ | φωκενσεψευ | αρεκταθουμισακτα[ι] | πο[ί]ησον τὸ | [δεῖνα] πρᾶγμα· κοι | ν]ὰ ὅσα θέλεις. | ὀρκίζω σε, τ[ὸν] ἐν τῶ τόπῳ τ[οῦ]τῳ μὲν ἄγγελον κρατερόν | καὶ ἰσχυρόν τοῦ ζώου το[ῦ]το· ἔγειρόν μ[οι] σεαυτόν | καὶ [πο]ίησον τὸ δεῖνα [π]ρᾶγμα καὶ ἐν τῇ σήμ[ε]ρον ἡμέρα | κα[ὶ] ἐν πάση ὥρα καὶ ἡμέραις· ἔγειρόν μοι σεαυτόν | κα[τὰ] τ[ῶ]ν ἐχθρῶν μου, τῶν δεῖνα, καὶ π[οί]ησον τὸ δεῖνα | πρᾶγμα (κοινά), ὅτι ὀρκίζω σοι ἴαω, Σαβαώθ, Ἀδωναί, | Ἀβρασάξ καὶ κα[τὰ] τοῦ

μεγάλου θεο[ῦ] Ἰαεω (λόγος) αει[ουω] | ωυοιη[α] χαβραξ φνεσκηρ φιχ[ο]
φνυρο[φ]ωχωβ[ωχ] | αβλανα[θα]ναλβα ακραμμαχα[μ]αρι
σε[σε]νγενβ[αρ] | φαραγγ[ης] Μίθρα ναμαζαρ [α]ναμ[αρ]ια Δα[μνα]μεν[εῦ,] |
χειχθω[νιε]θορτοει, ἄγιε β[ασι]λ[εῦ, ὁ] ναυτ[ικός, ὁ] τὸ[ν οἶ] | ακα [κρατῶν κυ]ρίου
θεοῦ: [ἔ]γε[ι]ρ[όν] μοι σ[ε]αυτόν, | αἰλ[ουροπ]ρόσω[πος] μέγας, οἶακα κρατῶν [θεοῦ],
ποίη[σ]ον τὸ δεῖνα [π]ρᾶγμα (κοινά) ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερο[ν] ἡμέρας | ἦδη ἦδ[η, τ]αχὺ
ταχύ. συντέλεσόν μοι τὸ δεῖνα πρᾶγμα, | κοινά ὅσα θέλεις, | [κρ]ατεῖ Σ[ῆ]θ Τυφῶν,
καὶ ἀνόμησον τῷ σθέν[ι] [ει σ]ου καὶ[κα]τάστρεψον τὸ δεῖνα πρᾶγμα ἐν τῷ τόπῳ
τού[τ]ωτιοῖρι, ὡς ἂν κελεύσο[ν] τῷ ἰδώλω σου, | ὅτι ὀρ[κί]ζω σε Μασκελλι
Μασκελλω, λόγος· συν[τ]έλεσόν[μ]οι τοῦτο τὸ δεῖνα πρᾶγμα ἐπὶ τῇ μορφῇ σου, |
[αἰ]λουρ[οπ]ρόσωπος ἄγγελος, συντέλεσόν μοι τὸ | δεῖνα πρᾶγμα, κοιν(ά), καὶ τὰ
ἔξης γραφόμενα· εἰς ἄλ[λα]ς χρία[ς]. ἔλθων πρὸς κατάδυσιν τοῦ (ἡλίου) λέγε |
[κρ]ατῶν τὰς τρίχας τοῦ ἐλούρου τὰς ἐκ δεξιῶν | [κ]αὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων τοῦ στόματος
αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ | φυλακτήριον. διανύων τῷ Ἠλίῳ λέγων τὸν λό[γον]. λόγος·
ἴστησατε, ἴστησατε, κυβερνῆται τοῦ ἱεροῦ | πλοίου, τὸ ἱερὸν πλοῖον· ὀρμῶ καὶ σέ,
Μελιούχε, | ἔως ἐγ[ώ] ἐντύχω τῷ ἱερῷ Ἠλίῳ. ναί, μέγιστε Μί[θ]ρα, ν[αμ]αζαρ/
αναμαρια, Δαμναμενεῦ, χειχθω[νιε] / θ[ου]τοει, ἄγιε βασιλεῦ, ὁ ναυτικός, ὁ τὸν οἶα
| [κ]ακρα[τῶ]ν κυρίου θεοῦ θοντοει καθεν και με[ν]ωφρισ.....κμεβαυ κερ κερυμι, πρὶν
δια[σ]ε...εἰ... εἰς τ[ὸν] λίβρα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, πρὶν δια[σ]ε.....α φεύγ[ω]ν τὰ ὑβρ[ισθ]έντα·
ἐπά[κουσο]ν ἐν[ευ]χομένου μου, ὅπως ποιή[σ]ης τὸ δεῖνα [πρᾶγμα], ὅτι ἐνεύχομαί σε
κατὰ τῶν σῶν | ὀνομ[άτων] βα[ρ]βαραθαμ χελουβ.αμ· βα[ρ]ούχ[.....] σ[ε]σενγεν
βαρφαραγγ[ης] αμφι[μ]ιου[ρι]...μιν· ποιή[σ]ον τὸ δεῖνα πρ[ᾶ]γμα (κοι[ν]ά, ὅσα [ἂν
θέ]λης)· αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀδικήσαντές σου | τὸ ἱερ[ὸν] ἴδωλον, αὐ[τ]οὶ γὰρ οἱ
ἀ[δ]ικῆσαν[τες] τ[ὸ] ἱερ[ὸν] πλοῖον δ[ι] ὅπερ ἐμοῖιαλ[ω]..... ἵνα ἀνταποδοῖς
αὐτοῖς [τὸ δεῖνα] πρᾶγμα, | κοινά, [ὅτι ἐπι]καλοῦμ[ε]ν[α]ί σε ἰωερβηθ [ιω πα]κερ[βηθ]
ιωβο[λ]χοσηθ ἰωαπομψ[ω] π[α]ταθναξ | ιωακουβια[ω] αμεραμεν[θ]ουθ
λε[ρ]θεξαναξ | [εθ]ρελθου[ω]θ νεμαρεβα / ποιήσον τὸ δεῖνα [π]ρᾶγμα | κ(οινά),
ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τῆς ἑβραϊκῆς [φ]ωνῆς | καὶ κατὰ τ[ῆ]ς Ἀνάγκης τῶν Ἀναγκαίω[ν]
Μασκελλι, | [Μ]α[σ]κελλω· σ[υν]τ[έ]λεσόν μοι καὶ ἀπόλεσον καὶ ἀνό[μ]η[σ]ον ἐν τῇ
ἐσομένη ἀνατολῇ, καὶ γε[ν]έσθω αὐ[τ]οῖς τὸ δεῖνα πρᾶγμα (κοινά, ὅσα θέλεις), ἦδη
ἦδη, ταχὺ | ταχύ· [κ]αλή σου κατάδυσις. vacat ἔλθων δὲ ἐν τῷ | τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ
πράσεις, ἔχων τὰς μεγάλας τρίχας τοῦ | [αἰ]λοῦρου τὰς ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων
τοῦ | [στό]ματος αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ φυλακτήριον, διανύων | [τῷ Ἠλίῳ] ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ
λέγων τὸν λόγον. λόγος· | ‘δεῦρό μ[οι], ὁ μέγιστος ἐν οὐρανῷ, ᾧ ὁ οὐρανὸς
ἐ[γ]ένετο [κ]ωμαστήριον, σατις / πεφωουθ / Ὥρα | ΟΙΧΟΥ ἀ[νά]γκη ποιήσον τὸ
δεῖνα πρᾶγμα ηἰλααν[χ]υχ· α[κα]ρβην / λααρμενθηρησεν εβεχυχ | ὁ ὦν
φ[ι]λομαντόσυνος, ὁ χρυσοπρόσωπος, ὁ χρυσαυ[γ]ής, ὁ πυρ[ρ]ὶ καταλάμπων τῆς
νυκτός, ἄλκι | [μ]ος ἄ[λ]κιμος κοσμοκράτωρ, ὁ προεῖ ἐπιλάμ[π]ω[ν] τῆς ἡμέρας, ὁ
δύνων ἐν τῷ λιβι[β]όρω τοῦ | οὐρ[αν]οῦ, ὁ ἀν[α]τέλλων [ἐκ τ]οῦ ἀπηλιώτου, |
σλ...ιξ, [ὁ] γυροειδής, ὁ τρέχων ἔως μ[ε]σημ[ε]ρι[β]ρί[ας] κα[ὶ] διατρίβων ἐν τῇ Ἀραβία
μουρωφ | ὁ ἐμφε...ιρ, ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ ἀγίου φέγγ[γ]ους, ὁ κ[ύ]κλος ὁ π[υ]ροειδής
περταωμηχ περακωνχμ[η]χ | περακομφθω ακ[κ]μηφ ὁ ἔκλαμπρος Ἠλι[ος, ὁ] |
αὐγάζω[ν] καθ’ ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην, ὁ ἐν [τῷ] | ὠκεαν[ῷ] ὀχεύων, ψοειω ψοειω
π[ν]ουτε νεν[τηρ] τηρ[ου]· ἐν[ευ]χομαί σοι κατὰ τοῦ [ῶ]οῦ, ἐγὼ [εἰ]μ[ι] Ἀδὰμ
προγε[ν]ής· ὀνομά μοι Ἀδὰμ. ποιήσόν | μοι τὸ δεῖνα [πρᾶ]γμα, ὅτι ἐνεύχομαί σοι
κατὰ [θ]εοῦ | Ἰαω, θεοῦ Ἰαβ[α]ώθ· θεοῦ Ἀδωναί· θεοῦ Μιχαήλ· θε[ο]οῦ Σουριή[λ· θ]εοῦ
Γαβριήλ· θεοῦ Ραφαήλ· θεοῦ Ἰαβρασάξ· [ἀβλ]αθαναλβα ακραμμαχαρι· θεοῦ |
κυρίου Ἰ[α]ιωλ· θεοῦ κυρίου / λαβα· φνεσκηρ | φιχρο φ[νυρ]ο φωχωβωχ αει[ουω]
ωυοιηα, | ὁ τὴν ἡμ[έρα]ν φωτίζων/ νεθμομαω· ὁ νήπιος, | ὁ ἀνατέλλ[ω]ν/
οροκοτοθρο, πυρὸς αὐξήτὰ καὶ πολ[υ]λοῦ φωτ[ὸς] σεσενγεν βαρφαραγγης, ἦκέ μοι,

| κλυθί μ[οι, τῶ]ν πάντων δικαιώτατε, ἀληθείας | ταμία, δ[ικα]ιοσύνης κτίστα· ἐγώ
εἰμι οὐ ὑπὴν | τησάς [τε ἐ]δωρήσω τὴν τοῦ σοῦ μεγίστου ὀνό[μα(τος) γνῶ[σίν τ]ε
καὶ ἐκφώνησιν ἱεράν, ζῆ καὶ δι|ακρατῆς [τῆ]ν ὄλην οἰκουμένην, ποιήσον μοι τὸ δεῖνα
| πρᾶγμα [κοινά.] καὶ| αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ πρᾶξις τοῦ ἐλούρου | περὶ πά[σης π]ράξεως·
κάτοχος ἡνιόχων ἐν ἀ|γῶνι κ[αὶ ὄν]ειροπομπὸν καὶ φιλτροκατά|δεσμον,
[διάκο]πον καὶ μίσηθρον.

28 χωσ[] *Pap.Graec.Mag.* | | 31 [] ἰακτωρη *Pap.Graec.Mag.*, cf. app.cr. | | 93 κοῖ pap.
| | 94 \neq pap. | | 97, 127 διάνυσσον corr. *Pap.Graec.Mag.*

curse against a rival lover, invoking the Virgin Mary to inflict a hernia

1.3.3.16. Athens, graffito on column in the Parthenon, Byzantine period (undated in ed.,
prb. s. VIII-XI based on palaeography), ed. Orlandos 1973 no. 9 (column 2), with
drawing. I suggest *contra* Kaldellis 2009, 78 that ῥόμβος probably suggests *both* the
medical and sexual senses pointed out in ed. pr., and not exclusively the former – the
writer is exploiting the pun; and cutting was an attested part of the healing procedure for
testicular herniae (e.g. *Miracles of Artemios*)

ἀγία Μαρία | καιχαριτω|μένη καὶ|λευσον τὸν | γαμῶντα | τὴν νύμφην | μου
κηλήτην | γενέσθαι κ(αὶ) | ἐμέ [i]ατρὸν ἵνα | ἔχω κ(αὶ)ρὸν πῶς κό|ψω τὸν ῥόμβον |
αὐτοῦ.

prayer for binding the tongues of enemies for a court case

1.3.3.17. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419 (s. XV), ff. 273v-274r, ed. Delatte 1927, 503

ἕτερον, γλωσσόδεμα. γράψον ταῦτα καὶ σήκωνε εἰς τὸ κεφάλιν σου Ἰωάννης καὶ
Ααρων ἐλθέτωσαν μετ' ἐμέ εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον διὰ τὰς τῶν κακῶν ἀνθρώπων
γλώσσας καὶ ὅσοι καὶ ἂν μάχωνται τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ δεῖνα. ἅγιε Δανιηλ ὁ
χαλινώσας τὰς γλώσσας τῶν λεόντων, χαλίνωσον καὶ τὰ στόματα τῶν κακῶν
ἀνθρώπων ὅσοι καὶ ἂν μάχωνται εἰς τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ δεῖνα, | ὅσους ἐχθρούς
καὶ ἂν ἔχω καὶ ὅσοι ἔχουν κατ' ἐμοῦ κακὰ ἢ θέλουν ἢ λέγουν, ἀπὸ τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα
δύο ἡμισυ γενεάς. καὶ χαλίνωσον τὰ στόματα τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου.' [signs]

co-option of liturgy (bread); interlocking ritual with paving-stones

1.3.3.18. Athens, Gennadios Library cod. 45 (s. XVI), f. 34r-v, ed. Delatte 1959, 310-311

1. περὶ κρίσεως νὰ νικήσης. ὕψωσε τὴν παναγίαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομά σου καὶ δέσε τὴν εἰς
πανὶ ἀφόριον καὶ ὄσαν | ὑπαγαίνης εἰς τὴν κρίσιν, ἔπαρε ἀπὸ δίστρατον τρία
στρανάρια μετὰ τὸ πάτερ ἡμῶν καὶ νὰ λέγῃς καὶ τοῦτο ὁ θεὸς ὁ θεὸς μου ὁ
παντοκράτωρ καὶ ὁ τίμιος καὶ ζωοποιὸς σταυρὸς, τὸ φῶς τῆς ἀληθείας, ἵνα
ἀπονεκρώσῃς τοὺς βλασφημοῦντάς με καὶ καταλαλοῦντάς με. ἡ ἐλπίς μου ὁ θεός,
καταφυγή μου ὁ Χριστός, σκέπη μου τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τριάς ἅγια, δόξα σοι.
2. γράψε καὶ ταῦτα εἰς χαρτὶ ὡς ἀπῆλθεν ὁ προφήτης Δανιηλ ἐν τῷ λάκκῳ τῶν
λεόντων καὶ οὐκ ἐβρώθη ἀπ' αὐτῶν δυνάμει τῆς ἀγίας τριάδος καὶ ἐχαλίνωσε τὰ
στόματα τῶν λεόντων καὶ ἠκολούθησαν αὐτὸν ὡς πρόβατα τὸν ποιμένα, οὕτως
καὶ ἐγὼ ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα νὰ νικήσω κατὰ κράτος τοὺς ἐχθρούς μου ἐν τῷ
παραστασίῳ τοῦ κριτοῦ. ὅταν ἔλθῃς ἐμπρὸς εἰς τὸν κριτὴν, ἄφῃς τὰ στρανάρια νὰ
πέσουν εἰς τὴν γῆν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα βάστα τα.

1.4 Scripture

Il. 1.96, for re-infliction of bleeding on ungrateful patient (the initial cure, at 22.13-15, is discussed in chapter 1; cf. chapter 1 cat. 5.1.2)

1.4.1. Hermopolis, P.Berl. inv. 9873, s. IV, p. 22.16-20, ed. Pöthke et al. 2012, 46
τοῦ{ς} δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντος καὶ ἀχαριστήσαντο[ς] | \βαλοῦ/ λάβε παρ' αὐτοῦ \τὸ
περίαμμα, πρόσβαλε ρίζαν,/ καὶ θὲς ὑπὲρ καπνὸν καὶ | πρόσγρ(αφε) τοῦτο(ν) τὸν
στίχον | 'τοῦνεγ' ἄ[ρ'] ἄλκε' ἔτωκεν ἐκηβόλος | [ἡ]δ' ἔτι δώσει.'

17 βαλοῦ and τὰ ... ρίζαν printed as separate line 17α in Pöthke et al., but these are clearly corrections added between the lines, and the placement shows that βαλοῦ is to be taken directly preceding λάβε, and τὰ κτλ. directly preceding καί. (this is not reflected in the type-setting in Pöthke et al.) | τὰ περιάμματα Pöthke et al. | ριζᾶ pap. : ριζα' Pöthke et al. | [κ]απν[ὸ]ν Pöthke et al. || 18 προσγρ/ pap.

scripture, Homer, *Il.* 1.10, for oath-swearing

1.4.2. Oxford, Bodleian Library cod. Barocci 150, f. 71v

εἰς τοὺς ὀμνύοντας. γράψον εἰς συκῆς φύλλα κιννάβαρ καὶ ἀπόπλυνον εἰς ὕδωρ καὶ δίδου πίνειν καὶ ἔαν ἐπιорκήσῃ, φυσαῖται ἐντὸς ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν. τὰ δὲ γραφόμενά εἰσι ταῦτα 'νοῦσον ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὥρσε κακὴν, ὠλέκοντο δὲ λαοί.' ἡ λύσις αὕτη: γράψον εἰς κράμβης φύλλα κιννάβαρ καὶ ἀπόπλυνον εἰς ὕδωρ καὶ δὸς πίνειν.

2 ἐφιορ- cod. || 3 ὥρσαι cod. | ὠλέκοντο *Hom.* || 4 κιν\ν/άβαρ cod.

analogical ritual with dirt from tomb, hymns (ἐσφραγισμένου τοῦ μνήματος is a troparion attested in several monastery-acta; πηλὸν ὁ κεραμεύς cf. Andrew of Crete *Canon de requie* 17) and psalms (*Ps.* 108 and 24)

1.4.3. Athens, EBE cod. 1265 (s. XVI-XVII), f. 41v, addition of m2, ed. Delatte 1927, 86
περὶ νὰ ἐξαλείψῃς ἄνθρωπον. ἔπαρον χῶμα νεκροῦ ὅπου νὰ ἦναι δύο ἡμερῶν
θαμμένος καὶ διάβασε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα ἐκείνου ὅπου θέλεις 'ἐσφραγισμένου τοῦ
μνήματος' καὶ τὸ 'πηλὸν ὁ κεραμεύς,' καὶ τὸν ψαλμὸν 'ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἀίνεσίν μου μὴ
παρασιωπήσῃς' καὶ 'πρὸς σὲ κύριε ἦρα τὴν ψυχὴν μου.' καὶ χύσε το εἰς τὴν πόρταν
του.

1 περὶ (τοῦ) *Delatte*

Ps. 66 spoken over water, then poured it out at the target's door

1.4.4. Athens, Soc. Hist. cod. 241 (s. XVIII), f. 108r, ed. Delatte 1927, 137

ψαλμὸς ξς', 'ὁ θεὸς οἰκτιρήσαι' καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. διάβασέ τον ἀπάνω εἰς νερὸν καὶ χύσε το εἰς τὴν πόρταν του. ὁμῶς γράψε καὶ τὰ κάτωθεν γράμματα καὶ βάστα ἀπάνω σου [*signs*].

2 βάστα (τα) *Delatte*

Ps. 66; for 'binding' of enemy ('πουκομπήσῃς from ἀπό + κόμπος 'knot'?)

1.4.5. St. Petersburg, NLR cod. gr. 646 (s. XVIII), f. 10v [*cryptogr.*]

'ὁ θεὸς οἰκτιρήσαι ἡμᾶς καὶ εὐλογήσαι ἡμᾶς' εἶναι ὠφέλιμος διὰ νὰ 'πουκομπήσῃς
τὸν ἐχθρὸν σου. διάβασέ το εἰς ὕδωρ καὶ χύσε το εἰς τὴν πόρταν του. γράψον τὸν
ψαλμὸν μὲ τὲς χαρακτῆρες καὶ βάστα τον [*signs*].

against enemies, scripture, *John* 1 and liturgical acclamation

1.4.6. St. Petersburg, NLR cod. gr. 575 (s. XVII), f. 141v (inc. and des. in *CCAG* XII:38)
εἰς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς λέγε κατὰ πρόσωπά τους 'ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς
τὸν θεὸν καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ καὶ πίστεως.'

scripture, *Ps.* 8; use of church object; deposition at door of target

1.4.7. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX), f. 481r-v, ed.
Papathomopoulos 2006, 312

διὰ νὰ ἐξολοθρεύης ἐχθροὺς σου. πάρε ἀπὸ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἓνα τοῦβλον, γράψε τὶς
κάτωθεν χαρακτῆρες καὶ χῶσέ το ἐκεῖ ὅπου περνάγει 'ς τὴν πόρταν του, διαβάζεις
καὶ τὸν ψαλμὸν ὄγδοον. οἱ χαρακτῆρες ὀπισθεν εἶναι | [*signs*].

Ps. 10, written, dissolved, and deposited at the door of the target; also, eggs inscribed with
same psalm, *backwards*

1.4.8. private collection, Βερναρδάκειο μαγικὸ κώδικας (s. XIX), ff. 482v-483r, ed.
Papathomopoulos 2006, 314

νὰ ἐξολοθρεύσης ἐχθροὺς. ψαλμὸς δέκατος 'ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ πέποιθα,' αὐτὸς ὁ ψαλμὸς,
ἂν ἔχης κανέναν ἐχθρὸν καὶ τὸν φοβᾶσαι. μέσα εἰς ἓνα φρετούρι κόκκινον ἢ κάμε το
καινούργιον, ἀγρόρασε το ἡμέρα ἐμβδόμη ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ Κρόνου ἢ τοῦ Ἄρη ἡμέρα
τρίτη εἰς τὴν χάσιν τῆς σελήνης, καὶ ὅταν τὸ ἀγοράζης, ὀνομάτιζε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ
ὄνομά του. | ἔπειτα γέμωσε το νερὸν ἀπὸ φρέατος δυσικὸν εἰς τὸ ὄνομά του καὶ
διάβασε τὸν ψαλμὸν φορὲς ἑπτὰ. καὶ τότε λείωσε τὸν ψαλμὸν ὅπου εἶναι εἰς τὸ
φρετούρι καὶ χῶσέ το 'ς τὴν πόρταν του καὶ ἔπαρον ἑννέα αὐγὰ γούρια καὶ γράψε
τὸν ψαλμὸν ἐπάνω ἐξανάστροφα τὰ αὐγὰ εἰς τρόπον ὅπου νὰ χωρέση ὁ ψαλμὸς
ὅλος καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν τσάκισε τὰ δύο εἰς τὴν πόρταν του ἕως καὶ τὴν
Δευτέρα ἑπτὰ, καὶ θέλεις ἰδῆς νὰ θαυμάσης, ἄφαντος γίνεται ἡ γῆ τοῦ τόπου.

scripture, *Ps.* 67.3; writing name and depositing in a tomb; motif of not knowing name of
deceased

1.4.9. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX), f. 294r-v, ed.
Papathomopoulos 2006, 175

ἔπαρε καλαμόφυλλα καὶ γράψε | αὐτὲς τὲς χαρακτῆρες καὶ τὸ ὄνομά του καὶ χῶσέ
το σὲ μνήμα ὅπου δὲν ξεύρεις τίνος εἶναι. 'ὡς ἐκλείπει καπνός [*signs*].'

scripture (*John* 18:8), impeding hunters

1.4.10. Thiers, *Traité* 6.1, ed. Goulemot 1984, 160

Empêcher les chasseurs de rien prendre et de rien tuer à la chasse, en disant 'si ergo me
quaeritis, sinite.'

2 sinite ed. 1777 : finite Goulemot

1.5 – narrative

accompanying ritual of throwing hair of target into river

1.5.1. Salerno, lead tablet found in a tomb, ed. Audollent 1904 no. 210 (*CIL* X 511)

locus capillo | ribus | expect | at cap | ut su | um.

1 1. capillos | 2. 1. riuus

‘muzzling’ enemies, writing a riddling, adynatologic incantation

1.5.2. Athens, cod. Gennadios 45 (s. XVI), f. 35r, ed. Delatte 1959, 309-310

εἰς τὸ ἀποστομῶσαι ἐχθρόν. γράφε οὕτως ὅταν ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη, εἶχεν Ἰορδάνης κεφαλὴν· δὲν εἶχεν, εἶχεν, ἀμὴ ἦτον τὸ κεφάλιν του κάτω καὶ τὰ ποδάριά του ἀπάνου. ὀμμάτια εἶχεν καὶ δὲν ἔβλεπεν, στόμα εἶχεν καὶ δὲν ἐσυντύχαιεν, χεῖρας εἶχεν καὶ δὲν ἐπίασεν, πόδας εἶχεν καὶ δὲν ἐπεριπάτει. οὕτως καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ μου, ἐμέναν τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα, ὀμμάτια ἔχουν καὶ οὐ μὴ βλέπουσιν, πόδας ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐ μὴ συναπαντοῦν με, χεῖρας ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐ πιάνουσί με. οὕτως νὰ βλέπουν τὸν δούλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα καὶ νὰ εἶναι ἄλαλοι καὶ κωφοὶ ἔμπροσθέν μου.’

5 οὐ̄ με *Delatte*

binding (κατάδεσμος) for a married couple,

1.5.3. reported from contemporary Aidipsia, E.A. Pappanastasiou in Athanasopoulos et al. 1914, 525-526 no. 4

‘κίνησε διαβολοσπέθερος νὰ πάη νὰ διαβολοσπεθεριάση τὸ νέο ἀντρόγυνο. | κίνησε διαβολόπαπας, πῆρε τὰ διαβολοπετραχήλια του, | πῆρε τὰ διαβολοχαρτιά του, | νὰ πάη νὰ διαβολοστεφανώση τὸ νέο ἀντρόγυνο. | κίνησε διαβολονονός, πῆρε τὰ διαβολοστέφανα, | νὰ πάη νὰ διαβολοστεφανώση τὸ νέο ἀντρόγυνο. | ὅσο μπορεῖ τὸ μισοκομμένο φίδι νὰ πάη ᾿ς τὴν τρυπα του, | τόσο νὰ μπορῆ καὶ αὐτὸς νὰ πάη ᾿ς τὴ γυναῖκα του. | ὅσο μπορεῖ τὸ ψημένο πράσο νὰ τρυπήση τὸ ψημένο κεραμίδι, | τόσο νὰ μπορῆ καὶ αὐτὸς νὰ τρυπήση τῆς γυναῖκας τὸ ζλάπι. | ὅσο κούφιος πλάτανος δαυλὶ καμένο, | τόσο καὶ αὐτὸς νὰ μπορῆ νὰ πάη ᾿ς τὴν γυναῖκα του.’

ζλάπι (*Turk.*) ed. glosses θηρίον metaph. for the genitals

1.6 ritual drama

1.6.1. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 1603 (s. XVI), f. 327r, part of page cut off; cf. in part Delatte 1927, 555

[c. 30]κον κε[c. 30]τησαι[c. 30]ταν το[c. 30 κ]αὶ τότε [c. 30]τομε[c. 30]ενα καὶ [c. 30] ἐδῶ μον[c. 30] καὶ πάλιν [c. 25 ὀφ]θαλμούς καὶ [c. 25] καὶ ποίησον κο[c. 25] τα ἔπαρον τομε[c. 25]πουλον ἐκ τὸν λαιμόν [c. 25 λ]έγε 'ἐγὼ δένω τὸν δεῖνα [c. 20].' [εἶ]τα ἔπαρον πλαστήριον [c. 20] καὶ ἔπαρον στάκτην φο[c. 15 ε]ἰς τὸ κόσκινον καὶ γύρισε τον [c. 15 κ]αὶ κοσκίνιζε την ἀνάπο[δα c. 10] ὡς τὸ ὕστερον. καὶ ἐσὺ ὀνομάτι[ζε c. 15]α, καθὼς εἰς τὸ πρῶτον. μετὰ ταῦτα [ἔπαρε c. 10] στάκτην καὶ γέμισε τὸ τσουκαλόπουλον [c. 5]ν αὐτὸ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ καὶ 'πιστόμισον αὐτό. [καὶ ἄς ἐρ]ωτᾶ 'τί 'πιστομίσεις αὐτοῦ;' καὶ ἐσὺ λέγε 'τὸν δεῖνα.' [κα]ὶ χῶνε αὐτό. καὶ ἄς ἐρωτᾶ καὶ ἐσὺ λέγε 'ἐδῶ χώνω τὸν δεῖνα.' καὶ ἄς στέκη σκεπασμένον ἐκεῖ.

1-3 (λαιμόν) *om. Delatte* || 4 πλαστήριον [...] καὶ *om. Delatte* | κόσκινον *cod. :* κόσκενον *Delatte* || 5 γύρισε ὀ[πισθεν] *Delatte* || 6 [ἔπαρε ἐκ τῆς] στάκτης *Delatte* || 7 [καὶ θές] αὐτὸ *Delatte* | [ἄς ἐρω]τᾶ *Delatte* || 8 [εἶτα χῶ]νε *Delatte*

1.7 – graphic manipulation

to make an enemy (in court) flee; writing name of target upside-down on an old brick

1.7.1. Naples, BN cod. II C 33 (s. XV), f. 47r, ed. Delatte 1927, 615

ὅταν θέλη νὰ φύγη ἄνθρωπος, γράψε ἀνάποδα τὸ ὄνομά του εἰς ἀρχαῖον βήσαλον καὶ βάλε το μὲ τὸ ὑποκάμισόν του ὑποκάτω εἰς τὴν παραστασίαν καὶ τὰς χαρακτήρας [*signs*]

taking parchment with ‘ancient writing’ on it, washing the writing off, then writing on it signs and the figure of a corpse labeled with the name of the target (? something to do with debt)

1.7.2. Athens, Gennadios Library cod. 45 (s. XVI), f. 35v, ed. Delatte 1959, 311-312

περὶ τοῦ (ἐὰν) χρεωστῆ τινος καὶ βιάζωνται. λαβὼν χαρτὶ βεβραίνον ἔχον γράμματα παλαιὰ λῦσον αὐτὰ καὶ γράφε (ἐν ἡμέρᾳ) τῆς Σελήνης ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ Κρόνου μετὰ κινναβάρεως ἓνα ἄνθρωπον ἀπεθαμμένον καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀπάνω μεριὰν γράψον τὸ ὄνομά του, ὀδεῖνα, καὶ ὑποκάτω ταύτας τὰς χαρακτήρας [*signs*]

inscription of enemy’s name backwards, burial in tomb; to reverse, dissolving of writing and giving to drink. The eight angels are Σαραηλ, Εφλκα, Σαλαηλ, Γισιλ, Ραουηλ, Μελχισεδεκ, Αγαθοηλ, Εμπηηλ, and the are previously introduced for amuletic purposes: their names written down confer various benefits and protections (e.g. Γισιλ, the angel of sleep, for putting an insomniac to sleep)

1.7.3. Athens, Hist. Soc. cod. 115, f. 6v, ed. Delatte 1927, 10-11

ἀκόμα οἱ ἄνωθεν ἄγγελοι (ἔχουν) καὶ ἄλλην ἐνέργειαν· ἐὰν θέλῃς νὰ χαλάσῃς τὸν ἐχθρόν σου, γράψε ὅλονῶν τῶν ἀγγέλων τὰ ὀνόματα εἰς καλαμόφυλλον πράσινον καὶ νὰ γράψῃς καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἐχθροῦ σου εἰς τὸ καλάμιν ἀνάστροφα καὶ θάπτῃς το εἰς μνήμα νεκροῦ. καὶ θέλει τοῦ ἐρθη μεγάλη ἀσθένεια. καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα νὰ ἦναι ἡ τρίτη ἢ σάββατον. εἰ μὲν καὶ θέλεις πάλιν νὰ τὸν ἰατρεύσῃς, γράψε τὰ ὀκτὼ ὀνόματα εἰς χαρτὴν καὶ λύωσέ τα μὲ νερόν καὶ δός του. ἄς τὸ πῖη καὶ ὑγιαίνει ὁ ἄρρωστος. διὰ νὰ τὸν κακοποιήσῃς, νὰ τὰ γράψῃς εἰς τὴν ὥραν πρώτην ἢ τοῦ Κρόνου ἢ τοῦ Ἄρη ἢ τρίτη ἢ σαββάτω.

name, metronym, deposition at door in aggressive magic

1.7.4. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX), f. 424r, ed.

Parathomopoulos 2006, 276-277

διὰ νὰ κάμῃς κακὸν ἀνθρώπου. γράψε τὰ κάτωθεν καὶ βάνε τὰ εἰς τὴν πόρτα του καὶ τὸ ὄνομά του καὶ τῆς μητρός του. [*signs*]. τέλος καὶ αὐτό.

writing the target’s name on a leaf and putting it in the user’s shoe

1.7.5. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2315 (s. XV), f. 241r, ed. Legrand 1881, 10

περὶ ἐχθροῦ. ἔπαρον δάφνης φύλλον καὶ γράψον τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἐχθροῦ σου καὶ θές το εἰς τὸ πόδημά σου καὶ φόρειε ὑποκάτω.

Ἰ ἐχθροῦ¹ *corr. ex ἐκθροῦ cod. (corr. om. Legrand)* | ἐχθροῦ² : ἐκθροῦ *cod.*

1.7.6. Epirus (Metsovo) (s. XIX), iatrosophion, §97, ed. Oikonomou 1978 (cod. S), 271-272

ὅταν ἔχῃς κανέναν ἐχθρόν καὶ φοβᾶσαι. γράψε τὸ ὄνομά του εἰς ἓνα φύλλο τῆς δάφνης καὶ βάλ’ το εἰς τὸ ποδᾶρι σου, περιπάτει ὅθεν θέλεις.

muting

1.7.7. Cambridge, Trinity College cod. O.1.58 (James 1082), f. 138v
ut inimicus tuus non possit loqui. scribe nomen eius in lamna plumbi.

$\overline{\text{T}}$ lamna *conieci* : lame *cod.*

1.8 – *logoi* only

logoi and signs to be written on ostrakon, buried in a house (i.e. of the target); prb. also lines 12-32, procedure for making an effigy, pierced with bones

1.8.1. Unknown provenance, now Milan, P.Mil.Vogl. inv. 1251, ed. *Suppl.Mag.* II 97 (s. V/VI), side ↓, 7-10

κατακλητικόν. ἕμα ποντυκοῦ κὲ γράψον τρήγονον ὄστρακον κ(αὶ) χῶσον | εἰς τὸν εἶκον ἄραξ τράξ βράξ (*signs*).

71. κατακλητικόν (>κατακλίνω) : “Spell for calling in customers” tr. *Suppl.Mag.*

1.9 – non-verbal, signs

deposition of written magical sign in the tomb of one violently killed (εις κακοθανάτου μνημαν)

1.9.1. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419 (s. XV), f. 273v, ed. Delatte 1927, 503

διὰ νὰ χαθῆ ὁ ἐχθρὸς σου. γράψον ταῦτα τὰ σημεῖα ἐπάνω εἰς μέρος <... ἡμέρα>
Σελήνης ἐν ὥρᾳ Σκορπίου καὶ χῶσον εἰς κακοθανάτου μνημα. [sign]

deposition of inscribed object with angel-seal in tomb of a Jew, the target will be hated by everyone. some cryptography

1.9.2. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2419, f. 40v and Vienna, ÖNB cod. phil. gr. 108, f. 359r, ed. Delatte 1927, 447

αὕτη ἡ σφραγιδα̅ ἐστὶν Φικιελ τοῦ ἀγγέλου. γράφεται δὲ ἐν δέρματι ζῶου
φορισμένου καὶ ἐντεῦθεν μισεῖται παρὰ πάντων. τινὲς δὲ αὐτὸ εἰς τάφον Ἑβραίου
βάλλουσιν.

to bind a man so that he is impotent with his wife, ritual involving effigy and deposition in tomb, the inscription of characteres and dissolution in water, which is to be deposited at the target's door

1.9.3. Athens, EBE cod. 1265 (s. XVI-XVII), f. 59v, ed. Delatte 1927, 95-96

ἂν θέλῃς νὰ μὴν πναύσῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τίποτε μὲ τὴν γυναῖκά του ποτέ του, ὡς που
θέλεις. ἔπαρε μολύβιν καὶ ποίησε σακκοράφιν καὶ ἔπαρε τὴν μύτην του ἐμπρὸς ὀπίσω
καὶ βάρ' τὴν εἰς τὸν κῶλον τοῦ σακκοραφίου καὶ ὀνομάτισε ἐκεῖνον ποῦ θέλεις εἰς τὸ
ὄνομά του καὶ βάρ' το εἰς τὸ μνημα τοῦ νεκροῦ ὅσον καιρὸν θέλῃς νὰ τὸν ἀφήσῃς
δημένον. καὶ τότες ἔπαρον νερὸν καὶ λύωσε τὲς χαρακτῆρες καὶ χένωσε τὸ νερὸν εἰς
τὴν πόρταν του. οἱ δὲ χαρακτῆρες εἶναι ταύτες. [signs].

1 πνεύση *corr. Delatte, malim* πέφτη

to make a horse lame, Greek letters, graphic manipulation

1.9.4. Florence, BML cod. Plut. 45.19 (s. XIV, Italy)

si uis facere claudicare equum. custodias ubi < > tunc habeas cultellum qui sit factu[s] in die
dominico, scribe cum ipso super locum ubi pone[t] pes siue anteriori uel posteriori. quod
debes scribere istud est 'α ω.' et postea caua cum culte[llo] scripturam illam integram et
reuolue inferius in eodem loco et quamdiu ibi erit, semp[er] claudus ibi equus.

1 faciere cod. || 2 escribe cod.

1.9.5. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS e Mus. 219 (s. XIII), f. 185v

item si uis quod claudicet equus, pone acum nouam in pede equi mortui per unum diem et
noctem et postea extrahe et custodi. cum operari uolueris, de acu illa facias talem figuram
[sign] in passu equi et pone totam acum in medio figurae et pone bonum signum citra
figuram quam luas reuerti. cum autem equum sanare uolueris, dele figuram et extrahe
acum et equus sanabitur.

2 aqua *cod. a.c.*

1.9.6. Heidelberg, UB cod. Pal. germ. 229, f. 101r

ut mulier cum alio non coeat. ut mulier ab alio non cognoscatur, recipe uirgam cum qua
mensuratus sit mortuus et cum illa uirga tange diligentem te. sic dic 'sicut se diligunt uiui et
mortui, sic se diligant isti,' nominando N et N.

I coyat *cod.*

2 de argento : d.i.t:nt:: *crypt. cod.* || 3 albugine oui : .lboxg: ti: pxk *crypt. cod.* || 7 capitatum de cupreo : c.pkt.tyd:cpr:cc *crypt. cod.* | fingetis *cod.* || 8 malleo : ullf:: *crypt. cod.* || 9-10 facite et cogite : f.c:t:&c::g:te *crypt. cod.* || 10 quem *cod.*

2.1.1.1.4. Vienna, ÖNB cod. 2532 (s. XII), ff. 105v-106r, ed. Horak and Gastgeber 1995, 209

ad inueniendum furtum. accipe spumam argenti et distempera cum albumine oui et de hoc temperamento oculum huiusmodi [eye] facito in pariete. et aduocatis omnibus de quibus suspectus est, aspiciant oculum. et statim qui reus est lacrimabitur. quod si adhuc negare uoluerit, clauum cupreum picto oculo infige et mox fur clamabit. uerum dum hoc peragis dic ‘rabascel larium reatanay facite et cogite apparere furem et rem quam furatus est N, magnus epancorias.’

2.1.1.1.5. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS e Mus. 219 (s. XIII), f. 186r

item. si quis tibi aliquid furatus fuerit uel suspicionem super aliquem habueris, ita poteris scire. perquire spumam argenti quae proicitur de argento quando funditur et cum albumine oui illam fortiter tere. postea in aliquo pariete depinge talem oculum [figure]. postea conuoca omnes de quibus tibi suspicio fit. statim ut accesserint oculum dextrum illorum qui rei fuerint uidebis lacrimantem. si uero negare uoluerint, unum clauum capitatum de cupro fige in oculo picto et percute fortiter cum malleo et statim clamabunt ac si illos percuteres.

2.1.1.1.6. Cambridge, Trinity College cod. O.1.58 (James 1082), f. 137v

depinge oculum sinistrum in pariete cum litharguro argenti et albumine oui ad formam oculi sinistri, tenens clauum ex cupro puro in manu tua sinistra et martellum in manu dextra et dicas ‘qui es specierum tam occultarum quam manifestarum uerus purgator, nomine tuo fac me habere rectum iudicium de tale furto ut recognoscat fur qui hanc rem furatus est et manifeste coram omnibus patefiat quis sit fur, uel quicquid huic scilicet oculo contingat, consimilem poenam in oculo suo senseat.’ et tunc productum clauum in oculo figeas et cum martello percute dicens ‘kabas zelarum kabeas keathay nay cogite coliare facite appellare furem qui hanc rem furatus est et ubi prius apparuerit.’ omni uice clauum in oculo fige et tunc lacrimabit oculo et postea magna uoce clamabit ubicumque fuerit per totum mundum.

[at left, figure of eye, around which kabas zalarum iabeas keathy nay cogite coliare]

1 sinistrum *cod.* (et *passim*) | litargero *cod.* || 3 qui es specierum *conieci* : q sscieior *cod.* (?) || 5 patefiat *cod.* || 7 figeas *conieci* : [[fugiat]] figeat *cod.*

2.1.1.1.7. London, Wellcome Library cod. 517 (s. XV, Netherlands), ff. 123v-124r

experimentum bonum pro furto et optimum. in primis depinge oculum in pariete cum clauo cuprino ex lithargyris argenti | et albedine oui et calce uiuo talem (eye) et scribe in exteriori oculo circum circa ‘Iesus sciens omnium rerum occultarum siue manifestarum uerus propagator’ et tunc dic sic ‘in nomine illius uobis praecipio et uos omnes uires et mulieres circumstantes et circumsedentes et oculum istum inspicientes adiuro ut maximo et manifesto signo hic coram uobis omnibus patefiat quis uestrum omnium rem istam N furatus fuit uel est, amen. domine Iesu Christe sciens omnium hominum corda cuius miracula cuius iudicia uera sunt omnipotentiam tuam nobis famulis tuis in te confidentibus hic et hoc facto N tua benignitate ostendere digneris per hanc dictam

circumstantiam uel sedentium huius furti reus sit et qui sint furti participes qui uiuis et regnas dee per omnia saecula saeculorum amen.’ et supradictum oculum cum clauo percutis, dic silenter super hoc carmen ‘ykaas cellarium kabac cellarium reana ista reasa uel keasa uaier uel yabas zelaz booboconi uel rases uel rabes seclay iacanay facite uel cogite istum coram nobis hic et aperto comparere et coram omnibus culpam suam et peccatum suum confiteri aperte amen.’ et cum omnis oculum inspicerit, si fur sit in domo uidebis oculum eius dextrum lacrimantem. tunc dic ei ut furtum reddat. si adhuc negat, semper percutite clauem cum mallio dicendo praedictum carmen donec reus clamauerit et crimen suum confiteatur.

2 liturgicis cod. || 9 ostenderis cod. || 10 [[et qui]] participes *cod.* || 14 copareri cod. || ad hunc cod.

2.1.1.1.8. London, Wellcome Library cod. 517, f. 67r

item. depinge oculum sinistrum in pariete et dum pingeris dicas istud carmen ‘bellas celarim beam N coniuero uos ut cogatis furtum.’ tunc conuoca omnes quos habes suspectos et dic ‘Iesus sciens omnem ueritatem rerum occultarum siue manifestarum, interiorum propagator uerus, in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen. coniuero uos uiros uel mulieres inspicientes oculum istum ut quicumque uirum fuerit qui rem istam furatus est uel furata de qua quaerimus, manifestum signum in eo uel in ea pateat per ipsum qui omnia uera manifestat et prodit.’ et pone cultelli punctum suauius ad oculum dicendo haec uerba ‘bellas celarim beam lemeton bican ma(g)nus epiforas et magnus opiam coya cogite hunc furem apparere qui furatus est rem quam quaerimus.’ et statim clamabit fur quasi ipsum percutieris. hoc experimentum est uerum. [*drawing of eye and magic words surrounding it*]

2.1.1.1.9. University of Kansas, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, cod. C126 (s. XIV-XV), f. 55r (added in blank space)

hoc experimentum de oculo. accipe de spuma argenti et distempera cum albedine oui et accipe maleum et clauum cupreum et cum clauo forma oculum talem de hoc quod temperasti in pariete uersus septentrionem et informa minorem circulum et scribe in eo ‘salet medal diomedal arteson’ et informa circulum et scribe in eo ‘gestu necul uilados et exul acuso salet estudeal. sedet dicit dominus sciens omnium rerum occultarum manifestarum qui est uerus propagator, et nomine eius praecipio uobis et coniuero uos uiros et mulieres oculum istum ut manifeste signo omnibus pateat hoc furtum N rolías celarium ranara rematon reite tantum cogite habente furem apparere qui istam rem furatus de quo quaerimus, cogat eam magis operatio.’ et infinge clauum in oculum et percutite. si fur praesens est, clamabit ac si in oculum percutias.

[at top, drawing of eye, around which text in two circles, the inner, clockwise from left: medal diomedal arteson; the outer, clockwise from top: gestu necul uilados et exul acuso salet \estudeal/]

[at lower left, two draft drawings, the upper with the eye, one circle, and text medal diomedal; the other, a circle only]

3 in informa *cod.*

cf. *Joshua* 7

2.1.1.1.10. London, Wellcome Library cod. 517, f. 81r

experimentum de oculo. recipe albumen oui et spumam argenti, commisce simul et fac oculum in hunc modum [*drawing of eye, around which clockwise from top racha elyn*]

iachaca ely], dicas hanc orationem ‘domine Iesu Christe qui fecisti uerum indicium per manum serui tui Iosue in ciuitate Iherico de furto Zachar qui mandatum tuum regulam auream subtraxit, fac ut si hic reus sit qui hoc furtum fecit, ad tertium punctum oculus dexter lacrimetur, per Christum deum nostrum.’ dic collocationem istam tribus uicibus. quando semel dictum est, tunc fur debet lacrimari cum dextro oculo. fac punctum in oculo, tunc debet magis clamare. tunc interroga illi si ipse sit reus. si negat, tunc percuties oculum cum clauo de cupresso uel de cupro. ille statim clamabit et non poterit cum illo oculo uidere et statim reddet se reum.

2.1.1.2 - scripture

2.1.1.3 – hymn

(found verbatim as an incipit in the Synaxarium Triodii et Pentecostarii of the monastery of the Theotokos Euergetis, Day 57T, ἀκολουθία τοῦ νιπτῆρος, ἤχος 2, ed. Jordan 2005; cf. also *Ps.* 35:4)

2.1.1.3.1. Cambridge, Trinity College cod. R.15.36 (s. XV, James 947), f. 29r, cf. *CCAG* IX:49, cod. 64

πρὸς τὸ εὔρεθῆναι τὸν κλέπτην. λαβὼν τὸ λευκὸν τοῦ ὤου μίξον μετὰ μολύβδου καὶ γράψον εἰς τοῖχον ὀφθαλμὸν καὶ στήσον τοὺς ὑπόπτους ὥστε βλέπειν πρὸς αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ κλέψας δακρύσει. εἰ δὲ ἀρνεῖται, πῆξον ἥλον ἐν τῷ γραφέντι ὀφθαλμῷ καὶ ὁμολογήσει. κύκλω δὲ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ γράψε τὸ ‘ὁ δὲ παράνομος Ιουδας οὐκ ἠβουλήθη συνιέναι.’

2.1.1.3.2. Florence, BML cod. Plut. 86.14 (s. XV), f. 47r, cf. Vassiliev 1893, 341 and Delatte 1927, 625

πρὸς τὸ εὔρεθῆναι τὸν κλέπτην. λαβὼν τὸ λευκὸν τοῦ ὤου μίξον μετὰ μολύβδου καὶ γράψον εἰς τοῖχον ὀφθαλμὸν καὶ στήσον τοὺς ὑπόπτους ὥστε βλέπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ κλέψας δακρύσει. εἰ δὲ ἀρνεῖται, πῆξον ἥλον ἐν τῷ γραφέντι ὀφθαλμῷ καὶ ὁμολογήσει. κύκλω δὲ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ γράψον τὸ ‘ὁ δὲ παράνομος Ιουδας οὐκ ἠβουλήθη συνιέναι.’

1 μολύβδου Vassiliev || 2 τεῖχον Vassiliev

2.1.1.3.3. Athens, EBE cod. 1265 (s. XVI-XVII), f. 28r, ed. ed. Delatte 1927, 67

εἰς τὸ φανερωῖσαι κλέπτην. λάβε αὐγοῦ τὸ ἄσπρον καὶ μίξον μετὰ μολύβδου καὶ γράψον εἰς τοῖχον ἕνα ὀφθαλμὸν καὶ βάλε ἐκείνους ὅπου ὑπονοῶς νὰ βλέπουν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν. καὶ ὁ κλέπτης ὡσὰν τὸν ἴδῃ, δακρύζει. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀρνεῖται, πῆξον ἕνα καρφὶν εἰς τὸ ὀμμάτιν τὸ γραφόμενον καὶ γράψε τριγύρου τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ‘ὁ δὲ παράνομος Ιουδας οὐκ ἔβουλήθη συνιέναι.’

2 τυχὸν Delatte

2.1.1.4 - *logoi*

2.1.1.4.1. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 362r, ed. Delatte 1927, 611

ἄλλο. γράψον εἰς τοῖχον μετὰ λευκοῦ ὤου καὶ ψιμύθου ἕνα ὀφθαλμὸν τούτῳ ὅμοιον [eye] καὶ γύροθεν τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ταῦτα ‘ιδερ ιαρ [signs].’ γράψον καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ὑπόπτων γύροθεν τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ὁ κλέψας δακρύει. εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖ ὁ

κλέψας καὶ ἔχει τι εἰπεῖν, ὀσπῆξον μέσον τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἦλον, καὶ ὁ κλέψας εὐθύς
λαλεῖ ὡς αὐτῷ τὸ μῦθόν μου καὶ ὁμολογεῖ εὐθύς.

2.1.2 – bread and cheese

2.1.2.1 – prayer

hymnic invocation, note marking of elision; perturbation of the text, in the copying, a
separate recipe has been inserted between what is now numbered as lines 200 (f. 3v) and
201 (f. 4v), the Ἑρμοῦ δακτύλιος edited in *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P V.213-303

2.1.2.1.1. Thebes, now London, BL P.Lond. inv. 46, s. IV, f. 3r-v, 4v-5r, *Pap.Graec.Mag.*
P V 172-212

1. ἄλλως· κλέπτῃν πιάσαι. | Ἑρμῆν σὲ καλῶ, θεὸν ἀθάνατον ὃς κατ’ Ὀλυμπον
αὐλάκα τέμνεις, βᾶρῖν θ’ ἱερῆν, φωσφόρ’ | Ἰάω, ὁ μέγας αἰωνόβειος, φρικτὸς | μὲν
ιδεῖν, φρικτὸς δὲ ἀκροᾶσθαι, | παράδος φῶρ’ ὃν ζητῶ ἀβεραμενίθω ουλερθε ξεναξ
σονελυσωθνεμαρεβα.’ | οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ | λέγεται β’. λόγος τοῦ
ἄρτοτύρου· | ἔρχου μοι λισσοῖν ματερνα μου | ερτη πρεπτεκτιουν ιντικι | ους
ολοκοτους περικλυσαι, τὸ ἀπολόμενον ἀγάγῃς μοι καὶ τὸν κλέπτῃν ἐμφανῆ
ποιῆσαι ἐν τῇ | σήμερον ἡμέρα. ἐπικαλοῦμαι | δὲ Ἑρμῆν κλεπτῶν εὐρετῆν | καὶ
Ἥλιον καὶ Ἡλίου κόρας, ἀθεμίστων πραγμάτων δύο φωταγωγοὺς, καὶ Θέμιν καὶ
Ἐρεινὴν καὶ | Ἄμμωνα καὶ Παράμμωνα ἐπικρατῆσαι τὴν τοῦ φωρὸς κατάποσιν
καὶ ἐμφανῆ θεῖναι ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρα, ἐν τῇ ἄρτι ὥρα.’ | ποιήσεις· ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος
ἐπὶ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ. λαβὼν ἄγγος καλλᾶϊνον | βάλε ὕδωρ καὶ ζ(μύ)ρ(ναν) καὶ
κυνοκέφαλον | βοτάνην καὶ ἐμβρέχων κλάδον δάφνης (ράϊνε), | ἓνα ἕκαστον
ἀποκαθαίρων. λαβὼν τρίποδα ἐπίθες ἐπὶ βωμὸν γείνον | {νον} ἐπίθου
ζ(μύ)ρ(ναν) καὶ λίβανον | καὶ γλωτταν βατράχου καὶ λαβὼν σελίγιον ἀναλον
καὶ τυρόν ἀίγιον δίδου ἕκαστῳ σελίγιου (δραχμᾶς) η, τυροῦ (δραχμᾶς) η
ἐπιλέγων | τὸν ἐξῆς λόγον. ἐπίγραφε δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ὑποκόλλησον τῷ |
τρίποδι· ἑδέσποτα Ἰάω, φωσφόρε, παράδος φῶρον ὃν ζητῶ.’ | ἐὰν δέ τις αὐτῶν
μὴ καταπίῃ | τὸ δοθὲν αὐτῷ, αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ κλέψας.

172 αλ pap., repeated in left marg. | ‘κλέπτῃν πιάσαι, Ἑρμῆν ... *Pap.Graec.Mag.* || 174
θ’ ἱερῆν φωσφορ’ pap. || 176 ἰδειν pap. || 177 φωρ’ pap. || 195 ποιήσεις: π in ecthesis
|| 196 ἀγγος καλλᾶϊνον pap. || 197 ὕδωρ pap. | ZP in monogram pap. | κυνοκεφαλῶν
pap. κυνοκεφάλιον *Pap.Graec.Mag.* || 198 βοτ pap. || 199 λ pap. || 200 γείνον pap. ||
201 ZP in monogram pap. || 201 λίβανον pap., perhaps abbrev. intended, then full form
written out instead || 202 γλωτταν pap. || 207 ὑπο- pap. || 208 ἰάω pap. || 209
φωρον pap., prp. dittogr., so φῶρ’ *Pap.Graec.Mag.*

2.1.2.1.2. unknown provenance, sheet from a codex, now Berlin, P.Berl. inv. 17202 (s.
IV), edd. Brashear and Kotansky 2002, front lines 23-30

[c. 10]νη κλουδα ὁ λαβὼν μὴ καταπίῃ ὅτι ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς {ὅτι ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς[[]]} |
κατὰ τῶν θίων ὀνομάτων ἐρικισση· αεα· αραρα· χαραρα· τραψες (traces) | ιω
παταθναξ ιω ἀποτρώγον τάδ’ ἔτοιμα | τὸν κλέπτῃν πιγιγῖνε τὴν ὥραν ἢν |
κατατρώγη τὸν ἀρτάτυρον διὰ τὰ μεγάλα ὑμῶν ὀνόματα ἤδη β ταχ\ύ/ β.

25, 30 ὀ pap. : ὀ(νομάτων) edd. pr. || 27 ιω (απομψ) -- 27 very uncertain, try again
with digital image. Ed. pr. ἀποτρώγον looks more like ἀπόφρασον || 28 κλέπτοντα

ed. pr. | l. πνιγῆναι : πνιγῖν {ε} ed. pr. | ὠράνην l. οὐράνην ed. pr. || 29 μῆ
κατα...γρη ed. pr. | l. ἀρτότυρον

2.1.2.1.3. Venice, BNM cod. gr. Z 498, ff. 248v-249r

ἐτέρα ἐρμηνεία εἰς αὐτὸ ἦγουν περὶ κλέπτου. δίδε τὸν ἐνοχλούμενον ὀλίγον τυρὶν
καὶ ὀλίγην προσφορὰν καὶ λέγε οὕτως ἄμανουηλ καὶ σαραφαηλ ὁ καταβὰς εἰς τὸ
φρέας μετὰ τὸν προφήτην Δα|νιηλ καὶ σφραγίσας καὶ δῆσας καὶ φράξας τὰ
στόματα τῶν λεόντων ἵνα μὴ βλάψουν τὸν προφήτην Δανιηλ, αὐτὸς δῆσον
ἐνδησον φράξον ἀπόσφιγξον τῶν στομάτων τὸν λάρυγγα ὅπου ἔκλεψε τὰ δεῖνά
μου πράγματα, ἵνα μὴ καταπίη μήτε τυρὸν μήτε ἄλλον τίποτε ἄχρις οὗ δώσωσιν
ὅπερ ἔκλεψαν.’ καὶ γράφε αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ τυρὶν καὶ δίδε εἰς τινα νὰ φορᾶσαι.

7 τιν(αν) ἀφορᾶσαι cod.

prayer for bread; for use by priest

2.1.2.1.4. Naples, BN cod. II C 33, f. 326r (s. XV), ed. Vassiliev 1893, 330

εὐχὴ λεγομένη εἰς κλέπτου. ἄδεσποτα κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ καταπέμψας
τὸν ἅγιόν σου ἄγγελον ἐπὶ τὸν λάκκον τοῦ ἁγίου σου προφήτου Δανιηλ καὶ
φράξας τὰ στόματα τῶν λεόντων, αὐτὸς ὦ πανάγαθε κύριε κατάπεμψον τοῦτον
καὶ ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ὥστε ἐλθεῖν καταφιμῶσαι τὸ στόμα τοῦ κλέψαντος τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦ
δεῖνος καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἄλαλον καὶ κωφὸν καὶ βωβὸν ἕως ἂν ὁμολογήσῃ αὐτὸ
εἰς δόξαν πατρὸς υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου.’
πρὸ τῆς εὐχῆς λαμβάνει ὁ ἱερεὺς ὄνπερ ἐφύλαξεν ἄρτον τῆς μεγάλης πέμπτης καὶ
μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν τὴν εὐχὴν δίδωται τῶν ὑπόπτων ἢ ἀναφορά. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν ὁ
ἄνθρωπος καθαρὸς, τρώγει τὸν ἄρτον ἀνεμποδίστως, εἰ δ’ οὐ, ἴσταται εἰς τὸν
λαιμὸν αὐτοῦ πνίγων αὐτόν.

2.1.2.1.5. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), ff. 361v-362r, ed. Delatte 1927, 610

ἄλλο. γράψον εἰς ἄρτον καθαρὸν ἄσιaron ροδαθα βαθραι, ὅ τι καὶ ὅτε δὴ σὺ |
ἄρων, μὴ καὶ πιεῖτω.’

1-2 ὅτι καὶ ὅται δὲ σὺ Ἄρων Μικὴ πηγήτω *Delatte*

2.1.2.1.6. Cologne, Bibliothek des Domkapitels cod. CXXIII (s. X), f. 146v, added on
final page of a collection of canons, incomplete, ed. Zeumer 1882, 632

‘in Christi nomine. domine deus omnipotens qui fecisti caelum et terram, mare et omnia
quae in eis sunt, si culpabilis est homo ille de causa ista, aut si sapit, aut inuolauit aut
partem recepit, si culpabilis est, iget panis iste. si culpabilis non est, non iget. deus
angelorum, deus archangelorum, deus prophetarum, deus patriarcharum, deus
apostolorum, deus martyrum, deus confessorum, deus uirginum, deus omniumque
sanctorum tuorum, deus Michael, deus Gabriel, deus Raphael, deus Oriel, deus Tobiel,
deus Raguel, deus Salathiel, deus Abraham, deus Isaac, deus Iacob, deus Moysi, deus
Aaron, deus qui liberasti tres pueros de camino ignis ardentis, Sidrac Misac et Abdenago,
Susannam <’

bread and cheese inscribed with scripture (*pater noster*); prayers, exorcism of materials and
of the devil; *tremula* analogy

2.1.2.1.7. Bamberg, cod. liturg. 54 (Ed. V 1; s. XI), f. 120, ed. Franz 1909, 2:385-388,
notes “fast gleich” in Eichstätt, Dombibliothek, no shelfmark given, parchment cod. of s.
XI, ff. 141-142

1. iudicium panis et casei. isto modo debes facere. panis ordeatius esse debet siccus et caseus caprinus aridus et antequam diuidantur, scribe 'pater noster' in utroque et postea sic debes benedicere. primum illae res quae furatae sunt ibidem in uno breuiculo scriptae esse debent et illorum nomina similiter qui de furto insimulantur et illis audientibus super unam mensulam ante sanctum altare panem et caseum ita exorcizare et benedicere debes.
2. benedictio panis et casei. 'domine sancte pater omnipotens aeterne deus qui es inuisibilis omnium rerum creator spiritaliumque remunerator, qui et arcana prospicis et cuncta cognoscis, qui scrutaris corda et renes, te deprecor ut exaudias uerba deprecationis meae ut qui hoc furtum commisit panem uel caseum hunc fauces eius gluttire non permittas.'
3. alia. 'deus qui liberasti Moysen et Aaron de terra Aegypti, Dauid de manu Saul regis, Ionam de uentre ceti, Petrum de uinculis, Paulum de fluctibus, Susannam de falso crimine, tres pueros de camino ignis ardentis, Daniele de lacu leonum, paraliticum de grabato, Lazarum de monumento, ostende tuam misericordiam ut qui hoc furtum commisit panem uel caseum istum eius fauces intrare non permittas.'
4. alia. 'exorcizo te maledicte diabole, immundissime draco, basilisce, serpens noxie, per uerbum ueritatis et signum claritatis Iesu Christi, per deum omnipotentem et Iesum Nazarenum, agnum immaculatum de altissimo procreatum de spiritu sancto conceptum ex Maria uirgine natum quem Gabriel archangelus annuntiauit uenturum quem Ioannes uidens exclamauit dicens "ecce agnus dei qui tollit peccata mundi," ut nullo modo tu praesumas sancto communicare. et tu domine Iesu Christe non permittas panem uel caseum hunc isti homini manducare qui istud furtum commisit et si criminis nescius est, salubriter manducet, et si de eo conscius est, factus tremebundus euomat illud propter nomen sanctum tuum, qui uenturus.'
5. alia. 'deprecor te domine sancte pater omnipotens aeterne deus qui caelum formasti et terram fundasti, mare limitibus terminasti, solem et lunam in splendore lucere fecisti, ut intelligant astantes quia tu es qui facis mirabilia. et te dominum Iesum Christum humili prece depono ut qui furtum istud commisit uel qui consentaneus est gula eius uel lingua seu fauces suae sic fiant constrictae et obligatae ut panem uel caseum iste non praeualeat manducare. per te, saluator.'
6. alia. 'in caelis gloriosus es deus et ubique admirabile nomen tuum. deprecor te qui es rex regum et dominus dominantium, deus iustorum, deus apostolorum, deus martyrum, deus omnium sanctorum ut qui furtum istud commisit apponatur ei in nomine tuo creatura panis uel casei et fauces eius claudantur seu celerius ut accipiat non transglutiat, quia tu es deus et non est alius praeter te. hoc fac propter te et propter misericordiam tuam ut separetur a diabolo et per poenitentiam saluetur et statim ut acceperit tremebundus appareat tremiscatque tamquam arbor tremula et requiem non habeat usque quo confiteatur tibi, saluator mundi.'
7. exorcismus panis et casei. 'exorcizo te creatura panis et casei per deum patrem omnipotentem et per Iesum Christum filium eius unicum, dominum nostrum, et spiritum sanctum procedentem a patre et filio et unum deum in trinitate iudicem uiuorum et mortuorum. adiuro te per sanctos apostolos eius et omnem militiam caelestem ut si quis ex his sumere uoluerit, si de his quae in isto breuiculo continentur contaminatus non est, salubris et leuis ei efficiaris esca ad sumendum. si quis uero pertinax ausu temerario commaculatus de his quae hic continentur inserta ore sacrilego te edere conatus fuerit, fauces uel guttur illius transire non possis, sed strangulatus sentiat dominum quem nulla latent in sua creature miracula operari, aut confessus proferat et reiciat quod sponte nolebat detque gloriam deo. qui uenturus.'
8. 'deus angelorum, deus archangelorum, deus patriarcharum, deus prophetarum pariter et apostolorum, deus martyrum, deus confessorum, deus uirginum, deus pater domini nostri Iesu Christi qui in mundi exordio hominem ad imaginem tuam propria uoluntate

formasti praeceptumque ei dedisti ut uetitum non tangeret pomum, quo transgresso praeuaricationis tam diu poenas luit quousque immensa tua diuinitas in homine assumpto tulit e uinculo seruum restituitque genus humano regno, inclina aurem tuam ad preces humilitatis nostrae et ostende nobis misericordiam tuam ut qui contra praeceptum tuum et aduersus legalia instituta euangelica et apostolica furtum perpetrare non metuunt uirtutem tuam in hac creatura panis et casei sentiant aduenisse, ut si quis de his quorum nomina hic tenentur inscripta de his rebus quae in hoc breuiculo tenentur inserta aliquid furatus est aut consentiens fuerat aut quolibet modo commixtus et in hac praesentia reddere aut confiteri noluerit, coram omnibus panis et casei istius partes transglutire non possint sed spumato ore et sanguinulento faucibusque contractis appareat uictus et qui innocens est illesus cum gratiarum actione sumat et laetus abscedat, quia tu es domine iudex iustus et aequitatem uidit uultus tuus. scrutans tu ergo corda et renes et solus sciens cogitationes hominum, ne perdas iustum cum impio, sed aequitatem misericordiae tuae in illis ostende, ut quomodo in aqua benedictionis pudicitiam et stuprum decreuisti quondam, ita quoque nostris temporibus in hac creatura tua operare miracula ut discant omnes fines terrae iudicia tua, qui es benedictus in saecula saeculorum.’

writing scripture (*pater noster*), names of stolen articles and suspects; prayer; address to suspects; *tremula* analogy

2.1.2.1.8. Munich, BSB clm 22040 (S. Benedikt in Wessobrunn, s. XII), ff. -130 [incomplete folio reference], ed. Zeumer 1882, 686-687

1. incipit ordo ad consecrandum panem et caseum hoc modo. panis hordeacius sit qui benedici debet. quo benedicto et caseo similiter, antequam illos diuidas, scribere debes in breui ‘pater noster’ et pensare debes de illo pane dimidiam unciam et de caseo similiter. et illae res quae furtim ablatae sunt in eadem breui scriptae esse debent et nomina illorum quibus furta imputantur similiter. et tunc infra scriptae benedictiones supra panem et caseum dicere debes. ‘dominus uobiscum. deus angelorum et archangelorum, deus prophetarum et patriarcharum, domine sancte, pater omnipotens, aeterne deus, omnium rerum creator qui es inuisibilis spiritualium ordinator, qui cunctorum es conditor et arcana conspicias et omnia cognoscis, scrutans corda ac renes, te deprecamur ut exaudias uerba deprecationis nostrae et benedicere et sanctificare digneris panem uel caseum istum ad furtum inueniendum uel alias res quae cum tuo examine et iudicio querendae sunt. et presta per inuocationem sancti nominis tui ut si aliquis culpabilis et reus de prenominate furto (uel) causa fallente diabolo superba mente ac tumido corde cum caseo isto uel pane benedicto se excusare uoluerit et in os suum acceperit, presta quesumus ut eius fauces uel guttur pertransire non possint sed statim tremebundus euomat ut tua iustissima uirtus manifestetur et anima eius per poenitentiam saluetur. qui uenturus es iudicare uiuos et mortuos. deus iudex iustus et auctor pacis et iustitiae qui liberasti Moysen et Aaron de terra Aegypti et Dauid de manu Saul regis et Ionam de uentre ceti, Petrum de fluctibus maris ac Paulum de uinculis, Teclam de [bestiis ... exorcizo te creatura panis et casei ... si quis ex his sumere uo]luerit, salubris efficiaris esca ad sumendum, detque gloriam deo uiuenti qui uenit.’

2. exorcismus super hominem. ‘admoneo uos fratres in nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi Nazareni. benedictus deus in saecula saeculorum, amen.’

3. post haec sume duas cruces de tremulo et cum illum panem et caseum mittis in os eius, pone unam crucem subter pedem dextrum et sacerdos manum super eum teneat cum alia cruce et breuiculo et dicat hanc orationem ‘adiuro te N per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum et per duodecim apostolos et per duodecim prophetas et per uiginti quattuor seniores et per nouem ordines angelorum ut si hoc furtum fecisti uel consensisti, panem istum et caseum non transgluttias sed spumato ore coram me reddas et reus appareas et

requiem ante non habeas quam confitearis et des illi gloriam qui uiuit et regnat deus in saecula saeculorum amen.'

writing on bread; prayer; invocation of the devil; *tremula* analogy with interlocking ritual 2.1.2.1.9. Luxembourg, BnL cod. 121 (a. 1448, Munstereifel, miscellany copied by a canon, Thilmann Pluntsch), f. 114r-v, ed. in part van Werveke 1894, 272-273 and Zeumer 1882, 687-688 (with old shelfmark)

1. iudicium panis et casei. in primis fac letaniam, deinde benedic panem uel caseum hiis uerbis 'domine deus omnipotens agye agye agye qui in caelo consistis et sanctum ac uenerabile est nomen tuum, deus sancte pater, inuisibilis et aeternus deus, omnium rerum creator, deus sancte caelorum ornator qui cunctas res et arcana prospicis et cuncta scis, qui scrutaris corda et renes, deus deprecor te, exaudi uerba mea et deprecationem meam ut qui hoc furtum, hanc luxuriam, incestum admisit panis aut caseus iste ne fauces nec guttur eius transire possit. domine qui liberasti Moysen <...> ostende domine nunc tuam misericordiam ut qui hoc furtum {illud} admisit, nec panis nec caseus iste fauces aut guttur eius transire possit. exorcizo te maledicte et immundissime draco, serpens noxie, per uerbum ueritatis, per deum omnipotentem et per Iesum agnum immaculatum de altissimo progenitum de spiritu sancto conceptum de Maria uirgine natum quem Gabriel nuntiauit uenturum, quem cum uidisset Iohannes uoce magna clamauit dicens "ecce agnus dei" et Petrus "tu es filius dei," ut nullus noxius pro hoc furto communicet de isto pane uel caseo, qui hoc furtum {illud} admisit, sed tremat manducans et ex eius sanctitate tremebundus euomat quod accepit te iubente. domine sancte pater omnipotens aeterne deus qui caelum plasmasti, terram fundasti, mare arenis firmasti et omnes caelos fabricasti et magna illuminatione ornasti, fac domine signum tale ut omnis mundus et omnis terra intelligat quia tu es deus qui facis mirabilia magna solus, domine Iesu Christe fili dei uiui. et qui res istas furatus est aut qui harum conscius esse uidetur, gula et lingua uel fauces eius angantur ita constricta et obligata ut panem uel caseum istum non possit manducare. per tremendum patrem tuum et te filium eius et spiritum sanctum, per tremendum diem iudicii, per quattuor euangelistas, per duodecim apostolos, per duodecim prophetas, per uiginti quattuor seniores qui cottidie tibi laudes dicunt, te redemptorem qui pro nostris peccatis manus in sancta cruce expandere dignatus es, exoramus ut qui istum furtum uel consensit uel fecit uel furatus fuit, ut omnes homines te adorandum sciant, presta hoc de manu tua domine et de tua sancta gloria et uirtute ut nec panem nec caseum istum possit manducare sed inflato ore cum spuma et lacrimis sanguinem factum reiciat fiantque sic constricti ut confiteantur. presta hoc qui in trinitate perfecta uiuis et regnas in saecula saeculorum, amen.'

2. alia benedictio. 'deus angelorum, deus archangelorum <...>.'

3. exorcismus panis et casei. 'exorcizo te creaturam panis et casei <...> detque gloriam deo qui uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos et saeculum per ignem.'

4. admonitio ad circumstantes. 'admoneo uos fratres in nomine Iesu Christi Nazareni <...> ut qui de hoc furto consentiens fuit' uel 'ut si actum luxuriae cum N fecit, iudicium dei patefecit' uel 'faciat qui iudicat aequitatem in omni tempore, qui est benedictus in saecula saeculorum, amen.'

5. post haec debes ista facere. panis hordeacus debet esse et antequam illum diuidas 'pater noster' in illo pane scribe et pensare debes de illo pane mediam unciam et de caseo similiter et postea debes benedicere, et illas res quae furatae sunt ibidem in uno breuiculo scriptae debent esse et illorum nomina similiter. et illis uidentibus et audientibus super unum scutum ante sanctum altare benedicere debes, et postea debes habere duas cruces de tremula et cum illum panem et caseum mittis in os eius, debet habere unam crucem subtus pedem dextrum, et sacerdos manum suam super eum cum alia cruce teneat et breuiculum

similiter et cum comedit, dicat sacerdos coniurationem hanc ‘adiuro te per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum et per duodecim apostolos et per quindecim prophetas et per uiginti quattuor seniores et per nouem ordines angelorum ut si de hoc furto consentiens fuisti quod super caput iacet, panem istum et caseum non transglutias sed spumato ore contra me reddas et reus appareas et requiem antea non habeas sed sicut folium tremulae ita eas per uirtutem domini nostri Iesu Christi qui uiuit et regnat cum deo patre in unitate spiritus sancti, deus per omnia saecula saeculorum, amen.’

19, 25 furatus, conscius, qui, furatus *feminine alternates added*

bread and cheese; prayer; invocation of devil; *tremula* analogy

2.1.2.1.10. Munich, BSB clm 100 (s. XII), ff. 93r-94v (old foliation 131r-132v)

1. incipit iudicium quod cum caseo agitur. ‘sanctus deus, sanctus fortis, sanctus et immortalis, agyos o theos agyos yskiros agyos athanatos, eleyson imas, agyos agyos agyos, sancte pater omnipotens aeterne deus omnium rerum uisibilium cunctorumque spiritualium conditor qui respicis arcana et cuncta cognoscis, qui scrutaris corda hominum et regnas deus, deprecor te, exaudi uerba meae precis ut quicumque furtum istud commisit et fecit siue consensit, panis et caseus iste guttur suum transire non possit.’

2. alia. ‘omnipotens sempiterne deus qui caelum camerasti et terram fundasti et mare liminibus firmasti et sua quaeque disciplina ordinasti, fac domine signum tale ut homines isti intelligant quia tu es deus et non est alius praeter te. qui uiuis.’

3. alia. ‘domine Iesu Christe qui liberasti | Moysen et Aaron de terra Egypti et filios Israel de rubro mari, Petrum de fluctibus, Paulum de uinculis, Theclam de spectaculo bestiarum, Susannam de falsis criminibus, Danielelem de lacu leonum, Adam de tenebris, Abraham de Ur Chaldeorum, Loth de Sodomis, tres pueros Sidrac Misac et Abdenago de camino ignis, concede ut quicumque furtum istud fecit ut panis et caseus iste fauces eius et guttur transire non possit. qui cum patre et spiritu sancto.’

4. exorcismus. ‘exorcizo te immundissime draco serpens antique aquilana nox per uerbum ueritatis et signum claritatis, per dominum nostrum Iesum agnum immaculatum de altissimo procreatum, de spiritu sancto conceptum, de Maria uirgine natum, quem Gabriel archangelus nuntiauit esse uenturum, quem Iohannes uidens clamauit “hic est filius dei uiuus et uerus,” ut nullo modo dimittas hunc panem et caseum istum man | ducare quicumque fecit furtum istud uel consensit uel consilium dedit. strangula guttur eius et proclode, nec tamen ad mortem, adiuratus per eum qui uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos.’

5. et istas orationes per tres uices repetas. et an<te>quam orationes istas dicas, in ipso pane debes orationem dominicam scribere et de illo pane pensare debes denarios decem et de caseo similiter et panem et caseum insimul debes ponere in os suum et facere duas cruces de tremulo et unam ponere sub pedem eius dextrum et aliam crucem sacerdos manu sua super caput eius teneat et finitum illud scriptum in tabula super caput illius iacere.

6. et quando ipsum panem in os eius mittis, debes coniurationem subscriptam dicere ‘coniuro te homo per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum et per uiginti quattuor seniores qui cottidie laudes coram deo personant et per duodecim patriarchas, per duodecim prophetas, et per duodecim apostolos et euangelistas, per martyres, per confessores, per uirgines, et per omnes sanctos | et per redemptorem nostrum dominum nostrum Iesum Christum qui pro nostra salute et peccatis manus suas cruci affigi passus est ut si de hoc furto consentiens fuisti aut nouisti aut aliquam culpam exinde habuisti, panis et caseus iste fauces et guttur tuum transire non possit sed tremas sicut folia tremuli, amen, et requiem non habeas homo donec illum euomas cum sanguine si de furto praenominato aliquid commisisti. per eum qui uiuit.’

7. alia. 'domine Iesu Christe qui ostendisti ossa patris nostri Ioseph, da ut quicumque furtum istud commisit fauces eius et guttur sic retineantur constricti et obligati ut panem et caseum istum non possint manducare et deglutire nisi cum gemitu et dolore et spuma et lacrimis reddat coram deo uiuo et uero et culpabilis appareat et tremat ut folium tremuli quod a uento concutitur. qui cum patre.'

$\overline{1.2-3}$ i.e. ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς || 4.1 exorzizo *cod.* | aquilana nox *prp. pro. aquilina uox ?* || 4.6 fecit *subpunxit m.a.* || 5.2 pensare *ditt. cod.*

2.1.2.2 - narrative

2.1.2.3 – scripture

Ps. 9:28 on offering-bread

2.1.2.3.1. Paris, BnF *cod. gr. 2315* (s. XV), f. 240v, ed. Legrand 1881, 10; recollated *περὶ τοῦ γινῶναι τὸν κλέπτην. ἔπαρον προσφορὰν λειτουργημένην καὶ γράψον εἰς αὐτὴν 'οὐ ἄρᾶς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ γέμει καὶ πικρίας καὶ δόλου, ὑπὸ τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτοῦ κόπος καὶ πόνος.'* καὶ γράψον τὸ ὄνομα τῶν ὑπόπτων καὶ ἄς πάρη καθὰ εἰς τὴν μερίδα καὶ ἄς τρώγη. καὶ σὺ λέγε τοὺς ἄνω γεγραμμένους στίχους, καὶ ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος καταπιεῖν, αὐτὸς ὁ κλέπτης.

$\overline{3}$ καθαεῖς *cod.* : καθαεῖς *Legrand*

Ps. 9:28 on offering-bread

2.1.2.3.2. Bologna, UB *cod. 3632* (s. XV), f. 361v, ed. Delatte 1927, 609
ἄλλον. γράψον εἰς προσφορὰν ἀπροσκόμιστον 'οὐ ἄρᾶς (τὸ στόμα) γέμει, πικρίας καὶ πόνου καὶ δόλου, ὑπὸ τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτοῦ κόπος καὶ πόνος.' καὶ δὸς φαγεῖν.

Ps. 9:28 on offering-bread

2.1.2.3.3. Dresden, SLUB *cod. Dresd.Da.63* (s. XVI: fragment, collection of recipes), f. 4r
ἕτερον. λαβὼν προσφορὰν ἀπροσκόμιστον, γράψων εἰς τὸ γύρον τῆς 'οὐ ἄρᾶς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ γέμει καὶ πικρίας καὶ δόλου, ὑπὸ τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτοῦ κόπος καὶ πόνος' καὶ κατακόψας δὸς φαγεῖν τοῖς ὑπόπτες κατὰ νηστικὰ οὐς ἔχεις ὑποψίαν.

$\overline{1}$ ἀπρόσκόμητον *cod.*

Ps. 9:28 on cheese

2.1.2.3.4. Paris, BnF *cod. gr. 1603* (s. XVI), f. 354r
λάβε τυρὶν Μάρτιον καὶ γράψε 'οὐ ἄρᾶς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ γέμει καὶ πικρίας καὶ δόλου, ὑπὸ τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτοῦ κόπος καὶ πόνος.' καὶ δὸς φαγεῖν.

Ps. 9:28, cheese and unconsecrated eucharist bread; prayer to angels; a separate procedure grafted on at the end (2)

2.1.2.3.5. Athens, EBE *cod. 1265* (s. XVI-XVII), f. 28r, ed. Delatte 1927, 67-68

1. ἄλλο εἰς τὸ φανερῶσαι κλέπτην. ἔπαρον τυρὶν νωπὸν καὶ κόψε το κομμάτια καὶ γράψε ὅσους ὑφορᾶσαι τὰ ὀνόματα. καὶ ἔπαρε καὶ προσφορὰν ἀψάλτην καὶ γράψον γύρωθεν οὕτως 'οὐ ἄρᾶς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ γέμει καὶ πικρίας καὶ δόλου, ὑπὸ

τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτοῦ κόπος καὶ πόνος.’ καὶ δὸς ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἀμφιβαλλομένων ἀνὰ φελὶν τυρὸν τοῦ καθενὸς τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ὀλίγον ἄρτον ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων. καὶ τρώγοντες τοῦτοι, λέγε οὕτως ‘Μανουὴλ Ραφαὴλ Ἀνδραὴλ οἱ καταβάντες εἰς τὸ φρέαρ μετὰ τοῦ προφήτου καὶ σφραγίσαντες καὶ δήσαντες καὶ ἐμφράξαντες τὰ στόματα τῶν λεόντων ἵνα μὴ βλάψωσι τὸν προφήτην Δαυὶδ τὸν ἅγιον, αὐτοὶ δὴσατε καὶ ἐμφράξατε τὸ στόμα τὸν φάρυγγα καὶ τὸν λαιμὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ κλέπτου τοῦ κλέψαντος τὸ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος καὶ μὴ ἐάσατε καταπίειν τὸν ἄρτον μετὰ τυροῦ μήτε ἔνδικον τοιοῦτον, ἀμήν.’

2. καὶ εἰς μὲν τὸν ἄρτον γράψε ‘πρωικ,’ εἰς δὲ τὸν τυρὸν ‘Ρασαφαὴλ.’ καὶ γράψον καὶ ταῦτα γύρωθεν τῆς προσφορᾶς ‘αρ εξ στρα φ αρ γ γ ε ρ γ φ.’ μέρισον τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸν τυρὸν καὶ δὸς φαγεῖν καὶ νὰ θαυμάσης.

Ps. 9:28

2.1.2.3.6. Marburg, UB cod. B 20 (s. XV), f. 113r, ed. Dietrich 1867, 215

item ad idem. fac uenire omnes suspectos et da cuilibet buccellam panis et casei ad comedendum et dic haec uerba quae in isto psalmo ‘confitebor tibi domine in toto corde meo,’ uidelicet ‘cuius maledictione os plenum est et amaritudine et dolor, sub lingua eius labor et dolor,’ et reus deglutire non poterit.

Ps. 9:28; with Ps. 18, 71, 84, and 120

2.1.2.3.7. Hohenfurt, Cistercienserstift cod. 97 (s. XV), f. 116, ed. Franz 1909, 2:389-390
remedium contra furtum. accipe panem et caseum, in utroque scribe hunc uersum ‘cuius maledictione os plenum est et amaritudine et dolo, sub lingua eius labor et dolor.’ deinde legantur isti quatuor psalmi super panem et caseum, scilicet ‘caeli enarrant,’ ‘deus iudicium,’ ‘benedixisti domine,’ ‘leuau i oculos.’ tunc sequitur benedictio ‘oremus. omnipotens sempiternus deus, cum te caelum laudat, terra adorat, infernus formidat, alpha et o, deus et homo, finis et origo, ego indignus famulus tuus N maiestatem tuam suppliciter exoro quatenus exaudire digneris preces meas quas ad te pro huiusmodi furto fundo et ut rorem benedictionis ac sanctificationis huic pani et caseo quem ad usum hominum condidisti immittere digneris, quod si quis illius furti reus fuerit, ut pane et caseo isto in honorem nominis tui temere mastigare praesumat, fauces suas ut tu eas sic constringas sicut constricti fauces Dathan et Abyron quos propter sua scelera terra uiuos absorbuit, et sicut Elizeo petenti ferrum in aqua supernatare fecisti, sic fac cibum istum in honorem nominis tui ut qui huius furti reus et noxius fuerit etiam supernatare facias ita quod gerat in ore et faucibus, ut nequaquam ualeat deglutire, et si quis uero immunis fuerit, propter uerum iudicium tuum et immensam pietatem tuam ipsum a scandalo libera sicut liberasti Ionam a uentre ceti, Susannam a falso crimine, Daniele a lacu leonum, Tobiam a bestiis, Petrum a uinculis, Paulum a fluctibus, sic et me liberare digneris, qui es uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos et saeculum per ignem.’ deinde aspergatur panis et caseus aqua Epiphaniae et datur suspecto, id est super quod tendis.

Ps. 49:18-19, John 12:6; with prayer to angels

2.1.2.3.8. Athens, EBE cod. 879 (s. XVI), f. 273v, ed. Delatte 1927, 140-141 (for the manuscript cf. *CCAG X:7*)

‘εἰ ἐθεώρεις κλέπτην καὶ συνέτρεχες αὐτῷ καὶ μετὰ μοιχοῦ τὴν μερίδα σου ἐτίθει, τὸ στόμα σου ἐλάλησε κακίαν καὶ ἡ γλῶσσά σου περιέπλεκε δολιότητος. Μιχαὴλ Ουριηλ Ραφαὴλ ὁ καταβὰς εἰς τὸ φρέαρ μετὰ τοῦ προφήτου Δαυὶδ καὶ σφραγίσας καὶ δήσας καὶ φράξας τὰ στόματα τῶν λεόντων ἵνα μὴ ἄψωνται τοῦ προφήτου Δαυὶδ, αὐτὸς στήσον δῆσον τὸν φάρυγγα τοῦ λαιμοῦ τοῦ νόθου τοῦ κλέπτη ὅπου ἔκλεψε τὸ δεῖνα πρᾶγμα καὶ μὴ ἐάσης αὐτὸν καταπίειν τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον ὅτι

κλέπτῃς ὧν τὸ γλωσσόκομον ἐκράτει καὶ τὰ βαλλόμενα ἐβάσταζε. στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου.’

bread; prayer; *Ps.* 7:17; *tremula* analogy

2.1.2.3.9. Angers, ‘ex codicibus vetustis S. Sergii Andegavensis,’ ed. Zeumer 1882, 631

1. exactum super panem hordaceum de aliqua re perdita. ... alia. ‘domine deus omnipotens, agios agios agios, astans in caelis et in terris, sanctum et admirabile nomen tuum inuocamus. domine dominantium, deus caelorum, deus iustorum, deus prophetarum, deus apostolorum, deus martyrum, deus confessorum, deus uirginum, deus omnium iustorum, inuocamus te ut quicumque furtum istud admisit, apponatur ei creatura panis uel formatici ut antea reuomat quam pertranseat, quia tu es deus et non est alius praeter te, faciens mirabilia secundum magnam misericordiam tuam. separetur ab eo spiritus diaboli qui conscius est, qui innocens est manducet, qui culpabilis est tremat, tremescat tamquam arbor tremulus et requiem non habeat usque dum confiteatur, te iubente sancte pater qui liberasti Noe de undis diluuii, Daniele de lacu leonum, Petrum de fluctibus, Paulum de carcere, Ionam de uentre ceti, sicut fecisti Pharaonem regem Aegypti mergi, sicut ille mare siccum non pertransiuit, sic nec pertranseat gulam eius donec confiteatur. deus omnipotens iudica causam istam.’

2. hoc debet scribi in circuitu formatici antequam incipiatur missa et antequam cultro incidatur et debet integer esse. ‘conuertetur dolor eius in caput eius, et in uerticem eius iniquitas eius descendet.’ et dabis ei tunc panem et formaticum pondus nouem denariorum. panis sit ordeaceus absque fermento, formaticus Maiensis de ouibus. ... quamdiu cantatur missa, sint ante altare qui de furto accusantur et unus homo iuxta illos aut plures qui eos praeuideant ne aliquem dolum inuicem loquantur. cum uero uentum fuerit ad communionem, primus communicet se sacerdos corpore Christi et postea benedicat panem et caseum iuste pensata ut supra diximus et statim communicet eos. ipseque sacerdos et custos ipsos bene uideat qualiter unusquisque transglutiat. postquam autem omnes transglutierint, arcentur omnes anguli gulae eorum, ne quid remanserit. et sic post haec dicat postcommunionem missae.

2.1.2.4 – name

name written in reverse

2.1.2.4.1. London, BL cod. Royal 16 C II (s. XV), f. 26r

εἰς κλέπτῃν. κόψον ψώμιον ἀπαλὸν σαββατινὸν φυραμμένον εἰς κομμάτια τοσαῦτα ὅσοι οἱ ὑπόπτοι καὶ ὀπισθεν τούτων τῶν κομματίων γράφε τὸ ὄνομα ἐκάστου ἀντίστροφα καὶ οὕτως δὸς αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν καὶ οὐ μὴ καταπίει αὐτὸ ὁ κλώψ.

2.1.2.5 – *logoi*

2.1.2.5.1. Venice, BNM cod. gr. XI 21 (s. XIII), f. 21v

κλέπτῃν ἐλέγχει. λαβὼν ψωμὶν καὶ τυρὸν ἐπίγραφον εἰς μὲν τὸν ἄρτον ‘σαρσωνα,’ εἰς δὲ τὸν τυρὸν ‘σαμψων,’ καὶ δὸς φαγεῖν τοῖς ὑπόπτοις καὶ γνωθῆσεται ὁ κλέπτῃς ἐν τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι καταπίειν.

2.1.2.5.2. Vienna, ÖNB cod. philos. gr. 220 (shelfmark no longer in use; s. XVI), no foliation given, ed. Vassiliev 1893, 340 no. 25

εἰς τὸ γινῶναι τὸν κλέπτῃν. γράφον εἰς ἄρτον ‘σαρσων,’ εἰς δὲ τυρὸν ‘σαμψων,’ καὶ δὸς οἷς ὑποπτεύεις καὶ εἰ (ἢ) κλέψας, οὐ δύναται φαγεῖν.

2 <ῆ> *supplevi*

2.1.2.5.3. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2294 (s. XV), f. 80r-v; §105 in anonymous collection of recipes (ff. 73v-97r); with illustration

κλέπτην ἐλέγχει. λαμβώνων ψωμῖν καὶ τυρὸν ἐπίγραφον εἰς μὲν τὸν ἄρτον 'σαρσωνα,' εἰς δὲ τὸν τυρὸν 'σαψωνα' καὶ δὸς φαγεῖν τοῖς | ὑπόπτοις καὶ γνωσθήσεται ὁ κλέπτης ἐν τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι καταπίειν.

2 τοῖς *ditt. cod.*

2.1.2.5.4. Oxford, Bodleian Library cod. Barocci 111 (s. XV), f. 116r

εἰς τὸ γινῶναι τὸν κλέπτην. 'σαρσωνα' εἰς ψωμίον γράψον, εἰς δὲ τυρὸν γράψον 'σαψων.' καὶ δὸς οἷς ὑποπτεύεις, καὶ ὁ κλέψας οὐ δύναται φαγεῖν.

bread and cheese

2.1.2.5.5. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 696 (s. XVIII), f. 346r, ed. Delatte 1927, 550

περὶ τοῦ γινῶναι τὸν κλέπτην. γράψον εἰς ἄρτον 'σαμσωνα,' εἰς δὲ τυρὸν γράψον 'σαμψων' καὶ δὸς φαγεῖν τὸν ἀφορᾶσαι. καὶ ὁ κλέψας οὐ δύναται φαγεῖν.

2.1.2.5.6. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2894 (s. XIII: primarily Homer, with physiological texts ff. 334-337 including excerpts from the *Kyranides*), f. 337r, ed. Delatte 1927, 553

[ἔπαρον] προβάτου βότυρον καὶ ἄρτον μικρὸν καὶ γράψον ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ ἄρτου 'σαραηλ,' ἐν δὲ τῷ τυρῷ 'σαραφαηλ' καὶ δὸς φαγεῖν τῷ ὑπόπτῳ καὶ εὐθέως [c. 6 γε]νήσεται. ἐλέγχει γὰρ τὸν κλέψαντα.

2 [ἐμφανῆς γε]νήσεται Delatte

2.1.2.5.7. Venice, BNM cod. gr. Z 498 (s. XIV), f. 248v

ἐρμηνεία εἰς τὸ φανερῶσαι κλέπτην. λάβε ὀλίγον ἄρτον καὶ ὀλίγον τυρὸν καὶ γράψον εἰς τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα 'σαρραουμ' καὶ εἰς τὸ τυρὸν 'σαραφαηλ' καὶ ἄς τὸ φάγῳσιν οἱ κλέπται καὶ πνίγεται ὁ αἴτιος.

2.1.2.5.8. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2219 (s. XV), f. 65r, in anonymous, alphabetic collection of recipes of primarily medical content (ff. 60r-74r)

προβάτου τυρὸν λαβῶν καὶ ἄρτον μικρὸν ἐπίγραψε ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν ἄρτον 'σαραηλ,' ἐν τῷ τυρῷ δὲ 'σαραφαηλ' καὶ δὸς φαγεῖν τοῖς ὑπόπτοις καὶ ὁ αἴτιος πνίγεται.

1 ἐν *ditt. cod.*

2.1.2.5.9. Vatican, BAV cod. Pal. gr. 146, f. 216r (s. XV), ed. Vassiliev 1893, 340 no. 24 εἰς κλέπτην. λαβῶν ἄρτον μικρὸν καὶ τυρὸν ἐν τῷ ἄρτῳ μὲν ἐπίγραφον 'σαραιουα,' ἐν δὲ τῷ τυρῷ 'σαραφαηλ,' καὶ δὸς φαγεῖν τοὺς ὑπόπτας νήσεται καὶ εὐθέως ὁ αἴτιος ὑποπνιγήσεται καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γνωστήσεται.

2 νήσεται *Vassiliev*

2.1.2.5.10. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2091 (s. XIV-XV), f. 7r, ed. Doyen-Higuet 2006, 127

κεφαλαὶ εἰς κλοπήν. λαβῶν τυρὸν καὶ ἄρτον, ἐπίγραψε ἐν μὲν τῷ τυρῷ 'Ραφαηλ,' ἐν δὲ τῷ ἄρτῳ 'Σταραουλ' καὶ δὸς αὐτῷ φαγεῖν, καὶ εὐθέως ὁ κλέπτης σου πληγήσεται πληγὴν θανάτου.

Ἰ κεφαλαὶ εἰς κλοπὴν *m. rec.* | σου *corr. m. alt.* : ου *cod.*

2.1.2.5.11. Oxford, Bodleian Library cod. Barocci 111 (s. XV), f. 116r
ἄλλο. γράψον εἰς ἄρτον· ‘ουταχα ουκα, εἰς δὲ τυρόν· ‘σαφα φαταηλ.’ καὶ δὸς οἷς ἐφορᾷς.

2.1.2.5.12. Vienna, ÖNB cod. philos. gr. 220 (shelfmark no longer in use; s. XVI), no foliation given, ed. Vassiliev 1893, 340 no. 26
ἄλλο. γράψον εἰς ἄρτον ‘ουταχ σαρα ουα,’ εἰς δὲ τυρόν ‘σαφα φαταηλ,’ καὶ δὸς οἷς ἐφορᾷς.

2.1.2.5.13. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 696 (s. XVIII), f. 346r, ed. Delatte 1927, 551
ἄλλο. γράψον εἰς ἄρτον ‘ουτα σαρα ουα,’ εἰς δὲ τυρὶν ‘σαφω φαταημ’ καὶ δὸς φαγεῖν οὐς ὑφορᾷσαι.

2.1.2.5.14. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 361v, ed. Delatte 1927, 610
ἄλλο. γράψον καὶ δὸς φαγεῖν. ‘σαλασαλαηλ’ καὶ εἰς τυρὶ ‘σαρατουηλ.’

2.1.2.5.15. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 362r, ed. Delatte 1927, 610
εἰς ψωμὶν γράψον ‘σαρانا σαραβα.’

2.1.2.5.16. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 362r, ed. Delatte 1927, 610
ἄλλο. γράψον εἰς ψωμὶν ‘σαλχα χανανγε μισαελ γατζαρια.’

2.1.2.5.17. Thessaly, monastery of Olympiotissa, cod. 97 (s. XVIII), p. 136, ed. Skouvara 1965-1966, 93
περὶ κλέπτῃν νὰ εὔρης. λάβε ἄρτον τῆς μεγάλης πέμπτῃς καὶ τυρόν καὶ γράψον εἰς τὸ ψωμὶν ‘σαρα αμουν’ καὶ εἰς τὸ τυρὶ ‘σφαηλ’ καὶ ἄς λειτουργηθοῦν ἡμέρα Σαββάτο καὶ ἄς τὸ φάγουν καὶ ὁ κλέπτῃς εὐρίσκεται ἤγουν ὁ αἴτιος τοῦ κακοῦ.

2.1.2.5.18. Dresden, SLUB cod. Dresd.Da.63 (s. XVI: fragment, collection of recipes), f. 6r
εἰς κλέπτῃν ἵνα φανερωθῇ. κόψον τὸ ἀπαλὸν τοῦ ψωμίου καὶ γράψον εἰς τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα ‘αραφα εξαστραφα αφαγα εξναφα’ καὶ δὸς φαγεῖν οὐς ὑποψίαν ἔχεις καὶ οὐ μὴ ἰσχύσωσιν τοῦ φαγεῖν ἕως οὗ φανέρωσιν αὐτά.

2.1.2.5.19. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 361v, ed. Delatte 1927, 609
γράψον ‘θορθαρι, φορφορηη.’

logoi on bread and on paper deposited in house of target

2.1.2.5.20. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 361v, ed. Delatte 1927, 608
γράψον εἰς ψωμὶν κρίθινον καὶ προσφάγιον, ὁ κλέψας οὐδόλως φάγη. τοῦ ψωμίου κριθίνου γράψον ταῦτα ‘θαααχει νκααχ αχ γ αμν ψαθανχ αχ σαχ θελχαμ.’ τὰ δὲ κάτω γράψον εἰς χαρτὶν καὶ θές εἰς τὸ ὀσπίτιν του ‘θααχ θαλααχ θελχα.’

Ἰ <εἰς ὄψιν> τοῦ ψωμίου *corr.* Delatte

2.1.2.5.21. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2091 (s. XIV-XV), f. 7r, ed. Doyen-Higuet 2006, 127

ἕτερον. <γ>ράψον τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην εἰς τὸν ἄρτον ‘αθορα αθωρη αφορη αφρια ευχωρη. ὁ κλέψας τὸ εἶδος μὴ καταπίοι τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον.’ καὶ δὸς αὐτῷ φαγεῖν.

1 ἕτερον *post* ἄρτον *transp. cod., Doyen-Higuet* | αθορα αθωρη αφορη αφρια ευχωρη *rather fanciful derivations from Greek words proposed by M. Lakaki ap. Doyen-Higuet* || 2 καταποίει *cod. : καταπίη corr. Doyen-Higuet*

2.1.2.5.22. Paris, BnF cod. suppl. gr. 696 (s. XVIII), f. 346r, ed. Delatte 1927, 551
ἕτερον. γράψον εἰς ἄρτον καὶ εἰς τυρὶν ‘σουρσου αρας αραβ ζαβα τοῦτον κλέπττην καὶ κυφᾶς.’ δὸς φαγεῖν τοὺς ὑφορᾶσαι.

2.1.2.5.23. Oxford, Bodleian Library cod. Barocci 111 (s. XV), f. 116r
ἄλλο. γράψον εἰς ἄρτον καὶ εἰς τυρόν· ‘σουσου αρας αραβ ζαβα· τοῦτον κλέπτεις καὶ κυφᾶς.’

2.1.2.5.24. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 362r, ed. Delatte 1927, 611
ἄλλο. γράψον εἰς κρίθινον ψωμὶν καὶ δὸς αὐτοὺς φαγεῖν οὓς ἔχεις ἐν ὑποψία ‘αθα αχγ νησααχισ αχγακ νκαθανχ αχσααχ.’

2.1.2.5.25. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS e Mus. 219 (s. XIII), f. 186r
item pro furto. scribe hos characteres in pane albo et da ad manducandum illi de quo suspicionem habes et si fuerit culpabilis non transglutiet illum. ‘a k v c a r p c s b a p i c r p n e a p l a a i c i t.’

2.1.3 – psalter

2.1.3.1. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικός κώδικας (s. XIX), ff. 222r-223r, ed. Parathomopoulos 2006, 130-131
ἰδοὺ ὁ προφήτης Δαυιδ εἰς τὴν | ἀστρονομικὴν διατάζει ὅταν θέλῃς νὰ εὐρῆς κλέπττην νὰ διαβάξῃς τὸν ψαλμὸν κεφάλαιον 49 ‘θεὸς θεῶν κύριος ἐλάλησε καὶ ἐκάλεσε τὴν γῆν ὅλην,’ καὶ νὰ ἔχῃς τρία ψαλτήρια. τὰ δύο θὰ δέσῃς μαζὶ καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν θὰ βάλῃς ἐν κλειδίον ἀρσενικὸν νὰ εἶναι δεμένον ἀνάμεσον εἰς τὰ δύο καὶ μὲ τὸ ἄλλο θὰ διαβάξῃς τὸν ψαλμὸν καὶ νὰ μελετᾶς τὰ ὀνόματα ὅπου ὑφορᾶσαι καὶ ὅποιος εἶναι ὁ κλέπττης γυρίζει καὶ πέφτει. θὰ τὸ | βαστοῦν δύο ἄνθρωποι μὲ τὸ μεσαῖόν τους δάκτυλον, καὶ εἰς ὅποιον πέσῃ, ἐκεῖνος εἶναι ὁ κλέπττης.

3 βάλῃς εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν *cod. || 5 ὑφορᾶσαι coniecti : ἀφορᾶ σε Parathomopoulos*

psalms, ‘seven psalms’ (*Ps.* 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143) and *Ps.* 71

2.1.3.2. Wroclaw, UB cod. I.Q.1 (Johannes de Posnania, a. 1361-1365), f. 82r, ed. Schultz 1871, 301

incipit experimentum nigramantii de furto. accipe psalterium et stolam et scribe nomina de quibus habes suspicionem in pergamenum uirgineum et cum scripseris, uade ad ecclesiam orando flexis genibus tribus uicibus uidelicet psalmos <septem> et septem uicibus ‘deus iudicium tuum regi da.’ et cum hoc feceris, debes ieiunare illum diem in pane et aqua et dare tres denarios pauperibus in honore sancti Nicolai, et accipe pergamenum et scribe hanc orationem ‘domine Iesu Christe qui uerus es et uerum iudicium facis, ostende nobis uerum furem huius rei qui hoc factum fecerit ut si hoc nomen reus fuerit, ut hoc psalterium uertatur, in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen.’

1 nigramarcij *Schultz* || 3 <septem> *conieci* || 3, 8 spal- *cod.* || 5 denarius *cod.*

bibliomantic use of psalter, specifically *Ps.* 118:137; ritual drama, dialogue (drawing of assemblage on f. 95r, saved in chapter 3 file); mention of Ss. Chrysanthus and Daria perhaps suggests local context of Prüm or Munstereifel; though cf. also St. Brendan 2.1.3.3. Munich, BSB clm 100 (s. XII), ff. 94v-95v (old foliation 132v-133v); cf. Dürig 1973; Bohak 2006, 351-353

ad faciendum iudicium cum psalterio. | fiat lignum unum cum capitello quod mittatur in psalterio super uersiculum illum 'iustus es domine et rectum iudicium tuum.' et clauso psalterio fortiter stringatur capitello extra prominente. aliud quoque lignum aptetur perforatum in quo capitellum prioris mittatur ita quod in eo pendeat psalterium et uolui possit. teneant autem duo lignum psalterio in medio pendente et statuatur is de quo suspicio est ante eos et dicat unus ex illis qui tene(n)t psalterium ad alterum ter hoc modo 'hic habet hanc rem.' alter respondeat ter 'non habet.' deinde dicat presbyter 'hoc nobis manifestare dignetur cuius iudicio caelestia et terrestria reguntur. iustus es domine et rectum iudicium tuum. auerte mala inimicis meis et in ueritate tua disperde illos. on pater, on filius, on spiritus sanctus. kyrie eleison. pater noster. uiuet anima mea et laudabit te, et iudicia. erraui sicut ouis. credo in deum. mirabilia testimonia, usque mandasti. gloria patri. fiat misericordia tua domine super nos.' oratio. 'omnipotens sempiternus deus qui cuncta ex nihilo creasti et qui | hominem de limo terrae formasti, te supplices deprecamur per intercessionem sanctissimae dei genitricis Mariae et per intercessionem sancti Crisanti et Dariae et per intercessionem sancti Brandani confessoris tui et omnium sanctorum tuorum ut experimentum facias nobis de hac re de qua incerti sumus ut si hic homo inculpabilis est, liber iste quem manibus gestamus rectum cursum solis teneat, si uero culpabilis est, liber iste retrocedat. per uirtutem domini nostri Iesu Christi qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat deus per. in principio. per istos sermones sancti euangelii. actions nostras quaesumus domine. iustus es domine.'

10-11 et iudicia tua *Bohak*

psalter, in particular *Ps.* 50:8, 50:17, 53:7; ritual drama

2.1.3.4. Munich, BSB cgm 92, f. 19v (addition of s. XIV/XV following German medical treatise of Bartholomaeus Salernitanus)

iudicium psalterii. 'in nomine domini, in omni loco dominationis Christi, benedic animam meam domino. deus in adiutorium meum intende, domine ad adiuuandum mihi festina.' cum 'gloria patri' ter dicas, tunc letaniam dicas, 'pro huius negotii qualitate te rogamus, audi nos, ut iustitiae non dominetur iniquitas' et cetera, 'ut rectum iudicium nobis in isto psalterio ostendere digneris. c. e. k. k. pater noster. credo in deum. psalmus, miserere mei deus, usque ad uersum docebo. helyo etce helyon sabaath respice domine de sanctuario tuo ad discernendum uerum iudicium, amen. exsurgat deus. sicut deficit fumus. et iusti epulentur. cum gloria patri. increatus pater, immensus pater, aeternus pater. haec est fid. ca. quasi n. cum gloria patri. uersus, iustus es domine et rectum iudicium tuum. auerte mala inimicis meis et cetera. on pater, on filius, on spiritus sanctus. Christus uincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat. omnipotens sempiternus deus qui cuncta ex nihilo creasti et hominem de limo terrae formasti, te supplices deprecamur per misericordiam tuam, per aduentum tuum, et per natiuitatem tuam, per crucem et passionem tuam, per mortem et sepulturam tuam, per resurrectionem et ascensionem tuam, per aduentum spiritus sancti paracliti, per tremendum iudicium tuum, et per intercessionem sanctissimae dei genitricis Mariae et sanctorum angelorum, archangelorum, patriarcharum, prophetarum, apostolorum, martyrum, confessorum, uirginum, et omnium electorum tuorum et per

sanctorum Crisanti et Dariae et sancti Brandani sanctique Dauid ut experimentum facias nobis de hac re de qua incerti sumus et manifestum fiat iudicium tuum per sanctum prophetam tuum Dauid ut si homo iste culpabilis est, cursum solis teneat iste liber per uirtutem domini nostri Iesu Christi qui tecum uiuit et regnat in unitate spiritus sancti, Dauid, per omnia saecula saeculorum, amen.’ cum ‘in principio erat uerbum.’ ‘per istos sermones sui sancti euangelii nobis manifestet dominus hoc iudic(i)o hanc rem, amen. in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen.’ pone fusum cum <uer>tibulo in psalterio super uersum ‘ecce enim ueritatem dilexisti’ uel ‘domine labia mea aperies’ uel super hunc ‘auerte mala inimicis meis’ et cetera. maioribus duobus pueris mediis digitis tenentibus, dicat unus alteri ‘hic habet,’ alter respondeat ‘hic non habet,’ et hoc ter dicat. tunc dicat magister ‘hoc manifestare dignetur cuius <iudicio> caelestia et terrestria reguntur.’ ex opposito stantes pueri psalterium teneant suspensum in fuso cum uertibulo et detur iuramentum suspectis.

¹ in left marg. no(ta) with rubr. || 26 uel super ... meis add. supr. lin.

2.1.4 – turning of various other materials

procedure with bread, nail, incantation names Sokrates and Plato

2.1.4.1. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 361v ed. Delatte 1927, 609

ἄλλον. λάβε μαχαίρας τρεῖς. πῆξον εἰς ψωμῖν κομμάτι μικρὸν στρογγύλον καὶ ἄς βάλε καὶ ἄνωθεν ἦλον τρανόν. φερέτωσαν τὸν ἦλον ἄνδρες δύο ἄκροις δακτύλοις. καὶ λέξον τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ὑφοραθέντων καὶ εἰς οὗτινος ὄνομα γυρίση, ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ὁ κλέψας. οὕτως λέγε ὁ Σωκράτης ἢ ὁ Πλάτων ἀπῆρεν τὰ ὀδεῖνα καὶ ἕτερος οὐχί.’

¹ σπῆξον Delatte || 2 λέγον Delatte || 3 γυρίσης Delatte

turning of bread

2.1.4.2. St. Gallen, CSG 682 (s. IX), p. 231 and 246-251, ed. Franz 1909, 2:384-385, recollated

pensa inter pane et caseum duorum solidorum quot sunt nouem denarii ipsae pius ordinatius atquae lisus, caseus birbicus factus in Maio. | benedictio panis et casei, qui furtum facit. | ‘sanctus sanctus sanctus, deus qui es inuisibilis saluator mundi, deus omnium rerum creaturarum conditor, deus spiritalium remunerator, scrutans corda et renes deus, deprecamur te, exaudi uerba deprecationis meae ut qui humane furtum commisit quem querimus panes et caseum istae per gula et lingua uel fauces non possit transire sed sint constricti et obligati per uerbum uirtutis tuae. pater noster qui es in caelis. | exorcizo te inmunde spiritus qui hominem suadis et constrictas ut furtum facias, draco anticus, serpens nociua, per uirtutem sanctae crucis et per deum omnipotentem, per Iesum Christum Nazarenum filium dei quem Iudaei crucifixerunt, agnum immaculatum de altissimo procreatum et per sanctum spiritum natum ex Maria uirgine quem Gabriel archangelus adnuntiauit uenturum et Iohannis proclamat, “ecce agnus dei, ecce qui tollit | peccata mundi,” ut eius nomine nullo modo dimittat communicare panem istum uel caseum sed constricti lingua gula uel fauces sint conligati. pater noster qui es in caelis. adiuro te homo ille per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, per quattuor euangelistas et per duodecim apostolos et per uiginti quattuor seniores qui adorant agnum et per illum redemptorem nostrum qui pro peccatis nostris suspensus fuit in cruce ut quaecumque in isto fur|to fuerit alligatus <a>ut sapit aut conscius est aut consentiens fuit, sit hoc declaratum atque demonstratum.’ item alia. ‘domine Iesu Christe qui caelum et terram tribuisti, mare et omnia quae in eis sunt habere uirtutis tuae super hunc famulum tuum

panem istam quam dextera tua domine si homo istae a terram istam culpabilis sit, <t>urnae pane ista, deus Abraham, deus Isaac, deus Iacob, deus qui tribus Israel monuisti et Susan | nam de falso crimine liberasti, tres pueros a camino ignis ardentis, Sedrac Misac et Abdenago, si ille homo <ab> istam terram {istam} culpabilis sit, <t>urnae pane istae. agius agius agius sanctus sanctus sanctus. kyrieleison, kyrieleison, kyrieleison, christeleison, christeleison, christeleison.' pro uno solido 100 psalmos aut duo missas, pro una uncia 150 psalmos aut tres missas, pro sex uncias septem psalteria et sex missas, pro una libra duodecim psalteria et duodecim missas. finitur enim.

Omelia sancti Augustini episcopi cod., inserting these directions before the beginning of the homily, after which, as Franz understands it, follows the benedictio panis (n.b. a new rubric) on p. 246, and directly after the end of that portion, another rubric incipit omelia de sancto Augustino episcopo || 2 ordeacius esse corr. Franz | bisus Franz | Maio correxi : madio Franz | panis et casei correxi : panis qui caseum Franz || 10 annum cod. || 8 faciat Franz || 15-16 et filium ... agnum et per om. Franz || 16 ap̄rum cod. || 26 iacit ii cod.

adjuration of materials; prayer

2.1.4.3. Graz, UB cod. 41 12 [shelfmark no longer in use] (breviary, s. XII), unfoliated, recto of final page. ed. Schönbach 1875, 78-79; cf. Bohak 2006, 355-356

'in nomine patris et filii, spiritus sancti. aqua dicta, aqua scripta, aqua benedicta. in nomine domini adiuro te nummum per omnes angelos et archangelos dei, adiuro te aquam per solem et lunam, adiuro te panis per sanctum sanguinem Christi, adiuro te cribrum per uirgines caelorum et per omnes sanctos dei qui sunt in caelo et in terra ut si homo iste culpabilis sit in hoc furto, uertatis uos ad orientem, sin autem, ad occidentem. in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen. iustus, on pater on filius on spiritus sanctus. omnipotens sempiterne deus qui cuncta ex nihilo creasti hominemque de limo terrae formasti, te simplex deprecor ut per intercessionem sanctissimae dei genitricis Mariae et omnium sanctorum angelorum archangelorum prophetarum episcoporum martyrum confessorum atque uirginum et omnium sanctorum et per intercessionem sanctorum Crisanti, Mauri, et Dariae uirginis et per intercessionem sancti Brandani abbatis nobis experiri facias de hac re qua incerti sumus.'

Latin instructions but English incantation

2.1.4.4. Cambridge, Trinity College O.1.57 (James 1081), f. 126v

item pro rebus ablatis. recipe unum panem et fac in parte inferiori ho(c) signum (*pentalpha with a, b, c, d, e at vertices*), quo facto recipe iii cultellos et infiges per latera panis et primo primum dices 'infigo te cultellum per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, ut demonstres mihi ueritatem et non falsitatem, quis reus sit,' ita ut toto isto tempore dictus panis pendat per stimulum taliter factum (*diagram*) inter digitos diuersorum hominum. deinde scribe diuisim nomina de quibus habes suspectum rei ablate. et cum scripceris accipies nomina singillatim dicens in Anglicis uerbis, 'I prey to god almyty fadur alwedyng sone & stedfast holy gost, os thee brake v. lowes and v. fysthys on sthere thursday in myraclys to thy desiplys gaf, gyf grace thys lof to turne aboute with the gylyt.' et cum inposuerit nomen rei, uertet se panis.

bread and knives

2.1.4.5. London, Wellcome Library cod. 517, ff. 124r-125r

eligatur panis fri() habens planam crustam super <quam> possit fieri figura et magister teneat panem in manu sua sinistra et signet eum signaculo sanctae crucis dicens 'in nomine

patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen.’ tunc faciat figuram et facta figura dicat magister iterum ‘in nomine patris’ et cetera benedicendo panem et teneat manum extensam | ultra panem dicens ‘Iesus sciens omnium rerum occultarum siue manifestarum uerus propagator ostende nobis ueritatem, quis uel quae reus sit de qua quaerimus ut agnoscamus et de hiis patefiat, amen.’ et tunc fingat cultellum longum in medio figurae cum rotundo manubrio et in quo ponatur circulus per quem potest panis portari inter duos digitos duorum hominum qui sunt lecti et dicat magister dum fingat illum cultellum primum ‘Iesus Christus,’ secundus cultellus ‘Christus uincit,’ tertius cultellus ‘Christus regnat,’ quartus cultellus ‘Christus imperat,’ quintus cultellus ‘Iesus Christus nobis ueritatem de qua quaerimus demonstret.’ et antequam ponat cultellum, faciat signum sanctae crucis cum quolibet cultello super crustam. post fictionem cultellorum scribantur nomina suspectorum unum quodque per se in figura super primam litteram quae scribitur in una quarta parte figetur infra circulum scilicet ‘a g l a.’ et fingendo dicat magister et nominet nomen dicens ‘N si reus sis ostende nobis deus ueritatem.’ tunc magister et socius legitimus manubrium cum circulo inter digitos accipiant et dicat magister benedicendo panem ‘seigneur deuz venissz ceste creature de payne auxi s()n come vous venises les sink paines in le deserte que tenz ceaux que en mangont lur ferroyt seyn a corps et a alme in nomine patris et cetera. on tetragrammaton adonay eloy agyos sanctus sanctus sanctus. o rex Iesu Christe agla laus honor sicut tu es deus Iesus Christus. coniuero te pane enoda oue les sink conceans par le peire par le fitz par le seint esprit oue la meire deuz e lez 12 aposteles et par le quates evangelistes et par les nef orderes des angels et par les cent et quarant quatre | mils de inno et par le solaille et par la lune et par tutz les osceilles et par tutz lez messuz que cumones payn de par deuz si uirte soit que N soite culpable et si non ne moues et par sines ayalmiranus roda entour adonay roy qui es mafaragus coniuero te cara par la mort et par la passione que deuz suffrizt, coniuero te par les sink ioyes de la uirgine Marie et par les dolures que elle anoit quant il fust mys en la croys que tu moues payn en tour de par deuz si uirte soit que N de soit culpable de ceste fec et si non, que tu ne moues.’ et si moueat, reus est. si non, tunc fingas aliud nomen et recitetur totum sicut prius et sic de quolibet nomine fiat. haec est figura quae debet fieri super panem et fictio cultellorum per ordinem. primus cultellus in medio figurae fingatur. [*figure, circle in four quadrants, clockwise from top left A G L A, and in circumference ego sum qui sum, and without at four termini* secundus cultellus, tertius cultellus, quartus cultellus, quintus cultellus]

I eligat(us) cod. || 4 ten\e/at cod. || 8 ponat(us) cod. || 9 legi cod., or legi<timi>?, cf. infra socius legitimus || 10 {cl} cultellus cod. || 11 cultello corr. ex cultellum || 12 quartis cod.

bread and knives, ritual drama

2.1.4.6. London, Wellcome Library cod. 517, f. 8r

ad inueniendum furtum per panem. recipe panem albissimum et scribe in circuitu panis quattuor haec nomina ‘on heloy elyon tetragrammaton.’ postea imprimis quattuor cultellis dicendo hanc orationem ‘actiones nostras quaeso domine aspirando praeueni et adiuuando prosequere ut cuncta nostra operatio ad te semper incipiat et per te incepta finiatur per Christum.’ et scribas nomina supradicta in chartellas et ponas supra panem scribendo haec nomina ‘haec dona haec uitia et maleficia haec sancta sacrificia haec illibata sidera uel Venus munera.’ postea ponendo nomina super panem dicas ‘per sanctum Petrum et Paulum, ille N fecit hoc furtum,’ alter negat, per eadem uerba, dicendo nomen, et sic est finis.

3 $\overline{\text{qs}}$ cod.

bread, ritual drama

2.1.4.7. London, Wellcome Library cod. 517, f. 129r

experimentum in pane. primo accipe panem album et signa. circulum protrahe cum cultello super crustam superiorem et fac crucem talem in uno puncto crucis [*cross*] et scribe post istam crucem in una quartana panis ‘haec dona, haec munera,’ in alia quartana ‘haec sacrificia illibata,’ et in alia quartana ‘Esdras alpha et ω ,’ et in ultima quartana ‘primus et nouissimus.’ et dic ‘per seint Perre, per seynt Poul, N fist cest larcine.’ et alius qui tenet tecum panem super unum digitum dicat negando quod tu dixisti sic ‘per seint Perre, per sainte Poul, non fist.’ et dum signas panem, dic orationem ‘actiones nostras quaesumus domine aspirando panem et adiuuando prosequere ut cuncta nostra operatio ad te semper incipiat et per te incepta finiatur.’

4 haec [[*secunda*]] cod. | ultimam quartanam cod. || 6 te tenet cod. || 7 si(n)gnas cod.

2.1.4.8. Oxford, Bodleian Library cod. Wood empt. 18, f. 30r-v

ad sciendum de furto. accipe album panem quadrantem et fac crucem cum penna ex incausto ab uno lateris panis ad aliud. in uno quartario panis scribe ‘in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen.’ ita et in secundo quartario panis scribe ‘haec dona haec munera haec sancta sacrificia illibata.’ in tertio quartario panis scribe ‘alpha et o, primus et nouissimus.’ in quarto quartario panis scribe ‘Sidrac Misac et Abdenago.’ et tunc accipe quattuor cultellos et in primo cultello scribe ‘adonay,’ in secundo cultello ‘messias,’ in tertio cultello ‘sother,’ in quarto cultello ‘emanuel.’ et tunc figantur cultelli in quattuor partibus panis et ad quamlibet fixationem dicetur benedictio in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti et figatur unus cultellus in medio panis simul cum benedictione ut supra. tunc scribantur nomina suspecta, unum quod dicitur per se ponatur super panem circa cultellum superius fixum incipiendo dicere ‘adiutorium nostrum in nomine domini qui fecit caelum et terram, genuflectendo adoratione oremus actiones nostras quas domine aspirando praeueni et adiuuando praeueni in adiuuando prosequere ut cuncta nostra operatio a te semper incipiat et per te semper incepta nostra finiantur, per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum’ et cetera. ‘domine noster Iesu Christe fili dei uiui qui dixisti “ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi in terris,” domine noster sancte pater aeternae qui es alpha et o, primus et nouissimus, principium et finis, uia et uita, ueritas et uerus, per sanctissimum nomen tuum quod est tetragrammaton et per intercessionem et merita apostolorum tuorum Petri et Pauli et omnium apostolorum tuorum, martyrum confessorum | uirginum, licet nos indigni peccatores immensam clementiam tuam implorando concede propitius ut iste homo uel ista femina cuius nomen scriptum est super hunc panem de quo uel de qua suspecti sumus et quanti conspicientes, si reus uel rea fuerit per reuelationem pani istius, sin autem, non moueatur. per Christum dominum nostrum amen. domine qui non uis mortem peccatoris sed ut conuertatur et uiuat et saturasti quinque milia hominum de quinque panibus hordianis et qui dixisti discipulis tuis “accipite et manducate ex hoc pane, hoc est corpus meum,” emittere digneris ueritatem tuam huic pani ut indignus peccator per hunc panem positum de rebus incertis ueritatem possit cognoscere laudare potentiam tuam in aeternum per Christum dominum nostrum amen.’

[diagram of bread, rectangle with four smaller rectangles inside, in which, clockwise from top left: in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen; haec dona haec munera haec sancta sacrificia illibata; Sidrak Misak et Abdenago; alpha et o, primus et nouissimus]

7 fingantur *cod.* || 8 detur *cod. a.c.* || 14 [[incipiantur]] finiantur *cod.*

2.1.5 – miscellaneous

hematite plaque with inscription on two sides, the obverse (A) may be related to the thief ordeal, I think (*SEG* calls it ‘gem with warning against theft’; Mastrocinque a *defixio*); that on B has divine names. Side A has an ouroboros surrounding animals (lion, bull, horse, crocodile, human), and below it the inscription in two rectangular borders, lines 1-4 at left, 5-7 at right.

2.1.5.1. Unknown provenance, now Hamburg, coll. Skoluda inv. MN 110, *SEG* LIII 2116 (independently ed. in Mastrocinque 2003, 89-92 and Faraone 2007; Chaniotis’ superior text in *SEG* is presented here, but read a line break between τὸν and κλέε-). Cf. also Michel 2004 no. 55.2.e; CBd-1753.

A δῖξον | ἢ τήν | κλέπ|τραν | ἢ τὸν | κλέ|πτην
B Μειχαηλ | Εισραηλ | Ραφαηλ | Σουριηλ | Βαλιχ | Ρα|φαηλ δωμ.

A.1 δίκ(αζ)ον *Mastrocinque* || A.3-4 κλεπτρ(ι)αν *Faraone*

by constipation (on new readings)

2.1.5.2. Oxyrhynchus, *P.Oxy.* LVI 3835, s. III/IV, *Suppl.Mag.* II 86 fr. a col. ii 8-11 [---] κῆτε κρόμβυα, βαλεῖς εἰς [---] | εἰπὼν ὅτι ὁ κλέψας δακνετ[---] | ἐὰν μὴ χαλασ[θ]ῆ, δῆλος. [---]

9 κητε· κρόμβυα *edd.* || 11 χαλάση *edd.*

2.1.5.3. Oxyrhynchus, *P.Oxy.* LVI 3835, s. III/IV, *Suppl.Mag.* II 86 fr. a col. ii 12-16 [c. 4] σφυρίδα βαλε[ῖς] , αμμον εἰς α[---] || [c. 3] .. ἢ ἄνγος ὕδατο[ς] καὶ ἐρεῖς βρε[---] || [c. 3] τὴν χεῖραν καὶ κάθεσ εἰς .. [---] || [c. 3] .[]ν· ἐκπυροῦται γὰρ [---] || [c. 3] μεμολυμμένον δῆλος [---]

scripture, *Ps.* 10:6 [LXX]; potion, possibly via constipation or dysuria?

2.1.5.4. Paris, BnF *cod. gr.* 1603, f. 354r

γράψον εἰς ἀγγεῖον ἐπιβρέξει ἐπὶ ἀμαρτωλοὺς παγίδα, πῦρ καὶ θεῖον καὶ πνεῦμα καταιγίδος ἢ μερὶς τοῦ ποτηρίου αὐτοῦ. καὶ λειώσας μετὰ ἀγιάσματος δὸς πίειν τὸν ὑποπτον.

narrative; scripture, *John* 12:6

2.1.5.5. Venice, BNM *cod. gr.* Z 501 (s. XIV), f. 175r-v

ἐπίγραμμα εἰς κλέπτην. γράψον εἰς χαρτὴν τὰ ὑποκείμενα καὶ ἐπίθεσ αὐτὰ ὑποκάτω τῆς στρωμνῆς ὃν ἔχεις ὑπόψεις ὅτι ἔκλεψεν ἐκείνου ἀγνοοῦντος. γράψον δὲ οὕτως Ἰουδας ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης ἐφανερώθη ἐπὶ τῆς προδοσίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὅτι κλέπτης, ὃν καὶ τὸ γλωσσόκομον εἶχεν καὶ τὰ βαλλόμενα ἐβάσταξεν καὶ τῆ ἑσπέρα ἐκείνη οὐκ ἐκοιμήθη ἀλλ’ ὠχλήθη καὶ ἠλέγχετο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων. οὕτω καὶ ὁ δεῖνα ὁ κλέψας τὸ πρᾶγμα | ἵνα μὴ κοιμηθῆ ἕως ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας καὶ ἐλεγχθῆς τὴν διανοίαν αὐτοῦ ὁμολογήσῃ καὶ φανερώσῃ τὸ κλαπέν πρᾶγμα, εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.’

narrative; scripture, *John* 12:6

2.1.5.6. Vienna, ÖNB *cod. med. gr.* 45, f. 83r-v

εις εὔρεσιν κλέπτου. γράψον εις χαρτὴν καὶ ἐπίθες αὐτὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ στρώματος οὗ ἔχεις ὑποψίαν ἀγνοοῦντος ἐκείνου. γράψον | δὲ οὕτως ‘Ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης κλέπτης ἐφάνη ἐπὶ τῇ προδοσίᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὸ γλωσσόκομον εἶχεν καὶ τὰ βαλλόμενα ἐβάσταξεν καὶ τῇ ἐσπέρᾳ ἐκείνη οὐκ ἐκοιμήθη ἀλλ’ ὠχλίετο δι’ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἐφανερώθη καὶ εἶχεν τοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων. οὕτως ὁ κλέψας τὸ δεῖνα πρᾶγμα, ἵνα μὴ κοιμηθῆ ἕως ἡμέρας ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐλεγχθῆ τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ φανερῶση τὸ κλαπέν πρᾶγμα, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.’

narrative

2.1.5.7. Vatican, BAV cod. Barb. gr. 449 (does not match modern shelfmark; s. XVI), ff. 98v-99r, ed. Almazov 1901, 328

περὶ τοῦ εὔρεϊν τὸν κλέπτην. γράψον οὕτως. ‘ὡσπερ ὁ Ἰούδας ἐλέγχθη τῇ διανοίᾳ αὐτοῦ τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἐφανερῶθη καὶ ἐπῆγε καὶ ἐλέγχθη, οὕτως καὶ ὁ κλέψας τοῦ δεῖνος τὰ πράγματα ἵνα μὴ κρυβηθῆ καὶ ἐλεγχθῆ τῇ διανοίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ φανερῶση τὸ κλεψιμαῖον πρᾶγμα ἀπὸ τοῦ δεῖνος.’ εἶτα γράψον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐξορκισμὸν εἰς χαρτὶ ἄφορον καὶ θέσ το εἰς κουμάρην καθαρὸν καὶ βούλλωσε αὐτὸ μὲ κηρὶν ὅπου νὰ ἐνὶ βαπτισμένον τῶν ἀγίων θεοφανείων καὶ σκάψον εἰς τόπον ὅπου ἐγένετο τὸ κλεψίμιον καὶ μηδενὸς εἰδότος καὶ μηδὲν τηρήσης εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτὸν ἕως ἡμέρας ἐπτὰ. καὶ ποιήσον αὐτό.

1 ἐλέγχθη *conieci* : ἐλέθχη *Almazov* || 2 ἐλέχθη *Almazov* || 3 ἐλεχθῆ *Almazov*

curse of thief, dysuria; with logoi; writing on bread, laurel

2.1.5.8. Vienna, ÖNB cod. med. gr. 50 (s. XIV), f. 92r

1. εἰς κλέπτην ἔτι νὰ εὔρέθη. δὸς μετὰ ψωμίου γραμμένου ἐπάνω τοῦ ψωμίου ‘σαρσωνα σαμψων [*sign*].’

2. γράψον εἰς φύλλον δάφνης σημεῖα τάδε [*signs*], ἐτοῦτα τὰ τρία [*signs*], καὶ τότε γράψον ἀπὸ ὀνομάτων ἐκείνων ὅπου ἔδει ἕως τὸ ἑκατὸν ἕνα· ‘(ὡς) μουλάρην εἰς τὸ χαλκὸν ἀλώνιν, οὕτως νὰ ἐνεν δεμένον τὸ νερὸν τούτου, μὴ οὐρήση ἕως οὗ δῶση τὸ πρᾶγμα. δεσμός. [*sign*]’ ταῦτα πλῦνον μετὰ ὕδατος καὶ πλύνοντα ταῦτα καὶ λέγε πάλιν τὰ αὐτὰ ὡς ἐν μυστηρίῳ καὶ δὸς πῖναι τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκεῖνον τὸν ὑφορᾶσαι καὶ οὐ μὴ οὐρήσει ἕως οὗ ὁμολογήσει ἥπερ ἔχει τὸ πρᾶγμα.

1 ἐτήνα cod. || 4 χαρκὸν cod. || 6 ὑπερ cod., εἴ περ also possible?

performative scene-setting, fantastic narrative with bronze threshing-floor; Paul bound in iron, curse, accompanied by the tying of knots in silk (1); this object is then turned upside down (μπουμπουρίζω), accompanied by another incantation (2).

2.1.5.9. reported from contemporary Crete, Koukoules 1928, 472

1. ‘κάτω ’ς τὸ γιאלὸ ’ς τὸ γαλανὸ ἀλώνι στέκει Παῦλος σιδηρὸς σιδεροπαλουκωμένος καὶ σιδεροκαρφωμένος. σὲ μίαν πάχνην τρώγει, σὲ μίαν γούρναν πίνει τὸ νερὸν μυριστικόν. τὰ ἔδεσε καὶ ὕστερις τὰ ἐμοιρολόγησεν ὁ Σολομων καὶ ἡ μάννα του οὕτως “μάννα τὸν δένω κι ἐγὼ τὸν δεῖνα ὅπου ἔκλεψε τὸ δεῖνα πρᾶμα ἢ σταυρὸ πατεῖ ἢ καβαλλῖνες βαστᾶ ἢ βᾶτο εἶναι δεμένος ἢ Σάββατον ἐγεννήθηκεν ἢ ἅγιον ἄρτον βαστᾶ· τίποτες νὰ μὴν ἐνεργήση, μοναχὰ νὰ εἶναι δεμένος καὶ νὰ τρώγη καὶ νὰ πεινᾶ καὶ νὰ πίνη καὶ νὰ διψᾶ καὶ νὰ μὴ δροσίζεται καὶ νὰ μαυρίση καὶ νὰ κιτρινίσῃ ὡς ἀφορδακὸς καὶ νὰ μπῆ ὁ διάολος μέσα του νὰ τὸν πιπιλίξῃ σὰν τὸ σκυλλάκι τὴν μάννα του, ὥστε νὰ ὁμολογήσῃ τὸ δεῖνα πρᾶμα ὅπου ἔκλεψε καὶ τοῦ καμα διορία ἐπτὰ μέρες ἢ δέκα.”’

2. 'ἔδῶ μπουμπουρίζω τὴν χολὴν τοῦ κλέπτου ὅπου ἔκλεψε τὸ δεῖνα πρᾶμα.'

binding a thief; ritual drama, narrative

2.1.5.10. private collection, from Apokoronas on Crete ('recent,' ed.), ed. Koukoules 1926, 100

δέσιμον κλέπτου. “κάτω ἔς τὸ γιαλό, σὲ φόρο, ἐκεῖ στέκονται δύο ἄλογα σιδεροχαλινωμένα, κομποδεμένα. σὲ μιὰ γούρνα πίνουνε, σὲ μιὰ ματζαδοῦρα τρώνε καὶ ἐκεῖ πλαγιάζουνε.” “ποιὸς τὰ ἔδεσε καὶ ποιὸς τὰ κομπόδεσε;” “ὁ σοφὸς Σολομων μὲ τὴν μητέρα του καὶ μὲ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης ὅπου ἔδεσε τσοὶ καταρράχτες τ' οὐρανοῦ. ἔτσι δένω κι' ἐγὼ τὸ δοῦλο τοῦ θεοῦ στανικῶς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θεληματικῶς τοῦ διαβόλου μὲ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Τζετζεβουηλ.”

names on leaves, boiling

2.1.5.11. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 361v, ed. Delatte 1927, 608

λάβε οὖν φύλλα δάφνης εἰς τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ὑπόπτων καὶ γράψον πασενὸς ὄνομα εἰς τὸ φύλλον τῆς δάφνης. εἶτα βάλον τὰ φύλλα ἐντὸς εἰς τσουκάλι ἀφόρεστον, εἶτα βράσον. καὶ τὰ καθόλου λειοῦνται, τοῦ δὲ κλέπτου οὐ λειοῦται.

2.1.5.12. manuscript in private possession (N. Archaulas), Lakonia, eparchy of Μεράμβελλο, ed. Spyridakis 1941-1942, 69 (also said to contain φίλτρα and φιλτροκατάδεσμοι)

ὅταν σου κλέψουν κανένα πρᾶγμα καὶ θέλῃς νὰ βρῆς τὸν κλέφτη, ὅσους ἀνθρώπους ὑποψιάζεσαι, νὰ βρῆς ἔτοσανὰ φύλλα τῆς δάφνης καὶ νὰ γράψῃς μὲ τὸ μαχαίρι σὲ κάθε φύλλο τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ποὺ ὑποψιάζεσαι. ἔπειτα θὰ βρῆς ἓνα τσοκάλι καινούριο καὶ νὰ βράσῃς τὰ φύλλα μὲ ξίδι, μετὰ τὸ βράσιμο θὰ βγάνης τὰ φύλλα καὶ σὲ ὅποιο φύλλο δὲν ἔσβεσε τὸ ὄνομα, αὐτὸς εἶναι ὁ κλέφτης.

candles in honor of saints

2.1.5.13. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 361v, ed. Delatte 1927, 608

ἄψε κηροὺς τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Κελεστίνου Ἀλφέου Ζωσιμᾶ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου. καὶ παραδειγματίζεται ὁ κλέπτης.

2.1.5.14. Cambridge, UL cod. Gg. i. 2 (s. XV), f. 30v, cf. CCAG IX:41, cod. 57

εἰς κλέπτην. γράφε τὰ ὀνόματα 'οσζα φορα' καὶ ταύτας τὰς χαρακτῆρας καὶ τίθες κρυφίως εἰς τὸ προσκέφαλον αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐθὺ ὁμολογεῖ.

constipation

2.1.5.15. Vatican, BAV cod. Barb. gr. 449 (does not match modern shelfmark; s. XVI), f. 98v, ed. Almazov 1901, 328

περὶ τοῦ φανερωθῆναι τὸν κλέπτην. 'τονδραηλ ουριηλ στῆσε αὐτὸ τὸ ῥῆμα εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς ἐλέγξεως.' γράφε ταῦτα εἰς τρία φύλλα δάφνης καὶ βάλλε τα ἄπλυτα εἰς τὸ ἀνώφλιον τῆς πόρτας καὶ οὐ δύναται χέσειν οὔτε οὐρήσειν ἕως οὔ στρέψη ὁ ἔκλεψε.

1 Τὸν Δραῆλ *Almazov* || 2 ἐλέξεως *Almazov*

constriction of urine

signs

2.1.5.16. Naples, BN cod. II C 33 (s. XV), f. 235r, ed. Delatte 1927, 620

εις κλέπτην ὅπου ἀρνεῖται. γράφε τὰς χαρακτῆρας ταύτας εἰς χαρτὴν ἀγέννητον ἢ εἰς δίσκον καὶ λείωσον μετὰ ἀγιασμάτων θεοφανείων. δὸς πῖιν καὶ ἐὰν ἔκλεψεν, οὐ δύναται πῖιν· εἰ δὲ πῖει, οὐ δύναται οὐρήσαι.

2.1.5.17. St. Petersburg, NLR cod. gr. 576 (s. XIX), f. 26v
αὐταῖ εἰσιν αἱ χαρακτῆρες τῶν κλεπτῶν [*signs*]. γράφε αὐτὲς τὰς χαρακτῆρες ἀπάνω εἰς δάφνης φύλλα καὶ δώσέ τα νὰ τὰ φάγη εἰς ποῖον ὑπονοεῖς καὶ ὅποιος εἶναι κλέπτης, τὰ ἐπῆρε, τὴν ὥραν ὅπου φάγη αὐτὰ πιάνεται τὸ οὐρὸς του.

2 δάφνην *cod.* | πονεῖς *cod.*

impeding urine, by ingestion of signs

2.1.5.18. Athens, EBE cod. 1506 (s. XIX), f. 24r, ed. Delatte 1927, 142. Within *iatrosophion* of Meletios 'the Wise' (ιατροσόφιον Μελετίου τοῦ σοφοῦ), cf. *CCAG* X:31-32.

περὶ κλέπτου. γράψον τοὺς χαρακτῆρας τούτους εἰς φύλλον δάφνης καὶ δὸς τα ἐκεῖνον ὅπου μέμφεσαι. καὶ ἂν τὰ ἔκλεψεν, οὐ δύναται νὰ κάμη ἢ φύσις του τὴν χρεῖαν του οὔτε νὰ οὐρήσῃ ἕως οὗ νὰ δώσῃ ὅπερ ἔκλεψεν. [*signs*].

2.1.5.19. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX), f. 484v, ed. Parathomopoulos 2006, 315

ἐὰν σοῦ κλέψουν τίποτες, νὰ τὸ εὔρησ τὸν κλέπτην. γράψε τὰς κάτωθεν χαρακτῆρες εἰς τὴν ὥραν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ εἰς φύλλα δάφνης καὶ κάμε τα σκόνη εἰς ἐκεῖνον ὃν ἔχεις ὑποψίαν. καὶ ἂν τὸ ἔκλεψεν, δὲν ἔμπορεῖ νὰ κατουρήσῃ ὥστε νὰ τὸ {μαρτ} ἐπιστρέψῃ. [*signs*].

signs

2.1.5.20. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 361v, ed. Delatte 1927, 610

ἄλλο. γράψον εἰς φύλλα δάφνης καὶ θές τὰ φύλλα εἰς ὕδωρ καὶ ἄς τὸ πῖον καὶ οἶος ἔχει τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐ σώζει πῖνεν. [*signs*].

signs

2.1.5.21. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 362r, ed. Delatte 1927, 610

ἄλλο. γράψον εἰς φύλλα δάφνης καὶ βάλον εἰς ὕδωρ καὶ οὐ σώζει πῖνεν. [*signs*]

signs

2.1.5.22. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 361v, ed. Delatte 1927, 610

ἄλλο. γράψον εἰς φύλλον δάφνης, βάλον εἰς νερὸν καὶ οὐ σώζει πῖνεν. [*signs*]

via bird

2.1.5.23. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2219 (s. XV), f. 62r, in anonymous, alphabetic collection of recipes of primarily medical content (ff. 60r-74r)

ὄρνιθα λαβὼν γράψον διὰ κινναβάρεως ταῦτα 'ανη' ἢ γράφε ταῦτα 'κθ [[c. 3]].'
εἶτα δῆσον τὸν τοιοῦτον χάρτην περὶ τὸν τράχηλον τοῦ πετεινοῦ καὶ ἄξον αὐτὸν ἐν μέσῳ πάντων καὶ δεικνύει τὸν κλέπτην εἰς αὐτὸν τρέχων καὶ προσπηδῶν. καὶ ζήτησον τὸ κλαπὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

via rooster

2.1.5.24. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2219 (s. XV), f. 62r, in anonymous, alphabetic collection of recipes (ff. 60r-74r)

ὄρνιθα λαβῶν ἔχε καὶ γράψον εἰς κασσιτέρου πέταλον μετὰ σιναπιδίου ταῦτα [signs] καὶ ἀποπλύνας ὕδατι ἀσκέπω δίδου πίνειν τῷ ἀλέκτορι καὶ εὐθέως οὗτος κοκκίζων ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὸν κλέπτην καὶ ποιεῖ αὐτὸν τοῖς πᾶσι κατάδηλον.

I signs boxed in original, effaced by later reader

via bird

2.1.5.25. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 362r, ed. Delatte 1927, 610

ἄλλο. γράψον εἰς () καὶ τὸ χαρτὶν δέσον εἰς πετεινὸν καὶ φανερώσει σοι τὸν κλέπτην. [signs]. δέσον εἰς τράχηλον.

via bird; Hebrew? (αμαν στελα ~ *amen selah* ?)

2.1.5.26. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 362r, ed. Delatte 1927, 611

ἕτερον. γράψον εἰς χαρτὶν ἀγέννητον ἢ ἐλάφινον καὶ κρέμασον εἰς τὸν τράχηλον τοῦ πετεινοῦ καὶ μέλλει πηδήσειν ὁ πετεινὸς εἰς τὸν τράχηλον ἢ εἰς τὸν ὦμον τοῦ κλέπτου 'καντον κανιμ ηακορι βαχα καινιλ χιαφ αμαν στελα.'

via bird, combined with bread

2.1.5.27. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 361v, ed. Delatte 1927, 608

γράψον εἰς χαρτὶν ἐλάφειον καὶ κρέμασον εἰς λευκὸν πετεινὸν εἰς τὸν τράχηλον καὶ μέλλει πηδήσειν εἰς τὸν ὦμον τοῦ κλέπτου. 'καυντυτζ κανιμε κακοριβαχα καινηλ χηοφ αμενστελι.' καὶ ὅταν εὔρησ τὸν κλέπτην, κόψον ὄψιν ψωμίου καὶ γράφε ἐν αὐτῷ 'προφα αραπ ερναφα' καὶ δὸς φαγεῖν.

via bird, combined with bread

2.1.5.28. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 361v, ed. Delatte 1927, 609

1. γράψε διὰ κινάβαρεος εἰς χαρτὶν ταῦτα καὶ δέσον εἰς λευκὸν πετεινόν, καὶ φανερώσει σοι τὸν κλέπτην· 'ο ι θ ν α ψ χ ω ι.'
2. λάβε ἄρτον καὶ τυρὸν καὶ γράψον ἐν τῷ ἄρτω 'ισαρκουρια,' ἐν δὲ τῷ τυρῷ 'σαραφαηλ,' ἢ γράφε ἐν τῷ ἄρτω 'αραγα,' ἐν δὲ τῷ τυρῷ 'ραφαηλ' καὶ δὸς φαγεῖν.

names on paper; psalms; narrative; scripture, *Ps. 16*

2.1.5.29. St. Petersburg, cod. Academicus Musaei Palaeographici, f. 56r-v, ed. *CCAG* XII:122-123

εἰς πρᾶγμα ὁποῦ χάσης καὶ θέλης μαθεῖν τὸν κλέπτην. νὰ λέγης τὸν ψαλμὸν ἐτοῦτον κεφάλαιον δεκαεξ' εἰσάκουσον κύριε δικαιοσύνης μου.' ὅταν χάσης τίποτας, γράψε τὰ ὀνόματα ὁποῦ ἔχεις ὑποψίαν, ἔπειτα σύρε ἔπαρε ἀπὸ τὰ τζουκάλα τὰ χεῖρια χῶμα καὶ διάβασε τὸν ψαλμὸν ἑπτὰ φορές, τύλιξε πᾶν χαρτὶ με ὀλίγον πηλὸν ἀπ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ χῶμα καὶ βάνε καὶ τὸ καθενὸς τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ἄς εἶναι τὰ χαρτῖα | ἰσόζυγα καὶ ἄς σταθοῦν καὶ τότε ἔπαρον νερὸν ἀπὸ τόπον ὁποῦ δὲν θεωρεῖ ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ὅταν πέρνης τὸ νερὸν νὰ μὴ λαλήσης με κανέναν, καὶ τότε βάλε τὰ χαρτῖα ἐκεῖνα ὅλα νὰ τὰ βυθίσῃς εἰς τὸ νερὸν μέσα καὶ κίταζε καλά. καὶ ὁποῖον χαρτὶ ἔκβη πρῶτα ἀπὸ τὸν νερὸν καὶ ἔλθῃ ἀπάνω, ἐκεῖνός ἐστὶν ὁ κλέπτης. ὁμοίως ἔχει πρῶτα χαρτῖα γραμμένα τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα 'μαρανα σαρβα ὁ ἐσθίων ἄρτον μου ἐμεγάλυνεν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ πτερνισμόν.'

the Arabic *basmala*

2.1.5.30. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX), ff. 26v-27r, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 45

διὰ νὰ εὕρης τὸν κλέπτην. ἀπὸ ὅσους ἀνθρώπους ἔχεις ὑποψίαν, τόσα χαρτιὰ γράφτον τὸ ἀγίετι καὶ ἀπὸ πίσω γράψε τὸ ὄνομά του καὶ τὸ τυλίγεις τὸ κάθε ἓνα ξεχωριστὰ μέσα εἰς προζύμι καὶ βάζεις εἰς ἓνα μεγάλο ποτήρι νερὸν καὶ τὰ ρίχτεις μέσα καὶ ὅποιον πλέγει ἐπάνω, ἔπαρέ το καὶ ἀνοιξέ το καὶ ὅποιανοῦ ὄνομα γράφτει, ἐκεῖνος εἶναι ὁ κλέπτης. τοῦτο θὰ γράψης ἴππις σμιλαχη ραχμαν ραχην βηζα | εσελουκε ηπατιανη φεινη καριππουν ουτζιπουτ τταη ηζατεανη φελγιες ντετζιππου βελιγουμηνου λιαλεχημ γερσπουττουνε βεγιεβμε γιεν φεου φησουρι φετητουνε ευβατζεν βεφουτιχατηλ σεμαε φεκειανετ επβαππεν βετεαλλουφουνε κιουλεβαλιν αζημ.'

stoicheiomancy

2.1.5.31. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 361v, ed. Delatte 1927, 609

λάβε ἐν ὥρᾳ Ἄρεως (). γράψον τὰ ὀνόματα οὓς ἔχεις ἐν ὑποψίᾳ ἀπὸ τὸν πρῶτον ἕως τὸν ἔσχατον. εἶτα γράψον ἐπάνωθεν τούτου τὰ κδ' γράμματα πλην τοῦ ω μεγάλου διὰ τὸ πληθυντικόν. καὶ τότε ἄρξου ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ὀνόματος καὶ στοιχείου καὶ ἐπίλεγε τὸ ὄνομα. καὶ οἶον ὄνομα τελειωθῆ τὸ ἔσχατον στοιχείον, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ κλέψας.

I (τούτων) οὓς corr. Delatte || 4 (εἰς) οἶον Delatte

dream vision; scripture, *Ps.* 47

2.1.5.32. Wrocław, UB cod. I.Q.1 (Johannes de Posnania, a. 1361-1365), f. 82v, ed. Schultz 1871, 302

experimentum uerum de furtu. si furtum factum fuerit in domo tua, scribe hunc psalmum 'magnus dominus' et hos characteres et pone sub caput tuum in loco et nocte siue die uidebis furem.

for dream vision of thief; *Ps.* 71 and *Ps.* 47

2.1.5.33. Heidelberg, UB cod. Pal. Germ. 263 (s. XVI: medical, alchemical, demonological texts), f. 269r, ed. Schönbach (unpublished notes, UB Gießen Nachlaß Hepding vol. 33, 197a)

ad manifestandum furtum. scribe psalmum 'deus iudicium tuum regi da' et pone eum sub capite tuo quando uadis dormitum. tunc apparet tibi in somno quis fuerit fur. idem facit psalmus 'magnus dominus et laudabilis nimis' cum his characteribus [*signs*].

I spalmum cod.

scripture, *Habakkuk* 3 (but called *psalmus* in the text, perhaps because considered an *Ode* in the Greek tradition, *Ode* 4, the so-called 'prayer of Habakkuk' – a nice indication of the Greek derivation of these procedures) and *Ps.* 71

2.1.5.34. Heidelberg, UB cod. Pal. germ. 229, f. 64v

de furtu. scribe hos psalmos super pergameno uirgineo, pone eos sub capite tuo et apparebit fur tibi in somnis: psalmum 'domine audiui auditum tuum' et psalmum 'deus iudicium tuum regi da.'

dream

2.1.5.35. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS e Mus. 219 (s. XIII), f. 186r

experimentum pro furtis. si uis scire quis ille sit qui res tuas furatus sit, scribe haec nomina in cera uirginea et tene ea super caput tuum cum manu tua sinistra et in somno tuo uidebis

illum qui fecerat furtum † agios crux † agios crux † agios crux domini. in nomine patris’
et cetera.

dream; with scripture, *Ps. 144*

2.1.5.36. Marburg, UB cod. B 20 (s. XV), f. 113r, ed. Dietrich 1867, 215

item ad furtum inueniendum, scribe hunc psalmum ‘magnus deus’ et pone sub capite tuo
cum dormis et uidebis furem in somnio.

dream

2.1.5.37. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS e Mus. 219 (s. XIII), f. 186r

item. in cera uirginea hos characteres scribe et desuper caput tuum pone in lecto et in
sommis ueniet tibi qui res tuas furatus est. et cum collocaueris te in lecto et cum euigilaueris
dic ‘credo in deum.’ ‘e b e b e k k o k a b.’

2 cum *add. supr. lin. cod.*

grains

2.1.5.38. Munich, BSB cdm 23479, f. 10v, ed. Mone 1838, 421-422

item pro furto. accipe grana hordei et in aquam tacitam mitte ante solis ortum in uas
uitreum sine tecto et quantos habes suspectos singulos praenomina et unicuique granum
praenominatum in aquam mitte. et cuius granum non uenerit ad fundum, ipse sine dubio
fur est in ipsa re. ‘angelus Michael, angelus Gabriel, angelus Raphael, propter uos sermo
domini impletur.’

2.1.5.39. Austin, HRC Ms 29 (s. XI, Tegernsee), f. 2r (among remedies, some with
cryptography)

ad fures inueniendos. scribis in quattuor foliis lauri et mittis inorio et uocas quem
suspectum habebis, manducare non poterit. [*two eight-pointed stars, around which*
ana (star) baaan (star) ba
na (star) bana (star) ban
aa (star) banaa (star) a]

2.1.5.40. Austin, HRC Ms 29 (s. XI, Tegernsee), f. 2r (among remedies, some with
cryptography; codex of miscellaneous content, natural history, astronomy)

[ad furem] inu[enien]dum. par..... [fol]iis lauri ista [et] uocas eum qu[em suspectum]
habebis, manducare non poterit. [*at right, signs*]

2.1.5.41. Vatican, BAV cod. Pal. lat. 1337 (s. XIII, France, medical miscellany), f. 179r
[later addition of s. XIV-XV], noted by Schuba 1981, 470

scribe nomina eorum quos habes suspectos et fac globos de limo terrae et in quolibet
reconde nomen unius et pone aquam benedictam in pel... et globos proice cum signo
sanctae crucis ita dicendo ‘in nomine patris per ipsum, in nomine filii cum ipso, in nomine
spiritus sancti.’ deinde dic psalmum ‘iustus es domine’ vii psalmum mirabilia per totum
quicumque uult saluus et cetera. letania. pater noster et credo in deum. oremus.
sempiternus deus misericordiam tuam simpliciter et humiliter imploramus ut digneris nobis
in hac aqua ostendere nomen illius qui furtum fecit et non respicias ad peccata mea quare
iustus iudex es et iudicia tua uera sunt. auge fidem in hoc et redde nobis rem subtractam,
per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum’ et cetera. interea soluetur globus rei et eius
supernabit schedula.

7 respicis *cod.* || 10 cedula *cod.*

motion of vessel filled with holy water; scripture, *Ps.* 8, 90; reassurance that the method does not incur sin

2.1.5.42. Cambridge, Trinity College *cod.* O.1.58 (James 1082), f. 144r

ad furtum inueniendum sine peccato. pone aquam benedictam in aliquo uase et dicas ter istos psalmos ‘dominus dominus noster’ et ‘qui habitat in adiutorio altissimi.’ et cum dices istum uersum, uadent a latere tuo. si homo sit culpabilis, uas reuertet per se, si non, stabit. et dicatur ille uersus bis uel ter et non amplius.

2 altissi(m)o *cod.*

via chord

2.1.5.43. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS e Mus. 219 (s. XIII), f. 186r

ad carmen faciendum de chorda contra furtum. primo mensura chordam et tunc super eam facias signum crucis et postea dic pater noster, ‘in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti et in nomine sanctae Mariae et in nomine sancti Wuinoc et sancti Wuifrec appareat uirtus in chorda ista si iste culpabilis est de facto illius latrocinii,’ et nomina nomen illius de quo suspicionem habes et post facias crucem super chordam et dic pater noster et aue Maria et idem facias ter et cum nominaueris nomen culpabilis chorda breuior inuenietur.

via crystal

2.1.5.44. Johann Weyer, *De praestigiis daemonum* 5.5 (1568 ed. p. 460)

non alienum ab hoc argumento modum inuestigandi furis interseram quem sic experiendum quidam praescribunt. conuersus ad orientem in crystallo crucem facito cum oleo oliuae et sub cruce scribatur ‘sancta Helena.’ inde puer castus ex legitimo toro natus annorum decem uel circiter capiat manu dextra crystallum. a cuius tergo tu genibus flexis prouolutus ter summa cum ueneratione hanc recitabis orationem ‘deprecor te domina sancta Helena mater regis Constantini quae crucem domini nostri Iesu Christi inuenisti per illam sanctissimam deuotionem et inuentionem crucis et per illam sanctissimam crucem, per illud gaudium quod habuisti quando illam sanctissimam crucem inuenisti et per illam dilectionem quam erga filium tuum regem Constantinum habuisti et per illa summa bona quibus frueris perpetuo ut commonstres in hoc crystallo quicquid peto et scire cupio, amen.’ et cum angelum in crystallo uidebit puer, rogabis quaecumque uolueris et respondebit angelus. hoc autem facies in solis ortu cum iam emerit et aer serenus extiterit.

pebbles

2.1.5.45. Johann Weyer, *De praestigiis daemonum* 5.5 (1568 ed. p. 463)

ut in hoc actu blasphemus nominis dei et sacrarum literarum abusus euidentius innotescat, exempla prodendi furis uel sagae ex sacrifici libro clam a me subtracta annectam. accede fluentem aquam, inde collectos tot numero lapillos quot sunt de quibus furtum commissum suspicaris, domum confer et ignescant. hinc sub limine sepeliantur per quod ingredi consueuerunt homines et triduum relinquuntur. postea ante solis ortum eximantur, deinde scutella cum aqua imponatur circulo, transversa obliquaque mixtim cruce insignito, cui inscriptum est ‘Christus uincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat.’ scutella adhaec cruce signata et formula coniurationis per Christi passionem, mortem et resurrectionem adhibita quam propter impie curiosos celo in aquam singuli lapilli in cuiusque suspecti nomine coniiciantur et ubi ad rei lapillum fuerit uentum, tum calculus

tamquam ignitum ferrum feruorem concitat. ut insontem grauet fraudetque, eiusmodi fingere ebullitionem diabolo non est difficile.

2.2 – procedure for compulsion of thief to make restitution

2.2.1 prayer

2.2.1.1. Bruttium, bronze tablet, now Naples, AM, s. III B.C., ed. Audollent 1904 no. 212
[ἀνιαρίζει Κολλύρα] ταῖς προπόλοις | [τᾶς θεῶ τὸ ἰμάτιον] τὸ πελλὸν τὸ | [ἔλαβε
..... καὶ ο]ὐκ ἀποδίδωτι καὶ | [..... κ]αὶ χρῆται καὶ ἴσατι | .. ἐσ[τι ἀ]νθε[ίη τᾶι] θεῶ
δυωδεκαπλοῦν | σὺν ἡμεδίμν[ωι λιβάν]ω ὧι πόλις νομίζει | μὴ πρότερον δὲ [τ]ὰ[ν
ψ]υχὰν ἀ{ι}νε[ίη ..] ἔχ[ω]ν | τὸ ἰμάτιον ἔστε ἀνθε[ίη] τᾶι θεῶ. | ἀνιαρίζει Κολλύρα
ταῖς προπόλοις τᾶς θεῶ | τῶς τρίς χρυσέως τῶς ἔλαβε Μ[ε]λίτα | καὶ οὐκ
ἀποδίδωτι· ἀνθείη τᾶι θεῶι | δυωδεκαπλόα σὺν [μ]εδίμνωι λιβάνω{ι} | ὧι πόλις
νομίζει· μὴ πρότερον δὲ τὰν | ψυχὰν ἀνείη ἔστε ἀνθείη τᾶι θεῶ. | εἰ δὲ συνπίοι ἢ
συμφάγοι μὴ {η} ἰσαῶσα | ἀθῶιος εἶην ἢ ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀετὸν ὑπέλθοι.

2.2.1.2. P.Vind. inv. K 8304, ed. Meyer and Smith 1994 no. 112

writing in a spiral, adjures the angel Ruphos to spread its wings over any place where the stolen object (a bronze vessel) is, and the wish that the earth not be firm beneath the feet of the thief, that the sky not shelter him, that he have no peace until it is returned

curse of thief, interlocking ritual with wolf's foot

2.2.1.3. Thessaly, monastery of Olympiotissa, cod. 97 (s. XVIII), p. 469, ed. Skouvara 1965-1966, 105

ἐὰν τινὰς χάση τίποτε καὶ θέλη νὰ τὸ εὔρη. λάβε τοῦ λύκου τὸ ποδᾶρι καὶ κρέμασέ το εἰς τὸν καπνόν. καὶ ὅταν θέλης νὰ εὔρης τὸν κλέπτην, βάλε το εἰς χλιὸν νερὸν καὶ νὰ εἴπη· 'εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων. καθὼς πρήσεται ἐτοῦτο τὸ ποδᾶρι τοῦ λύκου, ἔτσι νὰ πρησθῇ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ὁ κλέπτης ὅπου μοῦ ἔκλεψε τὸ δεῖνα.' καὶ πρήσεται ἐκεῖνος. καὶ ὅταν σοῦ δώση ὅ τι ἐπῆρεν καὶ θέλης νὰ 'ξεπρησθῇ, βάλε πάλιν τὸν πόδα εἰς τὸν κάπνον καὶ 'ξεπρήσεται οὕτως ὡς ἄνω.

to produce confession from thief

2.2.1.4. Cambridge, Trinity College cod. R.14.30 (s. XIII), f. 161r, ed. Meyer 1903, 299
ad furtum. istam orationem scribe in cera benedicta et claude in ea argentum uiuum et dorsum eius tange et mox tibi confitebitur furtum. haec est oratio. 'oremus. deus qui in monte Caluariae signum sanctae crucis ostendisti, per Iudam deprehensum, cui Iudas tradidit filium tuum, demonstra mihi quidquid perditum habes et dic per eundem dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum qui tecum uiuit et regnat in unitate cum spiritu sancto deus per omnia saecula saeculorum, amen.' sed sciendum est quod oratio ista debet esse scripta super cera.

² confiteba *cod. a.c.* || ³ crusii *cod. a.c.* | qui *cod.* || ⁴ perditum *cod.* || ⁶ set siendum *cod.*

2.2.2 narrative, performatives

Demotic, but the magical *logoi* are in Greek script (HCTE AEIO HCTE AEIO, line 10) but von Lieven makes sense out of them as Egyptian, i.e. Old Coptic, “Siehe, Heil, Siehe, Heil”, prb. referring to the *wdjt* eye below the text); otherwise solidly grounded in Egyptian mythology, the thief figured as Seth, the head of the drowned man as Osiris, referred to here in his form as the decan H’w (Orion); Seth as thief of kingship and the Horus’ *wdjt* eye

2.2.2.1. London, British Museum EA 10588, col. vi, 1-16, ed. Bell, Nock, and Thompson 1931 (cf. *PDM* lxi.79-94); new edition of von Lieven 2001.

-the head of a drowned person, buried in a field, flax-seed sown over it, the flax reaped and brought into the village, the user washes the head with milk, wraps it up. Some flax taken, the incantation spoken over it, including the naming of each suspect and the tying of a knot at each name; the guilty party will speak when the corresponding knot is tied. The incantation: “To me belongs the speech of H’w, to me belongs the speech of Geb, to me belongs the speech that Neith gave, to me belongs the speech of the Ibis, the son of Thoth [Greek script]. I am here today to show myself, o my sister Samal, that I may say, ‘I will say some of the words of Geb that he said to Isis when Seth troubled (?) them in the swamp of Buto, wherein she had a bit of flax in her hand and knotted it, and disturbed his innards, until he (Seth) was revealed to Horus in the swamp. I will bring these small bits of flax with my own hand and knot them until NN reveals the stolen goods that he has taken.” [*drawing of wdjt eye*]

2.2.3 – scripture

Ps. 51; prayer

2.2.3.1. Munich, BSB clm 23479, f. 10v, ed. Mone 1838, 421

ad furtum inueniendum. si quid furto amiseris, canta cum ueniis psalmum ‘quid gloriaris’ nouies in honore nouem ordinum angelorum uel septies canta in recordatione septiformis gratiae et dic orationem hanc ‘deus qui Iudae lignum uel signum sanctae crucis in loco Caluariae ostendisti, ostende mihi quod perdidisti uel perditum est et restitue secundum magnam misericordiam tuam. quod cum deo.’

2.3 – procedures for general torment of thief

2.3.1 – prayer

on ἄλλη ἀντιγραφή cf. a preceding recipe entitled ἀντίγραφον ἀπό ἱερᾶς βίβ[λου] (424); some Coptic discernible in 484-485

2.3.1.1. Unknown provenance, now Paris, P.Louvre inv. 2391, s. IV, coll. xv, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P III.483-487

ἄλλη ἀντ[ιγραφή· c. 7] | ἀλα· αανγ· ξιχα· μιχα· ανγ· ε· c. 6 | εροϋπιτενφητ· νπρωμε
ξ[χων στέφανον ἐπὶ τῆ] | κεφαλή [χ]ρυσσοειδῆ, γενοῦ εἰς τ[ὸν φῶρα ἄραντα τὸ
δεῖνα], | ἀπόλεσον, σχίσον αὐτὸν καὶ κε· c. 15 | διῶ.. δ. ἐὰν δὲ ἀποκεφαλίσῃ[ς c. 10]

curse on a thief with impotence, and its reversal

2.3.1.2. from a nineteenth-century codex from Μουλιανὰ Σητείας, modern Crete, ed. Spyridakis 1941-1942, 68 from pp. 129-130 of the cod.

1. ἐρμηνεῖται τῆς δέσις τοῦ κλέπτου. ‘τὶς ὅπου ἐπῆρε τὸ πρᾶγμα τὸ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνα ὅταν κρυφίως νὰ κατεβαίνῃ κᾶν που ἔκαμεν ἀρχὴ δέματος κορκίδας, ἡ ψυχὴ του τοῦ κλέπτῃ ὅπου ἔκλεψε τὸ ὄ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνα ᾿ς τῆ(ν) ᾿ξουσά μου δέσε μου τονε τὸν

κλέπτῃν.’ καὶ δέσε κόμπο ἕξανάστροφον καὶ πάλιν λέγε το ἐπτὰ φορές καὶ πᾶσα βολὰ δέσε κόμπο ἕνα. ὕστερα ἔχε ἕνα σκουτέλι ἀφόρηο μὲ ξίδι δριμύ. τύλιξε τοὺς κόμπους, ἀπομούρωσέ τους ἄνω κάτω καὶ λέγε ἑπὰ ἀπομουρώνω τῆ ψυχῆ τοῦ ἐκείνου ὅπου ἐπῆρε τὸ δεῖνα τοῦ ὁ δεῖνα νὰ μὴν ἔχη νὰ πορῆ οὐδὲ ὄρεξις νὰ γαμήση τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, μόνο νὰ εἶναι ψυμένος καὶ μαραμμένος ὁ κλέπτῃς καὶ ὅταν ἐγὼ σημώσω καὶ ἐβγάλω σε μὲ τὴν ποπτο γεγωμβίν, τότες καὶ ἐκουσίως νὰ γαμήση τὴν γυναῖκαν του. καὶ πᾶσα του χάρι [---] ἢ δέσου σὰν ρουρουρου ἢ δέσου ἐκεῖ μάγ(γ)ανο, δεσουσά μου, γλυκουσά μου, ἢ σφιξουσά μου, ἀχάμισέ του τοῦ ὁ δεῖνα τὰ νεφ(ρ)ά του, τὰ νεφρά του καὶ τὰ ζοφά του, τὲς ἄρμους του, τὰ κόκκαλά του. ὡσὰν τράγος ν’ ἀνεβαίνει, ὡσὰν παλληκάρι νὰ κατεβαίνει αβλα αβλα λιος λιοντελος.’ τέλος τοῦ πέμπτου δέματος.

2. λύσις τοῦ δέματος τῶν ἕξ λογιῶν, 1821. λύσις τοῦ κλέπτῃ. ποιεῖ ἱερεὺς(ς) Εὐλογητόν, τὸ Τρισάγιον, τὸ τροπάριον τῆς ἡμέρας τῶν ἀγίων ἀναργύρων, τὸ Θεοτόκε παρθένε, τὸ προστασία τῶν Χριστιανῶν, καὶ λαβῶν καλάμια ὁ ἱερεὺς(ς) τύπτει αὐτοῦ εἰς τῆ(ν) πλάτη καὶ νὰ λέγη τὸ ἑλέησόν με ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεος σου καὶ ν’ ἀφήσης τὸ(ν) κλέπτῃν.’ ἔβγαλε τὰ ξύλα ἀπὸ τῆ γῆ καὶ ἔβγαλε καὶ τὰ κ(α)ρφίαν καὶ βάλε τα εἰς τὸ μέλι καὶ λέγε ἑδῶ νὰ ἴναι εὐλογημένος πάντων· κατόπιν βοηθήσατε τὸ δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ δεῖνα θεληματικῶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, στανικῶς τοῦ διαβόλου.’ πὲς το φορές τρεῖς καὶ νὰ ἴδῃς τῆ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ | καὶ ἀρχόμεθα τὰς εὐχάς· τοῦ κυρίου δεηθῶμεν, εὐλόγησον δέσποτα. δέσποτα παντεπόπτα, ἢ κάθαρσις τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, ἀκοίμητος ὀφθαλμός, ὁ γινώσκων πάντα τὰ κρυπτά, ὁ διὰ μετάνοιαν ἄφεισι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δωρησάμενος.’

7 <μ>πορῆ ed.

2.4 – fugitive

2.4.1 – analogous manipulation of name

against fugitive slave, cf. *Suppl.Mag.* II 56

2.4.1.1. Leiden, cod. VLQ 9 (s. VI), ff. 102v-103r, ed. Piechotta 1887, xii no. 189 (cf. Heim 1893 no. 221)

ad fugitiuos. in charta scribit dominus manu sua siue domina manu sua sinistra nomen fugitiui et de manu dextra scribat haec nomina ‘pallachata παλλακατα σαπρα’ | et eandem chartam mittes in mola frumentaria et ibi teratur.

1 cartha cod. || 3 eadem cartha cod.

writing name of fugitive in blood of household bird, wrapping its heart in cloth from the fugitive’s clothes, burying the object in the street outside your door

2.4.1.2. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2219 (s. XV), f. 62r, in anonymous, alphabetic collection of recipes, primarily medical (ff. 60r-74r)

ὄρνιθα μαυρὴν κατοικιδίαν λαβῶν καὶ σφάξας ἄρον τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῆς εὐθύς καὶ εἰλήσας εἰς ῥάκος ἀπὸ τῶν ἱματίων τοῦ δραπέτου καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ὀρνέου γράφε τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ φυγόντος δοῦλου καὶ δήσας χῶσον εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἔξωθεν τῆς θύρας καὶ ὑποστρέψει ταχέως.

writing name of target upside-down, burning

2.4.1.3. Athens, EBE cod. 1265 (s. XVI-XVII), f. 14v, ed. Delatte 1927, 12

εις φυγήν ἀνθρώπου. ἐὰν φύγη τις ἀνθρώπος καὶ θέλῃς νὰ τὸν ἐπιστρέψῃς, γράψον ἀνάποδα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅπου ἔφυγεν εἰς καινούργιον κεραμίδιν ἀποκάτω καὶ τὰς χαρακτῆρας καὶ βάλῃς το ἀπάνω εἰς μίαν πυροστιὰν νὰ καῖ. καὶ γυρίζει ὀπίσω. [signs].

1 τινας cod.

2.4.1.4. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX), f. 426v, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 279-280

εἰς ἀνθρώπον ὅπου θὰ φύγη ἢ κλέπτῃν, νὰ τὸν γυρίσῃς ὀπίσω. ἔπαρον τὸ κεραμίδι καινούργιον καὶ γράψῃς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀνάποδα καὶ τὶς χαρακτῆρες ἐπάνω. νὰ τὸ βάλῃς εἰς τὴν πυροστιὰ ἐπάνω νὰ καίεται, καὶ στρέφῃ ὀπίσω. [signs] τέλος.

2.4.1.5. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX), ff. 426v-427r, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 280

ὅμοιον ὅταν φύγη ὁ ἀνθρώπος, νὰ τὸν στρέψῃς ὀπίσω. ἔπαρε καινούργιον πέταλον καὶ γράψῃς τοὺς κάτωθεν χαρακτῆρας καὶ τὸ ὄνομά του ἀνάποδα | καὶ βάλῃς τὸ πέταλον εἰς τὴν πυροστιὰν νὰ καίεται, καὶ γυρίζει ὀπίσω. ἰδού· [signs] τέλος.

writing the target's name upside-down (play on στρέφειν)

2.4.1.6. Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 241 (s. XVIII), f. 103r, ed. Delatte 1927, 136

περὶ τοῦ ὅταν φύγη ἀνθρώπος καὶ θέλῃς νὰ στραφῇ ὀπίσω. γράψον τὸ ὄνομά του ἀνάποδα καὶ τὰς χαρακτῆρας ὁμοῦ εἰς ἓνα βέσαλον ζεστόν. εἶτα τύλιξον αὐτὸ μὲ τὸ ὑποκάμισόν του καὶ σκάψον ὑποκάτω τῆς φωτίας καὶ παράχωσον αὐτό, καὶ στρέφῃ σὺν θεῶ. [signs]

2 ταις cod.

writing name of target upside-down

2.4.1.7. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX), f. 69r, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 68

ἂν θέλῃς νὰ φέρῃς ἀνθρώπον ἀπὸ ξένον τόπον. γράψον τὸ ὄνομά του ἀνάποδα καὶ τοὺς κάτωθεν χαρακτῆρας εἰς ἓνα βήσαλον ζεστόν. ἔπειτα τύλιξέ τον μὲ τὸ ὑποκάμισόν του, σκάψῃς ὕστερα καὶ παράχωσέ το ὑποκάτω εἰς τὴν φωτιὰν καὶ θέλει στραφῇ. οἱ χαρακτῆρες [signs].

analogic manipulation of name, burning

2.4.1.8. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX), f. 16v, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 39

εἰς ἀνθρώπον ὅπου φ(ε)ύγει ἀπὸ τὸν οἶκόν του καὶ νὰ ἔλθῃ ὀπίσω ἀπὸ μακρινὸν τόπον. γράψον εἰς κεραμίδι καινούργιον τὶς κάτωθεν χαρακτῆρες καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ φευγάτου καὶ θέσε το εἰς τὴν φωτιὰν νὰ καίεται καὶ στρέφ' τὴν ὀπίσω ὅπου καὶ ἂν εἶναι. ἰδού οἱ χαρακτῆρες ἀντικρυν. [signs]

1 <ἔχει> φύγει *corr.* Papathomopoulos

2.4.1.9. London, BL cod. Sloane 475 (s. XI), ff. 114v-115r

item scribe nomen eius in carta uirgine et haec uerba 'gio reuerti cito' et perobsera loca ne abscondas te. dehinc filo lineo ligabis cartam et ceram | super inpones et anulo signabis et ostio appendis.

1 s[[o]]\c/ribe cod. || 3 hosti cod.

2.4.2 – three patriarchs

2.4.2.1. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2316 (s. XV), f. 369r-v, ed. Oikonomu-Agorastu 1982
περί ἐὰν φύγη ἄνθρωπος μετὰ τίποτε πράγμα. γράψον εἰς κομμάτιν κεραμίδιν ἀπὸ τῆς θεοτόκου τὸν ναὸν καὶ θές εἰς τὸ ἀνώφλιον· εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τῶν πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, Ἀβραάμ σε διώκει, Ἰσαάκ σε ὑποστρέφει, Ἰακώβ σε καταλιμπάνει, καὶ ἄγγελος κυρίου ὑποστρέφει σε ὅθεν κακῶς ἐξῆλθες. ὁ πρὸ τοῦ σκότους λαμβάνων καὶ ὀπίσω εἰς τὸ φῶς ὑπόστρεφε, ἅγιε Φαμαναηλ, ὑπόστρεφέ τον.

third person performatives, divided action of three, here three patriarchs; prayer with Old Testament narrative for the return of Hagar to her master (*Genesis 16*)

2.4.2.2. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2219 (s. XV), f. 31v no. 390 in anonymous collection beginning at f. 20r

περί δούλου φεύγοντος. Ἀβρααμ φέρει, Ἰσαακ δεσμεύεται, Ἰακωβ στρέφεται. ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ λύσας Ἀγαρ τὴν παιδίσκη ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς κύριον, αὐτὸς ἐπίστρεφε καὶ τὸν ὀδεῖνα διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἀποστείλαντος τὸν ἄγγελον.' γράφει αὐτὰ εἰς βήσαλον ἢ εἰς χάρτην καὶ θές εἰς τὰ ἅγια.

divided action of three (patriarchs); scripture, *Ps. 34:6*

2.4.2.3. Athens, EBE cod. 1265 (s. XVI-XVII), ff. 27v-28r, ed. Delatte 1927, 67
εἰς δούλον φυγόντα. Ἀβρααμ σε καταδιώκει, Ἰσαακ σε καταφθάνει, Ἰακωβ σε κατατρέχει. γενηθήτω ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ σκότος καὶ ὀλίστημα καὶ ἄγγελος ἀποστρέφοι αὐτόν.' καὶ ἀναποδόγραφον τὰ παρόντα σημεῖα καὶ θές αὐ|τὰ ὀπισθεν τῆς θύρας.
[signs]

scripture, *Ps. 34:6*

2.4.2.4. Cambridge, Trinity College cod. R.15.36 (s. XV, James 947), f. 29v (mentioned in *CCAG IX:49*, cod. 64, as the same as that edited in Delatte 1927, 625)

εἰς κλέπτην. γράψον εἰς χάρτην οὕτως· [signs] Ἀβρααμ σε καταδιώκει, ὁ Ἰσαακ σε καταφθάνει, Ἰακωβ σε ἀνατρέχει. γενηθήτω ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ σκότος καὶ ὀλίστημα.' καὶ ἀναποδογράφει τοῦτο καὶ βάλει ὀπισθεν τῆς θύρας.

scripture, *Ps. 34:6*

2.4.2.5. Florence, BML cod. Plut. 86.14 (s. XV), f. 47r, cf. Vassiliev 1893, 341 and Delatte 1927, 626

εἰς κλέπτην. γράψον εἰς χάρτην οὕτω· [signs] Ἀβρααμ σε καταδιώκει, ὁ Ἰσαακ σε καταφθάνει, Ἰακωβ σε ἀνατρέχει. γενηθήτω ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ σκότος καὶ ὀλίστημα.' καὶ ἀναποδογράφει τοῦτο καὶ βάλει ὀπισθεν τῆς θύρας.

3 ἀναποδογράφε (sic) Vassiliev

scripture, *Ps. 34:6*; writing backwards, play on στρέφειν

2.4.2.6. Athens, cod. Soc. Hist. 210 (s. XVIII), f. 61r-v, ed. Delatte 1927, 114

περί τοῦ φυγεῖν ἄνθρωπον. γράψον εἰς ἀγέννητον χαρτὶ ἐξαναστροφῇ Ἀβρααμ εἶχεν δοῦλον καὶ ἔφυγεν, Ἰσαακ ἐζήτησεν αὐτόν. γενηθήτω ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ σκότος καὶ ὀλίσθημα | καὶ ἄγγελος, ἐκδίωξον αὐτόν, Ἀβρααμ, φθάσον αὐτόν καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Θεόδωρος, στρέψον αὐτόν.’

scripture, *Ps. 34:6*; analogy; divided action of three angels

2.4.2.7. private collection, Βερναρδάκειος μαγικὸς κώδικας (s. XIX), ff. 17v-18r, ed. Papathomopoulos 2006, 39

καὶ ἕτερον, ὅποταν φύγη σκλάβος, νὰ τὸν εὔρης. ὁ Ἀβρααμ εἶχεν δοῦλον καὶ ἔφυγεν, καὶ ὁ Ἰσαακ ἐζήτησεν αὐτόν, οὕτως καὶ ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ εἶχε δοῦλον (δεῖνα) καὶ ἔφυγεν. ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σκότος καὶ ὀλίσθημα καὶ ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ σκότος ἐγένετο, ποταμὸς ἀπέραστος καὶ εἰσκήθησιν ὁ δοῦλος ὁ δεῖνα (ἢ ἡ δούλη) καὶ ἐνθυμηθῆ τὸν κύριόν της καὶ τὰς δώδεκα ὥρας τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τὰς δώδεκα ὥρας τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ εἶχεν ἀγάπην εἰς τὸν κύριόν της ὡς ἡ ἔλαφος τὸν μόσχον καὶ ὡς πέπος τὸ πουλάριον. Μιχαηλ φθάσον, Γαβριηλ ἔρξον, Ραφαηλ στρέψον εἰς τὸν κύριον | αὐτοῦ.’ καὶ γράψον εἰς χαρτὶ καὶ κρέμασον εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου. νὰ κρέμεται ἡμέρας πολλὰς, καὶ θέλει ἐπιστρέψῃ εὐθύς. τέλος,

⁴ εἰσκήθησιν *cf.* σκυθρός, σκυθράζω ‘*grow sullen*’? || 7 ἔρξον *conieci*: ὀρῶν
Papathomopoulos

2.4.2.8. London, BL cod. Sloane 475 (s. XI), f. 114v

si uis fugituum aliquem reuertere ad te hoc scribe ita in carta ‘in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen. sicut dominus descendit de caelo et in caelo ascendit et uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos, sic tu qui uenisti ad me et fugisti a me reuertere ad me in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen. qui tibi uias Abraham claudit, Isaac tibi tenebras inmittit et Iacob ad domum reducit, fugitiue N. reuertere ad domum.’ hanc scripturam pone insuper liminari ostii unde exiuit. aliam in molam mitte et tertiam prae ostio et nominas seruum qui fuga lapsus est.

2.4.2.9. London, BL cod. Sloane 475 (s. XI), f. 111v

ad furem inueniendum. ‘Abraham ligauit, Isaac retinuit, Iacob ad domum reduxit.’

¹ inueniendis *cod.*

2.4.2.10. Wroclaw, UB cod. I.Q.1 (Johannes de Posnania, a. 1361-1365), f. 82r, ed. Schultz 1871, 301

de furto. ut furtum ad locum suum reuertatur. scribe in duabus chartulis ‘Abraham ligauit, Isaac retinuit, Iacob domum reduxit.’ et pone super ostium domus unam chartam et aliam in superiore limite.

² restinuit *cod.*

with German instructions, to be written on two pieces of paper and placed above and below the door

2.4.2.11. from an undated ‘healing book’ from Golzow (‘Golzower Heilbuch’), ed. Poley 1895, 140

‘Abraham elegat, Isaac rectiret, Iacob redagit.’

¹ redackit *ed.*

2.4.2.12. Chur, Staatsarchiv Graubünden, 'Arzneibuch' (s. XIV/V, probably Alsace) [no shelfmark, no foliation given], ed. Jecklin 1926, 84; cf. Jacoby 1926, 203
Schrib zwen brieff uff iunckfrouw perment mit ingewichten ply 'Abraham litigauit, Iacob d(om)um eduxit.' leg den einen brief unter das dir geschwel, den andren uber die dür, so kumpt dir din gestolen güt wider.

$\overline{1}$ ligauit *corr. Jacoby* || 2 d(om)um (r)eduxit *corr. Jacoby*

2.4.2.13. manuscript entitled *Artzney-Büchlein* of Karl Ludwig Schneidemann, written 1768-1771 in Pforzheim and Kalb, ed. Mogk 1896, 116 no. 9.b
Dass es wiedergebracht werden muss. Schreib nachstehende Characters auf 3 Zettel. Leg den 1ten an den Ort wo ers gestohlen; den 2ten unter die Schwelle wo er hinausgegangen; den 3ten steck über die Thür darüber ers hat getragen; so muss es der Dieb wiederbringen wann ers nicht an den dritten Ort verkauft hat. 'Isaac Abraham Iacob angelus.'

$\overline{4}$ isac *cod.*

2.4.3 – scripture

Ps. 34:6; with prayer

2.4.3.1. Vienna, ÖNB cod. med. gr. 40 (s. XIV), f. 124v
εις αποδρασμον δουλου. 'αγιε Ιακωβε αδελφε του κυριου και αποστολε, παρακαλεσον τον κυριον ημων Ιησουν Χριστον και αδελφον σου ινα επιστρεψη τον δεϊνα δουλον προς την ιδιαν δεσποτειαν. γεννηθητω η οδος αυτου σκοτος και ολισθημα και αγγελος κυριου επιστρεφων αυτον.'

2.4.3.2. Paris, BnF cod. gr. 2091 (s. XIV), f. 112v, ed. Doyen-Higuet 2006, 132
εις αποδρασμον δουλων. 'αγιε Ιακωβε αδελφε του κυριου και αποστολε παρακαλεσον τον κυριον ημων Ιησουν Χριστον και αδελφον σου ινα επιστρεψη τον δουλον τον δεϊνα προς την ιδιαν δεσποτειαν. γεννηθητω η οδος αυτου σκοτος και ολισθημα και αγγελος κυριου επιστρεφων αυτον.'

fugitive; scripture, *Ps.* 34:6-8 and 34:5, ritual drama

2.4.3.3. Cambridge, Trinity College cod. O.1.58 (James 1082), f. 139r-v
si spoliatus fueris ab aliquo, statim uersus orientem dicas pater noster et aue Maria cum isto uersu 'fiat uia illorum tenebrae et lubricum et angelus domini sequens eos.' postea uertas te uersus meridiem, dicas pater noster et dic aue Maria cum uersu 'ipsum gratis absconderunt, laquei sui superuacue exprobauerunt animam.' postea uerte ad occidentem et dic pater noster cum aue cum isto uersu 'ueniat illi laqueus quem ignorat et captio quam abscondit apprehendat ipsum et in laqueum cadat in id ipsum.' postea in septentrionem et aue cum uersu isto 'fiat tamquam puluis | ante faciem uenti et angelus domini coartans eos.' et sine dubio reuertentur.

$\overline{3}$ orientem *a.c.* | et dic *a.c.* || 4 laquei *cod.* | exprobra- *a.c.* || 5 laquei || 7 autem *cod.*

scripture, *Ps.* 32:16-17, ritual drama

2.4.3.4. Heidelberg, UB cod. Pal. germ. 229, f. 64v
contra furtum. si quis facit tibi furtum, statim dic ad eandem plagam terrae 'non saluabit(ur) rex per multam uirtutem' et dic quinque pater noster. ad secundam partem

mundi dic 'gigas non saluabitur in multitudine uirtutis suae' et <d>ic etiam unum pater noster. ad tertiam partem dic 'falsus equus ad salutem' et dic etiam unum pater noster. ad quartam partem dic 'in abundantia autem uirtutis suae non sanabitur' et etiam dic unum pater noster et furtum restituetur tibi et probatum est.

2.4.4 – addressing the target

2.4.4.1. Bern, BB cod. 803 (s. XI-XII), ll. 400ff, ed. Henzen 1969, 16-17

'cruce Christi ab oriente reducat te N., cruce Christi a meridiano reducat te N., cruce Christi ab occidente reducat te N., cruce Christi ab aquilone reducat te N. cruce Christi abscondita fuit et ab Helena inuenta est. sic inueniatur fugitiuus iste per uirtutem sanctae crucis. adiuro te terra per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum et per sepulchrum domini ut eum non retineas, N., sed citissime redire facias ad me.'

with scripture, *Ps.* 34:8

2.4.4.2. Munich, BSB clm 536, s. XII (owned by the monastery of Prül, theological miscellany, the bulk is Honorius of Autun *De imagine mundi*; patristic excerpts; physiologus; added on f. 85r at right angles in right margin, 2 x 27 grid, within each square a circle, and legend haec linea sedecies ducta longitudinem dominici corporis ostendit, sumpta a Constantinopoli ex aurea cruce ad longitudinem sui facta; another thief procedure in German on f. 90r), f. 84v

'cruce Christi ab oriente reducat te N, cruce a meridiano reducat te N, cruce Christi ab aquilone reducat te N, cruce Christi ab occidente reducat te N. cruce Christi abscondita fuit et ab Helena inuenta est. sic inueniatur fugitiuus iste per uirtutem sanctae crucis. adiuro terra per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum et per sepulchrum domini ut eum non retineas N sed citissime redire facias ad me. [*square grid with sator arepo tenet opera rotas, around which clockwise from top, ueniat illi laqueus quem ignorat et captio quam abscondit apprehendat eum et in laqueum cadat in ipsum*]

3 fem. alternates for fugitiuus, iste added supra lin. || 4 sepulchrum cod.

with analogous manipulation of name

2.4.4.3. St. Gallen, SB cod. Sang. 932 (s. XV), p. 521

1. ad inuestigandum furtum. primo cum nuntiatur uel indicatur aliquis aliquod perdidisse uel furto uel quolibet modo amisisse, dicat statim 'cruce Christi abscondita fuit in terra et inuenta est a sancta Elena, ita mihi inueniatur res ita perdita.' et prostratus in terram dicat, et faciens crucem in terra ad orientem ita † et dicat 'cruce Christi ab oriente reducat furem N. cum re perdita' uersus orientem, 'cruce Christi a meridie reducat furem N. cum re perdita' uersus austrum, 'cruce Christi ab occidente reducat furem N. cum re perdita' uersus occidentem, 'cruce Christi ab aquilone reducat furem N. cum re perdita' uersus septentrionem.

2. tunc prostratus ad orientem dicat 'adiuro te terra per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum et per sanctum sepulchrum domini ut furem N. super te non retineas sed eum cito redire facias.' tunc scribe nomen eius si scis in lamina plumbi et defode illud sub limine ostii et quo citius poteris fac missam cantare in honore sanctae Elenae reginae et sancti Eustathii et uxoris eius filiorumque ipsius.

performatives

2.4.4.4. Oxford Bodleian cod. Auct. F.5.31 (s. XIII), f. 122v, ed. Heiatt and Jones 1990, 56 ('charm' VI)

‘in nomine patris inuenio te. in nomine filii consuo te. in nomine spiritus sancti delebo te. circumcingat te pater, circumcingat te filius, circumcingat te spiritus sanctus. destruat te pater, destruat te filius, destruat te spiritus sanctus, et fuge. Christus natus, Christus passus, Christus resurrectus a mortuis. agios agios agios. ecce crucem dei. fugite part[ae] aduersae, uicit leo de tribu Iuda, radix Dauid. super aspidem et basiliscum a[m]bulabis et conculcabis leon[e]s et dracones.’

⁵ uicum *cod.*

2.4.5 – conjuration

Conjuration of demons

2.4.5.1. Heidelberg, UB cod. Pal. germ. 229 (s. XVI, Regensburg, ‘Hausbuch’), f. 95, inaccurate excerpt in Preisendanz 1913, 140n6 [wrongly citing ‘f. 95r’] ad restituendum furta. accipe ceram uirgineam et fac quatuor lumina, primum in nomine Balffuley qui est inquisitor omnium malorum, secundum in nomine Cegafery qui est ductor omnium furium, tertium in nomine Arefgirellis qui est perfectissimus in ordine angelorum, ⟨quartum in nomine ...⟩ et dic hanc coniurationem ‘coniuro uos quatuor demones per quatuor nomina diuinitatis, agyos otheos ysskiros adonay ut uos quatuor demones uniuersum orbem terrae faciatis primum contra orientem, secundum contra occidentem, tertium contra septentrionem, quartum contra meridiem, et reuocare furem cum furtu per nomen eius qui cuncta creauit ex nihilo, caelum et terram uerbo solo, per illum qui tertio die illesus resurrexit de sepulchro, per illum qui est incarnatus de spiritu sancto.’ et nunc accipe illa quatuor lumina et scribe nomen uniuscuiusque spiritus in lumine prius tunc pone crucifixum et absque omni benedictione pone te dormitum. in media nocte finge de feretro cum quo lumina incende et dic coniurationem antequam lumina comburentur. reus ...tur furtum.

2.4.6 – *logoi*

mixture of Latin and something else (magical *logoi*, nonsense, vernacular?)

2.4.6.1. Leiden, cod. VLQ 9 (s. VI), f. 103r, §189, ed. Piechotta 1887, xii (cf. Heim #123) item aliud. post ostium scribis ‘irrifaf epona nupsitillegy.’

¹ irrifaf epona nupsitillegy *cod.*

2.4.6.2. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 355v, ed. Delatte 1927, 598

πρὸς τὸ μὴ φυγεῖν κλέπτην. γράψον τὰ σημεῖα ταῦτα ‘σενομω κουομω’ καὶ καῦσέ τας καὶ ῥάνε τὸ ὀσπίτι. καὶ ἔρχεται ὁ κλέπτης διὰ τῆς νυκτός. γράφε δὲ ταῦτα [*signs*].

2.4.6.3. Bologna, UB cod. 3632 (s. XV), f. 361v, ed. Delatte 1927, 608

ἄλλο. γράψον τὰ σημάδια ταῦτα καὶ καῦσέ τα εἰς τὸ ὀσπίτιν ποῦ εὔρσκεται καὶ ἔρχεται. ‘σενομω κουομω [*signs*].’