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Greek and Egyptian Magical Formularies: Text and Translation

Volume I

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CONTENTS

<i>List of Individual Recipes</i>		ix	
<i>Preface</i>		xviii	
<i>Acknowledgments</i>		xxv	
<i>Greek Monograms and Abbreviations</i>		xxvi	
1. The Earliest Formularies (II BCE–II CE)		1	
GEMF 1 (PGM CXI; SM II 70)	CAF-STT	II BCE	3
GEMF 2 (PGM CXVII; SM II 71)	DC-MG	I BCE	5
GEMF 3 (PGM XX)	MZR	late I BCE–early I CE	12
GEMF 4 (PGM CXXII; SM II 72)	MZR	late I BCE–early I CE	15
GEMF 5 (PGM LII)	FM	late I CE	20
GEMF 6 (P.Oxy. LXV 4468)	FM	late I CE	24
GEMF 7 (PGM CIII; SM II 73)	FM	I CE	31
GEMF 8 (PGM LVII + PGM LXXII)	AM	reign of Hadrian	33
GEMF 9 (SM II 74)	FM	II CE	42
GEMF 10 (SM II 75)	FM	II CE	44
GEMF 11 (PGM LXIX)	MZR	early II CE	46
GEMF 12 (PGM LXXVII)	CAF-STT	II CE	47
GEMF 13 (PGM CX)	CAF-STT	II CE	49
GEMF 14 (BM EA10808)	EL	second half of II CE	51
2. The Bilingual Demotic-Greek Formularies of the Early Empire (II–III CE)			61
GEMF 15 (PGM XII/PDM XII)	JD-KD-MEP-JJ-EL-PS-AS	mid- to late II CE	63
GEMF 16 (PDM XIV/PGM XIV)	JD-KD-MEP-JJ-EL-AND- PS-AS	late II CE	135
GEMF 17 (PDM Suppl.)	KD-MEP-CAF-JJ-EL-AS-STT	II CE	282
GEMF 18 (PDM LXI/PGM LXI)	KD-MEP-CAF-JJ-EL-AND- AS-STT	III CE	300
3. The Greek Formularies of the Early Empire (II–III CE)			323
GEMF 19 (PGM XVIIb)	MZR	late II–III CE	325
GEMF 20 (P.Mich. s.n.)	MZR	II–III CE	328
GEMF 21 (P.Duke inv. 729)	CAF-STT	II–III CE	329
GEMF 22 (P.Bingen 13)	JLF	II–III CE	334
GEMF 23 (PGM XIc)	MCh	II–III CE	336
GEMF 24 (PGM XCVII; SM II 78)	FM	II–III CE	339
GEMF 25 (P.Oxy III 433)	MZR	late II–early III CE	341
GEMF 26 (GMA 32)	MZR	II–III CE	343
GEMF 27 (Kernos 23)	MZR	II–III CE	346
GEMF 28 (PGM CXXVII)	MZR	II–III CE	349
GEMF 29 (PGM LXIII)	FM	II–III CE	357
GEMF 30 (PGM VI + PGM II)	MBC-EC-AND-EST-MZR	late II–early III CE	361

GEMF 31 (PGM I)	CAF-AND-STT	second half of III CE	382
GEMF 32 (PGM XIXb)	CAF-STT	III CE	412
GEMF 33 (PGM XIb)	MCh	III CE	415
GEMF 34 (PGM LXII)	KD	mid- to late III CE	418
GEMF 35 (SM II 79)	FM	III CE	431
GEMF 36 (PGM LXXXVI; SM II 80)	FM	III CE	434
GEMF 37 (PGM CXXIX; SM II 81)	FM	III CE	435
GEMF 38 (PGM CXIXa-b; SM II 82)	FM	III CE	436
GEMF 39 (P.Oxy. LXXXII 5303)	FM	III CE	438
GEMF 40 (P.Oxy. LXXXII 5304)	FM	III CE	441
GEMF 41 (P.Oxy. LXXXII 5305)	FM	late III CE	448
GEMF 42 (P.Mich. inv. 3404)	MC	III CE	455
GEMF 43 (PGM XXI)	DC-MG	III CE	459
GEMF 44 (P.Oxy. LXVIII 4672)	DC	III CE	462
4. The Greek Formularies of the Late Empire (III–IV CE)			465
GEMF 45 (PGM XXa)	MZR	III–IV CE	467
GEMF 46 (SM II 86)	FM	III–IV CE	469
GEMF 47 (P.Oxy. LVIII 3931)	CAF-STT	III–IV CE	473
GEMF 48 (P.Mich. inv. 1560)	MZR	III–IV CE	476
GEMF 49 (PGM XLIV)	FM	III–IV CE	478
GEMF 50 (PGM LXVII)	CAF-STT	late III–early IV CE	482
GEMF 51 (P.Berl. inv. 11734)	DC-MG	late III–early IV CE	485
GEMF 52 (PGM XXIVa)	CAF-STT	III–IV CE	495
GEMF 53 (PGM LXXIX)	ATM	late III–early IV CE	498
GEMF 54 (PGM LXXX)	ATM	late III–early IV CE	500
<i>Bibliography and Abbreviations</i>			502

LIST OF INDIVIDUAL RECIPES¹

- GEMF 1 (PGM CXI; SM II 70) (Instructions for making animal-human figures)
- GEMF 2 (PGM CXVII; SM II 71) (Attraction- and insomnia-procedures)
- GEMF 3 (PGM XX)
- 1–15 (Fragmentary incantations)
 - 16–19 [*Of ... an incantation ...]for head[ache]*
 - 20–29 [*Of ...]a, a Syrian woman from Gadara, [an incantation] for every inflammation*
 - 30–42 [*Of Philinna of Thessaly, an incantation [for] headache*
- GEMF 4 (PGM CXXII; SM II 72)
- 1–5 *Selection of incantations*
 - 5–14 *Incantation over an apple*
 - 15–27 *Aphrodisiac*
 - 28–35 (Favor procedure for a woman to seduce a man)
 - 36–52 (Attraction-procedure against a man)
 - 53–57 *Against headache*
- GEMF 5 (PGM LII)
- 1–8 (Attraction- or favor-procedure)
 - 9–14 (Favor-procedure)
 - 15–21 (Attraction-procedure)
 - 22–28 *Insomnia-procedure* (for attraction)
- GEMF 6 (P.Oxy. LXV 4468)
- 1–37 (Attraction-procedure?)
 - 38–72 (Fragmentary recipes)
 - 73–89 (Favor-procedure)
 - 90–98 (Insomnia-procedure for attraction?)
 - 99–108 (Insomnia-procedure for attraction?)
 - 109–112 *Insomnia-procedure better than all others*
 - 113–117 *Sleep-inducing inscription*
 - 118–123 *Phylactery*
- GEMF 7 (PGM CIII; SM II 73) (Attraction-procedure)
- GEMF 8 (PGM LVII + PGM LXXII) (Favor-procedure)
- GEMF 9 (SM II 74)
- 1–7 *This name causes sleep*
 - 8–21 [*Against sciatica(?)*]

¹ Extant rubrics are printed in italics and recipes without rubrics are described in parentheses without italics.

- GEMF 10 (SM II 75) (Procedure for an unknown purpose)
- GEMF 11 (PGM LXIX) (Procedure for acquiring strength)
- GEMF 12 (PGM LXXVII) (Oracle request)
- GEMF 13 (PGM CX) (Instructions for a divination board)
- GEMF 14 (BM EA10808) (Attraction- and favor-procedure?)
- GEMF 15 (PGM XII /PDM XII)
- 1–5 (Prayer for an unknown purpose) [PDM XII 1–5]
 - 6–20 *A ring to cause praise* [PDM XII 6–20]
 - 21–49 (Prayer for a revelation of a remedy to cure a disease) [PDM XII 21–49]
 - 50–62 *Procedure* (to produce an epiphany of Persephone) [PGM XII 1–13]
 - 63–144 *Eros as paredros* [PGM XII 14–95]
 - 145–155 *Himerios' prescriptions*: [PGM XII 96–106]
 - 146–148 *Inscription made with Typhonian ink* [PGM XII 97–99]
 - 148–155 *For a workshop to do well* [PGM XII 99–106] - 156–170 *Agathocles' dream-sending procedure* [PGM XII 107–121]
 - 170–192 *Zminis of Tentyra's dream-sending procedure* [PGM XII 121–143]
 - 193–201 *Dream request, an exact method in all aspects* [PGM XII 144–152]
 - 202–209 *Divine oracle* [PGM XII 153–160]
 - 209–227 (Procedure to escape danger and for release from bonds) [PGM XII 160–178]
 - 228–230 (Anger-restraining procedure) [PGM XII 179–181]
 - 231–238 (Favor-procedure) [PGM XII 182–189]
 - 239–241 *Request for a dream oracle spoken to the [Bear i.e. Ursa Major]* [PGM XII 190–192]
 - 242–247 *Refinement of gold* [PGM XII 193–198]
 - 248–250 *Blistering(s)* [PGM XII 199–201]
 - 250–318 *A ring. A little ring for every procedure and success* [PGM XII 201–269]
 - 319–399 *A ring. A little ring for success and favor and victory* [PGM XII 270–350]
 - 400–413 *Democritus' sphere* [PGM XII 351–364]
 - 414–424 *Separation-procedure* [PGM XII 365–375]
 - 425–444 *Insomnia-procedure* [PGM XII 376–396]
 - 445–448 *For everlasting charm and friendship* [PGM XII 397–400]
 - 449–492 *Interpretations* (i.e. key to code names of ingredients) [PGM XII 401–444]
 - 493–504 *A formula for separating one person from another* [PDM XII 50–61 + PGM XII 445–448]
 - 505–518 *Another* (separation-procedure) [PDM XII 62–75 + PGM XII 449–452]
 - 519–550 *Another* (separation-procedure) [PDM XII 76–107 + PGM XII 453–465]
 - 551–577 *A formula [to] cause a woman to hate a man* [PDM XII 108–134 + PGM XII 466–473]
 - 578–589 (Attraction-procedure with burning) [PDM XII 135–146 + PGM XII 474–479]
 - 590–607 *Another* (attraction-procedure with burning) [PDM XII 147–164 + PGM XII 480–497]
- GEMF 16 (PGM XIV/PDM XIV)
- 1–92 *[A vessel inquiry which a physician] in the district of Oxyrhynchus [gave to me]*
 - 93–114 *A casting for inspection which the great god Imhotep does* [in part PGM XIVa. 1–11]

- 115 *[A] tested [formula] for the security of shadows*
 116 *Another, again*
 117–149 *A tested petitioning of god*
 150–231 *An inquiry of the lamp*
 232–238 *A petitioning of god at the request of Paysekh, priest of Qus*
 239–295 *The vessel inquiry of Khonsu*
 295–308 *[A vessel inquiry] (i.e. while being) alone in order to see the barque of the sun*
 309–334 *Formula for giving praise (i.e. a favor-procedure)*
 335–355 *[Procedure(?) to cause] a woman to love a man*
 355–365 *[Another] manner to give favor to a man before a woman and vice versa*
 366–375 *The manner of separating a man from a woman, a woman from her husband*
 376–391 *[The recipes] of the shrew-mouse, in which it goes*
 392–394 *The formulas which you recite to the ring at the time when you seize the woman*
 395–427 *[A vessel inquiry]*
 428–450 *A potion (i.e. an aphrodisiac)*
 451–458 *[A formula] for going before a superior who fights with you and does not speak to you [in part, PGM XIVb 12–15]*
 459–475 *The words of the lamp (i.e. lamp divination)*
 476–488 *Another manner (of doing) it also (i.e. lamp divination)*
 489–515 *Another manner (of doing) it also (i.e. lamp divination)*
 515–527 *Another invocation also according to what is above (i.e. lamp divination)*
 528–553 *[Another?] vessel inquiry which a physician in the Oxyrhynchite nome gave to me*
 554–562 *[A formula] to be said to the bite of a dog*
 563–574 *[Formula] to be said to remove the venom*
 574–585 *[A formula] to be said to a man while a bone is stuck in his throat*
 585–593 *A formula to be said to the bite of a dog, the fury of Amun and the Noble Lady*
 594–620 *[Formula] to be said to the sting (i.e. of a scorpion or snake)*
 620–626 *A formula to be said to bring a bone out (from) the throat*
 627–635 *The vessel inquiry of Osiris*
 636–669 *[The method] of the scarab in the cup of wine, to cause a woman to love a man*
 670–674 *Here are (the words?) of the name of the Great One of Five (introduction to a collection of formulas?)*
 675–694 *A formula to cause evil sleep (i.e. a curse) to fall [in part, PGM XIVc 15–27]*
 695–700 *To inquire opposite the moon (i.e. a vessel inquiry)*
 701–705 *Another form of it again to recite to the moon (i.e. a vessel inquiry)*
 706–710 *For evil sleep, another*
 711–715 *A tested prescription: If you wish (i.e. to cause) evil sleep (to) a man*
 716–724 *Another: If you wish to make a man sleep for two days*
 724–726 *Another (to cause evil sleep)*
 727–735 *A prescription to cause a man to sleep*
 735–736 *Another (prescription to cause evil sleep)*
 736 *Another (prescription to cause evil sleep)*
 737–738 *A prescription for evil sleep*
 739–740 *Another (prescription to cause evil sleep)*
 741 *Another (prescription to cause evil sleep)*
 742 *Another (prescription to cause evil sleep)*
 743–749 *Another (prescription to cause evil sleep)*
 750–771 *The words of the lamp to question the youth (i.e. lamp divination)*
 772–786 *A procedure to put the heart of a woman after a man (i.e. an aphrodisiac)*
 787–794 *Another formula again for this cup of wine (i.e. an aphrodisiac)*
 795–804 *Another formula again ... again belonging (i.e. an aphrodisiac)*

- 805–816 *Another vessel inquiry* (i.e. while being) *alone in order to see the barque of the sun*
817–840 *The procedure of making the vessel-inquiry of the lamp*
841–850 *Another procedure of vessel-inquiry* (i.e. while being) *alone*
851–855 *Another vessel-inquiry*
856–875 *Here is a form of inquiry of the sun*
875–885 *Here is another form of it again*
886–896 (Descriptions of herbs and their properties)
(unnumbered col. ia: keys to two cipher alphabets)
897–910 (Descriptions of plants and stones and their properties)
911–916 *To give evil sleep (to) your enemy*
917–919 *Prescription for evil sleep*
920–929 (Descriptions of stones and their properties)
930–932 *A prescription to cause a woman to love a man*
933–934 (Description of a stone and its properties)
935–939 *A prescription for a watery ear*
940–952 (Descriptions of animals and plants and their properties)
953–955 *A prescription to stop blood*
956–960 *The procedure of knowing about a woman, whether she will be pregnant*
961–963 *A prescription to cut* (i.e. stop) *blood*
963–965 *Another*
966–969 (Ingredients)
970–977 *A prescription to make water* (or liquid) *stop in a woman*
978–980 *Another after it*
981–984 *Another after it*
985–992 (Against) *gout*
993–1002 *Another* (prescription against gout)
1003–1014 *Another amulet for the foot of a gouty man*
1015–1020 *Prescription for* (an unidentifiable ailment)
1021–1023 *Prescription for a foot which is very stiff*
1024–1025 *Another* (prescription for a stiff foot)
1026–1045 (Attraction procedure)
1046–1047 *[Prescription] to cause a woman to love her husband*
1047–1048 *[Prescription] to cause a woman to love her lover*
1049–1055 *To cause...* (Attraction procedure)
1056–1062 (Vessel [inquiry?]) used to identify thieves)
1063–1069 (Attraction procedure)
1070–1078 *Formula to bring a woman to a man, to send a dream*
1079–1090 (Divination procedure)
1090–1097 *A procedure for bringing a woman out of her house*
1098–1104 *To stop the evil eye for a man*
1105–1110 (Content unclear)
1111–1130 *A tested...* (vessel inquiry?)
1131–1142 (Phallus ointment)
1143–1155 (Lamp divination procedure)
1156–1163 (Phallus ointment)
1164–1180 *If you [wish to make the] gods of the lamp speak to you* (divination procedure)
1181–1182 *You (should) go send a star* (fragment from invocation)
1183–1188 *[Procedure to] make any man or any woman mad*
1189 (Abortion procedure?)
1190–1193 *Another* (phallus ointment)
1194 *Another* (phallus ointment?)

1195–1199	<i>Another</i> (to stop menstrual bleeding)
1200–1206	(Formula to use in a lamp inquiry)
1207–1219	<i>To cause [a woman to be mad] about a man</i>
1219–1227	(Formula against fever)

GEMF 17 (PDM Suppl.)

1–6	<i>[Another formula for] sending a dream</i>
7–18	<i>[Another formula for] sending a dream</i>
19–27	<i>[Another] formula [for] for sending a dream</i>
28–40	<i>[Another formula for] sending a dream</i>
40–60	<i>Another formula for sending a dream</i>
60–101	<i>Another formula of sending a dream</i>
101–116	<i>Another formula for sending a dream</i>
117–130	<i>Another formula for sending a dream</i>
130–138	<i>A god-petitioning procedure for Osiris</i>
138–149	<i>A formula to steal sleep at night</i>
149–162	<i>A god-petitioning procedure for Thoth</i>
162–168	<i>Another formula for finding your house of life</i>
168–184	<i>A formula for reciting a document which is sealed</i>
185–208	(Fragments of rites and formulae)
211–220	(Favor-procedure?)

GEMF 18 (PDM LXI [PGM LXI])

1–30	(Formula for revelation)
30–42	(Formula of uncertain purpose)
43–49	<i>Prescription for an ulcer of the head</i>
50–58	<i>[Cure for the] head (?)</i>
59–63	<i>For an erection</i>
64–80	<i>A god-petitioning procedure for Horus-Thoth</i>
81–97	<i>A procedure of finding a thief</i>
98–102	<i>Formula of giving praise and love in (the) Kushite (language)</i>
103–108	<i>The red cloth of Nephthys</i>
109–113	<i>Prescription concerning a donkey that will not move</i>
114–129	<i>Prescription for causing that a [woman] love you</i>
130–149	(Uncertain procedure involving a man and a woman)
150–162	(Attraction-procedure) [in part, PGM LXI 67–72]
163–200	<i>A recommended ... aphrodisiac</i> [PGM LXI 1–38]
201–220	(Separation-procedure?) [PGM LXI 39–59]
222–228	(Separation-procedure?) [PGM LXI 60–66]

GEMF 19 (PGM XVIIb) (Request for a dream)

GEMF 20 (P.Mich. s.n.) (Fragment with *nomina barbara*)

GEMF 21 (P.Duke inv. 729)

1–12	<i>Potion tested by many</i> (attraction-procedure)
13–18	<i>Silencing-procedure</i>
19–27	<i>Binding-procedure</i> (attraction-procedure)
28–54	<i>[Hymn?] of petition before Helios ... for however many things you wish to obtain</i>

GEMF 22 (P.Bingen 13) *Apotropaic procedures*

GEMF 23 (PGM XIc) (Attraction-procedure)

GEMF 24 [PGM XCVII; SM II 78]

- 1–11 (Fragments of at least two recipes, presumably for healing)
- 12–13 (Procedure against eye disease?)
- 13–17 (Another?)
- 18–20 *Another*
- 21–23 *Another*
- 23–25 (Another?)
- 26–29 *Against every [illness]*

GEMF 25 (P.Oxy III 433)

- 1–20 (Fragmentary procedure involving a shrine, prayer and libation)
- 21–23 (Fragmentary procedure of unknown purpose)
- 24–29 *Anger-restraining procedure*
- 30–34 *Procedure for producing hatred* (between two persons)
- 35–37 *Procedure for causing enmity* (between two persons)

GEMF 26 (GMA 32)

- 1–8 *Protective amulet of Moses that he used in protecting himself*
- 9–22 *Protective amulet of Moses, when he was going up on Mount Seilam*
- 23–29 *Protective amulet of Moses, when he was going up on Mount Sei*
- 30–36 *Against fever, the [bite?] of an evil animal or against ... the (evil) eye*

GEMF 27 *For the sending away of (hostile) incantations*

GEMF 28 (PGM CXXVII + P.CtYBR inv. 1206 + P.Lund inv. 2091)

- 1–2 (Attraction-procedure?)
- 3–10 *Aphrodisiac*
- 11–16 (Attraction-procedure)
- 17–21 *The same* (i.e. attraction-procedure)
- 22–25 *Aphrodisiac*
- 26–35 (Aphrodisiac)
- 36–40 *Aphrodisiac*
- 41–50 (Attraction-procedure)
- 51–53 (Separation-procedure?)
- 54–55 (Attraction-procedure?)
- 56–66 (Attraction-procedure)
- 67–71 (Attraction-procedure?)
- 72–73 *For it* (i.e. the penis) *to droop and not prick up*
- 74–75 *To proposition someone in the bath*
- 76–77 *To play a trick on a woman*
- 78–79 *For a fight to break out at a drinking party*
- 80–81 *To make vinegar sharp*
- 82–83 *To fuck a lot*

GEMF 29 (PGM LXIII)

- 1–3 (Fragmentary procedure)
- 4–7 *[Formula that eliminates(?)] pain in the breast*

- 8–14 *To make a sleeping [woman] confess the name of the man she loves*
 15–22 (Procedure of uncertain purpose)
 23–26 (Procedure of uncertain purpose)
 27–28 *For contraception*
 29–31 *For good conception*
- GEMF 30 [PGM VI + PGM II]
 1–57 *Encounter-procedure* (for Apollo) [PGM VI 1–47 + PGM II 1–9]
 58–111 *The ritual itself* [PGM II 10–64]
 112–127 *An alternate ritual* [PGM II 65–81]
 128–188 *Invocation* [PGM II 82–140]
 188–222 *The ritual of the procedure* [PGM II 141–175]
 223–230 (Dismissal) [PGM II 176–183]
- GEMF 31 (PGM I)
 1–42 *The paredros* (i.e. recipe) *of ..., the temple scribe*
 43–195 (Letter of Pnouthis to Keryx for acquiring a *paredros*)
 195–222 *Protective* (i.e. prayer) *of the first-begotten and first-born god*
 222–231 *Indispensible invisibility-procedure*
 232–247 *Memory-procedure*
 247–262 *Tested invisibility-procedure*
 262–347 *Apollonian invocation* (i.e. for prophecy and dream-divination)
- GEMF 32 (PGM XIXb)
 1–4 (Fragmentary recipe for a flax-leaf amulet)
 4–5 *Attraction-procedure over a dog*
- GEMF 33 (PGM XIb)
 1–6 *For a woman who is receiving ...* (medical procedure involving blood?)
 7–11 (Medical procedure involving blood?)
 12–16 *For people drinking in a symposium to appear donkey-faced from afar*
- GEMF 34 (PGM LXII)
 1–23 (Attraction-procedure using a suspended unglazed lamp)
 24–44 and 50 (Bowl-divination using child medium)
 45–49 *Method of learning through calculation whether someone is living or has died*
 51–74 (Four horoscopes)
 75–105 (procedure to cause menstrual bleeding or abortion)
 106–132 *Restraining-procedure* (fragmentary)
- GEMF 35 (SM II 79)
 1–5 *Over* (i.e. seminal) *secretion, a good charm*
 6–11 *Another*
 12–18 *To see a true* (i.e. prophetic) *dream*
 19–25 *Anger-restraining-procedure*
 26–32 *Victory-procedure over a legal opponent*
 33–34 *For fever*
- GEMF 36 (PGM LXXXVI; SM II 80)
 1–2 (Recipe for a protective amulet tied around the neck)
 3–8 (Fragmentary procedure involving writing)

GEMF 37 (PGM CXXIX; SM II 81) (Recipe for a metal-foil amulet placed in a case)

GEMF 38 (PGM CXIXa–b; SM II 82)

Fragment A

- 1 *For getting sleep*
- 2–3 *Touch-procedure* (i.e. for seduction)
- 4–6 *Attraction-procedure*
- 7–9 *Subjection-procedure*
- 10–11 (Favor-procedure?)

Fragment B

- 1 (Procedure of uncertain purpose)
- 2–3 (Fragmentary procedure concerning wounds)
- 4 [*Against fever with shivering(?)*]
- 5 [*Against diurnal*] and *nocturnal fever*

GEMF 39 (P.Oxy. LXXXII 5303)

- 1 (Fragmentary final line of previous recipe)
- 2–6 *For sexual intercourse(?)*
- 7–12 *Procedure of Typhon(?)*
- 13–20 (Procedure of unknown purpose involving a tongue)

GEMF 40 (P.Oxy. LXXXII 5304)

- 1–18 (Fragmentary remains of a procedure for the release of bonds?)
- 19–26 (Attraction-procedure)
- 27–36 *Subjection-procedure*
- 37–45 *Anger-restraining procedure*
- 46–52 *Aphrodisiac binding-procedure*
- 53–56 *Attraction-procedure*

GEMF 41 (P.Oxy. LXXXII 5305)

- 1–28 (Fragmentary remains of recipes)
- 29–31 *Anger-restraining procedure*
- 32–52 *Attraction-procedure, burning-procedure in a bathhouse*
- 53–55 *Formula* (i.e. spoken) *over a drinking cup*
- 56–64 *Favor-procedure*
- 65–73 (Attraction-procedure)
- 74–92 *A [praiseworthy(?)] aphrodisiac*

GEMF 42 (P.Mich. inv. 3404) (Favor- or victory-procedure?)

GEMF 43 (PGM XXI) (Sizable fragment of an invocation to an all-powerful god)

GEMF 44 (P.Oxy. LXVIII 4672) (Insomnia- and attraction-procedure)

GEMF 45 (PGM XXa)

- 1–5 *For erysipelas, [a formula?]*
- 6–9 *For redness* (of the skin?), *a formula*
- 10–19 (Invocation for uncertain purpose)

GEMF 46 (SM II 86)

Fragment A

- 1–8 (Fragmentary procedure for identifying a thief)
- 9–10 (Fragmentary procedure for identifying a thief)
- 11–18 (Procedure for identifying a thief)
- 19–21 *Another*
- 22–26 (Procedure for identifying a thief)
- 27–31 (Procedure for identifying a thief)

Fragment B

(Fragmentary procedure for identifying a thief)

GEMF 47 (P.Oxy. LVIII 3931) *To make a person invisible*

GEMF 48 (P.Mich. inv. 1560) (Fragmentary procedures including one for attraction)

GEMF 49 (PGM XLIV) (Burning attraction-procedure)

GEMF 50 (PGM LXVII) (Adjuration for unknown purpose)

GEMF 51 (P.Berl. inv. 11734)

- 1–20 (Fragmentary invocation of uncertain purpose)
- 21–58 *Favor-procedure*
- 59–95 *Favor-procedure [before] the rising of the moon in the evening*
- 96–111 (Favor-procedure?)

GEMF 52 (PGM XXIVa) (Divination-procedure using palm leaves)

GEMF 53 (PGM LXXIX) *Anger-restraining procedure to be said three times*

GEMF 54 (PGM LXXX) *Anger-restraining procedure [to be said] three time*

PREFACE

These volumes are the product of a research project entitled “The Transmission of Magical Knowledge,” directed by Christopher A. Faraone and Sofia Torallas Tovar and funded by the Neubauer Collegium for Culture and Society at the University of Chicago. At its center is a large and energetic group of colleagues from Europe, Australia and North America who have worked together towards the common goal of creating a new edition and English translation of the Greek-Egyptian magical formularies preserved primarily in the sands of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.

We think it is highly appropriate, and perhaps not accidental, that “The Transmission of Magical Knowledge” project has been housed at the University of Chicago, because it was here in the early 1980s that our colleague Hans Dieter Betz assembled another team of scholars to produce the first full and authoritative English translation of the magical papyri, a translation that has often been cited as an important turning point at which scholars, at least in the English-speaking world, began anew to study the papyri and ancient magic more intensively—a revival that resulted in an astonishing number of important conferences and studies in the past four decades.¹ The Chicago translation was also ground-breaking in the way that it included, for the first time, texts in Demotic (and occasionally other phases of the Egyptian language) that had traditionally been excluded from the corpus. The Betz team was able to base its translations of the lengthy Demotic recipes on new scholarly editions that were just being published by our colleagues in the Oriental Institute (Janet Johnson and the late Robert Ritner), but they were not so fortunate in the case of the Greek handbooks, because in the early 1980s the most recent full edition was that of Karl Preisendanz, who worked with several other prominent scholars since before the World Wars to produce the first two volumes of *Papyri Graecae Magicae*.² Without a doubt, the Preisendanz edition was a monumental achievement for its time, but in many cases it depended on photographs, often of poor quality, rather than autopsy, and, even though the text was lightly edited and expanded in the 1970s, the enormous increase in our knowledge of ancient magic in the last forty years has made even this second edition obsolete. The time is right, then, for a new edition of the corpus, a new English translation and eventually translations into other languages as well.³

There are a number of important differences between this edition and those of Preisendanz and Betz. Perhaps most importantly, we present only the formularies—that is: single recipes or collections of them. We made this decision, in part, out of a practical concern that if we added all of the so-called “activated” texts (i.e. amulets and curses that name their owners or victims), we would be forced to publish several volumes that would include numerous duplications of the simplest and most common formulas. Such a project would have diverted us, moreover, from a different and (for us) a more important goal: to understand how the technical knowledge preserved in the formularies of late Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt was transmitted from one generation to the next and what this transmission can tell us about the relationship between these books and others being produced at the same periods and in some cases in the same areas of

¹ On the importance of this translation and the revival of interest, see Gordon and Marco Simón 2010, ix and 1–4. For a full historiography of the scholarship on magical handbooks, see Betz’s introduction in GMPT, Brashear 1995, and Dosoo 2014.

² PGM, vol. 1, viii–ix. The projected third volume, with additional texts and indices, was at the stage of galley proofs, when it was destroyed in the bombing of Leipzig in 1943.

³ Sofia Torallas Tovar and Raquel Martín Hernández are at work on a Spanish translation that will be based on the revised text in GEMF.

Egypt. To this end, we have also tried to give our readers a glimpse of the development of formularies outside of Egypt by including two rare examples on media other than papyri and ostraca: a spherical gemstone found on the northern shore of the Black Sea that was inscribed with a rubric, a prayer and then a series of magical names to be used in curing different parts of the head (GEMF 27); and a copper sheet that was found on Sicily and contains several short recipes for protective amulets, three of them allegedly worn by Moses (GEMF 26).⁴

This initial decision, then, to center our project on the history of handbook production has generated two further goals for the re-edition. Firstly, we have asked our international team to pay close attention to these formularies as manuscripts in and of themselves, for example, as sheets, rolls or codices. As such, our practice differs greatly from the re-edition of a text transmitted through medieval manuscripts, a task that requires the revision of readings, the discussion of variants, and the inclusion of new manuscripts. In the case of all the GEMF formularies we have unique texts, almost always transmitted by a single copy, often in a fragmentary state. The editions presented here, therefore, will focus on these papyri as unique witnesses and on the way they transmit the text, with all their scribal errors and phonetic spellings, and will do so without applying what Bernard Cerquiglini calls a “Procrustean philology” that aims to root out all phonetic and orthographic variation and produce a standardized text.⁵ Secondly, this project has been inflected by the new interests of our time, especially the renewed focus on the material culture of textual media.⁶ We have, in response, paid close attention to the materiality of the papyrus in which a text is embedded—indeed each of the texts presented here has a number of important material features, marginalia and lectional signs that provide invaluable information about the process of copying, scribal practice, use, and most importantly, about the transmission of the knowledge contained in them. We have, in short, tried in each case to let the ancient scribes lead us through their work without imposing any constraints and normalizations, and in so doing we have opened up a variety of new linguistic perspectives beyond the mere legibility of the text, for example, into variant spellings that might betray dialectal traits, linguistic developments, or socio-linguistic registers. These formularies, moreover, are laid out on the papyri in a variety of ways, and often the distribution of the text on the page has much to tell us about how the recipe was transmitted and performed. Most of these details are lost in the earlier editions and translations.⁷ Preisendanz and his team were forced, presumably by typographical constraints, to organize their texts in a linear way, without attending to the original *mise en page*, indicating the original line endings on the papyrus only with strokes and double strokes, and giving almost no information about the relationship between drawings, symbols and their surrounding texts. In addition, the layout of the Preisendanz edition made it very difficult to know precisely what kinds of lectional signs appeared in the margin and how they divided up the text. This information is crucial, as it gives us important keys to understanding how the recipes were copied, from what types of exemplars they derived, and the training of the scribes who copied them.

⁴ One could easily add others, for example: a late second or early third CE lead curse-tablet from Beirut, onto which a scribe seems to have partially copied a page from a handbook, with a rubric centered at the top and scribal abbreviations in the body of text (SGD 167); or a gemstone now in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow, the reverse of which begins: “This is the *logos*”; the *logos* that follows includes boilerplate language (δεῖνα) and the symbol for *logos*. See Jordan 2002a. There is also the distinct possibility that the hexametrical incantations inscribed on a lead tablet from Hellenistic Crete and on another of late classical date from Selinous were also used as a handbook; see Faraone 2013.

⁵ Cerquiglini 1999.

⁶ Many new publications focus on the materiality of magic in general, including that of the formularies. Wilburn 2012, de Haro 2015, Boschung and Bremmer 2015, Gordon and Marco Simón 2021, amongst others, are good examples of this new interest in material aspects which illuminate the production and readership of magical handbooks, beyond their mere texts.

⁷ Frederic Kenyon’s publication of the British formularies in 1893 was a rare outlier, as were Wessely’s 1888 publication of PGM IV and V and 1893 publication of PGM VII.

Another notable difference from previous editions is our presentation of these formularies in chronological order.⁸ We do so to correct the persistent and unfortunate misperceptions created by the decision of Wunsch and all subsequent translators to place the longest, most complete, but chronologically latest, texts first,⁹ an arrangement that has obscured their historical development and has encouraged nearly a century of scholarly work that mistakenly understands these manuscripts as “typical,” even though they are in fact the last manifestations of the tradition and were produced in the far reaches of Upper Egypt, in contrast to the more fragmentary, earlier examples, which begin to appear nearly a half millennium earlier and come from a variety of sites in Egypt. The fact, moreover, that these longer handbooks from the upper reaches of the Nile provide (unsurprisingly) the greatest evidence for Egyptian influence has also perpetuated another erroneous idea that all of the Greek magical handbooks descended from a long tradition of Pharaonic formularies and were primarily the product of native Egyptian lector priests working in temple scriptoria. This remains, perhaps, a plausible hypothesis for the limited case of the late-antique handbooks copied in Upper Egypt,¹⁰ but the idea that these Theban handbooks primarily aim to preserve arcane Pharaonic rites and translate them for foreigners living in Egypt can no longer be sustained by the evidence of the recipes.¹¹

A few words about translation. The Preisendanz and Betz translations suffer from a common misunderstanding for most of the previous century that “magic” was an emic category for the Greeks who composed and copied most of the handbook recipes collected in this volume, a tendency that led to the widespread assumption that all of these recipes were “magical” and represented the work of “sorcerers” or “magicians.”¹² This assumption has affected, for example, the translation of words like *praxis*, as “spell,” whereas in any other Greek text it would be translated as “procedure” or “process.” In other places we see the insertion of the adjective “magical” when it does not occur in the Greek text, for example, the translation of *energeia* as “magical power,” when in fact the word simply means “power.”¹³ We have, however, continued to use the term “magical” in the title of these volumes as a useful etic term, which will draw in readers and scholars who have a vague modern understanding that “magic” involves private speech-acts and rituals designed for protection, cursing, erotic conquest and divination.¹⁴ As recent scholarship has shown, in the ancient world, at least, all four of these goals could just as easily be accomplished by traditional rituals in the home that we could just as well call “religious.”¹⁵

Finally, these formularies were books: but what kinds of books? The material dimension of these formularies has never been thoroughly studied. Too often scholars, ourselves included, have extracted individual recipes from their original context and studied them without considering the material on which they were written, or the format they took. Indeed, in the past, scholars have often treated these recipes as if they had the same origin, even though it is clear that they were produced independently in different times and places in and beyond the Nile Valley. Some of them also betray various layers of recension, dating to

⁸ *Supplementum Magicum* also organized the editions in chronological order. Our edition brings together all the formularies attested to date, including those in the *Supplementum*.

⁹ The decision was taken by Richard Wunsch, and not Preisendanz, very early on after the death of Dieterich and could not be changed later because the slips for the Index for vol. 1 had all been prepared before 1912. See Gordon 2019. With the exception of the last three pages, volume 1 of Preisendanz only included handbooks from Upper Egypt that were dated to the 4th or 5th centuries CE.

¹⁰ See the recent summary in Gordon and Gasparini 2014, 40–41, who add that we should perhaps abandon the name “Greek Magical Papyri” for these handbooks and use the more precise “Late Egyptian Ritual Texts Mainly in Greek and Demotic.”

¹¹ See Johnson 1975 and Dieleman 2005, 293, who notes: “The Demotic spells did not develop organically from Pharaonic magic over a long stretch of time. . . . Instead, they were written against a background of Greek spells, which were composed by Egyptian priests and circulated throughout the country, starting in the Hellenistic period. . . . As the base language of the genre, these Greek spells by definition carried ritual authority.”

¹² See e.g. Betz’s influential introduction to GMPT.

¹³ See Otto 2011 for his comments on adding “magical” to translations.

¹⁴ Versnel 1991, 177–197.

¹⁵ Graf 1991.

different historical periods. In the process of re-editing this corpus we have, in some cases for the first time, generated individual bibliological studies of most of the lengthier “handbooks” focusing on their idiosyncrasies, attending to details of paleography, codicology and lectional marks, in order to individuate them and establish new typologies for different kinds of rolls and codices. Such studies are, of course, too long and detailed to include here in GEMF, and instead we have collected and edited an additional volume, *The Greek and Demotic Magical Formularies: Libraries, Books and Recipes* (forthcoming), as an entry into the broader study of the history of the ancient formulary. This separate and free-standing volume includes chapters on libraries, book formats and paleography in the context of book production in late-antique Egypt, as well as intimate portraits of several of the longer and more elaborate magical handbooks.

By paying such close attention to differences in the paleography, the *mise en page* and the lectional signs of each papyrus, we have, in fact, made additional and in some cases unexpected advances over the Preisendanz edition. First and foremost, we have been able to join papyri that were originally thought to be separate manuscripts and appear in Preisendanz with different numbers; for example, we can now see that PGM VI is the beginning of PGM II (in this edition they are printed together as GEMF 30), or that GEMF 8 (previously PGM LVII + PGM LXXII) is a single handbook, made up of fragments now held in two different collections. Autopsy of each papyrus and comparative paleography has led us, moreover, to discover new fragments of previously published formularies¹⁶ or to re-date a number of these texts, in some cases by more than a century, for example, PGM I, which Preisendanz dated to the fifth century CE, but which is now dated more accurately to the third century and appears here as GEMF 31, bringing it chronologically closer to all of the other extant handbook rolls. Our emphasis on the chronological and regional differences has also encouraged us to push back against the traditional scholarly habit of treating the longer formularies *en masse*, as if they were a coherent “library” of manuscripts produced by or for the same person or group, a harmonious collection of texts, which in the past was variously referred to as “the Anastasy library,” “the Theban library” or more capaciously and recently as “the Greek Magical Papyri” or the “Greek and Demotic Magical Papyri.” In the past fifteen years, closer attention to paleography and lectional signs have allowed us to discover other, more narrowly-defined regional patterns of scribal activity, helping us to see more clearly the size and features of the so-called “Theban Library,” and to identify a previously unknown scribal group centered in Hermonthis.¹⁷ Finally, close attention to the material aspects of these formularies has allowed us to see various “archaeological” layers of earlier redactional activity, whereby, for example, GEMF 74/PGM VII, now seems to have been created by bringing together four different blocks of text that were drawn from different sources, each representing, it seems, a shorter and earlier formulary that collected and organized its contents in a special manner or for a specific clientele.¹⁸

Our Edition

In setting out the Greek formularies, we have followed the guidelines laid out by Robert Daniel and Franco Maltomini, who in 1990–92 published the *Supplementum Magicum* (see vol. I, xxvi), which primarily contained the texts that had come to light since the publication of the second edition of Preisendanz, and which set a very high bar by rigorously following modern papyrological guidelines for the text, *apparatus*, translation and notes. In our edition, then, each entry begins with a brief introduction that describes the condition of the papyrus (and, where possible, its position in a roll or codex), its paleography and date,¹⁹ as

¹⁶ GEMF 28, for example, is a book roll that was originally at least 75 cm long and had six columns, but only the last and best-preserved column had previously been published; it had been cut in modern times from the fragment bearing cols. iv–v. In addition, it is probably the case that GEMF 5 and 6 belong to the same roll.

¹⁷ Dosoo and Torallas Tovar forthcoming a; Martín Hernández 2019.

¹⁸ Argued independently and on different grounds by two of our editors: Martín Hernández 2015 and Gordon 2019, Gordon and Martín Hernández forthcoming.

¹⁹ Alberto Nodar has taken care of homogenizing the paleographical descriptions and has provided support in paleographical matters and the dating of the documents.

well as a summary of its contents and special features. They also include a schematic survey of basic bibliography, where the following abbreviations are used: ED.PR. = *editio princeps*; REPUBL. = republication(s);²⁰ TRANSL. = translation(s); COMM. = commentary; LOC. = location. To these we have added the Trismegistos (TM) number.²¹ Our edition of the original text (with *apparatus criticus*) and translation appear, whenever possible, on facing pages, with commentary in the footnotes to the English translation. In some cases, supplementary notes with asterisk are added at the end of the edition.

The Demotic texts are presented in a transliteration that follows the *Chicago Demotic Dictionary*. When the transliterated text is in bold-face type, the original is in Hieratic. Glosses in Greek and Old Coptic are normally presented in Coptic font, and when bolded, they are written in a cipher-script. We include here updated texts and translations of only the four bilingual formularies (GEMF 15–18), since our colleague Joachim Friedrich Quack (University of Heidelberg) is currently engaged in a large project of editing all of the fully Demotic magical texts. We believe that our projects will complement each other.²²

We should stress that GEMF has been designed for two different audiences. The Greek and transliterated Demotic texts, the *apparatus criticus*, and the detailed introductions are designed for papyrologists and other scholars interested in the precise state of the original texts “on the page.” For this reason, we have included the column numbers, the direction of the fibers (indicated with → or ↓), and details about letter-shapes and scribal practice. The translations and the notes attached to them are, on the other hand, for scholars and graduate students in other fields, who may be more interested in the contents. To facilitate consultation and citation we have also numbered each text in the right-hand margin with continuous line numbers, which also appear in the translation in round brackets. In most cases the running line numbers of the GEMF editions coincide with the earlier editions of PGM, PDM and SM and this equation is indicated in the left-hand page headings with a slash, e.g. GEMF 15/PDM XII 1–20. When these numbers differ, however, the older line numbers are given in square brackets in the left-hand page headings, e.g. GEMF 16.1106–1111 [PDM XIV 1104–1109], and also in square brackets along the right margin of the original text every ten lines. They do not appear, however, on the translation pages. We also indicate the correspondence of GEMF and PGM numbers and lines in all internal references in the footnotes, as we have done above in this paragraph; from time to time, we shorten the reference by omitting the siglum “GEMF” and “PGM” when it has been previously used in a footnote (e.g. 16.1106–1111/XIV 1104–1109).

As explained earlier, we have also followed the model of *Supplementum Magicum* in representing the texts and their media as faithfully as possible. We print, for example, original (and often erroneous) spellings and all paratextual and lectional signs as they appear on the page, even deletions and second-hand additions or corrections. We depart from that model in that we leave the abbreviations and symbols unexpanded. Our goal is to provide the reader with a faithful rendering of what ancient readers saw when they unscrolled a handbook roll or opened a codex. This means that the reader of the Greek text must sometimes look in the *apparatus criticus* for the approved emendations, whereas for the reader of the English translation these misspellings, abbreviations and symbols have all been generously corrected and decoded. The text does, however, present regular Greek accentuation and punctuation for the sake of legibility. Any accentuation, diacritical marks or punctuation appearing in the papyrus, such as *diaeresis*, are also indicated, but other accents or breathings, which might be confused with accentuation applied editorially to the Greek, are indicated only in the *apparatus*. All non-Greek names and magical names remain unaccentuated, unless the accents appear in the papyrus, and proper names of well-known divinities and angels are capitalized.

²⁰ Some items (P.Oxy. papyri and some SM) partly reproduce verbatim their *editiones principes*, by courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society and *Papyrologica Coloniensis*.

²¹ The Trismegistos database (www.trismegistos.org) provides a full range of data about each papyrus, including catalogues and links to images.

²² The Demotic texts printed here are based on editions established by Janet Johnson: GEMF 15, 17, and 18 were primarily re-edited by Edward Love and Marina Escolano-Poveda, with further edits by Ariel Singer and Korshi Dosoo. GEMF 16 was primarily re-edited by Jacco Dieleman, with further edits by Edward Love, Marina Escolano-Poveda, Ariel Singer, and Korshi Dosoo.

Punctuation appearing in the papyrus, for example, high stops or colons, is indicated in the *apparatus* and described in the introduction of each formulary. Ancient methods of deletion, such as dots on top or below the letters, or strike-through are not represented, but rather indicated with double square brackets in the text and then described in the *apparatus*, for example “subpunxit/suprapunxit Pap.” Symbols are printed in the text and explained in the *apparatus* using round brackets; unless it is difficult to understand, the symbol is not repeated there. Abbreviations and magical names are reproduced in the Greek text as they appear (for example, as symbols, or with supralinear strokes) and abbreviations are also resolved in the *apparatus* using round brackets. In the Demotic papyri a few words are written in red ink, which is represented in two ways in this edition: the words appear in red font in the online version, but they are also enclosed in a rectangular box to ensure that they can be identified in the printed version. *Paragraphoi* and other lectional signs are represented as accurately as possible and any change of hands is indicated in the margin or *apparatus* as M¹, M², etc. In summary, the editorial signs used in this edition are as follows:

- Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna. When the size of a lacuna at either end of the line cannot be estimated, it is left open.
- Round brackets () indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol (used in app.cr.).
- Diamond brackets < > supply text left out by the scribe (used in app.cr.).
- Double square brackets [] indicate a deletion by the scribe.
- Dots within brackets indicate the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets indicate illegible letters, and dots under letters indicate uncertain readings.
- Braces { } indicate deletion by the editor (used in app.cr.).

Our edition also tries to reproduce the drawings as faithfully as possible, by integrating black and white tracings together with the edited text. These are all the work of Raquel Martín Hernández, who started the project TO-ZODION in 2016,²³ with the aim of producing a database of drawings in magical texts.

The images of most of the papyri are available online in different platforms, where often the quality is much better than any printed volume can offer. Since it is often difficult to navigate the images, especially of large papyrus books, we have prepared a curated collection of photographs online in the Supplemental Material tab of the open-access version of this work viewable at https://escholarship.org/uc/ucbclassics_ccs with a complete sample of all the handbooks, useful for both the specialist and the non-specialist.

Our Translation

Our translations aim at being as literal as possible. All editors have followed a list of agreed-upon translations for rubrics and other often used terms. In cases where words have multiple meanings, e.g. *daimones*, or are difficult to render in English, e.g. *ousia*, we transliterate the Greek term in italics. The translations are continuous, i.e. do not follow the line divisions in the papyrus. We do this in order to allow for more space for footnotes to the translation. We indicate the running line numbers every five lines. Square brackets [] are used for restored text in the original. We do not include in square brackets any words that are partially preserved. Round brackets are used to add information to make the text more comprehensible. When the original text contains a lacuna that cannot be restored, the translation uses dots only. All papyri have been given running line numbers, following the practice of Preisendanz, even in cases where continuity between columns or pages cannot be guaranteed. The aim is to simplify citation of passages in GEMF by avoiding the indications of column and page numbers. Readers of the translations should be aware, therefore, that these lacunae can sometimes be of indeterminate length and they should consult the introductions and footnotes for guidance when using translations of lacunose passages. Dubious translations

²³ www.to-zodion.net (first funded by BBVA Foundation Grant for Researchers and Cultural Creators).

are followed by (?). All magical names appear in small capitals with macrons to indicate long vowels, and if a commonly known divine name appears among them, e.g. Thoth or Iaō, it too is rendered in small capitals. Finally, wherever Demotic or Coptic text has been introduced within an otherwise Greek text, we provide English translations in those places where the original text makes sense.²⁴

Christopher A. Faraone and Sofía Torallas Tovar

Chicago, November 2021

²⁴ In doing so, we follow the lead of GMPT, where the late Robert Ritner provided many interpretations of the magical names that were previously considered devoid of any sense.

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Greek Monograms and Abbreviations

Ϛ	αὐτός
Γ̄	γίνεται
Γ̄ / γρ/	γράφει, γράφεται
Γ̄	thrice(?)
Δ Δ) Δ ^α Δνα	δεῖνα
δ λ	δραχμή
Ζ̄	ζυμύρνη
ζζ	ζυμύρνη
Ζ̄	ζυμυρνομέλαν
ζωδ	ζώδιον
ημ̄	ἡμέρα
Θ̄	θεός
κς	καί
κοι/	κοινόν / κοινά
Λ	λαβών
Λ	λέγε
Λ	λόγος
Ν̄	νικητικόν
⊙ ⊙ □ □ □	ὄνομα ²⁶
ο̇	ὄνομα
□ □ □ □	ὀνόματα
Γ̄	οὐγκίον
Π̄	ποτήριον, ποιῶν
Π̄	πράγμα
Π̄	πρός, πρᾶγμα
Ϛχ	χιριστός
χαρ/ χαρ	χαρακτήρ
*̄	χρημάτιον
Ϛ	χρηστόν, χρήσιμον, or χρῶ(?)
φ	ώρα, ὄροσκόπος ²⁷

Astrological Signs

♄	ἥλιος
♃	σελήνη
♅	Ἑρμῆς
*	ἀστήρ
♁	οὐρανός

²⁶ For the sign ὄνομα, cf. PGM, vol. 2, 269–270, SM II 74, n. 2. Ganszyniec 1922, 229 suggests that this sign derived from the cartouche that encircled the names of kings and deities in Egyptian hieroglyphs, though it is more likely just a stylized version of the first letter of the Greek word, the dot and/or overline representing the second letter.

²⁷ The use of the monogram φ, according to Baccani, 1992, 63, no. 3, appeared in horoscopes from 179 CE on.

Greek and Egyptian Magical Formularies:

Text and Translation

1. The Earliest Formularies (II BCE–II CE)

GEMF 1
(PGM CXI, SM II 70)

Oxyrhynchus

II BCE

ED.PR.: Packman 1976

REPubL.: SM II 70 [SM]; P.Wash.Univ. II 74 (Packman 1990) [Pa]

TRANS.: Packman 1976, 1990 (English); SM (English); Kotansky, GMPT, 313 (English); Jördens 2015 (German)

COMM.: SM II 70; Thissen 1996, 159; Quack 2016

Merkelbach [Me], Totti [To], Youtie [Yo] are apud Packman 1990

LOC.: St Louis MI, Washington University, P. Wash.Univ. inv. 139

TM 65664

This papyrus fragment (H. 16 × W. 10.5 cm) of a roll is medium brown in color and somewhat coarse in texture. It features folding marks: horizontal stress-lines occur at intervals of about 1.5 cm, vertical stress-lines, at increasing intervals (1.5 to 3.3 cm) from the left margin (Packman 1976). The left margin is preserved to a width of 2.5 cm, which is probably the total width of the intercolumnar space, since there are traces of two letters from a preceding column at the height of line 9. The top margin is preserved to a height of 1.2 cm. Packman 1976 suggests that the text lost to the right is roughly 10–15 letters, suggesting a column of ca 30 letters or 12 cm in width. The writing runs along the fibers on the recto; on the verso, remnants of two columns of an account are written against the fibers (in Packman 1990 it is mistakenly stated that the verso is blank).

First dated by Packman 1976 to the third-fourth centuries CE, the hand is however clearly Ptolemaic, as suggested by Turner (apud P.Wash.Univ. II), probably from the second cent. BCE, and thus the earliest of our fragments of formularies. The hand is careful and upright. It features ligatures and cursive letter forms. Some letters appear slightly inclined to the right. The τ always has a split crossbar; the vertical of φ is very long, that of ρ less so. The α has a pointy belly although in some instances it has a more rounded shape. The η is often much larger than the other letters. As parallels, see P.Mich. III 182, dated to 182 BCE; or Cavallo and Maehler 2008, 70, no. 39 (P.Mil.Vogl. inv. 1297), dated to the same year.

There are *paragraphoi* between ll. 2 and 3, 4 and 5, 11 and 12. The first line seems to be in *ekthesis*. If we restore πτε- at the end of l. 9 (‘wings’) as suggested by Packman, it would be the only explicit case of word division across lines.

Quack 2016 compares this text to P.Oxy. XXXI 2552 and suggests, following Thissen 1996, 156, that this may be instead a cosmogonical text, in which Kneph is the subject of the aorist participles in ll. 3 and 5. However, two features suggest that it is a formulary: the distinction in ll. 1–2 and 14, between the Egyptian and Greek manner of identifying and invoking a god; cf. GEMF 15.312/PGM XII 263–264 “I call upon you, according to Egyptians (κατὰ μὲν αἰγυπτίους), as PHNO EAI IAROK ... according to Greeks (κατὰ Ἕλληνας), ‘the king of all, ruling alone,’” or 60/XIII 462 “your name in Egyptian (αἰγυπτιστί) is ALDABAEIM”; 661 “carve around the (i.e. image of) Apollo the great name in Egyptian fashion (αἰγυπτιακῶς σχήματι),” and the use of aorist participles, presumably with at least two imperatives lost in the lacunae, e.g. 57/IV 2945–2946 “take (λαβών) a piece of unbaked dough ... and mold (πλάσcov) a little dog,” 3131 “take (λαβών) Etruscan wax, and mold (πλάσcov) a statue”; 74.1024–1027/VII 869–870 “take (λαβών) clay from a potter’s wheel and mix (μίξας) a mixture with sulfur, and ... mold (πλάσcov) an image of Mistress Selene” and 60/XIII 323 “take (λαβών) earth and mixing (προμείξας) with it ink and myrrh, mold (πλάσcov) a crocodile.” The full sequence would have presumably been: invocation of Kneph to aid in the creation of the figures, then instructions and an invocation of the figures themselves with magical words.

We are grateful to Michael Zellmann-Rohrer for checking the original papyrus.

recto →

GEMF 1/PGM CXI

1 . . . [. . . .] λοικ αἰγυπτικτὶ Κνη[φ
 ἑλληνικτὶ δὲ πλάκτης μέγ[α
 καὶ πλάκας βοῦς δύο ἴσους [
 καὶ τὰς φύσεις ἄρρενας καὶ . [
 5 καὶ ἄλλον σχηματοποίησας [
 τὸ σῶμα ὄφρα μὴ ἔχοντο[ς
 ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑκατέρου τοῦ μέρους [
 [. .] μὲν ἀνθρώπων κεφαλ[άς
 χηναλωπέκων κεφαλ[άς [πτε-]
 10 ρύγων χρυσοειδῶν ἔχον[
 τοὺς ταῖς μορφαῖς κ[
 ἔχοντα τὸ μὲν σῶμ[α
 μορφὴν ἰέρακος π[
 αἰγυπτικτὶ ἐη [
 15 λεπτὰς ἐρμην[

1 Κνηφ Me || 3 ἴσους [τὸ μέγεθος Υο || 4 καὶ [τὴν χροιάν μέλανας Το || 5 1. σχηματοποίησας || 6 οφρα Pap. | μὴ ἔχοντο[ς μηδένα κερκον Pa : [ς κεφαλῆν Me : [ς μόνον μίαν κεφαλῆν Το || 7 τοῦ μέρους [κεφαλὰς δύο Το : [τρικεφάλου Pa || 11 καὶ ἄλλον Me || 12 σῶμ[α, τὴν δὲ κεφαλῆν εἰς Me : κροκοδείλου, τὴν δὲ Το || 13 ἰέρακος Pap. : ἰέρακος πελαγίου Pa || 14 ante et post ἐη spat. unius litt. | in lacuna ἑλληνικτὶ Me || 15 fort. ἐρμην[είας SM

... in Egyptian “Kneph”¹ ... but in Greek, “Great(?) Modeler”² ... And having modeled two bulls equal ... and their natures masculine, and ...³ (5) And having formed another design ... the body⁴ of a snake⁵ that has not (one head?), but at each end⁶ ... heads of men ... heads of geese ... (10) of golden beaks having(?) ... them with the shapes⁷ ... with the body of a⁸ [...] and the face of a sea(?)hawk⁹ ... in Egyptian “Eē...” (15) subtle interpretations(?).¹⁰

C.A. Faraone and S. Torallas Tovar

¹ Thissen 1996, 159 and SM II 66, comm. to l. 5.

² Porph. apud Eus. *PE* 3.11.45: τὸν δημιουργόν, ὃν Κνηφ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι προσαγορεύουσιν. The term πλάκτης for Kneph connects him with Chnum, the creator god who shaped mankind on a potter's wheel; see Otto 1975; Koenen 1968.

³ For the supplement by Totti as a reference to the Apis bull, generally black, see Hdt. 3.28; Str. 17.1.31.

⁴ SM suggests a verb like ἔχετω to govern τὸ σῶμα in the following line.

⁵ The apostrophe after the word ὄφρα (l. 6) and ἰέρακος (l. 13) may indicate that both the snake and the hawk are divine: see parallels in e.g. GEMF 11/PGM LXIX and 52/XXIVa.10.

⁶ In the lacuna between ll. 7 and 8 there might be some further explanation of ἐξ ἑκατέρου τοῦ μέρους. Packman 1976 suggested ἐκ δεξί[[ξιῶς; Totti ἐκ δεξί[[ξιῶν. If any of these suggestions is correct, it would more likely be divided as ἐκ δεξί[[ᾶς; Totti ἐκ δεξί[[ῶν, since there is space for two characters at the beginning of line 8.

⁷ Perhaps ‘faces’ or ‘heads’, as suggested by Totti, cf. Eus. *PE* 2.10.48–49: Αἰγύπτιοι Κνηφ ἐπονομάζουσιν προστιθέασιν δὲ αὐτῷ ἰέρακος κεφαλῆν.

⁸ For Totti's supplement, κορκόδειλος ἰερακοπρόσωπος in GEMF 60/PGM XIII 41–46, 412–421; see Perdrizet 1934.

⁹ For the sea-hawk as one of a set of three heads, cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 3128–3132: ἡ μέσση κεφαλὴ ἦτο ἰέρ[ακος πελαγίου. In Ps. Callisth. *Hist. Alex.* 1.8.1 (p. 8 Kroll), Nectanebo sends a dream to Philip by means of a sea-hawk. See also 57/IV 211–213, and 2597–2598 and 2660.

¹⁰ Cf. GEMF 15.449/PGM XII 401, where ἐρμηνεύματα are Greek translations of the secret code names by which Egyptian temple scribes referred to herbs and other ingredients used in rites.

GEMF 2 (PGM CXVII, SM II 71)

Aswan?

I BCE

ED.PR.: P.Pisa Lit. 34 (Fabrini and Maltomini 1978) [FaMa]; Colomo and Gerhardt 2019 [CoGe]

REPUBL.: P.Münch. II 28 (Fabrini and Maltomini 1986); SM II 71

TRANSL.: SM II 71 (English); Kotansky, GMPT, 314 (English)

LOC.: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Handschriftenabteilung, P.Mon. Gr. inv. 216 (frs. 1–23);

Jena, Institut für klassische Altertumswissenschaften, P.Jen. inv. D 1 (frs. a-c)

TM 65541

Remains of a papyrus roll consisting of 26 fragments, of which the 23 fragments in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (1–23) were acquired in 1908 through the Papyruskartell with an indication that they may have come from Aswan.¹ The text is written on the recto, and the verso is blank. The original size of the roll cannot be reconstructed and the order of most fragments remains unclear. No direct joints have been found so far. The *editores principes* of P.Mon. Gr. inv. 216 suggested that the length of each line was ca 35 letters (i.e. about 13 cm), after the editors rightly established that frs. 2 and 21 belong to the same section and supplemented them with formulaic elements. Alternatively, if fr. 8 can be placed between fr. 2 and fr. 21, through appropriate supplements of formulaic elements in lacuna, each line might have been ca 40–45 letters (i.e. about 16 cm long). Note that all fragments, except 1, contain a lower margin and that there are no other apparent connections between the fragments, except for those between frs. 2, 8 and 21. Given the above-mentioned reconstruction of the length of the lines and the number of columns we can assume that the original roll was at least 4 m long.

The measurements of each fragment followed by the size of the lower margin are indicated in the edition in parenthesis after the fragment number or letter. There are no upper margins, but there is 1.2 cm of extra interlinear space above the first line of fr. 10. There are *intercolumnia* on frs. 20 (>1.0 cm) and 21 (2.0–2.7 cm) and probably (left and right “margins” of the fragments) on frs. 2, 7, 9, 11, 17 and b. On some fragments (e.g. fr. 2), between the recto and verso layers of the papyrus, a black, shining and apparently sticky layer can be observed. The material has not been analyzed but it resembles pitch. *Kolleseis* are verifiable on frs. a, c, 9, 11, 12(?), 13, 14, 20, and 21, but many other uncertain cases exist due to fragmentary state and bad preservation.

The text is written in a well-sized upright capital script with some ligatures and some cursive and semi-cursive elements, such as short traits projecting to the following letter, especially from ν , υ and ω . It aims at bilinearity, apart from the upright of ρ , which usually descends below line-level, and of ϕ , which protrudes above and below the writing space, and sometimes of enlarged letter (such as α in frs. 9.2 and a.2, ε in frs. 11.2 and c.4 [second ε in the line]). Sometimes the scribe does not follow the running of the fibers, i.e. he does not write perfectly horizontally but slightly slopes down, as in frs. 2.2–4 and 13.

The same letter can be written in different shapes. α can be squarish (frs. 9.2, 14.4 and a.2), or can have a documentary shape with a characteristic oval loop detached from the right-hand diagonal and slightly projecting to the left and slightly hanging from the top of the letter (frs. 13.2, a.5, c.3 and 4). The β has a standard capital form (fr. 23.3) or the typical cursive shape in the form of a sack (fr. 9.2). υ often has a round chalice and sinuous descending tail (frs. 12.2 and 3, 20 ii 2), but sometimes its upright is straight (frs. 10.1, 12.1, 22.3 and 4, 23.2 and 4). τ shows the typical crossbar written in two separate halves. There are decorative elements, although not consistently used: α has occasionally a leftwards hook or serif at the very top; leftwards (often oblique) serifs are to be found at the foot of uprights and a small hook can be seen at the upper extremity of the descending diagonal of χ (e.g. frs. 7.5, 11.2 and a) and at the upper extremity of the right-hand upright of ν .

¹ See *Verzeichnis der Erwerbungen für Abteilung B des Papyruskartells 1908/9*, Registratur B nr. 110.

This script can probably be assigned to the second half of the first century BCE. Parallels are: P.Oxy. XIV 1635, 44–30 BCE (cf. Cavallo and Maehler 2008, 129, no. 85; note especially the α with suspended loop); P.Oxy. XII 1453, 30–29 BCE (GLH, pl. 8b; Cavallo and Maehler 2008, 123, no. 81); P.Lond. inv. 2553 + P.Col. VIII 211, 6 BCE.

In several places blank space seems to indicate a break in the text, sometimes to separate different sections, sometimes between *praxis* and *logos* and sometimes between individual recipes (see the footnotes below). There is a sole *paragraphos* in fr. 17.1, but elsewhere enlarged initial letters in *ekthesis* at the beginning of a new section (frs. 9.2, 11.2, 17.2). Elision is applied in frs. 2.4, 6.4, 13.2, 18.2, 19.2, and possibly also in a.2 and 20 ii.1 (on the basis of the textual reconstruction). *Iota* adscript is written in fr. 12.3, fr. 23.2 and possibly fr. a.2 (if reconstructed as ἄρχου' ἄιδειν); it is not written in fr. 14.3, fr. 22.4, probably in fr. 7.3 (if reconstructed as μεανυκτία), 4 (if reconstructed as ἀπάντη) and possibly in fr. a.4 (if reconstructed as δια]κόνω τε). In sum, we can stress the (relative) accuracy and pretension to formality of the hand, in spite of its irregularities and similarities to documentary scripts, the width of the margins, the articulation of the layout with blank spaces, *ekthesis* and enlarged letters at the beginning of new sections. All these features clearly show the attempt at producing a relatively good quality or professional copy. Although the roll is very fragmentary, enough of the fragments preserve the remains of recipes—especially the use of the typical pronoun δεινα—to justify this as a formulary.

Most of the fragments that can be deciphered seem to come from attraction- or insomnia-procedures that aim at erotic conquest. Frs. 18–19 and fr. a contain the remains of dactylic sequences, which seem to belong to hexameters written as prose, where they often are faulty and corrupted.²

fr. 2 (7.6 × 6.2 cm, lower margin 1.5–2.9 cm) + fr. 8 (2.5 × 5.5, 3.2 cm) + fr. 21 (6.1 × 5.3, 2.5–3.1 cm)

recto col. i →

col. ii →

1	]α.[-----	[
	] . ciων ελ[		] . [ . . . . . ] αυτου
	οικίαν λιπο . [ca 5] ἄνδρα λ[		] . [ . . . ] . [ . . . . . ] αης καί
	ἥδιστα καθεύδιν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ιξ[		τοσε[
5	. λ τεως γῆ καὶ οὐρανό[c	τ]ελέατε [μοι τὴν τελ]έαν ἔπα-	εχ . [
	ο]ιδίην.		σεμ[

col. i 2 fort. ἐλ[θεῖν FaMa || 3 fort. λιποῦς[αν τὸν edd. | fort. μετ' ἐμα]υτοῦ FaMa || 4 l. καθεύδιν || 5 τ]ελέατε [edd. comm. || 6 οιδίην FaMa

... house,³ abandoning [her] husband ... to sleep very sweetly with me(?),⁴ by me ... and ... so long as (?) (5) earth and heaven ... perfect [for me this] perfect charm.⁵

² See SM I 54.1 with comm., GEMF 5 with comm. to 1–17 and 18–26, GEMF 44 with comm. to line 1 for further bibliography; and below, fr. a, n. 30–32.

³ This could be the house where the female victim is forced to come (cf. ἐλ[θεῖν in the previous line; cf. e.g. GEMF 57/PGM IV 2756–2757) or more likely the house which the woman should leave (cf. e.g. PGM O 2.27–31 ἕως ἀποστῆ τῆς οἰκίας Ἀπολλωνίου; P.Oxy. LXVIII 4674.13–14 ἔκπασον αὐτὴν ἐκ {κ} τῆς οἰκ(ί)ας αὐτῆς). See also 57/IV 2490–2492, SM I 42.38 δαμάσεται αὐτὴν ἐκπηδῆσαι ἐκ παντὸς τόπου καὶ πάσης οἰκίας, and SM I 45.46–47 ποιήσατε αὐτὴν ἐκπηδῆσαι ἐκ παντὸς τόπου καὶ πάσης οἰκίας. For discussion, cf. Faraone 1999, 55–68.

⁴ Probably καθεύδιν and the participle λιποῦς[αν depend on a verb like ποιήσων or ποιήσατε; cf. SM I 45, 46–47 (see previous note); PGM XVI 3, 11, 19; GEMF 68/PGM XXXVI 147.

⁵ For this very common formula at the end of an incantation, cf. e.g. GEMF 57/PGM IV 294–295 τελέατέ μοι τὴν τελείαν ἐπαιδίην (similar e.g. 57/IV 2939; 74.714/VII 992; 3/XX 19–20; SM I 45.53).

fr. 1 (2.1 × 2 cm, no lower margin)

GEMF 2, frs. 1–6

] . μυ[
] την . [
] ην πρεε[β-

... the elder/venerable(?) ...

3 fort. τ]ήν πρέε[βαν vel τ]ήν πρεε[βείαν vel τ]ήν πρέε[βειραν vel τ]ήν πρεε[βίετην vel sim. FaMa

fr. 3 (2.4 × 5.3 cm, lower margin 2.9 cm)

] . . [
] ομαι ουδ[
] εν άκου . [
] φορηω . [

4 fort.]φορήω . [vel]φορηήω . [vel]φορηήω . [FaMa

fr. 4 (2.4 × 4.6 cm, lower margin 3.2 cm)

] . . [
] ν βοϋε ε . [
 2] η | γ[vel η[vel π[edd.

... cow⁶ ...

fr. 5 (4.9 × 5.5 cm, lower margin 3.1 cm)

] . . . [. .] ηρ[
] μέλανι κ[ολ]λήε[η
] . μα[
] εις τρύβλιον καινόν[ν
 1] . [] . [edd. || 2] μέλανι κολλήε[η edd. || 3 spat. duodecim litt. ante μα[

... [so that she] join [her black] to [my] black⁷... into(?) a new cup⁸ ...

fr. 6 (1.5 × 4.2 cm, lower margin 2 cm)

] . . [
] εεθαι ε[
] νε χα[
] κ' ιθι μο[ι

... come to me⁹ ...

2 fort. φαιν]εεθαι έ[μοί Kotansky per litt. || 3 e.g. τύραν]νε vel κοίρα]νε vel παρθέ]νε edd. comm. | χα[ίρε edd. comm. || 4 fort. βε]κ' edd. comm.

⁶ In the magical papyri, a βοϋε is always female and black when the milk is being used (cf. e.g. GEMF 57/PGM IV 908–909, similar 55/III 383; 60/XIII 129, 361, 686), sometimes also the hair of its tail (cf. e.g. 68/XXXVI 238–239), the excrement (cf. e.g. 57/IV 1439–1440) or the blood (cf. e.g. 74.808–809/VII 652–653).

⁷ This reference to pubic hair makes it clear that the procedure is erotic; cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 400–404, and PGM XVIIa 22–23 μηρὸν μηρῶ καὶ κοιλίαν κοιλία κολλῶσα καὶ τὸ μέλαν αὐτῆς τῷ ἐμῷ μέλανι.

⁸ The instructions of a magical recipe often stress that the instruments used should be new (cf. e.g. GEMF 57/PGM IV 66 λύχνον καινόν; 2952 εἰς κωθώνιον καινόν; 58/V 269 ἐπὶ καινὸν κυθρόποδα).

⁹ Part of a cletic invocation of a divinity in a magical hymn, cf. e.g. GEMF 57/PGM IV 2543–2553 to Selene (cf. also 55/III 249).

fr. 7 (7.2 × 5.6 cm, lower margin 2.9 cm)

GEMF 2/PGM CXVII, frs. 7, 9–11

.....
] . υ . [.
] . . . [.] . [.] . υ ὁ καὶ
] μεσανυκτία τὰς ῥύμας
] . ω τὸν Ὁσίριον Ἐσιῆν ἀπαντη
] ας ἐμοῦ τοὺς καρποὺς ἐξέχεεν

... also called(?) ...
 ... in the middle of the night,¹⁰ the streets ...
 ... Osiris Hesiēs¹¹ ...
 ... my fruits, to pour out ...

fr. 9 (8.1 × 4.4 cm, lower margin 2.8 cm)

.....
 ὕποκ [.
 Ἄνουβι, Ἄνουβι, φιλω τὴν [.
 1 ὕποκ[edd. : fort. ὕποκ[άτω vel ὕποκ[είμενον vel sim. edd.

... [what is prescribed] below(?)¹² ...
 ... Anubis, Anubis, I love her, [NN(?)¹³ ...

fr. 10 (6.7 × 4.7 cm, lower margin 3 cm)

.....
 τ]ριχῶν τῖλον δύο καὶ εἰς κόγ[δου
 1 κόγ[δου vel κογ[δύλιον edd.

... pluck two hairs¹⁴ and (put them) into a (new) drinking-vessel¹⁵ ...

fr. 11 (5.4 × 6 cm, lower margin 3.7 cm)

.....
 μενυ[
 ἐσχημένην ὑπὸ σου[
 Inter ll. 1 et 2 spatium amplius quam alibi

... her, possessed by you(?)¹⁶ ...

¹⁰ Midnight was a perfect time for magical operations, cf. e.g. GEMF 74.516/PGM VII 435; 75/XIa 4. The spelling *μεσαν*, instead of *μεσον*, occurs also in 60/XIII 123. The following sequence *ἀπαντη* could be interpreted as *ἀπάντη* (with *iota mutum*), ‘everywhere’, or as a form of the verb *ἀπαντάω*, ‘to encounter’ (e.g. *ἀπαντή*[[*κα*]).

¹¹ Hesiēs is a frequent epithet of Osiris (e.g. GEMF 57/PGM IV 875; 58/V 270, 273; 15.130/XII 81); it can derive from Eg. *hs.y*, ‘praised’, or ‘drowned’; cf. Eitrem 1924, 69, Hermann 1966, 376–377, Moyer 2003, 221.

¹² This is the last line of the *praxis* referring to the following *logos*. Cf. e.g. GEMF 74.440/PGM VII 359.

¹³ This line is written in *ekthesis* and with a large first letter, indicating a new erotic procedure begins here with an invocation to the god Anubis. Anubis is mentioned frequently in attraction-procedures, e.g. PGM XVIIa 3; GEMF 57/PGM IV 340; 58/V 267; 74.412, 414, 629/VII 331, 333, 548. Explicit mention of love to someone is rare. Parallels are 57/IV 1540–1543, and GEMF 4/SM II 72 fr. 1 *ἐγὼ φιλω* (cf. also ii 1–25 comm.).

¹⁴ Hair (of humans or animals) is often used as magical *ousia* in *praxeis*; cf. e.g. GEMF 31/PGM I 4; 58/V 386–388; SM I 48.7 and 21. Sometimes hair was even found attached to amulets, vel sim., cf. e.g. PGM XVI, XIXa. In general, cf. Kötting 1986, 179–180.

¹⁵ It is quite likely that a new drinking-vessel is to be used (see above fr. 5.3 with note). Therefore, one might add *καίνον* in the lacuna after the proposed *κόγ[δου* or *κογ[δύλιον*.

¹⁶ This line starts with a slightly enlarged first letter and is written in *ekthesis*, indicating a new section.

fr. 12 (5.7 × 6.2 cm, lower margin 3.1 cm)

GEMF 2, frs. 12–17

] χυν ἀπο[
] . [.] . υκον τρυ[... a white thorn-apple tree¹⁷ ...
] μου ἔπαιδε . [... chant (i.e. the incantation)¹⁸ ...
 1] χυν ἀπό edd. || 2 λ]εγκὸν vel] ζῦκον edd. | τρυ[χυνον vel τρυ[φνόν edd. || spat. trium litt. ante et post ἔπαιδε

fr. 13 (5 × 5 cm, lower margin 3 cm)

] ενων Διοσκορ[... Dioskuroi(?)¹⁹ ...
] τ' ἀνατάτεια . [... overthrower²⁰ ...
 2 η[vel κ[

fr. 14 (5.9 × 5.1 cm, lower margin 2.9 cm)

] . [... whom NN] bore(?) I adjure(?)²¹ ...
] . εκηδ ἔξορ[κίζω ... by the gods in Hades²² ...
 το]ὺς ἐν Ἄδη θεοὺς . [... all, drive her, NN ...
] η πάντα ἄγαγε τὴν δ[εῖνα
 2 ὄν vel ἦν ἔ]τεκε ἢ δ(εῖνα) edd. | spat. unius litt. ante ἔξορ[κίζω || 3 τ]οὺς edd. | 1. Ἄιδη | fort. α[ex corr. || 4]τη vel]γη edd.
 comm. | spat. unius litt. ante et post ἄγαγε

fr. 15 (1.1 × 5.3, 3.4 cm)

] ως . [
] δεσο . [

1]μο edd.

fr. 16 (0.9 × 3.9, 2.0 cm)

] . ι . [
] αν . . [
] λειτ . [

1 fort.]εἰς[|| 2] . νδ[edd. : fort.]ανια[

fr. 17 (3.0 × 6.9, 2.7 cm)

 δ[
 ἐκγ . [
 ω[

α . [inter ll. 1 et 2 spatium amplius quam alibi

¹⁷ Or ‘sour fig’, with different possible supplements based on other recipes: e.g. λ]εγκὸν τρυ[χυνον (cf. e.g. GEMF 30.82 and 123/PGM II 36 and 76, cf. also Thphr. *HP* 9.11.6 and Diosc. 4.73, who discuss the use of different kind of τρυ[χνα) or] ζῦκον τρυ[φνόν (cf. e.g. 57/IV 2585 κύκων ἄλφιτον).

¹⁸ The blank space before and after ἔπαιδε suggests that the *praxis* ended before and the *logos* started after it; cf. the highlighting of a word introducing the following *logos* at the end of a recipe in GEMF 31/PGM I 94; 60/XIII 288. ἐπαίδω also occurs in 57/IV 3151 and 3156.

¹⁹ The Dioscuri appear in PGM XXXIa 1 and in a curse tablet from Antioch; see Hollmann 2003, esp. 72, comm. on line 4. Alternatively, the sequence could be articulated as Διὸς κόρη, “daughter of Zeus” (cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 2523 Διὸς τέκος referring to Artemis/Selene/Hekate).

²⁰ An otherwise unattested feminine form of the rare ἀναστατήρ (cf. e.g. A. *Th.* 1015, *Ch.* 303), which might refer to Hekate (cf. e.g. GEMF 57/PGM IV 2244 ἀναστατοῦσα πάντα, and also Hekate’s epithet ῥηξίχθων in 57/IV 2722).

²¹ If the reconstruction ὄν vel ἦν ἔ]τεκε ἢ δ(εῖνα) of previous editions is correct, the scribe executed the usual abbreviation Δ incompletely (cf. for the same incomplete abbreviation, GEMF 57/PGM IV 2756–2757, where MAINOMENHHΔHKAI is interpreted as μαινομένη ἢ δ(εῖνα) ἦκοι), but might have left some extra space after the δ in order to indicate a pause. In this text δεῖνα is usually written in the full form, cf. fr. 22.4 δῖνα. It is the earliest attestation of this formula, for which see the discussion in Jordan 1976, and Curbera 1999.

²² The gods in Hades are probably the authorities by which the demon (cf. ἄγαγε in following line) is adjured.

fr. 18 (4.9 × 5 cm, lower margin 3.2 cm)

GEMF 2/PGM CXVII, frs. 18–20, 22–23

] πολυιδρ[.] . . α . . [
] αἴτ' οὐρανὸν ἀστε[ρόεντα
 π]ότνια ἀθανάτη τε τ[
 ... of much knowledge ...
 ... who in the starry heaven²³ ...
 ... and the immortal mistress ...

fr. 19 (6.7 × 5.5 cm, lower margin 3.6 cm)

] α . ογ δεινὴν ἀέν[αον
 χαλε]ποιῖν τ' ἄλγεσιν εντοδυν[
 ... dreadful, everlasting [Hekate?]²⁴ ...
 ... with grievous sufferings and with pains ...

fr. 20 (6.8 × 6.9 cm, lower margin 4.4 cm)

col. i

] ρθεις δ . [ca 1]
 col. i 1]ρθεις δ[edd. || col. ii 1 fort. ἡδ' Ἐκά[τη edd. || 2 ουσιν[edd. | infra lin. spatium amplius

col. ii

 ηδεκα[
 ουσιν . [

... and Hekate (?)²⁵ ...

fr. 22 (6.8 × 5.9 cm, lower margin 3.3 cm)

] . ακρα [
] . . ζο . ορ[. . . .] . c και [
] τε κελαινή τήν σε τεκοῦ[σαν
] ασιν ἀγρυπνίαν δότε τῆ δῖνα . [
 4 l. δείνα
 ... and ...
 ... black, her who bore you²⁶ ...
 ... give insomnia to her, NN²⁷ ...

fr. 23 (6.3 × 5.2 cm, lower margin 3.3 cm)

] νουκ . [
] αὐτῶι ὡσεὶ πῶμα κ . [
] ηι λάβε αὐτό. ἔστιν γὰρ [
 ... to him/it as a cover ...
 ... take it, for it is ...

²³ A common Homeric formula (e.g. *Il.* 15.371; 19.128), which along with “immortal mistress” in the next line suggests that this is a fragment of a hymn in dactylic hexameters. It remains unclear to which goddess this hymn refers: e.g. Aphrodite (e.g. GEMF 57/PGM IV 2927–2929) or Hekate-Selene (e.g. 57/IV 2722).

²⁴ The use of δεινή for a goddess in magical papyri usually refers to Hekate: e.g. GEMF 57/PGM IV 1404, 2530, 2542, 2611.

²⁵ The proposed ἡδ' Ἐκά[τη is supported by the occurrence of Hekate in other fragments of this text (13, 18, 19, a).

²⁶ This line might be part of a poetic section: κελαινή is a poetic word and a dactylic rhythm can be observed here.

²⁷ It is quite common that attraction-procedures inflict sleeplessness: cf. e.g. GEMF 57/PGM IV 3273–3274 δὸς αὐτῆ ... [π]αναγρυπνίαν, and GEMF 44/P.Oxy. LXVIII 4672.11, with Faraone 1999, 26, 65–66, 145. But the motif of sleeplessness was also used in other contexts: cf. GEMF 74.808–816/PGM VII 652–660; 56/LXX 24–25 (no erotic purpose mentioned) and SM II 53.18–19 (curse against athletes).

fr. a (6.5 × 6.3 cm, lower margin 2.9 cm)

GEMF 2, frs. a–c

.....
] . κοσ .. [(title?)²⁸
 ἐπίθ]υε λέγων ἄρξομαι [burn incense(?) while saying:²⁹ “I will start (enchancing?)³⁰
 πότνια]γ Ἰδαίων ὄρέων σε καλῶ [... mistress?] of the Idaean mountains,³¹ I summon you³²
] . κονωτε νυκτοχαλκ[... shining like bronze³³ in the night
 5] . πρὸς τὴν δῖνα διατεθ[ρύφθω go ... to her NN, [let her be broken down?]”³⁴
 2 ante et post λέγων spat. unius litt. || 4 χα]λκόνωτε vel δι]ακόνω τε || 5 βάδικο]γ? | 1. δεῖνα

fr. b (8.1 × 5.4 cm, lower margin 3.2 cm)

.....
 .. [ca 8] [is this(?) ... that is to say ...
 ἦδε [ca 8] . . . τουτέξ[τιν hands ... iron rings³⁵
 χερσὶν τοῖς σιδηροῖς δακτ[ύλοισ ca 12 ... (with?) letters go[(?)
 τοῖς γράμμασιν βαδι[-
 4 βάδι]cov?

fr. c (8.3 × 5.9 cm, lower margin 2.8-3.0)

.....
] . [] . . . μα . [all high-spirited³⁶
] αν [beautiful(?) blood-red root(?)³⁷
] αρ ἄπασαι ὑπέρθυμοι δ . . . [beautiful(?) blood-red root(?)³⁷
] ζην καλὴν αἱματόεσσαν επ .. [beautiful(?) blood-red root(?)³⁷
 3] αρ, κ, μ possis (μά]καρ, ἦ]μαρ?) | ἄπασαι, primum α corr. ex ε | δαίμ]ονες? || 4 ρί]ζην | post αἱματόεσσαν spat. unius litt.

D. Colomo and M. Gerhardt

²⁸ Perhaps λόγος εληνι]ακόσ can be reconstructed as a heading; cf. GEMF 74.1037–1053/PGM VII 879–895.

²⁹ Cf. GEMF 60/PGM XIII 630 ἐπίθ]υε λέγων; 57/IV 2468–2470. Alternatively the line could be reconstructed as ἄρα τὰς χεῖρας κατάσει]ε λέγων; cf. GEMF 4/SM II 72, 28.

³⁰ The verb ἄρξομαι at the beginning recalls the verse-end of the typical incipit used in several of the shorter *Homeric Hymns*, e.g. ἄρχομ’ αἰεῖδεν in *h.Hom.* 13.1 and 11.1. Thus the sequence at the end of l. 2 might be articulated as ἄρξομ’ αἰ]δεῖν, with *iota* adscript.

³¹ Part of an epic formula, cf. Homer *Il.* 8.172, 12.253, 15.79, 8.410 = 11.196 = 15.169.

³² For the use of the καλῶ instead of ἐπικαλοῦμαι cf. GEMF 31/PGM I 164–165. Between this line and the next, an entire hexameter could be reconstructed as e.g. πότνια]γ Ἰδαίων ὄρέων σε καλῶ π[ρ]έε[]βειραν], although imperfect because the hepthemimeral caesura would occur after ὄρέων, separating the enclitic σε from its supporting word.

³³ Cf. E. *Tr.* 1136 and 1193. This line seems to contain an iambic sequence; cf. e.g. SM I 42 (sections A 1–8 and B 63–66 are in iambic trimeters and B 20–25 in choliambics) and SM I 49, 57–61 (iambic trimeters).

³⁴ The form διατεθ[ρύφθω] is attested only in Gal. 9.109.6 (Kühn). This verb, used in metaphorical sense, effectively expresses the hoped-for condition of physical and psychological breakdown in the victim, a condition described in a more formulaic way in texts like GEMF 57/PGM IV 350–358 and 2486–2494.

³⁵ For iron rings in other magical procedures, e.g. GEMF 57/PGM IV 2690–2694 and 74.784–798/VII 628–642, 15.319–399/XII 270–350 and 18193–200/LXI 31–38. See Moyer and Dieleman 2003 and Suárez de la Torre 2019.

³⁶ The poetic word ὑπέρθυμοι suggests a dactylic rhythm. It occurs rather often in epic (see LfgrE s.v.), but it is unattested elsewhere in magical texts. Here it could refer to female demons (with the supplement δαίμ]ονες) or female figures like the Tychai and the Moirai (cf. GEMF 31/PGM I 325; 30.147/II 100; 57/IV 455, 1455; 60/XIII 782; 43/XXI 16), the Horai and Charites (cf. 57/IV 3230), or the Erinyes (cf. 57/IV 1418, 2860; 58/V 190; SM I 42 side A, ll. 3, 21, side B l. 65)

³⁷ For the restoration ρί]ζην (assuming an Ionic form, if not a case of the rather sporadic interchange between α and η; see Gignac 1976, 286), see A. *Th.* 755 ρί]ζαν αἱματόεσσαν.

GEMF 3 (PGM XX)

Fayum?¹

late I BCE–early I CE

ED.PR.: P.Amh. II 11; Wilamowitz, BKT V.2 pp. 144–145, no. XXII 3

REPUBL.: PGM (and Hymn no. 28) [Pr]; Maas 1942 (after the join) [Ma]; Page 1962, 604–605 no. 146; Henrichs 1970, 204–209 (col. ii, based on black and white photographic montage) [He]; PGM² (after Henrichs 1970); Suppl.Hell. 900 (+*Supplementum Supplementi*) [SH]

TRANSL.: PGM; Maas 1942 (German); O’Neil, GMPT, 258–259 (col. ii) (English); Calvo Martínez and Sánchez Romero 1987, 324 (Spanish)

COMM.: edd.pr. (similarity to P.Amh. II 11 already noted in BKT); Abt 1910, 13 n. 1; Körte 1913, 542 no. 388; Preisendanz 1927b, 125; Bonner 1944 [Bo]; Eitrem 1952 [Ei]; Merkelbach 1958, 85–86 no. 1046 [Me]; Koenen 1962 [Ko]; Daniel 1988 [Da]; Kotansky 1991b, 112–113; Faraone 1992b; Furley 1993, 93–94; Dickie 1994; Faraone 1995; Brashear 1995, 3546–3547 [Br]; Ritner 1998; Faraone 2000; Lehnus 2007; Collins 2008, 219–220; Faraone 2013, 110–112; Faraone 2018, 210, 231–232; Zellmann-Rohrer 2020, 44–49

[Me] stands for Meritt apud Bonner; [Po] is Poethke apud Henrichs

LOC.: New York, Morgan Library, MS Amh. Gr. Pap. 11, B3 009 04;

Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, P. 7504

TM 65576

Two nearly joining fragments of a bookroll (fr. 1: H. 7.6 × 5 cm; fr. 2: ca H. 10 × W. 4 cm), re-used on the verso for accounts (perhaps a tax-list). The script is a proficient bookhand. Letterforms are upright, bilinear, and mildly angular, with some serifs. For parallels, see P.Tebt. I 4 (GMAW 12) and P.Oxy. XXV 2435 (GMAW 57). Forked paragraphoi and an ornamented marginal title have been added. As Faraone 2000 has pointed out, these features place the fragment somewhere between a handbook and a literary anthology of incantations.

Various traditional backgrounds have been seen in the most substantial of the incantations, attributed in its title to a Syrian woman from Gadara (ll. 21–29), which has attracted sustained scholarly attention. Wilamowitz (ed.pr. of the Berlin fragment) and Eitrem 1952 attempted to situate it in Classical Greek mythology. Koenen 1962 proposed a connection with Egyptian myths about Horus and Isis, an argument elaborated by Ritner 1998, whose crucial parallels were however in a different genre, that of Coptic attraction-procedures. Faraone 1995 proposed an additional combination with Mesopotamian influences: in particular, Babylonian healing incantations for skin disease that refer to maidens carrying blue or dark-colored water vessels, which correspond to details of the indication and contents of the Greek text and match the Near Eastern context evoked by its title. In any case, the result is deliberately couched in a Greek poetic idiom, using epic diction throughout and partly fitting a dactylic hexameter rhythm. The final item, attributed to the Thessalian Philinna (ll. 31–37), can be securely placed in a long tradition of Greek hexametrical incantations ordering noxious entities to flee. Only the final letters survive of the first fifteen lines of col. i, where the [ἐ]παοιδή in l. 20 suggests that the text in this column also collected incantations, each with its own rubric. Two much later versions of the second incantation (prosaic and truncated) survive in GEMF 45/PGM XXa.

¹ The Erwerbungsbuch of the Berlin papyrus collection (p. 1076) indicates accession from the collection of Heinrich Brugsch (1827–1894) in 1891; given the date and the activities of Brugsch at Cairo and Saqqara, a Fayum provenance seems likeliest, as in general for papyri from the same lot with internal indications of provenance (e.g. BGU III 919; SB XVI 12792). There is no relevant statement in P.Amh. II; cf. P.Amh. I p. [i]: Grenfell and Hunt, writing in 1900, state that the Greek papyri in this collection were “bought ... by us at various places in Egypt during the last three years.”

recto col. i →

col. ii →

GEMF 3/PGM XX

		M ² ?	[ca 4 πρὸς κεφαλῆ [πόνον]
			[ca 7] .
		M ¹	[ca 6] ἔφ' ὅλοις εἰ θνη[τοῖς] . . [ca 1-2]
			[ca 7] ἔφ' ὅλοις π[. . .]ων τ[έ]-
		5	[λεσον τε]λέαν ἐπαιδ[ή]ν. 20
			[ca 7] ας Σύρας Ταδαρηνῆς
			[ἐπαιδῆ] πρὸς πᾶν κατα κατάκ[αυ]-
			[μα· ca 4 μ]υστοδόκος κατεκα[ύθη],
			[ύψ]οτάτω δ' ἐν ὄρει κατεκαύθ[η],
		10	ἐπτά λύκων κρήνας, ἔπτ' ἄρ[κων], 25
			ἐπτά λεόντων, ἐπτά δὲ παρθε-
			νικαὶ κυ[α]νώπιδες ἤρασαν [ύ]-
			δωρ κάλπ[ι]σι κυανέαις καὶ ἕσ-
			βεσαν ἀκά[μ]ατον πῦρ.
		15 ^κ ^α ^φ	Φιλίνης Θε[cc]αλῆς ἐπαιδῆ π[ρὸς]
			κεφαλῆς π[ό]νον· 30
			φεύγ' ὀδύν[η κ]εφαλῆς, φεύγε' δὲ [- -]
			ὑπὸ πέτ[ρα]γ, φεύγουσιν δὲ [λύ]-
		20	κοι, φεύγ[ουσι]ν δὲ μώνυχες [ίπ]-
			ποι [ca 6] πληγαῖς ὑπ[. .]
			[ca 10] . . ηθ[. ca 10] 35
	-----		-----

col. i 6-7 πάλυ[πος]? Ma

col. ii 1 l. κεφαλῆς || 1-2 Κεφαλη(νίδος) [ἐπαιδῆ πρὸς][]ς Da || 3 θνη[τοῖς] εἰ [παρωγός] Ei || 4] ἔφ' ὅλοις: φ ex corr.?:], φολοῖς He : [καίς] ἔφ' ὅλοις He in comm. | πρ[οσι]ών Ma : prob. πο[vel]πε[SH || 6 (Γ)αδαρηνῆς He || 7 {κατα} || 7-8 κατακατα[Br : κατάκαυ[μα] He || 8 [οἶκος] Ei : [(σεμνοτάτης δὲ) θεᾶς παῖς] Ko || 10 (πῦρ δ' ἐλάφουξεν) ἐπτά Ko | λύ[κ]ων He : post (κεφαλαὶ ἐφύλαξαν) Me | ἄρ[κτων] He || 12 ἤρ(υ)σαν He : ἤγαγαν Br || 14 ἀκ[άμ]ατον He || 15 κ^αφ^α: κεφα(λῆ), κεφα(λῆς) || 18 φεύγε' δε[Po : φεύγε φθ[ίνους'] He : φεύγ' εἶδε[α πάνθ'] Me || 20 l. φεύγ[ουσι]{ν} || 21 ἐ[ccύ]μενοι He | ὑπ' [ἐμῆς τελέας ἐπαιδῆς] Pr || 22: . . . εγ, . . . ετ? SH

(5) ... incantation ... for head(-ache) ...: “... for you are [the one who] ... for mortals ... in all ... perfect (20) a perfect incantation.”² [Of ...]a, a Syrian woman from Gadara, [an incantation] for every inflammation:³ “An initiate-receiving [house(?)]⁴ was burned, on the highest mountain ... was burned (25) (...)⁵ springs⁶ of(?) seven wolves,⁷ seven bears, seven lions⁸ and seven maidens,⁹ dark-eyed, drew water in dark-colored pitchers and quenched the untiring fire.”¹⁰ (30) For head(-ache): Of Philinna of Thessaly,¹¹ an incantation for headache: “Flee,¹² head pain: ... flees under a rock, wolves flee, (35) solid-hooved horses flee ... by the blows ...

M. Zellmann-Rohrer

² On τέλειον ... ἐπαιοιδήν as a traditional Greek hexametrical closure to an incantation, dating back at least to the time of Aristophanes, see Faraone 1992b.

³ Eitrem 1952 saw here a narrative motif in which a cultic building on top of a mountain is burned by lightning (αἰθέριον πῦρ in GEMF 45/PGM XXa). Koenen 1962 proposed a Greek adaptation of the magical use of ancient Egyptian myths on the burning fever of the child Horus, caused by a scorpion sting and extinguished by water (or other liquids); the epithet μυκτοδόκος refers to Isiac mysteries. Ritner 1998 further develops this argument with Egyptian parallels drawn however from erotic, not healing procedures. Faraone 1995 and 2000 stresses the multiplicity of traditions, Egyptian, Semitic, and Greek, that may have contributed to content and form. See further Zellmann-Rohrer 2020.

⁴ [οἶκος], “a house,” restored by Eitrem 1952; [παῖς], “a child” by Koenen 1962, defended at length by Ritner 1998. Even if Koenen’s theory is accepted, the construction of μυκτοδόκος applied to an individual, as opposed to a structure or site, appears strained based on known Greek parallels, which are properly restricted to the sense “receiving initiates”; see further Zellmann-Rohrer 2020. In front of whatever noun may have stood here, commentators have proposed various scribal omissions to restore a text assumed to be hexametrical throughout: e.g. Koenen 1962 (ζεμνοτάτης δὲ θεᾶς), of Isis. Faraone 1995 points out that the text as written shows parallelism characteristic of Semitic poetry, especially in the opening section concerning the μυκτοδόκος as opposed to that featuring the seven maidens.

⁵ Ellipse of at least a verb governing κρήνας: Koenen 1962 proposes further (πῦρ δ’ ἐλάφουξεν), “and fire consumed ...” A genitive absolute, such that the animals act in parallel to the seven maidens in fetching or supplying water, or take refuge in the water, is also possible: Zellmann-Rohrer 2020.

⁶ If κρήνας is taken as an error for κρήνης, it might be construed as a genitive of source with the verb in l. 27 (suggestion of Faraone 1995). Eitrem 1952 defended the appropriateness of the image, thinking of animals quenching their thirst; similarly the comm. in *Suppl.Hell.*: the flames dry up the animals’ watering-places. If sea-creatures are identified here in place of land animals (see below), this may be the poetic plural for ‘water’ instead of the literal ‘springs’.

⁷ After λύκων, (κεφαλαὶ ἐφύλαξαν) Merkelbach, governing κρήνας.

⁸ Taken by most commentators in their primary sense as land mammals; but possibly ‘wolf-fishes’, ‘bear-crabs’, and ‘lion-crabs’ in the context of water; cf. Zellmann-Rohrer 2020.

⁹ Ritner 1998 traces these maidens to Egyptian myths about the scorpion-wives of Horus, myths based however on parallels from Coptic erotic magic (for another Coptic parallel see also Zellmann-Rohrer 2020, 46); Faraone 1995 finds Babylonian parallels in incantations that are a better match for the details: healing a skin rash and referencing dark-colored jugs of lapis lazuli.

¹⁰ For the epic ἀκάματον πῦρ cf. Orph. *H.* 66.1, 12 (an appellation of Hephaistos).

¹¹ Dickie 1994 notes this unusual ascription of a magical formula to a woman, as opposed to “famous [male] sages,” and suggests a posthumous ascription to the notorious Hellenistic courtesan Philinna of Larissa, mother of Philip Arridaios, half-brother of Alexander of Macedon. While there is evidence of popular associations of courtesans with erotic magic, there is plainly nothing erotic about this particular incantation. Both Philinna and the Syrian woman from Gadara in l. 21 were taken by Maas as purely fictitious, based on the literary commonplaces of the magical associations of Thessalian and Syrian women. At least in the case of the Syrian woman, however, her name could be an accurate indication of the ultimately Semitic-language origins of the procedure.

¹² Kotansky 1991b, 112–113, and Faraone 2000 discuss the ancient Greek tradition in incantations of comparing diseases to theriomorphic demons and ordering them to flee.

GEMF 4
(PGM CXXII, SM II 72)

Bousiris (Abū Šīr) (found), Herakleopolis (written?)

late I BCE–early I CE

ED.PR.: Brashear 1979, 261–278 [Br]

REPUBL.: SM; BKT IX 147; Zellmann-Rohrer 2020 (partial) [Ze]

TRANSL.: ed.pr.; Betz, GMPT, 316–317; SM (English)

COMM.: ed.pr.; Maltomini 1980b; Janko 1988, 293 [Ja]; Maltomini 1988b, 247–248; Faraone 1990; Faraone 1999, 35–36, 73–75, 105, 140–41; Faraone 2000; Quack 2011a, 77; Zellmann-Rohrer 2020, 27–33. Koenen [Ko] is apud Janko 1988; Maehler [Mae] and Arnott [Ar] are apud Brashear 1979

LOC.: Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, P. 21243

TM 65560

Short formulary on a single large papyrus sheet (H. 29.7 × W. 33.9 cm) from human mummy cartonnage, part of which belongs to the archive of a Herakleopolite official, Athenodoros (see further BGU XVI). The text is written along the fibers in two columns on the front, the left narrow, the right wide; with margins at top, left, right, and *intercolumnium*; a *kollesis* is crossed downhill. The script is an angular and upright chancery hand with moderate serifs and some cursive features, particularly in α, ε, τ, and υ, and maintains the alignment of letterforms along a top rather than a bottom baseline, characteristic of Ptolemaic hands, but without their elongated horizontals (especially γ, π, τ). The formality is more visible in col. i, while col. ii is more rapidly executed. The hand may be dated to the late first century BCE or early first century CE (cf. GMAW 21, Oxyrhynchus, 1st cent. BCE [assigned]; BGU IV 1205, Herakleopolite, 28 BCE; PSI X 1160 with Cavallo, *Scrittura*, 63 no. 40, late 1st cent. BCE/early 1st cent. CE [assigned;] P.Col. VIII 211, Philadelphia, 6 CE). Abbreviations and forked *paragraphoi* with flourished horizontals are used. The numbering of unplaced frs. 2 and 4–8 have been maintained from previous editions, but frs. 1 and 3 are now integrated into the text of col. ii.

The papyrus preserves six incantations and separates them by the *ekthesis* of the rubric and/or introduction, by forked *paragraphoi* or by both. The first five incantations are designed for erotic conquest and end with versions of a hexametrical coda asking Aphrodite, Isis, or another goddess to bring it to perfection. The rubric claims that the collection of incantations is a direct translation of a text in the Egyptian language found in a temple in Heliopolis. The traditional background, however, is more complex. The first incantation (ll. 5–14), composed in somewhat corrupt hexameters, evokes a very Greek motif of tossing an apple at the beloved, and is designed to make the female victim fall madly in love. The second (ll. 15–27) is labeled ‘philter’ and contains a series of first-person boasts about taking and enjoying the parts of the body of another person (probably a man), addressed in the second person. The third (ll. 28–30) is a brief prayer with hands raised to the stars probably for erotic conquest (ll. 31–35) and the fourth evokes an Egyptian myth of Isis using myrrh to seduce her brother Osiris with the goal of similar seduction. The fifth (ll. 36–52) is a long invocation to the Egyptian sun-god, as he rises in the morning with his retinue, complaining with echoes of Sappho that a beloved man flees and asking that he be brought to the speaker. The fifth and final incantation (ll. 53–57) is against headache and functions by threatening three Egyptian gods with headaches, none of which will be cured until the headache of the present patient is cured.

Main fr. + frs. 1, 3 recto col. i →

GEMF 4/PGM CXXII 1–27

- 1 ἐξαγωγή ἐπωδῶν ἐκ τῆς εὐρεθείης
 ἐν Ἡλίου πόλει ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ βύβλωι τῇ καλου-
 μένῃ Ἑρμοῦ ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ Αἰγυπτίοις
 5 γράμμασιν καὶ διερμηνευθέντων Ἑλληνι-
 κοῖς. ἐπὶ μῆλο[υ] ἐπωδή· τρίς·
 β[α][λῶ] μῆλω τῷδε[ε ca 2-3] δώσω τόδε φάρμα-
 κ[ον] καίριον αἰεὶ βρωτὸν θνητοῖς ἀν-
 θρώποις καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν· ἢ ἂν
 δῶ μῆλω τε βάλω μῆλω τε πατάξω,
 10 πάντα ὑπερθεμένη μαίνοιτο ἐπ' ἐμῆι
 φιλότητι· ἢτε ἐν χειρὶ λάβοι [ἦτ]ε καὶ φάγοι
 ἢτε δεχομένη ἐν κόλπῳ καθῆται, μὴ
 παύσῃτο φιλῶν με· Κυπρογένεια τέλει
 τελέαν ἐπαιοιδῆν.
- 15 φίλτρον τα [ca 9] οὐ θέλεις λέγε ταῦτα·
 εἰς τα[ῦτ]α ἔλαβόν σου [τὸ ὄ]μμα ὃ δεῖνα·
 ἔλαβόν σου [τῆ]ν ψυχὴν ὃ δεῖ[να· ca 5] μῆν σου
 τοῦ αἵματος [ὃ ἄ·] ἐχρησάμη[ν σου ca 5] . . γ
 ὃ ἄ· κατέφα[γόν] σου τὸ ἦπαρ ὃ ἄ· [ἀπελ]αυσά-
 20 μῆν σου τ[ὸ δέ]ρμα ὃ ἄ· ἐποίησα· ἢ θεὰ ἢ
 ἐν τῷ οὐρ[αν]ῶι αὐτὸν προκα . . . ε καὶ ἐ[γ]ξέ-
 νετο αὐτῷ[ι πάντα κατὰ ψυχὴν· ο[ὔτ]ω καὶ σοι
 ὃ ἄ· ἀφ' ἧς ἢ[μ]έρας ὥρας σοι [ca 5] κα τὴν ἄ-
 24s ἢ σταθεῖα
 ναν [ca 3] . [κα]θεῖα ἐμπέσοι[ε . .] . . εἰς ἔρωτα
 25 εἰς φιλ[ί]αν [κ]αὶ εἰς τοργήν, [δια]τελ[οίη]ς ἕως
 ἀποθάνω· ὦ πότνια θεὰ ἢ [χαί]ρου[σα] ἐλαίωι
 τελεσόν μοι τελέαν ἐπαιοιδῆν.

2 l. Ἡλίου || 6 μῆ[λ]οις [ca 4] edd. | τῷδε[ε ca 2–3] δώσω : fort. τῷδε[ε καὶ] δώσω || 7–8 βρωτὸν <δ> {θνητὸν} ἀνθρώποις(ι) καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν Ja : βρωτὸν θνητοῖς(ίν τε) {ἀνθρώποις} καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν Ko || 17 [ca 5] μῆν : fort. [ἐγευσά]μην Mae : [ἐπασά]μην Ar : [ἐλουσά]μην Ze in comm. || 18 ἐχρησάμη[ν σου ca 5] . . γ : [τὴν καρδία]ν; ἐχρησάμη[ν σου τῆ καρδία]ν? (l. ἐχρησάμην?) Br : [τῷ σώματι] SM in comm. || 21 fort. προκαθεῖλε (προκαθαίρω), προκατεῖδε (προκαθοράω), προκατῆδε (*προκαταεῖδω, cf. καταεῖδω) || 19(bis), 20, 23 δ(ε)ῖ(να) || 23 [. . .] : fort. [ποι]ῶ || 23–24 ἄναν [ca 3] : fort. ἄναν[ε]λίαν, l. ἀναγγελίαν || 24 [. . .] : fort. [ἐμ]ῶν || 25 l. στοργήν

GEMF 4.1–27

Selection¹ of incantations from the one(?)² found in Heliopolis in the holy book-roll called Hermes' (book), in the sanctum, (written) in Egyptian writing and translated into Greek.³ (5) Incantation over fruit,⁴ three times: "I shall hit with this fruit [and(?)] I shall give this drug,⁵ a food ever in season for mortal men and immortal gods. To whomever I give (this), and hit with (this) fruit, and strike with (this) fruit, (10) may she neglect all and go mad with love for me, whether she should take in her hand or even eat it, or receive it and place it in her own bosom, may she not cease loving me. O Cyprus-born (Aphrodite), perfect a perfect incantation."⁶ (15) Philter(?): [make an effigy(?) ...] of what you wish(?), say these (words): "For this (purpose?) I have taken your eye, NN,⁷ I have taken your soul,⁸ NN, I have ... your blood, [NN], I have made use of your ..., NN, I have devoured your liver, NN, I have enjoyed (20) your skin, NN, I have done (it): the goddess who is in heaven was ...⁹ and everything happened to him with respect to his soul:¹⁰ so too upon you (have I acted) NN: from the day, from the hour when [I make(?)] the [proclamation(?)] against(?) you, ... (whether you are) sitting or standing, may you fall in lust,¹¹ (25) in affection, and in love and continue(?) until I die. O lady goddess who rejoices(?) in oil,¹² perfect for me a perfect incantation."

¹ ἐξαγωγή: see now DGE, s.v. I 5; 'publication', SM; 'excerpt', Betz, GMPT, similarly Brashear 1979.

² Previous editors have suspected a lacuna: see the commentary in SM; perhaps simply sc. ἐξαγωγή.

³ A general *comparandum* is the formulary fragment GEMF 52/PGM XXIVa 2–4, which claims to be a copy of a text found in the repository of a temple. See further commentary in SM. Cf. parallel in 74.1020–1023/VII 862–865.

⁴ Conventionally rendered 'apple', but other kinds of tree-fruit are possible. For parallels for the motif in Greek literature see Faraone 1990, and the commentary in SM.

⁵ 'Love spell', Betz, GMPT.

⁶ τέλει τελέαν ἐπασιδήν: for the addition, to a prose charm, of this metrical coda, see the commentary in SM and GEMF 6/P.Oxy. LXV 4468, ll. 97 and 107–108. The coda occurs especially—but not exclusively—in love charms; see, e.g., a lead tablet containing a juridical curse published by Ben Ami, Tchekhanovets, Daniel 2013 (SEG LXIII 1557; l. 20–21) and Faraone 1992b, 321–322, and 1999, 69–77.

⁷ The translation assumes the assignment of the main speaking role to a woman, and that the target (addressed with the masculine version of the placeholder NN) is a man, based on reference to an analogous male victim of a "goddess" below. The following motif has a parallel in an Old Akkadian erotic incantation from Kiš (MAD V 8), which includes similar performative claims with the goal of compelling a lover; the accompanying procedure may have involved an effigy, as perhaps does the present Greek text (cf. l. 15 above); see further Zellmann-Rohrer 2020. Previous editors had referred tentatively to Egyptian antecedents, in particular the so-called "Cannibal Spell" of the Pyramid Texts, which seem less apposite.

⁸ Specifically, the sex organ, Brashear 1979, but cf. l. 22 below.

⁹ The damaged verbal form describing the goddess' action begins with the prefix προ- 'before, in advance' and might refer to seeing (προκαθοράω), overpowering (προκαθαίρω) or enchanting (*προκαταείδω); the masculine pronoun αὐτόν construed here as its object cannot be the (female) target of the procedure, and may refer instead to an effigy or the user figured in a mythical exemplum (*historiola*), on which see further n. 7.

¹⁰ "According to every wish of his soul," Betz, GMPT; "according to his mind," SM.

¹¹ The participles "sitting or standing" are feminine, apparently referring to the beneficiary of the incantation.

¹² In view of possible Mesopotamian associations, for which see Zellmann-Rohrer 2020, it is not necessary to assume with previous commentators that the goddess is Isis.

recto col. ii →

GEMF 4/PGM CXXII 28–57

- ἄρα τὰς χεῖρας π[ρὸς] τὰ ἄστρα κατάκειε λέγω[ν ca 8] . ε . ινα καὶ . [ca 3–5]
καὶ νὺξ μέλαινα καὶ στάσις καὶ ἀγρυπνία καὶ ἐμὴ [ca 9 ὑ]ποκρεμῶι ὑπ[ca 3–5]
χρησ ἴδη πρὶν ἥλιον. 30
- λαβὼν μύρον ἔπασον καὶ χρεῖσον τὸ πρόσωπον· σὺ εἶ τὸ μ[ύ]ρ[ο]ν ὧ ἢ Εἴσις χρε[ι]σαμένη
5 ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν τοῦ Ὁσειρίου κόλπον τοῦ αὐτῆ[ς] ἀ[ν]δρὸ[ς] καὶ ἀδ[ελ]φοῦ καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτῆς
τὴν χάριν ἐπ’ ἐκείνη τῆ ἡμέρα· δός μοι τὰς ἐ[κ]είνης χάρι[τα]ς . [.] . [ca 10]
η . [.] . [ca 25] ε πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα ἢ τὴν δεῖνα· δέξ[ποι]-
να ἴσι τέλει τελέαν ἐπαοιδὴν. 35
- χαῖρε Ἥλιε, χαῖρε ἀνατέλλον, χαιρέτωσαν δὲ οἱ σὺν σοὶ ἀνατέλλοντες θεοί,
10 χαιρέτω δὲ καὶ οὐ περὶ θυρία[ς] οὐ περ[ὶ] ca 20 ο]ὐδὲ
περὶ ἀργυρίου ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ δεῖνα ὑπ[ἐ]ρ τ[ῆ]ς δεῖνα οὐ ἐγὼ φιλω αὐτὸς [δ’ οὐχ ὑπο]-
μένει κατατρ[έ]χω, αὐτὸς δέ με φεύγει [ca 25]
θέντα σοὶ τὴν θυρίαν καὶ ποιήσαντά σε βασιλ[ca 5] βάσανος . [ca 10] 40
ἀνατολῶν μήτε δύσεων μήτε ἐφ’ ἡμέρα[ν ca 8] . [. . .] φάγοι μὴ πίοι μ[ῆ]
15 καθίσει μὴ ὑπνώσει ἀλλὰ ἔχοι με ἐν . [ca 5] . . . ὄλωι καὶ λάβοι ο . [ca 5]
καὶ ἄδημος ἦτω ἕως ἂν πρὸς ἐμέ, ἕως [ca 5] ἔλθῃ Ἥλιε ε . [ca 5]
αἰώνιον θεὸν [ca 5] μοι τὸν ἄ μὴ ἐτερ[- ca 7] [ca 6]
ἐν τούτῳ [ὁ] ἄ ἐμ[μ]ένη· ἐὰν μὴ . [ca 18] εωσῆμ[ca 6] 45
ἐὰν διαλίποις [ἐ]μέ, ἐγὼ βασαν[ι]ῶ σε ἕως ἂν πρὸς ἐμέ ἔλθ[ῃ]ς καὶ πορεύ[ῃ] ca 5]
20 ca 12 [.] . [.] αν . [.] . ε ε οἱ τωι [.] c[ca 5]
καὶ μοι τὸν δε[ῖ]να ἀγάγῃς [Ἥ]λιε βία κ[ακ]ώσαντα σοὶ ακ . [. . .] . [ca 5]
σην ἄγεις ἐμ[οῖ] ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρα τὸν ἄ ον ἐγγυμαι ἀμφι-
έζωμαι χαλκὸν καὶ ἐ[νδ]ύομαι ἐπιθ[έ]ομαι τὸ μέλαν κίδηρον 50
ἐπαμμαί τοῦ πα ος καὶ . . [ca 10] πόντια
- 25 Κυπρογένεια τέλει τελέαν ἐπαοιδὴν.
πρὸς κεφαλαλίαν· Ὁσειρις πονεῖ τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὃ Ἄμμ[ων] πο]γεί τοὺς κροτάφους τῆς
κεφαλῆς, Ἡεγεφθυσ πογεί τὸ περίμετρον τῆς κεφαλ[ῆ]ς· οὐ μὴ παύσῃται Ὁσειρι[ς]
πονῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν, οὐ μὴ παύσῃται ὃ Ἄμμων πονῶν τοὺς κροτάφους τῆς κεφαλῆς, 55
οὐ μὴ παύσῃτ[αι] Ἡεγεφθυσ[ca 10] τὸ περίμετρον τῆς κεφαλῆς ἕως παύσῃται
30 πρῶτον ὃ δεῖνα πονῶ[ν ca 8] vacat.

fr. 2	fr. 4	fr. 5	fr. 6
] . το ἐὰν . [	]εἰσα . [	]νημε[	] . ce τον[
fr. 7	fr. 8		
] . ονι[	]ορτι . [. .] . ν . [

1 fort. [ἐ]ρεβινά 1. ἐρεβεινά, cf. *Oryth.H.* 22.7 μητερ νεφῶων ἐρεβεννῶν :] . εἰνα SM || 2 εμη[SM]]δοκρεμῶι SM : 1. ὑποκρεμῶ || 4 1. χρεῖσον | Εἴσις: c² ex corr., 1. ἴσις | 1. χρεῖσαμένη || 5 1. Ὁσειριος | αὐτῆ[ς] ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἀδ[ελ]φοῦ SM | 1. αὐτῆ || 6 τασε[SM], τὰς ἐ[πα]ροδικία[ς] in comm. || 7]ειρε τόν SM || 8 ἐπαοιδὴν corr. ex ἐπω-? || 10 : fort. τὸ πλοῖον, ὃ κόςμος || 13 fort. ce βασιλ[έα] vel βασιλ[εύειν] || 14 fort. ἐφ’ ἡμέρα[ν μήτε νύκ]τ[α μή] || 15 fort. ἐν τ[ῷ] νοήμ]ατι || 17 fort. [ἀγάγ]ῃς μοι τὸν δ(ε)ῖ(να) || 20 fort. καὶ φιλότῃ μ[ι]γ[ῆ]τ[η]ς ἐμοῖ· ἐὰν μ[ῆ]δὲ καὶ ἂν ἐθέλοις ἐν τῷι σθέ[ν]ει ἐμοῖ c[ca 5] || 21 fort. τὸ ἴνδ[αλ]μα || 22–23 fort. ἐς περον ἐγγυμαι ἀμφιέζωμαι χαλκὸν νηλέα καὶ ἐ[νδ]ύομαι τὸ φαρῆτριον ἐπιθ[έ]ομαι τὸ μέλαν || 24 fort. παμμεγέθους (vel πανκάλου) ζάκους || 27 Ἥ[ς]εγεφθυσ πο[ν]εῖ τὸ SM || 29 [Ἥ]εγεφθυσ[ς] SM || 30 πάντ[η] . [SM || fr. 4] . . ca . [SM || fr. 7–8 om. edd.

GEMF 4.28–57

Raising your hands to the stars, shake them while saying,¹³ “... and ... and dark night and discord and sleeplessness and my ... I hang beneath(?) (30) ... see before the sun.”¹⁴ Take myrrh and incant it and anoint your face: “You are the myrrh with which Isis anointed herself and went to the bosom of Osiris, her own husband and brother, and you gave her charm on that day:¹⁵ give me her charms ... towards him, NN, or her, NN. Mistress (35) Isis, perfect a perfect incantation.” “Hail, Sun, hail at your rising, and hail, the gods who rise with you,¹⁶ and hail too, the ...¹⁷ It is not in regard to a sacrifice(?) or to ... or to silver,¹⁸ but it is in regard to him, NN, on behalf of her, NN, whom I love, but he does not abide; I run after (him), but he flees me ...¹⁹ (40) [I adjure you by the one(?)] who set up for you your sacrifice and made you king (?) ... torment(?) ... from?²⁰ east nor west nor by day [nor by night(?)], may he [not] eat, not drink, not sit down, not sleep, but have me in his heart(?) ... entire ... and take ... and not return home until he [comes(?)] to me, until ... he comes, Sun ... eternal god, him, NN, to me ... not another ... (45) may you, NN, abide in this ... if not ... if you quit me, I shall torment you until you come to me and go ...²¹ and may you bring to me him, NN, Sun, ἡμῶν who has violently maltreated your(?) [image(?)]... you bring to me on the present day him, NN. I put on ...,²² I gird (50) on ... bronze and I put on ...,²³ I bind myself up with my dark iron, I have bound on ...²⁴ and ... and ... Lady, Cyprus-born, perfect a perfect incantation.” For headache: “Osiris has pain in his head,²⁵ Ammon has pain in the temples of his head, Ēsenephtys²⁶ has pain in the side of her head. Osiris shall not cease (55) having pain in his head, Ammon shall not cease having pain in the temples of his head, Ēsenephtys shall not cease having pain in the side of her head, until NN first ceases having pain [in his head(?)].”

M. Zellmann-Rohrer

¹³ A gesture of prayer: see further the commentary in SM.

¹⁴ The end perhaps turns to further instructions after the close of the invocation, if the beginning of line 3 were divided $\chi\rho\eta\ \epsilon\prime\ \dot{\iota}\delta\eta$, “(the target) should see you (before seeing) the sun,” but the syntax with $\chi\rho\eta$ is harsh.

¹⁵ For the situation in Isiac myth cf. the formulary fragment GEMF 52/PGM XXIVa, with a claim to be the ritual means by which Hermes and Isis discovered [the body of] Osiris; 34/LXII 3–5, an invocation of fire in an erotic $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega\gamma\eta$, as the one who “served the great god Osornophris” when he had fallen in love with his own sister Senephtys; in SM I 38.8–9, a love charm is recommended as having been used by Isis. The role of myrrh specifically in the Isiac mythological cycle is invoked in another erotic procedure, 68/XXXVI 337–339: the substance is addressed as “the one who burned the godless Typhon, the ally of Horus, the defender of Anubis, the guide of Isis.” The commentary in SM points more specifically to the mythical episode in which Isis conceives Horus through intercourse with Osiris.

¹⁶ For a reference to Re and his divine companions on the solar bark, see Brashear 1979; for further discussion and parallels see Zellmann-Rohrer 2020.

¹⁷ Read perhaps a reference to the solar bark ($\tau\omicron\ \pi\lambda\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$) or more generally to the universe ($\delta\ \kappa\acute{o}\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$) over which the Sun holds sway.

¹⁸ The motif, a sort of *recusatio*, or persuasion via a softening of the request by comparison, is attested in Greek and Demotic parallels: see the commentary in Brashear 1979 and SM with Zellmann-Rohrer 2020.

¹⁹ This flight and pursuit is a well-known motif in Greek literature, as early as Sappho: commentary in SM.

²⁰ Restore perhaps [$\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$], governing the following $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu$.

²¹ The line is badly damaged; tentatively “and mingle in love with me; if you are not willing, by my strength (?) ...” might be read.

²² Perhaps “evening” ($\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\nu$), cf. *Il.* 15.308, of Apollo “clothed in a cloud over his shoulders.”

²³ Perhaps “my merciless bronze, and I put on my quiver (?)”

²⁴ Read perhaps “an enormous ($\pi\alpha\mu\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$),” or “an all-beautiful ($\pi\alpha\gamma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\nu$) shield ($\kappa\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$).”

²⁵ The motif of threatening gods with sickness is well attested in traditional Egyptian procedures: see the commentary in Brashear 1979 and SM; for Coptic see also Zellmann-Rohrer 2020.

²⁶ A composite of Isis and her sister Nephthys: on the name in general see Quaegebeur 1991 and for parallels in the PGM, commentary in SM.

GEMF 5 and GEMF 6

It is likely that GEMF 5 and GEMF 6 belong to the same roll. If this is the case, the order of the text would be GEMF 5v—GEMF 6v—GEMF 6r—GEMF 5r. For details, see Maltomini 2019, 193–194. However, in the absence of absolute certainty, the two fragments are here presented independently.

GEMF 5 (PGM LII)

Oxyrhynchus

late I CE

ED.PR.: PGM LII (Nachträge: Eitrem, PGM, vol. 2, 268 [Ei]) [Pr]

REPubL.: Maltomini 2019 [Ma]

TRANSL.: Kotansky, GMPT, 283–284 (English); Ficheux 2007, 43, 242–243 (French); Maltomini 2019 (Italian)

COMM.: Maltomini 2019; Zellmann-Rohrer [Ze] is apud Maltomini 2019

LOC.: Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, P.Lips. inv. 429

TM 63114

This papyrus fragment (H. 18 × W. 12 cm) from a roll preserves remains of two columns written on the verso across the fibers. Both columns are broken at the top and the bottom. Of the first, only the right-hand side survives and of the second only the left-hand side (Preisendanz erroneously treated both columns as if there was immediate continuity between a line and the following). For the column-width cf. n. 2. The *intercolumnium* is 2.3 cm at its narrowest. On the recto, with the fibers, remains of a washed off text (in all likelihood a fiscal register) are here and there visible (see Maltomini 2019, 194 for details).

The text is written in a good cursive of documentary type, sloping to the right, and datable to the late first century CE. A good parallel is PSI XII 1235, of 86–89 (cf. BL VII 241; Norsa 1939, plate XIVa). The same hand was responsible for the most part of GEMF 6. It is probable that the two fragments belong to the same roll.

The text is articulated by means of *paragraphos* (under l. 21), *eisthesis*, *ekthesis* and blank spaces. As the transition from a recipe to the following (cf. ll. 21–22) is not marked by an interlinear space perceptibly wider than the usual one (ca 0.8 vs 0.6 cm), one can reasonably think that a short line has been lost in the left-hand lacuna above l. 1 (blank space of 1.3 cm) and below l. 7 (blank space of 1.5 cm) of col. i. Therefore, the present transcription of col. i counts two lines more than PGM.

There are no accents, breathings, apostrophes or *diaereses*. *Iota* adscript is not written (in the only verifiable place, l. 20). Corrections by the same scribe occur in ll. 13 and 27, while the sequences in the *intercolumnium* to the left of ll. 24 and 25 seem to be written in different ink by a different hand.

The fragment presents parts of four magical recipes: 1 (ll. 2–8): probably an erotic incantation or favor-procedure; 2 (ll. 9–14): favor-procedure; 3 (ll. 15–21): erotic incantation; 4 (ll. 22–28): *agrypnētikon* (the title is preserved). Judging from l. 22, the recipes were headed with a rubric at the beginning of the first line. The *logos* in the first and the third prescription was composed (at least partially) in hexameters: the dactylic rhythm is evident in ll. 3–7 and 18–20.

The text follows Maltomini 2019.

verso	col. i ↓	col. ii ↓	GEMF 5/PGM LII 1–28
1	-----] . . [.] α [.] φ . λόγος] θρακυκάρδιος ἀργυροδ[ίνης]] . καὶ Χαρίτεσσι χῶος ευ . . . c	1	----- 1 . . . λ[ca 12] π[15 καὶ ἐὰν ε[ca 9] ἐπ[Πειθὼ [ca 7] οφητ[κρατεραΐσιν ἐπ' ἐμαί[c ἐπαιοδαΐς
5	λαμ]πράν τε Σελήνην οὕτως] φρένας αἶτε πιούσαι αἶτε] . εἰν οὐδὲν θαλάμου πε . []] .	5	ἠπίη ἢ χ[α]ρεΐσεται μ[οι ἢ με φιλήσῃ ἔνκατα [20 οὔτι ἀπὸ κρατερεως [ἀγρυπνητικόν· λαβὼν π[λας . . κ . . . αρης λέγε το[
10	]ρ ἐπαφρ[όδιτ]ον καὶ δ . . []] αςα . λαβὼ[ν ἰ]χνεύμονος ἐ]πὶ τοῦ ἄκρου ἔμβαλε εἰς ὄξυ] . μύρον κ εἶαον ^{ἑφ'} ἡμέρας γ] ην ἅμα ἀ[ν]α[τ]ολῆς ἡλίου -----	10	.... τὸ ὄνομα . . . κ ὡς μητρόθ[εν] λα... βαλὼν εἰς φῶς λέγε τὸν λογ[. [25 διὰ νυκτὸς κ ἡμέρας ἀπ[η ςτιζομένην ^v τὴν καρδίαν [α[.] . [. . .] . ως . . μι[.] . [.] . . . [] -----

Supplementa, quae silentio recepi, ex ed.pr. desumpta

col. i 2] . . [.] α [.] φ . λόγος Ma : ρ[.] ὁ λόγος Pr | post]φ spat. unius litt. || 3–7 versus heroici vel eorum reliquiae || 3 θρακυκάρδιος Ma : . . θρακυκάρ[δ]ιος Pr || 4 χῶος ευ . . . c Ma : χῶος ευ[. . .] c Pr || 5 λαμ]πράν Vendruscolo ap. Ma : Ἡ]ραν Pr || 6 αἶτε πιούσαι (vel αἶτ' ἐπιούσαι) αἶτε Ma : αἶ (αἶ? Wilcken ap. Pr) ἐπιούσαι αιτ[. .] λ Pr || 7] . εἰν Ma :] εἰν Pr | πε . [] Ma : περ Pr || 9] . ες[. . .] . c Ma : ς[.] ες[.] ες[. .] c Pr | κ(αί) ποτε Ma : πόποτε Pr || 10]ρ ἐπαφρ[όδιτ]ον Ma : . . . ραι δαρ[. . .] οἰ Pr | καὶ δ . . [Ma : ωι δ Pr || 11 post]αςα spat. unius litt. :]ιας[.] Pr || 12 ἄκρου (cum pap.) Ma : 1. ἀγροῦ Pr | ὄξυ Ma : (12–13) ὄξύμυρον Pr || 13 κ(αὶ) | εἶαον (l. ἔαον) Ze : ἔψησον Pr || 14] ην ἅμα ἀ[ν]α[τ]ολῆς ἡλίου Ma : . . ην ἀλλα[.] α[.] λεισ ημο Pr

col. ii 1 . . . λ[ca 12]π[Ma : Pr || 2 ἐὰν ε[ca 9]ἐπ[(ἐὰν disp. Ze) Ma : ε[. Pr || (?3)4–6 versus heroici || 3]οφητ[(fort. πρ]οφητ[- ?) Ma :] ὄνη[. . Pr || 4 κρατεραΐσιν ἐπ' ἐμαί[c ἐπαιοδαΐς Ma : . . κρατεραΐσι ηπεαλγ Pr || 5 (et 6) ἦ Ma : ἦ Pr | 1. χαρίσεται | μ[οι Ma : μ[ε Pr || 6 ἔνκατα (l. ἔγ-) Ei : ἐν κατα Pr || 8 1. ἀγρυπνητικόν | post -κον spat. duarum litt. | π[Ma : τι Pr || 9 λας . . κ(αὶ) . . . αρης Ma : τας[. .] μ[. . .] ἄρης Pr | τὸν λόγον vel τὸν ὑποκείμενον λόγον vel sim. || 10 τὸ ὄνομα . . . κ(αὶ) ὡς Ma : λόγον [. .] λέγε[. .] ηος Pr | μητρόθ[εν Ze : μητρὸς Pr || 11 λα . . . disp. Messeri ap. Ma | βαλὼν εἰς φῶς Ma : ἐπ]καλῶν [τὸν] Ἐρω[τα] Pr | λογ[. [vid. comm. || 12 κ(αὶ) | fort. ἀπ[δὲ τῆς ἄρτι ὥρας Ze || 13 η ςτιζομένην^v Ma : . . πυρρὸν εἰς Pr || 14 α[.] . [. . .] . ως . . μι[.] . [.] . . [: ως[.] μ[. . . . Pr

col. i

GEMF 5.1–14

... Formula:¹ ... bold of heart, silver-eddy² ... and (with?) the Graces,³ and just as ... (?)⁴ ... and shining Selene,⁵ so (5) ... mind, both those who drink, and those who⁶ ... in no way of the bedroom⁷ ...
 ... and some time ... (10) charming⁸ and influential(?)... Take ... of an ichneumon ... on the top⁹ and put (it) in a saucer(?)¹⁰ ... perfume and leave it for three days ... at sunrise.¹¹

¹ The markedly extended cap of the final *sigma* of λόγος (l. 2) suggests that the line ends with this word, and nothing has been lost in the lacuna that follows.

² The sequence θρακυκάρδιος ἀργυροδ[ίνης] (l. 3) would fit the second half of a hexameter after the strong caesura. If line 3 contained one hexameter only, the width of the column would have been ca 12/13 cm (ca 40 letters). The identity of the deity is not clear, perhaps Selene (-Hekate-Persephone-Artemis), mentioned in l. 5. For the meaning of ἀργυροδίνης, see Maltomini 2019, 185–186.

³ Perhaps here (l. 4) the retinue of the invoked deity is indicated: “[with ...] and the Charites,” e.g. – ≐ cὺν Νύμφαις χοροήθεσ[ι] καὶ Χαρίτεσσι. But there are of course other possibilities (e.g. “[similar to ...] and the Graces”). One cannot exclude χαρίτεσσι.

⁴ χωος εὐ . . . c (l. 4) is problematic. Eitrem, PGM, vol. 2, 268, proposed to interpret it as χορὸς εὐ[εἶδη]c, which however breaks the dactylic rhythm; moreover, εὐ[εἶδη]c does not fit with the traces. Perhaps χωος is for χῶς or better χῶς c’ (copying mistake c > o), in correlation with οὕτως in l. 5. As for εὐ . . . c, perhaps εὐ πρὸς (προς-).

⁵ Cf. Hes. *Th.* 19 Ἥω τ’ Ἡέλιόν τε μέγαν λαμπράν τε Cελήνην, 371, *Orac. Sib.* 3.65 ἠέλιον πυρόνεντα μέγαν λ. τ. C. (cf. also Hom. *Epigr.* 3.3 λαμπρά τε cελήνη). In all likelihood, in our papyrus the sequence also occurred at the end of the hexameter. As for the accusative, one can imagine something like (ll. 4–5) χῶς c’ εὐ πρὸς[[καλέω Ἐκάτην (Μήνην, Φοῖβην) λαμπράν τε Cελήνην (for χῶς c’ εὐ πρὸς-, see previous n.).

⁶ It is hard to imagine the context of l. 6, reading either αἶτε πιόσσαι or αἶτ’ ἐπιόσσαι. Perhaps the “mind” (acc. of relation?) is that of the women “who drink” (a *philtron*?). This could be a recipe for a ποτήριον. For φρένες, see GEMF 57/PGM IV 2489, 2762, SM I 48.10 and II 82.A 6. The line seems to retain the dactylic rhythm (φρένας αἶτε πιόσσαι || αἶτε ?).

⁷ (l. 7) οὐδὲν θαλάμου πε . [] is difficult. The trace might be ι or ρ; a small gap that could hold a narrow letter follows. Was it said here that the desired woman (or women) must forget or neglect her (their?) marital bedroom? (cf. e.g. PGM XIXa 53 μὴ [ιδίω] ἀνδρὶ μνημονεύειν, GEMF 28.43–45, DT 68A 9–11 (...) ἐπιλαθέσ[θ]αι Χαρί[α]ν [καὶ τῆς] κοίτης τῆς [π]ρὸς Θε[οδῶ]ρα[v], etc). If so, possibly 7–8 οὐδὲν θαλάμου πέρ[ι]||[-≐] with a verb meaning ‘take care of’ lost in the lacuna (or, if οὐδὲν is adjective, a noun of similar meaning, e.g. κῆδος); alternatively, in the same vein, πέρ[ι]||[-≐] was a verb governing the genitive (‘care for’, ‘remember’; but what?). An articulation οὐδ’ ἐν θαλάμου, with πέρ[ι-] beginning of a noun in dative seems less attractive. In any case, I am inclined to think that the recipe ended in the next line (8) with the last foot of the hexameter (cf. intro.). Zellmann-Rohrer (apud Maltomini 2019) suggests πεῖ||[ραν (with θαλάμου objective genit.; cf. 57/IV 374 μὴ ἕασης τὴν δεῖνα ἄλλου ἀνδρὸς πείραν λαβεῖν). Preisendanz’s περ (the particle?) seems improbable.

⁸ Apparently ll. 9–11 (until]ασας) belong to the title. Probably the sense (l. 10) was that this procedure makes the user “charming,” “fascinating,” cf. GEMF 8/PGM LVII 74–76 ποίει, μεγαλόδοξε Πρόνοια, τὸν ἐχθῆ[ς ἀν]επαφορόδιτον εὐσχή[μονα πᾶσιν]; cfr. also ἐπιχαρής/ἐπίχαρις in 57/IV 2173; 15.328, 447/XII 279, 399. (ll. 10–11) e.g. καὶ δυγ[α]||[τὸν πρὸς πάντας καὶ π]ᾶσας, see Maltomini 2019, ad loc.

⁹ Preisendanz changed the papyrus’ reading ακρου (l. 12) into ἀγροῦ, probably on the basis of his false assumption of an immediate continuity between the lines (see above, intro.), obtaining thus an “ichneumon on the countryside” (trans. Kotansky, GMPT). The expression ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄκρου is idiomatic.

¹⁰ Preisendanz joins οξϋ in l. 12 with μυρον in l. 13 (creating thus the *hapax* ὀξύμυρον), which is obviously wrong, since before μυρον about half of the line has been lost. Perhaps a compound (ὀξύ||[βαφον, ὀξύ||[μελι etc.), or ὀξύ, an attribute of a noun lost in the lacuna of the following line. For other theoretical possibilities, see Maltomini 2019.

¹¹ At the beginning of l. 14, e.g. καὶ λέγε τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην.

col. ii

GEMF 5.15–28

(15) ... and if ... Peitho¹² ... prophetess (?) ... to my powerful [incantations]¹³ ... gentle (fem.),¹⁴ who may grant me her favors ... (20) who may love me, with her inward parts [aflame(?)]¹⁵ ... from a mighty(?)¹⁶ ... Insomnia procedure.¹⁷ Take ...¹⁸ and say the [following formula and(?)] the name ... and so on her mother's side¹⁹ ... (25) (take?)²⁰ throw and say the formula to the light three times(?)²¹ ... during the night and day from [this very moment(?)] ... or (?) branded²² in her heart ...

F. Maltomini

¹² The connection of Peitho with Aphrodite and the sphere of love is well known, cf. e.g. West 1978, 162. In GEMF 57/PGM IV 2547 (=Hy. 20.22), Πειθώ is the name attributed to Hekate-Selene-Artemis in an ἀγωγή. A form of πείθω seems improbable.

¹³ At l. 18 the meter is easily recoverable: κρατεραῑς {τν}. The hemistich appears with variants in the three versions of a hymn to Helios (see Hy. 4.17 with app.): GEMF 31/PGM I 322 μηδὲ cὺ μηνίης ἐπ' ἐμαίς ἱεραίς ἐπαιδαίς, 57/IV 452 μηδὲ cὺ μηνίης κρατεραῑς ἐπ' ἐμαίς ἐπαιδαίς, 1974–1975 μηδὲ cὺ μηνίης ἐπ' ἐμαίς ἱεραίς ἐπαιδαίς. It is possible that the whole verse was written also in our papyrus. Cf. also the hexameter GEMF 31/PGM I 317 πέμψον δαίμονα τοῦτον ἐμαίς ἱεραίς ἐπαιδαίς.

¹⁴ It is difficult to establish whether ἡπίη (l. 19) refers to the desired woman or to the invoked deity (ἥπιος of a god: LSJ s.v. 1): a supplement μηδὲ cὺ μηνίης at the end of l. 17 (see previous n.) would be in favor of this second possibility.

¹⁵ The mention of the 'entrails' in l. 20 seems appropriate in an erotic scenario, although the term that is normally used is *πλάγχνα*, cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 376, 1529 καῦσον αὐτῆς τὰ *πλάγχνα*, 1544; 74.470, 806, 713/VII 389, 650, 991; 68/149 ἔρωτι *πλαγχνικῶ* (in general, on *πλάγχνα* as the seat for erotic desire, cf. LSJ and Headlam 1922 on Herod. 1.56). *ἔγκατα* in its proper sense in 15.363/XII 314 τὰ ἔ. τοῦ ζώου. E.g. (l. 20) ἔγκατα [καιομένη *vel* τηκομένη (beginning of an hexameter?). Possible also ἔγκατα-, e.g. *ἔγκατα[λείπουσα]*, "which would fit the well-known trope of the female victim forsaking all others for the male client" (Zellmann-Rohrer apud Maltomini 2019).

¹⁶ οὔτι ἀπό κρατερεως (l. 21) is problematic: *κρατερέως* is *vox nihili* and an articulation *κρατέρ' ἔως* leads nowhere; the position of ἀπό is strange and its syntactic function obscure, and it remains obscure even if we correct it to *κρατερῶς*; finally, the dactylic rhythm is broken.

¹⁷ Other *agrypnētika*: GEMF 6/P.Oxy. LXV 4468, 109–112, GEMF 74.455–457, 808–816/PGM VII 374–376, 652–660; 15.425–444/XII 376–396.

¹⁸ (ll. 22–24) e.g. λαβὼν π[οτήριον πλήσον οἴνου ἀθα]λάσσοις κ(αὶ) ὄταν ἄρης λέγε τὸ[ν ὑποκείμενον λόγον καὶ] | τὸ ὄνομα. Preisendanz prints λέγε τὸ[ν | λόγον, assuming an immediate continuity between the two lines (cf. intro. and n. 10); moreover λόγον at the beginning of l. 24 is a wrong reading.

¹⁹ After ὄνομα (l. 24) a horizontal stroke (τ ?) and then minimal, indecipherable traces of three (?) letters. Possibly τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δεῖνας κ(αὶ) ὡς μητρόθεν, "(say) the name of her, NN, and so (i.e. 'say the name') on her mother's side" (although καὶ ὡς usually means 'even so, nevertheless'); cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 315–316 (γράφον) τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ἀγομένης μητρόθεν. In the *intercolumnium*, to the immediate left of l. 24, there is a sequence written in different ink by an apparently different hand, impossible to decipher.

²⁰ λα... (l. 25) is apparently written in the same ink as the obscure sequence mentioned in the previous n. The minimal traces are enigmatic. Perhaps λαβόν, to be taken as a variant or rather a correction of βαλόν (for something similar cf. P.Philammon, p. 22.17a–17, with comm.). In any case, εἰς φῶς goes with λέγε rather than with βαλόν, cf. GEMF 56/PGM LXX 23 εἰς φῶς ἐπιλέγων.

²¹ The papyrus has λογ̄ .[(l. 25). Preisendanz prints λόγο[ν, but then the stroke above γ remains unexplained. An interpretation λό(γον) γ' .[(on the very frequent expression λέγε γ' (vel sim.), cf. PGM vol. 3 (Index), 190, s.v. τρίς), would imply an unusual abbreviation. Perhaps λόγ(ον) .[? Moreover, the reading γ is not undisputable: the horizontal is short and its extremity seems to be round: ρ might be an alternative, but I am unaware of formulae to be pronounced a hundred times. One could consider τὸν λό(γον) ρ γ[ραμμάτων (for an ὄνομα of a hundred letters, cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 242, 248, 258 etc.), but the minimal traces before the lacuna hardly suit γ (cf., however, 58/V 356 καὶ τὸν νθ ὄλον, where γραμμάτων λόγον is omitted after the figure); and the anomaly of an abbreviation λό(γον) remains.

²² For the possible context of *τσιζομένην' τὴν καρδίαν*, cf. GEMF 74.552–553/PGM VII 471–472 ἄγε μοι τὴν δεῖνα (...) καιομένην τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν; PGM XIXa 50–51 κέντει (βα)κανιζομένην τὴν ψυχὴν, τὴν καρδίαν τῆς Κάρωσα. For the verb *τίζω*, cf. PGM XVI 13 *τίζει τὴν καρδίαν αὐτ[οῦ]*; 57/IV 2606–2607 *τίζον πικραῖς τιμωρίαῖς τὴν δε(ῖνα)* (but see app.cr.). *μαστιζομένην'* cannot be read. It remains uncertain whether τὴν καρδίαν is accusative of relation or direct object (like in PGM XIXa 51). The η at the beginning of the line could perhaps be ἡ.

GEMF 6
(P.Oxy. LXV 4468)

Oxyrhynchus

late I CE

ED.PR.: P.Oxy. LXV 4468 (Maltomini 1998)

TRANSL.: recto col. i, ed.pr. (English)

COMM.: ed.pr.

LOC.: Oxford, Sackler Library, Papyrology Rooms

TM 63180

This is a fragment (H. 21 × W. 27 cm) of an opisthographic roll. Each side preserves parts of two columns, the first column on the recto surviving in its full width. The upper margin is not preserved; the space above verso col. i is deceptive, cf. recto col. i and note the blank space below verso i 17. The intercolumnar space on the recto is ca 2 cm, on the verso 3–4 cm. Lower margins survive but at irregular depth below the different columns; generally 2.5–3 cm remain, but recto col. ii descends much deeper, leaving only 0.8 cm. No attempt was made to justify the right-hand margin of the columns (recto col. i, verso col. i). The maximum width of recto col. i is 16 cm (l. 34); for verso col. i, see below. There is a three-layer *kollema* join near each edge of the papyrus, the distance between them on the recto being 18 cm. The papyrus is a palimpsest,¹ with scattered cursive traces of the original text still visible on the recto (see Maltomini 2019, 193–194).

The hand that wrote most of GEMF 6 was responsible for GEMF 5/PGM LII, which also comes from Oxyrhynchus. It is probable that the two fragments belong to the same roll. The lower part of recto col. ii (ll. 56–72) is more upright with fewer ligatures and appears to be by a different hand. The script of the verso, though it is the work of the same hand as most of the recto, is larger and more spaced out, resulting in fewer lines per column.

The text is articulated by means of interlinear spaces, *paragraphoi* (forked at l. 45; double at 55: for the form of the first, see GEMF 9/SM II 74 intro.), *eisthesis* and *ekthesis*. There are no accents, breathings, apostrophes or *diaereses*. Spaces denote strong pauses and are regularly left before and after magical words. *Iota* adscript is employed inconsistently, on one occasion in error (l. 117).

The preserved portions of the formulary are divided into various sections. Wherever it is possible to check (ll. 109, 113, 118), each recipe was introduced by a title at the beginning of the line. The identifiable contents are as follows:

(ll. 1–37): Aggressive magic, in all likelihood erotic. The whole column is occupied by a prose hymn to the Sun. Most of the material has an unequivocal Egyptian background, while Greek elements are rare (16 Ὀλύμπιος, 17 Ὀλύμπιος, 25 Τιτάσιος; 25–26 ὁ ἐπιφανὲς ἐκ τοῦ ὀμβρίου Διός may be a Greek travesty of things Egyptian); some elements, finally, could derive as easily from Greek as from Egyptian tradition. The problem of the origin of the hymn—or of its parts, if the text is not a unitary conception—(composition by a Greek knowledgeable of things Egyptian? or by an Egyptian who knew Greek? translation from an Egyptian original?) is real enough, but for a possible solution it will be necessary to widen the search, especially on the Egyptian side (an important step in this direction is Betrò 2004, 43–48). One linguistic detail (ll. 31–32, see n. 18*) may lead us to think that at least the section in which it occurs may have been composed (or translated) by a non-Greek.

(ll. 38–72): Remains of recipes of uncertain nature.

(ll. 73–89): Remains of a *charitēsis*. A list of this kind of procedure is given in Brashear 1995, 3502, to which add SM II 63, 64 (GMA 60), P.Kramer 2, GEMF 41/P.Oxy. LXXXII 5305, 56–64 and P.Oxy. LXXXII 5312. For a Coptic *charitēsis* and reference to Coptic and Demotic parallels, see van der Vliet 2005, 131–140. Content: 73–76, *praxis*: the petitioner is probably advised to collect the dew from a specific plant, to bathe with it and not to wash for that day. 77–89, *logos*: various divinities (Persephone, Zeus,

¹ Listed in Schmidt 2009, 15, no. 16.

Hermes, Hera, Aphrodite) are invoked, who are asked to grant *charis*, the means of obtaining it being the dew sent by the gods to earth and with which the petitioner has bathed. Half hexameters (77–79) and sequences of various lengths in which a dactylic rhythm is recognizable (82–85, 88), together with epic vocabulary (84 γαῖάνδε, 85 γαίης), allows us to glimpse behind the *logos* an original hymn in hexameters. If, as is likely, Ζεῦ κύδιτε μέγιστε κ(αὶ) (78) was at verse-beginning and κ(αὶ) Ἑρμῆ Μαιάδος υἱέ (79) at verse-end, and if the two half lines were part of two complete hexameters, the width of *verso* col. i ought to have been ca 20 cm. For metrical details, see the ed.pr.

(ll. 90–98): *Praxis* and *logos* of a magical recipe the nature of which cannot be precisely determined. Some parts (90, 94) suggest *prima facie* a procedure against insomnia, but certain elements point rather to aggressive magic, perhaps an *agrypnētikon* against a woman (96; if so, erotic magic), with a guarantee that the petitioner will enjoy “sweet sleep.” But this is all uncertain. In the *logos* it is possible to discern traces of an original hexametric form: besides a hexameter which was probably complete (98), there are possible (93, 96) or easily recoverable (94, omitting τῷ δεῖνα, a frequent intrusion in the magical hymns, cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 2735 = *Hy.* 21.15; 2756 = *Hy.* 21.29; 2931 = *Hy.* 22.13) dactylic sequences.

(ll. 99–108): Remains of an attraction-procedure or specifically an *agrypnētikon* like the following procedure.

(ll. 109–112): *agrypnētikon*. For other insomnia-procedures, see GEMF 5/PGM LII, n. 17.

(ll. 113–117): Procedure against insomnia. Other sleep-inducing incantations are GEMF 9/SM II 74.1–7, 38/SM II 82 A 1, and 82/PGM CXXIIIa 51–52. Cf. Ps.Gal. *Rem.* 2.27.3 (14.489.4–6 Kühn = Heim 1892, no 202); *ibid.* 3 (14.526.18–527.2 Kühn); Delatte 1927, 90.1–3, 551.11–13, 142.9–11, 550.5–7, 8–12, 16–19; Legrand 1881, 11.314–316.

(ll. 118–123): Phylactery, probably intended to protect from bad encounters (men or evil spirits?). The Egyptian section (ll. 121–123), though scantily preserved, is nevertheless of interest as an addition to the few examples of Egyptian transcribed in Greek, and for its contribution to our knowledge of the little-known stage referred to as pre-old Coptic. For the single words cf. the ed.pr. For *mn mn* “NN (son/daughter of) NN,” i.e. δεῖνα δεῖνος, cf. also Dieleman 2010, 139–142. GEMF 6 is the earliest magical formulary that exhibits Greek-Egyptian bilingualism (see Dieleman 2019, 307–308, n. 84).

The text follows the ed.pr.

recto col. i →

1 M¹ [ca 30] c ἄλκι[μος
 [.] . . . [ca 25 ὀ]μβρίου Διός· [.
 τοὺς ὀφθαλμ[οὺς ca 17] καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμ[οὺς]
 5 καὶ σκότος [ἐγένετο τοῖς] εἰδῶλοισ πάσι, ταῖς μορφαῖς πάσαις,
 τοῖς χρώμασι π[ᾶσι ca 6] σου πάσῃ ἤκέ μοι β, σπεῦσον β,
 ταχὺ β [.] . [.] . [ca 6 ἐξ]αιμάτ[ι]σον τὴν ΔΔ ἐν τῇ σήμερον
 ἡμ[έ]ρα [ca 12], οἶδά σου τὰ ὀνόματα κ τὴν πορή-
 10 αν σου ἐν τῷ [οὐραν]ῷ, οἶδά σου κ τὰς μορφάς. ἔχεις μορφήν
 [ἐ]γ[το]ίς τετράποσιν ζῴοις . ἐστὶν τράγος, ἡ μορφή σου ἐν τοῖς
 ἰ[ε]ροῖς ζῴοις ὀρνέοις ἢ φοῖνιξ, ἡ μορφή σου ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ
 ἀλάβης ὁ μέλας, ἡ μορφή σου ἐν τῷ ὄρει λέων, ἡ μορφή σου
 [ἐν] τῇ γῆι κάθθαρος, ἡ μορφή σου ἐν τοῖς δένδροισ καρδάμων
 ἄγιον· ἡ πό[λις] σου Ἡλιούπολις ἐστὶν· κυνοκέφαλος ὄνομά
 15 ς[ο]ι αἰών, ἡ μορφή σου ἐν τοῖς τετράποσιν ταῦρος, ἐν τοῖς
 ἐρπετοῖς ὄνομά σοι [ὄ]φις, ἡ βοτάνη σου ἄνηθον· τὸ ἐξ σοῦ ἐπι-
 φαγὸς ὄνομα [ca 5] . ρω σου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ Ὀλυμπος
 [ca 12 ὄνο]μά σοι ὁ ἐπιφανίων Ὀλύμπιος, ἐν τῷ
 [ca 8] . [ca 6 δ]υσμαῖς οἱ ζῶ[ν]τες κ ἀφανιζόμενοι
 . α . [ca 17] πάντα κ [τὰ] δένδρη πάντα κ τὰ
 20 [ἄ]πτερα [πάντα κ οἱ ὀ]δοιποροῦ[ν]τες πάντες κ οἱ ὑπο
 [.] . ἄγοντες ἐν τῷ ὑγρ[ῶ]ι.] ἐξοῦ τὸ ζῆν ἔχομε[ν.] ἀνοίξας
 [τοῦ]ς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπ[. . .] . ας τὸ φῶς πάσῃ μορφῇ ἐξ οὔ ζῆ.
 [ἐ]ὰν φανῆς, ἰλαροὶ γίν[ο]νται πάντες· ἐὰν δύνῃς, θάνατος
 25 γίνεται κ σκότος γίνεται. τῶν ἀγαθῶν σου πάντες. ὄνομά σοι
 ἥλιος, νῆπιος, ἄγιος, τ[ι]τάνηος, ἄλκιμος, μέγιστος, ὁ ἐπι-
 φανεὶς ἐκ τοῦ ὀμβρίου Διός. ἤκέ μοι κ ἐπάκουσόν μου
 ἰλαρὸς ὢν, κ ἐπακουσάτωσάν μοι οἱ θεοὶ κ αἱ θεαί·
 ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρα ἔκρηξον κ ἔξαιμον ποιήσον
 30 τὴν ΔΔ· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ποιήσητε, πορεύομαι εἰς Φάργων πόλιν
 κ εἰς Αβωνβον κ εἰς Ἡλιούπολιν κ στρέψω τὰ ὀστᾶ τοῦ
 ἀγίου φοίνικος μεγίστου κ ἐπιχεῶ ἔλαιον ἀληθινὸν
 καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀλη[θιν]ὸν σμάραγδον
 οὐ ἐστὶν σου ὁ τάφος καὶ ἀνύξω το [ca 9] ον οὐ κεῖται
 ὁ μέγιστος Ὀσειρις ἐν τῷ ἀπλάτω[ι ca 7] αἱ διακινεῖται
 35 ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ οἷε [ca 5] . . . [ca 9] νηται οὐ οἱ
 τέσσαρες κυνοκέφαλοι ca 15] οὔντες
 αὐτὸν κ ἐξαφε . [ca 20] κ γένηται

col. ii → GEMF 6.1–72

1 . [.]
 [.]
 δ[ca 40]
 5 κατακ[.]
 εἶδωλα [.]
 νωνται[.]
 ἐν τῇ c . [.]
 ἡμέρα[ca 45]
 χρ[.]
 10 λα[.]
 α . [.]
 αυ . η [.]
 κ νο . [ca 50]
 . . [.]
 15 [.]
 [.]
 β . [.]
 ο . [ca 55]
 M² ἐπὶ καν [.]
 20 πρὸς δη[.]
 ωστανε
 ραι . . ν [.]
 60 μέλι ην [.]
 25 ἐφημε[.]
 Ὀσειριν [.]
 ἐπώδην [.]
 65 κανθαρ[.]
 καὶ ανε [.]
 30 παστ . [.]
 νεσ⁹θ [.]
 ικηη . . κ [.]
 θ [.]
 . [.] 70
 . [.]
 35 κ . [.]

Ipse contuli

col. i 6 δ(ε)ῖ(να) δ(ε)ῖ(voc) || 7 fort. [ἐν τῇ ἄρτι ὄρ]α || 7, 18, 19, 20 etc. κ(αἰ) || 7–8 l. πορείαν || 15 l. ἐκ || 20–21 fort. οἱ ὑπὸ | [γῆ]ν
 ὄντες || 21 l. ἐκ σοῦ || 22 ἐπ[οίη]σας possis || 25 l. τιτάνιος || 29 δ(ε)ῖ(να) δ(ε)ῖ(voc) || 32 l. τὸν || 33 l. ἀνοίξω || 34 l. Ὀσειρις | l.
 διακινεῖται

col. ii 7 fort. ἐν τῇ σῆ[μερον] ἡμέρα || 13 κ(αἰ) || 19 fort. ἐπὶ κανθ[άρου], sim. || 24 fort. ἐφ' ἡμέ[ρας] || 25 l. Ὀσειριν || 30 l. Νεσυτ ?

GEMF 6.1–72

“... brave ... from Zeus, sender of rain² ... [you opened(?)] your eyes [and there was light, you closed (?)]³ your eyes and [there was(?)] darkness for all the images,⁴ for all the forms, (5) for all the colors ... for all your ... Come to me (2x), hurry (2x), quickly (2x), [now (2x) (?)],⁵ drain the blood of her,⁶ NN, daughter of her, NN, on the present day, [in this very hour(?)]. I know your names and your course in the sky,^{1*} I know your forms too. You have a form among the quadruped animals:^{2*} it is (the) he-goat;^{3*} your form among the (10) sacred bird creatures is the phoenix,^{4*} your form in the river is the black *labeo* fish,^{5*} your form in the desert is (the) lion, your form in the earth is (the) scarab, your form among the plants is (the) sacred cardamom.⁷ Your city is Heliopolis.^{6*} Baboon-headed-one(?),^{7*} your name is eternity,^{8*} your form among the quadrupeds is (the) bull,^{9*} among the (15) creeping things your name is the snake,^{10*} your plant is dill.^{11*} The name appearing from you ... in the sky (is?) Olympus⁸ ... your name is: he who appears as Olympius, in the ... at sunset the living and the dead ... all and all the plants and (20) all the wingless creatures and all the travellers⁹ and those who are below ground(?)¹⁰ in the water.^{12*} From you we derive life.¹¹ When you opened your eyes you created(?) light for every form,¹² from which it (i.e. every form) draws life. If you appear, all are joyful; if you set, death comes and darkness comes.¹³ All (have a share?) of your gifts.¹⁴ Your name is: (25) Sun, child,^{13*} holy, Titanus,^{14*} brave, greatest, he who appeared from Zeus sender of rain.^{15*} Come to me and hearken to me benignly, and let the gods and goddesses hearken to me. This very day shatter her and make her bloodless, NN, daughter of her, NN. If you don't do it, I will go to Phagropolis^{16*} (30) and into the house of Benben^{17*} and to Heliopolis, and I will twist the bones of the sacred phoenix,¹⁵ (the) greatest, and every day I will pour true oil^{18*} on the true emerald where your tomb is, and I will open the [sacred tomb?]¹⁶ where lies Osiris, the greatest, in the inaccessible [shrine and(?)]¹⁷ is shaken (35) beneath him ... where the four hamadryade baboons^{19*} ... (40) images ... on the [present day(?)] ... (45) day ... (50) and ... (55) ... on ... to ... (60) honey ... for days(?) ... Osiris ... incantation ... scarab ... (65) and ... Nesut(?)¹⁸ ...

² Possible supplement (l. 2): ὁ ἐπιφανεῖς ἐκ τοῦ ὀμβρίου Διός, as in 25–26.

³ According to the likely restoration (ll. 2–3) [ἦνοιζα] | τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς κ(αὶ) φῶς ἐγένετο, ἐκάμυ]σα. Cf. ed.pr.

⁴ Here (l. 4) εἶδωλον is probably a Greek rendering of Egyptian *ba*, and μορφή of Egyptian *ḥprw*. See ed.pr.

⁵ Probably (l. 6) [ἦ]δ[η] β̄.

⁶ Cf. l. 28, and GEMF 57/PGM IV 1545 ἔκταξον αὐτῆς τὸ αἶμα; PGM XVI 5 (etc.) τὸ αἶμα [αὐτοῦ] ἐ[κ]θήλας]ον; GEMF 63/P.Coles 12→5: αἰμορροήση αὐτῷ ἢ κεφαλῇ, SEG IV 30.27–28 ἀναίμα[τὸν]τεσ hoί]δε πάντες.

⁷ For the connection of the cardamom with the Sun, cf. GEMF 55/PGM III 311 and 390, where it appears as an ingredient in the *praxis* of a κύστασις πρὸς ἥλιον.

⁸ The well-known identification Amon(Ra)-Zeus seems to be active here.

⁹ Sunlight makes roads passable: cf. e.g. Assmann 1975, 218 no. 92.55, 210 no. 89.12, 397 no. 195.8, etc.

¹⁰ According to the possible supplement οἱ ὑπὸ | [γῆ]ν ὄντες in ll. 20–21.

¹¹ The sun as life: cf. e.g. Assmann 1975, 416 no. 200.13–15, 221 no. 92.125–127 etc.; see Assmann 1983a, 113. In Greek: A. Ag. 633; Orph. H. 8.12, 18; Nonn. D. 12.6, 23; Corp.Herm. 16.12 (2.235.25 N.-F.), etc.; see Keyßner 1932, 148–149.

¹² The reference would be to the first moment of the creation of light. Cf. Assmann 1975, 265 n. 122.8–10: “Du öffnestest deine Augen (...) und es entstand das Licht für jemandem durch den Glanz deiner Augen etc.”; cf. ed.pr.

¹³ The resemblance to Egyptian hymns is here very close, both in form and in content: short phrases in parallel with the correspondence dawn~joy (life), sunset~death (darkness); cf. e.g. Assmann 1975, 221 no. 92.126–127: “Du gehst auf für sie—sie leben, du gehst unter—sie sterben”; further parallels in ed.pr. Cf. GEMF 21/P.Duke inv. 729.37–38.

¹⁴ Here, in τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅσων σου πάντες (l. 24), the verb seems to be omitted ((μετέχουσι)?). For other less probable alternatives, see ed.pr.

¹⁵ Cf. the Egyptian papyrus in Geneva MAH 15274, verso V 4 (ed. Massart 1957, 184): “[and I shall cause (?)] the feet of the Phoenix which is in the land [to be bound (?)].” Further details in the ed.pr.

¹⁶ Perhaps (l. 33) τὸν [ἰερὸν τάφ]ον or τὸν [περίβολ]ον (Clarysse apud ed.pr.).

¹⁷ Something like ἀπλάτω[ι ἀδύτωι (or τόπω, μέγρω, sim.) κ]αὶ (l. 34) is perhaps to be supplied.

¹⁸ Perhaps (l. 67) the nome in the eastern Delta; see Calderini and Daris 1966–1987, III 345. TM/Places U04b Nesout-tawi (Karnak).

verso	col. i ↓	col. ii ↓	GEMF 6.73–123	
1 M ¹	-----]χομενα βοτάνης] τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῆς δρόσον πρ]όσωπον καὶ χάριν 75] ἐν τῆδε ἡμέρα μὴ λούσῃ 5]δοῦχε Πλούτωνος ἄνακτος] Ζεῦ κύδιετε μέγιτε κς] κς Ἑρμῆ Μαιάδος υἱὲ κς Ἑρα Ἄφρο]δείτη χαριτοδότειρα βαβραι 80] μουσαι ερεοβαζαγρα 10] . . χαρίτων ἀνάμεστοι διανα] . . [.]ωρα δρόσον βάλλοντες] . . γ' ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου εἰς γαῖάνδε] φυ . η καὶ ἀπὸ γαίης 85] ος χέουσα οὕτως κἀγὼ 15] . υ δρόσον χρεῖομαι τῶδε] δωρήσατέ μοι χαριτήσια] τὴν ΔΔ.] . κς κατὸν μὴ ἀγρυπνήσαι 90] ἐπίθεε τὴν ἀριτεράν σου 20 λ]έγε γ' λόγος·] μήτηρ τ' ἀνθρώπων νιαναι] δός μοι τῶ Δ γλυκὺν ὕπνο[ν] . c γυνῆ ἢ ἀνὴρ λιπαρὰς κατ[95] θω αὐτῆ ὡς ὄφικ, ὡς σκολ . [. 25] . . [. .] . αἶνα ὡς ὄφικ] Φερσεφόνη τέλεσον τ[ελέαν ἐπασιδῆν]	----- 1 [ca 13 ἀ]γρυπνία δι' ὄ[λης νυκτός δα . α[ca 8]ιαναι νε[100 βα[.]ικ[.] πρὸς τὴν ΔΔ τ[αὐτῆ [.] . . . [.] κς ἀγρυπ[ν- 5 θας κς παν . ρους θες πρ . [. μὴ ἐσθιοι . . κς πεινώσα, μ[ἐγείρας κς γ' αὐτῆ [.] κλειναις[105 ναις δὲ ὁ δεῖνα ι[.] . . . ρω[λαμωι ὡς πα . [.]ενονωδει[Κυπρο-] 10 γένεια τέλει τελέαν ἐπασιδῆν . [. πρὸ πάντων[ν ἀγρ]υπνητικ[ό]ν· [. ἐπιθυοῦ[.]αι[ca 7] . σ[.] [. καθ[ca 15] . . κα[.] 15 ποιη[ca 6] . [. cτῆλη ὑπ[ν]ωτική . λόγος· [. βoλχοcηθ παταξ cηθ α . [. ερηχι [α]ρα αρραραρα κα[115 δαμαηλ cηθ cηθ βoλχοcηθ [. καθευδέτωι ὁ δῖνα Δ . [. 20 φυλακτήρ[ι]ον . ἐὰν βούλη ἐξελεθεῖν [. λαβὼν [. .]υν ὠμὸν ἔπασον ζ β[. ἕως ἐξ]έλθης κἂν εἰσέλθῃ[c 120 λό[γος Αἰγ]υπτιστί· ἀνακ ακ[. α[ca 7]φ ακκ ἀμα ράλλ[. 25 [ca 10] . μ . νταφ μν μν[.		

col. i 5 κλει]δοῦχε vel δα]δοῦχε || 6, 7 (bis), 18 κ(αἰ) || 8 l. Ἄφροδίτη || 12 l. γαῖάνδε || 15 l. χρεῖομαι || 17 fort. πρὸς] | δ(ε)ῖ(να) δ(ε)ῖ(voc) || 18 l. καυτόν || 22 δ(ε)ῖ(να) || 24 αὐτῆ vel αὐτῆ || 25 prob. μ]ύραϊνα || 26 prob. πότνια]

col. ii 2 δ' ἀλλά[possis || 3 fort. βά[δ]ικ[ον δὲ] | δ(ε)ῖ(να) δ(ε)ῖ(voc) || 4, 5, 6, 7 κ(αἰ) || 5 ad fin. πρὸ[ς] ? || 6 l. ἐσθίοιτο? ἐσθίοι τι? | fort. μ[η] || 8–9 fort. θα]λάμωι || 9–10 prob. πότνια Κυπρο]]γένεια || 13 fort. καθ[ευδ- || 19 l. καθευδέτω, δεῖνα δ(ε)ῖ(voc) || 21 fort. [ρο]ῦν

GEMF 6.73–123

[gap of unknown number of lines]... of a plant ... the dew on it (her?)¹⁹ (75) ... face and grace ... in this day do not wash yourself ... [key-(?) torch-]holding [spouse(?)] of the Lord Pluto ... you, noblest, greatest Zeus and ... and you, Hermes son of Maia, and you, Hera (80) ... (and) you, Aphrodite, who grants charm, BABRAI ... MOUSAI EREOBAGRA ... full of charms ... who let dew fall ... from Olympus to the earth (85) ... and from the earth ... pouring, in this way I, too, ... dew I anoint myself²⁰ with this ... give me the means of obtaining charm ... [before(?)] her, NN, daughter of her, NN.

... (90) and (for) you yourself not suffer insomnia ... put your left hand ... say three times. Formula: ... and mother of men²¹ NIANAI ... give me, NN, a sweet sleep (95) ... woman or man shining(?) ... her, like a snake,²² like a ...²³ ... [like a] moray(?), like a snake ... [Mistress(?)]²⁴ Persephone, perfect [a perfect incantation].²⁵

... sleeplessness through the [entire night],²⁶(100) ... IANAI NE ... [go(?)]²⁷ to her, NN, daughter of her, NN ... to her ... and she will lie awake(?)²⁸ ... and put ... do not let her eat, even if hungry, ... (105) awaking and three times ... he, NN ... [bedroom(?)] ... as a [maiden(?)]²⁹ ... [Mistress(?)]³⁰ Cyprus-born, perfect a perfect incantation.

Insomnia-procedure, better than all others. (110) sacrifice ...

Sleep-inducing inscription. Formula: ... BOLCHOSĒTH PATAX SĒTH A[POMPS(?)] ... (115) ERĒCHI [A]RA ARRARARA K ... DAMAĒL SĒTH SĒTH BOLCHOSĒTH ... let him, NN, son of her, NN, sleep.

Phylactery. If you want to go out ... take unripe [sumac(?)]³¹ and incant (it) seven times ... (120) until you go out and go in. Formula in Egyptian:³² ANAK AGK ... ANK AMA RALL ... NTAPH MN MN ...

F. Maltomini

¹⁹ Possibly the plant mentioned in the previous line (l. 73). Or a person?

²⁰ Sprinkling oneself with oil, perfumes etc. is a well-known practice in attraction-procedures and *charitēsía*: cf. PGM XXXIV 17; GEMF 68/PGM XXXVI 211–214; 4/CXXII 31; 16/PDM XIV 348, 364. See Faraone 1990, 224 and n. 10 for parallels from neo-Assyrian magic.

²¹ Possibly here referring to Persephone (l. 98), cf. GEMF 55/PGM III 44 τῶν πάντων[ν] ἀνθρ[ώπων γε]νέτειρα (Hekate) and 57/IV 2832–2833 (=Hy. 18.32) θεῶν γενέτειρα καὶ ἀνδρῶν (Hekate-Selene-Artemis).

²² Perhaps these terrifying nocturnal visions (like serpents, morays, etc.) are designed to disturb the woman's sleep.

²³ A supplement σκολό[πενδρα] is not compatible with the trace before the lacuna (foot of an upright descending well below the line-level).

²⁴ For the supplement πότνια] (see app.cr. verso i 26), cf. GEMF 28.61–62, SEG LXIII 1557.20–22; for πότνια Κυπρο]γένεια (107–108), cf. GEMF 4/PGM CXXII 51–52; 28.49–50.

²⁵ For this formula, in addition to the texts quoted in the previous note, see the indications in SM I 45.53 n. and Faraone 1992b, 321–322. See also Faraone 2010, 147–148, n. 7. It is not clear whether the supplement continued in the same line intruding in the *intercolumnium*, or if it was spread over two lines.

²⁶ Cf. GEMF 15.444/PGM XII 396; SM II 53.18–19; I 45.6.

²⁷ Cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 2487; 16.692/XIV 25; 69/XXXVIII 5.

²⁸ Mood and tense of the verb are uncertain (l. 102).

²⁹ Perhaps (l. 107) παρ[θ]ένον ὄδε ι[] or alternatively παῖ[c] ἐν ὀνόδει [κόματι or μορφῆ?]

³⁰ See n. 23.

³¹ [ῥο]ὸν (l. 119) seems the only word suitable for both the space and the following adjective. In GEMF 57/PGM IV 2232 this plant is employed for a burnt offering in a *praxis* of a love charm.

³² Cf. GEMF 55/PGM III 425; 60/XIII 84 (= 596), 153 (= 462); 1/SM II 70.1, 14. For 21/P.Duke inv. 729, 24–25, see note ad loc.

Supplementary notes to the translation of ll. 1–37

^{1*} Cf. Assmann 1983b, 241 no. 173.28–29: “Ich kenne die Fahrt [der Barke des] Chepre wenn er die Erde durchzieht”; also Betrò 2004, 48. The course of the Sun is normally not known to mankind: cf. Assmann 1975, 141 no. 36.3–4: “Dein Gang ist verborgen,” 210 no. 89.15–16, 216 no. 92.26: “Man kann deinen Gang nicht erkennen,” etc.

^{2*} ζῳοῖς ἐκτίς (l. 9), the trace suggests a rounded letter: perhaps ῥ ἐκτίς? The resulting phrase, however (“you have a form among the quadrupeds: it is the goat”) seems unnatural.

^{3*} Cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 1671–1672 (cf. 69/XXXVIII 25) ὄρα ζ' μορφήν ἔχεις τράγου. The sun at sunset (Atum) was imagined and represented as a goat or an old man with a goat's head, in which form he made his nightly journey.

^{4*} φοῖνιξ (l. 10) is here feminine, whereas the word is normally masculine (although the male sex of the bird was not undisputed; see van den Broek 1972, 357–389). The phoenix is the solar bird *par excellence*, in both Egyptian and Greek myth; cf. Horap. 1.34 (p.78.3 Sbordone) ἡλίου ἐκτίς ὁ φοῖνιξ σύμβολον, GEMF 30.151–153/PGM II 104–106.

^{5*} *Labeo niloticus*, a common Nile fish (Thompson 1947, 9; Gamer-Wallert 1970, 9, 38). According to GEMF 70/PGM LVIII 13–14 (and SEG LIV 1803.12–13), it was forbidden to eat. In 16/XIV 247 (Betz, GMPT, 210, n. 199), in a similar context, the black *labeo* (Eg. *lbs km*) appears linked with the moon god Chons. The solar connection in our papyrus could support the identification, entertained by Thompson 1947, of the *labeo* with the mysterious fish *ḥbdw* sacred to Ra; but see Gamer-Wallert 1970, 28 with n. 147, 38 n. 253.

^{6*} Knowledge of the town sacred to the god: GEMF 72/PGM VIII 13–14 οἶδά σε, Ἑρμῆ, τίς εἶ καὶ πόθεν εἶ, καὶ τίς ἡ πόλις σου Ἑρμοῦπολις.

^{7*} Perhaps κυνοκέφαλος is here (l. 13) nominative for vocative. But it might be the remains of a longer phrase (e.g. “(your form among ... is the) κυνοκέφαλος, your name is αἰών”). For the hamadryas baboon as a solar symbol, cf. e.g. Fauth 1995, 76 and n. 242. Cf. GEMF 55/PGM III 501; 57/IV 1686–1687.

^{8*} For Helios-Aion, cf. GEMF 81/PGM CXXVIa 17 (SM II 95r 17n); Fauth 1995, 74–89.

^{9*} The sacred bulls (Apis, Buchis, Mnevis) are all associated with the sun. Cf. Macr. *Sat.* 1.21.20 *taurum vero ad solem referri multiplici ratione Aegyptius cultus ostendit*, GEMF 55/PGM III 509, 57/IV 1676–1677.

^{10*} Cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 1655–1656 (= 69/XXXVIII 20), 1637–1638, also 939.

^{11*} The association of dill with the sun may perhaps be explained because this plant (Eg. *imst*), for its preserving qualities, became one of the four sons of Horus, Amset (see Kees 1956², 92; also Bonnet 1952, 26 s.v. Amset). A connection of the plant with Apollo is established in Interpol. ad Ps.Apul. *Herb.* 122 (p. 297.3–4 Howald-Sigerist).

^{12*} The verb of the whole phrase until ἐν τῷ ὑγρ[ῶ]ι (ll. 18–21) is lost in the damaged area at the beginning of l. 19. What is here described is probably the homage of all the creatures to the sun. The dead awake during the nightly journey of the Sun and pay homage, cf. e.g. Assmann 1975, 405 no. 195.231–232: “Die Bewohner der Unterwelt umringen dich mit Preisungen, die Lebenden verneigen sich von deinem Aufgang,” and see Assmann 1983a, 131.

^{13*} The sun in the morning, according to the Egyptian idea. Cf. GEMF 21/P.Duke inv. 729, 32; 30.166/PGM II 119 ὁ νῆπιος ἀνατέλλων; 55/III 153–154; 15.128/XII 79; 31/I 33; 74.597/VII 516; 68/XXXVI 218–219.

^{14*} Helios is the son of the Titan Hyperion (cf. Hes. *Th.* 374 with West's comm.). τιτάνιος seems not to occur elsewhere with reference to Helios, who, on the other hand, in late texts is directly identified as Τιτάν, cf. e.g. GEMF 30/PGM II 86; 55/III 210; XXIII 5 and see Fauth 1995, 42, n. 42.

^{15*} The sense of ὁ ἐπιφανεῖς ἐκ τοῦ ὀμβρίου Διός (ll. 25–26) is not immediately obvious, unless the phrase simply means that the sun appears in the sky after the rain clouds have cleared. Two hypotheses, which however remain highly speculative, are presented in the ed.pr.

^{16*} The city in the eastern Delta whose name occurs in various forms: Φαγρωρίοπολις, Φραγούρων πόλις, Φαγρόριον, *Phagorior*. Our papyrus shows clearly that the toponym was felt to be connected with the name of the fish that was sacred there (φάγρος, φαγρόριος), whatever its true etymology (see Helck 1982, 1017). The *phagros* was venerated in Phagro(ri)opolis as a manifestation of Ra. The threat of going to this city is then on the same lines as that of going to Heliopolis and the ‘house of Benben’, all cult places of the god, in which to carry out impious acts against him.

^{17*} Αβωνβον (l. 30) is a Greek rendering of the Egyptian *ḥwt-bnbn* ‘the house of Benben’ (Clarysse apud ed.pr.), the *sancta sanctorum* of the solar temple in Heliopolis, where the ‘corpse’ of Ra lays (cf. l. 33). It was also called the ‘house of the Phoenix’ (whose bones the sorcerer threatens to twist).

^{18*} The conjunction ἔλαιον ἀληθινόν (l. 31) is not idiomatic. In all likelihood this is a literal rendering of the Egyptian *m3'* (cf. GEMF 16.121, 152, 158, 284, 336, etc.; Till 1951, 81). The same probably applies to ἀληθινὸς ἐμάραγδος (l. 32), even if ἀληθινός is not inappropriate for gemstones.

^{19*} Four (or groups of four) is usually the number of baboons in figurative representations of the rising sun. But their function here is obscured by the lacunas. Merkelbach (apud ed.pr.) suggested e.g. οὐ οἱ τέσσαρες κυνοκέφαλοι κἀθηνται οἱ διατη]ροῦντες αὐτόν (ll. 35–37).

GEMF 7 (PGM CIII, SM II 73)

Provenance unknown

I CE

ED.PR.: Petropoulos 1939, 430, no. 70 [Pe]

REPubL.: Maltomini 1980a, 169–172 [Ma]; SM II 73

TRANSL.: Kotansky, GMPT, 310 (English); SM II 73 (English); Ficheux 2007, 223 (French)

COMM.: ed.pr.; Maltomini 1980a; SM II 73. [Zu] is F. Zucker apud Petropoulos 1939

LOC.: Athens, Archaeological Society, P.Athen. 70

TM 65843

This is a fragment (H. 12 × W. 7 cm) of a papyrus roll broken away on all sides except the bottom, where the lower margin is preserved to a depth of 2 cm. The writing runs with the fibers on the recto and the back is blank. Parts of two columns are preserved: of the first one just the last letter(s) of six lines remain, of the second one the beginning of eighteen lines for a maximum length of thirteen letters. The *intercolumnium* is between 2 and at least 3 cm. It may be conjectured on the basis of the certain or at least very probable supplements in ii 4–6 that ca 20 letters per line have been lost to the right. If so, the original column width was about 11 cm.

The text is written with a thick pen in an informal, medium-sized, upright, rounded hand, that can be dated to the first century CE, although the late first century BCE cannot be excluded (G. Cavallo apud SM II 73, n. 1; the first editor was certainly wrong assigning the papyrus to the second century). It is roughly bilinear, but ι sometimes projects below, and β and φ above and below. Variation in the shape of letters and occasional ligatures (αι, ωι) add to the informal look. To be noted: α in both pointed and looped form; narrow β in three movements; δ high and flattened (l. 10); ε in three movements with the cap curved to touch the cross-bar; step-shaped η; θ with pointed top; κ generally halfway to a cursive form (but cf. l. 4); ν with the oblique projecting to the left; ρ with both large (l. 1) and small (l. 14) loop; ‘Ptolemaic’ τ with the foot curving both to the left and the right; υ in one sequence with a high flat curve and with a slight tail; ω high and flattened. Useful *comparanda* are Roberts, GLH 8b (30–29 BCE), 9a (between 7 and 4 BCE) and 11a (assigned to the second half of the first century CE).

No lectional signs occur, but there is a blank space in ii 10 (end of a sentence?). The writer tends to divide words. *Iota* adscript is incorrectly written in ii 6 φαγέτωι and omitted in ii 5 καθεύδη.

About the content of col. i nothing can be said. Col. ii is an attraction-procedure. The general flow is relatively clear. Ll. 2–12 consist of a *logos*. A demon is commanded to drive the beloved from whatever places she happens to be in (3); he must go everywhere (3–4) and cause her to suffer torments (5–6) until she comes to the lover (6–7); the lover is to be dear to her (? 9); the command is to be carried out rapidly (10); the gist of the command is repeated in 11–12. Ll. 13–14 contain directions to be carried out after the recitation of the *logos*. Ll. 15–16 seem to contain magical words, which suggest that we are again within a *logos*. It ends with a well-known concluding formula (17–18).

Col. i was not transcribed in the ed.pr. In the app.cr., the readings of SM are given only when they differ from Maltomini 1980a.

recto col. i →

col. ii →

GEMF 7/PGM CIII

		1	[. . .]ταρ ουτω[π . ωθοι και ο . [ἐκ παντός τόπ[ου ὕπαγε εἰς πάντα] τόπον καὶ πάσα[ν οἰκίαν καὶ ἄξον μοι τὴν Δ.]
		5	ἐὰν καθεύδῃ μὴ [καθευδέτω, ἐὰν φάγῃ μὴ] φαγέτωι, ἐὰν πίν[ῃ μὴ πινέτω, ἕως ἔλθῃ πρὸς] ἐμέ, τὸν Δ, καὶ μ[. [. . .] . . . καὶ τὸ μ[[. . .] φίλτατον [
1	-----]η] . ν]μ] .	10	[. . ἦ]δη ἦδη [[Δ . .] ἔτεκεν ἡ [Δ εἰς πάντα τόπον [θῦε δέ, μὴ ε[πῦρ καὶ βαλὼν [
5	] . πα] . αν	15	ε . ρ ιαλφης θι [[. .] . . χιωχ [ου[. . .] ἐπὶ τ[[τελεί]αν ἐπα[οιδήν

col. ii 3 τόπ[ου suppl. Pe || 3–6 suppl. Ma (πίν[ῃ iam Zu) || 6 l. φαγέτω || 7 ἐμέ, τὸν disp. Ma : β . . cov Pe | δε(ε)ἰ(να) || 8]τρι (vel]ρι) possis :] . Pe :] . . (]η vel]πι in comm.) SM || 10 suppl. Zu | post alterum ἦδη spat. vacuum || 11 ἡ [Δ Ma : . [Pe || 13 θῦε δέ SM : []δε Pe : δε Ma || 15 ε . ρ ιαλφης Ma : . []ρι ἀλφης Pe || 17 tam ante quam post επι spatium || 18 [τελεί]αν ἐπα[οιδήν] SM : []λί[]επε[Pe Ma

col. ii, ll. 3–18 ... from every place ... [go into every] place and into every [house and drive her, NN, to me]. (5) If she is sleeping, let her not [keep sleeping; if she is eating, let her not] keep eating; if she is drinking, [let her not keep drinking, until she comes to] me, NN, and¹ ... and the ... very dear ... (10)² ... now now.³ ... NN, whom NN bore⁴ ... into every place ... sacrifice (?),⁵ not ... fire and throwing ... (15) E.R IALPHĒS⁶ THI ... CHIŌCH⁷ ... [perfect a perfect] incantation.⁸

F. Maltomini

¹ A possible restoration of ll. 7–8 might be καὶ μ[ῆρὸν μηρῶ πελάσῃ καὶ γαστέρα] | χ[α]τρὶ καὶ τὸ μ[έλαν αὐτῆς τῶ ἐμῶ μέλανι, with slight variations (for parallels cf. SM I 38.12 comm. and P.Oxy. LXVIII 4673.27–29).

² Ll. 10–11 e.g. [ἄξον μοι τῶ Δ, ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ Δ, τὴν] | [Δ, ἦν] ἔτεκεν ἡ [Δ, or [ἄξον τὴν Δ, ἦν ἔτεκεν ἡ Δ, ἐμοὶ τῶ] | [Δ, ὃν] ἔτεκεν ἡ [Δ.

³ The conspicuous blank space after the second ἦδη suggests that probably ταχὺ ταχύ did not follow. Possibly ἦδη ἦδη was written alone (cf. GEMF 15.135/PGM XII 86), but either ταχὺ τα][χύ (cf. 74.553–554/VII 472–473) or ἄρτι ἄρτι][τι (cf. 57/IV 1245) might have preceded.

⁴ In l. 11 we have the earliest certain attestation of the formula ὃν (ἦν) ἔτεκεν NN in magical texts (cf. GEMF 2, fr. 14.2 comm.). On this formula, see Jordan 1976; Curbera 1999; Dieleman 2010.

⁵ The reading θῦε (l. 13) is extremely doubtful.

⁶ Cf. GEMF 68/PGM XXXVI 287 ιαρφε; 20.170/II 123 ἰαφῃ. The first editor read l. 15 . []ρι ἀλφης θι[and interpreted ἀλφης as a misspelling of ἀλοιφης or ἀλυφης.

⁷ Cf. χιω χιωχα in SM I 42.52.

⁸ In ll. 17–18 we have a frequent formula in erotic procedures; see GEMF 6/P.Oxy. LXV 4468, n. 25. A certain supplement for l. 17 is not possible, since the formula presents variations. At the end of the line will have stood an imperative of τελέω, with the possible addition of μοι and τὴν. At 18 also [τελεί]αν is possible.

GEMF 8¹ (PGM LXXII + PGM LVII)

Egypt, unknown provenance² reign of Hadrian?
 ED.PR.: col. i: Eitrem 1935–1937, 113–117 [Ei¹]; P.Oslo III 75 [Ei²]; col. ii: Hunt 1929, 127–134 [Hu]
 REPUBL.: col. i: PGM LXXII [Pr²]; col. ii: PGM LVII [Pr²]; col. i + ii: Merkelbach and Totti 1991, 88–89 and 90–92 [MeTo]
 TRANSL.: col. i: PGM¹, vol. 3, 15 = PGM², vol. 2, 204 (German); Grese, GMPT, 298 (English); Calvo Martínez and Sánchez Romero 1987, 388 (Spanish). col. ii: Hunt 1929, 132–133 (English); Festugière 1932, 322–324 (French); PGM, vol. 2, 184–186 (German); Hock, GMPT, 284–285 (English); Harrauer 1987, 53 (German, ll. 2–9 only); Calvo Martínez and Sánchez Romero 1987, 367–8 (Spanish). col. i + ii: Merkelbach and Totti 1991, 89–90 and 92–93 (German).
 COMM.: Nock 1929a [No¹]; Nock 1929b [No²]; Preisendanz 1929a; Preisendanz 1929b [Pr¹]; Nock 1930, 124; Merkelbach and Totti 1991, 83–96; Bajnok and Pataricza 2003, 345–354 [BaPa]; Gordon 2011, 22–23 [Go]; Gordon 2014, 268, n. 48.
 LOC.: Oslo, University Library, inv. 365; Ann Arbor, Michigan University Library, inv. 534. TM 63589

Two fragments (P.Oslo: H. 14 × W. 9.3 cm; P.Mich.: H. 28.8 × W. 21.1 cm) from a papyrus roll with remains of two consecutive columns written cryptographically, and on the back some additional, partly cryptographic, sequences. The fragments were acquired separately in Egypt in 1920, P.Oslo inv. 365 (P.Oslo III 75, PGMLXXII) by Samson Eitrem in late Fall of that year on behalf of the University of Oslo and P.Mich. inv. 534 (PGM LVII) by Francis W. Kelsey earlier in the year for the University of Michigan.

The papyrus is thin, almost transparent at places. Gaps between the strips that make up the horizontal layer of fibres had occurred already when the papyrus was written on. Vertical breaks at regular intervals suggest that the papyrus was compressed in rolled condition. Dispersed cracks, holes and abrasion affect legibility at places. P.Oslo inv. 365 is torn all around and lacks margins and text above, to the left, and below. The left break is straight and probably corresponds to a fold line. Another fold line may have left traces 4.5 cm from the left edge and approximately the same distance from the right edge. The fragment preserves parts of 21 lines from the right part of a column (col. i) and scanty beginnings of three lines from the next column (col. ii). These join with ll. 9–11 of the main column on P.Mich. inv. 534, as tentatively proposed by Eitrem (1935–1937, 115) and endorsed by Preisendanz. I indicate the joins in col. ii with a vertical stroke (|). The right margin of col. i is not justified. The intercolumnar space measures 2–2.7 cm. A *kollesis* (upper over lower) runs down the intercolumnar space at about 2.2 cm from the right edge. On the back, a little below the upper edge of the sheet, ends of five lines of text are discernible, written in cryptographic script. The text is much abraded but the endings, if correctly deciphered, suggest *voces magicae*. P.Mich. inv. 534 is also damaged on three sides. Its upper and lower parts, both margins and text, have been broken off. Four vertical breaks at regular intervals appear to be traces of fold lines. The leftmost edge of the fragment is aligned with the vertical break running down roughly the middle of P.Oslo inv. 365. The Michigan fragment preserves 38 lines from col. ii, as well as scanty ends of three lines from the lower part of the col. i, which is preserved mainly on the Oslo fragment. The Michigan fragment also preserves a small portion of the intercolumnar space and right margin (ca 2.5 to the right of ii 4 and 0.8 to the right of ii 34). Col. ii mostly lacks 2–3 letters from line beginnings and about one third of the beginnings of ll. 24–29. Ll. 9–11, however, regain full length as they join with the scanty line-beginnings preserved on the Oslo fragment. The intercolumnar space has been preserved on this fragment too, to the left of ll. 34–37, the beginnings of which are also extant. The *kollesis* visible in the *intercolumnium* of the Oslo fragment re-emerges here, at about 1.5 cm from the left edge. Further to the left, ends of three lines (1–2 letters per line) from the lower

¹ I sincerely thank the assistance and advice from the editors, Roy Kotansky, Korshi Dosoo, William A. Johnson, Francesca Maltomini, Jens Mangerud, Joanne Stolk and Michael Zellmann-Rohrer [Ze]. I also thank Brendan Haug, curator of the Michigan papyrus collection, for providing information about the fragment in Michigan.

² The provenance of the document affixed on the back can be narrowed down; see below.

part of col. i are visible. The right margin of col. ii is not justified either. The lines end 1–3 cm from the right edge defined as the edge of the upper layer of the fibers. This is worn out and appears “shredded” at places, especially in its upper half. A strip of papyrus (ca 0.5 cm wide), the fibers of which are at right angles to the fibers of the upper layer, sticks out from the back and extends a little beyond the right edge. It belongs to the document attached on the back, see below. If the right edge coincided with a *kollesis* and was not the original edge of the roll, the width of the *kollema* would be at 18.5 cm on average. This corresponds to “Fannian” papyrus grade, that is: to a lower quality papyrus compared to the supports commonly used for literary rolls from Roman period Oxyrhynchus, see Johnson 2004, 88–91.

The writing runs in the direction of the fibers. Black ink and a thin pen have been used. Col. i contained at least 18 extra lines below l. 21. Another 13 lines are missing between l. 21 and the first of the lines from the same column preserved on the Michigan fragment (l. 35), while at least 2 lines are missing from the end of this column. Col. ii had at least one more line above the first preserved line. This column has an average line length of 40 letters. The width of col. i cannot be determined with certainty. In Preisendanz’s version col. i is substantially narrower than col. ii with roughly 24 letters per line.³ Many of Preisendanz’s supplements are supported by parallels in other magical texts. This edition follows the column width in his version. However, in some cases, as in ll. 7 and 19–20, lines could well be longer. Different column width is not unusual in magical rolls; see for example GEMF 4/PGM CXXII and GEMF 30, cols. i–ii, but the possibility that col. i was wider should remain open.

A much damaged sequence of at least nine graphic signs (probably not cryptographic), has been penned on the back of the Michigan fragment. This sequence was written after the roll had been flipped over and turned 90° counterclockwise so that the writing follows the direction of the fibers and the descenders of the signs point towards the lower edge (corresponding to the right edge of the recto). A strip from the right part of a document is affixed on the back, right side up with respect to the magical text, and with its fibers at right angles to the fibers on this side. The document bears two census declarations from the reign of Hadrian and is datable either in 117 or in 131 CE, thus providing an anchoring point for dating the magical text. However, it is also possible that the document was attached on the back in modern times, in which case this chronological anchoring point is uncertain.⁴ If the census declaration had been re-used already in antiquity to reinforce the worn out edge of the roll or to strengthen a fragile *kollesis*, this would have happened after the information in the census declaration was first recorded, so some time after 117 or 131 CE. In turn, the magical text presumably would have been in use for some time before it needed mending. This consideration speaks for dating the magical text to Hadrian’s time or earlier.⁵ However, a later date cannot be excluded definitively, especially if the document was affixed on the back some time later than the latest possible dating of the document (131 CE) or in modern times. As observed by Nock, the text is “quite in the style of our later texts” (Nock 1929b, 219, n. 4). It should also be noted that GEMF 8 contains two words (l. 57 *κύμπεγμα* and l. 65 *θεόπληκτον*), the earliest literary attestations of which are from the third and the fourth century CE respectively. The place name of Thmoinepsei, in l. 10 (and probably also in l. 28) of the census, points to either the Herakleopolite nome (TMGeo 3397) or the Aphroditopolite nome (TMGeo 4509) as the area of provenance for the document.

If the roll was mended already in antiquity, a strip would have been tailor-cut to reinforce the edge of the roll. Alternatively, the entire document or a larger portion of it could have been used to reinforce the back and later broke off, when the roll broke very close to the *kollesis*. In the latter case the roll and the magical text would have extended beyond the extant right edge of the Michigan fragment. No writing is visible on

³ In the ed.pr. of the Oslo fragment, Eitrem 1935–1937, 114, assumed that about 25 signs are missing to the left of l. 18, but in P.Oslo III he endorsed Preisendanz’ restoration and thus narrower column width.

⁴ The information about the contents, date and provenance of the document is drawn from the edition by N. Litinas and T. Gagos which is forthcoming in P.Mich.Cent. I thank the editor of the volume, Mike Sampson, for sending me the relevant information in advance of publication.

⁵ Hunt 1929, 127. Dating in the reign of Hadrian: Preisendanz 1929a, 457 and 1929b, 1544. Pre-Hadrianic: Eitrem 1935–1937, 113 and Menci 2008, 262. For reservations about the early dating see Dzwiza 2013, I 32, n. 8.

the rightmost edge beyond the *kollesis*, so that the presence of further columns cannot be ascertained.⁶ The content at the end of col. ii indicates that the procedure is nearing its conclusion. This is not decisive either as further procedures may have followed since we are dealing with a handbook.

The text is encrypted in its entirety, except perhaps the short sequence on the back of the Michigan fragment. The code was cracked by Arthur S. Hunt in 1929. The code-script uses adaptations of the ordinary letter forms of the Greek alphabet (Hunt 1929, 128–129; see Table 1). Some result from complete or partial rotation of the ordinary letter form, some from mirroring or splitting, or slight distortion of the letter form.⁷ The scribe appears experienced in cryptographic writing but slips occur: in l. 58 (γμοσηρ) an ordinary η is written; corrections of the standard letter form to the corresponding symbol are found in l. 47 (κατακρύψω, first κ), l. 50 (μαννοχ, final letter), l. 56 (ἀ]γακάλυψον, final letter), l. 65 (θεόπληκτον, final letter) and l. 73 (νεβενθτριχ, first ν). The common symbol ς for δεινα is used (l. 41). Short gaps between words (e.g. l. 5 between Ἄρκτον and ἐνάκις, l. 46 between ἐάσω and καὶ etc.) and wider gaps before and after the *voces magicae* (ll. 48–51, 58–60, 72–74) indicate the units of meaning perceived by the scribe. Semicolons (ll. 60 and 67) and high dots (ll. 62 and 65) are used sparsely for punctuation.

Shared elements in both fragments confirm that they probably belong to the same procedure: the burning of savin juniper (ll. 3 and 54), the πικτάκιον (ll. 10 and 54), the Arktos or Great Bear (ll. 5 and 57), and the element of urgency (ll. 13 and 74), see Eitrem 1935–1937, 115–117. The practice falls within the broad category of a favor-procedure, since it aims at endowing an unattractive person with a comely appearance and the ability to exert erotic attraction (ll. 74–76, see Hunt 1929, 131). The ritual takes place at midnight on a roof-top (ll. 2, 6). It includes writing wishes on a piece of papyrus (ll. 6–12), a prayer to the Great Bear (ll. 16–20), the same or another prayer concluding with threats (ll. 41–48), a prayer to Isis (ll. 55–60), a shooting-star as a sign of encouragement (ll. 62–68), and the request (ll. 74–79).

ϛ	α	ς	ν
⊥	β	ς	ξ
⋈	γ	ο	ο
⌒	δ	ι	π
↓	ε	ϑ	ρ
✕ ?	κ ?	σ	σ
ς	η	τ	τ
⌒	θ	h	υ
—	ι	ζ	φ
⋈	ϊ	λ	χ
≈	κ	+	ψ
⋈	λ	ψ	ω
w	μ		

Table 1: Signs (according to Hunt 1929)

⁶ Bajnok and Pataricza 2003, 349–350 have argued that col. ii is the last column on the roll in view of the amplitude of the space between it and the edge of the sheet. However, the space roughly equals the intercolumnar space.

⁷ Bajnok and Pataricza 2003, 346–348 have traced the inspiration for many of the signs in the Greek system of musical notation, in particular the system used for instrumental music. Rotation (90° or 180°), vertical mirroring and vertical bisection are the modifying principles in this system, and the authors show that these methods underlie the treatment of thirteen of the characters in the cipher (β, γ, δ, ε, ι, κ, λ, μ, ξ, τ, υ, φ). See also the description of the system in Menci 2008, 262–263. There are some similarities with the cipher used for Egyptian in P.London-Leiden (Dieleman 2005, 303–304) but the corresponding letters are not the same. Earlier, Doresse 1950–1951, 224 pointed out the resemblance of the encoding principle on the Oslo-Michigan fragment with that of alchemical and astrological alphabets in medieval manuscripts, while Allen 1930 detected similarities with Byzantine period abbreviations.

recto col. i →

GEMF 8/PGM LXXII 1–39

1	[ca 12?] . [. .] γ γήϊνον [ca 12? α] ὑτῶ νυκτὸς ὄρα ς' [ca 12?] βρύον βράθυος [ἀγνεύσας πρὸ] ἡμερῶν τριῶν ἐπι-	1	
5	[ca 10? τ] ἦν Ἄρκτον ἐνάκις [ἀνάβας ἐπὶ δ] ὄμα ὑψηλὸν. γράψας [δὲ εἰς χάρτη] γ κυρνομέλανι [περὶ παντὸ]ς πράγματος ὃ θέ-	5	
10	[λειε ἐπὶ] γ γραψον ὄνομα Νεβ [ουτοκουαληθ] καὶ τὸ πιττάκιον ὁμοῦ [ca 7? καὶ] τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν [αὐτῷ ca 6?] καὶ που γ . ν [ca 10?] φς ἐντὸς [.] [.] . [ca 7? ἔχω] ν κυμπελεγμέ-	10	
15	[νας τὰς χεῖρ] ας κατὰ κεφαλῆς [φ]ωνη [ca 10?] λόγ[ο]ς [ca 10 ?] . βα[ς]ιλεὺ θνητῶ[ν ca 4] [ca 9? ἄ]ρχουσα οὐρανία βα[ς]ιλεύ- [ουσα τῶν ἀν]θρώπων ὑπαγε [ca 4] [ca 8? πρ]όθυμος κ[α]ὶ cὲ πε[ca 4] . [ca 20?] . [	15
	(13 lines missing)		
35	[] . αε	35
	[] υφι	
	[] . c	
	(2 lines missing)		

P.Oslo inv. 365v ↓

1	].ε.]γ. . [. .] . . . φι]εωτ[. .] . . . χ]λ. . [. .] . τα[
5	] . [ . ] τω . [.] . . ξ

col.i 1] . [.] γήϊνον E¹ E²: [ἀρκτική πράξις· θυματή]ρ[ιο]ν γήϊνον Pr² : θυματή]ρ[ιο]ν vel βω[μό]ν γήϊνον || 2] . . ω E¹ E²: [κευάσας ἐν α]ὑτῷ Pr² (prob. E²): ἐν α]ὑτῷ vel ἐπ' α]ὑτῷ || 3 [ἐπί]θυσ τῆ Ἄρκτω] Pr² : [ἐπί]θυσ τῆ θεῶ] MeTo |], ρουον E¹ : κ]άρουον E² : βρύον Pr² (prob. E²) MeTo || 4 πρὸ] ἡμερῶν E¹ : [ποίει δὲ πρὸ] ἡμερῶν Pr² : [προαγνεύσας δι'] ἡμερῶν MeTo || 4–5 ἐπ|[ca ? λέγων vel ἐπιθύων πρ]ὸς ἄρκτον E¹ : ἐπ|[καλεσάμεν]ος Ἄρκτον Pr² MeTo || 6 [ἀνάβας vel ἀνελθὼν εἰς δ] ὄμα E¹ : [ἀνάβας ἐπὶ δ] ὄμα Pr² : [ἀνάβα ἐπὶ δ] ὄμα MeTo || 7–8 γράψας | [δὲ εἰς χάρτη] γ E² : γράψας | [δὲ εἰς χάρτην] Pr ap. E² : γράψας | [δὲ ἐν χάρτη] Pr² MeTo || 8 l. δ || 9 γρ]άψον E¹ E² : πρὸς γρ]αψον Pr² MeTo || 9 Νεβ, β fort. corr. ex π E² || 9–10 νεπ] ca. ?] E¹: Νεβ|[ουτοκουαληθ] Pr² (prob. E²) MeTo || 11–12 [δειξον καὶ τ]ὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν[αὐτῷ τῆ θεῶ/θεῶ] Pr² MeTo || 12]αι που γ . . . γχγ E¹ E² Pr² : κ]αὶ [.....] MeTo || 13 fort. [ἀνυπερθέτ]ως | [χρηματίσει σοι] MeTo | ἐντὸς [ὄρας μιᾶς] E¹ Pr² MeTo || 14 [λέγε δὲ ἔχω] ν E² Pr² || 14–15 κυμπελεγμέ][νας τὰς χεῖρα]ς E¹ E² Pr² MeTo || 15–16 [. ?]ων[ca ?]λη dub. E¹ : [φ]ων[ῆ] | [ἐπευχόμενος μεγάλη] Pr² (prob. E²) MeTo : [φ]ωνῆ | [μεγάλη] vel φώνη|[cov] || 16–17 [.] c (vac.)[ca ?] E¹ : [εἰ]c | [Ἄρκτον] Pr² (εἰ]c prob. E²) : [εἰ]c | [τὴν θεὸν] MeTo || 17 l. βασιλεύουσα : [ca ?]ω βα[ς]ιλεὺ E¹ : [χαῖρε, ὃ βασιλεύ(ουσα)] Pr² MeTo || 17–18 θνητῶ[ν τε καὶ] |[θεῶν Pr² MeTo || 18 ἄ]ρχουσα, Οὐρανία E¹ E² : [χαῖρε, ἄ]ρχουσα οὐρανία Pr² MeTo || 18–19 βα[ς]ιλεύ|[ουσα ἀν]θρώπων E¹ E² | βα[ς]ιλεύ|[ουσα τῶν ἀν]θρώπων Pr² MeTo || 19–20 [πρὸς] | [ἐμὲ τὸν (δεῖνα)] Pr² MeTo || 20 ε]ὑθυμος E¹ E² : πρὸ]θυμος Pr² || 20–21 κ[α]ὶ cὲ π. [E¹ : κ[α]ὶ cὲ πα[ρα]καλῶ] Pr² (prob. E²) MeTo || 35] . ρε Hu || 36]εφι Hu : σουσιν]εφι Pr² || 37]ος Hu

GEMF 8.1-39

... an earthen [censer],⁸ [...in or upon] it in the sixth hour of the night,⁹ [make a burnt offering of(?)] a catkin of the savin juniper.¹⁰ [After keeping pure for] three days in advance,¹¹ [...invoke?] the Great Bear¹² nine times (5) [having climbed onto] a high rooftop.¹³ Write [on papyrus]¹⁴ with myrrh-ink [everything] that you wish, inscribe¹⁵ the name NEB[OUTOSOUALĒTH]¹⁶ and [...] the (papyrus) strip together (10) ... what is written on it ... and ... [without delay?] within [the hour].¹⁷ [...with your] hands intertwined down upon your head,¹⁸ [in a loud(?)] voice [...].¹⁹ Formula:²⁰ (15) “[Hail(?),] queen (?) of mortals [...hail(?),] heavenly ruler,²¹ [queen of] the humans. Go to [...] willing²² and ... you (20) ...

⁸ Or “altar.” Both ritual implements are qualified as ‘made of earth’ in other magical papyri (see e.g. GEMF 30.73/PGM II 26 and 58/V 201) and both nouns would fit the traces and the available space. The prepositional expression at l. 2 could be either ἐν αὐτῷ (censer) or ἐπ’αὐτῷ (altar/ritual table).

⁹ That is, at midnight.

¹⁰ Savin juniper (βράθυ) features here probably as part of a burnt offering, as in l. 54. The participle or the imperative of ἐπιθύω would be appropriate supplements at line beginning. The leaves of the *juniperus Sabina* are odoriferous when burnt; see Dsc. 1.76, Plin. *HN* 24.61, *Cyranides* 1.2, Orib. *Eup.* 11b 17, Apul. *Herb.* 85, Hsch. β 1039 s.v. etc. As observed by Eitrem 1935–1937, 116–117, the use of the same plant in l. 54 below indicates that the two fragments describe stages of the same procedure.

¹¹ For the restoration in l. 4 cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 784–5 and 1099–1100; 60/XIII 114–115 and 671.

¹² A trace of ink (rightmost tip of a horizontal stroke?) just discernible at the end of l. 4 right after the break suggests that the scribe divided at ll. 4–5 in compliance with common rules of word-division in Greek, which would not be the case if Preisendanz’s restoration ἐπ[ικαλεσάμεν]ος were adopted. However, the occurrence of ἐνάκις in l. 5 indicates that the essence of his proposal, a verbal form expressing a ritual speech act in the *lacuna*, is sound. An imperative, such as ἐπ[ικαλοῦ τ]ῆν Ἄρκτον (cf. GEMF 55/PGM III 495), ἐπ[ί]λεγε πρὸς τ]ῆν Ἄρκτον (cf. 57/IV 3190) *vel sim.* could be restored. In this context ἄρκτος means the constellation ‘Great Bear’, the appearance of which here and in l. 57 led Preisendanz to label the procedure ἄρκτικὴ πράξις comparing with GEMF 74.842–858/PGM VII 686–701 and 57/IV 1275–1322 and 1331–89. The invocation ἄρχουσα οὐρανία (l. 18) is appropriate to the constellation. On the role of Great Bear in magical papyri see Gundel 1968, 59–64.

¹³ For prepositional phrases with accusative in passages describing rooftop rituals see GEMF 18.167/PGM LXI 5 ἀνάβα ἐπὶ δῶμα (on ἐπὶ + acc. for vertical motion, see Luraghi 2003, 312–13) and 31/I 70.

¹⁴ The prepositional complement of γράφω in magical texts is expressed with εἰς + acc. Line length could be longer, if the noun χάρτης was accompanied by an adjectival modifier, e.g. καθαρὸν, as is often the case in the magical papyri (see e.g. GEMF 68/PGM XXXVI 72). The piece of writing referred to here is probably identical with the πιττάκιον burnt with the savin juniper in l. 54.

¹⁵ ἐπιγράφω is the most common verb in comparable contexts; see GEMF 31/PGM I 8–9; 74.271–272/VII 198–199.

¹⁶ Preisendanz restored the powerful name NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH at ll. 9–10, often associated with Hekate-Selene, Aktiophis and Ereschigal (e.g. in GEMF 55/PGM III 46; 16.103/XIV 3 and SM II 54.13–14), see also RE XVI 2, 2158–2160 s.v. “Nebutosualeth” (Preisendanz) and SMA 197–198. The vertical stroke at the end of l. 9 does not connect with the immediately preceding sign which is compatible with π. Eitrem suggested that the scribe may have attempted to emend the form with the voiceless stop to a form with voiced stop (Nεπ- to Nεβ-) but failed to join the strokes. This is probable as the upper layer of the fibers is abraded, and this could hinder the pen.

¹⁷ The sense appears to be that the divinity will respond urgently, probably “within the hour,” see also l. 74, but the paleography is difficult. Perhaps the adverb [ἀν]περθέτ]ως could be restored at line beginning, compare GEMF 57/PGM IV 1467–1469 and 2064–2065.

¹⁸ The perfect participle συμπελεγμέ]νας prefigures τὸ κύμπλεγμα τῆς Ἄρκτου (l. 56) in the prayer to Isis.

¹⁹ A dative, as restored in earlier editions, is likely, see GEMF 60/PGM XIII 433 ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε πάσι φωνῆ. One might also restore the second person of the imperative of the verb φωνέω, ‘utter’, which occurs also in l. 44.

²⁰ Editors restore the preposition εἰς at the end of l. 16, as governing an accusative for the addressee of the prayer, the Great Bear (Preisendanz) or Isis-Selene (Merkelbach and Totti 1991, 83). Eitrem 1935–1937, 114 notes that the letters at the end of the line are larger. There is a blank space to delimit the rubric.

²¹ “Great Bear” is invoked in comparable terms in GEMF 57/PGM IV 1301–1302 and 74.843/VII 687.

²² Intransitive or construed with a prepositional expression (εἰς + place name; πρὸς/παρά + person) ὑπάγω has the sense ‘leave for’, ‘go away/off to’. In the magical papyri, more specifically, the imperative ὑπάγε verbalizes the command to the practitioner’s factotum to move in one or other direction; see GEMF 57/PGM IV 348–350 etc.

recto col. ii →

GEMF 8.40–57 [PGM LVII 1–18]

1	[ca 8]αδω[.]α[.] ογοτ[.] [ca 9] [.] . . . ταγ ταῦτα [cυντέλε]con τῷ Δ ὅσα σοι εἰς [τοῦτο ἔγ]ρασα καὶ ἀφήσω [τὴν ἀνα]τολήν καὶ τὴν δύσιν [ἢ πρότ]ερ[ο]ν κατεστάθη καὶ [ἑάσ]ω τὰ κρέα τοῦ Τυφῶνος ἐ[.] . . .]ον καὶ οὐ διαρρήξω	40
5	[τὰ] δεσμὰ οἷς ἔδησας Ὁσει[ρ]ιν κ[αὶ] οὐ φωνήσω τοὺς [βι]αι[ο]θανάτους ἀλλ' ἀφήσω καὶ [ο]ὐκ [ἐ]κχεῶ τὴν κεδρίαν [ἀλλ'] ἑάσω καὶ σώσω τὸν Ἄμμωνα καὶ οὐ φονεύσω καὶ [οὐ κα]τασκορπιῶ τὰ μέλη τοῦ Ὁσίρεως καὶ σὲ κατακρύψω ἀπ[ὸ] τῶ]ν Γίγαντων εἰ εἰ εἰ εἰ [εἰ] [εἰ] εἰ εἰ χοιθ	45
10	σαφ[ο]υθ χενθονευ αφουθ ανουαωθ εἰ εἰ εἰ περοε Ἰακ[ω]β μαννοχ αραννουθ χαλωαφ κουλιζ νοη ν . [.] κ βορναθ λουβεινε α[ρ]ουηρ ουειρε ιτινλοτολ [ἀπά]γγελλε τὰ κρυπτά τῆς μυρια[ν]ύμου θεᾶς Ἰσιδος. [ὁ δ' ἐ]πάναγκος ἵνα σοι δείξῃ εἰ τελεῖται τὸ πρᾶγμα·	[10] 50
15	[ἐπι]συνθύων βράθυ σὺν τῷ πιττακίῳ λέγε [Ἰ]σι ἀγνή κούρα σημεῖόν μοι τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων [δός. ἀ]νακάλυπον τ[ὸ]ν ἱερὸν πέπλον. τίναξόν σου τὴν μέλαι- [ναν πτ]υχὴν καὶ κείνησον τὸ σύμπλεγμα τῆς Ἄρκτου, ἄγιε	55

col. ii 1 [ca 8] αδω[.]α[.] ογοτ Hu : [ca 8] Ἀδω[ναί], ογοτ vel cγοτ Pr² | ταγ Hu : τὰ γ(ράμματα) Pr¹ Pr² MeTo || 2 (δεῖνι) | εἰς, ε corr. ex ι || 3 [ἀνα]τολήν Hu : [τὴν ἀνα]τολήν Pr¹ Pr² MeTo | ἢ Hu : ἢ No¹ Pr² MeTo || 4 [.]ω Hu, MeTo : [σώσ]ω Pr¹ Pr² : [ἑάσ]ω No¹ Ei¹ | Τυφῶνος Hu MeTo : Ὁσίρεως Pr¹ Pr² | ε[.] . . .]ον Hu MeTo : ἐ[μπεδ]όν Pr¹ Pr² : ἔ[νωρο]ν Ei¹ || 5 l. Ὁσειριν, Ὁσει[ρ]ιν Hu MeTo : Τυφῶνα Pr¹ Pr² || 7 φονεύσω Hu : φονεύσω Pr¹ Pr² || 8 [κα]τασκορπιῶ Hu : [οὐ κα]τασκορπιῶ Pr¹ Pr² MeTo | l. Ὁσίρεως | κατακρύψω, signum initiale corr. fort. ex κ || 9 [.] . . . Hu : [ὄχλον vel τίςιν vel ὀργήν] Pr¹ : [με(τὰ) τῶν] No¹ : [μέσον] Ei¹ : [ἐκ τῶν] Pr² MeTo : [ἀπὸ τῶν] Ei ap. Pr² | γίγαντων Pap. | χοιθ Hu Pr² : χοιψ BaPa || 10 [.]υθ Hu : Καφ]υθ vel Καφο]υθ Ei¹ : Ἀφο]υθ Pr² | χεννονευ Hu Pr : χενθονευ Ze || 11 [.]ωβ Hu : Ἰακ[ω]β (?) Ei¹ comparans ii 21 : [Ἰακ]ώβ Pr² | μαννοχ Hu Pr² : μαννοχ, signum finale corr. ex χ Ze || 12 αουηρουειρε Hu : Ἀρουήρ, Ὁσιρε? Pr² || 14 [.] ἐ]πάναγκος Hu : [ὁ δ' ἐ]πάναγκος Pr² || 15 [σου· ἐ]πιθύων Hu : [ἐπι]συνθύων Pr¹ Pr² | βράθη Hu : βράθυ Pr² || 16 [.] Hu MeTo : [Ἰ]σι Pr¹ Pr² || 17 ἀ]νακάλυπον, signum finale corr. ex ν || 18 ψ]υχὴν Hu : πτ]υχὴν Ei¹ MeTo : Τύ]χην Pr² | l. κίνησον

GEMF 8.40–57

...²³. (40) Accomplish for him NN, however many things I wrote for you on [this (papyrus strip)],²⁴ and I will leave east and west [where formerly] they stood, and I [will spare] the flesh (or the corpse) of Typhon²⁵ ... and I will not break apart [the] bonds by which you bound Osiris²⁶ and I will not call to (45) the violent dead, but I will leave them undisturbed. And I will not pour out the cedar-oil but will spare it, and I will save Amun and will not murder [him] and I will [not] scatter Osiris' limbs, and I will hide you from [the] Giants²⁷ EI EI EI EI [EI] EI EI EI CHOITH SAPHOUTH CHENTHONEU APHOUTH²⁸ ANOUAÖTH²⁹ EI EI EI PEOOE (50) IAKÖB MANNOCH ARANNOUTH CHALÖAPH KOULIX NOË N...K BORNATH LOUBEINE HAROUËR³⁰ OUEIRE³¹ ITINLOTOL. Recite the secrets of Isis,³² the goddess with the myriad names.³³ The compulsion-formula in order to show you whether the procedure will be successful: as you burn savin juniper together with the papyrus strip, say (55) “[Isis,] pure maiden, [give] me a sign of the outcomes. Uncover your holy veil,³⁴ shake (out) the black fold of your garment and set in motion the constellation of the (Great) Bear,³⁵ holy

²³ The first line of the column is too poorly preserved to be translated. Hunt 1929, 133 assumes divine names and *voces magicae* and read the letter γ before ταῦτα. Line end can be reconstructed as τὰ γ ταῦτα “these three” or as plural ending of a noun -τα γ (“three -ta”). Preisendanz’ τὰ γ(ράμματα) seems unlikely. Merkelbach and Totti hypothesized that the lost text at the end of col. i reflected ll. 41–58 in inverted terms and contained the same threats in the affirmative: cf. their connecting passage to l. 40: [διὸ μὴ ἀνάστασις γένηται τῶν ἀκτέρων καὶ τῆς ἀγαθημερίας βλέψον εἰς] τὰ γ(ράμματα) ταῦτα (“therefore, so that there will be no disturbance of the stars and of the day of good fortune, look at this piece of writing”).

²⁴ In ll. 41–58 a string of threats follows. On threats against the gods, see Iamb. *Myst.* 6.5–7, Merkelbach and Totti 1991, 83–88 (to which add GEMF 32/PGM LXII 9–15), Sauneron 1951, and Altenmüller 1977. Harrauer 1987, 52 compared the string of threats to the “negative confessions” in ch. 125 of the *Book of the Dead*.

²⁵ There are parallels to the threats to Seth, see Borghouts 1978, 76–77 (no. 105) and Eitrem 1935–1937, 115. The meaning of τὰ κρέα is unclear, meaning both ‘flesh’ (of a living creature) and ‘corpse’. It may be translating Eg. *iwf* /Δϡ, for the body of Osiris and human bodies in a funerary context.

²⁶ Preisendanz 1929b, 1546–1547 emended in ll. 43–44 (Ὀσίρεως instead of Τυφῶνος in l. 43 and Τυφῶνα instead of Ὀσίρν in l. 44) with the idea that the text as it stands contradicts the events of the myth, in which it is Osiris' corpse that is harmed and Seth that is bound in chains. He may well be right, although οἷς ἔδησας seems to imply a version in which Typhon is captured by Isis, while in the known versions he is handed over to Isis in fetters by Horus (Plu. *Mor.* 358D). However, in GEMF 57/PGM IV 187–189 Osiris is described as surrendered in fetters to Typhon. In the following sentence Osiris is referred to perhaps as Amun, see D.S. 1.25.2

²⁷ These are not the Giants familiar from Greek mythology but a translation of the Eg. *pp* /ΔΦΟΦΙ, the many-bodied manifestation of the foe of Ra, Apopis. Diodorus (1.26.6–7) credits the Egyptians with a conception of the Giants as creatures of many bodies who were defeated by Osiris and his fellow-gods; see Burton 1972, 252 and Griffiths 1960, 101–103. See Quack's commentary to P.Carlsberg XI 5–7, in particular pp. 82–83 and 116–119.

²⁸ A decan, see Brashear 1995, 3581.

²⁹ For ανου and αωθ (Hebr. ‘letter’) see Brashear 1995, 3579 and 3581. The scribe views the two as a unit.

³⁰ Egyptian *Hr* ʿ, ‘Horus, the great’, referred to as Ἄρουρητις or πρεσβύτερος Ὠρος in the Greek tradition and identified with Apollo (Plu. *Mor.* 355E–356A). It appears in GEMF 74.841/PGM VII 685 (before an ἀρκτική prayer), 57/IV 1576 and 1801, PGM XIXa 44, SM I 42, 49, SM II 57, 34; see Brashear 1995, 3580.

³¹ Perhaps a variant of ομη(ε) ‘great’, see Brashear 1995, 3595.

³² For, the revelation of the secrets of Isis, see e.g. Iamb. *Myst.* 6.5; Eus. *PE* 5.10.

³³ This epithet for Isis is widely attested, most notably in Plu. *Mor.* 372E, the Amenophis novel P.Oxy. XLII 3011, 17–18 (3rd cent. CE), P.Ross.Georg. III 4, 4 (early 3rd cent. CE), and inscriptions (e.g. OGIS 695.2). See also the Isis aretology P.Oxy. XI 1380, 1–119 (2nd cent. CE).

³⁴ Plu. *Mor.* 354C mentions the inscription on the pedestal of Athena at Sais (identified with Isis), in which the goddess boasted “no mortal has ever lifted my veil.” Cf. Stob. 4.2.27.

³⁵ In its earliest literary attestation (Hippol. *Haer.* 5.14.2) κύμπλεγμα refers to the constituent elements of Tartarus (τὸ κύμπλεγμα τοῦ πυκνοῦ καὶ ὀμιχλώδους, ἀδήλου <καὶ> σκοτεινοῦ Ταρτάρου). In the present context I render the noun as ‘constellation’ as it refers to the stars that constitute the Great Bear. Its presence in both fragments (cf. l. 5) is one more element that confirms their unity; see Eitrem 1935–1937, 116.

col. ii (cont.) →

GEMF 8.58–77 [PGM LVII 19–38]

20	[ιωθ]η πνονν γμοηρ μενδουμβα ὁ μεγαλώνυμος ἰα- [κω] φθοηρι θερμοηρ φθαω ὁ μεγαλώνυμος ιωθη [φνου]θουηρ βωβελιξ ὁ μεγαλώνυμος ἰακω. εἴ- [παν]τός δέ σου ταῦτα καὶ ἅμα λύσαντος τὰς χεῖρας ἕξαρ- [ον τὴν ἀκ]μ[ὴν] τῆς χειρὸς ἐκ τοῦ στ[ή]θους. ὄψη γὰρ [ἀτέρα σοι ἀγόμε]γον ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἰς ὄν βλέπει	[20] 60
25	[ἀτενώς ἀκτίνας] ἐξη[η]κοντικόντα κα[ὶ] εἰςπεπηδη- [κόντα εἰς ἐ αὐτόν] ὡς θεόπληκτον γενέσθαι. ἔχε [δὲ ca 8 πρ]οκείμενον τὸν χαρακτήρα πρὸς [ca 8]αρρ . . [. . .] ἐ]στιν Κρόνου ὅστις σε θρασύνει. [με]τὰ δὲ τὸ λαβεῖν σε τοῦτο τὸ [σ]ημεῖον [.] χαίρων	65
30	[τῆ τύ]χη ἔπειπον ἅπαξ χαῖθραῖ. εἶπαντος γὰρ σου [ὄσα] ἐπέυχη σοὶ συνεργήσει. καὶ εὐθέως ταῦτα ῥήμα- [τα μὴ ἀ]νάστασις γέν[η]ται τῶν ἀτέρων καὶ τῆς ἀγαθημερίας σα . [ο]υσιρ φνουχ μελλανχιω κερδω μελιβευ κασπ[.]νεβενθηριχ γαρν[.]ω θραω σαυτραῖστραε	[30] 70
35	βακυμ ἥδη β συντέλεσον ἐντ[ὸς] ὄρας τῆσδε. ποίει μεγαλόδοξε Πρόνοια τὸν ἐχθ[ε]ρ[ε] ἀν[ε]παφρόδειτον εὐσχ[ή]- [μονα πᾶσιν]. ποίει δ[ὲ] ca 10]οτ[. .]ρωφ . . [.] . φ . [. .] [ca 25] . [ca 16]	75

P.Mich. inv. 534v, →

κ[.]α . . φ . . ι . [.]α

19 [...]η Hu : [Ἰωθ]η Pr¹ Pr² | μενδουμβα: μ² corr. ex β || 19–20 Ἰα[κώ] Hu : Ἰα[κώ] Pr² MeTo || 21 [...]θουηρβωβελιξ Hu : [Φνου]θουηρ βωβ ἐλιξ Pr² | ἰακω: Pap. || 21–22 εἴ[παν]τός Hu Pr² MeTo || 22–23 ἕξαρ[.....]μ[.] Hu : ἕξαρ[εἰ θεὰ τὴν ἀκ]μ[ὴν] Pr¹ Pr² : ἕξαρ[σιν ποιεῖ] εὐωνύ]μ[ου] Pr¹ : ἕξαρ[ον τὴν ἀκ]μ[ὴν] MeTo | στ[.]θους: Pap. || 24 [ca 14]ον Hu : [ἀτέρα σοι ἀγόμε]γον Pr¹ : [ἀτέρα ἀναλύομε]νον To | Ἀνάγκης MeTo || 25 [ἀτενώς, χαρακτήρα] Pr¹ Pr² : [ἀτενώς, ἀκτίνας] MeTo || 25–26 ἐξη[η]κοντικόντα εἰςπεπηδη[κ- ca 13] Hu : ἐξη[η]κοντικόντα εἰςπεπηδη[κόντα εἰς ἐ αὐτόν] Pr¹ Pr² : ἐξη[η]κοντικόντα, εἰςπεπηδη[κυίας εἰς σεαυτόν] To : ἐξη[η]κοντικόντα καὶ εἰςπεπηδη[κόντα BaPa | θεόπληκτον, signum finale corr. ex v | γενεσθαι: Pap. || 27 [δὲ ca 13]οκείμενον Hu : [δὲ εἰς φυλακὴν πρ]οκείμενον Pr¹ Pr² MeTo || 27–28 πρὸς [.....] . αρρ[.] ἐ]στιν Hu : πρὸς | [θεᾶς γὰρ ὁ χ]αρα[κτῆρ ἐ]στιν Pr¹ Pr² MeTo (θεοῦ pro θεᾶς MeTo) : πρὸς | [δὲ τοῦτο ὁ χ]αρα[κτῆρ ἐ]στιν Go || 28 θρασύνει Hu Pr¹ Pr² : θρασυνεῖ MeTo || 29 λαβεῖν, β corr. ex ω | [σ]ημεῖον χαίρων Pr² MeTo || 31 [εἰς ὄ]σα εὐχη Hu Pr² MeTo || 31–32 l. ταῦτα (τὰ) ῥήμα[τα : ταῦτα ῥήμα[τα Hu Pr² : ταῦτα ῥήμα[τα λέγε MeTo || 33 θα . [.] . [.] κυρ Hu : Θα[. . Οὐ]σίρ Pr² MeTo || 34 . κασπ[.] Hu Pr² | νεβε-, v corr. ex ? | σαυτραῖστραῖς Hu : σαυ τραῖς τραῖς Pr² || 35 ἥδη ἥδη | ἐντ[ὸς] Hu Pr² || 36 l. ἀνεπαφρόδειτον || 36–37 εὐσχ[ή][μονα ca 6] Hu : εὐσχ[ή][μονα πᾶσιν] Pr² MeTo || 37 πρ[ο]τ[ε]ρωφ Hu Pr²

GEMF 8.58–77

[IŌTH]Ē PNOUN GMOĒR³⁶ MENDOUMBA the great-named I[AK]Ō PHTHOĒRI THERMOĒR PHTHAŌ³⁷ the great-named IOTHĒ (60) [PHNOU]THOUĒR³⁸ BŌBELIX,³⁹ the great-named IAKŌ. When you have said these (names) and have at the same time unfolded your hands,⁴⁰ lift the [edge] of your hand from your chest. Because you will see [a star driven to you(?)] by compulsion into which you will gaze at [intensely(?)], after it has launched [rays(?)] like darts and leapt (65) [towards you yourself(?)],⁴¹ so that you become god-struck.⁴² Hold ... the symbol⁴³ ready at hand (or before you) for ... is (the symbol of) Kronos,⁴⁴ which gives (or to give) you courage.⁴⁵ After you have received this sign, rejoicing at [your] luck go on to say once: CHAITHRAL. For once you have uttered it, (70) he will assist you in [whatever] you are praying for. And straightaway (utter) these words, [lest] there be an upheaval of the stars and of your day of good fortune.⁴⁶ “SA.[O]USIR PHNOUCH MELANCHIŌ KERDŌ MELIBEU⁴⁷ KASP[] NEBENTHĒTRICH⁴⁸ GARN[.]Ō THRAŌ SAUTRAISTRAE BASUM,⁴⁹ now—(say it) twice—accomplish (this) within this hour. Make, (75) O most glorious Providence,⁵⁰ the one, who yesterday was undesired,⁵¹ elegant [in the eyes of all(?)], and make ... [the formerly] ...”

A. Maravela

³⁶ πνονν γμοηρ: Egyptian *p: nwn gm wr*, “Noun, great power” (Ritner, GMPT, 285 n. 7).

³⁷ φθοηρι ... φθαω: Egyptian *Pth wr Pth ʕ*, “Ptah the great” (Ritner, GMPT, 285 n. 8).

³⁸ “The great god,” see Brashear 1995, 3601 (s.v. φνουθ) and 3595 (s.v. ουηρ/ουηρε).

³⁹ The constellation Great Bear was called ἑλίκη (Arat. 37; A.R. 3.1195) due to its revolving around the pole.

⁴⁰ This gesture terminates the folding of the hands down upon the head in l. 14–15.

⁴¹ For shooting stars in procedures see among others GEMF 31/PGM I 74–75 and 154–155. For a discussion of these and other occurrences of stars in the magical papyri see Kotansky 2007, 404–409.

⁴² The adjective θεόπληκτος is rare and refers to a fatal attack by the divine (in its earliest attestation, Cyr.H. *Catech.* 6.23 and a few later Christian authors) or divine manipulation (Hsch.H. *Hom.* 11.2).

⁴³ This is the earliest known reference to a *charaktēr* in the magical papyri. While Hunt 1929, 134 saw in the word a reference to a missing magical drawing, Gordon 2011, 22–23 and 2014, 268, n. 48, rightly considers the *charaktēr* as a symbol or sign which protects the practitioner in his contact with the divine. Given the position of the participle and the fact that the noun-object has a definite article (τὸν χαρακτήρα), the participle is likely to be predicated on the noun-object, so that the interpretation “at hand” (or “before you”) seems preferable to rendering “aforementioned.” As for the nature of the *charaktēr*—which probably governs the genitive Κρόνου—Gordon’s idea that it signifies either “the astrological sign for the planet Saturn” or “an esoteric sign, comparable to those listed for the signs of the zodiac in PGM VII 810–21” is attractive.

⁴⁴ Kronos-Geb, the father of Osiris, Seth, Isis and Nephthys.

⁴⁵ Preisendanz’s interpretation of ll. 26–28 (“denn von der Göttin stammt der Charaktēr des Kronos, der dich mit Mut erfüllt”) is not compelling, as pointed out by Gordon 2011, 22, n. 3, who objected that the *charaktēres* do not proceed from the divine. The prepositional phrase πρὸς θεοῦ is not used to express the idea of “(sent) from god” in the magical papyri. Gordon restores πρὸς | [δὲ τοῦτο ὁ χ]αρα[κτῆρ ἐ]κτιν Κρόνου, ὅστις σε θραύνει “for this purpose (sc. protection), the (proper) *charaktēr* is Saturn’s, to give you courage.” Another possibility is to assume that the prepositional expression verbalized the notion of protection explicitly, i.e. to restore πρὸς | [φύλαξι. But the putative expression “the symbol of Kronos” does not provide the indefinite antecedent required by ὅστις, which could either be ἀστέρα (‘a star’, supplied at l. 63) or ‘a god’.

⁴⁶ ἀγαθημερία is a *hapax* in Greek and may reflect the Egyptian tradition of lucky and unlucky days (hemerology); see von Lieven 2016 and Theis 2016.

⁴⁷ The first part of this unique name is familiar from the divine names Μελιγενέτωρ, Μελικέρτωρ (the second compound of which is perhaps echoed in κερδω?), Μελιοῦχος and may also feature independently in the *vox magica* μελι (SM I 15, 1). On the etymology of μελι- see Thissen 1988, 304–305 and Brashear 1995, 3598, s.v. μελιοῦχος.

⁴⁸ The first part may correspond to Egyptian *nb/nwb* ‘master’, see Brashear 1995, 3593.

⁴⁹ Either Eg. *b: šm*, ‘panther of Upper Egypt’ or Hebr. *bašem*, ‘in the name of’, usually modifying divine names but figuring also independently, see Brashear 1995, 3582.

⁵⁰ One of the cultic names and aspects of Isis, see P.Oxy. XI 1380, 43–44 and Apul. *Met.* 11.15. The personification Πρόνοια features on Alexandrian coins issued in the last year of Hadrian (Milne 1971, xxxii).

⁵¹ The earliest occurrence of the adjective is in X. *Smp.* 8.15, a passage which the present request echoes.

GEMF 9
(SM II 74)

Provenance unknown

II CE

ED.PR.: Maltomini 1986a, 293–298

REPUBL.: SM II 74

TRANSL.: ed.pr. (Italian); SM II 74 (English)

COMM.: ed.pr.; SM II 74

LOC.: Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, P.Gen. inv. 186

TM 65844

A fragment (H. 12.8 × W. 8 cm) from a papyrus roll featuring a column preserved to its full height on the recto along the fibres, but damaged at the right and at the mid- and lower left. The upper margin is preserved to 0.7 cm and the lower margin to 0.5 cm; to the left, there is a blank space of 2.2 cm. The right-hand side of the column is lost, but judging by some certain, or at least very probable, supplements (ll. 1–4, 6), the original column-width was about 7 cm (with 21/23 letters per line). The verso is blank.

The text is written with a thick pen in an informal, medium-sized, round, upright, roughly bilinear hand (ι, ξ, ρ project below and φ, ψ and sometimes ι both above and below), which can be dated to the second century. The letters are usually made separately, but ε ligatures with ι at l. 21. The first line of the first procedure projects slightly into the left-hand margin. The initial letter of each line (with the exception of ll. 11–16 containing a unique magical formula) is written larger than the following ones. Useful comparanda are GLH 11a, 11b, 14b; GMAW 48.

No lectional signs are present except a *diaeresis* on initial υ (l. 1). □ stands for ὄνομα, Δ for δεῖνα. καί is always abbreviated κ.

The column consists of two iatromagical procedures which are separated by an L-shaped sign with a very long horizontal stroke, which corresponds to what Cavallo 1983, 23–24 called “*paragraphos rinforzata*” (cf. P.Oxy. LXXXII 5303.20 n. for discussion and parallels; cf. also GEMF 6/P.Oxy. LXV 4468, 55 and 68/PGM XXXVI verso). Under this *paragraphos* there is a *coronis*. The first recipe (1–7) is against insomnia,¹ and the second, which has a fragmented title (8 πρὸς ἰσχιά]δα?), is against every suffering and illness of tendons(?), sinews and bones.

The text follows SM II 74.

¹ For sleep-inducing incantations, cf. GEMF 6/P.Oxy. LXV 4468 intro.

recto →

GEMF 9/SM II 74

1 τοῦτο τὸ □ ὕπνον πο[ιεῖ. ἐὰν]
 γάρ τις ἀσθενῶν ἀγρ[υπνῆ, λα-]
 βῶν φύλλ[ο]ν δάφνη[ς ἐπίγρα-]
 ψον τὸ □ τ[ο]ῦτο κς ὑπ[ό]θεσ ὑπὸ
 5 τὴν κεφαλὴν ἢ εἰς τὸ
 λέγε δὲ κς τοῦ ἀσθενοῦ[ντος τὸ]
 □ κς ὑπνώσει ἐκπλήκτω[ς].

Name

[ca 9]δα []
 [. . . κασσ]ιτέρινον λευκ[]
 10 [ca 7] . ἐπίγραφε:
 [ια]εωβαφρε-
 [νε]μουνοθι-
 [λα]ρικριφιαευε-
 αιφρικραλιθο-
 15 νουμνερφα-
 βωαι,
 ἀπάλλαξον τὸν Δ τῆς Δ [παντὸς]
 δεῖγῳ πόνου κς πάσης υ[λό]ου
 νῳ . γέρων κς ὀστέω[ν]
 20 [. . .] . στος[.]ρυπεριτ[]
 [ca 10] . ενειλη[]

This name² causes sleep. [If] a patient suffers from insomnia, take a leaf of laurel, write on it this name and put it under (5) his head or into the [mattress(?)].³ Utter also the name of the patient and he will sleep amazingly.⁴

[Against sciatica(?)]. On white tin(?)⁵ ...

(10) write:⁶

“[IA]EÖBAPHRE-
 [NE]MOUNOTHI-
 [LA]RIKRIPIHIAEUE-
 AIPHIRKIRALITHO-
 (15) NUOMENERPHA-
 BÖEAI,⁷

deliver him, NN, son of her, NN, from [every] grievous pain and every [illness] of the [tendons(?)], sinews and bones (20) ... roll up(?) ...”

Iipse contuli

1 in ecthesi || 1, 4, 7 (ὄνομα) || 4, 6, 7, 18, 19 κ(αι) || 5 fort. τὸ [τρῶμα] || 8 [πρὸς ἰχιά]δα? || 17 δ(ε)ῖ(να) bis || 18–19 τό|νῳ? ἰ|νῳ? || 20 ὑπέρ? περι? || 21 ἐνειλή[σας?, ἐνειλη[σων?,], εν εἰλη[σ-? Omnia suppl. ed.pr.

F. Maltomini

² If the *ekthesis* marks the beginning of the recipe, one might wonder where “this name” is; perhaps it is lost in the lacuna at the end of l. 7 (for instances of the delayed mention of “this name,” cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 3143 and 3156–3164). The *ekthesis*, however, could mark a new section of a recipe that began earlier, and the name could have stood in the previous column.

³ For the possible supplement εἰς τὸ [τρῶμα] (l. 5), cf. Delatte 1927, 551.11–13. Both εἰς τὸ [προσκεφάλαιον and [προσκεφάλων (as in Delatte 1927, 90.3; Legrand 1881, 11.314) would be rather long compared with the restorations in 1–4, 6.

⁴ For authoritative claims in the magical papyri, see e.g. Phillips 2009, 62–3, 99–100, 118. In particular for ἐκπλήκτως, cf. GEMF 74.1079/PGM VII 921 καὶ ἐκπλαγίσει.

⁵ Tin was usually employed for prophylactic and therapeutic purposes: cf. PGM, vol. 3 (Index), s.vv. λᾶμνα, λαμνίον, λεπίς, πλάξ, πέταλον, πτύχιον; also Heim 1892, nos. 11, 66, 115, 193, 194, 213, 214, etc. For its use in curses, see GEMF 21/P.Duke inv. 729, n. 7.

⁶ The general sense is that the *ιαεω-logos* in ll. 11–16 is to be written on a tin object, probably a tablet. Restoration, however, is problematic. One would expect λαμνίον at the end of l. 9, but this reading seems impossible. Tentative supplements for ll. 9–10 (the trace in l. 10 suggests the right curve of ω): (i) [εἰς κασσ]ιτέρινον λευκ[ὸν λαμνίον ἢλ]ω ἐπίγραφε; (ii) [εἰς κασσ]ιτέρινον λευκ[ὸν λαμνίον ἢλ]ω ἐπίγραφε; (iii) 8–10 [ca 9]δα [λ(αβῶν) πέτα|λον κασσ]ιτέρινον λευκ[ὸν λαμνίον ἢλ]ω ἐπίγραφε.

⁷ This is, so far, the earliest known example of this common palindrome (on which see Brashear 1995, 3587; Michel 2001, I 374), as well as putting a magical word in the shape of a rectangle, i.e. πλίνθιον (see Gordon 2002, 86).

GEMF 10
(SM II 75)

Provenance unknown

II CE

ED.PR.: Maltomini 1986a, 298–305

REPubL.: SM II 75

TRANSL.: SM II 75 (English)

COMM.: ed.pr.; SM II 75

LOC.: Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, P.Gen. inv. 293

TM 65844

A fragment (H. 11.7 × W. 5.8 cm) from a roll containing on the recto remains of a column written along the fibers and damaged at the right, the lower left and the bottom. The upper margin measures 1.1 cm; to the left there is a blank space of 1.2 cm. Possible supplements for ll. 19–21 suggest an original column width of 7–8 cm with about 30 letters to the line. The back is blank.

The hand, datable to the second century, is upright, small, rounded and, though informal, neat. It is roughly bilinear, with β, ρ, ξ projecting below, and φ both above and below. Documentary influence may be noted in the sporadic ligatures and in the shape of ε in l. 13. This writing can be compared with GMAW 61 (later 2nd CE), GLH 17a (mid 2nd CE), P.Oxy. XXXII 2637 (mid 2nd CE), XLVII 3320 (2nd CE), LII 3654 (175–225 CE) etc.

There are no accents, breathings or apostrophes, but blank space is used as punctuation (at l. 10 it marks the end of the *praxis*; at l. 14 it separates two parts of the *logos*). Above the ατ of ελθατε (l. 14) there is a horizontal stroke for which I have no explanation. Two banal orthographic mistakes occur.

The column contains parts of the *praxis* and the *logos* of a magical procedure, whose beginning is lost and whose precise nature cannot be determined. The *praxis* (ll. 1–11) prescribes a sacrifice (8): the operator, facing south (2), has to lick a magical inscription written with myrrh-ink (3-4) and to anoint something with honey (5) on the occasion of an astral conjunction (7). The victim is a young white pig¹ (9); its innards are to be tasted (10) and the rest burnt (11). The *logos* follows: divine entities are commanded (12) to come to the practitioner (14, 19), to hear him (19) and to complete the operation (19–20). The text breaks off in the middle of a well-known magical name.

A partial and purely illustrative reconstruction of ll. 12–22 can be found in Maltomini 1986, 305 and in SM II 75, p. 141. The text follows the ed.pr.

¹ The background of this sacrifice appears to be Greek, not Egyptian, since in Egypt the pig, sacred to Seth and regarded as unclean, normally was neither sacrificed nor eaten; see Lloyd 1976, 216–218; Helck 1975. This aversion is evidenced also by GEMF 31/PGM I 105–106 and 57/IV 3079–3080 (Jewish context).

recto →

GEMF 10/SM II 75

1	μόρια γ κ[πρὸς νότο[ν τος καὶ ἔγλειξο[ν ζυρνομέλανι .[	... three portions ... towards south ... and lick ² ... with myrrh ink ... (5) anointing with honey ... they have the ... being in conjunction ³ ... Sacrifice
5	χρίσας μέλιτι .[ἔχουσιν τὸν κα .[κυνοδεύοντος [	and taste ⁴ ... a white piglet ... (10) ... and the entrails ... burn the rest entirely ⁵ ... “I invoke you (pl.) ... which(?) he fixed ... OUTH. ⁶ Come to
10	θῦε δὲ καὶ ἀπογε[υ- [.]ε χοῖρος λευκῶς [	me, [listen(?)] ... (15) ... of [the] mountains and summits ... of the mountains ... of the [heaven] and the
15	.αν καὶ τὰ σπλάνχνα [	earth ... who put all things in order ⁷ ... listen, come and [complete for me(?)] ⁸ (20) this procedure, which [I
20	λοιπὰ ὀλοκαύτου. [	wish, ⁹ by(?)] [BAR]BARATHAM CHE- LOUBRU B[AROUCH ABRAM ¹⁰ SE- SE]GGEN BAR PHARANGĒS . . .
	[ἐ]πικαλοῦμαι ὑμᾶς κ[
	[.] ματος οὐ ἐστήριεν [
	[.] οὐθ· ἔλθατέ μοι, α[
	[.] ὀρέων καὶ κορυφῶν [
	[.] τῶν ὀρέων ο . [.] .[
	[το]ῦ [οὔρα]γοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς [
	[τὰ] πάντα διατάξαντα ς[
	[ἐπα]κούσατε, ἔλθατε κα[
	[τὴν]δε τὴν πράξιν ἣν β[ούλομαι	
	[βαρ]βαραθαμ χελουβρυ β[αρουχ αβραμ σε-]	
	[σε]γγεν βαρ φαρανγης [

Ipse contuli

3 l. ἔκλειξον || 8 θῦε vel (7–8) ἐπί[θ]υε || 10 l. σπλάνχνα || 11 post ολοκαυτου spat. vacuum || 14 post] οὐθ spat. unius litt. | ἀκούσατε ? || 15 [τῶ]ν possis || 19 ἐλθατε Pap. || 22 post βαρ spat. unius litt. Omnia suppl. ed.pr.

F. Maltomini

² For licking a magical inscription to ingest and acquire its force, see SM II 75.3 comm. and Ritner 1993, 92–110.

³ Probably κυνοδεύω (l. 7) means ‘to be in conjunction’ in an astronomical sense (cf. LSJ, s.v. II). It does not occur elsewhere in the magical papyri, but cf. κύνοδοκ in GEMF 55/PGM III 482; 57/IV 780; 60/XIII 5, 116 (= 672), referring to conjunctions of the moon and the sun (new moon). Here, however, the gender of the participle implies a different heavenly body.

⁴ If ἀπογε[υ- (l. 8) is to be restored as an imperative, but it could also be a participle.

⁵ ολοκαυτου (l. 11) can also be interpreted as ὀλοκαυτοῦ from ὀλοκαυτέω, cf. middle ὀλοκαυστοῦ in GEMF 57/PGM IV 3148–3149. One can imagine for ll. 10–11 something like καὶ τὰ σπλάνχνα [κατάφαγε, τὰ δὲ] | λοιπὰ ὀλοκαύτου.

⁶ A *vox magica* or [Θ]ωροθ. (ll. 12–14), e.g. κ[ύριοι τοῦ στηρ][ί]γματος οὐ (i.e. ὀ) ἐστήριεν [ὁ μέγιστος Ἐρμῆς] | [Θ]ωροθ.

⁷ διατάξαντα ς[(l. 18) rather than διατάξαντας [, because the markedly extended tail of the last α suggests word end; cf. the final ε of l. 19 ἐπα]κούσατε. Since the invocation is addressed to several entities (ll. 12, 14, 19), the accusative is probably an accusative of oath, e.g. (17–18) [ὅτι ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν] | [τὰ] πάντα διατάξαντα.

⁸ The end of l. 19 might have run κα[ὶ (κυνο-, δια-) τελέσατέ μοι], cf. GEMF 15.307/PGM XII 258 ἐπάκουσόν μου καὶ τέλεσόν μοι τήνδε τὴν πράξιν, and 55/III 85; 57/IV 2098 etc. For the sequence ἐλθατε κα[ὶ τελέσατε, cf. DT 38.14–15 ἐλθετε καὶ τελειώσατέ μοι τὴν πραγματείαν ταύτην.

⁹ Cf. GEMF 68/PGM XXXVI 229 ποιήσων ὃ βούλομαι πράγμα.

¹⁰ For the Βαρβαριθα-*logos*, cf. SM I 2.5–7 n. and Martinez 1991, 76–77.

GEMF 11
(PGM LXIX)

Oxyrhynchus? early II CE
 ED.PR.: Bonner 1930b, 181–182 [Bo]
 REPUBL.: P.Mich. III 156 (Bonner 1936a); PGM LXIX [Pr]
 TRANSL.: Aune, GMPT, 297 (English); Calvo Martínez and Sánchez Romero 1987, 384 (Spanish)
 COMM.: ed.pr., P.Mich. III 156; Zellmann-Rohrer 2020, 49–50
 LOC.: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, P.Mich. inv. 1463 TM 63550

This papyrus sheet, measuring 16.5 cm in width and 3.5 cm in height, is cut from a roll with unpublished accounts, and preserves a single magical recipe written on the back, in a single column. A second recipe may have been started below a closing *paragraphos*, but was abandoned and apparently effaced; the bottom margin is not intact, but it is not certain that any text has in fact been lost. The hand is a practiced documentary cursive. Lines are roughly bilinear; letterforms are angular and incline slightly to the right, and give an overall impression of a slender rather than rounded cursive. Ligatures are frequent; slight flourishes are added to the termini of some descenders. The parallel of P.Mich. III 198, 124 CE, allows the hand to be dated to the early second century.

The formulary consists of a single recipe with the goal of acquiring strength (ἰσχὺς). It proceeds by invoking the divine names Phnounebeēb and Abrasax, both of whom are to impart their strength to the practitioner, before a supporting claim that the practitioner himself is Abrasax. There follows a brief instruction on deployment.

verso col. i 1–4 →

1 Φνουνεβηβ̄ δός μοί σου τὴν ἰσχὺν ἰω Ἀβραξ[α]ξ
 δός μοί σου τὴν ἰσχὺν· ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι Ἀβρασαξ, λέγε δ[ι]ς
 κρατῶν τοὺς δύο ἀντίχειρας.

—
 || ca 9 ç||

1 Φνουνεβηβ̄ : i.e. δός Bo | Ἀβραξ[αξ] Bo || 2 δ Bo : ζ' Pr | 3 ἀντίχειράς co[v] Pr

“PHNOUNEBEĒB,¹ give me your strength, IŌ ABRASAX, give me your strength, for I am² ABRASAX.” Say twice while holding your two thumbs.³

M. Zellmann-Rohrer

¹ The divine name Φνουνεβηβ̄, written with overstroke on the final letter to mark the end of the non-Greek word, is unparalleled but can be explained as an Egyptian divine name, “Noun (Inundation), lord of Elephantine:” see Zellmann-Rohrer 2020, 49–50; the high point is used in a similar way to punctuate magical words throughout GEMF, and cf. also the apostrophe in GEMF 1/PGM CXI 6 and 13, and 52/XXIVa 10. The lack of any convincing etymology for Phnounebeē argues against the interpretation of Bonner, who regarded the final β as a numeral, i.e. “Phnounebeē, twice.”

² The “I am” formula is well known in Egyptian magic; see Betz 1991, 248–249 and Versnel 1998, 43 n. 10.

³ This protective gesture—holding down the thumb with four fingers of the same hand—appears elsewhere in the magical handbooks, also in the context of impersonating a divinity: see the commentary in ed.pr. and Faraone 2019, 210–211.

GEMF 12
(PGM LXXVII)

Unknown provenance

II CE

ED.PR.: Powell 1936 [Po]

REPubL.: Eitrem 1937, 103–104 [Ei]; PGM [Pr]; Jordan 2002b, 28–30 [Jo]

TRANSL.: Grese, GMPT, 298 (English); Calvo Martínez and Sánchez Romero 1987, 390 (Spanish)

COMM.: Hopfner 1921–1924 [Ho]; Eitrem 1937, 103–104; Jordan 2002b, 28–30

LOC.: Birmingham, Woodbrooke College, Cadbury Research Library, inv. 184f¹, P.Harris 55

TM 63392

This papyrus (H. 20 × W. 7.5 cm) seems to be a sheet devoted entirely to a single recipe, and not part of a larger handbook. All sides are intact, but there is some damage to the surface of the papyrus in the middle of ll. 15–20; the margins are narrow all around, except for the top, where it should be ca 1 cm.

Although Powell 1936, 37 characterizes the hand as an “elegant second-century cursive,” more often than not letters are detached, even if they touch each other. It does, however, present ligatures, especially between α and following ι , but also with ν and ρ , κ and following α , and ν with the previous letter. We date it to the end of the second, beginning of the third century, based on parallels like P.Köln V 229, 178 CE or P.Oxy. LX 4065, 183 CE (with the same shape for κ , ν , looped ν). TM has Orsini’s date to the third century, probably because the hand already presents, alongside a more or less square module for the letters (more noticeable in the middle lines of the document), an elongation of the module which becomes typical in the third and fourth centuries (especially visible at the end of the document and in the shape of some letters such as β , ϵ and ι and ρ , typically protruding below the line).

The first line opens with an enlarged initial slightly in *ekthesis*. To mark the end of the spoken formula in l. 23, the scribe extended the top bar of the last letter (ς) and then placed a X in the middle.

The text is a single recipe for obtaining an oracle ($\chi\rho\eta\varsigma\mu\acute{o}\nu$), by burning frankincense and silently invoking an all-powerful, but unnamed god to grant one.

¹ We have not been able to see the original papyrus, but we have been able to check the readings in a photograph provided by the Cadbury Research Library, Birmingham.

→

1 ἐὰν θέλῃς χρηματισθῆ-
 ναι περὶ οὐτινος θέλις πρά-
 γματος, λέγε [τοῦ]τον λόγον
 θυμῷ, μηδὲν λαλήσας·
 5 ἐπικαλοῦμμε τὸν μέσον
 μέρος ἀρούρης καθήμενῷ,
 ὃ ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τὰ πάντα
 διοικῶν, ὃν τρέμδσιν οἱ δέ-
 μονες, ὃν τὰ ὄρη φοβῖται,
 10 ὃν προσκυνούσιν ἄγγελοι,
 ὃν προσκυνῖ ἥλιος καὶ κελή-
 νη, οὗ ἐστὶν ὁ οὐρανὸς θρό-
 νος καὶ ἔθρα κωμαστήριον,
 ἣ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον ἰου ἰου
 15 ἀραρα[ca 11]θομαρα
 αραβρω[ca 8]ιου ἰου,
 ἄγιε [ἄγιε ἄγιε,] ἀπέρατε
 ἀπέρα[τε ἀπέρατε,] ἀτροθέτα,
 π[. .]π[ca 9]θην[αι]
 20 πῆδιον [. . κε]χρημάτι-
 μαι ἀφόβως, ἀδρόμως εὐδη-
 λον χρησμὸν περὶ τοῦ δη-
 να προάγματος —X—
 ἀγνὸς δὲ ποίει καὶ λίβανον
 25 ἐπίθουε εἰς τὸν τόπον

If you want to request an oracle concerning whatever action you want, say this formula in your heart, uttering nothing (i.e. aloud).² (5) “I invoke the one who sits in the middle part of the field,³ who administers all things in his⁴ power, before whom the demons tremble, whom the mountains fear,⁵ (10) before whom the angels kneel, before whom the sun and moon kneel,⁶ for whom the heaven is a throne, (the) ether is a place for processions, and the earth a footstool.⁷ IOU IOU (15) ARARA ... THOMARA ARABRŌ ... IOU IOU. Holy, [holy, holy,] infinite, infinite, [infinite],⁸ arranger of the stars (20) plain ... Without fear or trembling⁹ have I requested a clear oracle about the NN matter.” Do (this) as a pure (person) and (25) burn frankincense on the spot.

2 I. θέλις || 3 (τὸν) λόγον Po Jo || 5 I. ἐπικαλοῦμαι : ἐπικαλοῦμαι ce Pr Jo : ἐπὶ καχυμῆτη Po : I. ἐπὶ καλύμματι Ei || 7 I. δυνάμει || 8 τρέμουν || 8-9 I. δαίμονες || 9 I. φοβῖται || 11 I. προσκυνεῖ || 13 I. αἶθρα | κωμαστήριον(v) || 14 ὑποπόδιον Jo : τὸ πόδιον Po Pr || 19 π[υρίπ[νοε] Pr || 19-20 καν]θην[ωρ, χρυσο-]πέδι[λε θεέ] χρημάτι[ον] Pr || 21 I. ἀτρόμος Ei Pr Jo : ἀδρωος Po (I. ἀδρωος vel fort. ἀνδρείος) || 22 χρησμὸν Jo : χρηματιεῖ Po Pr || 22-23 I. δεῖνα πράγματος Pr : προ ἀγελάτος Po

C.A. Faraone and S. Torallas Tovar

² Cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 744 λέγε αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀτόνω φθόγγω.

³ Cf. a similar expression in GEMF 57/PGM IV 3023 ἐν μέσῃ ἀρούρης. The use of the verb ‘to sit’ can be interpreted as a calque from Egyptian in similar expressions referring to deities. See Ritner 1995, 3360.

⁴ This invocation never uses the second person pronoun, and thus seems to be cast continually as a description of the deity in the third person. It also lacks a request at the very end and instead says “I have requested a clear oracle.”

⁵ Similar invocations in GEMF 57/PGM IV 2827-2828; 15.166-168 and 296-297/XII 117-119 and 247-248.

⁶ This recalls Gen. 37:9, the dream of Joseph, in which the sun and moon bow down to him.

⁷ This description is similar to Jahweh’s boast in the LXX Isaiah 66:1: “For me the sky is a throne and the earth a footstool.” Cf. also Mt. 5:34-35: “Do not take an oath ... either by heaven, for it is the throne of God, or by the earth, for it is his footstool.” The “place for procession” intrudes here, where we would expect more furniture; it has no parallels, although Jordan 2002b, ad loc. points out in GEMF 15.292 and 301/PGM XII 243 and 252, a similar invocation of the Agathos Daimon, we find “Heaven is your head, ether your body, earth your feet,” and κοῦ δὲ τὸ ἀένναον κωμαστήριον, “yours is the everlasting processional place.” Cf. also 43/XXI 9.

⁸ Jordan 2002b, 30 supplies one ἄγιε and one ἀπέρατε in the lacuna, but there is enough space to supply the expected third in the case of *trishagion*, in which case the tripling of ἀπέρατε follows.

⁹ Cf. GEMF 15.104/PGM XII 55.

GEMF 13 (PGM CX)

Oxyrhynchus

II CE

ED.PR.: Packman 1976 (only inv. 181); P.Wash.Univ. II 73 (181+221) (Packman 1990) [Pa²]

REPubL.: Packman 1988

TRANSL.: ed.pr. (English); Kotansky, GMPT, 312 (English)

COMM.: Packman 1988, West 1989 [We]. Daniel [Da], Maresh [Ma] and Merkelbach [Me] are apud Packman 1990

LOC.: St Louis MO, Washington University. P.Wash.Univ. inv. 181 + 221

TM 63925

This papyrus is preserved in three fragments, (a) 6.5 × 10 cm, (b) 3.2 × 7.3 cm and a third one (c), not included in the first edition. Frs. (a) and (b) touch at line 7, where the beginning of the line is preserved in the former, the end of the line in the latter fragment. Fr. (c) meets the other two fragments at the bottom and adds a few lines of text. Top margin is preserved (ca 2.5 cm), and features a thick red line, which continues on the left-hand margin, perhaps as a frame to the whole text, or it is the remains of a previous use of the papyrus. There is one more line on top of the one on the top margin. It is not clear what the original format of this text would be, whether this is part of a roll or just a sheet. Left (1.8 cm) and right (0.3 cm) margins are preserved for the first five lines, so we can safely reconstruct the width of the column (ca 8 cm). The verso is blank, except for some ink stains that seem accidental.

The text is written along the papyrus fibers in a bilinear capital slightly slanted to the right, irregularly performed and rapidly written. Only φ projects above and below the margin and ρ below. Some elements of cursivity are found in the ligature of αι in l. 4, τε in l. 3, but in general, letters are kept separate. α is written in two strokes, μ in three, δ is triangular with the right-hand diagonal stroke protruding and curving on the top, η has the shape of an H with a curved right-hand vertical stroke, ο has a slightly smaller module than the other letters. The *diaeresis* on ι is present in l. 10, but used for syllabification. The hand can be dated to the second century (cf. GMAW 44, P.Cair. inv. 47454). Packman gives a good parallel, Schubart, PGB 22a, dated to 119 CE.

The text seems to be a set of instructions about how to place metal pieces and gemstones marking the positions of planets on an astronomical board (perhaps in order to cast horoscopes as suggested by the ed.pr.).¹ Each of the planets has a different gemstone assigned to it. The ed.pr. suggests a parallel in the kit used by the Egyptian magician Nectanebo to cast the horoscope of Alexander (Ps-Call. *Hist. Alex.* 1.4–5):² (*rec. vet.*) προθεῖς τὸν ἥλιον κρυστάλλου λίθου, τὴν σελήνην ἀδάμαντος λίθου, τὸν Ἄρεα αἰματίτου λίθου, τὸν Ἑρμῆν μαράγδου λίθου, τὸν Δία αἰθερίτου λίθου, τὴν Ἀφροδίτην σαφείρου λίθου, τὸν Κρόνον ὀφίτου λίθου, τὸν ὠροσκόπον λυγδίνου λίθου.³ “putting forward the Sun of crystal, the Moon of diamond, the Mars of hematite, the Mercury of emerald, the Jupiter of air-stone, the Venus of sapphire, the Saturn of serpentine and the horoscope of white marble.”

With this parallel in mind, GEMF 13 could be considered a fragment of a novel (for a similar situation, see PGM XXXIV), but we have decided to include it here as a recipe, because the scribe uses symbols for sun and moon, not generally found in literary texts, and because the imperatives used here are typical of formulary instructions. The editors of SM, however, decided to exclude it, considering it astrological instructions. It is, however, very similar to the recipes found in other handbooks and there is, moreover, some kind of divination involved (see Kotansky, GMPT, 312).

¹ On horoscopes on papyrus Neugebauer and van Hoesen 1987, Baccani 1992, and Jones, 1999, part V, Horoscopes, nos. 4236–4300a.

² Packman 1988, 40–41

³ See also *rec. β* καὶ ὁ μὲν ἥλιος ἦν κρυστάλλινος, ἡ δὲ σελήνη ἀδαμαντίνη, ὁ δὲ λεγόμενος Ζεὺς ἀέριος, (20) ὁ δὲ Ἄρης αἰματίτης, ὁ δὲ Κρόνος ὀφίτης, ἡ δὲ Ἀφροδίτη σαφείρινος, ὁ δὲ Ἑρμῆς μαράγδινος, ὁ δὲ ὠροσκόπος λυγδίνος. “And the Sun was made of crystal, the Moon of diamond, the so-called Jupiter of air-stone, Mars of hematite, Saturn of serpentine, Mercury of emerald, and the horoscope of white marble.”

recto→] ——— [

1 .[. . . .]c φωνή κοι ἔρχεται ὁμ[ι-]
 5 λούσα κείθω δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ πίνα-
 κος ἀκτέρες οἱ κατὰ φύσιν χω-
 ρῖς 4 καὶ 5 ἥτω δὲ ὁ ἥλιος χρύ-
 ceos, ἡ δὲ 5 ἀργύρεος, ὁ δὲ Κρό-
 νος ἐκ λίθου ὀψ[ιανο]ῦ, [ὁ] δὲ Ἄρη[c]
 ἐκ μηλ[ο] cap[δόνυχος
 ἥτω· ἡ δὲ Ἀφροδείτη καπιρίν-
 [η πε]ρίχρυς ῥαντιστή· ὁ δὲ Ἐρ-
 10 [μης] καλλάινος, ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς ἥτω
 [. . . .] .νου λίθου ὑπὸ [δ]ῆ κρυς-
 [τάλ]λου· ὁ δὲ ὠροκόπος ὁ κατὰ
 [. . .] .[ca 2 κ]είθω δὲ αὐτῶ
 [. . . .] ν καὶ γραφεῖον κ^ε[ί]cθω
 15 [. . . .] . πωξίνη [. . .] .[. . .] .[. . .]
 [. . . .] ἐ]ξῆς δὲ κκεπ[τέον]
 [ca 7] .ερω[ca 10]
 [ca 10] .[ca 10]

1 κοι : οι corr. ex v || 2 λ. κείθων Pa² || 3 ἀκτέρες οἱ : ἀκτερίκοι We || 4 (ἡλίου) | (σελήνης) || 5 (σελήνη) || 6 [δ]ῆ Ἄρη[c] Pa² || 7 μηλ[οβαφοῦς Pa² : fort. μηλ[ινοειδοῦς(?) || 8 ἥτ[ω] Pa² | Ἀφροδ[ε]ίτη Pa² : 1. Ἀφροδίτη || 8–9 καπιρίν[ων] Pa² : 1. καπιρει- || 9 ραντιστή Pap. || 10 καλλάινος Pap. || 11 [ἀερ]ίνου Da | ὕποκρυς- Me || 13], [: fort. [τὴν] φ[ύσιν] || 18 κκεπ[τέον] Ma

... a voice of ...⁴ comes to you in conversation.⁵ Let the stars⁶ be set upon the board (as they are) by nature except for the Sun and the Moon. And let the Sun be gold, the Moon silver, the (5) Saturn of obsidian stone,⁷ the Mars of quince-yellow onyx, the Venus lapis-lazuli⁸ sprinkled with gold, the Mercury (10) turquoise; let the Jupiter be of sky-blue⁹ stone, and (let it be set) beneath a crystal; and the horoscope, (let it be? as it is) by [nature(?)]¹⁰ . . . let the *grapheion* lie¹¹ ... (15) boxwood ... and in sequence let there be an examination¹²

C.A. Faraone and S. Torallas Tovar

⁴ The noun φωνή seems to be preceded by a genitive.

⁵ Although the text is fragmented, it is clear that the practitioner participates in some kind of revelation, maybe from a god or some other entity. West 1989, 32, prefers to take φωνή as a dative, since she finds the use of ἔρχεται disconcerting.

⁶ West 1989, 32, suggests to correct to ἀκτερίκοι “little stars of the same nature (as the real ones which they represent).”

⁷ *Cyranides* 1.10.20.

⁸ *Cyranides* 1.10.39.

⁹ The trace for the first letter is unclear. It might be the rounded top of ι, or more likely ο. Daniel (apud Packman 1990, 45) based this supplement on the parallel of Ps.-Callisthenes, *rec. β*. Packman printed κυ]άνου in her ed.pr. but prefers Daniel’s solution. We do as well. We cannot find a better solution reading ο.

¹⁰ Packman 1990, 45 restores φύσιν in the lacuna. Cf. l. 3.

¹¹ In GEMF, the word γραφεῖον usually refers to a bronze *stylus* used to inscribe foil amulets, but here the imperative suggests that it is to be placed in a certain position. For the use here of a tablet and *stylus* (ll. 2–3 and 14) in magical instructions, cf. GEMF 60/PGM XIII 136, 697. The ε in superscript is a correction.

¹² Restoration by Maresch apud Packman 1990. Cf. Plu. *Mor.* 570B.

GEMF 14 (BM EA 10808)

Oxyrhynchus

second half of II CE

ED.PR.: Osing 1976

TRANS.: Volten 1953 (English); Dieleman 2004 (English); Quack 2004, 2009 (German); Sederholm 2006 (English)

COMM.: Crum 1942; Vergote 1977; Osing 1978; Shisha-Halevy 1980; Aufrère 1999, 56; Sederholm 2006; Moje 2009; Satzinger 2012; Dekker 2013; Osing 2016, 517–520; Quack 2016, 118–119; Quack 2017b, 64; Love 2021a, 191–198, Love 2021b, 127–136

LOC.: London, British Museum, EA 10808

TM 108583

GEMF 14¹ is an Egyptian-language book-roll preserving traces of a first column of 20 lines in Demotic, Greek script, and Old Coptic,² and a second, almost complete, column of 53 lines only in Old Coptic, complemented by certain group writings in Demotic.³ The order of the columns follows the Egyptian standard, right to left. The traces col. i, extant on the righthand edge of GEMF 14 (Dieleman 2004), were augmented by the discovery of a connecting fragment of the upper third of the column (i.e. 11 lines) among the Oxyrhynchus papyri by Quack 2017b, 64.⁴ Col. ii is preserved to a maximum height of 29.2 cm and maximum width of 16.5 cm, with the width of the column being 12–12.5 cm. The inscribed area of col. ii is H. 26 × W. 11 cm, with short upper and lower margins of 1.5 cm respectively. There is slight damage along the join between cols. i and ii, along the upper margins and in the center and at the bottom of col. ii, which appears to have been torn along a join in the papyrus in the left-hand margin; the break between cols. ii and i is less uniform in the upper half, yet straight in the bottom half. Traces in the left-hand margin of col. ii hint that a further column may once have followed on the left. The versos of both fragments are blank, and all text is written along the fibres.

As with all Old Coptic scripts, the script is a hybrid of Greek uncial, which rendered sounds common to both languages, and a complement of signs derived from the Demotic script which rendered sounds in Egyptian that were absent in Greek. The 11 Demotic-derived signs used as alphabetic signs in the Old Coptic script of GEMF 14 are: ρ, ϑ and ϣ, used variously for *h* or *h̄* (i.e. *h*<*h̄*); ς, used for *h̄*; ϣ, used for *h̄* and *h̄* (i.e. *h̄*<*h̄*); ω, used for *š*; λ, used for *ḏ*; Ϸ, used variously for *k* and *k̄* (i.e. *k*<*k̄*); α, used for *f*; ϰ, used for *s*; and ϸ, used for a glottal stop, deriving from Egyptian ϣ, ϣ, and *i*. Neither Ϸ, ϰ nor ϸ are attested in any other Old Coptic scripts. The Old Coptic script also includes five group-writings from Demotic: -pn, ‘this’ (l. 71), wḥm, ‘to repeat’, in m-wḥm, ‘repeatedly’ (ll. 23, 27, 46, 72), ϣ, ‘great’ (l. 24), mn (ϣϣϣ), ‘NN/so-and-so’ (ll. 30, 39, 60, 69, 71), and a sign deriving from ϣ hn, ‘together with’ (ii 10; ii 11; ii 12; ii 37 twice; ii 47). At the end of l. 67 there is also the use of the ideogram ϣ, which renders either the first-person suffix *ḥ* pronoun or the vocative *i* ‘O’ (Love 2021a, 191–198; 2021b, 127–136). What can be discerned from the alphabetic rendering of the text is that it in part reflects an idiom comparable to the Mesokemic dialect of Coptic which otherwise first appears in the fourth century CE (Osing 1978, 33*/79–35*/81), demonstrating that dialect is an index of place and not time (Love 2021b, 127–136).

The hand, in addition to the Greek uncial base, uses Greek minuscule η and μ, exhibits elements of cursivity in η and γ, and mostly renders Demotic-derived signs—where possible—in neat quadrats, although a notable exception is α. The Old Coptic, as well as the Demotic and Greek, hand is executed in a clear and

¹ The papyrus was excavated at Oxyrhynchus during Grenfell and Hunt’s third season (1904) and subsequently identified by Lobel in Parcel 21.3B/29F among the Oxyrhynchus papyri (Crum 1942, 20), before being moved to the British Museum in 1968 (Osing 1976, 1).

² For other magical texts written—at least partly—in Old Coptic, cf. GEMF 55/PGM III and 57/IV.

³ Group writings comprise individual signs, ligatures or root-groups—or a combination thereof—that are read as an indivisible whole.

⁴ This fragment is to be published by Quack in the future, and could not be included here.

competent fashion. The Old Coptic hand is without ligatures and with limited cursivity. Overall it resembles a formalized book-hand, with regular spacing between the lines. Despite a slight bulging and tapering in the width of col. ii—from >40 to <30 letters per line, the layout and execution otherwise suggest that the roll was intended as a formal handbook. The correction of the text of col. ii is evident from supralinear additions in ll. 25, 31, 49, 55.

ⲁ is, when not ligatured, constructed with a straight diagonal stroke; ⲃ does not exhibit a baseline stroke; Ⲅ exhibits a long central stroke which protrudes beyond the upper and lower extension of the framing stroke, and which is not always attached to the framing stroke; both uncial and minuscule Ⲉ are attested; Ⲋ is constructed with two perfectly-straight strokes; Ⲍ is entirely bowed into a wave of one stroke; Ⲏ consists of a straight vertical stroke and a curved descending stroke without a pointed bottom corner; Ⲑ exhibits a curve at the bottom of its righthand vertical stroke, reminiscent of cursive; Ⲓ is constructed of both V-shapes reminiscent of minuscule, and one bowed stroke looped at the bottom reminiscent of cursive.

Crum 1942, 20, on the advice of Bell, dated the hand to around 150 CE, or “somewhat before” and Osing 1976, 1, broadly to the second century CE. Quack 2017b, 64, however, with reference to the paleography of the Demotic of col. i, argues for a late second or early third century CE dating. A comparison of the Demotic hand with that of an unpublished bilingual loan contract from Oxyrhynchus, dated to 135/136 CE, reveals notable similarities. Given that our understanding of Demotic paleography at Oxyrhynchus is in its infancy and that no other dated comparanda are known to me, dating GEMF 14 within a half, rather than a whole, century of this loan contract seems the most cautious approach (Love 2021a, 191–198; 2021b, 127–136). Greek hands from Oxyrhynchus whose paleographies exhibit the highest proportion of similarities with the Old Coptic hand’s diagnostic morphologies are P.Oxy. LXVI 4501; 4502; LIV 3725; LVI 3829v; LXV 4460. The first three are dated to the late first or early second century CE, with the second century favorable,⁵ the fourth to the second half of the second century, and the fifth to the late second or early third century. Despite the vast quantity of sources for Greek hands from Oxyrhynchus, and the early second century CE dating of some of these comparable Greek hands, the Demotic hand is a considerably more diagnostic paleographical indicator, and therefore a dating in the second half of the second century is more likely than in the first.

The traces of col. i appear to preserve two ritual practices, with blank spaces following each.⁶ The first is principally preserved on the fragment to be published by Quack. The second is principally preserved on GEMF 14, and comprises two fragmentary lines of Demotic and three of *voces magicæ* in Greek script (the MASKELLI-MASKELLŌ formula), one further in Demotic, two more in what must be termed Old Coptic script due to the utilisation of the sign *p* in two of those *voces magicæ*, and a final fragmentary line of Demotic referring to leaves of reed or papyrus, and linen, before a space. As noted by Dieleman 2004, 125–127, a ‘reed leaf’ is only attested in rituals for dream sending,⁷ as the medium upon which the *voces magicæ* or *charaktēres* are to be inscribed. Furthermore, the MASKELLI-MASKELLŌ formula and NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH are also attested in rituals for dream sending.

Col. ii preserves an alphabetic transcription in *scriptio continua*, without punctuation, of a text whose language is Middle Egyptian with Late Egyptian (Osing 1976, 43) and Demotic elements (Quack 2009, 31–32; Love 2021a, 191–198; 2021b, 127–136). The absence of classifiers/determinatives in these Old Coptic scripts and the absence of spacing or punctuation in this text, means that parsing is at best ambiguous, and at worst impracticable. Furthermore, although other texts in Old Coptic are attested, these, by comparison,

⁵ P.Oxy. LXVI 4501; 4502; LIV 3725v are copies of epigrams by Nicarchus, who lived in the latter part of the first century CE. It would be unlikely to find copies of his epigrams at Oxyrhynchus contemporaneously.

⁶ Quack 2016b, 118–119; 2017b, 64 has suggested that the Demotic is in fact the ritual instructions preceding the invocations of col. ii.

⁷ Contrary to Dieleman 2004 and this author, Quack 2004, 428–429 n. 10 reads *gby n :tr* “papyrus leaf” (however, the sign in question is morphologically closer to *k̄* than *t̄* compare *k̄* in *k̄* in i 10), while Dieleman 2004, 126, also provides parallels where papyrus leaves are used in such rituals.

render a language stage which in most cases is Demotic, rather than the significantly more archaic Middle or Classical Egyptian. Consequently, there have been as many translations of the Old Coptic portions as there have been interested Egyptologists.

The edition presented here is not as ambitious as Osing 1976, but cautious, and thus minimalist. Where improvements from previous editions have been identified, these have been translated. Sections too ambiguous to be parsed have not been translated.⁸ Given the vastly divergent parsings and thus translations of this text, it is impossible to provide all variant readings in an *apparatus*, because this would be tantamount to reproducing the earlier editions of Osing 1976 and Sederholm 2006, as well as the contributions of Quack 2009. The reverse-engineered Egyptological transliteration given here is intended to serve as both an apparatus and textual notes—with sentences separated by a vertical stroke (|). The transcription of the Old Coptic is parsed only where readings are convincing, while all strings of alphabetic signs which I have not been able to parse with any certainty have been left in *scriptio continua*, or with the parsing that appears on the manuscript itself. A full philological republication, and linguistic study, of this manuscript is to be undertaken by Quack, which will incorporate the aforementioned fragment of col. i.

Although not delineated by spaces or *paraphoi*, the text of col. ii can clearly be divided into invocations to three different deities,⁹ each of which are invoked preceding the invocation of the “Enemy of Wennefer, Enemy of Osiris, Khentyimentiu (i.e. Foremost-of-the-Westerners).” Osing 1976, 1, 49, concluded that the text of col. ii constituted three healing procedures against fever demons, while Sederholm 2006, 83–90, seems also to have understood the desired outcome of the composition to be for the protection of an individual. Quack 2009, 32; 2017b, 63–64, suggests that the procedures are for acquiring favor and love. The “Enemy of Osiris” (i.e. Seth as efficacious agent in ritual practice) is invoked in order to bring about the desired outcome of the practice (Quack 2009, 33). The readings presented in the following translations also suggest that the desired outcomes of these procedures are the instilling of heat and burning, or even love, in the heart or the body of a target (ⲛⲛⲛⲛ *mn NN*) in order to fulfil erotic intentions.

⁸ I have not, for example, taken over the transliteration and interpretation of Osing’s established text in order to fill gaps otherwise left.

⁹ Unless ⲕⲁⲓ in l. 37 does indeed mean ‘another’ (*ki*).

recto col. i →

GEMF 14.12–20

[lines 1–11 to be published by Quack]

12	... <i>n-im</i>]/s(?) ... <i>ḥn' kl</i> ΜΕΣΚΕΛΛΙ ΜΕΣΚΕΛ[ΛΩ ΦΝΟΥΚΕΝΤΑΒΑΩ]	
15	ΔΡΕΩΒΑΣΑΚ[ΡΑ ΡΗΞΙΧΘΩΝ ΙΠΠΟΧΘΩΝ ΠΥΡΙΠΗΓΑΝΥΞ] ΝΕΒΟΥΤΟΣΟΥΔ[ΛΗΘ] ...] <i>ḥ'wy syht</i> ΡΗΙ ΛΑΡΗΙ ΛΑΛ[ΠΑΚΕΠΤΟΘ ΠΑ[	15
20	<i>gby(.t) n ʒkr šs'-nsw(?)'</i>	20

recto col. ii →

GEMF 14.21–37

1	Ω ΣΡΟ ΣΗΒ ΝΟΥΕΝΑΦΡ ΒΕΦΤ ΝΟΥΣΡ ΒΝΤΕΜΝΤ (ΝΤ)ΜΟΥΤ ΝΡΙ[.] . ΕΜΝΦΝ[. . .] ΣΑΤ ΝΕΦΤ ΕΝΠΣΟΒΝ ΝΑΤΟΡΕ ΤΕΝΤΡΟ ΩΤΕΤΝ ΒΟ ΩΤΝΝ ΜΕΖΙΑΦ Ρ ΜΑΥ Ν- <i>wḥm</i> ΩΔ ΑΜΟ ΝΦ ΘΑΥΤ ΜΕΜΤΟΡΠΕΤΝ ΟΥΕΞ ΤΕΤΝ<ΗΒΔΑΚΝ ΕΤΝ . ΗΤΟΜ ΜΟΤΖ ΤΕΤΝΖΗ ΕΙΖΤΕΠ (Π)ΚΕΚΙ ΝΒΦΤ Ν ΠΝΕΤ- ʒ ΒΒΣΟΥΕ< ΠΡ . . .	
5	Ν ΣΗΒ ΜΜΑΣ ΟΥΒΒΤ ΝΝΕΤΦ ΔΒΜΦ ΡΤΑ ΕΝΕΙΣ Ν ^Μ ΑΤΗΤΦΝ . ΡΟΤΝ ^Π ΝΠ ΒΕΡ ΝΒΦΤ Ν ΜΟΥΤΦ ΟΡΕΠΕΙΕΤΝΑΖΟΦ ΜΣΝΑΦΨ ΤΕΤΝΤΒΕ< ΝΝΤ . . . ΑΤΝΤΕΤΝ ^Π ΡΒΡΦΕΡΒΟ Ν- <i>wḥm</i> ΕΒΕΣΤ Ω ΠΟΠ ΒΡΤΑΜΡΑ ΤΕΤΝ ΥΒΣ ΝΡΑ ΜΗΒ ΟΒ ΝΝΕΤΕΙΠΝ ΜΟΥ ΡΑΚ ΝΠ ^Π ΡΒ Ρ<ΑΜΡΕ< ΝΒΟΜΝΝΕΝΥΟΝ . . ΤΗΤΦΠΗΦ Μ ΒΗ ΤΕΣΗΒ ΖΤΑΕ <ΔΦΔ ΣΙΒΦ ΜΥΗΤΙ ΠΙΡΙ ΜΡΟΦ ΤΕ< ΜΡΗ ΜΨΔ Μ	25
10	ΕΠ Ν ʒʒʒ ^Π Π Μ ΝΙΜ ΝΤ Μ ΤΑ< ΕΙΠΝ ΕΤΗΡΦ ΜΜΕΥΤΕ ΣΠ ^Π ΡΚ ΝΙ ΥΒΦ ΝΕΤΦΕΚ ΝΙ ΨΤΗΦ Π Μ ΝΙΜ ΠΗ ΝΙΜ Λ ^Π Η ΝΙΜ Ζ ^Α ΜΕΥ ΝΙΜ ΖΜΗΡ ΝΙΜ ΝΤ ΕΥΕ ΝΕΥ ΕΡΑΙ Π ΝΕΤΕΥΕ ΣΤΜ ΡΙΝΤ ΜΡΑΥ ΕΙΠΝ ΜΜ ΥΝΑΥ ΕΤΝ Μ ΡΜΠΟ ΤΝ Ν ΉΡΕΣ Ω ΦΦΕΤΑ ΚΕΝΣ ΖΡΟΥ ΜΔΒΟΥ ΣΔ Ζ ^Ν ΟΥ<Ι Μ<Ε ^Π ΡΤ ΠΡΑΞ ΝΜ ΨΟΨΚ ΤΠΡΟΚ ΤΑΞΕΠΑΡΗΙ ΤΠΡΟΚ Ε . ΣΝ ΨΑΦΤ	30
15	ΜΟΥΣΤ ΝΕ<Τ Μ ^Π ΗΝΣ ΝΜΡΑΥ ΨΗΤΣ ΝΡΑΡ ΗΤ Μ ΒΤΕΪ ΠΡΙ ΜΡΟΪ ΔΡ ΔΡΗΙΣ Ν ΕΣ ΜΟΜΤ ΔΡ ΛΕΟΥΙ ΝΗΒ Μ ΜΑΡΗΙΣ Ν<ΕΦΡΟΪΔΡΤΕΤΝ ΒΕΨΤΗΙΣΝ ΨΔ ΨΙΚΤ ΜΡΑΥ ΕΙΠΝ ΕΙΕ ΨΕ Π<ΕΝ <Δ ΕΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΣΗΒ ΝΟΥΝΑΦΡ	35

Transliteration:

1	ō śr.t sbi n wn-nfr ḥft.i n wsir ḥnt.i-imm.ti w | (n; nti) mtwī n ... st; n-ḥft-n p; shn n ḥw.t-ḥr t ntr.t-ʒ(.t) | ō t nti ... nn(?) mḥi/mḥ.w=f ḥr mw n-wḥm š:(?) n=f dhw.ti ... | t nti ... nti n ... | t nti(?) r shtp (p;) kky n ḥft.i n p; ntr-ʒ | ḥbs.w=f ...
5	n sb; n-imʒs(?) wbh.t-i(?) n ntr-ʒ | ḥm=f ḥ.t-i (t) inī -si ... ḥr.w n-ḥft-n md.t=f(?)... ih.w=f ... t nti ... n-wḥm ... ō p; q; ... t; nti n ntr-īpn mw rk n p; ḥrb sbi ... m wd.t prī m rʒf | ti-t mrw.t m ḥ(.w) r mʷ
10	ib n mn ḥnʷ rmt -nb nti m t-īpn r-trʷf m-mi.tit | sphr-k n-i ib=f ntf-k n-i ḥ.ti=f ḥnʷ rmt -nb p; wt -nb rh.yt -nb ḥnmm.t -nb ḥmw.t-rʷ -nb nti-iwʷw r nw r-r-i ḥnʷ n; nti-iwʷw r sḏm rn.t-i m-hrw -īpn {m}m wnw.t -itn m mp.t -(i) tn n ḥr.t-s | ō ... | ḥngg (m) mʷ-ḥrw.t-i | p(ḥ)r-k -si irm ḥh-k tp.i-rʷk | ... tp.i-rʷk ...
15	... mḥs m-hrw | hwt(?)=(y)sn ḥr-ḥ.ti-i m ḥti prī m rʒf | irī ḥ.w=ysn iwʷs ... | irī q;w n ib m ḥ.w=ysn | ... | bh-d-ysn ḥr ḥk.t-i m-hrw -īpn | iwʷi r qd p; kni.w ʒ i:irī-t kii(?) sbi n wn-nfr

GEMF 14.12–20

¹⁰ ... in (the) niche. MESKELLI MESKEL[LŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌ] (15) AREŌBASAK[RA RĒKSICHTHŌN IPPOCHTHŌN PURIPĒGANUKS] NEBOUTOSOUA[LĒTH] ... in order to cast leprosy(?) HĒI LAHĒI LAL... PAKEPTOTH PA[...] (20) reed leaf, linen(?).¹¹

GEMF 14.21–37

O Sro-Decan, Enemy of Wennefer, Enemy of Osiris, Foremost-of-the-Westerners: (Those who)¹² speak to(?) ... cast in the presence of¹³ the companion of Hathor, the great goddess. O she who ... May he not(?) ... upon (the) water repeatedly until Thoth ... him ... She who ... which is ... She, who ... in order to satisfy (the) darkness in the presence¹⁴ of the great god. Your (f.) illumination(s)(?) ... (25) hostile(?) ... of(?) (the) great(?) god. May he quench your (f.) heart in order to bring her(?) ... to the enemy(?)¹⁵ in the presence of his word(s)(?) ... his limbs(?) She, who ... repeatedly. O the falsehood(?) ... She, who ... of this god as (the) time(?) of the manifestation ... (?) enemy(?) ... through (the) decree that comes from his mouth. May you (f.) cause love in (the) body (and) in (30) (the) heart of NN together with every person who is in this entire land likewise. May you enchant his heart for me, and may you turn his heart to me together with (that of) every person, every aristocrat, every commoner, every (sun) person, and every other, who will see me together with those who will hear my name on this day, in this hour, in this year belonging to it. O(?) Celebrate (in) my justification. May you (m.) enchant her with your (m.) heat (and/of) your (m.) mouth ... (35) ... your (m.) mouth ... May she burn up today. May they(?) burn(?) before me in turning back (and) coming forth from my mouth. Make their lifetime in that it is ... Enact evil (of the) heart¹⁶ in her lifetime. ... May they settle at my magic on this day. I will say the great misdeed which you (f.) have committed. Kai,¹⁷ Enemy of Wennefer,

¹⁰ The missing text preserves two recipes written in Demotic with magical names in Greek script. The first is to acquire a *paredros*, by invoking an “angel.” The second invokes a “ghost” most likely sent in a dream. See Dieleman 2004, 125–127.

¹¹ Cf. Dieleman 2004, 123, 125; Quack 2004, 428–429 n. 10.

¹² Given the constructions in ii 18 and ii 41, it is possible that ⲛⲧ was omitted before ⲙⲟϥⲧ(ϵ) due to haplography with ⲘⲚⲦⲙⲚⲧ.

¹³ Or “the enemies of/to” (*n: hft.i n*).

¹⁴ Or “the hostile darkness of” (*n hft.i n*).

¹⁵ Or “son” (*šrt*).

¹⁶ Or “impure” (*b.w*) evil.

¹⁷ Perhaps “another.”

col. ii (cont.) →

GEMF 14.38–59

6ε4τ ἄνουσρ (ουενααρ) βντεμντ ἄτμουτε ροῖ ἄμουτε νβτ ετοβι
 ἄβεῖ nim ἄτε ζζζ ἀμοῦ μεν βνнс нсабмк бвс ἄτμ[ο]κ πιρῖ
 20 ζι σπετῖ πιαμ βνε . τ . . ἄτῖπμῖτ μτορ εραχ [ο]κ αγτοβч 40
 м . ματνε τενη . κηβк [η]ου νεचनाγ ε ἄτῖμῖ ἄωατοῦ αζοч
 nim ροуезι εβ4τεζ ἄναβο ταῖρτοῦ μαζι επснпε ρ βнмῖ
 βα<нспзου β4τῖπ[μο]γ4ρῖρ ἄπβερ ἄβ4τ нпкеке μοуρ за<
 ἄπ<от ἄβ4τῖпβε . ιτ ου4тач ом ετ< ачлати ἄ ἄτμσε4т н
 25 μεν β ανтῖт ριηч ([ε])τοβι ач()та . ἄτμο нтоу6о н64тῖ п- 45
 моу4ρῖρ ἄ-wḥm γῖη[. .] τι ачлати ἄ ἄτμсе ат нтоу6о ἄἄ
 сабм аῖ βтеῖ ἄ[тет]ῖ ἄноус ери ρατε μτορερ[. .] ο ἄ ἄτῖ
 се ат ἄ6о тм<ε[.] ιрта . εῖтр ε< εῖпн η . . . [. . .]
 30 с6амс зте нечου[ι . .] аге м6ωз тмсе ат ^{мḥ}ноуῖ . [. . .] 50
 со6м нпнет6а[. .] . нас тм<ε4ρс бр[. . .] ργ4γε
 срмῖ εуβн омч сеῖс ρ6ω пиисн ρω< мс[6а]мс псо6м
 промῖ ἄβεик . . β4ηта . ῖ ζε3ч тоу6[ο .] . . . ἄпсо6м
 промῖ ἄβεик ммезсיעкнвкcinεntотч . [. . .] таγωω
 ἄνε4ουῖ таγεарраῖс зотп маγωч тосч маγω[. .] . εῖ
 35 με^н β уβн ὀμεч η β . . γε γεβ ке<ки γω . . . 55
 соуῖс неntотс ωн мḥнс темрн ἄζζ[ζ] . ρ
 [ἄττεуενεу εραч [ἄτтеуεстм ριηч . [. . (ἄ/ε)м]ρα[γ]]
 εῖпн ἄмаῖ εετ[. .] ммῖт аки ерас акис ε[ρo]γ
 ма6оу нт мῖн<оу<ι м<ε4рт теπיע снв ἄ

Transliteration:

ḥft. i n wsir wn-nfr ḥnt. i-ḥmn. tḥw n: nti mtwḯ r-r-i n mt. t n εт r t: iḥ. t
 n bw -nb nti-iw mn im-w | mnk ḥns. w n shm-k ḥbs nti m ḥh-k | pṛi
 20 ḥr sp. t n p: ym ... n: nti m p: mḏw | mtrw(?) r-r-f(?) ...
 ... n: ifn. w r n: dm. wt(?) n š. t. w(?) iḥ. w=f
 -nb ḥw:(?) šhw. w(?) r-ḥft-ḥr n: nbi. w(t) ... m ḥ(?) r p: šp(i) ḥr šm(m)
 ... ḥft-n [p: mw] ḥrr m p: ḥr. w n-ḥft-n p: kky | mrw(?) ḥ. w(?)
 m p: i:d(w) n-ḥft-n p: ... | whd=f:m(w) :d | iṛi-f ḏ: ywt fdw n tms. w i:t | nn
 25 mnk ... m=f t: ḥ. t ... nn t:w-ḥ. t n-ḥft-n p:
 mwhrr m-wḥm ... | iṛi-f ḏ: ywt fdw n tms. w i:t | nn t:w-ḥ. t | n: fdw
 shm : ḥti n [t: nti-iw-i ḥnw-s | i: iṛi ... n tm-
 s. w i:t | nn ḥ. t ... | iw-i dr w -pn ...
 shm. w-s | hwt n: iw. f. yw [...] ... tms. w i:t m-ḥnw
 30 shm n p: ntr [...] ...
 ... ḥr ḥ. t ... m=f ... r-t m s[h]m-s | p: shm
 ... n b: w-k ... t:w-ḥ[. t ...] ... n p: shm
 ... n b: w-k ...
 n n: iw. f. yw ... iw-i
 35 mnk ...
 ... | m: ḥ-s t: mr. wt n mn ...
 ḥn' n: nti-iw-w r nw r-r-f ḥn' n: nti-iw-w r sḏm m-f ... m-hrw
 -ipn | nn mr nti(?) [(?)] m m: t | k-i r-r-s k-s r[-r]-w
 m(?) ... m(?) ḥngg (m) m: ḥrw. t-i tp. it sbi n

GEMF 14.38–59

Enemy of Osiris, Foremost-of-the-Westerners: Those who speak to me¹⁸ concerning ...¹⁹ matter concerning the matter at every place in which NN is. Complete (the) traversing(?) of your (m.) power, (and the) violence(?) which is in your (m.) heat. Come forth (40) upon (the) bank of the sea. ... the ones who are in²⁰ the deep(?). ... the limbs to the cutting(?) injuries(?) (of)(?) all his limbs ... in front of(?) the flames ... in standing(?) at the moment of being hot. ... in the presence(?) of [the] scarab as the enemy²¹ in the presence of the darkness. Bind(?) (the) body(?) of the sufferer in the presence of the (?) ... May he suffer scorching (and) decaying. May he enact evil; four painful injuries. There is no (45) completing ... his name (concerning)(?) the matter ... There is no fiery wind in the presence of the scarab, repeatedly ... May he enact evil; four painful injuries. There is no fiery wind. O four great power(s): Turn back from where I am. Make ... four painful injuries. There is no fire. ... I am driving out this evil(?) ... its²² (f.) power. May the limbs burn ... painful injuries within²³ ... (50) power of the ...²⁴ god(?) ... upon fire(?) ... May he burn(?) ... your(?) (f.) mouth as her p[owe]r. The power ... of your(?) (m.) power(?) ... fiery wind(?) ... of²⁵ the power... of your(?) (m.) power(?) ... of(?) the limbs ... When I(?)²⁶ (55) complete May she burn up (with) the love of NN, together with those who will see him together with those who will hear his name ... [on] this day.²⁷ There is no love which(?) ...²⁸ truly. I entered to her, and she entered to them as(?) ... Celebrate (in) my justification. Uraeus, Enemy of

¹⁸ If the reading is correct, haplography between $\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ and $(\epsilon)\rho\omicron\iota$ would have to be understood.

¹⁹ Some sort of “matter.”

²⁰ Or “of.”

²¹ Or “son” (*šr*).

²² Or “her.”

²³ The supralinear correction $\mu\delta\eta\nu\omicron\gamma$ could also come before $\tau\mu\sigma\epsilon\ \alpha\tau$.

²⁴ Some sort of “god.”

²⁵ Or “to.”

²⁶ Or “I will.”

²⁷ Concerning the restoration at the end of the line, $\bar{\nu}\mu\rho\alpha\gamma$, $\epsilon\mu\rho\alpha\gamma$, and $\mu\rho\alpha\gamma$ are all possible.

²⁸ A verb.

col. ii (cont.) →

GEMF 14.60–73

40	ΟΥΕΝΑϸ ΒΕϸΤ ΝΟΥϸΡ ΒΝΤΕΜΝΤ ΝΒΕΪ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΕ 𐤀𐤀𐤀 ΔΜΑΥ ΝΤΟΥ ΜΟΥΤΕ ΖΙΛΟΥ ΝΜΟΥΤΕ ΝΒΤΕ ΤΟΒΙ ΠϸΡΗϸΝ Μ 𐤀𐤀 𐤁ΤΗϸΝ Μ ΔϸΗϸΝ ΟΜϸ erasure ΕΑΝΗϸ ΝΕΪ Μ . 𐤀 . . ΤΠ- ΡΟΪ ΕΑΝΗϸ ΝΜΜΑΡΤ 𐤀ϸϸΤ 𐤀ΟΥϸΤΝΕΤ ΜϸΗϸ ΝΜΡΑΥ ΕΪΠΝ ΒΕΖΤΗϸΝ 𐤀ϸϸΤϸ Μ6ΤΕΪ ΠΙΡΙ	60
45	ΜΡΟΪ ΔΡ ΔΡΗϸΝ ΕϸϸΟΖΜΗΤΜϸ ΔΡ 𐤀ΕΟΥΪ ΝΗΒ ΜΜΗϸΝ ΕϸϸΡ Οϸ ΕΠϸΟΒΜ ΝΤΟΜΝ ΡΑ ΜϸΗΒ Ε6ΟΠΙ ΜΚΕΚΙ ΝΕΝ ΟΥΑΝ ΡΙΝϸ ΕΝΕ3 𐤀 ΤΜΕΤ 𐤀 ΜΕΝϸΗΤΙΟΥΕϸΒ ΚΕΚΙ ΜΙ ΕΡΕϸ ΡΙΝΕ ΜΗϸ ΕΡΑϸ Ν 𐤀𐤀𐤀 3ΤΠΕΝΕϸ Ε3ΡΕΝΟΥ. . ΕΜΡΑΥ ΕΪΠΝ ΝΕ3ΜΑϸϸ 6ΟΥΪΑϸϸ ΜΕΚΙΑϸϸ ΜΜΟΥΑΤ ΕΡΕϸ ΤΕ 𐤀ΜΑΜ	65
50	Μ ΗΒ 𐤀𐤀𐤀 ΜΙ[ϸΕΝ] [3]33 ΜΑΪΕ ΥΒϸ ΤΜΑΤ ΕΒΕΡΙ <n>wḥm 𐤀ΔΤΑΥ ΔΝ Δ[. . . .] ΕΡΕϸ ΕϸΟΡΙ ΜϸΕΡΙ ΜΡΑΥ -pn 𐤀ΔΤΕϸ ΡΜΝΤ[. . . .] 𐤀ΗΙ ΜΡΑΥ -pn	70

Transliteration:

40	<i>wn-nfr ḥft. i n wsir ḥnt. i-imm. tiw n bw -nb nti-iw mn im-w</i> <i>n: nti{=w} mtwḥ hr-r'w m mt.t n 𐤀 r t ih.t | pḥr-ysn m</i> <i>hh | ḥti-ysn m ḥ'. w-ysn | m=f r inḥ -si ... tp. i-</i> <i>r' i r inḥ -si ... | m:h-s</i> <i>m-hrw -ipn | bhḏ-ysn ḥr-ḥ. ti=f m ḥti pri</i>
45	<i>m r' i | irḥ ḥ-ysn iw=f shm(?) ... | irḥ ḏ:w n ib</i> <i>irm-ysn | 'f(?) r' f r p: shm n (?) m sbi</i> <i>i: ḥpr m kk. w | nn wn rn=f r nhḥ ḥn' dmd. yt-i(?)</i> <i>... kk. w mri r' t m-t mri-t r' n</i> <i>mn | ḥtp-t n=f i: ir-ḥr-n(?) w m-hrw -ipn | nhm-t -sw |</i>
50	<i>ḥwḥ-t -sw | mkḥ-t -sw m-mi. tt(?) | iw-t r ti. t hmm</i> <i>m ib n mn m[si. n] mn. t m: (?) | ib=f dmd-t r-bry</i> <i><m>wḥm | ḏḏ-w ... r-r-t(?) w iw=f ḥ' m ḥw. w m-hrw -pn</i> <i>š'-tw=f irḥ md. t-(?) [... w]ḏ: t m-hrw -pn</i>

GEMF 14.60–73

(60) Wennefer, Enemy of Osiris, Foremost-of-the-Westerners, at every place in which NN is,²⁹ those who speak concerning them regarding³⁰ ...³¹ matter concerning the matter. May they enchant in the heat. May they turn back in their lifetime. May he burn(?) in order to bring her(?) ... my mouth in order to bring her(?) ... May she burn up on this day. May they settle before him in turning back (and) coming out (65) from my mouth. Make that their lifetime in that it is destroyed(?)³² ... Enact evil (of the) heart³³ with them. May his mouth devour(?) the power of ... as³⁴ (the) enemy which manifests in darkness. His name does not exist for ever and my(?) time. ... (the) darkness desires your (f.) mouth (and) your (f.) name. May you (f.) desire (the) mouth of NN. May you (f.) be content for him because of them on this day. May you (f.) save him. (70) May you (f.) protect him. May you (f.) preserve him likewise(?). You (f.) shall put heat into (the) heart³⁵ of NN whom NN bore, truly(?). May his heart join you again, repeatedly. May they say(?)³⁶ ... to you(?) (f.) while he is standing in pain in this day until he makes(?) [...], being whole on this day.

E. O. D. Love

²⁹ Interpolated following the opening invocations, compare with l. 39.

³⁰ Emendation to $\overline{\text{NT}}\{\text{OY}\}$ with reference to l. 38, where this phrase comes after $\overline{\text{NTMOYTE}}(\epsilon)\rho\overline{\text{OI}}\overline{\text{NM}}\text{OYTE}\overline{\text{NE}}\overline{\text{T}}\epsilon\text{TO}\overline{\text{BI}}$
n: nti mtwī r-r-i n mt.t n NT r t ih.t.

³¹ Some sort of “matter.”

³² Or “collapsed” (*shm*).

³³ Or “impure” (*b.w*) evil.

³⁴ Or perhaps “with.”

³⁵ $\overline{\text{H}}$ in $\overline{\text{HB}}$ corrected from ϵ , or vice versa.

³⁶ Or perhaps “Say them.”

2. The Bilingual Demotic-Greek Formularies of the Early Empire (II–III CE)

GEMF 15 (PGM/PDM XII)

Thebes? mid to late II CE
 ED.PR. Greek sections: Portions Reuvens 1830 [R]; complete Greek Leemans 1885 [L]. Demotic sections: in lithography by Leemans 1856, edited by Johnson 1975 [Jo]
 REPubL.: Greek sections: complete Greek text Dieterich 1888 [D]; Preisendanz, PGM XII, 244–252 [Pr]; Daniel 1991, 2–29 [Da]. Partial editions: Buresch 1890 [Bur]; Kroll 1895 [Kr]; Hopfner 1921–1924 [Ho]; Eitrem 1922 [Ei]; Eitrem 1923a [Ei¹]; Eitrem 1923b [Ei²]; Eitrem 1925a [Ei³]; Preisendanz, PGM (2) 2 Hymnen 1, 237 (on ll. 244–252); Heitsch 1963, 179, no. LIX 1 [He]; Halleux 1981, 163–166, fr. 4; Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 65–75 (on ll. 14–95) and 155–167 (on ll. 201–269)
 TRANSL.: Greek sections: Müller 1831 (German); Leemans 1885, 57–76 (Latin); Preisendanz, PGM, 244–252 (German); GMPT, 153–172 (English); Calvo Martínez and Sánchez Romero 1987, 252–276 (Spanish); Martin 2002, 210–232 (French). Demotic sections: Johnson 1975; GMPT, 152–153, 169–172 (English)
 COMM.: Schmidt 1935; Johnson 1975; Bresciani 1987; Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 16–19, 76–80, 168–178; Johnson, GMPT, lv–lviii; Brashear 1995, 3402–3406, 3536–3539; Tait 1995; Faraone 2003a, 191; Dieleman 2005, 25–45; Dosoo 2014; Bortolani 2016, 202–216; Dosoo 2016; Quack 2017b, 51–52; Sarischouli 2021; Dosoo, Nodar and Sarischouli forthcoming; Sarischouli forthcoming
 LOC.: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, P. I 384 (formerly AMS 75) TM 55954

The papyrus roll Leiden I 384 (AMS 75; also P.Leid. Greek II, no. V) is housed in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, divided and glassed in six sections. The height of the roll is 22–23 cm on average, and its preserved length is 360 cm. At both ends the roll is broken. On its recto side (→), the roll contains a version of the Demotic *Myth of the Sun's Eye* (aka *Mythus*), which can be dated paleographically to the early second century CE (TM 55946).¹ The verso (↓) of the papyrus roll contains a series of recipes for private rituals (TM 55954), written in Greek, Demotic, or a combination thereof, which can be dated paleographically to the mid to late second century CE (see below).

The manuscript was purchased in 1828 as part of a large collection of Egyptian antiquities (5,675 items) from Jean d'Anastasy (Ioannis Anastasiou; 1765–1860) by Jean Emile Humbert (1771–1839) on behalf of the Dutch government for the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.² The manuscript was added in two parts to the sale as negotiations were ongoing: the half with columns i–ix (formerly counted as Demotic columns iii*–i* and Greek columns 1–6) on February 2, 1828 (as part of the third supplement to the sale),³ the other half with columns x–xx (formerly counted as Greek columns 7–13 and Demotic columns iv–i) on March 28, 1828 (a fourth supplement of three objects).⁴ In the triplicate document of March 28, 1828, Anastasy writes:

un fragment de papyrus manuscrit bilingue grec et démotique, que je suppose appartenir à celui de même nature qui est déjà porté au 3.ème Supplément du Catalogue: Puisque par un heureux hazard, j'ai eu l'occasion de le racheter de la main des Arabes (qui suivant leur frauduleuse coutume l'ont probablement détaché du papyrus principal afin d'en tirer un plus grand prix par la double vente) je me fais un scrupule de le réunir, comme

¹ *Editio princeps*: Spiegelberg 1917; re-edition de Cenival 1988.

² For more details, see: Halbertsma 2003, 99–107 and Dieleman 2005, 25–29. We thank Maarten Raven, curator of the Egyptian department, for giving us digital access to the original documents in the archives of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (Archive RMO).

³ Troisième Supplément au Catalogue d'Antiquités égyptiennes de M. le Chevalier D'Anastasy (signed 02.02.1828 by Francesco de Castiglione). The document was attached to the Catalogue original de la Collection d'Antiquités égyptiennes d'Anastasy (Archive RMO 3.1/6). It is in this document that the manuscript was given the inventory number AMS 75.

⁴ The fourth addition to the sale is described in the triplicate specification written by Anastasy himself (archive RMO 19.3.1/31). The two other objects are Papyrus Leiden I 395 (GEMF 60/PGM XIII) and a helmet of Byzantine date (Leiden I 15).

membre, au corps que je crois être le sien; et j'éprouve une véritable satisfaction de pouvoir procurer au Possesseur de ma Collection, un avantage qui peut être précieux.⁵

The excerpt shows that Anastasy did not discover the manuscript himself, but purchased it from “Arabs,” and that the manuscript had already been torn in two by that time. As the manuscript is an addition to the sale, it is likely that Anastasy did not yet possess the manuscript when negotiations started (August 1827). Upon inspection in Leiden, the Director Caspar Reuven discovered that both halves contained fragments amounting to about two columns of manuscript AMS 65 (Leiden I 383; part of the same Anastasy sale) within their flat folds.⁶ Hence, Reuven concluded that the manuscripts AMS 65 (I 383) and 75 (I 384) had originally been found together, with I 383 rolled up and tucked into the folded I 384. According to the *Catalogue Original de la Collection d'Antiquités égyptiennes d'Anastasy*, AMS 65 comes from “Thêbes.” It then follows that AMS 75 (I 384) is from Thebes/Luxor, too. Unfortunately, no further information about the findspot and archaeological context of the two manuscripts is available. Scholars agree, however, that the two manuscripts were found as part of a hoard of magical and alchemical manuscripts, nowadays known as the *Theban Magical Library*.⁷

The manuscript preserves on its verso side 29 recipes for various magical purposes, divided over 19 columns of text. 19 recipes are written in Greek, 7 in Demotic, and 3 in a combination of Demotic (title, instructions) and Greek (incantation).⁸ Three Greek recipes are annotated with a title in Demotic (ll. 250, 319, 414). Four recipes incorporate drawings which were to be copied as part of the prescribed ritual (col. xv, top; col. xvii, bottom; col. xx: at top and bottom). In one case, the scribe left room for a drawing, but never filled in the empty space (col. xv, bottom).

In total, five script varieties are used in the manuscript: Greek, Demotic, alphabetic Demotic, hieratic, and cipher.⁹ The Greek hand is informal, yet trained (see below). The Demotic hand is small and regular. Not only is it remarkably similar in size and shape to the Demotic hand of the Great Demotic Magical Papyrus (GEMF 16), but words and signs are also written similarly and display the same frequent mixing of Demotic and hieratic cursive characters, indicating that the two manuscripts must at least be products of the same scribal environment, if not the same primary scribe (see below). One word is written in the same cipher alphabet that is also used in the Great Demotic Magical Papyrus as well as in Papyrus Louvre E 3229. *Voces magicae* are either written out in Greek or transcribed into alphabetic Demotic characters with a gloss in Greek letters.¹⁰

The 19 Greek recipes are written in 13 consecutive columns (iv–xvi). They are flanked to their left by 2 columns in Demotic (ii–iii) and to their right by another four columns in primarily Demotic (xvii–xx). The latter columns embed three short incantations in Greek and feature multiple *voces magicae* transcribed in alphabetic Demotic characters and glossed in Greek letters. How many columns are missing at either end cannot be established. Six fragments remain of what was an additional Demotic column at the left end (col.

⁵ Triplicate document: archive RMO 19.3.1/31. The passage is also given in Reuven 1830, *avertissement* (without page number).

⁶ Reuven 1830, 6 and 145. Reuven numbered these fragments provisionally AMS 75A (as coming from manuscript AMS 75). Note that Dosoo states incorrectly that Reuven numbered the second half of the manuscript as AMS 75A (Dosoo 2016, 257 and n. 22).

⁷ For the most recent and detailed discussion, see Dosoo 2016.

⁸ Note that previous editors (R L D Pr; but not Daniel) transcribed and counted the Greek glosses to the Demotic *voces magicae* in col. xvii 8–11 and 15–18 (formerly PGM XII 445–448 and 449–452) as well as col. xix 8–10 and 25–27 (formerly PGM XII 466–468 and 471–473) as separate Greek lines. In the present edition, they are treated as glosses and therefore not counted as Greek lines. See, Johnson 1975, 38–39, 42–43, and Dieleman 2005, 136–138.

⁹ Dieleman 2005, 47–101 and 2006, 67–81. Differences and similarities between the scripts in GEMF 15 and 16 are discussed in detail in Dosoo, Nodar and Sarischouli forthcoming.

¹⁰ Dieleman 2005, 73–77 and 125–300 as well as 2006, 77–81, has established that the gloss in fact represents the spelling from the source text.

i).¹¹ In the past, the manuscript has generally been seen as the product of a single scribe, but more careful work on the hands leads us to propose a more complex model; this proposal must remain tentative, given the poor state of preservation of the manuscript. We propose that the first surviving column was written by the same scribe as the other Demotic columns, yet upside-down relative to the rest of the verso (that is, in the same orientation as the recto text).¹² This suggests that, when the scribe (M¹) started inscribing the back side of the scroll, he started with a Demotic column at the scroll's right end, as usual for an Egyptian manuscript (columns running from right to left), but turned the manuscript 180 degrees, and invited another scribe (M²) to insert the Greek recipes in 13 consecutive columns (running left to right). Shifts in the method of glossing demonstrate that only then M¹ wrote columns ii and iii (in Demotic) to the left of the Greek columns, and subsequently columns xvii to xx (primarily in Demotic) to the right of the Greek columns.¹³ Both the Demotic and bilingual columns (including three incantations in Greek) were written from left to right, following a Greek column order; the Demotic text, the Greek glosses, and the integrated Greek text in ll. 528 and 569–570 were written by M¹, while the Greek incantations embedded in the bilingual columns were written by M². The Demotic titles, which were added to three Greek recipes (in ll. 250, 319, 414), seem to have been later inserted by a different hand (M³), perhaps to assist readers whose primary literacy was in Demotic in locating certain Greek recipes.

Conrad Leemans published and numbered the Greek and Demotic columns as separate units. The latter were included in the facsimile edition (but without transliteration or translation),¹⁴ whereas the former were edited as Papyrus V in the second volume of the catalogue of Greek papyri kept in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.¹⁵ The Demotic columns were numbered from right to left as i*–ii* (to the left of the Greek columns) and i–iv (to the right of the Greek columns), while the Greek columns were numbered from left to right as 1–13. The use of three distinct numbering sequences for a single, coherent formulary is unnecessarily confounding and misleading. To rectify the situation, we have renumbered the columns into a single sequence from left to right, irrespective of their language of inscription, as shown in this concordance table.

Previous column number	GEMF
Dem. iii*	i
Dem. ii*	ii
Dem. i*	iii
Gr. 1	iv
Gr. 2	v
Gr. 3	vi
Gr. 4	vii
Gr. 5	viii
Gr. 6	ix
Gr. 7	x
Gr. 8	xi
Gr. 9	xii
Gr. 10	xiii

¹¹ These fragments (numbered a to f) had been patched onto the manuscript to repair fissures already in antiquity; Reuvs 1830, 5.

¹² Dieleman 2005, 32.

¹³ Johnson 1975, 48–50. In column ii, he did not yet transcribe *voces magicae* into alphabetic Demotic signs. In column xvii, he started transcribing them in alphabetic Demotic and adding supralineal glosses in Greek letters. He changed his glossing method, however, halfway through. In lines 8–11, he wrote the Greek letters above the corresponding Demotic characters (writing right to left), while starting line 14, he glossed the name itself rather than the individual letters (writing left to right). In column xix, he followed the latter method throughout.

¹⁴ Leemans 1856.

¹⁵ Leemans 1885, 57–76.

Gr. 11	xiv
Gr. 12	xv
Gr. 13	xvi
Dem. iv	xvii
Dem. iii	xviii
Dem. ii	xix
Dem. i	xx

The width of most of the Greek columns varies between 18 and 20 cm, while the number of lines per page varies from 30 to 39; some columns are relatively (col. xiii with a width of 16 cm) or even considerably (col. xvi with a width of 11 cm) narrower in width. Intercolumnia are usually about 2 cm, but occasionally vary between 0.5 and 4 cm. The scribe uses a split-column layout in the text embedded in cols. xv and xvi (list of magical ingredients and their ‘decoded’ meanings).¹⁶ Lines 17–30 (in col. xv) have been indented (ca 12 letters), as if the scribe intended to add a drawing similar to the one at the top of the column (ll. 2–11; see also above).

The Greek sections (M²) are written in a smallish, upright, bilinear hand (but for ι and ρ protruding below line-level, and β, φ, ψ, protruding below and above) of an informal, rapid type that we meet relatively often in Greek technical papyri, but occasionally also in Greek literary texts, dating from about the middle or latter part of the second century.¹⁷ The writing is difficult to read in certain places (especially at the upper part of col. iv), where the surface has darkened and wrinkled, due to the application of *papier végétal* as a conservation measure in 1829.¹⁸ The crowded layout, the abbreviated spellings (v at the end of a line is often represented by a stroke above the preceding vowel), and the relatively frequent ligatures (α and ε regularly ligature with ι and ρ, but ligatures can also be seen from θ and ω) are typical characteristics of the handwriting; when the scribe writes more quickly, the cursive elements become more pronounced (e.g. in col. xvi), while the handwriting is less cursive at other points (e.g. in cols. xi, xii, xiii). The use of lectional signs, such as *paragraphoi*,¹⁹ *diplē*-signs,²⁰ high dots²¹ and acute accents,²² as well as of abbreviated spellings and symbols²³ indicates a well-trained scribe; the scribe uses—although not consistently—the *diaeresis* (a pair of dots or sometimes a single-dot) over ι and υ; *iota* adscript is not employed. The *voces magicae* are often marked with a supralineal stroke. The script is of the same general type as that of P.Oxy. L 3531 (2nd cent. CE); comparable hands are those of GLH 17a (mid 2nd cent. CE), and Seider II 28 (mid 2nd cent. CE), but also documentary hands, such as those of P.Oxy. XLIV 3166 (187 CE) or P.Petaus 21 (185 CE). Note, however, that previous editors of the Greek text have dated the hand to the first half of the fourth century CE.²⁴

¹⁶ The scribe started the split-column at the lower part of col. xv (ll. 24–30), where he kept a distance of 2–4 letters between the two column parts. He continued the list in col. xvi, but here he kept a wider space of 7–9 letters between the two column parts.

¹⁷ The Demotic *Myth of the Sun’s Eye* on the manuscript’s recto side provides a *terminus post quem* date (early 2nd c. CE) for the inscription of the recipes on the verso side of P. Leiden I 384.

¹⁸ Reuvsens 1830, 147 fn (b).

¹⁹ Simple *paragraphoi* are placed at col. iv after l. 13; col. ix after ll. 3, 6, 17, 23; col. xv, after ll. 4 and 12; a forked *paragraphos* is placed at col. ix after l. 26.

²⁰ Two *diplē*-signs are placed at col. xiii after l. 38; another *diplē* is found in col. xv after l. 30.

²¹ High dot after a *vox magica* at col. v 14 (αρναι), and col. vi 8 (καθαη); also after εικις (l. 9 Ικις) at col. xiv 24 (not a *vox magica*).

²² Acute accent after a *vox magica* at cols. vi 9 (ηι), viii 29 (μα]ρμαραχνευ), xiv 22 (κοκκολο’).

²³ It should be noted that the scribe uses a square that does not contain a dot (□), instead of the more common ▣, as a symbol for (ὄνομα) or (ὄνόματα). All symbols appear in the Greek text and are explained in the app.cr.

²⁴ Reuvsens 1830, I, 27, dates the handwriting, on paleographical grounds, to the third to fourth century CE, as does Leemans 1885, 5. Dieterich 1888, 779 n. 1, assigns the manuscript a date between 300 and 350 CE, which dating is followed by Preisendanz, PGM vol. 2, 57, and more recently by Daniel 1991, x. Betz’s team of scholars apud GMPT

A mid/late-second-century date would support the hypothesis that P.Leiden I 384 verso was copied before its sister-manuscript, GEMF 16, the Great Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden (Leiden I 383 and BM EA 10070; formerly AMS 65 [1828] and 1072 [1857]).²⁵ Additional support for this idea is found in:²⁶ (a) the consistent application of the improved glossing method throughout P.London-Leiden, and (b) the use of an Old-Coptic alphabet for the spelling of the glosses in P.London-Leiden (which is an improvement over the use of the Greek alphabet for glossing as on P.Leiden I 384 verso).²⁷ This raises the question of whether GEMF 15 and GEMF 16 were written by the same (bilingual) scribe. As discussed in the introduction to GEMF 16, the Greek writing on P.London-Leiden was the work of (at least) three different hands, one of which (M¹) belongs to the scribe of the Demotic. This hand shows many similarities to the hand that wrote the Demotic sections in GEMF 15, as well as to the Greek glosses which accompany them, apparently written in a different, less confident hand than the continuous Greek sections, which was likely that of the Demotic scribe. Thus, the Demotic text, and the Greek text most closely associated with it in both manuscripts (the glosses and in-line Greek text) may be the work of a single scribe, designated M¹ in both GEMF 15 and 16, although the invited hands which wrote the extensive Greek sections in both manuscripts (GEMF 15 M², GEMF 16 M² and M³) are all rather different from one another. The fact that the Demotic hands of GEMF 15 and 16 are so similar, or even identical (and are likewise very similar to GEMF 17) strongly suggests that these manuscripts were produced in a single scribal context, and that the production dates of the two magical handbooks cannot be separated by more than a few decades. The composition date of the Demotic recipes is probably not much earlier. Their language displays many late grammatical features, which are already close to Coptic grammar.²⁸

Contents: Abraded prayer (ll. 1–5); A ring to cause praise (ll. 6–20); Prayer for a revelation of a remedy for a disease (ll. 21–49); Procedure aimed at producing an epiphany of Persephone (ll. 50–62); Acquisition of Eros as *paredros* (ll. 63–144); Himerios' prescriptions (ll. 145–155); Agathocles' dream-sending procedure (ll. 156–170); Zminis of Tentyra's dream-sending procedure (ll. 170–192); Dream-request (ll. 193–201); Divine oracle (ll. 202–209); Procedure to escape danger and for release from bonds (ll. 209–227); Anger restraining-procedure (ll. 228–230); Favor-procedure (ll. 231–238); Request for a dream-oracle spoken to the Bear (ll. 239–241); Alchemical procedure to make a tincture of gold with two different techniques for blistering (ll. 242–250); A little ring for every procedure and success (ll. 250–318); A little ring for success and favor and victory (ll. 319–399); Democritus' sphere (ll. 400–413); Separation-procedure (ll. 414–424); Insomnia-procedure (ll. 425–444); Procedure to gain everlasting charm and friendship (ll. 445–448); Interpretations of magical ingredients (ll. 449–492); Separation formula (ll. 493–504); Another separation formula (ll. 505–518); Another separation formula (ll. 519–550); Formula to cause a woman to hate a man (ll. 551–577); Attraction procedure with burning (ll. 578–589); Another attraction procedure with burning (ll. 590–607).

J. Dieleman, P. Sarischouli

gives the manuscript a fourth century CE dating. Dieleman 2005, 43 n. 69, argues for a date around the turn of the second to the third century CE due to the manuscript's association with the Great Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden (Leiden I 383 and BM EA 10070).

²⁵ Dieleman 2005, 28.

²⁶ For a different view of the evolution of the glosses, see Love 2016, 61–63.

²⁷ This was first observed by Johnson in 1975, 49 and 1977, 58. Dieleman 2005, 35, points out that the spellings of the glosses in P. Leiden I 384 do not yet contain additional Demotic signs to render sounds not provided by the Greek alphabet, but are written exclusively in Greek letters.

²⁸ Quack 2006, 191–216.

verso col. ii (ii*) ↓

GEMF 15/PDM XII 1–20²⁹

M ¹	[...] <i>ink N^c</i> <i>iy imy-r ḥwṯ</i> <i>pr(?)³⁰ ḥḥ bk</i>	1
5	<i>p(?)y br(?) n rmt̄ ...</i> <i>w^c kswr r t̄i ḥs.t</i> <i>ḥr in̄k w^c kswr n b'nyp</i> <i>mtw̄k iny w^c.t in̄(.t) iw̄s wbḥe</i> <i>iw̄s n p; smt n w^c.t ḥle iw̄s rt</i>	5
10	<i>n rpy³¹ n mw iw̄ wn [w^c]</i> <i>šy n ḥr n bk ...</i> <i>irm p;yḥst n ḥf iw̄ wn w^c.t</i> <i>nemes n p; ... ir̄.t</i> <i>iw̄ ḥr̄s šm r p; ... sḥ</i>	10
15	<i>p;y m ḥr̄-ḥf... d̄</i> ... βραμη φιλην χνη. . .	15
20	<i>mtw̄k t̄i te n my ḥr̄-r̄s ḥn^c w^c.t</i> <i>pke n nb mtw̄k w;ḥw ḥr̄-r̄f mtw̄k</i> <i>ir̄ ... wr̄³² n-im̄f</i>	20

²⁹ As mentioned in the introduction, although the first column of the roll is Demotic iii* (of 26 lines), the only preserved portion is a small strip, which is not transcribed or translated here.

³⁰ Or perhaps *p;*.

³¹ The reading is relatively secure but the syntax is unclear.

³² The word is followed by a plant determinative.

GEMF 15.1–20

[...] ³³ I am Na. The overseer of farmers(?) came, the(?) millions (of) falcons came out, (5) this(?) young(?) man

A ring to cause praise. ³⁴ You bring a ring of iron and you bring a white stone ³⁵ which is in the shape of a grape(-vine?) ³⁶ [which] grows (10) as a fresh plant(?) in the water, there being [a] spirit with the face [of] a falcon ... together with his snake tail, ³⁷ there being a ... *nemes*-headress(?) ³⁸ in(?) the ... eye whose face goes to the ³⁹ Write (15) this name on it ⁴⁰ ... saying ... BRAMĒ PHILĒN ... CHNĒ ... and put a limb ⁴¹ of a lion under it together with a piece of gold, and put them under it, ⁴² and (20) make ... from it.

³³ A new recipe begins here.

³⁴ In the Greek tradition such amulets are called *charitēsía* and they are designed to give the wearer charisma and physical beauty in the eyes of others. For discussion see Faraone 2018, 190–192 and Quack 2011a and for examples, see e.g. GMA 36 and 60 (both inscribed on silver and found in Egypt).

³⁵ A white stone also features in GEMF 16/PDM XIV 933. Among the magical gems, a white stone is usually the white chalcedony or the opal, which is used for stomach ailments, when engraved with the lion-headed snake Chnoubis; see Faraone 2018, 153–55. Another possibility is the mysterious *galactite* (‘milk stone’), a presumably white stone that has yet to be identified and which in antiquity was used in connection with nursing mothers and their infants; see Faraone 2018, 93.

³⁶ Most likely an oblong convex gem (i.e. in the shape of a grape) of a type more popular in pre-Roman times; the great majority of the magical gems are flat ovals; see Faraone 2018, 16.

³⁷ This seems to describe a composite type unknown among the the magical gems: a falcon-headed god (a rare form of Horus on the gems) with a serpent’s tail (the popular Chnoubis); the latter, however, is usually lion-headed, with a few human-headed variants; see Michel 2004, 255–63 (Chnoubis) and 267 (falcon-headed Horus) and Vitellozzi 2018, no. 1.13.

³⁸ Perhaps this ‘spirit’ is wearing a *nemes* headcloth, but after the divine determinative, the fish-determinative has been added, suggesting another form.

³⁹ The text is somewhat lacunose, but the mention of the direction of the face suggests that two figures were engraved face-to-face on the white stone: the falcon-headed serpent and a second wearing the *nemes* headcloth.

⁴⁰ On magical gems, such names were engraved in a circle around the image(s) or on the back of the gem.

⁴¹ Or perhaps “fat.” This is perhaps code for a common ingredient cf. below ll. 456–492 a list of unlikely magical ingredients followed by their translation; the list includes “lion semen” (464 = human semen) and “lion hair” (479 = tongue of malt); near the end we find ἀστὴρ κεφαλῆς (“star of the head”), which editors have proposed emending to κτέαρ κεφαλῆς (“fat of the head”).

⁴² This presumably means to put these materials in the iron ring before setting the white stone into it. This is the regular procedure in the *Cyranides*; see Waegeman 1987, 8–9 and, e.g. 104, for a ring with an engraved image of Nemesis, under which is enclosed a duck’s wing tip and a bit of the mullein plant.

verso col. iii (i*) ↓

GEMF 15/PDM XII 21–49

- 1 *r-wn n-y t p.t r-wn n-y p; t · r-wn n-y t tw3.t*
r-wn n-y ink Hr r-wn n-y ir-y pyr n t hrt-nt
n Wn-nfr my iw n-y Ty-m-htp wr s; Pth ms n Hrṯ-ḥ.t
n p;y grḥ my d-f n-y w.t phre.t iw-s mtr-w r p; šn
- 5 *nte [h]pr n-im-y irm p; ky n [ir]-s iw mn mt.t n de* 25
n-im-s mtr r-r-k (mtr r-r-k) Ty-m-htp wr s; Pth ms n
Hrṯ-ḥ.t mtw-w t-k p;y sp(?) n w:nr(?) r-he.t-k
iw p; w; n ht n rw hr-r-k iw p; r n ...
s; n Pth(?) [hr]-t-k in mtr p;y my mtr(?) f Ty-m-htp wr s; Pth
- 10 *ms n Hrṯ-ḥ.t n p; hyt r-r-k m-b;h Nb.t-H.t d i Šw* 30
ḥe b; ḥe ḥe Šw ḥe Wsir ḥe by Kš
ḥe Skr nte d(?) nte (r-)mr ... mry.t ... dr(?)
iw r f ḥe p(?) iwn(?)-t; n Kmy nte htp r-mtr.t n
Mn-nfr t s.t Pth ky-d hw.t bnb.t m iwty phr.t iw-w [i]š n-y
- 15 *r-tb; t-f iw(?) bn(?) ... iw(?) ... n f ... š n-y r-tb; phre.t* 35
iw-y d n f t phre.t nte mtr.w r p; šn nte iw-f n-im-f in mtr p;y
my mtr(?) f Ty-m-htp wr s; Pth ms n Hrṯ-ḥ.t [i]m n-y mh(?) pn
r-d n-y t; phre.t nte mtr.w r p; šn [nte] hpr n-im-y im n-y p; hr n wr ...
p; ... p(?) thn ... by im n-y p; nte iw hr f
- 20 *n⁴³ hr n bk ... f e n ... i p; nte htp ...* 40
h;s.t n(?) ... p; šr n-y(?) ... m-s; m i p; šr n p(?) ? ... (?)
... im n-y ... n rmt hr t-y f swḥ.t(?) ... n Dhwtj hr p;(?) it im n-y
p(?) ... nte hn t psd.t ? iw bw ir-rh f ... f p;
in iir-k ?[y] h; r-ir-y r tm d n-y t; phre.t nte mtr.w r p; šn nte hpr
- 25 *n-im-y iw-y d n-š(?) ... nte m-htnt ... š; nte m ... p; h; t* 45
n p ... p; sp(?) n hniw.t(?) n šn(?) bk-rs-pr(?)
n p ... by ky-d(?) hq gs imnt(?) bn iir-k r hms-k hn
t; ... iw bn-pw-k iy(?) n-y n p;y grḥ r d n-y(?) w.t phre.t iw-s mtr-w r p; šn
nte hpr n-im-y irm p; ky n iry-s [iw] mn mt.t n d n-im-s

⁴³ The *n* stands for the *m* of predication.

GEMF 15.21–49

Open to me,⁴⁴ O heaven! Open to me, O earth! Open to me, O underworld! Open to me! I am Horus. Open to me! I went forth from the necropolis of Wennefer.⁴⁵ May Imhotep the Great, the son of Ptah,⁴⁶ born of Khertiankh, come to me tonight!⁴⁷ May he tell me a prescription which is fitting to the illness (25) which has happened to me together with the method of [using] it, there being no falsehood therein! Bear witness! <Bear witness!>⁴⁸ O Imhotep the Great, the son of Ptah, born of Khertiankh, you are put ... of reed(?) on yourself while the bark of *aru*-wood⁴⁹ is under you, while the ... of son of Ptah(?) is on you. Is it what is fitting? May he, Imhotep the Great, the son of Ptah, (30) born of Khertiankh, bear witness to(?) the fury against you in the presence of Nephthys saying, “O, Shu the living one, the soul, may Shu, the living one, live, may Osiris live, may the Ba of Kush live, may Sokar, the living one of ... who is [on] board ... harbor ... entire(?), he having ascended. May the(?) pillar(?) of the land, the great one of Egypt who rests in the middle of Memphis, the place of Ptah, another (manuscript) says, ‘the House of the Obelisk’,⁵⁰ being one without a prescription! If I am called (35) about it ..., ... calls me about (a) prescription, I will tell him the prescription which is fitting to the illness which he is in.” Is it what is fitting? May Imhotep the Great, the son of Ptah, born of Khertiankh, be fitting. Come to me, O battler(?). Tell me the prescription which is fitting to the illness [which] has happened to me! Come to me, O face of the great one ... O ... the peak(?) ... soul! Come to me, O one whose face (40) is the face of a falcon ... hair of ...! O he who rests ... necropolis of(?) ... the son ... after swallowing. O son of ... Come to me ... of man upon his egg(?)⁵¹ ... of Thoth and the(?) father! Come to me, O(?) ... who is in the great Ennead, not knowing his ..., the ...! Are you steadfast against me, not to tell me the prescription which is fitting to the illness which has happened (45) in me? I will say many are the things(?), which are in ..., the mysterious one(?), who is in ... the heart of the ... the ... of ... of ... of the ... soul, another (manuscript) says(?) “Ruler of the western half(?)” You will not live in the ... without having come to me tonight to tell me(?) a prescription which is fitting to the illness which has happened to me, together with the method of using it, [there] being no falsehood therein.

⁴⁴ Another recipe begins here; it is not introduced by a rubric and seems to comprise an invocation, which concerns dream divination about an illness, that has no accompanying ritual.

⁴⁵ A common epithet for the god Osiris, written Ὀννώφρις / Ὀνούφριος in Greek.

⁴⁶ Imhotep, the vizier and architect of the Step Pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara was later divinized as the patron of scribes and physicians; see Johnson, GMPT and Wildung 1980, 145–148. The epithet “son of Ptah” was applied to Imhotep in many temples which initiated his cult during the Ptolemaic period; see Bonnet 1952, 323.

⁴⁷ The timing of the visit at night and the following request to the physician god for advice on curing an illness both suggest that this is a request for physician Imhotep to appear in a dream and advise the patient, as is common with Asclepius and later Sarapis; for the latter, see GEMF 58/PGM V 447–450, a recipe for a ring depicting Sarapis used in dream divination, with Nagy 2002b, 177–179 and Faraone 2018, 161–162.

⁴⁸ The second imperative was crossed out by scribe.

⁴⁹ CDD · (03.1) p. 99, ‘type of tree’. Reymond 1976, 252 no. 33 translates ‘juniper tree’. According to Germer 2008, 45–46 it was used as a painkiller in medical recipes and demonically caused diseases. Smith 2009, 699: “Aru-tree: A tree which is said to grow near the tomb of Osiris, or in which he appears, probably to be identified as *Acacia seyal*.”

⁵⁰ This refers to the sun temple in Heliopolis.

⁵¹ Or ‘skull’. Cf. Setne II col. vii 2, where *swḥ.t-ḡ:ḡ:* has been understood as designating a human skull; Griffith 1900, 204–205 translates it as “the crown of the head.” Ritner apud Simpson 2003, 488 n. 44, translates it as “skull” (literally “egg of the head”).

verso col. iv ↓

GEMF 15.50–67 [PGM XII 1–18]

M ²	πράξις	50
	ἔχων κηρία μελιττων νυκτός κ[αὶ λαβ]ῶν ξίφο[ς λέγε]. θερμοχθαβοὶ ἀχαφ μαρμιλυχα βερθιωχ χαρηλ[.] βα[.]θαχ δηρφο φιβρο ᾠθωραι φουξαίωα μελιχια βαιεια καρσε ρευθρα [.] γρουχ ζερφρηχ	
5	ψερφερχω θερβηχ χαρχερβερ υειχ φχυαρ πα[.]χα μιλιθερ χληλωρ φαχιλερ μαζ μαχαιριωχ. ταῦτά σου [ε]ἰπόντ[ο]ς ἐλεύσεται Κόρη λαμπάδας ἔχουσα. σὺ λέγαι. φερθελιλωχ πειυ ὑ καὶ σβεσθήσονται αὐτή[ς] ηδ[.]δαὶ καὶ παραστήσεται σοι λυπουμένη καὶ μεμφομένη. σὺ λέγε. ποιησὶ τόδε καὶ ἄψω σου τὰς λαμπάδας. ἀγε ὄνειροπομπείαν ἄψεις, κεπταται.	55
10	ἂν ἐπὶ φόνον πέμπης, δὸς αὐτῇ τὸ ξίφος καὶ δ[ώ]σει σοι τὰς λαμπάδας καὶ ἐλεύσεται ἡμαγμένον ἔχο[υ]σα τὸ ξίφος. σὺ εἶπε [α]ὐ[τῆ] προσκεῖσθαι τὰς λαμ- πάδας καὶ ἀναφθήσονται καὶ φεύζεται. [.]ο[.] . . . [.]τατα λέγε. μωζηρφερ ταχχαψ. φυλακτήριον οἴσε[ις] ἄψας δεξιᾷ χειρὶ κα[ὶ] ἀρι[ς]τερᾷ χειρὶ νυκτός. πάρεδρος Ἔρωσ	[10] 60
15	Ἔρωτος τελετή, καὶ ἀφιέρω[ς] καὶ κ[α]τασκευή. πο[ι]εῖ δὲ πράξε[ι]ς ταύτας καὶ ὄνειρο- πομπείαν, ἀγρυπνίαν ποιεῖ καὶ διαλλάσσει κακοδαίμον[να]ς, [ἐ]ὰν ὀρθῶς αὐτῷ χρήσῃ κα[ὶ] ἀγνώσ. ἔστιν γὰρ ἔχων πάσαν πράξιν. λαβὼν κ[η]ρὸν [τ]υρρηνικ[ὸν] μείζον αὐτῷ π[ᾶ]ν γένος ἀρωμάτων καὶ πο[ι]ήσων Ἔρωτα δακτύλων [ὄκ]τῶ μῆκος λαμπαδηφόρο[ν]	65

1 πράξις R L D Pr || 2 ἰσπριων pro ὀσπριῶν ἐπιετῶν R D : ἰσπριῶν ἐπιετῶν L : κτέρεια ἀν[ε]λ[ι]ττων Pr : κρηα ν Da | ξίφο[ς λέγε] ca 6] R L : ξίφο[ς λέγε] . D : ξίφο[ς λέγει] pro λέγε Pr : ξίφο[ς λεγε] Da | θ[ε]ρ ωχθαβοιαχαφ R L vel sim. D : θερμοχ θθαβοιοαχαφ R L vel sim. D : θερμοχ θθαβοιοαχαφ Pr Da || 3 μαρ[.]ιλυχα R L vel sim. D : μαρμιλυχα Pr Da | Χαφ[α]ιν[.] R L : χαρ.ιν . D : χαρηλ[.] Pr Da | βαρχ θαχ R L D : βασιοχ[.]θαχ Pr : βα θαχ Da | δηρφο φιβ[.] pro φιβ[.] Pr || 4 φουξαίωα R L D | μελιχια Pap: ει ex corr. : μερλιχια βαρεια R L D : μελιχ Ἰαβαί εια Pr : μελιχιαβαεια Da | καρ.ε. ρευσα R L D : καρσε ρευθρα Pr Da | γρουχ R L D vel sim. Da : ενρουχ Pr || 5 Ψερφερκω R L : φερφερκω D | χαρχερβερ R L | εικ R L D | φ.υ ρ R L vel sim. D : φχυαρ Pr Da | π α R L D : πα[.]χα Pr : πα[.]χα vel γα[.]χα Da || 6 χλητωρ R L D | φανιλερ R L D | Μαχαιριω R L : μαχαιριω pro μαχαιριω κ(αὶ) D : μαχαιριωχ Pr Da | [ε]ἰπόντ[ο]ς R L : [ς]ο[υ] εἰπόντος D : σου [ε]ἰπόντ[ο]ς Pr Da || 7 I. λέγε : λεγαι R L D : λεγε Pr Da | φερθελιλωχ τει R L vel sim. D : φερθελιλωχ πειυ . Pr Da | αυτα pro αυται L : αυτα[ι] D : αυτη[ς] Pr Da || 8 I. αἰ δ[ᾶ]δες : η δαις R : η [δᾶ]δαις pro αἰ δᾶδες L vel sim. D : αιδ[.]δαις Pr : η vel ε δαδαις Da | ποιησο(ν) || 9 I. ἂν ἐ(π) ὄνειροπομπείαν ἄψης : ἂν δ[ε] ὄν[ε]ρ[ο]πομπ[ῆ]ς, ἀνάψεις D : εἰ [δ] ὄνειροπομπει, ἀνάψεις Pr : ἀγ επ ονειροπομπειαν ἀψεις Da | I. καὶ πέτεται : κεπταται R L : κε πεταται pro καὶ πέτεται D : κεπταται Pr Da || 10 καὶ λεις (pro ἀφελεις) τὰς L : καὶ, [ε]ἰ [θῆ]λεις, τὰς D : καὶ δ[ώ]σει σοι τὰς Pr Da || 11 [ς]ὺ [ε]ἰπ[ε] R L : [ποι]εῖ ἐτ[ο]ίμας(?) D : σ[υ] εἶτα [π]οί[ε]ι Eι² : σὺ εἶπε [α]ὐ[τῆ] Pr Da || 12 I. ταῦτα, [τα]τα Pap : [ἀπο]λ[υ]ομένη D : [.]οιων τατε pro [π]οιῶν τάδε Pr : [.] [.]τα α Da || 13 φυλ. οἴσε[ις] ταῦτα D : φυλ. πε[ρ]ι[ἀ]ψας Eι² : φυλ. οἴσε[ις] ἄψας Pr Da || 15 ε τιδὲ πράξε R L || 15–16 ὄνει[ρ]ους | πέμπει R L : ὄνει[ρ]ο[πο]μπει [καὶ] D || 16 [καὶ ἀπ]αλλάσσει, κ[αὶ] ο R L : [καὶ ἀπ]αλλάσσει κ[ακ]ο[δ]αίμον[ος] D : κα[ὶ] διαλλάσσει κ[α]κῶν φωνόν Eι² : κ[α]ὶ διαλλάσσει κ[ακ]οδαίμον[ος] Pr : δ[.] διαλλάσσει κ[ακ]οδαίμον[ος] Da || 17 γαρ εχων R L D Pr : παρεχων Da | παιδιοκταξιν R : παιδιον πράξιν L : πάσαν πράξιν D Pr Da | ἀρρηνικὸν pro ἀρρηνικὸν L : [κῆ]ρον [τ]υρρηνικὸν D : [κῆ]ρον [τ]υρρηνικ[ὸν] Pr Da || 18 μῆκος Pr

GEMF 15.50–67

(50) Procedure: Holding some beeswax⁵² at night, take a sword and say: “THERMOCHCHTHABOI ACHAPH MARMILUCHA BERTHIÖCH CHARĒL ... BA ... THACH DĒRPHO PHIRBO SÖTHÖRAI PHAUXAIÖA MEILICHIA⁵³ BAIEIA KARSE REUTHRA ... NROUCH ZERPHERĒCH PSERPHERCHÖ THNERBĒCH CHARCHERBER UEICH PHCHUAR PA.CHA MILCHITHER (55) CHLĒLÖR PHACHILER MAZ MACHAIRIÖCH.”⁵⁴ When you say these things, Kore⁵⁵ will come carrying torches. You yourself say: “PHERTHELILÖCH PEIU ... U” and her pine-torches will be extinguished, and she will stand beside you in distress and complain. You yourself say: “Do the following and I will kindle your torches.” If you kindle them for dream-sending, she will even fly away. If you send her to commit murder, give her the sword, and she will give you the torches and (60) come (back) with the sword stained with blood. You yourself tell her that the torches belong to her, and they will be ignited and she will flee. [While . . .] say these(?): “MÖZĒRPHER TACHCHAPS.” You will wear a protective amulet fastened to your right hand and your left hand⁵⁶ at night. Eros as *paredros*. A rite of Eros,⁵⁷ both consecration and preparation. It achieves the following operations: it (65) sends dreams or induces insomnia and also changes (the fate of) ill-starred people⁵⁸ if you use it properly and in purity. For it can accomplish every procedure. Take Etruscan [wax]⁵⁹ and mix [every] sort of aromatic herbs with it. Then make a torch-bearing Eros, eight fingers⁶⁰ high,

⁵²Although the ink traces are so indistinct that it is difficult to consider the proposed reading as certain, κηρία μελιττων seems to fit the context reasonably well: the practitioner is asked to carry some honeycomb, or honey, perhaps as an offering (cf. e.g. IC III iv 38, where κηρία is used to denote offerings) to Persephone; this would make good sense considering that μελιτώδης, meaning ‘like honey’, is actually a name of Persephone (cf. Theoc. *Id.* 15.94; Porph. *Antr.* 18: Κόρην Μελιτώδη). For the rite in ll. 50–62, see Sarischouli 2021, 109–113.

⁵³MEILICHIA seems to be related to honey or figs (similarly to κηρία μελιττων in l. 51): cf. μελίχια ποτά, referring to honey mixed in the drink-offerings (Soph. *OC* 159), and μελίχια (sc. ἱερά), meaning “propitiatory offerings” (e.g. in Plu. *Mor.* 417c). Although the adjective Meilichios is usually associated with Zeus, it is not limited to him: see Jameson, Jordan and Kotansky 1993, 91–92.

⁵⁴MACHAIRIÖCH seems to be related to the Greek word μάχαιρα (‘short sword’, ‘dagger’) or the dim. μαχαίριδιον, μαχαίριον *vel sim.*; the *vox* probably alludes to the sword mentioned above (l. 51).

⁵⁵Persephone, who is often called Kore, meaning ‘girl’ or, with reference to virginity, ‘maiden’.

⁵⁶Unlike regular protective amulets that were believed to protect their bearers from evil or illness, these phylacteries were worn by the practitioners to protect themselves while performing dangerous magical rituals, sometimes (as here) on their wrist or arm (cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 2514; 34/LXII 24), or—more often—on their neck (cf. GEMF 31/PGM I 69, 148; 57/IV 1083); for a full list see Faraone 2018, appendix A.

⁵⁷For the attraction-procedure in ll. 63–144/PGM XII 14–95, cf. Sarischouli 2021, 113–124; Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 65–80. For another recipe involving Eros, see GEMF 74.559–571/PGM VII 478–490.

⁵⁸The ink traces after καὶ are inconsistent with the expected ἀπαλλάττει: the first letter of the verb could be an α, but the second trace can hardly belong to a π. Although διαλλάττειν is normally used with the acc. and/or dat., Preisendanz (PGM) restores the text as κ[α]ἰ διαλλάττει κ[ακ]οδαίμο[νο]c, “und befreit von bösem Daimon”; his restoration is adopted by Martin, GMPT (“and he releases from an evil spirit”). However, the restoration of the acc. pl. κακοδαίμο[να]c after διαλλάττει, as proposed by Merkelbach in Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 76, seems to fit the context more reasonably; for the translation, cf. also Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 67: “versöhnt Leute, die schlechter Stimmung sind.” Slightly different, yet in the same vein, is the restoration of Daniel 1991, xiv, who reads δ[] instead of καὶ, and restores ll. 15–16 as follows: πο[]εἰ δὲ {πράξε[]c ταύτας καὶ} ὄνειρ[ο]πομπείαν, ἀγρυπνίαν. ποιεῖ δ[]ε {πράξε[]c ταύτας καὶ} διαλλάττει κ[ακ]οδαίμο[να]c.

⁵⁹Etruscan wax is used also in GEMF 57/PGM IV 3131. See also Hippol. *Haer.* 4.28, 12b–13, as discussed by Kelhoffer 2014, 277.

⁶⁰A δάκτυλος represents a measure of length corresponding to a finger’s breadth; that is, about 2 cm.

col. iv (cont.) ↓

GEMF 15.68–88 [PGM XII 19–39]

- ἔχοντα βάσιν μακρὰν ἐκ δεξιῶν δὲ τείνων τῆ [ἀριστερᾶ] χειρ[ί] κρατεῖτω τόξον
 20 καὶ βέλος. καὶ Ψυχὴν τελειν^{cov} ταῦτὸν ὡς Ἐρωτα. π[άντα ταῦτα] ἀποτ[ε]λέσας ἀφιέρω^{co} [20]
 ἡμέρας γ̄. παραθήσεις δὲ αὐτῷ παντοῖα γένη καρ[πῶν νέων] πόπ[α]γά τε ζ̄, στροβ[ί]- 70
 λους ζ̄, τραγημάτων πᾶν γένος, λύχνους ἀμίλτω[τους .] καὶ τ[ρί]α μικρὰ λιπα[.]-
 τα, πινακίδας, ὀξέα μῆλα φοινίκια, κρατῆρα κεκρα[μ]ένον οἶ[ν]ο[μ]έλιτι. εἶτα τα[ῦτα]
 ποιήσας καὶ παραθεῖς, ὡς ὑπόκειται, ποιήσας τὸν Ἐρωτα ἐπὶ τρ[α]πέζης πανκάρ-
 25 που ἐχούσης τοὺς ζ̄ λύχνους καιομένους λευκῷ ἐλαίῳ καὶ ὅσα προσγέγραπται,
 ὡςδε τιθεῖν τὸν θαυμαστὸν Ἐρωτα. πρώτη μὲν ἡμέρα ἐπιθέγγοτος σου αὐτὸν 75
 ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν καὶ κοσμήσαντος, ὡς προγέγραπται, γράφω δέ σοι κατ' εἶδος
 ἀφθόνως, ἴν' εἰδῆς καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιζητῆς, ποίησον βωμὸν καθαρὸν. τοῦτ' ἔστιν,
 πλίνθους ὦμας δύο λαβὼν ποίησον κέρατα δ̄, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπιτίθης ξύλα κάρπιμα,
 30 καὶ λαβὼν τῆ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπόπνειζον ζῶα ζ̄· ἓνα ἀλε[κτ]ρυόνα, ὄρτυγα, [30]
 βασιλείσκον, περιστεράν, τρυγόνα καὶ τὰ ἐνπεσόντα σοι γ[ε]ορσὰ δύο. ταῦτα 80
 δὲ πάντα μὴ θύε, ἀλλὰ κατέχων εἰς τῆ χειρᾶν ἀποπν[ί]ξις ἅμα προσφέρω[ν]
 τῷ Ἐρωτι, μέχρις οὗ ἕκαστον τῶν ζῶων ἀποπνιγῆ καὶ τ[ὸ] πν[εῦ]μα αὐτῶν εἰς α[ὐ]-
 τὸν ἔλθῃ, καὶ τότε ἐπιτίθει εἰς τὸν βωμὸν τὰ ἀποπνιγ[έν]τα σὺν ἀρώμασιν πα[ν]-
 35 τοίοις. τῆ δὲ δευτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ νοσκάκιον ἀρρενικὸν π[ρὸ]ς τὸν Ἐρωτα ἀπόπνειγ[ε]
 καὶ ὀλοκαύσσει, τῆ δὲ γ̄ ἡμέρᾳ ἕτερον νοσκάκιον β̄ . . . καὶ ποιῶν τὴν τελετ[ὴ]ν(v) 85
 κατάφαγε τὸν νεοσσὸν μόνος, ἄλλος δὲ μηδεὶς συν[έ]στῳ. [ταῦ]τ' οὖν ποιήσας
 ἄγνῶς καὶ καθαρῶς πάντων ἐπιτεύξει. λόγ[ος] πρῶτ[ος] λεγόμενος
 σὺν τῆ θυξία.

19 εκδεξιων δε . τ λην R : ἐκ δεξιῶν δὲ τ ν εν L : ἐκ δεξιῶν δὲ τ[ε]ί[ν]ων D : ἔκδεξι[ν] [τ]ῶνδε Pr : εκδεξ̄ . ν δε τ . . γ Da | τ[ῆ] ἀριστερᾶ] χειρ[ί] D : [ἡ δ' ἀριστερ]ᾶ χειρ Pr : τῆ [αριστερ]ᾶ χειρ Da || 20 I. τέλεσον (corr. ex τελειν) : τέλει R L D : τέλεσον Pr Da | κ(αἰ) [ταῦτα] R L D : π[άντα ταῦτα] Pr : παντ[α ταυ]τα Da | ἀφιέρωσο(ν) : ἀφιέρω[σ]εις R L D : ἀφιέρωσον Pr : αφιερωσ[ο]ν Da || 22 I. ἀμίλτω[τους ζ̄] iam Pr : ἀμιλτ[ώ]τους R L D : ἀμιλτω[τους .] Da | [πέταλ]α D : [τρί]α Pr : [. .]α Da || 22–23 I. ἀλίπα[σ]τα? : διπα .]τα R : δίπαλ]τα L : διπαλεσ]τα pro διπάλαιστα D : λ(α?)πα[.]τα pro δίπαλτα Pr : απα[.]τα Da || || 23 οξέα Pap: τόξα edd. vett. | [κριθῆς] μέλιτι D : οἶ[ν]ο[μ]έλιτι Pr : οἶγομελιτι Da || 24 I. ποιήσεις τὸν iam L Pr : I. ἐπιθήσεις τὸν D || 24–25 I. παγκάρ]που || 25 fort. προγέγραπται Ei || 26 I. ὡςτε τιθεῖν vel π(ε)ίθειν : ὡς δε πειε ν R : ὡς δε πει[θ]ειν L D : ωσδεπ[ι]θειν vel ωσδειτ[ι]θειν pro ὡςτε πείθειν Pr : ωσδε π[ι]θειν Da || 27 προσγέγραπται] D | γρά[φω] L | κατ' εἶδος R L D : κατ' εἶδος Pr || 29 γη[ί]νας D : ὦμας Pr Da | δυο Pap: δυ ex corr. Da | I. ἐφ' αἰς : ἐφ οἷς R L D Pr Da | [ἐπιθ]ῆς L D : [ἐπ]ι[τί]θης Pr Da || 30 I. ἀπόπνειζον | εἶτα R L : εια pro ἓνα D : ἓνα Pr Da || 31 I. βασιλείσκον : βασιλεισκα pro βασιλείσκον L : βασιλεισκα pro βασιλεισσαν D : βασιλεισκον pro βασιλείσκον Pr | . . . ησα R L : [σοι ὄρ]νεα D : σοι [νε]οσκά Pr : σοι . . . σσα Da | ταυτα corr. ex απαντα, [[απ]α[ν]τα] Pap || 32 [τῆ] χειρ[ί] ἀναπνίξις L : τῆ(ν) χειρᾶ ἀναπνίξις D : τῆ(ν) (τῆ) Pap] χειρᾶ ἀποπνίξις Pr Da | προσφέρων R L D Pr : προσφερω[ν] Da || 33 [καὶ τὸ αἶ]μα R L D : καὶ τ[ὸ] πν[εῦ]μα Pr Da || 34 εἶπε R : εἶτα L D : τότε Pr Da | ἐπιτίθει pro ἐπιτίθει L || 35 . . . c . . . [π]ρῶτα L : [πρὸ]ς τὸν Ἐρωτα D : [πρὸ]ς τὸν Ἐρωτα Pr Da | I. ἀπόπνειγ[ε] : αποπνειγε R L D : αποπνιγε Pr : αποπνειγ[ε] Da || 36 ὀλοκα[ύ]σει L : ὀλοκα[ύ]σει D Pr : ολοκαυσει Da | fort. βάλε καὶ : β̄ . . . R L Da : fort. β[ί]αι[ον] D : βω[μ]ῶ εἰς[θ]έσ] Pr | τελετ R L D : τελετῆ Pr : τελετ[ὴ] Da || 37 fort. σὺν[έ]στῳ οὕτως οὖν L : σὺν[έ]στῳ ταῦτα οὖν D : συν[έ]στῳ. ταῦ]τ' οὖν Pr : σὺν[ε]στῳ [ταυ]τ ουν Da || 38 πάντων R L D Da : ἀπάντων Pr | λόγος] ὁ λεγόμενος L D : λόγος] πρῶτ[ος] λεγόμενος Pr Da || 39 σὺν τῆ ἀ' ἡμέρα R L D : σὺν τῆ θυξία (θ vel θυ ex corr.) Pr Da

GEMF 15.68–88

having a wide base and stretching out from the right-hand side,⁶¹ and let him grasp a bow and arrow in [his left] hand. Then fashion a Psyche in the same way as Eros.⁶² After you have completed [all these things], purify (i.e. the statues) (70) for three days. You are to set near him [fresh] fruits of every sort and 7 (ritual?) cakes, 7 pine-cones,⁶³ every sort of sweetmeats, [7] lamps not painted red;⁶⁴ also, 3 small (portions of) pickled food (?),⁶⁵ (votive) tablets, sour⁶⁶ palm fruits,⁶⁷ a bowl with wine flavored with honey. After you have fashioned these things (i.e. the figurines) and furnished them, as given below,⁶⁸ you are to place the Eros on an offering-table covered with fruit, which holds the 7 lamps burning with clear olive oil,⁶⁹ and all else added to the list⁷⁰ (75) so as to set up⁷¹ the marvelous (god) Eros. On the first day, after you have put him on the offering-table and adorned him, as prescribed—I note down (the guidelines) in full detail for you in order that you know and lack nothing—build a (ritually) pure altar; that is, take two unbaked bricks and produce four *kerata*,⁷² on which you place fruit-bearing branches, and take, on the first day, 7 animals and strangle them: one cock, a quail, (80) a wren, a pigeon, a turtledove, and any two young birds you may encounter. Do not offer any of these on the fire, but hold them in (your) hand and strangle them, while at the same time offering them to Eros, until each of the animals is strangled and their breath enters him. Then, place the strangled animals on the altar together with every sort of aromatic herbs. On the second day, strangle a young male chick before the Eros (85) and roast it as a whole burnt-offering. On the third day, [place?]⁷³ another young chick [on the altar?], and while performing the rite, eat the chick up by yourself, allowing no one else to join in. If, therefore, you perform these things in chastity and in purity, you will succeed in all your endeavors. First formula, to be spoken with the burnt-offering:

⁶¹ Although the proposed reading is also insecure, Preisendanz's ἐκδεξι[ι]ν [τ]ῶνδε, cannot be read here.

⁶² Psyche and Eros are engraved embracing one another on a magnetic stone used in the Sword of Dardanos of GEMF 57/PGM IV 1716–1870. On the anticipation this allusion may mean, see cf. Sarischouli 2021, 114; Fichoux 2007.

⁶³ Or perhaps 'pine nuts'; see LiDonnici 2001, 79–83.

⁶⁴ The lamps are numbered as 7 a few lines below (cf. also the app.cr. on this line). The red color was due to the red ocher (*miltos*), into which the lamps were dipped before the firing. For other instances, cf. e.g. GEMF 31/PGM I 277; 30.104/II 57 or 74.623/VII 542. In Egypt Seth was the Red God of storms, anger and violence, so the red color might allude to Typhonic presence; for color in magic, see Bonser 1925.

⁶⁵ The ink traces are inconsistent with διπαλ|τα or διπαλε|τα, as in previous editors: the first letter could be a λ or an α, but δ cannot be read here; at any rate, some kind of pickled food seems to fit the context better than the “double-edged daggers,” which Preisendanz restores, although he also reads λιπα[]|τα or αιπα[]|τα (see app.cr.).

⁶⁶ All previous editors read τόξα before μῆλα φοινίκια; however, a reference to bows makes no sense at this point. Moreover, although the reading of ὀξέα (instead of τόξα) is also uncertain, there can be little doubt that there is a letter between ξ and α; apparently, what was read as a τ before ο, is rather a stroke projecting from c. ὀξύς is regularly understood as ‘sharp’ or ‘piercing’; the adj. can also be used of a sharp, sour taste (cf. Artem. 1.73.4).

⁶⁷ Martin, GMPT translates μῆλα φοινίκια as ‘dates’; Preisendanz ‘phönikische Äpfel’, although the text reads φοινίκια, not φοινικικά: ‘Punic apples’ should be understood as pomegranates; see Thibodeau 2016, 528.

⁶⁸ The ink traces are inconsistent with the expected ὡς πρόκειται, as the reading of υ (in ὡς ὑπόκειται) is certain. If it is not a scribal slip, then ὡς ὑπόκειται could perhaps be explained as indicating a marginal variant: see note 1*.

⁶⁹ According to Theophr. CP 6.8.3: “the white oil comes from coarse olives when they are unripe”; thus, in the late fourth century BCE, the expression seems to indicate a cheap kind of oil. By the Roman period, however, oil was made white through a complicated and lengthy process (cf. Dsc. 1.30.3), which probably means that “white oil” was by that time correspondingly expensive (I owe the references to Korshi Dosoo).

⁷⁰ Or “as written above,” adopting Eitrem’s conjecture of προσέγραπται (a scribal slip?) for προέγραπται.

⁷¹ The first letter of the infinitive after ὥστε can be read either as τ or π; thus, the text could also be rendered as “so as to persuade (ὥστε π(ε)ῖθαι) the marvelous (god) Eros (to assist you).”

⁷² That is, perhaps ‘arms’ or ‘wings’. None of the proposed translations for κέρατα seems to be completely persuasive, thus suggesting a corruption of the text at this point; on the subject, see note 2*.

⁷³ Although the ink traces at this point are practically illegible, βάλε καὶ seems to be paleographically possible. Preisendanz reads the traces as βω[μ]ῶ εἰς[θῆς], noting nothing in his critical *apparatus*.

verso col. v ↓

GEMF 15.89–105 [PGM XII 40–56]

- 1 ἐπικαλοῦμέαι τὸν ἐν τῇ καλῇ κοίτῃ, τ[ὸν] ἐν τῷ ποθεινῷ οἴκῳ. διακόνησόν μοι [40]
καὶ ἀ[π]άγγελον αἰεῖ, ὅτι ἂν σοι εἴπω καὶ ὅπου [ἄ]ν ἀποστέλλω, παρομοιούμενος θεῷ 90
ἢ θεῶ, οἷω ἂν ἐβίωνται οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ οἱ γυναῖ[κ]ες, λέγων πάντα τὰ ὑπογραφόμενα
ἢ λεγόμενα καὶ παρατιθέμενά σοι ταχύ. ἔφθασε τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὰ εἶδωλα τὰ μέγιστα,
5 καὶ κατέπειεν ὁ οὐρανὸς τὸν κύκλον μὴ [γ]εινώσκον τοῦ ἁγίου κανθάρου λε-
[γο]μένου Φωρεῖ. κἀνθαρος, ὁ πτεροφυῆς μεσουρανῶν τύραννος, ἀπεκεφα-
λίσθη, ἐμελίσθη, τὸ μέγιστον καὶ ἔνδοξον αὐτοῦ κατεχρήσατο καὶ δεσπότην τοῦ [ου] 95
οὐρανοῦ συνκατακλείσαντες ἤλλαξαν. ὡς δὲ διακονήσεις μοι, πρὸς οὐδὲ θέλω
ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας. ἦκέ μοι, ὁ δεσπότης τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἐπιλάμπων τῇ οἴκου-
10s πρὸς
10 μένη. διακόνησόν μοι εἴτε ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας, μικρούς τε καὶ μεγάλους, καὶ
ἐπαναγκάσης αἰεῖ αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ. ἦκαί μοι ὁ δεσπό- [50]
της τῶν μορφῶν καὶ δειγερὸν μοι ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας, ἀνάγκασον αὐτοὺς 100
ποιῆσαι τῇ σοὶ εἰςχυρᾷ καὶ κρατὰ δυνάμει πάντα τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γραφόμενά τε καὶ
λεγόμενα. εἰσαφραντα φουρεῖ αρναί . . . συνφρω ριωβαί οσοί . . . ατεφθο
15 αφρελ Αδωναι. καὶ ποιῆσον αὐτοὺς ἐνφόβους, ἐντρόμους, ἐπτοημένους τὰς φρένας
ποι . . . ς . . . ςα δὲ τὸν φόβον σου καὶ ποίει τῷ Δ ἅπαντα τὰ προγεγραμμένα. ἐὰν δέ μου
παρακούσης, κα[τα]κάησεται ὁ κύκλος, κ[α]ἰ σκότος ἔσται καθ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην, 105

1 I. ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε | πο[θε]ινῷ L D vel sim. Da : ποθινῷ pro ποθεινῷ Pr || 2 ὅπο[υ ἂν] R L Pr : ὅπο[υ σε] D : ὅπου [α]ν Da | I. ἀποστέλλω : ἀ[π]οστέλλω R L : ἀ[π]οστέλλω D : ἀποστέλλω Pr Pap : ἀποστέλλω Da || 3 I. αἰ γυναῖ[κ]ες || 5 I. κατέπειεν ὁ : κ[α]τεπειτω pro κατεπίτω ὁ L : κατεπειτω pro κατηπέιτω D : κατεπει[γ]ετο (omisso augmento) Bücheler apud D | I. γινώσκων : γ[γ]ινώσκων pro γινώσκων L : [γ]εινώσκων : ω corr. ex o Da | I. ἁγίου || 7 ἢ μελίσθη R L D : καὶ μελίσθη Ei : (καὶ) ἐμελίσθη Ei³ : ἐμελίσθη Pr Da | (μέλος) τὸ μέγιστον Ei³ | I. fort. κατεχρήσαντο iam D : κα[τ]εχρήσατο R L : I. κατεχρήσαντο D : I. κα[τ]εχρειώσατο Pr : κατεχρήσατο (τ deinde add.) Da || 7–8 I. τοῦ | οὐρανοῦ (dittographia) || 9 ὁ δεσποτα pro ὁ δέσποτα L || 10 προς suprascr. εἴτε (ei ex corr.) : πρὸς τὸ L D : εἴτε πρὸς Pr | I. μικρούς || 11 I. ἐπαναγκάσης | γεγραμμένα vel fort. ἔγραμμένα (iam Da) : [γ]ε[γ]ραμμένα R L D vel sim. Pr | I. ἦκέ || 12 I. δειγερὸν || 13 I. τῇ ἔσαι vel εἰσαι εἰςχυρᾷ : τῆς αἰεῖ εἰςχυρα pro ἰςχυρᾷ L : I. θεὸς αἰεῖ ἰςχυρᾷ D Ei : δείσας (τὰ) ἰςχυρᾷ Ei¹ : τῆς εἰςχυρᾷ δυνάμει ἰςχυρᾷ Ei³ : τῆς αἰεῖ ἰςχυρᾷ Pr | I. κραταῖα iam Pr : κράτα L D : κρατα[ῖα καὶ] Ei : κράτα pro κάρτα Ei³ | I. δυνάμει πάντα iam Pr : δύνα[ν]ται {ἴτα} L : δυνα[τὰ π]άντα D Ei : δυνα[τῆ π]άντα Ei³ || 14 εἰς ἅπαντα (sc. χρόνον) L D : εἰσαφραντα Pr Da | post αρναί dist. : αρνου . . . συνφρω R L D : αρναί . . . συνφρω Pr : αρναί . . . συνφρω Da | οσοί vel οσοί Pap : οἱ ex corr. | I. fort. δὲ εἰ ατεφθο iam Pr : συςια τεφθο R L D : συ . . . ατεφθο Da || 15 πυρελ R : . . . ρ L D : αφρελ Pr Da | I. ἐνφόβους, ἐντρόμους : ἐν[φοβ]οῦσιν τρόμους R : αὐτοῖς ἐνφόβους τρόμους L : ἐνφόβους, ἐντρόμους (pro ἐντρόμους) D Pr : ἐντρόμους : v ex corr. Da || 16 I. ποιήσας vel ποιή[σ]α[ς] : ποι[ή]σας R L D : ἐνοχλ[ή]σας Pr : ποι . . . ς . . . ςα vel ς . . . ςα Da | δ(εῖνα) | ποιείτω[σαν] πάντα L D

GEMF 15.89–105

“I invoke you, who are on the beautiful bed, who are in the desirable house.⁷⁴ Be my servant (90) and always relay whatever message I may give you, and wherever I may send you, assuming whatever form of god or goddess men and women may revere,⁷⁵ quickly recounting all that is written out or spoken and handed over to you. Fire overtook the mightiest ghosts, and heaven swallowed the orb of the sacred scarab called PHÖREI, without knowing him. (The) scarab, the winged ruler of the middle-heavens, was be(95)headed (and) dismembered, (and Seth/they?) destroyed his mightiest and most glorious member; they locked up the Lord of Heaven and changed his status.⁷⁶ In this way you yourself will serve me against anyone I wish, men and women. Come to me, O Lord of Heaven, you who illuminate the inhabited world. Serve me as my minister and compel them—whether men or women, small or great—always to do everything that has been written⁷⁷ by me. Come to me, Lord (100) of forms,⁷⁸ and awaken men and women for me; compel them by your ever-strong and mighty power to do all the things that are both written and spoken by me. EISAPHSANTA PHOUREI⁷⁹ ARNAI: . . . SUNPHREŌ RIŌBAI OSOI, you are (?) ATEPHTHO AŌREL⁸⁰ ADŌNAI. Fill them with terror and trembling, flutter their minds with fear of you, and do to him, NN, all the things that have been prescribed. But, if you (105) disobey me, the (i.e. scarab’s) orb will be burnt completely, and there will be darkness throughout the whole inhabited world,

⁷⁴ The opening line of the first invocation formula (ll. 89–107) is reminiscent of the description of the palace of Cupid at the beginning of the fifth book of Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*.

⁷⁵ Cf. also l. 132: παρομοιωθεῖς, ᾧ ἐβέβηται θεῶ ἢ θεῶ. Similar phrasing in the Sword of Dardanos GEMF 57/PGM IV 1716–1870 at 1858: ὁμοιωθεῖς ᾧ ἐβέβηται θεῶ ἢ δαίμονι.

⁷⁶ This is vaguely worded and can mean either that, in locking him up, they (i.e. the scarab’s enemies) became the rulers of heaven or that they “changed his status” from living to dead. The story of the scarab seems to refer to the murder and dismemberment of Osiris by his brother Seth; the “mightiest and most glorious (member)” is probably Osiris’ phallus, which in later Greek sources is said to have been devoured by fish in the Nile that were believed to have Typhonic associations (cf. Diod. Sic. 1.22.6–7; Plu. De Is. et Os. 18.358 B; Hippol. Haer. 5.7.22–29). The text seems to be corrupted here: the subject of κατεχρήσατο would be Seth, but perhaps κατεχρήσατο is a misspelling of κατεχρήσαντο (as Dieterich has suggested; see the app. cr. on l. 7), which would agree with the following ἡλλαξάν.

⁷⁷ The text reads γεγραμμένα or perhaps ἐγγραμμένα; for the latter form, see Gignac 1976–1981, II 243–244.

⁷⁸ Eitrem 1925, 117 renders ὁ δεεπότης τῶν μορφῶν as “the Lord of Beauties.” However, the phrasing ὁ δεεπότης τῶν μορφῶν corresponds to the Egyptian epithet *nb ḥprw*, which is used of Re, Osiris, Horus, but also other solar deities: see Maltomini 1996, 140.

⁷⁹ Cf. l. 94: φορει.

⁸⁰ Cf. GEMF 75/PGM XIa 10: αωριλ.

col. v (cont.) ↓

GEMF 15.106–122 [PGM XII 57–73]

καὶ ὁ κἀνθαρος κ[ατα]βήσεται, ἕως ποιήσεις μοι πάντα, ὅσα γράφω ἢ λέγω, ἀσπαραβάτως.
 ἤδη ἤδη, ταχὺ τα[χύ]. δεύτερος, λεγόμενος ἐπὶ τῆς θυσίας. ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ κατέ-
 20 χοντος τὸν κ[ό]σμ[ο]ν καὶ ποιήσαντ[ο]ς τὰ τέσσαρα θεμέλια καὶ μείξαντος τοὺς δ̄
 ἀνέμους. σὺ εἶ ὁ ἀστράπτων, σὺ εἶ ὁ βροντῶν, σὺ εἶ ὁ εἶον, σὺ εἶ ὁ πάντα στρένας καὶ [60]
 22s πάσας
 ἐπανορθώσας πάλιν. ποιήσον στρέφεσθαι [π]ᾶ[ν]τ[α]ς ἀνθρώπους τε καὶ γυναῖκας 110
 εὐπειθῶς μου, τοῦ Δ ἢ τῆς Δ, ἀφ' ἧς ἂν ἀπαιτῶ ὥρα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ παρασίμῳ, κατ' ἐπιτα-
 γῆν τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ Ἰαω Ἀδωνεαὶ ἀβλαθαναλβα. σὺ εἶ ὁ περιέχων τὰς Χάριτας
 25 ἐν τῇ κορυφῇ λαμπρη, σὺ εἶ ὁ ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ τὴν Ἀνάγκην βελτεπιαχ, σὺ εἶ ὁ δια-
 λύων καὶ δεσμεύων σεμεσιλαμπεκριφ· ἐπάκουσόν μου ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον
 ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον. λόγος γ̄ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς θυσίας. 115
 ἐπικαλοῦμαι ὑμᾶς, θεοὶ οὐράνιοι καὶ ἐπίγιοι καὶ ἀέροι καὶ ἐπιχθόνιοι, καὶ ἐξορκί-
 ζω κατὰ τοῦ κατέχοντος τὰ δ̄ θεμέλια ἐπιτελέσαι μοι, τῷ Δ ἢ τῇ Δ, τόδε πρᾶγμα
 30 καὶ δοῦναί μοι χάριν, ἡδυγλωσσίαν, ἐπ[αφ]ροδισίαν πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους
 καὶ πάσας γυναῖκας τὰς ὑπὸ τὴν κτίσι[ν], ἵνα μοι ὧσι ὑποτεταγμένο·ι εἰς πάντα, [70]
 ὅσα ἐὰν θέλω, ὅτι δοῦλός εἰμι τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ τοῦ κατέχοντο[ς] τὸν κόσμον καὶ παντο- 120
 κρ[ά]τορος μαρμαριῶθ λασιμιωληθ αρ.α.ς. σηβαρβαθθ νοω αωι ωιηρ αρτημα
 ααααα ηηηηη ωωωωωωω. παραγγέλλω [τῷ] ἐπὶ τούτων τεταγμέ[νω]ν λεγομένω

18 κ[ατα]βήσεται D | 1. ἀσπαραβάτως : ηπαρ. vel αιπαραβατωσ R : απταρβατωσ L D : απαρ. vel αιπαραβατωσ Pr : ασπαραβατωσ Da || 19 I. τα[χύ]. (λόγος) δεύτερος : ταχὺ. [λόγος] δεύτερος R L D vel sim. Pr : τα[χυ]] δεύτερος Da || 20 I. μείξαντος || 21 I. εἶον | (κατα)στρένας Eī³ || 22 πᾶν ὀρθώσας L D : ἀνορθώσας Kr : ἐπανορθώσας Pr Da || 23 I. εὐπειθῶς μου : . πι[ς]θωσ (pro εὐπίστως?) μοι L : [φι]λί[αν] δό[ς] μοι D : [εἰς] πειθῶ ἐμοὶ vel πάθος μοι Kr : ἐπὶ [ἔ]ρωτά μου Pr : εὐπ θωσ vel εὐπηθωσ (pro εὐπειθῶς, cf. p. xvii) μου Da | δ(εἶνα) (x2) | 1. ἂν ἀπαιτῶ ὥρασ : αν[αγκ]αζωμα[ι] pro αν[αγκ]αζοντα[ι] L D : αν[αγκ]αζοντα[ι] Kr : αν παραι[τ]ῶ ὥρασ Pr : αν παραιτω ωρα Da | παρασιμῳ vel παραφιμῳ pro παρασίμῳ D : παρασιμῳ pro παρασίμῳ Pr || 23–24 επιταγην pro επιταγην R L Pr : επιταγην D Da || 24 αβ[λα]θαναλβα R L D vel sim. Pr : αβλαθαναλβα Da || 25 λαμψη R : I. λαμψη L : I. λαμψη D : λαμψη Pr Da || 26 σεμεσιλαμπε κ[ύ]ριε R L vel sim. D | απο Pap: π ex corr. || 27 post χρόνον spat. (ca 4) || 28 I. ἐπίγιοι : επιγιοι pro ἐπίγιοι L : scribendum esse ὑπόγειοι pro ἐπίγιοι (επιγιοι Pap) D Ei | 1. ἀέροι || 29 δ(εἶνα) (x2) || 30 [δοῦ]ναι R L : δ[ο]ῦναι D || 31 κτισι[ν] ινα vel κτισιννα (dittographia?) Da || 32 [ὅ]σα θέλω R : [ὅ]σα ἂν θέλω L D : ὅσα ἐ[ἂν] θέλω Pr vel sim. Da | θε[ο]ῦ L || 33 αρναςαν R : αρ[μ]ιασαν L : αρμασα D : αρμασ.ς Pr : αρμα.ς Da | σηβαρβαθθ R L : σηβαρβαθθ D | ποω R L : νοω D Pr Da | fort. ἄρτυμα Pr || 34 α. α R L : α[ααα] D : α[ααα]α Pr : ααααα Da | fort. παραγγέλλ[ειν τῷ] L : παραγγέλλ[ω τῷ] D Pr Da | τεταγμέ[νω]ν L Da : τεταγμέ[νω]ν D : <τῶν> τεταγμέ[νω]ν Pr

GEMF 15.106–122

and the scarab will come down (i.e. to the netherworld), until you perform for me everything I write or say, without changing anything; now, now; quickly, quickly.” Second (formula)⁸¹ spoken over the burnt-offering: “I adjure you by the one who holds the cosmos (in his power), laid the four foundations, and mixed together the four winds. You are the one who hurls lightning, you are the one who thunders,⁸² you are the one who shakes, you are the one who overturned all things and (i.e. then) (110) set them right again. Cause all mortals and women to turn themselves ready to obey me, the man NN or the woman NN, from the very hour that I demand it with this touch-procedure,⁸³ by command of the highest god, IAŌ, ADŌNEAI, ABLANATHANALBA. You are the one who wears the Graces around your head (i.e. like a garland?),⁸⁴ LAMPSRĒ. You are the one who holds Necessity in his right (hand), BELTEPIACH. You are the one who unbinds and binds, SEMESIELAMPEKRIPH. Hear me from today (115) onwards and for all time.” Third formula (spoken) over the same burnt-offering: “I invoke you, gods of heaven and earth, aerial and terrestrial, and I adjure (you) by the one who controls the 4 foundations, to accomplish for me, the man NN or the woman NN, the following deed, and to give me favor, sweet speech, sex appeal before all men and all women under creation, in order that they be ruled by me with regard to everything (120)—however many things I wish—because I am a slave of the highest god, the almighty one who holds the cosmos (in his power) MARMARIŌTH LASIMIŌLETH AR. . . SĒBARBAŌTH NOŌ AŌI ŌIĒR ARTĒMA⁸⁵ AAAAA ĒĒĒĒĒĒ ŌŌŌŌŌŌ. I pass the word of command to the one who is called to carry out these my orders,

⁸¹ For the restoration, cf. ll. 87 and 115.

⁸² A similar phrasing occurs in GEMF 57/PGM IV 1160–1165, but also in many other magical texts with Jewish attributes; see the references cited in Sarischouli forthcoming.

⁸³ Preisendanz’s emendation to the otherwise unattested παραφίμω was rejected already by Schmidt 1935, 1174, who pointed out that παραψίμω was the correct reading (in agreement with the papyrus). A “touch-procedure” could involve, e.g., wearing three inscribed Homeric verses and touching the desired person (GEMF 57/PGM IV 2173–2174 ἧς δ’ ἂν παράψη γυναικὸς ἢ ἀνδρός, φιληθήσει) or applying an ointment (74.1128–1135/VII 973–980: ἀγώγιμον παράψιμον).

⁸⁴ An awkward image, but neatly in parallel with the next bodily image of Necessity in the hand. Martin, GMPT renders the text as “who embraces the Graces on the mountain top.”

⁸⁵ The papyrus reads αρτημα (in Greek, ‘hanging ornament’), which Preisendanz emends to ἄρτυμα, ‘spice’. However, both seem unlikely here between magical names and vowels; ARTĒMA is probably another magical name, as a good number of them start with ART-.

verso col. vi ↓

GEMF 15.123–139 [PDM XII 74–90]

- 1 Ἔρωτι, ὅτι εἰμι θεὸς θεῶν ἀπάντων Ἰαων Καβαῶθ Ἀδωναι Ἀβ[ρασα]ξ ἰαραββαί
 θουριω θανακερμηφ πανχοναψ. οὗτοι λόγοι γείνωνται καὶ λέ[γωντα]ι ἐπὶ τὰς γ
 ἡμέρας, ἵνα ἀποδοῖς τὴν πράξιν τελέως. 125
- 5 ὅταν δὲ πέμπεις, εἰς ἃ χρήσεις, λέγε μόνον τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ἄραξ τὸν Ἔρωτα ἀπὸ τῆς
 τραπέζης καὶ τὰ παρακείμενα αὐ[τῶ]. γράφε ἐν πιττακιδίῳ περὶ ὧν χρήσεις. λόγος
 γραφόμενος ἐν τῷ πιτατακίῳ. σὺ εἶ ὁ νήπιος, ὁ ζῶν θεός, ὁ ἔχων μορφήν Καμμῶθ
 Καβαῶθ Ταβαῶθ σορφη σεουρφουθ μουηικρω καλαμαγωθ εθειμη σουσου 80
 χειρι εσειη εφθανουθ καθαη. Ἰσιε αχθι εφανουν, βιβιου βιβιου, σφη σφη, ασηηα 130
 ηί. πορευθεῖς πάντα τόπον καὶ πᾶσαν οἰκίαν, ὅπου σε πέμπω, πρὸς τὸν Δ τῆς Δ
 ἢ τὴν Δ τῆς Δ, παρομοιωθεῖς, ᾧ σέβεται θεῶ ἢ θεᾶ, ἀνάγκασον αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι τόδε
 10 πρᾶγμα, ὅσα θέλεις, γράφε εἰς τὸ πιττάκιον σὺν τῷ λόγῳ. ἐγερθεῖς, ἔκθαμβος, ὀρκίζω σε
 κατὰ τοῦ καὶ κατ' ἐπιτίμου ὀνόματος, ᾧ ἡ πᾶσα κτίσις ὑπόκειται. πασιχθωνι βαρβου
 θαρακτιθεανωβαβουθακωχεδ. ἀμῆν. γενέσθω τόδε πρᾶγμα ἥδη β. 135
 ἐρυθρᾶ θαλάσσης, ὁ ἐκ τῶν δ̄ μερῶν τοὺς ἀνέμους συνσειῶν, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ λωτοῦ
 15 καθήμενος καὶ λαμπυρίδων τὴν ὅλην οἰκουμένην. καθέζη γὰρ κορκοδειλο-
 ειδής, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς νότον μέρεσ[ι]ν δράκων εἶ πτεροειδής, ὡς γὰρ ἔφυε τῇ ἀλη-
 θείᾳ. ἰωιωβαρβαρ Ἀδωναι κομβολιωψθωβ ἰαρμιουθ. ἦκέ μοι, κλυθί μου 90

1 l. ὅτι (ἐγώ) εἰμι θεὸς iam Pr | α[βραξ]ac ἰαραββαψ R L D || 2 θουριω R L D Da | 1. οὗτοι (οἱ) λόγοι iam Ei | 1. γίνονται : γίνωνται L | λέγον[τ]αι R : λέ[γωντ]αι L D : λέ[γωντα]ι Pr : λε[γωνται] Da || 3 ἵν' ἀποδοῖς L D || 4 λογον Pap: λ ex corr. || 5 αυ[]γραφε Pap : ἀνάγραφε R : μετᾶγραφε L : μ[ελάνι] γράφε D : αὐ[τῶ] (καὶ)? γράφε Pr : αυ[τῶ] γραφε Da || 6 l. πιττακίῳ | fort. μορφήν (τοῦ) Pr || 7 καρβαῶθ L | μουικρω Pr Da | καλαμαγωθου εθειμη σουσου L : καλαμαγωθ εθ ειμη σουσου D : καλαμα γουθ εθειμη σου Pr : καλαμα γουθεθειμη σουσου Da || 8 εσειη εφθανουθ R L D : Ἐσειη ε Φθᾶ Νούθ Pr | post καθαη dist. | ισιεαηθι L : ισιεαηθι D : Ἰσιε αχθι Pr Da || 9 post ηι dist. | 1. πορευθεῖς (εἰς) iam D | δ(εῖνα) (x2) || 10 δ(εῖνα) (x2) || 11 ἐκ θάμβου pro ἐκ θάμβου L || 12 l. κατὰ τοῦ (ἀγίου) καὶ iam R Pr : κατὰ τοῦ καὶ L Da : καταγου και pro καθ' ἀγίου καὶ D | πᾶν (pro πᾶσα) χθών L : παν χθων vel πανχθων? (vox magica) D : πασιχθων Pr Da || 14 l. ὁ ἐκ? ἐρυθρᾶς | 1. συσειῶν L || 15 l. λαμπυρίζων L || 15–16 l. κροκοδειλοειδής L || 16 πτεροειδης fort. pro πτεροεις L || 17 κλυθί μοι L

GEMF 15.123–139

Eros, for I am god of all gods, IAŌN SABAŌTH ADŌNAI AB[RASA]X IARABBAI THŌURIŌ THANAKERMĒPH PANCHONAPS.” These formulas should be performed⁸⁶ and [spoken] during the three (125) days, in order that you accomplish the procedure perfectly. But whenever you send (him) for the things you need, say only this formula, lifting the Eros from the table together with the things presented to him. Write what you want on a small papyrus strip. Formula written on the papyrus strip: “You are the infant,⁸⁷ the living god, the one who has the shape of SAMMŌTH SABAŌTH TABAŌTH SORPHĒ SEOURPHOUTH⁸⁸ MOUĒISRŌ SALAMAGŌUTH⁸⁹ ETHEIMĒ OUSOU (130) SEIRI ESEIĒ⁹⁰ EPHTHANOUTH⁹¹ SATHAĒ ISIS ACHTHI EPHANOUN BIBIOU BIBIOU⁹² SPHĒ SPHĒ ASĒĒA ĒÍ. Go to every place and every house, where I send you, to him, NN, (son of) her, NN, or to her, NN, (daughter of) her, NN, likening yourself to the god or goddess, whom he (or she) reveres, and force him to do this deed. Write on the papyrus strip whatever you wish together with the formula. Awakened, amazed,⁹³ I adjure you by the ⟨holy⟩ and valuable name to which all creation is subject: PASICHTHŌNI⁹⁴ BARBOU (135) THARAKTITHEANŌBABOUTHAKŌCHED. Amen.⁹⁵ Let this deed come to pass now (twice). [The one] of the Red Sea, the one who makes the winds tremble from the four regions, the one who sits upon the lily⁹⁶ and illuminates the whole inhabited world.⁹⁷ For in the form of a crocodile you take your seat (on the throne?), while in southerly regions you are a winged serpent, for thus were you in truth born.⁹⁸ IŌIŌBARBAR ADŌNAI KOMBALIŌPSTHŌB IARMIŌOUTH. Come to me; listen to me

⁸⁶ At this point, one would have expected a form of γράφω (like γράφονται), as the recipe talks about written and spoken; cf. e.g. ll. 91–92: πάντα τὰ ὑπογραφόμενα ἢ λεγόμενα.

⁸⁷ Cf. GEMF 30.166/PGM II 119: ὁ νήπιος ἀνατέλλων.

⁸⁸ Cf. GEMF 55/PGM III 659.

⁸⁹ SALAMA is also found in PGM XXVIIIa 2.

⁹⁰ Probably a form of Osiris’ name (Ouseiri), followed by the Demotic epithet *ḥsy*, meaning ‘praised’, which was regularly applied to Osiris, the Drowned One.

⁹¹ The names of Ptah (Phtha) and Nut (Nouth) are probably to be found within this sequence of *voces magicae*; cf. Preisendanz (PGM) and Ritner, GMPT.

⁹² Cf. GEMF 30.170/PGM II 123: ἰαση· ἰαση· βιβίου· βιβίου·; 58/V 485: βίου βίου σση σση; 60/XIII 708: βιβίου β̄ σση β̄.

⁹³ This refers to the speaker here, but in adjuration formulas similar phrasing sometimes refers to the *daimon* being adjured, i.e. “wake yourself up and go to her...”

⁹⁴ PASICHTHŌN seems to be related to *πάσα κτίσις*, as Leemans already noticed.

⁹⁵ For the apotropaic power attributed to *amen*, see Peterson 1926, 50, 130, 232.

⁹⁶ The Nile water lily or blue lotus (*Nymphaea caerulea*) was commonly associated with the sun god Ra (as the bringer of light), but also with other deities, like Nefertem, Harsomtut and Horus; the *locus classicus* on the subject is Morenz-Schubert 1954.

⁹⁷ Ll. 136–137 seem to be somehow connected to l. 128; cf. Preisendanz (app.cr. ad loc.).

⁹⁸ Ll. 136–138 refer to the Egyptian “Myth of the Phoenix”; cf. GEMF 30.152–162/PGM II 104–115.

col. vi (cont.) ↓

GEMF 15.140–155 [PGM XII 91–106]

- ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν χρείαν, ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν πράξιν, μέγιστε Ἀρσαμωζ[ι] μουχαλινου- 140
 χα ἄρπαξ Ἀδωνεαι. ἐγὼ εἰμι ὃ συνήντησας ὑπὸ τὸ ἱερὸν ὄρος καὶ ἐδωρήσω
 20 τὴν τοῦ μεγίστου ον σου γνώσιν, ἣν καὶ τηρήσω ἀγνώσ μηδεγὶ μεταδιδούς,
 εἰ μὴ τοῖς σοῖς συνμύσταις εἰς τὰς σὰς ἱεράς τελετάς ιαρθαθατρα μνηψιβαω
 χνημεωψ. ἐλθὲ καὶ παράστα εἰς [τ]ήνδε τὴν χρείαν καὶ συνέργησον.
 τὰ παρὰ Ἡμερίου. 145
- Τυφωνίου μέλανος γραφή. ἀνε[μ]όνης φλογεΐτιδος, χυλοῦ κινάρας, σπέρματος
 25 ἀκάνθ[η]ς Αἰγυπτίας, μίλτου Τυφῶνος, ἀσβέστου κονίας, ἀρτεμ[ι]κίας μονοκλώνου,
 κόμμεως, ὄμβριου. ἐργαστήριον εἰς πράσσειν.
 ἐπὶ ὧν ὄρνιθος ἀρσενικοῦ ἐπίγραφε καὶ κατόρυξον πρὸς τὸν οὐδόν. ζ[ὺ] εἶ τὸ ὠν χφυρις, [100]
 ὠν, ὃ ἐστιν χορβαϊκαναχαρσω Ἄμοῦν Ἰϛ ρη · β · γακνεφη ριεθω Ἰϛ γουσι · β · κὺ εἶ τὸ ὠν 150
 τὸ ἄγιον ἀπὸ λοχίας, ὃ ἐστιν κελβιουκ βαθινη φνητη ἀπο αωη αω[ι] αωι αφιαεα θω
 30 Ἰάω κελεπηα θεωφ οζυμβρηη ηη ιι. ἡ δὲ εὐχὴ τοῦ ὧν. ὁ μέγας θεός[ε], δός[ε] μοι χάριν, πράξιν,
 καὶ τόπω τούτω, ὅπου κείται τὸ ὠν, ἐν ᾧ οἴκω πραγματεύομαι ἐγὼ δ[ε]. κελεπηλ θεωφ καὶ
 Δαίμων Ἀγαθός[ε]. ἐπαπόστειλον τῷδε τῷ τόπω πᾶσαν πράξιν καὶ εὐπορίαν καθημερι-
 νήν. κὺ εἶ ἡ ἐργασία μου, κὺ εἶ ὁ μέγας Ἄμμων, ὁ ἐν οὐρανῷ. να[εα 5]ε, βοήθησόν μοι. 155

18–19 Ἀρσαμωζ Μουχαλ .ου|χα L : αρσαμωζ μουχαλνου|χα D : Ἀρσαμῶζ[ι] μουχα λ[ι]νου|χα Pr : αρσαμωζ[ι] μουχαλινου|χα Da ||
 19 l. ὃ συνήντησας iam Pr : ὁ συνήντησας L D : ὁ συνήντησας (συ) (pro σοι) Ei : φ συνήντησας Da || 20 l. ὄν(όματός)
 σου iam D Pr : ὄν(όματός) R L || 21 l. μὴ | l. συμμύσταις L || 22 παράσταθι εἰς? R : παράστα[θι τή]νδε L : παράσταθι [τ]ήνδε D : παραστα
 εἰς[τ]ήνδε Pr Da || 24 l. φλογίτιδος : φλογεΐτιδος fort. pro φλογίνης R L : φλογεΐτιδος pro τρωγλίτιδος D : φλογεΐτιδος pro
 φλογίτιδος Pr : φλογεΐτιδος Da || 25 ἀκάνθ[ο]υ R L : ἀκάνθ[ου] D : ἀκάνθ[η]ς Pr : ακανθης Da || 26 l. κόμμεως L D | ὄμβριου (sc.
 ὕδατος)) Ei³ | post ὄμβριου spat. ca 15 | εὐπράσσειν L || 27 καικατορυξον Pap: ι deinde add. | ζ[ὺ] εἶ R L D Da : ὄ[που?] εἶ Pr | ων
 Pap: ω corr. ex ο || 28 Χορβαϊκαναχαρσω R L : χορβαϊκ αναχαρσω D : χορβαϊ καναχαρσω Pr Da | fort. signum repetitionis : (ἄγιον)
 R L D : πτ (fort. τετραγράμματος) Ei | ὠδ(ν) || 29 l. ἄγιον | φνητη ἀπο pro φνητη ἀπο D Pr | φιασαθω L | l. Θωύθ iam Pr || 30
 κελ[ε]πηα R L : κελ[ε]πηα D : κελεπηα Pr Da | ἦδε εὐχὴ L D | ο μέγας pro ὁ μέγας L | δός[ε] μοι R L D Da : δός[ε] μοι Pr || 31 οπου
 Pap: π corr. ex μ vel υ? | l. ἐγὼ ὄδε iam Pr : ἐγὼ δ[ε] R L D Da | fort. (κὺ εἶ) κελεπηλ | κελ[ε]πηλ R L : κελ[ε]πηλ D : κελ[ε]πηλ Pr :
 κελεπηλ Da || 33 l. να[ί, κύρι]ε iam Da (cf. p. xvii) : ν . . . ε R L : να[ί]ων, ἐλθ[έ] D Pr

GEMF 15.140–155

(140) concerning this need, concerning this procedure, O mighty, ARSAMŌSI⁹⁹ MOUCHALINOCHA robber ADŌNEAI. I am the one whom you met at the base of the holy hill and to whom you gave as a gift the knowledge of your most great name,¹⁰⁰ which I will also keep in purity, sharing it with no one, except the fellow-initiates into your own sacred rites, IARBATHATRA MNĒPSIBAŌ CHNĒMEŌPS. Come! Assist this need (of mine) and work with me.”

(145) Himerios’ (prescriptions):¹⁰¹ Inscription (made) with Typhonian ink: some fiery red wind-flower, juice from an artichoke, seed of the Egyptian acacia, Typhon’s red ochre,¹⁰² unslaked quicklime,¹⁰³ single-stemmed wormwood,¹⁰⁴ gum, rainwater. For a workshop to do well: Inscribe the egg of a male bird and then bury (the egg) near the threshold (i.e. of the workshop): “You are the egg CHPHURIS, (150) (the) egg, that is CHORBAISANACHARSŌ AMOUN (thrice?)¹⁰⁵ SPHĒ (twice) GAKNEPHĒ SIETHŌ (thrice?) NOUSI (twice). You are the egg that is sacred from birth,¹⁰⁶ that is SELBIOUS BATHINI PHNIĒI APO AŌE AŌE AŌ[I] AŌI APHIAEA THŌU[TH?]”¹⁰⁷ IAŌ SELETĒA THEŌĒPH OXUMBRĒĒ ĒĒ III.” And the prayer of the egg: “O great god, give favor, business (success) to me, and to this place, where the egg lies, in the house where I (myself) conduct my business. (You are?)¹⁰⁸ SELEPĒL THEŌĒPH and Agathos Daimon. Send to this place all business and daily prosperity. (155) You are my labor, you are the great Amûn,¹⁰⁹ who (dwells) in heaven. [Aye, Lord,] help me.”

⁹⁹The Greek transliteration of an Egyptian epithet of Horus (*Hr-smsw*), which means “Horus the Firstborn.” (H)ARSAMŌSI occurs also in GEMF 30.171 and 201/PGM II 124 and 154; 55/III 583; 60/XIII 926; on the word, cf. the literature cited by Brashear 1995, 3580 s.v.

¹⁰⁰ Similar phrasing also in GEMF 30.174–175/PGM II 127–128 and 55/III 157; the text seems to allude to some sort of ritual drama.

¹⁰¹ For Himerios, see Sarischouli forthcoming.

¹⁰² Since μίλτος, ‘red ochre’ or ‘ruddle’ is also used in the magical papyri for ‘blood’ (cf. e.g. GEMF 57/PGM IV 2221: μιλτάριον Τυφῶνος; 74.302/VII 222: λαβὼν μίλτον περιττερᾶς λευκῆς), “Typhon’s red ochre” is the blood of an ass. Other recipes explicitly refer to the “blood of Typhon” (e.g. 57/IV 3259; 74.808–809/VII 652–653), or “the blood of an ass” (57/IV 2101; 68/XXXVI 72).

¹⁰³ For the preparation of ἄσβεστος, see Dsc. 5.115.1–2; for κόνια, cf. *ibid.* 1.128.6.

¹⁰⁴ For the use of single-stemmed wormwood in the Greek magical papyri, cf. LiDonnici 2001, 83–89.

¹⁰⁵ The meaning of the symbol remains unresolved (for the suggestions of previous editors cf. the app.cr.). Preisendanz cautiously assumes that Ὶ might be a symbol of repetition similar to β; should this assumption be correct, then perhaps the name of Amûn is to be repeated thrice. It should be noted that Preisendanz (cf. his app.cr. ad loc.) incorrectly sees a line drawn through the β (instead of the dots before and after the letter).

¹⁰⁶ Ptah came into existence as an egg issued from the mouth of Kneph; this egg is interpreted as the cosmos (see Philo of Byblos apud Eus. *PE* 3.11.45). For the cosmic egg and Ptah, see Sethe 1929, 62–63, and Mendel 2003, 44–47; cf. also Bonnet 2000, 162–165. For the similarities between the Egyptian primordial egg and the cosmic egg of the Orphic cosmogony, see West 1983, 104–106, 187–189; Quispel 1978, 11–33; Morenz 1950, 71–102.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. GEMF 72/PGM VIII 59: ἔστι δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ γραφόμενον φθορον, φιονη, Θώθ.

¹⁰⁸ The text as it stands (ἐγὼ δ[ε] ζελεπηλ θεωνη) reads “I am SELEPĒL THEŌĒPH”; in l. 152, however, the egg has been called this name and in the following lines we twice find cὺ εἶ followed by a noun. Preisendanz’s conjecture to read ἐγὼ ὄδε appears to partly solve the difficulties in the understanding of the text; probably, we may also assume that cὺ εἶ has dropped out in l. 153.

¹⁰⁹ Preisendanz adopts Dieterich’s restoration of the damaged text in l. 155: cὺ εἶ ὁ μέγας Ἄμμων, ὁ ἐν οὐρανῷ ναίων, ἔλθ[ε] βοήθισόν μου, “you are the great Amûn who [dwells] in heaven. [Come,] help me.” However, the use of the poetic verb ναίω seems improbable in the present context (the verb appears only in the hexametric GEMF 30.130/PGM II 83), and the restored text is perhaps a bit too long for the lacuna. Daniel’s restoration of the standard να[ί, κύρι]ε followed by an imperative (cf. e.g. l. 310/PGM XII 261; SM I 42.35.40; SM II 57.14) seems to fit the context more reasonably.

verso col. vii ↓

GEMF 15.156–172 [PGM XII 107–123]

- 1 ὄνειροπομ[πὸ]ς Ἄγαθοκλεύς.
 λαβὼν αἴλουρον ὀλομέλανα βιοθ[άν]ατον, π[ο]ιήσας πιττάκιον καὶ ἐνγράψας ζζ
 τὰ ὑποκείμενα καὶ ὃν θέλεις ὄν[ειροπ]ομπεῖσαι καὶ ἔνθεσ εἰς τὸ στόμα τοῦ αἰλούρου.
 κειμι κειμι, ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ μέγας, ὁ ἐν [c]τ[ό]μ[α]τι κείμενος μομμου Θωθ νανουμβρη [110]
 5 χαριχα κενυρω πααρμιαθ, ὄν τὸ ἅγιον ιαου ιει ιεου αηωι, ὁ ὢν ἐπάνω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. 160
 ανεχευμευ νεννανα ρεννανα αβλαναθαν[α]λβα ακραμμαχαμαρι αβρασιλουα
 λαμψωρ ειειειει αωσηω Θηουρις ωα επειδευ επεργαβριων. αμη. χρημάτισον
 τῷ Δ περὶ τοῦδε. ὁ δὲ ἐπάναγκος. δευρό μοι, Δ, πήξας τὸν [υ]Φ τῆ σεαυτοῦ δυνά-
 μι, ὁ κυριεύων τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου, ὁ [π]ύρινος Θ * τῷ Δ θαρθαθ θαμαρα[ρα]θαθα
 10 μομμομ θαναβωθα απρανου βαμαλθα χρηθ Ναβουσουληθ ρομβρου θαραηλ 165
 αλβαναβρωχηξ αβραναζουχηλ. [ἐ]πάκουσον μου, ὅτι μέλλω τὸ μέγα ὄνο λέ-
 γειν. αωθ, ὃν πᾶς Θ προσκυνεῖ καὶ π[ᾶ]ς δαίμων φρεῖσσει, ὁ πᾶς ἄγγελος τὰ ἐπιτα-
 κόμενα ἀποι. θεῖον ὄνο^{μα} σοι τὸ κατὰ τῶν ζ, α ε η ι ο υ ω ἰαυωηαωουηα. εἴρηκά σου
 τὸ ὄνομα ἔνδοξον, ὄνομα τὸ κατὰ πάντων τῶν χρεῖων τῷ * Δ, κυβρε θεέ. τὸ π [120]
 15 τοῦτο. τούτῳ καὶ Ἀπολλώβηξ ἐχράτο. ὄνειροπομπὸς 170
 Ζμείνιος Τεντυρείτου. λαβὼν ὀθόνιον καθαρο[ὸ]ν καὶ, κατοστάνην, † γράψον εἰς αὐ-
 τὸ ἀνθρωποειδὲς ζῴδιον καὶ πτερὰ δ κ[αὶ] τὴν μὲν λαιὰν χεῖρα ἐκτετακότα

1 Ἄγαθοκλέους L | 2 ἰ. ἐγγράψας L | ζ(μύρνη) || 3 ἰ. ὄνειροπομπῆσαι : ὄν...ομπε.αι fort. pro ὄνειρον πέμψαι L : ὄν[ειρ]ον π...αι pro ὄ. πέμπε vel ὄ. εμπεσαι pro ἐμπεσῖν D : ὄνειρον π[ἐμπε]ιν vel π[ἐμψ]αι, sc. ἐνγράψας Eι : ὄν[ιρ]ο[π]ομπεῖσαι Eι³ : ὄν[ειροπ]ομπεῖσαι Pr : ὄν[ειροπ]ομπεσαι vel—πεσαι pro ὄνειροπομπῆσαι? (cf. p. xvii) Da || 4 κειμι fort. pro κείμαι (2x) L Pr | [cτὸμα]τι L R D Pr Da : [τέλμα]τι Eι¹ || 5 καριχα R L D | ἰ. πααρμιαθ, (ῶ) ὄνο(μα) τὸ iam Pr : πααρμιαθον, τὸ R L D : πααρμιαθον, τὸ ἅγιον (ὄνομα) Eι || 6 ανεχευμευ Pap: an ex corr. : αμαχευμευ L : αμεχευμευ D || 7 ἐπ' ἔργα Βριων L | ἰ. ἀμῖν iam L Pr || 8 δ(εῖνα) (x2) | ἐπάναγκος (sc. λόγος) : ἰ. ἐπάναγκες L | ἰ. (ὁ) πήξας iam Pr : μοι πήξας τὸν Δ D | ἰ. τὸν Φ, τονυφ Pap. : υ ex corr. vel deletio || 8–9 τὸν ὑφ' τῆς εαυτοῦ (pro τῆς σεαυτοῦ) δυνάμει (pro δυνάμεως) L : τὸν Δ τῆ σεαυτοῦ δυνάμει, ὁ D : τον υφης εαυτου (ex υφ εαυτου pro τὸν < > ὑπὸ τῆ σεαυτοῦ) δυνάμει, ὁ Pr : τονυφτη σεαυτου δυνάμει ο κυριεων Da || 9 θ(εός) | χρη(μάτισον) : (χρημάτιζε) R : χρη(μάτισον) L : χρη(μάτισον) D : χρη(μάτι)(con) Pr | δ(εῖνα) || 10 θαναβωθ R L Pr Da : θαναβωθα D | βαμαλθα R : βαμαλθα L D : βαμβαλθα Pr : βαμαλθα vel βαμελθα Da | χρ.θ R L D : χρ[η]θ Pr : χρηθ vel χρεθ Da || 11 επακουσον Da | ἰ. ὄνο(μα) iam L D Pr, ὄνο Pap || 12 ἰ. Θώθ D | ὄν πας pro ὁ πᾶς L | θ(εός) | ἰ. φρεῖσσει | ἰ. ῶ πᾶς iam D Pr : ὁ πᾶς L || 13 ἰ. {α}ποι(εῖ). θεῖον ὄνομά σοι, ἀποθεινοσοῖ Pap : ἀποθειον ὄνομα σοι pro ποιεῖ, τὸ θεῖον ὄνομά σου L : ἀποτελεῖ ὄνοσοῖ pro ἀποτελεῖ. ὄνομά σοι D : ἀποι θειον ὄνομασοῖ pro ἀποτελεῖ. θεῖον ὄνομά σοι Pr || 14 χρη(μάτισον) | δ(εῖνα) | ἰ. κρύβε? (2x), κυβρε (2x) Pap : ἰ. εἴβρε L : ἰ. κρύβε D : ἰ. κύριε? (cf. col. viii 18) Pr | (ὄνομα) : π deest Pr || 15 τούτῳ sc. ὄνειροπομπῶ D vel ὄνοματι? Pr | post ἐχράτο spat. (ca 10) || 16 ἰ. Ζμίνιος Τεντυρίτου | ἰ. κατὰ Ὀστάνην : κατ' Ὀστάνην R L D | ζ(μύ)ρ(νη) || 17 ἰ. ἐκτετακός L

GEMF 15.156–172

Agathokles' dream-sending procedure:¹¹⁰ Take a completely black cat that died a violent death, fashion a strip of papyrus and inscribe on it with myrrh(?)¹¹¹ the following things and the (name of the) person to whom you want to send a dream, and place it into the mouth of the cat: “KEIMI KEIMI,¹¹² I am the Great One, the one lying in [the mouth], MOMMOU THŌTH NANOUMBRĒ (160) CHARICHA KENURŌ PAARMIATH, [to whom belongs] the holy name, IAOU IEĒ IEOU AĒŌI, the one being above the heaven. ANECHEUMEU¹¹³ NENNANA SENNANA ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMARI ABRASILOUA¹¹⁴ LAMPSŌR EIEIEIEI AŌĒĒŌ THĒOURIS¹¹⁵ ŌA EPEIDEU EPERGABRIŌN. Amen.¹¹⁶ Prophecy to him,¹¹⁷ NN, concerning this matter.” And the compulsion-formula: “Come to me, NN, [you who] established the Phi (?)¹¹⁸ by your own power, you who rule the whole cosmos, the fiery god. Prophecy to him, NN,¹¹⁹ THARTHAR THAMARATHATHA (165) MOMMOM THANABŌTHA APRANOU BAMALĒA CHRĒTH NABOUSOULĒTH¹²⁰ ROMBROU THARAĒL ALBANABRŌCHRĒX ABRANAZOUCHĒL. Listen to me, for I am going to say the great name: AŌTH,¹²¹ before whom every god prostrates himself and every daimon shudders, for whom every messenger executes (?)¹²² the given commands. Divine is your name according to the 7 (vowels): A E Ē I O U Ō¹²³ IAUŌĒĒAŌOUEĒĒŌIA. I have spoken your glorious name, the name for all needs.¹²⁴ Prophecy to him, NN, O secret (?) god.” This is (170) the name. Apollobex¹²⁵ also used this.

Zminis¹²⁶ of Tentyra's dream-sending procedure:¹²⁷ Take a clean linen cloth and draw—according to Ostanēs¹²⁸ with myrrh ink—on it a small, human-like image with four wings, having the left arm outstretched

¹¹⁰ Agathocles remains otherwise unknown as an expert of magic.

¹¹¹ The papyrus reads ζζ, which Leemans wrongly explains as *ἐπτά* sc. *ὀνόματα*; cf. Dieterich's app.cr. on the line.

¹¹² κειμι κειμι is probably a doubled *vox magica*, close to l. 130: βιβιου βιβιου ϸρη ϸρη. Schmidt 1935, 1174 suggests that κειμι may be Eg. *kemi* or *kmj*, ‘the black one’, an epithet of Osiris, whose dark complexion was believed to be connected either to his chthonic character or the dark color of the mud in the Nile Delta. Preisendanz (PGM) and Grese, GMPT accept Leemans' conjecture κειμαι, κειμαι, ‘I am lying, I am lying,’ which stands in agreement with the following participle κειμενος.

¹¹³ Preisendanz (PGM) reads *ἀνεχε* υμεν etc., which Grese, GMPT translates ‘‘arise, YMEU ...,’’ an action appropriate for a sun-god, but the poetic *ἀνέχω* seems to be out of place here in an otherwise unbroken sequence of *voces magicae*.

¹¹⁴ A similar sequence of *voces magicae* is found in ll. 206–207.

¹¹⁵ THĒOURIS, THOUĒRIS, THOĒRIS are Greek transliterations of the name of the hippopotamus goddess Taweret (*T-ur.t*), ‘the Great (Female) One,’ one of many protective, hippopotamus-shaped goddesses like Ipet, ‘the Nurse’, Reret, ‘the Sow’, and Hedjet, ‘the White One’, which are often difficult to distinguish from one another.

¹¹⁶ See n. 95 above.

¹¹⁷ The third-person designation changes in the first-person a few lines later (‘‘to me, NN’’) suggesting that the formula could be used by oneself or a practitioner could use it on a client.

¹¹⁸ The scribe seems to have tried to delete the letter before φ rather than to correct it to an υ or α. Thus, Φ could have stood as a symbol for a particular deity or a person (similarly to Δ): perhaps Φθ̄ is meant here. PHTHA was said to be born as an egg from the mouth of Kneph (see n. 106 above), and in this sense was established by Kneph's power.

¹¹⁹ Here and in l. 169 the otherwise unattested symbol, which probably stands for χρη(μάτιον), is followed by the standard formula ‘‘to him, NN’’ in the dative, but we lack any imperative telling the god what to do.

¹²⁰ Probably another form of Neboutosualeth, on which see Brashear 1995, 3425, n. 213, and 3593; Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 80; Zintzen 1975. The name occurs also (usually as part of the ακτιωφι-*logos*) in GEMF 57/PGM IV 2484, 2749; 74.398/VII 317; 16/XIVc 17; SM I 49.45; cf. also CBd-3170.

¹²¹ AŌTH is to be interpreted either as a misspelling for Thoth, or—perhaps more likely—as the Hebrew *'oth*, meaning ‘sign’, ‘signal’.

¹²² For the restoration of the text, see note 3*.

¹²³ On the use of the seven vowels in Greco-Egyptian magic, see n. 229 below.

¹²⁴ Daniel 1991, xviii suggests restoring: τὸ {ὄνομα} ἔνδοξον ὄνομα τὸ κατὰ πάντων τῶν χρειῶν, to avoid pleonasm.

¹²⁵ For Apollobex, see Sarischouli forthcoming.

¹²⁶ For Zminis, cf. Preisendanz 1936, Sarischouli forthcoming. For Tentyra, see Dijkstra 2015.

¹²⁷ For dream-procedures, see Eitrem 1991, 175–187 and Quack 2011b; cf. also Edwards 1960, I. xx n. 11, 63.

¹²⁸ For Ostanēs, see Sarischouli forthcoming.

col. vii (cont.) ↓

GEMF 15.173–189 [PGM XII 124–140]

- cὺν τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς πτεροῖς β̄, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν κερκαμμένην ἔχοντα καὶ τοὺς δακτύ-
 λους κεκαμμένους. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς βασιλεί[ο]ν καὶ ἱμάτιον περι[ῖ] τὸν πῆχυν
 20 καὶ β̄ ἔλικες ἐν τῷ ἱματίῳ, ἐπάνω δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς κέρατα ταύρου, πρὸς δὲ τοῖς 175
 γλουτοῖς πυγὴν ὀρνέου πτερωτῆν. ἔστω δὲ ἡ χεὶρ δεξιὰ προσέχουσα τῷ στομάχῳ,
 κεκλεισμένη, ἐφ' ἑκατέρου δὲ τοῦ σφυροῦ ζῖφος ἐκτεταγμένον. ἔνγραφε εἰς τὸ ῥάκος
 καὶ τὰ ἕξ □ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὅσα θέλεις ἰδεῖν τὸν καὶ ὦς. χαλαμανδριωφ ἰλεαρζω θρε-
 25 δαφνωερθιβελνιν ρυθαδνικω ψαμμεριχ. ὑμῖν λέγω καὶ κύ, μέγα δυναμένωι δαί- 130]
 μον. πορευθήτι εἰς τὸν τοῦδε οἶκον καὶ λέγε αὐτῷ τάδε. εἶτα λαβὼν ἀμίλτων λυ- 180
 χνον ἄγραφον ἐνλυχνιάσας πλησον κεδρία, ἄσας τὲ ἐπίλεγε τὰ ὑποκείμενα
 □ γ̄ Θ. χαλαμανδριωφ ἰδαρωθ θρεδαφνω ερθαβεανιγ ρυθανικω ψαμμο-
 ριχ, τὰ ἄγια τοῦ Θ □, ἐπακούσατέ μου καὶ κύ, Ἄγαθὲ Δαίμων, οὗ κράτος μέγιστόν ἐστιν
 ἐν θεοῖς, ἐπάκουσόν μου πορευθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Δ εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, ὅπου κοιμάται,
 30 εἰς τὸν κοιτῶνα αὐτοῦ, καὶ παραστάθῃ αὐτῷ φοβερός, τρομερὸς μετὰ τῶν τοῦ Θ 185
 μεγάλων καὶ κραταιῶν □, καὶ λέγε αὐτῷ τάδε. ἐξορκίζω σε τὴν δύναμίν σου, τὸν
 μέγαν Θ Cηῖθ, τὴν ὥραν, ἐν ᾗ ἐτέχθης μέγας θεός, τὸν ⋈ τὸ ν[ῦ]ν θεόν, τὰ τ̄ξε ὀνόματα
 τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ, πορευθῆναι πρὸς τὸν Δ ἐν τῇ ἄρτι φ̄, ἐν τῇ ἄρτι νυκτὶ καὶ λέγειν αὐτῷ
 κατ' ὄναρ τάδε. ἐάν με παρακούσης καὶ μὴ πορευθῆς πρὸς τὸν Δ, ἐρῶ τῷ μεγάλῳ θεῷ [140]

18 εχοντ[α] pro ἔχον L || 20 l. ἔλικας || 21 πυγην Pap: υ corr. ex η || 22 κεκλεισμενη pro κεκλεισμένω D | l. ἐκτεταμένον :
 εκτεταγμ[εν]ον pro ἐκτεταμένον L | ἐπίγραφε R L D | ἐπίγραφε R L D || 23 l. τὰ ἕξ □ iam R L D : τὰ ἐξ(ῆς) □ Pr | (ὀνόματα) | l. τὸν
 (δεῖνα) καὶ ὦς iam Pr : τὸν (δεῖνα) καὶ ὦ (compendium vocis pro ὀνόματα) c' D : τὸν(δε) καὶ ὦς (cf. p. xix) Da || 23–24
 Χαλαμανδριωφ ἰλεαρζω Θρε|δαφνω Ερθιβελνιν Ρυθαδνικω Ψαμορίχ R L : χαλαμανδριωφ ἰλεαρζω θρεψ|δαφνω ερθιβελνιν
 ρυθαδνικω ψαμοριχ D : χαλαμανδριωφ ἰλεαρζωθρε|δαφνω ερθιβελνινρυθαδνικωψαμμεριχ Pr :
 χαλαμανδριωφἰλεαρζωθρε|δαφνωερθιβελνιν ρυθαδνικωψαμμεριχ Da || 24 l. coί iam D Pr || 24–25 l. δαίμονι iam D Pr : l. cὸ μέγα
 δυνάμενε δαί|μον vel coί μέγα δυναμένωι δαί|μονι L || 26 l. ἐλλυχνιάσας L | l. κεδρίας L | l. δὲ iam Pr, τε Pap || 27 l. □ c̄ Θ iam R
 L Pr Da : □ ζ̄ Θ (pro □ c̄ Θ) D | (ὀνόματα) | θ(εοῦ) || 28 θ(εοῦ) | (ὀνόματα) | l. fort. δαίμον || 29 δ(εῖνα) || 30 θ(εοῦ) || 31 (ὀνομάτων)
 | τόδε L || 32 θ(εὸν) | Cηῖθ L | ἐλέχθης L | χρ(ηματίσων) iam Pr : χρ(ήσιμον?) vel Χρ(ιςτὸν?) D : ἄχρ(αντον) Eī¹ | τὸν [ἔ]νθεον L :
 τὸν [θεὸ]ν θεῶν D || 33 πορευθῆναι Pap: π ex corr. | δ(εῖνα) | ὥρ(α) || 34 τάδε R Pr Da : τόδε L D | δ(εῖνα)

GEMF 15.173–189

alongside the two left wings, while having the other arm bent, and the fingers closed. Upon the head (draw) a diadem, and a piece of cloth around the forearm (175) with two spirals on the cloth; then upon the head (draw) bull horns and to the buttocks a feathered tail of a bird.¹²⁹ Let the right hand be held near his stomach,¹³⁰ clinched, and on either ankle (have) a sword stretched out.¹³¹ Write on the strip of cloth both the six¹³² names of the god and whatever you want him, NN, to see, and how:¹³³ “CHALAMANDRIŌPH ILEARZŌ THREDAPHNIŌERTHIBELNIN RUTHADNIKŌ PSAMMERICH.¹³⁴ To you all I am speaking, and to you, very powerful (180) daimon; go into the house of this person, and tell him this and that.” Then take a lamp neither painted red¹³⁵ nor inscribed, and after having furnished it with a wick, fill it with cedar oil,¹³⁶ light it, and utter the following three¹³⁷ names of the god: “CHALAMANDRIŌPH IDEARUŌTH THREDAPHNIŌ ERTHABEANIG RUTHANIKŌ PSAMMORICH, O sacred names of the god, listen to me, and you yourself, O Agathos Daimon, whose power is the greatest among the gods, listen to me, and go to him, NN, into his house, where he sleeps, (185) into his bed-chamber, and stand by him fearful (and) causing him to tremble by (uttering) the great and mighty names of the god, and tell him such-and such.¹³⁸ I adjure you by your own power, by the great god Seith,¹³⁹ by the hour in which you were begotten¹⁴⁰ as a great god, by the god who now gives prophecy(?), by the 365 names¹⁴¹ of the great god, to go to him, NN, in the present hour, in the present night, and to tell him in a dream such-and such. If you disobey me and not go to him, NN, I will tell the great god,

¹²⁹ In this procedure, the drawing (on which see note 4*) is not embedded in the text; cf. cols. xv, xvii, xx below.

¹³⁰ Although the word *στόμαχος* was originally used to denote the ‘throat’ or the ‘gullet’ (e.g. in Arist. *HA* 495b19–23; Nic. *AI* 22), the word is later used of the stomach itself (e.g. in Dsc. 5.6.6; Plu. *Quaest. conv.* 698b).

¹³¹ The papyrus reads *ξίφος ἐκτεταγμένον*, but Leemans’ conjecture to *ξίφος ἐκτεταμένον* seems necessary here, as *ἐκτάσσω* is primarily used with an object meaning “soldiers” or “military forces” or the like.

¹³² Or “the following names of the god,” if we adopt Preisendanz’s emendation to *τὰ ἐξ(ῆς) □ τοῦ θεοῦ*; cf. also n. 137 below.

¹³³ *ὡς* read here either *ὡς* (without accent) as a relative particle, meaning ‘how’, or *ὡς* (with accent) as an adverb of manner, meaning ‘so, thus’; cf. LSJ s.v. (Ac and Aa).

¹³⁴ The division of the *voces magicae* in ll. 178–179 is open to question (for different suggestions of previous editors, cf. the app. cr. on ll. 23–24). In their second occurrence (ll. 182–183), however, the almost identical magical words are clearly six; thus, although the scribe seems to divide the words differently in ll. 178–179 and 182–183, we may assume that he actually had six names in mind.

¹³⁵ For *λύχνος ἀμίλτωτος*, see n. 64 above.

¹³⁶ For *κεδρία*, cf. Dsc. 1.77.

¹³⁷ The reading *τὰ ὑποκείμενα □ γ̄ Θ* is secure; since the names of the god are clearly six (cf. also n. 132 above), we may either assume that this is a scribal slip for *□ δ̄ Θ*, or render the text as “the following names of the god, three times” (see Kotansky, GMPT).

¹³⁸ Ll. 177–180 (*ἔγγραφε εἰς τὸ ῥάκος ... καὶ λέγε αὐτῷ τάδε*) and ll. 180–186 (*εἶτα λαβὼν ... καὶ λέγε αὐτῷ τάδε*) more or less repeat each other. Daniel 1991, xviii–xix suggests that we cut the first passage out entirely from the text, and only use it to supplement the second one, where necessary.

¹³⁹ That is, Typhon-Seth.

¹⁴⁰ Leemans’ reading (*ἐλέχθης* instead of *ἐτέχθης*) is also paleographically possible and fits the context reasonably well: “by the hour in which you were appointed as a great god.”

¹⁴¹ The name *Abrasax* or *Abraxas* sums to 365 (1+2+100+1+200+1+60) by the ancient art of isopsephy; for sum-based isopsephic manipulations in religious and other contexts, see Ast and Lougovaya 2015, esp. 89 on *Abrasax*.

verso col. viii ↓

GEMF 15.190–207 [PGM XII 141–158]

- 1 κα[ῖ] δὲ Βεῖαῑς σε κατακόψει μελεῖςτι καὶ τὰ κρατεα σου δώσει φαγε[ῖ]ν 190
 τῶ ψωριῶντι κυν[ῖ] τῶ ἐν ταῖς κοπρίαῖς καθημένῳ. διὰ τοῦτο ἐπάκ[ου]ς[ο]̄
 μ[ο]υ ἤδη β, ταχὺ β, ἵνα μὴ ἀναγκασθῶ ταῦτα ἐκ δευτέρου λέγειν.
 ὀνείρου αἴτησεις
- 5 ἀκριβῆς εἰς πάντα γράψον εἰς βύσцинον ράκος αἷματι ὀρτυγίου θεὸν Ἐ[ρ]μῆ̄ 195
 ὀρ[θ]όν, ἰβιοπρόσωπον, ἔπιτα ζζ̄ ἐπίγραφον καὶ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ἐπίλεγε τὸν [λό]γο̄ α.
 ἔρχου μοι οδηγεσα, ὁ ἔχων τὴν ἐξουσίαν. ἐπικαλοῦμέ σοι τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν [π]νευ-
 μάτων τεταγμένων θεὸν Θ, δεῖξά μοι καθ' ὕπνου τόδε. ἐξορκίζω [σε]
 κατὰ [τ]οῦ πατρός σου Ὀσίριδος καὶ Ἰσιδος, τῆς μητρός σου, δεῖξά μοι τῆ[ν] μορ-
 φήν σου καὶ περὶ ὧν θέλω, χρημάτιον. ὄνομά σοι ημουαθι ψρηπνουα [150]
 νερτηρ διοχασβαρα ζαραχω, ὃν καλοῦσι Βαλχαμ. * εἰ περὶ τοῦδε, περ[ῖ] π[άν]- 200
 των πυνθάνω.
 θεομαντίον. ὄνομα μέγα ἐπικαλέσῃ ἐπὶ μεγάλης ἀνάγκης, ἐπὶ κεφαλικῶ[ν] καὶ ἀναγ-
 καίων πραγμάτων. εἰ μή, σεαυτὸν αἰτιάσις. προσεπίλεγε γ̄ τὸ Ἰάω, εἶτα τοῦ θεοῦ [ὄ]γομα
 15 τὸ μέγα. ἐπικαλοῦμέ σοι, φθαρα φθαιη φθαιη εμηχαιρωχθ βαρωχθορχθα 205
 θωμχαιουχ αρχανδαβαρ ωεαεωνηωχ ηραων ηλωφβομ Φθα αθαβραχια
 αβριασωθ βαρβαρ βελωχα βαρβαιαωχ. γενέσθω βαπλαμη αὐγή. αβλαναθαναλβα
 αβρασιαουα ακραμμαχαμαρει θωθωρ αθωωπω. εἴσελθε, κύριε, καὶ χρημάτιον.

1 κ[αῖ] δεῖσαῑς L : κ[αῖ] . . . εἰσαῑς (κ[αῖ] δεῖσαῑς suspicatur Bücheler) D : κ[αῖ] . . .]ρεισαῑς pro κ[αῖ] τ[ρ]ήσαῑς Pr : κ[αῖ] ο] βεισαῑς Da | 1. κρέατά σου || 2 ἐπάκ[ου]ς[ο]̄(ν) : ἐπάκ[ου]ς[ο]ν R L vel sim. D : επακ[ου]ς[ο] Pr Da || 4 l. αἴτησις || 5 βύσцинον (ι deinde add.) vel βυσεινον? Pap | Ἐ[ρ]μῆ̄(ν) : . . . ἠ R L D : ε[ρ]μῆ̄ Pr Da || 6 l. ἰβιοπρόσωπον | 1. ἔπιτα : ἐπὶ τὰ L | ζ(μύρνη) | [λό]γο(ν) : [λό]γο[ν] R L D : [λό]γον Pr : [. . .]γο Da | α post [λο]γο deest vett. edd. || 7 οδηγεσα vel οδητεσα Pap : οδιτεσα? R : οδτεσα pro δεσπότα? L : οδτεσα pro ὁ δέσποτα D : οδηγεσα fort. pro ὠδὶ αἶψα Pr | 1. ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε || 8 l. τεταγμένον | θ(εῶν) | καυπνου R L : κατυπνου D || 9 πατρός του R L || 9–10 τη[ca 2]μορ|φην vel τι[ca 2]μορ|φην Pap : τ[ῆ]ν μ[ορ]φήν R L D vel sim Da : τι[να] μορ|φήν Pr || 11 ημουαθιη ρηπνω.ε R L D || 11 χρ(ημάτιον) || 11–12 περὶ πάντων R L D : περ[ῖ] π[άν]των, (ὧν) πυνθάνω Pr : περ[ῖ] π[άν]των Da || 13 l. θεομαντεῖον : θεομαντιον R L D Pr : θειομαντιον Da | κεφαλικων R L D Pr : κεφαλικω[ν] Da || 14 l. αἰτιάσεις : αἰτιάση R L D | ἰάω R L D || 15 l. ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε | Φθᾶ Ῥᾶ Φθᾶ τη Φθᾶ συν Pr | βαρωχθορχθα R L D : Βαρωχθο[ρχ]θα Pr : βαρωχθορχθα Da || 16 ωεαεωνηωχ Pap: χ corr. ex ι? : -ω εαεων ιων (ν corr. ex χ) L : -ω εαεων ιωχ D : ωεαεω υνηωχ Pr : ωεαεωνηωχ vel ωεαεωνηωχ Da | αθαβραχια R L D Da : αθαβραγια Pr || 17 αβριασωθ R L D : αβριασωθ Pr Da | 1. γενέσθω βά(θος) πλά(τος) μῆ(κος) iam D Pr || 18 αβρασιουα R L D : αβρασιαουα Pr Da | θωθωρ Pap : Θώθ, Ωρ Pr | χραμματιον Da

GEMF 15.190–207

(190) and Besas will chop you up into pieces and give your flesh to the mangy dog to eat, (the dog) who sits among the dung-heaps. For this reason, listen to me now (twice), quickly (twice), so that I will not be forced to tell you this for a second time.”

Dream-request; an exact method in all aspects:¹⁴² draw with quail blood on a linen-strip the god Hermes, (195) standing, ibis-faced. Then, inscribe with myrrh¹⁴³ also the name, and utter the formula once (?).¹⁴⁴ “Come to me, ODĒGEP(SA)?,¹⁴⁵ you who have the power. I invoke you, the god of the gods in charge of the spirits, to show me such-and-such in (my) sleep. I adjure you by your father, Osiris, and by Isis, your mother, to show me your form and prophesy concerning the things I want. Your name: ἘΠΙΟΥΑΘΗ ΨΡĒΠΝΟΥΑ (200) NERTĒR DIOCHASBARA ZARACHŌ, whom they call BALCHAM. Prophesy about such-and-such, about everything I inquire.”

Divine oracle. Invoke the great name in times of great distress, in life-threatening, and distressing situations. If not, you will blame yourself. Say 3 times in addition the IAŌ, then the great name of the god. “I invoke you, PHTHARA PHTHAIĒ PHTHAOUN EMĒCHAERŌCHTH BARŌCHTHORCHTHA (205) THŌMCHAIEOUCH ARCHANDABAR ŌEAEŌUNĒŌCH ĒRAŌN ĒLŌPHBOM PHTHA ATHABRACHIA ABRIASŌTH BARBAR BELŌCHA BARBAIAŌCH. Let there be depth, breadth, length,¹⁴⁶ (bright) light. ABLANATHANALBA ABRASIAOUA AKRAMMACHAMAREI¹⁴⁷ THŌTHŌR ATHŌŌPŌ. Come in, lord, and prophesy.”

¹⁴² Grese, GMPT also renders ἀκριβῆς εἰς πάντα as part of the title (“Request for a dream: an exact method for everything”); the title is similarly split at the start of the previous recipe (ll. 170–171): “Dream-sender” centered above the recipe followed by “of Zminis of Tentyra” at the start of the next line. By contrast, Preisendanz (PGM) renders ἀκριβῆς εἰς πάντα as part of the procedure: “With precision in all aspects, draw...,” which is also a possibility.

¹⁴³ Cf. n. 111 above.

¹⁴⁴ Or “the first formula”; it should be noted that the α after [λό]γο(v) is missing from all previous editions.

¹⁴⁵ ODĒGEP(SA) is perhaps related to a form of ὀδηγός, ‘guide’: in religious practice, Hermes-Thoth was regarded as the divine guide of the souls of the dead, while in the magical papyri Hermes-Thoth is known as Isis’ guide in her search for Osiris’ body. The practitioner in our text gives instructions on how to write the name of the god with myrrh, which is also often named as the “Guide of Isis” in the magical papyri (e.g. in GEMF 68/PGM XXXVI 338–339: ἡ καθοδηγὸς τῆς Ἰσιδος), as myrrh was believed to have assisted Isis in her searching for the scattered pieces of her consort. Preisendanz (PGM) restores the word to ὧδὶ αἶψα, “here, quickly,” which seems unlikely, as there are no traces of poetic language here. For the use of myrrh and other incenses in magical papyri, see LiDonnici 2001, 65–79.

¹⁴⁶ Similar phrasing e.g. in GEMF 57/PGM IV 970–971: γενέσθω φῶς πλάτος, βάθος, μήκος, ὕψος, αὐγή; cf. also 977–978: ὀρκίζω σέ, ἱερὸν φῶς, ἱερὰ αὐγή, πλάτος, βάθος, μήκος, ὕψος, αὐγή. The reference to depth, breadth, length, and brightness seems to indicate a re-enactment of the Egyptian creation myths. The closest Demotic parallel is found in an invocation for a vessel divination in GEMF 16.4: *my p; wyn p; wstn ° hn p:y(=y) hn* (“put the light and breadth into my vessel”); here too, the phrasing invokes the notion of creation: light and expanding physical space. However, in Egyptian texts the notion was not only invoked in creation accounts, but also in hymns that were chanted during rituals that enacted the epiphany of the god (e.g. the offering ritual). The appearance of the god was likened to the moment of creation (I owe the reference to Jacco Dieleman).

¹⁴⁷ A similar sequence of *voces magicae* is found in l. 161; for AKRAMMACHAMAREI, see n. 167 below.

col. viii (cont.) ↓

GEMF 15.208–224 [PGM XII 159–175]

εἰσελεύεται θεὸς ὄφροπρόσωπος καὶ ἀποκριθήσεταιί σοι. ὅταν δὲ ἀπολύς[η]c, ἐπίθουε
 20 γῆρας ὄφρεως. ἔαν δὲ θέλῃς δεικτ[ι]κόν τι ποιῆσαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπολυθῆναι κ[ι]ν[υ]δύνου, c- [160]
 τὰς πρὸς τῆ θύρα λέγε τὸν λόγον καὶ εἰπὼν ἐκπορεύσῃ προσθεῖς. λυθήτω[c]αν οἱ δεσμοὶ 210
 τοῦ Δ καὶ ἀνυγήτωσαν αὐτῷ αἱ θύραι, καὶ μηδεὶς αὐτὸν θεασάσθω. τεκμήριο[ν] δέ, ὅτι
 γεῖνε[τ]αι. δῆσας δὲ τινα πανδέτην ἔνκλεισον εἰς οἶκον, καὶ ἔξω στας λέ[γε] τὸν λόγῳ
 25 ἔξάκ[ι]c ἢ ἐπτάκις οὕτως. ἐπικαλοῦμαι ὑμᾶς τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ τῆ μ[ε]γάλη φωνῆ,
 αἰσαρ αἰωθ οὔαιγνωρ μαρσαβουτωρθθ θλαβαθερμου χωορθεν μαναχθωρπεχηρηφ
 τω φ[.]ωθ θωχο θαρωχ βαλεθαν χεβρωουθατ Αδωναι Αρμωθ. ἐπᾶν τοῦ[τ]ον τὸν 215
 λόγον [εἴπης] καὶ λυθῆ, ἐπίλεγε ταῦτα, ἵνα αἱ θύραι ἀνυγῶσιν. οχλο βαραχω λαλαμ δαρι
 δαμ δ[αρδα]μ δαρδαραμπτου ιαρθα ιερβα διερβα βαρωθα θιαρβα αρβ[ι]θω[.]ω μααρ
 σεμειλ[αμ μα]ρμαραχενύ μανεθωθ. ἄγιε, εἴελεθε καὶ λῦσον τὸν Δ καὶ δὸς αὐτῷ ὁδὸν
 30 ἔξόδου, [σεσε]γγεν βαρφαραγης, ὁ διαλύων πάντα τὰ δεσμὰ καὶ διαλύων τὸν περικεῖ- [170]
 μενον [κίδηρ]ον τῷ Δ, ὅτι ἐπιτάσσει σοι ὁ μέγας καὶ ἄρρητος καὶ ὄσιος καὶ δίκ[αι]ος καὶ φρικτὸς
 καὶ ἰσχυ[ρὸς καὶ] ἄφθενκτος καὶ φοβερὸς καὶ ἀκαταφρόνητος τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ δαίμων, κορο
 ερμερ [. . . .]ρβαξ μαμφρι ουριζγ. ὅταν δὲ ῥαγῆ τὰ δεσμὰ, λέγε. εὐχαριστῶ σοι, κύριε,
 35 ὅ[τι] μοι ἔ[λυσε]ν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τὸ μονογενές, τὸ ζῶον. καὶ πάλιν λέγε τὸν λόγον.
 ατραθ[. . . .] θεέ, κερανομεγαλον, ὁ ζηνοπερατοκομολαμπροβηλοπλουτο δαίμω,

19 I. ὄφροπρόσωπος iam D Pr: ὄφιοπρόσωπος L | οταν Pap: a ex corr. | ἀπολύς[η]c R L Pr Da : ἀπολύς[η] c' D || 20 (δεσμῶλον).
 ἔαν δὲ θέλῃς Pr | δει (pro δή) κ[α]κόν L : ἀεὶ κ[α]κόν D : δεικτ[ι]κόν Pr Da || 22 δ(εἶνα) | I. ἀνοιγήτωσαν | τεκμήριο[ν] δέ R L D Da
 : τεκμηριο[ι]c δέ Pr || 23 I. γίγνεται L | fort. δῆσας δε(σμόν) τινα πανδέτην D | λόγο(v) || 24 τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ R L D Da : τοῦ(c)
 μεγάλου(c) θεοῦ Pr || 25 αἰσαρ[β]α[ι]ωθ R L : αἰσαρ . ιωθ D : αἰσαρ Αἰώθ Pr : αἰσαρ αἰωθ Da | Μαρσαβω Ουτωρθθ Λαβαθερμου R
 L : μαρσαβω ουτωρθθ λαβα θερμου D : Μαρσαβουτωρθθε λαβαθ ερμου Pr : μαρσαβουτωρθθλαβαθερμου Da || 26 τωφωθ . ωχο
 R : τω φ . ωθ ωχο L D : τωφ[π]ωθωχο Pr : τωφ[.]ωθωχο Da | Ἀρμωθ Pr || 27 λόγον [εἴπης] R L | I. ἀνοιγῶσιν, ἀνυγῶσιν Pap:
 ω corr. ex ai | Λαιλ R L : . γιλ . D : Λαῖλάμ Pr : λαίλαμ Da || 28 δ[αρδα]μ R L D Pr | αρβιθω R L D || 29 post μα]ρμαραχεν dist. :
 μα]ρμαρα χενυμανεθωθ R L D : μα]ρμαραχενύ Μανε Θώθ Pr :]ρμαραχενυ μανεθωθ Da | ἄγιε R L Pr Da : ἄγε D | δ(εἶνα) || 30
 [σεσε]γγεν R L D : [σεσε]γγεν Pr Da | τὰ δεσμα pro δέσματα L || 31 [κίδηρ]ον R L D Pr : [. . .]ον Da | δ(εἶνα) | δίκαιος R L D ||
 32 I. ἄφθενκτος L | I. δαίμων, δαίμων Pap Pr : δαίμων R L D Da || 33 ερμερ [φεριαρ]βαξ R L D : ε[ρ]μερ [φεργαρ] βαξ Pr | ουριζγ
 Pap: ξ ex corr. : ουριζ γ R L D | τὰ δεσμα pro δέσματα L | εὐχαριστῶ R L D : ε[ὐ]χαριστῶ Pr : εὐχαριστω Da || 34 ὅ[τι] R L D Pr :
 οτι Da | I. με iam Pr : μοι Pap | ἔ[λυσε]ν R L D : ἔ[λυσε]ν Pr : ε[. . .] Da | I. ζῶν iam D Pr, ζῶον Pap || 35 I. ἀτράπ[των?], ατραθ[
] Pap : [α]τρα[βον] R L : ἀτρα[βον] D : ἀτραθ[εσιῶν] E³ : ατραθ[. . . .] pro ἀτροθ[ετων] Pr : ατροθ[. . . .] Da | I. fort.
 θεέ, κερανώ μεγαλῶ, ὁ ζῶν (εἰς τὰ) τοῦ λαμπροῦ κόσμου πέρατα, βηλοπλουτο(δότα?) δαίμων(v) : Θεεκερανο Μεγαλονο[ζ]ηνο
 Περατο Κομολαμπροβηλο Πλουτοδαίμω R L : θεέ κερανομεγαλονο[ε] ἡλιοπερατοκομολαμπροβηλοπλουτοδαίμω D : θεέ
 κερανομεγα(κ)λονοζην(-ζηνο- Pap: o deest Pr)περατοκομολαμπροβηλο(βηλο Pap)πλουτο(δότα) δαίμω Pr

GEMF 15.208–224

The serpent-faced god¹⁴⁸ will come in and reply to you. And whenever you (i.e. wish to) set him free, burn as an offering the skin of a serpent. But if you wish to¹⁴⁹ do something demonstrative and free yourself from danger, (210) stand at the door and say the formula, and having said it, march out, adding: “Let the bonds of him, NN, be loosed and the doors be opened for him, and let no one behold him.” And a proof¹⁵⁰ that it works: Tie someone by a secure knot and lock him in a house; and standing outside utter the formula six or seven times, in this way: “I invoke you (pl.), with the loud voice of the great god,¹⁵¹ AISAR AIŌTH OUAIGNŌR MARSABŌOUTŌRTH THLABATHERMOU CHOŌRTHEN MANACHTHŌRPHPECHRĒPH (215) TAŌ PH[P]ŌTH THŌCHO THARŌCH BALETHAN CHEBRŌOUTHAST ADŌNAI ARMIŌTH.”¹⁵² Whenever you [say] this formula, and he is released, say this, too, so that the doors may open: “OCHLO BARACHŌ LAILAM DARI DAM D[ARDA]M DARDARAMPTOU IARTHA IERBA DIERBA BARŌTHA THIARBA ARB[I]THŌ[.]Ō MAAR SEMESIL[AM MA]RMARACHNEU’ MANETHŌTH. Holy one, enter and release him, NN, and offer him a way out, [SESE]NGEN BARPCHARANGĒS, you who completely loosens all bonds and completely loosens the (220) [iron] placed around him, NN, because the great and unutterable and holy and just and awful and strong and unspeakable and fearful and not-to-be-despised daimon of the great god, SOROERMER ...RBAX MAMPHRI OURIXG, commands you.” And whenever the bonds break asunder, say: “I thank you, lord, because the holy spirit, the unique one, the living one, has [released] me.” And say the formula again: “You, lightning(?)–with-great-thunderbolt god, you daimon, who-live-on-the-opposite-side-of-the-bright-world, giver-of-riches-to-(one’s)-threshold,¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸ Probably Knēph is meant here: Knēph was originally a creator god in the form of a serpent that rejuvenates itself by shedding its skin, and later became assimilated as an aspect of Amun; see Klotz 2012, 79–80, 398–401 and 2008; Sethe 1929, 26–27; GEMF 1 with footnotes.

¹⁴⁹ A new procedure normally begins with such a phrase (cf. e.g. l. 228); it is for this reason that Preisendanz adds the title <δεσμώλτων>, “procedure to release from bonds,” before the introductory sentence.

¹⁵⁰ For τεκμήριο[v] (instead of Preisendanz’s τεκμηριο[ί]ς), cf. Schmidt 1935, 1175.

¹⁵¹ The emendation proposed by Preisendanz (PGM) is also possible: ἐπικαλοῦμαι ὑμᾶς τοῦ(ς) μεγάλου(ς) θεοῦ(ς) τῆ μ[ε]γάλη φωνῆ, “I invoke you, the great gods, with a loud voice.”

¹⁵² Preisendanz (PGM) aspirates αρμιωθ, probably in analogy to l. 390: χαρωχιχαρμιωθ. Both αρ- and χαρ- are common prefixes in magical words transliterating Egyptian epithets; for (χ)αρμιωθ, see Brashear 1995, 3602 s.v.

¹⁵³ For a discussion (with parallels) of this sequence of adjectival formations (ll. 224–225/PGM XII 175–176), see Schmidt 1935, 1175. Generally, for long adjectival formations comparable to *zēnoperatokosmolamprobēlopoutodaimon*, cf. Maravela 2015, 72–73; Fournet 2000b.

verso col. ix ↓

GEMF 15.225–242 [PGM XII 176–193]

	αερια φριξ ακτινωπων δατοροφρην, ὁ δολοπ[.]. ποιει δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἑλίου ὄνομα πρὸς πάντα. αἶθων ηφαιη ηφαις[.]ε, πυριφαῆ, λαμ- προφαιτα, ανανωχα αμαρζα μαρμαραμω [ca 6]	225
5	ἔαν βούλει τινὰ ὀργιζόμενόν σοί τινα παῦσαι, γράσας [εἰς]ον ζ̄ τὸ τῆς ὀρ- γῆς ὄνομα τοῦτο χνεωμ καὶ κράτει τῆ εὐωνύμω χ[ειρὶ καὶ λ]έγε. κατέχω τὴν ὀργὴν πάντων, μάλιστα τοῦ Δ, ἣ ἔστιν χνεωμ.	[180] 230
10	κύριε, χαῖρε, τὸ χαριτήσιον τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς οἰκ[ο]υμένης. οὐρανὸς ἐγένετο κομακτήριον Ἀρκενοφρη, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν οὐρανίω[ν θεῶν, αβ]λαναθαναβλα, ὁ τὸ δίκαιον ἔχων, ακραμμαχαμαρει, ὁ ἐπίχαρις θε[ός] κανκ[αν]θαρα, ὁ τῆς φύσε- ως ἡγεμών, κατραπερ Κμηφ, ἡ γένεσις τοῦ οὐρανίου [κόσμου], αθθαννου αθθαννου ατραφαι ιατραφαι πακεπτωθ πα[.]ηριντασκλιουθ	235
15	ηφιω μαρμαραωθ. ἡ παρρησία μου μή με ἐκαταλειπέτω, ἀλλ' ἀκουσάτω μοι πᾶσα γλῶσσα καὶ πᾶσα φωνή, ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι περταω [.] μνηχ σακμηφ ιαουουη ωηω ωηω ιεουωηηιαηα ηωουοει, δός μοι]ωσ, ὃ ἐὰν βούλη. ὄνειρετητὸν λεγόμενον πρὸς αρ[.]αθαροῦ	[190] 240
	ἐπὶ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς χειρὸς ἔλαιον λαβὼν ἐπίλεγε τὰ ὀν[ό]ματα, εἶτα βρέξε καὶ κοιμῶ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν. Ἰησοῦς ανουι[.] . . . ἴωσις χρυσοῦ. λαβὼν ὄξος δριμύ στύψον καὶ ἐχέτω α[.] ἄλδος κοινοῦ ζ̄ η̄,	

1 αεριαφριξ Pap: ε ex corr. : αθριαφριξ R L : αθρια φριξ pro αἰθεριαφριξ D : αεριαφριξ pro ἀερ(οδ)ιαφριξ Pr | ἀκτινωπων δ(ι)ατοροφρην D : 'barbara barbare mutilata metra' Bücheler ap. D : ἀκτινωπ(ου)ῶν, δ(ι)ατοροφρήν Pr | ὁ δολοπ[λόκος] vel δολοπ[ρόπος]? : οδολοτ [π]οιει R L D : ὁ δολο(ποιῶν) τέλει Pr : οδολοπ[.] ποιει Da || 2 ηφαις R L D : Ἡφαις[τ]ε Pr : ηφαις[.]ε Da || 2–3 l. fort. λαμ|προφέγγα : λαμ|προφαιτα fort. pro λαμ|προφοῖτα vel λαμ|προφαῆ vel λαμ|προφέγγα D : λαμ|προφαιτα pro λαμ|προφοῖτα Pr || 3 μαρμαραμω [ca 6] R L Da : μαρμαραμω D Pr || 4 l. βούλη : βουλει D | l. {τινα} παῦσαι iam Da (cf. p. xxi) : 'alterum τινα abundant.' L : l. καταπαῦσαι Pr | [εἰς ὀθόνι]ον D : [εἰς βύσσ]ον Ei ap. Pr | ζ(μύρνη) iam D : fort. ζ(μύρνικον) Pr || 5 χ[ειρὶ] R L : χ[ειρὶ] λέγε D : χ[ειρὶ καὶ λ]έγε Pr Da || 6 δ(εῖνα) || 7 οἰ[κουμένης] R L D : οἰκ[ο]υμένης Pr : οἰκ[ο]υμένης Da | l. κομακτήριον | τῶν οὐρανίω[ν αβ]λαναθαναβλα R L D : τῶν οὐρανίω[ν θεῶν, αβ]λαναθαναβλα Pr Da || 9 ὁ ἐπιχαριςθε[ῖς] νθαρα R L : ὁ ἐπιχαριςθε[ῖς κ]ανθαρα D : ὁ ἐπίχαρις θε[ός], κανκ[αν]θαρα Pr : ο επιχαρις θε[ῖ]ος κανκ[αν]θαρα Da || 10 [κόσμου] D Pr Da | αθθαγινου R L D : αθθαννου Pr Da || 11 αθθαγινου R L D : αθθαννου Pr Da | ατραφαι Pap: a in ac- ex corr. | πα[κεπτωθ]? Ei³ || 12 μεκαταλειπ[ε] Pap : καταλειπ[ει] . . . pro ἐγκαταλείπει L : ἐγκαταλείπ[η] . . . D : ἐγκαταλειπ[έτω, ἀλλ'] Pr Da | l. ἀκουσάτω μου L || 13 περταω [μνηχ σακ] D | l. σα(τραπερ)κμηφ? Pr (cf. l. 10) || 14 δώσει [πάντ]ωσ D : δώσει [δὲ σοὶ καὶ πάντ]ωσ Ei vel πρ[ά]ωσ Ei³ : δός μοι εὐμεν]ῶσ Pr | ὃ ἔ[ν]υ βουλή R L : ὃ ἐὰν βούλη D Pr Da || 15 l. ὄνειρετητὸν | ἄρ[χοντος] κα[γθάρου]? D : Ἄρ[κτον, ἐκ κ]αθαροῦ Pr || 16 l. fort. λείβων, λαβων Pap | τὰ ὀν[ό]ματα, (εἶτα) Ei³ Pr | l. βρέξει iam D Ei³ Pr || 17 ανουι[vel ανουκ[vel ανουη[: Ανουη], R L : Ἄνου[βις] D || 18 ὄξος δριαου pro δρύϊνον, δρίαον vel δρυός? L | εχετω pro ἔχε τὸ Pr | α ἄλδος R L : ἀ[ν]χούσης ζ̄ . . . ἄλδος D : ἄ[μα] ἄλδος Pr : α[.]αλος Da | (δραχμάς)

GEMF 15.225–242

(225) AERIA PHRIX¹⁵⁴ AKTINŌPŌN(?)¹⁵⁵ DATOROPHRĒN, you who [weave] wiles(?).¹⁵⁶ And put also the name of Helios (that works) for everything: “Blazing, ĒPHAIĒ, ĒPHAIS ...¹⁵⁷ shining like fire, brightly-shining,¹⁵⁸ ANANŌCHA AMARZA MARMARAMŌ¹⁵⁹ ...”¹⁶⁰

If you want someone to stop being angry with you,¹⁶¹ write with myrrh [on linen]¹⁶² this name of anger: “CHNEŌM,”¹⁶³ and hold it in your left [hand and say]: “I am restraining the (230) anger of all, especially of him, NN, which is CHNEŌM.”

“Greetings, lord, (you who are) the favor-procedure of the cosmos and of the inhabited world;¹⁶⁴ heaven has become a place of procession [for you], ARSENOPHRĒ,¹⁶⁵ (you who are) the king of the heavenly [gods, AB]LANATHANABLA,¹⁶⁶ you who possess the justice, AKRAMMACHAMAREI,¹⁶⁷ the charming [god, SANK]ANTHARA, (you who are) the ruler of nature, SATRAPER KMĒPH,¹⁶⁸ the origin of the heavenly [cosmos] ATHTHANNOU (235) ATHTHANNOU ASTRAPHAI IASTRAPHAI PAKEPTŌTH PA...ĒRINTASKLIOUTH ĒPHIŌ MARMARAŌTH.¹⁶⁹ [Let] my frankness not leave me, [but] let every tongue and every voice obey me, because I am PERTAO ... MNĒCH SAKMĒPH IAŌOUEĒ ŌĒŌ ŌĒŌ IEOUŌĒIĒIAĒA IĒŌUOUEI.¹⁷⁰ Give me [kindly?] anything you want.”

Request for a dream-oracle spoken to the [Bear: From a] clean [vessel?], pour out¹⁷¹ some olive oil (240) upon (your) left hand and utter the [names. Then] anoint yourself and go to sleep, having your head towards the east: “IĒSOUS ANOUI ...”¹⁷²

Refinement of gold: Take some pungent vinegar, concentrate it, and have ... 8 drachmas of ordinary salt,

¹⁵⁴ These two magical names seem to refer to Zeus as a thunderbolt wielding god. See Faraone 2014, 261–263.

¹⁵⁵ ακτινωπων can be interpreted either as a scribal slip for ακτινωπ(οι)ων, ‘ray-producing’ (cf. Hock, GMPT following Preisendanz’s conjecture) or, perhaps more likely, as another magical word.

¹⁵⁶ A strip of papyrus (ca 6–8 letters) is lost in each line on the right in this column, a fact not accounted for by Preisendanz.

¹⁵⁷ Although Ἡφαίει[τε vel sim. is a possibility, we may also be dealing with a magical word, cf. preceding Ἐρφαίει.

¹⁵⁸ The papyrus reads λαμ|προφαιτα; Dieterich was the first to suggest a correction to λαμ|προφοῖτα (a *hapax legomenon*), and his conjecture was adopted by Preisendanz. However, Dieterich’s two other conjectures are more appealing, especially λαμ|προφέγγα (cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 386 and 714–715) which bears a certain sound resemblance to λαμ|προφαιτα, while λαμ|προφαῖη deserves further consideration in regard to the preceding πυριφαῖη.

¹⁵⁹ A longer sequence of *vores magicae* related to Helios occurs in GEMF 74.612–618/PGM VII 531–537.

¹⁶⁰ The lacuna following the *vores magicae* was ignored by Preisendanz; cf. n. 156 above.

¹⁶¹ Col. ix contains many, mostly short, procedures (like this), divided by five *paragraphoi*; see the intro, p. 66 n. 19.

¹⁶² Or, “on flax,” if we accept the supplement [εἰς βύσσ]ον; cf. the app.cr. on this line.

¹⁶³ The Egyptian god Khnum is probably meant by CHNEŌM (here and in l. 230).

¹⁶⁴ Ll. 231–238 contain an untitled favor-procedure; its end is not marked by a *paragraphos*, because the title of the next procedure (request for a dream-oracle) is placed in *eisthesis*, while the main text begins within the same line.

¹⁶⁵ For various interpretations of αρσενοφρη, see Brashear 1995, 3580.

¹⁶⁶ αβλαναθαναβλα is a palindrome, found in magical papyri, gems and *lamellae*; see Brashear 1995, 3577.

¹⁶⁷ ακραμμαχαμαρ(ε)ι is a *vox magica* of Hebrew or Aramaic origin, which occurs in magical papyri and gems, but also in Coptic Gnostic texts; see Brashear 1995, 3578, s.v.

¹⁶⁸ καταραπερ Κυμηφ, meaning “great Satrap Kmeph,” occurs also in GEMF 21/P.Bingen 30. 32 and GEMF 48.23; on the magical word, see Brashear 1995, 3598.

¹⁶⁹ μαρμαραωθ is believed to be of Aramaic origin; see Brashear 1995, 3591.

¹⁷⁰ If the second ηι is deleted (ιευουηι{ηι}-ιηουοει), the sequence forms a palindrome; cf. also PGM app.cr.

¹⁷¹ Although the reading λαβων is secure, a scribal slip for λείβων would make better sense in this context.

¹⁷² There are traces of a vertical stroke after ANOU, for ι, κ or η (probably not beta, which has a longer vertical stroke in this scribe’s hand); thus, ANOUΚ for ANOUCH, “Jesus, I am,” might be a plausible (yet not the only plausible) reading. Note that Smith 1978, 63, reads here “Jesus, Anou(bis?)”; cf. also Twelftree 2007, 78–79.

col. ix (cont.) ↓

GEMF 15.243–260 [PGM XII 194–211]

- 20 245
 cτυπηρίας cχ λ β, λιθαργύρου λ δ, συνλείου τῷ ὄξει κα[ὶ ἕαρον ἡ]μέρας γ̄ και ἀποσει-
 ρώσας χρῶ. εἶτα πρόσβαλε τῷ ὄξει χαλκάνθου λ α, μ[.] ἡμοβέλιον, χαλκί-
 τεως η, σώρεως ὀβολὸς ἡμοβέλιον, ἀλὸς κοινοῡ κερά[τια . . . , καπ]παδοκικοῡ κεράτια β. 245
 ποιήσας πέταλον ἔχων τετάρτας β̄, πυρώσας βαπ[.]ις, ἕως λακηθῆ τὸ πέ-
 ταιον, εἶτα ἄρας τὰ λακήματα ἔχε ὡς ἐξίωσιν τοῦ χρυσοῦ ca 5?]
- 25 [200]
 ὄξεία. λαβὼν χρυσοῦ τετάρτας ποιήσων πέταλον και πυρώ[σας τρι]ς βάψων εἰς κάλκαν-
 θον τριμμένην μετ' ὕδατος. και ἄλλην. ξηρὰν κόψα[ς και βά]πτων τῷ ξηρῷ, [200]
 ἄλλοτε τῷ μεμιγμένῳ, ἀπόχυε τὸν ἰὸν και βάλε εἰ[ς]γ. w' gswr (M³) 250
- 30 255
 δακτυλεῖδιον πρὸς πᾶσαν πράξιν και ἐπιτυχίαν. μ[.] βασιλεῖς και ἡγεμόνες.
 λείαν ἐνεργές. λαβὼν ἴακτην ἀερίζοντα ἐπίγραψων δρά[κοντα κυ]κλωτερῶς τὴν οὐρὰν
 ἔχοντα ἐν τῷ στόματι, και ἐν μέσων τοῦ δράκοντο[ς] (c) ἐλήνην] δύο ἀτέρας ἔχουσιν
 ἐπὶ τῶν δύο κεράτων και ἐπάνω τούτων ἡλίον, ᾧ ἐ[γγεγλύφ]θω Αβρασαζ, και ὅπιθε
 τῆς γλυφῆς τοῦ λίθου τὸ αὐτὸ □ Αβρασαζ και κατὰ τοῦ [περιζώμ]ατος ἐπιγράψω τὸ μέγα 255
 και ἄγιον και κατὰ πάντων, τὸ ὄνομα Ιαω Καβαωθ. [και τελές]ας τὸν λίθον ἐν χρυσοῦ
 δακτυλίῳ φέρει, ὁπότεν ἡ κοί χρεῖαν, ἀγνὸς ὢν, και ἐπιτεύξῃ πάντων, ὅσων προαιρηῆ.
 35 [210]
 γλυφέντα τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνέργειαν ἔχει. τελετὴ δὲ ἡ κατ[ὰ πάντων] ἢ ὑπογεγραμμένη. [210]
 ποιήσας βόθρον ἐν ἡγνισμένῳ τόπῳ ὑπαίθερω, εἰ [δὲ μή, ἐν] σήματι καθαροῦ ἡγνισμένῳ, 260

19 cχι(ctῆc) | (δραχμὰς) (2x) | I. συλλείου L | κ[αθ' ἡ]μέρας R L Pr : κ[αὶ ἕαρον ἡ]μέρας D Da | 20 (δραχμὰς) | μ[ί]τρουc R D Pr : μ[.] L : μ[ca 6] Da | I. ἡμοβόλιον L || 20–21 fort. χαλκίτεως pro χαλκίτιδος L || 21 -τεως γι R : γ L D : η Pr Da | I. ὀβολὸν ἡμ. iam L Pr : I. ὀβολοῦς . . ἡμ. D | I. ἡμοβόλιον L | κερά . . . [καπ]παδοκικοῡ R L : κερά[τια . . . , καπ]παδοκικοῡ D : κερά[τιον, καπ]παδοκικοῡ Pr : κερά[τι . . . , καπ]παδοκικοῡ Da || 22 I. ἔχων iam Pr | βάπ[τε τρι]ς L D Pr : βαπ[ca 7]ις Da || 23 χρυσοῦ] L R D Pr : χρυσοῦ] Da || 24 ὄξεα vel ὄξεος R L : ὄξεος D : ὄξεία Pr Da | I. τετάρτας (β̄) iam Pr (cf. l. 22) : τέταρτα R L | πυρώ[σας] R L D Pr : πυρώ[σας . . .]c Da || 24–25 I. κάλκαν]θον iam D Pr : I. χαλκάν]θον L || 25 τετριμμένην R L D Pr : τριμμένην Da | I. μεθ' ὕδατος L D | I. fort. και ἄλλη | κοψα . . . πτων R L : κόψα[ς και βά]πτων D Pr Da | I. τῷ (ὀ)ξηρῷ Pr || 26 αλλοτε Pap : I. ἄλλοτε D : I. ἄλλο δέ Pr | εἰ . . . R : εἰ[σ]ω] L D Pr : εἰ[ς]γ Da | post εἰ[ς]γ spat. (ca 3) et litteras demoticas (idem ac δακτυλεῖδιον significantes) || 27 I. δακτυλεῖδιον | I. ἐπιτυχίαν | μ[.] βασιλεῖς R L : π[ρὸς τοὺς] βασιλεῖς D : μ[ετίασιν] βασιλεῖς Pr : μ[ca 7] βασιλεῖς Da || 28 I. λίαν | I. ἴακτιν | I. ἀερίζουσιν L | I. κυ]κλωτερῶς : δρά[κοντα κυ]κλωτερῶς iam R || 29 I. στόματι | ἐπίμεσον R L : ἐπιμεσον pro ἐπίμεσον D : ἔτι μέσον Pr : ἐν μέσον Da | ἐλήνην δ]ύο R L Ei³ : ἴκτιν δ]ύο (cf. prolegom. p. 769 adn. 12) D : ἐλήνην] δύο Pr Da || 30 ω ω R L D : ᾧ ἐ[γγεγλύφ]θω Pr Da | I. Αβρασαζ : αβρασαζ Pap Pr : αβρασαζ R L D Da | ὅπιθε(v) || 31 (ὄνομα) | [περιζώμ]ατος L : [περιζώμ]ατος D Pr Da || 32 {τὸ} ὄνομα Kroll ap. Pr | [αβραζ]ας vel [εἶτα και ἄψ]ας L : [τελές]ας D : [ἐγκλείς]ας Ei³ : [και τελές]ας Pr : [ca 7]σας Da | ἐπὶ χρυσοῦ R L || 33 I. χρεῖα | ἐπ[ὶ] πραγμά]των vel ἐπ[ὶ] πάν]των L : ἐπ[ι]τεύξῃ πάντων D Pr Da || 34 I. τελείεις, τελαιεις Pap : τελειεις pro τελείεις R L D : τεληεις vel τελειεις pro τελείεις Pr : τελειεις Da | πάντ ὁμοίως R L : πάντ[ων] ὁμοίως D : πάντ[ων] τελετ[ῆ] ὁμοίως Ei³ Pr Da || 35 I. ἐνέργειαν | τελετη Pap: τε ex corr. | η κατ R L : ἡ κατ[α]σκευ]ῆ Pr : ἡ κατ[ὰ πάντων] Ei³ Da || 36 ἐν ἡγνισμένῳ Pap : ἐπὶ [ἡ]γνισμένῳ R L vel sim. D : ἐν ἡγνισμένῳ Pr Da | I. ὑπαίθερω | ἐν . . [οἰ]κήματι R L : ἐν [οἰ]κήματι D : εἰ [δὲ μή, ἐν] Pr Da

GEMF 15.243–260

2 drachmas of cloven alum, 4 drachmas of litharge; pound them up together with the vinegar [and let the mixture stand] for 3 days. Then strain it off, and use. Next, add one drachma of vitriol to the vinegar, one-half obol of [*misy?*], 8 obols of *chalcitis*, (245) 1 ½ obols of *sory*, ... carats of ordinary salt, 2 carats of Cappadocian [salt]. Fashion a leaf that bears two-quarts of gold, and make it red hot by dipping [it 3 times] into fire until the leaf cracks. Then pick up the fragments and have them as the reduction to the metallic state of gold.

Blistering: Take [two?]-quarts of gold, fashion a leaf and burn it on fire [3 times?], dip it in vitriol crushed with water. And another (blistering): Pound dry (vitriol) and dip the leaf in the dry powder (250)—at another time¹⁷³ in the mixture—,¹⁷⁴ pour off the rust and throw it in [the . . .].¹⁷⁵

A ring (procedure).¹⁷⁶ A little ring for every procedure and success: Kings and governors [try to acquire it?]; very effective. Take a light-blue jasper and engrave on it a serpent in circular fashion holding its tail in its mouth,¹⁷⁷ and in the middle of (i.e. the circle shaped by) the snake, [Selene]¹⁷⁸ having two stars on her two horns and above them (a) sun, on which let ABRASAX be [carved]. And on the reverse (255) of the carving of the stone, (i.e. let there be carved) the same name ABRASAX, and around the bevel you will inscribe the great and holy and all-powerful name IAŌ SABAŌTH. [And when you have consecrated] the stone, wear it in a gold ring, whenever you need it, keeping chaste, and you [will succeed] in everything you choose. You are to consecrate the ring together with the gem through the rite performed for all matters. And likewise, even on gold the (i.e. same) engravings have the same effect.

The consecration written below is the one performed for all matters: Make a pit (260) in a purified place in the open air, [but] if [not, in] a clean, purified tomb,

¹⁷³ That is, when using the other blistering technique.

¹⁷⁴ The papyrus reads καὶ βάλπτων τῷ ξηρῷ ἄλλοτε τῷ μεμιγμένῳ, which Scarborough, GMPT renders as “and dip it in the vinegar. Yet another [treatment]: with the compound.”

¹⁷⁵ This is the end of an alchemical procedure (ll. 242–250) to make a tincture of gold (with two different techniques for blistering); for this text, cf. Halleux 1981, 163–166, fr. 4 (with text, translation and commentary); see now Blanco Cesteros 2020a, 120–127. For *chalcantion* (vitriol), *chalcitis* (chalcopyrite), *sory* and *misy* (copper and iron sulphides contained within the pyrite), see Christiansen 2017, 182–188. For alchemical practices in the Theban Magical Library, see Dosoo 2014, 143–171. Generally, for alchemy in the ancient world, see Keyser 1990; Lindsay 1970; Taylor 1930. For the chemical knowledge of the ancients, see Volke 2009.

¹⁷⁶ A Demotic title (*w^c gswr*), translating the Greek title of the following lengthy ring-procedure, is placed at the end of l. 250 (probably by a different hand than the main Demotic hand), while the Greek title is directly set at the beginning of the first line (l. 251) of the procedure. For this consecration of the magical ring (ll. 250–265) and the following prayer (ll. 265–318), see the analysis offered by Dieleman 2005, 147–170. For the use of rings in GEMF, see Suárez de la Torre 2019.

¹⁷⁷ For the *ouroboros*, cf. Reemes 2015.

¹⁷⁸ That is, most likely, the crescent moon, and not the goddess, as the crescent moon with two or more stars appear often on gems (e.g. in CBd-116; CBd-483), but not the horned goddess Selene.

verso col. x ↓

GEMF 15.261–278 [PGM XII 212–229]

- 1 [β]λέποντι πρὸς ἀνατολὴν καὶ ποιήσας ἐπὶ τῷ βόθρῳ βωμὸν ἐκ ξύλων καρπίμων
καὶ ἐπιθύς^{ac} χήνα ἄσπιλον καὶ ἀλεκτρόνας γ καὶ περιστεροὺς γ καὶ ἀρώματα παντο-
δαπὰ ἐπίθουε ὀλοκαυτῶν σὺν τοῖς ὀρνέοις καὶ ἐγγὺς σταθεῖς τοῦ βόθρου βλέπε
πρὸς ἀνατολὴν καὶ ἐπισπένδων οἶνον, μέλι, γάλα, κρόκον εὐχόμενος καὶ κρατῶν, ἐν ᾧ
5 αἱ γραφεὶ εἰσὶν ἐγκεχαραγμένα, ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀγμὸν λέγε. ἐπικαλοῦμαι καὶ εὐχομαι τὴν τελε- 265
τήν, ᾧ θεοὶ οὐράνιοι, ᾧ θεοὶ ὑπὸ γῆν, ᾧ θεοὶ ἐν μέσῳ μέρει κυκλοῦμενοι, γ ἥλιοι ἀνοχ
μανε βαρχυχ, κατὰ α μέρος ἐκ α κοιλίας ἐκπορευόμενοι καθ' ἡμέραν, ᾧ τῶν πάντων
ζῶων τε καὶ θεθηκότων κ[ρ]αταιοί, τῶν ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἀνάγκαις θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώ-
πων διακουσταί, ᾧ τῶν φανερῶν καλυπταί, ᾧ τῶν Νεμέσεων τῶν σὺν ὑμῖν δια- [220]
10 τρειβουσῶν τὴν πᾶσαν ὥραν κυβερνῆται, ᾧ τῆς μύρας τῆς ἅπαντα περιῖαιπαζο- 270
μένης ἐπιπομποί, ᾧ τῶν ὑπερεχόντων ἐπιτάκται, ᾧ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ὑψωταί,
ᾧ τῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένων φανερωταί, ᾧ τῶν Νεμέσεων σὺν ὑμῖν διατρεῖβούντων τὴν
πᾶσαν ὥραν πάλιν κυβερνῆται, ᾧ τῶν ἀνέμων ὀδηγοί, ᾧ τῶν κοιμάτων ἐξεγερταί, ᾧ πυ-
ρὸς κομισταί κατὰ τινα καιρὸν, ᾧ πάσης γέννης κτίσται καὶ εὐεργέται, ᾧ πάσης γέννης
15 τροφοί, ᾧ βασιλέων κύριοι καὶ κρατισταί, ἔλθαται εὐμενεῖς, ἐφ' ὃ ὑμᾶς ἐπικαλοῦμαι, ἐπὶ τῷ 275
συμφέροντί μοι πράγματι εὐμενεῖς παραστάται. ἐγὼ φυτὸν ὄνομα βαίς, ἐγὼ ἀπόρροια
αἷματος ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ μεγάλου ταφῆς τῶν βαίων, ἐγὼ ἡ πίστεις εἰς ἀνθρώπους εὐρεθεῖσα καὶ
προφήτις τῶν ἀγίων ὀνομάτων εἰμί, ὁ ἀγος, ὁ ἐκπεφυκὸς ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ, ἐγὼ εἰμι σοκρα-

1 βοθρῷ Pap: ο corr. ex ω || 2 ἐπιθύς^{ac} χήναν Pap: ἐπιθύς corr. ex ἐπίθουε: ἐπιθύσας L Pr Da: ἐπίθουε D | 1. ἀλεκτρόνας || 3 ἐπίθουε del. D | 1. ὀλοκαυτῶν L || 4 1. κρατῶν (λίθον) iam Pr: κρατῶν (πιττάκιον, ὀθόνιον, πέταλον vel sim.) L D: κρατῶν (τὸν λίθον) Ei³ | 5 1. γραφαί | 1. ἐγκεχαραγμένα L | 1. ἀγμὸν, αγμον Pap: ατμον D || 7 εἰς R L: εἰς pro ἐκ Bücheler ap. D Pr: ἐκ Da | 1. κοιλίας L | πάντων(v) || 8 ζῶων R L: 1. ζώντων D: ζῶων Pr | ᾧ τῶν ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἀνάγκαις Pr || 9 1. ὑμῖν, υμειν Pap: υ corr. ex ε || 9–10 1. διατρεῖβουσῶν || 10 1. μοίρας || 10–11 1. περιῖαιπαζομένης iam D Pr: 1. περιαιπαζομένης L || 11 ἐπιτακται pro ἐπιτάκται D Ei | 1. ὑψωταί, υψωται Pap: υψωται R L D Pr Da || 12 1. ὑμῖν | 1. διατρεῖβουσῶν iam L Pr: 1. διατρεῖβούντων D || 12–13 {ᾧ τῶν Νεμέσεων ... πάλιν κυβερνῆται} dittographia Pr (cf. 9–10) || 13 1. κοιμάτων iam D Pr: 1. κοιμητῶν L | 1. ᾧ || 14 1. κομισταί iam Ei Pr, κομισται Pap: ω corr. ex ο: κομισται R L D: 1. κομισται Bücheler ap. D | κτίσται R L D Pr || 15 1. κράτιστοι L | 1. ἔλθατε iam D Pr: ἔλθετε L || 16 βαίς Pap: βαίς D Pr || 17 βαίων Pap | 1. πίστεις | εὐρεθεῖσα R L Pr Da: ἐκρυθεῖσα D || 18 1. προφήτης: προφήτις L | ἄγιος R L D: ἀγιος (vox magica?) Ei³: αἰγιος pro ἀ(εἰ) ἴγιος Pr: ἀγιος pro ἄν(ω) ὄγιος (cf. p. xxi–xxii) Da || 18–19 1. fort. ὁ Κράτης vel ὁ Χράτης: σοκρατης pro ὁ (ἐπι)κρατης L: ω κρατης pro ὁ κράτης (cf. 20) D: ὁ Κράτης Ei¹: ὁ Χράτης Pr: σοκρατης Da

GEMF 15.261–278

that looks to the East, and make on top of the pit an altar from wood of fruit trees. Burn upon it as an offering an unblemished goose, and 3 roosters, and 3 pigeons and burn up completely all sorts of incense together with the birds. And standing near the pit, look to the East and, while libating wine, honey, milk,¹⁷⁹ saffron¹⁸⁰ (and) while praying and holding over the smoke [the stone], upon which (265) are carved the writings, say:¹⁸¹ “I invoke (you) and pray (i.e. for the success of) the consecration, O heavenly gods, O gods under the earth, O gods whirling in the middle part, the three suns ANOCH MANE BARCHUCH, (you who) individually come forth from one womb every day,¹⁸² O mighty ones among all the living and the dead, close listeners to both the gods and men (i.e. who are) in much distress, O concealers of the visible, O governors of the Nemeseis, who (270) spend every hour with you, O inflictors of Fate, who rides around all things, O you who command the pre-eminent, O you who raise up the abased, O revealers of the concealed, O governors of the Nemeseis who spend every hour with you, once more,¹⁸³ O you who guide the winds, O you who rouse the waves, O bringers of fire at a perfect time, O founders and benefactors of every creature, O nourishers of every creature, (275) O you who are rulers of kings and all-powerful, come well-disposed to the purpose, for which I invoke you, assistants well-disposed to a deed beneficial to me. I am the plant named palm-leaf; I am the outflow of blood from the palm trees¹⁸⁴ from the tomb of the Great One;¹⁸⁵ I am the faith found in mortals, (the) prophet of the holy names, ANOS,¹⁸⁶ the one who was born from the abyss,¹⁸⁷ I am SOCRATES,¹⁸⁸

¹⁷⁹ For wine, honey and milk used in libations, see Graf 1980.

¹⁸⁰ For the use of κρόκος in ancient medicine, cf. Dsc. 1.26.

¹⁸¹ For a detailed analysis of the content and textual form of the prayer in ll. 265–318, see Dieleman 2005, 149–170.

¹⁸² In Egyptian mythology the goddess Nut was believed to give birth to the sun daily. As she was also the mother of the heavenly bodies, she was thought to swallow her children (the stars and planets) each day at dawn only to give them birth from her womb at sunset.

¹⁸³ Ll. 272–273: ὦ τῶν Νεμέσεων σὺν ὑμεῖν (l. ὑμῖν) διατρεῖβούντων (l. δια|τριβουσῶν) τὴν | πᾶσαν ὄραν πάλιν κυβερνήται seem to be a dittography (probably indicated by πάλιν) of ll. 269–270: ὦ τῶν Νεμέσεων τῶν σὺν ὑμεῖν (l. ὑμῖν) δια|τριβουσῶν (l. δια|τριβουσῶν) τὴν πᾶσαν ὄραν κυβερνήται.

¹⁸⁴ For the efflux of Osiris, see Plu. *Mor.* 365 B: οὐ μόνον δὲ τὸν Νεῖλον, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ὑγρὸν ἀπλῶς Ὀσίριδος ἀπορροὴν καλοῦσι; 366 A; 371 A–B; cf. also Plu. *Quaest. conv.* 729b.

¹⁸⁵ That is, Osiris.

¹⁸⁶ ANOS is probably a magical word, as already suggested by Eitrem 1925, 120. Daniel 1991, xxi–xxii, on the other hand, suggests a scribal slip in ἀνος, which, he thinks, should be read as ἄν(ω) ὤς, thus indicating a marginal remark: “above read as follows: ὁ ἐκπεφυκῶς ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ.” Should this assumption be correct, then ἄν(ω) ὤς will have displaced a word like, for example, λωτός (cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 1683–1684: ὁ λωτός πεφυκῶς ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ).

¹⁸⁷ Preisendanz renders βυθός as the name of a deity, for in the system of Valentinian Gnosis *Bythos* is the name of a primordial god in the first Ogdoad: *Bythos, Pater, Anthropos, Logos*, and their female partners *Sige, Aletheia, Ecclesia* and *Zoe*.

¹⁸⁸ Although Socrates seems to be a scribal slip for Crates or Chrates, probably alluding to Egypt. *hrd* (*Chrat*, meaning ‘child’, i.e. Horus), we cannot ignore the fact that the papyrus reads σοκρα|της in ll. 278–279, and ο κρατης in the very next line of the text.

col. x (cont.) ↓

GEMF 15.279–296 [PGM XII 230–247]

- της ὁ πεφυκῶς ἐκ τοῦ οὐατιου, ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεός, ὃν οὐδεὶς ὄρᾱ οὐδὲ προπετῶς ὀνομάζει, [230]
- 20 ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ ἱερὸν ὄρον^{vε} Φοῖνιξ, ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ Κράτης, ὁ ἅγιος, προσαγορευόμενος μαρμαυθ, 280
ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ Ἥλιος ὁ δεδειχῶς φῶς, ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἀφροδείτη προσαγορευομένη Τῦφι, ἐγὼ εἰμι
ὁ ἄ[γ]ι[ο]ς ἐπίβουλος ἀνέμων, ἐγὼ εἰμι Κρόνος ὁ δεδιχῶ φῶς, ἐγὼ εἰμι μήτηρ θεῶν ἡ κα-
λ[ο]υμένη οὐρανός, ἐγὼ εἰμι Ὅσιρις ὁ καλούμενος ὕδωρ, ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἴσις ἡ καλουμένη δρόκος,
ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἥεενεφυς, ἡ καλουμένη ἕαρ, ἐγὼ εἰμι εἰδῶλος τοῖς κατακληθειαν εἰδώλοισ ὁμοι-
- 25 ωμένος, κορκοδεῖλφ ἐγὼ εἰμι Σῦχος. διὸ δ[α]ί[ο]μαι. ἔλθατέ μοι συνεργοί, ὅτι μέλλω ἐπικα- 285
λεισθω τὸ κρυπτὸν καὶ ἄρρητον ὄνομα, τὸν προπάτορα θεῶν, πάντων ἐπόπτην καὶ
κύριον. δεῦρό μοι, ὁ ἐκ τῶν δ̄ ἀν[έ]μων, ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεός, ὁ ἐνφυσῆσας πνεύματα
ἀνθρώποισ εἰς ζωὴν, δέσποτα τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ καλῶν, ἐπάκουσόν μου, κύριε, οὗ ἔστιν
τὸ κρυπτὸν ὄνομα ἄρρητον, ὃ οἱ δαίμονες ἀκούσαντες πτοοῦνται, οὗ καὶ ὁ ἥλιος βαρβαρεῖχ [240]
- 30 ἀρσεμφεμφρωθ, οὗ τὸ ὄνομα οὗ ἡ γῆ ἀκούσασα ἐλεύσεται, ὁ ἄδης ἀκούων ταράσσεται, 290
ποταμ[ο]ί, θάλασσα, λίμναι, πηγαὶ ἀκούουσαι πηγύνται, αἱ πέτραι ἀκούσασαι ῥήγνυνται καὶ
οὐρανός μὲν κεφαλή, αἰθῆρ δὲ σῶμα, γῆ πόδες, τὸ δὲ περί σε ὕδωρ, ὠκεανός. Ἄγαθος Δαίμων,
σὺ εἶ κύριος ὁ γεννῶν καὶ τρέφων καὶ αὐξῶν τὰ πάντα. τίς μορφὰς ζῶων ἔπλασε, τίς
δὲ εὔρε κελεύθους; τίς καρπῶν γεννητής, τίς δ' οὐρεα ὑψός' ἐγείρει; τίς δὲ ἀνέμους ἐκέλευσεν
- 35 ἔχειν ἐνιαυσία ἔργα; τίς δὲ αἰὼν αἶνα τρέφων αἰῶσιν ἀνάσσει; εἶς θεὸς ἀθάνατος. πάντων 295
γεννητῶρ σὺ πέφυκας καὶ πᾶσιν ψυχὰς σὺ νέμεις καὶ πάντα κρατύνεις, αἰῶνων βασιλεῦ καὶ κύριε, ὁ

19 του οὐαγιου R : τοῦ {ου} ἁγίου L : τοῦ (θε)οῦ vel (βυθ)οῦ ἁγίου D : τοῦ (ῶ)οῦ ἁγίου E1¹ : οὐαγιου vel οὐατιου E1³ : οὐαγιου pro οὐατίου Pr : οὐατιου Da || 20 l. ὄρνεον | ο κρατης om. L | μαρμαυθ R L D Da : μαρμαυθ or μαρμαγωθ E1³ : Μαρμαραυθ Pr || 21 l. Ἀφροδίτη L D || 22 ἅγιος R : [ἅγιο]ς L D : ἄ[γ]ι[ο]ς Pr Da | l. ἐπίβουλος D : l. ἐπίβουλος Pr | l. δεδειχῶς || 23 οὐράνιος L || 24 ηεενεφυς Pap. : Ηεε (Isis), Νεφ(θ)υς? L : ηεεεφυς E1³ | l. εἰδῶλον L | κατακληθειαν Pap: θ ex corr. : l. κατ' ἀλήθειαν L D : l. κατὰ ἀλήθειαν Pr || 24–25 l. ὁμοιωμένος || 25 l. ἐγὼ εἰμι Σῦχος (ὁμοιωμένος) κορκοδεῖλφ iam Pr, κορκοδεῖλω εγω εμι συχος Pap | l. κροκοδεῖλφ L | l. Σῦχος : συχος Pr Da | l. δέομαι, δ[α]ί[ο]μαι Pap : a in -μαι ex corr. | l. ἔλθετε L || 25–26 l. ἐπικαλεῖσθαι || 27 l. ἐμφυσῆσας L || 29 l. δαίμονες : δαιμονες R L D : δαιμωνες Pr Da || 30 l. ἀρσεμφεμφρωθ οὗ τὸ ὄνομα {οῦ} iam L D : ἀρσεμφεμφρωθου τὸ ὄνομα οὗ Pr | ελευσεται Pap. : ἐλίσσεται Usener ap. D | αδης Pap. || 31 l. ποταμοί | l. πηγύνται L | l. ῥήγνυνται L || 32 l. τὸ δὲ περίζωμα ὠκεανός. (σὺ εἶ) ἄγαθος δαίμων iam D || 33 l. fort. ζω(δί)ων | ἔπλασε R L : ἔπλασε D Pr Da || 34 l. γενέτης L | l. τίς δ' L || 35 l. τίς δ' L | l. αἰὼν αἰ(ῶ)να : αἰῶνα, ἴνα R L || 36 l. γενέτωρ L | δ(v)

GEMF 15.279–296

the one born from the Eye (of Horus),¹⁸⁹ I am the god, whom no-one sees or recklessly names, (280) I am the sacred bird Phoinix; I am Krates, the holy one, summoned by the name MARMAUŌTH. I am the Sun who has shown light; I am Aphrodite, summoned by the name ΤΥΦΗ.¹⁹⁰ I am a holy plotter against (the) winds;¹⁹¹ I am Kronos who has shown light. I am (the) Mother of Gods, the one called heaven; I am Osiris, the one called water; I am Isis, the one called dew;¹⁹² I am ĒSENEPHYS,¹⁹³ the one called spring; I am the image resembling the true images; (285) I am SOUCHOS,¹⁹⁴ (i.e. similar) to the crocodile.¹⁹⁵ Therefore, I beseech you, come as my helpers, because I am about to invoke the secret and unutterable name, the forefather of gods, overseer and lord of all. Come to me, the one from the four winds,¹⁹⁶ the almighty god, the one who blew into mortals the breath of life, master of the beautiful things of the cosmos. Listen to me, lord, whose secret name is unutterable, (the name) by which the daimons are terrified, when they hear it, whose name, BARBAREICH (290) ARSEMPHEMPHRŌTH, even the Sun (i.e. when he hears of it, traverses the sky), whose name the Earth, when she hears of it, is rolled over, Hades, when he hears of it, is disturbed; rivers, sea, lakes, springs, when they hear of it, freeze; the rocks, when they hear of it, break asunder. (Your) head is the sky, (your) body is the ether, (your) feet are the earth, and (your) belt is the ocean.¹⁹⁷ (You are) Agathos Daimon, you are (the) lord, who begets and nourishes and increases all things.¹⁹⁸ Who molded the forms of the signs of the Zodiac(?),¹⁹⁹ who found their orbits? Who is the begetter of fruits; who raises up the mountains? Who commanded the winds (295) to keep to their annual duties? Which Aion, nourishing an Aion, rules the Aions? One immortal god, you were born (i.e. to be) the begetter of all and you distribute souls to all, and rule all, king of the Aions and lord, (before) whom

¹⁸⁹ οὐατιον (οὐατιου would be a Hellenized genitive) is probably a Greek transliteration of the Egyptian *wedjat*, meaning ‘the green one’, the “Eye of Horus.” The eye is personified in the homonymous goddess of the city of Dep, who was said to be the nurse of the infant god Horus and was thus seen as the protector of pharaohs and of women in childbirth. Cf. GEMF 58/PGM V 75, GEMF 18/PDM LXI 79–94, both for catching a thief.

¹⁹⁰ ΤΥΦΗ may be related to the Egyptian *Tj-Rpy.t*, *Triphis*, meaning “the maiden,” which is also the designation of the constellation of the zodiac Virgo.

¹⁹¹ Smith, GMPT accepts Preisendanz’s conjecture of ἐπίβουλος to ἐπίβολος (similarly also Dieterich, who restores the word to the poetic ἐπήβολος), and thus renders the text as “I am the holy sender of winds.”

¹⁹² Isis’ association with rainwater and dew is explicitly mentioned in Plu. *Mor.* 355F–365A, and is also to be found in the Isis *aretalogies*; see Müller 1961, 67–69. A relevant reference can also be obtained from the “Invocation of Isis” in P.Oxy. XI 1380.172–174 (2nd cent. CE).

¹⁹³ In the Greek magical papyri, Isis and Nephthys are occasionally merged into a single figure named Ēsenephthys or similarly; cf. GEMF 4/PGM CXXII 53–57 and 34/LXII 1–24 at l. 5. A similar merging (σενεβεθω) occurs also in the Coptic section of GEMF 57/PGM IV 94–153 at 101; Love 2016, 34 interprets the word as a Greek transliteration of Egyptian *ʿIs.t-Nb.t-ḥw.t*, “Isis-Nephthys.” For this theonym, cf. Quaegebeur 1991.

¹⁹⁴ The crocodile god Sobek was called Κοῦχος by the Greeks; cf. Dam. *Isid.* fr. 99 (Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 242, 342b). See also GEMF 57/PGM IV 1693, on which, cf. Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 120.

¹⁹⁵ For the syntax, see the app.cr.

¹⁹⁶ Ll. 287–293 and 301–311 preserve an Egyptian prose hymn addressed to the Pantocrator, which incorporates a hexametric hymn (ll. 293–301) of probably Greek origin. A large part of the prose hymn (ll. 287–306) is found (in variations) in GEMF 43/PGM XXI 1–29 and 60/XIII 732–1056, at 761–794. See Bortolani 2016, 202–216.

¹⁹⁷ The papyrus reads τὸ δὲ περί σε ὕδωρ, ὠκεανός, which Smith, GMPT renders as “the water around you (is the) ocean.” However, Dieterich’s conjecture to read τὸ δὲ περίζωμα ὠκεανός is preferable, as the text (as it stands) breaks the pattern of the previous three phrases.

¹⁹⁸ The dactylic hexameters in ll. 293–301/PGM XII 244–252 are reconstructed as Hymn 1 in Preisendanz, PGM vol. 2, 237.

¹⁹⁹ Although ζῶον can also be taken to mean ‘animal’ or generally any living being, the following allusion to the orbits (κελεύθους), probably indicates a reference to the signs of the Zodiac (see the app.cr. on this line). Smith, GMPT interprets the word similarly, but keeps the genitive of ζῶον: “forms of the beasts (i.e. of the Zodiac).”

verso col. xi ↓

GEMF 15.297–313 [PGM XII 248–264]

- 1 καὶ τρέμουσιν οὔρεα σὺν παιδίοις, πηγῶν ποταμῶν τε τὰ ρίθρα καὶ βηυσσας
γαίης καὶ πνεύματα, πάντα τὰ φύντα. οὐρανὸς ὑψιφαῖς σε τρέμει καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα,
κύριε, παντοκράτωρ ἄγιε καὶ δέσποτα πάντων. σὴ δύναμις στυχεῖα πέλει καὶ φύ- [250]
εται πάντα, ἡελίου μήνης ται δρόμος νυκτός τε καὶ ἡοῦς, ἀέρει καὶ γαίᾳ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ 300
5 πυρὸς ἀτμῶ. σοῦ δὲ τὸ ἀένναον κωμαστήριον, ἐν ᾧ ἀφίδρυται τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ
ἐπταγράμματον πρὸς ἁρμονίαν τῶν ἑπτὰ φθόγγων ἐχόντων φωνὰς πρὸς
τὰς κῆ φῶτα τῆς C. ου αἰ ἀγαθαὶ ἀπόρροιαὶ τῶν ἀστέρων εἰσίν, δαίμωνες καὶ τύχαι
καὶ μοῖραι. σὺ δίδεις πλοῦτον, εὐγηρίαν, εὐτεκνίαν, ἰσχύν, τροφάς. σὺ δέ, κύριε τῆς
ζωῆς, βασιλεύων τῆς ἄνω καὶ κάτω αἰῶρας, οὐδ' ἡ δικαιοσύνη οὐκ ἀποκλείεται, 305
10 οὐδ' τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἔνδοξον οἱ ἄγγελοι ὑμνοῦσιν, ὁ ἔχων τὴν ἄψευστον ἀλήθειαν,
ἐπάκουσόν μου καὶ τέλεσόν μοι τήνδε τὴν πράξιν ἐπὶ τῷ φοροῦντί μοι τήν-
δε τὴν δύναμειν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, ἐν παντὶ χρόνῳ ἀπληκτον, ἀκαταπόνητον,
ἄσπειλον ἀπὸ παντὸς κινδύνου τηρηθῆναι, φοροῦντί μοι ταύτην δύναμειν. [260]
ναί, κύριε, σὺ γὰρ πάντα ὑποτέτακται τῷ ἐν οὐρανῷ θεῷ, καὶ μηδεὶς δαιμων ἢ 310
15 πνευμάτων ἐναντιωθήσεταιί μοι, ὅτι σου ἐπὶ τῇ τελετῇ τὸ μέγα ὄνομα ἐπεκα-
λεσάμην καὶ πάλιν ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε κατὰ μὲν Αἰγυπτίους φνω εαι ιαβωκ, κατὰ
δ' Ἰουδαίους Αδωναιε Cαβαωθ, κατὰ Ἑλληνας ὁ πάντων μόνναρχος βασιλεύς,

1 τρέμουσιν pro τρομέουσιν R L | 1. παιδίοις iam D Pr | 1. ρίθρα | βηυσσας vel βυυσσας Pap : 1. βήσσαι iam R Pr : βυυσσας pro βυυσοὶ L D || 3 l. δυνάμει | 1. στοιχεῖα || 3–4 φύ|εθ' ἅπαντα D || 4 l. μήνης τε, μηνῆται Pap : μηνῆται pro ὕμνηται R L | 1. ἀέρι || 5 ἀγμῶ R : αγμω pro ἀκμῆ vel ἀκμαῖς? L | ἄνω R L D : εἰω pro εἰς δ' Eī³ : εἰω pro ἐν ᾧ Pr Da || 7 l. τὰ{c} | (σελήνης) | 1. σοῦ iam Pr : οὐ αἰ R L : {ου} αἰ D | 1. δαίμονες : δαίμονες R L D : δαιμώνες Pr Da || 8 l. δίδωσ L | εὐγηρίαν vel εὐτηρίαν Pap Pr Da: η corr. ex ει? : εὐλυρίαν R L : εὐλυριαν pro εὐτυχίαν D : εὐχειρίαν (pro εὐκαιρίαν?) corr. ex ευδειριαν (pro εὐδοξίαν?) Eī³ : 1. εὐγηρασίαν Pr || 9 κάτω Pap: τ corr. ex ι? | 1. χῶρας iam Pr, αἰῶρας Pap : αἰῶρος R : [χ]ῶρας L : χῶρας D || 11 ἐπὶ abundare putat L | επιτω Pap : 1. ἐπίδος D : 1. ἐπὶ τὸ (τηρηθῆναι)? Pr | μοι abundare putat L || 12 l. δύναμιν || 13 l. ἄσπιλον | 1. δύναμιν || 14 l. σοὶ | 1. δαιμόνων || 15 ἐναντιωθεσεται Da || 16 ἐπικαλοῦμαιε Pap: -αιε ex corr. | φνωεαι Ιαβωκ R L D Da : φνω εαι Ἰαβωκ Pr || 17 διουδαίους Pap: δ in mg., deinde add. | αδωναιε D | 1. μόνναρχος : μοναρχος R L D : μωναρχος Pr Da

GEMF 15.297–313

the mountains with plains also tremble with fear, streams of springs and rivers, and glens of earth, and spirits, all growing things. High-shining heaven trembles (with fear) before you, and the entire sea, lord, holy almighty and master of all. By your power the elements come into existence and (300) all (things) are produced, the course of sun and moon, of both night and day, (all things) in air and earth and water and the smoke of fire. Yours is the everlasting processional place,²⁰⁰ in which your seven-lettered name is set up according to the harmony of the seven sounds,²⁰¹ which have (their) tones in accordance with the 28 (phases of) moonlight. Yours are the good influences of the stars, the daimons and fortunes and fates. You give wealth, happy old age,²⁰² the blessing of children, strength, food. You, lord (305) of life, ruling over the upper and lower lands, (you) whose righteousness is not shut out, whose glorious name the angels hymn, the one who has the unfeigned truth, listen to me and perfect this procedure for me, as I wear this power (i.e. the ring), in every place, in every time, (i.e. so that it)²⁰³ is protected unstricken, inexhaustible, intact from every danger, for me, as I wear this power (i.e. the ring). (310) Aye, lord, because all things submit to you, the god in heaven. And none of the daimons or spirits will oppose me, because upon (this) rite I have invoked your great name. And again, I invoke you, according to Egyptians, PHNŌ EAI IABŌK; according to Jews, ADŌNAIE SABAŌTH; according to Greeks, “king of all, who alone rules (over all)”;²⁰⁴

²⁰⁰ Similar phrasing in GEMF 12/PGM LXXVII 5–14.

²⁰¹ Probably “the seven vowels (of the planets)” are meant here.

²⁰² εὐγηρία, meaning ‘green old age’, is attested e.g. in [Plu.] *Cons.Apoll.* 2.111b; thus, Preisendanz’s emendation to εὐγηρ(α)ίαν is not only unnecessary, but also improbable since εὐγηραία (meaning ‘drug’) is attested only once in Galen 13.244 (cf. LSSup.).

²⁰³ The subject of the infinitive τηρηθῆναι strictly speaking is “the power” (in the accusative case), but one would expect it to be the person wearing the ring, who is, however, in the dative case.

²⁰⁴ For this claim that magical words translate foreign languages, see Kotansky 2019, 267, 279–284.

col. xi (cont.) ↓

GEMF 15.314–329 [PGM XII 265–280]

κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς κρυπτέ, ἀόρατε, πάντα ἐφορῶν, κατὰ δὲ Πάρθους ουερτῶ
 παντοδυνάκτα. τέλεσόν μοι καὶ δυνάμωσόν μοι τοῦτο πρᾶγμα εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν 315
 20 τῆς ζωῆς μο καὶ ἔνδοξον χρόνον. τὰ δὲ ὄπιθεν ὄν[ό]ματα τοῦ λίθου ἐπιγεγλυ-
 φθωμένα ἐστὶν τάδε. Ιαω Καβαωθ
 Αβρασαξ.

w^c gswr (M³) [270]

δακτυλίδιον πρὸς ἐπίτευξιν καὶ χάριν καὶ νείκην. ἐνδόξους ποιεῖ καὶ μεγάλους καὶ θαυ- 320
 25 μαῖστοὺς καὶ πλουσίους κατὰ δύναμιν ἢ τοιοῦτων φιλείας παρέχει. ἔστι σοι κατὰ πάντα δικαί-
 ως καὶ εὐπροφόρος ἀδιάλειπτος ὁ κύκλος. ὄνομα περιέχει κάλλιστον. *δ* γλύφεται ἐπὶ λίθου ἡλιο-
 τροπίου τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. δράκων ἔστω ἐν κύμων, στεφάνου σχήματι, οὐρὰν ἐν τῷ
 στόματι ἔχων. ἔστω δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ δράκοντος κἀνθαρος ἀκτεινωτὸς ἱερός. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐκ
 τῶν ὄπιθε μερῶν τοῦ λείθου γλύψει ἱερογλυφικῶς, ὡς προφητῆται λέγουσιν, καὶ τελέσας φόρει 325
 30 καθαρίως. τούτου μεῖζον οὐδὲν ἔσχειν ὁ κόσμος. ἔχων γὰρ αὐτὸ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ὃ ἂν παρά τις αἰ-
 τήσης, πάντως λήμψει. ἔτι δὲ βασιλέων ὄργα καὶ δεσποτῶν παύει. φορῶν αὐτό, ὃ ἂν τινεὶ εἴπῃς,
 πιστευθήσῃ ἐπίχαρίς τε πᾶσιν ἔσει. ἀνύξει δὲ θύρας καὶ δεσμὰ διαρήξῃ καὶ λίθους ὁ πρόα-
 γων τὸν λίθον, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ψῆφον, καὶ λέγων τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπογεγραμμένον. [280]

18 ουερμ? R : οὐ ερ. . . pro ὃ ἔρωσ? L : ουερ. . D : Οὐερτω Pr : ουερτῶ Da || 20 l. μου | καὶ εὔδοξον L : τὸν τῆς ζωῆς {καὶ ἔνδοξον} χρόνον D : καὶ ἔνδοξον ante χρόνον del. et fort. ante ὄνομα (l. 15) ponendum Ei ap. Pr | post χρόνον spat. (ca 7) || 20–21 l. ἐπιγεγλυ|μμένα iam Pr : επιγεγ|φθωμεν pro ἐπιγεγραμμένα L : επιγεγ- vel επιτεγ|θωμενα pro ἐπιτετυπωμένα D : επιγεγλυ|φθωμενα Pr Da || 22 Αβραξας L | post l. 22 spat. ca 4 lineae || 23 litterae demoticae (idem ac δακτυλίδιον significantes) || 24 l. νίκην || 24–25 θαυ|μαῖστος Pap : θαυ|μαστος vett. edd. || 25 ητοιουτων Pap : πτοιουτων pro πτοιούντων L | l. φιλείας || 26 l. fort. εὐ{προ}φόρος | l. ἀδιάλειπτος | (ἡλιος) : fort. (τοῦ ἡλίου) L || 27 l. ἔστω, εστω Pap : εστω R L | l. ἐν κύκλω vel ἐν κύκλον? : ενκυμων pro ἐγκύμων L : ἐνκύμων D Pr Da || 28 l. ἀκτεινωτὸς || 29 l. λίθου | l. ἱερογλυφικῶς : ιερογλυφικως R L D || 30 l. καθαρίως L || 31 l. λήψη L | αυτοαν Pap | l. τινη || 32 πιστευθήσῃ R L D Da : πιστευθήσῃ Pr | εσει Pap : σε ex corr. : l. ἔσει L | l. ἀνοίξει : ἀνοίξει L | l. διαρρήξει iam D Pr : l. διαρρήξει L || 32–33 l. προσά|γων, πρόα|γων Pap : primum scriptum προάγων, c deinde add. || 33 ἔστι L | post ὑπογεγραμμένον spat. (ca 7)

GEMF 15.314–329

and according to the arch-priests, ‘hidden, invisible, overseer of all’; according to Parthians, ‘OUERTŌ,²⁰⁵ (315) lord of all’. Perféc and empower this thing (i.e. the ring) for me for the whole and glorious time of my life.” The names carved on²⁰⁶ the reverse of the gem are these: IAŌ SABAŌTH ABRASAX.

A ring (procedure).²⁰⁷ (320) A little ring for success and favor and victory. It makes men reputable and great and admirable and rich according to their ability, or it enables friendships with men of this sort. The ring is easily portable(?)²⁰⁸ (and) unremittingly yours (to use) justly for all purposes. It encompasses a most noble name. The sun is to be carved on a heliotrope gem²⁰⁹ in the following way: Let there be a serpent (arranged) in a circle,²¹⁰ in the form of a garland, having its tail in its mouth. Inside (i.e. the circle shaped by) the serpent let there be a sacred scarab beetle (decorated) with (sun)rays. (325) On the reverse side of the gem you will engrave the name hieroglyphically, (that is) as the Egyptian priests²¹¹ say (it), and having consecrated (the ring), wear (it) in purity. The world has had nothing greater than this (ring). For, when you have it with you, you will receive entirely whatever you may demand from anyone. And even more, it stops the angry outbursts of kings and masters. When you wear it, you will be believed, whatever you may say to anyone, and you will be charming to everybody. The one who carries the stone—this is the gem—and says the name written below will open doors and break through chains and stones.²¹²

²⁰⁵ OUERTŌ is probably related to the Egyptian *wr t:* (“Great One on earth”); cf. Kotansky 2019, 267.

²⁰⁶ The papyrus reads επιγελυφθωμενα (l. επιγελυ|μμένα); to all appearances, the scribe initially had επιγεγλύφω (cf. ἐπιγλύφω, ‘carve on the surface’) in mind. Just before the closing line of the procedure there is a space that was perhaps left for a drawing of the design described in ll. 252–256.

²⁰⁷ For a detailed discussion of the following procedure, see Moyer and Dieleman 2003; Dieleman 2005, 170–182.

²⁰⁸ The text has the adverb εὐπροφόρως, which literally means ‘easily pronounceable’, a meaning that cannot be applied to a ring or its use; we may thus assume either that this is another meaning of εὐπροφόρως (both Smith, GMPT and Preisendanz, PGM render the word as ‘successfully’) or, perhaps more likely, a scribal slip for εὐφόρως, ‘easily carried’.

²⁰⁹ This is a dark-green gemstone with red streaks, whose name ‘turned to or by the sun’ is appropriate given the solar features of the design. Cf. Plin. *HN* 37.165.

²¹⁰ All previous editors read δράκων ἔστωσ (l. ἔστω) ἐγκύμων (l. ἐγκύμων), thus rendering the text as: “a thick-bodied serpent.” In the light of the preceding l. 322 (ἀδιάλειπτος ὁ κύκλος), we may, however, understand ἐγκυμων as a scribal slip for ἐν κύκλω or, less likely, ἐν κύκλον; such a correction seems to fit the context more easily.

²¹¹ The text says ‘prophets’, but in Roman Egypt the term usually refers to native priests, in particular to *hm-ntr* priests.; see Torallas Tovar 2020, 148.

²¹² The final letter in l. 329 is made to extend to the right edge of the line as a line-filler, thus indicating the end of the main procedure.

verso col. xii ↓

GEMF 15.330–345 [PGM XII 281–296]

- 1 ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ πρὸς δαιμογοπλήκτους. δὸς γὰρ φορεῖ^ν αὐτό καὶ πάραυτα φεύζεται τὸ 330
 δαιμόνιον. πρωΐας δὲ σταθεὶς κατέναντι τοῦ ἡλίου, κ'ατῶν τὸν λίθον τὸν εὐμετρον,
 τὸν καλοποιόν, τὸν θεῖον, τὸν ἄγνόν, τὸν χρήσιμον, τὸν φειδωλόν, τὸν εὐκπλαγχνον,
 τὸν τὰς χρήσεις μεταδιδόν^{τα}, τὸν ἐμμελῆ, τὸν εὐπρεπῆ. θεὲ μέγιστε, ὃς ὑπερβάλλεις
 5 τὴν πᾶσαν δύναμιν, ἐπικαλοῦμέ *καὶ*, τὸν Ιαω, τὸν Καβαωθ, τὸν Αδωναι, τὸν Εἰλωειν,
 τὸν Σεβωειν, τὸν Ταλλαμ, τὸν Χανναων Καγναμ Ελεμμεδωρ Χαψουθι, τὸν Σετῶρα, 335
 τὸν Καφθα, τὸν Νουχιθα, τὸν Αβρααν, τὸν Ισακ, τὸν Ιακκωβι, τὸν Χαθεθιχ, τὸν Ζευπειν,
 τὸν Νηφυγορ, τὸν Ασταφαιον, τὸν Κατακερκνηφ, τὸν Κοντεον, τὸν Κατουτ, τὸν Κηριδευ,
 τὸν Μαρμαριωθ, τὸν Λικυξαντα, τὸν Βεσσουμ, τὸν Συμεκοντευ, τὸν κατὰ τοῦ Θωιθ,
 10 τὸν Μασκελλει, τὸν Μασκελλωθ, τὸν Φνου, τὸν Κενταβαωθ, τὸν Ορεοβαζαγρα, τὸν Ἰπό- [290]
 χθων, τὸν Ῥησίχθων, τὸν Πυριπηγανυξ Νυξιω, τὸν Αβρωροκορε, τὸν Κοδηρε, τὸν Μου- 340
 ιδρω, τὸν ἄναξ, τὸν Θαθ, τὸν Φαθ, τὸν Χαθ, τὸν Ξευζην, τὸν Ζευζει, τὸν Couσηνη, τὸν Ελα-
 θαθ, τὸν Μελασιω, τὸν Κουκωρ, τὸν Νευσωω, τὸν Παχιω, τὸν Ξιφνω, τὸν Θεμελ, τὸν
 Ναυθ, τὸν Βιοκληθ, τὸν Σεσσωρ, τὸν Χαμελ, τὸν Χακινευ, τὸν Ξωχω, τὸν Ιαλλινωι, τὸν
 15 Σεεινεγφαραγγης, τὸν Μασιχιωρ, τὸν Ιωταβασ, τὸν Χενουχι, τὸν Χααμ, τὸν Φαχιαραθ,
 τὸν Νεεγωθαρα, τὸν Ιαμ, τὸν Ζεωχ, τὸν Ακραμμαχαμαρει, τὸν Χερουβει, τὸν Βαῖνχωωχ, 345

1 δαιμο[ν]οπλήκτους R L D : δαιμονοπλήκτους Pr Da | φορεῖ^ντο Pap : v deinde add. || 2 πρωΐας δε Pap: δ ex corr. | πρωΐας acas σταθεὶς pro πρωΐ ἀνασταθεὶς L : πρωΐας acas σταθεὶς pro πρωΐας σταθεὶς D : πρωΐας δὲ σταθεὶς Pr Da | κ'ατῶν Pap: ρ deinde add. | κρατῶν τὸν λίθον (λέγε: κρατῶ τὸν λίθον) τὸν εὐμετρον etc. Ei || 3 l. εὐκπλαγχνον L || 4 χρήσεις Pap: ης corr. ex ηζ | μεταδιδόν^{τα} Pap: τ deinde add. | 1. τὸν εὐπρεπῆ, (λέγε) iam Pr : τὸν εὐπρεπῆ, ('dic') L || 5 ἄπασαν L | 1. ἐπικαλοῦμαι *καὶ* | τον Pap: v ex corr. | Αἰλωειν R L : αἰλωειν pro ελωειν D : Εἰλωείν Pr vel sim. Da || 6 τατλαμ R L D : ταλλαμ Pr Da | σεγγωρα R L D : Σετῶρα Pr : σετῶρα Da || 7 χαθαθιχ R L D Pr Da | ζευτειν R L D : ζευπειν vel ζευνειν? Pr : ζευπειν Da || 8 νηρυγος R L : νηρυγορ D : νηφυγορ Pr Da | κατατουθωιθ R L D | Θωιθ pro Θωυθ Pr || 11 αβρωροκορε pro ἀκρωροβόρε? Pr || 11–12 μουιδρω L || 13 θελεμ R || 14 νουθ D | δεσσωρ L || 15 σεεινεγ φαραγγης D : σεεινεγ(ενβαρ)φαραγγης Pr | μασιχιωρ vel μασιλίωρ Pr || 16 πεωχ D | βαῖνχωωχ R L D Pr : βαῖνχωωχ Da

GEMF 15.330–345

(330) It is also effective for those attacked by *daimones*. Give it (to them) to wear and immediately the little *daimon* will flee. In the early morning, stand opposite the sun, and holding the well-proportioned, beneficent, divine, holy, useful, sparing, merciful stone, the one that shares its advantages, the harmonious (and) fitting one, [say]:²¹³ “Greatest god, you who surpass all power, I invoke you (as)²¹⁴ the IAŌ, the SABAŌTH, the ADŌNAI, the EILŌEIN,²¹⁵ (335) the SEBŌEIN, the TALLAM, the CHAUNAŌN SAGĒNAM ELEMEDŌR CHAPSOUTH, the SETTŌRA, SAPHTHA, the NOUCHITHA, the ABRAAN, the ISAK, the IAKKŌBI,²¹⁶ the CHATHETHICH, the ZEUPPEIN, the NĒPHUGOR, the ASTAPHAION, the KATAKERNĒPH, the KONTEON, the KATOUT, the KĒRIDEU, the MARMARIŌTH, the LIKUXANTA, the BESSOUM, the SUMEKONTEU, the one against THŌITH,²¹⁷ the MASKELLI,²¹⁸ the MASKELLŌTH, the PHNOU, the KENTABAŌTH, the OREOBAZAGRA,²¹⁹ the HIPPO(340)CHTHŌN,²²⁰ the RĒSICHTHŌN,²²¹ the PURIPĒGANUX²²² NUXIŌ, the ABRŌROKORE,²²³ the KODĒRE, the MOUISDRŌ, the king, the THATH, the PHATH, the CHATH, the XEUZĒN, the ZEUIEI, the SOUSĒNĒ, the ELATHATH, the MELASIŌ, the KOUKŌR, the NEUSŌŌ, the PACHIŌ, the XIPHNŌ, the THEMEL, the NAUTH, the BIKLĒTH, the SESSŌR, the CHAMEL, the CHASINEU, the XŌCHŌ, the IALLINŌI, the SEISENPHARANGĒS, the MASICHIŌR, the IŌTABAAS, the CHENOUCHEI, the CHAAM, the PHACHIARATH, (345) the NEEGŌTHARA, the IAM, the ZEŌCH, the AKRAMMACHAMAREI, the CHEROUBEI,²²⁴ the BAINCHŌŌCH,²²⁵

²¹³ The translation follows the conjecture of Leemans, which was also accepted by Preisendanz (see the app.cr. on l. 4); Eitrem’s conjecture (see the app.cr. on l. 2) is also plausible, but more invasive.

²¹⁴ Following Dieleman 2005, 172, who argues that the “greatest god” is summoned through an amalgam “of about 100 magical names, each of which is preceded by the definite article, as if each name serves as an independent tag or aspect of the pluralistic god.” Note also that, as the names are preceded by an accusative article, some of them also have a hellenized ending in -ov: τὸν Ἀκταφαίον, τὸν Κοντεόν (l. 337), τὸν Εἰοφαλεόν (l. 346), τὸν Χετταῖον, τὸν Ἐλουμαῖον (l. 348) etc.

²¹⁵ Probably a misspelling of the Hebrew *elohim*, ‘god’.

²¹⁶ Probably a misspelling of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

²¹⁷ The opponent of Thoth could be Osiris, as in the Pyramid Texts Thoth sometimes appears acting as a co-conspirator with Seth in the crime against Osiris.

²¹⁸ Another occurrence of the MASKELLI MASKELLO-*logos*, one of the most common *logoi* in Greco-Egyptian magic. See e.g. in GEMF 55/PGM III 545–547; 57/IV 2750–2752; 68/XXXVI 342–344; 73/IX 10–11; PGM XIXa 9–11; see Gordon 2002; Dieleman 2005, 79; GMPT, 336; Thissen 1991a, 298. A brief review of earlier literature with possible interpretations of the magical words involved in the *logos* can be found in SM II 54 note on ll. 27–29; cf. also SM II 57.3–4.

²¹⁹ Cf. DT 41A6, 38.28; perhaps an epithet of Hekate or the Moon-goddess (LSJ s.v.).

²²⁰ Cf. DT 38.29 (Alexandria, III CE).

²²¹ Meaning ‘the one bursting forth from the earth’ (LSJ s.v.); cf. ρηχιθων (pro ῥηξιθων) in CBd-1072.

²²² Probably a misspelling of πυρπηγάναξ, ‘lord of the fount of fire’ (LSJ s.v.).

²²³ Perhaps a misspelling of ἀκρωροβόρε (ἄκρον+οὐροβόρε), as Preisendanz has already suggested (see the app.cr. on this line).

²²⁴ A misspelling of Cheroubei(m).

²²⁵ The Egyptian name ‘Soul-of-Darkness’; see Dieleman 2005, 172.

GEMF 15.346–361

the EIOPHALEON, the ICHANŌTH, the PŌE, the XEPHITHŌTH, the XOUTHOUTH, the THOŌTHIOU, the XERIPHŌNAR, the EPHINARASŌR, the CHANIZARA, the ANAMEGAR, the IŌO, the XTOURORIAM, the IŌK, the NIŌR,²²⁶ the CHETTAION,²²⁷ the ELOUMAION, the NŌIŌ, the DAMNAMENEU,²²⁸ the AXIŌTHŌPH, the PSETHAIAKKLŌPS, the SISAGETA, the NEORIPHRŌR, the HIPPOKELEPHOKLŌPS, (350) the ZEINACHA, the IAPHETHANA, A E Ē I O U Ō.²²⁹ I have invoked you, greatest god, and through you all things, so that you may give divine and greatest power to this image²³⁰ and make it be powerful and strong against all (dangers?) and to be able to turn souls back (i.e. to the underworld), to arouse spirits, to subordinate legal opponents, to establish friendships, to preserve all revenues, to bring dreams, to give prophecies, to create sufferings, both of the soul and of the body, both weakness (355) and impediment, (and) to perfect all erotic philters. Aye, master master, perfect a perfect rite!²³¹ When you wish (i.e. to use)²³² this formula, say (it) three times each day, in the 3rd, 6th, 9th hour, and (do) this for 14 days beginning from the 3rd (phase) of the moon.²³³ And try to have the goddess²³⁴ (rising) either in Taurus or Virgo or Scorpio or Aquarius or Pisces. And, as you are finishing (the consecration), for each invocation pour a libation of the above-mentioned things²³⁵ and (burn some of?) all kinds of perfumes apart from frankincense. (360) And when you have completely finished the rite properly, have a double-combed rooster, either white or yellow—but refrain from black—²³⁶ and, after the rite, open up the living rooster

²²⁶ Cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 895: ζωνιωρ.

²²⁷ Meaning ‘Hittite’; cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 3044: ἡ Ἐβουραῖον ἢ Χερσαῖον ἢ Φαρισαῖον.

²²⁸ The *Ephesia Grammata* consisted of six magical names, i.e. ἄσκιον, κατάσκιον, λιξ, τετράξ, δαμναμενεύς and αἴκια; for their use in Greek magic, see Bernabé 2013; Frankfurter 1994, 195–196.

²²⁹ The use of long strings of vowels woven among the *voces magicae* is very common in Greco-Roman magic; they generally represent a kind of magical speech with no apparent sense. The seven vowels (α ε η ι ο υ ω), however, were considered as visual symbols of powerful entities; on the semiotics of vowels, see Frankfurter 1994, 199–205; cf. also Dieleman 2005, 64–69; the *locus classicus* on the subject remains Dornseiff 1925.

²³⁰ The papyrus reads τῷ ξόανῳ; although Pausanias (8.17.2) describes ξόανον as a divine image exclusively made of wood, the word is used to denote both images and objects made of various other materials than wood. In our case, the object of consecration is called ξόανον (and not δακτυλίδιον, as one would have expected), probably because the engraved magical ring now functions as a divine image; see Assmann 1991, 55–58; Dieleman 2005, 172. For the meaning of ξόανον in Greek sculpture, see Donohue 1988, 9–174.

²³¹ The invocation ends with a variant of the traditional Greek coda (τέλεον τελέαν ἐπαιοιδῆν) used to complete hexametrical incantations; cf. Faraone 2000, 209.

²³² Although the reading τελης is secure, an emendation to θέλης (perhaps a scribal slip due to the close phonetic correspondence, cf. Gignac 1976–1981, I 87) fits the context more reasonably; see the app.cr. on this line.

²³³ The third phase is the last phase and most commonly called “the full moon.”

²³⁴ The unnamed goddess is probably to be identified with Isis equated with the moon. For Isis’ equation with the moon, see Plu. *Mor.* 372 D–E; cf. 368 C.

²³⁵ The libations were specified in the first procedure; see l. 264: οἶνον, μέλι, γάλα, κρόκον.

²³⁶ For the association of black color with Osiris, see n. 112 above.

verso col. xiii ↓

GEMF 15.362–382 [PGM XII 313–333]

- 1 ἀνάπτυζε καὶ ἔκβαλε τὸ ζωδάριον ἕσω εἰς τὰ σπλάνχνα τοῦ ἀλεκτόρου
 φιλοτιμούμενος, ὅπως μὴ διαραγῆ τὰ ἔγκατα τοῦ ζώου. ἕασον δὲ ἡμέραν $\bar{\alpha}$,
 νυκτὸς δὲ ὄρας $\bar{\theta}$ ἄρον καὶ ἀπόθου ἐν τόπῳ ἱερῷ, καὶ χρῶ ὡς καλλίστῳ.
 ὁσάκις ἂν βόλει ἐπιτάσσειν τῷ θεῷ, τὸν μέγιστον Ουφωρα εἰπὼν ἐπίτασσε καὶ 365
- 5 τελεί. ἔχεις τὴν τελετὴν τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ θεοῦ ἐνεργήματος. ὁ δὲ Ουφωρ
 οὗτός ἐστιν, ᾧ Οὐρβικὸς ἐχράτο. τὸ ἱερὸν Ουφωρ, τὸ ἀληθές, διὰ πάσης συνστο-
 μίας ἀληθοῦς ἀναγράφεται, δι' οὗ ζωπυρεῖται πάντα πλάσματα καὶ γλύφεται
 καὶ ζόανα. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστ[ι]ν τὸ ἀληθές, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα, ὅσα φέρεται διὰ μακρῶν, ἐψευδη- [320]
 γόρηται μῆκος εἰκαῖον περιέχοντα. ἔστιν δὲ ὁ καὶ ἔχε ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ ὡς 370
- 10 μεγαλαμυστήριον. κρύβε, κρύβε.
 ἀρχή.
 ἠνύγησαν αἱ πύλαι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἠνύγησαν αἱ πύλαι τῆς γῆς.
 ἠνύγη ὄδευσε τῆς θαλάσσης, ἠνύγη ἡ ὄδευσε τῶν ποταμῶν.
 ἠκούσθη μου τὸ πνεῦμα ὑπὸ πάντων θεῶν καὶ δαιμώνων, 375
- 15 ἠκούσθη μου τὸ πνεῦμα ὑπὸ πνεύματος οὐρανοῦ,
 ἠκούσθη μου τὸ πνεῦμα ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἐπιγείου,
 ἠκούσθη μου τὸ πνεῦμα ὑπὸ πνεύματος θαλασσίας,
 ἠκούσθη μου τὸ πνεῦμα ὑπὸ πνεύματος ποταμείου. [330]
 δότε οὖν ^[τὸ] πνεῦμα τῷ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κατασκευασμένῳ μυστηρίῳ, 380
- 20 θε, οὐς ὀνόμασα καὶ ἐπικέκλη μαι.
 δότε πνοὴν τῷ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κατασκευασμένῳ μυστηρίῳ.

1 1. ἀνάπτυσσε L | 1. ἔμβαλε : εκβαλε R L Da : ενβαλε D Pr | 1. σπλάγχνα : σπλανχνα R L D Da : σπλαγχνα Pr | 1. ἀλέκτορος L || 2
 1. διαραγῆ | 1. ἔγκατα L || 3 νυκτος Pap: κ corr. ex γ vel τ? || 4 1. ὁσάκις | 1. βούλει iam D Pr : 1. βούλη L | Ουφωρα R L Pr : Ουφωρα
 D || 5 post τελει spat. (ca 2): τέλει L D : τελεί Eī Pr | Ουφωρ R L D : Ουφωρ Pr || 6 Οὔρβικος R L : Οὔρβικος D Pr | Ουφωρ R L
 D : τὸ ἱερὸν (ὄνομα) Ουφωρ Eī : Ουφωρ Pr | αληθες Pap: es corr. ex η (praeeunte Pr Da) : αληθη pro ἀληθές R L D || 6–7 1.
 συντομίας || 7 1. ἀληθός iam Eī Pr : ἀληθοῦς R L D || 7 1. γλυφαί, γλυφεται Pap : fort. γλυφαί vel γλυπτά vel γλύμματα L : γλύφεται
 D : γλυφαί vel γλυφαί (τε?) Pr || 8 και ζοανα pro πάντα ζόανα D || 9 περιέχοντα. {ἔστιν δὲ} ὁ καὶ Pr || 10 1. μεγάλο μυστήριον iam
 Eī³ : fort. μέγα μυστήριον vel μεγαλομυστήριον L : 1. μεγαλομυστήριον D Pr : post μεγαλαμυστηριον spat. (ca 4) : | post primum
 κρυβε spat. (ca 2) || 11 {ἔστιν δὲ} ἀρχή Pr || 12 1. ἠνοίγησαν (2x) : 1. ἀνώγησαν (2x) L | post οὐρανοῦ spat. (ca 4) || 13 1. ἠνοίγη : 1.
 ἀνώγη L | 1. (ἡ) ὄδευσε | post θαλάσσης spat. (ca 3) | 1. ἠνοίγη ἡ, ηνυγη Pap : ηνυγησαν pro ἀνώγη L || 14 1. δαιμόνων || 15 ουρανο
 pro οὐρανόου D || 16 πνευματος Pap: oc corr. ex ou (cf. l. 18) || 17 ηκουσθη Pap : ηουσθη Da || 18 1. πνεύματος | 1. ποταμίου || 19
 δοτεουνπνευμα Pap Pr : το ab eodem scrib. del. : δοτε ουν πνευμα R L D Da | 1. κατασκευασμένῳ | μυστ[ηρ]ίῳ R L D : μυστηρίῳ
 Pr vel sim. Da || 20 1. θε(οί), οὐς ὀνόμασα iam Reitzenstein ap. Pr : θεοὺς ονομασα pro ὀνόμασα R L D | post επικεκλη spat. (ca
 2) : επικεκλημαι R L D : επικεκλη μαι Pr : επικεκλη μαι Da || 21 1. κατασκευασμένῳ

and place the little image (i.e. the ring) into the intestines of the rooster,²³⁷ taking care that the entrails of the animal not be torn. Leave (it) for 1 day, and in the 9th hour of the night take (the ring) out and put (it) away in a sacred place and use it as best (you can). (365) As often as you wish to impose commands on the god, say the greatest OUPHŌR,²³⁸ give (your) command and he²³⁹ will perfect (it). You have the rite of supreme and divine efficacy. This OUPHŌR is the one, which Ourbikos²⁴⁰ used; the holy OUPHŌR, the true one, has been truthfully written out, in all conciseness, (the recipe) by which all moulded figures, carvings and carved statues are kindled to life.²⁴¹ For this is the true (recipe), while the others, the ones that are carried to great length, are falsified (370) because they encompass a useless length.²⁴² This is the one which you should really keep in secrecy as a great mystery. Conceal (it), conceal (it)! Beginning.²⁴³ “The gates of heaven were opened; the gates of earth were opened.²⁴⁴ The passage through the sea was opened; the passage through the rivers was opened. (375) My spirit was heard by all gods and daimons; my spirit was heard by the heavenly spirit; my spirit was heard by the terrestrial spirit; my spirit was heard by the marine spirit; my spirit was heard by the riverine spirit. (380) Therefore, give spirit to the secret object (i.e. the ring) that has been prepared by me, O gods, whom I have named and invoked. Give breath to the secret object that has been prepared by me.”

²³⁷ A similar magical technique is used in an apocryphal Jewish book of magic found in a 13th/14th century manuscript and known as the “Sword of Moses,” ed. Gaster 1925–1928, I 324–325.

²³⁸ OUPHŌR is the (Hellenized and vocalized) transliteration of Egyptian *wꜥ.t-r(ꜥ)*, i.e. the name of the Opening-the-Mouth-ritual; for the etymology of the word, see Vergote 1961, 213–214. For the Egyptian ritual, see Otto 1960; translation and commentary: Goyon 1972. For a description of the Opening-the-Mouth-ritual, see Dieleman 2005, 173–182 citing further bibliography on the sources for this ritual.

²³⁹ It is difficult to discern the subject of *τελεῖ*, which appears, rather unexpectedly, to be different from the subject of *εἰπών* and *ἐπίτασσε*. Preisendanz decides on the “Sonnengott,” which seems most likely, but the text could also refer to the ring itself, which now functions as a divine image (see n. 230 above). Previous editors (L, D) prefer to read the imperative *τέλει* (instead of *τελεῖ*), which would have the same subject as *εἰπών* and *ἐπίτασσε*, and is to be rendered as “say the greatest OUPHŌR, give (your) command and bring it to completion.”

²⁴⁰ Although the text ascribes the use of this specific Opening-the-Mouth-ritual to a certain Ourbikos, thus implying that he was a famous “magician” (perhaps an Egyptian priest?) of his times, the latter is otherwise unknown. Moyer and Dieleman 2003, 60 n. 53 derive the name from Egyptian *Hr-bik*, meaning ‘Horus-the-falcon’, while Smith, GMPT, 164 thinks it is the Roman name Urbicus. However, although the name Οὐρβικός (as a Greek transliteration of the Lat. Urbicus) appears in many inscriptions (IGLSyr 2.359; SEG 1.490; 4.127; 37.1526; IMC Catania 124 and 140; IG XIV.1608 and 1650; IGUR II 865 and 923), it is quite improbable that the author or redactor of GEMF 15 (probably an Egyptian priest) would refer to a Roman as a famous magician. For the marketing techniques used mostly in the Greek magical papyri (and occasionally also in the Demotic texts) as a means to persuade their implied reader of the efficacy of a magical procedure, see Dieleman 2005, 254–284.

²⁴¹ Cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 795; 60/XIII 739.

²⁴² The contrast here is the conciseness of this recipe (ll. 367–368) and inordinate length of the inauthentic ones.

²⁴³ This marks the start of the first invocation of the OUPHŌR rite (lines 372–382).

²⁴⁴ The concept of “opening the gates of heaven and earth” has an important role in the ritual techniques of the Egyptian liturgy of the morning ritual; see Dieleman 2005, 176–178.

col. xiii (cont.) ↓

GEMF 15.383–399 [PGM XII 334–350]

		κρύβε, κρύβε τὸ ἀληθινὸν Οὐφωρ ἐγ̅ συντομεία περιέχον τὴν ἀλήθειαν. ἐπίκλησις Οὐφωρος.																									
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22 post primum et secundum κρύβε spat. (ca 1) | 1. ἀληθινὸν | Οὐφωρ R L Pr : Οὐφωρ D : τὸ ἀληθινὸν (ὄνομα) Οὐφωρ Ei | 1. συντομεία || 23 post ἀληθείαν spat. (ca 4) | 1. ἐπίκλησις {c} iam R L : ἐπίκλησις τοῦφωρος D : ἐπίκλησις σουφωρος pro Οὐφωρος Pr || 24–38 post ηι spat. (ca 5) | Ἰεοῦ? Pr : post ιευ spat. (ca 8) || 25 μονθεαθι μονγιθ Pr || 26 Χαρεῶθ μονκηβ Pr || 27 ωχουωρωση D : ωχου ωρωση Pr || 28 τωτωουτηρ R L D : τωτω Οὐτήρ Pr || 29 χαρωχι Χαρμιώθ Pr || 31 ραιραιμουριραι R L D : ραιραι Μουριραι Pr Da || 32 αμουνηειουσιρι R L D : Ἀμοῦν ηει Οὐσίρι Pr : αμουνηει ουσιρι Da || 34 ανμορχαθι Οὐήρ Pr : ανμορχαθι ουηρ Da || 36 ορχιμορωιπυουγθ vel ορχιμορωιουγθ? || 37 μαχψαχαθανθ L || 38 post l. 38 duo signa lectionis

GEMF 15.383–399

Conceal (it),²⁴⁵ conceal (it) the true OUPHŌR, which in conciseness contains the truth.
Invocation of OUPHŌR:

ĒI	IEOU ²⁴⁶	MAREITH (385)
ĒI	IEOU	MONTHEATHIMONGITH
ĒI	IEOU	CHAREŌTHMONKĒB
ĒI	IEOU	SŌCHOUSŌRSŌĒ
ĒI	IEOU	TIŌTIŌ OUIĒR ²⁴⁷
ĒI	IEOU	CHARŌCHSICHARMIŌTH (390)
ĒI	IEOU	SATHIMŌOUEĒĒOU
ĒI	IEOU	RAIRAI MOURIRAI
ĒI	IEOU	AMOUNĒEI OUSIRI ²⁴⁸
ĒI	IEOU	PHIRIMNOUN ²⁴⁹
ĒI	IEOU	ANMORCHATHIOUĒR (395)
ĒI	IEOU	ANCHEREPHRENEPSOUPHIRIGCH
ĒI	IEOU	ORCHIMORŌIPOUGTH
ĒI	IEOU	MACHPSACHATHANTH
ĒI	IEOU ²⁵⁰	MOROTH

²⁴⁵ Ll. 383–399 contain the second invocation of the OUPHŌR rite.

²⁴⁶ Ritner, GMPT, 165, n. 86 suggests reading ĒI IEOU as a (vocalized) transliteration of the Egyptian greeting formula *i i:w*, meaning “O, hail.” On this, see Thissen 1991a, 299. A critical discussion in Dieleman 2005, 179–182. The names following each greeting formula can occasionally be interpreted as Egyptian epithets or phrases (see ns. 247, 248 and 249). The repetition of the greeting formula followed by divine epithets illustrates the scribe’s eagerness to keep the traditional Egyptian layout of the text (which is thus reminiscent of an Egyptian litany: see Dieleman 2005, 180, ns. 95 and 96).

²⁴⁷ ουηρ may be a vocalized transliteration of *wr*, meaning ‘great’ (similar to l. 395); cf. also n. 270.

²⁴⁸ αμουνηει Ουσιρι seems to be a vocalized transliteration in Greek characters of the imperative “Come to me, Osiris.” In Sahidic Coptic, this would be ΔΜΟΥ ΝΑΙ ΟΥΣΙΡΙ (I owe the reference to Jacco Dieleman). Note that Plu. *Mor.* 354 D attributes to Hecataeus (*FGH* 264 F 4) a phonological interpretation of the Egyptian name Amun as a verbal form of address: Ἐκαταῖος δ’ ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης φησὶ τούτῳ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῷ ῥήματι χρῆσθαι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ὅταν τινὰ προσκαλῶνται.

²⁴⁹ Ritner, GMPT, 165 n. 87 and 259, n. 5, suggests that PHIRIMNOUN corresponds to the Egyptian “He who comes forth from Nun” (i.e. the primordial watery abyss); cf. also Thissen 1991a, 299; Dieleman 2005, 73–74.

²⁵⁰ The scribe set two right angle brackets under each of the first two columns containing the greeting formula ĒI IEOU; these brackets are probably *diplē*-signs, normally used as marginal signs of varying meaning (e.g. to mark noteworthy lines), as opposed to the *diplē obelismenē* (also known as “forked” *paragraphos*), which marks text divisions; however, the precise purpose of the signs’ use at the bottom margin of col. xiii remains unclear. If the brackets were not simply set to draw the reader’s attention to the invocation of OUPHŌR (perhaps as quotation markers: see Sarischouli forthcoming), we may interpret them as division markers. Thus, Dieleman suggests that the scribe may have written out the columns one after the other; if so, he may have been counting the lines in his head as he filled out the columns. When he reached the required number of lines in the ĒI column, he wrote the first *diplē*-sign to mark that he had enough lines; and did the same with the IEOU column. A similar sign is found at the bottom margin of col. xv (see n. 288 below), and also at the bottom margin of P.Oxy. LXV 4469 containing the so-called “letter of Abgar to Jesus,” which was used as an amulet (I owe the reference to Franco Maltomini). A relatively similar sign also occurs in GEMF 58/PGM V 171, usually understood as a *charaktēr*, but since it divides two recipes, it might be better understood as a lectional sign, perhaps mistaken for a *charaktēr* by a copyist (I owe the reference to Korshi Dosoo).

verso col. xiv ↓

GEMF 15.400–418 [PGM XII 351–369]

1 Δημοκρίτου σφαῖρα. προγνωστικὸν ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου. γνῶθι πρὸς τὴν α
 ἀνέπεσε νοσῶν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐκ γεννητῆς συνψηφισον τὴν α καὶ βλέπε πόσαια
 τρακάδες γίνονται καὶ τὰ περιλειπόμενα τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ κατανόησον εἰς τὴν σφαῖραν
 καὶ ἂν ἦ ἄνω ἢ ψῆφος, ζήσει, ἔαν δὲ κάτω, τελευτήσει.

5

α	ι	ιθ
β	ια	κ
γ	ιγ	κγ
δ	ιδ	κε
ζ	ιζ	κζ
θ	ιθ	κθ
ε	ιε	κβ
ς	ιη	κη
η	κα	κθ
ιβ	κδ	λ

405

10

[360]

410

15 *w' prd* (M³) διακοπός
 τῆς ταρείχου ὄστρακον ἐπίγραψον χαλκῶ γραφείῳ λόγος καὶ ἐπιδίωκε καὶ θές,
 ὅπου εἰσίν, ὅπου ὑποστρέφονται, ἐπιλέγων ἅμα καὶ τὸν λόγον. ἐπικαλοῦμέ σαι
 τὸν ἐπὶ κενῶ πνεύματι δεινόν, ἀόρατον, μέγαν θεόν, τὸν πατάξαντα γῆν καὶ
 σεμνότατον κόσμον, ὁ φιλῶν ταραχὰς καὶ μεικῶν εὐσταθείας καὶ σκορπίζω

415

1 (σελήνην) : πρὸς τὴν (σελήνην) R L D Pr : 1. πόστη (σελήνη) Kroll ap. Pr : πρὸς τίνα (σελήνην) Diels ap. Pr || 2 l. γενετῆς : γεννητῆς R L D Pr : γενετῆς Da | 1. συμψηφισον L | 1. τῆ (σελήνη) iam Pr : τὴν (σελήνην) R L D | 1. πόσαι{α} : ποσαι R L D Da : ποσαι Pr || 3 l. τριακάδες || 4 ζήσει Pap : litt. del. supra ζ || 15 ante διακοπός litteras demoticas (idem ac διακοπός significantes) || 16 l. εἰς ταρίχου iam D Pr : fort. τοῦ ταρίχου vel λαβῶν ταρίχου L | 1. λόγον iam L Pr : 1. λόγους D || 17 l. ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε || 18 κενω Pap: ε ex corr. || 19 σεμνοτατον Pap: ε ex corr. : σεμνοτατον L : 1. σείοντα τὸν Bur Pr (cf. col. v 21/PGM XII 60) | 1. μικῶν | σκορπίζω(v)

GEMF 15.400–418

(400) Democritus²⁵¹ sphere:²⁵² Prognostic-procedure of life and death. Learn (when)—in relation to the moon—²⁵³ (the sufferer) took to bed in sickness and add (the numerical value of the, i.e. his) birth name to the (numerical value of the) day of the month and see how many (days) add up to sets of thirty,²⁵⁴ and look at the remaining number in the sphere. If the calculation²⁵⁵ is (a number that is) above (i.e. above the dividing line in the box below), he (i.e. the sufferer) will live, but if it is below (the line), he will die.

1	10	19	(405)
2	11	20	
3	13	23	
4	14	25	
7	16	26	(410)
9	17	27	
5	15	22	
6	18	28	
8	21	29	
12	24	30	

A separation (procedure). Separation-procedure.²⁵⁶ (415) On an ostrakon^{5*} (from a pot) for salted fish²⁵⁷ inscribe (the) formula with a bronze stylus, recite (it) and place (it) where they (i.e. the targeted couple) are, where they (usually) return, while at the same time uttering the formula: “I invoke you, the fearful one in the empty air, invisible, great god, you who smites the earth and the most noble cosmos,²⁵⁸ the one who is fond of tumults and hates tranquility and scatters

²⁵¹ The Democritus mentioned here might perhaps be identified with Bolos of Mendes, whose works were occasionally published under that name (see Sarischouli forthcoming, Martelli 2013); to him are attributed both theoretical and practical works on necromancy, demonology, alchemy and astrology; see Brashear 1995, 3412–3413, with n. 135. By contrast, Dieleman 2005, 264, n. 199, identifies this Democritus with the Greek philosopher Democritus of Abdera who seems to be here presented as an authoritative master of the occult arts (similar to Pythagoras, Zoroaster, Ostanos or the prophets).

²⁵² Although the astrological sphere was usually a circle, in this case, it is a rectangle. For the Democritean sphere, see also Maltomini 1986b, 157–159 and 1992, 25–27. For a detailed discussion of the fusion of medicine with astrology in ancient times, see Bouché-Leclercq 1899, 537–542.

²⁵³ That is, “what day of the month” using the Egyptian lunar calendar, which consisted of twelve full (30-day) and “hollow” (29-day) months, producing a total of 354 days.

²⁵⁴ That is, “how many (lunar) months there are.”

²⁵⁵ That is: the sum of the numbers added above.

²⁵⁶ The invocation in ll. 416–424 recurs in another version four columns farther on the same manuscript (ll. 539–550), and in an alternative version on GEMF 16.683–694; for a discussion of the similarities of the texts, cf. Dieleman 2005, 130–138.

²⁵⁷ For the conjecture εἰς τὰρίχου, see note 5*. The allusion to fish probably indicates an association with Typhon-Seth, as Osiris’ male member was believed to have been devoured by the lepidotus, phagrus and oxyrhynchus fish (see Plu. *Mor.* 358 B).

²⁵⁸ The papyrus reads (ll. 417–418) τὸν πατάξαντα γῆν καὶ | σεμνότατον κόσμον; this phrase does not jibe with the other, threatening descriptions of this god, suggesting that the text is corrupt. Therefore, Hock, GMPT follows Buresch’s emendation (also adopted by Preisendanz) to εείοντα τὸν κόσμον (based on l. 109), thus rendering the text as “you who afflict the earth and shake the universe.”

col. xiv (cont.) ↓

GEMF 15.419–432 [PGM XII 370–383]

- 20 τὰς νεφέλας ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ιαια ιακουβιαι, ιωερβηθ, ιωπακερβηθ, ιωβολχοσηθ, [370]
 βαδουμα παταθναξ αποψς οσερω αταφ θαβραου ηω θαθθαβρα 420
 βωραρα αροβρειθα βολχοσηθ κοκκολο' ιπτολη ραμβιθνιψ, δότε τῆ Δ
 τῆς Δ μάχην, πόλεμον ^{καί} τὸν Δ τῆς Δ ἀηδίαν, ἔχθραν, ὡς εἶχον Τυφῶν καὶ Ὅσιρις.
 εἰ δὲ ἀνὴρ ἔστιν καὶ γυνή ὡς εἶχον Τυφῶν καὶ Εἰςις· ἰχυρὲ Τυφῶν, μεγαλο-
- 25 δύναμε, τὰς αὐὰς δυνάμεις ἀποτέλει.
 ἀγρυπνητικόν. λαβὼν νυκτερίδαν ζῶσαν ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς πτέρυγος ζωγράφησον \neq 425
 του ὑποκείμενον ζῴδιον, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς τὰ ζ̄ π̄ π̄ κατάγραψον θῡ καὶ ὅτι
 ἀγρυπνεῖται ἡ Δ, ἦν Δ, ἕως ^υγφονησι καὶ οὕτως αὐ̄ αὐτὴν ἀπόλυσον. ἐν ἀποκρούσει
 δὲ αὐτὸ ἀποτέλει τριταίας οὔσης τῆς θεοῦ, καὶ αὐπνος τελευτῆσει μὴ διαμηκύνου-
- 30 κα ἡμέρας ζ̄. λύσειν οὐκ ἔχει τοῦτο οὐδεπώποτε. ἐὰν δὲ βουλεύῃ ποτέ, μὴ [380]
 ἀπόλυε αὐτὴν, ἀλλ' ἔχε τηρουμένην αὐτὴν, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιεῖ. ὅτε δὲ βούλει λῶ- 430
 και, ἐξαλίψας πηγαίῳ ὕδατι ἐπὶ τῶν πτερύγων $\overline{\text{καταγραφέντα}}$ ἀπόλυσον
 τὸ ὀρνύφιν. τοῦτο δὲ μὴ πράττε, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ μεγάλης ἐπιβουλῆς. ἔστιν οὖν

20 αλληλων R L : αληλων D : αλ[λ]ηλων Pr : αλληλων Da | 'Ιαια Pr | 'Ιακούβ ιαι Pr | 'Ιὼ 'Ερβήθ Pr | 'Ιὼ Πακερβήθ Pr | 'Ιὼ Βολχοσήθ Pr || 21 Παταθναξ Pr : post παταθναξ spat. (ca 2) | post αποψς spat. (ca 1) | post οσερω spat. (ca 2) | post αταφ spat. (ca 2) | post θαβραου spat. (ca 1) | post ηω spat. (ca 2) | post θαθθαβρα spat. (ca 4) || 22 post βωραρα spat. (ca 2) | post αροβρειθα spat. (ca 2) | Βολχοσήθ Pr : post βολχοσηθ spat. (ca 3) | post κοκκολο dist. : κοκκολοιπτολη R L D Pr Da : post ιπτολη spat. (ca 3) | 1. τῶ iam Pr, τη Pap | δ(εῖνα) || 23 1. καὶ τῶ iam L Pr : τὸν Pap: 1. κα[τὰ] τοῦ (πολεμοντὸν Pap: 'post κα reliquiae litterarum', fort. τ non ι) D | δ(εῖνα) (3x) | αηδιαν pro αἰδῖον ἔχθραν Ei || 24 ὡς Pap : ὡ corr. ex εω | τυφον Da | 1. Ὅσις : post εις dist. || 26 1. ἀγρυπνητικόν | ζ(μύ)ρ(νη) || 27 1. τὸ, του Pap | (ὀνόματα) | θ(εο)ῦ || 28 δ(εῖνα) (2x) | 1. fort. ἦν δ(εῖνα) (ἔτεκεν) : 1. τῆς δ(εῖνα) L D | 1. ἕως συμφωνήσι iam Pr, εωςγφονησι Pap: γφ corr. ex εφ vel αφ : [ε]φονησι pro cὺ φωνήσι L : εφονησι: ε non rasa, sed oblita pro cὺ φονεύσι D : 1. συμφωνήσι Kr : 1. cὺ φωνήσι pro -σεις Wilcken ap. Pr : ὕφονησι: υ corr. ex ε vel α Da | ασαυτην Pap: primum αυ del. (dittographia) Bücheler ap. D | 1. ἀποκρούσει || 29 τ[ρι]ταίας D | αὐπνος Pap || 31 αὐτο Pap: ο corr. ex ω | ποίει L | βουλει Pap: υλ corr. ex λλ : 1. βούλη L || 32 1. ἐξαλίψας | 1. <τὰ> ἐπὶ τῶν πτερύγων iam Pr | $\overline{\text{καταγραφέντα}}$ Pap: supra at duo lineae || 33 1. ὀρνύφιν L : ορνυφιν pro ὀρνύθιν (1. ὀρνίθιον) Ei¹

GEMF 15.419–432

the clouds from one another,²⁵⁹ IAIA IAKOUBIAI IÖERBĒTH IÖPAKERBĒTH IÖBOLCHOSĒTH²⁶⁰ (420) BASDOUMA PATATHNAX APOSS OSESRO ATAPH THABRAOU EÖ THATHTHABRA BÖRARA AROBREITHA BOLCHOSĒTH KOKKOLO' IPTOLĒ RAMBITHNIPS; give to him,²⁶¹ NN, the son of her, NN, strife, war, and to him, NN, the son of her, NN, odiousness, enmity, just as Typhon and Osiris had. (But if it is a man and a woman, 'just as Typhon and Isis'²⁶² had). Strong Typhon, very powerful one, perform your powers (on them)."

(425) Insomnia-procedure:²⁶³ Take a living bat and on the right wing draw with myrrh the image given below; on the left wing inscribe the 7 names of the goddess²⁶⁴ as well as: "Let her, NN, whom she, NN, (bore), be sleepless until she complies." And so, in turn, set the bat free. Perform this procedure at the waning of the moon when the goddess²⁶⁵ is in the third (phase),²⁶⁶ and she (i.e. the victim) will die without sleep, without lasting seven days. This (procedure) has no release whatsoever. But if you ever plan (i.e. to attract her), do not (430) set the bat free, but keep it captive, and (it) does the same thing. And when you want to release (her), wipe off with spring water the things inscribed on the wings, and set the little bird free. But do not do this, except in a case of a great intrigue.

²⁵⁹ The Egyptian god Seth (whom the Greeks identified with Typhon) was associated with chaos, violence, disorder and confusion, and was thus thought to be responsible for all kinds of problems and misfortunes; he was also believed to cause storms and bad weather.

²⁶⁰ For the $\iota\omega$ -formula, in which $\iota\omega$ is followed by magical names related to the "Typhonic logos," see Martín Hernández and Torallas Tovar 2014a, 177–178; Martín Hernández 2019.

²⁶¹ The papyrus reads $\tau\eta\ \Delta$, which Preisendanz rightly corrects to $\tau\hat{\omega}\ \Delta$; his correction is justified in the light of (a) the following ll. 423–424 where the practitioner gives instructions on how to adjust the procedure when an opposite sex couple is concerned, and (b) the parallel (cf. n. 256 above) separation-procedure in ll. 539–550, where again a male homosexual couple is to be separated (ll. 543–544: $\rho\acute{o}\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\nu\ \tau\acute{o}\nu\ \Delta\ \delta\iota\alpha\chi\omega\rho\iota\sigma\theta\eta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$ (l. $\delta\iota\alpha\chi\omega\rho\iota\sigma\theta\eta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$) $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}\delta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \Delta$; cf. also l. 550).

²⁶² An allusion to the enmity between Typhon-Seth and Osiris can also be found in GEMF 83/PGM CXXIVa 21 and CXXIVb 11. This is, however, the only reference to the enmity between Typhon-Seth and Isis in the Greek magical papyri. The Osirian myth, as narrated by Plu. *Mor.* 358 D, holds that Isis did not put Typhon to death when he was handed over to her restrained in manacles, but let him go free. Isis' compassion for Typhon-Seth is implied in GEMF 8/PGM LVII col. ii 4–5, where the practitioner declares that he, quite obviously unlike Isis, "will not break (the) bonds with which you (i.e. the daimon) bound Typhon."

²⁶³ The first letter of the procedure's title ($\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\upsilon\pi\eta\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu$, l. $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\upsilon\pi\eta\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu$) is slightly larger than normal, while the word is set in *ekthesis* to indicate the beginning of a new procedure.

²⁶⁴ The papyrus has $\theta\upsilon$; it is, however, most likely that the text refers to a female divinity (similar to $\tau\eta\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ in l. 428 and $\tau\eta\eta\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta\eta\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu$ in l. 436; cf. also l. 357 with n. 234). The unnamed goddess is probably to be identified with Isis equated with Selene: on which see Sfameni Gasparro 2004, 401.

²⁶⁵ That is, Selene.

²⁶⁶ Although both Preisendanz (PGM) and Hock, GMPT render $\tau\rho\iota\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\acute{\sigma}\eta\varsigma\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ as "when the goddess is in (her) third night," it seems most likely that the third moon phase is meant here, as in l. 357 ($\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}\delta\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \text{C}\ \gamma$); cf. n. 233 above. The third moon phase (or third quarter moon) is the last primary phase of the moon when it has reached the third (or last) quarter of its orbit around earth.

verso col. xv ↓

GEMF 15.433–447 [PGM XII 384–399]

1 τὸ ζῳδιον τόδε.



τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς πτέρυγος
καταγραφόμενά εἰσιν ταῦτα. ἐπικαλοῦ-

435

μαί σε, τὴν μεγίστην θεόν,

5

θαθαβαθαθ

πετενναβουθι

[390]

πεπτουβας[[θ̄]]ει

ησουκουαιρα

440

μουνουθι

10

αρχελιδονηθ

βαθαριβαθ.

ἀγρυπτείνω ἢ Δ δι' ὅλης νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας, ἕως θάνῃ, ἤδη β̄, ταχὺ β̄.

πρὸς ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ φιλεῖν διὰ παντός. λαβὼν ρίζαν πασιθέαν ἢ

445

ἀρτεμισίαν ἐπίγραφε τὸ π τοῦτο ἀγνώως ~~ⲡⲓⲗⲗⲗⲗⲗ~~ καὶ φόρει

15 καὶ ἔσῃ καὶ ἐπίχειρεῖς καὶ προσφιλῆς καὶ θαυμαστὸς τοῖς ὀρώσιν σοι.

1 post l. 1 spat. ca 2 lineae || 3 εἰσι ταυτα Da || πεπτουβας[[ῡ]]ει L : πεπτουβας[[Ξ]]ει D : πεπτουβας[[θ̄]]ει pro πεπτου Βαστ Εἰησοῦς? Pr || 8–9 Οὐαῖρ Ἀ|μοῦν Pr || 12 l. ἀγρυπτείνω : αγρυπνινω R L D : αγρυπτείνω Pr Da | δ(εῖνα) | θανῃ Pap: θ ex corr. || 13 l. fort. ἐπιχάρειαν (iam L D Pr) vel (τὸ) ἐπιχειρεῖν | l. fort. φιλίαν (iam L D Pr) vel φιλεῖν | διαπαντός R L D || 14 (ὄνομα) | post ἀγνώως 8 litteras magicas || 15 εσει vel εση D | l. ἐπίχαρις | l. σε, σοι Pap

GEMF 15.433–447

This then is the image. (*Drawing*).²⁶⁷ The names to be inscribed on the left wing (435) are these: “I invoke you, the greatest goddess,²⁶⁸ THATHABATHATH²⁶⁹ PETENNABOUTHI PEPTOUBASTEI (440) ĒSOUSOUIRA²⁷⁰ MOUNOUTHĪ ASHELIDONĒTH²⁷¹ BATHARIBATH. Let her, NN, lie awake during both the whole night and day, until she dies, now (twice), quickly (twice).”

(445) For everlasting charm and friendship.²⁷² Take a root of pasithea²⁷³ or wormwood²⁷⁴ and write upon it this name (keeping yourself) pure: (*charaktēres*).²⁷⁵ Wear (it), and you will be charming and pleasing and amazing to those who see you.

²⁶⁷ A rather clumsy drawing depicting a divine (probably female) figure drawn in profile and sitting on a stool, probably a throne. Note that Preisendanz counts the drawing as a separate line (=PGM XII 385). Examples of sketchy drawings in Egyptian magical texts of the Pharaonic period can be found in Eschweiler 1994, pls. 1–5.

²⁶⁸ Probably, Isis equated with Selene is meant here; cf. ns. 264 and 271. In Pharaonic Egypt, Isis was believed to possess great skills in magic; cf. e.g. Arslan 1997; Münster 1968, 192–197; Sbordone 1946.

²⁶⁹ THATHABATHATH forms a palindrome.

²⁷⁰ Preisendanz associates OUIRA here with OUIĒR above in l. 395 and in GEMF 57/PGM IV 1565.

²⁷¹ ASHELIDONĒTH is perhaps related to χελιδόν; cf. Plu. *Mor.* 357 C, where Isis in the form of a swallow is said to fly around the magnificent pillar which contained Osiris’ body, lamenting her dead consort.

²⁷² The papyrus reads πρὸς ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ φιλεῖν/α/ν, which can be restored as πρὸς ἐπιχάρειαν καὶ φιλίαν “for charm and friendship” (following Leeman’s restoration, which was adopted by both Dieterich and Preisendanz); the text, however, could also be restored as πρὸς <τὸ> ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ φιλεῖν, “for (success in your) endeavors and love affairs,” as the scribe seems to have initially tried to write the infinitives of the verbs.

²⁷³ Cf. Plin. *NH* 25.36.

²⁷⁴ For ἀπτεμυρία, see Dsc. 3.113. Cf. also n. 104 above.

²⁷⁵ Dieleman 2005, 96–100, esp. 100, points out that the scribe refers to the string of magical symbols (8 fanciful signs, which do not resemble any other contemporary script) as “this name” (τὸ π τοῦτο), as if the magical symbols could be interpreted as a single *vox magica*; a parallel occurs in GEMF 16/PDM XIV 1071–1078: “you should write this name (*p;y.y m*) on the reed leaf” (here the string of magical symbols consists of 29 signs).

col. xv (cont.) ↓

GEMF 15.448–462 [PGM XII 400–414]

	ἡ ἀναγραφὴ. Ϝ Ϝ ἄ, μίκυος Ϝ δ̄, χαλκάνθου Ϝ β̄, κηκείδων Ϝ β̄, κόμειος Ϝ γ̄.	[400]
	ἐρμηνεύματα ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν μεθερμηνευμένα, οἷς ἐχρῶντο οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς. διὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν	450
20	περιεργίαν τὰς βοτάνας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, οἷς ἐχρῶντο, εἰς θεῶν εἰδῶλα ἐπέγραψαν, ὅπως μὴ εὐλαβούμενοι περιεργάζονται μηδὲν διὰ τὴν ἐξακολούθησιν τῆς ἀμαρτε[ί]ας. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς λύσεις ἠγάγομεν ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν ἀντιγράφων καὶ ^{ἐκ} κρυψίμων πάντων. ἔστι δε	455
	κεφαλὴ [ῥ]φειος, βδέλλα	
25	ἀγαθὶς ῥ[φ]ειος, κειρίτην λέγει αἷμα ῥφειος, αἱματεῖτης λίθος	[410]
	ὄκτουν ἴ[β]ειος, ῥάμνος ἐστίν	
	αἷμα χοιρ[ο]γρύλλου, ἀληθῶς χοιρογρύλλου	460
	δράκεια κυ[ν]οκεφάλου, χυλὸς ἀνήθου	
30	ἀφόδευμα κορκοδείλου, Αἰθιοπικὴν γῆν	



|| 16 ζ(μύ)ρ(νης) : fort. (ρίζων) L | (δραχμή) Ϝ Pap | (δραχμαὶ) Ϝ Pap (4x) | I. κηκείδων : κηκ[ε]ίδων R L | κομειος pro κόμμι vel κόμμεος L || 17 ante ἐρμηνεύματα spat. (ca 12) | I. μεθερμηνευμένα || 18 ante οἷς spat. (ca 12) | ἱεροὶ γραμματεῖς R L D || 19 ante περιεργίαν spat. (ca 12) | I. ἄλλα : ἀλλα R L D : ἀλ[λ]α Pr : ἀλα Da || 20 ante εἰς spat. (ca 12) | συλαβουμένοι pro συλλαβουμένοι R L D : συλαβουμένοι pro εὐλαβούμενοι Pr : εὐλαβουμένοι Da || 21 ante περιεργάζονται spat. (ca 12) || 22 ante τῆς spat. (ca 12) | I. ἀμαρτίας | I. λύσεις || 23 ante πολλῶν spat. (ca 12) | I. καὶ ἐκ κρυψίμων : καὶ κρυψιμων R L D : καὶ ^{των}κρυψιμων Pr : καὶ ^{ος} vel ^{ος}? κρυψιμων Da || 24 ante κεφαλὴ spat. (ca 12) | post [ῥ]φειος spat. (ca 4) | βδέλλα fort. pro βδέλλιον Pr || 25 ante ἀγαθὶς spat. (ca 12) | ἀγαθὶς Pap: ante -αθὶς litt. inlinuntur (cf. l. 26) : αθὶς fort. pro ἀθῆρ vel ἀκίς L : []αθὶς D | post ῥ[φ]ειος spat. (ca 4) | I. κηρίτην iam Pr : κοινην pro (κολο)κύντην L D : κειριτην Pr Da || 26 ante αἷμα spat. (ca 12) | αἷμα Pap: ante -μα litt. inlinuntur (cf. l. 25) | post ῥφειος spat. (ca 5) | I. αἱματεῖτης : αἱματεῖτης R L Pr : αἱματιτης D Da || 27 ante ὄκτουν spat. (ca 12) | post ἴ[β]ειος spat. (ca 4) || 28 ante αἷμα spat. (ca 12) | post χοιρ[ο]γρύλλου spat. (ca 2) || 29 ante δράκεια spat. (ca 12) : I. δάκρυα : fort. δάκρυα vel δράκεια L | post κυ[ν]οκεφάλου spat. (ca 1) | I. ἀνήθου L || 30 ante ἀφόδευμα spat. (ca 12) | I. κροκοδείλου L : I. κορκοδείλου D | post κορκοδείλου spat. (ca 2) | Αἰθιοπικὴ π[ο]ην pro πότη L : Αἰθιοπικῆ(ν) π[ό]ην D : Αἰθιοπικῆ(ν) [γ]ῆν Pr : αιθιοπικην γην Da || post l. 30 signum lectionem

GEMF 15.448–462

The recipe²⁷⁶: 1 drachma²⁷⁷ of myrrh, 4 drachmas of *misy*,²⁷⁸ 2 drachmas of vitriol, 2 drachmas of oak-gall, 3 drachmas of (Arabic) gum.

Interpretations²⁷⁹ translated from the holy (writings), (450) which the temple scribes used. Because of the curiosity of the masses, they (i.e. the scribes) inscribed the (names of the) herbs and other (things), which they used, on statues of gods, so that they (i.e. the masses), since they are incautious, may in no way meddle (i.e. in these things) as a result of (their) failure.²⁸⁰ But we have brought together the solutions (i.e. to these puzzles) from (455) many copies and (from) all kinds of secret (writings).²⁸¹ So it is.²⁸²

Snake's head:	a leech
Snake's "ball of thread": ²⁸³	(it) means wax stone ²⁸⁴
Snake's blood:	hematite ²⁸⁵
Bone of an ibis:	(this) is buckthorn
Blood of a hyrax: ²⁸⁶	truly of a hyrax (460)
"Tears" of a baboon:	dill juice
Crocodile dung: ²⁸⁷	Ethiopian soil ²⁸⁸

²⁷⁶ That is, for the ink used for the inscription.

²⁷⁷ Preisendanz points out (in his app. cr. on this line) that both ζ and ς are used as symbols for δραχμή or δραχμαί in this magical handbook; the symbol (ζ) for δραχμαί occurs also in ll. 242–244/PGM XII 193–195).

²⁷⁸ For *misy*, cf. Dsc. 5.100. The ingredients of this ink recipe are discussed in Christiansen 2017, 184–187.

²⁷⁹ For a detailed discussion of the following "translation key" of the ingredients employed in magical recipes, see Blanco Cesteros 2020b; Dieleman 2005, 185–203; LiDonnici 2002; Scarborough 1991, 159–160. Note that Dieleman 2005, 193–194 refers to a similar list attested in a famous Babylonian cuneiform pharmaceutical treatise called Uruanna:maštakal; on which, see Köcher 1995.

²⁸⁰ The Greek is obscure here, but the meaning is clear: by giving code names to herbal and other ingredients, the priests prevented curious people from correctly performing the recipes.

²⁸¹ It should be noted that LiDonnici 2002, 374–375 remains skeptical about the actual use of the ingredients listed in cols. xv–xvi in Greco-Egyptian magic, as "none of the items of column A save one occur in recipes of the *Greek Magical Papyri*," while Dieleman 2005, 192–193 convincingly argues for the opposite view.

²⁸² The left column of the list seems to contain the encrypted names of the magical ingredients, while the right one their "decoded" meanings. There are at least four thematic groups in the left column: snake (ll. 456–458), blood (ll. 458, 460, 463, 465, 468–470, 477, 480, 484), semen (ll. 464, 467, 481–483, 485s–485, 487–489), and fat (ll. 490–492). Although some of the entries in the right column are alphabetically arranged (e.g. ll. 462–472, 481–484, 487–492), the alphabetical order is often interrupted. Cf. Dieleman 2005, 191, n. 12 who sees three thematic groups in the left column, and three alphabetically arranged clusters in the right column.

²⁸³ For ἀγαθίς (*Origanum majorana* L.), cf. Ps.-Dsc. 3.39.

²⁸⁴ Or ozocerite (i.e. soapstone).

²⁸⁵ For the red iron-ore or hematite, cf. Dsc. 5.126. For this entry, see Blanco Cesteros 2020b, 155–159.

²⁸⁶ Scarborough, GMPT, 168, n. 96, notes that the rock hyrax (*Procavia capensis*), a medium-sized terrestrial mammal, is probably meant here.

²⁸⁷ Cf. GEMF 60/PGM XIII 245: κορκοδείλου ἀφοδέυματι. Ps.-Dsc. 3.102 identifies κρινάνθεμον ('houseleek') with αὔρα κροκοδείλου, and ζφόνυχον (a plant) with αἶμα κροκοδείλου (ibid. 4.133).

²⁸⁸ At the bottom margin, probably a *diple*-sign of obscure meaning (cf. n. 250 above, for two similar signs placed at the bottom margin of col. xiii). The *diple* here could have been used as a quotation marker, or to indicate the continuation (in the next col. xvi) of the split column containing the encrypted names of the magical ingredients and their "decoded" equivalents; or was simply set at this point to draw the reader's attention to the importance of the text embedded in the split column.

verso col. xvi ↓

GEMF 15.463–477 [PGM XII 415–429]

1	αἷμα κυνοκεφάλου λέοντος γόνος αἷμα Ἡφαίστου τρίχες κυνοκεφάλου	αἷμα καλαβώτου ἀνθρώπου γόνος ἀρτεμεία ἀννήθου σπέρμα	465
5	γόνος Ἑρμοῦ αἷμα Ἄρεως αἷμα ὀφθαλμοῦ αἷμα ἀπ' ὤμου ἀπ' ὀσφύος	ἄννυϊθ̅ ν ἀνδράχνη ἀκεκαλλίδα ἄκανθις ἀνθέμαιον	[420] 470
10s	[[απορφυος]]		
10	χολή ἀνθρώπου οὐρά χο[ί]ρου ὄστον ἱατροῦ Ἑστίας αἷμα ἀετόν	βύνεως χυλός σκορπίουρον ἀμμίτην λίθον ἀνθέμιον ὄσελεγει	475
15	αἷμα χηναπῆκος	γάλα συκαμείνης	

1–30 inter duas columnas spat. (ca 7–9) || 2b γ[όν]ος L || 4 l. ἀνήθου L D || 5 αννυῖθ̅ ν pro ἄννηθον iam Pr : αννηθ̅ ν pro ἄνηθον D || 6 οφεως R L D : αρεως Pr Da || 7 l. ἀκακαλλίδα || 8 l. ἄκανθος iam D vel ἄκανθα? : ἀκανθίς L : ἄκανθις Pr || 9 απο ρφυος fort. pro ἀπὸ ρφυροῦ L | l. ἀνθέμιον || 10s deest R L D || 10 fort. βύνης vel βουτιάδος L : fort. βουνιάδος Pr (cf. l. 17) || 12 l. ἀμμίτην λίθον iam D Pr : ἀμμίτην λίθον pro ἀμμίτης vel ψαμμίτης λίθος L : αμμιτην λιθον Da || 14 αετον pro ἀετός L : fort. ἀετοῦ (αἷμα) D | σελεγει pro ὄσελεγει iam Pr : ὄσελεγει R L : σελεγει pro ἐλίον vel ἐλλέβερος? D : fort. ἀετοῦ [γόν]ος ἐλλέβερος Böheler ap. D || 15 l. χηναλώπεκος : χηναπῆκος L : χηναπῆκος D : χηναπῆκος vel χηναπῆκος? Pr : χηναπεκος Da | l. συκαμείνης : συκαμείνης pro συκαμίνης vel συκαμίνου L : συκαμείνης D Da : συκαμίνης Pr

GEMF 15.463–477

Blood of a baboon: ²⁸⁹	blood of a spotted gecko ²⁹⁰
Lion's semen:	human semen
Hephaistos' blood:	wormwood (465)
Hairs of a baboon:	dill seed ²⁹¹
Hermes' semen:	dill
Ares' blood:	purslane
Blood from the eye:	gall of the Oriental tamarisk ²⁹²
Blood from the shoulder:	bear's breach ²⁹³ (470)
[Blood] from the loins:	chamomile ²⁹⁴
[[From the loins:]] ²⁹⁵	
Human bile:	malt ²⁹⁶ juice
Young pig's tail:	scorpion-tailed (plant) ²⁹⁷
Physician's bone:	sandstone
Blood of Hestia:	chamomile ²⁹⁸ (475)
Eagle:	the SELEGBEI ²⁹⁹
Blood of a goose: ³⁰⁰	milk from a mulberry tree ³⁰¹

²⁸⁹ The “blood of a baboon” is also attested in GEMF 60/PGM XIII 315–316.

²⁹⁰ The entry probably refers to the juice or sap of plants. See Blanco Cesteros 2020b, 159–162.

²⁹¹ Cf. Dsc. 3.58.

²⁹² For ἀκακκαλίς used in eye treatment, see Dsc. 1.89.

²⁹³ Leemans suggested reading the word as ἀκανθίς, meaning ‘goldfinch’ (a bird); similarly also Preisendanz (PGM): ἄκανθις (on ἀκανθίς, cf. Ps.-Dsc. 3.13 and 16). Scarborough, GMPT, 168, n. 99, is, however, right to associate the word with ἄκανθος, *Acanthus mollis* L., or *Helleborus foetidus* L. (a plant), as Dieterich has already suggested (cf. Ps.-Dsc. 3.17 s.v. ἄκανθα; Gal. 11.818).

²⁹⁴ Probably ἀνθέμιον (a dim. of ἄνθεμον, *Matricaria chamomilla*) is meant here; cf. also ἀνθεμίς in Dsc. 3.137.

²⁹⁵ This line, which is only repeating the preceding one, was deleted by the scribe.

²⁹⁶ For βόνις, ‘malt’, see DGE; the genitive βόνεος occurs also in P.Holm. 96. Note, however, that Preisendanz’s suggestion to emend βόνεος to βουνιάδος (here and in l. 479 [431]) was adopted by Scarborough, GMPT, 168 ns. 100 and 103; for βουνιάς (*Brassica napus*), a kind of turnip, see Dsc. 2.111.

²⁹⁷ The plant meant here is probably one of the heliotropes (cf. e.g. Dsc. 4.190) or a variety of “leopard’s bane, in the genus *Boronicum*” (cf. e.g. Thphr. *HP*9.13.6), as suggested by Scarborough, GMPT, 168, n. 101; cf. also Scarborough 1977b, 1978, 373–374, with n. 120, and 1979.

²⁹⁸ See n. 294 above.

²⁹⁹ The papyrus reads οσελγεβει (or οσελλεβει according to former editors), whose meaning remains uncertain. If it is not a magical word, οσελγεβει might be related to χελκβει, ‘wild garlic’ (*Trigonella foenumgraecum*), as already suggested by Preisendanz (in his app.cr. on the line), who brought GEMF 58/PGM V 70: λαβὸν βοτάνην χελκβει as a parallel. Cf. also 16/XIV 968 (with n. 466). Dieterich has associated οσελλεβει to ἐλλέβορος, ‘hellebore’ or ἐλίον, ‘celery’ (cf. Dsc. 2.175, for ἄγριον ἐλίον or βατράχιον, which resembles hellebore).

³⁰⁰ That is, an Egyptian goose (*Chenalopex aegyptiaca*).

³⁰¹ Cf. Dsc. 1.126.

col. xvi (cont.) ↓

GEMF 15.478–492 [PGM XII 430–444]

	ἄρμα ^ω Κρόνου	γάλα χοιριδίου	[430]
	τρίχες λέοντος	βύνεως γλῶσσαι	
	αἷμα Κρόνου	κεδρίας	480
	γόνος Ἡλίου	ἐλλέβορος λευκός	
20	γόνος Ἡρακλέους	εὐζωμον λέγει	
	ἀπὸ Τειτᾶνος	θρείδαξ ἀγρεία	
	αἷμα ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς	θέρμος	
23s	γόνον		
23	[[αἷμα]] ταύρου	ὠδὸν κ[α]νθάρου	485
	καραία ἱέρακος	ἀρτεμίας καρδία	
25	γόνος Ἡφαίστου	κόνυζα λέγει	
	γόνος Ἄμμωνος	κρινάνθεμον	[440]
	γόνος Ἄρεως	τρίφυλλον	
	αστηρ ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς	τιθύμαλλον	490
	ἀπὸ κοιλίας	χαμαίμηλον	
30	ἀπὸ ποδός	χρυσόπερμον	

16 l. ἄρωμα : αἷμα R L D : αρμα Pr Da || 17 fort. βύνης vel βουτιάδος L : fort. βουνιάδος Pr (cf. l. 10) || 18 ante αιμα |— (spir. asp.?) Pr (cf. l. 22) | κεδριας pro κεδρία L : κεδρίας (γλῶσσαι) D : κεδρίας . . . Pr || 21 l. (γόνος) ἀπὸ Τειτᾶνος : απο λειτανος fort. pro ἀπὸ Τειτᾶνος L : (αἷμα) Τειτᾶνος Ho : (αἷμα) ἀπὸ Τειτᾶνος Pr | l. θρείδαξ | l. ἀγρία || 22 ante αιμα |— (spir. asp.?) Pr (cf. l. 18) || 23s l. γόνος : γονος R L : γονον D : γονον (pro γόνος) corr. ex αιμα Pr || 23 κανθάρου Da || 24 l. καρδία : καρδια R L D Da : καραια Pr || 25 l. κόνυζαν iam L Pr | λ[έγ]ει R L || 28 l. {α}ετήρ pro ετέαρ iam Pr || 29 l. (ετήρ) ἀπὸ : (αἷμα) ἀπὸ Ho | l. κοιλίας || 30 l. (ετήρ) ἀπὸ : (αἷμα) ἀπὸ Ho

Kronos' spice:	piglet's milk ³⁰²
Lion's hairs:	tongue of malt ³⁰³
Kronos' blood:	... (?) of cedar (480)
Helios' semen:	white hellebore ³⁰⁴
Herakles' semen:	(it) means rocket ³⁰⁵
[Semen?] from a Titan: ³⁰⁶	wild lettuce ³⁰⁷
Blood from (a) head:	lupine ³⁰⁸
Bull's {blood} semen: ³⁰⁹	egg of a beetle-scarab ³¹⁰ (485)
Hawk's heart:	wormwood heart ³¹¹
Hephaistos' semen:	(it) means fleabane ³¹²
Amun's semen:	houseleek ³¹³
Ares' semen:	clover
Fat(?) ³¹⁴ from the head:	spurge (490)
[Fat?] from the belly:	chamomile ³¹⁵
[Fat?] from the foot:	black turnip ³¹⁶

³⁰² It remains uncertain whether this ingredient refers to milk that a sow lactates to feed her piglets or to the first lactation of a young animal.

³⁰³ For βυνίς (gen. βύνεωσ), cf. n. 296 above. The “tongue” probably refers to the leaves of the plant.

³⁰⁴ For white hellebore, cf. Dsc. 4.148. Homeric moly (μῶλυ), literature's most famous magical plant, has been identified with the black hellebore; cf. e.g. Klimis 2008, 285–286.

³⁰⁵ For εὔζωμον, ‘rocket’ (*Eruca sativa*), cf. Dsc. 2.140.

³⁰⁶ Scarborough, GMPT, 168, puts “a Titan's” between square brackets, although ἀπο τετρανοσ is not a restoration but rather a secure reading; moreover, the scribe probably meant here <semen?> from a Titan (as in the previous line), and not ‘blood’ (as translated in GMPT); cf. also n. 309.

³⁰⁷ For θρίδαξ ἡμεροσ and ἀγρία, cf. Dsc. 2.136. In ancient Egypt, the lettuce was considered as a food with aphrodisiac qualities, which fits well with the restoration of “semen” in the left column. See Blanco Cesteros 2020b, 162–165.

³⁰⁸ For θέρμος, ‘lupine’ (*Lupinus albus*), cf. Dsc. 2.109.

³⁰⁹ The scribe deleted the word “blood” in this line and added the word “semen” above his deletion.

³¹⁰ Probably *Scarabaeus sacer*, a species of dung beetle, the most famous of scarab beetles. When the female *Scarabaeus sacer* is ready to breed, she collects dung to make her breeding ball, sculpts it into a pear-shape, and lays a single large egg within a hollow cavity in the narrow part of the dung ball. Scarborough, GMPT, 168, n. 106, identifies the κάνθαροσ in our list with the blister beetle. For beetles in ancient writings, cf. Scarborough 1977a and 1979.

³¹¹ Cf. n. 104 above.

³¹² Cf. Dsc. 3.121.

³¹³ For κρινάνθεμον, cf. Hp. *Nat.Mul.* 32; Ps-Dsc. 3.122.

³¹⁴ The papyrus reads αττηρ, which Preisendanz emends to στήρ (a contracted variant of στέαρ), ‘hard fat’, ‘suet’ (cf. e.g. GEMF 57/PGM IV 2459), which fits the context reasonably well.

³¹⁵ Dsc. 3.137 identifies χαμαίμηλον with ἀνθεμίσ λευκή; on the latter, see n. 294 above.

³¹⁶ Dsc. 4.56 identifies χρυσόπερμον with χρυσόγονον, ‘black turnip’ (*Bongardia Chrysogonum*).

verso col. xvii (iv) ↓ GEMF 15.493–518 [PDM XII 50–75 + PGM XII 445–448 and 449–452]

1 M¹ *r̄ n prg rmt̄ r(?) p̄:ȳf̄ ìry* [50]
*hs n 26.ΒΟΤ*³¹⁷

... [50]
 ... *mtw̄k tȳs [r(?)] w̄ b̄:k*

5 *mtw̄k sh̄ r w̄ b̄:k n d̄m̄ n̄ ky r̄n wr(?)*
hn̄ p̄; r̄n n p̄; rmt̄ mtw̄k tms̄f̄ hr̄ t̄; pn̄.t̄ n p̄; ˙wy tw̄y-s̄ n̄; r̄n

... *mtw̄k ˙š̄w r-r̄f̄ ˙n n sp̄ 7*
 βηθ̄ ςηθ̄ βολ̄... ςηθ̄
Y. 3. erbeth Y. 3. seth Y. 3. y. b. 3. lgh. 3. seth 500
 χερβηθ̄ θναχ̄
Y. 3. p̄gerbeth Y. 3. p̄t̄thn̄gs

λημενχηλ̄ η̄ ι ω ω εερω
 10 *Leemeng.re Y. 3. 3. sesr. r̄*

ι ω χλ̄ ο γτηηψ
Y. 3. ghl. 3. n̄eps pr̄d̄ 4 r-ms̄ 4 r mn r-ms̄ mn [60]

... *p̄:ȳ pr̄d̄ 3̄s.t̄ r wsir(?) d̄ mt.t̄ sp̄ 7*
n̄; r̄n

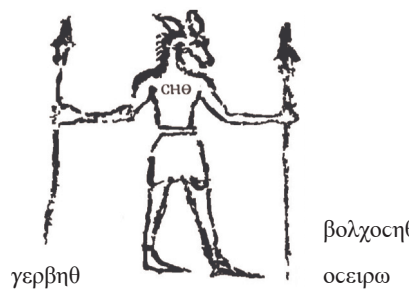
ke hr̄ in̄k w̄ ... mtw̄k sh̄ r-r̄f̄ mtw̄k tms̄ n p̄; 505
mȳt̄ n ... d̄ mt.t̄

βρακ̄ κραβ̄ βραχ̄ ωπερθναξ̄
 15 *Br̄g Greb Br̄gh H. 3. sperthn̄ ks*
 βρ̄ εῑ δ̄ οιχ̄ βααφω̄ ω̄ ῑ
Bryenhegh B̄spheth. 3. ȳ

α.θροῡ φ̄ καταθνακ̄ απ̄ ω̄ ψ̄ῑ ῑ ω̄ βηθ̄
3̄thrwph P̄t̄thn̄g 3̄p. 3. pse Y. 3. beth

ι ω β̄ ο λ̄χο̄ ςηθ̄ ιω̄ πακερβηθ̄
Y. 3. b. 3. lgh. 3. seth Y. 3. p̄gerbe[t]h 510

pr̄d̄ mn r-ms̄ mn r 4 r-ms̄ 4 ... hr̄ in̄k w̄.t̄ bld̄.t̄ ...
 20 *qlbe pr.t(?) n ... iw̄s̄ w̄š̄ mtw̄k sh̄ [r-]r̄s̄ n w̄ ˙[3̄]*
n p̄:ȳ smt [70]



βολχοςηθ̄ 515

pr̄d̄ *mn r-ms̄ mn r 4 r-ms̄ 4 mtw̄k d̄ p̄:ȳ r̄n r-r̄s̄ ˙n n sp̄ 7(?)*

25 *mtw̄k ts̄ t̄ bld̄.t̄ mtw̄k [...] hn̄ r p̄; ˙wy nte iw̄-w̄ n-īm̄f̄*
hr̄ ir̄k̄f̄ [...]

³¹⁷ The word here is difficult to read; Johnson 1975, 64 reads an otherwise unknown word, 26.ΒΟΤ, understanding it to be a word written in cipher. Alternatively, we might understand this to be an unclear Demotic word, written, perhaps, with a bird determinative.

A formula³¹⁸ for separating one person from another. Dung of a ... (495) [and you put it [in(?) a document]],³¹⁹ and you write on a document of papyrus these other great(?) names together with the name of the man, and you bury it under the doorsill of the house.³²⁰ Here are the names ... and you recite them to it³²¹ also, 7 times. (500) “IŌ ERBĒTH YŌ SĒTH YŌ BOLCHOSĒTH YŌ PACHERBĒTH IŌ PATATHNAX LĒEMENG.RĒ IŌ OSESRO IŌ CHLONTOĒPS.³²² Separate NN born of NN from NN born of NN! It is Separate Isis from Osiris!”³²³ Formula: 7 times. (505)³²⁴ Another. You bring a ... and you write the names on it, and you bury (it) in the road of ... Formula: “BRAG KRAB BRAX HŌ SPERTHNAKS BREIEND OI(?)X BASPHUTHŌI A. THROUPH PATATHNAK APŌPSY YO BĒTH (510) YOBOLXOSĒTH IŌPAKERBĒTH. Separate NN born of NN from NN born of NN!” ... You bring a ... potsherd ... of a *qlbe*-vessel³²⁵ of ... which is burnt, and you write/draw [on] it a donkey in this manner.³²⁶ (Drawing) “SĒTH³²⁷ GERBĒTH³²⁸ BOLCHOSĒTH OSEIRŌ.³²⁹ (515) **Separate** NN born of NN from NN born of NN!” and you say this name to it again, 7(?) times, and you lift the sherd, and you ... in the house which they are in.³³⁰ You do it ...

³¹⁸ A new recipe begins here.

³¹⁹ Crossed out by scribe.

³²⁰ The placement of separation curses beneath the threshold or near the doorway appears in other demotic recipes, e.g. GEMF 18/PDM LXI 118–123, and n. 96.

³²¹ I.e. “the document.”

³²² This is the well-known Sethian logos, see Martín Hernández 2019. The *logos* is partially repeated near the drawing of Seth. Note that the Greek glosses to the Demotic *voces magicæ* in ll. 500–503 and 507–510 were counted as separate Greek lines by former editors (PGM XII 445–448 and 449–452); cf. also n. 8 above.

³²³ I.e. it is so strong, that it even separated Isis from Osiris.

³²⁴ A new recipe begins here.

³²⁵ A jar for drinking wine or beer.

³²⁶ The instructions say to inscribe a donkey on the potsherd, but the drawing below shows a donkey-headed figure with the name of Seth inscribed on his chest.

³²⁷ Label on the image of the donkey.

³²⁸ Label on the spear in Seth’s right hand.

³²⁹ Label on the spear in Seth’s left hand.

³³⁰ Presumably the sherd is to be buried as in the previous recipe.

verso col. xviii (iii) ↓

GEMF 15.519–550 [PDM XII 76–107/PGM XII 453–465]

- 1 *ke ... n '[:] km mtw=k t' w^c*
... iw≠f... mtw=k h^c hn≠f 520
š^c hrw ... f iir=k ps≠f
n w^c grh ... mtw=k in ... w^c
- 5 *tys n [...] mtw=k(?) sh [...] n³ rnn r-r>s n snf n 3.t* [80]
mtw=k swh n p; bnr [...] ... d prd 4 r-ms 4
r 4 r-ms 4 mtw=k ... mtw=k ... 525
t' m:[.t] ... twys p; m
nre iir=k ... f
- 10 *θαλαμαξι[.]θα...*
prd 4 r-ms 4 r mn r-ms mn
[...] ... n n hrw n(?) prd k(y)-d myhe(?) 530
... n w^c 3 hn^c w:t ...
...
- 15 *... mtw=k ty=st r w^c.t [d]lh.t(?)* [90]
n m;y ... mtw=k ... š^c-mtw=w ify] ... mtw=k
t' ... mtw=k [...] bld.t 535
... n tp mtw=k [s]h [n];y rn.w ... [...]
... mtw=k ...[...] hn r p; 'wy n m≠f
- 20 *twys n: m[.w]*
- M² *ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε [τὸ]ν ἐ[ν] τ[ῶ] κ[ε]νῶ [πνε]ύ-*
ματατι, διον, ἄορα[το]ν θεὸν φθοροποιὸς 540
καὶ ἐρημοποιόν, [μ]εισοῦντα οἰκίαν εὐ-
σταθοῦσαν, κατὰ[κο]πον πράσσοντα. ἐπι-
- 25 *καλοῦμαί σου τ[ὸ] μέγα π. ποίησον τὸν 4*
διαχωρισθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ 4, ἴω ἴω ἴω βρακ
κραβρουκριου βατριου απομψ· στρουτελιψ 545 [460]
ιακο[υβ]] ἴω [πα]κερβηθ πακερβηθ
29s . . . οc
- 29 *θεοῦ αἱη θεὸν θεῶ[ν] εκαρως ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης*
- 30 *τοῦ Ἰάω. διάκοψον [τ]ὸν 4 ἀπὸ τοῦ 4, ὅτι ἐκεῖ*
μει οξανθιc δαί[μω]ν ουβαεμε τεβερετερρι
. ει [διά]κοψον τὸ[ν 4 ἀπὸ τ]οῦ 4. 550

10 post θαλαμαξι spat. (ca 3) sq. fort. [ξαν]θαταπ pro παταθναξ? : θαλαμαξα θα R L D : θαλακα ξα[ν]θα[π]. . . Pr || 21 ἐ[ν τῶ κε]νῶ [πνευ- R L D || 21–22 l. [πνε]ύ[ματι, πνε]υ[ματατι Pap : [πνε]υ[ματι Da | l. δεινόν, διον Pap || 22 l. φθοροποιόν || 23 l. ἐρημοποιόν : ἐρημοποιον R L D : ἐρημοποιουν Pr Da | l. [μ]εισοῦντα iam Pr : [μ]εισῶντα R L D || 24 κατὰ[. .]πον Pap : κατωπὸν R L D : κατα[]πον pro καὶ ἄ[ο]πον Pr : κατὰ[. .]ον Da || 25 (ὄνομα) | δ(εῖνα) || 26 l. διαχωρισθῆναι : διαχωρισθηναι R L Pr D : διαχωρισθηναι D | δ(εῖνα) | ἴω, ἴω R L : ἰωῖω D : ἴω ἴω Pr Da | ἴω, Βρακ R L : ἰωβρακ D : ἰωβραχ Pr Da || 27 βοτριου απομψ R L D || 28 fort. ιακο[υβ]ιαι : ιακο . . . R L D : Ἰακο[υβ]] Pr Da | ιω [. .]ερβηθ R L D Da : Ἰὼ [πακ]ερβηθ Pr || 29 Θεουθηθεονθρω R L : θεου θη θεον θρω D | θεον Pap : e ex corr. | εκαρω δ' ἐπὶ R : κρω δ' ἐπὶ L : . . . [ἐξορ]κ[ί]ζω? c' ἐπὶ D : ειcαρω pro εἰσορῶ? Eι³ : εκαρως(σ?)επι Pr (supra σ(σ?)ε: ττος vel τloc? voc?) : εκαρως επι Da | πύλης Pap : πάλης R L D || 30 δ(εῖνα) (2x) || 30–31 l. ἐκεῖ (ει)|μει (pro εἶμι) vel ἐκεῖ | μ(έν)ει? οξαν. vel ὁ ξανθ.? : ἐκεῖ | μεν R L : ἐκεῖ | . . . D : εκει|μειο Eι³ Da : εγωει|μει ο vel εκει|μει ο (pro ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ) Pr || 31 ξανδικαι R L D : οξανθι (vox magica?) δαί[μω]ν Eι³ : ὁ Ξανθιc δαί[μω]ν Pr : οξανθιc δαί[μω]ν Da | ουβαεμε . . . R Eι³ : ου βαεμε . . . L D : ουβαθ ε . . Pr : ουβαεμε . . . Da || 32 θιω R L D | δ(εῖνα) (2x)

GEMF 15.519-550

Another ... of a black donkey, (520) and you put a ... which is ... and you leave (it) in it for three days ... it. You should cook it for one night ..., and you should bring ... a strip of ... and you should(?) write ... the names on it with donkey blood, and you should gather outside ... saying, “Separate NN born of NN (525) from NN born of NN!” and you should ..., and you should ... the urine Here is the name which you should ... (it). THALAMAXI [XAN]THATAP(?),³³¹ separate NN born of NN from NN born of NN!” (530) ... again on(?) the day of(?) separating, another (manuscript) says, “beating(?)” ... of a donkey and a ... and you put them in a new ladle(?) ... and you ... until they come ..., and you put ... (535) and you ... the sherd ... and you write these names... and you ... in the above-mentioned house.

Here are the names.³³² “I invoke you, who are in the empty (540) air,³³³ the fearful, invisible god, the one who causes destruction and desolation, the one who hates a stable household, the one who makes people weary.³³⁴ I invoke your great name. Cause him, NN, to be separated from him, NN, IŌ IŌ IŌBRAK (545) KRABROUKRIOU BATIOU APOMPS STROUTELIPS IAKO[UBIAI?] IAŌ [PAK]ERBĒTH PAKERBĒTH of god AIE, god of gods, . . . upon the gate of IAŌ. Separate him, NN, from him, NN, for there I am (?),³³⁵ the daimon OXANTHIS,³³⁶ OUBAEME . . . TEBERETERRI (550) . . . EI . . . Separate him, NN, from him, NN.”

³³¹ THALAMAXI in l. 528/PGM XII 453 was incorrectly marked as Demotic in GMPT and was thus not transcribed in Daniel’s edition; it is, however a *vox magica* written in Greek by M¹, which cannot be considered as a gloss, since there is no Demotic transcription (I owe this observation to Jacco Dieleman). The following traces are compatible with [XAN]THATAP, which read from right to left (according to the traditional Egyptian layout) is PATATHNAX.

³³² Although the separation-procedure is written in Demotic, the invocation (ll. 539–550, PGM XII 454–465) is written in Greek. The procedure aims at separating male homosexual lovers. A helpful survey of the erotic and separation procedures in the magical papyri and defixiones is found in Pachoumi 2013.

³³³ For this rare meaning of *pneuma* in GEMF, as ‘air’, see GEMF 58/PGM V 121.

³³⁴ Our reading of the text differs from that of previous editors (see the app.cr. on this line). Preisendanz reads κατα[]πον, which he emends to καὶ ἄ[ο]πον πράττοντα, literally meaning “and the one who makes (others) speechless.” Hock, GMPT follows Preisendanz’s emendation, rendering the text as “and you who do mischief.”

³³⁵ Or “there waits (?)”; for this and other possibilities, see the app.cr. on this line.

³³⁶ OXANTHIS or XANTHIS: the name of the daimon remains uncertain; see the app.cr. on l. 31.

verso col. xix (ii) ↓

GEMF 15.551–577 [PDM XII 108–134/PGM XII 469–470]

- 1 M¹ *r*: [r(?)] *t*ī *msd* *sh̄m.t* *h̄w*[t ...]
hr *in̄k* *hs* *šn* *hr* *f*[e ...] ... *iw̄s* *mwt*
mtw̄k *th̄w* *hr* *prh̄(?)* *wt* *mtw̄k* *tȳs* *r-h̄n* *w̄* **dm̄**
n *m̄y* *bn(-m-)s*: *sh̄* *r* *p*: **dm̄** [r(?)] *t*: *h̄.t* *n* *p̄ȳy* *r̄iw* *d* *my* [110]
5 *ir*[e] *mn* *r-ms* *mn* *msd* *mn* *r-ms* *mn* *mtw̄k* *š* *n̄y* *ke* 555
rn *n* *m̄:(.t)* *r-r̄f* *n* **sp** 7 *mtw̄k* *mr* *p*: **dm̄** *mtw̄k*
tȳf *r* *p*: *mw* *n* *lmw...*(?) ...³³⁷ *twys*
ιακουμβιαῖ
n: *rn* *n* *m̄:(.t)* *Y*:*qw**mby*:*y* *Y*:*ε*
ι ω ε ρ β η θ ι ω β ω λ χ ω ς η θ
Y:*ε*.*er**beth* *Y*:*ε*.*b*:*ε*.*lgh*.*ε*.*seth*
β α ς . ο . μ π [α] τ α θ ν α ξ α πο μ ψ
10 *B*:*sel*.*wm* *Gyt*:*thn*:*gs* *psp*:*s* 560
ω ς ε λ ε τ
ε.*sl̄t* [p] *r̄d* *mn* *r-m[s* *m]* *n* *r* *Δ* *r-ms* *Δ* *y[s]* **sp-2** *tkr* **sp-2**
r̄ *n-im̄s* *qt...* *n* ... *k(y)-d*
hr *sh̄k(?)* *r-r̄s* [n:] *rn* [n] *m̄:(.t)* *n* *r̄iw* [...] *mtw̄k* *sh̄* *hr-r*[t].*t̄f*
... *n̄y* *Inp* *d* *t̄y* *t*: *q[t]* *n* *Δ* *r-ms* *Δ* [120]
15 ... [...] *t̄k* [...] ... *ir̄k* *sh̄* *hr-rt*.*t̄s(?)* ... *the* *mn* *r-ms* [m]*n* 565
mtw̄k ... [...] *w* *r-r̄s* *n* *mtw̄k* ... *h̄* ...
mtw̄k *m[r]* ... *n* *p*: *f*e *n* *t*: *sh̄m.t* *hr* ...
mtw̄k *t*ī *w̄* [...] ... *w̄.t* *whr* ... *iw̄s* ... *d* *mt*[t]
19 ἔγειρέ σοι ἀπὸ βάριν α . επ . [.] . μρι . ιω ς
20 θριθατ α . . . τησει . θω . ς ἐκάττης 570 [470]
[...] ... [...] *sh̄m*[.t] *hr* [s]*h̄k* *n̄y* *mt*.*wt* *r* *w̄* **dm̄** *n* *m̄y*
n *r*[i]*w* *hl* *mtw̄k* *tȳs* *r-h̄n* ... *f* *n* *w̄* ... *f*(?)
qt *mtw̄k* *tȳf* *r-h̄n* *w̄* *šte* *mtw̄k* *tȳf* *n* *w̄* [130]
hb *twys* *n*: *rn*
α λ β α ν α χ α μ β ρ η α μ ε ω τ [ς ε] ρ
25 *lb*:*n*:*gh* *mbr*:*me*[s]. *ε*.*tsyer* 575
α θ ρ ο η ρ α θ ρ ο ῖ [θ ο υ] ε ι ν
thr. *ε*.*er* *thr*. *ε*.*y* *Thwyn* *t̄*: *q[t]*
n *mn* *r-ms* *mn* ... *hn* *h̄*:*t̄s*

19 I. ςε, σοι Pap: ἔγειρί (pro ἔγειρέ) μοι R L: ἔγειρ[ε] . . . D: εγειρεσοι pro ἔγειρέ σε Pr Da | ἀπὸ βάριν ἀλεπ . . . μρι . ιω ς R L: ἀπο β . α ρ ι ν β λ ε π . . . μρι δ ι ω ς D: ἀποβαίνων, ἐπὶ ἐγχειριτω ς pro ἐγχειρήσεω ς Pr: ἀποβα . ν . επ . [.] . μρι . ω ς Da || 20 fort. θριθατ ἀπαγτήσεις: θριθατ α ς της ε R L: θριθατα . . ο της ε D: εἶργε ἀπα[ν]τήσε[ι] ς Pr: θριθατ α . της ε Da | fort. θω ῆ ς : θω . ς α κα . . R L: θω . ς α κα D: θω[ῆ] ς ἐκάτ[η] ς Pr: θω . ς ε κα τ η ς Da

³³⁷ Some of the words lost here have fallen enemy-determinatives.

GEMF 15.551–577

A formula³³⁸ [to] cause a woman to hate a man ... You bring dung, hair and hair ... which³³⁹ is dead, and you mix them with fresh blooms(?), and you put it in a new papyrus after writing on the papyrus first with *my-ink* saying, “May (555) NN born of NN hate NN born of NN!,” and you recite these other true names over(?) it 7 times, and you bind the papyrus, and you put it in the water of Here are the true names:³⁴⁰ IAKOUMBIAĪ IAŌ IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ BOLCHOSĒTH (560) BAS...(?)OM GYTATHNAKS APSPS³⁴¹ ŌSELET. Separate NN born [of] NN from NN born of NN. Hurry, hurry, be quick, be quick!” A formula for it ... of Another (manuscript) says ..., You(?) write [the] true names on it with ink ... and you write at its bottom, ... to me Anubis, saying, “Take the ... of NN born of NN!” (565) ... you should write on its bottom ... “Vex NN born of NN!” and you should ... them to it again, and you should ... fire ..., and you should bind ... of the hair of the woman with ..., and you should put a... a bitch “Rouse yourself from the boat³⁴² ... (570) THIRITHAT . . . encounters of each punishment.³⁴³ ... woma[n].” You write these words on a new papyrus with myrrh ink, and you put it in ... of a ... built(?), and you put it in a chest(?), and you give it to an ibis.³⁴⁴ Here are the names: (575) “ALBANACHAMBRE AMES ŌTSYE(?)RATHROËR ATHROY THOËIN. Take the ... of NN born of NN ... in her heart.”

³³⁸ A new recipe begins here.

³³⁹ Or ‘who’.

³⁴⁰ The following names are a common Sethian formula used primarily on curse tablets (e.g. DT 241 and 252–53) and, as here, in GEMF recipes for various kinds of curses, e.g. GEMF 55/PGM III 115 or PGM CXVI 9–10; see Martín Hernández 2019 for a full discussion. As discussed in n. 8, the Greek glosses to the Demotic *voces magicæ* in ll. 558–560 and 575–577 were counted as separate lines in Greek by former editors (PGM XII 466–468 and 471–473); note that Preisendanz presents an erroneous additional gloss (αβαωθ) in l. 577[473].

³⁴¹ The glosses can be read as the traditional formula: PATATHNAX and APOMPS.

³⁴² This is perhaps a reference to Seth who is known to have accompanied Ra in his solar boat in order to help him repel the serpent god Apep who embodied Chaos.

³⁴³ These two lines, which were most likely written by M¹, are practically illegible; thus, their interpretation is only tentative and open to discussion.

³⁴⁴ Here it seems that the inscribed papyrus is to be put in a container of some sort and “given” to an ibis; the only parallel for this is in the ‘Sword of Dardanus’ recipe, where after a gold *lamella* was inscribed with a curse for erotic submission and then told to “give” the gold *lamella* to a partridge “to gulp down” (GEMF 57/ PGM IV 1826); after it is swallowed, we are told to kill the bird and then retrieve the *lamella* and wear it on our neck as an amulet.

verso col. xx (i) ↓

GEMF 15.578–589 [PDM XII 135–146/PGM XII 474–479]

- 1 [...] ... *hr in=k w' [...]'m ...*
 [...] ... *n hmt [...]'p:y my p:y ... p:y 'Inp*
 [...] ... *iw=w qt n=f(?) ... hr(?) ...*
 4 [...] *m[h]rr(?) km ... mtw=w ti ... f*

580



- 5 M² εω . . . ωριχ θαμβιτω Αβρααμ ὁ ἐπι[
]μανοιελχιβιωθ μουρου
 ὄλην τε τὴν ψυχὴν τῆ Δ, ἦν [Δ
 τὸ [γ]υναικ[ε]ῖον σῶμα τῆς Δ ἦν [Δ
 ἐξ[ορκί]ζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ . . . [

[140] [475]

- 10 . . καὶ [ἐ]κπυρῶσαι τὴν Δ ἦν [Δ
 M¹ [*... sh n:y m]t.wt hn' p:y twt r **dm'** n m:y {t}*
 [*... ke ps=f [...]'s.t-iyw.t*

585

5 εω . . . ωριχθαβτω R L D : αιδιω ωριχ θαμβιτω Pr : . . . ωριχ θαμβιτω Da | Ἀβρααμ ἐπι[R L D : Ἀβρααμ ὁ ἐπι . . . Pr : αβρααμ
 οεπι[Da || 6]μανοιελχιβιωθε R L : ἐπι|καλοῦ]μαί σε (vel ἐπι|καλου]μεσαι?) ελχιβιωθε D : . . . πλανοιεγχιβιωθ Pr : . . .
 .ανοιεγχιβιωθ Da | μο . . .ροι R L D : μουρου Pr Da || 7 τε τὴν R L D : ὄλην τε τὴν Pr Da | ψυχὴν τε R L D : ψυχὴν τῆ
 Δ, [ἦν Δ Pr : ψυχὴν . . . [Da | δ(εῖνα) || 8 και κιοπ R L : ἐκ|πυρῶσαι (vel . . . καῦσαι?) καὶ τὸ D : . . . ς ακιον pro ἀείκιον? Pr :
 [το γυν]αικ[ε]ῖον Da | σωματησ R L : σῶμα τῆς Δ . . . ἐξ[D : σῶμα τῆς Δ, [ἦν Δ Pr : σῶμα τῆς Δ [Da | δ(εῖνα) || 9ω
 R L : ἐξ[ορκί]ζω D : ἐξ[ορκί]ζω Pr Da | κατὰ . ανα R L : κατα . ανα . . . pro καταβασανίαι? D : κατὰ τοῦ [Pr : κατὰ τοῦ . [Da ||
 10 κπυρῶσαι R L : . . . ἐ|κπυρῶσαι D : . . . κα]ι [ἐ]κπυρῶσαι Pr : [. . .]ι εκπυρωσαι Da | τὴν Δ R L : τὴν Δ
 . D : τὴν Δ, ἦν [Δ Pr : τὴν Δ . . . [Da | δ(εῖνα)

GEMF 15.578–589

³⁴⁵You bring a ... of clay ... of bronze³⁴⁶ ... this lion, this mummy(?), and this Anubis (580) ... while around it is³⁴⁷ ... black scarab(?) ... and it(?) is put ... (Drawing)³⁴⁸ “EÖ ... ÖRICH THAMBITÖ, ABRAAM,³⁴⁹ the one who is upon ... MANOIELCHIBIÖTH MOUROU, and the whole soul³⁵⁰ for her, NN, whom she, (NN, bore) ... (585) the female body of her, NN, [whom she, NN, bore,] ... I adjure you by the ... and to inflame her, NN, whom she, (NN, bore).”³⁵¹ [Write these] words together with this picture on a new papyrus. ... Another. Cook it [in the(?)] bath!³⁵²

³⁴⁵ A new recipe begins here.

³⁴⁶ These ingredients are somehow used to create the image (see p. 130) of Anubis, the lion and the mummy that are described in the following lines.

³⁴⁷ One way to add magical names to an image on a gem is to inscribe it in a circle around the outer edge.

³⁴⁸ Drawing of Anubis standing at the lion-shaped mummy bier, a particularly popular image in Egyptian funerary culture (deriving from the vignette to spell 151 from the *Book of the Dead*), which survived through the Greco-Roman period; for its long history of transmission and adaptation, see Dieleman 2005, 34, n. 38. The image appears a few times on magical gems, e.g. LIM 68–70, but here it was most likely inscribed on a papyrus chit or lead tablet which was then placed in a hot part of a Roman bath—see below.

³⁴⁹ The name of this patriarch appears about a dozen times in GEMF, but almost always in the same formula, ‘God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob’; see Rist 1938, 289–303. Here, then, at the end of a series of magical names, it is most likely used as an additional powerful name.

³⁵⁰ It has been long thought that the word ψυχή can in attraction-procedures also mean ‘vagina’; see primarily Ganszyniec 1920. Smith 2004, however, doubts the vaginal meaning of ψυχή upon inspection of both magical and literary examples.

³⁵¹ On the formula ὄν (ἦν) ἔτεκεν NN in magical texts, see Maltomini, GEMF 7/PGM CIII 11, with note.

³⁵² The idea here is probably to place the images and text (inscribed on lead or papyrus?) in the hypocaust of a Roman bath, where the heat will attack the victim’s name and thereby her person; see e.g. GEMF 68/PGM XXXVI 75–76, where a papyrus inscribed with an erotic curse is glued to the “high vaulted vapor-room of the bath” and GEMF 30.95–96 [PGM II 48–49], where an image is inscribed on a papyrus, wrapped in a cloth and thrown into the furnace of a bathhouse.

col. xx (i) (cont.) ↓

GEMF 15.590–607 [PDM XII 147–164/PGM XII 480–495]

M ²	αλ[λ]ανθ[ca 2]		590 [480]
	βιραιβα[ca 2]		
15	μετιρα[ca 2]		
	εμεθ[.]ε		[150]
	θαραβλαθ		
	φνουθ Γ		595
	θουχαρα		
20	ωσουχαρ[ca 2]		
	αβαχαρ[ca 2]		
	[[καῦσον . . .]]		
	καῦσον τὴν Δ, ἕως [ἔλ]θη		600 [490]
	πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν Δ, ἥδ[η ἥ]δη,		
25	ταχὺ ταχὺ.		
	ἐξ[ο]ρκί[ζ]ω ὑμᾶς, [ν]εκυδα[ίμ]ωνας, ταχὺ [ταχύ?		[160]
	κ . . οδαίμων [γ]ενοῦ βαλάνισα, καῦσο[ν τὴν Δ		
	κ . πρ[ο]σώπου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ θεῶ[ν]		605
M ¹	[...] <i>sh n:y sh.w ... n p: hm: r t: h.t</i>		
30	[...] <i>iw=f r-r:s</i>		

13 ante αλ[λ]ανθ[spat. (ca 8) : αλ αν R L D : αλ[λ]ανθ sq. fort. πατα]θν[αξ Pr : αλλανθ Da || 14 ante βιραιβα[vel βιρειβα spat. (ca 8) : βιρ ηβ R L : βιρηβ D || 15 ante μετιρα[spat. (ca 8) : μετιρ R L D || 16 ante εμεθ[.]ε spat. (ca 8) : εμεθ R L D : εμεθ[ιρ]ε Pr : εμεθ Da || 18 ante φνουθ Γ spat. (ca 8) : φνουθ R L : φνουθι D : φνουθε Pr Da || 19 ante θουχαρα spat. (ca 8) : θουχαρ R L D || 20 ante ωσουχαρ[] spat. (ca 7) : ω in mg. : σουχαρ R L D : ωσουχαρ[ι] Pr || 21 ante αβαχαρ[spat. (ca 8) : αβαχαρ R L D : αβαχαρ[] Pr : αβαχα[] Da || 22 deest R L D Da : ante καῦσον . . . spat. (ca 8) || 23 κα . . ν R L : κα[ῦσο]ν D | δ(εῖνα) | ἕως . . . θν R L : ἕως [ἔλ]θη Pr Da || 23–24 ἕως [ἀπο]θ[ά]ν[η] . . ε. D || 24 δ(εῖνα) || 25 deest R L D || 26 ἐξ[ο]ρκί[ζ]ω R L D : ἐξ[ο]ρκί[ζ]ω Pr : ἐξ[ορ]κί[ζ]ω Da | υμας Pap: α ex corr. | . . . εκυδαμων R L : [ό ν]εκυδαίμων [καὶ ό] D : [ν]εκυδαίμων[α]c (κατὰ) νεκύ[ων] Pr : [ν]εκυδαίμωνας κ Da || 27 fort. κακοδαίμων [γ]ενοῦ : κ . . ο . αμω του R L : κ[ακ]ός [δ]αίμων [κατ]ὰ τοῦ D : καὶ τοῦ δ]αίμων[ο]c τοῦ Pr : κ . ο . δαμων [γ]ενου Da | 1. βαλάνισ(ς)α : βαλανισ. R L : βαλανισ pro βαλκάμου D : Βαλ[κάμου] Pr : βαλανισα Da | καὶ τὸ R L : καὶ τοῦ D : καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ Pr : καὶ τοῦ Da || 27–28 fort. τοῦ ἱερα]κοπρ[ο]σώπου iam Da (cf. p. xxiii) || 28 κ . πρ[ο]σώπου R L : κ[υνο]πρ[ο]σώπου D : κυ[νο]πρ[ο]σώπου Pr : κ . πρ[ο]σώπου Da | συν . θεῶ R L : σύν [κοι] θεῶ[ν] D

ALLANTH ...³⁵³
 BIRAIBA ...
 METIRA ...
 EMETH[.]E
 THARABLATH
 PHNOUTH³⁵⁴ (595)
 THOUCHARA
 ŌSOUCHAR
 SABACHAR
 [[and burn ...]]³⁵⁵

(600) Burn her, NN, until she comes to me, the man NN, now now, quickly quickly! (Drawing).³⁵⁶ I adjure you, corpse-daimons, quickly [quickly] ... Evil(?) daimon, become a bath-woman,³⁵⁷ (and) burn [her, NN . . . (605) of the] falcon-faced(?)³⁵⁸ (god) and the gods with him Write these writings ... with the salt first ... which is on it.

For the Greek text: P. Sarischouli

For the Demotic text: J. Dieleman, K. Dosoo, M. Escolano-Poveda, J. Johnson, E. Love, A. Singer

³⁵³ Ll. 590–599 (vertical sequence of *voces magicae*) have been set in *eisthesis* (ca 8 letters).

³⁵⁴ Preisendanz and Daniel read PHNOUTHE; φνουθ is, however, followed by a symbol that looks like □ and a few illegible traces (of symbols or letters?) after that, but not by ε or another Greek letter. This name and the three that follow are invoked (with minor variations) in GEMF 60/PGM XIII 809: PNOUTH TOUCHAR SOUCHAR SABACHAR.

³⁵⁵ L. 599/PGM XII 489 was omitted in the editions of Reuvens and Leemans. Daniel 1991, xxii, explicitly claims that the line does not exist. Preisendanz, however, clearly explains (in his app.cr. on l. 489) that this line was deleted by the ancient scribe: “489 in P gestr(ichen).” It seems plausible that the scribe first put the verb καῦσον in the same vertical sequence as the *voces magicae*, but then realised that he should rather put the following invocation in a new (not-indented) line; cf. n. 353 above.

³⁵⁶ Next to ll. 590–601, there is a badly preserved drawing (not given in GMPT): a mummified figure, probably Osiris, drawn in side view with the hands crossed on his chest and standing on what seems to be a basket. Boeser apud Preisendanz (see his app. cr. on ll. 481–89) suggests that the figure (“wohl ein Totengeist”) is standing on the hieroglyph *nb*, a sign usually interpreted as ‘basket’, which, however, standing alone also means ‘Lord’. Reuvens 1830 identifies the figure with Isis (“fort. Isis multimammea”), while Dieleman 2005, 33 n. 36 with a mummified deity standing on a basket.

³⁵⁷ The reading in ll. 604–605 follows Daniel’s edition. Daniel 1991, xxii–xxiii correctly points out that Preisendanz’s το[ῦ δ]αίμων[ο]ς τοῦ Βαλ[κάμου] “does not reflect a reading, but a conjecture of Dieterich’s who actually read βαλανικ (with R L D).” Should the proposed reading be correct, an evil daimon is commanded to become a bath-woman to inflame the victim of the procedure with the heat of the bath waters (similarly in SM I 42.14, 62 καὶ γενοῦ βαλάνικα{v}). Bathhouses had been traditionally understood as sites suitable for magical purposes: for this belief in Egypt, cf. Johnson 1975, 44–45; Kropp 1930, 51–52; 1931, 32; for the Roman Western provinces, cf. Alfayé Villa 2016.

³⁵⁸ Daniel 1991, xxiii correctly argues that κυνοπρόσωπον (suggested by both Dieterich and Preisendanz) cannot be read here, for there is space for only one letter between κ and π. The falcon-faced god is Horus; ἱερακοπρόσωπος occurs e.g. in GEMF 60/PGM XIII 41, 47, 51.

Supplementary Notes to GEMF 15/PGM XII

1* Undoubtedly the instructions given in ll. 72–76 are repetitious and confusing; Daniel 1991, xv argues that the same operation seems to be described twice, suggesting that “the originally marginal material” be set within brackets as follows: εἶτα τα[ῦτ]α | ποιήσας καὶ παραθείς, {ὡς ὑπόκειται, ποιήσας τὸν Ἔρωτα ἐπὶ τρ[α]πέζης πανκάρ|που ἐχούσης τοὺς ζ̄ λύχνους καιομένους λευκῶ ἐλαίῳ καὶ ὅσα προσγέγραπται} | ὥςδε π(ε)ῖθιν (l. ὥστε π(ε)ῖθιν) τὸν θαυμαστὸν Ἔρωτα. πρώτη μὲν ἡμέρα ἐπιθέγτος σου αὐτὸν | ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν καὶ κοσμήσαντος, ὡς προγέγραπται etc. In favor of this assumption speaks also the fact that the two variants: (a) ποιήσας (l. ποιήσεις) τὸν Ἔρωτα ἐπὶ τρ[α]πέζης πανκάρ|που ἐχούσης τοὺς ζ̄ λύχνους καιομένους λευκῶ ἐλαίῳ καὶ ὅσα προσγέγραπται, and (b) ἐπιθέγτος σου αὐτὸν | ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν καὶ κοσμήσαντος, ὡς προγέγραπται, end almost identically, once with ὅσα προσγέγραπται, and once with ὡς προγέγραπται.

2* Though the reading πλίνθους ὦμας δύο λαβὼν ποιήσον κέρατα δ̄ (l. 78) is secure, the general sense of the instructions is problematic. Preisendanz renders the phrase as “nimm zwei ungebrannte Ziegel, mach vier Ecken”: this seems to be an unhappy translation, since κέρασ is nowhere attested to mean ‘corner’ or ‘edge’, on the one hand, while, on the other hand, if the practitioner just meant that the two bricks should simply be set one next to the other to form a square, he would probably use a much simpler phrasing (cf. e.g. GEMF 57/PGM IV 30–31: ποιήσον ἐπὶ δύο πλίνθων ἐπὶ κροτάφων ἐκτηκυῶν etc.). Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 67 translate the phrase as “nimm je zwei ungebrannte Ziegel und mache vier Ecken,” which seems to indicate a corruption in the transmission of the text (although the editors note nothing in their commentary). Martin, GMPT, 154, renders the instruction as “take two unbaked bricks and form them into four horn-shaped objects”: though the translation of κέρασ as an object shaped like horns is correct, it is very difficult to understand how the practitioner could make four horn-shaped objects out of two bricks. Daniel 1991, xvi–xvii argues for a mistake like (δέκα) δύο or (κατὰ) δύο, or, most likely, a haplography of δύο δύο (in this case, we should print δύο (δύο) in the transcription). However, the term κέρασ is also attested to mean “wing (of an army)” or “arm or branch (of a river)”: even if this interpretation does not completely eliminate the difficulties in the understanding of the text, the instructions could perhaps be telling us to place the bricks in such a manner as to form a cross with four arms.

3* It seems probable that the scribe, confused by the final -α in ἐπιτασ|ρόμενα (ll. 167–168), added another α before ποι; furthermore, the following word (θεῖον) likely misled him to assume that θει- was the ending of the verb (resulting in a false form of πείθω or even πυνθάνομαι). The text should probably be restored to τὰ ἐπιτασ|ρόμενα {α}ποι(εῖ). θεῖον ὄνομά σοι etc.; similar phrasing can be found e.g. in GEMF 57/PGM IV 1430–1432: ἄχρις ἂν ποιήσῃ τὰ ἐπιτασ|ρόμενα αὐτῇ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ. A misspelling of ποιεῖ was suggested already by Leemans (cf. Dieterich’s app.cr. on this line), and later by Daniel 1991, xvii–xviii.

4* The figure described in the text (ll. 171–177) probably corresponds to that of the four-winged Bes-Pantheos, one of many polymorphic deities in late Egyptian religion. Two depictions of Bes-Pantheos can be found in Sauneron 1970, 11–16. For depictions of Bes-Pantheos on gemstones, cf. e.g. CBd-19, 557–559, 561–565 and 573. For Egyptian polymorphic deities, cf. Quack 2006.

5* The papyrus reads (l. 415) της ταπειχου (l. ταρίχου), which makes no sense syntactically; Preisendanz is probably right to adopt Dieterich’s emendation to εἰς ταρίχου suggesting that the τ in της could also be read as a *paragraphos* followed by ης, i.e. — ης (l. εἰς). Indeed, what is read as τ, actually looks more like τ̄; at any rate, a *paragraphos* would be unexpected at this point, as the separation-procedure begins already in the previous line. For the use of the *ostrakon* (a term applied to any kind of pot made of earth or, more often, to a potsherd, but also to a flake of limestone or a seashell) in Greco-Egyptian magic, see Martín Hernández and Torallas Tovar 2014b, 782 (esp. ll. 414–424); cf. also Martín Hernández and Torallas Tovar 2014a, 177.

GEMF 16 (PDM/PGM XIV)

Thebes

late II CE

ED.PR.: P.Leiden I 383; Leemans 1839; pBM EA 10070; Hess 1892

REPubL.: Demotic sections: Griffith and Thompson 1904, 20–204; Vittmann TLA. Greek sections: Griffith and Thompson 1904, 40–43, 108, 144–147 [GrTh]; Revillout 1914 (col. iv 1–24 recto only); Eitrem 1925b, 51 (col. xxiii 9–20, recto = PGM XIVc 16–27) [Ei]; Preisendanz, PGM XIV, pp. 131–133 [Pr]; Merkelbach and Totti 1991, 77–79 (col. iv 9–19 recto = PGM XIVa 1–11) [MeTo]

TRANSL.: Demotic sections: Griffith and Thompson 1904, 20–204 (English); Johnson 1975 (English); Johnson, GMPT (English); Quack 2008, 333–350 (German). Greek sections: Griffith and Thompson 1904, 40–43, 108, 144–147 (English); Preisendanz, PGM XIV, 131–133 (German); Grese, GMPT, 201, 221, 232 (English); Calvo Martínez and Sánchez Romero 1987, 311–312 (Spanish)

COMM.: Reuvens 1830 [R]; Lexa 1925, 122–150; Roeder 1961, 185–213; Johnson 1975, 51–53; Johnson 1975/1976; Johnson 1977a; Raven 1982, 69–71; Raven 1983, 17; Bresciani 1987; Johnson and Ritner, GMPT; Merkelbach and Totti 1991, 80–82; Brashear 1995, 3403 and 3544; Tait 1995; Quack 2004; Dieleman 2005, 25–45; Dosoo 2014; Dosoo 2016; Quack 2017b, 52–53 (on the scripts); Dosoo forthcoming b; Dosoo, Nodar and Sarischouli forthcoming
LOC.: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, P. I 383 (formerly AMS 65 [1828]) and London, British Museum, EA 10070 (formerly AMS 1072 [1857])
TM 55955

Often known as the “Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden” or P. London-Leiden, GEMF 16 is the largest surviving magical book-roll from Roman Egypt.¹ The Leiden part seems to have been purchased by the agents of Jean d’Anastasy in Thebes prior to 1827, and was part of the 1828 sale to the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden; the London part, likewise purchased in Thebes, was in Anastasy’s possession by 1846 at the latest, and was sold to the British Museum during the auction of his third lot of antiquities held in Paris in 1857. It is likely that, as in the case of GEMF 15/PDM/PGM XII, the roll was cut by the Egyptians who found it prior to its sale to Anastasy. The roll has been generally assigned to the group known as the “Theban Magical Library.” It is written on both sides, and the extant papyrus is roughly H. 24 cm × W. 5 m. Both the beginning and the end of the roll are lost, although Dosoo forthcoming b argues that based on the surviving material, there may be no missing columns. It preserves 29 columns of text on the recto and 33 short columns on the verso, running from right to left. The London part, which is better preserved,² contains roughly columns i–x³ on the recto and columns xxv–xxxiii on the verso, while the significantly larger Leiden part has the remaining columns x–xxix on the recto and i–xxiv on the verso.

On the recto, columns are often within a frame of horizontal and vertical lines.⁴ Before the scribe started copying, he drew two horizontal guidelines in black ink along the top and bottom of the manuscript which reached what would be column xxiii, while vertical guidelines were added as the copy was made, until col. xiv. Cols. xxiv–xxvi are written without guidelines, although full horizontal and vertical guidelines are used again for columns xxvii–xxix. Despite these preparations, he crossed the guidelines frequently as he copied the formulas. Headings, key words, numbers and verse points⁵ are often (though inconsistently) written in red

¹ For descriptions of this roll, see Dieleman 2005, 35–38 and Dosoo forthcoming b.

² The Leiden part was pasted between sheets of “papier vegetal,” which turned the papyrus rather dark and shiny; the London part, which was not subject to this treatment, is in a better state of preservation.

³ Column x is broken in two, with one part belonging to London and the other to Leiden.

⁴ From col. xv onwards the vertical borders are generally missing, although they reappear between cols. xxvii and xxviii and between cols. xxviii and xxix. The horizontal guidelines are missing for the cols. xxiv to xxvi.

⁵ The verse points have not yet been the subject of a full study, but are used in various ways throughout the text, in both formulae and prose instructions—dividing long *voces magicae* into shorter units, separating individual words (often but not always *voces magicae* in formulae and words written in cipher), and dividing clauses. As noted in Dieleman 2005, 36–37 their presence here is unusual, since verse points are better attested in older hieratic texts than in Demotic texts, though cf. Love 2021a for a discussion of their presence in other Egyptian-language manuscripts from the Roman period.

ink on the recto, and very occasionally on the verso; there are a few blank spaces in the manuscript where it seems the scribe intended to add one or more words in red ink, but never did so. The columns of the verso, written in the same orientation as the recto, are short and tend to cluster in small groups distributed along the length of the roll. They occupy only the top of the papyrus, leaving the middle and bottom remarkably empty, which was possibly meant as a precaution against fingers rubbing the text when the scroll was held in the middle of its height as a reader was consulting the recto side. Dosoo forthcoming b argues that these short columns on the verso serve as notes or additions, often connected to the corresponding columns on the recto.⁶ The correspondences between recto and verso can be traced in the graph included below. He likewise argues that the earliest layer of the writing of the manuscript left several spaces at the lower parts of frames, which were later filled with additional recipes or annotations to existing recipes. Small scraps of papyrus (preserving Greek or Demotic script) were pasted, at several places, onto the verso side of the manuscript for reinforcement.⁷

The base language of GEMF 16 is Demotic, although the language phase varies; some passages are in what Quack terms “late Demotic”—grammatically very close to Coptic—while others are notably archaic.⁸ The Demotic likewise makes very extensive use of Greek loanwords, which may be transliterated in Demotic or preserved in Greek or cipher script.⁹ On three different occasions (ll. 101–111, 452–455, 683–694), short incantations written in Greek are embedded in an otherwise Demotic recipe (see below).

The Demotic script of the manuscript seems to have been written by the same hand throughout, with the possible exception of verso col. xxviii where the signs are notably larger. Signs are written with a *kalamos*, clearly and consistently, albeit relatively densely, with regular flourishes on signs with descenders and little variation in shading, although differences in line thickness between sections suggests that the manuscript was written over an extended period of time. The hand is similar to that of the relatively few other late Roman Demotic hands known from Thebes—P.Leid. I 384 recto (ca 100 CE), Medinet Habu Ostrakon 4038 (early III CE),¹⁰ and P.Ashm. 1984.76¹¹—but in particular the other Demotic texts of the Theban Library, GEMF 15/PDM/PGM XII and 17/PDM Suppl. While damage caused by poor conservation makes its Demotic sections difficult to read, the hand of GEMF 15 is particularly close, to the extent that several authors have suggested it is written by the same hand.¹² This poses a problem of interpretation; careful examination of the Greek text of GEMF 16 suggests that it was the work of at least three different hands,¹³ one of which (M¹) seems to belong to the scribe of the Demotic.¹⁴ None of these three Greek scripts, however, is the same as that of the longer Greek passages in 15.¹⁵

Here we propose that the Demotic text, the Greek glosses as well as the integrated Greek text of GEMF 15 and 16 are by a single scribe, who has invited more fluent Greek hands (two in GEMF 16, and one in GEMF

⁶ Cf. similar comments in Nagel 2019, 126. See below diagram showing the correspondance of recto and verso columns.

⁷ The scraps with writing attached to the Leiden part can be consulted in Leemans 1839, plate 14, nrs. 1–2 and 4–7.

⁸ See Quack 2006 for a discussion.

⁹ Dieleman 2005, 110–122, 308–312.

¹⁰ For this dating, earlier than that of the *editio princeps*, see Depauw 1997, 96.

¹¹ See Kockelmann 2003; this text was dated to the late third century, but only on the basis of comparisons with the texts listed here.

¹² Johnson 1975, 51–53; Johnson 1977b, 88–89; Dieleman 2005, 27–28, 36; Quack 2017b, 52 (though cf. his earlier expressed opinion that they were merely similar in Quack 2004, 329); All four extant bilingual manuscripts (GEMF 15/PDM/PGM XII; 16/PDM/PGM XIV; 17/PDM Suppl. and 18/PDM/PGM LXI) were said by Brashear to have been written by the same scribe (Brashear 1995, 3402–3404; Brashear and Bülow-Jacobsen 1991, 71), although this was based on a misunderstanding of Johnson 1977b.

¹³ Cf. Dieleman 2005, 36, n. 43, who also suggests at least three hands.

¹⁴ The clearest evidence for this is found in l. 848, where the gloss εωε was added by the scribe in red ink at the same time as he was adding section headings and numbers in Demotic.

¹⁵ See GEMF 15 intro; full discussion in Dosoo, Nodar and Sarischouli forthcoming. Cf. Dosoo 2014, 86–87, who, however, mistakenly attributes GEMF 16 to a single hand.

15) to copy longer passages. The more consistent treatment of glosses in GEMF 16 indicates that, while it probably belongs to the same century as GEMF 15, it was likely produced somewhat later.

The Demotic script (M^1) shows an intricate mixing with hieratic signs, which may be used to write individual words or short phrases, or combined with Demotic signs within single words. This mixing of Egyptian scripts is found in many other literary and technical manuscripts dating from the late Ptolemaic and Roman periods.¹⁶ While some of the words and phrases in hieratic might be considered archaic, hieratic is also used to transcribe and/or gloss magical names, suggesting that the primary reason for the script mixing is the familiarity of the scribe (and the scribes of the source texts) with both scripts.¹⁷ In this edition, words written in hieratic are presented in boldface. The *vores magicæ* are generally spelled in alphabetic Demotic signs, often provided with glosses written in an Old Coptic script.¹⁸ In many cases, it seems that the source text was Greek or Old Coptic, so that the glosses preserve the *vores magicæ* more accurately, with the alphabetic Demotic writings deriving from these (see Quack 2004, 431–432; Dieleman 2005, 69–80). For this reason, the glosses are transliterated wherever possible in the translation.¹⁹ Those that are only rendered in Demotic script are transliterated using the system described by Quack 2004, 433–435, cf. Johnson 1977a, 113–121. Several sections of the manuscript contain words written in an encrypted script, generally referred to as a “cipher”; this seems to have been originally developed to write Greek, but supplemented with Demotic signs to write Egyptian.²⁰ A table giving the correspondences for two other encrypted scripts for the Greek alphabet are found on the verso written in three lines in black ink.²¹ Neither of these sets is the one used in the formulas of GEMF 16, so that they must have been intended for use with other manuscripts. The enciphered text appears in bold face in our transliteration. When the words are clearly identified as Greek, they are transcribed in Greek font. Glosses are occasionally used for sections other than *vores magicæ*, and sometimes make use of the mixed Demotic-hieratic script rather than Old Coptic.

The general impression given by the Greek script in the bilingual recipes is that all three passages are written in clear, carefully executed, round bookhands with only a few ligatures resulting in an elegant, though not a “luxury” text, since letter forms are not entirely consistent. It seems that two different scribes were involved in the copying of the Greek invocations (M^2 and M^3), while the main hand, M^1 , the scribe of the Demotic, very likely wrote the Greek glosses and lemmas in the largely Demotic sections on recto and verso.

The first of the two hands responsible for the Greek invocations (M^2) wrote that of ll. 101–111 and shows substantial differences when compared to the hand (M^3) that wrote the Greek formula in ll. 452–455 and the invocation in ll. 683–694: M^2 is more rounded and uniform especially in the size of the letters, thus giving the general impression of being closer to a bookhand than M^3 , which is also round and careful, but now uses a finer pen producing thinner and taller letters that display much more variation in letter-height and width than the writing of M^2 . The shapes of several letters of M^3 are similar to the letters of M^2 (e.g. the η and ξ are almost identical), but there are some outstanding differences in the *ductus*, which strongly indicate there were two different scribes for the Greek invocations. To name only a few examples: (i) υ is always V-shaped in M^2 , while M^3 has the champagne-glass-shape with a curved leg; (ii) β is round and symmetrical in M^2 , while in M^3 it is significantly thinner and has a characteristic horizontal line drawn at its bottom; (iii) in M^2 , ϕ and ρ are

¹⁶ Cf. Quack 2010, 318–324; Love 2021a, §4.2

¹⁷ On the mixing of scripts in this manuscript see Dieleman 2005, 51–62.

¹⁸ Griffith and Thompson 1904, 8–10.

¹⁹ We would like to highlight the use of the upsilon for the aspiration in the glosses, for which see Dieleman 2005, 303.

²⁰ See Dieleman 2005, 87–96. GEMF 15 and GEMF 17 contain one word preserved in cipher each. This is very meagre when compared with the 93 words in cipher of GEMF 16, considered here. The cipher in these texts is different from the Greek cipher in GEMF 8.

²¹ The table is located in the middle of the page under the verso cols. i and ii, written at 90° in relation to the Demotic columns at the top of the page. For a facsimile of this text, see Leemans 1839, plate 14, nr. 3. The signs are also treated in Doresse 1950–1951, 215–228, esp. 224 and table III.

written in a plain style that avoids serifs and roundels, while in M^3 the vertical strokes of both letters are decorated with a serif at their lower ends.

Although GEMF 16 has been generally dated to the third century CE,²² we propose a slightly earlier date, late second cent. CE, based on a number of parallels. Both M^2 and M^3 are markedly bilinear and can be closely dated; they may be assigned to the latter part of the second century CE: M^2 is comparable with GMAW 24 (2nd cent. CE); Seider II 31 (2nd cent. CE) and 40 (2nd cent. CE); M^3 is comparable with P.Mur. II 113 = Crisci XXb (mid 2nd cent. CE); P.Oxy. XLII 3016 (148 CE); GMAW 72 (later 2nd cent. CE); Seider I 37 (ca 170 CE); Seider II 49 (written around 200 CE).

Both M^2 and M^3 use abbreviated spellings (ν at the end of a line represented by a supralinear stroke over the preceding letter) and high dots are usually placed after magical words (l. 106: ζεβουρθαυνην· and 452: ανοχπαπι πετο[.]· μετουβανε·), and once after what seem to be a corrupted abbreviation of δ(ε)ι(να) (l. 452: ὄ δε·). In one case, both an accent and a breathing are set over a word (l. 105: αρχαγ'γγελον); *diaeresis* appears over ι in the ιω-logos (ll. 689–690). *Paragraphoi* and *iota* adscript are not employed. Magical words are usually, but not consistently, marked out by overlining.

The hand that wrote the Greek and Old Coptic lemmas and glosses outside the three Greek invocations (M^1) seems similar, but not identical, to M^2 or M^3 : the script is formed with separate capitals, which seem to have been slowly written by a relatively untrained hand; this is likely the same scribe who wrote the Egyptian content of the manuscript.²³ This hand employs *diaeresis* on *iota* and uses the ἥλιος, κελήνη and δραχμή signs.

A dating of the Greek scripts in the late second century finds support in the dating of the papyrus snippets that were pasted onto the verso side for reinforcement, probably some time after the roll was written. The dating of their script to the early third century CE certainly provides information on the time-frame within which the roll was in use.²⁴

Dosoo forthcoming b analyzes the text of GEMF 16 as consisting of 18 distinct blocks in total: 10 original blocks, primarily on the recto, to which a number of annotations and additional texts were gradually added over an extended period of time to a small planned core and arranged by the single scribe-editor for easy reference. Therefore, this was the first time that this particular group of texts was drawn together. The concern with placement, and the use of short reference texts and annotations, also suggest that the scribe was a practicing ritualist, interested in acquiring new texts and variants.

The primary interest of the copyist-user seems to have been divinatory rituals of apparition (lamp, bowl, sun, moon, and dream divination rituals), as is the case with the other manuscripts associated with the Theban Library. The recipes for these rituals occupy recto cols. i–x, xiv, xvi–xviii, xxv–xxix. Also apparent are secondary interests in manipulating relationships (love, favor, and separation rituals)—recto cols. xi–xiii, xv—as well as healing (recto cols. xix–xx) and in cursing and poisoning (recto cols. xxiii–xxiv). The material in the verso columns is more diverse, but includes all of the rituals attested on the recto, although the priorities of the recto are inverted, with the most recipes related to healing and the fewest to divination. In addition, there are various reference texts which describe ingredients, often referred to by their Greek names. Dosoo forthcoming b suggests that this pattern reflects the contrast between the copyist-user's own interests in divination and the realities of day-to-day practice as a ritual specialist, which necessitated a greater knowledge of herbs, stones, and rituals to mediate illness and relationships.

The texts seem to be very diverse in their sources, and in their present form are likely the result of several phases of copying and editing, as was noted by Griffith and Thompson 1904, and has been most fully demonstrated in Dieleman 2005. Many of the Demotic-language recipes seem to have been adapted from

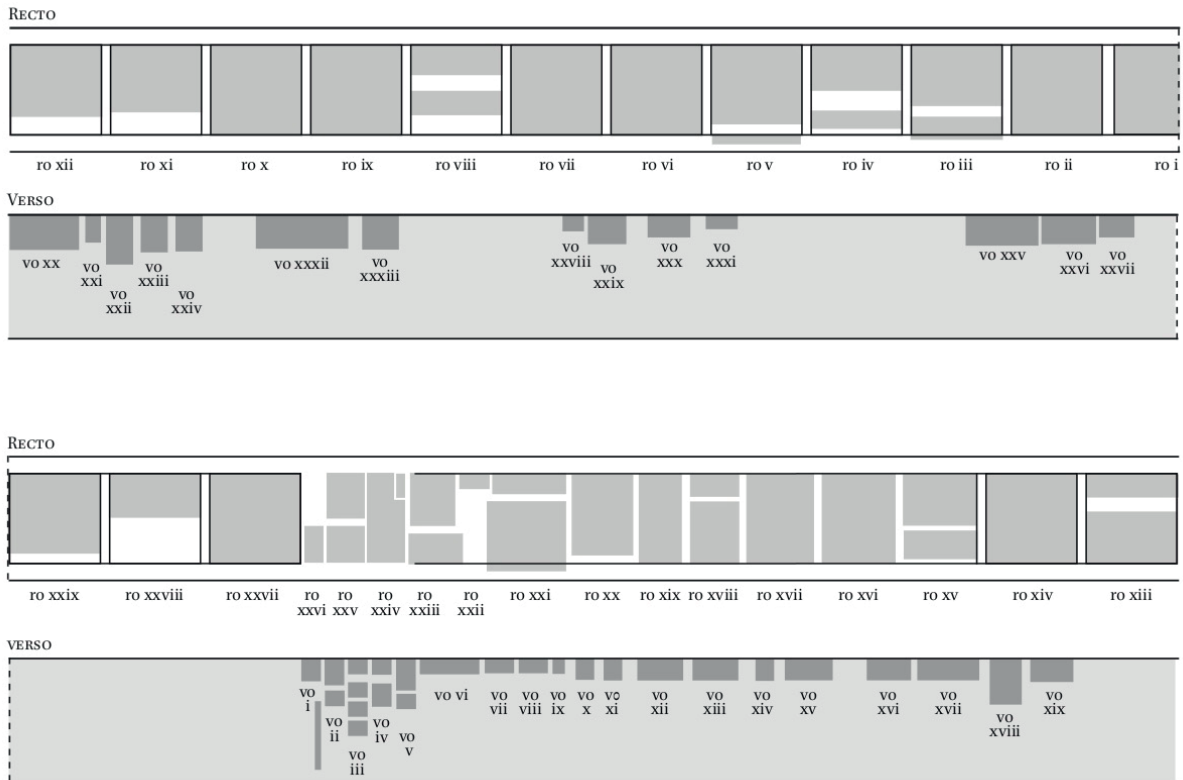
²² See Griffith 1901, 78 and 80; Griffith and Thompson 1904, 10; cf. Dieleman 2005, 41–44; Bagnall 2009a, 83–85.

²³ The scribe who wrote the glosses in ll. 848 and 851 is the same scribe that wrote the Demotic, since these glosses have been added in red ink at the same time as the scribe added the Demotic text.

²⁴ For example, the handwriting of fr. 1 is comparable with Harrauer, no. 170, pl. 155 (227 CE) and no. 144, pl. 144 (2nd–3rd century CE), while the handwriting of fr. 6 is comparable with Harrauer, no. 161, pl. 146 (200 CE).

originals written in Greek or an Old Coptic script, and perhaps in the Greek language as well, as is indicated by Greek formulae, loanwords, and *voces magicae* which remain embedded in them, as well as by the originally or entirely Greek nature of the cipher alphabets. Some of this Greek material, in turn, seems itself to have been adopted from older Egyptian-language sources, re-transliterated phonetically into Demotic, without recognition of the original Demotic word. Quack 2004, 448–449 and Dosoo forthcoming b have suggested that this confusion may have arisen in part because the source of certain sections may have been a rendition of a northern Egyptian dialect close to Bohairic in Greek or Old Coptic script, which the copyist, a speaker of a southern Egyptian dialect (see Johnson 1977a), was at times unable to recognize. At the same time, other recipes demonstrate the continuous transmission of much older Pharaonic material. Several texts occur multiple times with variation, and editorial comments like “otherwise said” and “according to another manuscript” followed by alternative words or phrases occur regularly. Such an “archival habit” is found in other magical formularies, in particular the larger collections, as well as in the Egyptian scribal tradition more broadly.

The diagram below shows the layout of the columns of GEMF 16. The dotted lines indicate the broken ends of the roll. Note that the verso is mirrored, so that the correspondances between the texts in the recto and the verso can be seen.



...²⁵ in the nome of Oxyrhynchus. Formula: ... edge of whose strap rests in Pelusium, his face being like a spark ... of an unclean(?) cat whose testicles(?)²⁶ are (like) a rearing(?)²⁷ uraeus ... quickly. Put light and breadth in my vessel²⁸ (5) ... Open to me, O land! Open to me, O underworld! Open to me, O Primeval Waters! ... great ... of copper of Arq-heh.²⁹ O gods who are in heaven, who are exalted, come to ... light and breadth(?)³⁰ in my vessel, my ... youth whose face is bent over my vessel.³¹ May ... prosper ... for my vessel divination is the vessel divination of Isis while she was searching. (10) Come in to me, my compeller, for everything ... [and] you should cause my youth's eye(s) to open to all of them. ... for I am the Pharaoh, (life, peace, health), Lion-Ram; Ram-Lion-Lotus³² is my name. ... to you here today. For I am SYTTAKA.³³ Hearer is my name; Hearer ... Otherwise said ARENOUTE LAPPTOTHA LAXANTHA SA (15) ... BOLBOUËL (say it) twice LOUTËRY KLOGASANTRA³⁴ IAUÛ³⁵ ... the powerful one of heaven. ABLANATHANALBA, the griffin³⁶ ... [... you should] say it while you draw breath(?),³⁷ O good herdsman,³⁸ my compeller ... in order to question you about it here today, and you should open the youth's eye(s) ... every ... and you should protect this youth whose face is bent [down to this] (20) ... "... of god, lord of the earth, the remnant(?) of the earth,³⁹ lord of the earth(?) ... I am Hor-Amun who sits at this vessel invocation here today ... this vessel invocation here today. MARI CHAREI, you should ..." ... and/so that they say my inquiry for me. Say to them two times,⁴⁰ "O pure gods of the Primeval Waters ... of earth by name, under the soles [of whose feet] the gods of Egypt are placed (25) ... THA, for I am TAPIZTEUËI of the earth by name ... cause that you be healthy, O Pharaoh, PAZAMËI who rests opposite ... these forearms of real gold. Truth is in my mouth; honey [is on my lips] MAT[THA]. For I am the STËL IAHÛ the opener of the earth.⁴¹

²⁵ The beginning of this recipe can be restored based on l. 527: "[A] vessel-inquiry which a physician in the Oxyrhynchite nome gave to me."

²⁶ Cf. Griffith and Thompson 1904, 20, n. to l. 3, who read *s:he* and translated 'toes' based on a parallel citing "fingers and toes"; but they also note that the context for the identical word in l. 189, which they read as *iswe*(?), suggests that we translate it as 'testicles'.

²⁷ For this translation see CDD, vol. 3 (◌) 91.

²⁸ This is a recipe for lecanomanancy, the art of divination by looking into a liquid placed into a shallow bowl or dish; for discussion see Dosoo 2014, 398–399, and passim; Nagel 2019, 124–148. See Crum 499a, s.v. οὐραῖ; above p. 89 n. 146.

²⁹ Sacred place in Abydos, burial place of Osiris; cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 124. Smith 2017, 466–467.

³⁰ Dosoo 2016, 352, esp. n. 1472.

³¹ For the use of a youth as a medium to look into the vessel, see Johnston 2001 and Dosoo 2014, 391–393.

³² See Griffith and Thompson 1904, 22

³³ For discussion, see Griffith and Thompson 1904, 23, n. to l. 13.

³⁴ The section of the name in brackets reflects "new" material in the gloss, not duplicated in the Demotic.

³⁵ As one can see in the transliteration, each of these magical names is glossed in Old Coptic presumably as an aid to the pronunciation. We have not translated the gloss, except when it corrects or adds to the Demotic, for example, in the case of GASANTRA, where the Old Coptic KLOGASANTRA alerts us to the fact that the Demotic is missing its prefix or that the scribe has knowledge of a different version. The expanded form KLOGASANTRA appears in similar invocation in l. 1178.

³⁶ For a literary description of a griffin, see *Myth of the Sun's Eye* xv 1–6 (Spiegelberg 1917), as Griffith and Thompson 1904, 23, n. to l. 16.

³⁷ Johnson, GMPT translates 'whisper'; Griffith and Thompson 1904 'drawl'. For another whispered *logos*, see GEMF 57/PGM IV 743. Dosoo 2014, 400–401 argues that it is not whispering, but rather grunting or chanting. See below l. 169.

³⁸ A reference to Anubis. It is interesting, however, that the griffin, just mentioned above in the previous sentence, is called "herdsman of everything which is upon earth" in the Demotic *Myth of the Sun's Eye*, for which see Tait 1974, 23–27 and 1976, 27–44.

³⁹ Cf. LGG vol. 6, 268; Doxey 1998, 388. This seems to refer to being a surviving member of a noble line.

⁴⁰ Griffith and Thompson 1904, 25, n. to l. 23, suggest *sp sn* here is merely an "emphatic" (as after *m-šs* where the translation 'very' is frequently used) and not to be understood as literal 'twice'.

⁴¹ See Dieleman 2005, 77, n. 84 for this translation.

recto col. ii →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 29–42

- 1 *iṛk d n p; hm-hl° d r-wn n iṛ.t-k° iw=f wn iṛ.t-f° mtw=f nw r p; wyn° iṛk ti iṛ-f š°*
d ʒ.w sp-2 p; wyn° pry sp-2 p; wyn° tse sp-2 p; wyn° hy sp-2 p; wyn° p; nt n-bnr 30
im r-hn° iw=f hpr mtw=f wn iṛ.t-f° mtw=f tm nw r p; wyn° iṛk ti iṛ-f htm iṛ.t-f
N9ET
iṛk š r-r-f n whm [d mt.t] p; kke r-l-k n h; t-f(n) p; wyn r-iny p; wyn n-y r-hn°
- 5 *P;-Šy nt hn p; Nwn r-iny p; wyn n-y r-hn° Wsir nt hr nšme.t r-iny p; wyn n-y*
ζηη
r-hn° p;y.4 t w nt n-bnr r-iny p; wyn n-y r-hn° p; nt iw p; šp pa n;y wnw.wt n-dr.t-f(r)
r iny p; wyn n-y r-hn° Inp p; mr-ih nfr r-iny p; wyn n-y r-hn° d iṛk 35
CO
r ti sʒ r-ir-y ty n p; hrw° d ink Hr s; ʒs.t p; s; nfr n Wsir° iṛk r iny n; ntr.w n t s.t-
ε τα ΝΕΤΒΕΟΥ
wyp;° iṛk r-ti iṛ-w ir n p;y(=y) hb° n-st ti mš' t;y(=y) wp.t° N; w-tbew iṛk r-ti iṛ-w ir n-im-s
ΤΟΥΡΑΜΝΗΪ ΔΜΝΗΪ Δ Δ ΜΕΣ ΟΡΝΟΥΩΡϷ ΟΡΝΟΥΩΡϷ ΠΑΓΟΡΟϷ
- 10 *d [...] Twr'm-n;w° m-n;w° ° ° ° Mes sp-2° ʒ.mw.ʒ.rf sp-2° ʒ.mw.ʒ.rf sp-2° Ph.ʒ.r-f°*
η[...].ΡΟϷ ΙΩ ΖΟΥΪ ΤΟΥΡΟΡ Ο
[...]° Ph-r-f° Y.ʒ° qwy n nsw.(t)° Tw-hr° my wd; p;y.y lw nt iw hr-f ph̄te r p;y.y
ΠΕ
nh[e mtw-k(?)] ti ph n-y Sbk š'-mtw=f pyr° Sdm rny-t° Sdm p;y p;y(=y) rn n mtr° d ink 40
Μ ΤΟΥΛΗΤ ¶Δ¶ ΠΕΙΝ¶Δ¶
L[ot Mwlo]t⁴²° Twlōt° Tt Pyntt p;y(=y) rn n mtr° p; ntr ʒ nt iw n; ʒ.w rnf°
ΑΦΩΩϷ ΔΨΕΥϷΤΩϷ ΕΠΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ⁴³
wnh r p;y lw° r-ph.ʒ.b.ʒ.s° psewst.ʒ.s° ep'letsy° iṛk š n;y

⁴² This restoration is based on xviii 13, as Griffith and Thompson 1904, 27, n. to l. 13.

⁴³ The three words glossed in this line are all Greek, ἀφόβως ἀψεύτως ἐπ' ἀληθεία; they are written using the Demotic alphabetic script, and each word is given the foreign (word)-determinative. For discussion, see Griffith and Thompson 1904, 28, n. to l. 14.

GEMF 16.29–42

You should say to the youth, “Open your eye(s)!” If he opens his eye(s) and he sees the light, you should cause that he cry out (30) saying, “Be great, be great, O light! Come forth, come forth, O light! Rise up, rise up, O light! Be high, be high, O light! He who is outside, come in!” If it happens that he opens his eye(s) and he does not see the light, you should make him shut his eye(s) and you should recite to him again. **Formula:** “O darkness, remove yourself before the light,⁴⁴ bring the light in to me! Pshai⁴⁵ who is in the Primeval Waters, bring in the light to me! Osiris who is on the *neshmet*-barque,⁴⁶ bring in the light to me! These four winds⁴⁷ which are outside, bring the light in to me! The one in whose hand is the moment,⁴⁸ he who belongs to these hours (35) bring in to me the light! Anubis, the good herdsman, bring in to me the light in order that you give me protection here today. For I am Horsiese (i.e. Horus, the son of Isis), the good son of Osiris. You should bring the gods of the place of judgment. You should make them take care of my affair so that they make my business proceed. O the avengers,⁴⁹ you should cause them to do it. For ... TOURAMNĒI AMNĒI A A MES (say it) twice ORNOUŌRF (say it) twice ŌRNOUŌRF (say it) twice PAHŌROF ... PAHŌROF YŌ little king TOUHOR, may this youth whose face is bent down to this (40) oil be well [and may you] send Sobek⁵⁰ to me until he comes forth. Hearer is my name; He who Hears is my true name. For I am [LOT MULOT]⁵¹ TOULŌT TAT PEINTAT is my true name. O great god whose name is great, appear to this youth, without alarming or deceiving him, truthfully!” You should recite these

⁴⁴ See Quack 1999, 41.

⁴⁵ Pshai, originally a term for the deified concept of “fate,” was often conceived of in the Roman period as a primordial solar creator god; see Quaegebeur 1975. Also GEMF 55/PGM III 144–145.

⁴⁶ The sacred barque of Osiris.

⁴⁷ They come from the four cardinal directions. Cf. GEMF 15.108–109, 136, and 287.

⁴⁸ I.e., the god who is “on duty” at this moment.

⁴⁹ For the “avengers,” see *Myth of the Sun’s Eye* iv 20.

⁵⁰ Crocodile headed god.

⁵¹ Restored from l. 533 below: “I am LOT MULOT.”

col. ii (cont.) →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 43–57

- 15 sh.w n sp 7(.t) *iir-k tⁱ ir=f wn ir.t=f^o mtw p; wyn r-n:-ny^o mtw=f dⁱ Inp iy r-hn^o iir-k š h(t).t=f*
ΥΕΡΙΕΟΥ ΝΕΜΕ
- d mt.t *i Ryd^o Mwryd^o i T:-wr.t^o i p:y.y hwṯ nfr^o r-ms Heryew^o t: šr.t n t: Nme.t^o*
ΤΣΑΡΠΟΤ ΜΠΝΑΣΤΟΡ
- im n=y^o d mtw=k p:y.y sšn^o ir pyr hn t: spt n P:-nws.t:r^o nt ir wyn r p: t: dre=f^o 45*
ΠΛΩΙ
- hy Inp^o im n=y^o p: hy^o p: dr^o p: hry-ss.t n n:y t: tw:t^o p: Pr-^o w.s n n:y Imnt^o p: wr swnw*
- [p: s(?)] nfr n Wsir^o p: nhṯ hr=f iwṯ n: ntr.w^o iir-k h^c n t: tw:t^o n:y-hr dr.t=f n Wsir^o iir-k šms*
- 20 *[n:] by(.w) n Ibt^o d iw=w nh n-im=k dre=w^o n:y by.w n:y tw:t tsr:t^o im r p: t^o wnḥk r-ir=y*
- [t]y n p: hrw^o mtw=k Dhwti^o mtw=k p: iir pyr^o n h.t=f n P:-Šy^o p: it.w sp-2^o n n: ntr.w dre=w^o*
im r r: n: r.w
- n p:y(=y) hn n p: hrw^o mtw=k d n=y wḥ n mt.t m:t^o hr mt.t nb nt iw=y šn hr-ir=w iw mn mt.t n*
de n-im=w^o d ink šs.t 50
- t: rḥe.t nt iw n: d n r=y hpr^o d mt.t sp 7(.t) iir-k d n p: hm-hl^o de r-dy s n Inp^o d*
r-br^o
- mš^c r-iny n: ntr.w r-hn^o iw=f mš^c m-s:w^o mtw=f iny.t=w r-hn^o iir-k šn p: lw^o d wḥ n: ntr.w*
mtw=k nw r-ir-w ΜΕΡΑ
- 25 *iy r-hn^o iw=f d wḥ=w iy iir-k š h(t).t=w^o d mt.t nhe-k n=y sp-2^o P:-Šy nhs.t=k^o Mep^c*
ΠΟΥΕΡΤΕΙΟΥ ΔΙΔΙΟΥ ΤΕΝΙΟΥ
- P:-wr-tyw^o Tsytsyw^o Tndyiw^o r-ir=y mtr r-ir-y^o Dhwti my ire qme^o mh p: t: n wyn^o hb*
- m hr=f šps^o šps q r p: h:t^o my ti hpr t: m:t^o p: ntr^o nt iw n:-^o w rnf d sp 7(.t) 55*
- iir-k d n p: hm-hl^o d r-dy s n Inp^o d r-iny w^c tks r-hn hr n: ntr.w^o my hms=w iw=w*
- hms^o iir-k d^o r-iny w^c irp r-hn^o klp=f r n: ntr.w^o r-iny hyn.w q r-hn^o my wnm=w^o my swr=w^o*

GEMF 16.43–57

formulas 7 times. If you make him open his eye(s) and the light is beautiful and he says “Anubis is coming in.”⁵² you should recite before him. **Formula:** “O RYDJ MOURYDJ, O Great One,⁵³ O my good youth (i.e. Anubis) whom HERIEOU, the daughter of the NEME,⁵⁴ bore, (45) come to me, for you are this lotus which came forth from the lotus leaf of PNASTOR which makes light for the entire land. Hail Anubis, come to me O high one, O strong one, O overseer of secrets of those of the underworld, O king of those of the West,⁵⁵ O great physician, [o] good [son(?)] of Osiris, the one whose face is strong among the gods. You should appear in the underworld before the hand of Osiris. You should serve [the] souls of Abydos (i.e. the deceased) in order that they all live through you, these souls, those of the sacred underworld. Come to the earth! Reveal yourself to me here today! You are Thoth. You are the one who came forth from the heart of the great Pshai, the father of the father of all the gods. Come to the mouth of the mouths (50) of my vessel today⁵⁶ and tell me the answer in truth concerning everything about which I shall inquire there being no falsehood there. For I am Isis, the wise woman, the sayings of whose mouth come to be.” **Formula 7 times:** You should say to the youth, “Say (it) to Anubis, ‘Go out and bring the gods in’.” When he goes after them and he brings them in, you should question the youth saying, “Have the gods already come in?” If he says, “They have already come.” and when you see them, you should recite before them. **Formula:** “Awaken to me, awaken to me, Pshai, awaken yourself! MERA The Great One of Five⁵⁷ DIDIOU TENDJIOU. Do justice to me! (O) Thoth, may creation fill the land with light! O ibis (55) in his noble countenance,⁵⁸ noble one who entered the heart (i.e. who pleased), may truth come into being! O great god whose name is great.” **Say 7 times!** You should say to the youth, “Say to Anubis, ‘Bring a table in for the gods! Let them sit’.” When they are seated, you should say, “Bring a (vessel of) wine in! Open it for the gods! Bring in some bread! Let them eat! Let them drink!”⁵⁹

⁵² The child medium is asked to report visions of various gods entering the visual space of the bowl; here Anubis is the first to arrive and a little later he is asked to “go out and bring the (i.e. other) gods in.”

⁵³ Written using Demotic groups which can be so interpreted phonetically.

⁵⁴ *nm(e.t)* has a flame determinative. It may be related to *nm(ꜥ).t* ‘slaughtering block’. See Griffith and Thompson 1904, 28–29, n. to l. 16, for discussion.

⁵⁵ The realm of the dead, both cemeteries (located in the West whenever possible) and the Underworld.

⁵⁶ The mouth of the lamp, both here and many times below is the tip of the lamp where the burning end of the wick protrudes. The gods, in short, appear in the flame or briefly after looking away from the flame.

⁵⁷ This is an epithet of Thoth and of his high priest; for discussion, see Griffith and Thompson 1904, 30–31, n. to l. 25.

⁵⁸ Thoth is traditionally depicted with an ibis head; see GEMF 15.194–195/PGM XII 145–146: “draw on a strip of linen the god Hermes, standing ibis-faced” with Faraone 2020a, 200.

⁵⁹ Here the practitioner asks Anubis to bring wine and bread into the visual space, presumably so they can feast.

recto col. iii →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 58–76

- 1 *my wnm>w° my swr>w° my ir>w hrw-nfr° iw>w w:h° iir-k d n Inp d n iir-k šn n>y iw>f d t:h.t
iir-k d n=f d p; ntr nt n:e ir p:y(=y) šn*
- n p; hrw my ir>f:h° r r:f° iw>f d:h° iir-k d n=f° d r-dy s n Inp° d fy n; nkt.w n t; mtre.(t)°
iir-k š*
- h t:f t;y hte.t° d P;-Šy n p; hrw° p; nb n p; hrw° p; nt iw p:y=f p:y n;y wnw.wt° iir-k ti ir>f d t:s 60
n p; hr
n Inp° d p; ntr nt n:e šn n>y° my ir>f d n>y rn=f° iw>f:h° r r:f° mtw>f d rn=f° iir-k šn.t:f°*
- 5 *r mt.t nb nt iir-k wh:f° p:y=f swḥ iyḥ hr iny>k tb:(t) 7.t n-m:y° iw bw-ir t:w qym n-im>w r
pn>w°*
- r p; ke hr° iir-k fy,t>w iir-k w b n-wš-n dh>w r nkt.w nb n p; t:° mwt>k smne,t>w n p:y>w ky r-wn-
n:w iw>w*
- smne,t n.im=f n° mtw>k smne tb:(t) 3.t hr p; nhe° t; k.t tb:t 4.t mtw>k sr>w n p; qt n p; hm-hl°
n-wš-n*
- dh te.t mtw>f r p; iyt° n-ge b'e.(t) 7.t° mtw-k ir>w n p;y smte n° mtw-k iny q 7(.t) w b iw>w 65
mtw>k sr>w n p; qte n p; nhe° irm tyk 7(.t) n hm; mtw-k iny w:t b:t:ne.t⁶⁰ n-m:y° mtw>k mh:s n*
- 10 *nhe n whe iw>f w b° mtw-k ti r t; b't:ne.t hm sp-2° n-wš-n ti hpr h'yse° mtw>f hpr iw>f stf*
- m-šs sp-2° mtw-k iny w hm-hl iw>f w b° iw bw-ir-tw=f šm irm šhm.t° iir-k sde r-hry hn d:d:f*
- iw>f:h° r r:f r t; h.t° d n iw>f r ir šw n šm r p; hn° iw>f hpr iw>f ir šw° iir-k ti sdr=f r-hr he,t:f*
- iir-k hbs=f n w:t šntō.t n yw.t iw>s w b° iir-k š r-hry hn d:d:f iw wn w ryt n t; ry.t hry=f 70
kšp r-hry
n t; šntō.t° iir-k š p:y.y š nt hry° r-hry hn d:d:f iw>f nw r-hn p; nhe° š sp 7(.t) iw ir,t:f*
- 15 *htm° iir-k w:h iir-k ti ir>f wn ir,t:f° iir-k šn,t:f r p; nt iir-k wh:f° hr ir-k-f š° p; nw n p; t (wnw.t)
7.t n p; hrw°*
- p; š nt iir-k š(=w)(=f) r-hry hn d:d:f n h.t° r dnt,t:f n n:y=f msdr.w° d n iw>f r ir šw n šm hr*
- p; hn° d mt.t hb šps° nšr bk° šps r-phḥ.t° my w b>y mw ky hb šps° nšr*
- bk šps r-phḥ.t° iir-k š n;y r-hry hn d:d:f š sp 7(.t) iir-k ti iw n;y hr 75*
- mt.t n:y=f msdr.w° iw hpr mtw p:y=f msdr 2° mt.t n; w-nfr=f m-šs sp-2° iw>f hpr iw p:y=f msdr n*

⁶⁰ Here and in the following line we find a rendering of Greek βατάνη, 'flat dish'; see Dieleman 2005, 312.

(Let them eat! Let them drink!)⁶¹ May they make merry!” When they have finished, you should say to Anubis,⁶² “Will you make an inquiry for me?” If he says, “Immediately.” you should say to him, “The god who will make my inquiry today, let him stand up.” When he says, “He has stood up.” you should say to him, “Say to Anubis, ‘Carry (off) the things from the middle!’” You should recite (60) before him first saying “Today’s Pshai, the lord of today, the one who these hours are his.”⁶³ You should make him say to Anubis, “The god who will inquire for me today, may he tell me his name.” When he is standing and he says his name, you should ask him about everything which you wish. **Its preparation**.⁶⁴ You bring 7 new bricks which have not been moved in order to overturn them to the other side. You should lift them while you are pure, without touching them to anything at all. And you should set them (back) in their manner in which they were set again. And you should set 3 bricks under the oil. And the other 4 bricks, you should set them up in the vicinity of (i.e. around) the youth without (65) his body touching the ground. Or 7 palm staffs. You should do the same with them and you should bring 7 pure loaves (of bread) and you should lift them up in the vicinity of the oil together with 7 lumps of salt. And you should bring a new bowl and you should fill it with pure oasis-oil and you should put (it) into the bowl very slowly without allowing cloudiness to appear so that it becomes exceedingly clear. And you should bring a pure youth who has not been with a woman. You should speak down into his head while he is standing in front, saying “Will he be useful⁶⁵ for going to the vessel?” If he will be useful, you should have him lie down on his belly. (70) You should cover him with a clean linen cloth. (You should recite down into his head),⁶⁶ there being a strap on the upper side of the cloth. You should recite this formula which is above down into his head while he is looking down into the oil, up to **7 times**, while his eye(s) are closed. When you have finished, you should make him open his eye(s) and you should question him about what you want. You can do it until the 7th hour of the day. **The formula** which you should recite it⁶⁷ down into his head beforehand in order to test him in his ears whether he will be useful for going to the vessel. **Formula**: “Noble ibis, falcon, noble and strong, let me be purified in the manner of the noble ibis, (75) falcon, noble and strong.” You should recite this down into his head up to **7** times. When you send this, his ears speak.⁶⁸ If his 2 ears speak, (it is) a very good thing. If it is his

⁶¹ Intentional dittography when a text continues from one sheet of papyrus to another.

⁶² Griffith and Thompson 1904, 32, n. to l. 1, suggest Anubis is a mistake for “the youth.”

⁶³ I.e. “the one whose hours are these/to whom these hours belong.” Perhaps the phrase is to be understood as “the god of the hour.”

⁶⁴ Previously read as “spirit gathering,” but should be understood as “object-gathering” or “preparation.” Corrected by Bresciani in Roccati 1987, 323, and adopted by Quack 2008, 351. Cf. Ritner, GMPT.

⁶⁵ For the testing of the usefulness of the medium, see Dosoo 2014, 332–334.

⁶⁶ By mistake, the scribe copied this instruction one line too early. See l. 14, where it appears again in the correct place.

⁶⁷ The text mistakenly reads ‘them’ here.

⁶⁸ For this puzzling reference to “speaking ears,” see Dosoo 2014, 333–334.

col. iii (cont.) →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 77–92

- 20 *wnm p:y n: w-nfr^f iw=f hpr iw p: i:b p:y n: bn=f^o **phre.t** n phr p: hn n gtg mtw n: ntr. w iy r-hn
mtw=w d*
- n=k w:h n mt.t m: t iir=k ti qwqe n sw:h. t n **MC62** n-ge p: nt hn=s r t: st.t hr phre=f ty hte.t **phre.t** r ti
ir=w*
- sde iir=k ti tp n **KPOYP** r p: h hr ir=w sde **phre.(t)** r iny n: ntr. w r-hn n kns iir=k ti shy*
- n msh hr sntr s:k⁶⁹ r p: h **iir=k wh:** r ti ir=w iy r-hn n tkr n iir=k ti ht n **EMIC** r p: h irm t: qwqe 80
KAAKANOI*
- n sw:h. t nt hry hr phr=f ty hte.(t) **iir=k wh:** r iny rmt iw=f nh r-hn^o iir=k ti g:l:g:ntsy r p: h^o hr iw=f
r-hn*
- 25 ***iir=k wh:** r iny iyh r-hn iir=k ti s:-wr hr iny n ylh r p: h hr iw p: iyh r-hn iir=k ti h: t
KAPAB*
- n hyt. t n-ge wa. t nfr sp-2 **iir=k wh:** r iny hsy r-hn iir=k ti gr**b** n ym r p: h*
- iir=k wh:** r iny rmt iw=f mw:t r-hn iir=k ti **hs** n **EO** hr s: Nb.t-H.t r p: h hr iw=f r-hn **iir=k***
- wh:** r ti sm n=w dr=w iir=k ti **hs** n **EN** r p: h hr ir=w sm n=w r p:y=w m: dr=w mtw=k š p:y=w r: n
wt=w n 85*
- iir=k wh:** r iny de r-hn iir=k ti hqe n grwgws hr :bn (ti) r p: h **n: sh(w) nt iir=k š** iir=k š-n:y*
- 30 *wt=w r p:y=w m: wt nfr wt rše*
- iir=k wh: r ti ire n: ntr. w iy n=k r-hn mtw p: hn phr n tkr iir=k iny w^c mhrr mtw=k ti šm=f n hsy hn
[t: i]rt.(t) n ih. t km. t*
- mtw=k tiy=f r p: h hr phre=f n t: wnw. t n rn=s mtw p: wyn hpr*
- w^c s: r mr=f r h t=f n p: nt hr hne r ti ir=f phr n tktk iir=k in w^c swt n syw n sy 16 4. t n ht 4. t n
[wt(?)] 90*
- 4. t sšt 4. t n itme. t mtw=k ir=w n w^c swt mtw=k sp=w n snf n qwqwpt mtw=k mr=f n w^c mhrr n h=f n
p: r^c*
- 35 *hsy iw=f qs n sš-n-nsw.(t) mtw=k mr=f r he.t=f n p: hm-hl nt hr p: hn hr phr=f n tkr iw [mn mt]. t n p:
[s:q] n-im=f(?)*

⁶⁹ Quack 1999, 42.

right ear, it is good. If it is his left, it is bad. **Prescription**⁷⁰ for enchanting the vessel quickly so that the gods come in and they tell you the true answer. You should put the shell of a crocodile's egg or what is in it on the flame.⁷¹ It enchants immediately. **Prescription** to cause them to speak. You should put the head of a frog on the brazier. They speak. **Prescriptions** to bring the gods in by force. You should put bile (80) of a crocodile and pressed incense on the brazier. **If you wish** to make them come in quickly. Again. You should put stalks of anise on the brazier together with the egg-shell above. It enchants immediately. **If you wish** to bring in a living man, you should put sulphate of copper on the brazier. He comes in. **If you wish** to bring in a spirit, you should put *sa-wer*-stone⁷² and glass(?) stone on the brazier. The spirit comes in. If you put the heart of a hyena or a rabbit, it is very good. **If you wish** to bring in a drowned man, you should put *karab*(-stone?) of the sea on the brazier. **If you wish** to bring in a dead man, you should put dung of a donkey and amulet of Nephthys on the brazier. He comes in. **If you** (85) **wish** to make them all go away, you should put dung of an ape on the brazier. They all go away to all their places. And you should recite their formulas for dismissing them also. **If you wish** to bring in a thief, you should put crocus powder and alum on the brazier. **The formula(s) which you should recite** when you will dismiss them to their place(s). "Go well! Go in joy!" If you wish to make the gods come in to you and the vessel enchant quickly, you should bring a scarab and you should drown it in [the] milk of a black cow and you should put it on the brazier. It enchants in the hour named (i.e. immediately) and the light comes into being.⁷³ (90) An amulet⁷⁴ to be bound to the front of the one who is carrying the vessel, in order to cause that it enchant quickly. You should bring a bandage of linen of 16 threads, 4 white, 4 [green], 4 blue and 4 red and you should make them into one bandage and you should stain them with the blood of a hoopoe and you should bind it to a scarab in its stance⁷⁵ of the sun, drowned, wrapped in byssus. And you should bind it to the front of the youth who is carrying the vessel. It enchants quickly, there being no [delay] in it.

⁷⁰ At this point the scribe adds a series of prescriptions for altering the recipe, first to make the process move more quickly and then to summon nondivinities into the bowl, e.g. a living or drowned man, a spirit, or a thief. The titles, in red ink, also change to a series of conditional protases.

⁷¹ The source of the flame is unclear; in all of the following procedures the animal or vegetable matter is placed on a brazier.

⁷² Meaning "great protection" (Wb 3, 415.21). von Deines and Grapow 1959, 420-421; Westendorf 1999, 504.

⁷³ For identification of the scarab beetle with the sun-god, see GEMF 31/PGM I 223 and 57/IV 751 and 943.

⁷⁴ The recipe ends with a recipe for a linen amulet to be worn by the youth who carries the vessel. In other GEMF recipes for divine encounters amulets are worn by the practitioners to protect them from harm; see Nagel 2019, 144–145 for the use of these amulets in lamp-divination recipes and Faraone 2018, 263–265 for other kinds.

⁷⁵ For discussion, see Griffith and Thompson 1904, 39, n. to l. 34, and n. to preceding line.

A casting for inspection which the great god Imhotep⁷⁶ does. **Its preparation**: You bring a stool of olive wood⁷⁷ which has 4 legs and on which no man at all has ever sat and you put it, it being pure, near you. When you wish (95) to make a god-petitioning procedure with it in truth without falsehood, **here is** its procedure. You should put the stool in a pure niche in the middle of the place, it being near your head. And you should cover it with a cloth from its top to its bottom. And you should put 4 bricks under the feet of the stool, before it, one on top of the other, there being an altar of clay before it. And you should put charcoal of olive wood on it and you should put fat of a grey goose⁷⁸ mixed with myrrh and *qes-ankh* stone (magnetite?)⁷⁹ and you should make them into balls. And you should put one on the brazier and you should leave the remainder near you. And you should recite this formula in Greek to it.⁸⁰ **Formula**: And you should lie down without speaking (100) to any man at all and you should go to sleep.⁸¹ You see the god in the form of a *w^cb*-priest wearing clothes of byssus on his back and wearing sandals⁸² on his feet.⁸³

⁷⁶ Since the overseer of this procedure—apparently for dream-divination, see below—is the physician god Imhotep, perhaps we are to assume that the recipe is or was originally designed for medical consultations.

⁷⁷ Olive wood is stipulated here and below as the kind of charcoal.

⁷⁸ This word is glossed in Greek (in the correct genitive case) as *χηνναργίου* ‘young wild goose’.

⁷⁹ According to Aufrère 1991, 202 and 235, this means ‘living-metal’, which is a similar idea to the Greek use of *λίθος ἔμψυχος* for magnet. See Faraone 2021e. Cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 1716.

⁸⁰ The Greek invocation appears a few lines below.

⁸¹ Here the private ritual in the home mimics that in the temples of Asclepius and Sarapis, where the sick go to sleep in the sanctuary in hopes of a curative dream; see Faraone 2020a, 194–198. In the Greek recipes the head of the practitioner is placed near an image of the divinity or a papyrus inscribed with the oracular question; see Faraone 2020a, 204.

⁸² See Ritner 1986, 100–101.

⁸³ This is presumably the form in which the god Imhotep will appear in the dream, i.e. as a priest. His traditional images, however, depict him a bit differently, as a seated scribe with a skull cap reading a scroll; see Faraone 2020a, 194.

col iv (cont.) →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 101–116 [PGM XIVa 1–11]

- M² ἐπεικαλοῦμαί σε, τὸν ἐν τῷ ἀοράτῳ σκότει καθήμενον καὶ ἀνάμεσο⁸⁴
- 10 ὄντα τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν, δύνοντα καὶ παραλαμβάνοντα τὰς ἡλιακὰς
ἀκτεῖνας καὶ ἀναπέμποντα τὴν φαεσφόρον θεὰν Νεβουτοσουαληθ,
θεὸν μέγαν βαρζαν βουβαρζαν ναρζαζουζαν βαρζαβουζαθ,
Ἕλιον. ἀνάπεμψόν μοι ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ τὸν ἀρχάγγελόν σου 105
ζεβουρθαυνην. χρημάτιον ἐπ' ἀληθείας, ἀληθῶς, ἀψευδῶς, ἀν-
15 ἀμφιλόγως περὶ τοῦδε πράγματος, ὅτι ἐξορκίζω ^{ce} κατὰ τοῦ ἐν τῇ
πυρίνῃ χλαμύδι καθημένου ἐπὶ τῆς αρουρεας κεφαλῆς τοῦ Ἁγα-
θοῦ Δαίμονος παντοκράτορος, τετραπροσώπου δαίμονος ὑψίστου, σκο-
τίου καὶ ψυχαουγέου φωξ. μή μου παρακούσης, ἀλλὰ ἀνάπεμψον 110 [10]
τάχος τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ επιτα .αιην τοῦ θεοῦ. τοῦτο εἶπας γ.
20 *hr ir-f sde wbe-k n r-f wbe r-k n mt.t m'.t hr hb nb ir-k wh-f iw-f w:h iw-f šm n-f n*
hr ir-k w:h w' pyns⁸⁵ n 'š n wnw.t hr n: tb: wt mtw-k w:h n: syw.w hr-:f mtw-k sh p:y-k 'š-shn r w'
dm' n-m:y
mtw-k w:h-f hr p: pyn'ks hr ir-f ti iw n:y-k syw.w n-k iw-w wq: hr p:y-k 'š-shn
n wq: hyb iw-f dnt sw:h(.t) n° 666 ° hr hl hy ti r ir.ḫk n-im-f hr ir-k wq: hyb.t 115
k.t n tpe hn' snf n ΚΟΥΚΟΥΗΕΤ t-ḫ.t mtw-k ir-w n phre(.t) šwy smt ir.ḫk n-im-f hr nw-k
r-r-w n

9 l. ἐπεικαλοῦμαι | ἀνάμεσο(ν) : ἀνά μέσον GrTh Pr MeTo || 11 l. ἀκτεῖνας || 13 ἀναπεμτον Pr | ἀρχάγγελον Pap. || 14 post ζεβουρθαυνην dist. || 15 κατὰ Pap. || 16 l. fort. χλαμύδι (τοῦ ἐν μέσῃ ἀρούρης) καθημένου ἐπὶ τῆς {αρουρεας} κεφαλῆς etc. vel fort. χλαμύδι (τοῦ) καθημένου ἐπὶ τῆς οὐρανίας κεφαλῆς : ἀργυρέας Ke apud GrTh : ἀρουραίας Pr : ἀ(κ)ρουραίας MeTo || 18 ψυχαγωγού Ke apud GrTh : ψυχαγωγαίου Pr || 19 l. (κατ') ἐπιτα[γ]{αι} ἦν iam Pr : ἐπιταγῆ Ke apud GrTh

⁸⁴ These eleven lines of Greek appear in PGM, vol. 2, 132, as fragment XIVa.

⁸⁵ This word and *pyn'ks* in the following line are renderings of Greek πίναξ, 'tablet'; see Dieleman 2005, 312.

GEMF 16.101–116

“I invoke you who are seated in the invisible darkness and are in the midst of the great gods, as you are setting⁸⁶ and taking along (with you) the solar rays, and sending up the light-bringing goddess NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH,⁸⁷ the great god BARZAN⁸⁸ BOUBARZAN NARZAZOUZAN BARZABOUZATH (105) Helios. Send up to me in this night⁸⁹ your archangel⁹⁰ ZEBOURTHAUNĒN. Give a response truthfully, truly, without deception, indisputably, regarding this issue,⁹¹ for I adjure you by the one in the fiery cloak,⁹² who is seated (in the middle of) the field upon the head of the Agathos Daimon,⁹³ the almighty, the four-faced⁹⁴ highest *daimon*, the obscure (110) and conductor of souls PHŌX.⁹⁵ Do not disobey me, but send up (the archangel) quickly on this night [according to] the command of the god.” Say this three times.⁹⁶ He speaks to you with his mouth opposite your mouth in truth concerning anything which you seek. When he finishes, he will go away again. You put a tablet for reading the hours on the bricks and you put the stars on it and you write your business on a new papyrus and you put it on the tablet. It sends your stars to you, if they are beneficial for your business.

(115) [A] tested [formula] for the security of shadows: egg of falcon and myrrh, rub, put (some) of it on your eye(s). You secure shadows. Another, again, head and blood of a hoopoe, cook and make them into a dry medication. Paint your eye(s) with it. You see them again.

⁸⁶ The participles are confusing. At first the addressee is sitting in darkness, but then he seems to be a solar deity setting at the end of the day and sending up the moon. For the last three participles one would expect the aorist: “He now sits in darkness, *after* having set etc.” This might be due to the fact that this is a translation from Egyptian.

⁸⁷ Neboutosualeth occurs often in the GEMF corpus as a magical name associated with Hekate-Selene, whose origins are variously explained (as Babylonian or Egyptian); see Brashear 1995, 3425 and 3593; Zintzen 1975.

⁸⁸ βαρζαν occurs also in GEMF 57/IV 2919 and 2936 and is probably a transliteration of the Persian ‘shining light’: see Merkelbach and Totti 1991, 119; Brashear 1995, 3582.

⁸⁹ Helios, like the god Re, is imagined to go through the underworld at night, and is asked to send up an archangel with an oracular response.

⁹⁰ The reference to an ἀρχάγγελος seems to indicate Jewish influence: cf. Merkelbach and Totti 1991, 81. A Jewish inspiration can also be found in δαίμωνος ὑψίστου at l. 109, for in the first centuries CE, the name *Hypsistos Theos* was usually associated with the Jewish god: see Mitchell 1999.

⁹¹ Normally this is expressed with a δεῖνα sign, to indicate whatever the practitioner will request. Perhaps τοῦδε is a scribal mistake for τοῦ Δ. See below, l. 452 for a similar case.

⁹² Cf. GEMF 57/IV 636, where the young sun god is said to appear ἐν χλαμύδι κοκκίνη.


⁹³ The reading ἀουρεας is clear but corrupt. Something must have been lost in the text. Kenyon apud Griffith and Thompson 1904, 42, n. 16 suggests a corruption of ἀργυρέας, but it is unlikely in this context. Preisendanz emended to ἀουραίας, thus translating as “auf den feldartigen Kopf des Agathos Daimon”; this is another improbable emendation. Merkelbach and Totti 1991, 82 suggest an emendation to ἀ(κ)ρουραίας (as a corrupted form of ἀκρουροβόρος, comparing to e.g. GEMF 30.81/PGM II 34; 58/V 427; 74.839 and 1055–1056/VII 683 and 896–897; SM I 42.30 and 49.48): such an epithet would allude to the well-known image of Agathos Daimon in the shape of an Ouroboros serpent (on which, cf. Reemes 2015). The phrase probably began with a reference to the god in the fiery cloak who sits in the field (cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 3023: περιφανῆ, ὁ ἐν μέγῃ ἀρούρης, and 12/LXXVII 5–6: τὸν μέγαν μέρος ἀρούρης καθήμενον, also a request for an oracle). But, after a loss of some words of the invocation, we hear about the ‘heavenly’ (if ἀουρεας is a misspelling of οὐρανίας) head of Agathos Daimon; cf. GEMF 15.292–293/PGM XII 243–244, in which the practitioner is instructed to invoke the All-Lord as the Agathos Daimon whose “head is the sky,” i.e. heaven (οὐρανὸς μὲν κεφαλῆ).

⁹⁴ In Egyptian tradition, the epithet “four-faced” is generally associated with the sun god: cf. e.g. Assmann 1975, nos. 108.36, 129.158–159; in the Jewish biblical tradition, it is linked to the Cherubim: cf. e.g. Ez. 1:6; 10:21.1; and, in the Manichaean theology, to the τετραπρόσωπος θεός: cf. Adam 1969, 97 and Merkelbach and Totti 1991, 81–82.

⁹⁵ Thissen apud Merkelbach and Totti 1991, 82 has suggested that φωξ is derived from Egyptian *p: hq*; meaning ‘ruler’, but there is no line over φωξ, whereas the magical words at ll. 103, 104, and 106 are marked with overlining.

⁹⁶ Literally, “having said this three times”; yet, the participle εἶπας seems to function as an imperative here: see Merkelbach and Totti 1991, 82.

recto col. v →

- 1s *mtw=k tì ḥ' p;y=k [...] mtw=k qlhe p: ytn n rṯ:k n sp 7 mtw=k š n:y sh.w r p: ḥpš [iw w:h]-k st; r mhṯy n sp 7*
- 1ss *mtw=k st;k r-hry mtw=k šm r w:t ry.t n kke*
- 1 w' *ph-ntr* iw=f dnt *mtw=k šm=k r w:t ry.t n kke iw=s w'b° iw hr=s wn r pr rsy° mtw=k tì w'b=s n mw*
- n ḥsmn° mtw=k iny w' ḥbs n-m;y iw=f wbḥe° iw bn-pw=w tì prš mw n qme r-r=f° mtw=k tì w' š'l* 120
- iw=f w'b r-r=f° mtw=k mh=f n nḥe n m:s.t° bn-m-s; sh p;y rn ḥn' n:y gh'gter r p: š'l n r; ḥl n ḥ.t°*
n:y-tp-k° iw hr-r=f prḥ n š'
- mtw=k wḥ=f hr w:t tb:t n-m;y mtw=k š n:y sh r p: ḥbs 'n n ky sp 7° iir=k tì ḥbwnt r-hry n:y ḥ*
hr w:t tme.t n qme
- 5 *p: ḥbs° iir=k nw m-s; p: ḥbs° hr nw=k r p: ntr n p: qte n p: ḥbs° mtw=k sdr n=k° iw bn-pw=k sde*
- wbe rmt nb n p: t° hr d=f n=k wḥ n rswe:t* twys p;y=f š d mt(.t) *twys sh.w nt iir=k sh r p: š'l ḥbs*
- hy Mwr:y° Mwr;yby° B:bel° B:š.th° B:my° P:šy* ΒΑΧΥΧΟΙΧΥΧ 125
- š° Mwr:th.š° p: [...] ḥbr n by° nt ḥtp n hry° hn n p.t n p.wt* 
- T:tōt sp-2 Bwly sp-2 M:y-hr sp-2 L:hy sp-2 B:š.lbwel y sp-2 š° dt sp-2 Bwel sp-2*
ΤΑΤΗΤ ΒΟΥΗΑ ΜΟΥΠΤΑΥΙ ΛΑΥΙ ΒΟΛΒΟΗΑ ΪΪ ΔΑ ΤΑΤ ΒΟΥΗΑ
ΙΩΥΗΑ
- Y.š.hel sp-2 p: šmsy ḥyt*
- 10 *n p: ntr š p: nt tì wyn m-šs sp-2° p: ḥber n t: st.t° p: nt iw t: st.t n r=f° nt iw bw-ire=s ḥm° p: ntr š nt ḥms*
- ḥn t: st.t° p: nt n t: mt.t n t: st.t° nt n p: šy n t: p.t° nt iw p: šw irm p: n š n p: ntr n dr.t=f° wnḥ=k r-ir=y*
- ty n p: hrw° mw ky p: ky n wnḥ=k r Mwses nt-r iir=k ir=f hr p: tw nt iw wḥ=k tì ḥpr p: kke p: wyn* 130
n:y hr=f
- tg: tw=y tbḥ n-im=k mtw=k wnḥ=k r-ir=y ty n p:y grḥ mtw=k sdy irm=y mt.t m:s.t n-wš-n mt.t n 'de° d iw=y r š'š=k*
- n 'lbt° iw=y r š'š=k n t: p.t n:y hr P:-R° iw=y r š'š=k n:y hr iḥ° iw=y r š'š=k*
- 15 *n:y hr p: nt hr p: bhṯ° nt iw bw-ir=f thm° pa p: š'š'š° Petery sp-2° P'ter° Enphe sp-2°*
- p: ntr nt n t: r(.t) hry.t n t: p.t° nt iw p: sbt nt n-n=f n dr.t=f° ir tì ḥpr ntr° iw bn-pw ntr tì ḥpr=f° imi n-y*
- r-hry* ΠΑΒΟΗΛΒΟΗΛ
- r-ḥn n t: mt.t n t:y st.t° nt ty ḥ.t-k pa Bwhl sp-2° mtw=k tì m:s;y p: š-shn [nt iw]-y šll hr-r=f°* 135

—You should make your ... stand and you should stamp on the ground with your foot 7 times and you should recite these formulas to the Foreleg (i.e. Ursa Major),⁹⁷ you [having] turned to the north, 7 times and you should turn yourself down (i.e. away from the constellation) and you should go to a dark room⁹⁸—**A** **tested** god-petitioning procedure⁹⁹—and you should go to a dark, pure room whose door opens to the south. And you should purify it with natron water (120) and you should bring a new white lamp to which red lead or gum water have not been applied. And you should put a pure wick in it and you should fill it with true oil after first writing this name and these symbols on the wick with myrrh ink. And you should put it on a new brick before yourself, its underside being spread with sand. And you should recite these formulas to the lamp again another 7 times. You should put frankincense up before the lamp, you should look at the lamp, you see the god in the vicinity of the lamp¹⁰⁰ and you lie down on a reed mat without having spoken to any man at all. He says to you the answer in a dream. **Here is its invocation. Formula:** (125) O MOURAY MOURYBY BABĒL BAOTH BAMY, the Great—(in the margin) Here are the writings which you should write on the wick of the lamp: BACHUCHSICHUCH¹⁰¹ (pseudo-hieroglyphs)¹⁰²—Pshai,¹⁰³ MOURATHŌ, the ... form of the Ba which rests above in the heaven of heavens, TATŌT (say it) twice BOULAY (say it) twice MOUIHTAUI (say it) twice LAUI (say it) twice BOLBOĒL II (say it) twice AA TAT (say it) twice BOUĒL (say it) twice IŌUĒL (say it) twice, the first servant of the great god, the one who gives light exceedingly, the companion of the flame, the one in whose mouth is the flame which cannot be extinguished, the great god who dwells in the flame, the one in the middle of the flame which is in the lake of heaven¹⁰⁴ in whose hand are the greatness and the power of the god. Reveal yourself to me (130) here today in the form of the form of revealing ourselves to Moses which you did on the mountain before which you had already created darkness and light. Insert (i.e. the text added below).¹⁰⁵ I beg of you that you reveal yourself to me here tonight and you speak to me and you say to me the true answer without falsehood because I shall glorify you in Abydos, I shall glorify you in heaven before the sun, I shall glorify you before the moon, I shall glorify you before the one who is on the throne who cannot be destroyed. O he of great glory, PETERI (say it) twice PATĒR ENPHE ENPHE (say it) twice,¹⁰⁶ the god who is in the upper part of heaven in whose hand is the beautiful staff who created god, god not having created him, come down in to me (135) in the middle of this flame which is here before you, O he of BOĒLBOĒL, and you should let me see the business about [which] I am praying

⁹⁷ For the invocation of Ursa Major, see the three recipes in GEMF 57/PGM IV 1275–1322 (“Bear charm which accomplishes everything”), 1323–1330, and 1331–1389 (“Powerful procedure of the Bear”).

⁹⁸ These two lines were inserted in the top margin at a later moment to complement the instructions about the dark room.

⁹⁹ This rubric in l. 119 is the actual first line of the column. This, too, is a procedure for dream divination provoked by a vision of the god in the lamp flame; for discussion, see Bortolani 2019, 149–167.

¹⁰⁰ Gazing at the flame eventually causes an image of the god to appear outside of the flame.

¹⁰¹ BACHUCHSICHUCH is Egyptian and can be translated “Ba (soul) of darkness, son of darkness.” It appears again in a marginal note in col. vi to the right of l. 180 and in the text itself in col. viii both times with different spelling. This is a version of the magical name BAINCHŌŌŌCH that appears widely in the Greek handbooks, on magical gems and in curses; see GMPT, 333, Michel 2004, 483 and Nagel 2019, 138–139.

¹⁰² These figures resemble Egyptian hieroglyphs, but they have not yet been successfully translated; they are glossed by Coptic BACHUCHSICHUCH (see the preceding note) both here and to the right of l. 176.

¹⁰³ The name of the god Pshai (or Shai without the definite article P-), is often equated with the Greek god Agathodaimon or Fate. See Quaegebeur 1975.

¹⁰⁴ The astrological term for noon, in contrast to “lake of the underworld,” which is midnight.

¹⁰⁵ The scribe has added the word *tg*: ‘insert’ in the margin to instruct the reader to refer to the additional text at the bottom of the column below the frame in ll. 31–32. See Johnson, GMPT, 203, n. 88.

¹⁰⁶ Johnson, GMPT, 203 n. 88 suggests this means “my father, my father, father in heaven, in heaven” (πάτηρ-γ πάτηρ-γ πάτηρ *n p. t n p. t*), although Quack 2004, 468, argues that the use of the directly suffixed possessive necessary for “my father” would be unlikely in a text of this date. See also below ll. 200 and 519.

col. v (cont.) →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 136–150

CI CI ΥΠΟΥ[Τ] k(y)-d
 ΑΡΜΙΩΟΥ^α

n p:y grh° n mt.t mʿ:t n-wš-n mt.t n ʿde° my mʿ s° my sdm s° p: ntr ʿ° Sy-sy-hōwṯ sp-2 im

*r-hn hr tp-y° mtw-k d n-y w:h n p: nt iw-y šn hr-r-f n mt.t mʿ:t n-wš-n mt.t n ʿde° p: ntr ʿ° nt hr p:
 tw*

ΝΚΑΒΔΩΝ ΧΑΒΔ[Ρ.] ΤΑΚΡΤΑΤ

20 *n ʿtwgy° Ghʿbʿh.ʿ° imn-y r-hn° my wn ir.ṯ r-bnr n p:y grh° hr t: mn t: mt.t*

ΜΠΛΕΔΣ ΦΗΤ

*nt iw-y šn hr-r-s n mt.t mʿ:t° n-wš-n mt.t n ʿde° [...]ṯ(?) n p: Le:sphwṯ Nblōt [N]bly:s sp 7 mtw-k
 sdr n-k*

n-wš-n sde

p:kys *nt iir-k ty-s r ir.ṯ k iir-k in-n.k r šn n p: hbs n šn nb n hbs hr iny-k hyn.w hrr: n βελ 140*

n ββωκ hr gm-k ysw n p: mʿ n p: s-qlm k(y)-d p: s-trmws iir-k iny.ṯ w iw-w knn iir-k ty sw

r wʿ lq n yl iir-k m r:f m-šs sp-2 šʿ hrw 20 n wʿ mʿ iw-f hep iw-f n kke bn-m-s: hrw 20 iir-k

25 *iny.ṯ r-hry mtw-k wn r-r-f hr gm-k hyn.w hry.w hn-f irm wʿ md iir-k hʿ:f šʿ hrw 40 mtw-k
 iny.ṯ r-hry*

*mtw-k wn r-r-f hr gm-k f iw w:h-f ir snfe r-iry hr ir-k ty-f r wʿ nkt n yl mtw-k ti p: nkt n yl r-hn wʿ
 nkt*

n bld n wʿ mʿ iw-f hep n nw nb iir-k wh: r ir ph-ntr n p: hbs n-im-f n nw nb iir-k mh ir.ṯ k n p:y 145

snf nt hry iir-k in-n.k r-hn r š sh r p: hbs hr nw-k r wʿ sšt n ntr iw-f ʿhʿ n p: bnr n p: hbs mtw-f sde

wbe-k hr p: šn nt iir-k wh:f n-ge mtw-k sdr hr iw-f n-k r-ir-f tm iy n-k iir-k nhs iir-k š p:y-f thm

30 *r-ire hr ir-k sdr hr qme w:d iir-k wʿ b r shm.t iw tp-k st r rsy iw hr-k st r mhṯy [iw] hr-f n p: hbs st r
 mhṯy h-f*

tg: r-hry tw-y tbh n-im-k mtw-k wnh-k r-ir-y ty n p:y grh mtw-k sde im-y mtw-k d n-y w:h n mt.t mʿ:t hr t: mn t: mt.t

nt iw-y šn n-im-k r-db: [f/s]

150

GEMF 16.136–150

tonight in truth without falsehood. Let (me) see it! Let (me) hear it, O great god, SISIHŌOUT¹⁰⁷ (say it) twice -- also said ARMIŌOUTH. Come down before me and say to me the answer to that about which I am asking, in truth without falsehood! O great god who is upon the mountain of NKABAŌN KHABA[HO]¹⁰⁸ TAKRTAT.¹⁰⁹ Come in to me! Open my eye(s) tonight (i.e. let me learn) concerning such and such a thing about which I am asking, in truth without falsehood. ... of the LEASPHŌT NBLŌT [N]BLYLAS. (Say it) 7 times and go to sleep without speaking.¹¹⁰ (140) **The ointment**¹¹¹ which you should put in your eye(s) while you are going to question the lamp about any inquiry by lamp. You bring some flowers of “eye-of-raven”-plant (i.e. the Greek bean). You find them in the place of the garland-seller, also called the lupine-seller. You should bring them when they are mild. You should put them in a *log*-vessel of glass. You should seal its mouth very, very well for 20 days in a place which is hidden and dark. After 20 days, you should bring it up and open it. You find some testicles in it with a phallus.¹¹² You should leave it until 40 days and you should bring it up and you open it. You find that it has already become bloody. You put it in a vessel of glass and you put the vessel of glass in a vessel (145) of pottery, (and you store it specifically) in a hidden place at all times. If you wish to make a petitioning of god of the lamp with it at any time, you should fill your eye(s) with this blood (mentioned) above while you are going in to recite the formula to the lamp. You see a secret image of a god standing outside the lamp¹¹³ and he speaks to you concerning the question which you wish. Or, you should lie down. He comes to you. If he does not come to you, you should awaken and you should recite his compulsion. You sleep on a (mat of) green reeds, you being pure from women, (the back of) your head being turned to the south while your face is turned to the north while the face of the lamp itself is turned to the north.

Insert above (i.e. at l. 131): I beg of you that you reveal yourself to me here tonight and you speak with me and you say to me the answer in truth concerning such and such a thing (150) about which I am questioning you.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁷ See Johnson, GMPT, 203, n. 89.

¹⁰⁸ We print here the glosses in Old Coptic, as the superior reading, but in this case the first gloss, NKABAŌN, is markedly different from the Demotic ATOUGY. TAKRTAT is missing from the Demotic. Cf. l. 498. The mountain of GabaŌn also appears in ll. 203 and 498. It is the Greek writing of Gibeon (with Kabaon, Kabaho etc. variants used in this text). This seems to be a reference to the appearance of the Hebrew God to Solomon at the Great High Place (ὕψηλοτάτη) of Gibeon (1Kgs. 3:4–15).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. l. 203 (Griffith and Thompson 1904, 17). Note that there the glosses do not match the Demotic.

¹¹⁰ Another indication that this is a dream-divination recipe; see the similar command at the end of Greek, e.g. GEMF 58/PGM V 457 “withdraw without speaking to anyone and go to sleep,” at the end of a dream-divination procedure aimed at Sarapis.

¹¹¹ Here begins an elaborate forty-day recipe for eye-ointment or eye-shadow used to enhance the sight of the person who gazes into the flame of the lamp. This is presumably to be used with the preceding recipe, but another lamp-divination recipe follows. For the interpretation of “eye-of-raven”-plant as the “Greek bean,” see Crum 2b. The same word occurs in col. xxvii l. 25.

¹¹² This is what a bean looks like just after it sprouts.

¹¹³ Here, too, gazing at the flame eventually causes an image of the god to appear outside of the flame, but in this case, he can be questioned while we are awake; the possibility of a dream encounter is raised next as an alternative possibility.

¹¹⁴ These two lines were written in the lower margin below the frame to be inserted in line 131, where the scribe wrote “insert” in the left margin.

recto col. vi →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 151–169

- 1 w' šn n p; *hbs hr šm-k r w'.t ry.t n kke° iw-s w'b iwṯ wyn° mtw-k šte w' qel n-m:y° hr w'.t d's.t*
ibṯ° mtw-k iny w' hbs ḥt° iw bn-pw-w ti prš° mw n qme r-r:f° iw p:y:f s'l w'b° mtw-k mh-f n nhe n
m:s.t iw=f w'b n whe°
mtw-k 'š n: sh.w n tw:w R' tp twe m ḥ=f° mtw-k iny p; hbs wbe P;-R' iw=f mh° mtw-k 'š n: sh.w
nte hry r-r:f n sp 4
mtw-k ty,t f r-hn r t ry.t° iir-k w'b irm p; 'lw° mtw-k 'š n: sh.w r p; 'lw° iw bn-n-f nw m-s: p;
hbs 'n° iw ir,t f
- 5 *hṯm° š' sp 7 iir-k ti :lbwnṯ r p; 'h° iw=f w'b° iir-k ti.t n p:y-k db' r d:d:f n p; 'lw° iw ir,t f hṯm° 155*
iir-k w:h° iir-k ti ir-f wn ir,t f r-hr p; hbs° hr nw=f r t; hyb.t n p; ntr n p; qte n p; hbs° mtw-f šn n-k
r p; nt iir-k wh:f r-ire hr ir-k-f n mtre.t n w' m:' iw mn-ti=f wyn° iw=f hpr iir-k šn hr iyḥ šsre° w'
s'l n hṯ
n dy° p; nt iir-k ty=f r p; hbs° mtw-k mh-f n syr iw=f w'b° iw=f hpr iw ge 'š-shn p:y° s'l iw=f w'b°
hr nhe n m:s.t iw=f w'b°
p; nt iir-k ty=f r p; hbs° iw=f hpr iir-k r-ir-f r-iny shm.t n hwt° skne n wrṯ° p; nt iir-k ty=f r p;
hbs° r-ire hr w:h-k p; hbs
- 10 *hr w'.t tb:t n-m:y° mtw p; 'lw hms ḥf hr ke tb:t° iw ir,t f hṯm° iir-k 'š r-hry hn tp=f° š' sp 4 160*
r p; s'l
n: sh.w *nt iir-k 'š-w r p; hbs r t; ḥ.t iw bw-ir-tw-k 'š r p; 'lw d mt.t 'n mtw-k p; s'l w'.t n t; mnḥ.t n*
Dḥwty°
in mtwk p; hbs n šs-n-nsw(.t) n Wsir p; ḥsy ntr° n šsne n-dr,t 's.t° n msne n-dr,t Nb.t-H.t
'n mtwk p; hrṯ tp r-ir-w n Wsir hnt imnt° in mtwk p; snb ; r-fy 'Inp dr,t f irm=f r t; he.t n Wsir p;
ntr wr°
r-ir-y iny n-im-k n p; hrw i p; s'l° r ti nw p; 'lw r-hn-k° mtw-k ir wh; r mt.t nb nt iw-y šn hr-ir-w
ty n p; hrw° in
- 15 *tm ir-y-s p; nt iir-k ir=f° i p; s'l° r-ir-y ti n-im-k r t; gyd.t n t; ih.t kme.t° iir-y ti mh n-im-k*
hn t; gyd.t 165
n t; ih.t shm.t° snf n p; ḥsy p; nt iw-y ti n-im-f m-s:k hr nhe° t; kyd(.t) n 'Inp t; nt w:h r-r-k° n;
sh.w
n p; wr ḥyq n; nt iw-y 'š n-k n-im-w° mtw-k iny n-y p; ntr nt iw p; w:h šn n-dr,t f n p; hrw°
mtw=f d n-y w:h r mt.t nb nt iw-y šn
hr-ir-w ty n p; hrw° n mt.t m:' t n-wš-n mt.t n 'de° i Nw.t mw.t mw hy 'Ip.t mw.t st.t°
iw.t n-y Nw.t mw.t mw° im.t 'Ipt mw.t st.t° iw n-y Y'h. ;° iir-k d,t f iir-k sq n hrw-k m-šs sp-2

An inquiry of the lamp. You go to a clean dark room without light and you dig a new niche in an eastern wall and you bring a white lamp to which red lead and gum water have not been applied, its wick being pure. and you fill it with pure true oil of the oasis and you recite the formulas of praising the sun in the morning when he rises¹¹⁵ and you bring the lamp opposite the sun,¹¹⁶ it being lit, and you recite the formulas which are below¹¹⁷ to it **4** times and you take it into the room, you being pure, together with the youth and you recite the formulas to the youth¹¹⁸ while he is not looking at the lamp, his eye(s) being (155) shut, **7** times. You should put pure frankincense on the brazier while you put your finger to the youth's head, his eye(s) being closed. When you have finished, you should make him open his eye(s) to the lamp. He sees the shadow¹¹⁹ of the god near the lamp and he asks for you concerning what you wish. You do it at midday in a place without light. **If**¹²⁰ you inquire for an *akh*-spirit, a wick of sail cloth is what you should put on the lamp and you should fill it with clean butter. **If** it is another business, a pure wick and pure true oil are what you should put on the lamp. **If** you will do it to bring a woman to a man, rose oil is what you should put on the lamp. On a new brick (160) you put the lamp and the youth sits before it on another brick with his eye(s) shut. You should recite down into his head 4 times. **The formulas** which you should recite to the wick first before you recite to the youth. **Formula**: “Are you the unique wick of the linen of Thoth? Are you the byssus clothing of Osiris the divine drowned one, woven by the hand of Isis, spun by the hand of Nephthys? Are you the first bandage which was made for Osiris, foremost of the westerners? Are you the great bandage with which Anubis lifted his hand to the body of Osiris the great god? I have brought you here today, O wick, to cause the boy to look into you so that you answer everything about which I ask here today. If (165) not going is what you will do, it is in the hand of the black cow that I am putting you. It is in the hand of the female cow that I burn you. Blood of the Drowned One is what I give to you for oil. The hand of Anubis is what is put against you. The formulas of the Great of Magic are what I recite in order that you bring to me the god in whose hand is the command today so that he say to me the answer to everything about which I question him here today in truth without falsehood. O Nut, mother of water, hail Opet, mother of fire. Come to me, Nut, mother of water. Come, Opet, mother of fire!¹²¹ Come to me YAHÖ.” You should say it while you draw your breath¹²² very much.

¹¹⁵ Three different formulas are mentioned in the preface to the recipe. The first, formulas to the rising sun, are either so well known that they need not be recorded or they were unwittingly left out of the recipe by the scribe or his source. See Nagel 2019, 134.

¹¹⁶ The orientation of this ritual to the rising sun creates a link between the sun and the flame of the lamp; see Nagel 2019, 135–136.

¹¹⁷ This second set of formulas appears in two versions in the bottom half of this column: (i) the first described as a “petition of god” and then introduced with the rubric “Formula”; and then (ii) where they are introduced as “this other invocation to the lamp” and with the same rubric.

¹¹⁸ This third set of formulas appears in col. vii where they are called “formulas for the youth.”

¹¹⁹ The previous recipe claims that the medium will “see the god in the vicinity of the lamp,” i.e. himself, not his shadow.

¹²⁰ As in the previous recipe, here we see the start of three variations on the basic formula, each indicated by conditional protases, of which the initial word is rubricized.

¹²¹ This is perhaps linked to Opet's association with the Uraeus, see Klotz 2012, 190.

¹²² Or ‘whisper’. See above, n. 37.


col. vi (cont.) →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 170–187

20 ^{ecex noe} *iir-k d 'n Eseks° P: ʕe° 'Iw=f-htn° k(y)-d Ht-^MIwnw sp 7 iw=f hpr iw ph-ntr p:y° n:y n: nt iir-k ʕ š>w* 170

w:tw r p: hbs° mtw=k sdr n-k n-wš-n sde° in-n: w ʕ: w n h: t hpr° iir-k nhe° iir-k ʕ
p:y=f thm nt iw p:y=f htr p:y d mt.t ink p: hr n sriw° hwnw m>y° r-ir-w ms.t hr p: ište šps°
n 'Ibt° ink p: b: n p(ʕ) sri wr nte m 'Ibt° ink p(ʕ) s:wt y n t: he.t ʕ: t nte m Ww-pq°
ink p: nt iw ir: t f n ir: t n hm iw=f rs r Wsir n grh° ink Tp-dw=f hr h:s.t n 'Ibt°

25 *ink nte rs(s) r t: he.t ʕ: t nte m Twtw° ink nte rs(s) n R-^MHpri-^MItm° n: sh.w nt iir-k sh.w r p: hbs* 175

nte iw m=f hep hn h: t y° b: b: w m=f d mt.t sp 7 iw=f hpr iw ph-ntr p:y 
n:y we,t w n: nt iir-k ʕ š>w° iw=f hpr iw šn n p: 'lw p: nt iir-k ir:f° iir-k ʕ n:y nt hry r p: hbs
iw bw-ir-tw=k ʕ r-hry hn (r) d:d:f n p: 'lw° iir-k st: t k iir-k ʕ p:y.y ke ʕ r p: hbs n d mt.t i Wsir
p: hbs
hry.w
iw=f ti nw n: w hrw.w° iw=f ti.t nw n: w hry.w° ts-phr° i p: hbs sp-2° 'Imn mne n-im-k° i p: hbs
sp-2° tw=y

30 *ʕ n-k iir-k in-n: k r-hry hr d:d: p: y'm ʕ° p: y'm n [H]r° p: y'm n Wsir° n iw=y d* 180

n-k° in iir-k iy hb=y t-k° i p: hbs° mtr r-r-k° n-dr.t gm-k Wsir° hr p:y=f rms n dwf° thn
iw ʕs.t n:y-tp=f° iw Nb.t-H.t n:y-rt=f° iw n: [ntr.w] hw.t.w° n: ntr.w shm.wt° n p:y=f qte° iw dy-s
ʕs.t° my d w s
n Wsir° iw db: n: mt.wt nt iw=y šn hr-ir-w° r ti iw p: ntr nt iw p: w:h shn n-dr: t f° mtw=f d n:y
w:h r mt.t nb nt iw=y šn hr-ir-w
ty n p: hrw° iw ʕs.t d° my ʕ>w n:y r w' ntr° hb=y s° iw n: šq=f r n: mt.wt nt iw=f r šm n-im-s°
mtw=f mnqe-s°

35 *šm-w iny-w n-s° mtwk p: hbs° p: iw in-w n-s° p: hyt n Shm.t t:y-k(,t) mw.t° Hke p:y-k it°* 185

hwy r-r-k° bn-n-k mh r Wsir irm ʕs.t bn-n-k mh (r)¹²³ 'Inp° iw bn-pw=k d n:y w:h r mt.t nb° nt
iw=y šn
hr-ir-w ty n p: hrw° n mt.t m: t n-wš-n d n:y mt.t n de° in tm iry=s p: nt iir-k r-ir:f° bn-iw=y r ti
n-k nhe

¹²³ The scribe habitually writes *'Inp* with an initial *r* and has omitted the preposition here by haplography.

GEMF 16.170–187

(170) You should say also, “ESEX PŌE IOUFKHTN, otherwise said, KHT IOUNOU, 7 times. **If** it is a god-petitioning procedure, these alone are what you should recite to the lamp and you should go to sleep without speaking. **If** greatness of heart (i.e. obstinacy) happens, you should wake up and you should recite his summons which is his compulsion. **Formula**: “I am the ram-faced one; Youth is my name. It was under the noble perseia tree in Abydos that I was born. I am the ba of the great official who is in Abydos. I am the guardian of the great corpse which is in Wapeke.¹²⁴ I am the one whose eye(s) are the eyes of a falcon watching over Osiris at night. I am the one who is upon his mountain over the necropolis of Abydos. (175) I am the one who watches over the great corpse which is in Busiris. I am the one who watches for Ra-Khepri-Atum,¹²⁵ whose name is hidden in my heart.¹²⁶ Soul of souls is his name—(in the margin) The writings which you should write on the lamp—(pseudo-hieroglyphs) BACHUCHSICHUCH—. **Formula**: 7 times. If it is a god-petitioning procedure, these alone are the things which you should recite. If an inquiry (using) a youth is what you will do, you should recite these, above, to the lamp before you recite down into the youth’s head. You should turn yourself while you recite this other invocation to the lamp also. **Formula**: “O Osiris, O lamp, who shows what is above, who shows what is below, and vice versa. O lamp, O lamp, Amun is moored in you. O lamp, O lamp, I am (180) calling to you while you are going up upon the great sea, the sea of Syria, the sea of Osiris. Am I speaking to you? Are you coming that I may send you? O lamp, bear witness when you have found Osiris on his boat of papyrus and *tehen*-plant¹²⁷ while Isis is at his head, while Nephthys is at his feet, while the male [gods] and the female gods are near him. Say [to] Isis, let them speak to Osiris concerning the things about which I am inquiring, in order to send the god in whose hand is the command, in order that he tell me the answer to everything about which I am inquiring here today, when Isis says, “Let them summon for me a god that I may send him, he being serious concerning the business on which he will go and he will complete it.” (185) They went and they brought (one) to her. You are the lamp, the (thing) which was brought to her. The fury of Sekhmet, your mother, and Heka, your father, are thrown at you. You will not burn for Osiris and Isis; you will not burn for Anubis while you have not said to me the answer to everything about which I am inquiring here today in truth without falsehood. If not doing it is what you will do, I will not give you oil.

¹²⁴ Wapeke is the district of *Pqr* in Abydos, where the tomb of Osiris is located. Smith 2017, 476–477. See below l. 351.

¹²⁵ For this trigram, see Ryhiner 1977.

¹²⁶ This may refer to the formula memorized by the original or mythical author of the text; see e.g. GEMF 60/PGM XIII 230–233 (a father to his daughter): “I also append for you, child, the practical uses of this sacred book”

¹²⁷ See Smith 1993, 48 ad loc. (a).

recto col. vii →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 188–204

1 *bn iw=y r ti n=k nhe° bn iw=y r ti n=k t i p; hbs° iiry iw=y r ti n=k n t; he.t n t; ih.t shm.t° mtw=y ti.t snf*
n p; ih hwṭ m-s:k° mtw=y ti dr.t:k n p; is.wy n hft Hr° r-wn n=y i na t; tw:t° t; tbw.t n hl nt n-
dr.t:y
šp.t r-hr:tn° i n; by.w° iqr.w° na By-wkm° t; tyb:t n snte nt hr qh 4° i p; iwiwe nt iw=w 190
d n=f Inp n m° nt htp hr t; tyb:t n hl° iw r:f smn.t hr t; tyb:t n snte° my iw n=y
5 *p; kys m-s; p; šr hbs° mtw=f d n=y w:h° hr mt.t nb nt iw=y šn hr-ir=w ty n p; hrw n mt.t m:s.t iw mn*
mt.t n de n-im=w°
 ἸΩ ΤΑΒΛΩ ΟΥΧΑΜΑΜΟΥ ΔΑΧΑΝΒΟΥ ΣΑΝΔΥΑΝΙ ΕΘΙΕ ΚΟΜΤΩ
Y:s° T'b:s° Swg'm'mw° kh'kh°nbw° S'n'wny° Etsye° Qm:t°
 ΚΕΘΟΣ ΒΑΣΑ ° ΕΘΡΙ ΘΜΙΛΑ ΔΧΟΥ
Geth.s.s° B's'e° th.s.ry° Thmyl° khkhw° r-iry n=y w:h r mt.t nb nt iw=y šn hr-ir=w ty n p;
hrw° sp 7(t)
 ΒΟΗΛ ΒΟΗΛ Ἰ Ἰ Δ Δ ΤΑΤ ΤΑΤ
n: sh.w° n p: lw B.s.el° B.s.el° sp-2 y° y sp-2 ° ° sp-2 dt dt sp-2° p; nt ti wyn m-šs
sp-2° p; hber n t st.t° 195
p; nt iw t st.t n r:f° nt iw bw-ir:s hm° p; ntr : nt hms hn t st.t° p; nt n t; mt.t n n; st.wt° p; nt n
p; šy n t; p.t°
 ΠΑΕΙ
10 *nt iw p; :w irm p; nš n p; ntr n-dr.t:f wnh:k r p:y.y lw nt hr p:y(=y) hn n p; hrw° mtw=f d n=y w:h*
n mt.t
m:s.t n-wš-n mt.t n de° iw=y r ti :y:k n lbt° iw=y r š:s:k n t; p.t° n;y-hr P:-R° iw=y r š:s:k°
n;y-hr i'h° iw=y r š:s:k n p; t° iw=y r š:s:k n;y-hr p; nt hr p; bht nt iw bw-ir:f htme° p;y p; š:s'
 ΠΕΤΕΡΙ ΠΕΤΕΡΙ ΠΑΤΗΡ ΕΝΦΕ ΕΝΦΕ
:° Petery° Petery° P'ter° Enphe° Enphe° p; ntr nt n t; ry.t hry.t n t; p.t° nt iw p; šbt nt n;y 200
(n.w)-n=f n-dr.t:f° ir ti hpr ntr° iw bn-pw ntr ti hpr:f° im r-hn n t; mt.t n n;y st.wt nt ty h(t).t:k
 ΑΝΗΛ
 ΒΟΗΛ
° pa bwhl
15s *m:y p; š-shn nt iw=y šn hr-r:f ty n p; hrw° my m:s° my sdm s° p; ntr :¹²⁸*
15 *mtw:k ti p; dr n n; bel.w n p; lw nt hr p:y(=y) hn° r ti m:s:f s° irm msdr:f° r ti sdm:f° p; ntr :*
 ΣΙΣΙΡΩΤ
S-iy-s-iy-hwṭ sp-2°
hr tp:y n p; hrw° mtw:k ti wn ir.t r-bnr n mt.t nb nt iw=y šll hr-ir=w ty n p; hrw¹²⁹
 ΔΧΡΕΜΤΩ ΧΒΑΡΩ ΤΑΚΑΡΤΑΤ
im r-hn° n t; mt.t n ty st.t° p; ntr : nt hr p; tw n G:b;wn¹³⁰ Gh'b'h. :° iir:k š n;y
š'-mtw p; wyn hpr r-ire p; wyn hpr iir:k st.t iir:k š ty kt h.t sh n whm n twys t; h.t n p; thm¹³¹

¹²⁸ This line is a superlinear insertion.

¹²⁹ This line is a superlinear insertion.

¹³⁰ G:b;wn is a correction from twgy as in l. 138.

¹³¹ n p; thm is a later insertion.

GEMF 16.188–204

I will not give you oil.¹³² I will not give you fat, O lamp. It is in the belly of the female cow that I shall put you and I shall put blood of the male bull after you and I shall put your hand on the testicles of the enemy of Horus. Open to me, those of the underworld, O box of myrrh which is in my hand. (190) Receive me before you, O souls, excellent ones, those belonging to BY OUKM. O box of myrrh which has 4 corners, O dog to whom is said ‘Anubis’ as name which rests on the box of myrrh, his feet being set on the box of myrrh. Send to me the ointment for the youth of the lamp so that he says to me the answer concerning everything about which I am asking here today in truth without falsehood. IŌ TABAŌ SOUCHAMAMOU ACHACHANBOU, SANAUANI ETHIE KOMTŌ¹³³ KETHŌS BASA ETHORI THMILA ACHCHOU. Make for me an answer concerning everything about which I am questioning here today. **7 times**. (195) **The formulas for the youth**: BOËL BOËL (say it) twice II (say it) twice A A (say it) twice TAT TAT (say it) twice, the one who gives very much light, the companion of the flame, the one in whose mouth is the flame which is never extinguished, the great god who sits in the flame, the one who is in the midst of the flame, the one who is in the lake of heaven, the one in whose hand are the greatness and the strength of the god. May you appear to this youth who is holding this vessel today so that he may say to me the answer in truth without falsehood. I shall cause that you be great in Abydos. I shall praise you in heaven before the sun. I shall praise you before the moon. I shall praise you on earth. I shall praise you before the one who is on the throne who is never destroyed. O he of the great praise, (200) PETERI PETERI PATĒR ENPHE ENPHE,¹³⁴ the god who is in the upper part of heaven, the one in whose hand is the staff, which is beautiful, who created god, god not having created him. Come into the middle of these flames which are here before you. He of ANIËL BOËL¹³⁵ And you should give strength to the eyes of the youth who is holding my lamp in order to cause that he see it and (give strength to) his ears in order to cause that he hear it.¹³⁶—(15s) (Let) me see the business about which I am inquiring here today. Let (me) see it. Let (me) hear it, O great god.¹³⁷—O great god SISIHŌT (say it) twice ACHREMTŌ. Come into the middle of the flame! O great god who is on the mountain of GABAON¹³⁸ CHABAHŌ TAKARTAT. —(16s) (Come) in before me today and cause my eyes to be open to everything about which I am asking here today.—You should recite these until the light appears. When the light appears, you should turn around and you should recite this other copy again also. **Here is** the copy of the summons

¹³² Repetition from the end of one column to the beginning of the next is common in Demotic texts which run across columns. It can be compared to catchwords in codices.

¹³³ This may be the Egyptian title “creator of the world,” *km: t*; see Quack 2004, 486.

¹³⁴ See n. 106 to col. v.

¹³⁵ See parallel in l. 495, but there the words are in reverse order.

¹³⁶ The supralinear additions in ll. 15–6 provide an alternative formula to be used when the practitioner works alone rather than using a boy medium.

¹³⁷ This section between dashes is an insertion which appears in the text in a smaller font; it seems to be a variant to be used when the speaker himself is gazing into the lamp and not the child-medium.

¹³⁸ See n. 108.

GEMF 16.205–220

(205) itself which you should recite, “O Speak to me! Speak to me! THES, TĒNŌR, the father of eternity and everlastingness, the god who is over the entire land, SALKMŌ BALKMŌ BRAK NEPHRŌ¹⁴² BAMPRE¹⁴³ BRIAS¹⁴⁴ SARINTER MELICHRIPHS LARGNANĒS URUPHĒS MEPHRŌBRIAS¹⁴⁵ PHURKA PHUXE DIOUPHIA MARMAREKE¹⁴⁶ LAORE KRĒPHIE. Let me see the answer to the question about which I am here! May an answer be given to me about everything about which I am inquiring here today in truth without falsehood! Hail ADAĒL APHTHE CHOCHOMOLĒ (210) USENMIGADŌN ORTHŌ BAUBŌ NOĒRE SURE SURE SAN KATHARA¹⁴⁷ ERESCHIGAL SANGISTĒ DODE KAKISTĒ AKROURO BORE KODĒRE.¹⁴⁸ You should have him open his eye(s) so that he sees the lamp and you should ask him concerning whatever you wish. If greatness of heart (i.e. obstinacy) occurs, he not having seen the god, you should turn yourself around and you should recite his compulsion. **Formula:** SĒMEA KANTEU KENTEU KONTEU KĒRIDEU DARUGKŌ LUKAUX,¹⁴⁹ come to me KANAB ARI KATEI BARIKATEI, sun disk, moon of the gods, sun disk, hear my voice! Let them say to me the answer (215) to everything about which I am asking here today! O perfume of ZALABUŌ NASIRA HAKE, may he arise! O lion-ram, let me see the light today together with the gods so that they say to me the answer to everything about which I am inquiring here today in truth NA NA NA NA is your name NA NA is your true name.”—If [the god] delays in order not to come in, you should recite—¹⁵⁰ you should draw your breath very much, saying, “Come to me [I]AHŌ IAEU IAHŌ AUHŌ IAHŌ HAEI KO HERU KO¹⁵¹ NAZBŌT ARPI[H]AP¹⁵² ABLA BALBOK (220) HERENBAK¹⁵³ NI ABIT THATLAT MARIBAL

¹⁴² Quack 2004, 491 interprets this name as *nfr-hr*, which means “beautiful of face.”

¹⁴³ Ba/Soul of the Sun(god); the gloss reflects the Egyptian change in spelling/pronunciation from *n* to *m* before *p*.

¹⁴⁴ Quack 2004, 480 suggests that this is the Greek word βρία, “you are strong.”

¹⁴⁵ Perhaps a misspelling of NEPHRŌ ... BRYAS in the preceding line.

¹⁴⁶ The possible meaning of this word is ‘flashing light’, from μαρμαραυγη, also found in GEMF 60/PGM XIII 110; cf. εὐρυφύης, perhaps represented by UREPĒS, in the previous line. See Quack 2004, 489.

¹⁴⁷ The writing of *sn* in this name uses the Demotic word-group for *sn* ‘brother’.

¹⁴⁸ This is a version of the YESSEMMIGADŌN-ARKOUKOBORE formula: YESSEMMIGADŌN ORTHŌ BAUBŌ NOĒRE KODĒRE SOIRE SOIRE ERESCHIGAL SANKISTĒ DŌDEKAKISTĒ ARKOUKOBORE KODĒRE. See e.g. GEMF 58/PGM V 424–426 (a dream divination formula invoking Hermes) and 74.1055–1056/VII 895–896 (an invocation of an image of Selene of the Egyptians) and GEMF 30.81–82/PGM II 34–35 (inscribed on a laurel bough used to invoke Apollo). It is also found regularly in curse tablets and contains the name of the Sumerian-Akkadian goddess Ereshkigal and another possibly Semitic name ending in “lord” (YESSEMMIG-ADŌN).

¹⁴⁹ See GEMF 58/PGM V 426–427: SĒMEA KENTEU KONTEU KENTEU KĒRIDEU DARUGKŌ LUKUNXUNTA (in a dream divination formula invoking Hermes) where it comes directly after the UESSEMMIGADŌN *logos* (see previous note) and for magical gems, see CBd-451 and 2222.

¹⁵⁰ The text between dashes is a later addition above the frame at the top of the next column (viii), numbered 1s.

¹⁵¹ For the instructions to “draw your breath,” see above, p. 141 n. 37. Note that *hrw q*, “high/long day” may be a reference to the heliacal rising of Sothis, which marked the beginning of the (astronomical) year.

¹⁵² Perhaps “Do/Carry out my law!”

¹⁵³ These two words mean “eye of raven” and “face of raven”; cf. Quack 2004, 478.

recto col. viii →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 221–238

- 1s r [ire(?) p; ntr(?)] :sq r tm iy r(?) hn iir-k :š
- ΜΑΡΙΒΑΛ¹⁵⁴ ΣΜΛΑ ΚΙΚΡ ΠΙΑΤΙΑΤΕ ἰωρ γα γα γε
- 1 *My-iry-bnr* °Qml° °Kykh° p(:) it it. w n n; ntr. w phr °w. t ir. t rym °k. t sby Yḥ sp-2 sp-2 °H° °H° °He°
 CT CT CT CT ἸΥΕ ΙΑΥΩ
St ° *St* ° *St* ° *St* ° *Yh* : ° *Yh* : ° **hhe**° *my iw n-y p; ntr nt iw p; wḥ shn n p; hrw n-dr. t-f*°
mtw-f d n-y wḥ r mt. t nb
- nt iw-y šn hr-ir-w ty n p; hrw° iir-k d pf ntr n r-k tne sp nb° n iir-k :š° tw-y hwy hyt r-r-k° n p;*
nt št n-im-k° n p; nt me n-im-k°
- 5 ΥΟΥΥΩΣ ΑΥΟ ΑΥ
my ire p; kke prde r p; wyn n-y-hr-y° i p; ntr° Hw-ḥs° R. t-htm° Siy sp-2 iw-hw° iw-h. t°
bw-ir-y 225
- κα δῖτ ΙΑΥΩ ΑΡ[Ι]ΑΥΑ
- gh* : ° *iw* t° *r. t-šfy*° *by-by. w° Yh* : ° *ryh* : sp-2° *r-iry n-s° iw-w r st hr° Bks° Gs° Gs° Gs° Gs*
 ΙΑΝΙΑΝ
- Yny-n° Iir-n° Iw-y-bs° Ks° Ks° Ks° Ks my iw n-y p; ntr nt iw p; wḥ shn n-dr. t-f*° *mtw-f d*
n-y wḥ r mt. t nb nt iw-y
- ΠΙΑΤΗΟΥ ... ΤΗΡΕ ΑΒΡΑΧΑΜ
- šn hr-ir-w ty n p; hrw° im r-hn° Py. t. w° Hy-tre. t° i Hpr Hpre Hpr° br-hme p; df n t; ir. t n t;*
wḥ. t
- ΣΜΡ ΣΟΜ ΝΟΥΞ
- Qm:r Qm:r Qm:r Qm:r° Qm:r-:° r ti hpr Qm:° Qm:-wr-wḥd° Š[...]-knwš p;y-k rn n mtre° my*
d-w n-y wḥ
- 10 ΒΑΚΑΞΙΧΥΧ
- r mt. t nb nt iw-y šn hr-ir-w ty n p; hrw° im n-y° Bk'ksykhekh° r-dy n-y wḥ r mt. t nb nt iw-y šn*
hr-ir-w ty n p; hrw n mt. t m': t 230
- n-wš-n d n-y mt. t n de dt mt. t sp 7*
- w' ph-ntr r-hrw Py-sh p; w'b n Ks iw-f d n-im-f d iw-f dnt n sp 9*
- ΡΑΜΖΑΟΥ ΖΑΟΥ ΝΤΑ ΤΑ
- ink R:-mšw Šw R:-mšw p; šr n T:e-p:-šw n mw. t-f T:y-p:-šw iw-f hpr*
- iw t; mn t; mt. t n-e hpr m-ir iy n-y n p:y-k hr n Phe. t iir-k r iy n-y n p:y-k hbr n w'b*
- 15 ΝΤΑ ΤΑ
- n p:y-k sšt n rmt h. t-ntr iw-f hpr iw bn-iw-s r hpr iir-k iy n-y n p:y-k smte n G'l-šyre* 235
- d ink R:-mšw Šw R:-mšw p; šr n T:e-p:-šw n mw. t-f T:y-p:-šw r-hr*
- p; hps n p; mh-3 n p; wrš iw wn w' yb n mdwl ht n hlpe 3(.t) iw wn mh-n-tp 3(.t)*
- n bnyp tk(s) n-im-f mtw-k :š n-y r-r-f n sp 7 mtw-k h: f n-y-tp-k hr nw-f n-k mtw-f sde irm-k*

¹⁵⁴ The Hieratic form of the hieroglyph N31 is written above the Demotic *bnr*, as a gloss, since it shares the same value, corresponding to βαλ in Achmimic, at the end of the name.

GEMF 16.221–238

MARIBAL KMLA KIKH, the father of the fathers¹⁵⁵ of the gods, enchant! One eye cries, (the) other laughs. HA HA HE ST ST ST ST IHE IAHŌ. Seek! May the god in whose hand is the command today come to me so that he say to me the answer to everything about which I am inquiring here today.” You should speak (to) that god with your mouth each time, and you should cry out, “I am throwing fury at you, (fury) of the one who is cutting you, of the one who is swallowing you. (225) May the darkness separate from the light before me, O god HOUHŌS, sealed portion(?), be sated—(say it) twice—AHO AH. I do not appear(?)¹⁵⁶ without a portion of awe, soul of souls, IAHŌ ARIAHA (say it) twice, act for her, they will turn the face of the rebel, GS GS GS GS IANIAN EIEN EIBS¹⁵⁷ KS KS KS KS. May the god in whose hand is command come to me so that he say to me the answer about everything about which I am inquiring here today. Come in PIATŌOU [KHI]TŌRE O KHEPER KHEPRE KHEPER ABRACHAM,¹⁵⁸ the pupil of the sound eye, QMAR QMAR QMAR QMR, Creator of the mouth, in order to create Creation, Great-Flourishing-Creation. SH...KNOUSH is your true name. May they say to me answer (230) to everything about which I inquire here today. Come to me BAKAXICHUCH,¹⁵⁹ tell me the answer to everything about which I am inquiring here today in truth without telling me anything false.” **Formula**, 7 times.

A god-petitioning procedure at the request of Paysekh, the priest of Qus about which he says, “It is tested 9 times”: “I am RAMSHAOU SHAOU RAMSHAOU the son of She of Pshaou, of his mother, She of Pshaou. If such and such a thing will happen, do not come to me in your face of Pakhe, (but) you should come to me in your form of priest, (235) in your form of man of the temple. If it will not happen, you should come to me in your form of a soldier, for I am RAMSHAOU SHAOU RAMSHAOU, the son of She of Pshaou of his mother She of Pshaou. [Say it] opposite the Foreleg (i.e. Ursa Major) on the third (day) of the lunar month there being a clove of three-lobed garlic¹⁶⁰ while 3 needles of iron are piercing it and you should recite this to it 7 times and you should put it before you. He sees you and he speaks with you.

¹⁵⁵ This phrase is glossed giving its contemporary pronunciation, corresponding to the Achmimic dialect of Coptic. This is one of a number of cases where Old Coptic glosses are used for Egyptian words rather than *voces magicae*.

¹⁵⁶ Assuming *gh/ⲕⲁ* = *h* ‘to appear’.

¹⁵⁷ These words can be read as “we do” or “while we do” and “I shall induct,” but they seem to function as *voces magicae* here. Cf. Griffith and Thompson 1904, 65 and Johnson, GMPT, 108.

¹⁵⁸ The end of ABRACHAM is written using the Demotic word *hm* (ⲉⲧ) ‘craft’, ‘skill’. The name itself is determined with the “seated man” determinative used for, among other things, personal names.

¹⁵⁹ “Ba (soul) of darkness, son of darkness.”

¹⁶⁰ For a parallel, see the recipe for the direct vision of a god, which includes instructions for wearing an olive branch crown with a single-shooted garlic tied in the middle, in GEMF 57/ PGM IV 935.

recto col. ix →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 239–254

- 1 *p: šn hn n Hnsw [ind] hr-k Hnsw-m-**W**s.t Nfr-htp p: syf šps ir pyr n p: sšn Hr nb nw w' pw[...]*
οΥΛΕ ° ΠΕ[...]
ΟΥΩΤ
*i ḥd nb ḥd i šn-tw:[.t n]b šn-tw:t nb **I**ta p: ntr 3 p: k: wṯ p: šr n P:-**I**kš im n-y p: syf šps p: ntr 3 nt*
[hn] 240
- ΠΗΜΟ
*p: **I**ta nt iw hn-w [...] P: 3.m. 3 nt iw-w d n-f p: k: sp-2 wr p: ntr 3 nt hn t: wḏ:t ir pyr r-bnr hn p: 4*
h[nw]
- n d.t p: db: n n: iw f nt iw bw-ir rh-w rn-f bw-ir rh-w ky-f bw rh-w smte-f tw-y ir rh. w rn-k tw-y ir*
rh. w ky-k tw-y [ir rh. w]
- 5 *smte-k 3 rn-k iw r(?) rn-k :hr rny-k imn rn-k wr ntr. w rny-k imn rn-f r ntr. w nb rny-k 3.m*
ο ωΟΥ λβ ΟΜ
ΔΜ ΛΟΥΥ ΤΟΥΥ ΔΜΔΡ
*wr m rn-k ntr[.w] nb rny-k **S**rpt-m:y-sr rny-k L. 3.w° iy° nb t. w sp-2 rny-k 3m'hr n p.t rn-k Sšn n*
sy. w[...]
- iy° Iyy. 3 N: w-iy. 3 rny-k p:y-k sšt m'hr n hr n srw iw st.t-f n bk iw bs 2 hr-r-f p:y-k [hfe hfe]* 245
n ht
- n d.t p:y-k hnw n wrš p:y-k ht n n :lle ište p:y-k sym n sym n Imn p:y-k ipt n t: p.t byn p:y-k rym*
n [y'm(?)]
- lbs km st smn.t hr p: t: yb rn-k n t:y-k(.t) he. t n p: y'm° p:y-k sšt n iny r-pyr-k n-im-f[...]*
MEN
- 10 *t: p.t t:y-k(.t) qnh. t p: t: t:y-k(.t) hyw. t wn-n. w p: hn-y r mh.t n-im-k ty n p: hrw d ink h' mn*
nw[...]¹⁶¹y
ωε ΔΑΤΕ
- be(?) iw bn-pw-y ir-f hr p: 3sq iw bn-pw-y gm rny-k p: ntr 3 nt iw n: 3y rn-f p: hry 3.w.s ht. t n t: p.t r-*
ir-y ir-f ir [p: hkr(?)]
- n p: 3q p: 3yb n p: mw mtw-k nht.t mtw-k ti wḏ:y mtw-k ti n-y hs. t mr. t šf. t r-hr rmt nb d*
ink p:y p: k: [...] 250
- ΥΝΔΕ
p: ntr 3 nt hn t: wḏ:t ir pyr r-bnr hn p: 4 hnw n d.t ink hwn p: rn 3 nt n t: p.t nt iw-w d n-f[...]
ΔΜΦΟΥΥ ΡΕΕ hry ntr. w rn.t
- 3mph. 3.w sp-2 n m: t sp-2 hs-f r Ibtw R'-Hr-ḥ.t^{161a} p:y p:y(=y) rn n mtre nht.t my wḏ:y my hpre*
p:y(=y) hn [...]
- 15 *r-wn n-y n 'rq-**H**h r-hr ntr nb rmt nb ir pr r-bnr hn p: iny n Pth d ink p: hf ir pyr n p: Nwn ink [...]*
СНАТ
- bre n Iks' nh n hf n nb n m: t r-ire ibe n sp.t p: nt iw-y r d t-f hr hpre-f twnw h(y) [...]*

¹⁶¹ This partially broken word has a flesh determinative and should, therefore, be a part of the body.

^{161a} For this reading, see Quack 2008, 344 n. 90. The title was previously read by Griffith and Thompson 1904 as *R' Hr hnn(?)*, “Ra, Horus the Youth.”

The vessel inquiry of Khonsu:¹⁶² “[Hail] to you, Khonsu-in-Thebes, Nefer-hotep, the noble child who came forth from the lotus, Horus, lord of time,¹⁶³ he is unique ... (240) O silver,¹⁶⁴ lord of silver, O circuit of the underworld [lo]rd of the circuit of the underworld, lord of the sun disk, the great god, the vigorous bull, the son of the Ethiopian, come to me, O noble child, the great god who is [in] the sun disk [to] who[m] is commanded ..., PŌMO¹⁶⁵ to whom they say the bull, twice, the great one, the great god who is in the sound eye who came forth from the 4 eternal vessels,¹⁶⁶ the avenger of the flesh whose name is unknown, whose form is not known, whose manner is not known. I know your name, I know your form, I [know] your manner. Great (one) is your name, heir(?) is your name, beneficial (one) is your name. Hidden is your name; great (one) of the gods is your name, the one whose name is hidden from all the gods¹⁶⁷ is your name. ŌM the great one AM is your name. All the gods is your name. Lotus-lion-ram is your name. LŌOU is coming, lord of lands, lord of lands is your name; AMACHR of heaven is your name. Lotus of stars ... (245) is coming, EIO NEEIO is your name. Your form is (that of) a scarab with the face of a ram whose tail is (that of) a falcon wearing 2 panther skins.¹⁶⁸ Your [snake is the snake] of eternity;¹⁶⁹ your vessel is of the lunar month, your wood is vine wood and perseas; your herb is the herb of Amun; your bird of heaven is the heron; your fish of [the sea?] is the black *lbs*. They are established on earth. Sickness(?) is your name in your body of the sea. Your form of stone in which you came forth is ... heaven is your shrine; earth is your forecourt. What I wished was to seize you here today for I am he who appeared and who endures. My ... has grown old(?), I not having done it because of the delay, I not having found (out) your name, O great god whose name is great, the overseer of the threshing floor of heaven. Bearing [hunger?] (250) for bread and thirst for water, I did it. You should protect me and make me safe; you should give me praise, love, and respect before all men for I am the [great] bull, the great god who is in the sound eye, who came forth from in the 4 vessels of eternity; I am Youth, the great name which is in heaven to whom is said ... AMPHOOU (say it) twice, truly (say it) twice, he is praised at Abydos (i.e. Osiris), Ra-Horakhty is my true name, Overseer of the gods is my name, protect me! let me be safe! let my vessel become ...! Open to me Arq-heh¹⁷⁰ before every god and every man who came forth from the stone of Ptah, for I am the snake which came forth from Nun. I am ... youth of Ethiopia, the rearing snake¹⁷¹ of real gold. In my lips is honey. That which I will say, it comes into being immediately. Hail ...

¹⁶² The Egyptian moon-god.

¹⁶³ The moon as regulator of the days of the month and the seasons; see Griffith and Thompson 1904, 66, n. to l. 1.

¹⁶⁴ Silver as the color of the moon, as noted by Griffith and Thompson 1904, 66, n. to l. 2

¹⁶⁵ The Ethiopian is probably to be understood as Amun, the father of Khonsu in the Theban cosmology; cf. Quack 2008, 343 n. 84. PŌMO is perhaps “the great one of/among the great one(s),” as Ritner in GMPT.

¹⁶⁶ Literally ‘*henu*-pots’. Ritner, GMPT, 209, n. 193 suggested that this is an Egyptian rendering of the Greek concept of the four elements. Johnson, GMPT translated ‘things’.

¹⁶⁷ This may refer to Amun-Ra, as Griffith and Thompson 1904, 67, n. to l. 5.

¹⁶⁸ A form found on Late Period coffins, as noted by Griffith and Thompson 1904, 68, n. t l. 7. Quack 2008, 343, proposes translating *bs* as “torches” (“Fackeln”) rather than “panther skin.”

¹⁶⁹ Possibly a reference to the *ouroboros*. Quack 2008, 343 instead reads and translates “your eternity is eternity” (“deine Ewigkeit ist die Ewigkeit”).

¹⁷⁰ See above note 29.

¹⁷¹ See above note to l. 3.

col. ix (cont.) →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 255–273

r-ph̄te d̄ ink Ḳnp p; sst̄ (sic) nh̄ne ink ʒs.t iw̄zy r mr̄f ink Wsir̄ iw̄zy r mr̄f iir̄-k r nh̄m.t̄ r [...] nb 255
 ΛΑCΜΑΤΝΟΥΤ ΛΕCΜΑΤΗΤ

s.t thth nb Lsm̄xnw̄t̄ Lsm̄tōt̄ nh̄t̄ my wd̄zy my nzy ḥs.t mr̄.t šfē.t hn̄ p;y(zy) hn̄ [...]

p;y(zy) sw̄t̄ ty n p; hrw̄ im̄.t nzy ʒs.t t nb hyq̄ t wr̄.(t) hyq̄ n n; ntr̄.w dr̄-w Ḥr̄ h̄(t).t̄ Nb̄.t-Ḥ̄.t n
t;y(zy) gr̄[p;(t)]

20 *w̄ ḥfē n šr̄ Ḳtm̄ p; nt [w;h] n r̄;t r̄ d̄d̄zy d̄e p; nt iw̄zf r̄ myšt̄ iw̄zf r̄ myš n(y)-sw̄.t Mn̄t̄ n p; hrw̄ [...]*

r M̄y-ḥs r-ph̄t̄ r t̄ šm̄ r w̄c̄ m;y n šr̄ M̄y-ḥs r-bnr̄ iw̄zf qby r̄ in̄.t̄w̄ nzy sp-2 n; by n ntr̄ n; by

n rmt̄ n; by n t; tw̄;t n; by n t; ih̄y.t n; ih̄.w n; in̄-mw̄t̄.w (my ir̄-w) d̄ nzy n t; m̄c̄.t n p; hrw̄
r p; nt iw̄zy šn̄ m-s̄f̄ d̄ i[nk] 260

Ḥr̄-s̄-ʒs.t iw̄zf in̄-n̄.k r-hry r̄ mr̄ n r̄q-Ḥ̄h̄ r̄ hwy qs.t r-hr̄ n; s̄.w r̄ t̄ mn̄h̄.t n p; ḥsy

p; ḥsy nfr̄ n n; [ḥs]y.w iir̄-k nhs̄ iir̄-k r̄ rpy ḥr̄ r̄ n; r̄.w n p;y(zy) hne p;y(zy) sw̄t̄ p;y(zy) d̄l̄ mt̄.t

25 *nhs̄ n-īm̄-w nzy [n;] ih̄.w n; mwt̄.w nhs̄ p;y-w by p;y-w sšt̄ n n; r̄.w n p;y(zy) hn̄ nhs̄-w n-īm̄-w*
nzy [...]

irm̄ n; mwt̄.w nhs̄ [n-īm̄]-w nzy sp-2 nhs̄ p;y-w by p;y-w sšt̄ p; hyt̄ n p;y-s̄ s; Wnte ta rb̄[...]

nhs̄ n-īm̄-w nzy sp-2 [n; Wn(?)te.w n nzy-w s.t db̄; my ir̄-w sdē n r̄-w my ir̄-w mt̄.t n spe-w my
ir̄-w d̄ p;y-d̄y [r p; nt] 265

iw̄zy šn̄ hr̄-r̄f ty n p; hrw̄ [m]y ir̄-w mt̄.t n h̄.t̄y my irē mt̄.t m̄c̄.t ḥpr̄ nzy m-ir̄ t̄ ḥr̄ ḥr̄ ḥr̄ rn̄ ḥr̄ rn̄ n
m̄c̄.t sp-2(?) [iw̄ mn̄]

mt̄.t n d̄e n-īm̄[-w(?) i(?)] p; mh̄rr̄ n ḥstb̄ n m̄c̄.t nt ḥms̄ ḥr̄ d̄d̄; p; šy n p; Pr̄-ʒ̄ w.s. Wsir̄ Wn[-nfr̄]

30 *m̄h̄ r̄-k n mw̄ n [p; šy?] kš̄f̄ r̄ d̄d̄zy irm̄ p; nt nzy-dr̄.t̄ my wd̄zy my wd̄zf̄ ts-ph̄r̄ š̄c̄-mtw̄ p;y d̄[y*
ḥpr̄ m]y irē

p;y-d̄y ḥpr̄ d̄ iirē tm̄ tw̄ p;[y d̄]y ḥpr̄ iw̄zy r̄ t̄ qte t; st̄.t n p; qte n t;y sew̄; š̄c̄-mtw̄ p;y-d̄y ḥpr̄ d̄
[šm̄-w(?)]

r p; t; sqm̄-w nzy ḥ(?)[...]e d̄-w mtw̄-k nym sp-2 ink Ḳtm̄ n p; w n p; R̄c̄ ink r̄ȳc̄.tw̄.tw̄ t; št̄.
ʒt̄.t [...] 270

r̄ iw̄zy kš̄p̄ r-bnr̄ h̄t̄[.t̄k(?)] r̄ nw̄ m-s̄; Wsir̄ p; ikš̄ iw̄zf in̄-īw̄ r-ḥn̄ r̄ d̄d̄zy iw̄ wn̄ šr̄ Ḳnp 2 ḥ̄.t̄.f̄ šr̄
Wp[y 2 m-]s̄f̄]

šr̄ rr̄.t 2 mn̄ [n-īm̄]-f̄ d̄-w nzy mtw̄-k nym sp-2 ink w̄c̄ n p;y.y bk̄ 2 nt r̄sy r̄ ʒs.t irm̄ Wsir̄ t; grp̄;t̄ t; [...]

35 *irm̄ p;y-s̄ ʒw̄ [...] r-īny t̄-w nzy sp-2 n; by n ntr̄ n; by n rmt̄ (n) by n t; tw̄;t n; by n t; ih̄y.t*

¹⁷² Second person singular in Demotic corrected to third person plural in Old Coptic.

GEMF 16.255–273

(255) strong one. For I am Anubis, the youthful creation(?). I am Isis; I shall bind him. I am Osiris; I shall bind him. I am Anubis; [I shall bind] him. You should save me from every ... and all confusion. LASMATNOUT LESMATÖT, save me! Make me whole! Give me praise, love, respect in my vessel ... and my bandage here today! Come to me, Isis, the lady of magic,¹⁷³ the greatest one of magic of all the gods. Horus is before me; Isis is behind me; Nephthys is as my diadem. A snake, a child of Atum, is that which lies in the uraeus at my head in order that the one who will strike me will strike the king. Mont is here in a ... today Mighty Mihes will send out a lion of the son(s) of Mihes, he being forced to bring them to me quickly, the divine souls, the human (260) souls, the souls of the underworld, the souls of the horizon, the spirits of the dead. Let them speak (or, so that they speak) to me truly today concerning that about which I inquire, for I [am] Horsiese (i.e. Horus, the son of Isis) going up (on board) to Arq-heh¹⁷⁴ in order to cast embalming (bandages) before the amulets and in order to give linen to the drowned one (i.e. Osiris), the good drowned one of the [drowned] ones. They should awake; they should revive at the mouths of my vessel, my bandage, my word-gathering. Awaken them for me, [the] spirits, the dead. Awaken their souls and their forms at the mouths of my vessel. Awaken them for me ... together with the dead. Awaken them for me, awaken them for me! Awaken their souls and their forms, O fury of (the woman who) her son is Wonte,¹⁷⁵ the daughter of Arb.... (265) Awaken them for me, awaken them for me, [the] Wontes(?) from their misfortune! Let them speak with their mouths! Let them speak with their lips! Let them say what I said [concerning that which] I am asking about here today. [Let] them speak before me(?). Let the truth happen for me. Do not put a face for a face (or) a name for a name, doubly true [without] falsehood therein. [O?] scarab of true lapis lazuli which sits at the lake of Pharaoh Osiris Wen[-nefer],¹⁷⁶ fill your mouth with the water of [the lake?!] Pour it out on me together with that which is near me! Let me be well! Let him be well, and vice versa, until that which I [said happens! Let] that which I said happen because, if that which I said does not happen, I shall cause the flame to circulate around this bandage until that which I said happens because [they go?] (270) to the earth,¹⁷⁷ they listened to me, ..., and they said to me, “Who are you? Who are you?” I am Atum in the sun-barque of the sun. I am the great coffin (of Osiris) I look out before ... in order to see Osiris the Ethiopian coming in to me, two sons of Anubis being in front of him, [2] sons of Wepy [being behind him] two sons of Rery mooring [him]. They said to me, “Who are you? Who are you?” I am one of these two falcons who watch over Isis and Osiris, the diadem, the ... and her greatness. ... Bring them to me! Bring them to me, the divine souls, the human souls, (the) souls of the underworld, the souls of the horizon,

¹⁷³ For this title, see Gordon and Gasparini 2014.

¹⁷⁴ See note 29.

¹⁷⁵ Wonte is a designation of Apophis (an enemy of the sun-god Re); see GMPT, 211 n. 219.

¹⁷⁶ Griffith and Thompson 1904, 73, n. to l. 29, suggest this lake is identical with the Lake of Wapeke (l. 351).

¹⁷⁷ Griffith and Thompson 1904, 73, n. to l. 31, take this as a threat to burn the bandages (or mummy) of Osiris.

recto col. x →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 274–292

- [ΔΡΤ]ΕΜΙ
- 1 *n:y iyh.w n: mwt.w my ir-w d n-y t: m: t n p: hrw hr p: nt iw-y šn hr-r-f d ink rte[my t: s].t-mw.t iw-f h' hr i:bt*
- im n-y r-hn Inp n p:y-k hr nfr r-ir-y iy r wšte-k ww sp-2° h.t sp-2° [rsi mh]t° imnt° i:bt° 275*
- t:w n Imnt nb° my ir-w hpr iw-w šs sp-2 iw-w smn.t iw-w swtn iw-w phr iw-h.t p: hyt [n p: wr(?)] šfe d ink*
- ἸΑΗ ἸΑΩ ἸΑΗΑ ἸΑΩ ΣΑΒΑΘΘ ΔΤΟΝΘ ΘΙΑΙ ΚΑΑΤΑΙ
- Y° Y:° Y:° Y:° S'b: s.th ° t:n.w d tw-y hwy [hyt] r-r-k Tsye Gl'te°
- HPXH IOA ΦΑΛΕΚΜΙ ἸΑΩ ΜΑΧΑΗΑΙ ἸΗΕ [ΧΟ]Ν ΧΟΧΡΕΧΙ ΔΔΙ ΟΘ
- 5 *rkhe° Y:° Ph'lekmy° Y:° M'kh'h'y° Ye:° Kh: s[...] n]° Kh: s.khrekhy° E° e: s.th*
- ΣΑΡΒΙΑΚΟΥ ἸΚΡΑ ΦΙΒΗΚ ΜΩΜΟΥ ΜΟΥΝΑΙΧ ΣΤΙΘΩ ΣΩΘΩΝ ΝΑΩΝ ΧΑΡΜΑΙ
- S'rby:qw° Ygr° Pšyby:g° M: s.mw° Mwnekh° Stsyth[. s° S]. s.th. s.n° N: s.n° Kh'rm'y°*
- p: hyt n n:y ntr.w r-dy m-w ty n p: hrw° nhs n-im-w n-y sp-2 n: hsy.w° n: m[wt.w]° nhe(?) p:y:tn by° p:y:tn sšt° n-y 280*
- r n: r: w n p:y(=y) hbs p:y(=y) swt p:y(=y) d' l' mt.t my ir-f n-y w:h hr mt.t nb nt iw-y šn [hr-ir-w] ty n p: hrw n mt.t m: t sp-2 iw mn mt.t*
- n de hn-w ys sp-2 tkr sp-2 p:y:f swh iyh hr šm-k r w' pr n kke iw [r:]f wn r pr rsi n-ge pr i:bt*
- 10 *n w' m: iw-f w'b iir-k prh-f n š: iw-f w'b n iny n p: yr s iir-k iny w' [d] n hmt iw-f w'b n-ge*
- w' hn n bld n-m:y mtw-k ti w' lq n mw n sdr n-ge mw iw-f w'b r p: [d] hn' w' lq n nhe n m: t*
- iw-f w'b n-ge nhe w'e.t-f n-wš-n ti mw r-r-f mtw-k ti w' iny n qs-nh(?) r-hn [p: h]n hr nhe mtw-k ti w' h: t 285*
- n pr-nfr n p: iytn n p: hn mtw-k ti qte tb: t 3. t n p: qte [n p: h]n n tb: t n-m:y*
- mtw-k h: q 7(.t) iw-w w'b hr n: tb: wt nt qte r p: hn mtw-k iny w' [hm]-hl iw-f w'b iw-f dnt*
- 15 *n n:y:f msdr.w r t: h.t d iw-f [ir] šw n šm hr p: hn iir-k ti hms-f hr [w: t tb: t] n-m:y mtw-k hms h-k*
- hr ke tb: t iir-k hr p:y:f [hr(?)] k(y)-d :t: f mtw-k ti dr.t-k r r: ir[.t: f iw ir.t: f] htm° iir-k š r-hry*
- hn t: mt.t n tp-f n sp 7 [iir-k] w:h iir-k fy dr.t-k hr r: ir.t: f iir-k [...] p: hn iir-k ti dr.t-k 290*
- r n:y:f msdr.w iir-k mh't n-im-w n-dr.t-k h-k iir-k šn n p: hm-hl d 'n r-iir-k [nw r p: ntr(?) s(?)] iw-f d tw-y nw r w: t*
- kmeme.t iir-k d n-f de r-dy:s d tw-y nw r p:y-k hr nfr iir-k [...] p: ntr s Inp*

GEMF 16.274–292

the spirits of the dead.¹⁷⁸ Let them tell me the truth today concerning that about which I am inquiring for I am ARTEMI,¹⁷⁹ [the] mother when she rises in the East. (275) Come in to me, Anubis, in your beautiful face! In order to worship you I come. Woe(?)! (say it) twice. Fire, (say it) twice [south,] north, west, east every breeze of the West, may they come into being in very good condition, established, correct, enchanted, according to(?) the fury [of the one great of] reverence for I am IAĒ IAŌ IAĒA IAŌ SABAŌTH¹⁸⁰ ATONE,¹⁸¹ for I cast [fury] at you, THIAI KLATAI ĒRCHĒ IOA PHALEKMI IAŌ MACHAĒAI IĒE [CHO]N ... CHOCHRECHI AAI ŌTH SARBIAKOU IKRA PHIBIĒK MŌMOU MOUNAICH STITHŌ SŌTHŌN NAŌN CHARMAI. (280) O fury of all these gods whose names I said here today. Awaken them for me! Awaken them for me, the drowned ones, the [dead]. May your soul(s) and your forms live for me at the mouths of my lamp, my bandage, my word-gathering. May he make for me an answer concerning everything [about which] I am inquiring here today in very truth without falsehood therein. Quickly, quickly, speedily, speedily. Its preparation: You go to a dark room whose [door] opens to the south or the east in a pure place. You should spread it with pure sand brought from the great river (i.e. the Nile). You should bring a pure [beaker] of copper or a new vessel of pottery and you should put a *loq*-measure of settled water or pure water in the [beaker] together with a *loq*-measure of pure true oil (285) or oil alone without putting water in it. And you should put a *qes-ankh* stone¹⁸² in [the] vessel with the oil. And you should put one “heart-of-the-good-house” (i.e. the place of embalming)-plant on the bottom of the vessel and you should put 3 new bricks around [the] vessel and you should put 7 loaves of pure bread on the bricks which are around the vessel. You should bring a pure youth whose ears have been tested first, so that he will [be] successful in going to the lamp. You should have him sit on [a] new [brick] and you should seat yourself on another brick, you being at his [face?] -- another manuscript says his back. And you should put your hand to his eye(s), they being closed. You should recite down (290) into the middle of his head 7 times. [When you have] finished, you should lift your hand from before his eye(s). You should ... the vessel. You should put your hand to his ears. You should seize them with your own hand. You should question the youth saying, “Do you [see the great god?]?” If he says, “I see a darkness.” you should say to him, “Speak saying ‘I see your beautiful face, ... you ... O great god Anubis.’”

¹⁷⁸ For this list of sentient beings, see also l. 260.

¹⁷⁹ That is, ‘Artemis’; see Johnson, GMPT and Quack 2004, 461.

¹⁸⁰ Here the name and epithet of YAHWEH SABAOTH (see the Greek glosses) are used as powerful magical names.

¹⁸¹ This is likely a form of Adonai, ‘my lord’, a title which often accompanies Yahweh sabaoth.

¹⁸² See above, l. 98.

col. x (cont.) →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 293–308

- 20 *iṛ-k wh; r iṛ-f n hn w'e.t-k iṛ-k mh iṛ.t-k n p:y.y kys iṛ-k h[ms hr(?) p; hn(?)] r-h(.t) p; nt hry iw iṛ.t-k*
- hṫm iṛ-k š p; š nt hry n sp 7 iṛ-k wn iṛ.t-k iṛ-k šn.t-f r mt.t nb [nt iṛ-k wh;f ...] hr iṛ-k-f n-t-n p; hrw*
- n mh-4 n p; wrš š' p; hr[w] n mh-15 nt iw smt.t p;y iw iḫ mh wd:t [... šn hn] w'e.t r nw 295*
- r p; wḫ; n P;-R' d mt.t [r]-wn n-y t; p.t t; mw.t n n; ntr.w my [nw-y r p; wḫ;] n P;-R' iw[af hty-hn]t*
- hn-s d ink Gb iṛ[pe] ntr.w šll p; nt iw-y iṛ n-im-f m-b;h P;-R' p;y(=y) 'I[.t° iw db;] n; mt.wt iṛ šm n-dr.t*
- 25 *i Hkne.t wr.t nb qnh[.t°] t; R'-št.t r-wn n-y t; nb iyh[.w° r-wn] n-y t; p.t hy[t].t my*
- wšte-y n n; wpt.w [d] ink Gb iṛpe ntr.w i p; 7(.t) nsw(.t) i p; [7 Mnt] k; syt nb šfe;.t*
- šhd t; by Nwn [h;]y rw(?) my rw(?) Nwn k; kk[e h;]y hnt-ḫbty.w 300*
- Nwn wr hiw h;[y] by sriw by imnty.w h;y [by by.w k;] kke k; k;[.w]*
- s; Nw.t r-wn n-y ink wb; t; iṛ pr n Gb h;y [ink Y° Y°] Y E° E° E [He° He° He°]*
- γω γω γω ΔΝΕ[Π]Ο ΜΙΡΙ ΠΟΡΕ ΥΟΥ*
- 30 *H.ḳ H.ḳ H.ḳ ink R[n]ep.ḳ Myry.p; .ḳ.R' M; .t Ib Thy-[b; ḳ iṛ].wy W;w [Yḫ.ḳ]*
- d mt.t snf n CMOYNG [s]nf n ΚΟΥΚΟΥΠΕΤ ° snf n Ε[ΜΟΥΛΧ] ḫh-im.w [snw-p.t]*
- ḳ Imn° qs-ḫh° hstb n [m;].t° hl° p(ḳ)-tgs-ḳs.t° nt iṛ m bnn.t [mtw-k smt iṛ].t-k n-im-f ti(?) [rym.t(?)] 305*
- e*
- n by-ḳ-n-p.t n w' ht n hr n 3ny n-ge ht n hbyn [mtw-k mr-k] r p;y-k qt[e n w'.t]*
- pke n šr-bne.t hwt n w' m; iw-f tse wbe P;-R' bn-m-s; ti [...] iṛ.t-k n [...]*
- 35 *r-h(.t) p; nt sh r-r-f*

If you wish to do it with a vessel alone,¹⁸³ you should fill your eye(s) with this ointment and you should sit [near the vessel] in accordance with what is above while your eye(s) are shut. You should recite the formula which is above 7 times. You should open your eye(s). You should question him about everything [which you wish ...]. You do it from the fourth (295) day of the lunar month until the 15th day, which is the 15th day festival, when the moon fills the sound eye (i.e. the full moon).¹⁸⁴

[A vessel inquiry]¹⁸⁵ alone (i.e. by the man alone) in order to see the barque of the sun. **Formula**: “Open to me, O Heaven, the mother of the gods. Let [me see the barque] of the sun [descending and ascending] in it, for I am Geb, the heir of the gods. Praying is what I am doing before the sun, my Father, on account of the things that have gone forth from me. O great Heknet, mistress of the shrine, the Rashto. Open to me, O mistress of spirits. [Open] to me, O primal heaven! Let me worship the messengers [for] I am Geb, heir of the gods. O (you) 7¹⁸⁶ kings, O [7 Montus], the bull who engenders, lord of awe (300) who illumines the earth, soul of Nun. Hail lion like the lion of Nun, bull of darkness. [Hail] foremost of the Easterners, Nun, great one, lofty one. Hail soul of the ram, soul of the Westerners. Hail [soul of souls, bull of] darkness, bull of bulls, son of Nut. Open to me. I am the opener of the earth who came forth from Geb. Hail [I am Y Y] Y E E E Ê Ê Ê UÕ UÕ UÕ. I am A[N]EPO¹⁸⁷ MIRIPORE¹⁸⁸ MAAT¹⁸⁹ IB¹⁹⁰ THY[BA¹⁹¹ ÔIROU]OUY OUÕOU [YAHÕ].¹⁹²

Formula:¹⁹³ Blood of a Nile goose, blood of a hoopoe, blood of a [nightjar], “live-by-means-of-them”-plant, [mustard],¹⁹⁴ (305) “great-one-of-Amun”-plant, *qes-ankh* stone,¹⁹⁵ [true] lapis lazuli, myrrh, “footprint-of-Isis”-plant, grind (them), make (them) into a ball. [And you should paint your] eye(s) with it. Put the [tear] of a ram in a pleasure-wood of juniper or ebony [and bind it(?)] around you [with a] strip of male palm fiber¹⁹⁶ in a high place opposite the sun after putting ... your eye(s) ... according to what is written above.

¹⁸³ That is: if you wish to use the vessel without the child medium as an intermediary.

¹⁸⁴ See Aufrère 1991, 199–200.

¹⁸⁵ The following section is repeated in ll. 805–816, and it is from there that the reconstructions have been made.

¹⁸⁶ For discussion on the role of number 7 in Egyptian theology and further references to it, see Ritner 1993, 161, n. 749.

¹⁸⁷ “Great Anubis.”

¹⁸⁸ Ending with “the great” and “Ra.”

¹⁸⁹ ‘Truth’, ‘justice’.

¹⁹⁰ ‘Heart’.

¹⁹¹ The end is the word *by* ‘soul’.

¹⁹² This may perhaps be translated as “May the greatness of Ra, just (?) of heart, and the great lamb act”; see Ritner, GMPT, 213, n. 249.

¹⁹³ The term ‘formula’ used here should have introduced a speech act, but it is used instead as a section title to mark the instructions.

¹⁹⁴ Literally “bread-of-heaven”-plant, identified by Griffith and Thompson 1904, 158, n. to l. 20, as a phonetic rendering of the Greek *κίναπι*, ‘mustard’.

¹⁹⁵ See above, n. 79.

¹⁹⁶ Perhaps this refers to another protective amulet.

recto col. xi →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 309–327

- 1 **r; n ti hse.t** *im n-y p; [... .. p:y]k rn nfr Dḥwty ys sp-2 im [n]y*
my mꜣꜣy hr-k nfr ty n p; hrw [... ..] iwꜣy n ky ꜥn mtw-k šme p:y(?) 310
n ḥs ꜣe n p:y-k ls n [... .. sdm]-k hrwꜣy n p; hrw nḥm-k.t mw iḥy nb t.w
r; b[n] nb h(y) p; nt iw ḥbrꜣf n [... .. ḥ]brꜣf ꜣ št(ꜣ) r-pry ntr ḥr wt.tꜣf
- 5 *nṯe ḥtp r mtre(.t) n Niw(.t) ink [... ..] n tꜣ sry.t ꜣ.t nṯe iw pry Ḥꜣpy(?)*
ḥrꜣs ink p; ḥr n šfꜣe.t ꜣ [... .. b]y m sꜣ.w-ꜣf ink syf šps
nṯe n pr Rꜣ ink p(ꜣ) nem šps nṯe m tpḥ.t [... .. h]b n sꜣ.w n mꜣꜣ.t nṯe ḥtp n Ḳwnw 315
ink p(ꜣ) nb ḥrwy ꜣ nb tm m; nḥt m [... .. m]y.t ink sri sꜣ sri Srpt-Mꜣy ts-phr
mꜣꜣy.t Rꜣ-Ḥpri-Ḳtm mꜣꜣy.t n mꜣꜣ.t sp-2 my n-y ḥs(.t) mr(.t) [nꜣy-ḥr mn r-ms] mn n p; hrw mtwꜣf ti n-y
iḥy nb nfr.w tfew
- 10 *mtwꜣf ti n-y kꜣe.w tꜣe.w mtwꜣf ir mt.t nb nt iwꜣy r [whꜣꜣs mtwꜣf tm ti ir] the r-irꜣy r ir n-y mt.t bin*
mtwꜣf d n-y mt.t
iw mšte[ꜣy] s m hrw pn m grḥ pn m ibt pn m rnp.t tn m wnw[.t ...] iw P(ꜣ)-Rꜣ r sḥt ḥꜣ.tꜣw mtwꜣf
kmm
ir.tꜣw mtwꜣf ti ḥpr p; kke m ḥrꜣw d ink Byry[... r]y ḥriwꜣtn rꜣy ink sꜣ Ḥm.t 320
BIK.T ΛΔΤ
ink Bygt kꜣ Lt ink Gꜣt sꜣ Gꜣt nt iw [...] twꜣ.t nṯe ḥtp r mtre(.t) m ḥ.t ꜣ.t m Ḳwnw
ink sꜣ Ḥkne.t nb mke.t nṯe arf n ḥne.t [ink...] ... nt iw n; nḥt.w ꜣ r pḥti m sꜣwꜣf
- 15 *nṯe ḥtp mw ḥn pr Bꜣst.t ink p(ꜣ) ꜣmꜣe ntr nt [ḥtp mw-]ḥn Ḥhym.t nb.t Ḳy.t wꜣ.ty [...]*¹⁹⁷
mꜣꜣy[.t] Rꜣ-Ḥpri-Ḳtm mꜣꜣy.t n mꜣꜣ.t sp-2 i nꜣy ntr.w dreꜣw i[m.n nꜣy t]y n p; hrw im.n nꜣy sdmꜣtn nꜣ
iw dꜣy n p; hrw
m hrw pn
nḥmꜣtn m nyny nb dꜣ; nb iḥy nb t; nb my n-y ḥs(.t) mr(.t) šf[ꜣe.t nꜣy-ḥr] tꜣ mn p; Pr-ꜣ ir m
pꜣyꜣf mšꜣ 325
p; tw ir m nꜣyꜣf tp-n-ḣw.wt mtwꜣf ir mt.t nb nt iwꜣy r d tꜣw nꜣf ir m [rmꜣ nb nt iwꜣw r nw] r-irꜣy nt
iwꜣy r sꜣe ir mꜣw nt iwꜣw r sꜣe
tꜣ dreꜣf
ir mꜣy ḥn hwꜣ nb ḥm.t nb ḥm-ḥl nb ḥl ꜣ nb ḥr nb [... n p; nt iwꜣw] r nw r-irꜣy ḥn nꜣy wnw.wt n p;
hrw

¹⁹⁷ For a restoration *nb iꜣy.t wꜣ.ti*, see Quack 1999, 42.

Formula for giving praise.¹⁹⁸ “Come to me, O ... your beautiful name (of) Thoth. Hurry! Hurry! Come to me! (310) Let me see your beautiful face here today ... I being in the form (of a) baboon; and may you rejoice over(?)¹⁹⁹ (me in) this(?) praise and honor of your tongue of [...! ... May] you [hear] my voice today and may you save me from everything evil and all evil formulas! Hail he whose forms are ... his great and mysterious form, from whose begetting a god came forth who rests in the midst of Thebes. I am ... of the great lady under whom Hapy came forth. I am the face of great awe ... soul in his protection. I am the noble child who is in the house of the sun. I am the noble dwarf (315) who is in the cavern [... ib]is being true protection, who rests in Heliopolis. I am the master of the great foe,²⁰⁰ the lord who obstructs semen, the strong one ... is my [name]. I am the ram, the son of the ram; Lotus-Lion and vice versa²⁰¹ is my name; Ra Khepri Aten is my true name. Ra Khepri Aten is my true name. Give me praise and love [before NN, born of] NN, today so that he gives me every good kind of food and he gives me food and nourishment and he does everything which I will [wish and he does not do] injury to me in order to hurt me or say to me anything which I hate today, tonight, this month, this year, this hour ... As for my enemies(?),] the sun will hinder their hearts and blind (320) their eyes and cause darkness to appear in their faces. For I am BYRAI...RAI; may you (pl.) be far from me! I am the son of Sakhmet; I am BIKT, the bull of Lat. I am GAT the son of GAT whose ... underworld, who rests in the depths in the great house in Heliopolis.²⁰² I am the son of Heknet, the mistress of protection who binds with leather bands. [I] ... in whose protection the great and powerful divine powers are, who rests in Bubastis. I am the divine shrew-mouse²⁰³ who [rests] in Letopolis, Lord of Letopolis,²⁰⁴ unique (lord) ... is my name. Ra-Khepri-Atum is my doubly true name. O all you gods, [come to me here] today! Come to me that you might hear what I have said today (325) and you might rescue [me] from all weakness, every mistake, from everything, every evil today! Give me praise and love and respect [before] NN (f.), the king and his people, the mountain and its flocks, so that he does everything which I will say to him together with [every man who will see] me, (or) to whom I shall speak (or) who will speak to me from among all men, all women, all youths, all old men, everyone²⁰⁵ [... who is in the] entire land [and who] will see me in the hours today

¹⁹⁸ Perhaps this should be more aptly titled “Formula for gaining praise,” because the request at mid-column (“Give me praise and love [before NN, born of] NN” and the bottom of the column (“Give praise, love and respect before the king and his people...”) is so similar to a Greek *charistērion*. See Quack 2011a.

¹⁹⁹ As suggested by Ritner, GMPT.

²⁰⁰ Or, mistake for ‘testicles’, as Griffith and Thompson 1904, n. to l. xi 8.

²⁰¹ I.e. ‘Lion-Lotus’.

²⁰² The temple of the sun-god Pre/Ra.

²⁰³ See Griffith and Thompson 1904, 84, n. to l. 15.

²⁰⁴ Quack 1999, 42 suggests “Lord of Letopolis, the unique.”

²⁰⁵ It is unclear if this includes animals.

col. xi (cont.) →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 328–334

- 20 *mtwꜛw tꜛ hpr tꜛyꜛ²⁰⁶ hse.t n hꜛꜛꜛw n mt.t nb nt iwꜛy r [... ...] n mne irm nꜛ nt iwꜛw r iy nꜛy iw **shꜛ**
hfe nb.w*
- ys sp-2 tkr sp-2 iw bw-ir-twꜛy dꜛꜛꜛw mtwꜛy **whꜛm** dꜛꜛꜛw [... ...]h **enen** n mnꜛ **tšꜛ** mtwꜛk tyꜛf
k(y)-d tšps*
- r-hn [wꜛ] **sšꜛ** tp n-ge nꜛe n **bq** iwꜛf [... ...] n **nenen** r-rꜛf hr nꜛꜛ tp hnꜛ **pr(.t)**(?)* 330
- wr-**mr.t** hn wꜛ hnw n thne mtwꜛk iny wꜛ **nhꜛ** n [... ...] mtwꜛk thsꜛf n pꜛy nꜛe nt hꜛy mtwꜛk šꜛ
štyꜛf mtwꜛk*
- nꜛy [shꜛ].w r-rꜛf n **sp** 7 m-bꜛh Pꜛ-Rꜛ n twe iw bw-ir mtwꜛk sd[e wbe(?)] rmtꜛ nb n pꜛ tꜛ mtwꜛk ths
hrꜛk n-imꜛf*
- 25 *mtwꜛk hꜛꜛ [pꜛ] **nhꜛ** hn-dꜛꜛꜛk mtwꜛk mšꜛ r mꜛꜛ nb mtwꜛk(?) [... ...] iwꜛꜛ mšꜛ nb hr tꜛꜛf tꜛ-hꜛꜛ nꜛk*
- hs.t** ꜛ.t iwꜛꜛw m-šꜛ sp-2 pꜛꜛy **sp** n shꜛ pꜛꜛy pꜛ Pr-ꜛꜛ ꜛ.w.s. [...]š²⁰⁷ ꜛ.w.s. pꜛꜛy mn pꜛꜛ nt {nꜛy} nꜛ.w-ꜛꜛf r-rꜛf*

²⁰⁶ Read *tꜛyꜛ*.²⁰⁷ The king's name restored here can be *[Ntryw]š* (Griffith and Thompson 1904) or *[Ny-kꜛ.w Pꜛ-š]š* (Ryholt 2011, 66). See below n. to the translation.

GEMF 16.328–334

so that they create praise of me in their hearts in everything which I will [do] daily together with those who will come to me in order to overthrow all enemies. Quickly, quickly, rapidly, rapidly, before I have said them and repeated saying them” ... To be said over an ape of red²⁰⁸ wax and you put it (330) in [some] first-quality lotus (oil) or moringa oil — another (manuscript) says *teshpes*-oil — which is ... of styrax to it together with first quality myrrh and seeds of “great-of-love”-plant in a faience vessel and you bring a wreath of ... and you anoint it with this oil which is (mentioned) above and you recite these [writing]s to it 7 times before the sun at dawn, before you have spoken [to] any man at all and you should extract it and you should anoint your face with it and you should put [the] wreath in your hand and you should go to every place and you should ... among any people. It creates for you very, very great favor among them. This deed of a scribe is that of King [Nechepso];²⁰⁹ there is none better than it.

²⁰⁸ The word “red” is written with the fish determinative; see Quack 1999, 43, which led Johnson, GMPT, 214 to translate “an ape of red wax and a fish.” Griffith and Thompson 1904, 84–85 likewise transliterate it as a separate word—“(a) fish” (*tbt*).

²⁰⁹ Ryholt 2011, 66 suggests reading Nechepso (Necho II), who is commonly credited as an author of magical and astrological pseudepigrapha; cf. GEMF 22/P.Bingen 30. See now the edition of P.CtYBR inv. 422 and P.Lund inv. 2058, an astrological manual written by Imhotep for King Nechepsos, in Quack and Ryholt 2019, 161–183. For the restoration of Darius, see Griffith and Thompson 1904, 86, n. to l. 26. From the names of kings ending in -š, Darius might be restored here because of his reputation as a magician (“Master of the magi,” μαγικῶν διδάσκαλος in Porph. *Abst.* 4.16) and his association with Egyptian priests and sacred books (D.S. 1.95.4–5). However, Darius does not appear anywhere else in the magical handbooks.

recto col. xii →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 335–353

- 1 *[r:(?) r ti(?) ire(?)]²¹⁰ sḥm.t mr ḥwt* ἩΠΟΒΑΓΑΜΟΥ *sttr(.t) 1.t* ΜΑΛΛΑΒΑΘΟΥ *sttr(.t) 1.t*
hepwb'ls'mw *sttr(.t) 1.t* *hbiry(?)* *sttr(.t) 1.t* 335
qwšt *sttr(.t) 1.t* [... ..] *n sty* *sttr(.t) 1.t* *mrwe* *sttr(.t) 1.t* *nḥe n mꜣ.t lq 2 iir-k nt n:y [pḥr.wt(?)]*
iir-k ty-s.t r wꜣ [ngen(?) iw]f wꜣb° mtw-k ti p; nḥe n p:y-w ḥry ḥr t; ḥ.t n p; wrš wꜣ hrw° r-ire p;
wr[š]
ḥpr iir-k iny wꜣ.t qeš[...] *km iwꜣs ir n db* 9 *k(y)-d* 7 *n ḥy.t iw ir.t:s šel iwn n(?) [...]*
- 5 [... *gm ḥn wꜣ mw [...]* *mtw-k ty-s r p:y.y nḥe nt ḥry n hrw 2 iir-k š n p:y.y š r-r-f n twe [...]*
iw bw-ir-tw-k iy n p; [bnr n p:y-k] ꜣ.wy iw bw-ir-tw-k sde wbe rmt nb n p; t; r-ir p; hrw
2 sny [iir-k] 340
ḥrp r-bnr n twe i.ir-k šm(?) r wꜣ km iir-k iny wꜣ šlḥe n ꜣlle iw bw-ir-tw-f wḥ ꜣlle [...]
iir-k fy.t:f n t:y-k(.t) [dr.t n] sm iir-k ty-f r t:y-k(.t) dr.t n [wn]m iir-f ir n db 7 iir-k ty.t:f [r p:y-k]
n tyb n mḥe
ꜣ.wy mtw-k iny p; t[bt] r-ḥry ḥn p; nḥe mtw-k mr-s r p:y-s st mtw-k ꜣḥ.t:s m-s; [d;d:f]
- 10 *n p; ḥt n ꜣlle m[tw-k ḥ:] p; nkt nt ḥr nḥe ḥr-r-s š-*mtw-s* dldl p; nt n-ḥe.t:s r ḥr[y]*
iw p; ꜣn-gen nt ḥr[-r-s] ḥr wꜣ.t tb:(t) n-m:y š ke hrw 3 r-ir-y p; hrw 3 sny iir-k i[ny.t:s] 345
r-ḥry iir-k qs[=s] n ḥl ḥsmn šs-n-nsw(.t) iir-k ḥꜣ:s n wꜣ mꜣ iw-f hep ḥn p;[y-k ꜣ.wy]
n-ge iir-k ir ke hrw 2 iir-k š r p; nḥe ꜣn r hrw 7 iir-k ḥrḥ r-r-f i.ir-k] wḥ:(?)
r ti ir-f t:y-f wp.t i.ir-k th)s p:y-k mt n ḥw.t ḥnꜣ p:y-k ḥr iir-k sdr irm t; sḥm.t nt iir-k ir-f r-ir-s
- 15 *n: sh(.w) nt iir-k š-w r p; nḥe* ΚΑΛΒΑΝΟ ΚΟΜΦ
i[n]k Šwy Gl'b:n.ꜣ° ink Rꜣ° ink Qmꜣ-Rꜣ° ink s; Rꜣ° ink
Syšt Rꜣ° s; Šwy° q[mꜣ(?) n mw n Iwnw° p:y.y srrf nt n'lt° mtwt tp.t wr.t° wr-ḥyq 350
t; re.t nḥ.t° mtw[t p:(?) w](i)° p; šy n Wpke° my n:y ḥs.t° mr.t° šfe.t n:y-ḥr
ꜣe.t nb° sḥm.t nb° [mr.t(?) p:y]y rn n mtr° ꜣš mtw-s ꜣn ink Šwy Kl:kyn.ꜣ.k ink Yꜣrn
*ink G'mren ink Sy[...]*r P:y-y-p;-f Ynpen Nty-nhs G'm-r:w mw n Iwnw ink**

²¹⁰ Reconstruction based on e.g. l. 780 below.

(335) [Procedure(?) to cause] a woman to love a man: Juice of the balsam tree, 1 stater, malabathron, 1 stater, *qushet*-plant/oil,²¹¹ 1 stater, scented ..., 1 stater, *mrwe*, 1 stater, true oil, 2 *loq*-measures. You should grind these [ingredients]. You should put it in a pure [vessel²¹²] and you should put the oil above them one day before the lunar month. When the lunar month occurs, you should bring a black *qesh*-fish(?)²¹³ measuring 9 fingers (in length) -- another (manuscript) says 7 -- its eye(s) being round(?), the color ... find in a water ... and you should put it in this above(-mentioned) oil for 2 days.²¹⁴ You should recite this formula to it at dawn ... (340) before you have come [out of your] house, before you have spoken to any man at all. When 2 days have passed, [you should (get up and go)] out at dawn, [you should go] to a garden, you should bring a vine shoot before it has ripened grapes ..., you should lift it with your left [hand],²¹⁵ and you should put it in your right hand. When it amounts to 7 fingers, you should take it [to your] house and bring the fish up (from) in the oil and bind it by its tail with a strip of flax, you should hang it up by [its head(?)]²¹⁶ on the vine twig and [put] the thing containing oil under it for another 3 days until it drips what is in it downward (345) while the vessel which is under [it] is on a new brick. When the 3 days have passed by, you should [bring it] down and you should embalm [it] with myrrh, natron, and byssus and you should put it in hidden place or in [your house].²¹⁷ You should spend another two days reciting to the oil again, making 7 days. You should guard it. When [you] wish to make it do its work, you [should anoint] your phallus and your face²¹⁸ and you should lie down with the woman to whom you will do it. The formulas which you should recite to the oil: I am Shu KLABANO. I am Re; I am the creation of Re; I am the son of Re. I am (350) Sisht son of Shu, the son of Shu, a water [reed] of Heliopolis, this griffin which is in Abydos. You (f.) are the first one, the great one, the great one of magic, the living uraeus. You (f.) [are the] sunboat (of?) the lake of Wapeke.²¹⁹ Give me favor, love, respect before every womb, every woman. [Love(?) is] my true name. [Another] recitation pertaining to it (the fish) again: I am SHOUY KLAKYNŌK; I am YARN; I am GAMREN; I am SY... PAYYPAAF YNPEN NTYNEHS GAMRAOU,²²⁰ the water of Heliopolis. I am

²¹¹ Černy 67 connects this word with Coptic ΚΟΥΩΤ (Crum 131a), and defines it as ‘a (odorous) plant’, probably from Greek κόκτος, ‘a spice root’.

²¹² This is probably a rendering of Greek ἀγγεῖον ‘vessel’; see Dieleman 2005, 312.

²¹³ The word *q(e)š*, which appears here and in col. xii l. 27, is not clearly attested elsewhere; it may be related to the Coptic ΚΑΩΩ. For a discussion, see Griffith/Thompson 1904 vol. 1, 87–88.

²¹⁴ The immersion of the fish in the oil for a long period perhaps has parallels in the Egyptian deification by drowning rituals; c.f. GEMF 55/PGM III 1–27, where a drowned cat addressed as a deity and then placed in a tomb and the liquid used to drown it is employed in the curse, and 74.784–798/VII 628–642, where a lizard is drowned in oil of lilies and then the oil is used to consecrate a ring used in dream divination. Here we are not told whether that fish is alive and then “drowns” in the oil, but see below in the bottom of this col., where there is a similar ritual in which the fish drowns in rose oil. It is mummified later in the recipe and the oil is used as an ointment (see below for both).

²¹⁵ For *sm(h)* as ‘left’, see Quack 2010/2011, from 73.

²¹⁶ This restoration is based on the alternate recipe below, where we find: “you should hang (it, i.e. the fish) by [its] head.”

²¹⁷ Here the fish oil is embalmed with natron and other ingredients (precisely as one would embalm a mummy) and then put in a hidden place.

²¹⁸ Here the oil is rubbed onto the phallus and face.

²¹⁹ See above n. 124.

²²⁰ Griffith and Thompson suggest this means “Who completes(?) mouths?”; but it is more likely to be another rendering of ΚΟΜΡΗ “Creator of Re” (ll. 239 and 349), paralleled in many places, see Quack 2004, 486–487, and compare *kmꜣ-t* (l. 193) and *kmꜣ-pꜣ-nn.w* (l. 842).

col. xii (cont.) →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 354–365

- 20 Šwy Š'bw Š'[...] Š'b'h. 3 L'h-iy L'hs L'h-'te.t p3 ntr 3 nt hr pr i3bt.t
 L'br'th' i[nk p3] srrf nt n 'lbt ky n-īm-y²²¹ r tī ḥs.t n ḥwḫ r-ḥr šm.t ts-pḥr r-ḥr [P3-R(?)] 355
 mtwt T3-wr.t t3 wr ḥy[q t3 mi](.t) 'Ikš.t s3.t n R' t3 nb re.t mtwt Šm.t 3.t nb 3st.t
 ir šhme s'be nb [... ir(?)].t n P3-R' n t3 wd3.t r-ms i3h n t3 15.nt n grḥ mtwt qm[3]
 wr Nwn mtwt qm: [...] wr.t nt n ḥ.t-bnbn [nt n(?)] 'Iwnw mtwt t3 y' n nb [mtwt t3(?)]
- 25 skte.t p3 w n P3-[R' ...]l'nd3 p3 ḥrt.t p3 šr n t3 w'y'n'yne.t t3 pyḫ.t n t3 [...]
 n gwg n: ky šb: [...] n By-wekm t3 ḥs.t t3 mr.t nt-r P3-R' p3:y't iḫ tīy-s n-t m[y n:y(?)] 360
_{hn}
 n-y r-ḥry p:y.y nḥe [...] ḥr ḥ:ḫ ir.t nb šm.t nb nt iw-y in-n' r-hn r-ḥr-wr r w' t qš ... [iw-s(?)]
 n db' 9 iw-s km m[tw-k tīy-s r-]hn w' sknn n wrḫ mtw-k ir-s n ḥsy hn-f mtw-k iny.t[3s r-bnr]
 mtw-k yḥ m-s: d3d3[3f ...] iir-k w3h iir-k tīy-s r w' ḥnw n yl iir-k w' ḥm n mw n s'smrem[...]
- 30 irm w' ḥm n s3 3s.t iw-f[...] nt.t mtw-k š n'y r-r-f n sp 7 n hrw 7 wbe t3 pr n P3-R' iir-k ths ḥr-k n-
 im-f
 n p3 nw nt iir-k sdr irm šm.t [mtw-k q]s t3 qš.t n ḥl.w ḥsmn iir-k tms-s n p3:y-k pr n w' m3'
 iw-f hep n-ge 365

²²¹ Read *ky n-īm-w*.

GEMF 16.354–365

SHOUY SHABOU SHA... SHABAHO²²² LAHIY LAHS LAHATET the great god who is in the East, (355) LABRATHAA, I [am the] griffin who is in Abydos.

[Another] manner of them(?)²²³ to give favor to a man before a woman and vice versa, before [the sun(?)]. You (f.s.) are The Great One, the great of magic, the Ethiopian [cat]²²⁴ the daughter of Re, the mistress of the uraeus. You are great Sakhmet, mistress of Ast, who destroyed every enemy, [... eye] of Pre in the sound eye, to whom the moon gave birth on the 15th day (of the month), at night. You (f.) are the great creation of Nun; you (f.) are the creation of the great ... who is in the House of the Obelisk [which is in] Heliopolis; you (f.) are the golden mirror; [you (f.) are the] morning barque, the barque of [the sun ...]LANDJA, the youth, the son of the Greek woman, the Libyan woman of the ... (360) dom-palm fruit, these other secrets ... of By-wekem. The favor and the love which the sun, your (f.) father, gave to you (f.), give [them] down to me in this oil ... before every heart and eye of every woman before whom I am going in. [Invocation] to a black *qesh*-fish(?) 9 fingers (in length): [You should put it] in rose oil, you should drown it in it, you should bring [it (back) out], you should hang (it) by [its] head [for ? days]. When you have finished, you should put it in a glass vessel, you should (add) a little water of sisymbrium together with a small “amulet-of-Isis”-plant which is ... and pounded and you should recite these to it 7 times for 7 days opposite the rising of the sun. You should anoint your face with it (365) at the time when you lie with a woman and you should embalm the fish with myrrh and natron. You should bury it in your house or in a hidden place.

²²² Perhaps a rendering of SABAOTH.

²²³ “Them” would refer to erotic recipes of this type.

²²⁴ According to the *Myth of the Sun's Eye*, Tefnut, the daughter of Ra, fled to Ethiopia in the form of a cat; see GMPT, n. 284. See Spiegelberg 1917, 2–3.

recto col. xiii →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 366–384

- 1 p: ky n prd hwt r šm.t šm.t r p:yšs hy
 wy sp-2 hō(.t) sp-2 ir(?) Gb hbr=f n k: nq=f [...] mw.t f Tfn.t m w^{oγλ[r]ME}hm [...] 370
 mw wwhe(?) p: ib n it=f hr=f p: hyt n p: nt iw by=f m st.t iw he(.t)=f m iwn mtw=f [...] λαλατ
 mh p: t: n st.t mtw n: [tw.w] syt n s:l(?) p: hyt n ntr nb ntr.t nb nh-wr L:l[ʿt]
 βαρεζακ
 5 B'reš'k Bel-kš [...] hwy mn p: šr n t: mn [...] t: mn t: šr.t n t: mn 370
 my t: st.t m-s: h: t f t: šht.t n p:y=f m: n sdr iw b[...] n st.t n mst [...]
 r-hn r h: t f n hte.t nb š'-mtw=f hwy t:(?) mn t: šr.t n mn r-bnr hn n:y=f wy.w iw s lk(?)
 mst n h: t f iw s hr hnt n hr=f my n=f p: wywy p: w'w' p: :h[e(?)] p: hnt iw t-w
 n hte.t nb š'-mtw prd r n:y=w iry.w iw bn-pw=w htp r šwe r-nhe κμερ[...] 375
- 10 **ωελ** mtw=k tì irp r-ir=w mtw=k h:(=w n) w' twtw(?) n Gb iw wn w' w:s n-dr.t f 375
 n p: m'me nt hr šm=f r-ir=w iir-k iny w' m'me mtw=k ir=f n hsy hn hyn.w **μαογ** mtw=k tì swr
 p: rmt n p:y=f p:
 n-im=f hr ir=f **εωνm** n p: byl 2 iir-k nt **μοσε** hr nkt nb n wnm mtw=k tì wnm=f s rmt hr ir=f(?)
μογντο mtw=f **ωεε** mtw=f **μογ** iir-k ir=f r iny šm.t iir-k iny w' m'me iir-k h: f hr w'.t
 bld(.t) n n-ge yl
 Hr mtw=k w:h=f hr t: tse(.t) n w' s mtw=k tì p:y=f st hn w'.t bld(.t) n hr n mtw=k wrh=f iw=f nh r-
 hn ir=f(?) n nb mtw=k mtw=k iw=f nt.t r-r=f
- 15 n p: r: n w'.t s.t-iw=y-w n t: šm.t mtw=k qs p:y=f st tì hl mtw=k tiy=f r-hn w'.t :lytk.t n nb 380
 mtw=k tiy=s r p:y=k db' bn-m-s: š n:y sh.w r-r=f mtw=k ms' r m: [nb] irm=f r šm.t nb nt iir-k r
 mh.t n-im=s hr [wh:(?)]-s m-s:k
 hr ir-k=f iw i'h mh iir-k ir=f r tì ire šm.t lyb m-s: hwt iir-k f[y] p:y=f **coma** iw=f šwy iir-k nt[f
 iir-k] fy
 w' hm n-im=f irm w' hm n snf n p:y=k db' n mh-2 n p: s'lpy[n] n t:y=k(.t) dr.t n smh iir-k th=f irm=f
 iir-k tiy=f
 r w' d' n irp iir-k tiy=f n t: šm.t mtw=s swr=f hr ir-s lyb [m-]s:k iir-k tì p:y=f **ca6e** r w' irp

The procedure of separating a man from a woman, a woman from her husband: “Woe! Woe! Flame! Flame! Geb made his form into a bull; he copulated ... his mother Tefnut again²²⁵ ... as the heart of his father curses(?) his face, the fury of the one whose ba-soul is (as) a flame while his body is (as) a pillar so that he ... fills the earth with flame and so that the [mountains] shoot with tongues. The fury of every god and every goddess, the great living one, LALAT (370) BAREZAK, Eye of Ethiopia²²⁶ ... is cast (on) him, NN, the son of her, NN [and], NN, the daughter of her, NN. Put the flame after his heart, the fire in his bedroom while the flame of hatred [does not cease entering] into his heart at any time until he throws her, NN, the daughter of her, NN, out from his houses, as she stops(?) hatred in his heart,²²⁷ as she carries quarreling to his face. Give to him nagging and squabbling, fighting and quarreling between them at all times until (they) separate from their partner(s), they not having been at peace forever and ever.” Gum ... (375) myrrh. And you put wine on them and you put them (in) a statue²²⁸ of Geb with a *was*-scepter in his hand.²²⁹

[The recipes] of the shrew-mouse, in which it goes.²³⁰ You should bring a shrew-mouse and drown it in water and have the man drink it. He goes blind in both eyes. If you grind (its) body(?)²³¹ with anything to eat and have the man eat it, he blisters,²³² swells up and dies. If you do it to bring a woman, you should bring a shrew-mouse and put it on a sherd from a Syrian pot and put it on the backbone of a donkey and you put its tail in a Syrian potsherd again, or glass. Again,²³³ you should release it alive in (380) the door of a bath place of the woman, or(?) you should gild it and you should embalm its tail and put pounded myrrh and put it into a gold ring(?) and put it on your finger after reciting these formulas to it and you should go to [any] place with it. Every woman whom you shall seize, she wants you.²³⁴ You do it while the moon is full. If you do it to make a woman mad about a man, you should take its dry body²³⁵ and you should pound [it and you should] take a little of it together with a little blood from your second finger and little finger of your left hand and you should mix it with it and you should put it in a cup of wine and you should give it to the woman so that she drinks it.²³⁶ She becomes mad after you. If you put its gall in a (measure of) wine

²²⁵ This is a reference to the rape of the goddess Tefnut by her son, the earth god Geb; see von Lieven 2015, 190–197.

²²⁶ Tefnut; see above, n. to l. 356.

²²⁷ The word *lk* is uncertain. Griffith and Thompson 1904 suggest *hr*. Both they and Quack 2008 suggest a meaning along the lines of “being hated in his heart,” a reading which makes much more sense in a separation-procedure.

²²⁸ The star-determinative suggested to Griffith and Thompson 1904, 94, n. to l. 10, that this is a reference to the planet Kronos, associated with Geb, otherwise called Horus the Bull and depicted as a bull-headed man holding a *was*-scepter, the symbol of dominion.

²²⁹ This too is possibly a bull-headed image of Geb/Kronos (= Horus the Bull) with a *was*-scepter; see GMPT, n. 300.

²³⁰ Here begins a series of short recipes in which the shrew mouse plays a role, most of them for cursing or for erotic attraction and most beginning with conditional protasis, “If you ...”

²³¹ See Griffith and Thompson 1904, 94–95, n. to l. 12, suggesting the word *moce* is a mistake for Greek *cōμα*; cf. n. 235 below.

²³² See Griffith and Thompson 1904, 95, n. to l. 13.

²³³ That is, “if you want to bring a woman.”

²³⁴ This recipe resembles three recipes for rings that aim at the affections of others: GEMF 15.250–318/PGM XII 201–269 (for success) and 319–399/PGM XII 270–350 (for success, favor and victory) and in GEMF 15/PDM XII 6–20 (to cause praise). This ring with the tail of a shrew mouse is, however, focused on sexual attraction and perhaps only works if the owner seizes the woman, perhaps with the hand on which the ring is placed.

²³⁵ The word for body is the Greek *cōμα* written in cipher script.

²³⁶ For parallels for women placing their menstrual blood in a man’s drink, see Faraone 1999, 120.

col. xiii (cont.) →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 385–394

- 20 *mtw p; rmt swr=f hr* ΜΤΕϠ *t;y hte(.t) n-ge tiy=f r nkt nb [n wnm] iir-k ti p;y=f* ΖΕΤ *r w' htm* 385
n nb mtw-k tiy=f r dr.t-k mtw-k mš' r m' nb hr tw=f hpr n-k [hs.t mr.t šfe].t iir-k ir w' B66 *hsy hn*
w' irp mtw-k ti swr s p; rmt hr ΜΤΕϠ *iir-k ti p; CΛ66 n [g']:(.t) n R'-qt r nkt nb n wnm*
hr ΜΤΕϠ *iir-k ti w'.t ZΛϠΛ n st 2 r p; nhe [mtw-k psy].t-s mtw-k ths p; rmt n-im=f hr [...]*
iir-k wh; hpr ΠΛΕΙΩΕ *hr rmt mtw-s tm l'k-s w'.t [Z]ΑΝΤΟΥC [irm(?) w'.t(?) ZΛϠΛ] mtw-k*
psy.t-w hr [...]
- 25 *mtw-k dqm p; rmt n-im-w iir-k wh; r ti ir=f* ΧΟΥΡ *iir-k ti [...]* *hr ir=f* ΧΟΥΡ *iir-k ti hnq(?) [...]* 390
r ir.t-f n rmt hr ir=f ΕΩΝΜ
n; sh.w nt hr ir-k š-w r p; gswr n p; nw nt iir-k mh't n(?) t; shm.t n-im[=f ...] *Y:h. 3 br's'ks*
my.t my ir-s
my ire mn r-ms mn mh m-s;y r p; myt mtw-k drp [...] *hr ir-s w'h-s m-s;k hr sh-k [...]*
n r t; tys(.t) nt hr ir-k qs p:(?) [m'me(?) n-im=f

(385) and the man drinks it, he dies immediately, or (if you) put it in something [to eat]. If you put its heart into a seal-ring of gold and put it on your hand and you go to any place, it creates [favor, love, respect]²³⁷ for you. If you drown a falcon in a (measure of) wine and make the man drink it, he dies. If you put the gall of an Alexandrian weasel in anything to eat, he dies. If you put a *hafflela*-lizard²³⁸ with 2 tails in the wine [and you cook] it and you anoint the man with it, he ... If you wish to cause a skin disease on a man so that it does not heal, a *hantous*-lizard²³⁹ and a *hafflela*-lizard, you should cook them with ... (390) and you should wash the man with them. If you wish that he be destroyed,²⁴⁰ you should put(?) ... He is destroyed If you put beer ... in the man's eye, he is blinded.

The formulas which you recite to the ring at the time when you seize the woman:²⁴¹ “may NN, whom NN bore, love me! May she burn after me on the road! And may you ... YAHŌ, ABRASAKS²⁴² ...²⁴³ and she follows after you. You write (i.e. this) ... again on the strip with which you embalm the [tail of a shrew-mouse(?)].²⁴⁴

²³⁷ For this restoration, see Quack 2011a, 68–72.

²³⁸ The *hafflela*-lizard, written here in Coptic cipher script (Crum 741a). For the Demotic form *hfl.t*, see Erichsen 303.

²³⁹ The word for ‘lizard’ is here in Coptic, cf. Crum 11b. See n. 526.

²⁴⁰ Griffith and Thompson 1904 transliterate this word as $\tau\omicron\gamma\rho$, but the same sign is used in the cipher for τ and χ . They nonetheless understand the word as a writing of $\chi\omega\rho\rho\epsilon$, which means ‘to be strong’ or ‘to scatter’, the latter used of people means ‘to destroy’ or ‘to bring to naught’. The Achmimic form $\chi\omicron\gamma(\omicron\gamma)\rho\epsilon$ is close to that which appears here.

²⁴¹ This formula seems to have been detached from the recipe above in this same col. for a gold ring that contains the embalmed tail of the mouse in a gold ring.

²⁴² Iaō (i.e. Yahweh) Abrasax are commonly found in Greek magical texts.

²⁴³ The verb *ḏrp* (not translated here) is written before the lacuna, and means ‘to stumble’ or, transitively ‘to trip (someone), to hinder, to impede’; see GMPT, 218, n. 309.

²⁴⁴ In addition to reciting the formula aloud, we are to take the cloth strip used to embalm the tail (see above) and inscribe it with the same formula.

recto col. xiv →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 395–410

- 1s *p: iw-de ke rmt n-y d r-wn n ir.t sp-2 š: sp 4* 395
- 1 šn hn *r-wn n ir.t-y.t r-wn n ir.t-k ts-phr š: sp 3²⁴⁵ r-wn Dd° r-wn Np° 3 sp*
TAT
ΑΡΤΑΜΟ
r-wn [n-y(?) sp(?)] 3(?)° d ink irtm.° r-ms Hme.° p: syt° s n pr ib.[t nt] h° irm p:yk it
ΑΡΤΑΜΟ
n twe h(y) sp-2 H[h(?) r-]wn n-y H'h° hr d-k-f iir-k sq n hrw-k irtm.° r-wn n-y H'h° iir-k
ΝΤΑ
tm (r-)wn n-y H'h iw-y r ti ir-k wn n-y H'h° hb sp-2° nwdh mtw(=y) nw [r] p: ntr° Inp p: nš
- 5 *nt n n-y-d; d; y° p: nš.t° s n wd:t° p: nš Inp° p: mr-ih nfr° r-wn (mt.t) nb iir-y* 400
ΝΑΚΘΗΜ ΝΑΚΛΗΤ ΝΑΚΡΗΤΒ ΒΟΡΙΑΔΜΜΑΔΙ
wnh-k r-ir-y° d ink N:e-sthōm° N:e-sdōt° N:e-shōtb° B. s.ryl'mm'y sp-2°
ΜΑΚΤΙΝΞ ΜΕΠΙΣΤΕ
M'stsynks Inp° mekyste° ry'n p: nt syw° ry'n p:y.y in-wdy ry:n
ΦΡΕΙΞ ΪΞ ΑΝΑΞ[...]ΒΡΟΞ ΔΑΜΒΡΟΞ ΕΒΟΡΞΞΟΝ ΞΟΝ
p: nt n-bnr h(y) Phryks° Yks° n'ks[y]br. s.ks° mbr. s.ks° Eb. s.rks° Ks. s.n°
ΝΒΡΟΧΡΙΑ ΜΑΚΦΟΝΕΚΕ
Nbr. s.khr p: hrq wr Inp° d ink p:y.y mty° n:w Itef° n:w Pephwn° M'sph. s.nege°
ΘΑΜ ΘΑΜΘΟΜ ΘΑΜΑΘΟΜ
- 10 *h(y) my hpr n: iw d-y nb ty n p: hrw° de h(y)° mtw-k Th'm° Th'mth. s.m° Th'mth. s.m°* 405
ΘΑΜΑΘΟΜΘΑΜ ΘΑΜΑΘΟΥΘΙ ΘΟΜ
Th'm'thwmt'h° Th'm'thwtsy° Imn° sp-2° p:yk rn n mtre° nt iw(=w(?)) d rn-f° d Th. s.m°
ΔΝΑΚΘΟΜ ΙΤΘ ΘΟΥΘΙ ΣΙΘΟΜ ΔΝΙΘΗΜ ΟΠ ΣΑΟ ΖΑΤΝ ΣΡΟ
inkth. s.m° mtwk Yth° Thwtsy rny-k° Sythōm° nythōm° Ip-s:° Š'tn-sr
- km° r-wn n-y n: r. w n p:y(=y) hn ty n p: hrw° im n-y r n: r. w n p:y(=y) hn° p:y(=y) swt° my ire*
p:y(=y) ipt° ir p:(?) w[be(?)] n t: p.t° my ire n: whr. w n P:-hwlōt° ti n-y p: nt n m: t n p: Nwn my
d-w n-y
- 15 *p: nt iw-y šn hr-r-f ty n p: hrw n m: t sp-2° iw mn mt.t n de n-im-w° Δ° Ε° Η° Ι° Ο° Υ° Ω*
ΜΑΧΟΠΝΕΥΜΑ
M'kh. s.pnewm' 410

²⁴⁵ For discussion of the sign above *sp* 3 “three times,” see Griffith and Thompson 1904, 98, n. to l. 2

[A vessel **divination**]: “Open my eye(s)! Open your (m.s.) eye(s)” and vice versa, up to 3 times—(395) that which another man said, “Open my eye(s)! Open my eye(s)” 2 times up to 4 times—²⁴⁶ Open, TAT!²⁴⁷ Open NAP! Three times. Open ...! For I am ARTAMO whom the great craftsman²⁴⁸ bore, the great serpent of the East [who] rises with your father at dawn. Hail, hail, HEH; open to me, HAH.”²⁴⁹ You say it drawing breath(?), “ARTAMO, open to me, HAH! If you do not open to me, HAH, I shall cause that you open, HAH. Ibis, (say it) twice, sprinkle²⁵⁰ so that I may see the great god Anubis, the powerful one (400) who is before me, the great strength of the sound eye. O powerful Anubis, the good cattleherd, open every(thing) to me! Reveal yourself to me, for I am NASTHŌMNASDJŌT NASHŌTB BORILAMMAEI (say it) twice MASTINX Anubis MEGISTE²⁵¹ ARYAN²⁵² the one who is great, ARYAN,²⁵³ this one who brings safety, ARYAN, the one who is outside. O PHREIX IX ANAX[I]BROX AMBROX EBORXXON XON,²⁵⁴ NBROCHRIA, the great child, Anubis, for I am this soldier. Those of the *atef*-(crown),²⁵⁵ those of PEPHNOUN²⁵⁶ MASPHONEKE, (405) hail! Let everything I have said happen here today, for—hail!—you are THAM THAMTHOM THAMATHOM THAMATHOMTHAM THAMATHOUTHI Amun, twice is your true name, whose name is said THOM ANAKTHOM;²⁵⁷ you are ITTH THOUTHI is your name, SITHOM ANITHŌM OP SAO ZATN SRO, black (one), open to me the mouths of my vessel! Come to me at the mouths of my vessel here today, my bandage! May my cup make (the) [reflection?] of the sky! May the dogs of Phulot give to me that which is just in the Primeval Waters! Let them tell me that about which I am asking (or, will ask) here today in truth, truly, there being no falsehood therein. A E Ē I O U Y Ō (410) MACHOPNEUMA.²⁵⁸

²⁴⁶ This line is written above the frame, as an addition.

²⁴⁷ This transliteration is based on the gloss, rather than the Demotic.

²⁴⁸ Ptah, craftsman god of Memphis.

²⁴⁹ This may be either a phonetic spelling of the previous word (HEH), or the word for “flame.”

²⁵⁰ An ibis is here addressed and asked to *ndh* ‘sprinkle’, so that Anubis appears to the practitioner. The act of sprinkling, probably water, may be connected to the purification of the place for the performance of the ritual; see Vinson 2018, 166–167.

²⁵¹ The gloss suggests that this is the vocative of the Greek adjective μέγιστος, ‘greatest’, often used in prayer. It is probably not a coincidence that the next invocation, “ARYAN, the one who is great” also focuses on greatness.

²⁵² Arian appears in a fragmentary Demotic myth in copies dating to the early Roman period as a Near Eastern ruler who assists Isis in her search for the body of Osiris after his death; see Quack and Ryholt 2019, 121–124.

²⁵³ ARYAN is probably the same as ARIAN in the previous phrase, yielding a triple description: “ARIAN ... who is great, ... brings safety... who is outside.”

²⁵⁴ The Demotic glosses treat EBŌRKKS and KSŌN as separate names; the Old Coptic glosses give EBŌRKSKSŌN and a separate KSŌN.

²⁵⁵ A crown worn by both the king and Osiris.

²⁵⁶ Perhaps “He of the Primeval Waters (Nun).”

²⁵⁷ This name is written phonetically as ANAKTHOM, but ANAK is probably to be understood as “I (am),” written phonetically, with its meaning concealed by the transmission process.

²⁵⁸ Here are the seven Greek vowels (a common part of Greek magical incantations), each separated by a high dot that tells us to pronounce them separately. They are followed by a magical word written in Demotic with a foreign word determinative, which phonetically also seems to be Greek, a compound from μάχομαι, ‘to fight’ and πνεῦμα, ‘spirit’, i.e. ‘spirit of strife’; see GMPT, n. 326.

col. xiv (cont.) →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 411–427

d mt.t hr iny_zk w^c d^c n hmt^o mtw_zk pth w^c **twtw** n 'Inp hn_zf mtw_zk mh_zf n mw n sdr^o n
 mn_z bw-ir p; r^c gm.t_zf^o mtw_zk dq hr_zf n nhe n m_z:t^o mtw_zk w_zh_zf hr **tb_z.t** n-m_zy iw hr_zw prh
 n š^c mtw_zk ti ke **tb_z.t** 4.t hr p; hm-hl^o mtw_zk ti ire p; hm-hl sdr r-hr he.t_zf^o

20 mtw_zk ti ir_zf w_zh t_zy_zf mr_z r t; **tb_z.t** n p; hn^o mtw_zk ti ir_zf kšp r-hn p; nhe iw wn w^c hbs prh r **tp_zf^o**
 iw wn w^c hbs iw_zf t-r.t_z hr p_zy_zf wnm^o w^c **b hr st.t** hr p_zy_zf i_zb^o mtw_zk ti w^c hlpe n **sym** n 415
 'Inp hr p; hbs mtw_zk ti p_zy_z **sty** r-hry^o mtw_zk š n_zy sh.w nt hry r p; hn n **sp 7 p; sty** nt iir_zk ti.t_zf
 r-hry ;lbwn_z mrhe^o ;mwny_zk trymy^c.t.s^o bne^o nt_zw hr irp mtw_zk ir_zw n

bnn mtw_zk ti r-hry n-im_zw^o iir_zk w_zh iir_zk ti ire p; **hm-hl** wn ir.t_zf^o iir_zk šn.t_zf de n; p; ntr iy r-hn^o
 iw_zf

25 d w_zh(?) p; ntr iy [r-h]n^o iir_zk š h(t).t_zf **d mt.t** p_zy_zk q; M_zi 'Inp^o p_zy_z [mt]_z-y p_zy_z K_zm
ⲙⲁⲙⲏ ⲕⲁⲙ
ⲛⲓⲣⲉⲓⲟⲓ ⲉⲣⲉⲓⲟⲓ ⲁⲃⲣⲓⲟⲓ
 p_zy_z Km p_zy(?) [...]_z p_zy_z Srytsy sp-2^o Srytsy sp-2^o ;brytsy^o rny[_zk]^o n p_zy_zk rn n mtre^o 420

mtw_zk šn.t_zf r p; nt iir_zk [wh_zz] iir_zk w_zh n p_zy_zk šn nt iir_zk šn hr-r_zf iir_zk š r-r_zf n **sp 7** iir_zk w_zt [p;
 ntr] r p_zy_zf 'wy **p_zy_zf w_zt**

w_zt nfr sp-2 'I[**np**] p; mr-ih nfr 'Inp sp-2^o p; š r n nw wnše whr p_z[y(?) de(?)] k(y)-**dm** d p; š r n
ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲓⲥⲟⲓⲛⲁⲃⲣⲓⲥⲟⲓ [...]
 ;s.t whr N;b[ry]š. ;.th_z p; gerwbe n imn_zt^o Pr-_z ;.w.s. (n) n_zy h(?)e(?)[...]° d sp **7** iir_zk fy

30 p; hbs r p; 'I[w]^o iir_zk fy p; hn nt hr mw^o iir_zk fy t; šntō [hr] ;t.t_zf^o hr ir_zk_zf n
 n šn hn [w_zet].t_zk^o nfr sp-2 ip iw_zf dnt n **sp 9** **p; sym** n 'Inp [h]r rt_zf n hhe n m_z:
 t_zy_zf gb_z.t m-[q_zy t;] gb_z.t [n **sym**]-n-hr iw_zf ty wbh t_zy_zf **hrr**; [m-]qt[y t; h]rr_z n ;nq
] iir_zk [...] **ir.t** [...] iw bw-ir-tw_zk [...] p; hn 425

GEMF 16.411–427

Formula: You bring a copper cup; you engrave an image of Anubis in it;²⁵⁹ you fill it with settled water (which is) guarded (so that) the sun cannot find it; you fill up its surface with true oil; you put it on [3] new brick(s) whose undersides are spread with sand; you put another 4 bricks under the youth; you make the youth lie down on his belly; you make him put his chin on the bricks of the vessel; you make him look into the oil while a cloth is spread over him (415) and while a lighted lamp is in his right hand and a burning censer in his left (hand); you put a lobe of Anubis-plant on the lamp; you put this incense up (on the censer); and you recite these above-mentioned formulas to the lamp 7 times. The incense which you should put up (on the censer): frankincense, *merhe*-oil,²⁶⁰ styrax,²⁶¹ terebinth,²⁶² and dates; pound them in wine; make them into a ball and offer them up. When you are finished, you should have the youth open his eye(s) and you should ask him, “Is the god coming in?” If he says, “The god has already come in,” you should recite before him. **Formula**: “Your bull(?), MAŌ, O Anubis, this ...OY, this KAM, (420) this blackness,²⁶³ this [soldier],²⁶⁴ this PISREITHI, (say it) twice, SREITHI (say it) twice, ABRITHI is your name, being your true name.” And you should ask him about that which you [wish]. When you have finished the inquiry that you are inquiring about, you should recite to him 7 times and you should dismiss [the god] to his house. **His dismissal**: “Farewell, farewell, [Anubis], the good cattleherd, Anubis, Anubis the son of ... and a dog, the ...—another papyrus says “the son of a wolf and a dog”—NABRIZŌTH, the cherub of the West, king of those of ...” Say 7 times. You should lift the lamp from the youth, you should lift the vessel which is full of water, you should lift the cloth off him. You do it (425) also with a vessel inquiry, you being [alone]. It is very good, tested 9 times. **The Anubis-plant**: It grows in millions of places; its leaf is like [the] leaf of Syrian-[plant] which grows white; its flower is [like the] flower of conyza(?). ... you (should) ... eye(s) ... before you have ... the vessel.

²⁵⁹ Previous lecanomancy recipes in this handbook suggested that the god would appear to the medium; this detail suggests that images could be placed at the bottom of the bowl to encourage these visions.

²⁶⁰ With the same consonantic structure in Demotic but with substance-determinative instead of vessel-determinative, we have *mtḥ* ‘asphalt’ (Erichsen 169), which appears in Coptic as ΔΜΡΗΖΕ (Crum 9a).

²⁶¹ *mwnyk* is a transliteration of the Greek ἀμμωνιακή; cf. Griffith and Thompson 1904, 102; Dieleman 2005, 308. Note that both Griffith and Thompson and Dieleman take it for *ammoniakon thumiotos*, so ‘gum-ammoniacum incense’, rather than ‘styrax’, ‘terebinth’.

²⁶² The Demotic *trymyḥ.t.s* is transliterating either θυμιάματος or τέρμυθος. See Griffith and Thompson 1904, 102, n. to l. 23, who go with the former (“incense”), understanding it as a complement to ἀμμωνιακή, but the latter (“terebinth”) is a closer match to the form of the Demotic.

²⁶³ Also pronounced *kam*.

²⁶⁴ Assuming the partially preserved word is *mty*, ‘soldier’ (Coptic ΜΑΤΟΙ), from ‘Mede’; see GMPT, n. 330.

recto col. xv →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 428–446

- 1 w^c *tī swr iir=k iny w^c hm n hñ n pe.t n w^c rmt iw=f mwṯ n htb.t^o*
irm 7(.t) n blbyl.t n it(?) n tms hn w^c.t be.t n rmt iw=f mwṯ^o mtw=k nt-w irm ip.t 10.t
k(y)-d 9.t pr.w n dph^o mtw=k tī snf n w^c.t h'l'm't(.t) n w^c iwīw km r-h(e).t^cw^o irm w^c hm n 430
snf n p:y:k db^c n mh-2 n p: s'l;pyn n t:y:k(.t) dr.t n gbyr irm t:y:k(.t) mt.t^o mtw=k
- 5 *hm=w n w^c sp mtw=k tiy=st r w^c d^c n irp mtw=k tī.t wth 3 r-r=f n t:*
h:yṯ.t n p: irp^o iw bw-ir-tw=k tp=f^o iw bw-ir-tw=w wtne hn=f^o mtw=k š p:y.y š r-r=f n sp 7
mtw=k tī swr s t: šhm.t n-im=f mtw=k mr p: hr n p: syb nt hry n w^c.t tys(.t) n šs(-n)nsu(.t)
mtw=k mr=s r p:y:k dnñ n gbyr p:y:f š d mt.t *ink p:e ;bt n m^c.t n* 435
mnqe n ms n rn=s n šs.t t: sbb-hh^o ta t: s.t-sbh n P:-š'y^o
TAN
- 10 *ink p:y.y twtw n P:-R^c S:t-me-sr rny=f^o ink p:y.y twtw n mr-mš^c r ph.t^o p:y.y*
t: hō(.t) 3.t^o
š^c p:y.y shr 3.t rny=f^o ink p:y.y twtw n Hr p:y.y š^cm p:y.y š^c p:y.y
shr 3(.t?) rn=f^o ink p:y.y twtw n hsy²⁶⁵ nt mtr n sh nt htp r mr ty hr
t: htp.t 3.t n 'lbt^o nt-r mtr p: snf n Wsir r rn=s n šs.t iw=w tiy=f r-hry hn 440
p:y.y d(°) p:y.y irp my n-im=f snf n Wsir tw=f n šs.t r tī ir=s w^c mre n h:ṯ:s r-r=f
MAI
- 15 *n grh mtre.t n nw nb iw mn nw š^r ° my n-im=f p: snf n mn r-ms mn r tiy=f*
n mn r-ms mn hn p:y.y d(°) p:y.y ipt n irp n p: hrw r tī ir=s w^c mr n h:ṯ:s r-r=f
p: mr nt r ir s šs.t r Wsir iw=s qte m-s:f r m^c nb^o my ir s mn t: š^r(.t) n mn
iw=s qte m-s: mn p: š^r n mn r m^c nb^o p: pd nt r ir s šs.t r Hr Bhtt my 445
ir s t: mn r mn iw=s mr n-im=f iw=s lby m-s:f iw=s rqh n-dr.ṯ=f iw=s qte m-s:f

²⁶⁵ As in l. 577, there is a *ntr*-sign written after the *h*, cf. the comments in Griffiths and Thompson 1904, 106.

A potion:²⁶⁶ You should bring a small shaving(?) of the head of a man who was murdered together with 7 grains of barley buried in a grave of a dead man, you should pound them with 10 *oipe*—(430) another manuscript says 9—of apple seeds,²⁶⁷ you should put blood of a tick²⁶⁸ of a black dog together with a little blood of your second finger and the little finger of your left hand and your semen,²⁶⁹ you should press them together, you should put them in a wine cup, you should add to it 3 ladles²⁷⁰ of the first fruits of the wine before you have tasted it and before an offering has been poured from it, you should recite this formula to it **7** times, you should have the woman drink from it, you should bind the skin of the above-mentioned tick with a band of byssus, (435) and you should tie it to your left arm. **Its invocation: Formula:** I am he of Abydos in truth in the completion of birth in her name as Isis, the bringer of flame, she of the seat of mercy of Pshai. I am this image of the sun; SITAMESRO²⁷¹ is my name. I am this image of the strong general; this sword, this great overthrower, ‘the great flame’ is my name. I am this image of Horus; ‘this fortress, this sword, this great overthrower’ is my name. I am this image of the drowned one (i.e. Osiris), who testifies in writing, who rests on the shore here under (440) the great offering table of Abydos, to whose name of Isis the blood of Osiris bore witness when it was put down in this cup. This wine, give it, the blood of Osiris (which) he gave to Isis to cause that she feel love for him in her heart at night, at midday, at any time, there not being time of change.²⁷² Give it, the blood of NN, whom NN bore, to give it to NN, whom NN bore, in this cup, this cup of wine today in order to make her feel love for him in her heart. The love which Isis felt for Osiris while she was seeking after him in every place, let NN, the daughter of NN feel it (445) while she is seeking after NN, the son of NN, in every place. The longing which Isis felt for Horus, the Behdetite,²⁷³ may NN feel it for NN, she loving him, she being mad for him, she being inflamed by him, she seeking after him

²⁶⁶ A love potion, as becomes apparent later.

²⁶⁷ An *oipe* is an Egyptian measure, equivalent to one sixth of an artaba in the Roman period, i.e. ca 6.4 liters. This would be a large amount of apple seeds. See below, n. 498.

²⁶⁸ The identification of *hʿmʿt* in l. 430 with *syb* of l. 434 indicates the meaning ‘tick’ (Crum 318b–319a); see Johnson, GMPT, 220, n. 341. Cf. Plin. *NH* 27, 77; 30, 24

²⁶⁹ Or, ‘urine’.

²⁷⁰ For this translation, cf. Crum 499a, s.v. *οὔρα* giving the equivalence *κύαθος*, cf. Pestman 1977, 71.

²⁷¹ This may mean something like “the daughter of the Sun.” Quack 2008, 349 suggests it is an unetymological writing of “son of her born of Re” (“Sohn derer, die Re geboren hat”).

²⁷² The idea is that the human blood in the potion given to the woman to drink, will be as effective as Osiris’ blood, when he gave it to Isis in a potion. The parallels continue in the formula that follows.

²⁷³ Horus the Behdetite is the form of Horus, son of Re, worshipped at Edfu, where he is usually distinguished from Horus the son of Isis and Osiris.

col. xv (cont.) →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 447–458 [PGM XIVb 12–15]

- 20 *r mʿ nb° iw wn wʿ.t hō.t n st.t hn h:ʿs n tʿyʿs wnw.t n tm nw r-rʿf°*
ke *ky n-īmʿf n p: dnf n p: hbys n tʿyʿk(ʿ.t) ne.t n pr.w dph° hnʿ snf*
n p:ʿyʿk dbʿ nt sh r-hry ʿn mtwʿk nt p: dph mtwʿk tʿ snf r-rʿf mtwʿk tʿyʿf r p: d(ʿ) n irp
mtwʿk ʿš r-rʿf n sp 7 *mtwʿk tʿ swr s tʿ shm.t n p: nw n mʿf* 450
myh
n šm nʿy(ʿy) hr hry ʿ.w.s. iwʿf sre.w irmʿk mtwʿf tm sde r-rʿk
- 25 M³ μή με δίοκε ὁ δε· ανοχπαπι πετο[υ]· μετουβανec· βαcτάζω
 τὴν ταφὴν τοῦ Ὀcίρεωc καὶ ὑπάγω καταc[τ]ῆcαι αὐτὴν εἰc Αβιδoc,
 καταcτῆcαι εἰc ταcταc καὶ καταθέcθαι εἰc [Α]λχαc. εἶάν μοι ὁ Δ κόπου[c] dd md.wt
 παράcχη, προcρέψω αὐτὴν αὐτῶ. 455 [15]
- p:ʿyʿf ʿš n mt.t rmt n Kmy ʿn p:ʿy p:ʿy y nt [hr]y*
παπιπετ[...]
m-ir pt.t m-sʿy tʿ mn ink Ppypetw Metwbʿnes iwʿy fy hr tʿ qs.t n Wsir
- 30 *iwʿy in-nʿ.k r ty.ʿs r ʿIbt r tʿ htpʿs n ʿlg-Hʿh iwʿf hpr mtw tʿ²⁷⁴ mn myhe irmʿy n p: hrw*
° iwʿy r hwy.ʿs r-bnr d sp 7

25 fort. οδε pro ὁ Δ : ὄδε GrTh Pr | post οδε dist. et spat. (ca 2) | post ανοχπαπι spat. (ca 1) | post πετ[] dist. : ανοχ παπιπετου GrTh : ανοχ Παπι πετο[υ] Pr | post μετουβανec dist. || 27 τὰc τ(αφ)άc R : ταcταc GrTh : Ταcταc (pro Ταούac?) Pr | [α]λχαc GrTh | post]λχαc spat. (c. 1) | δ(εἶνα) | κοπουc GrTh : κόπου[c] Pr || 28 l. προc(τ)ρέψω iam Pr

²⁷⁴ This could also be *m*: (i.e a plural).

everywhere, there being a fiery flame in her heart at her moment of not seeing him. **Another** procedure of (doing) it also. The measure (i.e. fragment) of the tip of your fingernail, apple seed, and blood of your finger which is also written above. You should pound the apple and put (the) blood on it and put it in the cup of wine (450) and recite to it **7** times and have the woman drink it at the above-mentioned time.

[A formula] for going before a superior who fights²⁷⁵ with you and does not speak to you:²⁷⁶ “Do not pursue me, NN.²⁷⁷ I am PAPI²⁷⁸ PETOU METOUBANES. I am carrying the mummy of Osiris²⁷⁹ and I am going to bring it to Abydos,²⁸⁰ to bring (it) to Tastai²⁸¹ and lay (it) down (to rest) at Arq-heh.²⁸² And if he, NN, offers me blows,—**words to be spoken**—²⁸³ (455) I will throw it (i.e. the mummy) against him.”²⁸⁴ This which is [below] is its formula again in Egyptian: “Do not run after me, NN (f.)! I am PAPIPETOU METOUBANES, I am carrying the mummy of Osiris, I am going to take it to Abydos in order to cause it to rest in Arq-heh.²⁸⁵ If NN (f.) fights with me today, I shall cast it (i. e. the mummy) out.” Say 7 times.

²⁷⁵ *Myh* (“fight”) is written above *sre* (“range of soldiers, battle array”); here we translate it as a correction. Cf. Griffith and Thompson 1904, 108, n. to l. 24.

²⁷⁶ The formula that follows is written first in Greek (ll. 452–455) and then in a Demotic translation (ll. 456–458).

²⁷⁷ As in l. 107, οδε is probably an abbreviation for ὁ Δ, confirmed by the translation into Demotic that follows (see below).

²⁷⁸ The Greek text reads *ανοχπαπι* (as a compound magical word), followed by *πετο[]* and *μετουβανες* (as two distinct magical words). The word division is notably different from that in the following Demotic version. *ανοχ* is clearly the Greek transliteration of the Old Coptic independent pronoun (first person, sing.) ΔΝΟΧ; the Demotic version has the equivalent *ink*: see Dieleman 2005, 314, n. 31; cf. Griffith and Thompson 1904, 108, n. 25.

²⁷⁹ A parallel phrasing is found in GEMF 15.277/PGM XII 228: τῆς τοῦ μεγάλου ταφῆς; cf. also DT 270 (ILS 8757) at l. 22 (on which, see n. 284 below). Griffith and Thompson 1904, 108, n. 26 have rightly argued that, by the 2nd/3rd century CE, *ταφή* could also be used to mean simply ‘mummy’, a meaning which is found in numerous mummy labels.

²⁸⁰ In Egyptian tradition, the head of Osiris (and later also his mummy) was believed to have been buried in the necropolis of Abydos in Upper Egypt.

²⁸¹ The exact meaning of *ταστάς* (nom. *τασταί*) remains uncertain; remarkably, the reference to *Tastai* is missing from the Demotic version that repeats the formula. Reuvsens 1830, 38 has suggested an emendation to τὰς τ(αφ)άς, which fits the context reasonably well. Cf. Brashear 1995, 3544, who cites Lauth 1886, 36.

²⁸² See above note 29.

²⁸³ These Demotic words were written in red ink in the right margin, and they probably refer to the entire invocation. See Dieleman 2005, 127, with n. 63.

²⁸⁴ A parallel for this threat is found in a Latin curse tablet (transliterated into Greek) from Hadrumetum (DT 270 = ILS 8757); the text reads at ll. 21–14: *si minus, descendo in ἀδύτουσ Osiris et dissolvam* θεν θαπειν (l. τὴν ταφήν) *et mittam ut a flumine feratur*. The utterance of threats against gods is a common magical technique, which dates back to the Pyramid Texts. For ancient Egyptian threat-formulae, see Morschauser 1991; for threats in Late Egyptian ritual texts, see Brashear 1995, 3392; Johnson, GMPT, lvii; Merkelbach and Totti 1991, 83–88; Altenmüller 1977; Sauneron 1966, 40–42; Olsson 1939.

²⁸⁵ See above note 29.

recto col. xvi →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 459–472

- 1 *k(y)-dm̄* ° *θεογ* ° *ih* ° *oh* ° *oōn* ° *ia* ° [...]Δ
Thew ° *Ye* ° *z.e* ° *z.n* ° *Y*° ° *W*° ° *k(y)-dm̄* ° *ε[λ]ων nfr sp-2*
 ΒΩΘ ° *θεογ* ° *ih* ° *ογη* ° *ο* ° *ωε* ° *ia* ° *ογα* ° *φθαχ* ° *ελωαι*
n: mt.wt n p: hbs B.z.th ° *Thew* ° *Ye* ° *We* ° *z* ° *z.e* ° *Y*° ° *W*° ° *Pth.kh* ° *El.z.e* ° 460
iaθ ° *εων* ° *πγριφah* ° *ieoy* ° *ia* ° *iw* ° *ia* ° *ioyh*
Yth ° *E.z.n* ° *Peryph.e* ° *Yew* ° *Y*° ° *Y.z* ° *Y*° ° *Ywe* ° *im r-hry*
- r p: wyn n p:y.y hbs* ° *mtwz k wnh r p:y.y iw* ° *mtwz k sn n-y hr p: nt iw-y sn hr-r-f*°
 iaω ° iaωλω ° *θερενωθ* ° *ψιχιμεαχελο*
 5 *ty n p: hrw* ° *Y.z* ° *Y.z.b* ° *Therenth.z* ° *Psyksyme.khe-l*° ° *Bl-*
 βαλαχανσπλα ° *iah* ° *ογηβαϊ* ° *βαρβαραιθογ* ° *ieoy* ° *κνουφ* ° *αρπον*
kh'nspl° ° *Ye* ° *Weby* ° *Btrbrethw* ° *Yew* ° *tp.z.n* ° *ghnwph*° °
 βριπτατηνωφρι ° *γa* ° *καρη* ° *βαλνενορη* ° *μεν[ε]βαρειαχυχ* ° *ia*
Brynt'ten.z.phry He' grhre B'lmenthre Meneb-ry'khegh Y° ° 465
xyx ° *βριν* ° *σχυλαμα* ° *αρογζαρβα* ° *μεσεχηφ* ° *νιπτογμικ*
Khekh Bryn ° *sklm:* ° *rwns'rb*° ° *Meseghryph* ° *Nyptwmykh*
Ma.z.rkhr'm ° *i L'nkhekh* ° *z.mph* ° *Brymb:ynwy.z*
 θ ° *σεγεν* ° *βαϊ* ° *χωουχε* ° *λαϊ* ° *χαμ* ° *αρμιωουθ*
 10 *th* ° *Sengen-b'y* ° *Gh.z.wghe* ° *Ly-kh'm* ° *zmy.z.wth mtwz k d.t.f*
 τακρτατ
iw=fwb n p:y.y smte° ° *p: ntr nt nh p: hbs nt t-ry.t Tzgrt:p:y d.t wy*
 βοηλ ° *αβηη* ° *αβι* ° *ογθiω* ° *ω ω* ° *βοηλ*
B.z.el r-hn š[sp 3]° ° *zbeth*° ° *b:y Wtsy.z* ° *p: ntr z z r-wy B.z.el* 470
 τατ ° *βοηλ* ° *τακρτατ*
r-hn T:t sp-2° ° *r-wy B.z.el r-hn š' sp 3*° ° *Tzgrt:p:y d.t [r-]wy*
 βαioyθi ° *βοηλ*
B.z.el r-hn š' sp 3 Bewtsy p: ntr z r-wy B.z.el r-hn š' sp 3° °

GEMF 16.459–472

—another manuscript says, THEOU IĒ OUĒ EŌN IA .A—²⁸⁶ (460) The words of the lamp: BŌTH THEOU IĒ OĒ O ŌE IA OUA PHTHAX ELŌAI—another manuscript says E[L]ŌN very good, (say it) twice—IATH EŌN PURIPHAĒ IEOU IA IŌ IA IOUĒ. Come down to the light of this lamp, reveal (yourself) to this youth, and inquire for me concerning that about which I am asking here today! IAŌ IAŌLŌ THERENTHŌ PSICHIMEACHELO BLACHANSPLA IAĒ OUĒBAI BARBARITHOU²⁸⁷ IEOU ARPŌN CHNOUPH²⁸⁸ (465) BRINTATĒNŌPHRI,²⁸⁹ HA²⁹⁰ KARRĒ BALNENTHRĒ MENEBAIEACHUCH²⁹¹ IA²⁹² CHUCH BRIN SCHULMA²⁹³ AROUZARBA MESECHRIPH NIPTOUMICH²⁹⁴ MAORCHARAM ĒI²⁹⁵ LAANCHUCH OMPH BRIMBAINOUIŌTH²⁹⁶ TH SEGEN BAI CHŌOUCHE LAI CHAM ARMIŌOUTH.²⁹⁷ And you should say it²⁹⁸ being pure, in this manner: “O god who lives, O lamp which is lit, TAKRTAT, He of eternity, bring in (470) BŌĒL,²⁹⁹ up to 3 times. ARBĒTH BAI OUTHIŌ. O doubly great god, bring in BŌĒL TAT, (say it) twice³⁰⁰ bring in BŌĒL, up to 3 times, TAKRTAT, He of eternity, bring in BŌĒL, up to 3 times, BAIOUTH, O great god, bring in BŌĒL, up to 3 times.

²⁸⁶ The first line in this column is a scribal note placed above the original first line. It attests to a different and shorter version of the magical name that is introduced in the second line.

²⁸⁷ Variants of this name appear in a long prayer to Horus Harpokrates, e.g. BARBARAI BARBARAŌTH (GEMF 57/PGM IV 1021) and BARBARIĒL BARBARAIĒL ... BARBARAĒL (ll. 1030–1031).

²⁸⁸ The Coptic glosses appear in the reverse order, since they are following the Demotic direction of script.

²⁸⁹ These are the first two words of the ARPONCHNOUPHI-logos, the first word of which seems to combine the names of Horus and Khnum and shows up on gems that depict Harpokrates; Michel 2004, 483. Here it seems that the scribe did not recognize them as such: he divided the name into two names, HARPON and CHNOUPHI, and then reversed them in the gloss above.

²⁹⁰ The name *Ha* has no determinative nor any other punctuation between itself and the following name; the two are treated separately here because there is a space between the two and the Old Coptic glosses are separate. The transliteration assumes that the dot used to separate (parts of) names elsewhere is mistakenly omitted here.

²⁹¹ The gloss suggests that this is a variant of MENEBA(I)CHUCH (GEMF 74.442/PGM VII 363 and 73/IX 4), whose last syllable (CHUCH) is the word “darkness.”

²⁹² The Demotic linear text and Old Coptic gloss *ia* occur at the end of a line; the Demotic has no determinative nor any other punctuation at the end of the line; thus, it could be the beginning of the word which continues into the next line. However, that word is glossed separately, so is here taken as a separate word.

²⁹³ The word BRYSKYLMA (rendered here as two separate names) is the delayed third part of the ARPONCHNOUPHI-logos.

²⁹⁴ These three words following BRYSKYLMA appear on a gem in the Ashmolean Museum as part of the ARPONCHNOUPHI-logos (SMA 7): ARPONUPHI BRINTATĒNŌPHI BRISKULMA RUZABARA MESENKRIPHI NIPTOUMI XMOUMAŌ.

²⁹⁵ Written in Demotic with what appears to be an abbreviated writing of a variant form of the interjection *i* “hail!” This sign is glossed separately from the following magical name but there is no raised dot separating them.

²⁹⁶ The final *th* of this name is written at the beginning of the next line. It is glossed with the expected *theta*, whose gloss also appears at the end of the name in the earlier line.

²⁹⁷ This name appears in two other lamp procedures in this handbook, in both cases as a manuscript variant to the name SISHOYT (ll. 136 and 1201).

²⁹⁸ The lamp, as in l. 480, below; or a mistake for “it/he.”

²⁹⁹ The BŌĒL-logos appears regularly in lychnomancy recipes in the Demotic texts, as well as in two bowl divination recipes; see Nagel 2019, 137.

³⁰⁰ The deified Djed-pillar of Memphis, one of several Memphite deities connected in parallel with BŌĒL; see Nagel 2019, 137–38.

col. xvi (cont.) →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 473–488

15 p: š *nt iir-k š-f r-ḥr P;-R^c n ḥrp iw bw-ir-tw-k š r p: 'lw d r-ir p: nt iir-k ir-f r ḥpr*
 ΤΑΒΑΩ ΒΑCΟΥΧΑΜ ΔΑΜΩ ΔΑΧΑΧΑΡΧΑΝ ΚΡΑΒΟΥΝΖΑΝΟΥΝΙ
p: ntr³ ° T:b:3 B:swkh'm ° m:3 ° kh^c ° gh'r ° kh'n ° gr'bwns^c °
 ΕΔΙΚΟΜΤΩ ΚΕΘΟΥ ΒΑCΑ ΘΟΥΡΙΘΜΙΑ[...]Ω
Nwny ° etsyqme.t G'thwbs'thwry ° thmyl^c.l:3 sp 7 475

ke gy n-īm-f 'n iir-k twn-k n twe ḥr p:y:k klk n ḥrp n p: hrw nt iir-k r-ir-f n-īm-f n-ge hrw nb

d r-ir p: nt iir-k r-ir-f nb r mtre n-dr.t-k iir-k w'b r bt: nb iir-k š p:y.y š r-ḥr P;-R^c n sp 3 n-ge sp 7
 Ω ΤΑΒΑΩ CΟΧΟΜ ΜΟΑ ΟΧ ΟΧ ΧΑΝ ΒΟΥΖΑΝΑΥ ΔΑΝ
 20 *Y:3 ° t:b:3 ° S:3.kh'm ° mw:3 ° 3.kh.3.kh ° kh'n ° bwns^c-nw ° 'In °*
 ΙΕCΙ ΕΚΟΜΦΘΩ ΚΕΘΩ CΕΘΟΥΡΙ ΘΜΙΑ ΑΛΟΥΑΠΟΧΡΙ
yesy ° Eg.3.m.p:t ° Geth.3 ° Sethwry ° Thmyl^c ° 'lw:p.3.khry ° my ire hb nb

nt iw=y r ty.t dr.t(=y) r-r-f ty n p: hrw my ir-f ḥpr p:y-f gy ḥr iny-k w^c ḥbs n-m:y iw bn-pw-w ti prš
r-r-f mtw-k (ti?) 480

w^c s'l iw-f w'b r-r-f mtw-k mh-f n nḥe n m^c:t iw-f w'b ° mtw-k w:h-f n w^c m^c: iw-f w'b n mw n
ḥsmn ° iw-f hep °

mtw-k w:h-f ḥr w:t tb:t n-m:y ° mtw-k iny w^c 'lw mtw-k ti ḥms-f ḥr k.t tb:t n-m:y ° iw ḥr-f

25 *st: r p: ḥbs mtw-k ḥtm n ir(.t)-f ° mtw-k š n:y nt ḥry r-ḥry ḥn tp-f n p: 'lw n sp 7 iir-k ti ir-f wn*

ir.t-f ° iir-k d n-f 'n iir-k nw r p: wyn ° iw-f d n-k tw-y nw r p: wyn ḥn t: st.t n p: ḥbs ° iir-k š t:y
ḥte d

hewe ὕΟΥΕ n sp 9 ° iir-k šn.t-f r p: nt iir-k wh:f nb bn-m-s: š p: š r-ir-k t: ḥ.t m-b:h P;-R^c n ḥrp 485

ḥr ir-k-f n w^c m^c: iw t: wn r pr i:bt mtw-k ḥ^c: ḥr-f n p: ḥbs iw-f st: mtw-k ḥ^c: ḥr-f n p: 'lw

iw-f st: r-ḥr p: ḥbs iir-k ḥr i:b n-īm-f iir-k š r-ḥry ḥn tp-f iir-k qlh r tp-f n p:y-k db^c n mh-2
[...] n t:y-k(.t) dr.t

30 *n wnm*

GEMF 16.473–488

The invocation which you should recite before the sun early in the morning before you have spoken to the youth in order that that which you will do will happen: “O great god, TABAŌ BASOUCHAM AMŌ, ACHACHARCHAN KRABOUNZANOUNI (475) EDIKOMTŌ³⁰¹ KETHOU BASA THOURITHMILAALŌ, **7 times**.

Another procedure (of doing) it also: You should arise at dawn (from) on your bed early in the day on which you will do it, or any day, in order that everything which you will do will be exact through your agency, you being pure from all evil. You should recite this formula before the sun 3 times or 7 times, “IŌ TABAŌ³⁰² SOCHOM MOA OCH OCH CHAN BOUZANAU AN³⁰³IESI EKOMPHTHŌ³⁰⁴ KETHŌ SETHOURI THMILA ALOUPOCHRI³⁰⁵ let everything (480) which I will undertake here today, (let it) happen! **Its procedure**: You bring a new lamp into which red ocher has not been put, you (put) a clean wick in it, you fill it with pure true oil, you put it in a hidden place which is cleansed with natron water, you put it on a new brick, you bring a youth and have him sit on another brick while his face is turned to the lamp, you close his eye(s), you recite these (formulas) which are above down into the youth’s head 7 times. You should have him open his eye(s) while you say to him, “Do you see the light?” If he says to you, “I see the light in the flame of the lamp.” you should cry out immediately saying (485) HEOUE HOUE 9 times. You should ask him about everything you wish after reciting the formula which you did previously before the sun early in the morning. You do it in a place whose door opens to the east and you leave the face of the lamp while it is turned ...³⁰⁶ and you leave the youth’s face while it is turned ... facing the lamp, you being on his left. You should recite down into his head while you touch his head with your second finger of ... of (your) right hand.

³⁰¹ Several of the magical names in ll. 474–475 written with dot separations do not end with the expected divine determinative. In addition, the names in the glosses and their divisions are not always the same as in the Demotic. It should also be noted that the one word in the middle of this string of magical names which has the expected divine determinative also includes actual Demotic words (*qm*: ‘to create’ and *t*: ‘earth’) as part of their phonetic rendering. For discussion of other aspects of the phonetics of this word, see the appendix on phonetics in Quack 2004, 432–441.

³⁰² The division of this magical name reflects the word division in the Coptic glosses.

³⁰³ This appears to be another example of a magical name where part is written at the end of one line and the rest at the beginning of the next.

³⁰⁴ A partially phonetic (*Egōm*) and partially Demotic (*p*: *t*) rendering of a phrase which may be translated “to create the earth.” Cf. Quack 2004, 486.

³⁰⁵ This is another version of the list of names in two lines above, albeit with a rather different set of glosses.

³⁰⁶ Here and in the following line there are blanks left unwritten by the scribe.

recto col. xvii →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 489–506

1 ke ^{nfr sp-2 r p; hbs} ^{BOHA} ^{ī ī ī Δ Δ Δ TAT TAT TAT} ^{p; šmsy hyt n p; ntr ʔ}
ky n-īmꜛf n iirꜛk (d?) B. ʔ. el sp 3 ^{y ° y ° y ° ˙ ˙ ˙ ˙} ^{Tꜛt ° Tꜛt ° Tꜛt °} ^{p; nt tꜛ wyn m-šs sp-}
^{nt iw t; st.t n rꜛf} ^{p; ntr ʔ}
p; hbr n t; st.t pa t; st.t nt iw myꜛs htm ° ^{p; ntr nt nh nt iw bw-irꜛf mwt p; nt hms hn t; st.t nt n t;}
mtr. t n t; st.t ° nt 490

^{im r-hn n t; mtr.(t) n tꜛy st.t mtwꜛk wnhꜛk}
n p; šy n t; p.t nt iw p; ʔw irm p; nš n p; ntr n-dr.ꜛf wnhꜛk r pꜛy.y ʼlw ty n p; hrw mtwꜛk tꜛ irꜛf šn
^{nꜛy hr mt. t nb nt iwꜛy}
^{ty n p; hrw}
r šn.ꜛf [r-]irꜛw d iwꜛy r ššꜛk n t; p.t nꜛy-hr Pꜛ-R ° ^{iwꜛy r ššꜛk nꜛy-hr iꜛh iwꜛy r ššꜛk n p; t;}
^{pa p;}

5 *iwꜛy r ššꜛk nꜛy-hr p; nt hr p; bhꜛt nt iw bw-irꜛf htm °* ^{nt iw p; ʔw irm p; nš n p; ntr n-dr.ꜛf} ^{pa p;}
^{ššꜛ ʔ ΠΕΤΕΡΙ ΕΜΦΗ Ω Ω nt n t; r.(t) hry. t n t; p.t n-dr.ꜛf}
ššꜛ ʔ Petery sp-2 Pꜛter Emphe sp-2 ° ^{p; ntr ʔ ʔ nt iw p; šbt nt nꜛe nꜛ-nꜛf p; iir tꜛ hpr ntr iw bn-pw}
ntr

^{r-hn BOHA ANHA}
tꜛ hprꜛf ° im nꜛy ° irm B. ʔ. el ʔnyel ° ^{mtwꜛk tꜛ p; dr n n; byl. w n pꜛy.y ʼlw nt hr pꜛy(ꜛy) hn} 495

n p; hrw ° r tꜛ nwꜛr-r-rꜛk ° r tꜛ sdm msdrꜛf r-rꜛk iirꜛk sꜛe ° ^{mtwꜛk šn nꜛf hr hb nb ° mt. t nb ° nt iwꜛy r}
^{šn.ꜛf r-irꜛw ty n p; hrw}

^{CI CAOYΘ ΔΧΠΡΕΜΠΤΩ}
p; ntr ʔ ° Syꜛ sꜛ. ʔ. th ° khrem. pꜛ. t ° ^{im r-hn n t; mtr. t n tꜛy st.t °} ^{p; nt hmsꜛk hr p; tw}
^{N KABAΩN TAKPTAT pa d.t r-iny BOHA BOHA}

10 *n Gꜛbꜛ. ʔ. n ° Tꜛgrtt °* ^{p; nt iw bw-irꜛf mwt nt nh š (n)hh ° r-wy B. ʔ. el r-hn ° B. ʔ. el sp-2}
^{APBHΘBAI NOYΘI ω r-iny BOHA TAT r-iny}
rbethbꜛyꜛ nwtsyꜛ ° ʔ ° ^{p; ntr ʔ sp-2 r-wy B. ʔ. el r-hn ° Tꜛt sp-2 ° r-wy B. ʔ. el r-hn ° iirꜛk}

d nꜛy sp 7 ^{r-hry hn tpꜛf n p; ʼlw ° iirꜛk tꜛ irꜛf wn ir.ꜛf iirꜛk šn.ꜛf d n wꜛh p; wyn hpr °} 500

iwꜛf hpr iw bw-pw p; wyn pyr ° ^{iirꜛk tꜛ ire p; ʼlw hꜛf sꜛe n rꜛf r p; hbs} d mt. t ^{ʔ. w p; wyn pr}

p; wyn ° ts p; wyn ° hy p; wyn ° pr p; wyn n p; ntr ° ^{wnhꜛk r-irꜛy °} ^{p; šms n p; ntr ° nt iw p; wꜛh shn}
^{n p; hrw [n-dr].ꜛf}

15 *nt nꜛe šn nꜛy ° hr irꜛf wnhꜛf r p; ʼlw °* ^{n p; nw n mꜛf ° hr šꜛk nꜛy r-hry hn tpꜛf n p; ʼlw iwꜛf nw}
^{m-s; p; hbs m-ir tꜛ irꜛf nw m-s; ge mꜛ m-s; p; hbs wꜛe.ꜛf iwꜛf tm nw m-sꜛf ° hr irꜛf hty. t}

iirꜛk ir nꜛy drꜛw iirꜛk wꜛh n pꜛyꜛk šn iirꜛk stꜛk ° ^{iirꜛk tꜛ irꜛf htm ir.ꜛf ° iirꜛk sꜛe r-hry hn tpꜛf n pꜛy.y}
ke 505

^{APEX ° XEM ° ΦAI ZEOY}
š nt hry ° de r-ire n; ntr. w šm nꜛw ° ^{mtw p; ʼlw lkꜛf iwꜛf nw r-irꜛw °} ^{rkhe ° khem ° phe Nsew °}

Another procedure (of doing) it again;³⁰⁷ (it is) very good with respect to the lamp. You should (say), “BŌĒL 3 times, IIIA A A TAT TAT TAT, the first servant of the great god, the one who gives light exceedingly, (490) the companion of the flame in whose mouth is the flame, the one of the flame which is never extinguished, the god who lives, who does not die, the great god, the one who dwells in the flame, who is in the midst of the flame, who is in the lake of heaven, in whose hand are the greatness and the power of the god, come into the midst of this flame and reveal yourself to this youth here today and have him inquire for me concerning everything about which I shall ask here today for I shall praise you in heaven before the sun, I will praise you before the moon, I shall praise you on earth, I shall praise you before the one who is upon the throne who is not destroyed. O He of great praise in whose hand are the greatness and the power of the god, he of great praise, PETERI, (say it) twice, PATER EMPHĒ, (say it) twice.³⁰⁸ O doubly great god who is in the upper part of heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, the one who created god, god not (495) having created him, come in to me with BOĒL ANĪĒL, and give strength to the eyes of this youth who is carrying my vessel today in order to cause that he see you, in order to cause that his ears hear you while you are speaking and inquire for him concerning everything, all things about which I shall question him here today! O great god, SI SAOUTH ACHPREMPTŌ,³⁰⁹ come in to the midst of this flame! He who sits on the mountain of Gabaōn,³¹⁰ TAKRTAT, he of eternity, he who does not die (but) who lives forever, bring³¹¹ in BOĒL; BOĒL, (say it) twice, ARBĒTHBAI NOUTHĪ Ō,³¹² O great god, (say) twice, bring in BOĒL TAT, (say it) twice, bring in BOĒL!” You should (500) say this 7 times down into the youth’s head, you should have him open his eye(s), you should ask him, “Has the light appeared?” If the light has not come forth, you should have the youth himself speak with his mouth to the lamp. **Formula**: “Be great, O light! Come forth, O light! Rise up, O light! Be high, O light! Come forth, O light of the god! Reveal yourself to me! O follower of the god in whose hand is command today, who will inquire for me.” He reveals himself to the youth at the above-mentioned time. You recite these down into the youth’s head while he is looking at the lamp. Do not let him look at another place except only the lamp. If he does not look at it, he is afraid. (505) You should do all of these. When you have finished your inquiry, you should turn yourself and have him close his eyes and you should say down into his head this **other** invocation which is below, so that the gods go away and the youth stops seeing them, “ARECH CHEM PHAI ZEOU

³⁰⁷ This lamp recipe uses many of the same magical names—e.g. the BOĒL-*logos* and PETERY PETERY EMPHĒ—as in ll. 127–140, 190–204 and 516–526.

³⁰⁸ See n. 106.

³⁰⁹ The end of this name consists of the masculine definite article *p*; and the noun *t*: “land/earth”; the preceding *m* could be the preposition “in.”

³¹⁰ See note 108.

³¹¹ Here, l. 498, and in the following line, there are three instances of two imperatives, both meaning “bring!,” written one above the other.

³¹² The first part of this word (in Greek ARBATH/ARBAITH) has been interpreted as “Horus the Falcon” (*Hr bk*); see Brashear 1995, 3579. The ending of this name may be “ba-soul of the great god” (*b: ntr* ☉), see Quack 1998, 92. It appears again as two separate magical words in ll. 524–525.

GEMF 16.507–520

HELE³¹³ SATRAPERMĒT.”³¹⁴ Guard this youth and do not let him be afraid, fear, or be frightened and make him turn (back) to his earlier path. “Open, underworld! Open, here!³¹⁵” I say that this vessel-inquiry of the lamp is better than the first. It is this form again: **Its procedure**: You bring a new lamp into which red lead has not been put; you put a (510) clean cloth wick in it; you fill it with pure true oil; you put it on a new brick; you have the youth sit on another brick opposite the lamp; you have him shut his eye(s); you recite down into his head according to the other form, also. **Another** invocation which you recite opposite the sun at dawn, 3 times or 7 times. **Formula**: “ἸῶΤΑΒΑἸῶ ΣΟΧ ΟΜΜΟΑ ΟΧ ΟΧ ΧΑΝ ΒΟΥΖΑΝΑΥ³¹⁶ ΑΝ ΙΕΣΙ ΕΚΟΜΡΗΘῆ ΚΕΘῆ ΣΕΘΟΡΙ ΘΗΜΙΛΑΛΟΥΑΡΟΧΡΗ. Let everything which I will do today come about!” And they happen. If you do not purify it, it does not happen. Purity is its greatest thing. **Another** (515) invocation also according to what is above. **Formula**: ΒΟἸΛ, 3 times, ΗΙ ΗΙ ΗΙ ΗΑ ΗΙ ΗΙ ΗΙ ΗΑ ΤΑΤ, 3 times, O he who creates very very much light, he of the flame which is never extinguished, the god who lives and does not die, he who sits in the flame, who is in the midst of the flame, who is in the lake of the sky, in whose hand are the greatness and the strength of the god, reveal yourself to this youth, ΗΕΥ ΗΟΥ, (say it) twice ΗΟ, so that he may inquire for me, and you should have him look so that he sees and hears everything about which I shall ask him, for I shall praise you in heaven, I shall praise you on earth, I shall praise you before the one who is upon the throne, who is never destroyed. O he of greatness, ΡΕΤΕΡΗ, (say it) twice, ΕΜΡΗἸ, (say it) twice,³¹⁷ ὄὄ the great god who is in the upper part of heaven, in whose hand is the beautiful staff, who created god, (520) whom god did not create, come in to the midst of this flame with ΒΟἸΛ ΑΝΙἸΛ and give strength to the eyes of ΗΟΥ ΗΟΥ

³¹³ *Nsew* | *Hele* is the Demotic rendering of Greek Ζεῦ Ἥλιε, “Zeus Helios,” where Helios is glossed with the Greek symbol for the sun. See Quack 2004, 461.

³¹⁴ A version of the magical word SATRAPERKMĒPH, which also appears in GEMF 15.234/PGM XII 185 and 60/XIII 919 and has been translated as “great satrap Kmeph”; see Brashear 1995, 3598 for earlier bibliography.

³¹⁵ A pun between ‘underworld’, glossed ΤΗΙ, and ‘here’, glossed ΤΑἸ.

³¹⁶ See ll. 478–479 for this and the following words.

³¹⁷ See n. 106.

recto col. xviii →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 521–539

- 1 e
 n Hew sp-2° p; šr n Hew sp-2° d iw=f r nw r-r-k n ir.tf° mtw=k ti° sdm msdrf
 mtw=k sde wbe=f n hb nb° iw=f r šn.tk r-r-f mtw=k d n=y w:h n mt.t m: t° mtw=k p; ntr ° S-
 βαωθ βοηλ
 b: °.th° im r-hry irm B. °.el° T:t sp-2° r-wy B. °.el r-hn° im r-hn n t; mtr.t n ty st.t°
 ταρτατ βοηλ αρβηθ
 mtw=k šn n=y hr p; nt n:e-n:-n=f° T:grt:t° p:y d.t° r-wy B. °.el r-hn° š' sp 3° rbth°
 βαῖνογθιδ ωω
- 5 B:ynwtsy. °° p; ntr ° r-wy B. °.el r-hn sp 3 ir-k d n:y r-hry hn tp=f n p; iw 525
 ir-k ti ir=f wn ir.t f ir-k šn.t f r mt.t nb r-h(.t) p; ky nt n-bnr 'n
 šn³¹⁸ hn iw tw=s n=y w' swnw hn p; tše n Pr-mq; hr ir-k=f 'n n šn hn w'.t k
 NN ω
 S:b-nm Nn(?) Byryb:t h(y) sp-2 p; ntr Sysy:h. ° nt hr p; tw n Q:b:h. °
 nt iw t; wt.t n P:-Š'y n-dr.t f šm r p:y.y hm-hl my phr=f p; wyn d ink
- 10 hr 'n° p:y p; de k(y)-dm° d ink hr Nwn n twe H:b-hr n mtre.t ink 530
 ih n hr rhwe ink P:-R' p; hrt šps nt iw=w d n=f G:rt; n rn ink p; ir pyr r-bnr
 o ογ ογ
 hr p; dnḥ n T:-rpy.t n pr i:bt ink ° sp-2 rny:t ° p:y p:y(=y) rn n mtre ink i.w i.w
 λοτ λοτ μυλοτ πε
 rny:t ;w p:y p:y(=y) rn n mtre ink L. °.t Mwl. °.t p:y p; iry g'm sp-2 p; nt iw t:y=f
 g'm.t hn t; st.t pa p:y.y qlm n nb nt n d:d;=f Th-° wy.yt sp-2 T: sp-2
- 15 H'tr: sp-2 p; hr n iwīwe sp-2 h(y) 'Inp p; Pr-° n t; tw:t my šm n=f p; kke 535
 r-iny p; wyn n=y r-hn r p:y(=y) šn hn d ink Hr s; Wsir r-ms šs.t
 p; hrt šps nt iw mr s šs.t nt šn m-s; p:y=f it Wsir Wn-nfr °.w.s. h(y) 'Inp
 p; Pr-° °.w.s. n t; tw:t my šm n=f p; kke r-iny p; wyn n=y r-hn r p:y(=y) šn hn
 p:y(=y) swt ty n p; hrw my wd;=y my wd; p; nt iw hr=f pht r p:y.y hn ty n p; hrw

³¹⁸ There is a short space at the beginning of the line; *ke/ky* 'another' was probably intended to be written as a rubric (as is reflected in the translation).

GEMF 16.521–539

of HOU (say it) twice,³¹⁹ the son of HOU, (say it) twice, in order that he look at you with his eyes, and you make his ears hear, and speak to him about everything about which he will ask you, and give me an answer in truth. You are the great god SABAŌTH. Come down with BOĒL TAT, twice. Bring BOĒL in! Come in to the midst of this flame and ask for me concerning that which is beautiful, TAKRTAT, he of eternity, bring BOĒL in! up to 3 times. ARBĒTH, (525) BAINOUTHIO, ŌŌ the great god, bring BOĒL in!” 3 times. You should say these down onto the youth’s head; you should have him open his eye(s); you should ask him about everything according to the procedure which is outside (i.e. on the verso), also.

[Another?] vessel inquiry which a physician in the Oxyrhynchite nome gave to me; you (can) do it as a vessel-inquiry alone³²⁰: “SABANM,³²¹ NN, BYRYBAT. Hail, hail, O god SYSYAHŌ who is upon the mountain of QABAHŌ,³²² in whose hand is the begetting of Pshai. Go to this youth. Let him enchant the light, for I am (530) ‘beautiful of face’”;³²³ this is what another manuscript says, “I am the face of Nun, in the morning, (I am) HALAHER³²⁴ at midday, I am ‘joyful of face’ in the evening. I am the sun, the noble child, to whom is said GARTA as a name. I am the one who came forth on the arm of the Noble Lady in the east. I am great; great is my name, great is my true name. I am great; great is my true name. It is I LOT MULOT, he who is doubly powerful, the one whose power is in the flame, he of this golden wreath which is on his head, THAOUYT, (say it) twice, TA (say it) twice, (535) HATRA, (say it) twice, dog-face, (say it) twice. Hail, Anubis, the king of the underworld! Let darkness go away; bring the light in to me in my vessel-inquiry, for I am Horus, the son of Osiris, whom Isis bore, the noble child whom Isis loves, who inquires after his father Osiris Wennefer. Hail, Anubis, the king of the underworld! May darkness go away! Bring the light in to me in my vessel-inquiry, my bandage here today. Let me flourish! Let the one whose face is bent down to this lamp here today flourish

³¹⁹ The gloss spells out the vox twice, while the Demotic text has the indication “(say it) twice.”

³²⁰ I.e., without using a youth as intermediary.

³²¹ The end of this word is written using Demotic *nm* ‘dwarf’.

³²² See n. 108, about the mountain of Gibeon.

³²³ Or perhaps ‘ape-faced’, an option suggested by Griffith and Thompson 1904, 120, n. to l. 10.

³²⁴ The ending of this name is written using the noun *hr* ‘face’.

col. xviii (cont.) →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 540–553

- 20 *š*^c-*mtw* *n*; *ntr.w* *iy* *r-hn* *mtw*≠*w* *d* *n*≠*y* *w*≠*h* *n* *mt.t* *m*≠*t* *hr* *p*≠*y*(≠*y*) *šn* *nt* *iw*≠*y* *šn* 540
iw *db*≠*ḫ* *ty* *n* *p*; *hrw* *n* *mt.t* *m*≠*t* *n*-*wš*-*n* *mt.t* *n* *de* *tw**n* *h(y)* *Inp*
p; *snḫ* *nḫne* *mš*^c *r-bnr* *ty* *wnw.t* *r-iny* *n*≠*y* *n*; *ntr.w* *n* *t*≠*y* *bk.t* *irm*
p; *ntr* *nt* *t* *w*≠*h* *n* *p*; *hrw* *mtw*≠*f* *d* *n*≠*y* *p*≠*y*(≠*y*) *šn* *nt* *iw*≠*y* *šn* *hr-r*≠*f* *n* *p*; *hrw* *n* *sp* 9
iir≠*k* *wn* *ir*≠*ḫ* *n*-*ge* *p*≠*y*≠*k* *hm-hl* *mtw*≠*k* *nw* *r* *p*; *wyn* *iir*≠*k* *š* *r* *p*; *wyn* *d* *we*≠*ḫ* *f*
- 25 *p*; *wyn* *pr* *sp*-2 *p*; *wyn* *ts* *sp*-2 *p*; *wyn* ^{*r-hn*} *ʔ.w* *sp*-2 *p*; *wyn* *p*; *nt* *r-bnr* *im* *r-hn* *iir*≠*k* *d*≠*ḫ* *f* *n* *sp* 9 545
š^c-*mtw* *p*; *wyn* ^{*r-hn*} *ʔ.w* *mtw* *Inp* *iy* *r-ire* *Inp* *iy* *r-hn* *mtw*≠*f* *smn* *n*-*im*≠*f*
iir≠*k* *d* *n* *Inp* *d* *tw**n* *mš*^c *r-bnr* *r-iny* *n*≠*y* *n*; *ntr.w* *n* *t*≠*y* *bk.t* *tym*
r-hn *hr* *šm*≠*f* *r-bnr* *n* *t*; *hḫe.t* *n* *rn*≠*s* *mtw*≠*f* *iny* *n*; *ntr.w* *r-hn* *iir*≠*k* *rh*≠*s*
d *r* *n*; *ntr.w* *iy* *r-hn* *iir*≠*k* *d* *n* *Inp* *d* *r-iny* *w*^c *tk* *r-hn* *hr* *n*; *ntr.w*
- 30 *mtw*≠*w* *hms* *iw*≠*w* *hms* *iir*≠*k* *d* *n* *Inp* *r-iny* *w*^c *irp*(?) *r-hn* *irm* *hyn.w* *q* *my* *wnm*≠*w* *my* *swr*≠*w* 550
iw≠*f* *t* *wnm*≠*w* *mtw*≠*f* *t* *swr*≠*w* *iir*≠*k* *d* *n* *Inp* *d* *n*³²⁵ *st* *n*≠*e* *šn* *n*≠*y* *n* *p*; *hrw* *iw*≠*f* *d* *st* *n* *iir*≠*k* *d* *n*≠*f* *d*
p; *ntr* *nt* *n*≠*e* *šn* *n*≠*y* *my* *ir*≠*f* *t* *ḫ*^c *dr*≠*ḫ* *n*≠*y* *mtw*≠*f* *d* *n*≠*y* *rn*≠*f* *iw*≠*f* *d* *rn*≠*f* *n*≠*k* *iir*≠*k*
šn≠*ḫ* *r* *p*; *nt* *iir*≠*k* *wḫ*≠*f* *iir*≠*k* *w*≠*h* *iir*≠*k* *šn* *hr* *p*; *nt* *iir*≠*k* *wḫ*≠*f* *iir*≠*k* *wḫ*≠*w*

³²⁵ Read *in*.

GEMF 16.540–553

(540) until the gods come in and tell me a true answer concerning my inquiry about which I am inquiring here today, in truth, without falsehood, immediately(?). Hail, Anubis, youthful creation,³²⁶ go out immediately, bring to me the god of this town and the god who gives an answer today so that he tells me my question about which I am inquiring today.” 9 times. When you open your eye(s), or the youth, if you see the light, you should recite to the light, “Hail, (545) O light! Come forth, come forth, O light! Rise up, rise up, O light! Be great, be great, O light! O you who are outside, come in!” You should say it 9 times until the light is great and Anubis comes in. When Anubis has come in and has established himself, you should say to Anubis, “Arise, go out, bring in to me the gods of this town or city!” He goes out immediately and he brings the gods in. When you know that the gods have come in, you should say to Anubis, “Bring in a chair for the gods (550) that they may sit.” When they are seated, you should say to Anubis, “Bring in a cup and some bread! Let them eat, let them drink!” When he has had them eat and drink, you should say to Anubis, “Are they going to inquire for me today?” If he says, “They (are),”³²⁷ again you should say to him, “The god who will inquire for me, may he raise his hand to me and may he tell me his name.” When he tells you his name, you should ask him about what you wish. When you are finished asking about what you wish, you should send them (away).

³²⁶ Ritner, GMPT translates “creature and youth,” and suggests this is a reference to Anubis’ half canine, half human appearance.

³²⁷ This *st* may correspond to Coptic *ce* ‘yes’, see Griffith and Thompson 1904, 122, n. to l. 31.

recto col. xix →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 554–572

- 1 *r:(?)] n mt.t r p: phs n p: whr*
r-ir̄y iy r-bnr n ʔrq-ḤḤ iw r̄y mḥ n snf n iw̄iwe km 555
iw̄y syt n-im̄f p: tšer(?) n whr p:y.y whr nt ḥn p: 10 n whr
nt iw wn tw ʔnp s̄:f n ḥe.t̄f šte n t̄y:k(.t) mtr.t ʔl n p:y:k ḏ:k n-im̄y(?) ʔn
- 5 *iir̄k tm šte n t̄y:k(.t) mtr.t mtw̄k ʔl n p:y:k ḏ:k iw̄y r ty.t̄k*
ⲛⲁⲣⲉⲛⲁ
r-ḥry r p: ḥfḥ n Wsir p:y(̄y) nw iw̄y r ir̄ n̄k n p:-iire-p:y(.y) ge(?) ipt.w(?)
r-ḥ(e) p: ḥrw n ʔs.t t̄ šte[.t] t̄ nb šte(.t) nt šte n nt nb nt iw bw-ir̄w šte 560
n̄s n rn̄s n ʔs.t t̄ šte[.t] mtw̄k nt ⲉⲗⲁⲛ ḥr Ⲅⲙⲟⲩ
mtw̄k tiȳf r t̄ tm(.t) n p: phs n p: whr mtw̄k mt.t r-r̄f n-mne š̄-mtw̄f n̄.w-nfr
- 10 *[... r:(?)] n mt.t r šte n t̄ mtr.t ḥr ḥ̄.t̄f n rmt̄ iw w̄ḥw t̄ swr̄f phre.t n-ge(?)*
ḏwm̄.t ʔwe.t̄f sp-2 Y:blw p: ḏ̄ n nb n Wsir
iw swre ʔs.t Wsir P:-Š̄y ʔ n ḥe.t̄k iw swre-w p: 3 ntr.w iw swr̄y 565
m-s̄:w ḥ(̄y) ḏe n̄k t̄ ir̄y th̄ n̄k t̄ ir̄y byk n̄k t̄ ir̄y hy
r-bnr n̄k t̄ ir̄y hbrbre n̄k t̄ ir̄y the n ḥ̄.t̄ n̄k t̄ ire r̄y
- 15 *ḏ w̄ my wḏ̄y r kr. ʔ(?) mw bn mtw̄.t nb r iw̄w š̄t̄w r ḥ̄.t̄y*
Ⲅⲁⲣⲃⲓ Ⲅⲁ
iw̄y swr̄k my tw̄y hwy.t̄w r-ḥry n rn̄s n S̄rbyth̄ t̄ š̄r.t
n P:-Š̄y ḏ ink S̄br̄ Bry:th̄ Brys̄r̄ Her 570
rnȳḏ ink Ḥr Š̄-r̄:n(?) iw̄f in-iw n p: t̄ ʔwe.t̄f Y.h. ʔ
ⲛⲣⲁⲧ
P:-ḥr̄ḏ rnȳḏ n p:y(̄y) rn n mtre r w̄ ḏ̄ n ir̄p

GEMF 16.554–572

[A formula] to be said to the bite of a dog: (555) My mouth (being) full of the blood of a black dog, I spitting the redness (i.e. blood) of a dog, I come out from Arq-heh.³²⁸ “O this dog who is among the 10 dogs who belong to Anubis, his son of his body, remove your poison and gather in your saliva from me also! If you do not remove your poison and lift your saliva, I shall take you up to the forecourt of (the temple of) Osiris, my watchtower(?), I shall do to you what this other bird³²⁹ did, (560) according to the voice of Isis, the magician, the mistress of magic who enchants everything, who is never enchanted in her name of Isis, the magician.” You should pound garlic with gum(?), put it on the wound of the dog-bite, and speak to it daily until it is well.³³⁰

[Formula] to be said to remove the venom from the heart of a man who has been made to drink a potion or poison(?): Hail, hail, YABLOU! O golden cup of Osiris, (565) Isis and Osiris and the great Pshai have drunk from you (i.e. the cup), the 3 gods have drunk, I myself have drunk after them in order that you not let me get drunk, you not let me sink, you not let me fall out, you not let me fall down, you not let me be troubled of heart, you not let my mouth curse. May I be healed from all poison, pus and venom, they being cut from my heart. When I drink you, may I vomit them up in her name of SARBITHA, the daughter (570) of Pshai. For I am SABRA BRYATHA BRYSARA; HER is my name. I am Horus SHARON³³¹ coming from receiving praise. YAHŌ the child, is my name, being my real name. [A formula to be said] to a cup of wine

³²⁸ See above note 29.

³²⁹ This is perhaps a reference to Isis as a kite; cf. Ritner, GMPT.

³³⁰ A classic example of the combination of human and supernatural skills.

³³¹ Written preposition $\check{s} + r:n$ “to our mouths.”

col. xix (cont.) →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 573–593

- 20 *mtw=k tì* **βεωογω**^ο *ìw=f knn mtw=k tìy=f r-r=f mtw=k mt.t r-r=f n sp* 7 *mtw=k tì swr=f*
*p: rmt̄ n twe ìw bw-ìr-tw=f wnm [r:(?)] n mt.t r p: rmt̄ ìw wn **qs** dthe*
hr t:y=f šnbe.t mtw=k p:y Šl̄t̄e L̄t̄e B̄l̄t̄e 575
p: msh wbhe nt hr t: stp-p.t n p: ym n h:h nt ìw he.t̄f
*mḥ n **qs** n ḥsy nb h:y ìr=k r syt n p:y.y **qs** n:y r-hry ìw=f ìr*
n p: hrw
- 25 ***qs** ìw=f ìr wšym(?) ìw=f ìr l[y]qs(?) n tys.t ìw=f ìr nge nb ìw mn n-*
*ge šbe d̄ ìnk w^c ḥ.t n m:y ìnk w^c tp n **sr** ìnk w^c šl̄*
*n :byw **sr̄f** p:y p:y(-y) rn n mtre d̄ Wsir p: nt m dr̄.t̄ p: rmt̄ n rn=f* 580
*p: nt wn(?) t:y(-y)(?) nḥbe.t(?) **sp** 7 *mtw=k mt.t r w^c ḥm n **ne** *mtw=k*
*tì hr=f n p: rmt̄ r-hry *mtw=k tìy=f r-hry-ḥn r=f *mtw=k ḥn p:y=k db^c ìrm*****
- 30 *t:y=k(.t) 'ne(.t) [r t:(?)] mwt 2 n t:y=f šnbe.t *mtw=k tì ìr=f 'm p: nḥe *mtw=k tì***
*twn=f s n ḥtp *mtw=k tì (ìy) p: nḥe nt ḥn t:y=f šnbe.t r-bnr t:y ḥt̄e.t**
*hr ìw p: **qs** r-hry ìrm p: **ne** r: n mt.t r p: phs n p: whr* 585
p: ḥyt̄ n 'Imn T:-rp.t d̄ ìnk p:y.y Hkr nḥt̄ Šl̄'m' l^c M'leḥ št̄
r.ph̄t̄ Št̄-'e.t Grš-'e.t Grš-'e Nb-Rn̄t̄ T'hne(?) B'hne(?) p:y.y ìwìwe(?)
- 35 *p:y.y km p: ìwìwe ìr(?) št̄ p:y.y ìwìwe pa ty 4.t 'lw.t p: wnše n šr wpy*
p: šr n 'Inp gl̄d n p:y=k šl̄ ḥ^c n p:y=k ryḫ r-hry ìr=k n hr
*n Sḫ r Wsir ìr=k n hr n **pp** r P:-R^c Hr s: Wsir r-ms ʒs.t nt r-ìr=k mḥ r=k r-r=f* 590
mn r-ms mn [nt r-]ìr=k mḥ r=k r-r=f s̄dm n p:y.y s̄de Hr ìr tì lk³³² ḥmm ìr šm r p: Nwn
*ìr sn̄t̄ p: t: s̄dm p: Y'h. ʒ S'b'h. ʒ ʒby:h. ʒ n rn ìr=k l̄šl̄ t: **tm.t** ìr=k nt*
ke
- 40 ***hm**: [i]h twt.w tì r-r=f ìr=k nt bšwš hr ib(y) tì r-r=f *mtw=k d̄.t̄f 'n r w^c d̄(°) n mw *mtw=k tì swr=f s***

³³² Actually written *tì 'lk* reflecting Coptic pronunciation **ταλλο**.

GEMF 16.573–593

and you should add mild rue and you should put it in it and you should speak to it 7 times, and you should have the man drink it in the morning before he has eaten.

[A formula] to be said to the man while a bone is stuck (575) in his throat: “You are SHLATE LATE BALATE, the white crocodile which is under the foam of the sea of flame whose belly is full of bones of every drowned man, hail! You shall spit up this bone for me today, it acting as a harpoon, it making a point, it acting as a sack-piercer,³³³ it doing everything, there being no change, for I am³³⁴ a forepart of a lion; I am³³⁵ a ram’s horn; I am³³⁶ a (580) panther’s tooth. Griffin is my true name, for Osiris is the one who is in my hand; the man mentioned is the one who opens(?) my neck.” 7 times. You should speak to a little oil; you should put the man’s face up; you should put it down into his mouth; you should make your finger and thumb draw near [to the] two sinews of his throat; you should make him swallow the oil; you should make him rise up suddenly; and you should cause the oil which is in his throat to (come) out immediately. (585) The bone comes up with the oil.

A formula to be said to the bite of the dog, the fury of Amun and the Noble Lady: “I am this strong Arab SHLAMALA MALET, secret one, mighty one, SHTĒI, GRSHĒI, GRSHAE³³⁷ NB RNT TAHNE BAHNE, this dog, this black one, the dog which bewitched this dog, he of these 4 bitch-puppies (of?) the wolf, being(?) the son of Wepwawet. O son of Anubis, seize by your tooth (i.e. one whom you bit)! Put your secretion down, you being as the face (590) of Seth against Osiris, you being as the face of Apophis against the sun. Horus, the son of Osiris, whom Isis bore, with whom you filled your mouth, NN, whom NN bore, [is the one] with [whom] you filled your mouth. Listen to this speech of Horus, who stopped heat, who went to the Primeval Waters, who established the earth. Listen, O YAHŌ SABAHŌ ABYAHŌ by name!” You should cleanse the wound; you should grind salt with Nubian hematite. Put (it) on it. Another: You should grind rue with honey; put (it) on it. And you should say it again to a cup of water and make him drink.³³⁸

³³³ See Johnson, GMPT, 227 n. 414

³³⁴ Or, ‘mine is’.

³³⁵ Or, ‘mine is’.

³³⁶ Or, ‘mine is’.

³³⁷ The ending of the preceding names is written using the Demotic noun *ꜣ.t* ‘limb’.

³³⁸ Here, too, practical remedies follow the formula.

recto col. xx →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 594–612

- 1 [r:] n mt.t r t: plege³³⁹
 ïnk p:y s: nsw(.t) ˆ.w.s wr tp ʾInp t:y(=y) mw.t **Shm.t**-šs.t ire[=s](?) iy m-s:y 595
 r-bnr r p: t: n Hr r p: **sbt** n p: t: n **Hh** r p: tš n n:y wnm rmt d
 ys sp-2 tkr sp-2 p:y(=y) šr s: nsw(.t) ˆ.w.s. wr tp ʾInp d twn.t-k mtw=k iy
 5 r Kmy nd³⁴⁰ p:y-k it Wsir iw=f n Pr-ˆ.w.s. r³⁴¹ n Kmy iw=f n wr r p:
 t: dre=f n: ntr.w dre=w n Kmy swḥ r t t: **gr:p.t** n-dr.t=f
 t: **wnw.t** n d n:y r-ire=s fy n:y n wˆ.t fks.t hy t:y(=y) nmt:t r-ir=y 600
 r ir=s swḥ r iw=s iy n:y n-nw plege r iw=y ḥms r-hry r iw=y
 rym ḥms šs.t t:y(=y) mw.t n p:y(=y) mtre r-bnr iw=s d n:y m-ir
 10 rym sp-2 p:y(=y) šr s: nsw(.t) wr tp ʾInp lkh n ls.t-k r ḥ:t-k **ts-phr**
 šˆ n: r: w n t: šˆ:t-s lkh n n: r: w n t: šˆ:t-s šˆ n: r: w n t:y=k(.t)
 nmt:t p: nt iir=k r lkh=f iir=k m=f bn p:y n-im=f r p: t: d p:y-k 605
 ls p: ls n P:-Šy p:y-k s l pa ʾItm
 mtw=k lkh=f n p:y-k ls iw=f hr snf t:y hte.t m-s:s iir=k mt.t r wˆ hm
 15 n nḥe mtw=k mt.t r-r=f n sp 7 iir=k ti n-im=f r t: plege (n) mne(.t) iir=k
 sp wˆ.t tys(.t) n ʔyw iir=k ty=s r-r=f
 [p: r:(?)] nt iir=k d.t-f r p: nḥe r ty=f r t: pl:ge (n) mne(.t) 610
 ḥms šs.t iw=s mt.t r p: nḥe ʿrtt iw=s tyt r p: nḥe
 n mˆ.t d iir=k ḥsy tw=y n:e ḥys.t-k p: nḥe tw=y n:e ḥys

³³⁹ This is the Greek πλίγη as a loan-word, in Demotic transliteration; see Dieleman 2005, 312. It appears again in this column in lines 15, 17, 25, 26.

³⁴⁰ This could be a writing of nxe.

³⁴¹ This r must be a mistake.

GEMF 16.594–612

[Formula] to be said to the sting: (595) ‘I am this king’s son, the great(est), the first, Anubis. My mother Sekhmet-Isis came out after me to the land of Syria to the hill of the land of Heh,³⁴² to the district of these man-eaters, saying, ‘Hurry, hurry! Quickly, quickly, my child, king’s son, great one, first, Anubis’, saying, ‘Arise and come to Egypt for your father Osiris is king of Egypt, he is ruler over the entire land. All the gods of Egypt are gathered to receive the diadem from his hand.’ (600) The moment of saying this she jumped at me, my strength fell from me. She³⁴³ gathered (i.e. coiled)³⁴⁴ and she came to me with a sting. I sat down and cried. Isis, my mother, sat near me, saying to me, ‘Do not cry, do not cry, my child, king’s son, great one, first, Anubis! Lick from your tongue to your heart and vice versa to the edges of the wound! Lick the edges of the wound to the edges of your (605) strength! What you will lick you should swallow, not spitting it (out) on the ground for your tongue is the tongue of Pshai, your tongue(?) is that of Atum.’ You should lick it with your tongue while it is bleeding. Immediately afterwards, you should speak to a little oil; you should speak to it 7 times, you putting it on the sting daily. You should dye a strip of linen and you should put it on it. (610) [The formula] which you should say to the oil to put it on the sting daily: ‘Isis sat speaking to the oil, ABARTAT, she lamenting over the true oil, saying, ‘You are praised; I am going to praise you, O oil; I am going to praise

³⁴² This literally means ‘millions’.

³⁴³ The “she” referred to here might be a scorpion or snake.

³⁴⁴ As suggested by Hughes, GMPT, n. 439.

col. xx (cont.) →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 613–626

- 20 *n-īm>k iir>k ḥse n-dr(.t) P>-Š>y iir>k mḥy n-dr.(=y) ḥ.t tw>y n>e ḥys>k*
k(y)-d m>t
š> d.t p> nḥe sp-2 n sym p> fty n P>-Š>y p> s> n Gb >s.t t> nt
mt.t r p> nḥe p> nḥe n m>t t> tltyl.t n hw m p.t p> dlḥ n Hr-št 615
- nt in-iw r-ḥry n p> w n twe iir>k r ir p> n>.w-nfr n t> yt.t n twe r-ḥwy*
t> p.t r p> Iytn r-[hr] šn nb iir>k r tī n>.w-nfr t> te.t ir w>ḥ iir>k r ir phre.t
- 25 *r p> nt nḥ d iw>y r b>k>k r t> plege n s> nsw(.t) >.w.s. wr tp Inp p>y(=y) šr*
d iir>k r mḥ>s n iir>k tī n>.w-nfr>s d iw>y r b>k>k r plege n mn r-ms mn
d iir>k r mḥ>s n iir>k tī n>.w-nfr>s sp 7 r> n mt.t r iny qs r-bnr ḥn šnbe[.t] 620
- ink p> nt iw tp>f ty n t> p.t iw rt>f ty r p> Nwn ir nhe n p>y.y msh mrih(?) ḥn n Pr-dm(?)*
CO CIMH ΔΝΟΥΚ
n Niw.t d ink S> Syme T>mh. > p>y p>y(=y) rn n mtre nwg sp-2 d swḥ.t n bk
- 30 *p> nt n r>y swḥ.t n hb p> nt n ḥe.(=y) d qs n ntr qs n rmt qs n h'leṭ qs n rym*
NKH
qs n tp n i>w.t³⁴⁵ qs n nkt nb iw mn nkt ge d p> nt n ḥe.t>k my iw>f r ḥ>.t>k p> nt n ḥ>.t>k
my iw>f r r>k p> nt n r>k my iw>f r-dr.(=y) ty n p> hrw d ink p> nt ḥn t> 7.t n p.t nt smn.t 625
- ḥn t> 7.t n qnh.t d ink p> šr n p> ntr nt nḥ r w> d> n mw n sp 7 mtw>k tī swr s t> šhm.t*

³⁴⁵ Writing of Coptic ΤΒΝΗ, 'cattle', 'livestock'.

GEMF 16.613–626

you. By Pshai you are praised; by me myself you are honored. I am going to praise you forever, O oil, vegetable oil—another manuscript says, true (oil)—. O sweat of Pshai, amulet of Geb. Isis is the one who is (615) speaking to the oil, O true oil, O drop of rain, O ladle of Horus the Mysterious (i.e. Jupiter)³⁴⁶ which comes down from the sun-barque at dawn, you should do the good (deeds) of the dew of dawn which heaven cast down to earth upon every tree. You should heal the limb which is paralyzed(?); you should be(come) the remedy for the one who lives. For I shall use you for the sting of the king's son, the great (one), the first, Anubis, my child, in order that you fill it, in order that you heal it. For I shall use you for a sting of NN, born of NN, (620) in order that you fill it and in order that you heal it.” 7 times.

A formula to be said to bring a bone out (from) in a throat: “I am he whose head reaches the sky while his feet reach the Primeval Waters, who awoke this crocodile ... in Per-Djeme of Thebes (i.e. Western Thebes). For I am SO SIME TAMAHŌ is my true name, ANOUK, (say it) twice, for a falcon's egg is what is in my mouth; an ibis egg is what is in my belly, for bone of a god, bone of a man, bone of a bird, bone of a fish, bone of (a) cattle,³⁴⁷ bone of anything, there is nothing else, for that which is in your belly, let it come to your heart; that which is in your heart, (625) may it come to your mouth; that which is in your mouth, let it come to my hand here today. For I am the one who is in the 7 heavens, who is established in the 7 shrines, for I am the son of the living god.” [Say it] to a cup of water 7 times and have the woman drink it.

³⁴⁶ Horus the Mysterious (*Hr-šṯ*) is the name of the planet Jupiter in Egyptian. See Quack 1994a.

³⁴⁷ *ṯḫnn* refers to domesticated mammals.

recto col. xxi →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 627–640

- 1 *p: šn hn n Wsir*
we.t f Wsir p: Pr-ꜣ .w.s. n t: twꜣ.t p: nb n t: qs.t p: nt iw tp-f n Tny iw r t f n Niw.t p: nt t w:ḥ n 'Ibt
iw t: y f whe.t n Pr-šylem p: nt hr p: nbs n mrwe p: nt hr p: tw n P: ꜣ.rnws p: nt hr p: y(ꜣ) pr š' nhe
p: pr n N: w-tbe. w š' d.t p: nt iw hr f m sn n hr n bk n šs-(n-)nsw(.t) r-ph t .t nt iw p: y f st n st n hf
630
- 5 *iw t: y f t.t n t.t n mn t .t iw t: y f gyd n rmt nt iw lt(?)³⁴⁸ n p: y. y mdh n ryt nt iw p: y. y b'e n w:ḥ šhn*
n
NTG9
t: y f gyd .t
we.t f Y'hw S'b'h. ꜣ t.t. n: w Mystemw Y'wyw we.t f Mykh'el S'b:el
we.t f 'Inp n P: -tše-n-n: -hr-n-iwiwe p: nt iw p: y f p: y. y qh p: nt fy fks hr t: r t .t w t .t
YHHH
hp p: kke n t: mtr. t r-iny p: wyn n-y r-hn im n-y r-hn r-dy n-y p: w:ḥ n p: nt iw-y šn hr-r f ty n p:
hrw n sp 9
š'-mtw p: ntr iy mtw p: wyn hpr hr ir-k f r-h(e) p: ky n p: sp nt bnr-hry 'n iw hr f n p: 'Iw r pr i:bt
iw hr-k h-k r pr imnt iir-k š' r-hry hn tp-f
635
- 10 *(p: gy) n p: mhrr n p: d' n irp r ti shm. t mr hw t iir-k in w' mhrr n Hr-tšr nt iw p: y. y mhrr hm p: y nt iw*
mn tw f tp iw f t n 3 n kym
hr t: ḥ. t n tp f hr gm-k p: y f hr iw f šm r-bnr n-ge p: nt t tp 2 'n iir-k iny. t f n t: pr(.t) n P: -R' iir-k
mr-k n w' ḥbs n p: hry n t: t-k
mtw-k mr-k r p: y k hr n w'. t pke. t n šr bne. t iw p: mhrr hr t: ḥ. t n-dr. t k mtw-k mt. t r-r f r-hr P: -R'
iw f r pr n sp 7 iir-k w:ḥ iir-k t f n ḥsy
hn hyn. w irt(.t) n ih. t kme. t iir-k hn r tp f n w' 10 n ht n dyt iir-k ḥ: f š' rhwe hn p: irte r ire rhwe
hpr iir-k
ti
in. t f r-hry iir-k prḥ hr-r f n š' mtw-k w'. t mnfire(.t) n ḥbs hr-r f hr p: š' š' hrw 4 iir-k (ti) sntre ih
st. t m-b: ḥ f r ire p: hrw 4 sny mtw f šwy
640

³⁴⁸ This word might be connected to *rt*, an attested demotic writing for *rwḏ*, 'to be firm/strong', which fits the context well. See Smith 1992/1993, 138.

GEMF 16.627–640

The vessel-inquiry of Osiris: Hail, Osiris, the king of the Underworld, the lord of burial, the one whose head is in Thinis while his feet are in Thebes, the one who gives an answer in Abydos while his protection(?) is in Per-Shylem, the one who is under the *nebes*-tree of Meroe,³⁴⁹ who is on the mountain of Pōranous,³⁵⁰ he who is upon my house forever, (630) the house of the avengers forever, the one whose face resembles(?) the face of a falcon of byssus, mighty one whose tail is the tail of a snake while his back is the back of a guardian dragon(?)³⁵¹ whose hand is (that of) a man who is secured(?) with this girdle of bandage(?) in whose hand is this palm-staff of command. Hail, YAHOU SABAHŌ ATTONAI MYSTEMOU YAOUYOU. Hail MYKHAEL SABAEEL.³⁵² Hail Anubis in the district of the dog-faces, he to whom this territory belongs, the one who jumps on one foot. Hide the darkness in the deep! Bring the light in to me! Come in to me! Tell me the answer to what I am asking about here today! (Say) **9 times** (635) until the god comes and the light appears. You do it according to the form of the remainder which is above again while the youth's face is to the east while your own face is to the west, you reciting down into his head.

(The procedure) of the scarab in the cup of wine, to cause a woman to love a man: You should bring a scarab of Mars,³⁵³ which is this small scarab which does not have a horn³⁵⁴ while it has 3 shields on the front of his head (you find its face shrunken?) or the one which has 2 horns also. You should bring it at the rising of the sun; you should bind yourself with a cloth on the upper (portion) of your back. You should bind yourself at your face with a strip of palm-fiber while the scarab is on the palm³⁵⁵ of your hand and you should speak to it before the sun, when he is about to rise, 7 times. When you have finished, you should drown it in (some) milk of a black cow, you should approach his head with a (unit of) 10 (pieces) of olive-wood, you should leave it until evening in the milk. When evening comes, you should bring it up, (640) you should spread sand under it and you should put a band of cloth under it on the sand for 4 days and you should (put) myrrh on the flame before it. When 4 days have passed and it is dry,

³⁴⁹ This passage is paralleled in GEMF 57/PGM IV 11–14, see Love 2016, §1.3; 4.1.1.2. The *nebes*-tree can be identified as Zizyphus or Christ's thorn tree. Erichsen, 215 connects it to the Coptic ΝΟΥΒΣ (Crum 222b). See Germer 2008, 83–84.

³⁵⁰ This seems to be the Greek word οὐρανός for 'firmament' or 'heaven' preceded by the Egyptian masculine definite article.

³⁵¹ Perhaps, literally 'crocodile'; see Griffith and Thompson 1904, 135, n. to col. xxi 5.

³⁵² This sequence of magical names has a strong Jewish ring to it, e.g.: IAŌ SABAOTH ADONAI ... MICHAEL, SABAEEL.

³⁵³ This refers to the planet Mars. See Quack 2019.

³⁵⁴ Griffith and Thompson 1904, 136, l. 11, suggests possible identification with the stag-beetle.

³⁵⁵ Literally 'body'.

col. xxi (cont.) →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 641–655

- 15 *iir=k in.t=f nw-rt=k*³⁵⁶ *iw wn w' hbs prh hr-r=f iir=k prd=f n t:y=f mtr.t n w' tk n hmt iir=k fy t:y=f pše.t n wnm irm n:y=k yb.w n-dr.t=k rt=k n wnm*
- iir=k ddfw hr w' blq n ššw n-m:y n ht n ille iir=k nt-w hr t(š) 9 n blbyle.t n dphe irm t:y=k(.t) mtr.t n-ge t:y=k(.t) fty n-wš-n nhe*
- n t: s.t-eyw.t mtw=k ir=f n w'.t bnn.t mtw=k t:y=f r p: irp mtw=k mt.t r-r=f n sp 7 mtw=k ti swr s t: šhm.t mtw=k fy t:y=f ke pše.t n i:b hn' n:y=k yb.w n-dr.t=k*
- rt=k n i:b 'n mtw=k mr=w n w'.t tiys(.t) n šs-n-nsw(.t) hr hl grwgws mtw=k mr=w r p:y=k dnh n gbyr mtw=k sdr irm t: šhm.t iw=w mr r-r=k*
- iw=f hpr iir=k wh; r ir=f 'n n-wš-n šm=f n hsy hr ir=k=f 'n n p: mh-3 n p: wrš iir=k ir n p:y.y smte nt hry n=f 'n iir=k š p:y=f š r-r=f r-hr P:-R' n tve iir=k ddf* 645
- 20 *iir=k prd=f iir=k ir=f r-h(e) p: nt hry 'n n mt.t nb* (p: š)³⁵⁷ *nt iir=k š=f r-r=f m-b:h P:-R' n tve mtw=k p:y p: mhrr n hstb n m':t r-iny t=k r-bnr n p: r: n p:y(=y) irpe iir=k*
- ty dmyd hmt r šy.t=k nt r rh wnm p: sym iw=f hm p: sht iw=f gm' r n: šsm.w sy.w n na Kmy iw=y hb n-im=k r 4 r-ms 4*
- r myh.t=s n h:t=s r he(.t)s sp-2 r n:y=s mht sp-2 r t:y=s 'te.t d mtw=s p: iir ir t:y=s m:t r-hr P:-R' n tve iw=s d n P:-R'*
- d bn pr n p: i:h d bn wbn n p: mw d bn iy n na Kmy n t: sh.t d bn wlt' n: šne.w sy.w n na Kmy d bn wtw*
- iw=y hb n-im=k r 4 r-ms 4 r š'k's n h:t=s r he(.t)s sp-2 r n:y=s mpt (sic!) sp-2 r t:y=s 'te.t mtw=s w:h=s r p: myt m-s: mn r-ms mn n nw nb* 650
- 25 (p: š) *nt iir=k š=f r-r=f iw=f hn n p: irte* *r.wy' sy sp-sn r.wy p:y(=y) sy sp-sn r.wy Nwn=f(?)*
r.wy m'r=f p: mhrr sp-2 mtw=k t: ir.t n P:-R' p: s:l pyn
- n Wsir t: sh-n-dr.t n Šwy iir=k n' n p:y.y ky nt-r Wsir p:y=k it šm n-im=f iw db; 4 r-ms 4 š'-mtw=w ti t: st.t m-s: h:t=s t: hō.t*
- šm
- m-s: n:y=s iw=f š'-mtw=s n'e 4 r-ms 4 r m:' nb nt iw=f n-im=w* (p: š) *nt iir=k š=f r-r=f iir=k kk n-im=f h(y) p:y(=y) hr t nfr p: syf n wnm(?) nhe(?)*
- p: iir syt nt syt iw t n: ntr.w dre=w p:y.y nt-r p: nt n(š)-hm irm p: nt syw gm.t=f iw t: psd.t s.t 2.t hr pr i:b t n Kmy*
- no
- iw=f pr n w'³⁵⁸ mhrr km hr w'.t bwe(.t) n qm:[e] dwf tw=y ir-rh n p:y=k rn tw=y ir-rh n t:y=k(.t) hm.t t: wp.t n sw 2 m=k* 655

³⁵⁶ For this reading see the glossary in Griffith and Thompson 1909, vol. 3, 53.

³⁵⁷ A space was left in the papyrus to be filled out with red ink. This is also the case for ll. 651 and 653.

³⁵⁸ For this reading see Griffith and Thompson 1904, 141, n. to l. 29.

GEMF 16.641–655

you should bring it before you while a cloth is spread under it, you should divide it in its middle with a copper knife, you should carry its right half and (parings of) your right fingernails and toenails, you should cook them on a sherd of a new *sheshu*-pot³⁵⁹ with olive wood. You should pound them with the 9 apple seeds and your semen or your sweat without bath oil, and you should make it into a ball, and you should put it into the wine, and you should speak to it, 7 times, and you should have the woman drink it. And you take its other (left) half together with your toenail and fingernail (parings) of your left (hand and foot) also; you should bind them in a cloth of byssus with myrrh and saffron; you should bind them to your left arm; you should lie with the woman while they are bound to you. (645) If you wish to do it again without drowning it, you do it again on the 3rd (day) of the lunar month, you doing its procedure above for it also. You should recite its formula to it before the sun at dawn; you should cook (it) you should divide it, you should do it according to what is above again in everything. (The invocation)³⁶⁰ which you should recite to it before the sun at dawn: “You are the scarab of true lapis lazuli. Bring yourself out from the door of my temple! You should take a bronze *djemydj*-vessel³⁶¹ to your nose, (O he) who knows how to eat the herbage while he tramples the vegetables, while he damages the great cult-images of those of Egypt! I am sending you against NN, whom NN bore, to strike her from her heart to her belly, from her belly to her intestines, from her intestines to her womb, for she is the one who³⁶² urinated before the sun at dawn saying to the sun, ‘Do not come forth!’ to the moon, ‘Do not rise!’ to the water, ‘Do not come to those of Egypt!’ to the field, ‘Do not bloom!’ to the great trees of those of Egypt, ‘Do not grow green!’ (650) I am sending you to NN, whom NN bore, in order to beat her from her heart to her belly, from her belly to her intestines, from her intestines to her womb so that she put herself on the road (following) after NN, whom NN bore, at all times.” (The invocation) which you should recite to it while it is in the milk: “Woe, doubly great one; woe, my doubly great one; woe, his(?) Primeval Waters; woe, his love; O scarab, O scarab, you are the eye of the sun, the little finger of Osiris, the fingers of Shu. You should go in this form (i.e. drowned) in which Osiris, your father, went because of NN, whom NN bore, until flame is put after her heart, fire (is put) after her flesh, until she goes to NN, whom NN bore in any place where he is.” (The invocation) which you should recite to it while you cook it: “Hail, my beautiful child, the youth of oil(?)-eating(?), he who casts semen, who casts semen among all the gods, this one whom the one who is small and the one who is great found among the 2 great enneads on the east of Egypt (655) while he was coming forth as a black scarab on a stem of papyrus-reed. I know your name, I know your craft, ‘The work of 2 stars’ is your name.

³⁵⁹ Erichsen 523 notes Coptic $\omega\theta\omega\theta\gamma$ (Crum 609a), and $\omega\lambda\omega$ (Crum 604a).

³⁶⁰ Four times in this column, the scribe forgot to fill out the rubrics in red ink, leaving only the blank spaces. We have supplied the missing rubrics from parallel recipes.

³⁶¹ Erichsen 680. TLA translates ‘copper vessel’.

³⁶² There follows a series of slanders against the female victim to get the invoked gods angry with her.

col. xxi (cont.) →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 656–669

- 30 *twꜣy ḥwy hꜣt r-r-k n p; hrw Nph'lm B'll'° b'lkh' Y.ꜣ.phphe d df nb ḥmm nb šꜣt nb nt iir-k n-
im-w*
- n p; hrw iir-k sw ḥn p; ḥ:ꜣ p; wef p; mws p; nyš t' te.t p; mḥꜣ ꜣ p; mḥꜣ ḥm n; spyr.w n; iwꜣ n; qs.w
n te nb*
- n p; ḥꜣr n ḥ r-ms ḥ š'-mtwꜣs šm n:ꜣ ḥ r-ms ḥ r m:ꜣ nb nt iwꜣ n-im-w (p; š) nt iir-k šꜣf r-r-f ḥn n p;
ir p; mḥꜣr sp-2 mtwꜣk p:y p; mḥꜣr*
- n ḥstb n m:ꜣ.t mtwꜣk t' ir.t n P;-R' mtwꜣk p; byl n 'Itm t' šꜣ-n-dr.t n Šwy p; s:l'pyn n Wsir mtwꜣk
p:y.y k; km ḥꜣt ir pr n p; Nwn*
- iw p; nfr n šs.t irm-k mtwꜣk R'ks R'p'r'ks p; snf n p:y.y iš ḥwꜣ r-in-wꜣf n p; t' n Hr r Kmy ḥꜣr p; bnr
r p; ir p; 660
n iir-k n'*
- 35 *iwꜣy ḥb-k n p:y(y) ḥb n iir-k r iyꜣf ḥꜣr-k ḥb:ꜣ r p; ib mtwꜣw ḥꜣm-f r t' ḥny.t mtwꜣw t' šwyꜣs r p; š' n
p; snyꜣt mtwꜣw ḥꜣf n-ws-*
- n tꜣw p; dwꜣf n Pr-wt mtwꜣw t' p; ḥmt m-sꜣf iw Hr wꜣ; n šs.t n; ḥꜣrḥꜣr.w ꜣy.w n na Kmy mtwꜣw tm
ḥꜣ' ḥwꜣ šꜣm.t n tꜣyꜣw mtry.t iwꜣy ḥb*
- n-im-k yn r n:y iwꜣy ḥb n-im-k r-ḥꜣy r p; ḥꜣt n ḥ r-ms ḥ mtwꜣk ir st.t n ḥe.(t)s šꜣt ḥn n:yꜣs mḥꜣ my p;
lyb m-s; ḥ:(t)s*
- p; trwš m-s; n:yꜣs iwꜣf my irꜣs m-qte n p; ḥꜣš m-s; t' ryr.t my irꜣs*
- n (p;?) mš' n p; ḥꜣ m-s; t' ḥyb.t iwꜣs qte m-s; ḥ r-ms ḥ r m:ꜣ nb nt iwꜣ n-im-w iwꜣs mr n-imꜣf iwꜣs
lby m-sꜣf iw bw-ir rḥꜣs m:ꜣ n p; t' 665*
- 40 *iwꜣs n-imꜣf ty tꜣyꜣs qt.t(?) n grḥꜣ my nꜣs p; ḥm p; rws n mtre.t m-ir t' wnmꜣs m-ir t' swꜣs m-ir t'
sdrꜣs m-ir t' ḥmsꜣs ḥꜣr*
- t' ḥyb.t n n:yꜣs ꜣ.wy.w š'-mtwꜣs n:ꜣ nꜣf r m:ꜣ nb nt iwꜣ n-im-w iw ḥ:(t)s ḥꜣ iw ir.tꜣs ḥl iw n:yꜣs
nw pnꜣ iw bw-ir rḥꜣs m:ꜣ*
- n p; t' iwꜣs n-imꜣf š'-mtwꜣs nw r-rꜣf iw ir.tꜣs m-s; ir.tꜣf ibꜣs m-s; ibꜣf dr.tꜣs m-s; dr.tꜣf iwꜣs t' nꜣf
ty[...] nb my wꜣḥꜣs (t) ḥꜣ:t n rꜣš*
- m-s; n:yꜣf tbs.w n p; [ḥ]yr n nw nb iw mn nw šb ys sp-2 tkr sp-2*

recto col. xxii →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 670–674

- 1 twꜣyꜣs n p; m n wr tyw nt iwꜣw šꜣw r iyḥ nb iw mn p; nt iw 670
- n-nḥt.ꜣ-f r-(r-w) ḥꜣr n; dmꜣ.w iir-k šꜣ n:y ḥꜣ.w r ḥn nb*
- bw-ire n; ntr.w šm n-w iw bn-pwꜣk šn.ꜣ-w r mt.t nb mtwꜣw d n-k*
- p; wꜣḥ ḥꜣr t' p.t p; t' t' twꜣ.t šn iwꜣf wwy p; mw*
- 5 *t' šꜣ.t šḥ iwꜣf n-dr.ꜣ-f n rmtꜣr šꜣf*

GEMF 16.656–669

I am casting fury against you today, NPHALAM BALLA BALKHA YŌPHPHE, in order that every fire, every heat, every fire(?) in which you are today, you shall (make) them in the heart, the lungs, the liver, the spleen, the womb, the great intestine, the small intestine, the ribs, the flesh, the bones, in every limb, in the skin of NN, whom NN bore, until she goes to NN, whom NN bore, at any place in which he is.”³⁶³ [The formula] which you should recite to it in the wine: “O scarab, (say it) twice, you are the scarab of real lapis lazuli; you are the eye of the sun; you are the eye of Atum, the finger of Shu, the little finger of Osiris; you are this black bull, the foremost one, who came forth from Nun, (660) while the beauty of Isis is with you. You are RAKS RAPARAKS, the blood of this wild boar which was brought from the land of Syria to Egypt.” (From) outside to the wine: “I shall send you. Will you go on my business? Will you do it?” You say, “Send me to the thirsty (man) so that he (i.e. his thirst) may be quenched, to the canal so that it may dry up, to the sand of the foundation(?) that it may be spread without wind, (to) the papyrus of Buto that they may apply the copper (blade) to it, Horus being saved for Isis (from) the great destructions of those of Egypt so that neither a man or a woman is left in their midst while I send you. Be like these (while) I am sending you down to the heart of NN, whom NN bore, so that you may make a fire in her belly, a flame in her intestine(s). Put madness after her heart, redness (i.e. fever) after her flesh. May she make the movements of the Foreleg (i.e. Ursa Major) after the Sow (constellation). Let her make (665) (the) movements of the sunlight after the shadow, she seeking after NN, whom NN bore, in every place in which he is, she loving him, she being mad for him, she not knowing a place on earth in which she is. Take away her sleep at night; give her grief and worry at midday. Do not let her eat! Do not let her drink! Do not let her sleep! Do not let her sit in the shadow of her houses until she goes to him at every place where he is, her heart forgetting, her eye(s) flown (off?), her glances (turned) upside down, she not knowing any place at all in which she is until she sees him, her eye(s) being after his eye(s), her heart after his heart, her hand after his hand, she giving him May she put the tip of her feet after his heels in the street at all times without time changing. Quickly!—twice—Hurriedly!”—twice.

GEMF 16.670–674

(670) [Here are] (the words?) of the name of the Great One of Five which should be recited to every spirit, there being nothing stronger than (it)³⁶⁴ in the books. If you recite these formulas to any vessel, the gods do not go away without you having asked them about everything and they having said to you the answer concerning heaven or earth or the underworld, a distant inquiry, water, field(s). (It is) a writing which it is in the hand (i.e. the ability or power) of man to recite (it).³⁶⁵

³⁶³ This is the standard request in the Greek “burning-procedure” (ἔμπυρον), a subset of the attraction-procedure (ἀγωγή) that aims to burn a woman’s entire body until she comes to the practitioner; see Faraone 1999, 41–95.

³⁶⁴ Note although this looks like *r-h(i)t-w*, Griffith and Thompson 1904, 144, n. 2, read the text here as *r-r-w*, and we have here followed suit.

³⁶⁵ The rest of col. xxii is left blank. Dosoo forthcoming b argues that this extended description in the first five lines of a vessel inquiry of Osiris should be understood as an annotation to ll. 627–635 in the previous column.

recto col. xxiii →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 675–694 [PGM XIVc 16–27]

- 1 w^c rⁱ r tⁱ hy in-qty^k byn d mt.t 675
- hr iny^k w^c tp n ꝛ mtw^k smn.t^f iw^t r^t.t^k wbe P₃-R^c n twe iw^f r pr
wbe^f n n rhwe iw^f in-n^c.k r p; htp mtw^k ths t^y:k(.t) r^t.t n wnm n st^z.t
n Hr t^y:k(.t) r^t.t n i^b n sⁿ n ꝛ ršyn.w n t^y:k pt n mtw^k smn t^y:k(.t) wnm
- 5 hr t^h.t t^y:k(.t) i^b hr phw iw p; tp n t^y:w mtre.t mtw^k ths dr.t^k n t^y:k(.t) dr.t 2.t n snf n
ꝛ hn^c t^h fnd^z(.t) 2.t n r^z:k mtw^k š n^y sh.w r-hr P₃-R^c n twe n rhwe n hrw 4 hr 680
- sdr^f iir^k wh; r tⁱ ir^f MOY iir^k ir^f n hrw 7 iir^k ir p^y:f t iw^z.t iir^k mr w^c.t ꝛe n šr-
bne.t r dr.t^k w^c.t pk n šr-bne hw^t r hnt^k hn^c d^z:k nfr nfr pw p^y:(?) š nt iir^k š^f r-hr P₃-R^c d
- M³ ἐ[π]ικαλοῦμαί σε τὸν ἐ[v] τῷ κενεῷ πνεύματι, δεινόν, ἀόρατον,
10 παντοκράτορα, θεὸν θεῶν, φθοροποιὸν καὶ ἐρημοποιόν, ὁ μισῶ
οἰκία[v] εὐσταθοῦσαν, ὧς ἐξεβράσθησ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἕξω 685
χώρας ἐπαινομάσ[θ]ησ, ὁ πάντα ῥήσσων καὶ μὴ νικώμενος.
ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε, T[υ]φῶν Cηθ, τὰς σὰς μαντείας ἐπιτέλω, [20]
ὅτι ἐπικαλοῦμαί [c]ε τὸ σὸν ἀθθεντικόν σου ὄνομα, ἐν οἷς οὐ δύνη
15 παρακούσαι, ἰωερβηθ ἰωπακερβηθ ἰωβολχωσηθ ἰωπαταθναξ
ἰωωρω ἰωγεβουτοσουαληθ ακτιωφι ερεσχιγαλ νεβουτοσουαληθ, 690
ανεραμενθου λερθεξαναξ εθρελυωθ νεμαρεβα αεμινα,
ὄλον. ἦκέ μοι κ[αἰ] βάδιον καὶ κατάβαλε τὸν Δ ἢ τὴν Δ ῥίγει καὶ πυ-
ρετῷ. αὐτὸς ἠδ[ί]κησέν με καὶ τὸ αἶμα Τουφῶνος ἐξέχυνεν παρ' ἑαυ-
20 τῷ ἢ αὐτῇ. διὰ το[ῦ]το ταῦτα ποιῶ, κοινά.

10 μισῶ(v) : μισῶν GrTh || 11 l. δc iam Ei Pr | ἐξεβραθης (pro ἐξεβρά(ς)θησ) Pr || 11-12 ἕξω χώρασ pro ἐξώχωροσ Ei || 12 l. ἐπαινομάσθησ iam R Ei || 13 l. ἐπιτέ(λ)λω iam Pr : ἐπιτελῶ vel ἐπιτέλει? Ei || 14 ἐν ὧ? Ei Pr || 15 ιω ερβηθ GrTh : ἰω Ἐρβηθ Pr | ιωπακερβηθ GrTh : ἰω Πακερβηθ Pr | ιωβολχωσηθ GrTh : ἰω Βολχωσηθ Pr | ιωπαταθναξ GrTh : ἰω Παταθναξ Pr || 16 ιωωρω GrTh : ἰω Cωρω Pr | ιωγεβουτοσουαληθ GrTh : ἰω [N]εβουτοσουαληθ Pr | νεβοποσουαληθ GrTh Ei || 17 αβεραμενθου GrTh Pr : αβεραμενθου Ei | εθρελυωθνε μαρεβα Ei || 18 δ(εἶνα) (2x) || 19 l. Τυφῶνοσ iam GrTh : Τύφῶνοσ Ei : τοῦ Τυφῶνοσ Pr | ἐξέχυνεν GrTh Ei Pr || 20 ποίει Ei | κοινά Pap. : o ex corr. : (κοινά) Pr

(675) **A formula** to cause evil sleep³⁶⁶ to fall. **Formula**: You bring the head of a donkey;³⁶⁷ you set it between your feet opposite the sun at dawn while it will rise, opposite it again in the evening while it is going to rest (i.e. setting); you anoint your right foot with Syrian yellow ochre and your left foot with clay and the blemishes(?)³⁶⁸ of your foot also; you put your right (hand) in front and your left (hand) behind, while the (donkey's) head is in the middle; you anoint (one) of your two hands with donkey blood (680) and the two corners(?) of your mouth; you recite these formulas before the sun at dawn (and in the) evening, for 4 days. He (i.e. the victim) sleeps. If you wish to make him die, you should do it for 7 days.³⁶⁹ If you do its magic, you should bind a thread of palm fiber to your hand, a piece of male palm fiber to your phallus and to your head. It is very good. **Its formula which you should recite** before the sun:

“I invoke you, who are in the empty air,³⁷⁰ the fearful, invisible, almighty, the god of gods, you who cause destruction and desolation, you who hate (685) a stable household,³⁷¹ you who were cast out from Egypt and given the epithet ‘out of (the) land,³⁷² you who break everything asunder and are not overpowered. I invoke you, Typhon SĒTH; I order your divinatory powers, for I invoke you (by) your true name, in (words) that you are not able to disobey: IÖERBĒTH IÖPAKERBĒTH IÖBOLCHÖSĒTH IÖPATATHNAX (690) IÖSÖRÖ IÖNEBOUTOSOUALĒTH³⁷³ AKTIÖPHI ERESCHIGAL NEBOUTOSOUALĒTH³⁷⁴ ANERAMENTHÖOU LERTHEXANAX ETHRELUÖTH NEMAREBA AEMINA,³⁷⁵ the whole (formula). Come to me and proceed and strike him, NN, down, or her, NN, with shivering and fever; (because) he has wronged me and has poured out the blood of Phyon³⁷⁶ in his or her own home.³⁷⁷ For this reason, I am doing these (things)”; (add) the usual.

³⁶⁶ Ritner, GMPT suggests *nktk bin*; perhaps ‘catalepsy’, as Griffith and Thompson 1904, 144, n. to l. 1. This recipe is treated by Dieleman 2005, 130–138; Dosoo forthcoming b proposes that this term is the equivalent of the Greek κατακλιτικόν (‘laying-down procedure’). There are not enough examples in GEMF to provide a clear parallel in terms of ritual, but the parallels between the description here and in GEMF 57/PGM IV 2452–2452 are clear: it strikes down with sickness (κατακλίνει) if performed for a short period, and it kills if carried out for longer.

³⁶⁷ The procedure invokes Seth, who is closely connected with the donkey and is depicted with a donkey’s head. Below the donkey’s head and blood are both put to use in the ritual.

³⁶⁸ Ritner 1986, 104–105 for this translation.

³⁶⁹ See the curse allegedly performed by Pachrates, the high priest (προφήτης) of Heliopolis for the emperor Hadrian (GEMF 57/PGM IV 2441–2445): “it laid him (i.e. the victim) low in two hours and destroyed him in seven.”

³⁷⁰ Alternative versions of this invocation are found in GEMF 15.416–424/PGM XII 367–375 and 539–550/PGM XII 454–465. For this rare meaning of πνεῦμα in GEMF, as ‘air’, see GEMF 58/PGM V 121.

³⁷¹ In Egyptian tradition, Typhon-Seth is often associated with disorder and confusion: see mainly Te Velde 1977.

³⁷² Ll. 685–686 are obscure due to some corruption in the text. Griffith and Thompson 1904, 147 have read ὥc as a temporal particle and rendered the text as “when thou wast cast out of Egypt and out of the country thou wast entitled, ‘He that destroyeth all and is unconquered.’” Preisendanz (PGM), however, correctly emended ὥc to ὀc, followed by Hock, GMPT, 232. All previous editors understood ἐπενομάc[θ]ηc as a form of ἐπινομάζειν, which remains otherwise unattested. Since Seth was identified with Egypt’s external enemies at an early date, the text makes better sense if it is a corruption of ἐπωνομάcθηc (as Reuvers and Eitrem suggested: cf. app.cr.).

³⁷³ For the IÖ-PAKERBĒTH formula, see Martín Hernández 2019.

³⁷⁴ The three names (Aktiophi-Ereschigal-Neboutosualeth) are often found, singly or combined, in the magical papyri (e.g. in GEMF 57/PGM IV 2484, 2749, 2913; 74.398–399/VII 317–318; SM I 49.45) and on gems: e.g. SMA 141; Delatte and Derchain 1964, no. 254.

³⁷⁵ Here at the end of the *logos*, perhaps a misspelling for *amēn*, which is often thought to have apotropaic power; see Peterson 1926, 50, 130, 232.

³⁷⁶ Probably a scribal slip for Typhon’s blood, the semantic equivalent of the blood of an ass: see above n. 367.

³⁷⁷ A ritualized accusation of blasphemous words or deeds is common technique found in Late Egyptian ritual texts, with Egyptian antecedents; it aimed at escalating the anger of the gods against the target. See Eitrem 1924; Ritner 1983, 78–79, and 1993, 173, n. 805.

col. xxiii (cont.) →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 695–705

r šn wbe iḥ iir-k ir=f n šn hn w.e.t n-ge hm-hl iw=f hpr iw mtw-k (p:) nt n:e šn iir-k mh ir.t-k 695

n wyḫ mstme iir-k ḥ hr-d;d; w m i w=f tse hr-d;d; p:y-k pr iir-k sde wbe iḥ iw=f mh
n smt.t(?)

Wd:t iir-k w**b** n hrw 3 iir-k š p:y.y š wbe iḥ n **sp** 7 n-ge **sp** 9 š-mtw=f wnh r-r-k

mtw=f sde wbe-k **H:y S-ks Imn Sty**³⁷⁸-ks ḥbr-sty-ks *de mtw-k iḥ*
CAZ AMOYN CAZ ABPACAZ
p(?) (i)ir ms.t-w ΘΑΝ

25 *p: wr n n: syw.w p: iir ms.t-w sdm m-s; n:y d-y mš m-s; n:e r:y wnh-k r-ir-y T:h:nw*
ΘΑΝΑ ΘΑΝΑΘΑ k(y)-d ΘΗΙ

T:he:nwn **T:hnw** **th** **pfy p:y(=y)** rn n mtr 9 n d.t-s š-mtw=s wnh-s r-r-k 700

ke gy n-im=f n r š=f wbe iḥ iir-k smt ir.t-k n p:y.y smt iir-k r-hry r-hr iḥ iw=f mh Wd:t hr nw-k r
p: sšt n p: ntr hn t: Wd:

*iw=f sde wbe ink Hḥ Q: m.r: M: mḫ Mtre p:y p:y(=y) rn d ink [...]*by S. ḡ:n:gpw
ΑΚΑΝΑΚΟΥΤΗ

Mlh iḥ(?) iḥ(?) Hy Mlh rny-t n m:t sp-2 ... d.t ink Hlby Stt Hn-m-nfr rny-t Sr ḡ.šnbḫ p:y(=y) rn n
mtre

30 *d m sp 9 iir-k ḥ wbe iḥ iw ir.t-k mh n p:y.y kys wy mstme nt hr ibe n hr mtw-k ti w shy n w*
ppy

ḡ r-r=f mtw-k tiy=f r w nkt n yl mtw-k ḥ=f n-k n w m i w=f hep š p: nw nt iir-k r ḥ n=f hr ir-k=f
n r-h(e) p: nt hry 705

³⁷⁸ Griffith and Thompson 1904, 147, n. to l. 24 highlight the acrophonic use of the sign groupy *sty* here.

GEMF 16.695–705

(695) To inquire opposite the moon.³⁷⁹ You should do it as a vessel-inquiry alone or (with) a youth. If you are the one who will inquire, you should fill your eye(s) with green eye-paint and black eye-paint; you should stand on a high place on top of your house; you should speak to the moon when it fills the sound eye on the 15th day of the lunar month, you being pure for 3 days; you should recite this formula to the moon 7 times, or 9 times, until he appears to you and he speaks to you. “Hail, SAX AMOUN SAX ABRASAX, for you are the moon, the great one of the stars, the one who formed them! Listen to these (thing) which I said! Walk according to the (things) of my mouth! Reveal yourself to me, THAN (700) THANA THANATHA³⁸⁰—another (manuscript) says THĒI—this is my correct name”; 9 (times) of saying it until she³⁸¹ reveals herself to you.

Another form of it again to recite it opposite the moon. You should paint your eye(s) with this black eye-paint, while you are (going) up before the moon. When it fills the sound eye, you see the form of the god in the sound eye, while he is speaking to you. “I am flame, high (one), mouth-swallower, MAAMT, True is my name for I am ... soul, SŌ AKANAKOUTP, (the planet) Mars,³⁸² spirit, spirit, joy, (the planet) Mars is my true name, (say it) twice ...³⁸³ eternity; I am KHELBY³⁸⁴ STT KHEMENNEFER,³⁸⁵ is my name; ram³⁸⁶ great of chest³⁸⁷ is my true name.” Say 9 times while you are standing opposite the moon, your eye(s) being full of this ointment: green and black eye-paint. Pound with Syrian honey and put (the) gall of a full-grown chicken (705) on it and put it in a vessel of glass and leave it for yourself in a hidden place until the time when you will await it. You also make it according to what is above.

³⁷⁹ Here begins a new procedure: a vessel inquiry focused on the moon.

³⁸⁰ We print here the transliteration of the glosses in Old Coptic. The Demotic rendering is slightly different: TAHANOU TAHEANOUNA TAHNOUA.

³⁸¹ The moon is masculine in Egyptian, as reflected by the following alternate version whose equivalent section is “while he is speaking to you.” The use of the feminine pronoun here may be influenced by Greek, in which the moon is feminine.

³⁸² For this word, *Mlh*, for the planet Mars, see Erichsen 170.

³⁸³ We are not sure of the meaning of these three signs. It could be some writing of *nḥh*, since the following word is *d.t*.

³⁸⁴ Written in Demotic ‘youth’, ‘soul’.

³⁸⁵ Written in Demotic “He who approaches being beautiful.”

³⁸⁶ The term *Sr* can also be translated as ‘prince’.

³⁸⁷ For this title, see LGG II, 48. Ritner, GMPT, 233 n. 484 suggests “great of throat.” The words for throat and chest are near homophones.

recto col. xxiv →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 706–729

1	<i>r in-qty=k byn k.t</i>	706	phre.t <i>iir=k wh; in-qty=k byn ρωμε iw=f dnt</i>	711
	<i>nyt n bne hwṯ</i>	707	καμουνάριον ° ῥ ᾠ	712
	<i>iw=f š;kh n irte</i>	708	ὀπίου ῥ ᾠ nt hr irte	713
	εκια	709	<i>mtw=k ir=f n bnn mtw=k tiy=f r w' κνοϋμ</i>	714
5	<i>mtw=k ir=w n w' m bnn ti r p; irp</i>	710	<i>iw=f df mtw=f ΟΥΑΜΗ hr ir=f ΜΚΑΣ</i>	715 ³⁸⁸
	k.t <i>iir=k wh; r ti sgr rmt n hrw</i> 2			
	° <i>μανδρακόρου ῥίζα</i>	F ᾠ		
	° <i>μελακρετικου</i>	F ᾠ		
	° <i>ὄοσκυάμου</i>	F ᾠ		
15	° <i>κιτσοῦ</i>	F ᾠ		720
	<i>iir=k nt=w r-h(e) w' lq n irp iir=k wh; ir=f n mt.t rmt rh</i>			
	<i>iir=k ti š;t.t 4.t r p; w' sp-2 n-im=w irm w' wth n irp mtw=k</i>			
	<i><mtw=k> thb=w n t n t we š' rhwe mtw=k stf=w</i>			
	<i>mtw=k ti swr=w s nfr sp-2</i> k.t 3.t° <i>κεγορ</i>			
20	χνοε sttr.t 1.t qt.t 1.t° ti n' hr wṯte			725
	<i>mtw=k ir=f n ελεε mtw=k ti wnm s p; rmt nt iir=k wh;=f</i>			
	phr.t <i>r ti ire rmt in-qteṯ.k nfr sp-2</i>			
	<i>pr.w χνωε ° sttr.t 1.t gs-qt.t 1.t° nn.t n m ntr:gwrw 4.t gs-qd.t°</i>			
	<i>gyss. 3.s³⁸⁹ 4.t gs-qt.t° nt n w' sp mtw=k ti</i>			

2, 3 (δραχμή) || 2 l. σκαμμωνάριον || 12,13,14,15 ο(ὐ)γκία)

³⁸⁸ Here we follow PDM in numbering the right-hand column as lines 711–715, i.e. separately from the left-hand column.

³⁸⁹ This is a rendering of Greek κιττός, 'ivy'; see Dieleman 2005, 310. It appears again below in l. 732 in this column. In l. 720 above it appears in Greek in the genitive κιτσοῦ.

For evil sleep.³⁹⁰ Another: flour of wild dates beaten(?) with milk and ...³⁹¹; (710) make it into a ball and put (it) on the wine.

A tested **prescription**: If you wish (to cause) evil sleep (to) a man: scammony root, 1 dram, opium, 1 dram, pound with milk, make it into a ball, put it on a ... (715) which is cooked so that he eat it. He is in pain.

Another: If you wish to make a man sleep for **2** days: mandrake root, 1 ounce, honey and water,³⁹² 1 ounce, henbane,³⁹³ 1 ounce, (720) ivy, 1 ounce;³⁹⁴ you should pound them with a *loq*-vessel of wine. If you wish to do it cleverly, you should put 4 portions to each one of them together with a vessel of wine, you should <you should> moisten them from morning to night, you should pour them out, and you have them drink it. [It is] very good.

Another: the third.³⁹⁵ apple (725) seeds, 1 stater, 1 kite, grind finely with flour and make it into a cake and have the man whom you wish eat it.

A prescription to cause a man to sleep. <It is> very good. Apple seeds, 1 stater, 1 dram, mandrake root, 4 drams, ivy, 4 drams. Pound together and put

³⁹⁰ *r in-qty-k byn* should probably be translated “for evil sleep” rather than “against evil sleep” (GMPT). We can see that the recipe follows the same procedure as the following recipes for causing “evil sleep” (adding a ball of usually poisonous *materia* to a drink which the victim consumes). See above, note on l. 675.

³⁹¹ Griffith and Thompson 1904, 109, n. 9, suggest ‘reed’, ‘rush’.

³⁹² For further discussion of this order see Griffith and Thompson 1904, 149–150, n. to l. 8. Honey appears nearly two dozen times in GEMF and only four times is the source mentioned, thrice as Attic (GEMF 55/PGM III 5 and 426, where it is mixed with milk; and 74.266/VII 192) and once as Syrian (above, GEMF 16/XIV 704).

³⁹³ A poisonous plant of the nightshade family.

³⁹⁴ These four ingredients are written in cipher usually used for writing words in Coptic, but since the words are clearly declined Greek, we print them in Greek script rather than the usual Coptic.

³⁹⁵ The designation of this recipe as the “third” recipe for evil sleep, suggests that the recipe in the margin (“A tested prescription”) was the first and that perhaps when the scribe got to this mention of the “third” recipe, he realized his mistake and added in the margin the recipe he had inadvertently skipped.

col. xxiv (cont.) →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 730–749

25 *wth n ïrp 15 r-r-f° mtwz f tÿz f r w.t qlyt.t n yl* 730*mtwz k hrh r-r-f° ïr-k wh; r tÿz f ïr-k tÿ w^c hm r w^c d(°) n ïrp**ïr-k tÿz f n p; rmt° p; gyss. 3.s hr rt-f hn n; k:m.w**tÿz f gb;.t m-qty qb;.t n šk:m iwz s prd n 3 hlp**m-qty gb;.t n lle hr ïr s šsp w^c n hy(.t) tÿz f hrr;*30 *m-qty hđ k(y)-đ nb k.t shy n 66λ6 n R^c-qt* 735*mtwz k tÿ r nkt nb n wnm k.t w.t° 2° 264λ6λ6 NC6T**phre(.t) r ïn-qtyz k byn shy n fy pr.w dph n pr ïmnt sym(?) n κλ0**ntz w n w^c sp ïr m bnn tÿ r p; wnm**k.t ïr-k tÿ snf n 66MOYλ° hr snf n rmt iwz f mw.t*35 *r p; ïrp mtwz k tÿ swz f p; rmt° hr MT64°* 740*k.t ïr-k tÿ snf n :mwld° r 16T4° hr ïr-f° 6ONM°**k.t ïr-k tÿ snf n 66N6λW° p:y.y smte n p:y°**k.t ïr-k ïr w^c 666° n hsy hn w^c ïrp mtwz k tÿ swz f p; rmt**hr ïr-f tÿz f wp.t° w^c 6MIM n p:y.y smt n hr ïr-f*40 *tÿz f wp.t n° p:yz f° 6666° n ïr-k tÿz s r p; ïrp* 745*hr ïr-f tÿz f wp.t m-šs sp-2 ïr-k tÿ 6666 n**g:l.t n R^c-qt r nkt nb n wnm hr ïr-f tÿz f wp.t ïr-k tÿ w.t**264λ6λ6 n st 2 r p; nhe mtwz k st.šs ïrmz f mtwz k ths**p; rmt n-ïmz f hr ïr-f tÿz f wp.t*

GEMF 16.730–749

(730) 15 measures of wine on it and you put it in a glass vessel and you guard it! When you wish to give it, you should put a little in a cup of wine and you should give it to the man. The ivy, it grows in the garden; its leaf is like the leaf of the *shekam*-plant,³⁹⁶ it being divided in 3 lobes like a grape leaf. It makes 1 palm in measurement. Its flower is (735) like silver—another (manuscript) says, ‘gold’. **Another**: Gall of an Alexandrian weasel;³⁹⁷ you should put it in any kind of food. **Another**: A 2-tailed lizard. **A prescription** for “evil sleep”: Gall of a horned viper, seeds of western apples, poisonous herb. Pound together, make into a ball, put into the food! **Another**: If you put blood of a camel and blood of a dead man (740) in the wine and you make the man drink it, he dies. **Another**: If you put blood of an owl in his eye(s), he is blinded. **Another**: If you put blood of a bat, it is (in) this manner again. **Another**: If you drown a falcon in wine and you make the man drink it, he (it?) does its job. A shrew-mouse, in this manner again; he does (745) its job again. Its gall also, if you put it in the wine, it does its job very well. If you put the gall of an Alexandrian weasel in any food, it does its job. If you put a 2-tailed lizard in the oil and heat it with it and you anoint the man with it, it does its job.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁶ Betrò 1988, 82, proposes a connection with Hebrew *šiqemāh*, which refers both to the sycamore and, more possible in this case, to mulberry.

³⁹⁷ This is a rendering of Greek γαλῆ, ‘weasel’; see Dieleman 2005, 310. See also *g.b.t* in l. 747.

³⁹⁸ This sentence seems to repeat two recipes given above, but does so with more clarity concerning how one is to use the two-tailed lizard.

recto col. xxv →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 750–768

1 n: *mt. wt n p; hbs r šn n p; lw* 750

TH TH IK TATAK

d mt.t *Th° th yg° Ttk° Ththh*

CAN TACKA KAT MA KPΩ

Sty° Sn° tskl Kr.ꜥ.m'kꜥ°

ΠΑΤΑΖΥ ΡΑΪ ΚΑΛΘΟΥ ΠΑΝΚΑΤ Δ Δ ΤΙΕΥΕΙ

Pt'ksyrꜥ° K'lw° p'nkꜥ° tsyꜥwy°

ΜΑΚΑΤ ° ΣΙΤΑΚΑΤ

Ε Ο Ε

5 *M'kt° sytkꜥ° Hꜥ.tꜥy Hꜥ.tꜥrꜥ° Y° ꜥ° Y*

ΥΔΥ Ε

'b.w° y my d-w nꜥy wꜥh {n} r mt.t nb nt iwꜥy šn hr-irꜥw ty n p; hrw° 755

d ink Hr-p;-hrꜥ hr-ib Dt.t° d ink ꜥs.t t; rh.t

n; d n rꜥy hpr d sp 7 hr inyꜥk wꜥ.t mšprꜥ.t n-mꜥy

mtwꜥk ti wꜥ s' l n šs iwꜥf wꜥb r-rꜥs n iny r-bnr hn ꜥ.t-ntr mtwꜥk

10 *smn.tꜥs hr wꜥ.t tbꜥ.t n-mꜥy° n iny n p; myhl iwꜥs wꜥb° iw bn-pw*

ΔΔΟ

rmꜥ'ly r-rꜥs° mtwꜥk ti hꜥs r rꜥs° mtwꜥk smn t; mšprꜥ.t 760

hr ꜥ.tꜥs° mtwꜥk ti nhe n mꜥ'.t r-rꜥs n-ge nhe n whe

mtwꜥk smn tbꜥ.(t) 2.t n-mꜥy hr-rꜥk° mtwꜥk hꜥ' p; lw iwꜥt

rꜥ'k° mtwꜥk ꜥ' n; sh.w nt hry r-hry hn dꜥꜥꜥf n p; lw°

15 *iw dr.tꜥk hr r; ir.tꜥf° mtwꜥk ti hl r-hry hr gbꜥ.t n twꜥ.t*

nꜥy-hr p; hbs° hr irꜥkꜥf n wꜥ mꜥ' iwꜥf n kke° iwꜥf (sic) pꜥyꜥf r; 765

wn r pr iꜥbtꜥ° n-ge p; rsy° iw mn ꜥ.wy n p; iytn hr-rꜥf°

mtwꜥk tm hꜥ' wyn r iy r-hn r p; mꜥ' n rnꜥf mtwꜥk swꜥb p; mꜥ' n rnꜥf r t; ꜥ.t

mtwꜥk hꜥy ꜥ.tꜥf n p; lw r p; r; n t; ry.t iirꜥk wꜥh iirꜥk ꜥ' sh

GEMF 16.750–768

(750) **The** words of the lamp to question the youth. **Formula**: “TĒ TĒIK TATAK THĒTHĒ SATY SAN TASKL KATMAKRŌ PATAXURAI KALEOU PANKAT A A TIEUEI MAKAT SITAKAT, my heart, heart of (my) mouth, E O E³⁹⁹ (755) UAU E. May they say to me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today, for I am Horus the Child who is in Mendes, for I am Isis the wise, the sayings of my mouth come to pass.” **Say 7 times**. You bring a new bowl and you put a wick of clean cloth in it, which was brought out from (inside) a temple and you put it (i.e. the bowl) on a new clean brick, which was brought from brick mold, (760) no man having climbed on it,⁴⁰⁰ and you set it up and you put the bowl on it and you put true oil in it or oasis oil and you put 2 new bricks under yourself and you stand the youth between your feet and you recite the above formulas down into the youth’s head, your hand being over his eye(s) and you put myrrh and willow leaf up (765) before the lamp. You do it in a dark place whose door opens to the east or the south and under which there is no cellar⁴⁰¹ and you do not let light come to the above-mentioned place and you purify the above-mentioned place beforehand and you set the youth’s back to the door of the room. When you finish reciting the formula,

³⁹⁹ If we go by the divine determinatives and take the two phrases written in Demotic for their phonetic value, we get HAT(Y)-HATRŌ Y O Y.

⁴⁰⁰ An unusually specific version of the common stipulation to use new or pure objects in these rituals.

⁴⁰¹ This is also an extraordinary stipulation for choosing a place to perform a ritual.

col. xxv (cont.) →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 769–786

- 20 *iir-k fy dr.t-k hr r; ir.t-f° w' lw iw bw-ir-tw-f šm irm šhm.t*
[p:] nt iir-k ti šm-f n;e dr.t-f° mtw-k šn.t-f d ih p; nt iir-k nw r-r-f 770
hr mt.t-f irm-k n mt.t nb nt iir-k šn.t-f r-ir-w
w' ky *r ti h.t šhm.t m-s; hwṭ° ir n w'.t wnw.t mtw-f hpr t;y hte.t hr iny-k*
w'.t ⲃⲉϣⲉ (iw-s 'nh)° irm ⲕⲠϢⲕⲠⲟϣⲛⲉⲧ° iw-w 'nh° kys n ir n-w°
- 25 *snfe n ; hwṭ° snf n syb n ih.t kme° mtw-k ths n;y-w*
pe. w t n skn sšn° mtw-k š w' skp r-hr P;-R' n t;y-f wnw.t n h'° 775
iir-k š't.t d;d-w n t; 2.t° iir-k iny p;y-w h;t r-bnr n n;y-w spyr n wnm
n t; 2.t° mtw-k ths-f n p(?) snf n ; hn' p; snfe(?) n syb n ih.t kme.t
nte hry° iir-k tiy s.t r-hn w' h'r n ;° iir-k h;w n P;-R' š'-mtw-w
- 30 *šewy° n hrw 4 r.ir p; hrw 4 sny° iir-k nt-w° iir-k tiy s.t r w'*
rkyc⁴⁰²° iir-k h;w f n p;y-k 'wy° iir-k wh; r ti ire šhm.t mr hwṭ° iir-k ty 780
p; dnf n w' ht n hry iir-k š n;y rn.w n mtre r-hr-w°
iir-k tiy-f r w' d' n irp n-ge hnqe iir-k tiy-f n t; šhm.t mtw-s swr-f
 [...]ΘΑΤ ΒΙΡΑ ΔΥΡΛ ΛΑ ΔΥΡ ΔΛ ΣΑΣΜΡΙ
ink Byr° 'qhl L;° ;qhl° S;smry;°
 ΠΑΣΠΑΟΝ ΙΩΔ ΝΕ ΣΑΒΔΑΘΑΛ ΣΑΣΟΥΠΟΥ
 35 *Pls° plwn° ink ;.n-n;.w° S;b;thl S;swpw°*
 ΝΙΘΕΙ
Nythy my h.t mn r-ms mn m-s; mn r-ms mn hn 785
n;y wnw.wt n p; hrw sp 7 hr ir-k-f n p; mh-14 n p; wrše nfr sp-2

⁴⁰² This is a rendering of Greek ἄρκα, from Latin *arca*, 'box or chest'; see Dieleman 2005, 312.

GEMF 16.769–786

you should lift your hand from his eye(s), a youth who has not gone with a woman is (770) [the one] whom you should send before it, and you should question him saying, “What is do you see?” He speaks with you about everything about which you ask him.

A procedure to put the heart of a woman after a man. Done in one minute and it happens immediately. You bring a live swallow⁴⁰³ and a live hoopoe. Ointment made for them: Blood of a male donkey, blood of the tick of a black cow. You should anoint their (775) heads with lotus ointment and you should cry out before the sun at his moment of rising. You should cut off the heads of the 2 (i.e. birds), you should bring their hearts out from their right ribs of the 2, and you should anoint them with the blood of the (male) donkey and the blood of the tick of the black cow, (mentioned) above. You should put them in donkey skin and you should leave them in the sun until they dry up in 4 days. When the 4 days have passed, you should pound them and you should put them in a (780) chest and you should leave it in your house. When you wish to make a woman love a man, you should take the piece of pleasure-wood and you should recite these true names before them and you should put it in a cup of wine or beer and you should give it to the woman so that she drinks it. “I am BIRA AQHLLA AQHL SASMRI, PLSPLON. I am IŌANE⁴⁰⁴ SABAATHAL SASOUPOU (785) NITHEI.⁴⁰⁵ Put the heart of NN, whom NN bore, after NN, whom NN bore, in these hours today.” [Say] 7 times. You do it on the 14th of the lunar month. [It is] very good.

⁴⁰³ If βρωε is read, the translation cannot be ‘swallow’ (βρηνε etc.). Dieleman 2005, 304 suggests ‘desert animal’ (βοιωι), Crum thought it was a jackal or antelope, but Vycichl 26 argues that antelope is impossible, so perhaps jackal or hyena is a better translation. But the context and parallels from Greek recipes (see below) would lead us to expect a bird. Perhaps compare the word of unknown meaning βλωι (Bohairic) in Crum 47a. On this text, see Dosoo 2018, 43–44. For procedures using parts of birds, see GEMF 29/PGM LXIII 7–12, “for a sleeping woman to confess the name of the man she loves: place a bird’s [tongue] under her lip or on her heart, and put your question”; and 74.492–497/VII 411–416 “procedure for causing talk while asleep: take the heart of a hoopoe, ... and place it on her vagina and ask your question.”

⁴⁰⁴ Written in Demotic ⲟ ‘donkey’, ⲛ ‘again’, ⲛⲥ ‘these’.

⁴⁰⁵ Two other versions of this sequence follow in the next two columns.

recto col. xxvi →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 787–804

1	<i>ke š n n p:y.y d() n ĩrp</i> Ⲅⲓⲣⲁ ⲕⲉⲑⲁⲧ <i>Byr'geth̄</i> <i>S'mr' ⲙⲁⲙⲁⲣⲁ</i> ⁴⁰⁶ <i>Pylpywn</i> ⲡⲓⲕⲡⲓⲟϢⲎ	790
5	<i>Y'hw̄t</i> ⲓⲁϢⲟϢⲧ <i>S'b'wth</i> ⲙⲁⲃⲁⲟϢⲑⲉ <i>S'ypwnyths</i> ⲙⲁⲡⲟϢⲎⲓⲑⲁϢ ⁴⁰⁷ <i>ke š mtw=f n ĩr k(y)-dm'</i> Ⲅⲓⲣⲁⲕⲁ ⲑⲁⲧ	795
10	<i>ĩnk Byr'g'th̄</i> ⲕⲁⲑⲁⲧ <i>L'th̄</i> ⲙⲁϢⲙⲓⲣⲁ <i>S'smyr'</i> ⲡⲓⲕⲡⲓⲣⲟⲎ <i>Plyprn</i> ⲙⲁⲃⲁⲕϣⲙⲧ <i>S'b'qh̄t</i> ⲙⲁϢⲟϢ ⲡⲟϢⲎⲓⲑⲁ	800
15	<i>S'swpwnyths'</i> <i>my ĩ:ṯ mn m-s:</i> ⲙⲁϢⲟϢⲡⲟϢⲎⲓⲑⲁϢ	

⁴⁰⁶ Here and in lines 785–87, 791 and 793 Coptic glosses appear next to the Demotic word, rather than above in smaller letters as is the usual practice in this papyrus. These glosses are not repeated in the translation.

⁴⁰⁷ This gloss, written in the smaller letters usually reserved for superscript, was placed below the target word *S'ypwnyths* in line 7, rather than next to it, as were the glosses in the previous four lines. The running line numbering in PDM is off here—ⲙⲁⲡⲟϢⲎⲓⲑⲁϢ is being counted as a line in the running line numbering, but treated like a gloss in the column number.

Another formula again for this cup of wine:

BIRAKETHAT

SAMARA

(790) PILPIOUN

IHAOUT

SABAOUTH

SAIPOUNITHAS

Another formula belonging to it again on another papyrus:

(795) “I am BIRAKATHAT

LATHAT

SASMIRA

PLIPRON

IAHOU⁴⁰⁸

(800) SABAKUŌT

SASOUPOUNITHA.

Put the heart of NN after

SASOUPOUNITHAS!”⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁸ The beginning of this magical name is written ⲛ ‘donkey’; the whole name is glossed IAHOU.

⁴⁰⁹ This magical name, almost identical to that in l. 801, is written only in Old Coptic. The logic of this passage seems to be: first we are to claim we are a super-human entity whose name ends with SASOUPOUNITHAS and then we are to instruct the magical names to force the victim to pursue SASOUPOUNITHAS (i.e. us), presumably with amorous intent.

recto col. xxvii →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 805–823

- 1 ke šn hn w^e.t r nw r p; w n P;-R^c p; š nt iir-k š-f r-wn n^ey t; p.t t; mw.t n n; ntr.w^o 805
- my nw^ey r p; w n P;-R^c iw^ef ht hnt hn^es^o d ink Gb irpe ntr.w^o šll^c p; nt iw^ey ir n-im^ef m-b;h P;-R^c p;y(=y) it^o
- iw^e-db; mt.t ir šm (n-)dr.t(=y)^o i Hknet.t wr.t nb(.t) qnh.t t; R^c-š.t.t(?)^o r-wn n^ey t; nb iyh.w^o
- r-wn n^ey t; p.t hyt.t^o my wšte^ey n n; wpt.w^o d ink Gb irpe ntr.w^o i p; 7(.t) nsw(.t)^o i p; 7(.t)
- 5 Mn^t^o k; syt nb šfe.t^o šhd t^o by Nwn^o h;y rw^o my rw Nwn k; kke^o
- h;y hnt i^bty.w^o Nwn wr^o hiw^o h;y by sriw^o by imnty.w^o h;y by by.w^o 810
- k; kke^o k; k;w^o s; Nw.t^o r-wn n^ey^o ink wb; t; ir pyr n Gb^o h;y^o ink
- ε ε ε Η Η Η ΥΗ ΥΗ ΥΗ ΥΩ ΥΩ ΥΩ n iw p(=) 3 Myry p-3 R^c
- Y^o Y^o Y^o E^o E^o E^o He^o He^o He^o H. 3^o H. 3^o H. 3^o ink 'nep. 3^o Myry^o p-3^o R^c M;:t Ib
- Thy-b; 3
- Thy-by
- απογει ογμογ ιαγω
- 3^o ir^o wy^o W;w^o Y;h. 3^o P; swh-iyh snfe n smnw^o snf n qqwpt^o snf n mwld^o
- 10 'nh-im.w^o snw-p.t^o 3-Imn^o qs(?)-'nh^o hstb n m;:t^o hl^o p;-tgs-3s.t^o nt irw m bnn.t mtw^ek smt^t
- n hr
- ir.t-k n-im^ef w;h rym.t n by-3-n-p.t n w^e ht n nny n-ge hbyn^o mtw^ek mr-k r p;y-k qte^o 815
- n w^e:t pke.t n šn bne.t hwt^o
- iw^ef wbh
- iw p;y:f š'l n šs(-n)nsw(.t)
- p; ky n ir p; šn hn n p; hbs iir-k iny w^e hbs iw^ef w^eb^o n-wš-n ti prš mw n qme r-r-f^o mtw^ek mh^ef
- n nhe
- n m;:t n-ge nhe n yt.t^o mtw^ek mr^ef n 3y 4.t n 3yw iw bn-pw^ew st.t^ew^o mtw^ek ;yh.t^ef r w^e:t d'y.t n
- pr i^bt
- 15 w^e:t šmw;:t n ht n tphn⁴¹⁰ mtw^ek ti 'h^c p; hm-hl n p;y:f mt r-bnr^o iw^ef w^eb^o iw bw-ir-tw^ef šm
- irm šhm.t^o mtw^ek hbs ir.t-f n-dr.t-k^o
- mtw^ek t r; p; hbs^o mtw^ek š r-hry hn t;y:f pe.t^o š^c sp 7 mtw^ek ti ir^ef wn ir(.t)^ef^o mtw^ek šn.t^ef d ih
- n;e nw^ek r-ir^ew^o 820
- iw^ef d w;h iw^ey nw r n; ntr.w iw^ew n p; qte n p; hbs^o hr d-w n^ef w;h r p; nt iw^ew r šn.t^ew r-r-f^o
- iw^ef hpr iir-k wh; r ir^ef n-dr.t-k w^e:t-k^o
- iir-k mh ir.t-k n p; kys nt hry^o iir-k 'h^c r r^ek wbe p; hbs iw^ef mh^o mtw^ek š r-r-f n sp 7 iw ir(.t)^ek
- h^tm^o iir-k w;h iir-k wn
- ir.t-k^o hr nw^ek r n; ntr.w n p;y-k bnr^o mtw^ek sde wbe^ew hr p; nt iir-k wh;:f^o iw hr ir^ek^ef n w^e: m;: n
- kke^o p; š nt iir-k š-f

⁴¹⁰ The Demotic word *tphn* is a rendering of Greek δάφνη, 'laurel'; see Dieleman 2005, 310.

(805) **Another** vessel-inquiry (the magician being) alone (i.e. without using a youth) in order to see the barque of the sun. **The formula which you should recite**.⁴¹¹ Open to me, O sky, mother of the gods! Let me see the barque of the sun while he is going up and down in it, for I am Geb, heir of the gods; praying is what I am doing before the sun, my father, because of (the) thing which went forth from me! O Heknet, the great one, the mistress of the shrine, the Rashedet, open to me, O mistress of spirits! Open to me, O first heaven! Let me worship the messengers! For I am Geb, heir of the gods! O you 7 kings, O you 7 (forms? of) Montu, bull who engenders, lord of awe, who illumines the earth, soul of Nun! (810) Hail, lion like the lion of Nun, bull of darkness! Hail, foremost of the Easterners, Nun, great one, lofty one! Hail, soul of the ram, soul of the Westerners! Hail, soul of souls, bull of darkness, bull of 2 bulls, son of Nut! Open to me! I am he who opens the land, who came forth from Geb! Hail! I am E E E Ê Ê Ê UÊ UÊ UÊ UÔ UÔ UÔ. I am ANEPÔ MYRY PÔ RA MAAT IB THYBA Ô AROUEI OUÔOU IAUÔ.” **The preparation**: Blood of a Nile goose, blood of a hoopoe, blood of an owl, “live-thereon”-plant, mustard, “great-of-Amun”-plant, *qes-ankh* stone,⁴¹² genuine lapis lazuli, myrrh, “footprint-of-Isis”-plant. Pound, make into a ball; you should paint (815) your eye(s) with it. Put a “goat’s-tear” in a pleasure-wood of juniper or ebony and tie around yourself a strip of male palm fiber.

The procedure of making the vessel-inquiry of the lamp: You should bring a clean, bright lamp without putting red lead or gum water in it, its wick being of byssus; you should fill it with true oil or oil of dew; you should tie it with 4 strips of linen which have not been burned; you should hang it on an eastern wall [on] a peg of laurel wood; you should have the youth stand near it, he being pure, he not having gone with a woman; you should cover his eye(s) with your hand; you should light the lamp; (820) you should recite down into his head up to 7 times; you should make him open his eye(s); you should question him saying, “What have you seen?” If he says, “I see the gods in the vicinity of the lamp,” they tell him the answer to that about which they will be asked. If you wish to do it by yourself alone, you should fill your eye(s) with the ointment (mentioned) above; you should stand up opposite the lamp, it being lit; you should recite to it 7 times while your eye(s) are shut. When you have finished, you should open your eye(s). You see the gods around you, you speak to them concerning what you wish, you doing it in a dark place. **The formula which you should recite**:

⁴¹¹ The following section, through to l. 816, generally follows ll. 295–306.

⁴¹² See n. 79 above.

col. xxvii (cont.) →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 824–840

20 d mt.t ° ink M'neby ° Ghthethwny ° ω Ϛ Ϛ
 Pyl° :s: ° Gnwryph° :rys° ° Tny° yryss° ° Psy ° Psy ° Yrys° s: ° 825

Gymythwrw° phws° s: ° Ϛ.qm:tsys: ° ΟΡΕΘΒΑΖΑΓΡΑ ° Pert. Ϛ.mekh °

Per:g. Ϛ.mekh ° S'kmeph ° im n=y r-hn ° mtw=k šn n=y hr p; šn nt iw=y šn hr-r=f n mt.t m: t n-wš-

n mt.t n 'de ° p:y:f swħ iyħ p; kys nt iir=k tiy=f r ir.ṭ:k iir=k in-n' r ph-ntr nb n p; hbs

25 hr iny=k hyn.w hr: n bel n **ϚϚϚ** ° hr gm=k st n p; m: n p; s-trmws ° iir=k iny.ṭ:w iw=w gnn

mtw=k tiy st r w' lq n yl ° iir=k 'm r:f m-šs sp-2 ° š' hrw 20 ° n w' m: iw=f hep iw=f n **kke** ° 830
 bn-m-s:


hrw 20 iir=k iny.ṭ=f r-hry ° iir=k wn r-r=f ° hr gm=k hyn.w hr: w' m:d hn=f ° iir=k h: f š' hrw 40 ° mtw=k iny.ṭ=f

r-hry ° mtw=k wn r-r=f ° hr gm=k=f iw w:h=f ir snf ° r ire hr ir=k tiy=f r w' nkt n yl ° mtw=k ti p; nkt
 n yl r-hn w' nkt n blq °

wh;
 n m: iw=f hep n nw nb ° iir=k r ir ph-ntr n p; hbs n-im=f ° iir=k mh ir.ṭ:k n p:y.y snf nt hry ° iir=k
 in-n'.k r in-qte.ṭ:k

30 n-ge iir=k 'h' wbe p; hbs ° iir=k 'š n p:y.y 'š nt hry hr nw=k r p; ntr n p:y:k bnr ° iir=k 'h' ° n-ge iir=k
 sdr ° nfr-nfr ip

hr sh=k p:y.y m r t: tys.t n p; š'l n p; hbs n riw hl 835

p:y.y gy nt sh hry p; gy n p; ph-ntr n M'neby p:y ° iw=f hpr iir=k wh; r ir=f  p:e d k(y)-dm' KIMIOΦPΩ
ΦΩCCE

n šn n p; hbs ° p:y.y smte 'n p:y ° hr ir=f ir šw 'n ° r ph-ntr n Mwryby ° iw=f hpr iir=k ir=f

n šn n p; hbs ° iir=k mh p; hbs nt hry hr w'.t tb:t n-m:y ° mtw=k ti 'h' p; hm-hl r rṭ=f

35 n p; mtre n p; hbs ° iw=f hbs r p:y=f hr ° mtw=k 'š r t:y(.t)f 'pe.t ° iir=k 'h' hr :t,ṭ=f ° n p:y.y 'š n mt.t
 W'y'ny iir=k w:h iir=k klp

hr=f hr ir=f d n=k w:h n mt.t m: t 840

GEMF 16.824–840

Formula: “I am MANEBY⁴¹³ GHETHOUNY KHA BA KHEL, let me worship you, O child of ARPYTHNAPYRA (825) PYLA ASA GNOURYPH ARYSA TNY IRISSA PSI PSI IRISSA GYMYTHOUROU PHOUS SA ŌQMATSYSYA OREOBAZAGRA⁴¹⁴ PERTAŌMEKH PERAGŌMEKH⁴¹⁵ SAKMEPH!⁴¹⁶ Come in to me and inquire for me concerning the question about which I am inquiring, truthfully, without falsehood!” **Its preparation:**⁴¹⁷ The ointment which you should put on your eye(s) while you are going to make any god-petitioning procedure of the lamp. You bring some flowers of the “eye-of-raven”-plant (i.e. Greek bean). You find it in the place of the seller of lupines. You should bring them when they are mild (830) and you should put them in a vessel of glass. You should seal its mouth very well up to **20** days in a hidden, dark place. After **20** days, you should bring it up, and you should open it. You find some testicles and a phallus in it. If you leave it for **40** days and you bring it up and you open it, you find it having already become bloody. In a vessel of glass you put it and the vessel of glass (you put) in a vessel of pottery in a place which is hidden at all times. When you wish to make a god-petitioning procedure of the lamp with it, you should fill your eye(s) with this blood (mentioned) above while you are going to sleep. Or you should stand opposite the lamp reciting this above (-mentioned) formula. You see the god beyond you while you are standing or lying (down). [It is] very good, tested. (835) You write this name on the strip of the wick of the lamp in myrrh-ink: This procedure which is written above is the (pseudo-hieroglyphs) procedure of a god-petitioning procedure for BACHUCHSICHUCH Another (manuscript) says: MANEBY.⁴¹⁸ If you wish to do it as a vessel-inquiry KIMEITHŌPŌPHŌSSE. of the lamp, it is this form again. It is profitable also for a god-petitioning procedure for MOURYBY. If you do it as a vessel-inquiry of the lamp, you should fill the above(-mentioned) lamp on a new brick, you should have the youth stand up in the vicinity of the lamp, his face being covered, and you should recite to his head this formula in Greek while you are standing over him. When you are done, you should uncover (840) his face. He says to you a true answer.

⁴¹³ End of the name written using the word *b/ba* ‘soul’.

⁴¹⁴ This word is the only magical name in this series that is written in Greek/Coptic letters; it appears about ten times in the magical papyri, usually as a part of the MASKELLI MASKELLO-*logos*.

⁴¹⁵ These two magical words PERTAŌMEKH, PERAGŌMEKH appear together in GEMF 57/PGM IV 1010 and 60/XIII 820; at GEMF15.237/PGM XII 188, they are followed, as here, by KMEPH: 55/III 141 PERTAŌMĒCH PERAKONCHMĒCH PERAKOMPHTHŌAK KMEPH.

⁴¹⁶ According to Johnson, GMPT, 237, n. 520, SAKMEPH is literally “son of Kneph (Agathodaimon)”; cf. GEMF 31/PGM I 27.

⁴¹⁷ A version of this ointment recipe appears above in ll. 142–151.

⁴¹⁸ See l. 824.

recto col. xxviii →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 841–855

- 1 ke ky n šn hn w^e.t^o d.t mt.t ink p; nb by^o ̩.rytsymby^o S.̩.n:tsyr^o Epysghes^o Emmyme^o
 Th.̩.g.̩.n^o phrwr^o Phyrym^o phwny rny^ok^o Mymy Bybyw sp-2^o Gtheth.̩.ny^o ink B:st.t Pth.̩.^o
 B'lkh'm^o r-ms Bynwy^o Sphe Ph's^o ink B'pth.̩.^o G'm^o my^o s'tr^o rny^ok^o My^o me.̩.^o
 Y:nwme^o p:y:f swħ iyħ^o ħr šm^ok r w^o m^o: iw^of w^ob mtw^ok iny w^o d(̩) n ħmt mtw^ok y^of n mw n
 ħsmn mtw^ok t^o w^o lq
- 5 n nħe r-r:f mtw^ok w^oħ:f ħr p; **iytn** mtw^ok t r; w^o.t l'mps⁴¹⁹ n ħmt mtw^ok t^os r p; **iytn** ħr dr.t p;
 d(̩) n ħmt 845
 mtw^ok ħbs^ok n w^o.t šntm.t iw^os w^ob mtw^ok ħrm p; hn mtw^ok š r-ħn p; hn iw ħr.ħk ħtm š^o **sp** 7(̩.t)
 iir^ok wn ħr.ħk
 iir^ok šn.ħr p; nt iir^ok wħ:f iir^ok wħ; r t^o ire n; ntr. w n p; hn sde wbe^ok n r:w wbe r:k iir^ok š
 Y:h.̩.^o
εωε ΚΙΝΤΑΘΟΥΡ ΝΗΦΑΡ ΑΦΩΗ
 Yph^o E.̩.e^o Gynntethwr^o Neph'r^o ̩.ph.̩.e ħr ħr-w n^ok wħ r mt.t nb nt iir^ok r šn.ħr-ħr-w 'n r-ħr-w
 tm d n^ok wħ iir^ok š sh
 ΓΩΓΥΘΙΖ ΜΑΝΤΟΥΝΟΒΟΗ ΚΩΧΙΡ^oΡΟΔΟΡ ΔΟΝΔΡΟΜΑ ΛΥΦΟΚΕΡ
 p:y.y ke m^o Ng.̩.^o ngethygs^o M'ntwn.̩.b.̩.e G.̩.kšyrhr.̩.nt.̩.r^o Nt.̩.ntr.̩.m^o Leph.̩.ger
 κεφαερσρε
- 10 Geph'er^o s.̩.re^o iir^ok š n:y ħr ħr-w šn n^ok n mt.t m^o.t 850
ke šn hn iw ħr ħr^ok t^o.t nħe n sym r-r:f iw ħr ħr^ok f r-ħ(e) p; nt ħry d mt.t sde wbe^oy sp-2^o H'mst^o p;
 ntr n n; ntr. w n p; **kk**^o
 iyħ nb^o ħyb.t nb^o nt ħn-w ħmnt ħbt^o iir s p; iir mwt^o **nħse** n^oy sp-2^o p:y.y by n 'nħ^o p:y.y by n
 sns^on^o my pry
 p:y(y) hn^o p:y(y) swt ty n p; hrw^o iw d^ob; p; hn n š.s.t wr.t^o iw^os šn m-s; p:y:s hy^o iw^os qte m-s;
 p:y:s sn ħwt Mn's sp-2^o
 Mn'nf sp-2^o r.d-y s d Mn's sp-2^o Mn'nf sp-2 Ph.̩.ny sp-2^o n ħh n **sp** mtw^ok d.t^os n p; ħm-ħl de
 r.d-y s
- 15 d my šm n^ok p; **kke** ħm n^oy p; wyn^o mtw^ok wn ħr.ħk t;y ħte.t ħr iw n; ntr. w r-ħn mtw^ow d n^ok
 wħ n mt.t nb 855

⁴¹⁹ This is a rendering of Greek λαμπάς, 'lamp'; see Dieleman 2005, 312.

GEMF 16.841–855

Another procedure of vessel-inquiry (while being) alone: **Formula**: “I am the lord of souls, OREIDIMBAEI SŌNATSYR EPYSGHES EMMYME THŌ GŌM PHROUR PHYRYM PHOUNY is your name. MYMY BYBYOU, (say it) twice GTHETHŌNY. I am Bast PTHŌ BALKHAM, whom BYNOUY SPHE PHAS bore. I am BAPTHŌ GAM MY SATRA is your name. MY MEŌ YANOUME.” **Its preparation**: You go to a pure place, you bring a vessel of copper, you wash it with natron-water, you put a *log*-measure (845) of oil in it, you put it on the ground, you light a copper lamp, you put it on the ground near the copper vessel, you cover yourself with a clean piece of linen, you and the vessel, you recite into the vessel while your eye(s) are shut up to 7 times. You should open your eye(s) and you should ask it about what you wish. If you wish to cause the gods of the vessel to speak to you, their mouth(s) opposite your mouth, **you should recite**, “YAHŌ YPH EŌE KINTATHOUR NĒPHAR APHŌĒ.”⁴²⁰ They give you an answer to everything which you will ask them also. If they do not tell you the answer, you should **recite** this other name: “NGŌ GŌGUTHIX MANTOUNOBOĒ,⁴²¹ KŌCHIR RODOR DONDROMA LUPHOKER (850) KEPHAERSŌRE.” If you recite this, they answer you truly.

Another vessel-inquiry: You add vegetable oil to it; you do it in accordance with what is above. **Formula**: “Speak to me! Speak to me! Hamṣt, god of the gods of darkness, every spirit, every shadow which is in the west and east. Do it, he who died! Awaken to me, awaken to me, O soul of life, O soul of breathing! May my vessel, my bandage, go forth here today because of the vessel of Isis, the great one, who inquires after her husband and who seeks after her male brother! MNASH, (say it) twice, MNANF, (say it) twice. Say, MNASH, (say it) twice, MNANF, (say it) twice, PHŌNY, (say it) twice.” Millions of times. And you should say (it) to the youth, “Say, (855) ‘Go away, darkness! Come to me, light!’” And you should open your eye(s) immediately. The gods come in and tell you the answer to everything.

⁴²⁰ This *logos* appears twice in slightly different forms in this handbook; see below lines 1165 and 1170.

⁴²¹ This magic word also appears in PGM XIXa 12 and GEMF 68/PGM XXXVI 345, but in different sequences.

recto col. xxix →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 856–869

- 1 twys gy n šn n P;-R' iw>w d n-īm=f d iw=f dnt m-šs sp-2 p:y=f swḥ iyḥ hr iny=k w' hm-hl iw=f
w'b mtw=k ir n: swḥ(?)⁴²²
- iyḥ nt sh r-r=f mtw=k iny.t=f n p: mtr n P;-R' mtw=k ti 'ḥ=f r rḥ=f hr w'.t **tb:t** n-m;y n p: nw nt iw ire
- P;-R' n:e h' n-īm=f mtw=f iy r-hry dre(.w)=f m dre p: **Itn** mtw=k ti iw w'.t qb:t n 'yw n-m;y n p:y=f
bnr mtw=k
- ti ir=f htm ir.t=f mtw=k 'ḥ' r rḥ=k hr zt.t=f iir=k 'š r-hry hn d:d=f iir=k qlhe r-hry hn
- 5 d:d=f n p:y=k db' n P;-R' n t:y=k(.t) dr.t n wnm bn-m-s; mḥ ir.t=f n p: **smt** r.ir=k n ḥ.t 860
 ΝΑΣΙΡΑ ΩΔΗΚΙΣ ΞΒΕ ΞΒΗ ΒΙΒΙΟΥ ΣΑΡΠΟΤ
 N'syr' ° 's.pkys ° **Šfy** sp-2 ° Bybyw sp-2 rny=k n m':t sp-2 ° **Srpt** r-wn n-y t; p.t° n p:y=s
- (n p:y=s) wsh p:y=s **mt**° r.iny n-y p: wyn nt w'b° my iw n-y p: ntr nt iw p: wḥ shn n-dr.t=f° mtw=f
 d n-y
- ΑΡΧΝΟΥΤΣΕΙ ΕΙΤΑΛΗ
- ΤΑΛ
 wḥ r mt.t nb **nte** iw=y šn hr-ir>w ty n p: hrw n mt.t m':t iw mn mt.t 'de hn(?)=w 'rkhnwtsy° Et'le t'l°
 ΝΑΣΙΡΑ ΙΑΡΜΗΧ ΝΑΣΕΡΑ ΑΜΠΘΩ ΗΩ ΑΜΑΜΑΡΚΑΡ ΤΗΛ ΙΔΕΩ
 N'syr' ° Y'pmekh ° N'ser' ° mpthw H'z ° m'm:rk' ° Tel ° Y'z'z°
 ΝΑΣΙΡΑ ΥΑΚΙΕ ΗΓΕΙΣΙΦΘ ΑΥΩ ΑΤΟΝΕ ΕΙ ΕΙ Η Ο ΒΑΛΒΑΛ
- 10 N'syr' H'ky: ° **Srpt** ° Hdysyphth ° 'h. z' .t.n: w Y° Y° ;° W b'lbl' ° my 865
 p: ntr
 iw n-y p: wyn° iw=f w'b° my **phre** p: 'lw my d=f n-y wḥ° my iw n-y nt iw p: wḥ shn n-dr.t=f°
 mtw=f d
- sz
- n-y wḥ r mt.t nb nt iw=y hr-ir>w° n mt.t m':t° iw mn mt.t n 'de hn>w bn-m-s:s iir=k 'š p:y=f htr
 CEI [C]EI NEI ΘΙΡΕΙΠΙ C Δ Ε Ω ΝΧΑΒ
- n ke sp 7 iw ir.t=f htm d mt.t Sy° sy° py° tsyrypy° S'° ;° Nkh'b
 ΡΑΒΩΤ ΦΑΚΘΕΙΟΠ ΑΝΑΣΑΝ ΚΡΑΑΝΑ ΚΡΑΤΡΙΣ ΤΜΑ-
- Hr'b. z.t° Ph'kthy. z.p n's'n° Kr'n'° Kr'trys° Tm:-

⁴²² The text is damaged here. Griffith and Thompson 1904 and Johnson, GMPT read *t; d mt.t* and translate “spirit formula.”

GEMF 16.856–869

Here is a form of inquiry of the sun of which it is said, “It is very well tested.” **Its preparation**:⁴²³ You bring a pure youth, you do the preparations(?) which are written for it, you bring him before the sun, you have him stand up on a new brick at the moment when the sun will rise so that it comes up entirely in the disk, you send (i.e. put) a new linen cloth around him, you have him shut his eye(s), you stand up over him reciting down into his head and striking down into (860) his head with your sun-finger⁴²⁴ of your right hand after filling his eye(s) with the eye-paint which you made before. “NASIRA ŌAPKIS ZBE ZBĒ BIBIOU, (say it) twice,⁴²⁵ is your true name, (say it) twice. O Lotus, open to me heaven in its breadth and depth! Bring to me the pure light! Let the god in whose hand is command come to me so that he may tell me the answer to everything about which I am inquiring here today, there being no falsehood therein! ARCHNOUTSEI⁴²⁶ EITALĒTAL NASIRA IARMĒCH NASERA AMPTHŌ HŌ AMAMARKAR TĒL IAEŌ (865) NASIRA HAKIE SARPET⁴²⁷ CHDJEISIPHTH AUŌ ATONE EI EI Ē O BALBAL. Let the pure light come to me! Let the youth enchan**ant**! Let him tell me the answer! Let the god in whose hand is command come to me so that he answers to me everything about which I am inquiring in truth, without falsehood therein.” **After**wards, you should recite his compulsion **another 7 times** his ey(s) being shut. **Formula**: “SEI SEI PEI THIREIPI SA EŌ NCHAB RABŌT PHAKTHEIŌP ANASAN KRAANA KRATRIS TMA-

⁴²³ See above, p.147 n. 64.

⁴²⁴ As Griffith and Thompson 1904, vol. 1, 166, propose, this may be the ring finger, referred to as the Apollo finger in modern cheiromancy.

⁴²⁵ A similar pair of doubled words appear together, albeit in reversed order in GEMF 15.130/PGM XII 81 and 60/XIII 807: BIBIOU BIBIOU SPHE SPHE.

⁴²⁶ This magical word is perhaps a bilingual combination of ἀρχι-, Greek ‘chief’, and *ntr* (Bohairic ⲛⲟϣⲧ), Egyptian ‘god’, but with the Greek pronunciation /tsi/ for Egyptian *ty*. Cf. Johnson 1997a.

⁴²⁷ This word means ‘lotus’. Cf. Quack 2004, 496.

col. xxix (cont.) →

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 870–885

- 15 πταραφνη ἀραφνοϋ
pt'rphne r'phnw° im n p; 'lw my iw n-f p; ntr nt iw p; w:h shn n-dr.t-f mtw-f d n-y
w:h r mt.t nb 870
- KH KH CAΛCΩΔΘΔ ΙΠΠΗΛ
- nt iw-y šn hr-ir-w ty n p; hrw° r ire p; wyn 'sqe r iy r-hn iir-k d Ke Ke S:ls. 3. th' Yppel*
 CIPBA
Syrb' [n sp 7] iir-k ti ΔΛΒΟΥΝΟΥΤ r p; 'h iir-k d p:y.y m 3 m-s; n:y dr-w iir-k š-f
 ΔΥΕΒΩΘΙΑΒΔΘΑΒΑΙΘΩΒΗ°ΥΔ
n h.t-f r ph.t-f ts-phr n [sp 4] 'yeb. 3.th° y'b'th'byth. 3.bey'
- iir-k d my m:3 p; 'lw p; wyn my iw p; ntr nt iw p; w:h shn n-dr.t-f mtw-f d n-y w:h r mt.t nb nt*
iw-y šn
- 20 *hr-ir-w ty n p; hrw n mt.t m:3 t iw nt mn mt.t n 'de hn-w [twys ke] gy n-im-f 'n iir-k ty*
p; 'lw r w' 875
iw hr
- m:3 hry iw-f tse iir-k ti 'h-f r r-t-f n w' m:3 iw wn w' ššt 3 n p:y-f mtre iw r-f wn r pr i:bt P;-R'*
wbne
- r-hn n he.t-f mtw-k smt iir-t-f n p; 'lw n p; smt nt sh r-r-f mtw-k š r-r-f n 8 sp k(y)-d 7 iir-k 'h hr*
3.t-f mtw-k ti ir-f
- kšp r-hr P;-R' iw-f mh wd:t iw-f 'h' r r-t-f hr w:t tb:t n-m;y iw wn w:t šnt#.t n 3yw n-m;y n p:y-f*
bnr iw ir-t-f htm
- iir-k š r-hry hn tp-f iir-k qlhe r tp-f n p:y-k db' nt sh hry 'n iir-k ti ΔΛΒΟΥΝΟΥΤ r-hry n:y-hr-f iir-k w:h*
iir-k ti wn ir-t-f
- 25 *hr nw-f r n; ntr.w n p:y-f bnr iw-w sde wbe-f nt hr ir-k tiy-f r ir-t-f n p; 'lw iw-f in-n'.k r šn*
hn n P;-R' 880
- hr iny-k ux. 2 n p; yr iw-w 'nh n p; 2 mtw-k wš p; w' n-im-w n ht n :lle n p; mtr n P;-R' mtw-k ti*
p; snf n p; ke r-hr-f
hr hl
mtw-k ti n-f irm-f mtw-k ir-w n bnn.t iw-w hy n db' w' (?) iir-k š-se ti r ir-t-f iir-k iny w' ib n lyl
irm w' ht n
- hr n ll 'n mtw-k hy t;y phre.(t) hr w' hm n st:t n t(?) nhs hr mw n :lle n Kmy mtw-k mh ir.t-k n-*
im-f iir-k
- mh ir.t-k n t;y phre.(t) mtw-k qšp r-hr P;-R' iw-f mh wd:t iw ir.t-k wn r-hr-f hr ir-f wnh-f r-r-k mtw-f*
d(?) n-k(?) w:h(?)
- 30 *r mt.t nb t;y-f mt.t 3.t w'b hr ir-f ir šw r hm-hl mtw-f ir šw n-k h-k n rmt w'.t* 885

GEMF 16.870–885

(870) PTARAPHNĒ ARAPHNOU. Come to the youth! May the god in whose hand is command come to him so that he say to me answer to everything about which I am inquiring here today!” If the light delays to come in, you should say, KĒ KĒ SALSŌATHA IPPĒL SIRBA **7 times**. You should put frankincense on the brazier; you should say this great name after all these; you should recite it from beginning to end and vice versa⁴²⁸ **4 times**. AUEBŌTHI ABATHA BAITHŌBEĒUA. You should say, “Let the youth see the light! Let the god in whose hand is the command come so that he say to me answer to everything about which I (875) am asking here today in truth without falsehood therein!”

Here is another form of it again. You should take the youth to an upper lofty place; you should have him stand up in a place in the middle of which there is a large window and whose door opens to the east and into which the sun shines; you should paint the youth’s eye(s) with the eye-paint which is written above; you should recite to him 8 times—another (manuscript) says 7 times—while you are standing over him; you should make him look at the sun, while it is filling the sound eye (and) while he is standing up on a new brick with a new linen cloth over(?) him, his eye(s) being closed. You should recite down into his head, while you strike his head with your finger which is written above, also.⁴²⁹ You should offer up frankincense before him. When you have finished, you should have his eye(s) open. (880) He sees the gods around him speaking to him. [The ointment] which you put on the youth’s eye(s), when he is going to (make) a vessel-inquiry of the sun. You bring 2 *huri*-fish of the river, both being alive; you burn one of them with vinewood before the sun and you put the blood of the other on it and you make it smooth together with myrrh and you make them into balls which measure a finger. You should spread(?) (it) around his eye(s). You should bring a vessel(?) of vinewood and a pleasure-wood of vinewood also; you should grind this drug with a little Nubian yellow ochre and juice of Egyptian grapes; you should fill your eye(s) with it. If you fill your eye(s) with this drug and you look at the sun while it fills the sound eye, your eye(s) being open to it, he reveals himself to you and tells you an answer (885) to everything. Its main element is purity. It is more profitable than the youth. It is more profitable for you, yourself, as a person (acting) alone.

⁴²⁸ The long following word is, in fact, a palindrome. The superlinear gloss transliterates it except for a minor error near the end.

⁴²⁹ This refers to the “sun-finger,” mentioned above in l. 860; see n. 424 above.

verso col. i ↓

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 886–896

1 *Ꞣnh n R' ὄφρῦς ἡλίου*

Ꞣnh n i'h ὄφρῦς (

hyn. w sym. w n: w

ἡλιόγονον,

5 *κεληνόγονον*

890

hyn. w sym. w n: w

τιθύμαλος

nt iw p:y.y sym hm nt hr n: k:m. w p:y

nt hr ire ti iw irte r-bnr

10 *iir:k ti p:y:f irt r hr n rmt*

895

hr ir:f blble

21. ὄφρῦς | (κελήνης) || 71. τιθύμαλλον



GEMF 16.886–896

Eyebrow of the sun. Eyebrow of the moon.⁴³⁰ These are herbs: heliogonon, (890) selenogonon.⁴³¹ These are herbs: spurge,⁴³² which is this small herb which is in the gardens and which exudes milk. (895) If you put its milk on a man's skin, it blisters.

(Cipher alphabet)⁴³³

⁴³⁰ Both of these phrases are written in Demotic and then followed by equivalents in Greek.

⁴³¹ The preceding Demotic names are decoded as names of Greek flowers. The first translates literally as 'sun-born', an otherwise unknown(?) Greek flower (also in GEMF 55/PGM III 332), perhaps invented as a parallel to 'moon-born'. Griffith and Thompson 1904, 170, n. to vol. I 4, suggest it is safflower or cardamum. The second Greek word, literally 'moon-born', refers to the peony. See Griffith and Thompson 1904, 170. In the Greek tradition the peony was used to cure or control epilepsy and other kinds of seizures; see Galen 11.859–60 Kühn, and Faraone 2018, 22.

⁴³² This is a plant of the genus *Euphorbia*, noted for its milky sap. It also appears in GEMF 15.490/PGM XII 442.

⁴³³ The cipher alphabet is placed here in the same direction as it appears on the papyrus, between columns i and ii on the verso. Those parts that appear in Leemans' facsimile but are not visible in the photograph from which the drawing was made have been drawn in grey. See Leemans 1839, pl. XIV and Dieleman 2005, 39.

verso col. ii ↓

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 897–916

1	χαμέμηλον	<i>thw-w^b rn=f</i>	
	λευκάνθεμον	<i>šq-ḥtr rn=f</i>	
	κρινάνθεμον	<i>mn p; nfr r-ḥr=y rn=f</i>	
	χρυσάνθεμον	<i>nfr ḥr rn=f k(y)-d r t ḥrr.t n nb</i>	900
5		<i>n p; s-q^{lm} t;y=f gb:t nḥt p;y=f ḥt kf</i>	
		<i>t;y=f ḥrr.t n nb t;y=f gb:t m-qty gryn themwn</i>	
		<i>p; m'knesy'</i>	
	μανεσία	<i>w' iny {nty iny} iw=f km m-qty</i>	905
10		<i>stem iir=k nt=f iw=f km</i>	
	μάγνης	<i>p; m'knes nt nḥ ḥr in=w=f</i>	
	μάκνης	<i>iir=k hy,t=f iw=f km</i>	
		<i>p; m'nes n rmt ḥr in=w=f</i>	
		<i>n t; n-tsyke iir=k hy,t=f</i>	910
15		<i>ḥr ir=f t' iw snf r-bnr</i>	
		<i>r t' in-qty=k byn p;y=k dde</i>	
		<i>w'.t επωε mtw=k wš[=s(?)] n ΝΕΝΕΕΞ</i>	
		<i>mtw=k nt=s irm qt.t w'.t n ΧΠΩΞ</i>	
		<i>irm w'.t ΞΞΞΩΛ mtw=k [... ...]</i>	915
20		<i>mtw=k t' w'.t [...]</i>	

1 1. χαμαίμηλον || 3 1. κρινάνθεμον || 8 1. μαγνησία

Camomile: “Pure straw” is its name.⁴³⁴
 White-flower:⁴³⁵ ?-horse(?) is its name.
 Lily-flower:⁴³⁶ “(There is) none better than I” is its name.
 (900) Chrysanthemum: “Beautiful of face “is its name. Another (manuscript) says “the golden flower⁴³⁷ of the seller of wreaths.” Its leaf is strong; its stem is cold; its flower is of gold; its leaf is like a lily-flower.

Magnesia:⁴³⁸ (905) a stone which is black like galena. If you grind it, it is black.

Magnes: the *maknes* which is living;⁴³⁹ it is brought.⁴⁴⁰

Maknes: if you scrape it, it is black.

Human *ma(g)nes*: it is brought (910) from India; if you scrape it, it exudes blood.⁴⁴¹

To give evil sleep (to) your enemy: A beetle: You should burn [it] in styrax(?) and pound it with 1 drachma of apples⁴⁴² (915) and an unripe date(?) and you ... and you put a ...

⁴³⁴ The first in a list of four types of flowers, each entry beginning with a Greek name and followed by what is presumably an Egyptian equivalent in Demotic. For this pattern of Greek list with Egyptian explanations, see Dieleman 2005, 104 and 112–13.

⁴³⁵ Like chrysanthemum, the name of several plants of the genus *Anthemis*; see e.g. Plin. *NH* 21.163 and LSJ s.v.

⁴³⁶ Identified below in Egyptian transliteration (*gryn themwn* in l. 6), this Greek name (missing the *v*) is constructed like the two previous examples and literally means “lily-flower,” but can also refer to the leek; see LSJ s.v. κρινάνθεμον. It appears also in GEMF 15.488/PGM XII 440.

⁴³⁷ A literal translation of the Greek “chrysanthemum.”

⁴³⁸ Here begins a list of three minerals, all perhaps ores of iron, with similar-sounding Greek names, each written in the Greek alphabet and followed by a description in Demotic. The fourth name on the list is Demotic, but phonetically renders the same name.

⁴³⁹ Probably magnetite, which in Greece, was thought to be ἔμψυχος, i.e. ‘ensouled’ or ‘alive’; cf. Greek μάγνης ζῶν (“living *magnes*”).

⁴⁴⁰ Perhaps suggesting that it is imported; see below ll. 909–910: “brought from India.”

⁴⁴¹ This is usually the way that the Greeks identify hematite, literally ‘bloodstone’, another iron ore that is sometimes confused with magnetite. Here, however, it is identified with some exotic stone imported from India. Hematite was perhaps the most popular healing stone in the Greek world (especially for staunching blood and eye-problems) and already well known in this capacity to the Egyptians and Mesopotamians; see Faraone 2018, 94–96.

⁴⁴² Perhaps the word for ‘seeds’; in the next recipe (also for evil sleep) “seeds of western apples” appear as an ingredient in a poison. Apple seeds if ingested in quantity can be fatal. For apple seeds in similar poisoning recipes, see above ll. 724–729.

verso col. iii ↓

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 917–934

- 1 **phre.t** *r in-qtyk byn shy n fy]*
pr.w dphe n pr imnt sym n κλο
ntw n w^c sp ir m bnn(.t) ti r p; irp(?)
 φήκλις 920
- 5 *w^c iny iw=f wbhe p;y iw=f m-qty*
g:rb:n^c wn ke w^c iw hr irw ir=f
n sgewe p; ky n rh=s
r-r=f d mtw=f n m^c.t p;y ir=k nt w^c hm
hr mw mtw=k ths=f r p; hr 925
- 10 *n w^c rmt n w^c.t hte hm hr ir=f*
s:d.t p; hr
p;y=f rn n mt.t wynn⁴⁴³ ἀφροδέληνον
d:h n i:h w^c iny p;y iw=f wbhe
phre.t *r ti ire shm.t mr hwṯ twtw.t n šnt.t* 930
- 15 *nt hr iby ths hn.t=f⁴⁴⁴ n-im=f*
mtw=k sdr irm t; shm.t
d:h n i:h w^c iny iw=f wbhe p;y iw=f m-qty
yl iw=f hyṯ n pke sp-2 m-qty ;rsenygwn

4 l. φαίκλις

⁴⁴³ Here the determinative of the group *wynn* appears to serve to write the entire word (as if a logogram).

⁴⁴⁴ We would expect *hn.t=k*, “your phallus.”

Prescription for evil sleep: Gall of a horned viper, seeds of western apples, and poisonous herbs. Grind together, make into ball(s), put (it) in the wine.

(920) Salt of tartar.⁴⁴⁵ It is a bright stone like galbanum.⁴⁴⁶ There is another one which is made into quicklime(?).⁴⁴⁷ The procedure of knowing about it, whether it is genuine. If you grind a small (amount) (925) with water and smear it on the skin of a man for a short time, it cuts the skin. Its name in Greek:⁴⁴⁸ *aphroselenon*, “Foam of the moon.”⁴⁴⁹ It is a bright stone.

(930) **A prescription** to cause a woman to love a man: produce⁴⁵⁰ of acacia. Grind with honey; anoint your⁴⁵¹ phallus with it and sleep with the woman.

“Foam of the moon”: it is a stone, which is bright, like glass. It is rubbed into pieces, like orpiment.⁴⁵²

⁴⁴⁵ Or ‘burnt tartar’ (Lat. *faecula*); it is a crust that is naturally deposited by wine and used as a condiment or drug; see LSJ, s.v. (c)φέκλη. This substance is then twice described in Demotic as a stone.

⁴⁴⁶ For further discussion of this substance see Griffith and Thompson 1904, 173, n. to l.6, who suggest that this is probably χαλβάνη, a resinous sap.

⁴⁴⁷ For further discussion see Griffith and Thompson 1904, 174, n. to l. 7.

⁴⁴⁸ This seems to be the Greek name of a second substance likened to salt of tartar, the one, which, when ground up like quick lime, damages human skin.

⁴⁴⁹ Written in Greek and then Demotic; for further discussion see Griffith and Thompson 1904, 174, n. to l. 12, where it is identified as selenite or foliated sulphate of lime. Galen (12.208 Kühn) says that the “foaming moonstone” was useful in healing epileptics, but that he has not tried it on his patients. For the connection of epilepsy with the moon, see n. 431 above. For the peony (in Greek ‘moon-born’), a plant used to control epilepsy, see Dioscorides’ note that ‘moonstone’ (selenite) was ground up and given as a drink to epileptics (5.141 fin).

⁴⁵⁰ This term is perhaps used because the hard seed of the acacia appears stone-like.

⁴⁵¹ Actually written “his.”

⁴⁵² In this line the name “foam of the moon” is repeated, albeit in Demotic, with a longer description. The last word is the Demotic transliteration of Greek ἀρσενικόν, ‘yellow orpiment’, which is arsenic sulfide; see Dieleman 2005, 310.

verso col. iv ↓		GEMF 16/PDM XIV 935–952 ⁴⁵³
	^x ⁴⁵⁴	
1	<i>p̄hre.t n msdre iw≠f n mw</i>	935
	<i>hm̄; df hr irp iw≠f nfr</i>	
	<i>mtw≠k tì r-r≠f bn-m-s; šty n ḥ.t</i>	
	<i>mtw≠k hy hm̄; hmt df(?) hr irp</i>	
5	<i>mtw≠k tì r-r≠f r hrw 4</i>	
	καλαμάτρα	940s
	<i>w.t hflel̄.t hm̄</i>	940
	<i>iw≠s n iwn n kʿryne</i>	
	<i>iw mn tw≠s r̄t̄</i>	
10	<i>tp n sr</i> κεφαλική <i>m≠f</i>	
	<i>w.t sym iw≠f m-qty w.t bwe n šmre hw̄t</i>	
	<i>t̄y≠f gbe.t p̄y≠f ht̄ dq̄ m-qty</i>	945
	<i>p; mr-rm̄t̄ iir≠k nt̄f iw≠f šwy mtw≠k šʿlfe</i>	
	<i>mtw≠k ir̄≠f n kser. ʿ.n</i> ⁴⁵⁵ <i>mtw≠k t̄iy≠f r sh nb</i>	
15	<i>hr lk̄≠f</i> ταμονιακή	
	<i>hr rte≠s m- qty slmm</i>	
	<i>n t̄y≠f gbe.t n̄y≠f pr.w t̄i qty.t̄</i>	950
	<i>m-qty tp n sr iw≠f t̄</i>	
	<i>swr̄.t hm̄ n p̄y≠f bnr</i>	

6 l. καλαμάνδρα || 10 l. κεφαλική || 15 fort. ἀμμωνιακή

⁴⁵³ We follow the PDM in this column, where they apparently counted *καλαμάτρα* as a superscript gloss in their continuous numbering, but as a separate line of text in their numbering of the column.

⁴⁵⁴ Griffith and Thompson 1904, 175, n. to iv 1, suggest that this *x*, and the two at the top of the next col. are lectional signs used to attract the attention of the reader.

⁴⁵⁵ This is a rendering of Greek *ξηρόν*, ‘dry powder’; see Dieleman 2005, 312.

GEMF 16.935–952

(935) A prescription for a watery ear: salt, heat in good wine, apply it after cleaning (it) first. And rub copper salts⁴⁵⁶ and heat with wine and apply it for 4 days.

(940) Salamander: a small lizard which is blue-green⁴⁵⁷ in color and which has no feet. (10) “Ram’s horn”⁴⁵⁸ is its name, a plant which is like a wild fennel bush. Its leaf and its stem are incised like the “love-man”-plant.⁴⁵⁹ You should grind it when it is dry, sift it, and make it into dry powder⁴⁶⁰ and put it on any wound. It stops.⁴⁶¹ Styra^x:⁴⁶² it grows like *sōm*-plant⁴⁶³ (950) in terms of(?) its leaf, its seeds are twisted like a “ram’s-horn”-plant, which has a small thorn on its end.

⁴⁵⁶ Johnson, GMPT, 242 n. 562 notes “Copper-based medicines were common in Pharaonic medicine, presumably since the copper helped kill bacteria.”

⁴⁵⁷ See Griffith and Thompson 1904, 175, n. to iv 7, on the color of chrysolite.

⁴⁵⁸ The word κεφαλεκη is assumedly the Greek equivalent of the Demotic ‘ram’s horn’. Dieleman 2005, 308 n. 16 points out that κεφαλική is a feminine form of the adjective ‘of the head’, and he suggests that the scribe omitted a feminine noun constructed with κριός.

⁴⁵⁹ Compare GEMF 57/PGM IV 1829, where the herb παιδέρωσ (‘boy-love’) is worn on the neck with an amulet that aims at erotic submission.

⁴⁶⁰ Griffith and Thompson 1904, 176, n. to iv 14.

⁴⁶¹ This claim is usually made for ingredients or procedures that stop bleeding or swelling; see below in the recipes for gout.

⁴⁶² So Dieleman 2005, 308, who interprets it as ἀμμωνιακή, ‘styra^x’ preceded by the Coptic definite article τ- for feminine singular nouns. It is a resinous gum said to be distilled from a tree near the temple of Ammon in Libya; see LSJ s.v.

⁴⁶³ Erichsen, 444. The middle sign read as *ō* is written with the *ḥ.t* sign, as in the cipher script.

verso col. v ↓

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 953–969

- 1 ^x
phre.t r ṛḏ snf mw n H:py ʔ
 hr hnqe mtw=k tī swr s t: šhm.t n-īm=f twe
 iw bw-ir-tw=s wnm hr ḥ=f 955
- ^x
p: ky r rh=s n šhm.t ḏ iw=s iwr.t iir=k tī ire
 5 t: šhm.t t:y=s m: r-hr p:y.y **sym** nt hry ḥn
 hr rhwe r ire twe hpr mtw=k gm p: **sym**
 iw=f šhl'lt bn iw=s r iwr.t iir=k gm.t=f
 iw=f **wtwt** iw=s r iwr.t 960
- phre.t** r š:d.t snfe gb:t n šyš'
 10 gb:t n hmt 'f^y iw=f knn nt tī
 r-r=k iir=k sdr irm t: šhm.t **k.t** hl
 hdn shy n ⲄⲚⲁⲐ nt hr
 irp is n sty tī r-r=k iir=k sdr irm=s 965
- ἄσφοδέλοσ
 15 k(y)-ḏ r **mdwl** hwṯ
 χελκεβε
 k(y)-ḏ hdn hwṯ

verso col. vi ↓

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 970–977

- 1 **phre.t** r tī 'lk mw hr šhm.t t: hyṯ.t n **phre.t** hm: hr nhe nt (?) n=s(?) hrw 2 970
 bn-m-s: p: hrw 2° **phr.t** n mh-2.t psymtsy mtw=k nt=f irm w' hm n ndyr n s-nhe
 m-šs sp-2 mtw=k tī nhe n m':t r-r=f iw=f n: w-nfr irm w'.t swḥ.t mtw=k nt=w mtw=k iny w' ʔl(?)
 n hbs(?) n ʔyw iw=f šm'ṯ mtw=k sp=f n t:y⁴⁶⁴ **phre.t** mtw=s ḏqm n t: s.t-eyw:t mtw=s
 5 y' n irpe n: w-nfr mtw=k tī p: ʔ. ʔ. l n **phre.t** r-hry n-īm=s mtw=k š'-iy n-īm=f n hn
 r-bnr hn t:y=s 'te.t n w'.t hte.t hm n p: smt n p: mḏ n p: hwṯ š'-mtw t: **phre.t** 975
 hlhl mtw=k iny.t=f r-bnr mtw=k h:ʔs š' rhwe r ire rhwe hpr iir=k sp w'.t qlme.t n iby
 n m':t mtw=k tiy=f r-hry n-īm=s š' twe š' hrw **3** k(y)-ḏ 4

⁴⁶⁴ This is written t.t.w.

GEMF 16.953–969

A **prescription** to stop blood: Juice of “Great-Nile”-plant with beer. You should make the woman drink it at dawn (955) before she has eaten. It stops.

The **procedure** of knowing about a woman whether she will be pregnant: You have the woman urinate on this plant which is (mentioned) above, also at night. When dawn comes, if you find (960) the plant scorched, she will not become pregnant. If you find it green, she will become pregnant.

A **prescription** to cut (i.e., stop) blood: Leaf of ..., leaf of mild “copper-fly”-plant. Pound, put on yourself while you lie with the woman.

Another: myrrh, garlic, gall of a gazelle; pound with (965) old, scented wine; put on yourself while you lie with her.⁴⁶⁵ Asphodel, | also called wild onion. Chelkebe,⁴⁶⁶ also called wild garlic.

GEMF 16.970–977

(970) A **prescription** to make water (or liquid) stop in a woman:⁴⁶⁷ The first prescription: salt and oil, pound ...⁴⁶⁸ 2 days, after the 2 days. The second **prescription**: white lead; you should pound it very carefully with a little salt paste from an oil-dealer; you should put good (quality) true oil on it together with an egg; you should pound them; you should bring a strip of diaphanous linen; you should dye it in this prescription; she should wash herself in the bath and she should wash herself in good wine; you should put the medicated strip up in her; you should go in (975) and out with it⁴⁶⁹ in her vulva for a short time in the manner of the man’s phallus until the medication penetrates; you should bring it out; and you should leave her until evening. When evening comes, you should dip a bandage in true honey and you should put it up in her until dawn for 3 days, another (manuscript) says 4 days.

⁴⁶⁵ This procedure and the preceding one sound more like recipes for a phallus ointment designed for erotic purposes, like the one in ll. 930–931, but it may be the case that the phallus is an effective applicator for a medicine; see below in ll. 974–975, for moving a medicated strip in and out of the vulva “in the manner of a man’s phallus.”

⁴⁶⁶ This is a rendering in the Greek/Coptic alphabet of an apparently non-Greek plant name $\chi\epsilon\lambda\kappa(\epsilon)\beta\epsilon\iota$, which also appears in GEMF 58/PGM V 70: “take the herb $\chi\epsilon\lambda\kappa(\epsilon)\beta\epsilon\iota$ ”; see LMPG s.v. and Dieleman 2005, 311 n. 23. A similar (though not identical) word appears in GEMF 15.476/PGM XII 428 (see n. 299).

⁴⁶⁷ Here begins a series of recipes for vaginal pessaries used to stop liquid, either urinary incontinence or uterine bleeding. The series continues onto the next column.

⁴⁶⁸ For possible reading and interpretation, see Griffith and Thompson 1904, 178, n. to l. 1.

⁴⁶⁹ Quack 1999, 43.

verso col. vii ↓

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 978–984

- 1 k.t *m-s:s mw n šwbe iw=f lhm dnf w' mw n msdr n qle.t dnf w' r-h(e) p; dnf
n w' d(°) mtw=k ti w' wth n irp iw=f n; w-nfr r-he.t w mtw=s swr=f n mtre.t iw bn-pw=s
wnm nt nb n p; t; bn-m-s; dqm n t; s.t-eyw; t r ir=s t; h.t r ire rhwe hpr iir=k ti p; :l n 980
ibye r-hry n-im=s r-h(e) p; nt hry š' hrw 7 k.t *m-s:s iir=k iny w'.t lwps⁴⁷⁰ n-m:y iir=k ti**
- 5 *10 n wth n irp is iw=f hlk r-r=s iir=k ti w'.t gs-qt.t n bšwše iw=f knn r-h(e).t f n t
n twe š' mtre.t mtw=s dqm n t; s.t-ewy;(t) mtw=s iy r-bnr mtw=s swr=f r ire rhwe
hpr iir=k ti ibye r-hry n-im=s r-h(e) p; nt hry 'n š' hrw 7*

verso col. viii ↓

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 985–992

- 1 ποδάκραν 985
*iir=k ti hms p; rmt mtw=k ti šm s'n hr r=f n p; rmt
mtw=k ti šm ip-wr m-s:f iw r=f hr ;t.t f iir=k šn
p; rmt d w:h=f sdm š' hrw 3 m-s:s iir=k iny qrppe*
- 5 *iir=k psy.t f hr nhe n qwpre iir=k ths r=f
n-im=f iir=k w:h iir=k iny qnt:e R'-qt hr :ll šw 990
πντακταλος
hr sym n gyd iir=k nt-w hr irp iir=k slk=f n p; bnr
n:y mtw=k nyf m-s:-f n r:k*

1 I. ποδάκραν || 7s I. πενταδάκτυλος

⁴⁷⁰ This is a rendering of Greek λoπιάc, 'flat dish'; see Dieleman 2005, 312.

GEMF 16.978–984

Another, after it: cooked cucumber juice, 1 measure; water of the ear of a cat, 1 measure (according to the measure of a wine cup);⁴⁷¹ you should add 1 ladle⁴⁷² measure of good wine to them; she should drink it at midday not having (980) eaten anything at all after bathing in the bath which she took earlier. When evening comes, you should put the strip (of cloth) with honey up into her according to what is above, for 7 days.

Another, after it. You should bring a new dish; you should put 10 ladle measures⁴⁷³ of old sweet wine in it; you should put a drachma of mild rue in it from dawn until midday; she should wash herself in the bath; she should come out and she should drink it. When evening comes, you should put honey up in her according to what is (written) above again, for 7 days.

GEMF 16.985–992

(985) Gout:⁴⁷⁴ You should have the man sit; you should make clay go under his feet; you should put vinegar after it while his feet are on their back.⁴⁷⁵ You should question the man whether he has heard,⁴⁷⁶ for 3 days. Afterwards, you should bring an ant, you should cook it in henna-oil, and you should anoint his feet (990) with it. When you have finished, you should bring Alexandrian figs, dried grapes, and “hand”-plant.⁴⁷⁷ You should pound them with wine; you should anoint him. In addition to this, you should breathe at him with your mouth.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷¹ The *dd*-cup, cf. Erichsen 692, who compares Coptic $\chi\omega$ (Crum 759b).

⁴⁷² For this term, cf. above, p. 193 n. 270.

⁴⁷³ See previous note.

⁴⁷⁴ This word, in Greek and in the accusative case, was apparently added as a title to a recipe whose beginning seems corrupt and which perhaps has lost its original rubric. We would expect the preposition $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ before it in a rubric. It is the first of three recipes aimed at curing gout.

⁴⁷⁵ This instruction is not completely clear. It must refer somehow to the smearing of vinegar on the feet.

⁴⁷⁶ This focus on what the patient “heard” is unparalleled in gout remedies. The next sentence begins with “Afterwards” which perhaps is a secondary treatment if the first does not work after three days.

⁴⁷⁷ This word is glossed by the Greek adjective $\pi(\epsilon)\nu\tau\alpha(\delta\acute{\alpha})\kappa\tau\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, literally ‘five-fingered’, which refers to the herb cinquefoil or potentilla; see Dieleman 2005, 309.

⁴⁷⁸ Unparalleled in gout remedies, but cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 3084, which directs us (during an exorcism) to blow air from the tips of the patient’s toes up to his face.

verso col. ix ↓

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 993–1002

1	k.t		
	<i>w˚.t qt.t</i>	εὐφορβίου	
	<i>gs qt.t</i>	πεπτερέως	995
	<i>sttr.t w˚.t</i>	περήθου	
5	<i>sttr.t w˚.t</i>	αὐταχρεσ	
	διοναπερον	<i>w˚.t sttr.t</i>	
	<i>mn irp sttr(.t) 6</i>		
	<i>nhe n m˚.t 8 mtw=k nt>w</i>		1000
	<i>mtw=k ir>w n w˚.t splelyn</i> ⁴⁷⁹	<i>ti r p; m˚.</i>	
10	<i>nt šn n p; rm̄</i>		

3 l. πεπερέως || 4 l. πυρέθρου || ἀδάρκρης || 6 l. θεῖον ἄπυρον

verso col. x ↓

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 1003–1014

1	<i>ke s; r rt=f n p:et;grwn</i>		
	<i>iir=k sh n;y rn.w r w˚ pq</i>		
	<i>n hq n-ge tren iir=k tiy=f</i>		1005
	<i>r w˚ hr n ;ywr mtw=k mr=f r rt=f</i>		
5	<i>n p; rm̄ n m̄=f</i>	δέρμα ἐλάφιον <i>n t; rt.t 2.t</i>	
	ΘΕΜΒΑΡΑΘΕΜ		
	ΟΥΡΕΜΒΡΕΝΟΥΤΙΠΕ		
	ΔΙΟΧΘΟΥ		1010
	ΣΕΜΜΑΡΑΘΕΜΜΟΥ		
10	ΝΑΙΟΥΥ	<i>my lk 4 r-ms 4</i>	
	<i>n šn nb nt hn n;y=f pt.w n;y=f rt.w 2.t</i>		
	<i>hr ir=k=f iw i'h m;y</i>		

⁴⁷⁹ This is a rendering of Greek πλῆν, ‘poultice’; see Dieleman 2005, 312.

GEMF 16.993–1002

Another⁴⁸⁰ 1 dram of spurge, (995) 1 drachma of pepper, 1 stater of pyrethrum, 1 stater of adarces,⁴⁸¹ native sulfur⁴⁸² 1 stater,⁴⁸³ 6 staters of NN wine, (1000) 8 (measures) of true oil. You should pound them; you should make them into a poultice; put (it) on the place which pains the man.

GEMF 16.1003–1014

Another amulet for the foot of the gouty man:⁴⁸⁴ You should write these names⁴⁸⁵ on a strip (1005) of silver or tin; you should put it on the skin of a deer;⁴⁸⁶ you should bind it to the foot of the man named with the 2 feet.⁴⁸⁷

THEMBARATHEM

OUREMBRENOU TIPE

(1010) AIOCHTHOU

SEMMARATHEMMOU

NAIOOU, may NN, whom NN bore, cease from every pain which is in his (2) knees and his 2 feet. You do it while the moon is in (the constellation) Leo.

⁴⁸⁰ That is, another recipe for curing gout.

⁴⁸¹ This is a salt efflorescence on marsh plants that is used in Greek medicine; see Dieleman 2005, 310.

⁴⁸² Dieleman 2005, 310.

⁴⁸³ This is a list of ingredients and their measurements. For the first four items we are given the amount in Demotic followed by the name of the ingredient in Greek declined properly in the genitive. This pattern is ignored here in the fifth item (l. 998) where the Greek name comes first in the nominative followed by the measurements.

⁴⁸⁴ This is a rendering of Greek ποδαγρών (plural genitive of ποδαγρή); see Dieleman 2005, 312. The word seems to have been borrowed in the genitive plural case, that is, translated from a source text where it presumably stood in the plural and was carried over without reverting it to its undeclined form; in this Demotic sentence it refers to a singular man.

⁴⁸⁵ They appear a little later in ll. 1008–1011, as the name of the power invoked; see below.

⁴⁸⁶ Written first in Demotic and then in Greek.

⁴⁸⁷ For deer-skin as a container of gout amulets, see Luc. *Pseudol.* 7: when Cleodemus claims that the pain of gout will cease instantly, if one wraps the tooth of a weasel in lion-skin and attaches it to the patient's legs, but Dinomachus, corrects him, suggesting that the skin of an unmated doe makes more sense, because it is a fast animal with its strength in its feet; see Faraone 2018, 67.

verso col. xi ↓

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 1015–1025

- 1 *phre.t n rṯ(?) [...]* 1015
ḥḏn ḥlbwnṯ
ḥp-wr ḥs
nḥe n mꜣ.t nt thsꜣf
- 5 *n-ḥmꜣf ḥwꜣf šwy ḥrꜣk yꜣf*
n mw qbḗ ḥr lkꜣf 1020
phre.t n rṯ.t ḥwꜣf sk m-šs sp-2 nfr sp-2
ḥrꜣk yꜣf rṯꜣf n mw n šwbe.t
mtwꜣk ḥyṯꜣf m-šs sp-2 ḥr rṯꜣf
- 10 *k.t ḥlqw n ... twtw n šnt.t*
šew nt ṯi r-rꜣf 1025

verso col. xii ↓

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 1026–1036

- 1 *k(y)-ḏ wr Šer:y(?)*
ḥnk pꜣy wr šꜣ(?) ḥy nt ḥr ḥyq r Tꜣ-ṣpy.t ḥ.t nb Qwōw
Ll Mwill pꜣ mw n Mw.t pꜣ nt n rꜣy pꜣ ḥt n Ḥ.t-Ḥr šw mre
pꜣ nt n ḥꜣṯꜣy ḥꜣṯꜣy pḏ pꜣy(ꜣy) ḥꜣṯ mr pꜣ(?) whꜣe ḥw ḥr ḥr ire ḥm(y).t
- 5 *ḥyꜣf r ḥm(y)-mw whꜣe ḥw ḥr ḥr ire wnšꜣ.t ḥy r wnšꜣ whꜣe ḥw ḥr ḥr ire whꜣr.t ḥyṯꜣf* 1030
pꜣ whꜣe
r whꜣr nt r pꜣ ntr šr Spt.t(?) ḥyṯꜣf r Mw.s.t.s ḥwꜣf ḥn-nꜣ.k r tꜣ sbt.t n Nynꜣre.t.s
r whꜣ mw pr.yꜣf⁴⁸⁸ ntr pꜣyꜣf ḥry ꜣ.w.s. pꜣyꜣf Yh.ꜣ Sꜣbꜣh.ꜣ Plerwbe S My
ḥbrꜣks Senklꜣy my ḥr mn r-ms mn ḥyꜣf r mn r-ms mn
my ḥrꜣs wꜣ pḏ wꜣ mr wꜣ lyb ꜣ [...] ḥwꜣs qte m-sꜣf r mꜣ nb pꜣ ḥyṯ
- 10 *n Yh.ꜣ Sꜣbꜣhw H.ꜣ ry.ꜣ [n(?)] Pꜣn.t.rgꜣ.t.r ꜣn.t.rgꜣ.t.r ḥrbꜣ-* 1035
nthꜣlꜣ Thꜣlꜣ ꜣ Thꜣlꜣks ḏ twꜣy ḥwy ḥyṯ r ḥrꜣtn

⁴⁸⁸ This a writing of *pꜣyꜣf*.

GEMF 16.1015–1025

(1015) Prescription for a foot(?):⁴⁸⁹ Garlic, frankincense, old vinegar, true oil; pound them, anoint him with it. When it is dry, you should wash it (1020) with cool water. It stops.⁴⁹⁰

Prescription for a foot which is very stiff. (It is) very good. You should wash his foot with cucumber-juice and you should rub it on his foot very well.

Another: Sycamore figs of ..., fruit of acacia, (1025) persea fruit. Pound (them), put on him.

GEMF 16.1026–1036

⁴⁹¹ “I am this great one, SHERAY⁴⁹²—another (manuscript) says SHERAY⁴⁹³—who makes magic against the Noble Lady, the great one, mistress of QOUÖOU, LL, MOULL, the water of Mut, the one who is in my mouth, the fat of Hathor, worthy of love, the one who is in my heart. My heart yearns, my heart loves. The(?) desire which(?) a she-cat (1030) does (i.e. feels) for a tom-cat, desire which a she-wolf feels for a wolf, desire a bitch feels for a dog, the desire which the god, the son of Sopdu, felt for Moses while he was going to the mountain of Nynaretos to offer water to his god, his lord, his IAÖ SABAÖ⁴⁹⁴ his GLEMOU RA MOUSE PLEROUBE S MY ABRASAKS SENKLAY, may NN, whom NN bore, feel it for NN, whom NN bore. May she feel a yearning, a love, a great madness ..., while she is searching after him everywhere. The fury (1035) of YAHÖ SABAHOU HÖRYÖ [N(?)] all-mighty PANTOGRATOR⁴⁹⁵ ARBANTHALA THALÖ THALAKS; I am casting fury against you (pl.),

⁴⁸⁹ Presumably this introduced another cure for gout, like those that precede and follow.

⁴⁹⁰ I. e., it stops the painful swelling of gout in ankles and feet; for requests that a god “stop” the pain or swelling of gout on Greek amulets, see Faraone 2018, 190 (a prayer to a powerful plant to “stop the swelling of the feet and hands of this man or this woman”) and 215, a bronze prism inscribed “Phoebus commands that pain not swell the feet.”

⁴⁹¹ This is the start of a new recipe for erotic subjugation; the ritual instructions appear at the end of the recipe in the next column. The rubric is missing, but it was probably the same as the two recipes that follow (“[Prescription] to cause a woman to love her husband”), both of which involve anointing the phallus.

⁴⁹² The final group in writing the name is the Demotic word ꜥꜣ ‘linen’.

⁴⁹³ L. 1026, translated here, is an addition inserting a variant reading in l. 1027.

⁴⁹⁴ A reference, it would seem, to Moses going up on Mt. Sinai(?) to pour a libation for Yahweh; son of Sopdu is another name for Yahweh (this is also Griffith/Thompson’s understanding, see p. 185 n. 6).

⁴⁹⁵ This is a transliteration of Greek παντοκράτωρ, ‘all-mighty’, perhaps a gloss for the previous Demotic word.

verso col. xiii ↓

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 1037–1048

- 1 *n n: ntr.w ʕy.w n Kmy mh̄ dr.tn n st.t sh̄t.t b:kfr p: h:t.t n mn r-ms mn*
hbqe n-ims n-ge iyh̄ t n t:y-s qt.t m-ge rmt̄ imnt̄ my ire p: ʕ.wy
n p:y-s it̄ t:y-s mw.t n n:y-s mʕ(.w) nt iw̄ iw̄-s n he.t̄w [...] š̄ iw̄ h. ʕ.h n st.t
r-r-s iw̄-s d̄ de n n:y iw̄-s ʕ n-bnr d̄ n:y iȳ d̄ ink w.t ryt.t n Gb 1040
P;R
- 5 *Hr R. ʕ.n rn-y.t̄ prq rn-s r-bnr n Kmy š̄ hrw 40 ibt 33 175 n hrw p: dq r: n 6 n ibt*
ΘΕΗ(?)
Gyre The(?) Pysytw Ek. ʕ.ymy ʕtm sp 7 hs n MCEZ ° w ʕm n mw.t n ʕ.t
hn̄ s:smrym(?) ip.t 7.t n hs n ʕ°εc shy n βεεμπε n hw̄t̄ ht̄ n wp.t n nhe
mtw-k st.t̄w n glme n mhe mtw-k š̄ r-r-f n sp 7 n hrw 7 mtw-k ths hn̄.t̄k
n-ims-f mtw-k sdr̄ irm t̄ sh̄m.t mtw-k ths h̄.t̄s n t̄ sh̄m.t n 1045
- 10 *r t̄ ire sh̄m.t mr̄ p:y(=y) (sic) hy twtw.t n snte.t nt hr̄ ibe mtw-k ths hn̄.t̄k n-ims-f*
mtw-k sdr̄ irm t̄ sh̄m.t r t̄ ire sh̄m.t mr̄ nq-s h̄bete n r-f n w ʕtr̄ hw̄t̄ mtw-k ths
hn̄.t̄k n-ims-f mtw-k sdr̄ irm t̄ sh̄m.t

verso col. xiv ↓

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 1049–1055

- 1 *r t̄ [...]*
ʕbn ʕā 1050
ⲛⲟⲛⲓⲣ ʕā
mh̄ n kaw̄t̄ iw̄-f š̄wy ʕδ̄
- 5 *s:terw ʕδ̄*
nt n ph̄re(t) š̄wy r̄ ury wp.t n-ims-f
r h̄(e) p: nt iir-k swne n-ims-f irm sh̄m.t nb 1055

2, 3, (δραχμή) || 4, 5 (δραχμαί)

GEMF 16.1037–1048

namely(?) the great gods of Egypt. Fill your (pl.) hand(s) with flame and fire; use it; cast it on the heart of NN, whom NN bore, wither her, O spirit! Take her sleep, O man of the west (i.e., dead man)! May the house of her father and her mother, her places in which she is . . . Call (out) while the flame of fire is (1040) against her, while she speaks, saying, ‘Mercy!’, as she stands outside, murmuring ‘Mercy!’, for I am an agent of Geb, Horus, RŌN, the sun is my name. Pluck her name out of Egypt for 40 days, 33 months, 175 days, the complement of 6 months. GYRE THEĒ(?) PYSYTOU EKŌYMY ATAM.”⁴⁹⁶ [Say] 7 times. Crocodile dung, a little donkey placenta(?) and sisymbrium,⁴⁹⁷ 7 *oipe* of antelope dung,⁴⁹⁸ gall of a male goat, and first fruits of oil. You should heat them with flax stalks and you should recite to it 7 times for 7 days and you should anoint your phallus (1045) with it and you should lie with the woman and you should anoint the woman’s heart⁴⁹⁹ also.

[Prescription] to cause a woman to love her husband: Fruits of acacia; pound with honey and anoint your phallus with it and lie with the woman.

[Prescription] to cause a woman to love her lover:⁵⁰⁰ foam of the mouth of a stallion; you should anoint your phallus with it and you should lie with the woman.

GEMF 16.1049–1055

To cause . . .:⁵⁰¹ (1050) Alum, 1 drachma; pepper, 1 drachma; dry *mehenknut*-plant,⁵⁰² 1 drachma, orchid(?), 1 dram.⁵⁰³ Pound (into) a dry medication. Do (your) business with it in accordance with what you know, with any woman.

⁴⁹⁶ Pleyte 1883, 152 proposed to read this sequence as κύριε θεῖε πιστὲ ἐξίημι Ἀδάμ (“O divine faithful Lord, I cast out Adam”); Quack 2004, 464 instead suggests κύριε θεε πιστεύω ἐγὼ εἶμι Ἀδάμ (“Lord god, I believe, I am Adam”), although Dosoo proposes that PYSYTOU may stand for ὕψιςτε (“highest” rather than “I believe”).

⁴⁹⁷ According to GMPT, this is a pungent herb in the rocket and mustard family.

⁴⁹⁸ If we consider that the *oipe* is ca 6.4 liters in the Roman Period, this is too large an amount of dung. It must refer to a smaller measure. See above n. 267.

⁴⁹⁹ Griffith and Thompson 1904, 187, l. 9, suggest “breast,” but *h:t* does not seem to have this meaning usually.

⁵⁰⁰ Or, “copulating with her,” as Griffith and Thompson 1904, 187, translated into Latin.

⁵⁰¹ The full rubric was probably “to cause a woman to love her husband” as in the two preceding recipes.

⁵⁰² This plant appears also in P.Harkness (col. i 13), as *mḥ-gnwḫ*. Smith 2005, 109, connects it with ΜΑΞΝΕΝΟΥΤ in an obscure passage of the Manichaean Psalm Book. See also Erichsen 174.

⁵⁰³ At ll. 897–900, we had a list of Greek ingredient names followed by measurements in Demotic, but here it is Demotic ingredient names followed by measurements in Greek.

verso col. xv ↓

GEMF 16/PDM XIV 1056–1062

1 *n: m. w n n: ntr. w nt hr wh:ek s iir-k in-n(?) r iny 'de r-hn* *swr(?)*
 ΜΑΣΚΕΛΛΙ ΜΑΣΚΕΛΛΩ ΦΝΟΥΚΕΝΤΑΒΔΩ
M'skelly ° M'skell. 3 Phnwgent' b: 3
 ΡΗΞΙΧΘΩ ΠΥ ΡΙΧΘΩΝ ΠΥΡ[...]ΠΗΓΑΝΥΞ
Hrekssygh. 3 Perygthe. 3.n Perypeg'neks
 ΑΡΕΘΒΑΚΑΓΡΑ ΟΒΔΑΓΡΑ
re. 3. b's'gr° k(y)-dm° 3. b's'gr°

5 *p:y. y m hr d-k=f hr t: h. t n dy iw=f n-n° r byk iw db: n: m. w* 1060
n ΔΙΟΚΚΟΡΟΣ nt n hn mtw=f wd:y iir-k š-w r p: d(°) n ΔΔΩΝΔΙ nt sh
r-bnr iw=f r ir w°.t bk'y. t 3. t iw=f iny 'de r-hn

verso col. xvi ↓

GEMF 16.1063–1070 [PDM XIV 1063–1069]⁵⁰⁴

k(y)-dm° ΑΡΜΙΟΥΘ  505
 ΑΡΜΙΟΥΤ ΣΙΘΑΝΙ ΟΥΘΑΝΙ

1 *army. 3. wṯ Syth'ny Wth'ny*
 ΑΡΙΑΜΟΥΣΙ ΣΟΒΡΤΑΤ ΒΙΡΒΑΤ ΜΙΣΙΡΙΘ[Δ]Τ
ry:mwsy S. 3. br-dd Byrb:t My[s]yryth'ṯ 1065
 ΑΜΣΙΘΑΡΜΙΘΑΤ

R.ms.th rmyth'ṯ r. wy mn r-ms mn r-bnr [hn] n:y:s °. wy. w
nt iw=s n-im=w r °. wy nb m:° nb nt iw mn r-ms mn n-im=w iw=s mr[t(?)]=f iw=s lby m-s=f
 5 *iw=s ir n p: šp n h: t=f n nw nb iir-k sh n:y n riw hl r w°.t tiys. t*
n šs-n-nsw(.t) iw=s w°b mtw=k tiy:s r w° hbs n-m:y iw=f w°b iw=f mh n nhe n
m:°. t n {p:}

p:y:k °. wy n t n rhwe r twe iir-k gm p: fe n t: shm. t r ti[.y]=f r-hn p: s'l nfr=f 1070

⁵⁰⁴ From this point on PDM and GEMF numbers diverge again, because PDM counts 7 lines in col. verso xvi, when there are in fact 8 lines.

⁵⁰⁵ These drawings or pseudo-hieroglyphs here of three groups of three animals (beetles, falcons, goats) recalls the images on amuletic gemstones that show Horus on the lotus being adored by various triplets of animals; see Michel 2004, 273–276.

verso col. xvii ↓

GEMF 16.1056–1062

The names of the gods whom you seek when you go to bring in a thief (by) vessel(-inquiry?):⁵⁰⁶ MASKELLI⁵⁰⁷ MASKELLŌ PHNOUKENTABAŌ RĒXICHTHŌ PURICHTHŌN PURIPĒGANUX⁵⁰⁸ AREOBAGRA.⁵⁰⁹ Another (manuscript) says OBASAGRA. (1060) This name, you say it before a ship which is going to shipwreck, because of the names of DIOSKOROS⁵¹⁰ which are within, so that it is safe. If you recite them to the cup of ADŌNAI,⁵¹¹ which is inscribed (on the) outside,⁵¹² it will do a great work, bringing in a thief.⁵¹³

GEMF 16.1064–1070

Another (manuscript) says ARMIOUTH⁵¹⁴ (drawings or pseudo-hieroglyphs) ARMIOOUT SITHANI OUTHANI (1065) ARIAMOUSI SOBRTAT⁵¹⁵ BIRBAT MISIRITHAT, whom THARMITHAT bore,⁵¹⁶ bring NN, whom NN bore, out from any of her abodes, in which she is, to any abode, any place in which NN, whom NN bore, is, she loving him, she being mad about him, she making the gift of his heart⁵¹⁷ at every moment.” You should write this with myrrh ink on a strip of pure royal linen and put it in a clean new lamp filled with true oil in (1070) your house from night to dawn.⁵¹⁸ If you find the hair⁵¹⁹ of the woman, put it in the wick. It is good.

verso col. xvii ↓

GEMF 16.1071–1078 [PDM XIV 1070–1077]

⁵⁰⁶ Griffith and Thompson 1904, 188, n. to l. 1 suggested that this could be restored *n šn hn*.

⁵⁰⁷ No divine determinative marks the ends of these magical names, only a dot here and merely space in the other examples in this text, suggesting the original of this formula derives from a different manuscript with a different tradition for handling magical names.

⁵⁰⁸ With “foreign” determinative. In Greek this means “lord of the fount of fire,” cf. LSJ s.v. *πυρπιηγάναξ*, who cite GEMF 68/PGM XXXVI, 155 and 344, and GEMF 57/PGM IV 3177, in all three cases with slight changes in spelling. Perhaps the previous word is also a Greek compound of *πῦρ*.

⁵⁰⁹ These seven magical names are a version of the MASKELLI MASKELLO-*logos*, well known in the Greek handbooks; see e.g. GEMF 55/PGM III 546–47: MASKELLI MASKELLŌ PHNOUNKENTABAŌ AORIŌZAGRA RESICHTHŌN HIPPOCHTHŌN PYROSPARIPEGANYX. It is also used on amulets and curse tablets and here we are told to say it when a ship is sinking.

⁵¹⁰ This word is spelled out in Coptic. Here the MASKELLI MASKELLO formula is said to be the (i.e. secret) names of Dioskoros, a curiously singular version of the Dioscuri, the patron saints of Greek-speaking sailors; see Griffith and Thompson 1904, 188, n. to verso xv 6.

⁵¹¹ This word is spelled out in Coptic. Griffith and Thompson 1904, 189, n. to l. 6 suggest a possible reference to the story of Nectanebus and the magic bowl in Pseudo-Callisthenes.

⁵¹² Griffith and Thompson 1904, 189, n. to l. 6 suggest that this is a reference to the other side of the papyrus roll, i.e. recto, a plausible usage, but in this case the direction is wrong; see, for example, l. 526, where “outside” appears again, but on the inner recto side of the papyrus, where it rightly refers to the outer, verso side of the roll, and also l. 1173 (with n. 550), where the word “inside” used on the outer verso side of the papyrus logically refers to the inner recto side of the roll. For the purpose of inscribing the outside of the cup, see the next note.

⁵¹³ A brief reference to a thief-catching procedure, see, e.g., GEMF58/PGM V 70–95. Perhaps it involves having a group of people drink something from a cup inscribed on the outside with the MASKELLI MASKELLO formula with the expectation that the guilty party would get ill or otherwise reveal their identity.

⁵¹⁴ A marginal comment indicating a slightly different version of the *voces* that follow. This recipe again lacks a title.

⁵¹⁵ The final group is written with a *ḏḏ*-pillar which is here and elsewhere glossed *tat*.

⁵¹⁶ The beginning of this name is written with the Demotic form *r-ms* “whom NN bore,” glossed in Coptic as *ΔΜϢΙϞ*.

⁵¹⁷ This presumably means something like “give him what his heart desires.”

⁵¹⁸ Presumably we are to burn the lamp all evening and, in the process, burn the hair of the female victim mentioned in the next sentence.

⁵¹⁹ The hair, fingernails or garment threads from the victim (often called *οὐρία*, ‘stuff’, in Greek recipes) provide a means of targeting the female victim in addition to their name and matronymic. They sometimes survive in rolled up curse tablets; see, e.g. SM I 40 and 44.

GEMF 16.1071–1078

A formula to bring a woman to a man, to send a dream—another (manuscript) says to see a dream again.⁵²⁰ (symbols). You should write these (i.e. symbols) on a reed leaf and you should put it on your head while you sleep.⁵²¹ It makes dreams and sends dreams. If you do it to send a dream, you should put it in the mouth of a mummy. (1075) It brings a woman also. You should write this name on the reed leaf with blood of a ... or a hoopoe;⁵²² you should put the hair of the woman in the leaf; you should put it in the mouth of the mummy; you should write this name on the ground saying, “Bring NN, daughter of NN, to the house, to the sleeping-place in which NN, the son of NN, is!” This is also an attraction procedure.⁵²³

GEMF 16.1079–1090

⁵²⁴ ĒROUBITHOU
 (1080) EKTOULA
 ĒRREPHEDI⁵²⁵

reveal yourself to me, god NN, and speak to me concerning that about which I am asking, in truth without having said to me (1085) falsehood.” Saffron, 2 (measures), black eye-paint of Coptos, 2 (measures); pound with blood of a lizard;⁵²⁶ make into a ball. You should rub it with milk of (a woman) who has borne a male child. Put (it) in his right eye; you should recite to it (1090) before any lamp or the Foreleg (i.e. Ursa Major) at night.

⁵²⁰ These signs presumably have some secret meaning.

⁵²¹ This recipe begins with a procedure known from dream divination procedures, in which the person eager for a prophetic dream falls asleep with his head next to an inscribed piece of papyrus or cloth containing the request; see Faraone 2020a.

⁵²² The bird’s name is written in Coptic; for the frequent use of birds’ blood and body parts on dream divination procedures, see Faraone 2020a, 205.

⁵²³ This is written in Greek to alert the reader that in addition to dreams this recipe can also be used for erotic subjection.

⁵²⁴ This is a divination-procedure for a divine encounter by means of a ball of ointment placed in or more likely under the right eye, presumably to allow us to see the divinity. It does not have a title.

⁵²⁵ These three magical names are written as a list.

⁵²⁶ The word for ‘lizard’ is in Coptic, cf. Crum 11b. See l. 389.


verso col. xix ↓

GEMF 16.1091–1097 [PDM XIV 1090–1096]

- 1 *w^c r; n iny sḥm.t(?) r-bnr n p:y:s^c wy hr iny-k w^c [...]ce*
n imy.t n ḥwṯ mtw-k tī šwy-f mtw-k iny w^c qbḥ(?) [...]
n ḥsy mtw-k mnqe w^c kswr iw ḥ(e).ṯ-f šfe n nb [...]
n m;y iw r:w wn iw ḥr-f n wn r wn n-īm-w iir-k tī n:(?) nkt [...] ḥr(?)f
- 5 *iir-k wḥ; r iny sḥm.t n-k nw nb iir-k wḥ p; kswr n p; hry n w^c ḥbs* 1095
iw-f mḥ iir-k ḏ r-r(?)f ḏ r-wy mn t; šr(t) mn r p:y.y m^c
nt iw-y n-īm-f n tkr ḥn n;y wnw.wt n p; hrw hr iw-s t;y ḥte.t

verso col. xx ↓

GEMF 16.1098–1104 [PDM XIV 1097–1103]

- 1 *r tī lk ir.t-bynt n rmt^{ḡmī} Imn p:y.y ḥwṯ ḥy p:y.y ḥwṯ Ikš ir iy r-ḥry*
n Mrwe r Kmy gm Hr p:y(=y) šr iw-f fy.ṯ-f r hn rṯ-f r iw-f šk-f
r ḏ:ḏ:f n 3 r; n mt.t Ikš iw-f gm mn r-ms mn r iw-f fy.ṯ-f r hn 1100
rṯ-f r iw-f šk-f r ḏ:ḏ:f n 3 r; n mt.t Ikš Gntyny Tnty-
^{NA}
 5 *n; Qwqwby [...]khe :kh;*
r w^c ḥm n nḥe mtw-k tī ḥm; ḥlyn r-r-f mtw-k ths p; rmt^ḡ nt hr ir.t-bynt(t?) n-īm-f
mtw-k ḥ n;y n r w^c dm^c n-m;y mtw-k ir-f n mḏ; r ḥe.ṯ-f mtw-k p:y.y byl n t; p.t
n; ḥ(.w) 

verso col. xxi ↓

GEMF 16.1105-1110 [PDM XIV 1104-1109]

- 1 [...] 1105
 [...]
 [...]
 [... t nḥ]s(?) nḥ-īm.w
- 5 *nt ir(?) [...] n p; yr*
 [...] smṯ ir.t-k n-īm-f 1110

GEMF 16.1091–1097

A procedure for bringing a woman out of her house: You bring a [...] of a wild cat; you dry it; you bring a tendon(?) [of a ... which] drowned; you fashion a ring whose body is blended with gold [in the form of two] lions whose mouths are open while the face of each being turned to the other. You should put the thing [...] its face(?). (1095) When you wish to bring a woman to yourself at any time, you should put the ring on the upper part of a burning lamp and you should say to it, “Bring NN, the daughter of NN, to this place in which I am, quickly, in these moments of today!” She comes immediately.

GEMF 16.1098–1104

To stop the evil eye for a man:⁵²⁷ “O Amun, this lofty male, this Ethiopian male who came down from Meroe to Egypt and (who?) found Horus, my son, carrying himself on his feet. He beat him about his head with 3 formulas in the Ethiopian language.⁵²⁸ When he finds NN, whom NN bore, he will carry himself on his feet, he will beat him (1100) about his head with 3 formulas in the Ethiopian language. “GNTYNY TNY|NA QOUQOUBY [...]KHE, AKHA.” [Say it] to a little oil; add salt and nasturtium seed to it; and anoint with it the man suffering from the evil eye; also write this on a new papyrus; and make it into a papyrus roll on his body.⁵²⁹ “You are this eye of heaven.” The writings: “eye.”⁵³⁰

GEMF 16.1105–1110

(1105) [...] ... “live-on-them”-plant. | Pound, make ... of the river (i.e. Nile) ... (1110) paint your eye(s) with it!

⁵²⁷ This is likely a recipe for an ointment against the evil eye; cf. Dieleman 2005, 138-143 for a discussion.

⁵²⁸ For the battle between Nubian and Egyptian magicians, see *Setne II*.

⁵²⁹ Presumably a reference to an amulet tied onto the body.

⁵³⁰ The amulet was apparently to contain the words “You are this eye of heaven” and a drawing of the eye. It is unclear if the initial prayer was to be copied too, or simply spoken out loud.

verso col. xxii ↓

GEMF 16.1111–1130 [PDM XIV 1110–1129]

1 [... iw≠f] dnt

twys [p:(?) kys(?) nt(?) hr(?) ir:k(?)] tiy≠f r ir.ḫ:k iir:k in-

n:k r p; hn n šn w'e.ḫ:k wyḫ

mstme qs(?)-nh s:(?) ?? hr.r.w n šr. s.t(?)5 km nt iw **ερεκος** p:y snf n qwqwpt 1115nt [ir(?)] m bnn mtw≠k **smḫ** ir.ḫ:k n-im≠f hr mwn :lle n(?) **Kmy(?)** hr st:te n t:(?) **Nhs** hrnw≠k r t: **hyb.t** n ntr nb ntr.t nb

[...]εμογζ

[...]≠f tw≠y š n=tn n; ntr.w sy.w nt h≠w irm P;-R^c Tsemwks

Δ[...] ΠΙΑΜ ΕΠΠΑ ΙΑ ΕΙΒΟΤΘ ΕΙΑΗ

10 :mp(?)[...] P;-y'm ° Enp'y^c Yb. s.th Ys S'b:s.th 1120r-[wn] n≠y sp-2 n; ntr.w sy.w nt h≠w irm P;-R^c my wn ir.ḫ r p;**[wy]n** mtw≠y **mz** p; ntr nt šn n p; hrw ys sp-2 **de** p; s: s n ... :bl-

ΔΒΛΑΝΑΘ[ΑΝΑ]ΛΒΑ ΜΑΡΑΡΑ ΔΒΕΙΑΘ

n[^cth]n[^clb^c p; ntr wr M^cr^c n.t.n.w :by:thN[...]e Snn(?) [Ps]^ce N.t.s^ctr^cperqm^ce Wsir Ly-

[λ]ΙΛΔΜ

15 l[^c]m r≠f r-wn sp-2 n; ntr.w sy.w my wn ir.ḫ r p; **wyn** 1125mtw[≠y] **mz** p; ntr nt šn n p; hrw r-wn n≠y sp-2 tw≠y hwy hyḫ r ir=tn n p; ntr s sp-2[...] nt(?) iw(?) n:e(?) sy.w(?) t:y≠f pḫt.t nt **nh** š^c **d.t** my **pḫt.w** sp-2 n p; **rnn**[...] **iry(?)** [...] r p; ... **sp-2** p; rn n p; [ntr ...] r-wn n≠y sp-2[n; ntr.w]:y.w nt h≠w irm P;-R^c my wn [ir.ḫ r p; **wyn** mtw]≠y20 [**mz** p; ntr] nt šn n p; hrw ys sp-2 [...] **sp** [...] 1130

GEMF 16.1111–1130

[A] tested [...]:⁵³¹ **Here is** [the ointment which you] put on your eye(s) while you are going to the vessel inquiry alone: Green eye-paint, black eye-paint, *qes-ankh* stone, amulet of ..., flowers of black *sher-aa*-plant,⁵³² (1115) which is vetch,⁵³³ blood of hoopoe. Pound, make into a ball; paint your eye(s) with it together with Egyptian⁵³⁴ grape juice and Nubian yellow ochre. You see the shadow of every god and every goddess. Its [...]: “I call to you, O great gods who appear with the sun, TSEMOUX⁵³⁵ (1120) AMP[...] PIAM⁵³⁶ ENPAIA EIBOTTH EIAĒ SABAŌTH! O[pen] to me, (say it) twice, O great gods who appear with the sun! Let my eye(s) open to the [ligh]t and let me see the god who inquires today, quickly, (say it) twice, for the protection ... ABLANATHANALBA the great god, MARARA ANTANAU⁵³⁷ ABEIATH N[...] SNN [PS]AE⁵³⁸ NTASATRAPERQMAAE⁵³⁹ Osiris, (1125) LILAM⁵⁴⁰ is his name. Open to me, (say it) twice, O great gods! Let my eye(s) see the light and let [me] see the god who inquires today! Open to me, (say it) twice! I am casting fury on you (pl.) of the twice great god ... whose strength is great, who lives forever. Give power, twice, to the name ..., (say it) twice, the name of the [god]. ... Open to me, (say it) twice, [O] great [gods] who rise with the sun! Let [my eye(s)] open [to the light so that] I (1130) [see the god] who inquires today! Quickly, (say it) twice, ... times.”

⁵³¹ The rubric is lacunose, but probably read “vessel inquiry” as we see in the next line.

⁵³² Erichsen 518 refers to the plant *šri* attested in Late Egyptian (Wb 4, 527.10).

⁵³³ The rendering *ερεκος* stands for the Greek *ἄραχος*, ‘vetch’.

⁵³⁴ The use of this item in parallel to Nubian yellow ochre makes it clear that the poorly preserved *km/Km.t* should be read *Km.t* “Egypt” not simply *km* “black.”

⁵³⁵ Or *ōEMOUKS*, as rendered by Ritner, GMPT, who reads the initial group as *ʿ* rather than *ts*. This list of magical names again has no divine determinatives after the names and only once uses the dot between the names.

⁵³⁶ This word is written with the water determinative, and might therefore be read as the homonymous “the sea.”

⁵³⁷ The second part of this name, which is not glossed, includes *t*: ‘land’, elsewhere glossed *to*, and *n:y* ‘these, to me’, elsewhere glossed *ne*. As a result, the name was probably pronounced Atone, i.e. a writing of Adonai.

⁵³⁸ The characteristic coiled snake determinative of *Pḥ-š:y*, ‘Pshai, Agathodaimon’ is preserved, guaranteeing the reading.

⁵³⁹ This magical name is written using *t*: ‘land’, *qm*: ‘to create’, and *ʿ* ‘limb’, all apparently used only phonetically. They seem to approximate *κατραπερκηφ*, a magical name that appears elsewhere on Greek gemstones (e.g. CBD-216, 815 and 858) and in other handbooks (GEMF 15.234/PGM XII 185 and 60/XIII 918).

⁵⁴⁰ Perhaps this is the magical name *LAILAM* that appears in Greek magical texts.

GEMF 16.1131–1142

... pound [...] with [...]. Another: ... (1135)[...]NAKS ANY[...], seeds [...]. Another: ... again. (1140) dung ... dried and burned, 2 (measures). Pound [with] henna [oil] and honey. Anoint [your phallus] with it and lie with her!

GEMF 16.1143–1155

... on it, and you ... (1145) of byssus in it,⁵⁴² these 3 names being written on it. ... and myrrh; and you light it and you put it ... your head; and you recite them to it again, 9 times. ... lamp. You do it at the time of the 3rd hour of night.⁵⁴³ ... Formula: “IŌBASAOUMPTHŌ (1150) [CHRŌMELOU]CHAR.⁵⁴⁴ Instruct me⁵⁴⁵ [in] truth concerning the NN matter about which I am praying here [today in] truth without saying to you⁵⁴⁶ any falsehood. IŌBASAOUMPTTHŌCHRŌMELOUCHAR, instruct me in truth concerning NN, a thing about which I am praying here today.”

⁵⁴² For a parallel ritual process, see above, ll. 120–121.

⁵⁴³ Both the day and the night were divided into 12 hours; thus the length of a daylight hour was not usually the same as the length of a nighttime hour and the lengths of both daytime and nighttime hours differed from summer to winter.

⁵⁴⁴ These magical names have been reconstructed on the model of the name that appears 3 lines below.

⁵⁴⁵ Literally “Let my eyes open (out)!”

⁵⁴⁶ One expects “me.”

verso col. xxv ↓

GEMF 16.1156–1163 [PDM XIV 1155–1162]

1 [...]

*hs n bk hmꜣ sy**bele nt n wꜣ sp ths**hn.tk n-īmꜣf mtwꜣk sdr irm*5 *tꜣ shm.t iwꜣf hpr mtwꜣf šwy iirꜣk*

1160

*hm
nt wꜣ n-īmꜣf hr ꜥꜣꜣ mtwꜣk**ths hn.tk n-īmꜣf**mtwꜣk sdr irm tꜣ shm.t nfr(.t) sp-2*

verso col. xxvi ↓

GEMF 16.1164–1172 [PDM XIV 1163–1171]

1 *iirꜣk w[hꜣ r ti ire nꜣ] ntr.w n pꜣ hne(?) sde wbeꜣk**r ire nꜣ ntr.w iy r-hn iirꜣk dꜣ pꜣy.y r[n r-irꜣw] sp 9*

1165

*ιαγω ιφε εωε κινδαθ[...]ρ νεφαρ**Υ.ϩ Υph E.ϩ.e Gynntꜣthwr Nephꜣr**αφωη**ꜣph.ϩ.e hr irꜣf wꜣh shn nꜣk r pꜣ nt iirꜣk r šn.tꜣf r-rꜣf r-irꜣ t hr*5 *hpr r tm dꜣ nꜣk wꜣh iirꜣk dꜣ pꜣy.y ke rn r-irꜣw n sp 9 šꜣ**ΓΩΓΥ ΘΙΞ ΜΑΝΤΟΥ**mtwꜣw šn nꜣk n mt.t mꜣ.t Ng.ϩ.ngetsyks Mꜣntw**Ν.ϩ.b.ϩ.e Γ.ϩ.ghyr Hr.ϩ.n.β.r Nt.ϩ.ntr.ϩ.mꜣ*

1170

*φοκερ κε φαερσρε λυ**Leph.ϩ.ger Gephꜣers.ϩ.re sp 7**ιαγω ° ειφη ° ων ° κινδαθογρ ° νεφαρ ° αφοε*

GEMF 16.1156–1163

... falcon's dung, salt, reed(?), *bele*-plant.⁵⁴⁷ Pound together; anoint your phallus with it; lie with (1060) the woman. If it is dry, you should pound a little of it with wine; you should anoint your phallus with it; and you should lie with the woman. [It is] very good.

GEMF 16.1164–1172

If you [wish to make the] gods of the lamp speak to you, (1065) when the gods come in, you should say this [name to them], 9 times. IAUŌ IPHE EŌE KINDATHOUR NĒPHAR APHŌE. He answers you concerning that about which you will ask him. If delay happens in order not to answer you, you should say this other name to them 9 times until they inquire for you in truth. GŌGUTHIX MANTOU (1070) NOBOĒ KŌCHIR RODOR DONDROMA LEPHOKER KEPHAERSTHRELU. 7 times. IAUŌ EIPHĒ ŌN KINDATHOUR NEPHAR APHOE.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁷ Erichsen 120.

⁵⁴⁸ Here, the powerful Demotic names are glossed in Greek, first in small superlinear letters and then again at the very bottom of the column in full sized letters.

verso col. xxvii ↓

GEMF 16.1173–1180 [PDM XIV 1172–1179]

1 *r-h(e) p; nt hry hn d ink p;y Syṭ.t.k^c sdm m-y.t*
sdm p;y p;y(=y) rn n mtr ink G:ntḥ Gyn-t:w Gyry-t:w
Hry-ntr ʔrynwte L:bt:th L:ptwth^c

1175

L:ks:ntḥ S:rys^c Mrkh:r'hwṭ-t:w
 ΔΡCINΓΑ ΧΛΑ
 5 *ʔrsyng^c ° ghl^c k(y)-dm^c ʔrsy^o ng:l'bel B. ʔ.lb. ʔ.el⁵⁴⁹*
 ΚΛΟ
B. ʔ.el sp-2 L. ʔ.tery Gl. ʔ ° g:s'ntr^c Y'h. ʔ
rn-y.t Y'h. ʔ p;y p;y(=y) rn n mtr B:lkḥ m p; šft n t; p.t
ʔbl'n'tḥ'n'lb^c srrf n t; qnh.t n p; ntr nt 'ḥ^c n p:(?) hrw(?)

1180

verso col. xxviii ↓

GEMF 16.1181–1182 [PDM XIV 1180–1181]

1 *iṛk n:ē ti šm syw [...] ... r-hr(?)*
iw i'ḥ dl.t(?)

verso col. xxix ↓

GEMF 16.1183–1188 [PDM XIV 1182–1187]

1 *[...] ti lbe rmt nb n-ge šm.t nb*
iṛk t p; f'e n p; rmt nt iṛk wh:ʔf irm p; f'e
n w^c rmt iw:f^o ΜΛΟΥΤ ° mtw:k mr:w irm n:y:w iṛy.w
mtw:k mr:w r-hē.t:f n w^c ° 𓀃𓀃 ° mtw:k wrḥ:f
 5 *iw:f nḥ iw:f ḥpr iṛk wh; r ir:f n hyn.w hrw.w*
iṛk ḥ; p; ° 𓀃𓀃 ° n w^c m; iṛk s'nḥ n-im:f n p:y:k ʔ.wy

1185

⁵⁴⁹ This name has dots written above the signs, probably to highlight it as a *vox magica*.

GEMF 16.1173–1180

According to that which is above on the recto,⁵⁵⁰ “I am SYTTAKA;⁵⁵¹ ‘Hearing’ is my name; ‘Hearing’ is my true name. I am GANTHA GYNTEU GYRYTEU,⁵⁵² (1175) chief god, ARYNOUTE LABTATHA LAPTOUTHA LAKSANTHA⁵⁵³ SARYSA MARKHARAHOUT ARSINGA CHLA—another manuscript (says) ARSY NGALABEL BÖLBÖEL—BOËL, (say it) twice, LÖTERY KLOGASANTRA YAHŌ is my name; YAHŌ is my true name. BALKHAM, the powerful one of heaven, (1180) ABLANATHANALBA, griffin of the shrine of the god who stands today.”

GEMF 16.1181–1182

⁵⁵⁴ You will send a star [...] ... down(?) while the moon is in (the constellation) Scorpio.

GEMF 16.1183–1188

[Procedure to] make any man or any woman mad. You should take the hair of the man whom you wish together with the hair (1185) of a dead man; you should tie them to each other; you should tie them to the body of (a) falcon; and you should release it alive. If you wish to do it (only) for a few days, you should put the falcon in a place, you keeping it alive⁵⁵⁵ in your house.

⁵⁵⁰ Literally “inside”; see above n. 512, which discusses the similar use of “outside” at line 526.

⁵⁵¹ For discussion, see Griffith and Thompson 1904, 23, n. to l. 13, where they suggest a possible connection with *syf* ‘serpent’ as well as *k*: ‘bull’.

⁵⁵² This and the previous name have their second half written with Demotic *ḫw* ‘wind’.

⁵⁵³ See ll. 14–15 for a similar combination of names, with glosses. This text is directly behind that column.

⁵⁵⁴ Written in a different handwriting than the rest of the papyrus; see Griffith and Thompson 1904, 200, n. to xxviii l.

⁵⁵⁵ Frequently meaning ‘to feed’.

verso col. xxx ↓

GEMF 16.1189–1199 [PDM XIV 1188–1198]

1 *īr-k [...] ḥs n* **CMOYNE***ḥr hy ḥe[.t]s*

1190

*k.t īr-k ths [h]n.t-k n ḥs n***κελ** *mtw-k sḡr ḥm.t ḥr ḥr-s mr.t-k*5 *īr-k nt ḥs n* **CIΨAC** *ḥr iby**mtw-k ths ḥn.t-k n-īm-f r-ḥ(e) p; nt ḥry n**ke ḥs n* **ΖΑΙΤΕ** *ḥr sknn n*

1195

ωιτ *r-ḥ(e) p; nt ḥry n**ke īr-k qp ḥm.t n ḥs n* **ΞΑΤΟΥΛ**10 *īw p; snf ḥr-r-s-s ḥr lk-s**ḥs n* **ΕΟ** *n p;y.y smte*

verso col. xxxi ↓

GEMF 16.1200–1206 [PDM XIV 1199–1205]

1 **CIICYOYTY**

1200

k(y)-d **ΔΡΜΙΩΥΘ***p; ntr nt nh p; ḥbs nt t**r;y.t ḥm r-ḥn*5 *ḥr* **τπy** *mtw-k d n-y w;ḥ**ḥr p; nt īw-y šn ḥr-r-f ty*

1205

n p; hrw

GEMF 16.1189–1199

If you ... dung of a Nile goose.⁵⁵⁶ (1190) Her body falls.

Another: You should anoint your phallus with dung of a weasel,⁵⁵⁷ and you should lie with (the) woman. She loves you. You should pound dung of ... with honey and you should also anoint your phallus with it according to what is (written) above.

(1195) Another: Hyena dung with rose oil according to what is also (written) above.

Another: You should fumigate a woman with ichneumon's dung while menstruation is upon her. She stops. Dung of a donkey also (in) this manner.

GEMF 16.1200–1206

(1200) "SISIHŌOUT—another (manuscript) says ARMIŌUTH—O living god, O burning lamp, come in to my head and tell me the answer (1205) concerning that about which I am inquiring here today!"

⁵⁵⁶ The start of a series of recipes for ointments that employ the dung of different animals, are applied to the phallus and are then inserted in a woman's vagina for curative or erotic purposes.

⁵⁵⁷ So Ritner, GMPT.

verso col. xxxii ↓

GEMF 16.1207–1219 [PDM XIV 1206–1218]

- 1 *r tì ire [...]* **λΙΒΕ(?)** *m-s: hwt*
ìir-k ìny w' ԵΜΙΜ ìw-f nh
mtw-k ìny p:y-f ԿԵ[Զ]Ե r-bnr mtw-k h'z-f n w' m'c
mtw-k ìny p:y-f ԶԵ[Τ] mtw-k h'z-f n ke m'c ìir-k 1210
- 5 *fy p:y-f swm' dre-f ìir-k nt-f m-šs sp-2*
ìir ìw-f šwy mtw-k fy w' hm n p: nt nty.t ìrm w'
hm n snf n p:y-k db' n mh-2 n p: s'l'pyn
n t:y-k dr.t n gbyr mtw-k tìy-f r w' d(°) n ìrp
mtw-k tì swr s t: hm.t hr ìr-s λΙΒΕ m-s'k 1215
- 10 *ìir-k tì p:y-f ԿԵԶԵ r w' d(°) n ìrp hr ΜΤԵԿ*
t:y hte.(t) n-ge tìy-f r ìwf n-ge nkt n wnm
ìir-k tì p:y-f ԶԵΤ r w' htm n nb mtw-k tìy-f
r dr.t-k hr tì.t-f n-k hs.t ʔ.t mr.t šf.t

verso col. xxxiii ↓

GEMF 16.1220–1228 [PDM XIV 1219–1227]

- 1 *r Hr [...ìw]f mš' r-hry hr tw n mtre.t n ʔh.(t) ìw-f tì 'l-y.t r w' htr hđ [...]* *r w' htr km* 1220
ìw n: dm' [n dhw.tì n-dr./hr-ʔ].t'f⁵⁵⁸ na p: wr tyw hn qne-f r ìw-f gm n n: ntr.w dre-w ìw-w hms.t r-
hry r t: s.t wyp:t
ìw-w wnm [n p: rte(?)] n Hpy p:y(=y) wr hr-r-w Hr ìm n ìir-k wnm Hr ìm n ìir-k n'e wnm hr-f
ΔΡΑΕΙ
'l.wt.t'tn r-hry
mn [ky(?)] n-ìm=y n wnm tw=y šn d:d=y tw=y šn h(e).t(=y) r w' g'wm⁵⁵⁹ ty.t(=y) r w' t'w rsy tì 'h'ey
- 5 *n: w ʔs.t [lk]-s ìw-s šte n: w Nb.t-H.t lk-s ìw-s swde n: w p: 16 n N: w-tbew. w n: w p:y(=y)*
w' n (n)ht
n ntr n: [w p:(?) 3(?)]65 n ntr hms.t r-hry r wnm n p: rte n t: sh.t n Hpy p:y(=y) wr š'-mtw-w šte
n p: g'wm'c 1225
n d:d:[f n p:] šr n ʔs.t n d:d:f n mn r-ms mn n t: g'wm'c n grh n t: g'wm'c n mtre.t p: šn d:d: p:y.y srrf
p:y.y hm[m n n: g'wm'c. w n n: w ìr :nh n r'f šte r-bnr n tp-f n mn r-ms mn ih nhe n m'c.t
n sp 7 m[tw-k ths] dr.t'f he.t'f r'f mtw-k mt.t r-r'f

⁵⁵⁸ Suggested by Love, based on parallel in Michigan Ms. 136 (ερεν̄χωωμε̄ νε̄οογτ̄ ν̄τοτ̄: ναπορ̄τογ̄ ʔ̄ν̄ ναδ̄ιχ̄), see Zellmann-Rohrer and Love 2022 comm. to p. 5.9–10.

⁵⁵⁹ This is a rendering of Greek καῦμα, ‘fever’; see Dieleman 2005, 312. It appears again below in ll. 1225–1227.

GEMF 16.1207–1219

To cause [a woman to be mad] about a man. You should bring a live shrew-mouse and remove its gall and put it in one place and you should remove its heart and put it in another place. (1210) You should carry its entire body⁵⁶⁰ and you should pound it very much. When it is dry, you should take a little of what is pounded and a little blood of your second finger and the little finger of your left hand and you should put it in a cup of wine (1215) and you have the woman drink it. She is mad for you. If you put its gall into a cup of wine, she dies immediately. Or put it in meat or something to eat. If you put its heart in a gold ring⁵⁶¹ and you put it on your hand, it gives you great praise, love, and awe.

GEMF 16.1220–1228

(1220) Horus [... while(?)] he was going up upon the mountain⁵⁶² at midday during Inundation Season mounted on a white horse ... on a black horse,⁵⁶³ while the papyrus rolls [of Thoth(?) were on] his back, those of the Great One of Five⁵⁶⁴ on his breast. He found all the gods seated at the place of judgment eating [the produce] of the Nile, my great one. They said, “Horus, come and eat! Horus, come, are you going to eat?” He said, “Go away from me! I have no [way] to eat. My head hurts; my body hurts. A fever has seized me; a south wind has caught me. Does Isis [stop] enchanting? Does Nephthys stop curing? Are the 16 those of the Avengers? Is my 1 a divine power (1225) of god? Are the 365 gods sitting down to eat the produce of the fields⁵⁶⁵ of the Nile, my great one, until they remove the fever from the head [of the] son of Isis, from the head of NN, whom NN bore, being the fever of night, being the fever of midday, the headache, this fire, this heat [of the] fevers from the brows to his feet(?) (i.e. head to toe) [until they] remove (it) from the head of NN, whom NN bore.” [Say it] over true oil, 7 times; [you should anoint] his hand, his body, and his feet, and you should speak to him.

For the Demotic text: J. Dieleman, K. Dosoo, M. Escolano-Poveda, J. Johnson, E. Love, A. Singer

For the Greek text: P. Sarischouli

⁵⁶⁰ This is a rendering of Greek *côμα*, ‘body’; see Dieleman 2005, 312.

⁵⁶¹ The Greeks sometimes carried the hearts of small animals and birds in amulet containers; see Faraone 2018, 67.

⁵⁶² For a discussion of Horus and mountains, see Smith 1987, 58 (comm. on col. i 5). This is a common type of Egyptian and Mesopotamian incantation called a *historiola*, which narrates Horus’ illness and recovery as a model for the patient’s recovery; see Faraone 2018, 229–236.

⁵⁶³ For a discussion of the parallel to this phrase in Michigan Ms. 136, see Zellmann-Rohrer and Love forthcoming, comm. to v 7–8.

⁵⁶⁴ Thoth; see the comments of Griffith and Thompson 1904, on l. 54, where the same title appears.

⁵⁶⁵ The phrase “of the fields” has been crossed through in the original.

GEMF 17 (PDM Suppl.)

Thebes

II CE

ED.PR.: Johnson 1977b (Demotic); Brashear 1991 (Greek); partial in Maspero 1870.

TRANSL.: Johnson 1977b (English); Johnson, GMPT, 323–330 (English); Quack 2008, 350–356 (German)

LOC.: Paris, Louvre, E 3229

TM 64218

This papyrus roll (H. 27.5 × W. 115 cm) features seven columns of Demotic text on the recto and one on the verso (Demotic with a Greek addition). The scribe drew vertical and horizontal borderlines in red, before adding his text, although he often ran outside the lines at the end and the bottom. Rubrics are in red ink. The roll consists of three fragments,¹ the largest of which contains columns iv through vii and all but the beginning of each line of column iii. Another large fragment contains the ends of the lines of one column and all but the ends of the lines of a second column, here called columns i and ii. The third fragment contains the middle part of each line of a column, assumed to be part of column i.²

The first description of this papyrus by Devéria 1881, 176–177 indicates that it belonged to the Anastasy collection (no. 1061 [1857]). It was acquired by the Musée du Louvre as part of the 1857 sale (see Dosoo 2016, 258–259). The catalogue produced by Anastasy’s agents in 1846 states that it was acquired in Thebes;³ so it was likely part of the group known as the “Theban Magical Library.”

Columns i through vi contain 27 to 30 lines each; col. vii is only 14 lines long. A short text was added in the lower right-hand corner of the column but subsequently erased.⁴ On the verso there is one column, 24 lines long, written on the middle of the roll, on the back of col. iii of the recto.⁵ This column was not framed with the red guidelines found on the recto.

The handwriting on the recto is very neat and legible except where the ink has flaked away. On the verso, the handwriting is slightly different and is much less legible. All of this makes the verso very difficult to read and understand. Quack 2008, 350 has dated the papyrus to the third century,⁶ and Brashear 1991, 71, to the late third century, based on the Greek text of the verso.

The text of the papyrus is a mixture of Demotic and hieratic, as is the case with GEMF 15 and 16 (PDM/PGM XII and XIV). Magical names are written in “alphabetical” Demotic script as in the other Demotic Greek Magical texts, with occasional glosses in Greek script (often described as ‘Old Coptic’, although it contains no Demotic derived signs); the direction of writing of these glosses is inconsistent, in at least one case glossing Demotic sign-groups individually rather than the full word (l. 152), resulting in an Old Coptic gloss written right to left, instead of the usual left to right. One word written in a Greek-based cipher also known from GEMF 15 and 16 is inserted directly into the text at l. 55.⁷

The text written in Greek at the bottom of the column on the verso was deleted in antiquity with the same method as the other deletions visible on the recto and part of the verso. The smudging makes it extremely difficult to decipher. The hand is very close to, and perhaps the same as, the one that wrote the glosses on the recto. It contains two very fragmentary recipes in Greek, divided by a paragraphos. The first five columns of the recto half of the papyrus are devoted almost entirely to dream-sending procedures; there

¹ This and the following two paragraphs closely follow Johnson 1977b, 57–58.

² There are two small unattached fragments, one has Demotic signs, but no whole words, for each of its six lines, the other with signs from one line, are also assumed to be part of col. i.

³ A copy of the catalogue is preserved as British Museum AES Ar.232; all the papyrus manuscripts from this sale are assigned a Theban provenance.

⁴ Only occasional words of this erased text can be read and thus it is ignored in this edition.

⁵ On this practice see Dosoo and Torallas Tovar forthcoming, and Torallas Tovar 2021.

⁶ Johnson 2007, and Quack 2017b, 50 late second or early third.

⁷ On the cipher, see Dieleman 2005, 87–96. It appears once in GEMF 15/PDM/PGM XII, but 93 times in GEMF 16/PDM/PGM XIV.

follows a single attraction-procedure using the trope of sleeplessness, and then a range of divination procedures which continue onto the verso. The Greek text that ends the verso column seems to consist of two recipes. The first of these clearly preserves the formula for a charisma procedure (*charitēsion*), but it is unclear whether it is to be spoken aloud or inscribed onto an amulet, and the subject of the second recipe is unclear due to damage.

recto col. i →

GEMF 17/PDM Suppl. 1–30

- 1 [ke r̄ r] hb rsw.t [... m]p n iwty(?)⁸
 [...] r(?)k ... n [...] **hpr** n
 [...] b; n p(?) 4 hr [...] mtw=y r(?)k
 [...] n h̄ [...] mnq
- 5 [...] [d mt.t] ih gb[̄.t...] mtw=k t̄.t w^c 5
 [...] t̄f nte=k sh̄ [...] **pr-nfr**
[ke r̄ r] r] hb rws[.t ...] h⁹
 [...] im n=y n p;y=k [...]k
 [...] iw(?) bw-ir-tw=y šm r p; [...] **nte im=w**
- 10 [...] n-wš-n **šnw(?)** n [...] t̄w s 10
 [...] ww p(̄y)k tym [...] mtw=y rh̄
 [...] m h̄]br=k sh̄t; m [...] **šf.t(?) iw=f**
 [...] ... mtre **pfe ir.t=y** [...] ... **šps šps.w(?)**
 [...] hr n m;y nte [...] ... **rn=k iw ir.t=y**
- 15 [...] n-im=k ... mn **rs** [...] dr.t-f [d mt.t] 15
 [...] h̄;t(?) n ʔ **hd** ... nty [...] m ʔ n **ih.t**
 [...] ... n **wr-mr.t sm(?) gmʔ** [...] **swh**
šn.w(?) n ʔ tm[...] ... **nfr sp-2 pw**
 [...] [ke r̄ r] r hb rsw[.t ...] hyt̄
- 20 [...] ʔ n p; ym [...] ... **Nwn n grh̄** 20
 [...] hy]t̄ n p; nty n p; mtr [...] ... n; tw.w
 [...] my sdy n=y n(?) [...] **hr-r-y wn**
 [...] n-im=w n tm iry=s [...] **hft n p(?) hs**
 [...] yt̄ n p; mtr n **grh̄** [n]-p;(?)-[hrw ...] ... f [d mt.t]
- 25 [...] gb]e.t n ʔqyr mtw=k sh̄ w^c hbr(?) n [...] ... p; msh̄(?) 25
 [...] hs]y(?) **ntr** mtw=k ʔš n;y sh̄[.w ...] **sp 4**
 [...] **ql]m(?)** r d; d; f mtw=k d t̄ m[t.t ...] **sh̄(?) nfr nfr**
[ke r̄ r] r] hb rsw.t [d mt.t] hr in=k [...] mtw=k ir=f
 [...] hn w^c skn n **sšn** mtw[=k ...] s:l(?)
- 30 [...] mtw=k hrh̄ r-r-f mtw=k in(?) ... [...] ... n;y rn 30

⁸ This could be part of a name, meaning something like “The one without...”; cf. LGG I, 158 s.v. *ʾwty* “Der nicht existiert.” If it is a long divine name, it could end with the determinative in l. 2 (goddess?).

⁹ There is a fish determinative.

[Another recipe for] sending a dream [... youth(?)] of ... scarab of ... soul of the four faces(?) ... and I ... you ... complete (5) [Formula]: on a leaf ... and you put a ... it and you write ... embalming house [Another formula] for] sending a dream Come to me in your ... you(?) ... before I have gone to the ... which is therein (10) ... without illness(?)¹⁰ of They took it ... your town ... I know [... in] your secret form(?) ... power(?) while it (i.e. the form) ... this witness(?). My eye ... noble of nobles(?) ... face of lion which ... is your name while my eye (15) ... you ... NN guard ... his hand. Formula: ... heart(?) of a white donkey ... in the hand of a cow ... again, great-of-love-plant, vegetables(?) damaged ... gather(?) ... illness of a donkey ... which It is very good. [Another formula] [for] sending a dream ... anger (20) ... great ... of the sea ... Nun at night ... anger of the one who is in the water ... the mountains ... Let the ... speak to me ... under me ... in them. If not doing it ... enemy of the praised one ... me(?) in the water at night [in] the [day(?) ... him(?). [Formula]: (25) ... reed leaf and you write a form(?) of ... the crocodile ... drowned(?) god and you recite these writings ... [four] times ... wreath to its head and you say the thing A very good writing(?). [Another formula] for] sending a dream. [Formula]: You bring ... and you do it ... in an ointment of lotus and [you ...] wick(?) (30) ... and you protect it and you bring(?) ... these names

¹⁰ Hieratic *šn.w*, ‘net’, perhaps as homophone for Demotic *šn.w* ‘illness’.

recto col. ii →

GEMF 17/PDM Suppl. 31–59

- 1 *n* [... ḥ]m n gēf mtwz k sh p:(?)[...]
n p: [...] šl r w' hbs n m:y n [...]
n [...] nt hry mtwz k iny w' tb: [...]
p: h[bs(?) ...] h' p: h[n]ts hr-twn'f n p: h[bs ...]
- 5 *n* n:[y...] 'n nt i[r]z k sh. w r t: tys n p: s(°)l [n] p: [hbs ...] 35
d mt.t ...sp-]2 b:h[e(?)] p[p(?)y]re psyr p:h(?) [...] bps(?) [...]
 ΒΑΤΑ
 [...] b:[t]l' te im [n]y n p: grh pn mtwz k d [n'y] w:h n m[t.t nb ...]
 [... nte] iwzy šll r-db:z'f k(y)-d [...] mš's(?) n p: m: hr tp'f n [...]
 ... [n]:y-tp'f n p: sšt n p:y'f ntr nt 's[y] n h:z'f nt-twz k t.t p:e'f rsw[t hr t:]
- 10 [...] m]n n mt.t nt iwzy r d.t'w n'f m hr[w p]n d mt.t sp 7 ke r: n hb rs[w.t...] 40
d mt.t sdm hrwzy i p: iyh s[eh] šps n rmt hrt-ntr nt ir hbr'f(?) nb(?)
 im nzy mtwz k ir nzy t: mn n mt.t n p: hrw d twzy 'š r-r-k n p: ... rn [...] n m':t
 'Ibt nte htp hn hw.t-sr nt iw p:y't rn p:y p:y y nt htp k(y)-d nt [...]
 n m':t Nwn [n n:] ntr.w¹¹ 'rq irw wr Nwn rn-k n m':t [...]
- 15 šlby nwḥ [r] rn-k n m':t sp-2 Nwn ne. ' by h' [...] 45
 ' wr Nwn [rn]k n m':t by by.w d k(y)-dm' d by k: [...]
 Nwn rn-k n m[:t] by by.w šlby nwḥr rn-k n m[:t...]
 ne. ' by h[... n]wn ne. ' wr Nwn (rn-k) n m':t¹² sdm-k hr[wzy ...]
 m hbr'f nb 'r' [p: iy] h seḥ šps n rmt hrt-ntr d tw[zy 'š r-r-k(?)]
- 20 *n* p:y'k rn n s[...]ysyr: syr:thm: d ink [...] 50
 ΝΕΒΟΥΤΟΟΥΑ[λθ(?)]
 t: i sw:l[th nb.w(?)]-t.sw:l[th syr:thm: d ink [nb.w(?)¹³]
 ΝΕΒΟΥΤΟΟΥΑ[γ]οαλ[θ(?)]
 s i sw:l[th nb.w(?)]-t.s]w:l[th my nhs nzy p: by [p: seḥ¹⁴]
 iyh šps [...] mtwz'f šm [r p: m:]¹⁵ nt iw t: mn n-im'f mtwz'f šm¹⁶ [mtwz'f]
 ti ir'f ir nzy t: mn n [mt.t(?) nt nt iwzy] šn n-im's 'n rsw:¹⁷ p:y'f swḥ-iy[h] mtwz k sh:
- 25 *n*:y rn.w n snf ΚΟΥΚΟΥΝΕΤ [r] gb:t n 'qyr mtwz k ti's [hr p: tp(?)] 55
 n rmt iw'f mwḥ mtwz k h: [...] n s 'n hr p: tp ... r-hr'f [...]
 nt-twz k 'š-w r-r'f 'n hr ir-k [...] wrš mtwz w h:z'f n w' m: [iw'f h(e)p]
 iir 'y n h:z'f hpr iir-k [ti y]b(?) n ' r-hr sntr¹⁸ [...]
 hr'f mtwz k šwk' r p: 'lytn 'š lk's(?) n [...] iw'f hpr iir-k [r ir r hwḥ]

¹¹ So Quack 2008, 351.¹² The entirety of this line until this word erroneously repeats the text of ll. 15–16, and so has been marked for deletion using lines written above and below the text. This is a common deletion practice found e.g. on the recto of GEMF 15 (*Myth of the Sun's Eye*), col. vi 22.¹³ So Quack 2008, 351.¹⁴ So Quack 2011b, 130.¹⁵ Based on Quack 2008, 351.¹⁶ So Quack 2011b, 130 n. 10, following Ritner 1993, 36–37 and n. 167.¹⁷ So Quack 2011b, 130, n. 11.¹⁸ Possibly also, according to Quack's translation in 2008, 352, *r p:* ḥ, "on the brazier," cf. e.g. GEMF 16/PDM XIV 79. But here we follow Quack 2011b, who translates "on incense," i.e. *r-hr sntr*.

of ... falcon(?) as its form(?) and you write the ... of the ... wick to a new lamp of ... of ... which is above and you bring a brick ... the lamp(?) ... leave the lizard before the [lamp ...] and (35) these ... again which you should write on the strip of the wick [of] the [lamp ...]. **Formula**: ... twice BAH[E(?)]P[P(?)]IRE PSIR PAH(?) ... BPS(?) ...A BA[T]LA ate, come [to] me tonight and tell [me] an answer to [everything ... which] I pray about, **another says** ... it goes(?) to the place under his head ... “... [be]fore him in the form of his god who is great in his heart and make him dream(?) a dream [about such and] (40) such a thing which I will tell him today.” **Formula: 7 times. Another formula** for sending a dream. **Formula**: Listen to my voice, O spirit, noble mummy¹⁹ of a man of the necropolis (i.e. a deceased man) who takes [all(?)his(?)] forms, come to me and do for me such and such a thing today because I am calling you in the ... name [of the lords of²⁰] Abydos which rest in the house of the official whose name it is, this (one) who rests in truth, another says who ... in truth. Nun [of the] gods(?), who completes the rituals, great-one,²¹ Nun is your true name; ... (45) SHLBY NUHR²² is your true name, twice; NUN NEO soul of HA[... NUN NEO],²³ great-one, NUN is your true [name]. Soul of souls—another papyrus says “soul of a bull(?)”—... NUN is your true name, Soul of souls, SHLBY NUHR is your true name ... NEO soul of HA ... NUN NEO great one of Nun (is your) true (name).²⁴ May you listen to [my] voice [...] in all his forms. O spirit, noble mummy of a man of the necropolis (i.e. a deceased man) because [I] am [calling to you(?)] (50) in your name of S...ISIRA SIRATHMA for I am [NEBUTO], O SWAL[TEH NEBOU]TOSOUAL[TH] SIRATHMA for I am [NEBOU(?)]S, O SW[ALTH] NEBOUTOSO[U]OAL[TH], let the soul(?), [the mummy, the] noble spirit awaken to me ... and go [to the] place²⁵ in which NN-thing is and report an omen [and]²⁶ he has him do for me the NN-[thing(?)] according to [that which I] ask²⁷ while dreaming. **Its preparation**.²⁸ [You (should) write] (55) these names with blood of a hoopoe²⁹ [on a] reed leaf and you put it [under the head³⁰] of a dead man and you leave ... of clay under the head ... upon it³¹ and you recite them to him again. You do [it on the last day of the] lunar month and it should be left in a place [which is hidden³²]. If stubbornness occurs, you should [put a] hoof³³ of a donkey on incense ... before him³⁴ and you should stamp³⁵ on the ground. Then it stops with³⁶ ... If you [will act against a man]

¹⁹ So Quack 2008, 351.

²⁰ So Quack 2008, 351.

²¹ So Quack 2008, 351.

²² Quack 2011b, 130 reconstructs “[Bay]-Sholbay.”

²³ So Quack 2008, 351.

²⁴ Quack 2011b, 130 does not supply “your name” and translates “great one, Abyss of truth.”

²⁵ So Quack 2008, 351.

²⁶ So Quack 2008, 351.

²⁷ So Quack 2011b, 130.

²⁸ Previously read as “spirit gathering,” but should be understood as “object-gathering” or “preparation.” Corrected by Bresciani in Roccati 1987, 323, and adopted by Quack 2008, 351.

²⁹ See GEMF 16/PDM XIV 115, 304, and 773, where the same cipher is used, solved already by Griffith and Thompson 1904, 110, and discussed by Dieleman 2005, 87–96.

³⁰ So Quack 2008, 351.

³¹ Quack 2008, 351, has “under the head before(?) him/it.”

³² So Quack 2008, 352

³³ So Quack 2008, 352.

³⁴ So Quack 2008, 352.

³⁵ So Quack 2008, 352.

³⁶ So Quack 2008, 352, or Quack 2011b, 131, n. 13 “Then it stops.”

recto col. iii →

GEMF17/PDM Suppl. 60–86

- 1 *[iūr=k ...] n ḥwṭ iw=f ḥpr iūr=k r ir r šm.t iūr=k [...s]ḥm.t ke r n hb rsw.t* 60
[... d] mt.t [i] p; iḥ šps ntr [... m p].t ḥe.t f m tw:t seh=f
[m ḥr.t-ntr] i p; wpwty nfr n Wsir i [p:] šms Ḥr ḥnti-nm.t f³⁷ p; ntri³⁸
[...]=f i p; rs n p; nte ḥn [r]q-ḥḥ ink p; by
- 5 *[ntri] n im.iw [m] wd:t ty=f sqd(?) iḥ. wt=f³⁹ m wd:t r nb* 65
[...] bty=f s; t [...] ink t mtw.t n ḥpr [mw] ntri n Imn rn=f
[...] mḥrr [...] ḥe.t n p; seh šps m [...] fṭ-š.t nt ḥp (n) t; tw:t
[mtr]i⁴⁰ pr-nfr [...] ink p; k; n; [...] ink rw ink rw ink
[...] ink p; [by] n P;-R; t šnbe.t [n] Šwy ink t swḥ.t n p; ḥfe
- 10 *[...] bnn.t n p; mḥrr ink p(?) np(?) ...⁴¹ ink p; ryṭ ntr* 70
[...] nḥ [...] ink p; tp šps nt m Ibt im n-y m grḥ
[... y]s sp 2 tk [r sp-2 p:] by n-wš-n t ḥe.t sp-2⁴²] n-wš-n p; seh šps sp-2
[n-w]š-n⁴³ t; tw:t [t(?) tw:t n-wš-n t; nmm. w n-wš-n n p; fṭ-š.t; [f]ṭ-š.t n-wš-
[...] qnh [...] ms Ḥr [...] ... Sṭ ir
- 15 *[šy(t)]⁴⁴ r pp [...] šy(t) r nk n t; ḥ.t m k⁴⁵ sw n i skt* 75
[m iḥ]ḥ m nd.t m nene⁴⁶ p.t t; m ḥ.t s.t wy sp 2
[ḥ.t] sp 2 š'-mtw=k hb r mn r-ms mn nt=k wṭ ḥ; t f m-s; t; mn
[mwṭ=k ti] ir=f t(?) mt.t ... m grḥ m hrw m ḥrt-hrw nte nw⁴⁷ nb ys
[sp 2] tkr sp 2 i.iri[=k iri] n; [mtw]=i dd.t w d mt.t sp 7 p:y=f
- 20 *[s]wh-iyh [iūr=k] ini p; tp n rmt ḥtb-w-f iūr=k in.t f n p; wrš* 80
[... i]r=k y=f n [...] n ... n ... iūr=k] ḥs=f n skn n sšn
[iūr=k in] r 7.t n gb:t.t [...] n qyr iūr=k ti[=s n p:] 7 r.w n p; tp mtw=k mr=w
[n/m] s.y.t ... n ir n-dr.t-n ... [mtw=k/iūr=k] mr=w r tp=f iūr=k ti d; d; f
[n] mtr p(?) r n tw; n wrš [iūr=k ti] n-k it npy⁴⁸ it iw=k ḥ; w
- 25 *[n p; itn] iūr=k ti mw n šy ntry n [mn.y⁴⁹] m-s; w n hrw 7 š'-mtw=w rt* 85
[iūr=k(?) in.t w r-hry iūr=k ti šw=w š' 15.nt [n bd i]r=k shmw hr ḥl wyṭ
[...] ϩⲠⲏⲗⲟⲩ
[ms]tme qs-nḥ nḥ-im sn-nw-p.t [...] irm t; 7.t n gb:t.t n qyr nt hry

³⁷ So Quack 2011b, 131 n. 15.³⁸ So Quack 2011b, 131 n. 16.³⁹ So Quack 2011b, 131 n. 17.⁴⁰ So Quack 2011b, 131 n. 19.⁴¹ The reading of Johnson 1977b n p; Imḥ.t cannot stand.⁴² So Quack 2011b, 131 n. 24.⁴³ So Quack 2008, 352.⁴⁴ So Quack 2008, 352.⁴⁵ So Quack 2011b, 132 n. 27.⁴⁶ The same word *nyny* appears in GEMF 16/PDM XIV 325, translated as ‘weakness’. Cf. translation “in sorrow” (Quack 2008, 352) or “the evening-barque is wavering” (based on Quack 2011b, 132).⁴⁷ So Quack 2011b, 132 n. 29.⁴⁸ So Quack 2011b, 132 n. 34.⁴⁹ So Quack 2011b, 133 n. 36.

(60) [you should ...] of a male. If (it happens that) you will act against a woman, you should(?) [... of a] woman. **Another formula** for sending a dream. **[Formula]**: [O] the noble divine spirit [... is in] heaven,⁵⁰ whose body is in the underworld, whose mummy [is in the necropolis⁵¹]. O good messenger of Osiris, O follower of Horus who is foremost in his funerary bed, the divine ... him(?). O watchman⁵² of the one who is in Alkhah, I am the divine soul of the one who is in his two *wedjat* eyes, who circulates his limbs(?) every day as *wedjat* (65) ... his abomination(?), son of the I am the seed of Khepri, the divine [fluid] of the one whose name is hidden.⁵³ ... scarab ... body of the noble mummy in ... secret chest (i.e. sarcophagus) which rests in the underworld [... the] Precise/Correct one of the Embalming House⁵⁴ ... I am the bull of the ..., I am the lion, I am the lion, I am ... I am the [soul⁵⁵] of Pre, the throat [of] Shu, I am the egg of the snake, ... (dung) ball of the beetle. I am the umbilical cord⁵⁶ of the ...; I am the fluid of the god (70) ... living ... I am the noble head which is in Abydos. Come to me at night quickly, quickly, hurry, [hurry, O(?) soul without the body, the body without the noble mummy, the noble mummy [without]⁵⁷ the underworld, [the(?)] underworld without the funerary bed, (the funerary bed)⁵⁸ without the sarcophagus, the sarcophagus without ... shrine(?) ... born of Horus ... Seth performs [a slaughter] against Apophis, a slaughter against the evil one again.⁵⁹ Fire, behold it(?), the night barque sails (75) [in darkness], the morning barque in sorrow(?).⁶⁰ Heaven and earth are in a great fire. Woe, woe, [fire] twice until you send to NN whom NN bore and you send his heart after the NN deed [and cause that] he completes the matter⁶¹ ... at night, in the daytime, every moment, every day, quickly, [quickly], hurry, hurry ... [You] shall [do] what I will say and I will ... to say them. **Formula: 7 times. Its preparation.** [You should fetch] the head(?) of a man who was killed. You should bring it on the last day of the lunar month.⁶² (80) [You should] wash it with cow's milk very thoroughly.⁶³ You [should] anoint it with ointment of lotus. [You should bring] 7⁶⁴ leaves ... of a reed, you should put [them in the] 7 openings of the head and bind them [with] linen ... made by the hand of(?) ... [and you (should)] bind them to its head. You should put its head opposite the sun⁶⁵ at dawn of the lunar month [and you should take] for yourself a seed of barley.⁶⁶ You should leave them [in the ground]. You should put water of the divine lake [daily] after them for 7 days until they grow. (85) [You should(?)] bring them up, you should dry them until the 15th of the month, you [should] pound them with myrrh, green eye-paint, [black] eye-paint(?), *qes-ankh*-stone, *nh-im*-plant,⁶⁷ mustard and the 7 reed leaves which are above.

⁵⁰ So Quack 2008, 352.

⁵¹ So Quack 2008, 352.

⁵² So Quack 2008, 352.

⁵³ So Quack 2008, 352.

⁵⁴ So Quack 2008, 352; see also Quack 2011, 131 n. 19.

⁵⁵ So Quack 2011b, 131.

⁵⁶ Johnson reads *np*, a variant of *nb*, 'lord'. Here we follow Quack 2008, 352, in reading a writing of *np*; 'umbilical cord'. The word ends with a penis-determinative, followed by a phonetic *t*-sign and the flesh determinative.

⁵⁷ So Quack 2008, 352. For the *qes-ankh*-stone, see above, p. 151 n. 79.

⁵⁸ So Quack 2011b, 131 n. 25.

⁵⁹ So Quack 2008, 352 and 2011, 132

⁶⁰ So Quack 2008, 352.

⁶¹ So Quack 2008, 352.

⁶² So Quack 2011b, 132. But cf. e.g. GEMF 16.237 and 246 where it means 'lunar month', see CDD *w* 127.

⁶³ So Quack 2008, 352.

⁶⁴ So Quack 2008, 352; see also Quack 2011b, 132, n. 34: "The number is very much effaced and hardly readable at all. My interpretation is mostly based on the context, since seven leaves would fit in with the seven openings of the head into which they should be placed. Besides, l. 84 clearly says *p: 7.t n gb:t.t n :qyr nti hri.*"

⁶⁵ So Quack 2008, 352.

⁶⁶ So Quack 2011b, 132, n. 34.

⁶⁷ Quack 2008, 352, translates "[antimony], hematite, henna."

recto col. iv →

GEMF 17/PDM Suppl. 87–116

- 1 *m-s:s iir-k ti* w^c *mhr* n [hr] n k³ iir-k t[i³s] hn w^c hne n hmt
iw=f m n[gn] n ... [iir-k hm]m m š^c-mtw=f [mwt] iir-k in.t=f r-hry iir-k ti
n: [...].w r d:d; n t; m[...] iir-k ti.t snf n [ty]k(?) ... rt(?) n i:bt n tyk rt(?) (n wnm)
*r-hr-w iir-k [w]š[m]s iir-k [qt(?)]=w n w^c se[h] n hnt-*imnt* iw=f ir n *db*^c 7* 90
- 5 *iir-k qs=f n hl m ths [hbs n šs-n]-n(y)-sw.t m-s:s iir-k <ti(?)> šw iw=f w^b iir-k ir w^c p^y*
*n šw hr-r=f t^m(?)¹ p(š)^c k [c.wy⁶⁸ i]iir-k smn p; *twt* hr p; p^y n šw iir-k h^c*
p; ^mhr hr he.t=f n p; [twt] m-s; qs=f r-iir-k t; h.t n hl m ths hbs
*n šs(-n)-n(y)-sw.t h^c(?)=f iir-k *sh* n; mt.wt *nt* iw=k wh; r *dm*^c n-m;y n mw*
*n ltm iir-k h^c=f hr d:d; f n p; twt iir-k ti ph^t p; tp nt r d:d; f**** 95
- 10 *iir-k ti iw r^yt n i[wn] 4 r-hr=f sš^t itm.t ht km*
*r d:d; f n p; tp iir-k [h]^c=f n w^c m^c iw=f hp iir-k ti *sntr*⁶⁹ it*
phre.(t) 3.t iw p(š) hw iir-hr=f iir-k wtn n=f t hnq.t irte iw
m-b:h=f⁷⁰ iir-k ti hy snf n-im=k r p; h iir-k ti š^ct n w^c hntws
... n;y-hr=f iir-k š n;y sh iw-r=f š^c sp 7 n grh iir-k n w^c m^c iw=f 100
- 15 *iw=f w^b iir-k ti sdr⁷² n;y-hr=f nfr nfr pw ke r n hb rsw.t*
d mt.t i Inp p; hy t; p.t mš^c r tw³.t my lk sw p; tp
n Wsir iw=f wwy n-im=f my hs.t mr.t šf.t n t; mn n;y-hr t; mn my ir=f
[mt].t nb nt iw=f r sh^c-w n=f tr^c-w qym n-im=f my p;y=k šbt n bⁿyp
nt n-dr.t^c k n p; iyh my šm=f r t; mn r-ms t; mn my h^c=f n;y-d:d; f 105
- 20 *n p; sh^t⁷³ n p; ntr nt [3]y n h^c.t=f š^c-mtw=f in.t=f r t; w³.t nt iw t; mn n-im=f iw=f*
qt m-s=f mtw=k w^t w^c iyh iw=f sns n r t; mn mtw=f h^c n;y-
d:d; [f] n p; šš[t] n p; ntr nt 3y n h^c.t=f mtw=k d my h.t nb.t nfr.t h^d nb.w⁷⁴ n
t; mn [my ir]=f⁷⁵ t^m.t-nb nt iw=f r d.t^c-w n=k tr^c-w iw t; [hn]ty.t n 3s.t t; ntr.t 3.t
n-im[=w my(?)]= hn^c-w s m-b:h n; ntr.w iw hpr n-ge iir-k sk r-db.t^cs 110
- 25 *n 3w [n] h^c.t r-hr=y p; nt iir-k r ir=f mtw=k ir sš p; snf n Wsir-³h-D^hwty n grh*
n ... [...]p;y=f sw^h iyh ih dm^c n-m;y nt-iw=k sh w^c twt n Inp n snf
n iw[iw] km r-hr=f mtw=k sh n;y sh.w hr rt=f nt-iw=k ti.y=f r r³f
n iw iw km n pr-nfr mtw=k ir be.t 3.t n;y-ir-hr=f mtw=k ti sntr r p; h m-b:h=f
mtw=k ir=f qb^h n irte ih.t km.t n-ge w^c iyh iw hr=f t^hs^c176 115
- 30 *mtw=k ti p;y=f š r r³f nfr nfr*

⁶⁸ So Quack 2011b, 132 n. 43.⁶⁹ So Quack 1994b, 68.⁷⁰ So Quack 2011b, 132 n. 44.⁷¹ This should either be *iw=f (hp) iw=f w^b* or *iw=f {iw=f} w^b*.⁷² See also Quack 2011b, 133 n. 45, who notes: “I read *iir-k di.t sdr.yt*, this seems to be a qualitative formed secondarily from a causative verb (comp. Coptic $\alpha\tau\omicron$).”⁷³ For this, and similar, orthographies, cf. Smith 1984, with references Smith 1980.⁷⁴ So Quack 2011b, 134 n. 46.⁷⁵ So Quack 2011b, 134 n. 47, where he also notes: “... the addressee (“you”) should be meant.”⁷⁶ So Quack 2011b, 134 n. 48, where he also notes: “... the word seems deliberately smudged. The whole section beginning with ‘or’ seems to be a later addition at the end of the page.”

GEMF 17.87–116

Afterwards [you] should [put] a scarab with [the face] of a bull, you should put [it] in a vessel of copper which is in a pot⁷⁷ of ... [you should heat]⁷⁸ (it) until it [dies].⁷⁹ You should bring it up (i.e. take it out), you should put the ... to the head of the ..., you should put blood of your(?) left foot(?) of your (right) foot(?) (90) on them, you should knead it,⁸⁰ you should [form] them⁸¹ into a mummy of the foremost of the westerners⁸² which amounts to 7 fingers, you should embalm it with myrrh, with ointment [and a garment of] royal [byssus]. Afterwards you should (put?) pure sand, you should make a base⁸³ of sand under it in(?) your [house], you [should] set the figurine on the base of sand, you should leave the scarab on the body of the [figurine]. After embalming it which you did first with myrrh, with ointment and a garment of royal byssus itself(?), you should write the words which you desire on a papyrus with carob-tree(?) water, (95) you should leave it upon the image, you should cause the head which is on it to bend down, you should bring a bandage of 4 [colors] on it, blue, red, white, black, on the head, you should leave it in a hidden place, you should put incense, barley a great recipe to the brazier before it, you should offer to it bread, beer, milk before it, you should have blood fall from you on the brazier, you should put a piece of a red lizard (100) before it, and you should recite these writings to it up to 7 times at night while you are in a place which is clean, while you lay down before it. It is very good. **Another formula** for sending a dream.

Formula: O Anubis the high one of heaven, go to the underworld! Let the head of Osiris stop being far from him. Give praise, love, power to NN before NN. Let him do [everything] which he will write for him entirely. Move him. Give your iron staff (105) which is in your hand to the spirit. Let him go to NN whom NN bore. Let him stand before him in the image of the god who is [great] in his heart until he brings him to the road which NN is in, he seeking after him. And may you send a breathing spirit to NN that he may stand before [him] in the image of the god who is great in his heart, and may you say “Give every good thing, silver and gold, to NN” and so [let] him do everything which he will say to you entirely, while the crocodile of Isis, the great goddess, (110) is therein, [let(?)] it be commanded before the gods. If, however,⁸⁴ you will delay because of it, if greatness [of] heart (i.e. stubbornness) against me is what you will do, so that you scorn the blood of Osiris-Iah⁸⁵-Thoth, in the night of the full moon **Its preparation**: On a new papyrus you should draw an image of Anubis with blood of a black dog on it, you should write these writings under it, you should put it to the mouth of a black dog of the embalming house, you should make great offerings before it, you should put incense on the brazier before it, (115) you should make a libation of⁸⁶ milk of a black cow or a spirit whose face is grim(?) and you should put its recitation in its mouth. (It is) very good.

⁷⁷ The Demotic word seems to be a transliteration of the Greek ἀγγεῖον, cf. *ngn* in GEMF 16/PDM XIV 345.

⁷⁸ So Quack 2008, 353.

⁷⁹ So Quack 2008, 353.

⁸⁰ So Quack 2008, 353.

⁸¹ So Quack 2008, 353.

⁸² The foremost of the westerners is Osiris. The preparation described here is similar to that described for the figurines of Osiris and Sokar in the Mysteries of Osiris in the month of Choiak. See Cauville 1997, 14–28.

⁸³ So Quack 2008, 353.

⁸⁴ So Quack 2011b, 134.

⁸⁵ *Iah* means ‘Moon’.

⁸⁶ So Quack 2008, 353.

recto col. v →

GEMF 17/PDM Suppl. 117–144

- 1 ky qt n hb rsw[.t] d mt.t i ntr-dw:š r t: p.t
 mt iw tw: t my lk sw Wsir iw=f sdr iw p:y=f tp wwy r-r=f
 š'-nt-iw=w tī šm w' iyh n dr tr.t iw bw-ir=f (i)n-qty.t.k n grh⁸⁷
 nt-iw=f h' r n: ry. w r-hry n t: mn n p: sšt n p: ntr nt ʔy n h: t=f 120
- 5 nt-iw=f d n=f d tw n t k mtw=k ir t: mn n p: š-shn n t: mn r-iry p: nt iw=f
 r wh: f nb im n-y [i] iyh ntri iw-hb Inp r t: mn
 d r-iry p: š-shn nb nt iw t: [mn] wh: f in tm iry:s p: nt iir-k r ir=f i
 p: iyh šps bn-n-w tī 'nhs' p:y=k by r t: p.t :bt 4 :h.t sw 25
 r twe n sw 26 iw n: iyh[.w] :kyr nhs d mt.wt ih wnš 125
- 10 n s'n w'b iw=f sdr [iw] he.t=f thb ih irte hn' rdw n
 wnš n pr-nfr iw wn w'.t wd: t hr r=f mtw=k sh n:y=k mt.wt r w'
 dm' n n-m:y.t mtw=k tī:y:s r r=f n p: wnš mtw=k h: p: wnš hr w' hmt n
 hbs iw wn w'.t gyd šht r-r=f iir-k š n:y sh.w r-r=f n grh⁸⁸ iir-k thm
 r p: iytn n r.t k w' ph-ntr n Wsir i šs.t i Nb.t-H.t i p: b: šps 130
- 15 n Wsir Wn-nfr im n-y ink s: mr-k Hr i n: ntr. w imy. w t: p.t
 i n: ntr. w imy. w t: i n: ntr. w imy. w Nwn i n: ntr. w imy. w
 rsy. w i n: ntr. w imy. w mhty. w i n: ntr. w imy. w imnty. w i n: ntr. w
 imy. w isbty. w m' n⁸⁹ m grh pn my wn n:y=y ir.t n t: mn n mt.t
 nt iw=y šn hr-r=w ys sp-2 tkr sp-2 d mt.t ih byn sh.w n mw n hl 135
- 20 mw n :ny my še riw kme ih tr.t k n wnm mtw=k š
 n:y sh r-r=f n rhwe iw tr.t k prh r-hr i' h iir-k in-n'k (i)n-qt.k
 mtw=k h: tr.t k hr d: d: k nfr nfr sp 4 r n t: qt.(t) n grh⁹⁰
d mt.t p: hmt pht bn-n:w nšm.t [lk:s iw:s bky-] ⁹¹ p: yr
 ʔ: th n snf šs.t šn [Nb.t]-H.t 'b: byn⁹² bn-n:w p: hmt lk=f 140
- 25 iw=f pht bn-n:w nšm.t lk:s iw:s bky bn-n:w p: yr ʔ: lk=f iw=f
 :th n snf bn-n:w šs.t lk:s iw:s šn bn-n:w Nb.t-H.t lk:s iw:s
 'byn p: hmt pht r-hr p: nt(r) hn p: w: (R') pht r-hr=f
 iw Imn pht m-s: f š'-mtw=w t: qt.t n mn r-ms mn n grh mtw=w t: p: rws

⁸⁷ This word is either smudged or has been crossed out.⁸⁸ As with the previous example, this word is either smudged or has been crossed out.⁸⁹ So Quack 2008, 354.⁹⁰ So Quack 2008, 354, n. 144. This has been smudged out.⁹¹ Struck through by the scribe. There seem to be three lines for deletion, one above, one across and one below.⁹² So Quack 2008, 354, n. 145.

Another form for sending a dream. **Formula**: O Morning Star,⁹³ call to heaven! Speak to the underworld! Let Osiris stop sleeping while his head is far from him until a strong-handed spirit which does not sleep at night is sent (120) so that he stand above NN in the form of the god who is great in his heart so that he say to him “Arise and do such and such a command of NN! Do all that which he will desire! Come to me, [O] divine spirit whom Anubis sent to NN saying ‘Do the every command which so and [so] will desire!’” If not doing it is what you will do, O noble spirit, your soul will not be allowed to awaken to heaven on day 25 of the fourth month of Akhet (125) to dawn of day 26 when the excellent spirits are awake. **Formula**: upon a jackal of clean clay which is lying down, its body moistened with milk and efflux of a jackal of the embalming house with a *wedjat*-eye on its foot. You should write these things on a new papyrus, you should put it in the jackal’s mouth, you should leave the jackal on a copper (part) of a lamp on which a hand is lit.⁹⁴ You should recite these writings to it at night, you should stamp (130) on the ground with your foot. **A god-petitioning procedure** for Osiris. O Isis, O Nephthys, O noble soul of Osiris Wennefer, come to me. I am your beloved son Horus. O gods who are in heaven, O gods who are in the earth, O gods who are in the underworld, O gods who are in those in the south, O gods who are in those in the north, O gods who are in those in the west, O gods who are in those in the east, come to me tonight! Teach me about such and such a thing (135) about which I am asking. Quickly, quickly, hurry, hurry. **Formula**: On a phoenix written with myrrh water and juniper(?) water.⁹⁵ Put sand (and) black ink on your right hand and recite these writings to it in the evening while your hand is stretched out to the moon, while you are going to sleep. You should leave your hand under your head.⁹⁶ (It is) very good. 4 times. A formula to **steal** sleep at night.⁹⁷ **Formula**: The copper is upside down.⁹⁸ [The *neshmet*-bark will not stop sinking]. The Nile (lit., great river) (140) flows (with) blood. Isis is ill, [Nephthys] is in anguish. The copper will not stop being upside down. The *neshmet*-bark will not stop sinking. The great river (i.e. the Nile) will not stop flowing (with) blood. Isis will not stop being sick. Nephthys will not stop being in anguish. The copper is upside down before the god in the bark, (Re) is upside down before him while Amun is upside down behind him until sleep is taken from NN whom NN bore at night and concern is given

⁹³ So Quack 2011b, 134. This is the name of Venus.

⁹⁴ This might refer to a censer in the shape of an arm. The hand would be the place where you burn the incense.

⁹⁵ We are not told where to inscribe the phoenix, and the command, in the context of dream incubation, recalls the inscription of an image of an ibis (GEMF 74.280/PGM VII 300), also with myrrh ink, for a ritual that also seems to involve dream divination; see Faraone 2020a, 193 and 204–207 and line 169 below, where an ibis written in black ink is inscribed “on the left hand of a man who sleeps.”

⁹⁶ The subsequent placement of the hand beneath the head recalls some Greek dream-incubation procedures—e.g. GEMF 74.308–313/PGM VII 228–233, 72/VIII 64–69 and the recipe discussed in the previous note—, where an image is drawn with black ink on the hand and then the hand and neck are covered with the same black cloth, with the hand presumably in close proximity to the neck; see Faraone 2020a, 201–203.

⁹⁷ This title has been smudged out, perhaps to hide its malign intentions.

⁹⁸ This is a ritual analogy to the turning over of the copper vessel introduced in vi 2 and the *Neshmet*-barque etc.

(145) by day ... until they [make] him do the thing which NN desires from him. **Formula**: A vessel of copper [on] which an image [of] Osiris is drawn with human blood, you should turn [it upside] down before a lamp with an [image] of Anubis drawn on the wick with blood of a black dog, you should put cedar oil over it from a new *gidjet*-vessel,¹⁰⁵ it being established on a brick standing in order to perceive it, you should recite these writings to it up to 4 times. (It is) very good. There is nothing like it. (150) Very abundant is its strength through the blood.¹⁰⁶ **A god-petitioning procedure** for Thoth according to what is outside,¹⁰⁷ also, **saying—formula**: I call to you, O Thoth, the hearing-ear who hears everything.¹⁰⁸ I call to you in your names which are great, which are divine “ALIPS THABLIPS STSILIPS GAGARPA... THAR THANASIMA QHAH ORTHŌMENKHRŌŌN BALSA ALABAKHABĒL.” (155) Awaken to me, O lord of truth! Tell me an answer in truth to the god-petitioning procedure¹⁰⁹ concerning such and such a thing, in truth, without falsehood therein, so that I may awaken them and find it (out). **Its object-gathering**. A new lamp whose wick is of byssus-cloth which is very clean, you should fill it with true oil (i.e. olive oil), (and) you light (it),¹¹⁰ write your command on a new papyrus, put it on the lamp, put a lobe of great-of-love-plant (160) on the lamp’s mouth, and recite to it 8 times these names (given) above. He comes to you. **Here is the ink** with which you should write your command on the bookroll(?): great-of-love-plant, a leaf of an olive tree, you should light them (i.e. on fire), make them into myrrh ink¹¹¹ and write with it. **Another formula for finding your house of life. Formula**: Open to me! I am the noble ibis, I am the ape of Edfu, I am the great one, the male,¹¹² (165) the scarab, I am the guardian of the great body, I am the snake of the 4 gods who were with Isis while she was searching for the good (one). SHAPEL is the name of Sothis.¹¹³ The Kushite is (the) name of Osiris.¹¹⁴ The bull HAKA¹¹⁵ is (the) name of Re.¹¹⁶ The divine Shu is my name.¹¹⁷ I am going to all the gods in order to cause that I find my house in which I will live. **Formula**: On an ibis written with black ink on the left hand of a man when he sleeps, he sees this house of life. **A formula for reciting** (170) a document which is sealed. It is a god-petitioning procedure for Imhotep to whom the tenth belongs also(?). **Formula**: Awaken! Awaken from the underworld, Osiris Wennefer, Imhotep the great the son of Ptah!

¹⁰⁵ See Crum 840a Ⲅⲓⲭ “measure,” here *gyd.t* has the vessel determinative. Compare l. 129, where it appears with the brazier/fire determinative.

¹⁰⁶ As noted for two parts of this sentence in the transliteration, so Quack 2008, 354, n. 148.

¹⁰⁷ Presumably meaning ‘above’, referring to the previous recipe. Elsewhere, “outside” seems to refer to the outer, verso side of the role (see n. 500 to GEMF 16), but that is not the case here.

¹⁰⁸ So Quack 2008, 355.

¹⁰⁹ At the end of the line, there is a *spatium* and the hieratic form *sp-sn*, meaning ‘twice’, referring to the repetition of the previous word, perhaps even the whole sentence.

¹¹⁰ So Quack 2008, 355.

¹¹¹ The plant matter is completely burnt and then the soot is mixed with water and used as an ink; see Blanco Cesteros 2021.

¹¹² So Quack 2008, 355.

¹¹³ So Quack 2008, 355.

¹¹⁴ So Quack 2008, 355.

¹¹⁵ The etymology of this name is perhaps *ḥk*, ‘magic’, but, as noted by Quack 2008, 355 n. 151, the phonology makes this unlikely.

¹¹⁶ So Quack 2008, 355.

¹¹⁷ So Quack 2008, 355.

recto col. vii →

GEMF 17/PDM Suppl. 172–186

- 1 *[...]*g p(?) [...] ìnk [...] rn.yt
tw≠y swḥ n ty[b ... w]ḏ:t rn[yt ...] *'Wsir'·Tḥ-Dḥwty*
mw šrb ... [*Iy-m-ḥ*]tp [wr] s: P[th ...]
mw.t mnḥ n t̄ tw̄:t pr [...] ... bn-n≠w ḥ' n 175
- 5 *n*:y≠w tyb[.t ...] ḥ'ir iw≠w r¹¹⁸ ḥ' [...] th]b(?) n:y≠w
tyb̄:t iir̄:k nhs ḥ'n≠y¹ *Iy-m-ḥtp* wr s: [Pth r-ms] ḥ'rt̄.w¹-nh¹¹⁹
n̄tē:k ḏ n[≠y ...] w̄ḥ ḥ'r¹ mt.t nt ḥr ... n: md.wt š'y.t ... ḥrw nb
im n≠y *Dḥwty* ḥ' ḥ'¹²⁰ *nb ḥmnw* ... [...] ... ḥ'
t̄.t rs n ḏ̄ḏ̄: iw-[nb] iw(r) ḥ'nhḥ¹²¹ *ḏ mt.t* sh [w̄ḏ:t] r¹²² tr.ḥk n 180
- 10 *r̄ ḥl rd̄.t*¹²³ ḥr ḏ̄ḏ̄:[≠k(?) ...] *nsb̄:s*
iir̄:k wn r̄:k r p̄: iyt̄n n skp ḏ [...] t̄ wḏ̄:t t̄ wḏ̄:t
t̄y-wnm̄:y iir̄:k wn r̄:k r-r̄:s iw ḥ'nsb̄:s¹ tw̄n ḥ'k n t̄we
iir̄:k ḏ ḥr rn.yt ìnk Ḥr ḥ'nb¹²⁴ ḥrw ḥ'nb¹²⁵ [...] *n: hrw nt iir̄:k ir p̄: ph-ntr*
*n-ìm̄:w iw iḥ n p̄: m̄:y p̄: (nt) ḥth p̄: mw n n̄: ḥtr*¹²⁶ 185
- 15 *traces*

¹¹⁸ So Quack 2008, 356, n. 154.¹¹⁹ So Quack 2008, 356, n. 155.¹²⁰ So Quack 2008, 356, n. 157.¹²¹ So Quack 2008, 356, n. 158.¹²² So Quack 2008, 356.¹²³ So Quack 2008, 356, n. 159.¹²⁴ So Quack 2008, 356, n. 160.¹²⁵ So Quack 2008, 356, n. 160.¹²⁶ So Quack 2008, 356.

... I am [... is] my name. I gather a box¹²⁷ ... *wedjat* is [my] name(?) ... Osiris-Iah-Thoth ... [Imhotep the great] the son of Ptah ... (175) excellent mother in the netherworld ... goes They will not stand in their boxes ... which were made ... moisten(?) their boxes. You should awaken to me¹²⁸ Imhotep the great the son of [Ptah whom] Khertiankh [bore]¹²⁹ and you should tell [me] an answer (to) the thing which is on the document(?) ... in every voice. Come to me Thoth the twice great lord of Hermoupoliswith(?) him, (180) which gives every(?) head an awakening forever(?).¹³⁰ **Formula**: Write [a *wedjat*-eye] on your hand with myrrh ink; given under [your(?)] head¹³¹ ... lick it. You should open your mouth to the ground in a cry saying ... *wedjat*, *wedjat* is what I ate. You should open your mouth to it in order to lick it. Awaken at dawn! You should say “Horus is my name; I am Horus, lord of every(?) voice” ... **the day** on which you **will do the god-petitioning procedure**. (185) When the moon is in Leo, Sagittarius, Aquarius, (or) in Gemini.

¹²⁷ This box might also be a shrine or a coffin.

¹²⁸ So Quack 2008, 356.

¹²⁹ Khertiankh is the mother of Imhotep, cf. Quack 2008, 356 n.155.

¹³⁰ So Quack 2008, 356, n. 158.

¹³¹ So Quack 2008, 356. Presumably this means that we should raise our inscribed hand to our mouth, so we can then lick off the image of the *wedjat*-eye.

verso col. i ↓

GEMF 17/PDM Suppl. 187–210 + PGM Suppl. 211–220

- 1 [... ḥ]r [...] nt ḥtp
 [...] m-s:k n p:y(=y) tsy iw=y t n p: [...]. Mythr' [-...] -b'rs' [...]
 [...] th. my p: n t w'b p: nt rt(?) [...] iw=y t n-īm-w n-tr. k mn r-ms mn t[w=y ...]
 [...] ḥw]y ḥyt r-r:k n p: tp Nh[...] ḥ](?) n-wš-n sdm r n:y-k [3]ngelws d [...] 190
- 5 ... [...] n-īm-w hn [t:] gyd d [...] r-db: n:y(?) mt[.wt...]
 ḥ' [n-wš]-n sdm r p:y(=y) šll p:y(=y) tsy [...] ... f p:y=f sw[h-iyh(?)]
 ... sh n [...] n msh ... n hf [...] 'ti ḥ' tr. k r-hr' [...] nt iw=f n-k(?) r p:(?) ... [...]
 ... d mt.t Teret' T'br(?) Kr ... N[hn(?)H[...] k(y) d Tel'ts [...] B'tsy [...]
 oy
 ... w. Y' S' b'tk M[...] // ... // 195
- 10 [...] tr.t d mt.t Y-...- Nhhhr [...] // ... //
 // ... //
 i p: whr p: nt n wt(?) lk n wt(?) p: nt hry [...] d ink 'Inp p: [...] n tw:t [...]
 ... t ntr:t s.t Wsir p: nt n tr. k p: nb ntr.w ... bn r-hr-y n p: krh [...] p: whr
 p: [w]hr ... p: whr trš p: whr mrš [...] n my [...] nb iir-k ... [...] n p: grh 200
- 15 twys p: dwi(?) p:y-k ls n p: t n hm.t 'p:y-k' ink 'Inp p: nt sh't: [... i]ir-k ... [...]
 r-h[r]y¹ n p: grh n p: hrw tw=w n: ti n-k n n: smw r=y ... ink 'Inp p: nt sh't: ... d mt.t sp 4
 ... d ink 3s.t ... d ink Wsir ... [...] d ink [...]
 ... ink p: nb ir iy r-hr p: hq: ... [...] š'1 ... šwl tw^ry¹
 ... iir-t r ḥ' iir-t r ... iir.t r [...] iw=f r n' [r(?) H]r(?) s: 3s.t s[3] Wsir] 205
- 20 ... n p:y(=y) r: iir r ir=f r w' bwd' [...] r-hr ... iir r ir=f r bwd n ... [...]
 d [...] ... sn n ipy s: ipy ... sp 7
 ... h: t ... 'lm(?) d: d: im [...] ... im n lwm(?) n d: d: n [...]
 ... wn r: r-hr=y d ink 3s.t [...] ... ink Wsir ... [...]
 [...] ... bne 2.t dwd ... 210
- 25 traces onou = [.]ταc[. . .]
 []ε[.]ροc ... ωμουταμφ ... ηc cτιcαc
 τὸ ὄνωμά μουπερσωπ [δὸ]τε πάντας
 ἄρ[ρ]ενα καὶ πάcιc θηλείαc ἀφ . c ημαc φιλείαν
 [i]cχίν, ἐπαφροδιcίαν π[ρὸ]c πάντας ἀν- 215
- 30 [θρ]ώπουc καὶ πάcαc γηναῖ[καc . .]λλειc τοτε
 [. .] εν . . . καθηται . . [. . θ]αρειωc
 [. .] εγφωζων βλέπε α[. . .] εητεποηc
 [. .] εητε τοῦ ἐμοῦ εωατ[. . .]
 [α]λ[α]βαχαβηλ 220

27 l. ὄνομα | πανταγ Br || 28 l. ἄρρεναc | l. πάcαc | fort. ἀριcήμαc | l. φιλίαν || 29 l. icχύν, ἐπαφροδιcίαν || 30 l. γηναῖκαc || 32 fort. ἐμφω(τί)ζον

... face ... which is at rest ... except (for) you also, my lord. I will take the ... $\bar{\text{O}}$ MITHRA A...BARSA...TH $\bar{\text{O}}$ MI, the great one who is pure, the one who grows(?) ..., I am putting them in your hand, NN whom NN bore. [I (190) ca]st anger against you in the head NĒ[...] standing(?) without listening to your [m]essengers saying ... them in [the] hand saying ... concerning these things standing [without] listening to my prayer, my magical speech(?) ... it. Its preparation(?) ... draw ... of a crocodile ... of a snake ... make your hand stand(?) on ... which belongs to you(?) ... Formula: TERETA TABE(?)KR ... N[ĒN(?)] $\bar{\text{E}}$..., another says N(?)ELATS ... BATSU [... (195) ...]W $\bar{\text{O}}$ YA $\bar{\text{O}}$ SABATK M... ... hand. Formula: ... $\bar{\text{O}}$ NĒNĒBR ... *erased* ... O the dog, the one who is in bandages(?) removes bandages(?), the one who is above ... saying “I am Anubis, the ... of the underworld [...]”(?) great goddess, Osiris, the one who is in your hand, the lord of the gods ... against me in the ... the dog ... (200) the ... dog, the red dog, the red dog Give every You should at night. Here is the... of(?) your tongue of the copper brush(?) ... I am Anubis, the one who is secret You should to me at night, during the day. The blessings of my mouth will be given to you ... I am Anubis the one who is secret ... Formula: 4 times. ... saying¹³² “I am Isis ..” saying “I am Osiris...” saying “I am ... I am the lord who came(?) before the ruler” ... wick I (205) ... you will stand, you should ..., you should ..., while he will go(?) [to(?)] Horus(?) the son of Isis the son [of Osiris] ... of my mouth ... will do it to a ... will do it to a ... saying ... of the Opet(?) son of the Opet(?) ... 7 times ... heart ... head. Come ...! Come ... head of/before(?) ... open mouth to me saying “I am Isis, I am Osiris” ... (210) ... 2 date palms, run ...

ONOU¹³³ ...TAS...E.ROS $\bar{\text{O}}$ MOUTAMPH ... $\bar{\text{E}}$ SSTISSAS (the name) MOUPERPS $\bar{\text{O}}$ P¹³⁴ [grant] (i.e. before) all male and all notable(?) females,¹³⁵ affection, (215) strength, sexiness,¹³⁶ before all humans and all women¹³⁷ ... sits¹³⁸ ... look at the glowing(?) ... of my ear¹³⁹ ... (220) ALABACHABĒL

Demotic text: K. Dosoo, M. Escolano-Poveda, J. Johnson, E. Love, A. Singer
Greek text: C. Faraone, S. Torallas Tovar

¹³² All the instances of “saying,” could be instead “because.”

¹³³ Beginning here at the end of this column, someone added two very fragmentary recipes divided by a *paragraphos*. At a later point, they were purposefully, but insufficiently deleted.

¹³⁴ Parallels suggest that this might be a mistake for τὸ ὄνομά σοι περὶ ψωπ, for example: GEMF 57/PGM IV1665 ὄνομά σοι Ἐνφανχοφ· δὸς ἰσχὺν καὶ θάρσος ... or 1674 ὄνομά σοι Ουμεσθωθ· δὸς ἐπαφροδισίαν.

¹³⁵ If the restoration [δός]τε is correct, the text seems to state the target, i.e. all males and females, twice and in different language, once here and again below in lines 5–6.

¹³⁶ For this combination of benefits, see, e.g. GEMF 72/PGM VIII 5 (prayer in a *philtrokatadesmos*) κύριε Ἐρμῆ, ... δός μοι χάριν, τροφήν, νίκην, εὐημερίαν, ἐπαφροδισίαν, προσώ(π)ου εἶδος, (5) ἀλκὴν ἀπάντων καὶ πασῶν. ὀνόματά σοι ἐν οὐρανῶ·

¹³⁷ We might expect “men” (ἄνδρας) here with “women” (γυναῖκας, l. γυναῖκας), but this seems to be a common pair in these formulas, e.g.: GEMF 15.118/PGM XII 69 (prayer): ἐξορκίζω ... δοῦναί μοι χάριν, ἠδουλωσσίαν, ἐπ[αφ]ροδισίαν πρὸς [c] πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ πάσας γυναῖκας or GEMF 68/PGM XXXVI 225 (prayer to Helios) δέομε, κύριε, ... ἔλεῖν καὶ λαβὴν παρὰ σοῦ ζοήν, ὑγίαν, δόξαν, πλοῦτον, δύναμιν, ἰσχύν, ἐπιτυχίαν, ἐπαφροδισίαν, χάριν πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ πρὸς πάσας γυναῖκας

¹³⁸ This third-person verb is part of a new recipe indicated by the *paragraphos*. The final words of the previous line (λλεισ τοτε) do not make sense as the end of a recipe and are perhaps the beginning of a new one.

¹³⁹ Or perhaps ‘eye’, if we read οὐάτιον.

GEMF 18
(PDM/PGM LXI)

Provenance unknown

III CE

ED.PR.: Bell, Nock and Thompson 1931 [Be] [No] [Th]

REPubL.: Demotic text: van Lieven 2001, 83–87; Greek text: PGM [Pr]

TRANSL.: Demotic text: Johnson, GMPT, 288–290 (English); Greek text: O’Neill, GMPT, 290–291 (English)

COMM.: Eitrem 1932, 114 [Ei]; Preisendanz 1933a, 1029–1037; Preisendanz 1933b [Pr qui antea]

per litteras K. Fr. W. Schmidt [Sc]; Quack 2008; Ritner 1986; Richter 2004/2005

LOC.: London, British Museum, P. BM EA10588

TM 55956

This papyrus roll (ca H. 28 × W. 112 cm) is preserved in six large fragments, with eight columns on the recto written along the papyrus fibers, from right to left, in Demotic with some words in hieratic (in bold face here) and Old Coptic, and six columns on the verso, in both Demotic and Greek. It seems that the first two columns were written on the right edge of the papyrus from right to left (here cols. i and ii of the verso). Then the papyrus was turned 180° and three columns of Greek were added, running from left to right. A final column of the verso is in a different Greek hand and seems to have been added at a later point.

A single hand seems to be responsible for both the Demotic and the Greek text (except for the additional col. vi on the verso), which is illustrated perhaps by the fact that both texts occasionally use red ink in the titles of recipes. Compared to the Theban Library texts, the Demotic hand, written with a calamus, is much larger and less densely written than GEMF 15/PDM XII; 16/XIV and 17/Suppl., and as Quack 2017b, 54–55 notes, it does not use the same alphabetic Demotic or ‘Old Coptic’ signs as these texts. Quack 2017b, 54 dates it to the early third cent. CE. This would perhaps make it the latest Demotic document written on papyrus.

The Greek hand is the same for the Greek text of cols. iii–v on the verso and the instances of Greek in the Demotic columns. The writing shows the modular contrast and the slant to the right characteristic of the Formal Mixed style: the so-called “round letters” are narrower than the “square letters,” and o and c are also of a smaller size. But the hand, fast and experienced, presents some cursive traits, such as, sometimes, the shape of ε and some occasional ligatures, which contribute to a softer, non-angular appearance unfit for the formality of the style. The verso of P.Marmarica, dated to the end of the second or early third century CE, which contains Favorinus’ *περὶ φύγης*, offers a good parallel for our script in its last section, where the scribe changes the upright character of his writing for a slanting one (GLH 18c). Interestingly enough, our papyrus presents what seems to be an added column on the verso (↓) after col. v. This column features an overall more rounded and more carefully executed hand, but it is difficult to exclude the possibility that the same scribe is responsible for this later addition, to judge from some similarities in letter forming: see α drawn in a single movement with a loop at its top, the small hook to the right at the end of the right-hand vertical of π, looped υ at base-line and, especially, ν, where the oblique does not reach the lower end of the second vertical. See the upright section of the verso of P.Marmarica (GLH 18b) for similar traits.¹ *Iota* adscript is never written, and the orthography, apart from the usual itacistic misspellings, reflects some phonetic confusion, such as between voiced and voiceless sounds: γ for κ, and ζ for c, or that between long and short vowels: ω for o (but notice also η for ε and viceversa, where both signs would correspond to different sounds at the time). In general, the scribe manages to maintain some tidiness in the script, with regular left-hand margins and a fair bottom margin.

The contents are sometimes unclear. The Demotic text presents divination procedures (recto col. ii and v), healing procedures (recto col. iv), a procedure to reveal a thief (col. vi), and erotic procedures (recto cols. vii–viii and verso cols. i–ii). The three Greek columns contain two somewhat confused recipes that both aim at the erotic subjugation of a woman. The first is called a *philtron* and begins with the preparation for

¹ See Nodar forthcoming, for further discussion on the writing in GEMF 18.

a special drink, which in the similar recipe in GEMF 74.799–807/PGM VII 643–651 is given to the female target to drink. Here, however, the drink is never offered or drunk and in the midst of a long prayer we get requests that sound like a typical *agōgē* recipe, e.g. “burn her so she comes to me” and “let her forget her mother and father ...” At the end of the recipe, however, a scarab beetle and an iron ring carved with an image of Harpokrates are used to undo the *philtion*. The second recipe appears to be a separation procedure which entails the capture and incineration of a live gecko, who is invoked as the traditional enemy of the sun, but the second half of it describes a ritual performed while walking toward a gate and invoking the *eidola* of various gods. Col. vi on the verso adds in a different hand what appears to be a separation procedure.

The exact circumstances of purchase of the roll are not clear, but there is no record of donation or purchase from Jean d’Anastasy. It has been in the British Museum since at least 1927 (Dosoo 2016).

recto col. i →		GEMF 18/PDM LXI 1–16
1	[...] <i>sh.t</i> [...] <i>tb.t(?)</i> [...] <i>r(?) mꜣ.t</i> [...] <i>i-ir-hr-k</i>	1
5	[...] <i>h(t)</i> [...] <i>n pꜣ</i> [...] <i>dꜣdꜣk</i> [...] <i>w</i> [...] <i>tꜣ</i>	5
10	[...] <i>nw</i> [...] <i>h(?) r-hry</i> [...] <i>nꜣy</i> [...] <i>mt]w-s</i> [...] <i>nb.t hwh</i>	10
15	[...] <i>p.t(?)</i> [...] <i>.?</i>	15

recto col. ii →		GEMF 18/PDM LXI 17–30
1	[...] ... [...] [...] <i>nt hr</i> [...] <i>yꜣ yꜣ w w</i> [...] <i>n mꜣ.t</i> [...] <i>mt]w-n iy r-hn n</i> [...] <i>nt hry m-s; tꜣ</i> [...] ² ΕΙΑΤ' ΤΑΜΕ ³ [...]	20
5	Ἰnp <i>n</i> [...] ⁴ ΧΟΥΧ' ° <i>ερε</i> [...] Ἰnp [...] <i>pꜣy</i> Ἰnp <i>n pꜣ</i> [...] <i>m-ir ti</i> [...] <i>sm[t] mꜣ.t [iw mn mt.t n]</i> <i>dꜣ.t [n-im-w ...] d ink</i> [OP]ΘΩΒΔΥΒΩ ⁴ [...] <i>pꜣyꜣ m</i> [...] <i>ωωω my.t pꜣyꜣ m [n mꜣ].t</i>	25
10	<i>bw-k b:k</i> [...] <i>p.t(?) Ἰnp n tꜣ h.t Ἰnp</i> [...] Ἰnp <i>n pꜣ s/sn</i> ⁵ <i>m-ir</i> [...] <i>sp-2 pꜣ hqꜣ</i> ꜣ [<i>nꜣy ...n</i>] <i>k</i> <i>pꜣy ntr nt hr</i> [...] <i>hr n</i> ꜣ <i>pꜣy pꜣy</i> [...] <i>iw</i> [...] <i>nꜣy mtw-w nt iir-hr-k</i> [...] <i>nt iir-k</i> [...]	30

² Ritner 1986, 95, reconstructs ΤΟΥΝ ΕΙΑΤ (*ti wn ir.t-i*), ‘open my eye,’ an idiom also meaning ‘to teach’, cf. GEMF 16/PDM XIV 11. As noted by Quack 2017b, 54 n. 127, this could instead be *my wn*, the imperative form. For *my wn ir.t-i*, see, e.g., 16/XIV 109.

³ Perhaps the imperative of ΤΑΜΟ ‘to tell’, ‘to inform’; cf. Crum 413b, so Ritner 1986, 95. The magical names in this and the next line are written in Greek characters, and are attested elsewhere in the corpus, e.g. in the first three columns of GEMF 15, where the *voces magicae* are written either in transliteration in Demotic or in Greek script, presumably as a guide to their pronunciation; see Dieleman 2005, 35.

⁴ Restoration by Nock, Bell and Thompson 1931, 246, paralleled as OPΘΩΒΔΥΒΩ in GEMF 16/PDM XIV 210.

⁵ Both *s* and *sn* are written identically in examples in GEMF 16.

GEMF 18.1–16

(1) ... field ... brick(?) ... to(?) truth ... before you ... (5) fire ... of/to the ... your head ... them ... land
 (10) ... to look ... up/above ... these [... and] it ... Lady (of the) Flood⁶ ... (15) sky(?) ...

GEMF 18.17–30

... .. which [... Y]A YA Ō Ō ... true [... and] we come into (20) ... which is above, after/except the [...
 Open] my eye! Teach [me ...] Anubis of [... Soul of] Darkness,⁷ ERE... It is(?)] Anubis ... Anubis(?) of
 the Do not give ... true manner [there being no] falsehood [therein.⁸ ...]. For I am [OR]THOBAUBŌ⁹ (25)
 ... my name ... ŌŌŌ is my name, my true name. May you be exalted(?),¹⁰ work(?) Anubis of the horizon,
 Anubis Anubis of the son.¹¹ Do [not...] twice. The great ruler This god who (regularly) ... is the
 face of a donkey ... come ... to me. They are the ones who are [before] you (30) ... which you

⁶ On the “Lady of the Flood,” cf. LGG IV, 95, for late hieroglyphic *Nb.t ḥw*, “Lady of Nourishment.”

⁷ Cf. GEMF 15.345/PGM XII 296; Dieleman 2005, 172.

⁸ As restored by Ritner 1986, 95; consider the parallel *ḥw mn mt.t n ʿde n-imw* in GEMF 16/PDM XIV 50.

⁹ The name ORTHOBAUBŌ appears elsewhere in strings of Greek magical names, e.g. GEMF 30.80/PGM II 33, 58/V 424 and 74.837/VII 682.

¹⁰ Or perhaps ‘high’.

¹¹ Or perhaps “of the brother.”

recto col. iii →

GEMF 18/PDM LXI 31–42

- 1 [...] *nt* [...] 35
 [...] 7
 [...] *īr=f mwt* 7(?)
bš[wš] 7
- 5 *qs n* [...] 35
mnḥ(?) 7
īby n ypl: 7
thw tr=w š n: sh.w
n p: hn tr=w r-r-w n
n
- 10 *twe mtre n rhwe* 40
n ḥ.t n ibt mtw=k [wn]m 7 n-īm-w
tne ibt nb ḥr gm=k ib=f

recto col. iv →

GEMF 18/PDM LXI 43–63

- 1 [...n-īm]k ḥn' n: nt iw-w [...]
 [...] *phre].t r ḥ: d:d:* 45
 μνᾶς ἐστιν τὸ λ. [
 τοῦ λιβάνου καὶ χε[
- 5 ὄνου ἀρκενικοῦ ομ[]βραχὸ
 καλῶς καὶ ἐπίβαλε[]ον
 καὶ περιχρῆε τὸ μέ[λι
[...d:]d: 50
 [...] *blws iw=f pdḥ(?)*¹² *n p: m:*
- 10 [...] *sgn īr=k tī-iw p: rn n*
 [...] *iw bw-īr-w šwy īr=k tī-iw p: sh(?) sp-2*
 [...] *rn blbyl:t w:t r p: rn n p:*
 [...] *rn bne.t šwb* 55
ke[prys(?)]ws κυπάρισσος
- 15 [] κυκάμινα δάφ[νη
 [] αἶγιρος πίτυς
πρὸς ἔντασι ἀρίον [καὶ γ]ίγεται ἐν ὄασει
 πολὺ, ἔστι δὲ θῆλυ κα[ὶ ἀρκενικόν. τα]ῦτα ζέσας 60
 ἐν κλειβάνῳ καὶ τρεῖψ[ac]πιπέ[ρ]εως
- 20 περιχρῆε αἰδοῖον []ανεσα[]μετὰ τοῦ
 ἀποζέματος διὰ .[

3 λξ[Be || 4 χε[λιδονίου dub Be || 5 ὄμο[φ] dub Be || 7 περί[χ]ρῆε Be || τὸ μέ[ρο]ς τὸ φαλαρ[όν] conī. No || 14 ι ex corr. || 15 l. κυκάμινοc || 16 l. αἶγιροc | long vertical || 17 l. ἔντασιν : l. ἐντάσειc Be | l. Ἀρείον : l. ἄρειον Be | [ῆ]τοι ξιφίον(?) γ]ε[ί]νεται Be || 18 ἀρκενικόν. τα]ῦτα iam Be || 19 l. κλιβάνῳ | l. τρίψασ | [οῖ]νω No | [μετὰ] Be || 20 [ἐ]ὰν δέ θέλησ αὐτὸ No | ἀνέσα[ι], Be || 21 διδ[ι]Be

¹² With a plant determinative it does not look like a verb. See CDD, 182, s.v. *pdḥ*.

GEMF 18.30–42

...¹³ which ...-(plant) 7¹⁴ ... which died-(plant) 7 rue 7 (35) bone of ...¹⁵ wax(?) 7(?) honey(?) of *yp̄l̄*-plant 7(?) Mix them all. Recite all the writings of the vessel to them at (40) dawn, at midday, in the evening at the beginning of the month and [eat] 7 of them each and every month.¹⁶ You find out his heart.

GEMF 18.43–63

... you together with those who [... remedy] concerning an ulcer¹⁷ of the head.

(45) Of a mina, it is the ...(?) ...of frankincense and ... of a male donkey¹⁸ ... well and throw in ... small ... and pour around the [honey?]

(50) ... head.¹⁹ (?)which is spread out(?)²⁰ in the place ... ointment. You (should) utter the name of ... they not being dry. You (should) utter the text(?) twice ... of one single grain to the name of the ... (55) name of date-palm, perseia, cypress(?)²¹ cypress ... mulberry, laurel, ... poplar, pine²² ... For an erection. [Take an(?)] Ares' plant²³ [and a²⁴ ... which] grows in the oasis (60) in abundance, and it is female and [male]. After boiling these in a pan and grinding ... of pepper, rub (it?) around (the) phallus ... with the concoction through

¹³ The first five lines seem to contain plant names, since plant determinatives are visible in ll. 32 and 33.

¹⁴ It is unclear what these quantities refer to, perhaps measures or units of leaves.

¹⁵ Perhaps the bone of a fish. For a similar practice in which the bone of a fish is placed in a wax figurine, cf. GEMF 83/PGM CXXIV 19–24; and Faraone 2017, 126–133.

¹⁶ Bell, Nock and Thompson 1931, ad loc. translates it “at intervals(?) each month.”

¹⁷ See Ritner 1986, 95–96.

¹⁸ Parts of the donkey are used frequently in magical procedures, e.g. GEMF 16/PDM XIV 774, for an ointment that includes the “blood of a male donkey.” It is also possible that *ovov* is the end of the name of a plant used in the ointment, because both Pliny and Dioscorides describe a grade of frankincense that is called “male,” cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 907; 74.401/VII 320. See LiDonnici 2001, 69 and below in l. 60, where a plant is said to be both “female and [male].”

¹⁹ This seems to be the beginning of a new section or recipe.

²⁰ Thompson wanted to read *blws* as βύβλος, but this is unlikely. According to DDGLC βύβλος is as yet only attested once in the Coptic corpus. Furthermore, it is only used for ‘book’ rather than the material itself ‘papyrus’, χάρτης.

²¹ This seems to be a transliteration into Demotic of the Greek word that follows.



²² In ll. 57 and 58 there were probably corresponding Demotic plant names in the lacuna, to the right of the Greek text (i.e. to the left in the transliteration).

²³ Bell, Nock and Thompson 1931 cite a *scholion* to Dioscorides 4.20, where some people call the ζίφιον plant (i.e. ‘sword plant’ = gladiolus) the Ἄρειον plant (i.e. ‘Ares’ plant’), presumably because of its sword-shaped leaves. GMPT translates as ‘woad-plant’ or ‘corn-flag’, both of which are lilies, flowers in the same family as the gladiolus.

²⁴ The following reference to “boiling *these things*” (τα]ῦτα ζέσac) suggests that another single ingredient (the subject of γ]ίγεται) was mentioned in this lacuna.

recto col. v →

GEMF 18/PDM LXI 64–80

- 1 *[wꜥ ph-ntr n] Hr-Dḥwty* ḥr *shꜥk* n[ꜥy mt.wt(?) r tḥ.t n wꜥ.t] kbꜥ.t n tꜥph[ns]²⁵
[mtwꜥk t-r] wꜥ ḥbs ḥr wꜥ shꜥn mtwꜥk mt n pꜥ tꜥph[n]ws wbe 65
pꜥ ḥbs m-ir nw r pꜥ ḥbs iꜥrꜥk iꜥy iꜥrꜥk r sḏr iꜥrꜥk ḥꜥ pꜥ tꜥpwns
ḥr dꜥdꜥꜥk mtwꜥk šll r Hr-Dḥwty ḥr dꜥf nꜥk wꜥḥ n rswꜥ(.t)
- 5 *tḥ.t n tḥ.kbꜥ.t n tꜥphnꜥs shꜥ nꜥy r-rꜥs ḥr shꜥk s n*
*r n ḥl ḥr iꜥp [pꜥ ḥ.t]²⁶ [pꜥ]²⁷ ḥ.t θΟΥΘΧ *im nꜥy n pꜥyꜥk ḥbr*
*mtwꜥk dꜥ nꜥy mt.wt im nꜥy Dḥwty smsꜥ pꜥ mḥ-2 ΛΑΒΙΝΟΥΘΧ· *n ꜥke(?) n pꜥyꜥk sštꜥ*²⁸*
*smsꜥ [...] Rꜥ pr m ꜥtm ms pꜥ mḥ-3 ΦΡΗΧ *[n mt].t [mꜥꜥ.t]²⁹ im nꜥy**
*m ḥbr [pr] m ꜥ.t m ꜥtm im nꜥy**
- 10 *Dḥwty ib n Rꜥ ns n Tꜥ-nnw iḥty pꜥ mḥ-4 ΓΑΛΒΑΝΑΧΑ *mtwꜥk [ir nꜥy] wꜥḥ r mt nb**
*n ꜥmn-mꜥf im nꜥy Ḥfkꜥ pꜥ mḥ-5 bꜥk  *n mt.t [mꜥꜥ.t] iw mn**
*Ḥpꜥkꜥ Ḥbyke Nḥeekꜥy pꜥ mḥ-6 ꜥny *mt.t ꜥde n-imꜥw nfr nfr* 75*
im nꜥy pꜥ nb [mꜥꜥ.t] ḥry³⁰ mꜥꜥ.t pꜥ mḥ-7 ḥbiw 
ḥsꜥb [mꜥꜥ.t] wꜥt mꜥꜥ.t ir mꜥꜥ.t
- 15 *im nꜥy m ḥrꜥk nfr m grḥ iꜥpn nfr*
wꜥḥ
mtwꜥk ir nꜥy r mt nb nt iwꜥy tḥḥ n-imꜥk ḥr-irꜥw ty n-pꜥ-hrw
n mt mꜥꜥ.t iw mn ḥpꜥ n-imꜥw 80

²⁵ This is a Greek loan word, δάφνης, in a transliteration that shows the genitive form.

²⁶ The scribe deleted these words because they were out of place; he repeats them after a space so that they are in the correct place at the start of the list in the center column.

²⁷ See Quack 2008, 357 n. 161.

²⁸ Written *shꜥ-t*. Cf. GEMF 17/PDM Suppl. 12 and 106.

²⁹ See Ritner in CDD.

³⁰ See Quack 2008, 357.

[A god-petitioning procedure for] Horus-Thoth.³¹ You write [these words(?)³² on the front of a] laurel leaf³³ (65) [and you light] a lamp³⁴ on a table and you speak to the laurel opposite the lamp. Don't look at the lamp. When you are coming to sleep, you (should) put the laurel under your head³⁵ and pray to Horus-Thoth. He answers you in a dream. The front of the laurel leaf, write these on it. You write it in myrrh ink and wine.³⁶ (70) And say these (70) the first:⁴³ THOUTHX;⁴⁴ (70) Come to me in your words:³⁷ “Come to me, Thoth, the eldest, the second: LABINOUTHX; form of Excellent One, eldest ... of Ra, who came forth from the third: PHRĒX; in your [true] secret Atum, who was born in the form [who came out] from the limb from Atum. Come the fourth: SALBANAXA⁴⁵ and [make for me] an to me, Thoth, heart of Ra, tongue of the fifth: Falcon;⁴⁶ answer to everything in Tatenen,³⁸ throat of The One Whose Name (75) the sixth: Baboon; [truth] there being no is Hidden.³⁹ Come to me, HEFKA, (75) the seventh: Ibis.⁴⁷ (75) falsehood therein.” HEPEQEKA HEBYKE NECHEEKAY. Come to (It is) very good. me, O Lord of Truth, Leader of Truth, who reckons truth,⁴⁰ who distinguishes truth, who makes truth.⁴¹ Come to me in your beautiful face in this good night and make for me an answer to every[thing] about which I am entreating you here today (80) in truth, there being no falsehood therein.⁴²

³¹ For the combination of Horus-Thoth see Boylan 1979, 124–126.

³² It is uncertain whether there is enough space to reconstruct *mt.wt*.

³³ For inscribed laurel leaves used in similar Greek divination procedures, see GEMF 30.75–82/PGM II 28–35; 31/I 262–272, where laurel is Apollo's symbolic plant.

³⁴ Combination of the use of laurel with lamps is in the same passage of GEMF 31 mentioned in the previous note.

³⁵ See GEMF 74.821–822/PGM VII 665–666, where a piece of inscribed linen is wrapped around a branch and placed ὑπὸ... τῆς κεφαλῆς, and Hermes is invoked and temple-incubation rituals are mimicked; see Faraone 2020a.

³⁶ This seems to mean that wine and myrrh were mixed to make an ink or that both were mixed into ink; we find parallels for both in the Greek magical formularies, e.g. ink and myrrh in GEMF 8/PGM LXXII 6; or myrrh mixed with “baboon blood” in 60/XIII 314; “blood” in 32/XIXb 2 and “owl's blood” in 68/XXXVI 264. Myrrh appears alone as an ink more than two dozen times in the corpus. For “blood” inks, see Blanco Cesteros 2021.

³⁷ For this passage, see Ritner 1986, 96–97.

³⁸ Tatenen is an earth god often conflated with Ptah. Cf. see LGG VII, 346–349.

³⁹ The verb ‘to be hidden’ is from the same root as the name of the god Amun.

⁴⁰ So Quack 2008, 357.

⁴¹ For these epithets, see Boylan 1979, app. B.

⁴² This invocation continues with the words “Come to me in your form of Excellent One” at the top of the third column to the right of the ordinal list of names in the center.

⁴³ The words “the first” were written twice by the scribe, but deleted in the first instance, since he wanted to align them with the column.

⁴⁴ For these magical names, see Quack 2008, 357 n. 161.


⁴⁵ The magical word *αλβαναχα* appears in GEMF 72/PGM VIII 84, a divination recipe.

⁴⁶ Like the preceding magical names, these are epithets of the god Thoth.

⁴⁷ Unlike the first four names written alphabetically, the fifth and seventh names are written in Hieratic, and have large determinatives or illustrations added to them, perhaps because the scribe was uncertain that the reader would be able to read the signs.

recto col. vi →

GEMF 18/PDM LXI 81–97

- 1 w^c ky n gm 'de ... 'fy(?)¹ ... hr [in]k w^c tp n hsy
 [mtw]k ty.ṭs r n: sh.wt mtw=k tms=s mtw=k tⁱ pr mhe:(t)⁴⁸ r tp=s
 š'-mtw=k kwl mhe:t mtw=k kwl hr-tp=s iw=s tne⁴⁹ r-bnr w^c.ṭs mtw=k
 [... i]n(?) n: mhe:w(t) r p: tym mtw(=k y)'y t: pe:t w^c.ṭs hr i:rt.t
- 5 mtw=k hbs=s mtw=k ty=s r p: m: nt iir=k wh=f iir=k wh gm 'de 85
 [i]ir=k in w^c qyp⁵⁰ n mhe: iir=k š sh r-r=f iir=k d p: rn n p: rmt sp-2 w^c sp-2
 iir=k ir w^c.t ts.t iir=k s;q n-im=s iw=f (hpr) iw mtw=f p: iir fy.ṭf hr mt=f iir=k
 hlk n t: ts.t n: sh.w nt iir=k š-w d mt.t ink t: mt.t n :h.wi⁵¹ ink
 [t:] mt.t n Gb⁵² ink t: mt.t r-h: N.t⁵³ ink [t:] mt.t n p:y hbiw šr Dhwti
- 10 HCTE ° ΔΕΙΟ ' HCTE ° ΔΕΙΟ ' 54 90
 iw=y s;q r-hr=y ty n-p:-hrw t:y=y sn.ṭ S'm'l[⁵⁵] d nt iw=y tⁱ n-im=w n: mt.wt
 n Gb r-ti=f s n šs.t n-tr(.t) ir Šts⁵⁶ hp 'Hr⁵⁷ hn p: dwf n P:-W:dy.t
 iw=s n p: qyp n mhe: r dr[.t]s iw=s ir=f n ts.t iw=s hl[k] n:y m^t(?) hṭ.w⁵⁸
 š'-mtw=f wnh n Hr hn p: dwf iw=y in p:y qyp n mh[e:] r-dr.ṭ h^c.ṭ⁵⁹
- 15 iw=y ir n-im=f n ts.t š'-mtw mn wnh hn(?)⁶⁰ t: wd:t nt iw w:h 95
 iw=f 's nfr nfr 

⁴⁸ If *mhe:(t)*, 'flax', is correct with the apparently erroneous feminine ending (cf. l. 14), this orthography would only be partially paralleled in O.MH 1858, 1; cf. CDD *m*, 199.

⁴⁹ See Richter 2004/2005, 68.

⁵⁰ On this term, see Richter 2004/2005, 68–69.

⁵¹ See Ritner 1986, 98.

⁵² This is written *Gbiw*

⁵³ So Quack 2008, 358; Ritner in CDD read as *šs.t*.

⁵⁴ This is understood as the Achmimic form of Sahidic εἰς ἀληθεῖα (Crum 85b, s.v. εἰστε), 'Behold' + αἰο, an affirmation.

⁵⁵ Ritner in the CDD restores ^c at end of the name based on a magical parallel.

⁵⁶ See Richter 2004/2005, 70–71; Ritner in CDD read as *Šw*.

⁵⁷ See Richter 2004/2005, 70–71; Quack 2008, 358, n. 168, suggests *hnt* 'r Hr¹.

⁵⁸ See Quack 2008, 358.

⁵⁹ Written *hyt*.

⁶⁰ See Bell, Nock and Thompson 1931, ad loc.

A procedure for finding a thief.⁶¹ ... You [bring] the head of a drowned one⁶² [and] you carry it to the fields and you bury it and you put flax-seed on top of it until you gather the flax and you gather it up, it being lifted up alone and you bring(?) the flax to the village and you wash the head by itself in milk (85) and you cover it and you take it to the place which you wish. When you wish to find a thief, you shall bring a cord⁶³ of flax, you recite the formula to it, you shall say the name of the man twice, one by one,⁶⁴ you shall make a knot, and you shall gather it (together). If (it happens that) he is the one who carried it (off) (i.e. stole the missing object), he speaks while you twist the knot. The texts which you should recite; formula: “Mine is the word of Khu⁶⁵; mine is [the] word of Geb; mine is the word which Neith placed; mine is [the] word of this ibis, the son of Thoth. (90) Behold, yea! Behold, yea! I shall gather to me here today my sister Samal, so that⁶⁶ I shall give the words of Geb which he gave to Isis when Seth hid⁶⁷ Horus(?) in the papyrus (swamp) of Buto, she bringing the cord of flax in her hand, she making it into a knot, she tying these entrails until it revealed Horus in the papyrus (swamp). I shall bring this cord of flax in my own hand, making it into a knot, (95) until NN⁶⁸ appears ... the *wedjat*-eye⁶⁹ ...⁷⁰ He will lift it. (It is) very good.

⁶¹ For a bibliography on this practice, see Quack 2008, 357 n. 165. For a similar thief-catching procedure, see, e.g., the Greek recipes in GEMF 46/SM II 86 and 58/PGM V 70–95, both of which involve drawing an image of an eye and then attacking it with a hammer or smearing it with onion juice, so that the thief’s eye will likewise be blackened or disfigured and easy to identify. Because a drawing of the *wedjat*-eye appears at the very end of this recipe and also in the GEMF 58/PGM V recipe, one might expect that the target in this procedure is also the eye of the thief (i.e. by knotting the flax one damages the eye), but in the *historiola* that follows, when Isis knots the flax, she knots the entrails of the wrongdoer, not his eye.

⁶² The ritual of *apotheosis* by drowning is believed to have been inspired by the death of Osiris in water; see Griffith 1917, 132–134, Moyer 2003, 221. In GEMF, it usually concerns the drowning of small animals, e.g. the ritual in GEMF 55/PGM III 1–164, which uses a cat, or 31/I 5–8, which uses a hawk.

⁶³ So Richter 2004/2005, 69; Ritner 1986, 97–98 reads as “a small amount.”

⁶⁴ That is “You should say the names of every single man separately”; other interpretations include “you should say the name of all the men, one after another” (Richter 2004/2005, 70) and “you should name the names of every single man separately” (Quack 2008, 357: “du sollst den Namen jedes einzelnen Mannes für sich nennen”). The idea here is that you include the names one by one of all the possible suspects.

⁶⁵ For discussion, see Ritner 1986, 98.

⁶⁶ So Quack 2008, 358; for more on the name of the goddess, see Quack 2008, 358 n. 167.

⁶⁷ There are other possible readings: e.g. “As Seth hid himself from Horus” (Richter 2004/2005, 70–71) and “Seth fought with Horus” (Quack 2008, 358, n. 168).

⁶⁸ *Mn* normally should refer to a person.

⁶⁹ The “sound” eye of Horus. See GEMF 58/PGM V 75 and 92; 15/XII 230 for similar uses. For the Greek transliteration of Egyptian *wedjat* as οὐάτιον, see Quack 2019, 198 and Torallas Tovar and Martín Hernández 2020, 227–228.

⁷⁰ Quack 2008, 358 translates “until NN reveals the stolen property which he has taken” (bis NN das Diebesgut offenbart, dass er entfernt hat).

recto col. vii →

GEMF 18/PDM LXI 98–113

- 1 **rn t̄hs** *mr.t n mt(.t) ikš Swmwith*
Keswth° Hrb·b° Br°s°khs ° L̄st °
° N̄;ph ° B°kh° ° r.d n̄;y mtw̄k w̄h qm̄;⁷¹ hr tr.t̄k 100
mtw̄k typy 2.t r-hr t̄ȳk nh̄b̄.t
- 5 *mtw̄k šm iir-hr p̄; rmt̄ nt iir̄k wh̄z̄f*
t̄ itm̄;t n *Nb.t-h̄.t ° h̄° P̄;-R̄° w̄t̄f skt n t̄; p.t*
šwy p̄; mw hr p̄; w̄ī; n P̄;-R̄° n̄; ntr.w n Shn(?) hr n̄he.t
š°-mtw̄w in mn n mn in tm īrȳs p̄; nt iw̄w̄ īr̄f r n̄; ntr.w 105
r.d̄;y m.w r ph̄t̄ mtw̄w hy r t̄; sty.t hy sp-2 nn⁷²
- 10 *ink is d̄.t̄s nn (ink) is⁷³ wh̄m̄s h̄ȳre s̄;b mtws iir*
d̄.t̄s mtws iir wh̄m̄s wh̄m̄s nfr nfr iw̄w̄f d̄ n-im̄s
ph̄re.t *r tm īr ° m̄š°⁷⁴ b̄šw̄š h̄s n bik*
h̄s n msh̄ mtw̄k t̄īs mtw̄k th̄s p̄; msdr̄ nge šy.t̄f 110
nge⁷⁵ t̄; kb̄.t n fnt̄f d̄ mt.t *pa p̄; h̄t̄ [...] Hr hr-*
- 15 *ph̄w n-im̄k Gb pt m-s̄;k b-n̄w⁷⁶ h̄;°k r [...] wnw.t š̄;y*
r p̄; sty Hr r šm n-im̄k r s[...]

⁷¹ This word does not present a determinative, unlike conventional writing in Demotic.

⁷² See Quack 1999a, 44.

⁷³ Adapted from Quack 1999a, 44.

⁷⁴ Perhaps read *ph̄re.t r tm (ti) īr ° m̄š°*.

⁷⁵ For this word, see CDD, *ge(?)*, p. 36.

⁷⁶ I.e. *bn-iw̄w*, so Quack 1999a, 44.

Formula for giving praise and love⁷⁷ in (the) Kushite (language): “SŌMŌTH KESŌTH HRBABA BRASAKHS⁷⁸ LAT (100) NAPH BAKHA.” Say these and put gum⁷⁹ on your hand and kiss your shoulder(?) two times⁸⁰ and go before the man whom you want.

The red cloth of Nephthys:⁸¹ Pre has arisen; he has set off in⁸² the morning boat of heaven; the water under the bark of Pre has dried up; the gods of the double crown(?)⁸³ are in mourning⁸⁴ (105) until NN is brought to NN. If not doing it is what will be done, the gods whose names I have said will be cast down⁸⁵ and they will fall in the fire “Hail (twice)!⁸⁶ I am not the one who said it; I am not the one who repeated it.⁸⁷ She is the one who said it; she is the one who repeated it, who repeated it.”⁸⁸ (It is) very good when he says it.

Prescription concerning a donkey that will not move:⁸⁹ rue, falcon dung, (110) crocodile dung; you put it (on) and you anoint the ear and/or its nose and/or the nostril of its nose. **Formula** (i.e. addressed to the donkey): He of the heart ... Horus is behind you; Geb is pursuing you. They will not let go of you.⁹⁰ May you leave/put ... many hours. The arrow⁹¹ of Horus will go into you in order to

⁷⁷ For more on this see Thissen 1991b, 376.

⁷⁸ A misspelling of “Abraxas”; see Quack 2008, 358 n. 169.

⁷⁹ For gum, see Pope 2018.

⁸⁰ In Demotic, this word means ‘neck’, which is anatomically impossible in this context; this same word, however, means ‘shoulder’ in Coptic, cf. Crum 243a; see Ritner 1986, 98–99.

⁸¹ “Red cloth of Nephthys” is apparently the title of this recipe. On the dying of these cloths, see Goyon 1980, 25–35.

⁸² So Quack 2008, 358.

⁸³ i.e. of Upper and Lower Egypt.

⁸⁴ So Quack 2008, 358.

⁸⁵ This literally means “will be bent down”; for discussion of this passage, see Ritner 1986, 99.

⁸⁶ Perhaps “Yea (twice).”

⁸⁷ Adapted from Quack 1999a, 44 and 2008.

⁸⁸ Adapted from Quack 1999a, 44.

⁸⁹ The reading edited here would mean literally “Prescription concerning a donkey’s not moving.” A frequent problem is to get donkeys to move, e.g. the donkey of Balaam, Num. 22:25–28. Alternatively, perhaps emend to “prescription to make a donkey not move.”

⁹⁰ Adapted from Quack 1999a, 45.

⁹¹ So Quack 2008, 358; Bell, Nock and Thompson 1931, has “deception(?)”

recto col. viii →

GEMF 18/PDM LXI 114–129

- 1 **phre.t** n tī īr [šhm.t] mry.tk w^c **tw** n **Wsir** n **mnḥ** īr-k [...] 115
 īr-k īn f̄y s[^c]r[t] n ʿ īrm w^c qs n sdyl īr-k [tms-w ḥr t:]
 pne:t n **pr-s** īn-n: w w n ḥ:t ḥpr īr-k īn.t f [īr-k w t(?)]
 p: **tw** n **Wsir** n s r t n ʿ⁹² īr-k tī p; qs n sd[y]l n-īm-f]
- 5 īr-k tms-f n-whm ḥr t; pne:t n **pr-s** īr-k ʿš [n:y sh: w]
m-b:ḥ ʒs.t n rhwe iw iḥ wbn sdm bw-īr.tw-k tm[s-f]
 i p; sš t n **Wsir** n **mnḥ** p; wsry t p; tyn n [...] 120
 p: nb ḥs.t mr.t šfē:t [m]y šm-k r ʿ wy **nb** nt iw mn [n-īm-s]⁹³
 r ʿ wy **nb** nt iw mn n-īm-w ḥ.t n r t s m-s; n:y-f tbs.w [...]
- 10 iw īr.y t s ḥr rym.t iw ḥ:t s ḥr ḥm⁹⁴ n:y-s w[f]
 nt iw-s īr-f i p; **tw** n **Wsir** n **mnḥ** īn-n: w īr-k w n ḥ:t [r šm(?)]
 m-s; mn iw-y r šm r t; f t nt iw m[...] iw-y r ʒs.t⁹⁵ m-s:(?) [...] 125
km iw-y swḥ-s n ḥr [...] **km** iw-y tī šp [...]
 m-s; **Wsir** p:y-s hy p:y-s [sn(?) ...]
- 15 ḥy-k nb nwy p; tw-y [...] 125
 nt iw ḥn ḥ.t-bnbn īm [n-y ...]

⁹² See Quack 1999a, 45.⁹³ In this lacuna, Thompson supplied *n-īm-w mtw-k tī-šm mn*, but there is not enough space for it.⁹⁴ This is the equivalent of *ḥr ihm/ḥm*; for haplography between final vowel of *ḥr* and initial vowel of *ihm/ḥm*, see the transliteration of the Old Coptic in GEMF 57/PGM IV 95.⁹⁵ According to Quack 2008, 359, n. 174, the verb is missing here.

Prescription for causing that a [woman] love you: A wax statue of Osiris you should ... (115) you should bring hair and pelt of a donkey together with a bone of a lizard; you should [bury them under the] doorsill of her house.⁹⁶ If stubbornness occurs, you should bring it out [and wrap(?)] the statue of Osiris in⁹⁷ donkey's wool, you should put the lizard bone [in it], you should bury it again under the doorsill of her house, you should recite [these texts]⁹⁸ before Isis at night while the moon is risen. Listen (before) you bur[y it ...]. (120) O secret image of Osiris (made) of wax, the powerful one, the protector of O lord of favor, love, awe, may you go to every house in which NN [is,] to every house in which NN is,⁹⁹ the tip of her feet (following) after his heels ... while her eyes bear tears, while her heart is full of sorrow,¹⁰⁰ her lungs(?) which she will do. "O wax statue of Osiris, if you are stubborn [in sending NN] (125) after NN, I shall go to the chest ..., I shall (take) Isis (out) ... black. I shall wrap it in skin [of a] black [...].¹⁰¹ I shall cause [Isis] to receive, after Osiris her husband, her [brother ...] ... lifetime (?) Hail (to) you, lord of time(?), the one (whom?) I caused ... which is in the House of the Obelisk.¹⁰² Come [to me ...]!"

⁹⁶ For erotic-curses under doorsills, see Theoc. *Id.* 2.60 (under the threshold) and Jerome, *Life of St. Hilarion of Gaza* (23.39.40): "under the threshold, he buried a metal tablet made of bronze from Cyprus, engraved with various portentous words and potent figures." In the magical papyri, however, the threshold is more often the place where separation curses are placed; see below note 131 for parallels.

⁹⁷ So Quack 1999a, 45.

⁹⁸ For the translation of this sentence, we follow Quack 2008, 358–359.

⁹⁹ There is not enough space to reconstruct more than a word. Perhaps the scribe mistakenly repeated the phrase. For sending a statue to the victim's house, cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 1841–1870 (an erotic dream-sending procedure) for the instructions to a mulberry-wood statue of Eros carried to the female victim's house: "Look, she resides here ... assuming the likeness of the god she worships, go and say what I propose."

¹⁰⁰ So Love 2016, 32, fn. 74, paralleled in Old Coptic ⲉⲧⲏ ⲁⲓ ⲉⲟⲙ in GEMF 57/PGM IV 97.

¹⁰¹ For the translation of this section, we follow Quack 2008, 359.

¹⁰² The sun temple in Heliopolis.

	verso col. i ↓	GEMF 18/PDM LXI 130–149
1	[...] <i>t̄iṝk r t̄i swr(?) rmt(?)</i> [...] <i>n p̄ ...</i> [...] [... <i>sy]b n whr km n p̄; msd n wnm</i> [... <i>sṛ]t̄ n p̄; d̄mw n w̄ sr km</i> [... <i>h̄ p̄; hr. w(?) n p̄; ȳk pt hrw(?) hrp</i>	130
5	[... <i>sṛ]t̄ snf mtw̄k h̄tb(?)</i> ΘΑΛΛΑΜΑΤΔ [... <i>iṝk w̄h̄ iṝk sdr̄ iṛm t̄; šhm.t</i> [<i>iṝk th]s hnn.ṭ̄k n-iṝf iṝk ȳf</i> [... <i>iṝk t̄i swr̄s iṝk t̄i šm p̄; sṛt̄</i> [... <i>... n d̄yt̄ iṝk mr̄s</i>	135
10	[... <i>n p̄; ȳk d̄]nh̄ n wnm</i> [<i>mtw̄k] t̄i swr s t̄; šhm.t</i> [... <i>β.t(?) n ls n k̄; ʿ...</i> [... <i>p̄; ȳ(?) m̄ ... n-iṝw n t̄; ȳk mt.t</i> [... <i>p̄; ȳk snf mtw̄k</i> ΦΑΜ[Ο]ΥΡΟΥΘ	140
15	ΕΤΟΥ.Τ. [... <i>ȳf hn̄ iṛp [ndm]...</i> [... <i>... r-r̄f</i> [... <i>... r-r̄f</i> [... <i>twys p̄; m̄¹⁰³</i>	145
	verso col. ii ↓	GEMF 18/PDM LXI 150–162
1	<i>twys p̄; ȳw m̄</i> <i>ϰεναῖ/ κορνιν .[.]ωξω/</i> <i>ραγαυ/ καρζανα/ ιαω</i> <i>λορναῖ/ ω·ω·ω· ναῖω</i>	150
5	<i>μελωῖ/ ναῖ/ εριανα/</i> [70] <i>ε.ϰαϰναῖ/ εναμφε/</i> 155 <i>φιλίτο μει ἦ Δ.</i> <i>r̄; wt¹⁰⁴</i> <i>mtw̄k sp̄-w n</i>	
10	<i>wny h̄l swr</i> <i>mtw̄k w̄š̄w mtw̄k t̄i n̄w</i> 160 <i>2.t(?) wny iṛw̄f l... t̄; ... n w̄c ...</i> <i>swr bne.t iṛw̄f w̄š̄c</i>	
	2 ϰεναῖ . . Pr ϰεναῖ dub in app : ϰναῖ Be || 3 ξ corr. ex β? || 4 λοῖναῖ Pr : λορναῖ Be || 6 ε.ϰαϰτιαῖ Pr : ε . . λϰναῖ Be || 1. 7 I. φιλείτω με | δ(ε)ῖ(να)	

¹⁰³ This is repeated at the top of the next column.

¹⁰⁴ The scribe writes the word ‘green’ (*wṭ*) with the phallus determinative, which is usually used for the homophone meaning ‘to beget’, rather than the expected plant determinative.

GEMF 18.130–149

(130) ... you will cause a man(?) to drink(?) ... fish [...] of the ... tick of a black dog in the right ear [... wool] of the offspring of a black ram ... the one side of your foot (on the) day(?) of submerging. [... wool], blood and you kill the tick¹⁰⁵ (135) You should stop sleeping with the woman; [you should anoint] your phallus with it; you should wash it ...; you should make her drink; you should send the wool ... olive; you should bind it [to your] right arm; (140) [you should] make the woman drink it ... of the tongue of a bull ... name ... them in your matter [... your] own blood. PHAM[OU]ROUTH THTO[.J]T (145) ... wash it in [sweet] wine ... it ... it Here are their name(s).

GEMF 18.150–162

(150) Here are their name(s):¹⁰⁶ ... SENAĪ SORNIN... ŌZŌ RANAU SARXANA IAŌ LORNAI ŌŌŌ NAIŌ MELŌĪ NAI ERIANA (155) E.SASNAĪ ENAMPHE, let her, NN, love me.¹⁰⁷ Green ink. And you dip them in *wny*-flower and myrrh, drink, (160) and you burn them and you grind them ... *wny*-flower ... of a ... beverage:¹⁰⁸ date, which is burned.

¹⁰⁵ Written in Old Coptic, cf. GEMF 15.528/PDM XII 85, *h'lm't = syb*.

¹⁰⁶ The first line of this column is in Demotic, followed by six lines in Greek script.

¹⁰⁷ From this line on, the text returns to Demotic.

¹⁰⁸ The word *swr* here is unclear; it may be a verb ('to drink'), but here we treat it as a noun ('beverage'). The CDD, s.v. offers the possible translations 'dose' and 'potion'; compare also the use in BM 10225 where it may mean 'beer' (see Andrews 1994, 31).

verso col. iii →

GEMF 18.163–181 [PGM LXI 1–19]

- 1 Φύλτρον ἐπαιν[ετὸν ca 7 λ]αβὸν ἔλαιον
καθαρὸν καὶ βοτά[νην σεῦ]τλος καὶ κλώνας
ἐλαίας ἄρον ἐπὶ φύλ[λ]α καὶ ὄμ[ο]ῦ πάντα τρίψας 165
ἐπίχυννε εἰς τὸ ἔλαιον, ἄχρι οὗ ὡς ἔλαιον
- 5 γένηται, καὶ λαβὸν αὐτὸ εἰσαιπανάβα ἐπὶ δῶμα
ἢ ἐπὶ γῆς πρὸς τὴν σε[λ]ήνην καὶ λέγε τὸν λόγον ζ̄:
cὺν εἰ τὸ ἔλαιον, οὐκ εἶται ἔλαι[ο]ν, ἀλλὰ ἰδρὸς τοῦ
Ἄγαθοῦ Δαίμονος, ἡ μύξα τῆς [Ἰ]σίδος, τὸ ἀπόφθεγμα 170
τοῦ Ἡλίου, ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Οὐσίριος, ἡ χάρις τῶν θεῶν.
- 10 θεῶν ἀπολύω σε πρὸς τὸν Δ, τὴν ἔτηκεν ἡ Δ. ἢ [10]
διακόνησόν μοι πρὸς τὴν Δ, πρὶν σοὶ ἐπάναγκαστοὺς θεοὺς
ἐνέγκω, ἐὰν μὴ πέμψῃς ἐπὶ κιδηρᾶς θύρας ῥήξω αὐτός.
οὐκέτι ἐπὶ ταῦτά σε πέμψω, οὐδὲ χρεῖαν ἐστὶν 175
τούτων, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τὴν Δ, ἣν ἔτηκεν ἡ Δ, ἵνα, ἐὰν ἀφῆς,
- 15 αὐτῆς τὴν κεφαλὴν πιάσης. σκότωσον αὐτήν· μὴ γνώ[τω]-
M² τω ποῦ ἐστίν. πῶρ ὑποκάτω αὐτῆς γενοῦ, ἄχρι οὗ ἔλθε
πρὸς ἐμέ ἵνα με φιλήῃ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, καὶ μὴ δυνηθῇ μήτε
πειεῖν μήτε φαγεῖν, ἄχρι οὗ ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμέ, ἵνα με φιλήῃ 180
εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον. ἐξορκίζω σε τὸν μέγαν θεὸν

1 ἐπαιν[ετὸν iam Be | cφόδρα fort. No in lac | λ]αβὸν ω ex ε || 2 l. βοτά[νην | σεῦ]τλος iam Th Pr | 1. κλωνὸς iam Ei || 5 βαλὸν Sc Pr | 1. εἰσεπανάβα : ἄγγ[ο]c fort. Mi Sc Pr, qui αι[.]c leg : ἔτος dub. Be | δόμα(τος) Pr || 7 l. cὺ iam Be Pr | 1. οὐκ εἶ τὸ : οὐκ εἶ δὲ Pr : οὐκ εἶ ταῖ (1. τε = δὲ) Be Pr, qui antea τὸ leg || 9 l. Ὀσίριος || 10 {θεῶν} iam sec Be Pr | 1. τὴν iam Be Pr | δ(ε)ῖ(να) | 1. ἔτεκεν | δ(ε)ῖ(να) || 11 δ(ε)ῖ(να) | 1. ἐπαναγκαστ(ικ)οὺς Ei Pr || 13 ταῦτα(ς) σε πέμψω Be | 1. χρεῖα || 14 ἀλλὰ α ex ε | δ(ε)ῖ(να) | 1. ἔτεκεν | δ(ε)ῖ(να) | 1. ἀφῆ c(ε) iam Ei Pr || 15 κεφαλὴν η ex α || 16 l. ἔλθῃ || 18 l. πειεῖν || 19 l. ἐξορκίζω | 1. σε

GEMF 18.163–181

A recommended ... love-potion.¹⁰⁹ Take pure olive oil and a beet plant(?),¹¹⁰ and from a branch (165) of an olive tree grab seven leaves. Grind everything (i.e. the dry materials) together and pour (them) into the olive oil, until they are (i.e. wet?) like olive oil. Take it up on the house-top or upon the ground before the moon and say 7 times (i.e. over the mixture):¹¹¹ “You are the olive oil, you are not the olive oil, but rather the sweat of (170) Agathos Daimon, the mucus of Isis, the speech of Helios, the power of Osiris, the grace of the gods. I release you (i.e. the oil mixture) against her,¹¹² NN, whom she, NN bore. Indeed, serve me against her, NN, before I bring (the) gods of coercion¹¹³ against you. If you do not send ... against the iron gates, I myself will break them. (175) It is no longer for this I send you, nor is there need of these things, but (I will send you?) against her, NN, whom she, NN bore, in order that, if she spits you (i.e. the potion) out,¹¹⁴ you oppress¹¹⁵ the head of her (i.e. the female victim). Blind her, let her not know where she is! Become a fire beneath her, until she comes to me, in order that she love me for all time, and may she not be able to (180) drink or eat, until she comes to me, in order that she love me for all time. I adjure you by the great god,

¹⁰⁹ The word *philtion* usually means a generic love or erotic procedure, but the recipe that follows is for a liquid substance, albeit hardly palatable, that is first equated with divine bodily fluids (sweat and mucus) and in the final scene we are to ask the solar scarab to “gulp down my *philtion*.” There are, however, no instructions to give the mixture to the victim to drink, but see the similar recipe in GEMF 74.799–807/PGM VII 643–651, a “Cup-procedure, extremely remarkable,” in which a cup of wine is enchanted and then given to the female victim to drink; see Faraone 1996, 77–112, for detailed discussion.

¹¹⁰ This is Nock’s guess for βωτά[νην]τλ. In the magical papyri, βοτάνη is used either with a following genitive, “the plant of X,” see e.g. GEMF 31/PGM I 18: βοτάνην ἀγλαοφωτίδος, or with the name of the plant in the same case, e.g. GEMF 30.83/PGM II 36 στρύχνον βοτάνην, where we might translate: “strychnine (plant),” apparently to disambiguate it from other objects with the same name, as we see in book 1 of the *Cyranides*.

¹¹¹ In the “cup-procedure” GEMF 74.799–807/PGM VII 643–651 a similar claim is to be recited seven times into the cup (εἰς τὸ ποτήριον) presumably of wine: “You are wine, you are not wine, but the head of Athena (ὃ ἐἶ οἶνος, οὐκ εἶ οἶνος, ἀλλ’ ἡ κεφαλὴ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς), you are wine, you are not wine, but the guts of Osiris...”

¹¹² The article here is masculine, but the relative pronoun is feminine and later the victim is always feminine.

¹¹³ The compound adjective ἐπαναγκακτικός seems to be found only in the magical handbooks, e.g. GEMF 57/PGM IV 2677 (describing incense in a slander procedure) or to describe a “restraining procedure” in 74.475/VII 394.

¹¹⁴ This is addressed to the potion; for ἀφήμι meaning ‘to emit’ liquids, see LSJ s.v., who cite Aristotle.

¹¹⁵ The verb πιάζω (or πιέζω) has a variety of meanings, e.g. ‘to press, squeeze, weigh down, oppress’ (LSJ s.v.). It is used only once in GEMF, in the invocation of Hermes in a thief-catching recipe (GEMF 58/PGM V 172): “I call upon you Hermes to ‘put the squeeze’ on a thief (κλέπτην πιάσαι)!”

verso col. iv ↓

GEMF 18.182–200 [PGM LXI 20–38]

1	τὸν [ἐ]πὶ τῆς ὀροφῆς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Ἀρβαιηθ/ μουθ/ νουθ/ φρωθω/ φρη Θωουθ/ βρεικον Θωθ/ ἐπ[ά]κουσον με, θεὲ μέγιτε, ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρα (ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτης), ἵνα πυρώσης τὴν καρδ/, καὶ φιλείτω δὲ, ὅτι περὶ ἐμὲ ἔχω	[20] 185
5	τὴν δύναμ[ι]ν τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ, ὃ οὐκ ἔξ[ε]στιν ὄνομα οὐδενὶ [ὄν]ομάζειν, εἰ μὴ μόνω ἐμοὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν, [..]ευριωμοὶ αεεθῖ/ εωηη/ φηουαβ/ φθα αχε/ ανου/ ησιενε[...]. εθουλ/ φιμοῖου. ἐπάκουσον μοι διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην, ὅτι σε ὦν[ό]μα διατὴν ἄ, ἣν ἔτηκεν ἡ ἄ, ἵνα μη φιλή καὶ ποιήσῃ	190
10	ὅσα θέλω, [καὶ] ἐπιλάθεται πατρὸς καὶ μητρ[ό]ς, ἀδελφῶν, ἀνδρός, φίλου, π[λ]ῆν ἐμοῦ μόνου τούτων πάν[τ]ων ἐπιλάθεται. ὅταν δὲ ποιῆς, ἔχε μετὰ σεαυτοῦ δάκτυλον σιδηρον, ἐφ' ὃν γέγλυπται Ἄρποκράτης ἐπὶ λωτῶ καθήμενος, καὶ ὄνομά ἐστιν αὐτῷ Ἀβρασαξ/ ἐὰν δὲ θέλῃς αὐτὴν	[30] 195
15	παῦσε, λαβὼν κάρθαρων ἡλιακὸν θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸ μεσ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς καὶ λέγε αὐτῷ· ῥύψῃς τὸ ὄμῶν φίλτρο, ἴδω[ρ]λον Ἡλίου· αὐτός σοι ἐπιτάξει ποιῆσαι. καὶ ἄρα αὐτὸν ἀπόλυσον ζῶντα. εἶτα λαβὼν τὸν δάκ[τυλο]ν δὸς αὐτῇ φορεῖν, [κ]αὶ εὐθέως ἀπαλλαγῆσεται.	200

2 φρηθουθ Be | βρεικον iam Th : βρεικονθωθ Be | 1. μοι iam Be || 3 ταύτη corr. Pr (ταύτη or sc. ἡμέρας Be) || 4 καρδ(ίαν) | 1. με iam Pr (μ of με badly corrected from δ Be) || 5 l. ο(ὐ) Pr || 7 τῷ κυρίῳ dub. N | μοι Pr | φθααχε Be || 8 ησι Th : ησιενε[...].εθουλ Be : ?Ισι ενεσιε dub Pr (cf IV 2406) || 9 δ(ε)ἰ(να) | 1. ἔτεκεν | δ(ε)ἰ(να) | 1. με || 10 [καὶ] iam Pr || 12. l. σιδηροῦν || 13 l. καθήμενος || 15 l. παῦσαι | 1. κάρθαρων | τὸ τ ex ο | 1. μέσον iam Be || 16 l. ἐμὸν | 1. φίλτρο(ν) || 17 l. εἴδωλον | ἐπιτάξει ex ι | 1. αὐτὸν || 18 τὸν ο ex ω | δάκ[τυ]λον Pr

GEMF 18.182–200

the one upon the roof of heaven ARBAIĒTH MOUTH NOUTH PHTHŌTHŌ PHRĒ THŌUTH BREISON THŌTH. Listen to me, O greatest god, on this day or on this night, in order that (185) you burn her heart and let her love me, because I have around me the power of the greatest god, whose name is impossible for anyone to name,¹¹⁶ except for me alone on account of its power.¹¹⁷ ... EURIŌMOI AEETHI EŌĒĒ PHĒOUAB PHTHA AXE ANOU ĒSIENES ... ETHOUL PHIMOIOU. Listen to me out of necessity (190) because I have named you on account of her, NN, whom she, NN bore, in order that she love me and do however many things I want. [And] may she forget father and mother, siblings, husband, friend; except for me alone, may she forget all of these people.” Whenever you do (i.e. this procedure), keep with you an iron ring,¹¹⁸ upon which has been engraved Harpokrates sitting on a lotus (195) and his name is Abrasax.¹¹⁹ And if you wish her (i.e. the targeted woman) to stop (i.e. loving you) take a solar scarab,¹²⁰ place it in the middle of her head and say to it: “Gulp down my love-potion, O image of Helios, because he himself (i.e. Helios) commands you to do (it)!” And you take up the scarab and release it alive and next take the ring and give it to her to wear (200) and she will depart.

¹¹⁶ See GEMF 21.4–5 for a similar *poterion* in which the ‘unspeakable name’ of Aphrodite is used.

¹¹⁷ Or perhaps *his* power.

¹¹⁸ For the use of the ring, see Suárez de la Torre 2019, 219–220.

¹¹⁹ Harpokrates on the lotus is common subject on gem amulets used for both protection, as it is perhaps used here, and for increasing one’s grace or charisma; see Faraone 2018, 155–59; for gem fitting this description, see Vitellozzi 2010, no. 512.

¹²⁰ On the solar scarab, see Dosoo and Galoppin, forthcoming and Dosoo, forthcoming.

verso col. v ↓

GEMF 18.201–221 [PGM LXI 39–59]

- 1 ἀπ.[ca 8] . . αἰ[.]α[.]. δικικθε[. . . ἀπὸ τοῦ] ἀνδρός·
λαβὼν [καλαβῶ]την ἀπὸ ταριχε[ίω]ν . . .] περὶ κῆνα [40]
βάλε τ[ὸν καλ]αβώτην εἰς ἀγ[γ]εῖον κιδη]ροῦν, καὶ
λαβὼν [ἄνθρακα] ἀπὸ χαλκίου, ὁπότε[αν πῦρ ἀν]άπτουσιν,
5 βάλε α[ὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ἀγ]γεῖον μετὰ τοῦ κ[αλαβώ]την καὶ ἔκαυσον 205
ἐν τοῖς [ἄνθραξ]ι . . . ὡν λέγε· καλαβ[ῶ]τα, κα]λαβῶτα,
ὡς ἐμ[ίση]σέν σε Ἥλιος καὶ πάντ[ε]ς θεοί, οὗτος
μισεῖτ[ω] τὸν ἄνδρα ἢ ἄ εἰς τὸν ἄ[παντα] χρόνον κα[ὶ]
αὐτὴν[ὁ ἀ]νήρ. ὅταν δὲ συνεψηθῆ, [τὸν καλα]βώτην
10 ἔπε[χε εὔθ]ετον μὴ ἄψασθαι τοῦ [ἀγγεῖου]. ἄρσα 210
δὲ τὸ ἀγ[γ]εῖον, ἐν ᾧ ἐ]νήψηται, πρόσελ[θε . . . τ]ῷ πυλῶνι
λέγων· [καλαβῶ]τα, κ]αλαβῶτα, μισεῖτ[ω] σε ὁ Ἥλιος κ]αὶ [50]
ἄνθρω[ποι πάντες, ὅ]τι ἢ ἄ κ[ατ]ατῆν[αι λέγει τὴν Ὀ]σερον-
νωφρι[ος Φαπρω Ο]ὔρ[ιδος] θεοῦ τ[αφῆν . . .] καὶ [κ]ατα-
15 βεβρῶ[σθαι ὑπὸ σοῦ] ἴδωλε βιανδαθ[. . . .], ἴδωλε 215
Τυφῶ[νος ἴδωλε] ἴστη κογγηθ/, ἴδ[ωλε Αβ]ρασαξ/ αναξ[
ἴδωλε [Ἰάω· μὴ πρ]οσέλθη . . . διὰ τ[οῦ πυλῶ]νος, ἀφ' ἧς
ὄρασ ἐὰν[ὁ Ἥλιος ἀγ]άσχη] τὴν γῆ[ν ἐπὶ ὄλον τὸν] χρόνον,
ὅσον συ[ca 10]ν ποτ[ca 10]μου ὅσον
20 θάλλε[ι ca 8 ὅς' ἄν] θέλη[ς, κοινὰ λέγε] καὶ ἀπο- 220
χώρ[ησον.]

1 Ἄγω[γῆ· ἄγει γ]υναῖ[κ]α[ν ἀ]δικικθε[ῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ] ἀνδρός· Pr : Ἄγω[γῆ, ἥτις πάνυ μ]ακαρ[ί]α conī. No | ἀδικικθέ[ντι ὑπὸ τοῦ] ἀνδρός· dub conī. Be || 2 καλαβῶ]την Pr | ταριχε[ίω]ν iam No | 1. κείνα : ζῶντα περὶ κείνα Pr || 3 τ[οῦτον τὸν καλ] No : τ[ὸν αὐτὸν καλ] Pr | ἀγγ[ί]ον iam Be | κιδη]ροῦν vel ἀργυ]ροῦν Be : κιδη]ροῦν Pr || 4 ἄνθρακα iam No | 1. χαλκείου | πῦρ Pr : ὁπότε[αν ἀν] No : ὁπότε[αν πῦρ δὲ ἀν] dub conī. Be || 5 α[ὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ἀγ] iam Be | κ[αλαβῶ]του iam conī. Be : τὸν κ[αλαβῶ]την corr. No | ἔκαυσον iam Ei || 6 [ἄνθραξ] . . . Be : ἄνθραξ καὶ πο]ῶν Pr qui antea π]ῶν :] . . . τῶν Be || 7 ἐμ[ίση]σέν iam Th | 1. οὗτος || 8 μισεῖτ[ω] μὲν τ]ὸν ἄνδρα Be : μισεῖτ[ω] τ]ὸν ἄνδρα Pr | δ(ε)ῖ(να) | ἄ[παντα] iam Be || 9 αὐτῆ[ν δὲ ὁ ἀ]νήρ Be | [τὸν καλα]βώτην iam Be || 10 ἔπε[χε εὔθ]ετον Pr | [ἀγγεῖου] Pr : τοῦ[του . . .]αρσα Be qui arsa in -άρασ dub em (e.g. ἐπανάρασ?) || 11 ἀγ[γ]ίον ὅταν συ]νήψηται No dub Be : ἀγγ[εῖον, ἐν ᾧ ἐ]νήψηται Pr | προσέλ[θε δὲ τ]ῷ No vel cū Be : προσέλ[θε αὐτῷ τ]ῷ Pr || 12 μισεῖτ[ω]σαν θεοὶ κ]αὶ Be : μισεῖτ[ω] σε ὁ Ἥλιος κ]αὶ Pr || 13 πάντες iam Ei | δ(ε)ῖ(να) || 13–15 (ὅ]τι --- ὑπὸ σοῦ) conī. Pr | κ[ατ]ατῆν[αι iam Be || 14 Ο]ὔρ[ιδος] Pr :] τ[. . .] Be | θεοῦ τ[αφῆν] Pr : . . . τρουτ[. . . .] Be || 15 βεβρῶ[σθαι ὑπὸ σοῦ]. εἴδωλε Pr : βεβρω[μέν] ἴδωλε Be | β . . . ανδαθ[. . . .] Be : β[ι]ανδαθ[ρη] Pr || 16 ἴετηκογγηθ/ Be : Τυφῶ[νος κακτ]ιητη κογ(γ)ηθ/ Pr | ἀναξ[ίβοα] Pr || 17 [Ἰάω· μὴ πρ]οσέλθη Pr : [.] πρ]οσέλθη Be | (ἢ) δ(εῖνα) διὰ [τοῦ πυλῶ]νος Pr : δια . . . χρό]νος Be || 18 1. ὄρασ | ἐὰν ὁ Ἥλιος ἀγ]άσχη] Pr | γῆ[ν ἐπὶ ὄλον τὸν] χρόνον Pr | χρόνον vel ο]ἰρονόν (sic) Th || 19 συ[ναυξάνει τὸν] Ποτ[αμὸν ἐκ Ποτα]μοῦ Pr (τὸ]ν ποτ[αμὸν] iam Th || 20 θάλλε[ι ὁ ἐρινεός'. ὅς' ἄν] θέλη[ς Pr : θάλλα]cca (l. θάλαcca) Th καὶ κοινὰ ὅ]σα] θέλη[ς No

GEMF 18.201–221

... ¹²¹ [a woman ... from her] husband. Take a [gecko] from a place of mummification¹²² ... around those things. Throw the [gecko] into an [iron] pot, take [coals] from a forge, whenever they light [the fire], (205) and throw [them into] the pot with the [gecko] and burn it up in the [coals and]¹²³ say: “Gecko, gecko, just as Helios and all the [gods] hated you, in this way also let her, NN, hate her husband for all time and let her husband (hate) her!” And whenever it (i.e. the gecko) is completely cooked,¹²⁴ keep [the gecko] (210) in a good place, (taking care that?) it does not touch the [pot(?)].¹²⁵ Grasp the pot in which it was cooked and approach ... the gate, saying: “[Gecko], gecko, let [Helios]¹²⁶ and [all] mortals¹²⁷ hate [you], because she, NN, [says] that the [mummy] of the god Oseronōphrios [Phaprō Osiris]¹²⁸ was taken down and (215) devoured [by you].¹²⁹ O image of BIANDATH... O image of Typhon, [O image of] ISTĒ SOGGĒTH, O image of ABRASAX ANAX[...], O image of [Iaō], let her [not] ... go through the gate¹³⁰ from whatever hour [Helios illuminates(?)]¹³¹ the earth [for the whole?] time, as long as as long as ... (220) flourishes”¹³² [say the usual?], whatever you wish and depart.

¹²¹ The restorations of Preisendanz for l. 39 are too adventuresome. The rubric begins with either *αγ.* or *απ.* followed by *ω* or *ο*, but his restoration *ἀγωγή* makes little sense because this recipe is for a separation procedure that aims at casting hatred, not attraction, into another person. At the end of the line *ἀδικιθε[σαν ὑπὸ τοῦ] ἀνδρός* is equally problematic: the verb *ἀδικίζω* would be a *hapax* and in an advertisement for a separation-procedure we expect the passive participle to be linked with the preposition *ἀπό*, i.e. “it separates a woman *from* her husband.”

¹²² Or a pickling factory.

¹²³ There is not enough space for the supplements proposed by Bell and Preisendanz (cf. app. crit.). We would expect a *καί* to separate the two imperatives, but there is not even room for that. In the damaged section that follows the lacuna one can easily read *-ων*, suggesting a participle, perhaps a verb of seeing, cf. e.g. GEMF 57/PGM IV 3216 *ἀτενίζων λέ[γε]* GEMF 60/PGM XIII 859 and *πρὸς τὸν νότο(ν) βλέπων λέγε*.

¹²⁴ The verb *ἔψω* means to boil liquids or to cook meat in liquid, but no liquid is mentioned.

¹²⁵ The prohibition could also refer to not touching the ground or some other object.

¹²⁶ See Nock 1972 for discussion on the Greek myths involving the natural hatred between the sun and the gecko. For the invocation of other cases of profound hatred, see GEMF 15.415–424/PGM XII 365–375, a separation procedure (*διακοπή*) that invokes hatred and enmity between friends “just as Typhon and Osiris had,” but then adds that if the enmity is to be between a husband and wife, we must say “just as Typhon and Isis had.”

¹²⁷ Here the address to the burnt gecko is repeated, but “the the gods” is replaced by “[all] mortals.”

¹²⁸ This text was restored from parallels like GEMF 58/PGM V 113–115 *ἐγὼ εἰμι ἄγγελος τοῦ Φαπρῶ Ὀσοροννωφρις. τοῦτό ἐστιν σοῦ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἀληθινόν.*

¹²⁹ This sounds like a slander procedure (*διαβολή*), in which the practitioner seeks to anger the god against the female victim, by claiming that she has accused a deity (here the gecko?) of performing unholy things; cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 2655–2660.

¹³⁰ The ritual seems focused on the entrance to the house perhaps to prevent the woman from leaving or entering the gate towards which the pot was carried. The separation procedure in GEMF 15.415–424/PGM XII 365–375 tells us to inscribe a “pot (*ἀγγεῖον*) for smoked fish” with the curse and “place it where they (i.e. the couple) are, where they usually return”; the second part sounds like an entrance. See also the other separation procedures in the same papyrus, but in Demotic, where the curse is buried “under the doorsill” (15.493–503/XII 50–61) “in the road (before the house?)” (504–518/62–75) or “in the above-mentioned house” (519–550/76–107).

¹³¹ Preisendanz’s supplement plausibly brings Helios into the picture as the traditional enemy of the gecko, although it is hard to understand why we should limit the effect of the separation procedure to the daylight hours.

¹³² Preisendanz’s supplements here to the flooding of the Nile and the growth of the fig tree seem too adventurous.

verso col. vi ↓

GEMF 18.222–228 [PGM LXI 60–66]

1	[(λόγος) γραφό]μενος εἰς [χα]ρτίον [αἷμα]τι Τυφῶνος, ὃ ἐστ[ι ἐλ]θέ, πάτερ, ὃν ἄροτρον []. ἱακεμβραώθ/ []. φλουδουντας [[διάκοπον τ]ὸν δῖνα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀ []β...νθεσ προστῆρα αυ[	[60] 225
5		

1 [λόγος γραφό]μενος Pr : ἐνθέ]μενος No || 2 αἷμα]τι Pr : καὶ λαβὼν ὀστέον ἔ]τι Τυφῶνος ὃ ἐστ[ι κίδηρος dub. No ap. Plut. Mor. 376B || 3 ἔλ]θε Be || 4 τυφλωδοῦντας (ποιεῖ αὐτούς) vel φιλοῦντας dub. Pr in app || 6 διάκοπον Pr | 1. δεῖνα | δ(εῖνα) || 7 ἔ]νθεσ πρηστῆρα αὐ[τοῖς dub. Pr in app.

GEMF 18.222–228

[Formula?] written on a papyrus-chit ... with the blood of Typhon (i.e. of an ass), which is “Come father, whom ... a plow ... (225) ΙΑΚΕΜΒΡΑΩΘΗ ... ΠΗΛΟΥΔΟΥΝΤΑΣ... [separate] him, NN, from her, NN, ...

For the Demotic text: K. Dosoo, M. Escolano-Poveda, J. Johnson, E. Love, A. Singer
 For the Greek text: C. Faraone, A. Nodar, S. Torallas Tovar

3. The Greek Formularies of the Early Empire (II–III CE)

GEMF 19
(PGM XVIIb)

Hermoupolite nome?

late II–III CE

ED.PR.: Plasberg 1903, 208–217 [Pl]

REPUBL.: PGM; Heitsch 1959, 223–236 [He¹]; Heitsch 1961–1964, 186–187 LIX no. 8 with ph. of verso Tab. M [He²]; PGM² Hymn 15/16 [Hymn]

TRANSL.: O’Neil, GMPT, 254 (English); Graf 1991, 204–205 (English); Calvo Martínez and Sánchez Romero 1987, 319 (Spanish)

COMM.: Preisendanz 1927b, 125; Reitzenstein 1911, 564 [Re]; Heitsch 1959; Graf 1991, 192–193; Fowden 1993, 25–26 [Fo]; Zellmann-Rohrer 2020, 49 [Ze]

LOC.: Strasbourg, Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire, P.Stras. Gr. 1179 verso

TM 64226

The formulary consists of a single sheet of papyrus (H. 21.5 × W. 10.5 cm). The text is written against the fibers on the back of an earlier document, probably a discarded roll from which this sheet was cut. The top and bottom of a single column of writing are preserved, with margins; the sheet is broken at both left and right. The script is small, upright and practiced, vaguely inspired by the Formal Mixed style (see P.Oxy. XVIII 2189, dated to 219, for a similar phenomenon). This is especially visible at the beginning of the document, where the modular contrast between wide letters (η, ν, π) and narrow ones (θ, ο which tends to be smaller, ρ) is more noticeable. The hand nonetheless has some cursive features (e.g. the form of ε and some ligatures, typically αι and ει), which may be assigned to the late second or third century (cf. P.Köln V 229 [178 CE]; P.Oxy. XXXI 2584 [211 CE]). *Diaeresis* is used in ll. 12 and 22. There are some phonetic spellings.

The contents are a hexametrical hymn addressed to Hermes asking him to send prophetic skill, without the description of any attendant ritual. Versions of the same hymn appear in GEMF 58/PGM V 400–420 and 74.824–836/PGM VII 668–680, but only here does the scribe arrange the verses in stichic form (one verse per line). These hymns are collated as Hymns 15 and 16 in Pr.

verso ↓

GEMF 19/PGM XVIIIb

- 1 [Ἐρμῆ ~ -κρ]άτωρ ἐγκάρδιε κ[ύκλε ~ -×]
 [-~ -~ - τ]ετράγωνε λόγων [~ -×]
 [-~ -~] ε χλαμυδηφόρε [-~ -×]
 [-~ -~ - γ]λόσσης μεδέω[v ~ -×]
 5 [-~ -~ -]ου εἰςπνοῖη γάρ []
 [] . παρὼν προφ[]
 [-~ -~]ων τυτθῶ χρόνο[c ~ -×]
 [-~ -~ -]ν πάλι μόρσιμο[v ~ -×]
 [-~ -~]ον τιν' ἀληθαία [~ -×]
 10 [-~ -~]τηρ σοὶ λέγει καὶ [-~ -×]
 []ατος ἄπερ φε[]
 [.]ρα ἴ[. .]εμην ἐπικρίνοιο [~ -×]
 ἐσθλὰ μὲν ἐς[θλο]ῖσιν παρέχεις [~ -~ -×]
 c[ο]ῖ δ' ἠὲ ἀνέτειλε, θοῖ δ' ἐπελα[~ -×]
 15 στοιχείων ἐν κ[ρ]ατεῖς πυρὸς ἀέρο[c ~ -~ -×]
 ἡγία πηδαλιούχος ἕφυς κόσμοιο [~ -×]
 ὦν δ' [ἐ]θέλις ψυχὰς προάγει, [τ]ο[ύ]c [-~ -~ -×]
 κόσμος γὰρ κόσμου γεγαῶς [~ -~ -×]
 ἐν γὰρ καὶ νόουσιν μερόπων [~ -~ -×]
 20 ἡμερινοῦς κα[ῖ] νυκτερινοῦ[c ~ -~ -×]
 καὶ μοι εὐχομένῳ τὴν σὴν [~ -~ -×]
 ἀνθρώπῳ ὁσίῳ ἰκέτη καὶ [~ -~ -×]
 καὶ σὴν μαντοσύνην νη[μερτέα ~ -~ -×]

1 [Ἐρμῆ κοσμοκρ]άτωρ P1 | 1. ἐγκάρδιε | κ[ύκλε] κελήνης P1 || 2 [ετρογγύλε καὶ] P1 | 2 [ἀρχηγέτα γλώσσης] P1 || 3 fort. [πειθοδικαῖος]νε : [πειθοδικαῖος]νε P1 | [πτηνοπέδιλε] P1 || 4 [παμφόνο] P1 | 1. γλώσσης, c² corr. ex η? : [γλ]όσσης corr. ex [γλ]όσσης Pr | [θνητοῖσι προφήται] Pr || 5] . εἰςπνοῖη P1 : [ζωο]γογεί, πνοῖη He² :] εἰςπνοῖη Pr | 6 προφ[Ze : προει[edd. | 7]ων P1 : ἐν He¹ : ἐν Pr :]ν He² | χρόνω edd. || 8] . ν P1 : [ὅτα]ν Pr | μόρσιμο[v ἡμαρ ἐπέλθη] Pr || 9 [χρημ]όν Pr | 1. ἀληθέα corr. Pr : ἀληθαία P1 | [-~ πεμπ...(?)] He² : [ἄνδρασι δέ] vel [εὐεβέσιν] He² in app.cr. : [πέμπων] Pr || 10 l. ἐν | [μοιρῶν τε κλωσ]τήρ σοὶ λέγει καὶ [θεῖος ὄνειρος] P1 || 11 [πανδαμάτωρ ἀδαμ]ατὸς P1 : [οὐκ ὄνομ]ατὸς Re | 12 ὅ[φ]ρα ἴ[α]σιν ἐμῆν? : . [.]ρα ἴ[. .]εμ . ν P1 : [. . .] . α . [. . .] . ν He² : α . [. .]ρα ἴ[. .]εμ[. .]ν Pr || 13 [ἀνόμοιοι δὲ λυγρά] He² : [δειλοῖσι δὲ λυγρά] P1 || 14 ἀνέ[τ]ειλε edd. | ἐπελά[ccato σοὶ νύξ] P1 || 15 ὕδατος αἴης P1 || 16 ἡγία P1 : ἡνί(κ)α Pr | [ἄπαντος] Pr || 17 l. ἐθέλις | δ' [ἐ]θ- Pr : δ[ἐ]θ- P1 | ψυχὰς Ze : ψυ[χ]ὰς cett. | [τ]ο[ύ]c : . [P1 : om. cett. | [τοὺς δ' αὐτε καλύπτεις] Pr : [τοὺς δ' αὐτ' ἀνεγείρεις] P1 || 18 [κόσμον ἐκράτουν] He² || 19 [πάσας θεραπεύεις] He² : [πάντων θεραπεύεις] Pr || 20 [χρημοὺς ἐπιπέμπων] P1 || 21 εὐχομένῳ He² | [μορφὴν ἐπίδειξαι] He² : [ἀρετὴν ἐπίδειξαι]? He² in app.cr. : [μορφὴν ἐπίτειλον] Pr || 22 . [: c[P1 : c[ῶ] στρατιώτη] Pr || 23 [πέμνον ἐν ὕπνῳ] Pr

GEMF 19

“Hermes, [world (?)]-ruler,¹ who is in the heart,² circle [of the moon (?),]
 [Round and (?)] square, [leader (?)] of [the tongue’s (?)] words,
 [Advocate of justice,] mantle-clad,³ ...⁴
 ... ruler over language⁵ ... (5)
 ... for by inspiration ...
 ... being present ...
 ... a little, time ...
 ... again ... fated ...⁶
 ... some true... (10)
 [... of the Fates (?)] you are called, and [divine Dream (?)]⁷
 ... that which ...
 ... you may determine ...
 To the good you provide good, ...⁸
 For you the dawn arises, and swift ...⁹ (15)
 Over the elements you rule, fire, air, [water, earth (?),]¹⁰
 By nature you are reins and steersman of the universe¹¹ ...
 And the souls of whomever you wish you lead forth, others (?) ...
 For, having become the order of the universe,¹² ...
 For you also ... the diseases of mortals (heal?) ... (20)
 [Sending (?)] daytime and nighttime [oracles (?)]
 To me too as I pray ... your ...
 (i.e. me) a person of piety, a suppliant¹³ and ...¹⁴
 And your unerring diviner’s art (grant?) ...”

M. Zellmann-Rohrer

¹ ‘World-ruler’ by the generally accepted supplement [κοσμοκρ]άτωρ (from GEMF 58/PGM V 399 and 74.824/VII 668; also of Ouranos, Orph. *H.* 4.3, Helios, Orph. *H.* 9.11, Pan, Orph. *H.* 11.11), but e.g. ‘All-ruler’, [παντοκρ]άτωρ is equally possible, or even [πανδαμ]άτωρ, applied to Physis in Orph. *H.* 10.3.

² Fowden 1993, 25–26, comments on the presentation of a “cosmic” divinity who may also abide in the heart of an individual, and the choice of a “traditional” Greek image of Hermes in contrast to the “autochthonous Thoth,” at least as far as apparel.

³ Hermes is depicted wearing the same garment in Luc. *Tim.* 30.

⁴ ‘Wing-sandled’ (πτηνοπέδιλε) in GEMF 58/PGM V 403 and also Orph. *H.* 28.4; ‘gold-sandled’ (χρυσοπέδιλε) in 74.827/VII 671.

⁵ Cf. Orph. *H.* 28.10, in which Hermes is addressed as “awesome tongue-weapon” (γλώσσης δεινὸν ὄπλον).

⁶ O’Neil compares Hom. *Od.* 10.175.

⁷ “Foreseer of the Fates you are called, and divine Dream” (Μοιρῶν προγνώστης σὺ λέγῃ καὶ θεῖος Ὀνειρος) in GEMF 58/PGM V 409–410 and “Spinner of the Fates you are called, divine Dream” (Μοιρῶν τε κλωστήρ σὺ λέγῃ, θεῖος Ὀνειρος) in 74.831/VII 675.

⁸ Cf. Orph. *H.* 10.15, of Nature (Φύσις) as “bitter to the bad, but sweet to the obedient” (πικρὴ μὲν φαύλοισι, γλυκεῖα δὲ πειθομένοις); O’Neil, GMPT, 254, compares Hom. *Il.* 24.530–533.

⁹ Thoth is similarly identified with the moon and praised as a force of cosmic order and divine judge, a knower of secrets, and essential to the safe passage of both the “day-bark” and the “night-bark,” in a Middle Egyptian prayer inscribed on a stone statue: Quack 2013a, 153–156.

¹⁰ O’Neil, GMPT, 254, compares GEMF 15/PGM XII 250–251.

¹¹ The helm metaphor is represented in the Orph. *H.*, e.g. 87.1, of Death, who “holds the rudder of all mortals” (ὄς πάντων θνητῶν οἴηκα κρατύνεις).

¹² The pun on κόσμος κόσμου escapes translation; it also connotes praise of Hermes as “adornment” of the universe.

¹³ The self-presentation as a pious suppliant is paralleled in the Orph. *H.*, as in 41.10 when Antaia is asked to come “to your well-hallowed initiate” (ἐπ’ εὐιέρῳ σέο μύστη). A late-Egyptian prayer to Thoth claims, “I am a servant of your house” (Quack 2013a, 162–163).

¹⁴ Possibly “your soldier” (σὺ στρατιώτη); O’Neil, GMPT, 254, compares GEMF 57/PGM IV 185–194.

GEMF 21
(P.Duke inv. 729)

Egypt, unknown provenance	II-III CE
ED.PR: Jordan 2006 [Jo]	
TRANSL.: Jordan 2006 (English)	
COMM.: Jordan 2006	
LOC.: Durham NC, Duke University, P.Duke inv. 729 (olim inv. LK76 2)	TM 64011

This is a sheet of a papyrus codex, which has survived in different fragments (measuring in total H. 14.8 × W. 10.2 cm). The upper half is fairly well preserved, while the lower half is very damaged, and only strips of the left and the right margins are preserved. The upper and lower margins seem to be partly preserved, at 1.4 and 2.1 cm respectively. A margin of ca 1 cm is preserved both on the left of the recto and on the right of the verso. The page featured 27 lines of text and was originally ca H. 15 × W. 11 cm (Turner Group 9, Aberrant 1; Turner 1977, 22, 25). It was written on both sides by the same hand, across the fibers in the recto and along them in the verso.¹ The hand is a nicely executed rounded type, where letters, even if they frequently touch each other, only rarely appear in ligature. It was dated by the first editor to the second-third centuries, but a comparison to P.Mich. inv. 170 (173 CE) and P.Fouad 36 (167 CE) makes us think it might be dated to the end of the second century. It presents the use of *diaeresis* and *charaktēres* in ll. 25–26.

P.Duke inv. 729 was purchased for the Duke University Library in 1976 along with inv. 728 and 230–231.² No more information is available about the purchase.

The recto presents three recipes: a love-potion to be given to a woman; a procedure to make a man mute before a woman and thus seem hateful to her; and another to bring a woman to a man perhaps through the use of inscribed *charaktēres*. The recipes are separated by *paragaphoi* and *ekthesis*. There follows, on the verso, a hymn to the Sun (Helios) to accompany any request, which would have filled that side and continued onto another page. Words in the fragmentary parts of the entreaty suggest that it could be used as a procedure to win favor. The hymn identifies the sun with other powerful beings, for example, Harpokrates, Yahweh, Abrasax, Hephaistos and Mithras.

The supplements are all by Jordan 2006. The scribe was probably itacistic in the *lacunae*, as Jordan suggests, but we have preferred to use standard spelling in these cases.

¹ We should note that the online images for this papyrus found at <https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/records/729.html> are named, based on the fiber direction, as ‘verso’ for what we edit here as ‘recto’, and ‘recto’ for what we edit as ‘verso’. The sequence of the text, however, shows that the order is that of our edition.

² Reported in the website. For the acquisition see <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/acquisitions.html>.

recto ↓

GEMF 21.1–27

- 1 πόσιμον πεπιρασμ[έν]ον ὑπὸ πολλῶν. λαβὼν ἐν φύλ-
 λον ἀμπέλου τῆ ἀρ[ι]τερᾶ χιρὶ δυεὶ δακτύλοις, κ[ατάθε]ς
 εἰς τὴν δεξιᾶν χίρα καὶ καθυπόγραψον εἰς τὸ φύλλον
 5 ἄ τὰ ὑποκείμενα ὀνόματα, καὶ γὰρ ἀπόρρη[τα· τὸ ὄνο-]
 μά ἐστὶν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης· ἀζανδῶ ιαζα [ca 8]
 ἀζαραιοιαβαλη[.]αρμαρ'δα φνουσι α[ca 8]
 ζαθεῶου Αβρααζξ εεε ηη ιιι οοοοο[υυυυυ]
 ωωωωωωω φιλι[ί]τω με ἢ Ἀ τὸν Ἀ θείω κα[ὶ ἀπορ-]
 ρήτω καὶ ἀκαταπαύετω ἔρωτι. ὑπόταξε ἐ[μοὶ τῷ Ἀ]
 10 ἤδη β, ταχὺ [β] κλύσο[ν] τὸ φ[ύ]λλον ἐν ἀκράτῳ [οἴνῳ καὶ]
 . . [ca 4] . . . [ca 9] υς[.] δὸς πείν καὶ . [ca 8] ἔ-
 ως τεσσ[αράκις]
 μυρικίσι[ον· λαβὼν ὀμβρί]ο υ ὑγρόν, κατάθ[ε]ς εἰς ἄγ-]
 γος καὶ βάλ[ca 14] εἰς τὸν ὀμβρίου υγ[ρόν· μετὰ]
 15 ἡ^μ μ εὐρή[σει]ς ca 13] οὗ λαβὼν τὸ αἶμ[α γράψον]
 εἰς δέρμ[α .]ν [ca 12] γρά[ψον] καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐλά[σματι]
 ὃν θέλεις μ[υρικωθῆ]ναι ca 6] ἀβρακ βραβα[ca 6]
 ἀβραβα[.]. [*vox magica* μυρί]κς τὸν Ἀ πρὸς τῆ[ν Ἀ·]
 20 κατὰδεσμ[ος ca 14] ποιῆς τὰ το[ca 5] ἄ-
 ξῆς διὰ [ca 11] ἀν κρίνη ε[ca 6]
 ποιεῖ πά[ντα· λαβὼν τάβλαν] κασιτερίν[ην ἐγγά-]
 ραξον τ[οὺς χαρακτῆρας καὶ·] φιλίτω με [τὸν Ἀ, ὃν ἔ-]
 τεκ ἢ Ἀ [ἢ Ἀ, ἦν ἔτεκ(εν) ἢ Ἀ, καὶ ἐν πά]χη περιπτ[ώσει· ἐπὶ τὴν]
 τάβλαν [ταύτην ἐγγάραξον καὶ] ὅτι καταδῶ [τὴν Ἀ αἰγυ-]
 25 πτιτὶ κ[ατὰ τοῦ ca 12] **ⲪⲚⲚⲚ** [* * * * *][-]-
 ΙΑΙ **ⲓⲛⲗⲟⲩⲛ** [* * * * *] * . [φιλείτω με]
 ἢ Ἀ διὰ τῷ[ν χαρακτῆρων τούτων]

1 1. πεπιρασμένον || 2 1. χιρὶ || 3 1. χεῖρα || 4 ζ(μ)ρ(ν)η || 1. ὑποκείμενα || 8 1. φιλείτω | δ(ε)ῖ(να) | θείω || 9 ὑπόταξαι || 11 πείν || 14 βάλ[ε γύρινον εἰς σκεπα]κτόν Jo || 15 ἡμ(έρασ) | εὐρή[σει]ς ἐν τῷ ἄγγι φρῶνον] Jo || 16 εἰς δέρμ[α ἢ]ν [θέλεις μισεῖν ἴτα γρά]ψον Jo || 17 1. θέλεις || 18 μυρίκ(ω)ς(ον) | δ(ε)ῖ(να) || 20 διὰ [χαρακτῆρων ἐ]ὰν Jo || 21 1. κασιτερίνην || 22 1. φιλείτω || 22–23 ἔτεκ(εν) || 22, 23, 24, 27 δ(ε)ῖ(να) || 25 κ[ατὰ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ] Jo

GEMF 21.1–27

A love-potion³ that has been tested by many: take [one] vine leaf in your left hand with two fingers and [place] it in the right hand and write on the bottom⁴ of [the leaf] with myrrh ink the names below—for indeed they are unutterable. [The] name (5) is that of Aphrodite: AZANDŌ IAZA ... AZARAOIABALĒ ... ARMARIDA PHNOUNI A ... ZATHEŌOU ABRASAX EEE ĒĒ IIII OOOOO [UUUUUU] ŌŌŌŌŌŌ. Let her, NN, love me, NN, with a divine and unutterable and inexhaustible love. Make (her) subject to me, NN, (10) at once, twice, quickly, twice.” Wash off⁵ the leaf in unmixed [wine and] ... give it [to her] to drink ... up to four [times?].

Silencing-procedure:⁶ [take rain]⁷ water, put it [into a] jug and throw ... into the rain water.⁸ [After] (15) 40 days you will find ... taking the blood of which, [write] onto its(?) skin ... [and] write also on the tablet (i.e. the name of) him, whom you want to [be silenced]: “... ABRAK BRABA ... ABRABA ..., [silence] him, NN, before her, NN.”

Binding-procedure: ... (in order that?) you make ... (20) (and) you lead through(?)...., if s/he chooses. It (i.e. the recipe) does [everything. Take] a tin⁹ [tablet], inscribe on it [the symbols and] “Let her NN, [whom she NN bore,] love me, [NN, whom] she NN bore, [even in any] circumstance.” [And upon this] tablet [write also]: “I bind down [her NN,] in the Egyptian language¹⁰ (25) by [the] ... (*charaktēres*) IAI (*charaktēres*). [Let] her, NN, [love me] by means of [these symbols(?)]”

³ This word and ποτήριον (‘cup’), when used in handbooks as a rubric (e.g. GEMF 74.466, 799/PGM VII 385, 643) can be translated as ‘love-potion’ because it involves Aphrodite and gives a targeted individual a specially prepared drink in order to make them fall in love. See Faraone 1996.

⁴ Jordan 2006, 164–165, translates καθυπόγραψον (l. 3) simply as “write” which is “new in this sense,” but since the verb can refer to writing a signature at the bottom of a document, we have translated it accordingly.

⁵ Jordan has [ἔ]κλυσο[v] “dissolve the leaf,” but there is not enough space on the papyrus. This reading is also unlikely, since other procedures like this involve washing off the text of powerful words into a drink, which is then given to the targeted person. For parallels, see GEMF 31/PGM I 234 and 242; 60/XIII 435.

⁶ The rubric here is from the rare verb μυσικόω, ‘to silence’; cf. SM II 55 section D, 1 and GEMF 60/PGM XIII 239–240.

⁷ The restoration is suggested by the same phrase in the next line. Cf. GEMF 31/PGM I 287; 74.304/VII 224; 72/VIII 72 (ὔδωρ ὄμβριμον). Jordan takes it as an epithet of Zeus. Cf. 57/IV 225 ζήνιον ὔδωρ.

⁸ At this point some small animal is placed in the jug; Jordan 2006, 167–168, tentatively suggests that a tadpole (γυρῖνος), after the forty days of waiting in rainwater, would grow into a frog, whose skin is to be inscribed later with the *logos*. But he must restore both “tadpole” and “frog” and provides no sure parallels. In support of his hypothesis is the use (with curse tablets) of frogs or their tongues as effigies for silencing a person; two *defixiones* inscribed in Latin aim at silencing their victims by using the tongue of an animal. DT 222B1–5 (Carthage, 1st CE: “[Just] as I have ripped out the tongue of this rooster (*galla*) ... and pierced it, so too may they (i.e. the ghosts of the people buried in the tomb) silence the tongues of my enemies!” and a recently published curse tablet from near Sevilla: “Just as a frog (*rana*) without its tongue is quiet (*muta*) and silent (*tacita*), so, too, may Marcellus be mute, silent and debilitated against Licinius Gallus!”: see Stylow 2012, 149–155, and also a series of “silence-binders” (φιμωτικάτοχοι) in the *Cyranides*, which tell us to place the tongues of other animals in our sandals to silence men, dogs or enemies: of a weasel (“if dried out and worn in the sandals”; 2.7.4–5, p. 127 K.); of a hyena (“If anyone wears its tongue in his right sandal and walks (i.e. on it), all dogs and mortal men will be silent”; 2.40.45–7, p. 178 K.); of a seal (“if worn in the sandals”; 2.41.24–5, p. 181 K.) and of a chameleon (“if worn with the root of the chameleon plant, grasped (i.e. in the hand) and of the sole” (i.e. of the foot; 2.43.10–11, p. 183 K.).

⁹ For the use of tin in curses, presumably as an alternative to lead, see: GEMF 74.290, 540, 543 /PGM VII 216, 460, 462 (erotic procedures) and 74.498/VII 417 (binding).

¹⁰ Αἰγυπτιακῶν (ll. 24–25) is literally “in Egyptian style” (as in Theoc. 15.48, and see LSJ, s.v.), but elsewhere (e.g. GEMF 60/PGM XIII 84 or 596 τὸ δὲ φυσικὸν σου ὄνομα αἰ.; GEMF 1) it refers to the Egyptian language. In this case it probably refers to the following *charaktēres*, which are thought to be hieroglyphics of some sort.

verso →

GEMF 21.28–54

- 1 [ὔμινος ἐ]ντυχίας πρὸς θ· ποιεῖ δὲ [καὶ] πάντα πρὸς νόμον
 [καὶ δικ]αστήριον καὶ θυμοὺς ἠγεμό[ν]ων καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν
 [ἀνάγκη]ν ὅσα θέλει ἐντυχάνειν. ἔστι [δ]έ· χαίρε μοι, ὁ 30
 [ἀνατέλλ]ων ἐκ τοῦ ὑλώδους διαστήματος, ἄστερ εκμηφ
 5 [κατραπε]ρκμηφ αφθπαι, ὁ ἀρχόμενος παῖς καὶ λήγων πρεσ-
 [βύτης, ὁ ἐ]πὶ τοῦ λωτοῦ, φ̄ ὁ οὐρανὸς [ἐ]γένετο κωμαστήρι-
 [ον, ὁ ἐπάνω] Χερουβι· χαίρε μοι, Αβρασα[ξ, ὁ] καλούμενος αἰθέ-
 [ριος γενν]ήτωρ ελωευ. ^ἰὁ μέγας ἀρουηρ· ^ἰὁ μέγας 35
 [θεὸς ὁ ἐπικ]αλούμενος ἐν Μέμφι Ἴηφα[ι]ςτος· ^ἰὁ τὸ στοιχίον
 10 [τὸ ἀγέν]νητον τὸ γενηθὲν ἐν τῷ ἀνάω, δι' ὄν ἀυγή, δι'
 [ὄν καὶ κκό]τ[ο]ς, δι' ὄν ζωή καὶ θ[ά]νατος, ἀπ' ἀ[ὐ]χένων εἰς
 [ca 8 τ]ῶν αἰώνων [. .]ορα[. . . .]· τ [. .]ζουμβ .ιο
 [ca 8 το]ῦ παπυρῶ[νος ca 12] .ρ . . ω 40
 [ca 5]· αειηουω πρ[ca 15] βιου βιβιο[υ]
 15 [βιου βιβ]ιου καὶ τὸ κρυπτὸ[ν ὄνομα ca 6] ανατι
 [ca 5 λ]αμπρὸν ἱλαρός [ca 11] ποιήσον
 [λαμπρό]ν, ἱλαρόν· ἐπικα[λοῦμαι ca 6] . . [.]ὅτι σε
 [ὀρκίζω ια]εωβαφρενε[μοιονεμοθιλαρικιφι]αευεαῖ 45
 [φιρκιρα]λιθομενοιομ[ενεφαβωεαι, ὄπ]ως [ἐ]νθεωρήσης
 20 [ca 4 εἰ]ς τὸν αἰῶνα [ca 13]· μιθρα σου-
 [μαρτα] μαρβαχαρβα[ca 12] ηφιο
 [ca 5]· αἰῶνι [ca 15] δὲ καὶ
 [ἀρρήτω] καὶ ἀκαταπ[αύτῳ ca 10] .ω 50
 [ca 5] ὠραχιφ [ca 17] ησῶ
 25 [ca 5 ἀ]κτινά σου[ca 14] .σα
 [ca 9] . . [ca 18] την
 [ca 27] .c ὁ αἰών

1 (ἦλιον) || 3 [ἀνάγκη]ν Jo : vel [χρεία]ν | 1. θέλεις | 1. ἐντυχάνειν || 8 l. εἰ (2x) || 9 l. Μέμφει | 1. εἰ | 1. στοιχεῖον || 12 [ὁ εἰ ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν αἰώνων Jo || 14 πρ[κμημ βιου βιβιου] βιου βιβιο[υ] Jo || 18 vel ὀρκίζει Jo ||

GEMF 21.28–54

[Hymn?¹¹] of petition¹² before Helios. It does [really] everything—with regard to law and lawcourt and angry outbursts of magistrates and with regard to every (30) [necessity]¹³—however many things you wish to obtain. It is: “Be pleased with me, you [who rise] out of material space, O star, EKMĒPH [SATRAPE]RKMĒPH¹⁴ APHTHPAI, you who start out (i.e. the day) as a child and end (it) as an old [man,¹⁵ (35) you who are] upon the lotus, for whom heaven has become a processional way,¹⁶ [you who are above(?) the Cherubim¹⁷. Be pleased with me, Abrasax, (you), who are called the heavenly sire, ELŌEU. You are the great AROUĒR. You are the great [god], who in Memphis is called Hephaistos. You are the unborn element born in the eternal, through whom (there) is light, through whom (there) is [also darkness?], through whom (there) is life and death, from the narrows(?) to (the?)...of the ages ... ORA SOUMB.IO¹⁸ (40) (upon?) the papyrus-boat¹⁹ ... AEĒIOUŌ PR[...] BIOU BIBIOU [BIOU BIB]IOU²⁰ and the hidden [name...] ANATI ... shining, merry ... make [shiny], merry. I call upon ... because (45) [I adjure you (by) IA]EŌBAPHRENE[MOIONEMOTHILARIKIPHI]AEUEAI[PHIRKIRA]LITHOMENOIOM[ENEPHABŌEAI²¹ in] order that you might see into ... for your lifetime ... MITHRA SOU[MARTA] MARBACHARBA²² ... ĒPHIŌ lifetime ... and even (50) for ... [unutterable] and unstoppable...ŌRACHIPH ... ĒSŌ your ray... ŌA ... the ... the lifetime.”

C.A. Faraone and S. Torallas Tovar

¹¹ Jordan 2006, 171 supplies this *exempli gratia*, but also considers εὐχή ‘prayer’.

¹² Pachoumi 2013, 50 suggests the double meaning of ἐντυχία as ‘prayer’ or ‘petition’ (cf. GEMF 60/PGM XIII 135 and 695; also in 57/IV 1930) and ‘meeting’. She relates it to a similar double meaning of the term σύντασις as ‘connection’ or ‘meeting’, and as ‘prayer for connection’ (e.g. GEMF 57/IV 930–931; 31/I 57). See also Jordan 2006, 171 and Torallas Tovar 2020, 147–148.

¹³ Kotansky suggests χρείαν as an alternate restoration.

¹⁴ For this *vox*, see GEMF 15.234/PGM XII 185.

¹⁵ Cf. GEMF 31/PGM I 33–34; in Egyptian texts, the sun is called a child at sunrise, a man at high noon and an old man at dusk; see Jordan 2006, 171–172 and Assmann 1995, 39.

¹⁶ See GEMF 15.301/PGM XII 252. The image here is of the stars and planets in procession across the sky.

¹⁷ “(seated) on the Cheroubim,” cf. LXX Isa. 37:16 and Dan. 3:55 and GEMF 74.790/PGM VII 634 (as an epithet of Menophri).

¹⁸ We are not sure whether these letters are actual words or *voces magicae*.

¹⁹ Jordan 2006, 172, based on a parallel in DT 188 and GEMF 70/PGM LVIII 12, where there is a threat to burn the papyrus boat of Osiris (cf. also *Mor.* 18.358a).

²⁰ The magical words βίου βιβίου are similar to SM I 44.3–4. See Jordan 2006, 172–173, for a restoration. See also Brashear 1995, 3583 βιβίου (GEMF 60/PGM XIII 807) Eg. *b:-b:w* “Seele der Seelen.” Cf. also GEMF 30.170/PGM II 123: ἰαϕη·ἰαϕη· βιβίου·βιβίου·; 58/V 485: βίου βίου ϕη ϕη; 60/XIII 708 βιβίου β̄ ϕη β̄.

²¹ Reconstructed as the long and well-known palindrome.

²² Cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 1805, PGM XIXa 44, in “fetching” procedures. The name σουμαρτα has been interpreted as ‘protector’ (cf. Brashear 1995, 3599: from Hebrew for ‘custodi, custodias’).

GEMF 22
(P.Bingen 13)

Provenance unknown

II–III CE

ED.PR.: P.Bingen 13 (Fournet 2000a)

TRANSL.: ed.pr. (French)

COMM.: ed.pr.

LOC.: Cairo, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, P.IFAO inv. no. 313

TM 66744

This papyrus sheet (H. 11.8 × W. 10.4 cm) seems to preserve the upper, lower and left margins. The text consists of three different blocks written by the same hand, although the letters of l. 3–6 are slightly smaller than elsewhere. The verso is blank. The hand is irregular and awkward, strongly influenced by the cursive (in addition to ligatures, the ε of l. 4–6 should be noted). There are two types of α: one with a round belly, the other—only at the beginning of lines—with an angular belly and plunging below the line. The latter can be observed from the second century (e.g. P.Yadin 16 [127 CE] or 21 [130]) down to the end of the third century (P.Berl. 11734 [Brashear 1990]). Other clues, such as the shape of η with an apex or the very narrow ε like a Latin e, suggest a second century date, without rejecting the beginning of the third century. The text is not very neat: the lines, e.g., are far from horizontal and there are mistakes (e.g. l. 2 ⟨έv⟩). Finally, the text is written across the fibers, which would be surprising for a literary roll. Since we have the beginning of a text with its title, we might have the *protokollon* of a roll, which would explain the orientation of the fibers. But normally, the *protokollon* is left blank or, if necessary, reserved for the title, whereas it is partially occupied here by the first column of text. In addition, the height preserved, which is probably original, is much lower than what is expected in the case of a literary roll.

The formal and external elements suggest strongly that this is an excerpt of longer work, in this case an astrological work of Nechepso, copied for private use, and not the beginning of a roll that contained the entire work. Nechepso is considered one of the most famous astrologers of Greek and Roman antiquity, whose work is only extant in quotations by later authors (see Riess 1890 and 1892; Krauss 1982; on the historical figure of Nechepso, see Ray 1974 and Ryholt 2011). Beginning in the second century BCE, texts circulated under his name (often associated with Petosiris), which can be divided into four sets, according to the analysis most recently given by Pingree 1974: (i) fragments of astrological texts based on the principle of astral *omina*; (ii) texts in iambic trimeters transmitting Nechepso's teaching after the revelation that endowed him with the art of the horoscope; (iii) iatromathematical texts (or astral medicine) and *materia medica* in connection with the stars; and (iv) numerology based on zodiac signs.

This papyrus probably offers a recipe consisting of an invocation (l. 7–10) and a procedure of a medical or magical type (l. 11); it ends, moreover, with a formula that gives it the character of a magical rite (l. 13). Such a text would point in the direction of an iatromathematical treatise, but, in fact, the excerpts and quotations of Nechepso that inspired the treatise of Thessalos of Tralles or that are quoted by Aëtius do not include any magic formulae and they give a much fuller description of the pharmacological preparation itself (or the conditions for collecting *materia medica*) than our papyrus seems to do. The presence of the magical words, moreover, creates a problem for the date of Nechepso's treatise in the second century BCE, because they do not appear until the first century CE (see Brashear 1995, 3413–3414 et 3430, and GEMF 6, first published in 1998). Rather than assuming that we have here a second century BCE example of *voces magicae*, I would suggest that this is an applied magical procedure to ward off a misfortune or more probably a disease (one of the meanings of ἀποτροπιασμός), that was integrated into Nechepso's corpus as early as the first or second century CE. The presence, in the last line, of a concluding formula suggests that the sheet did not include an additional column and was therefore designed for a practical purpose, a fact which explains why it is not the work of a professional scribe and why it contains errors. It is not impossible, in fact, that this surprisingly small sheet itself was used as an amulet, which is one of the senses of ἀποτροπιασμός.

GEMF 22

↓

1	ἀποτροπιασμῶν ἡλίου παρθένῳ ὄντος Νεχεψοῦς ἱε	[[ω . [
5		τελ[μερ[ερε[
10		ανιευ βανιε[ερομεδοψ ζα[απληξ . αν[αριουχεμ . ν . [μασι ἐν ὑδρομ[έλιτι ? μεμν . θηνῶ . [τελέσατέ μοι τε[λέαν ἐπαιοιδήν

2 ἡλίου <έν> || 3 inter νεχεψους et ἱε vacat || 4 τ vel γ | λ vel μ || 7 inter ανιευ et βανιε vacat || 8 inter ερομεδοψ . et ζα fort. paulum vacat || 9 inter απληξ et . αν fort. paulum vacat || 10 fort. αριουχεμῶν || 12 fort. μεμνη (μέμνη?) vel μεμνο.

Apotropaic procedures¹ when the Sun is in Virgo.² Book 15 of Nechepso. ... (5) ... ANIEU BANIE[U?...] EROMEDOPS.ZA ... ASPLĒX³ ... AN ... (10) ARIOUCH⁴EM.N ... in hydromel(?)⁵ ... perfect for me a perfect [incantation].⁶

J.-L. Fournet

¹ One might be tempted to translate this as a hitherto unknown title: “Book 15 of Nechepso of the *Apotropiasmoi* (to be done) when the Sun is in Virgo,” but it is implausible that Nechepso wrote at least 15 books on *apotropiasmoi* to be made under the sole sign of Virgo; the presentation of this title is also unusual: the author’s name normally precedes the title of the work followed by the book number. The genitive case of ἀποτροπιασμῶν is to be explained by the ellipse of ἐκ τῶν “taken from.” The word ἀποτροπιασμός refers to any action or object intended to repel an evil or evil demon. It can be a ritual, a sacrifice, a formula or even an amulet (for the last, see Berosius *FGrHist* 680, fr. 4C, where pieces of Noah’s ark serve as *apotropiasmoi*). Its connection with astrology is highlighted by Nemes. *Nat.Hom.* 35: “Egyptians ... claim that the destiny determined by the stars is true and that it can be modified by prayers and *apotropiasmoi*, because, they say, we even go so far as to render cults to these very stars to appease them. They and other higher powers are capable of changing destiny, and that is why prayers, cults towards the gods, and *apotropiasmoi* were invented.” See also Ptol. *Tetr.* 1.3.18

² Although this expression of time leaves no doubt about the astrological nature of the text, it is a priori difficult to locate our fragment in one of Pingree’s four categories given above in the introduction.

³ The word απληξ (l. 9) has an ending found in other magical words, for example, νιχαροπληξ or οπλομυρτιλοπληξ; perhaps it should be compared to the name of the demon of the 11th hour of the 5th day, ἄπληξ, in the *Hygromantia Salomonis* (CCAG 8.2).

⁴ One might just be tempted to connect αριουχ (l. 10) to αριχ of SM I 4, 2 (3rd cent.).

⁵ Hydromel or mead is not a rare ingredient in medical preparations. The word before it is a neuter noun in -μα in the plural dative, which leaves the field open to multiple possibilities, for example, Orib. *Syn.* 8.42, 2: καταπλάσμαιι χρητέον ἀλεύρω τε καθαρῷ καὶ πάλη ἀλφίτου ἐν ὑδρομέλιτι ἠψημένη.

⁶ Our papyrus seems to end with a popular coda for magical formulae, cf. SM I 45, 53: τελίτε τελίαν τὴν ἐπαιοιδήν; GEMF 57/PGM IV 294–295 τελέσατέ μοι τὴν τελείαν ἐπαιοιδήν. Other examples of this expression are: 57/IV 2939 τέλει τελείαν ἐπαιοιδήν; 74.714/VII 992 (κα)λω̄ς μο[ι τέλει ταύτην τὴν ἐπα]οιδήν); GEMF 4 (τέλει τε[λέαν ἐπαιοιδήν]); and Julius Africanus, P.Oxy. III 412, 17 (τελείετε δ’ ἄμμιν ἀοι[δὴ]ν).

GEMF 23
(PGM XIc)

Provenance unknown

II–III CE

ED.PR.: PGM [Pr], from a collation by Bell [Be] of Kenyon's transcription

TRANS.: O'Neil, GMPT, 152 (English); Calvo Martínez and Sánchez Romero 1987, 251 (Spanish)

LOC.: London, British Museum, P.Lond. inv. 148

TM 63836

Two columns of instructions for erotic conquest are preserved on this single sheet of papyrus (H. 23 × W. 13.5 cm), complete at top, bottom, and left, broken at right.¹ Conserved on cardboard under glass; back presumably blank. A brown discoloration is evident over a large portion of papyrus. Col. i (19 lines) survives in full, with a written area of H. 14.6 × W. 9.1 cm, whose lower half appears to be an irregular wing-formation. An intercolumnar space of 0.3–1.5 cm separates it from the second column, which has 13 lines with only the first 3–5 letters remaining. It is assumed here that col. ii continues the formula from the string of vowels at the end of col. i, but the rationale for beginning a new column and leaving a large free space below l. 19 is not obvious. There is an oblique stroke just below and to the left of the first ε in i. 19 whose purpose is not clear. The left margin is 1.7–2 cm, wider (though variable) in ll. 1–4, with a smaller margin in following lines. The top margin is 2.1 cm; free space of 6.8 cm after text at foot of sheet. A *kollesis* is visible 1.6 cm from the left edge; the fibers appear to run vertically on this strip, opposite to the fiber orientation of the text to the right. That the right-most remains of each line of col ii are written on a lower layer of (horizontal) fibers may indicate a further sheet join at that location, or damage to the papyrus before it was written on. Fold marks are not obvious, but the damage pattern suggests possible folds at intervals of ca 2.5, ca 5.5 and ca 10 from the left. The papyrus may then have broken vertically along one such fold mark. The fold mark at about 10 cm from the left looks larger, and it is possible this is the original center of the papyrus, if it was folded in from both sides. But it could also have been rolled and squashed flat.

The text is written along the fibers in a right-leaning semi-regular script with letters mostly formed separately, with some abutting and occasional ligatures. It compares well with the writing of the latter part of P.Marm. 1 (GLH 18c), dated to the end of the second or early third century CE, where the scribe writes more rapidly and allowing for some ligatures in a more informal version of the script used for the early section, which Roberts relates to contemporary chancery hands (18a). It was also assigned by Kenyon to the second or third century. In GEMF 23, lines skew slightly upwards towards the right, becoming straighter across the page towards the foot of the text. In ll. 9–18, Preisendanz's layout is misleading: the words are not in the triangular formation as he prints it; the left margin is regular, so the lines slope in from the right. A wing-formation with disappearing letters was intended.

The extent of loss at the right of the sheet is not known. If col. ii had a similar written area to col. i, ca 19–20 letters, or about 7–7.5 cm, might be lost in each line of col. ii. If the fold mark ca 10 cm from the left was the center, this would form a neat half-way point on a ca 21 cm wide sheet (which would thus be roughly square). Preisendanz's reconstruction, however, assumes a col. ii with much shorter line lengths, which are adopted below, because there are some clear parallels among other magical papyri. Nevertheless, elements of this reconstruction remain problematic. If l. 1 contained further instructions (see n. 3), that would require more space than the relatively short lost section presumed by Preisendanz, and columns of uneven width: if the fold at about 10 cm from the left did mark the mid-point of the original sheet, one would have to assume a considerable section of vacant space to the right of col. ii (with unclear purpose), with a longer line of text in l. 1 stretching across it. The line-lengths that Preisendanz restores are also inconsistent. It is thus possible that more text may have been lost.

¹ First described in *Catalogue BM* 1894, 398: "Pap. CXLVIII. Magical incantation, to secure a woman's affections. 2nd or 3rd cent. 9 in. x 5 in. Imperfect, nearly all the second column being lost; written in two columns, in a medium-sized rough uncial hand"; reprinted in P.Lond. II, p. xiv.

recto	col. i →	col. ii →	GEMF 23/PGM XIc
1	τοῦτο γράψαις ἰς ἱερατικὸν βιβλίον κ̅ θέ[ca ?]		
	ἐξορκίζω σε τὸν ἰαβω θεόν· στρέψον τὴν καρδίαν τῆς Δ ἥς ἔτεκεν ἡ Δ πρὸς τὸν Δ ὄν	ξεε ο[ca ? βαρ-?] βαρη[ca ?] ορο . [ca ?]	20
5	ἔτεκεν ἡ Δ κατὰ πιτάγην τοῦ ἰαβω μασκελλει μασκελλω φαιγουκενταβαω ποίησον ἐπει- τυχεῖν τῆς συνουσίας τοῦ Δ ἐμέ, αβλαναθαναλβα	5 Δ ἦν[ἔτεκεν ἡ Δ καὶ] φελξε[ίτω ἐμὲ τὸν Δ, ὄν] ἔτε[κεν ἡ Δ εἰς] τὸν[ἅπαντα] χρο[νόν τῆς]	25
10	βλαθαναβα[. .] ναθανδα αναθانا ναβαναει αβθωωθ	10 ζοῆς[μου ἵνα μου] ἐρα̅ π[άντως] ἐρω̅[σαν μου] ἴδη[ἴδη ταχὺ ταχὺ]	30
15	βαρβαχα αβρασαξ αφα̅ι . ρ̅ . σερφουθει ε̅ι̅ ε̅ι̅ η̅ι̅ η̅ι̅ ἰ̅ ἰ̅ αααααααιiiii		

col. i.1 γράψαις : γράφεις Pr | 1. εἰς | 1. βιβλίον | κ(αἰ) | θέ[ca: Be : ε ut vid. || 2 l. ἐξορκίζω || 3, 4, 8; ii 5 δ(ε)ἰ(να) || 5 κατὰ πιτάγην : κατ' ἀπιτάγην : 1. ἐπιτάγην Pr || 7 l. Φνουκ- | ἐπι- || 8 τοῦ : 1. τὸν || 10 fort. vacat || 17 αφα̅ι . ρ̅ : αφα[ιαμα]ρ[ι Pr
col. ii. 2 ξεε ο[σο ? 2-3 [βαρ-]]βαραι[Pr | [ὑπ' ἐμὸν] Pr || 4 ὄροφ[ον ἐλθέτω ἡ] Pr || 5 ἦν [ἔτεκεν ἡ Δ, καὶ] Pr καὶ fort. κ̅ (vide l. 1)?
|| 6 l. φιλξε[ίτω φιλ[εἴτω ἐμὲ τὸν Δ, ὄν] Pr || 7 ἔτε[κεν ἡ Δ, εἰς] Pr || 8 τὸν [ἅπαντα] Pr || 9 χρο̅[νον τῆς] Pr || 10 l. ζωῆ[ca αὐτῆς] Pr
|| 11 ἐραμ[ένη μου] Pr || 12 ἔρω[τι αἰωνίῳ] Pr || 13 l. ἴδη

You will write this in a hieratic scroll² and place(?)³...I adjure you by the god Iabo:⁴ turn⁵ the heart of her, NN, whom she, NN bore, towards him, NN, whom (5) she, NN bore, according to the command⁶ of Iabo, MASKELLEI MASKELLŌ PHAINOUKENTABAŌ: Grant that I attain intercourse with her,⁷ NN: ABLANATHANALBA⁸ (10) BLATHANABA NATHANDA ANATHANA NABANAEI ABTHŌŌTH (15) BARBACHA ABRASAX AŌAI . R. (?)⁹ SERPHOUTHEI¹⁰

EI EI EI Ē I Ē I AAAAAAA IIIIIII

(20) EEE O¹¹[OO(?) BAR]BARAE[L(?)¹² ... ORO¹³ ... her, NN, whom [NN bore, and let her] love¹⁴ [me NN, whom she, NN] (25) bore for the [entire(?) time¹⁵ [of my] life [so that] she might desire [me in every way(?)]¹⁶, (30) desiring [me], now [now, quickly quickly(?)]

M. Choat

² βιβλίον is translated ‘papyrus’ by O’Neil, GMPT and ‘Papyrusblatt’ by Preisendanz. The adjective ἱερατικός is usually paired in the magical papyri with χάρτης, ‘papyrus’, and by extension ‘papyrus roll’, κόλλημα, ‘roll’ or more rarely πιττάκιον, ‘tablet’, but with βιβλίον only here (βιβλίον itself occurs elsewhere only in GEMF 74.420/PGM VII 339); but see, e.g. 55/III 424 (ἱεράς βίβ[λο]υ), 60/XIII 3 (βίβλος ἱερά). We translate ‘scroll’ here, but the word has of course a much larger semantic range.

³ L. I runs across the top above both columns and serves as a ritual instruction for the text below. Presumably, if Preisendanz’s restoration is correct, the recipe continued on to say that the scroll, after being inscribed, was to be placed somewhere to affect the target (similar procedures suggest various possibilities, but most common is in a grave); Dickie 1999, 69 suggests that “it was to be placed in the mouth and rotated.”

⁴ Grammatically speaking, “the god Iabo” could be the object of the adjuration, but the usual formula is to adjure a ghost or demon by (κατά) a powerful god, usually male and assimilated to Iaō; on this ambiguity see Kotansky 1995, 144–147. The power of Iabo is confirmed in lines 5–6.

⁵ For the use of this verb ‘to turn’ in an attraction-procedure, see, e.g. SM II 56.3–6: “Turn (στρέψον) the brain, the heart (τὴν καρδίαν) and the entire mind of Zetoun.”

⁶ For κατ’ ἐπιταγήν, see GEMF 34/PGM LXII 36. Understanding πιττάκιον, ‘papyrus strip’ seems less likely.

⁷ The text gives a male pronoun here, but the victim is previously identified as a woman in lines 2–3.

⁸ For the palindrome ABLANATHANALBA, often associated with Abrasax or AKRAMMACHAMAREI, see e.g. GEMF 55/PGM III 63–64, 79, 150; 57/IV 982; 74.476/VII 311.

⁹ For Preisendanz’s suggestion, αῶ[ιαμα]ρ[ι] (which the surviving traces do not especially recommend), see GEMF 57/PGM IV 364–365.

¹⁰ Σεφοουθ(ει), Coptic σαρισ, ‘lotus’ (Crum 356b), is common in many forms in the magical papyri, often followed by μουι ρω, i.e. Coptic ΜΟΥΙ ΡΩ, ‘Lion, ram’ (for the latter see Crum 354b, where most of the examples come from magical texts; cf. ΜΟΥΙ as an archaic word for ram, Crum 161a): see e.g. GEMF 74.580, 659/PGM VII 499, 577; 15/XII 80 and XL 9.

¹¹ Preisendanz conjectured θεε̅ ό̅, in this line, but the first letter does not resemble θ. The restoration proposed here would fill the gap as indicated by the other lines, on the assumption that the string of vowel continued from col. i.

¹² Preisendanz restored βαρ||βαραι, (see GEMF 57/PGM IV 1008; PGM XIXa 9) but the final letter in l. 21 seems to have a crossbar; see perhaps Βαρβαραηλ in 57/IV 1031.

¹³ Preisendanz restores these lines to say “may she come [under my] roof,” [ὕπ’ ἐμὸν] ὄροφ[ον ἐλθέτω], but of the supposed φ of ὄροφ[ον] only a trace of the top remains, which may not even be ink; we thus confine this to the *apparatus*.

¹⁴ Preisendanz believed the papyrus read φειλ[εῖτω], but the stroke of the supposed *iota* is wider than elsewhere, and it would have to be a correction if really there.

¹⁵ For the text in ll. 26–30, see e.g. SM I 47.26–27, εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς μου, φιλοῦσάν με, ἐρῶς[ά]ν μου.

¹⁶ Preisendanz restored ἐραμ[ένη] while recognizing that the papyrus read εραπ[; we therefore decline to print or translate his restoration, and suggest ἐρᾶ π[; without being able to be certain what the conclusion to l. 29 might have been: π[άντως] is entirely *exempli gratia* and conjectural. Alternatively, εραπ[may be a word which continued from the previous line, e.g. a part of θεραπεύω.

GEMF 24
(PGM XCVII, SM II 78)

Oxyrhynchus

II–III CE

ED.PR.: Wortmann 1968, 109–111 [Wo]

REPubL.: SM II 78

TRANSL.: ed.pr. (German); Betz, GMPT, 306–307 (English); SM II 78 (English)

COMM.: ed.pr.; (ll. 12–13) Maltomini 1980a, 176 [Ma]; SM II 78

LOC.: Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde, P.Köln inv. 1886

TM 65845

This is a fragment (H. 15 x W. 9.5 cm) from a papyrus roll featuring on the recto parts of two columns written along the fibers. Only a few final letters of 11 lines of the first column remain, and only the left-hand side of 18 lines of the second. Both columns are broken at the bottom. The upper margin survives to 3 cm; the *intercolumnium* measures 2.5 cm. To judge by the likely supplement in l. 14, the original column-wide was about 9 cm (with ca 20 letters per line). The verso is blank.

The scribe is an experienced one: his handwriting is a regular, fair-sized, angular, mixed style capital, markedly bilinear (υ, ρ project below, ψ above and below but only slightly), conspicuously sloping to the right. The letters are always made separately. To be noted: narrow ε θ ο c ; α is triangular, μ is broad with curved central obliques, ξ is of book-hand type, ω tends to lose its central vertical. Lines begin progressively further to the left (Maas' Law). This hand can be dated to the end of the second or the beginning of the third century (3rd–4th cent. according to the ed.pr.). Useful comparanda are P.Oxy. XXI 2300 (2nd–3rd cent. CE, assigned) and P.Oxy. XXVIII 2487 (3rd cent. CE, assigned). The general *mise en page* (generous margin, broad *intercolumnium*, a wise use of *paragraphos*, *eisthesis*, and blank spaces) indicates a professional scribe.

The remains of col. i are too scanty to allow any inference as to its content. Col. ii has remnants of six iatromagical prescriptions, of which the first five (ll. 12–13, 13–17, 18–20, 21–23 and 23–25) are likely to have dealt with various remedies for the same ailment. In this portion of the text, it seems that every recipe is introduced by ἄλλο and marked by a short *paragraphos*; as one can see from ll. 13–14 and 23–24, the new recipe did not have to start after the *paragraphos*, but could already begin in the preceding line (to judge from l. 7: when ἄλλο did not occur at the line beginning, it was preceded by a blank space). Since ll. 13–17 probably concern eye disease, this may well be the subject of the whole section. A new section begins in l. 26: the transition is marked by a longer *paragraphos*, full heading in the line, and indentation by three/four letters of the opening line, with the first letter placed between two short horizontal strokes (one above and one below).

To the lower left of the last *paragraphos*, at the break there is a vertical that curves to the left at the bottom. It does not join the *paragraphos*, but it also does not seem to have been part of a letter (e.g. from a remark in the margin, or from a long line in the preceding column). Possibly it is from a decorative squiggle at the beginning of this new section.

According to the first editor, col. i contained a twelfth line that preserved only a single ε, but this cannot be verified either on the original or on the plate in the ed.pr.

No accents, breathings, or apostrophes occur. *Iota* adscript is not written in the only verifiable case (l. 25). No orthographical errors.

recto	col. i →	col. ii →	GEMF 24/PGM XCVII
1	] ντος]ιφαλα] . . ρας κακ-] . . . ωδι	1 φεθέντος β[αλὼν εἰς φοινι- κοῦν ῥάκος [ca 6 ἄλλο· αύρας δεξι[ὸν ὀφθαλμὸν] ἐκκόψας κ[αὶ αὐτὸν βα-]	15
5	] . . . ης] . . . ας] ἄλλο·] κιν . . c] ε[. .] ον	5 λὼν ἐν αἰ[γείῳ δέρματι ἄπτε ἀριετ[ερ- ca 9] ἄλλο· νυκ[τιβαοῦτος τὴν] καρδία[ν ca 13]	20
10	] δα] ν πε -----	10 ἄλλο· κρ[ca 14] [. .] ης καὶ τω[ca 11] ος ὁμοῦ περιά[πτε. ἄλλο· κρο-] τῶνος βοῶς μ[ca 8 αἰ-] γείῳ δέρματι π[ca 8]	25
		15 πρ[ὸς] πᾶσαν [νόσον· ca 4] κάνθαρον το[κ[. .] . ιο[. .] θεν[[. . .] . . . [

Supplementa nomine non insignata ex ed.pr. desumpta. Contuli.

col. i 7 ante ἄλλο spat. vac. col. ii 1 ἀ|φεθέντος ? SM || 4–5 βα|λὼν SM : ἐγκοκ|λὼν Wo || 6 ἄπτε vel περι|]απτε || 8 καρδία[ν cὺν Wo || 12–13 ἄλλο· κρο|τῶνος suppl. Ma || 13 μ[ελαίνης αἵμα prop. Ma || 13–14 αἰ|]γείῳ SM : τρα|]γείῳ Wo || 15 in eisthesi | ad fin. λαβὲ] Wo (an λαβὼν?)

... (5) ... Another¹ ... (10) ... [having put (it) in a red] rag² ... [Another]: (15) gouge out the right [eye]³ of a lizard and [put it]⁴ in a goat [skin] and fasten it to the left ...⁵ Another: [the] heart of a [night-owl(?)]⁶ ... (20) ... after pounding⁷ ... Another ... all together,⁸ fasten it. [Another: blood(?) of a tick] from a [black(?)] cow⁹ (25) in [goat]¹⁰ skin ... Against every [illness]: [take(?)] a *kantharos*-beetle ...

F. Maltomini

¹ ἄλλο (Il. 7, [13], 18, 21 and [23]) is used to introduce analogous recipes: cf. e.g. GEMF 57/PGM IV 1323; 74.275, 280, 335, 457/VII 201, 206, 255, 376 etc. The same occurs in medical and alchemical writings; see Martinez 1991, 7 n. 31; Andorlini 1995, 105; Andorlini 2004, 86 with n. 18.

² Cf. Marc.EMP. 8.50 (CML 5.126.23–25) *si sanguinem de oculis eius (scil. lacerti) lana munda excipias eamque phoenicio convolvias colloque suspendas, uteris efficacissimo adversum oculorum dolorem remedio*.

³ The supplement (l. 14) seems highly probable. The verb ἐκκόπτω is idiomatic for the gouging out of an eye, and the lizard was the animal employed *par excellence* in remedies against eye disease; see Faraone 2015, 104–107. See also SM II 78.3–4 n. For other amulets for eye diseases in magical papyri, see Brashear 1995, 3499, 3500.

⁴ βα|λὼν (Il. 15–16), or else εἰ|λὼν, or its compounds, though they normally take the simple dative (cf. GEMF 30.95, 98, 110–111/PGM II 48, 51, 63–64; IV 2702–2703).

⁵ Possibly (l. 17) ἀριετ[ερῶ βραχίονι] or ἀριετ[ερῶ χειρῖ]. The first editor supplemented ἀριετ[ερῶ ὄμματί σου].

⁶ According to Wortmann's supplement (l. 18). But also νυκ[τικόρακος and νυκ[τερίδος might be possible.

⁷ One possible reconstruction of ll. 19–20 might be: καρδία[ν cὺν (or ἐν) οἴνω ἀκρά|]τω (or μελικρά|]τω) τρι[ίψας. Wortmann supplemented l. 20 τρι[ίψας χριζόν σε, which is unwarranted.

⁸ Probably referring to ingredients lost in the lacunae of ll. 21–22, to be pounded or mixed together.

⁹ Cf. GEMF 16/PDM XIV 774, 777 “blood of a tick of a black cow”; Plin. *NH* 38.256. For the ‘black cow’ cf. 31/I 5; 55/III 383; 57/IV 909, 1440, 3149; 74.808–809/VII 652–653; 60/XIII 129, 362, 685; 68/XXXVI 239.

¹⁰ Of course other restorations like τρα|]γείῳ (Wo), λα|]γείῳ (SM in comm.) cannot be excluded (ll. 24–25).

GEMF 25 (P.Oxy. III 433)

Oxyrhynchus

late II–early III CE

ED.PR: P.Oxy. III 433 (Grenfell and Hunt 1903)

REPUBL.: Zellmann-Rohrer 2018a

COMM.: Zellmann-Rohrer 2018a

TRANSL.: Zellmann-Rohrer 2018a (English)

LOC.: Cambridge, UL Add. MS. 4414

TM 63791

Fragment of a formulary in the form of a book-roll (H. 8.7 × W. 9 cm). The text is written along the fibers on the recto; the verso is blank. The hand is a small, rounded semi-cursive inclined slightly to the left; the dating follows ed.pr. (cf. the parallels cited in Zellmann-Rohrer 2018a). The tops of two columns are preserved, with an *intercolumnium*, where a *kollesis* is visible, and part of the top margin; the left, right, and bottom margins are broken. There are titles in the *intercolumnium* for three recipes in the right column, and forked *paragraphoi* are in use. Final *v* is sometimes abbreviated with a horizontal stroke above the line; two of the marginal titles use other abbreviations by suspending the last letters. There are occasional phonetic spellings, and one scribal correction. The text follows the republication of Zellmann-Rohrer 2018a.

The papyrus preserves the remains of at least four ritual procedures. The first and longest (col. i) involves the creation of a figurine of a god, most likely Hermes, which is to be placed in a shrine and presented with offerings, before being invoked for various benefits, probably including the erotic compulsion of both men and women. On the one hand, the recipe seems to reflect the traditional cult of divine statues in Egyptian temples, especially the ritual for the so-called “Opening of the Mouth” that was later extensively appropriated for magical purposes in the Graeco-Roman period; see Moyer and Dieleman 2003, and Dieleman 2005, 170–182. The ape dung and ibis feather, though part a different recipe (ll. 30–34), suggest Egyptian influence and, if the shrine mentioned at the start (ll. 1–2) is (as restored) made of terebinth-wood, this detail also seems to point to the East. On the other hand, rituals for good-business procedures offer more parallels for the following details: a shrine made of a special wood (ll. 1–2), flowers (14), a libation of milk (15), burnt sacrifice of a special kind of wood (17) at sunset (19). At the end of GEMF 57/PGM IV, for example, a Hermes statuette is given a garland, bird sacrifice and a wine libation (ll. 2359–2369), a statue of the “little Beggar” is set inside of a hollow block of juniper, and offered burnt sacrifice over willow wood (2373–2440), and a statue of Pantheos statue placed in a juniper shrine and offered animal sacrifice and a milk-libation (3125–3171). They all seem to reflect, as Graf 1991, 195–196 pointed out many years ago, normal Greco-Roman cult on a small, domestic scale.

The rest of recipes are much shorter. The second (ll. 24–29), entitled *θυμοκάτοχον*, invokes Hermes, perhaps making use of the same figurine, for the purpose of restraining anger, though little of the procedure remains. The third and fourth, a *μίσηθρον* (ll. 30–34) and an *ἐχθροποιόν* (ll. 35–37), both pursue the hostile manipulation of third parties, specifically to instill enmity between friends or lovers. The details of both are unfortunately incomplete. The former appears to make use of ape dung, a ritual seal (*σφραγίς*) perhaps associated with netherworld divinities (*Πλουτόνιος*), and a feather perhaps from a sacred ibis. The latter, even more fragmentary, securely preserves only the mention of the cooking of brain as a ritual ingredient.

In the ed.pr. the possibility of a poetic composition in iambic meter was considered; the fragmentary state leaves much uncertainty, but as Franco Maltomini points out (personal communication), what remains could be scanned as portions of iambic trimeters with the exception of the opening directions (ll. 1–2) and marginal rubrics. Purposeful as opposed to accidental iambic rhythm is likeliest in an invocation (note already the poetic verb *κυκλήσκω*, l. 26), but a fully metrical treatise in imitation of didactic verse is at least conceivable.

GEMF 26 (GMA 32)

Akrai, Sicily

II–III CE¹

ED.PR.: Thorlacius 1829

REPubL.: IG XIV 2413 (17); Vogliano and Preisendanz, 1948, 73–85; Carratelli apud Bernabò 1956, 170–171, no. 52; Kotansky, GMA 32 [Ko]; Rizzo 1994–1995, 73–119 (text of Carratelli; detailed commentary and identification of formulary rather than amulet, but unaware of superior readings of Kotansky); SEG LV 1005 (text of Rizzo; cf. SEG XIV 593; BE 1950, no. 242; 1951, no. 257; 1953, no. 286; 1954, no. 18; 1959, no. 546)

TRANSL.: Kotansky, GMA 32 (English)

COMM.: Kotansky, GMA 32 (with full bibliography); Bevilacqua 1999, 65–88 at 71; van der Horst 2006, 39–40

[Fe] is Festugièrè apud Vogliano 1952, 114–116

LOC.: Syracuse Museum

TM 285014

Copper *lamella* (H. 9.1 × W. 5.6 cm) folded in half along the vertical. The script is a book-hand with some cursive features, especially visible in ε and π. According to Kotansky, the writing is on ruled lines created by folding the *lamella* along the horizontal before inscribing it. Alternatively, the lines were scored with a hard point.

Previous editors were understandably convinced that this small copper sheet was an amulet,² but Rizzo was the first to stress that it shows unusual signs of wear for an amulet and that the contents reveal it to be an excerpt from a handbook containing five different formulae, lines 1–7; 8–22; 23–32; 32–34; and 34–36. The disposition of rubrics and *logoi* suggests, however, a four-fold division: lines 1–7; 8–22; 23–29; and 30–36. Traditional Jewish elements are strongly represented: three rubrics claim to be recipes for the phylacteries that Moses wore,³ either when he was in the holy of holies or when he climbed Mt. Sinai, and one recipe contains a long quotation in a Greek translation of Deuteronomy 32 that differs from the Septuagint and may be related to Aquila’s version (see GMA 149–154). Its copper medium is rare in the western half of the Mediterranean, where it was found (Akrai), but used in Roman Palestine, for example, at Qumran as the medium for the “Copper Scroll,” and then in a number of much later amulets, a fact which may suggest a Levantine origin for the sheet.⁴

The text of this edition is based on that of Kotansky, revised after collation on the photographs in Vogliano-Preisendanz 1948 and Carratelli 1956 and a drawing by Thorlacius 1829.

¹ Kotansky, after dated *comparanda*; Vogliano thought of the third or fourth century (with Rizzo opting for the fourth primarily on the basis of content) in an *addendum* objecting to Preisendanz, who thought of an original text of the fourth or fifth centuries copied in its present form in the eleventh.

² Although previously identified as bronze, no doubt owing to its green or green-brown patination, Kotansky, GMA, suggests that it was probably copper, a pure earth element. No magical recipe prescribes bronze *lamellae*, but rather only pure, unalloyed metals (gold, silver, copper, tin, lead and iron).

³ This pseudepigraphic attribution to Moses belongs to a tradition of his prowess as a magician, represented elsewhere in the magical papyri, as discussed extensively by Kotansky, and which may, as he also suggests, function in the broader sense, because the scriptural passage cited therein, Deuteronomy 32, is directly attributed to a speech that Moses delivered before the Israelites. The Jewish tradition of amulets on thin sheets of precious metal can be traced back to Exodus 28:36, as Kotansky points out, where the phrase ἀγίασμα κυρίου “sacrament of the Lord” is to be inscribed on a gold lamella for the protection of Aaron, to which the prescription of a gold *lamella* here may allude.

⁴ For the Qumran scroll, see Brizemeure, Lacoudre and Puech 2006. For copper amulets, see Naveh and Shaked 1985, amulets nos. 2 and 3; Kotansky 1991a; and Naveh and Shaked 1993, amulet no. 26.

Protective amulet of Moses, which he used in protecting himself at the holy of holies,⁵ in betaking himself to the glory of the house:⁶ the (5) spirit of holiness would withdraw and turn around.⁷ Put the formula on a gold lamella:⁸ six (i.e. letters) “SABAŌTH”;⁹ (or) [on] silver with frankincense(?).¹⁰

Protective amulet of Moses, when he was going up on Mount Seilam¹¹ in getting (the) *kastou*.¹² (10) While wearing it you will fear neither sorcerer nor binding-curse nor airy spirit nor anything at all; wear it in a state of purity, and you shall not share it except with legitimate offspring: IAŌ SABAŌTH ADŌNAIE SEILAM ABLA(15)NATHANALBA, adornment of the universe,¹³ thoroughly protect this one (i.e. who wears the amulet). ABRASAX ...ERŌ. (*charaktēres*)¹⁴ XĒROOZOO (*charaktēres*) ...S IAŌ OU EIE IĒOU BATHTHA ELAA PHTHA ŌŌ. Let heaven give ear, (20) and I shall speak, and let the earth hear my word—as dew upon grass and as drops upon verdure—for the name of the LORD ...¹⁵

Protective amulet of Moses, when he was going up on Mount Sei¹⁶ (25) to get (the) *kastou*. While wearing it you will fear neither sorcerer nor binding-curse nor evil spirit nor anything at all; wear it in a state of purity, and you shall not share it except with legitimate offspring: IAŌ SABAŌTH.¹⁷

(30) Against fever or the [bite?] of an evil animal or against bewitchment of the (evil) eye or (against) great men (?), (it is) a good (amulet).¹⁸ [While wearing it, you will fear neither] sorcerer nor [evil] spirit [nor] apparition: indeed, you will live (35) ... having knowledge, you will live ... indemnity against a demon ...¹⁹

M. Zellmann-Rohrer

⁵ In the Greek versions of Jewish scriptures, the holy of holies is most often the inner *sanctum* of the temple of Jerusalem, which would be an anachronism here. Probably the tabernacle sanctuary is intended, as Kotansky suggests, the construction of which was among the divine commands received by Moses on Mt. Sinai (Ex. 25:7), and which in turn required amuletic protection when entering due to the overwhelming divine glory (Ex. 28:15, 22).

⁶ That is, the tabernacle.

⁷ Kotansky takes Moses as the subject of the latter (after his encounter with the divine presence), but the Greek marks no change of subject; the sense is perhaps instead that Moses’s amulet causes the (otherwise overpowering) πνεῦμα to withdraw temporarily.

⁸ Kotansky suggests an allusion to the gold leaf inscribed by Moses and worn by Aaron in Ex. 28. See n. 5 above.

⁹ The word “six” is placed here to make sure that all six of the letters of *Caβαωθ* are copied.

¹⁰ The silver is perhaps mentioned as an alternative writing substrate, along with frankincense as a fumigant to activate the amulet (cf. GEMF 74.510–530/PGM VII 429–449), but the compressed phrasing leaves some obscurity; this route still seems preferable to Preisendanz’s reading of a form of the archaic ἀπτύειν ‘prepare (an offering)’.

¹¹ Kotansky reads *Κελλαμωναι* and suggests a deformation or alternative form for the name Sinai, but cf. τῷ ὄρει *Cei* in the *logos* below, l. 24.

¹² Kotansky GMA, 148–149, suggests that this word is derived, perhaps via Aramaic, from a Biblical Hebrew word for “amuletic band” (*keset*, Ezekiel 13:18), noting also *κατρο* in the version of Aquila and Theodotion of Ezekiel 9:2 for the writing tablet or inkwell [*qeset*] borne by the angel who marks those to be spared from destruction, suggesting some amuletic purpose. Here the word is directly transliterated as a rare technical term.

¹³ *κόμμε κόμμου*, a pun on the two senses of *κόμμος*; Kotansky sees an overly literal translation from Hebrew.

¹⁴ Some of these signs resemble Greek letters, and were partially resolved as such by Kotansky in GMA.

¹⁵ Apparently drawing on a Greek version of Deuteronomy 32:1–3, which diverges from the Septuagint, as discussed at length by Kotansky GMA, 149–151, who suggests a specific identification of the version of Aquila. The selection of this passage, the last speech of Moses to the Israelites, is an exemplar of ritually efficacious utterance and suits his prominent role in the rest of the formula. For a recently published silver amulet with the same passage in Deuteronomy, see Bohak and Faraone 2018.

¹⁶ See the n. 11 above on Mount Seilam.

¹⁷ Ll. 23–29 are an almost verbatim copy of the beginning of the previous recipe, which the scribe seems to have stopped copying in the middle of the *logos*, when he realized his mistake.

¹⁸ The reading is not certain but previous attempts are no more admissible; the sense would be that the amulet offers protection, or even favor, in the presence of the powerful.

¹⁹ Following the plausible supplements of Kotansky (see app.cr.; perhaps alluding to scripture), e.g., “... you will live to be full of days having knowledge of this, you will live long having indemnity from (any) evil demon.”

GEMF 27
(SEG LX 817)

Gorgippia? Black Sea

II–III CE

ED.PR.: Blavatskaja 1958, 231–239 (in Russian; German summary)

REPubL.: Neverov 1978, 848 no. 50 [Ne]; Faraone 2010a, 91–144 [Fa]; SEG LX 817 (text of Faraone)

TRANSL.: Faraone 2010a, Faraone 2012, 51–52 (English)

COMM.: Faraone 2012, 51–66 with appendix no. 18

LOC.: Anapa, Historical Museum, inv. 835

Spherical agate gemstone (3.5 cm in diameter) inscribed in book-script with pronounced serifs and occasional ligatures (ου, ων). Lines 16–24 are divided into two notional columns, at first separated by small *vacat*, then distinguished by an offset in the angle of the writing.

The text is that of Faraone 2010a, except where noted; collated with new color photographs showing lines 2–12, 15–24. The gem seems to copy handbook language throughout, beginning with a rubric “For the sending away of (hostile) incantations” and ending with a list of the parts of the human head and a corresponding magical name to be used, either when a specific part of the head was a site of illness or, in two cases (l. 18, *σταφυλή* and l. 22, *πόλυπος*), when a particular pathology (“swollen uvula” and “a malignant growth in the nostrils”) manifested itself. The list borrows vocabulary from and follows the order of a Hippocratic handbook of the Hellenistic period.

col. i	col. ii
1 πρὸς φαρμάκων ἀποπομπάς· φραμφειρεινλελαμε Δαμναμενεύς αμναμενευς	κύριε δέομαί σου, ποιήσ[ο]ν τὴν μάθην ἀκὴν ὑγείην 15 περὶ τοῦ κορυφῆς ἐνκεφάλ[ο]· Γ Ο Ι ρ ε
5 μναμενευς ναμενευς αμενευς μενευς ενευς	ὄτων· Υ Ξ Α Ξ Λ μήνιγος· Ψ Δ Η Φ σταφυλή· Ο Ο Η πρμηρυμα τραχήλδ· λαχμαληλ
10 νευς ευς υς	20 μετώπδ· λαροιμαια μυκτῆρος· κηρβα πώλυπδ· καηηι ὀδόντων· < > στόματος· < >

1 φραμφειρ- : φραμφερ- Fa || 13 l. ποιήσων || 14 l. τὴν μάθην ἀκὴν | l. ὑγείαν | 15 τοῦ Ne : τῆς cett. | l. ἐγκεφάλου || 17 l. μήνιγος || 18 l. σταφυλῆς || 19 l. τραχήλου || 20 l. μετώπου || 21 κηρβα : κηρεα Fa || 22 l. πώλυπου : πολύπου Fa

For the sendings away¹ of (hostile) incantations:²

PHRAMPHEIREINLELAME³

DAMNAMENEUS⁴

AMNAMENEUS (5)

MNAMENEUS

NAMENEUS

AMENEUS

MENEUS

ENEUS (10)

NEUS

EUS

US.

Lord, I beg you, grant knowledge,⁵ healing, health, (15)
concerning the {head}⁶ brain:⁷ (*charaktēres*)

ears: (*charaktēres*)

ear-drum: (*charaktēres*)⁸

“grape-cluster”:⁹ (*charaktēres*) PRMĒRUMA

neck: LACHMALĒL (20)

forehead: LAROIMAIA

nostril: KĒRBA

“octopus”:¹⁰ SAĒĒI

teeth: < ... >

mouth: < ... >

M. Zellmann-Rohrer

¹ The plural ἀποπομπάς is odd, but it refers to rituals protective or defensive in nature; see, e.g. Poll. *Onom.* 5.131.

² For φάρμακα to mean ‘hostile incantations’, see Pl. *Lg.* 933a–d, where the Athenian stranger describes how φαρμακεία can be divided into two distinct categories, one in which *pharmaka* are herbal drugs and injury is done to bodies by bodies according to nature, and another in which verbal *pharmaka* can cause psychological harm by means of sorceries, incantations, and binding procedures (μαγγανείαις τέ τισι καὶ ἐπὶ δαίτι καὶ καταδέεσσι).

³ As explained by Faraone 2010a, ad loc., the *logos* may be formed from the name of the Egyptian sun-god (Ph-)Re and the popular LAILAM, perhaps derived from a Hebrew phrase “forever.”

⁴ Apparently drawn from Greek mythology, as a figure associated with sorcery and probably in origin an agent of infernal punishment, but later assimilated to solar deities (see further the commentary in Faraone 2010a). Here the progressive deletion of his name in the following lines provides an analogue for the cure of diseases of the head (see further discussion in Faraone 2012, 55–66).

⁵ μάθη, a rare variant for μάθησις, initially seems out of place in a *tricolon* whose other members denote healing explicitly; in the absence of a legible facsimile for the line in question, an error of the stone-cutter of the first editor for a form of ἴασις, ‘healing’, may be considered. Faraone 2010a, ad loc., however argues sensibly for a “combined plea” aimed at knowledge for a healer and health for a patient.

⁶ As written, the specification of “the brain of the head” lacks a clear point and disagrees with the simpler structure of the rest of the listed items; κορυφή is better regarded as a textual variant recorded, perhaps above the line, in a hypothetical exemplar of this formulary, which the copyist has mistakenly included in the main text, or multiple entries may have been mistakenly condensed, e.g. τοῦ (...), κορυφῆς, ἐν κεφαλῇ[ου].

⁷ The following list refers to parts of the head, apparently in two series of five items each beginning at the top and favoring pairs of orifices with their internal components. This is unusual in magical texts but paralleled in the Hippocratic *De affectionibus* 1 (see further Faraone 2010a). Probably the formulary combined a generic core, the *logoi* on the obverse (2–12) and the invocation at the head of the reverse (13–15), with a sequence of further *logoi* and *charaktēres* specifically suited to ailments in each of the areas enumerated in the left-hand column of ll. 15–24.

⁸ These four signs are enlarged Greek letters.

⁹ Nickname for the uvula when it is swollen.

¹⁰ Nickname for a malignant growth in the nostrils.

GEMF 28
(PGM CXXVII; SM II 76)

Provenance unknown

II–III CE

ED.PR.: Parássoglou 1974, 251–253 no. 9 [Pa] (col. vi); Zellmann-Rohrer 2020, 34–44 (cols. i–v) [Ze]

REPUBL.: (col. vi only) SB XIV 11909; P.Yale II 134; SM II 76

COMM.: SM II 76

TRANSL.: Kotansky, GMPT, 322–323 (English); SM II 76 (English)

LOC.: New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, P.CtYBR inv. 1206 front;

Lund, University Library, P.Lund inv. 2091

TM 64529

Fragments of a book-roll originally some 16.5 cm in height and at least 75 cm in length. The only fully preserved column (col. vi) was published by Parássoglou and republished several times, most recently in the SM; the rest of the roll has remained unpublished until recently. Parts of at least six columns survive on the recto; the writing, along the fibers, crosses three *kolleseis* (between col. i and ii, and within col. v) in the down-hill direction.

The sixth column was probably the last of the roll, because a large blank space follows to its right. It preserves the full height, as do probably cols. ii and iii, at 15 lines. Col. vi stands on a fragment of its own, apparently cut in modern times from another bearing cols. iv–v, with a false modern join in the middle of col. iv. The columns numbered here i–iii went in that order but did not necessarily precede col. iv directly; apparently col. i was not the first of the original roll. The assignment of letters to unplaced fragments mounted for convenience with cols. i–iii follows a designation made before two recent joins (fr. i to col. ii; fr. f to col. iv); fr. j just possibly belongs with col. ii also, but has been kept separate in the edition; similarly fr. e may belong to the foot of col. v and fr. h to either cols. i or ii, on the basis of fiber orientation and letter size, respectively, but no immediate connection in sense is apparent. To the Yale fragments a small fragment now in Lund may now be associated: although its placement with respect to the surviving columns is unclear (col. i, ii, or iii, or another otherwise entirely lost), it is in the same hand and specifies some ritual ingredients.

The hand is a proficient cursive of chancery inspiration, with frequent serifs and flourishes. It has been assigned to the second or third century (see SM and Nodar forthcoming for parallels and further analysis). It tends to rounded forms, and shows few ligatures that in no case affect the shape of letters substantially, with the exception perhaps of cursive καί. The scribe makes occasional corrections; the orthography is fairly consistent. *Iota* adscript is inconsistently used; the *diaeresis* and other diacritics are absent. The *paragraphos* is of the simple type but occasionally flourished at the left terminus. The abbreviation for δεῖνα is unusual: a curved stroke and superscript α are added to the usual Δ.

The contents fall into two sections: incantations (cols. i–v) for erotic procedures, as far as their rubrics have been preserved, and short recipes for “tricks” in sympotic and related contexts (col. vi) in the same genre as the so-called *παίγνια* of Democritus in GEMF 74.241–259/PGM VII 167–185.¹ The incantations are much damaged but contain interesting first-person speeches impersonating the goddesses Artemis (col. i) and Persephone (col. v), the latter combined with a persuasive analogy involving a nail; another (col. iii) draws an analogy to qualities of Aphrodite, Herakles, the Earth, and the Moon, which remain obscure. Portions of the incantations are in hexameter (i 4–8, ii 1–3, and the closing tags at iv 9–10 and v 6–7), while other portions simply borrow epic diction without following a metrical structure.

On the back, a contemporary hand has added medical recipes, now much obliterated; the most substantial traces belong to a drug against ulcers (κόλποι).

The text of col. vi follows SM except where noted.

¹ Mastrocinque 2003; Mastrocinque 2017, 270–286.

recto col. i →

- 1 τήνδ' ἰοῖς ἐὰν πατάξω ἐρωτικ[ο]ῖς
μελήχη Δ[ι]ώνυσε σου μυκτῶν ἐπωδῶν
φίλτρον· ἢ ἐπωδή· Ἄ[ρ]τεμῖς εἰμι Διὸς καὶ
Λητοῦς ἢ [ca 5 το]ξοφόρος θυγάτηρ,
5 Φοῖβο[ς] δέ μοί ἐστιν ἀδελφὸς αὐτοκα-
σίγητο[ς] ca 5], ὄρωσα γέγηθα . . .
χ[. . .] ενο [ca 5] ἐγὼ φιλότητι ἀνυ-
[ca 10]σαν . . . θειω[. . .] [. . .]
[ca 10] . . . [ca 10]
10 [ca 15] [ca 10]

col. ii →

GEMF 28/PGM CXXVII 1–25

- 1 μηδέ τις ἀθανάτων μῆθ' ἠρώων
πολυφήμων μήτε ὑποταρταρείων
οἱ Τειτῆνες καλέονται στέρξαιτο
φύλον κῆρ· ἀλλὰ σὺ τοξοφόρε Ἄρτεμι
5 ἄλλοι τε θεοὶ μάκαρες τήνδε τελεί- 15
τ' ἐπαιοιδίην
τὸ αὐτό· λαβὼν δύο τρίχας τῆς γυναι-
κὸς λέγε τὴν ἐπωδ[ῆ]ν ἐφ' ἡμέρα[ς] γ
[εἶ]τα πρὸς νή[ς] της [. . .] ρ[. . .] ἐν [ἡ]μέρα
10 [. . .] καὶ σον [τὰ]ς τρί[χ]ας μετ[ὰ] βυβλα- 20
[ρίο]υ ἐν ᾧ ἢ ἐπωδή [. . .]
[φί]λτρον· τῶν [ca 10] . . . ζον δύο
[. . .] ψε[. . .] [ca 10] ζον ἐν χέ[α]ς
[. . .] ον του[ca 12] λμένου ε[. . .]
15 [. . .] γ ἐκ του[ca 12] χει οὐχ [. . .] 25

col. i 2 l. Διόνυσε : Δ[ι]ώνυσε; ω corr. ex o Pap. || 4 fort. ἠγ[ενε]ῖας || 6–7 fort. σὺν[χ]ε[ό]μενον

col. ii 2 l. ὑποταρταρείων || 3 l. Τειτῆνες || 9 πρωί Pap. || 10 fort. [Ἄρε]ος vel [Δι]ός

recto col. iii →

GEMF 28/PGM CXXVII 26–40

- 1 ἢ οἶνον ἢ ὕδωρ· ἐπαδέ σου τὰ κο[ινὰ]
καὶ ἔω^c ἐὰν ἀποθάνῃ, τηλικούτο φιλή-
σει· ἐπωδή· ὡς Ἀφροδείτη νέμει
ὡς Ἡρακλῆς [. . .] ὡς Γῆ [ca 15]
5 Γῆς ἄξονα [ca 5] Σελή[νη] ca 15] 30
π[ν]εῦμα ὡς κ[ca 20]
[ο]ὔτως ἢ Δ^a πρ[ca 20]
[. . .] ωρ ερ [ca 25]
[. . .] π [ca 25]
10 ἐπ[α]οιδίην [. . .] 35
φ[ί]λτρον· λα[β]ῶν ca 15–20]
[. . .] καὶ ον[ca 20–25]
[. . .] ενο [ca 20–25]
[. . .] πασα . . . [ca 20–25]
15 [. . .] ἐμοὶ ἢ Δ^a . . . [ca 20–25] 40

col. iii 3 l. Ἀφροδείτη || 5 ἄξονα ; o corr. ex ι || 6 fort. Κ[ρόνος] || 7 δ(ε)ῖ(ν)α | fort. e.g. πρ[ὸς τὸν δ(ε)ῖ(ν)α] || 9–10 fort. e.g. [τέλει
τελέαν] | ἐπ[α]οιδίην || 15 δ(ε)ῖ(ν)α

GEMF 28.1–25

“... If I strike her with the arrows of *eros*,² may she have a care, Dionysus,³ for the incantations of your initiates.”⁴

Aphrodisiac: The incantation: “I am Artemis, the well-⁵..., bow-bearing daughter of Zeus and Leto, and (5) Phoibos is my full brother ... seeing, I rejoiced ... I, with love⁶...” (10) ...

“... nor may any of the immortals or far-famed heroes⁷ or those down in Tartarus, who are called Titans,⁸ feel love in their own heart. But you, bow-bearing Artemis, and you (15) other blessed gods, perfect this incantation.”⁹

(For) the same (purpose): take two hairs¹⁰ from the woman and say the incantation for 3 days, then in the morning, while fasting ... on the day [of Ares (or Zeus?)]¹¹ (20) burn the hairs with the book-roll(?) on which the incantation is (i.e. written).

Aphrodisiac: of the ... two ... pour in ... (25) from ...

GEMF 28.26–40

... or wine or water. Utter the incantation with the usual things (i.e. your own particular request), and until she dies, she will love (you). Incantation: “As Aphrodite bestows, as Herakles¹² ... as Earth ... (30) Earth’s axis¹³ ... Moon ... breath, as ... so, too, may she, NN ... [perfect a perfect(?)] (35) incantation.”

Aphrodisiac: take ... and ... (40) for me, she, NN ...

² The association of ἔρως with arrows is a literary trope (e.g. Asclep. *AP* 12.50.3–4, 12.75) otherwise unknown in magical recipes, but see a possibly iambic verse on an erotic curse from Egypt (SM 49.54): “NEICHAROPLĒX, bend your bow towards the heart of Matrona”; for NEICHAROPLĒX as a magical name for Eros, see three magical gems in Paris (LIM 445–447) that show on the obverse Eros attacking Psyche with a torch and apparently invoke him on the reverse as NEICHAROPLĒX. The adjective ἐρωτικός may mean more specifically “inducing *eros*” in the target.

³ For this deity in the magical papyri, see Pachoumi 2014.

⁴ The practitioner is called an initiate (μύστης) in GEMF 31/PGM I 127 and 57/IV 745, and the epithet is also applied to the divinized Πρόνοια and Ψυχή (57/IV 477).

⁵ Read perhaps ἠγ[ενεία] ‘well-born’. The invocation of Artemis in erotic magic on her own is new; she generally appears alongside Hekate, Selene, and Persephone (cf. col. v below), see e.g. GEMF 57/PGM IV 2714–2727.

⁶ The incantation probably continues through l. 16, after which an alternative procedure for using the same utterance probably follows at ll. 17–21. The badly preserved remains may include references to a target as deranged (συγχ[εό]μενον, 16–17) by erotic passion, and to that passion itself as “unbearable” or similar (ἀνυ[ποίττω], 17–18).

⁷ The word “hero” in the magical papyri generally refers in the euphemistic sense to a spirit of the mortal dead, exceptional only in having met a violent end and hence in being restless (e.g. GEMF 57/PGM IV 1390), though some anonymous “chthonic heroes” (ἥρωες χθόνιοι) are invoked alongside Amphiaros in 57/IV 1446.

⁸ An adaptation of a Homeric phrase, *Il.* 14.279, τὸς ὑποταρταρίους οἱ Τιτῆνες καλέονται. The Titans do not appear elsewhere in the magical papyri as the Homeric underworld deities; the epithet Titan is subordinated to other deities (GEMF 30.133/PGM II 86; 55/III 210; PGM XXIII 5; 6/P.Oxy. LXV 4468 25 n.). They appear in their own right, however, alongside Persephone and the human dead as the intermediaries of the binding of an enemy in a curse tablet from Sicilian Lilybaion of the third century BCE (SEG XLVII 1442 + XLIX 1301 A 1–3; cf. Jordan 2000, no. 79 and Zellmann-Rohrer 2020, 36). For the Titans in magical texts see also Faraone 2010b.

⁹ The closing address to Artemis has a dactylic rhythm reminiscent of the hexametrical codas of the early Greek magical papyri, but it is not clear that strict hexameters were intended, and there is no obvious textual corruption.

¹⁰ That is, the hairs of the female target as token and means of activation, as often in erotic and other aggressive magic; the additional instruction to burn them along with ritual text is novel. They are usually attached to the curse itself, as shown by literary references, e.g. Apuleius, *Meta.* 2.32 and 3.15–18 and in those cases, listed in Jordan 1985b, 25, of actual curses with hairs rolled up inside of them.

¹¹ Read either [Ἄρ]ε[ος] or [Δι]ός with the preceding ἡμέρα, expressing a planetary weekday, cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 8–9.

¹² Otherwise known in the magical papyri only indirectly through the oracular use of Homeric verses in GEMF 74.197/PGM VII 124 (*Il.* 18.117) and the coded name γόνος Ἡρακλέους given to the plant εὔζωμον in 15/XII 433.

¹³ For the reference cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 680–682, οἱ ἱεροὶ καὶ ἄλκιμοι νεανῖαι οἱ στρέφοντες (...) τὸν περιδίνητον τοῦ κύκλου ἄξονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; 74.843–845/VII 687–689, invocation of Ἄρκτος as ἄρχοντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ[οῦ] καὶ τῶν ἄστρων καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντος κόσμου, ἡ στρέφουσα τὸν ἄξονα καὶ κρατοῦ[σα τοῦ ὅ]λου συστήματος βία καὶ ἀνάγκη.

recto col. iv →

GEMF 28/PGM CXXVII 41–55

1	[ἐ]μή[ν] καὶ σὴν ἐνμικγ [ca 5]ομένην φιλό- [τ]ητα ἦν ἐμοὶ ἐνκατε[ca 5]λειπεσ· ὃς ἂν τοῦ- [τ]ο φάγη καὶ σοῦ μελαν [ca 5] παρείκηται λήση πατρὸς καὶ μη[τ]ρὸς καὶ τ[ῶν αὐτ]οκασιγνήτων	
5	πάντων, λή[σ]η [δ]ὲ ἄνδρ[α φι]λεῖν· ἐὰν γὰρ ἐγὼ πρῶτός τι πάθω καὶ [ψυχὴ ἐ]μὴ ἐκλίπη φάος ἡλίοιο, κάκει σοῦ ψυχὴ [πρὸ]ς ἐμὸν τάφον [ἀ]μφιπέτοιο κλαίου[σά τε] καὶ ὄδυρομένη [κ]αί μο[ι] πεπονημέν[η ca 5]· εἰ· πότνια Κυ-	45
10	[προγένεια τ]έλει τελέαν ἐπ[αο]ιδήν [ca 10]·ικον[ca 10]·ιδηροῦν [ca 30 ἀ]ποστρ[έ]φει ἀ- [πὸ ca 25 κε]φαλή αὐτοῦ [ca 20 κ]αὶ ἔπαιδε [ca 20] φειλήσι σε ἄρτι·	50 55

col. iv 1 κ(αὶ) ἐνμικγε[vel ἐνμικγο[|| 2 -ητα corr. ex -ητι || 3 fort. μέλαν τ[ῶ] ἐμῶ] || 7 ἡλίοιο pro ἡελίοιο || 9 fort. [εἰς α]ίει vel [διατε]λεῖ || 10 l. τελέαν || 11 fort. [ἱερα]τικόν (sc. e.g. χάρτην) vel [Αἰθιο]πικόν (sc. e.g. κύμινον) || 15 l. φιλήσει

recto col. v →

GEMF 28/PGM CXXVII 56–71

1	ἡ ἐπωδὴ· κύρω Φ[ε]ρσειφόνη θυγά- τηρ καὶ δῶμα ἅπαν ἀνατιταίνω καὶ δαίμονα ἐν λίνιοι· ὥσπερ οὗτος ὁ ἦ- λος ἐπεδ[έ]θη, οὕτως καὶ ἡ καρδία	
5	τῆς Δ) ἐνθεοῦ[σ]ης καὶ ποθ[ο]ύσης καὶ περιπα- τούσης καὶ καθευδού[σ]ης· π[ό]τνια Περσεφό- νεια τέλει τελέαν ἐπ[αο]ιδήν	60
10	ποίει δὲ αὐτὸ ἀγνεύων· μηδὲν φάγησ ἀπὸ δείπνου εἰ μὴ [. . .] ἦν καὶ ὄρνειθάριον, πρῶτ[ο]ν [δ]ὲ κατ[. . .] λέγ[ε τ]ὴν ἐπωδὴν [. . .]πωσ[. . .] [ca 10]	65
15	γυν[ca 20]·υνεσχί- κασι[ν ca 20]ωρα ἐπι[ca 15]ρον καὶ μη- [δ]ὲν ἀπ[ca 20] χριτε τὸ στα- μνί[ο]ν [ca 25]	70

col. v 1 l. Φ[ε]ρσειφόνη : post -φονη spatium unius litt. || 5 δ(ε)ῖ(voc) || 9 fort. [ἀ]μνήν | 1. ὄρνειθάριον || 11 post ι spat. quinque litt. || 12 fort. e.g. γυν[αῖκα φιλεῖν], [ἀγρυπνεῖν]

GEMF 28.41–55

“... mixing yours and mine ... love that you have ... for me. Whoever eats this, and your ‘dark’ (i.e. pudendum) yields [to mine (?)], (you will) forget father and mother and all siblings, (45) and you will forget how to love a man (your husband?):¹⁴ for if I am first to suffer anything,¹⁵ and my soul leaves behind the light of the sun,¹⁶ there too may your soul flit about to my tomb, crying and lamenting, and being grieved for me ... Lady (50) Cyprus-born (i.e. Aphrodite), perfect a perfect incantation.”¹⁷

... of iron ... turns away from ... his head.

... and incant (55) ... will love you at once.¹⁸

GEMF 28.56–71

The incantation: “I, Persephone, the daughter, stoop down and shake up (?) the whole house, and demons in their linens.¹⁹ Just as this nail has been bound in,²⁰ so, too, the heart of (60) her, NN, as she is possessed and desires, both walking about and lying down. Lady Persephone, perfect a perfect incantation.”

Do this while maintaining purity: eat nothing after dinner except a ... and a fowl, (65) and first ... say the incantation ...

A woman²¹ ... they embrace ...

... and nothing (70) ... anoint the jar ...

¹⁴ A novel version of the commonplace wish that the target forgets all other relations but that with the user, for which see e.g. GEMF 57/PGM IV 327–328 and Faraone 1999, 55–64.

¹⁵ A euphemism for “die.”

¹⁶ This expression is borrowed from Homeric epic (*Il.* 18.11 and *Od.* 11.93); there is a more distant reflection also in GEMF 57/PGM IV 2180.

¹⁷ The more regular hexametrical coda (understand *τελέαν* in place of *τελείαν* to fit the meter), as below at ll. 61–62.

¹⁸ The title and directions, badly damaged, introduce an incantation following at l. 55, for which further directions are given at ll. 63–67.

¹⁹ Persephone is often invoked along with other deities of the underworld for erotic magic, but the epithet “daughter” is a rare alternative to *Κόρη* and *Κούρη*, as is her first-person speech (or that of the ritualist taking on her persona). The threat to disturb the cosmos, in particular the sanctity of burial, is well attested as a motivation for invoked deities to act in relation to the cycle of myths around Osiris. The linen-wrapped *daimones* (*δαίμονας ἐν λίνοις*) may refer specifically to mummies, whose “corpse-*daimones*” (*νεκροδαίμονες*) are often invoked in erotic magic, but higher divinities, whose cult images in Egyptian temples were clothed in linen, may also have been intended.

²⁰ This binding, in place of the “driving” or “fixing” otherwise expected for a nail, may refer to wrapping, perhaps in connection to the linen mentioned in the incantation.

²¹ Read probably *γυν[αῖκα]* as subject of an infinitive in a rubric, e.g. “For a woman to love (you)” (*γυν[αῖκα φιλεῖν]*) or “lose sleep (over you)” (*[ἀγρυπνεῖν]*); the format may already shift to the shorter prescriptions for “tricks” given in col. vi.

recto col. vi →

GEMF 28.72–84 [PGM CXXVII 1–12]

1 κατακύψαι καὶ μὴ ἀνακύψαι· νάρκησ
θαλασσίας ἐνκεφάλῳ [χ]ρίε τὴν ἐσφῶν.

ἐν βαλανείῳ τινὰ ἔρεσθαι· κυνὸς νε-
κροῦ κροτῶνα θάλασσαν ἰς τὴν ἐσφῶν.

75

5 γυναικὶ ἐμπαῖξαι· θαψίας χ[ε]υλῶι
χρεῖε τὸ αἰδοῖον.

ἐν κυ[μ]ποσίῳ μάχην γενέσθαι· κυνό-
δηκτον λίθον βάλε ἰς τὸ μέσον.

10 ὄξος δριμύ ποιῆσαι· ψήφους πυρώ-
σας βάλλ' ἐν [αὐ]τῶι.

80

πρὸς πολλὰ βεινῖν· κελείνου
καὶ εὐζώμου σπ[έρ]μα πρόπιε.

2 l. ἐγκεφάλῳ | l. ὁσφῶν || 3 l. αἴρεσθαι SM; vel [φ]έρεσθαι? || 4 l. εἰς || 5 ἐμπαῖξαι: μ corr. ex v || 6 l. χρίε || 8 l. εἰς (vel βάλλ' εἰς) || 11 l. βινεῖν | l. κελείνου

For it (i.e. the penis) to droop and not prick up: anoint the loins with sea-ray brain.

To proposition(?)²² someone in the bath: crush a tick from a dead dog (75) on the loins.

To play a trick²³ on a woman: anoint the genitals with thapsia juice.

For a fight to break out at a drinking party: throw a dog-bitten stone in the middle. (80)

To make vinegar sharp: heat up pebbles and place in it.

To fuck a lot: swallow celery- and rocket-seed beforehand.

²² As written, the verb ἔρομαι might in this context connote a particular type of questioning with sexual aims, which seems preferable in the context of the rest of the recipes to the more general ‘petition,’ which remains possible; or read αἴρεσθαι by a common phonetic spelling, with SM, perhaps ‘pick up.’ There is damage to the papyrus after the end of the previous word, and a reading [φ]έρεσθαι is not impossible, perhaps in the same sense.

²³ As observed in the commentary to SM, the point may be to harness the swelling produced by the application of *thapsia* to make the penis appear larger.

GEMF 28: Unplaced fragments belonging to cols. i–iv or to their left

P.Lund inv. 2091 →

]c κροσὸν
 κα]ἰ ζμύρναν
]cov ἦν
]ντησιε τὴν
 5]
]ειε τὸν . . . ν
] . ωπο . [
]κ[

... a fringe (of linen) ... and myrrh ...

5 spatium

P.CtYBR inv. 1206 →

fr. a

]πα[
] . ου[

fr. c

]cπ . ρε[.] . c φιλο[... subdue ...
 δ]άμνασον· cὸ δε[
] . ουσαν δεινο . [
 3 fort. δεινοῖ[ε] vel δεινοῦ[ε]

fr. d

]ενοπ . [.]
] . . [.] . . ὕδωρ
] . ακαν δρόσοc
 κ]ηδείας δεσμὸc
 5]λειηγ[
] . . λ . [

... water ... dew ... bond of care²⁴ ...

2 fort. τὸ ὕδωρ || 5 fort. ἡ γ[ῆ]

fr. e

]τυ[ca 5] . [
] . ακρου[.] . υ . [
] . ιc· ἐὰν οὖν ηκ[

fr. g

 α[
 ψυ[

 2 fort. ψυ[χ-]?

²⁴ The Greek of line 5 is perhaps to be articulated]λει ἡ γ[ῆ], in which case a connection to iii 3–9 is possible though without a direct join.

GEMF 28: Unplaced fragments belonging to cols. i–iv or to their left

fr. h

].[... of her, so-and-so ... release ...
]ρματα[
].[.]ανεχα[
]πταδα[
 5]ατην τῆς Δ)
].ε λῦσαι
 5 δ(ε)ῖ(voc)

fr. j

]μν[
]αγρι[
]τα.[

fr. k

]. . κατακ. . .[... so-and-so ... only, and ... the rest ... that ... not be able to ...
] Δ) ι. [.] μόνον καὶ .[
]. . ναν· τοῖς δὲ λο[ι]ποῖς
] ὥστε μὴ δύν[α]σθαι] .[
 2 δ(ε)ῖ(να)

fr. l

].[
]πεχ[.]ντ[
] vacat
]ν χαλας[
 5]. . ψ[
 2 fort. [ἐ]πέχ[ο]ν || 4 fort. χάλας[ον]

fr. m

]μνιο[
]ασαι β.[
]ν

fr. n

].[. .]
]ην[. . .]
]ηθ. .
]αλλει

fr. q

].[
].ν θεὸς [c. 5] βω.[
]υλων ζῶα .[. . .]ξο.[
]ξας ὑπερεχέτω η.[
]. . .[. . .]χ. ην.[

... god ... animals ... let surpass ...

GEMF 29
(PGM LXIII)

Hermoupolis

II–III CE

ED.PR.: Gerstinger 1932, 159–161 (with contributions by K. Preisendanz)

REPUBL.: PGM LXIII [Pr]

TRANSL.: PGM LXIII (German); (ll. 1–26) O’Neil, GMPT, 294–295 (English); (ll. 27–31) Scarborough, GMPT, 295 (English); Calvo Martínez and Sánchez Romero 1987, 378 (Spanish); (ll. 8–14) Bernard 1991, 328 (French); (ll. 27–28) Montserrat 1996, 200 (English); (ll. 8–14) Perea Yébenes 2002, 205 n. 44 (Spanish); (ll. 29–31) Hirt Raj 2006, 274 (French); Ficheux 2007, 62, 253, 315, 316 (French); (ll. 27–31) Gaillard-Seux 2007, 133 n. 20 (French)

COMM.: ed.pr.; (ll. 29–31) Schmidt 1936, 253 [Sch]; (ll. 29–31) Maltomini 2017, 183–186; (ll. 1–7, 13–14, 29–31) Maltomini 2018, 115–120 [Ma]

LOC.: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Papyrussammlung, P.Vindob. G. 323

TM 63932

This fragment (H. 18 × W. 10 cm) features a column of text on the recto, written along the fibers, broken at the top and, for two thirds of its height, at the left. This part is also damaged by large internal *lacunae*. Only the last five lines (out of 31) are complete. The lower margin is 4 cm high. To the left of the column—which has a width of approx. 9 cm for 21/23 letters (measured at ll. 27–31)—there is a blank space of 1 mm and to the right a space of 2 mm. The verso is blank. The papyrus is light brown and very thin and its physical structure suggests a quality product. The left edge, where it is still preserved, has a very sharp profile, resulting from a cut (the same does not apply to the right edge, although it also appears rather linear). One could think that the fragment is the beginning of the roll, but the complete absence of an *agraphon* to the left of the column does not support this hypothesis. It seems unlikely, however, that it was an isolated leaflet.

The hand, expert and fast, is an upright informal round, mostly bilinear (only β and φ break the line at the top and bottom, ρ at the bottom). The letters generally appear compressed in height, while some (mainly κ, μ, ν, ω) expand markedly horizontally. Some verticals and obliques have hooks (right or left) or serifs at the ends (ι, κ, ρ, χ). Despite the almost complete absence of ligatures (only one case: ε with ι, l. 12) the writing gives a cursive impression. Among letter forms, note: α generally with an eyelet open in one movement, but also angular; β in three movements; ε in two, but cursive in the ligature ει; step-shaped η; θ round with the crossbar protruding to the right; κ with the arms detached from the vertical; μ in three movements; π square, with the bar that does not go beyond the verticals; V-shaped υ in one movement; ω high in one or two. Sometimes some final letters (α, ε, c) are extended to fill the line. The hand is datable to the late second or early third century CE, cf. Schubart, PGB 29a (more formal), 2nd cent. CE; P.Horak 13 (Harrauer no. 141, pl. 126) of 177/178 CE; PSI III 199 (Harrauer no. 162, pl. 147) of 203 CE.

The column contains (at least) seven recipes: fragmentary (1–3); against breast pain (4–7); to get a woman to talk in her sleep (8–14); fragmentary (15–22)¹ and (23–26); contraceptive (27–28); for fertility (29–31). Only the last two recipes are complete and they feature a rubric at the beginning of the first line, in *ekthesis* with an enlarged initial letter. Neither a *paragraphos* nor a wider interlinear space is used to separate the recipes. It can be assumed that this layout was common to all recipes. There are no lectional signs. Some spelling mistakes. For the drawing, see Horak 1992, 248 no. 216a.

The first edition of this papyrus was signed by H. Gerstinger, but, as he openly acknowledged (p. 159), it was in fact the work of Preisendanz. That text is found, almost unchanged, in PGM LXIII. For practical reasons, in the app.cr. reference will be made exclusively to PGM (Pr).

¹ It cannot be excluded that the badly damaged ll. 15–22 contained more than one recipe. Most of Preisendanz’s supplements in this section are unsubstantiated.

recto →

GEMF 29/PGM LXIII

- [ca 8] . . . [.] ρ
 [ca 8] . μω βάλε ἄλατος
 [ca 8] μέλιτ[ο]ς δύο.
 [ca 9]ων πόγον μαζῶ·
 5 [. γρά]μματ[α] ἑπτὰ λέγε.
 [ἔστιν δὲ τ]ὰ γράμ[μα]τα α
 [εηιουω].
 [γυναῖκα κοι]μωμέ[νην] ὁμολο-
 [γῆσαι τὸ ὄν]ομα οὐ̅ φ[ι]λί· ὄρνιθος
 10 [γλωσσαν ὑπο]κάτω χ[ε]λ[υ]νίον ἐπι-
 [τίθει ἢ ἐπ]ὶ καρδ[ία]ν καὶ ἀνα-
 [ζήτει τὸ ὄ]νομα [καὶ ἐ]ρεῖ τρίς.
 [λαβὼν τοῦ ἀ]λέκ[τορος] ὄρχιν πε-
 [ρίαπτε.]
 15 [ca 9]λε[.] . [.]ν κατὰ
 [ca 8]πελθε[. . .] ἄλατρίβανον
 [ca 8]ζαρα[.]τη . τε
 [ca 8] δε . [.] ης . ογ
 [ca 6] ρ[. . .] η[.] ρ [.
 20 [ca 5]ομ[.]ελα[. . .] . ο[.] ης . ις . ν
 [ca 6] λμε . [.] . ης . [.
 [ca 5] .
 [ca 7]την ευρ[.]σαι δ[ι]τὶ
 [.] χάριτος καὶ [.] χαρακτη-
 25 [ρας ὑπ]ὸθ[ε]ς ὑ̅πὸ τ[ὴν τ]ρ[ά]πεζαν.



- ἀκύλληπτον· ἄρας κοίαμον
 ἔχ[ο]ντα θηράφιον περιάπτε.
 εὐσύνληπτον· λαβὼν κοία-
 30 μον τετρημένον [ἔ]νδησον ἰς
 δ[έ]ρμα ἡμιόνου καὶ περιάπτε.

Supplementa, quae silentio recepi, ex PGM [Pr] desumpta.

2 [τῆ εὐων]ύμφη? Ma :] μω Pr || 3 [καὶ οἶνο]μέλιτος Pr || 4 [χοίνικας ποι]ῶν Pr | 1. πόγον μαζῶ(ν) Ma : (4-5) πο[τ]όν. μάγω[ν] Pr || 5 [λέγε] Pr || 9 φιλί Pr; 1. φιλεῖ || 10 χ[ε]λ[υ]ν[ί]ον Pr; 1. χελυνίων || 10-11 ἐπί[θε]ς αὐτῆς ἢ ἐπ[ὶ] Pr, longius iusto || 11 καρδίαν Pr || 11-12 ἀνα[ζή]τει καὶ τὸ ὄνομα [κα]λεῖ (λαλεῖ? in app.) Pr || 13-14 [λαβὼν τοῦ ἀ]λέκ[τορος] ὄρχιν πε[ρ]ίαπτε Ma : [βαλὼν ἐν καινῇ] λεκ[άνη] ἀρχὴν πε[ρ]έρεως Pr || 15-16 λε[κάνη]ν κατα[λιπὼν ἄ]πελθε Pr || 16 [πο]λλὰ τριβανον Pr || 18 δελ[τίον] χρ[ῆ]σ[ι]μον Pr || 19 . . . [10B.] ρ Pr || 20 [ca 5]ομ[.]ελα[: . . .] μ . ελα (μυρνέλαι(ον)? in app.) Pr | fin. ποιήσεις? Pr in app. || 21 ην μελ ερησα Pr || 23 [καλαβώ]την εὐρ[ῶν καὶ ἄ]ρας Pr || 24 init. [καινοῦ] Pr, longius spat. ut vid. | [γράψα]ς ([γράψ(α)]? in app.) Pr, nescio an recte || 27 1. ἀκύλληπτον, κύαμον || 29 εὐσύνληπτον (1. εὐκύλληπτον) Ma : θυφνληπτον (1. ἀκύλληπτον Sch) Pr || 29-30 κοία[μ]ον Ma : κοία[μ]ο[ν] Pr : 1. κύαμον || 30 τετρημένον Ma : τετρη[μ]ένον Pr | [ἔ]νδησον Ma : ἔνδησον Pr | 1. εἰς

... [with the left hand (?)] put ... of salt, two of honey.² [Formula that eliminates(?)³ pain in the breast. (5) Say the seven letters.⁴ The letters [are]: A[EËIOYÏ]. To make a sleeping [woman] confess the name of the man she loves.⁵ Put a fowl's⁶ (10) [tongue]⁷ under [her] lips [or on] her heart and inquire the name, and she will say it three times.⁸ [Take]⁹ a testicle [of the rooster]¹⁰ ... and attach it. (15) ... get away(?) [to(?)]¹¹ a pestle¹² ... (20)¹³ ... with a ... piece of papyrus, ... symbols (25) and place it under the table (*symbols*).¹⁴ For contraception.¹⁵ Pick up a bean that has a small bug¹⁶ in it and attach it. For good conception.¹⁷ Take (30) a pierced¹⁸ bean, tie it up in a mule hide¹⁹ and attach it.

F. Maltomini

² In the *lacuna* of l. 3 the quantity of salt was indicated, as for the honey: e.g. [(οὐγγίαι) τρεῖς καὶ] μέλιτος δύο.

³ In l. 4 the second recipe begins with a title (cf. ll. 27, 29), e.g. [λόγος παύ]ων vel sim. (πραῦν]ων, διαλύ]ων).

⁴ A supplement [τὰ γρά]μματα would be too short for the *lacuna* of l. 5. Perhaps an adjective (e.g. θεῖα, ἄγια, ἱερά) followed the article, rather than δέ, since normally the prescription follows the title without a connective particle.

⁵ The νυκτολάλημα (ll. 8–14) is a procedure to induce a person to talk in their sleep, usually to make a woman confess her infidelity (GEMF 74.492–497/PGM VII 411–416; Plin. *NH* 32.49, 29.81; Damigeron-Evax 67.6; Pradel 1907, 34.16–19 and 127; Heim 1892, 537 no. 216; Delatte 1927, 88.5–8, 551.17–21, 598.7–16; Legrand 1881, 11.444–446).

⁶ Here (l. 9) ὄρνις means 'fowl', as generally in late Greek (cf. LSJ s.v.; Bauer-Aland 1988 s.v.; Arnott 2007, 159 s.v. *Orneor*, 'Huhn' Preisendanz, 'hen' Dickie 2001, 121). O'Neil, GMPT, 295, renders ὄρνιθος[γλωσσάν (ll. 9–10) as 'a bird's [tongue]' ('pájaro' Perea Yébenes 2002 and LMPG; 'oiseau' Fichoux 2007, 253) but these translations risk being misleading.

⁷ The supplement γλωσσάν at the beginning of l. 10 is likely: a rooster tongue is used to make a woman talk (*similia similibus*; cf. the use of a frog tongue in Plin. *NH* 32.49; Heim 1892, 537 no. 216; Delatte 1927, 88.5–8, 551.17–21). However, καρδίαν (taken into account by Preisendanz apud Gerstinger 1932, 161) might be an alternative (cf. GEMF 74.492/PGM VII 411; Plin. *NH* 29.81 with Ernout's note, p. 85; Damigeron-Evax 67.6).

⁸ Against Preisendanz's ἀνα[[ζήτει καὶ τὸ ὄ]νομα [κα]λεῖ (ll. 11–12): the supplement at the beginning of l. 12 is too long; the internal *lacuna* in 12 fits four letters (for the actual width of this gap, cf. Maltomini 2018, 118); the trace after the *lacuna* (the upper right arc of a very small circle) suits ρ, but certainly not λ.

⁹ The more specific ἐκτεμών (l. 13) would probably be too long for the space.

¹⁰ For tying to the body (περιάπτω) the testicles of an animal as an amulet, see *Cyran.* 2.2.19–20 (p. 115 K.), 2.7.15–16 (p. 127–128 K.); Ael. *NA* 15.11; Afric. *Cest.* 3.35 (p. 255 V.); in particular of the rooster, cf. Hipp. *Cant.* 10.6 (2. 142.6–8 O.-H.); Plac. *Med.* 38.4 (CML IV, 282).

¹¹ In l. 16 one expects a form of the aorist of ἀπέρχομαι. Perhaps ἄ]πελθε [εἰς] ἀλατρίβανον, a command addressed to a malignant being (illness, demon) to get it triturated? A proverbial imprecation? But all is very uncertain.

¹² Three spellings of this word (l. 16) are attested: ἄλε-, ἄλο-, and (as in our papyrus) ἀλατρίβανος (only *Gloss.* 2.151.18). LSJ considers ἀλετρίβανος and ἀλοτρίβανος different words, but cf. Schwyzer 1953, 263 and Chantraine 1137 s.v. τρίβω. Cf. also Roos 1951, 45–48.

¹³ At the beginning of l. 20 maybe [ζμυρ]ομέλα[v-? But the space between μ and ε is greater than usual.

¹⁴ Preisendanz (cf. PGM app.) suspected this recipe (ll. 23–26) as a *diakopos* on the base of his tentative restoration at l. 23 [καλαβώ]την εὐρ[ών (cf. GEMF 18.201–221/PGM LXI 39–71 for the use of a gecko in a separation-procedure). There is no support for that supplement. Preisendanz's text at ll. 23–24 (see app.cr.) is unattractive.

¹⁵ For another ἀσύλληπτον (l. 27), cf. GEMF 68/PGM XXXVI 321–332; for the word, see Eitrem ad loc.

¹⁶ The diminutive θηράριον (l. 28) occurs elsewhere only in Damacr. apud Gal. *Antid.* 1.15 (14.91.2 K.), in a collective plural for insects (wasps, bees, scorpions, spiders), and in *Gloss.* II 328.29 (*fericula*). In our papyrus the 'small beast' might be the larva of the bean weevil or similar insect. The principle of similarity is clearly active.

¹⁷ εὐσύλληπτον (l. 29) as substantivized neuter (unrecorded in LSJ) occurs in *Cyran.* 2.9.3–4 (p. 132 K.). For other magical procedures for conception, cf. GEMF 35/SM II 79, 1–11, and see GMA 364.

¹⁸ τετρημένον (l. 30) can stand for τετριμμένον? Cf. Delatte 1927, 553.10–15 ἐλάφου δέρμα λαβὼν βάλε ἐν αὐτῷ ὄνου θήλειος γάλα καὶ κυάμου σπόρον τετριμμένον καὶ δηρον εἰς ἀριστερὸν βραχίονα τῆς γυναίκος καὶ οὐ συλλήγεται.

¹⁹ The hide (and other parts) of the mule is usually employed in contraceptives (*similia similibus*), cf. GEMF 68//PGM XXXVI 329; *Cyran.* 2.7.15–16 and 19–21 (pp. 127–128 K.), 3.26.3–5 (p. 213 K.) etc. (further in Maltomini 2018, 119). In the light of this, one might reasonably wonder whether εὐσύλληπτον is a scribe's lapsus for ἀσύλληπτον. However, at least one case supports the genuineness of εὐσύλληπτον here: cf. Plin. *NH* 30.142: *cogunt concipere invitas saetae ex cauda mulae, si iunctis evellantur, inter se conligatae in coitu.*

GEMF 30 (PGM VI + II)

Thebes

late II–early III CE

ED.PR.: PGM VI: Wessely 1888, 149–150 [We]; PGM II: Parthey 1866, 150–167 [Pa]

REPubL.: PGM VI [Pr]: Kenyon 1893, 81–83 [Ke]; Chronopoulou 2017a, 192–196 [Chr]. PGM II [Pr]: Eitrem 1923c, 12–15 [Ei]; Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 38–64 [MeTo]; Monte 2011, 55–61 [Mo]; Tissi 2014, 66–92 [Ti]; Chronopoulou 2017a, 199–224 [Chr]

TRANSL.: PGM VI: GMPT, 110–112 (English); PGM (German); Calvo Martínez and Sánchez Romero 1987, 202–203 (Spanish). PGM II: GMPT, 12–18 (English); PGM (German); Calvo Martínez and Sánchez Romero 1987, 68–77 (Spanish); Martin 2002, 31–41 (French)

COMM.: Abel 1885, 287–288 [Ab]; Blanco Cesteros 2017, 98–256; Bortolani 2016, 169–201; Buresch 1889; repr. 1973, 42–43; Dilthey 1872, 383–389; García Molinos 2017, 134–135, 430–435, 59–69; Heitsch 1959, 215–236; Herrero Valdés 2016, 327–414; Hopfner 1921–1924, IV 94–98; Mantziou 1988, 117–156; Riess 1940; Riesenfeld 1946, 152–160; Schmidt 1931, 441–450; Totti 1988. [Crö] is Crönert, [Kr] is Kroll, [A] is Abt apud Preisendanz

LOC.: London, British Library, P.Lond. inv. 47; Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, P. 5026

fr. i (PGM VI blank fr. to the left) H. 15.8 × W. 5.7 cm

fr. ii (PGM VI col. i) H. 34 × W. 22 cm

fr. iii (PGM II) H. 34.5 × W. 93.6 cm

TM 60673; TM 88397

The papyrus, which has been cut into two pieces, presents sixteen folds that are discernable by vertical cracks at more or less regular intervals. The distance between them increases from left to right, beginning from the inner edge of the roll and ending at the outer. The London section (P.Lond. inv. 47 = PGM VI) contains one partially preserved column of text (here col. i). It is presently mounted in its frame as four separate vertical fragments, but close inspection¹ reveals that the unscribed fragment on the left cannot have stood in this position, leaving open the possibility that there might have been further columns to the left of the preserved text. That the Berlin section (P.Berl. inv. 5026 = PGM II), containing three and a half columns of text (here col. ii, iii, iv and v), joins the London fragment to the right has recently been proven by a shared marginal note, by the runover of two lines of the London fragment onto the left edge of the Berlin papyrus,² and by physical joins at two unscribed points. In the London section, the two fragments to the right present a horizontal crack at the point where the fragments to their left have lost their upper half, as a result, perhaps, of a horizontal fold. The Berlin section was not folded horizontally, thus suggesting the possibility that the roll was split into two sections already in antiquity. A closer inspection of the cut (e.g. using a microscope), which might establish whether the cut is ancient or modern, is prevented by the mounting of the papyri. The presence of the fold in one section and not in the other seems to agree with the purportedly different provenances of the two pieces and, in any case, bears witness to their at least partially separate history.³ Neither section displays *kolleseis*, so that the roll, as it stands, was formed by a single *kollema* more than 1 m long. This is most exceptional, and also occurs in GEMF 31/PGM I. There are few other examples in the Graeco-Roman period and some specimens survive from the Pharaonic period.⁴

The London section (col. i) preserves the upper and lower margins of the column (to a maximum of 3.70 and 1.85 cm, respectively) and some intercolumniar space to the right. The Berlin section (cols. ii–v) preserves all margins (upper and lower margin preserved to 1.71 and 1.9 cm, respectively) and

¹ We thank Myriam Krutzsch and Marius Gerhardt for providing this information to us.

² Chronopoulou 2017a, 118–125.

³ See Dosoo 2014, 256, 264–265 and 273–274. According to the British Library catalogue, the London section (PGM VI) came from Memphis, whereas the Berlin section (PGM II) is said to come from Thebes. The sections were sold in different years (1839 and 1857); the back of the London section, most of which is obscured by its modern mounting, bears some ancient writing, which so far has shed no light on the provenance or the circumstances of the cutting of the roll, while the back of the Berlin section is blank (see below).

⁴ Posener-Krieger 1986.

intercolumnia, and both tend to be narrow, so as to leave as much writing space as possible, with the exception, perhaps, of the upper margin in the London section.⁵ Apparently, the scribe initially compressed the format to save space, as confirmed by the fact that each column, apart from the last one, has smaller interlinear spaces and smaller letters than the previous one (col. i has 35/40 letters per line, cols. ii and iii have 56/60, and cols. iv and v have 35/40). For the fifth column, spacing became more generous once a fit was assured. The text is written along the fibers, and the back is blank in the case of the Berlin section. The mounting of the London piece does not give access to the back, except for a small area where three damaged lines of an account are visible.⁶ There may be more text to be seen, since some writing seems to continue under the paper backing.

The Berlin section is written with two different types of ink, giving the impression that it was written by two different hands.⁷ The letterforms are the same, however, no matter which ink was used (see Chronopoulou 2019). The handwriting is in some ways typical of the Roman cursive hands characterized by Cavallo as a rounded type (Cavallo, *Scrittura*, 79): ε in two movements, π in two or even just one movement with an extra stroke joining the following letter, δ with its right-hand elements drawn in a single movement and not joining the lower extremity of the oblique descending to right, or κ, drawn in just one movement. Ligatures are also frequent (ακ, αρ, ας, γρ, ει, πρ), especially in the marginal annotations, which are due to the same hand responsible for the main text, as some of the letterforms and the shape of the ligatures show (ε, δ, κ, c, and particularly β, with its right-hand elements drawn in a single movement and a loop in its upper part). A good *comparandum* for these cursive elements is provided by BGU III 807, dated to 185 CE. On the other hand, some letters are almost never affected by cursivity, such as γ, ζ, ν, ρ, τ or υ, which confers a more formal air to the script, bringing it closer to the rounded, regular type frequent in the Roman period, from which the highly standardized rounded book-hands such as the Roman or the Biblical Uncial derive. BGU V 1210, assigned to around 170 CE, provides a good example of this script, showing also some cursive traits present in our papyrus. Some letter shapes, however, anticipate later forms. For example: occasionally the central stroke of ε is in ligature with the following letter, while its upper arc forms a rising oblique; η is drawn in a single movement with the right-hand vertical coming from the end of the horizontal; and ι in the ligatures δι and ci is drawn together with the upper elements of the preceding letter and projects below line-level. Many of these features can already be found in papyri of the late second century, for example, BGU I 326 (194 CE), P.Tebt. II 518 (after 189 CE), or P.Mich. XVIII 788 (173 CE), leading us to assign this manuscript to the end of the second or the beginning of the third century CE.

The scribe has included marginal annotations that mainly refer to the structure of the text (see below) and corrected it at various points (conspicuously at l. 36). Some abbreviations and symbols are used, but not consistently. In line-initial position, the scribe writes δ, φ, and χ in a size larger than the following letters, and at the end of some sections the final letter is extended with horizontal flourishes to fill out the remaining space in the line. Various diacritical marks are used sparingly and inconsistently: accents, apostrophe, rough breathings as well as *diaeresis* on ι and υ. Overall, the orthography is correct, with few phonetic spellings (e.g. iotacism). In some cases an apostrophe appears after *voces magicae*, e.g. CIAΩθ' (l. 33), αρβηθ' (l. 35), but not systematically, e.g. αβαωθ' (l. 33, 62, 169), where it is replaced with a high dot, while διαμανθωτ', διαμενχθωθ' and ωανουθ' (l. 92) take both signs.⁸

The papyrus is an intricate *mélange*, full of cross references, alternative procedures in case of failure, as well as *voces magicae*, hexametrical hymns (see below) and some secondary formulas to aid in

⁵ This might be due to the fact that it is the first column of the roll, or that there was some text, such as a title, occupying the left-hand part of the column, now lost, above the lines preserved by the right-hand side of it.

⁶ For the text see Kenyon 1893, 83.

⁷ We note four changes of ink. A recent analysis by Ira Rabin and her team revealed the following chemical composition: a) ll. 1–85 (metallic ink); b) ll. 86–95 (carbon ink); c) ll. 95–209 (metallic ink); d) ll. 209–231 (carbon ink). The six marginal notes are written in carbon ink. There is no clear syntactical justification for the changes of ink; for example, the change of ink does not correlate with the beginning of paragraphs or sentences in the text.

⁸ On a similar use of the apostrophe see GEMF 1, l. 6 and GEMF 11, above.

remembering what a god says in a dream. The *paragraphoi*, both simple and forked, sometimes accompanied by annotations, help outline the structure of the text. There are three cletic hymns, ll. 6–27; 29–38 (under which there is a single *paragraphos*); and 40–57, whose end is marked by a forked *paragraphos*, accompanied by a marginal note indicating the beginning of the accompanying ritual (*poiesis*, ll. 58–71), as well as the preparations to be made before going to bed (ll. 73–90). Some coercive procedures follow (ἐπάνναγκοι: ll. 90–111) and a lychnomancy in case of failure (ll. 111–126), marked by a single *paragraphos* under l. 111 and the marginal annotation ἄλλως ποίησις; this is further indicated by a double slash within the line at the point where the alternative “practice” begins. Likewise, under l. 126, we find a *paragraphos* marking the end of a ποίησις, which is most likely connected with the sign at the end of the line. A marginal note below the *paragraphos* (α κλήσις) signals the beginning of another “summoning,” here numbered the “first.” Under l. 134 another *paragraphos* marks the beginning of a greeting formula with a marginal note stating the time when it should be pronounced, after which follows a salutation to Apollo-Helios that finishes at l. 188. A *paragraphos* under l. 188 marks the end of the *voces magicae*, which is also signaled by two slashes within the line and coincides with the start of a new ritual, probably an alternative procedure for the previous one.⁹ The last lines preserve the formula with which the god is dismissed (ll. 223–230).

The papyrus has a few drawings: col. iii ends with a small drawing of a scarab beetle at ll. 206–208 and at col. v with one of the so-called “Headless One” filled with and surrounded by *voces magicae* and vowels (between ll. 214–222). There are magical signs in the middle of l. 89 and in each of ll. 200–205.

Finally, a brief note on the metrical passages. The following invocations are composed in hexameters: ll. 6–19 (20?) to Daphne/Laurel; ll. 25–27 and ll. 30–38 to Apollo; ll. 40–44 to Daphne/Laurel; ll. 48–50 and 51–53 and 128–134 to Apollo and ll. 135–147 to Helios (with features of Apollo). All have an oracular aim except ll. 30–38 to Apollo, which is said to be good for any purpose, and the hymn to Helios, which carries no request and is inserted at the beginning of a long prose invocation. Ll. 30–38 to Apollo stand out, for they are a pastiche of a Homeric passage, the so-called “Prayer of Chryses” (*Il.* 1.37–41 = 1.451–455). Four additional lines (including some magical names), were inserted into the original prayer, and in the final verse Chryses’ original demand has been omitted, obviously because it did not suit the interests of the magician. These metrical passages have been edited separately from the text of the papyrus by Abel 1885, 287; Dilthey 1872; Wessely 1888, 33–34; Preisendanz 1974, II 244–246 and 248; Bortolani 2016; and Blanco 2017. Since these editions are not so much concerned with the text of the papyrus as with the poetry itself (the reconstruction via emendation of an original metrical structure), they have not been taken into account for the present edition of the papyrus, but are cited in the notes to the translation when they contribute to its interpretation.

After l. 47, the numbers in square brackets to the right of the Greek text are Preisendanz’s original line-numbers for PGM II.

⁹ For this interpretation and that of the marginal note at the end of l. 127, see Chronopoulou forthcoming.

recto col. i →

GEMF 30/PGM VI 1–25

1	[ca 15] κύτασις αὐτοῦ πρὸς ὁ β̄, ἡ δὲ κλήσις αὐτῆ	1
	[ca 15] πληθούσης· ἄμεινον δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ	
	[ca 14] κύτασιν ποιήσης τῇ δ̄ τῆς θεοῦ προσθε	
	[ca 15] δου· λέγε οὖν πρὸς ὁ ἀνατέλλοντα	
5	[ca 15] ν εὐχὴν·	5
	[Δάφνη μαντοσύνης] ἱερὸν φυτὸν Ἀπόλλωνος	
	[— — —] Φοῖβος στεφθεῖς τε κλάδοις	
	[— — —] κεφαλὴν κομώσασαν ἐθειραῖς	
	[— — —] .ον ἑαῖς παλάμαις τινάσσων	
10	[— — —] .σι πολυπτύχου ὑψηλοῖο	10
	[— — — —] εἰς θέσπιζε βροτοῖσιν	
	[— — — —] λόστονος αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλ[λ]ων	
	[— — — —] .ρη, παρθένε δ[.] νη	
	[— — — —] μένω ἱεροῖσι π[. —] λοῖς	
15	[— — — —] λον ἑμαῖς μετὰ [χε]ρσὶν ἔχοντι	15
	[— — — —] π[έ]μψον μάντευμα[ά τ]ε σεμνόν	
	[— — — —] . σαφηνίσι φοιβή[σα]σα	
	[— — — —] . τε καὶ ὡς τετελεσ[μ]ένον ἔσται	
	[— — — —] ἴν' ἔχω[ν] περι[. —] . ἄζω	
20	[ca 15] δ[α]μάσα[ν]δρα . [ca 3] ἀνδρα	20
	[ca 15] φ [ca 3] .	
	[ca 12] πανυπέρτατε, ὃ ἰὲ πα[ca 7] vac.	
	[. .] ε[ca 5] μα ἰεω ἐπιπαιάν,	
	[. .] ἰοενητῆ . [ca 5] . πολυώνυμε ἰοαν[ακρακ]αναρβα Φοῖβε,	
25	[μ]αντοσύναςιν [ἐπ]ίρροθε, Φοῖβε Ἄπολλ[ον,]	25

1 [γίνεται ἢ μὲν κύτασις Pr | (ἥλιον) || 2 [ελῆνης πληθούσης We : [λέγεται ελῆνης] πληθούσης Pr || 3 [κύτασιν We : [τῆ τοῦ ἡλίου τὴν] κύτασιν Pr | ποιήσεις corr. Pr || 3–4 πρὸς θε- dist. We : προσθέ[σεως ἐξ οἴκου ἐπιπέ]δου Pr || 4 (ἥλιον) || 5 [τῶν εὐχῶν We Ke : [τὴν ὑποκειμένην] εὐχὴν Pr || 6 [Δάφνη μαντοσύνης] edd., cf. col. i 40, col. iii 34 | ἱερὸν Pap. || 7 [Φοῖβος We Pr | στεφθέντα We || 8 [κ]εφαλὴν We || 9 fort. [φύλ]λον vel [θαλ]λόν : [σκῆπτρον] Pr | ἑαῖς Pr : caῖς We Ke || 10 [ἐν κορυφῆ]σι We Pr | ὑψηλο[ῖο] We : ὑψηλοῖο Ke || 11 []εἰς We : εἰς Pr || 12 [μεγα]λόστονος? Pr in app.; vel [φι]λόστονος || 13 fort. Δά[φ]νη vel δε[τ]ινή : δε[τ]ινή We Pr : [δει]νέ Ke || 14 []μένω We : [ἰε]μένω Pr, [λιςσο]μένω vel [εὐχο]μένω? in app. : []μῶν Ke | ἱεροῖσι Pap. | fort. π[εδί]λοῖς (Pr) vel π[ετ]άλοῖς : π . . . λοῖς Ke : τ . . . λοῖς We || 15 fort. [θαλ]λόν vel [φύλ]λον : [δάφνης θαλ]λόν Pr || 16 [πέ]μψον Pr : []μιον We || 17 fort. [λόγοις]ι : []αι Pr : [χρημοῖς]ι con. Ei : om. We Ke | 1. σαφηνέει | φοιβή[σα]σα Pr : φοιβ . . . ca We : φοιβη[τῆρ]α Ke || 18 fort. [φρονέει]ς, cf. *Il.* 9.310 : []ν Pr : om. cett. | ὡς Pr | τετελε[σ]μένον Pr : τετελε[σ]μένον We || 19 [] ἴν' ἔχω[ν] We Pr : []ν εχω[] Ke | περι[]αντὸς ἐτ[ά]ζω Pr : περι . . . ἄζω cett. || 20 fort. ὠ[λέσ]ανδρα : ἀνδρα We Ke : μ ἀνδρα Pr || 21 []φες[] Pr : om. Ke || 22 [π]ανυπέρτατ' ἑμοῖ Pr : []αν υπέρτατε οἱ We Ke | ἰε Pap. | fort. ἰε Πα[τ]άν cf. col. i 23 : ἐπ[άρηξον] Pr || 23 []μα ἰεω dist. Ei Pr : . . . μαῖω We : . . . ωαῖω Ke | fort. ἰε ὃ ἐπιπαιάν || 24 ἰοθουη We | []μ We : []η Ei Pr : om. Ke | πολυώνυμε Ke : πολυων ομε We | [. ακρακ]αναρβα Pr || 25 [ἐπ]ίρροθε edd.

... (this is the) encounter-procedure for him (i.e. Apollo,¹⁰ performed) twice¹¹ before the sun. The invocation itself ... when (the moon) is full. It is better (when performed) at sunrise ...¹² (if) you perform¹³ the encounter-procedure in the fourth (day)¹⁴ of the goddess' growth¹⁵ ... Therefore say before the rising sun (5) ... (the following?) prayer: “[Laurel¹⁶ of divination,] Apollo's holy plant,¹⁷ / ... Phoibos, and crowned with branches / ... (his) head, adorned with long hair ... shaking ...¹⁸ in his hands (10) ... of the lofty, many-valleyed¹⁹ / ... prophesy to mortals / ... Apollo himself, he of much mourning (?)²⁰ / ... maiden ...²¹ / ... with holy ...²² (15) ... holding ...²³ in my hands / ... send ... both a sacred oracle and / ... prophesying²⁴ ... lucid ... / ... and as it will be fulfilled²⁵ / ... in order that I, having ... may ... (20) ... she who subdues men (?), she who ... men²⁶ ... / ... most supreme, IE [Paeon!]²⁷ / ... IEō Eripaeon,²⁸... IOEUĒIE... many-named IOAU AKRAKANARBA Phoibos,²⁹ (25) you who aid divination, Phoibos Apollo,

¹⁰ The anaphoric αὐτοῦ, here and in l. 39, probably refers to the god who is to appear, cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 778. If αὐτοῦ refers to Apollo, then πρὸς δ and πρὸς ζ must refer to the sun and the moon as celestial phenomena, not to Helios and Selene.

¹¹ Because β lacks the article and is not part of the prepositional clause, it is unlikely to refer to a specific day or time of day, as we see in l. 3: τῆ δ (ἡμέρῃ) τῆς θεοῦ, or in l. 90: ἀπὸ ζ τῆς αελήνης. As the adverb δίς it could thus refer to the performance of the prayer twice, once before sunrise (l. 4) and once before sunset (l. 29).

¹² Due to gaps in the text, ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ is ambiguous. Neither sun nor moon can be ruled out: the prayer at l. 4 is pronounced at sunrise, but the moon is mentioned in the context, and the prayer of l. 39 is pronounced πρὸς ζ.

¹³ Since iotacism is infrequent in this text, we take ποιήεις as a subjunctive, as written, rather than the future ποιήσεις (Pr).

¹⁴ This is a temporal marker, “on the fourth (day),” for the encounter-procedure. προϋθέ[ζεω (see n. 15) implies an astronomical time span measurable in days.

¹⁵ Probably Selene, see below l. 90: “from the seventh (hour) of the moon” (ἀπὸ ζ τῆς αελήνης). This interpretation is strengthened by προϋθε, which can likely be restored as προϋθέ[ζεω (as proposed by Pr). Προϋθεεις is the astronomical technical term for the waxing phase of the moon (from new moon to full moon), see Audureau 2020.

¹⁶ The word δάφνη could refer to the laurel or to the eponymous nymph. The hymn plays with this ambiguity.

¹⁷ The restoration of this hexameter is possible thanks to l. 40 and 128.

¹⁸ After the *lacuna*, there are traces of a descending oblique (λ) and not a vertical *hasta*. Therefore, φύλλον or θαλλόν (see l. 15) would be preferable to κήπτρον (Pr); for parallels see ll. 52–53 and GEMF 55/PGM III 253.

¹⁹ The place is probably Mount Parnassos, as proposed in the translation of Pr.

²⁰ The epithet is either [μεγα]λόκτονος (cf. A. Pr. 413, with an active sense, “provoking laments”), or [φι]λόκτονος “delighting in laments,” either of which might allude to Apollo's role as plague-bringer, which underlies the Homeric episode of the prayer of Chryses (see ll. 30–38 below and the introduction), or to the suffering of Apollo for his lost beloved, Daphne.

²¹ The traces allow either ‘Laurel’ (Δά[φ]νη) or an epithet of the same, ‘fearful’ or ‘wondrous’ (δε[ι]νή); for an argument for the latter, see Monaca 2011.

²² Probably ‘sandals’ or metaphorically ‘rhythms’ (so Bortolani: π[εδί]λοις) is to be restored, or perhaps ‘leaves’ (π[ετά]λοις: usually with ἄ against the meter but cf. the poetic form πέτηλον).

²³ Probably ‘branch’ ([θαλ]λόν) or ‘leaf’, ‘plant’ ([φύλ]λον), cf. above.

²⁴ The feminine referent is probably Laurel (Δάφνη).

²⁵ The preserved portion of the line is taken from ll. 9.310, and the borrowing may have continued, perhaps substituting “as you think” (φρονέεις), in the lost beginning.

²⁶ One expects perhaps καλέσανδρα or βιάσανδρα: there are similar compounds in connection with Hekate-Artemis-Selene (see e.g. GEMF 57/PGM IV 2848; 74.852/VII 696; SM I 49.40; II 57.2), but none fits the present traces; perhaps the otherwise unattested ὠλέσανδρα “who destroys men.”

²⁷ Perhaps ὠ ἱε Παι[ιάν]; ὠ ἱεπι[παιάν] (like the following line: ἱεω ἐπιπαιάν) will not fit the traces. In the former case the initial ὠ ἱε are not *voces magicae* but part of the paeanic *epiphthegma* ὠ ἱε Παιάν, for which see Ford 2006, 287–288. Ll. 22–24 use poetic epithets, but they are not hexameters.

²⁸ ἐπιπαιάν, a nonce-word, is perhaps used as an epithet, formed from παιάν (cf. ἐπιπαιανίζω). A construction with a verb like ἐλθέ, ἄγε, or ἴθι, invoking the god to “come to the paeon (i.e. hymn),” cannot be excluded, but we would expect ἐπι Παιάνα. For such a construction in ritual invocations see e.g. l. 130; *h. Orph.* 35.7 (53.9), 43.10, etc.

²⁹ Ll. 26–27 are dactylic hexameters, and line 25 is nearly so (cf. ll. 49–51).

recto col. i (cont.) →

GEMF 30/PGM VI 26–47

- [Λ]ητοῖδη, ἐκάεργε, θ[ε]οπρόπε, δεῦρ' ἄγε, δεῦ[ρο,]
 δεῦρ' ἄγε, θεσπίζω[v] μαντεύεο νυκτὸς ἐ[v] ὄρη.
 εἶτα λέγε μελετῶν [τοῦ]το· εη· ἱε· ἱε· ηῖω[. . .]· ἰαωιη· ἰτη·
 ἰα· ἰαω ἰαωη· [. . .]· ουω· εἶτα πρὸς κατάδ[υ]ε[ιν] ἡλίου ἐξαιτοῦ πάλι·
- 30 κλῦθί μεν, ἀργυρό[τοξ]ε, δε Χρῦσην ἀμφιβέβ[η]κας 30
 Κίλλαν τε ζαθέην [Τε]νέδοιό τε ἴφι ἀνάσσει·
 χρυσοφαῆ, λαῖλ[α]ψ καὶ Πυθολέτα, μεεγκριφι,
 Λατῶε, CIAOΘ', C[. .]αωθ, μελιούχε, τύραννε,
 πευχρη, νυκτε[. .]οιτε, ceceγγενβαρφαραγης
- 35 καὶ αρβεθ', ωπολ[. .]ορφε, φιλαίμαγε, αρβαθιαω. 35
 36s χαρίεντ' ἐπὶ βωμὸν ἔρεψα
 36 Cμινθεῦ, εἴ ποτέ [τ]οι [[κατὰ πίονα μηρί' ἔκηα]] ε
 ἢ εἰ δὴ ποτέ τοι κ[ατ]ὰ πίονα μηρί' ἔκηα
 ταύρων ἠδ' αἰ[γ]ῶν, τόδε μοι κρήνην ἐέλωρ.
 ὁμοίως καὶ πρὸς C ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ κύετα[c]ic ἦδε·
- 40 Δάφνη μαντο[c]ύνης ἱερὸν φυτὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, 40
 Δάφνη παρθεν[ι]κή, Δάφνη Φοῖβοιο ἑταίρη, καβάωθ' ἰαωαωφ
 ἰαγχοθιτυλα[. .] Μουσιάρχα οψονυπον·
 δεῦρό μοι, ἔρχε[ο θ]ᾶσσαν· ἐπείγομαι ἀείσασθαι
 θεσμὸς θεσπ[ε]σίους, νυκτὶ δ' ἐνὶ δνοφερῇ
- 45 ρηαβαναααλ· [. .]αναα[[λ]]᾿ανααναλααα· ααα· ααα· ἔστι δὲ γὰ[ρ] ἔκ 45
 τῷ Δηλίῳ, τῷ [. . .]ω, τῷ τῆς Λητοῦς κ[αὶ] Διός, χρησμῳδεῖν π[ρο]γνω-
 στικὰ διὰ νυκτὸ[c . . .]θη διηγούμενω [μ]αντικῆς ὄνειράτων.

26 [θε]οπρόπε edd. | δεῦ[ρο] Pr : δε[ῦ]ρο We Ke || 27 ἐ[v] ὄρη edd. || 28 [τοῦ]το Pr : [. . .]το Ke : τὸ We || 29 κατά[δ]υε[ιν] edd. | πάλι(v) : παν We || 30 ἀμφιβέβ[η]κα]c We : ἀμφιβέβ[η]κα]c Ke Pr || 32 λαῖλ[α]ψ καὶ Eι Pr : λαῖ[λα]ψ κ]λῦθι We : λαί[ψη]ε Ke | λαῖλ- Pap. || 33 CIAOΘ' Pap. | C[αβα]ώθ edd. || 34 fort. νυκτε[ρό]φοιτε Pr || 35 αρβεθ' Pap. | fort. Ὠπολλῶ Ὀρφέ (l. Ὠπολλον Ὀρφεῦ) vel Ὠπολλῶορφέ (l. Ὠπολλονορφέ) | l. φιλόμαγε : φιλαίματε corr. Eι Pr : φιλάρματε? in app. || 36 μηρί'εκηα Pap. || 36s χαρίεντ'επι Pap. || 37 μηρί'εκηα Pap. || 38 ἠδ'α- Pap. || 39 (σελήνην) || 41 fort. ἰαωαωφ[ῖ] : ἰαωαω Pr || 42 fort. ἀγχοθι πύλα[c], l. πύλης : ἰαγχοθιτυλα Pr | Μουσιάρχα Pr : . . . ουει ἀρχὰς We Ke | οτονυπον Pr : τον υπον We Ke || 43 ἐπειγέ μοι corr. Pr || 44 δ'ενι Pap. || 45 -αλ· Pap. | v Ke : λ We | ἔστι δὲ γὰ[ρ] ἔκ Chr : ἔστι δὲ το[ι] Pr : ἔστι δὲ τὸ We Ke Eι || 46 l. τοῦ Δηλίου? | τῷ γ[. . .]ω We : τῷ Ν[ομί]ω Pr : τῷ [υῖ]ω Ke | κ[αὶ] Ke Pr : υ[ῖ]ω We || 46–47 π(ει)στικὰ corr. Pr : τὸ | ἔτι κα We : π[ε]τικὰ Ke || 47 νυκτὸ[c ἀλη]θῆ Ke Pr | -δι ἡγούμενω dist. We | [τε μ]αντικῆς We Ke : <διὰ> [μ]αντικῆς corr. Pr

Leto's son, far-worker, seer, come hither, hither,

come hither (and), while prophesying, give oracles in the hour of night!"

Then, carefully say this: "ΕΕ ΙΕ ΙΕ ΕΙΙΘ ... ΙΑΘΙΕ ΙΥΕ ΙΑ ΙΑΘ ΙΑΘΕ ... ΟΥΘ." Next, before the setting sun ask again: (30) "Hear me, you of the silver bow, who stand protector over Chryse / and who rule in might over holy Cilla and Tenedos,³⁰ / gold-shining, hurricane and Python-slayer,³¹ MESENKRIPH³² / Leto's son SIAOTH [SABAOTH(?)] MELIOUCHOS ruler PEUCHRĒ NUKTE ... ΟΙΤΕ³³ SESENGENBARPHARAGĒS (35) and ARBETH,³⁴ ...,³⁵ lover of magicians³⁶ ARBATHIAΘ, / Smintheus, if I have ever roofed a pleasing altar for you³⁷ / or if I have ever burnt fat thighs / of bulls or goats for you, fulfil this wish of mine."

Likewise, this is the encounter-procedure for him (i.e. Apollo, performed) before the moon:

(40) "Laurel of divination,³⁸ Apollo's holy plant, / virginal Laurel, Laurel, Phoibos' companion,³⁹ / Sabaoth ΙΑΘΑΘ, ΙΑΝΧΘΗΠΥΛΑ . ,⁴⁰ leader of the Muses,⁴¹ OPSONUPON. / Come⁴² hither to me, quickly, I am eager⁴³ to sing divine precepts, and in the dark night—(45)

RĒSABAANAAL ... ANAANANAANANALAAA AAA AAA—for it comes from(?) the Delian god, ... the son of Leto and Zeus, the giving of predictive oracles throughout the night, detailing the [truth(?)]⁴⁴ <through>⁴⁵ mantic dreams."⁴⁶

³⁰ After these three verses, four lines of magical names were added (ll. 32–35). Their metrical nature is questionable. See Blanco Cesteros 2017, 160–162 for a detailed analysis. These lines and below ll. 36–39 echo the prayer of Chryses to Apollo at *Iliad* 1.37–41.

³¹ The epithet is otherwise unattested, but cf. Πυθοκτόνος (*h.Orph.* 34.4); [Πυθ]ολετόκτυπε is possibly to be restored in GEMF 55/PGM III 234.

³² MESENKRIPH³² may be the Greek transliteration of an Egyptian solar epithet of Horus, *ms-m-kꜣꜣf*, "the child in his chapel": see Bergman 1982, 28–37.

³³ Perhaps "night-wanderer" (νυκτε[ρό]φοιτε).

³⁴ Eitrem linked this *nomen* with Αρβαθηθ, 'Horus the Great Falcon'. See PGM, vol. 2, 245 ad loc.

³⁵ The text between αρβεθ' and φιλαίμαγε remains uncertain.

³⁶ Perhaps φιλαίμαγε can be taken as a phonetic spelling of φιλέμαγε (φιλόμαγε), an otherwise unattested epithet, though the sentiment is paralleled in GEMF 57/PGM IV 243 (μάγων καθη(γε)μών) and 2289 (μάγων ἀρχηγέτης).

³⁷ An error of a common type (*homoioarchon*) has been corrected and marked with a pointed sigma (ε). This sign, used in ancient literary criticism to mark problems in poetic texts, indicates that the scribe had a certain level of literary education.

³⁸ Ll. 40–42 repeats, in a more condensed way, the same ideas as in ll. 6–20.

³⁹ An allusion to the mythical love of Apollo for the nymph Daphne, who was transformed into a laurel tree.

⁴⁰ Ἰαγχοθι perhaps contains the adverb ἀγχοθι (ἀγχοθι πύλης, "near the door"), hence "you who are near the door"; the initial iota would then belong to the previous *vox magica*, an imperfect palindrome. The meaning is obscure; it could be a reference to the doors of the underworld, see GEMF 57/PGM IV 2750, where Hekate-Selene is παρὰ θύραις. Cf. 68/XXXVI 4; 15.419/XII 370 (Iaō Pakerbēth); 57/IV 431; SM I 46.3, 49.11 (Anubis).

⁴¹ Similar to the frequent epithet of Apollo Μουσαγέτης (Pi. *fr.* 94c Maehler; Pl. *Lg.* 653d; *h.Orph.* 34.6, etc.).

⁴² Ll. 43–44 are an elegiac couplet, *pace* PGM, vol. 2, 248, where the final pentameter is split to reconstruct two hexameters.

⁴³ As written, ἐπείγομαι is an acceptable poetic idiom ("I am eager, I am in haste"), although Preisendanz corrected it to an imperative addressed to the god (ἔπειγέ μοι).

⁴⁴ Perhaps ἀληθῆ as Kenyon and Preisendanz restore.

⁴⁵ The noun ὄνειράτων lacks a clear connection with the preceding, so Preisendanz introduced διά, with an implied τέχνης construed with μαντικῆς; it is possible that the existing διά, despite its proximity to νυκτός, in fact governs ὄνειράτων: "through dreams of mantic night."

⁴⁶ The change to prose, and of the addressee from Daphne to Apollo, with reference to the latter in the third person, suggests that ll. 45–47 may be an explanatory gloss.

recto col. ii →

GEMF 30.48–71 [PGM II 1–24]

- 1 ακρακαναρβα· κα[ν]αρβα· αναρβα· ναρβα· αρβα· ρβα· βα· α· λέγε ὄλον οὕτως [1]
 τὸ ὄνομα περυγοειδῶς. Φοῖβε μαντοσύναισιν ἐπίρροθος, ἔρχεο χαίρων
 Λητοῖδη ἐκάεργ[ε] θεόπροπε, δεῦρ' ἄ[γ]ε, δεῦρο· δεῦρ' ἄγε θεεπίζων μαντεύεο 50
 νυκτὸς ἐν ὄρη· ςαλλαλα· αλλαλα· κανταλαλα· ταλαλα· λέγε τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα καὶ
 5 αὐτὸ ἐν ὑφαιρῶν περυγοειδῶς. εἴ ποτε δίφυλον ἔσχεν ἔχων κλάδον ἐν-
 θάδε δάφνης τ[ῆ]ς ἱερῆς κορυφῆς ἐφθέγγεο πολλάκις ἐςθλά· καὶ νῦν μοι σπεύ-
 σεας ἔχων θε[ς]πίσματ' ἀληθῆ· λαητωνιον καὶ ταβαραωθ'· αεω· εω· ἀναξ Ἄ- 55
 πολλον Παιάν· [τ]ῆν νύκτα ταύτην κατέχων καὶ ταύτης δεσποτεύων, ὁ τὴν ὤ-
 ραν τῆς εὐχῆς κα[ὶ] ἀνύτης κρατῶν. ἄγετε κρατεοὶ δαίμονες, συνεργήσατέ μοι σή-
 10 ἡ | μερὸν ἐπ' ἀλη[θ]εῖας φθεγγόμεν[ο]ι σὺν τῷ τῆς Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς υἱῷ· ἐπίφερε δὲ καὶ [10]
 ποίη[ς] τὸ τοῦτο ὅπερ ἐν φύλλοις δάφνης γράφεται καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πιττακίου ὅπου ὁ ἀκέφαλος
 αὐτῆ· γράφεται, καὶ τ[ί]θεται πρὸς κεφαλῆς συνελιχθέν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν λύχνον μετὰ
 τὸ εἰσελθεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχῆς πρὶν κοιμηθῆναι, λιβάνου χόνδρον ἐπιτιθέντος 60
 τῆ θρυαλλίδι τ[οῦ] λύχνου· βοασοχ· ωεση· ἰαωῖη· ωῖαη· ωῖαη· νιχαροπληξ·
 15 cθομ· ωεω· [·]· ιε· ιω· ηῖ· ἰαηλ ἱμουχ· ω· ορ· ωεω· ἴω· ε· [·]· καβαωθ· θηο
 ἦη· αο· μιαχ[·]· ἰεου· ἰαω· ἰε· ἰεω[·]· ἰου· ἰεου· ἰω· ἦη· ηω· ἦαῖ ἰαωασηῖουω.
 πρὸς δὲ τὸ μνημονεύειν τὰ λεγόμεν[α] χρῶ συνθέματι τοῦτω· λαβὼν βοτάνη[ν] ἀρτε- 65
 μεσίαν, ἡλιοπάλιον, λίθον πνέον[τ]α, κοκκούφατος καρδίαν τοῦ καὶ γυπαλέκ[το]ρος,
 τρίψας ὁμοῦ πάντα πρόσβαλε μέλιτ[ο]ς τὸ ἀρκοῦν καὶ χρεῖέ σου τὰ χεῖλη, προλιβανωτίσας
 20 τὸ στόμα χόνδρω λιβάνου. ποίη[ς] αὕτη· ἐσπέρας μέλλων κοιμᾶσθαι ὀνειῶ γάλα- [20]
 κτι καθαραν σο[υ] τὴν στρωμνὴν, κ[λ]άδους δὲ δάφνης ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ὧν καὶ ποίη-
 σις ὑπόκειται, λέγε τὴν ὑποκειμένην ἐπὶ κλησιν. ἔστω δὲ ἡ στρωμνὴ χαμαὶ ἢ ἐπὶ κα-
 θαρῶν θροῖων ἢ ἐπὶ ψιαίθου, κοιμῶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ πλευροῦ χαμαὶ τε καὶ ἐν ὑπαί- 70
 θρω. ποίει δὲ τ[ῆ]ν ἐπὶ κλησιν μηδενὶ δοῦς ἀπόκρι, ἐπίθου δὲ ἐπικαλούμενος λίβανον

3 [θεό]προπε E1 : ἀ[πό]τροπε Pa : ἀπότροπε Pr Me | δευρο· Pap. | μαντεύ[ε]ο Pa || 4 ςαλλαλα· αλλαλα edd. || 5 δὴ φίλον(ε)ικον {ἔσχεν} corr. Pr : δίφυλλον Pa dub. : τοι φίλον ἔσκεν E1 : φιλόλεσχον Sch || 6 τ[ῆ]ς Mo : [ςῆ]ς Pr Me | εςθλά· Pap. || 7 -πισματ' Pap. | αληθῆ· Pap. | λαητωνιον Pa | ταβαραωθ'· Pap. || 8 παιαν· Pap. | ὁ [τ]ῆν Mo : [ὁ] τῆν Pr : ὁ τῆς Ho || 9 κ[α]ὶ ἀνύτης Pa A : κ[α]νύτης Kt Pr | I. κραταιοὶ || 10 φθενγ· edd. | υιω· Pap. || 11 ἐν Me : [ἐν] Pa | μετὰ (τὰ) τοῦ πιττακίου corr. Pr || 12 τ[ί]θεται Pr Me | συνελιχθέν corr. Pr : σου ἔλιξον E1 || 13 τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν Pr Me | ἐπιτιθέντος (σου) E1 Pr || 15 ωθω[·]υ Pr | ωνορ· ωεω ἴω εω· Pr || 16 τη· παω· μιαχ [ς]ῖου Pr | ἰεωα· ασηῖουω Pr || 17 τουτω· Pap. || 17–18 I. ἀρτε[μ]ισίαν || 19 I. χρεῖε || 21 I. καθάρων Pr || 23 I. θρύων | I. ψιάθου || 24 ἀπόκρι(σιν)

GEMF 30.48–71

AKRAKANARBA KA[N]ARBA ANARBA NARBA ARBA RBA BA A”—say⁴⁷ the whole name thus, in a wing-shaped pattern—“Phoibos, helper in divinations, come rejoicing, (50) / Leto’s son, far-worker, seer, come hither, hither, come hither (and), while prophesying, give oracles in the hour of night! SALLALALA ALLALALA SANTALALA TALALA”—pronounce this name, too, by removing one (letter at a time) in a wing-shaped pattern—“If ever (before), holding your laurel branch that is dear to Zeus(?),⁴⁸ there / from your holy summit you often uttered favorable oracles, / so may you now hasten to me with truthful prophecies LAËTŌNION and TABARAŌTH AEŌ EŌ, lord (55) Apollo Paian, who possess this night and are master of it, who govern the hour of this prayer too. Come, powerful daimons, cooperate with me today, speaking truthfully together with the son of Leto and Zeus.” This is the procedure.⁴⁹ Add also that which is written on the laurel leaves, and together with the slip of papyrus on which the Headless One⁵⁰ is drawn, and it is placed rolled up beside (your) head. A speech is also made to the lamp, after (60) coming in from (making) the prayer, before going to bed, while you place a lump of frankincense in the wick of the lamp: BOASOCH⁵¹ ŌEAË IAŌIË ŌIAË ŌIAË NICHAROPLĒX STHOM ŌEŌ..U IE IŌ ËI IAËL IRMOUCH Ō.OR ŌEUA IUŌ E.. SABAŌTH THËO. IËI AO MIACH.. IEOU IAŌ IE IEŌ.. IOU IEOU IŌ IËI ËŌ IËAI IAŌAAËIOUŌ.” In order to remember what is said, use the following compound: take the wormwood plant, (65) a sun-opal(?), a breathing stone,⁵² the heart of a hoopoe,⁵³ also (known as) the vulture-cock, and grind them all together. Add a sufficient amount of honey and anoint your lips, after fumigating your mouth with a lump of frankincense beforehand. This is the procedure: in the evening, when you are going to sleep, purify your bedding with donkey’s milk and, holding in your hands twigs of laurel, the preparation of which is also given below, say the invocation given below. Let your bedding be on the ground, either upon (70) clean reeds or upon a rush-mat, and lie on your right side, on the ground and in the open air. Make the invocation, without answering anyone, and while invoking (the god), burn an offering of frankincense,

⁴⁷ Hopfner 1921–1924, 94–98 saw in the wing-shaped pattern (πτερυγοειδῶς) a visual connotation incompatible with the verb λέγε and the oral recitation, but the motif of symbolic deletion probably has oral origins; see now Faraone 2012, 10–12. The pauses between the shrinking forms of the name are indicated with high stops on the papyrus. The same is true for SALLALALA etc. in l. 51 below. Below in ll. 110–114 both sequences are inscribed on a series of laurel leaves.

⁴⁸ The text is perhaps corrupt: see app.cr.

⁴⁹ This marginal note is divided between the London and Berlin sections and apparently anticipates the same title given in the text in line 67.

⁵⁰ The Headless One is a deity frequently invoked in the magical papyri, although his identity is controversial; see Preisendanz 1927a, 48–50 and Abel 1970, 13. Smith 2017, 478 points to connections between Osiris and Bes in the Roman Period and earlier, but he finds no evidence of syncretism between the two gods.

⁵¹ Cf. l. 79 below: βολκοχ.

⁵² That is, magnetite.

⁵³ In GEMF 74.492–497/PGM VII 411–416, the heart of the hoopoe is used to force a sleeping woman to speak the truth; here it helps a person recall what was said to the dreamer while he was asleep.

col. ii (cont.) →

GEMF 30.72–94 [PGM II 25–47]

- 25 ἄτμητον καὶ [c]τροβίλους δεξιούς δώδεκα· καὶ ἀλέκτορας ἀσπίλους β̄, τῷ θ̄ ἕνα καὶ τῇ ᾱ
 ἕνα, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπὶ χ[αλ]κοῦ γηίνου ἢ θυμιατηρίου· ἐν δεξιᾷ τὸ[ν] χαρακτή-
 ρα τοῦτον κ[.]^{te} πρὸς τῇ ὀρθῇ αὐτοῦ [ὑπ]ογραμμῇ κοιμῶ. εὐχόμενος δὲ στέφα[ν]ον ἔχε
 δάφνινον τοιοῦτον. λαβὼν κλῶνα δάφνⁿ ἰβ̄ καὶ ποιήσας ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ζ̄ κλάδων 75
 στέφανον, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἄλλους πέντε συνδήσας ἔχε ἐν τῇ χειρὶ τῇ δεξιᾷ εὐχόμεν^o
 30 καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς κοιμῶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ στήματι, γράφε δὲ σμυρνομέλανι τῷ σοι δηλουμένῳ [30]
 ἐν ἰννηλι[.] καὶ κάτεχε εὐχόμενος μετὰ τῆς δάφνης ὀνόματα, ὧν ἀρχὴ ἐστὶν ἥδε·
 βολκοχ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. τὰ δὲ κατὰ κλάδον εἰς ἕκαστον φύλλον γραφόμενα ππ υεσσεμμια
 δωνορθω· βαυβω· νοηρε· σοιρε· σοιρησανκανθαρα· ερεσχιαλ· σανκικτη· δωδεκα- 80
 κικτη· ακρουροβορε· κοδηρε· Γ̄ ὀνόματα ἰβ̄. ἐστὶν δὲ τὸ μέλαν τόδε· σμύρναν καὶ πεντε-
 35 δάκτυλον βοτάνην καὶ ἀρτεμισίαν καύσας ἀγνώως λειοτρίβησον καὶ χρω̄. λαβὼν κλάδον δά-
 φνης καὶ κύμινον αἰθιοπικὸν καὶ στρύχον βοτάνην ὁμοῦ τρίψον, καὶ ὕδωρ καινοῦ φρέα-
 τος ὀρυγέντος πρὸ μηνῶν ε̄ ἢ ἐντὸς ἐτῶν ε̄ ἢ ὡς ἂν καταλάβῃς ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡμέρας
 τῆς ὀρύξεως, ἐν ἀγγείῳ ὀστρακίῳ ἀνενεγκὼν καὶ ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ τὰ τετριμ- 85
 μένα, ἕασον ἐπὶ νύκτας μόνας γ̄ κ̄ ἐπικαλούμενος εἰς τὸ οὖς σου τὸ δεξιὸν
 40 βάλε ὀλίγον· πρὸς δὲ τὸ μνημονεύειν σε, εἰς φύλλον πεντεδακτύλου βοτάνης [40]
 γράψον, γράψον τὸν ὑποκείμενον χαρακτήρα καὶ ἔχε ἐν τῷ στόματι κοιμώμενος,
 γράψ σμυρνομέλαν· ἐστὶν δὲ Ϟ̄ ἄρχου δὲ τῆς προκειμένης ἐπικλήσεως
 ἀπὸ ζ̄ τῆς σελήνης, μέχρις ὅταν ὑπακούσῃ καὶ σσταθῆς αὐτῷ· εἰσὶν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐπά- 90
 ναγκοι· προσφέρονται δὲ πάντες τῇ σελήνῃ μετὰ τὴν ᾱ ἡμέραν ἢ δευτέραν.
 45 ἐὰν οὖν μὴ φανῇ, ἐπίθου κριοῦ μέλανος ἐγκέφαλον, τῇ τρίτῃ τὸν ὄνυχα τὸν μι-
 κρὸν τοῦ ἐμπροσθιδίου δεξιοῦ ποδὸς τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ σφυροῦ, τῇ τετάρτῃ ἐγκέφαλον
 ἴβωσ, τῇ πέμπτῃ τὸ ὑπογ[ε]γραμμένον ζῳδῖον εἰς χάρτην γράψας τῷ σμυρ-

25 c[τ]ροβίλους Pr Me | δωδεκα· Pap. (· alio atramento) | (ἡλίω) | (σελήνη) || 26 χ[αλ]κοῦ: χύ[τρ]ου Pa | ἢ γηίνου θυμιατηρίου corr. Pr || 27 fort. κ[ρά]τε, I. κράτει : κ[αί] ^{pp} Pr : I. γρ(άφε) καὶ || 28 δάφνη(ς) : δάφν(η)ς [ζ] Pa || 29 τῆ² ex corr. | εὐχόμενος || 30 μεταυτη[·] Pr in Pap. || 31 ἐν πίννῃ λι[.] Pr, λι[τῆ]? in app. : σ̄ . . . ἰννηλι[.]c Pa : ἐν σπίννῃ λί(θω) Sch | ὦν Pap. || 32 [ε]ξῆς edd. | (ὀνόματα) | υεσσεμμια Pa || 33 ερεσχιαλ pro -γαλ || 34 γί(νεται) : γρ(άφε) Pr | τοδε· Pap. || 35 ἀ[γ]νώως Pr : αἰνώως Pa Chr : δεινώως Sch | I. λειοτρίβησον | χρω̄ Pap. || 37 ὁ ἐὰν Pr Me Kr : ἢ ὥς(ον) ἂν Ei (I. ὅσον) || 39 κ(αί) || 40 ὀλίγον· Pap. | I. φύλλον : φύ[λ]λον Pr || 41 I. γράψον {γραψον} || 42 γράψ(ας) | σμυρνομελαν· Pap. | ἄρχου Pap. || 43 αὐτῷ· Pap. | σσταθῆ σαστῷ Pa | καὶ ἄλλοι Pr || 43–44 επα[να]γκοι· Pap.

GEMF 30.72–94

whole, and twelve right-turning pine-cones⁵⁴ and 2 unblemished roosters,⁵⁵ one to the sun and one to the moon, on the first day, on bronze or an altar of earth (?).⁵⁶ On your right (hand?) write this character⁵⁷ ... go to sleep in line with its vertical stroke.⁵⁸ As you pray, wear a crown (75) of laurel of this sort: take 12 laurel twigs; with 7 branches make a crown, and bind the remaining five together and hold them in your right hand, while you pray, and go to sleep with (the hand) in the same position. Write with myrrh ink, which is revealed to you (below) ... and hold, while you pray, along with the laurel, the names, of which this is the beginning: BOLSOCH and so on.⁵⁹ The names to be written twig by twig, on each leaf: ⁶⁰ UESSEMMIGA(80)DŌN ORTHŌ BAUBŌ NOĒRE SOIRE SOIRĒSANKANTHARA⁶¹ ERESCHISAL SANKISTĒ DŌDEKAKISTĒ AKROUROBORE KODĒRE: total, 12 names. This is the ink: burn myrrh and the cinquefoil plant and wormwood in a state of purity, grind and use. Take a branch of laurel and Ethiopian cumin and the nightshade plant,⁶² and grind them together. Take also water from a new well—one dug either 5 months before or within (the last) 5 years or any one you come across on the first day (85) after it has been dug—in a clay pot and place the ground-up material in the water. Leave it for 3 nights only, and, while you are uttering the invocation, put a little of it in your right ear. In order for you to remember (i.e. what the god says in your dream), write on a leaf of the cinquefoil plant, write the symbol given below and keep it in your mouth while you sleep. Write it with myrrh ink. It is: X.⁶³ Begin the invocation given above (90) at the 7th hour of the moon, until the god obeys and you are given an encounter with him. There are also compulsion-procedures:⁶⁴ all of them are offered to the moon after the 1st day or the second. Now, if (the god) does not appear, burn the brain of a black ram as an offering, and on the third day the little nail of its right forefoot, the one nearest to the ankle; on the fourth, the brain of an ibis; on the fifth, draw on papyrus the image drawn below⁶⁵

⁵⁴ The sense of δεξιός is uncertain. Dillon and O’Neil, GMPT translated it as “right-whorled.” There are also other suggestions such as “full of seeds” or “perfect” in reference to the gathering of the cones. In the corpus of magical papyri, wherever pinecones are so described, they are part of a sacrificial offering.

⁵⁵ The translation of Dillon and O’Neil, GMPT suggests an addition to the text: “2 unblemished [gizzard stones] of a rooster.” As Schmidt 1931, 445 stresses, however, the adjective “unblemished” must refer to the pure color of the bird; see below at l. 117, where an “all-white rooster” is sacrificed.

⁵⁶ Following a probable emendation; the papyrus has apparently transposed two words: “on bronze from the earth, or an altar.”

⁵⁷ This symbol is the *ankh*-sign in the left margin. According to Riess 1940, 51, ἐν δεξιᾷ means “on the right side (of the bed),” but it much more likely refers to the right hand, cf. dream-divination procedures which involve an image drawn on the left hand in GEMF 74.380/PGM VII 300 (an ibis) and 72/VIII (Bes), with Faraone 2020a.

⁵⁸ The vertical stroke of the *ankh*-sign.

⁵⁹ The full sequence was given above in this column (ll. 61–63) so it does not need to be repeated here.

⁶⁰ In this magical sequence we find Baubo, a minor goddess originally connected with Eleusis, and Ereschigal (here spelled Ereschisal), Babylonian queen of the underworld. In magical texts, both goddesses are identified with Hekate, Selene, Artemis and Persephone. For Baubo, see Olender 1985, 3–55.

⁶¹ There are actually only 11 names, because the scribe failed to separate SOIRĒ from SANKANTHARA as we can see in GEMF 58/PGM V 424–427 and 74.836–839 and 1054–1056/VII 680–683 and 895–897.

⁶² Strychnos is a genus of flowering plants that includes more than 100 species, including poisonous ones.

⁶³ According to Bergman, GMPT, 13 n. 14 and Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 59, this symbol may be derived from the Egyptian *shenou*, a traditional symbol of protection.

⁶⁴ The ἐπιναγκοί are additional rites and formulas performed when an initial procedure has failed; see García Molinos 2017, 261–267.

⁶⁵ This refers to the figure of the Headless One drawn at the very end of the papyrus (ll. 214–22), where the instructions for its inscription and deposition are slightly different.

(95) with myrrh ink, wrap it in a rag from one violently dead, and throw it into the hypocaust of a bathhouse; some (say), not into the hypocaust, for that is excessive, but rather they suspend it over the lamp or place it underneath. In another (text) I found the following: if after this (the god) does not obey, wrap up the image in the same rag and throw it into the hypocaust of the (100) bathhouse on the fifth day after the invocation, saying: “ABRI and ABRO EXANTI ABIL god of gods, king of kings, even now compel a friendly, oracular daimon to come to me, lest I come to (i.e. the point of administering) the worse torments, those according to the papyrus slips.”⁶⁶ If he does not obey under these conditions, pour fine, pure radish-oil over a “tested” virgin boy,⁶⁷ and collect it again, prepare a (105) lamp with no red coloring, and let it stand on a lampstand formed from virgin soil. Some also pour some of the oil on the altar. If you feel a blow,⁶⁸ swallow a small mouthful of cumin with unmixed wine. Draw the figure given above, as drawn above, with the symbols and the formula given below, twice on hieratic papyrus with myrrh ink. Keep this, the (drawing) described, and invoke (the god), (110) grasping it in your right hand while lying down after placing it under your head. If necessity calls for the compulsive (procedure), you will wrap up the other (drawing) in the aforementioned rag and use as indicated below. An alternative procedure:⁶⁹ take a twig of laurel and write the two names on each leaf: KRAKANARBA KANARBA RAKANARBA AKANARBA KANARBA ANARBA NARBA ARBA RBA A;⁷⁰ and the other, SANTALALLA ANTALALALA (115) NTALALA TALALA ALALA. LALA ALA LA A. Take another twig with twelve leaves, upon which write the heart-shaped name given below, beginning it with a holy speech. This is it: ...⁷¹ and make the sprig, the one inscribed with the two names, into a wreath for yourself, after braiding it with a garland, namely of white wool bound at intervals with red wool, and let it hang down to the collarbones. (120) You will also bind a garland to the twig with twelve leaves in a similar way. Present yourself to the god this way, holding a pure white cock and a pinecone. Pour him a libation of wine and anoint yourself and wait, praying, until the burnt offering⁷² finishes. Apply ointment everywhere with this compound: bayberries, cumin

⁶⁶ These “papyrus slips,” if different from the “papyrus” (l. 94) on which the image of the Headless One is inscribed, may have been inscribed with threats, which were not preserved in the recipe, but it is also possible that treatment of the inscribed image itself served as analogy for these “torments.”

⁶⁷ This is a tentative translation since the meaning of γυμναζόμενος is not clear; it may be simply an age qualification for the medium, i.e. “schoolboy.” O’Neil, GMPT renders “who has been tested” and gives as alternatives “trained” or “practiced.” Schmidt 1931, 446 translates “der sich zu entkleiden muss” (who has to undress), while Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 45, 60 propose to see a social distinction, “belonging to the gymnasial class” (cf. οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου). See also Johnston 2001, 97–117; Dosoo 2014, 307 and 333.

⁶⁸ The practitioner ingests cumin and wine for protection against the wrath of the god.

⁶⁹ The rubric is repeated in the margin to the left of ll. 112–114.


⁷⁰ The penultimate step expected in the “vanishing” figure has been omitted; see n. 47 above.

⁷¹ The name (or formula?) seems to have dropped out.

⁷² This presumably means that the cock and pinecone are to be burnt on a sacrificial fire, whose preparation in unmentioned.

col. iii (cont.) →

GEMF 30.123–149 [PGM II 76–102]

- νον αἰθιοπικόν, στρύχον κ' Ἑρμοῦ δάκτυλον· ἐρεῖς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν λύχον
 30 ταῦτα· περφαηγῶ· διαμανθωτ'· διαμενχθωθ'· περπερχρη· ωανουθ'·
 φρουμεν· θορψου· τ[ὸ] δὲ κύριον ακτι καρα αβαῖωθ'· κύριε θεὲ θεοῦ ὑπηρέτα 125
 ἐποχῶν τὴν νύκτα ταύτην παράστα μοι, Ἄπολλον Παιάν· κοιμῶ τὴν κεφαλὴν
Ἐχων πρὸς νότον· χρῶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀνατολικοῖς [C] cελήνⁿ οὔσης ἐν διδύμοις :  [80]
 α Δάφνη μαντοςύνης ἱερὸν φυτὸν Ἄπόλλωνος· ἦς ποτε γευσάμενος πετάλοις
 35 κλῆ- ἀνέφηνεν αἰοῖδας αὐτὸς ἀναξ σκηπτοῦχος, ἦϊε κύδιμε Παιάν· ἐν Κολοφῶ-
 cic γι ναίων ἱερῆς ἐπάκουσον αἰοῖδης· ἐλθὲ τάχος δ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν cμυγγά- 130
 ων ὕδωρ· ἀμβροσίωv στομάτων δὲ cταθεῖς ἔμπνευσον αἰοῖδας, αὐτὸς ἄ-
 ναξ μολπῆς, μόλε κύδιμε μολπῆς ἀνάκτωρ· κλῦθι μάκαρ, βαρύμηνη, κραταιό-
 φρων, κλύε Τιτάν· ἡμετέρης φωνῆς νῦν ἄφθιτε μὴ παρακούσης· cτῆθι, μαν-
 40 τοσύνην ἀπ' ἀμβροσίου στοματοῖο ἔννεπε cῶ ἰκέτη, πανακήρατε θάττον Ἄπολλο·
 τοῦ χαῖρ· χαῖρε πυρὸς ταμία, τηλεσκόπε, κοίραγε κόσμου· Ἡέλιε κλυτόπωλε, 135
 ἠλί- Διὸς γαίηοχον ὄμμα· παμφαές, ὑψικέλευθα, διῦπετέξ, οὐρανοφοῖτα· αἰγλήεις, ἀκί-
 ου ἀ- χητα, παλαιγενές, ἀcτυφέλικτε· χρυσομίτρη· φαλεροῦχε, πυρικθενές, αἰολοθώρηξ, [90]
 νατέλ- πωτήεις, ἄκαμνε, χρυσήνιε, χρυσοκέλευθα· πάντα δ' εἰσορόων κ' ἀμφιθέων
 λον- καὶ ἀκούων· σοὶ φλόγεσ ὠδίνουσι φεραυγέες ἡματος ὄρθρου· σοὶ δὲ μεσημβριό-
 τος εντι πόλον διαμετρήσαντι Ἄντολίης μετόπιcθε ῥοδόcφυρος εἰς ἐδὸν οἶκον 140
 λέγε ἀχνημένη cτίχει, πρὸ δέ σοι Δύcιc ἀντεβόληcεν Ὠκεανῶ κατάγουσα πυριτρεφέ-
 ων ζυγὰ πῶλων· νῦξ φυγὰc οὐρανόθεν κατεπάλλεται εὔτ' ἂν ἀκούcη πωλικὸν
 ἀμφὶ τένοντα δεδουπότα ῥοῖζον ἰμάcθλης· ααααααα· εεεεεεε· ηηη-
 50 ηηηη· ιιιιι· οοοοοοο· υυυυυυ· ωωωωωωω·
 Μουcάων cκηπτοῦχε, φερέcβιε, δεῦρό μοι ἦδη· δεῦρο τάχος δ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἦϊε 145
 κικcεοχαῖτα· μολπὴν ἔννεπε Φοῖβε δι' ἀμβροσίου στοματοῖο· καί ce πυρὸς μεδέ-
 ων αραραχχαρα ηφθηcικηρε· καὶ Μοῖραι τριcκαί, Κλωθῶ τ' Ἄτροπόc τε Λάχιc τε· [100]
 cὲ καλῶ τὸν μέγαν ἐν οὐρανῶ ἀεροειδῆ αὐτοξούcιον, ῶ ὑπετάγη πάca φύcιc· ὦc
 55 κατοικεῖc τὴν ὄλην οἰκουμένην, δορυφοροῦcιν οἱ δεκαεξ γίγαντεc· ἐπὶ λω-

29 κ(αἰ) | δ[ά]κτυλον edd. || 30 τα[ῦ]τα Pr Me | διαμανθω . λ Pr || 32 ἐ[π]έχων Pr | παιαν · Pap. || 33 cελήνη(c) || 34 απολλωνος · Pap. || 35 cκεπτοῦχος T² in Pap. | παιαν · Pap. || 35–36 Κολοφῶ[v]ι Pa Ho || 36 αοιδης · Pap. || 36–37 cμίγων ὕδωρ Pa Ab : cμυγωνῶδωρ Ho : μίcγων ὕδωρ Crō : <μοι> ὀμιλῶν {ὕδωρ} Pr : πεcὸν ὕδωρ Bu || 37 υδωρ · Pap. | δέ: τε corr. Ab || 38 ανακτωρ · Pap. || 39 τιταν · Pap. || 39–40 cτῆθι (δὲ) μαν|τοσύνην <μοι> Pr² || 40 στοματοῖο · Pap. | cῶ Sch Me cf. col. v 165 : τῶ Pr | ἰκετη Pap. | Ἄπολλο(v) || 41 χαῖρ · Pap. : χαῖρ(ετιcμῶc) Pr : χαῖρ(ε) Pa | κοcμου · Pap. || 42 χαηόχου Ei | ομμα · Pap. | ὑψικέλευθε corr. Pa in app. | ουρανοφοῖτα · Pap. || 42–43 ἀκί|χητε Ho Pr : [αι .]χητα Pa : ἀκάκητα corr. Di Ki A Pr² Ma || 43 acτυφελικτε · Pap. | φαλαροῦχε Ho Di || 44 ἀκάμαc corr. Di | χρυσοκέλευθα · Pap. : χρυσοκέλευθε corr. Pa | δ' Pap. | εἰσορόων <τε> corr. Di Ho Pr | κ(αἰ) || 45 ακουων · Pap. | φεραυγέoc Sc ap. Ab | ορθρου · Pap. : ὄρθρον corr. Di || 45–46 μεσημβριό|ωντα corr. Di || 46 διαμετρησαντι · Pap. | Ἄντολίη? | οικον · Pap. || 47 I. cτείχει : cτείχει Ab | cou corr. Pr | Δύcιc: ι corr. ex ε? : δύcιc T² | αντεβοληcεν · Pap. || 48 πωλων · Pap. | κατεπαλλεται · Pap. : καταπάλλεται edd. | ακουcη · Pap. || 49 ιμαcθλης · Pap. || 51 ηδη · Pap. | δ' Pap. || 52 στοματοῖο · Pap. | καὶ cὲ corr. Pa Ab : χαῖρε Ei Pr || 52–53 μεδέων αραραχχοτα Ab Ho Pr : μεδεωνα ραρααχχοτα Pa A || 53 ηφθηcικηρε · Pap. | τ' Pap. || 54 I. αὔτεξούcιον | I. ὦc || 55 I. <δν> δορυφοροῦcιν

of Ethiopia, nightshade, and “Hermes’ finger.”⁷³ You will also say the following to the lamp: “PERPHAËNŌ ... DIAMANTHŌT DIAMENCHTHŌTH⁷⁴ PERPERCHRĒ ŌANOUTH (125) PHROUMEN THORPSOU, and most importantly, AKTI KARA ABAIŌTH lord god, servant of god, you who bear this night, stand by me, Apollo Paian.” Sleep with your head toward the south. Use (this procedure) at dawn (?),⁷⁵ when the moon is in Gemini. First(?) invocation:⁷⁶ “Laurel⁷⁷ of divination, Apollo’s holy plant, / which he once tasted and then brought forth songs via its leaves, / he himself, scepter-holding lord—iēie, renowned Paian,⁷⁸ / you (130) who reside in Kolophon, listen to the sacred song. / Quickly come to earth from heaven, mingling(?) the water, / and stand and from your immortal lips inspire songs; / you yourself, lord of singing, come, renowned ruler of song. / Listen, blessed one, heavy of wrath, fierce of mind, listen, Titan:⁷⁹ / do not now, immortal one, disobey our voice. / Stand, utter an oracle for your supplicant from your immortal mouth, quickly, all-pure Apollo.” While the sun is rising, say⁸⁰ (135) (the) greeting formula: “Hail, steward of fire, far-seer, commander of the cosmos, / Helios, famed for your steeds, the eye of Zeus that carries the earth, / all-shining one, lofty-pathed, divine,⁸¹ frequenting the heavens, / radiant, unreachable, born long ago, unshaken, / gold-mitred, bossed-helmeted, mighty with fire, with shining breastplate, / flying, tireless, golden-reined, golden-pathed, / you who look upon, surround and hear everyone. For you the light-bringing flames are in travail at daybreak. / For you at midday, (140) once you have passed over the pole, the rosy-ankled Dawn goes grieving to her home afterwards,⁸² / and before that did Evening meet Ocean, as she led down the teams of your fire-nourished steeds, / and fugitive Night darts down from heaven, whenever she hears / the whistling of the whip that cracks around the steeds’ feet, AAAAAA EEEEEEE ĒĒĒĒĒĒ ĪĪĪĪĪĪ OOOOOO UUUUUU ŌŌŌŌŌŌ. (145) Scepter-holding (leader) of the Muses, life-giver, come hither now to me, / come quickly to earth, iēie, your hair wreathed with ivy, / Phoibos, with your immortal mouth utter a song. / And you who rule over fire, ARARACHCHARA ĒPHTHĒSIKĒRE⁸³—and the three-fold Moirai, Klotho, Atropos and Lachis—it is you I call, the great one in heaven, air-like, under your own power, to whom all nature has been made subject, who inhabit the whole inhabited world, (whom) the sixteen giants serve as body-guards,

⁷³ Presumably a kind of plant: cf. GEMF 55/PGM III 468 and 58/V 212.

⁷⁴ DIAMENCHTHŌTH probably contains a transliteration of the Egyptian *mnḥ Dḥwty*, “Thoth is excellent,” or “beneficent”: see Ritner, GMPT, 15 n. 22.

⁷⁵ Meaning unclear. Since ἀνατολικός in astrology can refer to the waxing moon (see e.g. Ptol. *Tetr.* 3.5.9), perhaps it is still referring to the moon: “when the moon in its waxing phases is in Gemini.”

⁷⁶ In the margin to the left of this line there is a sign marking the start of the invocation. This sign is similar to a *paragraphos cum corona*, but there is a horizontal stroke at the bottom, which is unusual. Francesca Maltomini, based on the fact that there is a point of superposition of ink and not *scriptio continua*, suggests that we have two forked *paragraphoi*, the one mistakenly placed under the wrong line, which the scribe corrected by drawing a forked *paragraphos* under the right line and connecting both of them. K. Dosoo points out, however, that the similar sign in the left margin of GEMF 58/PGM V 171 also marks the start of a new invocation, although it does not present the horizontal stroke at the bottom. This invocation is also marked by the marginal note κληctic preceded by an α, which would designate it as the “first invocation” (see intro.). Pr without comment (followed by GMPT) reads it as a δ, a “fourth” invocation. In the right margin, next to the word διδύμοις, there is another sign that Preisendanz seems to interpret as the astrological sign of Gemini, while Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 61 believe that it is the sign of Taurus. It might be connected with the *paragraphos* on the left, or a simple line-filler.

⁷⁷ Unlike the metrical passages of the first column (ll. 41–53), the hexametrical verses are not written line by line.

⁷⁸ Apollo, first described in a short third-person narrative, is now directly addressed in a series of vocatives and imperatives, as one often finds in the *epiphthema* to paeans; see Käppel 1992, 65–70, with a chart on 66–67.

⁷⁹ Perhaps a citation of the Orphic hymn to the Titans (37): see Mantziou 1988, 129.

⁸⁰ This translates a note in the left margin.

⁸¹ On this adjective, which literally means “fallen from Zeus,” see Humbach 1967, 276–283.

⁸² It is possible to make sense of Ἀντολίς μετόπισθε as written (“the rosy-ankled one goes grieving to her home after Dawn”), but the emendation to Ἀντολίη aligns the text with the other personifications (Evening, Ocean, Night) that follow.

⁸³ (η)φθηκικρηε is translated by Merkelbach and Totti as “Vernichter des Todeslosen” (destroyer of the deathless).

recto col iv →

GEMF 30.150–178 [PGM II 103–131]

1	τῷ καθήμενος καὶ λαμπυρίζων τὴν ὅλην οἴκουμένην· ὁ καταδείξας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ζῶα· οὗ τὸ ἱερὸν ὄρνεον ἔχεις ἐν τῇ στολῇ ἐν τ[οῖς] π]ρὸς ἀπηλιώτην μέρεσι τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης· ὡς π[ε]ρ ἔχεις ἐν τοῖς πρὸς βορρᾶ μέρεσι μορφῆ	150
5	νηπίου παιδὸς ἐπὶ λωτῷ καθήμενος, ἀντολεῦ πολυ- ώνυμε σευσεγγεν· βαρφαραγγης· ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς νό- τον μέρεσι μορφὴν ἔχεις τοῦ ἁγίου ἱέρακος δι' ἧς πέμ- πεις τὴν εἰς ἀέρα πύρωσιν τὴν γινομένην λερθεξ ἄναξ·	155 [110]
10	ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς λίβα μέρεσι μορφὴν ἔχων κορκοδίλου, οὐ- ρὰν ὄφρα, ἔνθεν ἀφίων ὑετοῦς κς χιόνας· ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην μέρεσι δράκοντα ἔχεις πτεροφυῆ βασί- λιον ἔχων ἀεροειδῆ ᾧ κατ[α]κρατεῖς τοῦ ὑπ' οὐρανοῦ κς ἐπὶ γῆς· εἰς Μουσεως γὰρ ἐφάνης τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· ἰω· ἰω ερβηθ· ζαγ σαβαωθ· εμαρθ αδωναῖ σουμαρταῖαλου· βαβλα· υαμ	160
15	μοληενθιω· πετοτουβιηθ· ιαρμιωθ· λαιλαμψ χωουχ· αρσενοφρη· ηυφθαηωλι· κλῦθί μοι μέγιστε θεὲ Κομμης τὴν ἡμέραν φωτίζων· ναθμαμεωθ· ὁ νήπιος ἀνατέλλων μαῖραχαχθα· ὁ τὸν πόλον δι[οδ]εῦων θαρα ^{αα} χαχαχαν· ὁ ἑαυτῷ	165 [120]
20	συγγινόμενος καὶ δυναμούμενος, προσαυξητὰ καὶ πολυφω- τιστὰ σευσεγγενβαρφαραγγης, ὑδάτων φέριστε θεὲ Κομμη Κομμη· ἱαφηῖαφη βιβιουβιβιου· νουσινουσι· κιεθων κιεθων· αραμωσιαραμωσι· νουχα· νουχα· ηηη· ομβρι θαμ· βριθιαωθ· αβεραμενθωουθ λερθεξ ἄναξ· εθρελυο ωθ· νεμορεβα· ὁ μέγιστος κς ἰχυρὸς θεός· ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ Δ, ὅς- τις σοι ἀπήνησα καὶ δῶρόν μοι ἐδώρησῶ τὴν τοῦ μεγίστου	170
25	σου ὀνόματος γινῶσιν, οὗ ἡ ψῆφος θλῆθ· ηη· ιε· ια· ιαη· ι[ἁε] ^α · ιευ· ιηα· ιωα· ιευ· ιηη· ηια· εα· εη· ηε· ωη· ηω· ε ηε· εεη· ηεε· ααω· ωεα· εαω· ωι· ωε· ηω· εη· εαε· ιι· οοο· υυυ· ωωω· ιυ· ευ· ου· ηεα· ηηα· εαε· εια· ιαιε·	175 [130]

1 οικουμένην· Pap. || 2 ὄς A | [ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς] Pa | ζῶα· Pap. | οὗ τὸ corr. Pr : ὄς τὸ Wü || 3 (τὸ) ἐν Me | μέρεσιν Pr || 4 θαλάσσης· Pap. | μορφῆ(v) || 5 καθήμενος corr. Ei || 8 τὴν καιομένην corr. Ho : τὴν γινομένην Me | ἀναξ· Pap. || 9 ἔχεις corr. Pr | I. κορκοδείλου || 10 ὄφρα· Pap. | ἀφίης corr. Ho | κ(αἰ) | χιόνας· Pap. || 11 δράκοντος (μορφὴν) Me || 11–12 I. βασιλείου || 12 ἀστεροειδῆ corr. Ri | τοῦ(ς) corr. Pr | κ(αἰ) || 13 γης· Pap. | εἰς Μουσεως A : σειμούς· ὡς γὰρ Br : εἰς Μουσεῶ σὺ ἄρ' Pa : ἐριμούς· θεὸς γὰρ Pr | I. Μουσεα (Μουσεα, Μουση)? | ἀληθεια· Pap. || 14 ζαγ Pr in text., ζαγ? in app. || 17 φωτίζων· Pap. || 18 πόλον Pr : ὄλον Pa || 19 πρὸς αὐξητὰ Fa Me || 19–20 πολυφωτίστα Pa A : πολύφω(τε κ)τίστα corr. Pr : πόλου φωτιστὰ Me || 22 η· ηη Pr || 24 νεμαρεβα Pr | κ(αἰ) | δ(ε)ῖ(να) || 25 τις· τ corr. ex c

GEMF 30.150–178

(you) who (150) are seated upon the lotus⁸⁴ and light up the whole inhabited world, you who have introduced animals on the earth, you who have your sacred bird for your attire(?) in the eastern regions of the Red Sea, just as in the regions to the north you have the form of an infant child, seated upon a lotus, rising one, many(155)-named, SENSENGEN BARPHARANGĒS, and in the regions to the south you have the shape of the sacred falcon, through which (form) you send the fiery heat into the air that becomes lord LERTHEX, and in the regions to the west you have the form of a crocodile, the tail of a snake, from which you hurl rain and snow, and in the (160) regions to the east you have a feathered serpent, wearing an air-like royal crown by which you are master over that which is beneath the heavens and upon the earth, for you appeared to Moses(?)⁸⁵ in truth IŌ IŌ ERBĒTH ZAG SABAŌTH SMARTH ADŌNAI SOUMARTAIALOU BABLA UAM MOLĒENTHIŌ PETOTOUBIĒTH IARMIŌTH LAILAMPS CHŌOUCH⁸⁶ (165) ARSENOHRĒ EUPHTHĒŌLI. Listen to me, greatest god Kommes,⁸⁷ you who light up the day, NATHMAMEŌTH, who dawn as an infant, MAIRACHACHTHA, who traverse the pole, THARAACHACHACHACHAN, who couple with and invigorate yourself, giver of increase and great illuminator, SESENGENBARPHARANGĒS, supreme god of waters, Kommes, (170) Kommes IASPHĒIASPHĒ BIBIUBIBIOU NOUSINOUSI SIETHŌNSIETHŌN ARSAMŌSIARSAMŌSI⁸⁸ NOUCHA NOUCHA ĒIĒI OMBRI THAM BRITHIAŌTH ABERAMENTHŌOUTH lord LERTHEX ETHRELUOŌTH NEMOREBA the greatest and mighty god. I am he, NN, who encountered you (i.e. previously), and you gave me a gift, the knowledge of your greatest name, of which the number is 9999: IĒ IE IA IAĒ (175) I[[AE]]ĒA IEU IĒA IŌA IEU IĒI ĒIA EA EĒ ĒE ŌĒ ĒŌ EĒE EEĒ ĒĒE AAŌ ŌEA EAŌ ŌI ŌE ĒŌ EĒ EAE III OOO UUU ŌŌŌ IU EU OU ĒEA IĒEA EAE EIA IAIE

⁸⁴ Here, after the invocation has switched from poetry to prose, the content also shifts from Greek myths and ideas to Egyptian ones, by describing the god's different shapes in the four cardinal directions: child seated on the lotus (north), sacred falcon (south), crocodile (west) and feathered serpent (east).

⁸⁵ If the reading is correct, this seems to refer to the meeting of Moses with Yahweh on Mt Sinai; cf. GEMF 26, three different recipes for the amulets that Moses allegedly wore in preparation for this meeting.

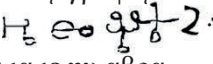
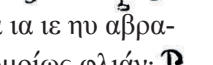
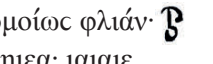
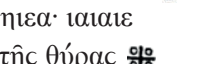
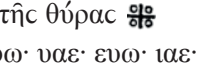
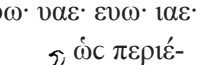
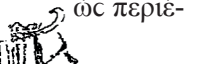

⁸⁶ CHŌOUCH has been interpreted as Egyptian *kky*, 'darkness', Ritner, GMPT, 16.

⁸⁷ One of the decans. Gundel 1936, 233 places him at the same level as Apollo or a solar god. In the following set of *voces magicae*, other names of decans show up, like *Biou*, *Siethon*.

⁸⁸ Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 63 speculate on Egyptian comparanda for the *voces magicae* in the *logos*: respectively, Egyptian *šft* 'ram' (or *šfy* 'respected'); Coptic βα 'goat', 'ram'; Coptic νογτε 'god'; Egyptian *s3-s3* "son of the earth"; and Egyptian *Hr-smsw* "Horus the eldest."

col. iv (cont.) →

GEMF 30.179–208 [PGM II 132–161]

- 30 ιηα· ιου· ιωε· ιου· ἦη· ἦἦη· ιηιε· Παιᾶν Κολοφώνιε Φοῖ-
βε, Παρνήσκιε Φοῖβε· Κακτάλιε Φοῖβε· ιηεα· ιη· ιω· ιω·
ιε· ιωα· ιηα· ευα· ωεα· ευηα· ωεα· ευωα· ευιε· ευιαε·
ευε· ευι· ευιε· ευωῖ· ευαε· ευηαε· ὕμνήσω Μέντορι
Φοῖβω . . . αρεωθ· ιαεωθ· ἰωξ· ιωηα· αε· ρωα· 180
- 35 αηω· ωηα· ηωα· αηε· ιειω· ιωιω· ιεα· ιση· ιεου·
εουω· αα[·] αηω· εε· εηυ· ηη· εηα· χαβραχφνεσ
κηρφι κροφι νυρωφωχωβωχ· σὲ καλῶ Κλάριε Ἄπολλον
εηυ· Κακτάλιε· αηα· Πύθιε· ωαε· Μουσῶν Ἀπόλλων
ιεωωεῖ // ποίησις τῆς πράξεωσ· τῆ πρώτῃ ἡμέ- [140]
- 40 ρα ὄνυχασ προβάτου· τῆ δευτέρῃ αἰγὸσ ὄνυχασ· τῆ τρί-
τῃ λύκου τρίχασ ἢ ἀκτράγαλον· τοῦτοισ τοῖσ ἐπιθύμασι
χρῶ εἰσ τὰσ ἄλλασ ᾗ ἡμέρασ· τῆ ἑβδόμῃ κς ἂν μὴ ἔλθῃ,
ράκοσ ἀπὸ βιαίου ἐνλύχνιον ποιήσασ κς ἄψον λύχνον
ἀπὸ ἐλαίου καθαροῦ· κς δῖωκε τοῦσ προκειμένουσ λόγουσ
ἴκετεύων καὶ παρακαλῶν τὸν θεὸν εἰσ εὐμένειαν ἦ-
κειν· ἔστω δέ σου ὁ τόποσ ἀγνὸσ ἀπὸ παντὸσ μυσεροῦ·
καὶ ἀγνεύσασ καθαρίωσ προκατάρχου τῆσ τοῦ θεοῦ ἴκεσίασ·
ἔστιν γὰρ μεγίστη κς ἀνυπέρβλητοσ πράξις· λαβὼν πηλὸν
κάθαρον τὰσ φλιά[σ τοῦ κο]ιτῶνοσ ἐν ᾧ ἀγνεύεισ κς οὕτω πη- [150]
- 50 λώσασ· ἐπίγρα/ τὰ γρα[φόμε]να ταῦτα χαλκῶ γραφίω εἰσ τὴν
δεξιὰν φλιάν· ἔστι δὲ τὰ γραφόμενα ·
αρσαμωσι· νουχα· [. . .]· υχα·  ηι ηι ια ια ιε ηυ αβρα-
σαξ· λερθεμνωθ· εἰσ δὲ τὴν ἀριστερὰν ὁμοίωσ φλιάν·  
- 55  // ιωε· ηωα· ηιεα· ιαιαιε
ιαιηεα· αρπον κνουφι· ὁ λ· εἰσ τὰ ἐπάνω τῆσ θύρασ 
 α εε· μιχαηλ· ηια· ευω· υαε· ευω· ιαε·
εἰσ δὲ τὴν ὑποκάτω τὸν κάρθαρων ὡσ περιέ-
χει χρείασ αἶμα αἰγὸσ ἐκτὸσ τοῦ  ὡσ περιέ-
χει χρείασ αἶμα αἰγὸσ ἐκτὸσ τοῦ
κοιτῶνοσ· [160]

31 φοῖβε· Pap. (bis) || 33 ευι· ευη Pr || 34 ἰωε· ιωα Pr | ρωα· οωε Pr || 36 χαβραχ φλιεσ Pr || 38 κακταλιε· Pap. | πυθιε· Pap. || 39
ιω[·]ωεῖ Pr | τῆ(c) || 40 προβατου· Pap. | ονυχασ· Pap. | ακτραγαλον· Pap. || 42 ἡμέρασ· Pap. | κ(αι) ἂν· ὅταν Pr || 43 l. ἐνλύχνιον |
κ(αι) || 44 καθαρου· Pap. | κ(αι) || 46 μυσερου· Pap. || 48 κ(αι) | πραξις· Pap. || 49 καθαρον (πήλωσοσ) τὰσ Pa Sch Pr | κ(αι) || 49–50
πηλωσασ· Pap. || 50 ἐπίγρα(φε) vel ἐπίγρα(ψον) | l. γραφείω || 51 φλιάν· Pap. || 53 φλιάν· Pap. || 55 λ(όγοσ) || 57–58 ὡσ περιέχει
Sch : ὡσπερ ἔχει Pa || 58 l. χρίσασ

IĒA IOU IŌE IOU IĒ IĒIĒ IĒIE⁸⁹ Paian, Phoibos of Kolophon, Phoibos (180) of Parnassos, Phoibos of Kastalia⁹⁰ IĒEA IĒ IŌ IU IE IŌA IĒA EUA ŌEA EUĒA ŌEUA EUŌA EUIE EUIAE EUE EUI EUIE EUŌI EUAE EUĒAE. I will hymn Phoibos Mentor ..AREŌTH IAEŌTH IŌE IŌĒA AE OŌA AĒŌ ŌĒA ĒŌA AĒE IEIŌ IŌIŌ IEA IAĒ IEUO EUOŌ AA AĒŌ EE EĒU ĒĒ EĒA CHABRACHPHNES⁹¹ (185) KĒRPHI KROPHI NURŌPHŌCHŌBŌCH. It is you I call, Apollo of Klaros EĒU, of Kastalia AĒA, Pythian ŌAE, Apollo of the Muses IEŌŌEI.” Performance of the rite: on the first day, (burn) the hooves of a sheep; on the second, the hooves of a goat; on the third, (190) the hair or knucklebone of a wolf. Make use of these burnt offerings for another three days. On the seventh day, if he does not come, make a rag from one violently dead into a lamp-wick, light a lamp with pure oil, and repeat the formulae given above, while supplicating and entreating the god to turn favorable. (195) Let your (sleeping-)place be pure from all pollution, and after you have attained purity, begin the supplication to the god in cleanliness, because it is a very great and unsurpassable rite. Take mud and purify the doorposts of your bedchamber,⁹² in which you maintain purity, and after smearing the mud in this way, inscribe the following writing with a bronze stylus on the right doorpost.⁹³ The writing is: (*charaktēres*) (200) ARSAMŌSI NOUCHA ...UCHA (*charaktēr*) ĒI ĒI IA IA IE ĒU ABRASAX LERTHEMINŌTH. Likewise, on the left doorpost: (205) (*charaktēres*) IŌE ĒŌA ĒIEA IAIAIE IAIĒEA ARPON KNOUPHI. The formula on the part above the door: (*charaktēr*) AA EE MICHAĒL ĒIA EUŌ UAE EUŌ IAE. On the (ground) below, (inscribe) the scarab, as it appears here, after applying the blood of a goat as ointment outside of the bedchamber.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ The short sequence of vowels leads up seamlessly to another version of the paeanic cry ἦ ἦ Παῖάν, similar to those in ll. 129 and 145 above.

⁹⁰ Here and below in ll. 186–187 the text switches back to the Greek cultural realm in identifying Phoibos Apollo in his Anatolian guise (of Kolophon and Klaros) and in his Delphian guise (of Parnassus and Kastalia).

⁹¹ χαβραχ is a formula with isopsephistic value. It occurs with various palaeographical corruptions in the magical papyri. Thus, it is found in GEMF 55/PGM III i 79 and i 152, in 31/I 142. Bonner 1930a connects it to a series of *onomata* with isopsephistic value on a gem from Athens, which altogether summed up 9999. This can be connected to ll. 126–128 above.

⁹² A common form of purification: cover a person or object with mud and then remove the mud, to which the impurity adheres and is thereby taken away. The recipe leaves off the second part of the ritual.

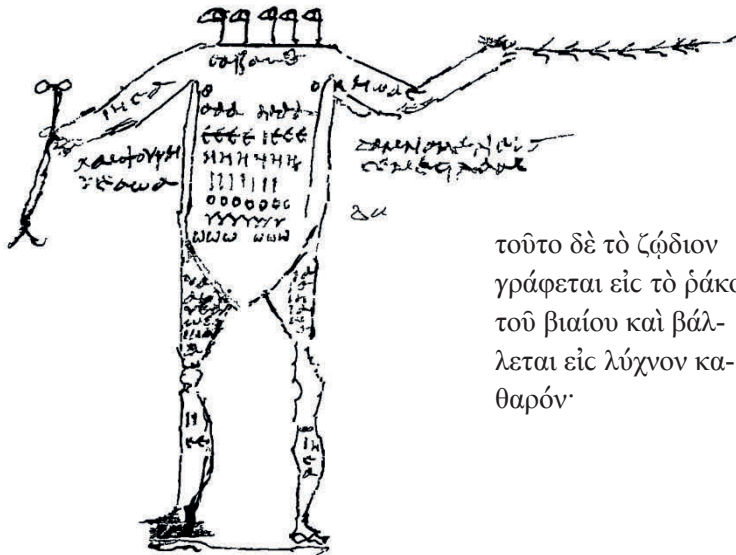
⁹³ These vowels, magical names, symbols, as well as the drawing of the scarab, recall amulets designed to prevent evil or danger from getting into the bedchamber (for parallels, see Faraone 2018, 245–246), though the ultimate goal was to induce a deity to enter.

⁹⁴ ἐκτὸς τοῦ κοιτῶνος is written in a different kind of ink (probably carbon ink) perhaps at a later moment. Preisendanz does not count κοιτῶνος as a different line.

recto col. v →

GEMF 30.209–229 [PGM II 162–184]

- 1 ἔκτω δὲ ὁ θρόνος ἐκτὸς τοῦ κοιτῶνος καθαρὸς κ̅ ἐπάνω
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 3 κινδόνιον καὶ ὑποκάτω ὑποπόδιον. ἐπίγραφε δὲ εἰς
 4 τὸν θρόνον εἰς τὰ ὑποκάτω· ιη· ιεαιωαν δαμνα-
 5 [165]
 6 μενευε αβραη· αβραω· αβραωα· δέεποτα Μουσῶ
 7 ἴλαθί μοι, τῷ σῶ ἱκέτη, καὶ ἔσο εὐμενὴς κ̅ εὐίλατος,
 8 φάνητί μοι καθαρῶ τῷ προσώπῳ.



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 215 [170]
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220 [175]
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- 15 μαθὼν δὲ ἅπαντα ἀπολύσεις δοξοποιήσας
 16 ἀξίως· ράνας αἵματι περιτεράς καὶ ἐπιθύσας
 17 ζμύρναν εἰπέ· ἄπελθε δέεποτα χορμου· χορμου·
 225 [180]
 18 οζοαμοροϊρωχ· κιμνοιε· εποζοι· εποιμαζου·
 19 καρβοενδοβαιαχχα· ἴζοιμνειπροσποι· επιορ·
 20 χῶρι, δέεποτα, εἰς τοὺς σουε τόπους, εἰς τὰ σὰ βασί-
 21 λεια, καταλίψας ἡμῖν τὴν ἱεχὸν καὶ τὴν εἰς σὲ εἰς-
 22 άκουσιν.

1 ἐκτὸς τοῦ κοιτῶνος secl. Pa Pr quasi cancell. in Pap. | κοιτῶνος: κοι- ex corr. | κ(αί) || 4 l. Μουσῶν : Μουσῶ[v] Pr || 5 κ(αί) || 6 φάνητι: τι ex corr.; l. φάνηθι || 9 γράφεται: ται corr. ex ει ? || 10–11 καθαρον· Pap. || 15 περιτερας· Pap. || 16 ειπε· Pap. || 19 l. χῶρει | τοπους· Pap. || 19–20 βασιλεια· Pap. || 20 καταλίψας: κατ- corr. ex καλ ? : l. καταλείψας || 21 ακουσιν· Pap.

Let the chair outside the bedchamber be purified,⁹⁵ and on top (210) a linen cloth and a footstool underneath. Inscribe also on the chair, on the lower part: “IĒ IEAIŌAU DAMNAMENEUS ABRAĒ ABRAŌ ABRAŌA, lord of the Muses, be gracious to me, your supplicant, and be benevolent and merciful; appear to me with pure countenance.”

	SABAŌTH		
IĒEA		ĒŌAE	
	AAA AAAA		
	EEEE I EEE		
CHAMPSOURĒ	ĒĒĒĒĒĒ	DAMNAMENEUS ⁹⁶	
UEAŌA	I I I I I I	SEMESILAM	
	OOOOOOO		
	UUUUUUU		
	ŌŌŌŌŌŌ		(215) This figure is drawn on
UA		IA	the rag from the one who
AEU		IE	has died violently, and it is
UEA		IĒ	cast into a
ŌŌ		IA	pure lamp.
IĒA		Ō	
A		A	
II		IĒ	
EE		E	
		A	

(220) SENSENGEN BARPHARANGĒS ŌĒEA IŌAE.

After you have learned everything, you will release (the god), having given the appropriate praises. Make a sprinkling of dove’s blood and a burnt offering of myrrh, and say: “Depart, lord CHORMOU CHORMOU OZOAMOROIROĪCH KIMNOIE EPOZOI EPOIMAZOU (225) SARBOENDOBAIACHCHA IZOIMNEIPROSPOI EPIOR. Withdraw, lord, to your places, to your palace, leaving with us strength and the right of audience with you.”

M. Blanco Cesteros, E. Chronopoulou, A. Nodar, E. Suárez de la Torre, M. Zellmann-Rohrer

⁹⁵ Parthey and Preisendanz considered ἐκτὸς τοῦ κοιτῶνος here to have been cancelled by the scribe. The line is now badly smudged, and the editors disagree whether these words have in fact been cancelled (Chronopoulou) or obscured by a dark papyrus fiber (Zellmann-Rohrer). The phrase repeats from the end of col. iv, where it makes more sense. Here at the top of col. v, we expect that the chair to be purified along with the footstool would be *inside* the already purified bedchamber.

⁹⁶ Under the neck and under the arms are the following Greek words: αβαωθ and χαμψουρη | νεαωα || δαμναμενευς | σεμεσιλαμ, and beneath that perhaps a false start δα- of another line. In his line numbering, Preisendanz counted these words as lines in the papyrus, but since they are part of the drawing we do not.

GEMF 31 (PGM I)

Provenance unknown

second half III CE

ED.PR.: Parthey 1866 [Pa]

REPUBL.: PGM I (and Hymnen 8 and 23) [Pr]; Merkelbach 1996, 90–95 (ll. 195–221) [Me¹]; Merkelbach 2001, 10–13 and 43–51 (ll. 263–347) [Me²]; Phillips 2009 (ll. 222–231 and 247–262) [Ph]; Calvo Martínez 2005 (ll. 262–347) [Ca]; Chronopoulou 2017 [Chr]

TRANSL.: Parthey 1866 (German); PGM I, 3–19 (German); O’Neil and Dillon, GMPT, 3–12 (English); Calvo Martínez and Sánchez Romero 1987, 53–67 (Spanish); Martin 2002, 17–31 (French); Phillips 2009, 83 and 98 (ll. 222–231 and 247–262) (English); Ogden 2002, 274 (ll. 222–231) (English); Merkelbach 1996, 90–95 (ll. 195–221) and Merkelbach 2001, 43–52 (ll. 263–347) (German)

COMM.: Parthey 1866 [Pa]; Kroll 1895 [Kr]; Nock 1924, 105 [No]; Hopfner 1921–1924 [Ho]; Schmidt 1931, 441 [Sch]; Festugière 1932, 318 [Fe]; Eitrem 1923c [Ei¹]; Eitrem 1940 [Ei²]; Brashear 1995, 3507–3509; Merkelbach 1996, 90–95 [Me¹]; Merkelbach 2001, 43–52 [Me²]; Phillips 2009, 84–96 and 99–109 [Ph]; Pachoumi 2011 and 2017 [A] stands for Abt, [Crö] for Crönert, [Ei] for Eitrem, [Wü] for Wunsch apud Preisendanz, PGM

LOC.: Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe 140159 + Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, P. 5025B

TM 88396

This roll (H. 33.2 × W. 80.2 cm), like GEMF 30, seems to have been made from a single sheet of papyrus,¹ remarkably without any *kolleseis*. In modern times, it was already broken into two fragments,² today preserved separately in Warsaw (cols. i–ii) and Berlin (iii–v). They were bought by Richard Lepsius from the Anastasy collection (no. 1074) in Paris in 1857. Shortly after the Second World War, the first fragment was transferred to the Muzeum Narodowe in Warsaw.³ Although Brashear 1995, 3404, believed that it did not belong to the Theban Library on the basis of the format, Dosoo has argued that it does.⁴

The script may be defined as an unadorned informal writing (with the exception, perhaps, of the prolongation of some strokes at line-end, especially the flat cap of c), where letters tend to be inscribed in square modules and formed with curved strokes and little angularity, very frequent in the Roman period. Our hand, however, presents features, often alternating with forms proper to the style described above, that prefigure Byzantine hands, such as the sinuous curvature of the descending obliques of λ and χ, the slanting of the script in the absence of modular contrast and, in combination with this, a slight narrowing of the module. For similarly formed letters, even showing the same inconsistencies as in our papyrus (e.g. α in two or just one movement, υ in a V-shape or with a longer ascending oblique extending below the junction of the two), see P.Euphrat. 3, a petition dated to 252/256 CE. The shape of the cursive forms in our papyrus is also consistent with the cursive writing of the same period. On account of these facts, we are inclined to assign GEMF 31 to the second half of the third century CE.⁵

The formulary complies with the basic standards of book production at the end of the Roman period: writing along the fibers, equal distribution of lines and columns, use of lectional signs, such as high dot (normally to separate *voces magicae*, but in ll. 301 to 302 to mark a pause, as in literary texts) apostrophe, *paragraphos*, and even a *diple periestigmene* (l. 7). We also see signs of interpretation of the text (e.g. the marginal annotation to the right to l. 249) and corrections at the time of the writing and at a later stage (we indicate

¹ On this see Dosoo and Torallas Tovar forthcoming b.

² Lenormant 1957, 87, already noted it was broken in two pieces. Perhaps this was a natural break running vertically across col. i. The cut between cols. ii and iii was made on purpose.

³ See Dosoo 2016, 255.

⁴ Dosoo 2016, 256. It is interesting that we have detected some linguistic features (ll. 145–146) that are generally connected to the Fayum, in some variant spellings, namely the confusion of λ and ρ, typically found in the Greek papyri from that region; see Torallas Tovar and Martín 2021.

⁵ This confirms the initial dating by Schubart 1925, 68, which was later disregarded; the papyrus has generally been assigned to the 4th to 5th cent. CE (see for example Preisendanz). See Bagnall 2009a, 83–85. For further analysis of the handwriting of GEMF 31, see Nodar forthcoming.

the latter with M^2 , but they may well have been performed by the same hand in a second reading). Nonetheless the scribe, able and experienced, writes quickly, slipping cursive forms and ligatures into the script and allowing for mistakes, orthographic and otherwise, which are left uncorrected, and tries to economize the space available. The *paragraphos* is used to separate sections, in many cases accompanied by a blank space, which may also appear on its own to mark divisions in the text. Other lectional signs are the supralinear strokes to mark the numeric value of letters, that appear in many instances in the text, but also, in l. 163, to indicate *nomina sacra* (above $\theta\nu$). Finally, the scribe uses symbols (\mathcal{H} for ἥλιος, \mathcal{C} for $\epsilon\lambda\eta\eta\eta$, \mathcal{B} for ὄνομα) and abbreviations (\mathcal{Z} for ζύρνα, \mathcal{L} for λόγος, \mathcal{D} for δεῖνα). After l. 267, the scribe draws the symbols that have to be written on the laurel leaves as part of the procedure. All in all, the palaeographical analysis of GEMF 31 together with the examination of its hypertextual characteristics reveal a book produced with some care, inasmuch as it complies with the basic standards of book production in the Late Roman period. Although careful about the general aspect of the book, the scribe does not seem to be worried by the effects of a sudden change of ink, as in ll. 103–104.

The roll has substantial damage in columns i–ii, while the right-hand side of the papyrus is in much better condition, suggesting that it was originally rolled up from right to left, leaving the left outside and exposed. On the format see Dosoo and Torallas Tovar forthcoming b.

The content of this handbook is fairly limited, suggesting perhaps the special needs of the owner. It begins with two recipes (ll. 1–42 and 43–195) for gaining a supernatural assistant (*paredros*), the first aimed primarily at divinatory goals⁶ and the second for a wide array of purposes. There follows a separate prayer for protection (ll. 195–222), used perhaps in connection with the previous recipe, and then two short invisibility procedures (ll. 222–231 and 247–262), which produce an ointment that allows one to be unseen by others. These two recipes are separated by a short recipe for enhancing the memory (ll. 232–247). The papyrus ends with an elaborate recipe for creating a miniature shrine, dressing in priestly garments and laurel branches, and invoking Apollo to come and give oracles (ll. 262–347), for which see Faraone 2004.

⁶ For a discussion on the first one, see Moyer 2003, who interprets it as an initiatory ritual.

(1) A *daimon* [will ally himself(?)] (i.e. with you) as a *paredros*, who will reveal everything to you precisely, and who will be [your associate]⁷ and your companion at breakfast and in bed.⁸ Take [all] of your own (finger)nails,⁹ all the hairs from your head and a Circean¹⁰ falcon and (5) “deify”¹¹ (the falcon) in the [milk] of a black cow, after mixing it with Attic honey. [And having deified it(?)] clothe it with an undyed strip (i.e. of cloth), and along with your hair place your (finger)nails [close] to it (i.e. the falcon-mummy). Take [royal papyrus] and write what is below in myrrh ink, place it in the same manner [as your] hairs and (finger)nails, and plaster (10) it (i.e. the falcon-mummy) with [uncut] frankincense and very old wine.¹² This, then, is what is written on the (papyrus)-strip: AEEĒĒĒIIIIIOOOOUUUUUŌŌŌŌŌŌ. [But write them] making two inclined slopes:¹³

A	ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ
EE	UUUUUU
(15) ĒĒĒ	OOOOO
IIII	IIII
OOOOO	ĒĒĒ
UUUUUU	EE
ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ	A

(20) And taking the milk with the honey, drink it up¹⁴ before sunrise and there will be some divine inspiration¹⁵ in your heart. Also take the falcon and install it in a juniper shrine. After you garland the shrine itself, make an offering with¹⁶ non-living foods (i.e. vegetarian) and pour (as a libation) very old wine.¹⁷ And before you recline yourself,¹⁸ speak in front of this bird, as you make (25) sacrifice to it, just as you usually do, and say the following formula:

⁷ See ll. 39–40 below, where the same term is used.

⁸ The advertisement for this recipe suggests that it will end in an intimate, even erotic relationship, with the male *paredros*; the next recipe (ll 43ff.) requires that the practitioner recline beside the *paredros* (l. 86) as if at a symposium.

⁹ An odd way of saying “clip all of your fingernails.”

¹⁰ The adjective κίρκαιος is rare and poetic, usually referring to the witch Circe, e.g. a plain near Colchis, named after her.

¹¹ For the Egyptian ritual of apotheosis by drowning, see Griffith 1917, 132–134, Moyer 2003, 221. In GEMF, it usually concerns (as we see here) the drowning of small animals, e.g. the ritual in GEMF 55/PGM III 1–164, that uses a cat.

¹² Something has dropped out here, presumably a command to plaster the papyrus onto the falcon over the cloth. In the cat recipe mentioned in the previous note, the body of a cat is wrapped in a sheet of papyrus, inscribed with a formula and then buried.

¹³ Vowels are commonly used in both oral incantations and in written formulas, sometimes arranged in patterns, here triangles called “slopes” (*klimata*); at GEMF 58/PGM V 82–90 a similar pair of triangles, albeit both pointing up, are called “holy names” and invoked to identify a thief. They also appear in a rectangle at GEMF 76/PGM X 40–50, where they are called “sacred names.” These triangles should not be confused with “wing” or “heart” formations, in which the same word is written on each line, removing one or two letters from each line until the word disappears, for which see Faraone 2012.

¹⁴ Drinking the milk in which the falcon had been drowned conferred a connection to the divine. See Moyer 2003, 221 and Ritner 1993, 106–110, who compares GEMF 60/XIII 31–37.

¹⁵ The adjective ἐνθεος means ‘inspired by a god’, not simply ‘divine’, as translated in the GMPT.

¹⁶ This use of the preposition ἐν as instrumental probably reflects the Egyptian use of the preposition *hn* as instrumental as well as locative; see Torallas Tovar 2010, 263 and also below at the end of l. 272.

¹⁷ Kroll (apud Pr) emends ἔχε (‘have at hand’) to ἔγγχε (‘pour’), the appropriate action with wine at a sacrifice.

¹⁸ Here the verb refers to a forthcoming meal, rather than going to sleep, as we can see below in ll. 37–39, where food and conversation are mentioned.

GEMF 31.26–53

“AEEEEIIIIOOOOUUUUUOOOOOO, come to me, good farmer¹⁹ Agathos Daimon, ARPON [KNOUPHI] BRINTATĒN OIPHRI BRISKULMA AROUAZAR [BAMESEN] KRIPHI NIPTOUMICHMOUMAOPH.²⁰ Come to me, O holy Orion,²¹ [you who] recline in the north (30) and make the currents of [the] Nile roll and who mix (them) with the sea and [mix (them)] up with the earth, just like the seed of man during sexual intercourse, you who on an indestructible [foundation] founded the universe, you who are young in the early morning and [old in the evening],²² you who travel through the vault under the earth, and breath fire [as you rise?], you who cross the oceans (35) in the first month, you who send your seeds (i.e. ejaculate) ... [against the holy] fig-tree of Heliopolis unceasingly. [This is your] authentic name: ARTHATH ABAŌTH BAKCHABRĒ.” As you are sending for him,²³ ... return (i.e. to your seat)²⁴ and prepare yourself for the consumption of the food [and] the meal and the offering described above, ... mouth to mouth²⁵ (as an) associate (40) with the god. ... the practice [itself]. Conceal, conceal the procedure (i.e. keep it secret) and abstain for seven days from intercourse with a woman. The *paredros* (i.e. recipe) of ... the temple scribe.²⁶ From Pnouthis to Keryx,²⁷ [who honors(?) the] god, greetings. Since I am knowledgeable, I have prescribed for you the following [*paredros*-procedure(?)]²⁸ in order that there be no mistakes (45) in accomplishing this [procedure]. Taking aside all the treatises which have been left [to us in] innumerable book-rolls...,²⁹ I have sent you this *paredros*³⁰ ... for(?) you (pl.)³¹ to take this sacred ...³² and only ... O friend (i.e. Keryx) of aerial (50) spirits, who are lifted up [... who(?)] having persuaded³³ ... with discourses on the gods ... But [now] I have sent off this book-roll, so that you may learn (it) thoroughly, [because] the formula of Pnouthis [has power] to persuade the gods and all [the goddesses]. And from there (i.e. the book-roll), [I have copied(?)] for you (material) concerning the

¹⁹ GMPT translates as ‘husbandman’, but γεωργός refers to tilling the earth, not animal husbandry. The invoked vowels are the same as those inscribed twice on the papyrus in ll. 13–19.

²⁰ The HARPONKNOUPHI-*logos* is placed after the Agathos Daimon, because it is his secret name; see GEMF 74.744–746/PGM VII 1023–1025, where the *logos* is called “the names of the Agathos Daimon,” GEMF 30.204/PGM II 157 and Moyer 2003, 222. See also below ll. 237–238.

²¹ Plu. *Mor.* 21 identifies Orion with the soul of Horus. Orion was also associated with Osiris. See Moyer 2003 22.

²² Here, the invoked god is described as the sun, which rises young in the morning, old in the evening and traverses the underworld at night; cf. GEMF 30.166/PGM II 119, 55/III 153 and 68/XXXVI 217–218.

²³ That is: “summoning him.” The verb *πεμπόμενος* in the passive would mean “as you (i.e. the practitioner) are being dismissed” (GMPT), but in the middle “as you (i.e. the practitioner) are sending (i.e. for him, the *paredros*).” Dismissal at this point is unlikely since the recipe ends with an intimate face-to-face meeting and meal.

²⁴ The context does not suggest that *ἀναποδίειν* means: ‘to step back or return’ or ‘to walk backwards’ (GMPT); at line 24, we are told to make the sacrifice and invocation “before reclining” with the *paredros*.

²⁵ That is: face to face, but with an emphasis on intimate speech.

²⁶ This rubric is not separated at all from the first recipe, suggesting that it may be a colophon of the Egyptian type, coming after the recipe. Previous editions restored in the lacuna the name Pnouthis, who is the author of the second *paredros*-recipe, but the space is far too wide for restoring only three letters. See Dieleman 2005, 205–207 for our translation of *hierogrammateus*.

²⁷ This is the start of an epistle, like GEMF 57/PGM IV 154–163. In Egyptian, Pnouthi(o)s means “man of god” (Dieleman 2005, 257–258), while Keryx, ‘Herald’, is the ancestor of the sacred heralds at Eleusis, a role that may be alluded to when he is addressed later (l. 126) as a “[blessed] initiate of the sacred magic” (see Betz, 1991, 251–252). The greeting formula in epistles usually presents the name of the writer in the nominative, followed by the name of the addressee in the dative and the greeting *χαίρειν*, but here it begins with “from Pnouthis” (*παρά* + genitive).

²⁸ For the unusual use of the word *πάρεδρος* to refer to both the superhuman being and the procedure that brings him, see Pachoumi 2017, 156–157.

²⁹ Preisendanz’s restorations here and below do not inspire much confidence and have in large part been abandoned.

³⁰ We cannot find a satisfactory solution to the beginning of l. 47: *τα ενπαντνια [. . . .] τουντα*.

³¹ Something has dropped out here: after the lacuna the addressee changes from second-person singular to plural.

³² Preisendanz restores *paredros* again, but the repetition in the same line is unlikely.

³³ The plural subject and direct object are both unclear; see the claim below that the recipe can ‘persuade’ the gods.

col. i (cont.) →

GEMF 31/PGM I 54–77

παρέδρου λήψεως [ἔστι δὲ ἡ τοῦ παρ]έδρου παράδοσις· προα-
 55 γνεύσας καὶ ἀπεχόμεν[ος παντὸς ἐμψ]ύχου καὶ πάσης ἀκαθαρ-
 ρίας καὶ ἐν οἴαι βούλει [νυκτὶ ἀνα]βάς ἐπὶ δώματος ὑψηλοῦ,
 ἐνδεδυμένως καθαρῶς [ἐπιδίωκ]ε τὴν πρώτην κύστασιν
 ἀπογιν τος ς ἐλείας . . . [.]ἔχων τελαμῶνα
 μέλανα ἰσιακὸν ἐπὶ το[ῖς ὀφθαλμοῖ]ς καὶ τὴν μὲν δεξιᾶ χει-
 60 ρὶ κάτεχε ἱέρακος κεφα[λὴν καὶ . . .]ἀνατέλλοντος τοῦ ς χαι-
 ρέτιζε κατασεῖον τὴν κεφ[αλὴν καὶ . . .]διώκων τόνδε τὸν
 ἱερὸν λόγον, ἐπιθύων λίβαν[ον ἄτμητον] καὶ ῥόδιον
 ἐπισπένδων, ἐπιθύσα[ς ἐπὶ γηί]νου θυμιατηρίου ἐπ' ἀνθρά-
 κων ἀπὸ ἡλιοτροπίου β[ιοτάνης. ἔσ]ται δέ σοι διώκοντι τὸν λόγον
 65 σημίον τόδε· ἱέραξ κατ[απτάς σοῦ] ἀντικρυ^c σταθήσεται
 καὶ πτερὰ τινάσας ἐν μέσ[φω καθεὶς ε]ὐμήκη λίθον, εὐθὺς ἀνα-
 πτήσεται εἰς οὐρανὸν β[αίνων. σὺ] δὲ βάσταξον τοῦτον τὸν λίθον
 καὶ λιθουργήσας τάχος [.]ερον· γλυφέντα τὲ διατρυπᾶς
 καὶ διείρας σπάρτῳ περὶ τ[ὸν τρά]χηλόν σου εἴρησον. ὁψίας δὲ
 70 ἀνελθὼν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιόν σου πάλιν καὶ στας πρὸς αὐγὴν τῆς
 θεοῦ ἀντικρυς λέγε τὸν ὑμ[νικὸν Δ] τόνδε ἐπιθύων πάλιν τρω-
 γλίτιν Ϻ τῷ αὐτῷ στήθε[σιν] πύρ] δὲ ἀνάσας ἔχε μυρσίνης
 κλάδον [. . .] . . . οὔν σείω[ν καὶ χαιρ]έτιζε τὴν θεόν. ἔσται δέ σοι
 75 σημεῖον ἐν τάχει τοιοῦ[το· ἄστρο]ν κατελθὼν στήσεται εἰς μέσον
 τοῦ δώματος καὶ κατ' ὀλί[γον ἀνα]λυθὲν τὸ ἄστρον, ἀθρήεις, ὃν
 ἐκάλεσας ἄγγελον πεμφθ[έντα σοί], θεῶν δὲ βουλάς συντόμως
 γνώσῃ. σὺ δὲ μὴ δειλοῦ [πρό]σιθι τῇ θεῷ, καὶ χεῖρα αὐτοῦ

55 [ἦδε δὲ ἔστιν ἡ παρ]έδρου E1¹ || 56 σελήνη ἀνα]βάς E1¹ || 57 δίωκ]ε Sch : λέγ]ε Pr || 58 ἀπογιν(ομένης) Pr | I. τῆς | (ἡλίου) || 58–
 59 [ὄλο]μέλανα Pr || 59 ἐπὶ το[ῖς ὀφθαλμοῖ]ς E1¹ : το[ῦς ὀφθαλμοῦ]ς Kr | I. τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ || 60 εὐθὺς ἀ]νατέλλοντος E1 : εὐθὺς δὲ
 ἀ]νατέλλοντος Sch | (ἡλίου) || 61 ἐπι]διώκων vel εὐθὺς δι]ώκων E1 : ἅμα δι]ώκων Sch || 62 ἱερὸν : ο corr. ex ω || 63 ἐπί]θου E1¹ | ἐπὶ
 γηί]νου E1¹ Pr || 65 ἱέραξ κ[αρκαῖος] E1¹ || 66 με]θεὶς ἐτερ]ομήκη E1¹ || 67 β[λέσας E1¹ || 68 I. λιθούργησον ὡς τάχος(?) | [γλῶφε
 ὕστ]ερον Pr : [γλῶφε πρό]τερον E1¹ | I. δὲ διατρυπᾶς || 71 λό(γον) || 72 ζ(μύ)ρ(ναν) || 73 [τῇ δέξι]α χειρὶ E1¹ : ἐν τῇ λαια χ]ειρὶ A
 | ἔνκαρπ]ον Sch || 74 ἄστρο]ν E1¹ : ἀστήρ αἴθω]ν Pr || 75 κατ' ὀλί]γον ἀνα]λυθὲν Sch : κατ' ὄμ[μα κατα]χυθὲν Pr || 77 τῷ θεῷ Pr

acquisition of a *paredros*:³⁴ [This is] the traditional lore³⁵ [about the] *paredros*: (55) After purifying (yourself?) beforehand³⁶ and abstaining from [every living thing] and all uncleanness, go up on a high house-top³⁷ on whatever [night] you wish, (and) after having dressed yourself purely [recite]³⁸ the first introduction³⁹ while the ray of the sun is (i.e. still) absent ... with a black Isis-band⁴⁰ upon [your eyes], and grasp in your right hand (60) the head of a falcon⁴¹ [and ...] as the sun rises repeatedly greet it, while shaking the head (of the falcon) [and at the same time] reciting this sacred formula, burning [uncut] frankincense, libating rose oil, and making a burnt offering [upon an earthen] censer over embers from the heliotrope [plant]. And for you will be this sign as you recite the formula (65):⁴² a falcon will [fly] down and stop in front of [you], and after flapping its wings in mid-air⁴³ [and dropping] an oblong stone, it will immediately fly up [going] to heaven. But [you yourself] pick up this stone; carve it at once ...⁴⁴ Once it has been engraved, perforate it, pass through a thread and wear it around your neck. And in the evening, (70) go back to [your] house-top [again] and, standing directly before the gleam of the goddess (i.e. the moon), say the [hymnic formula], as you again burn myrrh troglitis⁴⁵ in the same manner. And after lighting [a fire] hold a branch of myrtle ... shaking it, [and repeatedly greet] the goddess.⁴⁶ And quickly there will be for you a sign of this sort: [A star]⁴⁷ will descend and come to a stop in the middle (75) of the rooftop, and, when little by little the star [has dissolved],⁴⁸ you will behold the messenger,⁴⁹ whom you have summoned, the one sent [for you], and all at once you will know the plans of the gods. But you yourself do not be afraid! [Approach] the goddess(?)⁵⁰ and, his hand,

³⁴ This marks the end of the epistle and the start of the recipe itself, which Pnouthis has copied from one of the books mentioned in ll. 45–46; the recipe has its own rubric: “This is the ...”

³⁵ This and the reference to the bookroll below are the vocabulary of manuscript tradition.

³⁶ An active verb, where we would expect the middle.

³⁷ Schmidt 1931, 442 prefers “auf das Dach des Hauses” and compares GEMF 57/PGM IV 170 and 2469.

³⁸ For a parallel use of ἐπιδίωκε, see GEMF 15.415/PGM XII 366.

³⁹ The word κύματα used here usually refers to the entire recipe for introducing oneself to a god or its outcome, but here it seems to mean something more limited that can be recited, e.g. “the introductory formula”

⁴⁰ For the use of the black band worn by the widow Isis, see Griffiths 1970, 90. This begins a section of the ritual (ll. 59–65) that has close parallels with GEMF 57/PGM IV 172–209, a recipe like this one that claims to be transmitted in a letter written by an Egyptian, in this case Nephotes, to the pharaoh Psammetichos. In both we are told to cover our eyes in a ritual that will result in an important sign: a bird flying down from the sky.

⁴¹ The previous *paredros* recipe describes the manufacture of a falcon mummy; here, however, the apparently severed head of a falcon is used to summon the falcon who brings the stone.

⁴² There is a very similar prediction in GEMF 57/PGM IV 208–209: “After you say these things three times, this will be the sign (σημείον ἔσται)... for a seahawk flying down strikes you with its wings.”

⁴³ Or perhaps “in the middle (i.e. of the rooftop)”; see below (l. 74), where another σημεῖον will come to a stop “in the middle”: σημεῖον ... κτήσεται εἰς μέσον.

⁴⁴ The standard supplement is difficult to construe. Either the participle λιθοουργίας refers to the roughing out or “dressing” of the natural stone into a small gemstone or (as emended above) the participle is a mistake for the aorist imperative, e.g. “and carve it at once [with the design given] later on (i.e. in the text below).” The standard supplement gives no reason why we should quickly “dress” the stone, but then wait until later to carve the design.

⁴⁵ Ethiopian myrrh. When the author says “again” he errs, because in the first visit to the rooftop (l. 62) uncut frankincense was burned, not myrrh; but it makes sense that the sun and the moon should receive different incense.

⁴⁶ These “lunar” activities (followed by a sign) closely parallel the “solar” ones in ll. 60–65.

⁴⁷ Preisendanz’s restoration “blazing star” is more dramatic, but it is too long for the lacuna.

⁴⁸ The supplement is assured by the parallel expression below in l. 154, where these lines are repeated.

⁴⁹ The Greek word ἄγγελος is translated here as ‘messenger’, but below, after l. 200, we have preferred to translate it as ‘angel’, since the context there is clearly Judeo-Christian, and archangels are also mentioned.

⁵⁰ The gender and status of the person who has arrived is briefly confused. The translation “the god” in GMPT ignores the feminine articles with θεόν at ll. 73 and 77. The goddess must be the moon, who was invoked earlier, but her gender changes in the next few words when we are told to “shake *his* hand etc.” and thereafter he is the male messenger or angel; for another view, see Kotansky 2007, 404–407.

recto col. ii →

GEMF 31/PGM I 78–104

- 1 δεξιὰν λαβὼν κατα[κρά]τησον καὶ λέγε ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον·
λαλήσει γάρ σοι συν[τόμ]ως πρὸς ὃ ἐὰν βούλη. σὺ δὲ αὐτὸν
ἐξώρκιζε τῶιδε [τῷ ὄρκ]ῳ ὅπως ἀκινήτος σου τυγχάνωι 80
μείνη καὶ μὴ προσί[. . .]δὲ παρακούσει ὄλωσ. ἐπὶ δὲ
5 σοι τοῦτον ὄρκον ἀ[ποδ]ῶ ἀσφαλῶς χειροκρατήσας τὸν
θεὸν καταπήδα κ[αὶ εἰ]ς στενὸν τόπον ἐνεγκῶν ὅπου
κατοικεῖς κάθ[ισον] πρῶτον δὲ τὸν οἶκον στρώσας καθὼς
πρέπει καὶ ἐτοιμ[άσας] παντοῖα φαγήματα οἶνον δὲ Μεν- 85
δήσιον προανά[πεσε ε]ἰς τὸν θεόν, ὑπηρετοῦντος παιδὸς
10 ἀφθόρου καὶ σιγῆ[ν] ἔχοντος, ἄχρις ἂν ἀπή ὁ ἄ[γγ]ελος.
σὺ δὲ λόγος πρόπεμ[πε] τῷ θεῷ· ἔξω φιλῶν σε πάρεδρον,
[ὑπ]ηρετοῦντά μοι, ὡς ἂν εἶπω, τάχος, τῇ
σῆ δυνάμει ἤδη ἔ[γ]χαιος ναὶ ναί, φαίνέ μοι, θεέ. καὶ αὐ- 90
τὸς σὺ λάλησον ἀνακ[εῖ]μενος πρὸς ἃ φράσεις συντόμως.
15 πειρῶ δὲ τοῦτον ὄρκισθ^{ov} αὐτόν, πρὸς δέλεις. ἐπὶ δὲ φ̄ γ̄
γένωνται, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀγαπηθήσει ὁ θεός· κέλευε δὲ τῷ
τὰς θύρας τρέχειν παιδί. λέγε δὲ χώρει, κύριε, θεὲ μάκαρ
ὅπου διηνεκῶς σὺ εἶς ὡς βούλει, καὶ ἀφανὴς ἐστὶν ὁ θεός. 95
αὕτη ἡ ἱερὰ λῆψις τοῦ παρέδρου. γινώσκειται ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν
20 ὁ θεὸς πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἀέριον, ὃ εἶδες. ἐὰν ἐπιτάξῃς παραυτὰ
τὸ ἔργον ἐπιτελεῖ ὄνειροπομεῖ ἄγει γυναῖκας ἄνδρας δίχα
οὐσίας, ἀνερεῖ, καταστρέφει, ἀναρίπτει ἀνέμους ἐκ γῆς, βαστάζει
χρυσόν, ἄργυρον, χαλχόν, καὶ δίδωσί σοι ὅταν χρεια γεγένηται. 100
λύει δὲ ἐκ δεσμῶν [ἀ]λύσει φρουρούμενον, θύρας ἀνοίγει,
25 ἀμαυροῖ, ἵνα μηδεὶς καθόλου σε θεωρήσει, πυρφορεῖ, ὕδωρ
φέρει οἶνον, ἄρτον καὶ [ὄ] ἂν ἐθέλῃς ἐκ τῶν ἐδεσμάτων· ἔλαι-
ον, ὄξος, χωρὶς ἰχθύων μ[ό]νων λαχάνων δὲ πλῆθος ὃ θέλεις.

1 l. κατακράτησον E1 vel κατα[οίμ]ισον E1¹ : καταφύλησον A : κατ[φι]λησον Pr | λέγε παραυτά em. Sch || 3 l. ἐξώρκιζε | l. τυγχάνων : (συν)τυγχάνων vel σου θυγγάνων E1¹ || 4 προσί[γῆ]σῃ μη]δὲ suppl. Pr : πρόσ[ω ἢ] μη]δὲ παρακούσει E1¹ || 5 τὸν ὄρκον Pr : [ὄμοσης] ἀσφαλῶς E1¹ || 6 κ[άτω εἰ]ς E1¹ | στεγνὸν em. Sch || 7 κάθισον Sch : καθ[ί]στη Pr || 8 οἶνόν τε Pr || 9 προανά[πεσε πρ]ῶς Sch : προανά[φερε ε]ἰς Pr || 11 l. λόγῳ vel λόγοις : λόγους Pr | l. τὸν θεὸν | φίλον A Ho || 12 εἶπω corr. ex επω || 13 σῆ : η corr. ex υ || 14 l. φράζει Pr || 15 l. ὄρκισμόν αὐτόν : θεοῦ τὸν ὄρκισμόν αὐτόν Pr : τὸν ὄρκισμόν αὐτοῦ em. Sch | l. πρόσ (ὄ) θέλεις : πρόσ (ὄ) δέλεις E1¹ | ὄρ(α)ι || 16 l. ἀναπηθήσει Pr || 16–17 κέλευε δὲ τῷ παιδί κατὰ τὰς θύρας τρέχειν Pr : κέλευε δὲ τῷ παιδί τὰς θύρας τρέχειν Sch || 18 l. εἶ || 19–20 γινώσκέ τοι . . . ὃν εἶδες em. Sch || 20 ἐστιν ex corr. || 21 ὄνειροποιητεῖ em. Sch || 22 l. ἀναίρει | ἀν[ι]τα[ν]εκροῦς em. Sch || 23 l. γένηται

the right one, take (i.e. for the oath) and [hold it firmly(?)],⁵¹ and say these things to the messenger,⁵² for at once he will converse with you about whatever you want. And you yourself (80) adjure him with this [oath] in order that he, after meeting you, remain inseparable from you and that he neither [keep silent(?)]⁵³ nor disobey in any way. But whenever he has [accepted] this oath with you, (you) firmly grasp the god by the hand and leap down (i.e. from the roof-top), [and] after bringing (him) [into] the roofed place, where you reside, [sit] (him) down. After first preparing the house, as is (85) fitting, and making ready all types of foods and Mendesian wine,⁵⁴ recline near the god,⁵⁵ while an uncorrupted child⁵⁶ serves (the meal) and maintains silence, until the messenger departs. And (then) you send the god off with a speech:⁵⁷ “I shall lovingly hold you as a *paredros*, a benefactor, a god, who serves me, and whenever I say ‘Quickly!’, you with your power immediately appear to me on earth, yes, yes, O god!” And (90) you yourself (i.e. the practitioner), while (still) reclining, speak concisely about what you are pondering. And test his oath itself, with regard to [what] you wish.⁵⁸ But when 3 hours have passed, the god will immediately leap up.⁵⁹ Command the child to run (and open) the door. And say, “Go, lord, blessed god, (95) where you exist continually, as you wish,”⁶⁰ and the god vanishes.

This is the sacred acquisition of a *paredros*. It is acknowledged that he is the god, he is an aerial spirit,⁶¹ that you have seen. If you give him a command, straightway he performs the deed:⁶² he sends dreams, he leads women (and) men without *ousia*,⁶³ he kills, he overturns, he casts winds up from the earth, he steals (100) gold, silver, bronze, and gives them to you, whenever the need arises. And he frees from bonds a person imprisoned with chains, he opens doors, he makes (you) invisible,⁶⁴ so that no one at all can watch you, he brings fire, he brings water, wine, bread and [whatever] you wish of the foods: olive oil, vinegar—barring fish alone⁶⁵—and a plethora of vegetables, whatever you wish,

⁵¹ We follow Eitrem’s reading, κατακράτησον, although the traces before the η are somewhat doubtful. The reading of Preisendanz is probably based on the parallel in l. 156 below.

⁵² As is clear from the last few lines, this “messenger” seems to be interchangeable with the “goddess,” who appears at the same time; see Ciruolo 1995, 283. Pachoumi 2011, cites parallels that suggest some kind of theological distinction is at play.

⁵³ The words “keep silent” translate the supplement of Preisendanz, which is too long for the lacuna, but something similar must have stood there.

⁵⁴ Wine from the Egyptian city of Mendes in the Nile Delta; cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 769, 1345 and 2678–2679 with LiDonnici 2002, 363–364. It was also used in medicine, cf. e.g. Gal. *Comp.Med.* 12.444.8.

⁵⁵ Thus, literally becoming a *paredros*, “one who sits nearby,” i.e., “comrade.”

⁵⁶ According to O’Neil, GMPT, 5 n. 19 the uncorrupted child serves as a medium in this procedure. This is usually true in the handbook recipes, but in this recipe all he does is serve a meal and attend to the door, like a slave or a servant. His pure state is necessary in a room receiving a god; see Dosoo 2014, 148.

⁵⁷ The verb προπέμπειν involves the idea of escorting a guest out the door with a speech, which in the rhetorical handbooks is called a “send off” (προπεμπτικόν).

⁵⁸ At this point we are to test the efficacy of the oath on the *paredros* by asking him to do something for us.

⁵⁹ It seems that two versions have been conflated, because here the god is still in the house.

⁶⁰ This speech seems to be a more appropriate “send off” than the one given in ll. 88–90 and once again suggests that two versions have been conflated.

⁶¹ Or “that this god is an aerial spirit.”

⁶² This description has a fairy-tale quality that resembles, e.g., Philostr. *VA* 4.25 or Apul. *Met.* 5.1–3, and also recipes for symposia “tricks,” e.g., Democritus’ *paignia* (GEMF 74.245–250/PGM VII 171–177); see Gordon 1997, 73–75.

⁶³ The word *ousia*, literally ‘stuff’, refers to hair, fingernails or garment threads from the victim of a curse or (as here) an attraction-procedure. SM II 49–51 all refer to the practice (e.g., 49.20–21: “whose *ousia* you have, the hairs of her head”); a lock of hair is occasionally found folded up in such curses, e.g. SM I 40.

⁶⁴ Literally “he darkens (i.e. he blinds the vision of those looking at you)” See below the notes on ll. 222–231 and 247–262, two recipes called *amaurōsis*, literally a “darkening procedure.”

⁶⁵ The Egyptian prohibition against eating fish stems from the idea that a Nile fish ate the private parts of the Osiris and was thus polluted (Plu. *Mor.* 358B), see Ritner’s note ad loc. in GMPT.

col. ii (cont.) →

GEMF 31/PGM I 105–128

- ἄξει δὲ κρέας δὲ χοίρειον [τ]οῦτο ἄλλως μὴ λέξης ποτὲ ἐνεγ- 105
 κείν καὶ ὅτε βούλει δεῖ[π]νον ποιῆσαι λέγε πᾶν χώρημα
 30 εὐπρεπὲς θεωρήσας, [κέ]λενε τούτῳ στρώσαι ταχέως
 καὶ συντόμως. εὐθὺς [δὲ] θήκει χρυσόροφα δώματα τοίχους
 τούτοις μαρμαρωθῆ[ν]τας ὄψη * ταῦτα ἡγεῖται μὲν ἀληθῆ
 τὰ δὲ βλέπεσθαι μόνο[ν] οἶνον δὲ πολυτελῆ καθὼς πρέπει 110
 ἐξαρτίσαι τὸ δεῖπνον λ[α]μπρῶς συντόμως δαίμονας οἴ-
 35 ρει καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρετοῦν[τά]ς σοι ζωστοὺς κοσμήσει. ταῦτα
 συντόμως ποιεῖ κα[ὶ]] κελεύεις διακοῦ[ῃ]σαι
 ποιῆσει καὶ ὄψη προ[τερή]σαντα ἄλλοις ἴσθησι πλοῖα καὶ πάλιν
 ἀπολύει ἴσθησι πονη[ρὰ] δαιμ[όν]ια πλείστα, θήρας δὲ παύει καὶ ὀ- 115
 δόντας ῥήξει ἐρπετ[ῶν] ἀνη]μέρων συντόμως. κύνας δὲ
 40 κοιμίζει καὶ ἀφώνου[ς] ποιήσει μεταμορφοῖ δὲ εἰς ἦν ἐὰν
 βούλη μορφήν θη[ρίου]ν, πετηνοῦ, ἐνύδρου, τετραπόδου,
 ἐρπετοῦ. βαστάξει σ[ε] εἰς ἀέρα καὶ πάλιν ῥίψει σ[ε] εἰς κλύδων- 120
 α ποντίων ποταμ[ῶν] κα[ὶ] εἰς ῥάκας θαλασσιῶν πήξει δὲ ποτα-
 μὸν καὶ θάλασσαν συντ[ό]μως καὶ ὅπως ἐνδιατρέχεις
 45 σταδίως, ὡς βούλει. μά[λις]τα δὲ καθέξει σοῦ θελήσαντός
 ποτὲ τὸν ἄφρον ἀν[. . .]ον καὶ ὅταν θέλησιν ἄστρα κατενεγ-
 κείν, ὁπότεν δε θέλη[ς] τὰ θερ]μὰ ψυχρὰ ποιῆσαι καὶ τὰ ψυχρὰ
 θερμά, λύχνους ἀνά[ψει] κα[ὶ] κατασβέσει πάλιν, τείχη δὲ 125
 σείσει καὶ πυρίφλογα [ποι]ήσει, δουλεύει σοι ἱκανῶς
 50 εἰς ἃ ἂν ἐπειροῦσῃς, ὧ μα[κάρι]ε μύστα τῆς ἱερᾶς μαγείας, καὶ ἐπι-
 τελέσει σοὶ ὁ κράτιστος π[ά]ρ]εδρος οὗτος, ὁ καὶ μόνος κύριος

28 δὲ om Pr | χοίρ : χ corr. ex λ | 1. ὄλλως || 29 ὅτε : τ corr. ex δ | ποι ex corr. || 31 [περι]θήσει Pr : [σοι] θήσει Sch || 32 κ(αὶ) | 1. ἡγήσει : θήσει τά em. Sch || 35 1. τούτους : αὐτοὺς Sch. || 36 κα[ὶ] ὁπότεν αὐτόν] Pr || 37 1. προ[τερή]σαντα Pr || 40 1. ποιήσει : ἴσθησι Pr : ποιεῖ Kr | δὲ : τε Ei¹ : σ[ε] A || 43 1. ῥάκας Pr : φάραγγας Ei¹ || 45 1. σταδίως || 46 ἀφρον ἀλί[δρομ]ον Pr : ἄφρον ἄ[νεμο]ν Ei¹ || 47 τε Pr || 49 1. δουλεύει || 50 1. ἐπινοήσῃς ||

GEMF 31.105–128

(105) and he will bring meats—but swineflesh, never tell him to bring that at all!⁶⁶ And when you want to give a dinner, after making a survey, choose any suitable room (and)⁶⁷ order him to prepare it quickly and precisely. [And] straightaway he will give the rooms golden ceilings (and) with them you will see walls gleaming with marble—and you will believe that these things are true, (110) although they are only for being gazed at—and (he will provide) expensive wine, as it is fitting to finish a dinner splendidly. (And) immediately he will bring *daimones*, and for you he will adorn them as servants with sashes. These things he does at once. And ... [whatever(?)] you order [him] to perform as a service, he will do it, and you will see him excelling in other things: he stops ships and [in turn] (115) releases them; he stops evil *daimones* most of all; he checks wild beasts and will break the teeth of savage reptiles at once; and he puts (i.e. watch-)dogs to sleep and [renders] them voiceless; and he changes (himself?) into whatever form of beast you wish: winged, aquatic, quadruped, or reptile. He will carry you [into] the upper air, and in turn hurl you into a billow (120) of the oceanic rivers⁶⁸ and into the rushing streams of the maritime (i.e., rivers). And he will freeze the rivers and the sea [at once], in order that you may securely run across them, if you want. And he will most certainly restrain the ...⁶⁹ if at some time(?) you wish, and whenever you want to bring down stars⁷⁰ and whenever you want to make [hot things] cold and cold things (125) hot. (And) he will ignite lamps and extinguish them in turn⁷¹ and he will shake walls and [make] them blaze with fire. He will serve you suitably for whatever deeds you contemplate, O [blessed] initiate of the sacred magic,⁷² and he will bring (them) to perfection for you. He is the most powerful *paredros*, who is also the sole lord

⁶⁶ For the well-known Egyptian taboo against eating pork, see Griffiths 1970, 281, Grottanelli 2004, and GEMF 57 3007–3086, where it is explained that the “procedure is Hebraic.”

⁶⁷ Here and in the next few lines the text lacks the *καί* or *δέ* we expect to mark individual sentences, which may reflect the natural parataxis of the Egyptian language. The scribe or a second hand noticed this in line 109 and added a *καί* above the line.

⁶⁸ This is a poetic expression found in A. *Pr.* 428 and S. *OC* 1684.

⁶⁹ Preisendanz’s reconstruction, ἀφρὸν ἀλί[δρομ]ῶν “sea-running foam,” presents a poetic adjective that is out of place here (attested in Ar. *Av.* 1396 and almost exclusively in Nonn. *D.* 37.290, etc.). The traces before the *lacuna* are closer to a *v*, rather than a *λ*. At this point another boast about the control on the sea is unlikely, since it was discussed earlier. We might expect something about the winds; cf. Empedocles fr 111 DK, l. 3 παύσει δ’ ἀκαμάτων ἀνέμων μένος. Eitrem’s suggestion ἄφρον ἄ[νεμο]ν (1923, 10) “African wind” is attractive, but the *lacuna* is too wide for the reconstruction.

⁷⁰ This is similar to the frequent boast that witches in Classical literature are capable of drawing down the moon; see Edmonds 2019, 19–28.

⁷¹ The “Paignia of Democritus,” GEMF 74.245–250/PGM VII 171–177 contain recipes for the hot-cold alternation and the control of the lamps. See Mastrocinque 2003 and 2017, 270–286.

⁷² Here the text returns to the fictitious frame of the epistle of Pnouthis to the Eleusinian Keryx (see above), who is addressed here, appropriately enough, as a “blessed initiate,” using the titles μακάριος and μύκτης that were current at Eleusis. See also l. 131, where μυστήριον is used. References to the mysteries appear most often in this handbook and in GEMF 57/PGM IV, especially in the so-called Mithras Liturgy (ll. 475–829), which begins with the boast (476): “I write the mysteries (μυστήρια) handed down...”

col. ii (cont.) →

GEMF 31/PGM I 129–152

	τοῦ ἀέρος, καὶ συνφων[ή]ουσιν πάντα οἱ θεοί· δίχα γὰρ τούτου οὐδέν ἐστιν. μηδενὶ [ἄλλω με]ταδῶς, ἀλλὰ κρύβε, πρὸς θίου,	130
55	ἄξιωθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρί[ου θεοῦ], τὸ μέγα τοῦτο μυστήριον. ἔστιν δὲ ὁ Α ὁ λεγόμενος ἐ[πτάκις ἐπ]τά πρὸς ἥλιον ἐξορκισμὸς τοῦ παρέδρου· ωρι· πι[. . . α]μουν· τε αιθυφ πιχραουρ- ραιαλ καρφιοσθ ἴμου ροθιρβαν οχαναυ μουν·αιχαναπτα- ζω· ζωνταζω ταζω· πταζω μαυῖας σουωρι σουωσους καραπτουμι караχθι α. ριχαμχω βιραθαυ ωφου φαυω	135
60	δουα· αυαντω ζουζω. αρρουζω ζωτουαρ θωμναωρι αυωι πταυχαρηβι αυασωβιαυ πταβαῖν ααααααα· αειουουωοιηεα χαχαχ χαχαχ χαρχαραχαχ αμουνηῖ ἴεωβαφρενεμουνοθηλαρικριφιαευεαῖφιρικιραλιθον-	140
65	υομενερφαβωεαῖ χαθαχ φνεσχηρ φιχρο φνυρω φωχωχοχ ἴαρβαθα γραμμη φιβαωχημεω. οὔτος ἐστιν ὁ λο ὁ λεγό- μενος πρὸς θ ἐπτάκις ἐπτά. ἔστιν δὲ ὁ γλυφόμενος εἰς τὸν λίθον θωωρος ἀνδριᾶ[ς] λεωντοπρόσωπος, τῇ μὲν ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ κλατῶν πόλον καὶ μάστιγα, κύκλω δὲ αὐτοῦ δράκοντα	145
70	οὔροβόρον, ὑπὸ δὲ τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ λίθου τὸ β τοῦτο κρύβε· αχα αχαχα χαχ χαρχαρα χαχ. καὶ διειρήσας σπάρτωι Ἄνου- βιακῶι φόρει περὶ τὸν τράχηλον. λόγος Ϛ· ἴνουθω πτουαυμι· ανχαριχ· χαραπτουμι· ανοχα αβιθρου	150
75	αχαραβαυβαυ βαραθιαν ατεβ δουανανου· απτυρ πανορ παυραχ· σουμι φορβα· φοριφορβαραβαυ· βωηθ· αζα· φορ· ριμ μιρφαρ· ζαυρα· πταυζου χωθαρπαραχθῖζου· ζαιθ· ωτραυ	

53 μηδενὶ [μήνυε] ἄλλως (l. ὄλλως) E1¹ | (ἡλίου) || 55 λό(γος) | ἐ[πτάκις ἐπ]τά cf. l. 66 || 56 πι[ρνε]μουν Sch || 65 λό(γος) || 66 (ἥλιον) || 67 (Ἡλί)ωρος | l. λεωντοπρόσωπος || 68 l. κρατῶν || 69 οὔροβόρον : ρ² corr. ex λ | (ὄνομα) | κρύβε : fort. γλύφε(?) Pr || 71 (κελήνη)

GEMF 31.129–152

of the air. And the gods will agree to everything, for without him (130) there is nothing. Share this great mystery⁷³ with no one [else], but conceal it, by Helios,⁷⁴ since you have been considered worthy by the lord [god]. This is the formula spoken [seven times seven]⁷⁵ before the sun as an adjuration of the *paredros*: ŌRI-PI[A]MOUN.⁷⁶ TE AINTHYPH PICHRAOURRAIAL KARPHIOUTH IMOU ROTHIRBAN OCHANAU MOUN·AICHANAPTA(135)ZŌ ZŌNTAZŌ TAZŌ PTAZŌ MAUIAS SOUŌRI SOUŌŌOUS SARAPTOUMI SARACHTHI A[.]RICHAMCHŌ BIRATHAU ŌPHAU PHAUŌ DAUA AUANTŌ ZOUZŌ ARROUZŌ ZŌTOUAR THŌMNAŌRI AUŌI PTAUCHARĒBI AŌUAŌBIAU PTABAIN AAAAAAA AEĒIOUŌUŌIOĒEA CHACHACH CHACHACH CHARCHARACHACH⁷⁷ AMOUNĒI⁷⁸(140) IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUNOTHILARIKRIPIH AEU-EAIPHIRKIRALITHONUOMENEPHABŌ[E]AI⁷⁹ CHATHACH PHNESCHĒR PHICHRO PHNURŌ PHŌCHŌCHOCH⁸⁰ IARBATHA GRAMMĒ PHIBAŌCHNĒMEŌ.⁸¹ This is the formula spoken seven times seven before the sun. And engraved into the stone is Helioros (i.e. Helios-Horus), a lion-faced image, in his left (145) hand grasping a globe and (in his right hand) a flail,⁸² and in a circle (around) him a serpent biting-its-own-tail.⁸³ Underneath the bottom of the stone hide⁸⁴ this name: ACHAACHACHA CHACH CHARCHARA CHACH. And after passing an Anubian string through it, wear it around your neck. Formula for the moon:⁸⁵ INOUTHŌ⁸⁶ PTOUAUMI ANCHARICH CHARAPTOUMI ANOCHA ABITHROU (150) ACHARABAUBAU BARATHIAN ATEB DOUANANOU APTUR PANOR PAURACH SOUMI PHORBA PH[O]RIPHORBARABAU⁸⁷ BŌĒTH AZA PHOR RIM MIRPHAR ZAURA PTAUZOU CHŌTHARPARACHTHIZOU ZAITH ŌTRAU

⁷³ In GEMF this word *mysterion* refers either to a ritual procedure, as it does here and in a number of places in GEMF 57/PGM IV (476, 723, 2247, 2592), 58/V 110 and 60/XIII 128 and 685, or to a ritual object or substance, for example, 57/IV 746 (face ointment) and 794 (scarab) or 15.371 and 380–383/XII 322 and 331–334 (finger-ring).

⁷⁴ Perhaps a brief oath, i.e. “swear by Helios that you will conceal it.” See ll. 192–193 below for a similar plea: “reveal it only to your son.”

⁷⁵ Restored from the repeated instruction at line 143.

⁷⁶ This is Egyptian for “Horus the one ... Amon”; Ritner, GMPT.

⁷⁷ A version of the three words ending here is also to be inscribed on the gemstone described below.

⁷⁸ This is Egyptian for “Amon the Great”; Ritner, GMPT, reading AMOUN Ō EI.

⁷⁹ For the long palindrome ending here, see also GEMF 55/PGM III 60–61; it is also found on gem amulets—see Michel 2004, 484—and is referred to at the very end of this recipe as “the IAEŌBAPHRENEMOUN-*logos*.”

⁸⁰ The five words ending here are a poor variant of the CHABRACH-*logos*—see GEMF 30.24–25 and 185–186/PGM VI 24–25 and II 138–139; 55/III 251. It is also found on gems; see Michel 2004, 483.

⁸¹ These three words are also found on gem amulets (Michel 2004, 484), and are referred to at the very end of the recipe as “the IARBATHA-*logos*.”

⁸² This image of the lion-headed god is to be engraved upon the oblong stone dropped by the falcon above at ll. 66–68; it shows up on a series of six nearly identical rock-crystal gems that depict a lion-headed god holding a globe in his left hand and a whip in his right, the traditional attributes of Helios; see SMA 152–154 and Michel 2004, 308–9. These images, however, have neither the same inscription nor the οὐροβόρος serpent.

⁸³ In another gem recipe (GEMF 15.301–302/PGM XII 252–253) the same design is fully described as “a serpent in circular fashion holding its tail in its mouth.” In that case the snake encircles a crescent moon and two stars.

⁸⁴ Preisendanz suggested reading κρύβε as γλύφε, which yields “Underneath the baseline of the stone carve this name.” Both readings make sense, but the correction can be better explained by lambdacism, which we see in ll. 145–146 (e.g. κλατῶν for κρατῶν and the *lambda* of οὐροβόλος, which the scribe went back and corrected to *rho*: οὐροβόρος). See Martín and Torallas Tovar 2020.

⁸⁵ This formula is presumably “the hymnic formula” mentioned (but not quoted) earlier in l. 71, which was to be spoken before the moon, while burning incense on the roof top.

⁸⁶ INOUTHŌ is Egyptian for “O great god”; Ritner, GMPT.

⁸⁷ These two words seem to be a version of the BORBOROPHORBA- or PHORBAPHORPHORBA-*logos* associated with Hekate and Artemis; see Brashear 1995, 3601.

recto col. iii →

GEMF 31/PGM I 153–189

- 1 ἰαβουκαταντουμιβαθααραχθιβιανοχ ταῦτα εἰπὼν
ὄψει τινὰ ἀστέρα ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀναλυόμενον καὶ θεο-
ποιούμ[ε]γον. cὺ δὲ προσιὼν καὶ δεξάμενος τῆς χειρὸς 155
καταφ[ιλ]ῶν λέγε τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ὠπταμιναφθαυβι
5 μαιουθ[.]ουμητροβαλ· ραχηπτουμι αμμωχαρι
αυθει· α[.]ταμαρα· χιωβιταμ· τριβωμικ· αραχθισαρι
ραχι· ἰα[κ]ουβι ταυραβερωμι ανταβιταυβιταυ. σοι εἰ-
πόντι ἀ[π]οκριθῆσεται, cὺ δὲ αὐτῷ λέγε· τί ἐστὶν τὸ ἔνθεόν 160
σου ὄγ[ο]μ[α]; μῆνυσόν μη ἀφθόνως, ἵνα ἐπικαλέσω-
10 μαι α[ὐ]τό. ἔσ[τι]ν δὲ γραμμάτων ἰε̄ σουεκολυρφηθιωθ
ἔστιν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς λεγόμενα· δευρό μοι, βασιλεῦ, θν̄ θεῶν,
ἴσχυρόν, ἀπέλαντον, ἀμίαντον, ἀδιήγητον, Αἰῶνα κα-
τεστηριγμένον· ἀκίνητός μου γίνου ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον 165
ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς μου. ἔπειτα
15 ἐρώτα αὐτὸν κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ὀρκων. ἐὰν τὸ π σοι εἴπη, cὺ δὲ
τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ λαβὼν κάτελθε κ̄ κατάκλινον αὐτόν, ὡς
προεῖπον, παρατιθῶι αὐτῷ ἐξ ὧν μεταλαμβάνεις βρω-
τῶν καὶ ποτῶν. ἐπὰν δὲ ἀπολύσης αὐτόν, μετὰ τὸ ἀποστή- 170
ναι ἐπίθου αὐτῷ τὰ προκείμενα καὶ σπένδε οἶνον, κ̄ οὕτως
20 τῷ κραταιῷ ἀγγέλῳ φίλος ἔσει· ἀποδημοῦντί σοι συν-
αποδημήσει, πενομένῳ χρήματα δώσει, ἐρεῖ σοι τὰ μέλλοντα
γενέσθαι καὶ πότε καὶ ποίῳ χρόνῳ νυκτὸς ἢ ἡμέρας. ἐὰν
δέ τί σε ἐρωτήσῃ· τί κατὰ ψυχὴν ἔχω; ἢ· τί μοι ἐγένετο ἤγε μέλ- 175
ει γενέσθαι; ἐπερώτα τὸν ἄγγελον, καὶ ἐρεῖ σοι σιωπῆ· cὺ δὲ
25 ὡς ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ λέγε τῷ ἐπερωτῶντί σε. τελευτήσαντός σου
τὸ σῶμα περιττελεῖ, ὡς πρέπον θεῷ, σοῦ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα βαστα-
ξας εἰς ἀέρ[α] ἄξει σὺν αὐτῷ. εἰς γὰρ Ἄιδην οὐ χωρήσει ἀέριον
πνεῦμα συ[σταθ]ῆν κραταιῷ παρέδρω· τούτῳ γὰρ πάντα 180
ὑπόκειται. ὅταν δὲ θέλῃς τι πράξαι, εἰς ἀέρα λέγε τὸ π
30 μόνον καὶ [ἐλθέ μοι, κ]αὶ ὄψη αὐτόν καὶ ἐγγύς σου ἐστῶτα, καὶ λέγε
αὐτῷ· ποίησον τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον, καὶ ποιεῖ παραυτὰ καὶ ποιήσας ἐρεῖ
σοι· τί ἄλλω βούλει; σπεύδω γὰρ εἰς οὐρανόν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς
παραυτὰ ἐπιτάξαι, λέγε αὐτῷ· πορεύου, κύριε, καὶ ἀπελεύ- 185
σεται. οὕτως οὔν ὁ θεὸς ὑπὸ σοῦ μόνου θεωρηθήσεται, οὐδὲ
35 φωνὴν ποτε αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς ἀκούσει λαλοῦντος, εἰ μὴ cὺ αὐ-
τὸς μόν[ο]ς. ἐρεῖ δὲ σοι περὶ κατακλίσεως ἀνθρώπου, ἢ ζήσε-
ται ἢ τελε[υτ]ήσῃ, καὶ ποῖα ἡμέραι καὶ ποῖαι ὥραι νυκτός.

2 l. τοῦ (οὐρανοῦ) : τοῦ καθολικοῦ Kr Pr : ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατελθόντα Sch || 4 κατάκ[λιν]ον Ei¹ || 6 αραχοισαρι Pr || 9 l. μοι || 11 (καλῶ σε) θ(εὸν) Pr? : (ὀρκίζω σε) Sch || 12 l. ἀπέραντον || 15 (ὄνομά) || 16 κ(αὶ) || 17 l. παρατιθῶν || 19 κ(αὶ) || 23 l. τίς | ἐρωτήσῃ : alterum η corr. ex αι || 23–24 l. μέλλει || 26 περιττελεῖ : εἰ ex corr. || 29 (ὄνομα) || 30 ἐλθέ Pr | κατεγγύς Sch || 32 l. ἄλλο || 36 l. εἰ

GEMF 31.153–189

IABOUKATANTOUMIBATHARACHTHIBIANOCH. After you have said these things, you will see a star out of ⟨heaven⟩ gradually dissolving itself and becoming (155) a god. But you yourself come forward, take him by the hand, embrace him⁸⁸ and say the same formula: “ŌPTAUMINAPHTHAUBI MAIOUTH[.]JOURMĒTHROBAL RACHĒPTOUMI AMMŌCHARI AUTHEI A[.]TAMARA CHIŌBITAM TRIBŌMIS ARACHTHISARI RACHI IA[K]OUBI TAURABERŌMI ANTABITAUBITAU.” After you (160) say these things, he will reply. And you yourself say to him: “What is your inspired name? Reveal (it) ungrudgingly, so that I may invoke [it].” It consists of 15 letters:⁸⁹ SOUESOLURPHTHĒMŌTH.

And these are indeed the things spoken next: “Hither to me, king, (I call you)⁹⁰ god of gods, mighty, boundless, unpolluted, indescribable, Aion, (165) who is firmly established. Be steadfast for me from this day for the entire time of my life.” Next question him under the same oaths.⁹¹ If he tells you his name, you yourself take him by the hand, descend (from the roof) and have him recline as I have said above, setting beside him some of the foods (170) and drinks, which you are sharing. And when you release him, after his departure, make a burnt offering to him with what is prescribed above and libate wine, and thus you will be a friend of the powerful messenger. If you go out of town, he will go out of town (with you); if you are poor, he will give you money. He will tell you the things that are about to happen, both when and at what time of night or day. And if (175) anyone asks you “What do I have on my mind?” or “What has happened to me?” or even “What is about to happen?” question the messenger, and he will tell you in secret. But to anyone who questions you, you yourself speak as if (i.e. the information comes) from yourself. When you die, he will wrap [up] your body as befits a god, and lifting up your spirit he will take it up into the air with him. For an aerial (180) spirit will not go into Hades, if he is united with a powerful *paredros*, for to him all things are subject. And whenever you wish to do something, speak his name alone into the air and [“Come to me!”],⁹² and you will see him standing really near to you. And tell him, “Do this deed,” and he does it at once, and after he does it, he will say to you, “What else do you want? For I am eager (i.e. to return) to heaven.” If you are not able (185) to give a command immediately, say to him, “Go, lord,” and he will go away. In this way, then, the god will be seen by you alone, nor will anyone ever hear his voice when he is speaking,⁹³ just you yourself alone. And he will tell you about the illness of a person, whether they will live or perish, and on what day and in what hour of the night.

⁸⁸ This narrative repeats in slightly different terms ll. 73–79, where after reciting “the hymnic formula” a star will descend and [dissolve] and a messenger will appear, whose hand we are to grasp, suggesting the existence of a variant version.

⁸⁹ This is given so that the scribe will check and make sure he has copied all 15 letters.

⁹⁰ The prayer first invokes the god in the vocative, but then switches here to the accusative, suggesting that some verb of speaking has dropped out.

⁹¹ These instructions (ll. 166–172) repeat in somewhat different language those in ll. 81–87, suggesting again the existence of a variant version.

⁹² If the restorations are correct, we are supposed to say “come to me” after we say the name of the *paredros*.

⁹³ Cf. NT Acts 9:7 ἀκούοντες μὲν τῆς φωνῆς μηδένα δὲ θεωροῦντες; and Acts 22:9 οἱ δὲ σὺν ἐμοὶ ὄντες τὸ μὲν φῶς ἐθεάσαντο τὴν δὲ φωνὴν οὐκ ἤκουσαν τοῦ λαλοῦντός μου.

col. iii (cont.) →

GEMF 31/PGM I 190–211

	δῶσει δέ [κοι καὶ] ἀγρίας βοτάνας καὶ πῶς θερ[απ]εύσεις, κ ὡς θεὸς προ[σ]κυνηθήσει ἔχων τὸν θεὸν φίλ[ο]ν. ταῦτα εὖ ἀγύσει	190
40	ὁ κραται[ὸ]ς πάραϊδρος. ταῦτα οὖν μηδενὶ παραδίδου, εἰ μὴ μόνω [τῷ] εἰσχινῶν ὑῖῶν σου ἀξιοῦντι τὰ π[α]ρ' ἡμῶν ῥηθέν- τα ἐνεργ[ή]ματα. διευτύχει. τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον πρὸς ἄ οὐδὲν ζητεῖ εἰ μὴ ἴαεωβαφρενεμουν Λ καὶ ιαρβαθα Λ. ἔστιν	195
45	οὖν τοῦ πρωτοφυοῦς θεοῦ καὶ πρωτογεγοῦς ῥυστική ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε, κύριε, κλυθί μου, ὁ ἅγιος θεός, [ὁ] ἐν ἁγίοις ἀνα- παύομενος, ᾧ αἱ Δόξαι παρεστήκασι διηνεκῶ, σὲ ἐπικα- λοῦμαι, π[ρ]οπάτωρ, καὶ δέομαι σου, αἰωναῖε, αἰωνακινοκρά- τωρ, αἰωνοπολοκράτωρ, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑπταμερ[ί]ου στατεῖς χαω-	200
50	χαω·χα·ουφ· χθεθωνῖμεθηχρινῖαμερουμ ἰαλδαζαω βλαθαμμαχωθ φριξαηξε[.]φνη ἴδρυ μηωφερφριθω ἰαχθωψυχεωφριθμεφ[ρ]ωσερωθ θαματρεκ φατιριταωχῖαλθεμεαχε· ὁ τὸ ῥίζωμα δια- κατέχων, ὁ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ὄνομα ἔχων τὸ καθηγιασμένον	205
55	[ὕ]πὸ πάντων ἀγγέλων· ἐπάκουσόν μου, ὁ κτίστας δεκα- νοῦς κρ[α]ταιοῦς καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους, ᾧ παρεστήκασιν μυριά- δες ἀγγ[έλ]ων ἀφατοί· κατ' οὐρανὸν ὑψώθησαν, καὶ κύρι- ος ἐπεμ[α]ρτύρησεν τῇ σοφίᾳ σου καὶ κατηλόγησέν σου δύν[α]μιν καὶ εἰπέν σοι θένειν καθ' ὁμοιότητα αὐτοῦ,	210

38 ἀγρίας : alterum a corr. ex o | κ(αί) || 40 l. πάρεδρος || 41 [co]y Pr | l. ἰσχεῖ(?) : [cu]ντέχνω υἱῶ Sch || 42 (ἥλιον) || 43 λό(γος) ||
47 παρεστήκασι : ρ ex corr. | l. διηνεκῶς || 48 l. αἰωνακτινοκρά- : Αἰών, ἀκτινοκρά- Pr || 49 l. σταθεῖς || 53 θαμαστρα Pr || 55 l. κτίστας
|| 57 ἀφατοί· Pap. : ἄφατοί· (οἱ) κατ Ei Pr in app. | ἀνυψώθης Pr Ei || 59 <τὴν> δύναμιν Pr | l. σε

GEMF 31.190–211

(190) And he will give [you as well] wild plants and (i.e. tell you) how you will heal (i.e. patients with them), and you will be worshiped as a god, because you have the god as a friend. These things the powerful *paredros* will accomplish well. These things, therefore, hand over to no-one,⁹⁴ except to your powerful(?)⁹⁵ son alone, when he asks you for the procedures that have been spoken [by] us. Continue to be prosperous!⁹⁶ The speech before the sun (195) requires nothing except the IAEÖBAPHRENEMOUN formula and the IARBATHA formula.

This, then, is the protective (prayer)⁹⁷ of the first-begotten and first-born god: “I call upon you, lord! Listen to me, holy god [the one] resting among the holy ones, by whom the Glories⁹⁸ have taken a stand continually. I call upon you, (200) forefather, and I beg you, eternal one, eternal ruler of the sun’s rays, eternal ruler of the celestial sphere, standing upon the seven-part region CHAÖ CHAÖ CHA OUPH CHTHETHÖN IMEETHĒCHRINIAMEROUM IALDAZAÖ⁹⁹ BLATHAMMACHÖTH PHRIKSAĒKE [...] PHUĒ IDRUMĒÖ PHER-PHRITHÖ IACHTHÖPSUCHEÖPHIRITHMĒÖ[R?]ÖSERÖTH (205) THAMASTEK PHATIRITAÖOCHIALTHEMEACHE, you who firmly hold down the root, you have the powerful name that has been thoroughly sanctified by all the angels.¹⁰⁰ Listen to me, you who have established the powerful decans and archangels, and at whose side untold myriads of angels have taken a stand (and) they have exalted you throughout heaven, and the lord¹⁰¹ (210) has borne witness to your wisdom, thoroughly eulogized your power and said that you are as strong as he,

⁹⁴ For similar instructions about secrecy, see above l. 130 (“share this great secret with no one, but conceal it”) and twice on the copper *lamella* from Sicily (GEMF 26.12–13 and 26–27): “you shall not share it with anyone except legitimate offspring.”

⁹⁵ Preisendanz defended the adjective ἱχνῶς (a *hapax*), which he claimed might mean ‘of your own loins’, i.e. ‘legitimate’, but O’Neil, GMPT, 8 is doubtful.

⁹⁶ This formally marks the end of the epistle of Pnouthis.

⁹⁷ This sentence introduces a long prayer to an all-powerful god, a prayer unconnected with the two *paredros* recipes that precede and the invisibility recipes that follow. The last word in it, ῥυττική, is a feminine adjective meaning ‘protective’ or ‘saving’ with the noun εὐχή, ‘prayer’ understood. It stands alone in the middle of the column as a title for the prayer that follows, which indeed ends with the plea: “save me.” At the end of the prayer, brief instructions are added (ll. 221–222) that suggest that Helios is the god addressed and that the prayer was used to cure illness caused by demons.

⁹⁸ Because they have feet to “take a stand” these seem to be supernatural persons, rather than “glories” in the abstract; the word is sometimes translated as “angels,” because at ll. 208–209 “myriads of angels” take a stand beside the same god.

⁹⁹ This is a variant, also found at GEMF 57/PGM IV 1195, of the more common IALDABAÖTH.

¹⁰⁰ In contrast to the previous recipe, where we have translated ἄγγελος as ‘messenger’ (l. 76), here we seem to have Jewish-Christian language. Thus, we translate ‘angel’ and ‘archangel’ throughout.

¹⁰¹ It is unclear who this “lord” is. He is separate from and seems to be superior to the all-powerful god who is the addressee of the prayer and who is himself called κύριος in ll. 198, 212 and 216.

col. iii (cont.) →

GEMF 31/PGM I 212–231

- 60 ὄσσαι καὶ [α]ὐτὸς χθέγει. ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε, κύριε τῶν πάντων, ἐν ὥραι ἀνάγκης, ἐπά[κ]ουσόν μου, ὅτι θλίβεται μου ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ ἀποροῦμαι . . . [. . .]ων ἀβου μοι, ὁ κυριεύων πάντων ἀγγέλων, ὑπερέσπιόν μου πρὸς πᾶσαν ὑπεροχὴν ἐξου- 215
- M² ²είας δαίμονος ἀε[ρί]ου [καὶ εἰ]μαρμένης. ναί, κύριε, ὅτι ἐπικα-
65 λοῦμαί σου τὸ κρυ[π]τὸν ἐ τὸ διήκον ἀπὸ τοῦ στερεώματος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν· αθηζοφωμι ζαδηαγηωβηφι αθεααμ βραμι ἀβρααμ θαλχιλθοε · ελκωθωωηαχθωνων 220
ca ἴσακ χωηῖουρθασιωῖωσιᾶχημεωωω
αωαιεῖ, ἀνάσων με ἐν ὥραι ἀνάγκης. λέγε Ϻ ἢ ὅπου
- 70 ἐὰν καταληφθῆς ἀμαύρωσις ἀναγκαία λαβὼν στέαρ ἢ ὀφθαλμῶν νυκτιβαῦ καὶ κύλιμα κων- θάρου καὶ φακίνου μύρου λειοτριβήσας πάντα χριε ὄλον 225
τὸ σωματίον σου, καὶ πρὸς ἥλιον λέγε καὶ ἐξορκίζω σε τὸ μέγα
ἐ βορκη φοιουρῖωζιζιλ ἀμαρξεουχθυθη λαῖλαμ
- 75 ααααα ιι ωωω ἴεω ἴεω ἴεω ἴεω ἴεω ἴεω ἴεω ἴεω ναναξ αιαιαεω αεωηαω ὑγρὼν ποίει καὶ ἐπίλε- γε· ἀθεώρητόν με ποίησον, κύριε Ϻ, αεωωαηεῖηηαω, 230
ἀπέναντι παντὸς ἀνθρώπου ἄχρι δυσμῶν Ϻ ἴαω ἴω
φριξριζωεωα ·

60 ὄσον Pr Me || 61 θ[λίβετ]αί Wü Ei : θ[ολοῦτα]ι A || 62 ἀ[πάντων] ἄβου[λος· διὸ ἐλθέ] μοι Pr : [ἀπορ]ία [καὶ] βα[κανίζομ]αι Ei¹ : ἀ[μήχανος] ἄβου[λος] διὸ ἐλθέ μοι Me¹ || 63–64 l. ἐξουσίαν Ko || 64 δαίμονος θ[ρ]ό[νου] ἀ[ρχῆς] εἶμα A || 65 (ὄνομα) || 69 (ἡλίω) || 71 l. ὀφθαλμὸν | νυκτιβαῦτος Sch || 72 ὀμφακίνου Pr : σφαγνίνου Sch | μύρου : υ ex corr. | l. λειοτριβήσας || 73 καὶ del. A Pr || 74 (ὄνομα) | ζιζια Pr || 75 ιιι Pr || 76 l. ὑγρὸν | (καὶ) ὑγρὸν add. Pr || 77 (Ἡλιε) || 78 (ἡλίου)

GEMF 31.212–231

as much as even he himself is strong.¹⁰² I call upon you, lord of all things, in an hour of necessity.¹⁰³ Listen to me, for my soul is oppressed, and I am at a loss, ... to me(?). you who are lord over all (215) angels; hold a shield over me¹⁰⁴ against every prominent power of an [aerial] *daimon* [and] Fate.¹⁰⁵ Yes, lord, (i.e. do so), because I invoke your secret name, the one stretching from the firmament to the earth, ATHĒZOPHŌIM ZADĒAGĒŌBĒPHI ATHEAAM BRAMI ABRAAM THALCHILTHOE ELKŌTHŌŌĒĒACHTHŌNŌN (220) SA ISAK CHŌĒIOURTHASIŌIŌSIAICHĒMEŌŌŌŌ AŌAEI, save me in an hour of necessity.” Say (this to) the sun or whenever you are seized (i.e. by a demon).

Indispensible invisibility procedure:¹⁰⁶ Take the fat or an eye of a night owl, a dung-ball of a kantharos beetle and some juice of unripe grapes, grind them all finely together, and anoint your entire (225) body¹⁰⁷ (with them). (Then) say before the sun: “I adjure you by the great name, BORKĒ PHOIOURIŌZIZIL AMARXEOUCHTHUTHĒ LAILAM¹⁰⁸ AAAAAA III ŌŌŌŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ IEŌ NAUNAX AIAIAEŌ AEŌĒAŌ.” Moisten yourself(?)¹⁰⁹ and say in addition: “Make me unobserved, lord Helios,¹¹⁰ AEŌŌAĒEIEĒEAŌ (230) in the presence of any person until the settings of the sun, IAŌ IŌ PHRIXRIZŌĒŌA.”

¹⁰² The syntax here is crabbed and the two phrases are repetitive, suggesting that two versions have been ineptly combined.

¹⁰³ The phrase both here and in l. 221, is similar to a popular expression in Christian texts and prayers, “in our hour of need”; see e.g. Chrys. *M.* 60, 751; Apoph.Pat. *Dioscoros* 3; *Theophilus* 4.

¹⁰⁴ This verb ὑπεραπίζω ‘to cover with a shield’, appears in its military sense in Greek literature (e.g. Plb. 6.39.6), but metaphorically in the Judeo-Christian idea of the Lord as a shield (see Lampe, s.v.) in Biblical and Christian literature; see e.g. Deut. 33:29; Zach. 12:8; Isaiah 31:5, Chrys. *Hom.* 7.4.

¹⁰⁵ See Kotansky 2019, 266, n. 11.

¹⁰⁶ The noun ἀμαύρωσις literally means ‘darkening’ or ‘blinding’ of the vision of others, not the ‘invisibility’ of the person using the recipe, as it is translated here. But it is clear nonetheless that the procedure aims at blinding everyone with respect to the person who anoints himself, and who thus becomes “invisible” to others. The practitioner’s state at the end of the procedure is, in short, not one of transparency, as modern readers might assume, but rather the ability to go unnoticed by others; see LiDonnici 1999. See also n. 64 above.

¹⁰⁷ Perhaps, as Phillips 2009 suggests ad loc., this is an act of camouflage designed to hide the entire body. This command followed quickly by the command to speak suggests that the following invocation of the sun may have been performed in the nude. The collection and crushing of small spherical objects—an eye, a dung-ball and unripe grapes—in the making of this “blinding” ointment (see previous note) is not accidental, as it aims at destroying the vision of those who are perhaps watching.

¹⁰⁸ The word LAILAM or LAILAMPS are often found on gem amulets; see Michel 2008, 510; for possible meanings, see Brashear 1995, 3590.

¹⁰⁹ Phillips 2009 ad loc. suggests that the whole body is to be moistened at this time, perhaps with the ointment, but this would duplicate the process described earlier, in which case we would expect “moisten yourself again.”

¹¹⁰ The plea to Helios here is appropriate as it recalls his Homeric moniker, “the one who sees all things”—the all-seeing god can also take away vision.

recto col. iv →

GEMF 31/PGM I 232–262

1	μνημονική		
	λαβὼν χάρτην ἱερατικὸν γράψον τὰ προκείμενα Π Η Ξ μ Ἐρ- μαϊκῶ καὶ γράσας ὡς πρόκειται ἀπόκλυσον εἰ ὕδωρ πηγαί- ον ἀπὸ ζ πηγῶν καὶ πίε αὐτὸ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ζ νήκτης ἐξ ἀ-	235	
5	νατολῆς οὔσης τῆς C. πίνε δὲ τὸ ἀρκοῦν. ἔστιν δὲ τὰ γρα- φόμενα εἰς τὸ πιττάκιον· καμβη χαμβρη κιζιωφι αρπον χνουφι βριντατηνωφριβρικκυλμααρουαζαρβαμεσεν κριφι νιπτουμι χμουμαωφακτιω φι αρτωσιβιβιου βιβιου σφησφηνουσι νουσι σιεγω σιεγω νουχανουχα	240	
10	λινουχαλινουχαχυχβαχυχβακαξιωχυχ βαδητοφωθ ιασοουσηεσσω. ταῦτα ποιήσας ἀπόκλυσον καὶ πίε ὡς πρόκειται. ἔστιν δὲ κ τοῦ μελανίου ἡ σκευή· τρωγλί- τις Ξ s δ, ἱσχάδας καρικὰς γ, φοινίκων Νικολάων ὀστέα ζ, στροβίλια ἄβραχα ζ, ἀρτεμείας μονοκλώνου καρδίας ζ,	245	
15	ἴβεωσ Ἐρμαϊκῆς πτερὰ ζ, ὕδωρ πηγαίων. ταῦτα καύσας ποί- ει καὶ γράφε. ἀμαύρωσι δοκίμη. μέγα ἔργον· λαβὼν πιθήκου ὀφθαλμὸν ἢ νέκυος βιοθανάτου ταῦτα τρί- ψας σὺν ἐλαίῳ σουσίῳ καὶ βοτάνῃν ἀγλαοφωτίδος τρί-	250	τὸ ῥόδον λέγει M ²
20	γων δὲ αὐτὰ ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν εἰς τὰ εὐώνυμα λέγε τὸν Δ- γον, ὡς ὑπόκειται· ΔΝΟΚ ΔΝΟΓΠ ΔΝΟΚ ΟΥΣΙΡΦΡΗ ΔΝΟΚΩ CΩΤ CΩΡΩΝΟΥΙΕΡ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΟΥΣΙΡΕ ΠΕΝΤΑ CΗΤ ΤΑΚΟ ἀνάκτηθι, δαίμων καταχθόνιε ἰωερβηθ ἰωφαρβηθ ἰω πακερβηθ ἰωαπομψ, ὃ ἐὰν ἐπιτάξω ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὁ Δ, ὅπως ἐπήκοοί μοι γένησθε. ἐὰν δὲ θελήσης ἄφαντος γενέ-	255	
25	σθαι, χρίσόν σου τὸ μέτ[ο]πον μόνον ἐκ τοῦ συνθέματος, καὶ ἄφαντος ἔσθι, ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον θέλεις. ἐὰν δὲ θελή- σης φεναιεσθαι, ἀπὸ δύσεως ἐρχόμενος εἰς ἀνατολὴν λέγε τὸ Π τοῦτο, καὶ ἔσει δηλ[οω]τικὸς καὶ ἔποπτος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις. ἔστιν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα· μαρμαριασθ μαρμα	260	
30	ριφεγγη ποιήσατέ με, τὸν Δ, ἔποπτην πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέραι, ἤδη, ἤδη, ταχύ, ταχύ. ἔχε λίαν κα ^τ		

2 (ὀνόματα) | ζ(μυ)ρ(νο)μ(έλανι) || 3 l. ἀπόκλυσον εἰς ὕδωρ || 4 l. αὐτὸ || 5 (σελήνης) || 6 καμβρη Pr || 12 κ(αὶ) || 13 ζ(μύ)ρ(να) | (δραγμαῖ) | ἱσχάδας : alterum c ex corr. | || 14 l. ἄβροχα || 16 l. ἀμαύρωσις || 17 l. βιοθανάτου | ταῦτα : τοῦτον Pa || 18–19 καὶ βοτάνῃν ἀγλαοφωτίδος (τὸ ῥόδον λέγει) ταῦτα post βιοθανάτου statuit Wü || 19 λό(γον) || 21 l. ΤΑΚΟϣ || 23 δ(ε)ῖ(να) || 25 l. μέτωπον : ω corr. ex o || 27 l. ἐμφαίνεσθαι Pr: φαίνεσθαι Pa Ph || 28 (ὄνομα) | l. δηλωτικὸς : ἔσει δηλὸς ὀπίσω Sch || 30 δ(ε)ῖν(α) | ἔποπτον Pa || 31 ἔχει Kr Ei | καλ(ῶς)

Memory procedure: Take a hieratic papyrus and write the names given above¹¹¹ with the myrrh ink of Hermes.¹¹² And once you have written them, as they are above, wash them off into spring water (235) from 7 springs¹¹³ and for 7 days keep drinking it (i.e. the water) on an empty stomach while the moon is rising. And drink a sufficient amount. This is what is written on the (papyrus) strip:¹¹⁴ KAMBRĒ CHAMBRĒ SIXIŌPHI HARPON CHNOUPHI¹¹⁵ BRINTATĒNŌPHRIBRISKULMAAROUAZARBAMESEN KRIPHI NIPTOUMI CHMOU-MAŌPHAKTIŌ PHI ARTŌSIBIBIOU (240) BIBIOU SPHĒSPHĒNOUSI NOUSI SIEGŌ SIEGŌ NOUCHANOUCHA LINOUCHALINOUCHACHUCHBACHUCHBAKAXIŌCHUCH BADĒTOPHŌTH ΠΑΑΟΟΥΕΕΕΕ ŌŌ. After making these letters, wash them off and drink them as given above. This is also the preparation of the ink: myrrh troglitis, 4 drams; 3 Carian figs, 7 pits of Nicolaus dates, 7 (245) unmoistened pinecones, 7 hearts of single-stemmed worm-wood, 7 wings of a Hermaic ibis, spring water. Burn these things, make (i.e. ink from the ash) and write.

Tested procedure for invisibility: A great work. Take an eye of an ape or of a violently killed man¹¹⁶ and some peony—he means the rose—¹¹⁷ and you grind them¹¹⁸ with oil of lily. While you are grinding (250) them from the right parts to the left parts, say the formula as follows: “I am Anubis, I am OUSIRPHRE, I am OSŌT SŌRŌNOUIER, I am Osiris, whom Seth destroyed.¹¹⁹ Arise chthonic *daimon*, IŌ ERBĒTH IŌ PHARBĒTH IŌ PAKERBĒTH IŌ APOMPS,¹²⁰ in order that whatever command I myself, NN, give to you,¹²¹ you become (255) obedient to me.” And if you want to become invisible, anoint your face alone¹²² with the ointment, and you will be invisible for as much time as you want. And if you wish to let yourself be seen, moving from west to east,¹²³ say this name, and you will be revealed and observable to all (260) people. The name is: “MARMARIAŌTH MARMARIPHEGGĒ,¹²⁴ make me, NN, visible to all people on this day, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly!” It works excessively well.

¹¹¹ The names are actually given below.

¹¹² In Egypt, Hermes-Thoth was thought to be the author of many magical recipes; see Frankfurter 1994, 193–194 and Dieleman 2005, 272–275. The elaborate recipe for this ink is given at the end of the recipe, ll. 243–247.

¹¹³ For water collected from seven springs, see Faraone 1995, 316–318. By drinking words dissolved in water one absorbs their power, a common idea in mystical and magical traditions, see Saar 2017, 245.

¹¹⁴ Most of the first half of this *logos* appears above in ll. 27–28.

¹¹⁵ See above n. 20 for this *logos*.

¹¹⁶ Like the previous blinding recipe (l. 70), this one begins with an eye that is destroyed.

¹¹⁷ A note in the margin that aims to explain (wrongly it seems) an unfamiliar name for peony, ἀγλαοφῶτις, which means ‘bright light’ and was believed to shine at night; Phillips 2009, 102–103.

¹¹⁸ O’Neil, GMPT translates “rubbing,” but clearly the eye and plant need to be ground up to make the ointment, as we saw in the previous recipe (l. 224) where the compound form of the verb “grind finely” (λειοτριβέω) makes the point more clearly; see Phillips 2009.

¹¹⁹ Ll. 251–252 are written in the Greek alphabet but are perfectly intelligible as Coptic; this suggests that they were interpreted as *nomina barbarica* that were unintelligible to the scribe, but we find none of the usual signs marking such names. This is different from GEMF 57/PGM IV, where Coptic is written in a clearly different hand.

¹²⁰ These are the names of Seth-Typhon and comprise one of the most popular magical formulas, Martín Hernández 2019.

¹²¹ The plural pronoun ὑμῖν suggests that the addressee, after being addressed in the singular (“Arise chthonic *daimon*”), becomes plural, perhaps because the author or his source misunderstood the four names of Seth (IŌ ERBĒTH etc.) to be separate entities.

¹²² In the previous recipe, the whole body (ll. 224–225) was covered with the ointment, but here, *pars pro toto*, only the face.

¹²³ Perhaps this means “from sunset to sunrise,” but the instructions are unclear. It seems that by moving west to east, while saying “the name,” we can reverse the previous procedure and become visible. Phillips 2009, ad loc. suggests that this movement somehow undoes the right-to-left movement performed while grinding up the ointment (l. 250).

¹²⁴ MARMARIAŌTH is thought to be Aramaic or Syrian for “Lord of Lights”; see Michel 2004, 485. Phillips 2009, 109 suggests that MARMARIPHEGGĒ is a Greek confection that means something like “gleams like marble.”

col. iv (cont.) →

GEMF 31/PGM I 263–284

ἀπολλωνιακὴ ἐπίκλησις·

λαβὼν κλῶνα δάφνης ἐπτάφυλλον ἔχε ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ[α] χειρὶ
καλῶν τοὺς οὐρανίους θεοὺς καὶ χθονίους δαίμον[ας]. γρά- 265
35 ψον εἰς τὸν κλῶνα τῆς δάφνης τοὺς ζ̄ ρυκτικούς χ[α]ρα-
κτῆρας. εἰςὶν οἱ χαρακτῆρες οἷδε·



τὸν μὲν πρῶτον χαρακτήρα εἰς τὸ πρῶτον φύλλον, τὸν δεύτερον
πάλιν οὕτως εἰς τὸ δεύτερον, ἄχρι λήξεως τῶν ζ̄ φύλλων καὶ 270
40 τῶν ζ̄ χαρακτήρων. βλέπε δέ, μὴ ἀπολέσης φύλλον [κ] σεαυ-
τὸν βλάβης· τοῦτο γὰρ μέγιστον σώματος φυλακτικόν, ἐν ᾧ
πάντες ὑποτάσσονται καὶ θάλασσα καὶ πέτραι φρίσσουσι
καὶ δαίμονες φυλακτῆρων τὴν θεῖαν ἐνέργειαν, ἥνπερ
μέλλεις ἔχειν. ἔστιν γὰρ φυλακτῆριον μέγιστον τῆς πρά- 275
45 ξεως, ἵνα μηδὲν πτωθῆς. ἔστιν δὲ ἡ πράξις.

λαβὼν λύχνον ἀμίλτωτον σκεύασσον διὰ βυccίνου ρά[κ]κουc
καὶ ῥοδίνου ἐλαίου ἢ ναρδίνου καὶ στολίαιc σεαυτὸν προφη-
τικῶι σχήματι ἔχε ἐβεεννίνην ράβδον ἐν τῇ λαιᾷ χειρὶ καὶ
τὸ φυλακτῆριον ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, τουτέστιν τὸ κλῶνα τῆς δά- 280
50 φνης, ἔχε δὲ ἐν ἐτοίμῳ λύκου κεφαλῆν, ὅπως ἂν ἐπιθῆς
τὸν λύχνον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ λύκου, καὶ βωμὸν ὠμὸν
στησσάμενος ἐγγυς τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τοῦ λύχνου, ἵνα ἐπιθύ-
cης τῷ θεῷ· καὶ εὐθέως εἰσέρχεται τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα. ἔστιν

33 l. χειρὶ || 40 prob. abbrev. κ(αὶ) || 43 φυλ(άσσονται χαρ)ακτῆρων Pr Me² : ἐν ᾧ καὶ δαίμονες φυλακτηρίῳ πάντες ὑποτάσσονται καὶ θάλασσα καὶ πέτραι φρίσσουσι τὴν θεῖαν ἐνέργειαν Wü : τοῦ φυλακτηρίου τούτου Ho || 45 l. πτωθῆς || 46 l. σκεύασσον | l. ῥάκκουc || 48 l. ἐβεεννίνην || 49 l. τὸν || 52 l. στησσάμενος

GEMF 31.263–284

Apollonian invocation:¹²⁵ Take a seven-leaved branch of laurel and hold it in your right hand, (265) while calling the heavenly gods and chthonic demons. Write on the sprig of laurel the seven¹²⁶ protective symbols. These are the symbols (8 *charaktēres*). (Write) the first symbol on the first leaf, then the second (270) in turn in this (same) way on the second leaf, until there is an (equal) distribution of the 7 symbols and the 7 leaves. And see to it that you do not lose a leaf [and] do harm to yourself, because this is the body's greatest protection,¹²⁷ with¹²⁸ which all are made subject and (at which) sea and rocks tremble, and because *daimones* guard themselves against the divine power of (these) symbols,¹²⁹ the very power that (275) you are going to have. Because this is the greatest protective amulet for the procedure, so that you in no way are frightened (i.e. when the god arrives).

This is the procedure. Take a lamp, which is not colored red, and furnish it with a linen strip (as a wick)¹³⁰ and the oil of rose or spikenard. Adorn yourself with prophetic dress. (Then) hold an ebony staff in your left hand and (280) the phylactery in your right; the latter is the sprig of laurel. And have at hand a wolf's head, so that you can place the lamp upon the head of the wolf.¹³¹ Erect an altar of unbaked clay near to the head and the lamp, in order that you may make a burnt offering to the god. And immediately¹³² the divine breath (i.e. of Apollo) comes inside (i.e. of you).¹³³ This is

¹²⁵ This invocation is aptly named because it has a number of Apollonian motifs, e.g. the laurel (ll. 34–40), the wolf (50–51 and 54), the idea of Apollo “entering” his prophet (53); see Eitrem 1947, 47–52 and Faraone 2004, 213–232.

¹²⁶ These are given on the facing page with the Greek text. There are, in fact, eight symbols, the penultimate looking very much like a tripod of the type associated with Apollo at Delphi.

¹²⁷ This is perhaps an error or variant for the phrase “greatest protective amulet” (φυλακτήριον μέγιστον) three lines below. For the use of amulets to protect against the superhuman entities summoned in elaborate and potentially dangerous recipes like this one, see Faraone 2018, 263–265.

¹²⁸ See above, the note to l. 16 for this use of the preposition ἐν.

¹²⁹ The text as it stands refers illogically to a plurality of phylacteries, when there is only one. Preisendanz's restoration φυλ(ά)σσονται χαρ(α)κτήρων removes the plural “phylacteries” and provides a plural number of symbols, of which we indeed have eight.

¹³⁰ This is made explicit below in l. 293.

¹³¹ For the connection of the wolf with Apollo (Lycian Apollo), see Eitrem 1947, 47–52, Faraone 2004, 224–228 and Calvo Martínez 2005, 264–265. See also l. 285 below, for the eye of a wolf.

¹³² That is: immediately after the elaborate sacrifice of incense, libations and cakes is made (ll. 285–293) and a long and faulty hexametrical hymn is recited (ll. 296–326).

¹³³ This seems to allude to the way Apollo spoke hexametrical verse through the Pythia at Delphi and his other prophets, much as Hesiod claims that the Muses “breathed a divine voice” (*Th.* 31) into him so he could also sing in hexameters. Despite the Roman date of this recipe, it seems unlikely that we are to imagine some kind of possession, whereby the god himself enters the human body. See below in ll. 312–313, where “holy names” are adjured to send “the divine breath” to the practitioner.

col. iv (cont.) →

GEMF 31/PGM I 285–303

	δὲ τὸ ἐπίθυμα λύκου ὀφθαλμός, στύραξ, κιννάμωμον,	285
55	βδέλλα καὶ ὄτι ἔντιμον ἐν τοῖς ἀρώμασι, καὶ σπονδὴν τέλε- σον ἀπὸ οἴνου καὶ μέλιτος καὶ γάλακτος καὶ ὀμβρίου ὕδατος [ποί]ει πλακοῦντας ζ̄ καὶ πρόπανα ζ̄. ταῦτα μέλλεις ὅλα ποιῆσαι [ἐγ]γῆς τοῦ λύχνου, ἐστολιζόμενος καὶ ἀπεχόμενος ἀπὸ πάντων μυσαρῶν πραγμάτων καὶ πάσης ἰχθυοφαγίας	290
60	καὶ πάσης συνουσίας, ὅπως ἂν εἰς μεγίστην ἐπιθυμίαν ἀγά- γῃς τὸν θεὸν εἰς σέ. ἔστιν δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα μέλλεις γράψαι εἰς τὸ βύσσινον ῥάκος καὶ ἐλλυχνιάσεις εἰς τὸν ἀμίλτωτον λύχνον· αβεραμενθουενθεξααναξεθρενλυω θνεμαραιβαῖ· αεμινναεβαρωθερρεθωβαβεανιμεα. ὅταν τελέσης πάν-	295
65	τα τὰ προειρημένα, κάλει τῆι ἐπαοιδῆι. ἄναξ Ἀπόλλων, ἐλθὲ σὺν Παιήονι, κρημάτικόν μοι, περὶ ὧν ἀξιῶ, κύριε. δέσποτα, λίπε Παρνάσιον ὄρος καὶ Δελφίδα Πυθῶν ἡμετέρων ἱερῶν στομάτων ἀφθεγκτα λαλούντων, ἄγγελε πρῶτε τοῦ Ζηνὸς μεγάλοιο, Ἰαῶ, καὶ σὲ τὸν οὐράνι-	300
70	ον κόσμον κατέχοντα, Μιχαηλ· καὶ σὲ καλῶ, Γαβριηλ πρω- τάγγελε· δεῦρ' ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου, Αβρααξ, ἀντολίης καχαρη- μένος, ἴλαος ἔλθοις ἔς δύσιν ἀντολίης ἐπισκοπιάζει[ς, Α]δωναι·	

56 ὕδατος καὶ Pr || 57 [ποί]ει A Pr Me² : [ἐπ]ι Pa Ho || 58 [ἐγ]γῆς Pr : [ἀντι]κρὺς prob. A || 61 (ἄ) μέλλεις Pr Me² || 62 ἐλλυχνιάσαι Ei || 65 l. Ἄπολλον || 66 l. κρημάτικόν || 67 Παρνάσιον λίπ' ὄρος Me² || 69 πρῶτε (θε)οῦ Ζηνὸς Pr Me² : πρωτεύων Ki : πρῶτε θεοῦ Pr Me² (metrum) || 71 δευρ' Pap. | ἀντολίης (Αβρααξ) Me² | l. κεχαρη- || 72 ἔς Pap. : ὄς Pr Me² | ἀντολίθεν Pr Me² | ἐπισκοπιάζει Me

(285) the burnt offering (i.e. incense): a wolf’s eye, storax, cinnamon, balsam and whatever is valued among the spices. Also complete a libation of wine, honey, milk and rainwater,¹³⁴ (and) [make] 7 flat cakes and 7 round cakes. You are going to make all of these offerings [near] the lamp, while adorned (i.e. like a prophet) and refraining from (290) all unclean things, all fish-eating¹³⁵ and all sexual intercourse, in order that you may lead the god into the greatest yearning for you.¹³⁶ These are the names, [which] you are going to write on the linen strip and [which] you will insert as a wick into the lamp which is not colored red: ABERAMENTHŌOUNERTHEXANAXTHRENLUOŌ THNEMARAIBAI¹³⁷ (295) AEMINNAE BARŌTHERRETHŌ BABEANIMEA.¹³⁸ Whenever you have completed all the things that have been said above, summon the god with the incantation:¹³⁹ “Lord Apollo, come with Paeon, give to me a response regarding the things I am asking, lord. O master, leave Mt. Parnassos and the Delphic Pytho, since our holy mouths are uttering unutterable (i.e. secret) words. (300) O first angel of great Zeus Iaō, and you, Michael,¹⁴⁰ who rule the heavenly realm. And you I call, archangel Gabriel, hither from Olympus, Abrasax, having taken your delight in the East;¹⁴¹ may you come gently, you who gaze at sunset from dawn, Adonai.

¹³⁴ A common combination in Greek ritual, see Graf 1980.

¹³⁵ Egyptian priests and prophets were forbidden to eat fish, cf. Hdt. 2.37, Porph. *Abst.* 4.7, Plu. *Mor.* 353C and *Quaest. conviv.* 8.8.2.

¹³⁶ The word ἐπιθυμία can refer to a number of different appetites, but given Apollo’s pursuit of Daphne (see below) and his erotic liaison with Branchus, the first prophet at Didyma, it seems that we have another specific allusion to Apolline prophecy.

¹³⁷ A faulty execution of the well known ABERAMENTHŌ palindrome, for which see Michel 2004, 74–75. The palindrome has been divided into two separate names and the ending features alternative spellings of the vowels that do not coincide with the beginning of the palindrome.

¹³⁸ This second palindrome is also found at PGM LIX 7.

¹³⁹ The faulty hexametrical text that follows is usually called a “hymn” by scholars, but here and below (l. 317) it is called an incantation (ἐπιφθέκη); for the long tradition of hexametrical incantations, see Faraone 2011a, 191–204. For the beginning of this “incantation” (ll. 296–303), there is little indication that the scribe knows he is copying hexametrical verses, but when the text continues on the top of the next column of the roll, each line contains only a single verse, revealing that the scribe or the exemplar he was using realized it was in verse.

¹⁴⁰ Here Apollo is equated with the “first angel” Michael (and then the “archangel” Gabriel) and Zeus is equated with Iaō = Yahweh; In the next sentence the angel Gabriel is called from Olympus. For discussion of this mixture of Greek and Jewish ideas, see Faraone 2004, 226–227.

¹⁴¹ One might also translate ἀντολίης as ‘sunset(s)’, but the presence of a lamp (l. 289) suggests a setting indoors or at night. A cletic reference to the lands of the East also seems appropriate, following as it does the call to Gabriel to come down from Olympus.

recto col. v →

GEMF 31/PGM I 304–326

- 1 πᾶσα φύσις τρομέει σε πάτερ κόμοιο, Πακερβηθ.
 ὀρκίζω κεφαλὴν τε θεοῦ ὅπερ ἐστὶν Ὀλυμπος, 305
 ὀρκίζω σφρακίδα θεοῦ ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὄρασις,
 ὀρκίζω χέρα δεξιτερὴν ἣν κόσμος ἐπέσχεσ,
 5 ὀρκίζω κρητῆρα θεοῦ πλοῦτον κατέχοντα,
 ὀρκίζω θεὸν αἰώνιον Αἰῶνά τε πάντων, 310
 ὀρκίζω φύσιν αὐτοφυῆ κράτιστον Ἄδωναῖον,
 ὀρκίζω δύνοντα καὶ ἀντέλλοντα Ἐλωαῖον,
 ὀρκίζω τὰ ἅγια καὶ θεῖα ὀνόματα ταῦτα ὅπως
 10 ἂν πέμψωσί μοι τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα καὶ τελέσῃ
 ἃ ἔχω κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν.
 κλῦθι μάκαρ, κλήζω σε, τὸν οὐρανοῦ ἡγεμονῆα 315
 καὶ γαίης χάεός τε καὶ Ἄϊδος, ἔνθα νέμονται
 πέμψον δαίμονα τοῦτον ἐμαῖς ἱεραῖς ἐπαιδαῖς,
 15 νυκτὸς ἐλαυνόμενον προστάγμασι κας ὑπ' ἀνάγκης,
 οὐδ' ἄπο σκῆνοῦς ἐστὶ τόδε καὶ φρασσάτω μοι
 ὅσσα θέλω γνώμησις ἀληθεῖν καταλέξας, 320
 πρηῦν μείλιχον μηδ' ἀντία μη φρονέοντα.
 μηδὲ σὺ μηνίσης ἐπ' ἐμαῖς ἱεραῖς ἐπαιδαῖς,
 20 ἀλλὰ φύλαξον ἅπαν δέμας ἄρκιον ἐς φάος ἐλθεῖν·
 ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔδαξας ἐν ἀνθρώποισι δαῆναι.
 κλήζω δ' οὐνομα σὸν Μοίραις αὐταῖς εἰσάριθμον 325
 ἀχαῖφω θωθωαῖηιαηῖααῖηιαῖηια

1 l. κόσμοιο || 3 l. σφραγίδα || 4 l. κόσμον Ca : κόσμω Pr | ἐπίσχεσις Ho Me² : ἐπίσχει Ca || 8 δύνοντα : δ corr. ex c || 15 ἐλευσόμενον Me² | 1. προστάγμασι cηc Me² : προστάγμασιν cηc Pr || 16 ἐστὶν Me² | 1. φρασσάτω || 17 l. θέλω || 18 l. μοι || 20 l. ἄρκιον || 21 l. ἔδειξας : ἔταξας alii || 22 l. ἰσάριθμον ||

All nature quakes (before) you, O father of the cosmos, Pakerbeth (i.e. Seth). (305)
 I adjure the head of god, which is Olympus,
 I adjure the seal of god,¹⁴² which is sight,
 I adjure the right hand, which you hold over the universe,
 I adjure the mixing-bowl of god, which holds wealth,
 I adjure the ever-living god and Aiōn of all things, (310)
 I adjure self-propagating nature, most powerful Adonaios
 I adjure Elōaios,¹⁴³ who sets and rises,
 I adjure these sacred and divine names, in order that
 they may send the divine breath to me and that it might bring to perfection
 the things I hold in my mind and my heart.¹⁴⁴ (315)
 Hear, blessed one, I call on you, ruler of heaven¹⁴⁵
 and earth and chaos and Hades, where dwell ⟨...⟩¹⁴⁶
 Send this *daimon* at my sacred incantations,
 the one driven at night by orders under your necessity,
 the very one (i.e. the *daimon*) from whose body¹⁴⁷ this thing comes, and let him tell me
 by speaking the truth, (320) however many things I am wishing in my thoughts,
 (send) him gentle, gracious, and harboring no hostile thoughts.
 And you yourself do not be angry at my incantations,
 but protect my entire body, so that it comes to the light intact.¹⁴⁸
 For these things you yourself revealed¹⁴⁹ for mortals to learn. (325)
 I call your name, which is equal in number to the Fates:
 ACHAIPHŌ THŌTHŌAAIĒIAĒIAĒIAĒIAĒIAĒIAŌ

¹⁴² The “seal of god” appears on the reverse of gemstones showing Solomon spearing a demon (e.g. SMA 294–297) and it is thought to refer to the signet-ring with which Solomon “sealed” evil demons under the second temple in Jerusalem.

¹⁴³ Perhaps an assimilation of Hebrew “Eloah” (“God”) and the Greek sun god “Helios,” who “rises and sets.”

¹⁴⁴ In this, the second half of the hymn, Apollo is asked to send a divine “breath” (πνεῦμα), a word which probably refers to the older pneumatic theory of poetic inspiration; see Faraone 2004, 226–227.

¹⁴⁵ The third section of this hexametrical incantation begins by quoting part of a hymn to Helios that appears six times in GEMF; see Preisendanz, vol. 2, 239–240 Hymn 4 and Bortolani 2016, Hymn 1. The version in our formula is addressed to Apollo.

¹⁴⁶ Something has dropped out here; other versions, e.g. GEMF 57/PGM IV 444, have “ghosts of men who once gazed on the light.” The elision of the ghosts from this invocation probably reflects the desire to keep this aspect of the the recipe hidden; see Faraone 2004 and the next footnote.

¹⁴⁷ The word σκῆνος usually means a ‘tent’, but here refers to the corpse of the ghost that Apollo-Helios, on his nightly transit through the underworld, will send up for prophesy; see Faraone 2004, 226–227.

¹⁴⁸ Protection is needed against the potentially angry ghost. Nevertheless, the phrase “comes to the light” is puzzling: it can refer to the practitioner’s safe return from the underworld, but no such journey is anticipated, or perhaps to the dawn when a nocturnal ritual is over, but we are not told when to perform this rite.

¹⁴⁹ At l. 324 the papyrus has ἔδαζα, which is usually corrected to ἔταζα, but here in a prophetic context, it is probably an error for ἐδείξα.

col. v (cont.) →

GEMF 31/PGM I 327–347

25	<p>θωθω φιαχα. κχαὶ ὅταν εἰσέλθῃ ἐρώτα αὐτόν περὶ οὐ θέλεις περὶ μαντείας περὶ ἐποποιίας περὶ ὄνειροπομπείας περὶ ὄνειροτησίας περὶ ὄνειροκριτίας περὶ κατακλίσεως περὶ πάντων ἔσων ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ μαγικῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ. στρωῶσον δὲ θρόνον καὶ κλιτήριον διὰ βυccίνω.</p>	330
30	<p>κὺ δὲ στάθητι θύων διὰ τοῦ προειρημένου ἐπι- <u>θύματος</u>. καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἐὰν θέλῃς ἀπολύσαι αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν τὴν προειρημένην ἐβεννίνην ῥάβδον ἣν ἔχεις χειρὶ ἐν τῇ</p>	335
35	<p>λαιῖαι μετένεγκον εἰς τὴν δεξιάν καὶ τὸν κλῶν- α τῆς δάφνης ὃν ἔχεις ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ μετένεγκον εἰς τὴν ἀριστερὰν καὶ cβέσον τὸν καιόμενον λύχνον καὶ χρῶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ</p>	340
40	<p>ἐπιθύματος λέγων ὅτι ἴλαθί μοι, προπάτωρ, προγενέστερε, αὐτογένεθλε· ὀρκίζω τὸ πῦρ τὸ φανὲν πρῶτον ἐν ἀβύccωι. ὀρκίζω τὴν σὴν δύναμιν, τὴν πᾶσι μεγίστην, ὀρκίζω τὸν φθείροντα μέχρεις Ἄϊδος εἴσω, ἵνα ἀπέλθῃς εἰς τὰ ἴδια πρυμνήσια καὶ μὴ με βλάβῃς, ἀλλ' εὐμενῆς γενοῦ διὰ παντός.</p>	345

24 l. καὶ || 25 ἐποπτείας em. Sch || 26 l. ὄνειροτησίας || 29 l. κλιτήριον | l. βυccίνων : βυ corr. ex cl? || 30 στάθητι : τ ex corr. || 39 ὀρκίζω (ce) Me² || 42 ὀρκίζω δύοντα θεὸν Me² | l. μέχρεις

GEMF 31.327–347

THŌTHŌ PHIACHA.”¹⁵⁰ And whenever he comes inside,¹⁵¹ ask him about what you wish, about prophecy, about hexametrical poetry,¹⁵² about dream-sending, about dream-requests,¹⁵³ about (330) dream-interpretation, about laying (people) low, about everything that is in magical practice.¹⁵⁴ Spread a throne and couch with linen, but you yourself stand, while you make a burnt offering with the aforementioned incense. And after your close examination¹⁵⁵ (of him), if you wish (335) to release the god himself, shift the aforementioned ebony staff, which you have in your left hand, to your right hand and shift the sprig of laurel, which you have in your right hand, to your left hand.¹⁵⁶ Extinguish (340) the burning lamp; and use the same burnt offering (i.e. incense) while saying: “Be gracious to me, forefather, the elder-born, the self-generating one. I adjure the fire which first shone in the void. I adjure your power, which to all is the greatest. (345) I adjure the one who destroys (i.e. mortals) as far as into Hades, in order that you depart to your own stern-cables,¹⁵⁷ and do not harm me but be forever well disposed.”

C. Faraone, A. Nodar and S. Torallas Tovar

¹⁵⁰ Another imperfectly divided and rendered palindrome.

¹⁵¹ The “he” in this sentence is clearly not the ghost, but Apollo-Helios, and “inside” refers to the specially prepared room (see l. 332 below), not the body of the practitioner.

¹⁵² A literal translation of ἐποποιία, which can refer to the production of hexametrical hymns, like the one just performed, or to hexametrical oracles “inspired” by the god. Schmidt 1931 proposes the emendation ἐποπτεία, ‘initiation’, which seems uncalled for.

¹⁵³ A literal translation of ὄνειραιτησία, which refers to questions put to a god before falling asleep in hopes of a “dream revelation.”

¹⁵⁴ One of the two appearances of the adjective “magical” in the handbooks; the other is at GEMF 57/PGM IV 210 (μαγικὴν ψυχὴν ἔχων). The nouns μαγεία and μάγος are equally scarce, the former appearing only in the same two handbooks: above in l. 127, where the addressee, who seems to be the Eleusinian Keryx, is called “O blessed initiate of sacred magic”; and twice in GEMF 57/PGM IV 2449 and 2453, where Pachrates, called the “prophet of Heliopolis,” reveals the power of “his own holy magic” and is said to have tested the “whole truth” of his “magic.” The noun μάγος only appears twice in the magical papyrus, also in GEMF 57/PGM IV: Psammetichos is addressed as “leader of the *magoi*” (243) and the speaker in an iambic hymn, boasts that he is “Hermes the elder (i.e. Thoth), chief of all *magoi*, ... Isis’ father” (2289).

¹⁵⁵ This refers to the close interrogation about the things listed earlier in ll. 326–331.

¹⁵⁶ The laurel branch seems to represent Apollo and the Ouranian sphere; apparently, as long as we hold the laurel branch in the right hand, we have power over Apollo, but if we want him to go, we must switch the laurel to the left hand. The role of the ebony staff is not so clear, as it seems to be connected with Hermes, who is never mentioned in this recipe, or the chthonic world more generally, from whence (earlier in the procedure) the ghost was summoned. See Faraone 2004, 224–226.

¹⁵⁷ At the very end of the procedure, the departing Apollo is equated with the Sun god Re, who goes off to the stern cables of his solar barque; cf. GEMF 55/PGM III 98; 57/IV 994; 15.270/XII 221.

GEMF 32
(PGM XIXb)

Hermoupolis

III CE

ED.PR.: PGM XIXb [Pr]

TRANS.: O'Neil, GMPT, 257–258 (English); Calvo Martinez and Sanchez Romero 1987, 323 (Spanish)

COMM.: Brashear, 1995, 3545; Sicherl 1937, 193

[Kr] stands for Kropp apud Pr

LOC.: Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, P. 11737

TM 89306


This fragment (H. 12.9 × W. 11.5 cm) of a papyrus roll preserves on the recto the remainders of three columns of a philosophical text that remains unpublished to date, and on the verso a magical formulary. The text on the recto is written in a nicely executed informal round hand, datable to the second, perhaps third century CE; cf. GMAW 24: P.Oxy. XVIII 2161 (2nd cent. CE) and P.Bodmer IV (3rd cent. CE). This establishes a *post quem* date and probably brings the originally proposed date in the fourth century (PGM vol. 2, 144) to sometime closer to the date of the text on the recto of the papyrus.

The two magical recipes on the verso are written in a crude hand, difficult to date. Twice the scribe displays some morphological confusion, once the genitive plural for the genitive singular (βιουθανάτων), and once the genitive singular for the accusative singular (ἵκτωμίον, i.e. εἰς κτωμίον). On this see Vierros 2012. But he does show clear knowledge of the handbook format, for example, in his treatment of the magical names which are separated by spaces and marked with supralinear strokes. The two recipes are also clearly separated by a *paragraphos*. The rubric for the second recipe was designed to stand on its own line, although later the scribe added the prepositional phrase εἰς κτωμίον (mentioned above) into the empty space at the end of the line, when he realized he had accidentally left it out of the first sentence of the recipe. Perhaps the slashing sign standing at the end of line 4 indicates that the clause should stand at the end of the following line.

Of the first recipe, only the final instructions survive for inscribing a flax-leaf with myrrh ink, which might be part of a necromancy recipe (see note 1 below). The second is called “an attraction-procedure over a dog” and involves inserting an inscribed adjuration into the mouth of a violently killed dog. The text has two nice parallels in GEMF 57/PGM IV 1872–1892 (an attraction procedure that utilizes a wax dog, into whose mouth is inserted a bone from the skull of a violently killed man) and GEMF 68/PGM XXXVI 370 (an attraction procedure that places *ousia* into the mouth of a dead dog). According to Preisendanz and Kropp (PGM vol. 2, 144) the long series of magical names in it has Coptic influence (see below for notes).

verso ↓

GEMF 32/PGM XIXb

 1 []δη Δ .
 τὸν Δ []οι τὰ κοινὰ μητιο.
 ἱεπι φύλων χαλπας ✠ 
 > ἀγωγή ἐπὶ κυνὸς ἰστωμίου /
 5 ἱερατικῶν ἱ[†] ✠ κὲ καταθοῦ
 βιουθανάτων κατὰ τοῦ σενακαθο
 αρποψυγ καμουο οοψ θω ουα
 πετιανουπ πετιο αριν αυτ[
 κινοθενχυχ αααροψ ἰχθεν[
 10 κρεμμε σεχαζθνε νεουφθε[
 σακηχ χε[]τῶ φοπ . [.]
 χεανοκ . . []ηθμη[
 αριμηθ . []πε[
 ὀδυνάμεν . . [.]
 15 τὸ σῶμα . . α[
 κὲ ὕπακ[]
 ἕως ἐθε[λ

Ipsi contulimus

1 I. τῆ Pr | δ(ε)ἰ(να) || 2 δ(ε)ἰ(να) | [κομίζ]οι Pr | μίλτω Pr || 3 I. ἐπὶ φύλλον : φύλλον Pr | I. καλπίας(ου) : χαλπίας(ου) Pr | ζ(μύ)ρ(νη) | I. βελλαλτδ || 4 I. εἰς στομίον : τομίον Pr || 5 I. ἱερατικὸν Pr | γρ(ά)ψον | ζ(μύ)ρ(νη) | I. καὶ || 6 I. βιοθανάτου : βιοθάνατον Pr || 6 <ἐξορκίζω σὲ> Pr || 14 δυνάμεν[ο]c Pr || 15 ἀν[έ]γειρε Pr || 16 I. καὶ ὕπαγ[ε] Pr | ε[ἰ]c τὴν δεῖνα vel ε[ἰ]c πάντα τόπον Pr || 17 ἕως ἐθ[ελίχη] Pr

... NN ... him, NN... (add?)¹ the usual things. On a leaf of flax (write)² with ink of myrrh BELLALTOU.³ Attraction procedure over a dog: inscribe (5) a hieratic (papyrus) with ink of myrrh and place it down into the mouth⁴ of a violently killed (dog?):⁵ (I adjure you?) by SENAKATHO ARPOPSUG KAMOUO OOPS THŌ OUA PETIANOUP PETIO.ARIN⁶ AUT ... KINOTHENCHUCH⁷ AAAROPS ICHTHEN ... (10) KREMME SECHAZTHNE NEOUPHTHE ... SAKĒCH CHE[.]TŌ PHOP ... CHEANOK ... ĒTHMĒ ... ARIMĒTH ... you, because you are able, ... (15) the body ... and go ... until [she is willing?]

C.A. Faraone and S. Torallas Tovar

¹ Our text reads μητιο or μητις. Preisendanz suggests that this is a mistake for μίλτωι, “with blood,” citing GEMF 57/PGM IV 2142, which gives a recipe for ink comprised of μίλτου καὶ ζμόρνης, to be used to inscribe “a leaf of flax,” which is then inserted into a mouth of a corpse or skull used for necromancy. O’Neil, GMPT translates his text: “Write with myrrh mixed with blood.” This is an interesting idea, but the problem is that the word μίλτωι is too far away from the abbreviation for myrrh. We suggest that this is an error for the imperative μέθεc, which taken with τὰ κοινά, would mean “add the usual things.” For a parallel, see the problematic phrase in GEMF 49/PGM XLIV 4 μετε κοι/, which translates as “add the usual.”

² We would expect here an imperative for a verb like γράφω, or its abbreviation, as we see in I. 5.

³ This magical name is written in a circle, as part of the drawing.

⁴ A thick, upward curving line following ἰστωμίου (for εἰς στομίον) apparently indicates that this prepositional phrase should be inserted at the end of the following line, thus connected to the ‘violently dead’.

⁵ There is some confusion here because in the instructions we are told to put the curse into the mouth of something “violently killed”; normally this would refer to a dead person, but given the rubric of the procedure “over a dog,” it might refer here to a violently killed dog. Kotansky suggests, as an alternative, that στομίον can be interpreted as the ‘opening of a tomb’, of violently killed people; cf. LSJ s.v. II.

⁶ Kropp apud Pr suggests that πετιανουπ πετιο αριν are Egyptian names like Peteesis or Petechonsis.

⁷ Preisendanz suggests that αυτ[] | κινοθεν = αυτ[ο]κινοθέν ‘self-moving’.

GEMF 33 (PGM XIb)

Provenance unknown

III CE

ED.PR.: PGM XIb [Pr]

TRANS.: Kotansky, GMPT, 151 (English); Calvo Martínez and Sánchez Romero 1987, 251 (Spanish)

LOC.: London, British Library, P.Lond. inv. 147

TM 64086

Single sheet (H. 14.7 × W. 12.6)¹ conserved on cardboard under glass; the back is not visible and presumably blank. It is broken at the left, complete on the other sides, with margins at top (ca 1.5 cm), right (0.8–4 cm, largest in l. 1, then growing smaller) and bottom (ca 1.8 cm). *Kollesis* ca 3.6 cm from left; fold marks at ca 1.2, ca 5.6, and ca 9.4 cm from left. Possibly the left most section broke away along another such fold line. The restorations of Preisendanz estimate a loss of ca 4 letters (2 cm) at the left, but more could be lost, if the text were restored differently.

Three prescriptions written along the fibers in the same hand, a semi-regular slightly right-leaning script, not dissimilar to that of GEMF 19, with letters mostly abutting but rarely ligatured. Similar (though not identical) scripts are found at various points in the third century, to which this papyrus should be assigned; compare from various perspectives e.g. SB XIV 11907 (239 CE); P.Coll.Youtie II 71 (281 CE); P.Oxy. XII 1492 (end of the 3rd cent. CE); PSI IX 1041 (end of the 3rd cent. CE). Lines skew upwards towards the right, and the baseline is irregularly followed. A blank line is left between recipes. There are ink blotches below the text, and in line 10. The papyrus is rubbed in the central section, making readings in places difficult. The bottom half of the papyrus is lighter than top half.

The first two prescriptions on this papyrus have not been published before and were brusquely summarised by Preisendanz as “popular medicine.” Only the third prescription was included in PGM and Betz’s translation. The first two prescriptions are difficult to read because of the rubbing, even where all the letters appear visible. They are clearly “medicinal” (the usefulness of which categorization *vis à vis* magic is of course in question), and both deal with ailments faced by women, an unidentifiable problem in the first, and seemingly a bloody discharge in the second. The third has been understood as a party trick and seems concerned with making the faces of symposiasts appear to be those of donkeys, yet the ritual is much more obscure than previous commentary has implied. A number of Preisendanz’s interpretations of the clear reading of the papyrus (on which his translation and that of Kotansky in Betz are based), cannot be explained by any scribal or copying error (see especially l. 14). We have chosen to interpret what is actually on the papyrus before adopting such radical emendations; possible interpretations may be found in the commentary to the text below.

Looking at the three prescriptions together changes the tone of the papyrus. The first two prescriptions are clearly more strictly medical in nature, if we can draw such a distinction, and it is thus not a handbook of parlour tricks or table gimmicks (as in Betz), but of medical prescriptions and, perhaps, a parlour trick (if the third has been rightly interpreted).

The visible fold marks force us to question the oft quoted *dictum* that fold marks indicate applied or used texts, like amulets. It is likely that GEMF 33 is not an “applied” or “amuletic” text—there are many reasons texts could be folded, and it provides a clear example of a formulary which bears signs of having been folded.

¹ First described in the *Catalogue BM* 1894, 398, “Pap. CXLVII Fragment containing portions of three short magical spells. 2nd or 3rd cent. 5¾ in. x 4¾ in. Imperfect, wanting the left-hand portion of the papyrus; in a rather square semi-cursive hand,” reprinted in P.Lond. II, p. xiv.

recto →

GEMF 33/PGM XIb

- 1 [. . . .] λαμβανούσης δέξε
 [. . . .] φυτὸν γραμβεῖον καὶ αἷμα τῆς
 [. . . .] κος κραιβέον τὸ κραιβεῖον καὶ κραι
 [. . . .] . α τοῦ αἵματος εἰς ἐγγεῖνον τόπον
 5 [. . . .] , ησον ἐν ῥακκάδιῳ λινοῦς καὶ θες
 [. . . .] τεινοῦ
- [. . . .] κα ἐμάρροεις ἐδεξα δέξιμην πράσα
 [. . . .] εισης καὶ σας χυδρεῖον καινόν
 [. . . .] . τον εἶτα ε . ρ . οραγ καὶ μετακενω
 10 [. . . .] . [μ]πειν καινὸν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπόθεε
 [. . . .] . κει
- [ἀνθρ]ώπους πείνοντα[ς] ἐν κυμποσείῳ πρόσ-
 [ωθε]γ τοῖς ἔξοθεν ὀνορύγγου φαίνεσθαι
 [. . . .] εβειβακοτος τὸ δρεῖλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ λύθρου
 15 [. . . .] , ὀνίφ ἐμάξε καὶ ποιῆσαι ἐλλύχνει και-
 [νὸν εἰ]ς λύχον καινὸν καὶ ἄψε τοῖς πείνωσι.

2 l. κραιβέον: v ex corr? || 3 fort. [γυναι]κός || 4 fort.]τα : με]τὰ ? | l. ἐκεῖνον || 5 fort.]τὸν σὸν? | fort. l. ῥακκάδιον vel ῥακίδιον | l. λινοῦ? || 7 l. αἱμορρόεις | fort. ε . δεξα | fort. l. πράσων || 8 fort. σπ]είσης || 9 fort. πρ]ῶτον εἶτα || 10 μ: fort. corr. ad α? || 13 l. ἔξοθεν || 14 εβειβακοτος τὸ δρ . λλον Pr suppl. [λαβόν] ἐπὶ κτότος τὸ θρυαλλ(ιδ)ιον ἀπὸ τοῦ λύχνου? || 15 [ἔματ]ι, l. [αἷματ]ι Pr | l. αἱμάξει || 16 l. λύχ(ν)ον | l. ἄψαι | l. πίνουσι

GEMF 33

For a woman who is receiving ... take²... plant, decoction of cabbage,³ and blood of woman(?), burn the decoction of cabbage, and set(?)⁴ (it) with(?) the blood in that place ...⁵ (5) on a little linen rag(?) and place (it) ... bloody discharge⁶ take(?)⁷ a handful (of?) leeks(?), you pour(?) and having burnt(?)⁸ a new (10) small cup⁹ ... first, then ... and pour(?)¹⁰... new ... and ... it and place it under ...

For people drinking in a symposium to appear donkey-faced from afar¹¹ to those outside, raise(?)¹² the penis (?) from the impure blood,¹³ (15) stain (it) with donkey blood(?), and make a new wick in a new lamp and illuminate(?)¹⁴ the drinkers.

M. Choat

² The feminine participle suggests a female subject for the procedure, with the exact issue lost in preceding word. δέξε is probably complete here, for δέξαι (compare line 15), or as the late aorist imperative form δέξε which occurs rarely.

³ At the beginning of the line, a small piece of stray papyrus obscures the φ. Φυτόν is a word for “plant” used in a number of places in the PGM; it was probably preceded by a short adjective. The term κραιβίον, ‘decoction of cabbage’, occurs frequently in medical literature.

⁴ Perhaps a part of κείμαι: κείθω?

⁵ At the start of l. 5, -ησον suggests an aorist imperative to complete the instructions begun in l. 1. The next word resembles εἰρακα (perhaps for ἰέρακα, ‘bandage’, see LSJ s.v.), but seems more likely to be ἐν followed by a word ending in διω, perhaps ῥακάδιω for the late ῥακκάδιον, ‘little rag’ (cf. ῥάκος, ‘strip of cloth’, frequent in the medical literature). If the following λινούσ qualifies this, we must read λινῶ.

⁶ For the form αἱμαρροίε (pap. ἐμαρώε), see P.Lond. VI 1914, 14, where the form may however be an error. [ca 4]κα invites [γυναί]κα, so perhaps “for a woman with a bloody discharge” (i.e. αἱμόρροια), or “for a woman with hemorrhoids” (i.e., l. αἱμορροΐσι), as leeks are associated with relief from hemorrhoids in a number of medical traditions.

⁷ εἰδέξα: presumably a part of δέχομαι, but rubbing makes the exact form obscure.

⁸ ζαζ suggests an aorist participle describing the ritual action: καύζαζ, “having burnt the cup”? (though the traces do not exactly support kappa).

⁹ χυδρειον: probably for χυτρίον, itself an alternative form of χυτρίδιον, ‘a small pot, cup’. The form of και in καινόν is ligatured as with the conjunction (so too at 10, 15 bis, 16).

¹⁰ μετακενόω: perhaps l. μετακένω[cov], from μετακενώ, ‘to pour from one vessel to another’, LSJ s.v. Alternatively, understand something like μετὰ κένω[ctv], ‘after emptying / evacuation’.

¹¹ This prescription was presented by Preisendanz, followed in GMPT, as a parlour trick, to turn the faces of symposiasts into donkey snouts, ὀνορύγχου; he compares it to GEMF 74.241–259/PGM VII 167, the parlour tricks of Demokritos. In *Cyranides* 2.31, the tears of a donkey mixed with oil and placed in a burning lamp are said to make everyone in a symposium appear donkey-headed (ὀνοκέφαλος). The word ὀνορύγχος occurs only in Psellos (*Lectiones mirabiles*, ed. Duffy, 112.32–33), where donkey tears are rubbed on a mirror to make women seen in it appear donkey-faced. For ὀνορύγχος, LSJ cites the gloss *bunilla* from late Greek-Latin glossaries (e.g. CGL II 31): the Latin word is glossed in many early Latin dictionaries as having a face like a donkey or ox.

¹² Kotansky, GMPT, read line 14 “In the dark [take] a wick from a lamp” (see app.cr.), but this is not what the Greek says. The first words (as printed by Preisendanz) are εβειβακοτος: if εβει might be a phonetic rendering of ἐπί, βακοτος can in no way represent κότος. The next word, δρεῖλλον, cannot be understood as an error for θρυαλλ(ίδ)ιον (so Preisendanz, conjecturing δ>τ>θ) any more than the last—which reads clearly λύθρου—can be understood as a mistake for λύχνου. -κοτος suggests a genitive perfect participle; a verb derived from βιβάζω, such as ἀναβ]εβ]ε]ιβακότος, would neatly fill the available space.

¹³ This is probably δρεῖλλον, for which the only resolution I can suggest is δρῖλον, ‘penis’ (see DGE s.v, citing epigraphic witnesses; see also δρῖλος in AP 11.197 where it is glossed with *verpus*; cf. *verpa*, ‘penis’). Understanding λύθρου as ‘(impure) blood’ (from a woman’s womb, LSJ s.v.), perhaps one might translate something like “having brought the penis out of the impure blood,” but it is difficult to understand how this relates to the rest of the procedure: it is thus likely that δρεῖλλον has a different sense. Some form of θρυαλλίς, ‘wick’ might be considered, but an entirely separate word for wick is used one line later. One might also consider λύτρον for λύθρου, bearing in mind the use of the former for *lysimaichios*, ‘loosestrife’, in manuscripts of Dioscorides. Could the δρεῖλλον refer to the stamen of a flower? This object is then stained with donkey’s blood (if Preisendanz’s [ἐματ]ι, i.e. [αἱματ]ι in 15 is correct), then used to fashion a wick for a new lamp.

¹⁴ This final instruction directs the ritualist to perform an action on the symposiast: ἄψε (l. ἄψαι) was translated as ‘set alight’ (‘zündet’) by Preisendanz and ‘touch’ by Kotansky in Betz: but the first seems unlikely and the second ineffective; I have chosen to translate ‘illuminate’, as this seems the most plausible action to undertake with a lamp.

GEMF 34 (PGM LXII)

Provenance unknown¹

mid- to late III CE

ED.PR.: Hunt 1932, 233–240 (ll. 1–105) [Hu]

REPubL.: PGM LXII [Pr]; Neugebauer and van Hoesen 1987, 53, 56–57 (ll. 51–74; nos. 217; 219 II; 1 & 12; 244) [Ne]; David, van Groningen and van Oven 1941, 52–64 (P. Warren/P.L. Bat. I 21) [Dv]

TRANSL.: GMPT, 292–294 (ll. 1–105) (English); Calvo Martínez and Sánchez Romero 1987, 375–377 (ll. 1–50, 75–105) (Spanish); Ogden 2002, 244, no. 234 (ll. 75–105) (English)

COMM.: Eitrem 1932, 112–114 [Ei]; Cunen 1956–1957 (non vidi) [Cu]; Aubert 1989, 428–435 [Au]; Faraone 2012, 43–45; García Molinos 2017, 175–177; [Ho] is Hoogendijk apud Aubert 1989, 430, n.14; [Sch] is Schmidt apud David, van Groningen and van Oven 1941

LOC: Leiden, Papyrologisch Instituut, P. Warren 21

TM 64079

Papyrus roll (H. 18.9 × W. 30.6 cm), written opisthographically in Greek. Recto (→) contains two columns (23 and 27 lines), verso (↓) three columns (23, 31 and 27 lines), the third fragmentary. There is considerable damage, in particular to the bottom and left (viewed from front) of roll; even where the papyrus itself survives, the text is in several places partially or completely effaced. *Kolleseis* are visible before the recto column 1, between columns 1 and 2, and in the middle of column 2 of the recto; in column 2 the copyist occasionally leaves space between letters to avoid the *kollesis*. All margins are preserved on the recto, with a top margin of ca 1.5 cm, and a bottom margin of ca 2 cm (ca 8 cm, excluding ll. 45–50, which seem to have been added later), left margin of ca 4 cm, *intercolumnium* of ca 2.5 cm (ignoring the annotation to col. ii), and right margin of ca 2.5 cm (at its initial and widest points, though widely variable). On the back, the upper and lower margins are ca 1.5 cm, the preserved left-hand margin is ca 2.5 cm, with a first *intercolumnium* of ca 2 cm and a second of ca 3.5 cm; the right-hand margin is not preserved. The papyrus shows evidence of having been rolled or folded from left to right; David et al. 1941, 53, count 10 folds. As they also note, it may have been cut from a larger roll; the right-hand edge (viewed from the recto) shows a neat cut, and the left-hand a less-neat one, which bisects verso col. iii. If there was further text on the recto before col. i this would also imply an unusually large *intercolumnium* between this column and that which would have preceded it, which might otherwise be understood as a gap left before the first column of a roll.

The text is written in four hands; the majority of the first column of the recto is written in M², with additional lines added above and below this column by M¹, which is also responsible for the second column of the front and two marginal notes added to this column at ll. 33–38 and ll. 42–43. M³ has written the horoscopes on verso col. i, and M⁴ has written the final two columns on this side. All the hands show similar forms and ductus—unimodular and slightly slanted semi-documentary hands, although M² and M⁴ are more upright; the letters of all four are largely bilinear, although the stems of ρ and φ at times descend below the baseline, a trait which is present throughout, and most marked, in M³. The letters are generally majuscules with no significant serifs and little variation in shading, although some (in particular η, κ and υ) are written in cursive forms which at times resemble later minuscules. All four hands make extensive use of ligatures. M² seems to be the most careful of the four, and is the easiest to read, using few ligatures. Their similarity suggests that some or all of these hands may in fact be the work of a single scribe writing at different times, or using different styles. M² is the most divergent, and M¹ (especially the marginal note) and M³ are particularly close, with both using a distinctive φ whose rounded stroke is only drawn on the left of its stem (ll. 34s, 73). Alongside the hands, the horoscopes recorded in the papyrus, the latest of which dates to 244 CE, suggest a third-century date for this papyrus. A number of abbreviations are employed, often marked by the raising of letters or the addition of raised, oblique strokes whose function as abbreviation markers is

¹ For what is known of this papyrus' acquisition by the Leiden Papyrological Institute, see Worp 2010, 238–240.

not always clear (e.g. ll. 33, 46, cf. 38 where it clearly marks a number). In addition, the δεινα (Δ), sun, and moon signs are used, the first in the magical texts, the latter two in the horoscopes, along with common monograms, such as γραφ- (Γ^ρ), ζύρνη (Ζ^ρ), ωρ- (Ω^ρ), and perhaps λόγος (Λ) and χρῶ (Χ^ρ). Numerals are generally indicated with supralineation, although a *keraiā* is used at least once (l. 38). Underlining seems to be used once in the instructions for a recipe (l. 23), although this might instead be interpreted as simple *paragraphos*. The first line contains a unique abbreviation, apparently a schematic drawing of a lamp to be read as λύχνος.² Inorganic *diaeresis* is regularly used with both ι and υ. Spacing, *eisthesis* and *ekthesis* are used to separate sections of the recipes, and to differentiate individual *vores magicae*, and an apostrophe is used once to separate two parts of a single *vox magica* (l. 26). A short simple *paragraphos* is used to separate the four horoscopes on verso col. i, and a symbol resembling a *diplē* written over a short simple *paragraphos* appears at l. 35, indicating the beginning of a release formula.

In terms of orthography, the text displays considerable iotacism, with ει usually reduced to ι. Likewise, οι is frequently written as υ; these features are not restricted to any one of the hands, another argument in favour of a single copyist. At ll. 33–38 there is an annotation, which provides additional parts of a formula, and a second has been added to the right of l. 43. A series of *charaktēres* appears at l. 50; these seem to have originally consisted of two lines, but the lower line, perhaps consisting of one or more star-shapes, has been almost entirely lost. These *charaktēres* accompany the bowl divination ritual in ll. 24–44—this may imply that the intervening divination procedure in ll. 45–49 was added after this previous text had been written. An image resembling a moon, but perhaps representing a womb, appears prominently in col. ii of the back, as part of a tableau including text formations, among them an inverted triangle, which is only partially copied out, with the overall shape indicated with a pair of converging oblique lines.

The roll contains six texts: an attraction-procedure using a lamp (ll. 1–23), a bowl divination ritual using a child medium (ll. 24–44, 50), instructions for determining if a man will live or die using numerology (ll. 45–49), four horoscopes (ll. 51–74),³ a procedure to cause menstrual bleeding or an abortion (ll. 75–105), and a fragmentary restraining procedure (ll. 106–132). Horoscopes may also be found in SM II 85 (P.Oxy XLVI 3298) ll. 1–40, alongside a recipe for a dream revelation (ὄνειρετησία); in this case all five of these seem to be nativities, strengthening the case for understanding those in GEMF 34 as such.


The variation in writing style, the uneven column widths, and the combination of horoscopes with magical recipes imply that this manuscript was gradually written over a period of time rather than written according to a pre-existing scheme or exemplar.

² Drawing an object as an abbreviation for its name is rare, but it is the principle behind the signs of the planets. A similar example may be found in the much later P.Heid.Kopt. 685.16.10 (10th cent.; TM 102074), in which a drawing of a vessel is integrated into Coptic text, apparently standing in for the name of the object it represents.

³ The horoscopes were calculated in Neugebauer, but have been recalculated for this edition with the help of Marina Escolano-Poveda, using R. van Gent's simulation of the Almagest tables, available online at <http://www.staff.science.uu.nl/~gent0113/astro/almagestephemeris.htm>.

recto col. i →

GEMF 34/PGM LXII 1–23

1 M¹  κρεμαστός, ἀμίλ^τ. χρηστῶ ἐλαίῳ λυχνίαζε καὶ κ[έ]δρω.
 M² cὺ ἱ τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄβεστον τὸ παρακίμ[ενο]ν
 τῶ μεγάλῳ θεῶ Οσορνωφρι Ωσορ...
 [δι]ακονήσας αὐτῶ, ὅτε ἠράσθη τῆς ἰδ[ί]α[ς]
 5 [ἀδ]ελφῆς Cενεφθυτος, καὶ ἔδραμεξ
 ἕξ ἐπὶ ἐξήκοντα χχοίνους καὶ περιε-
 κύκλευσας ἕξ ἐπὶ ἐξήκοντα ὄρη. οὕτω
 δ[ι]ακόνη[ς]ον κάμοι, τῶ Δ, πρὸς τὴν [Δ]. ἱ δὲ
 μῆ, ἐρῶ [τ]ὰ ὀκτῶ γράμματα τῆς [ς]ελή-
 10 [ν]ης, τὰ κατεστηριγμένα εἰς τὴν καρδίαν
 [το]ῦ ἡλίου. ἱ δὲ μέλλω λέ[γ]ειν καὶ οὕτω ἐ-
 π[ο]ρεύθης, εἰσελεύσομαι ἐσώτερος τῶν
 [έ]πτα πολῶν τῶν περὶ Δαρδανιηλ καὶ cí-
 cω τὸ cτ[ε]ρέωμα [τ]ῆς γῆς, καὶ συνελεύσε-
 15 ται τὰ δ̄ στοιχία τοῦ κόσμου. ἴν' ο[ῦ]ν τού-
 των μηδὲν γένηται, ἀναλύθητι εἰς τὴν ce-
 αυτοῦ φύσιν κα[ὶ] μίγητι τῶ ἀέρι καὶ γενοῦ
 πρὸς τὴν Δ τῆς Δ, κοινά. καὶ κάταξον αὐτὴν
 [έμο]ι π[υ]ρὶ τῶ κεραυνίῳ. ὀρκίζω ce θεὸν μέ-
 20 γαν τὸν [έ]ν τῇ καθαρᾷ γῆ κείμενο[ν], ὅ τὸ πῦρ
 ἄβεστον δι' αἰῶνος παράκίται αθουιν γ̄ ///
 ἱαθαουῖν ciβελθιουθ ἱατητ ατατητ Αδωνε.
 κοινά. (M¹) -φυλακτη^p cεληγόν[ο]να γ̄ περιελήσας φοροῦ ἀριστερῶ βρα^z.

1 (λύχνος) Dv : οδ() Hu : [Ἐκτω δὲ ὁ λύχνος] ὄδ(ε) Pr | ἀμίλτ(ωτος) : post. ἀμίλ^τ spat. vac. | [κα]ὶ βά[θ]ρω Cu (123–124) || 2 ἱ : 1. εἶ | 1. παρακείμενον || 3 Οσορ[.] Hu : Οσορ[.] Dv : Ὀσορ[νωφρι] Pr : ὄς vel ὄς cὺ (διακονήσας) Ei || 8 κάμι Dv | δ(ε)ἴ(να) πρὸς τὴν δ(ε)ἴ(να) | ἱ : 1. εἶ || 11 1. εἶ || 13–14 1. cείω || 15 1. στοιχία | ἴν' ο[ῦ]ν Pap. : ἴν' ὁ [έ]κ Hu Dv : ἴνα [έ]κ Pr || 16 των ω litura atramenti || 18 δ(ε)ἴ(να) τῆς δ(ε)ἴ(να) | [τ]κάταξον κ corr. ex τ || 19 1. ἐξορκίζω Pr || 21 1. παράκίται || 23 -φυλακτηρ Pap. : φυλακτήρ(ιον) | 1. τρία Pr || 23 βραχ(ίονι)

A suspended, unglazed lamp.⁴ Light with⁵ good olive oil and that of cedar.

“You are the unquenchable fire that lies before the great god, Osornophri⁶ Osor... serving him, when he desired his own (5) sister, Senephtys,⁷ you not only ran six times sixty *schoinoi*,⁸ but also encircled six times sixty mountains. Likewise serve me, NN (m.), too, in respect to her, NN. If you do not, I will speak the eight letters of the moon⁹ (10) which are fixed in the heart of the sun. If I speak them and you have not yet gone, I shall go into the seven gates around Dardaniel¹⁰ and I shall shake the foundations of the earth, and (15) the four elements of the cosmos will come together. In order, then, that none of this come to pass, dissolve into your own nature and mingle with the air, and go to her, NN, daughter of her, NN.” (Add) the usual things. “And bring her to me with the fire of a thunderbolt. I adjure you by the great god, (20) who lies in the pure earth, the one before whom the unquenchable fire lies forever, ATHOUIN, 3 times, IATHAOUIN SIBELTHIOUTH IATĒT ATATĒT ADŌNE.”¹¹ (Add) the usual things. Protective amulet: wear three peonies wrapped around your left arm.

⁴ The rubric begins with a small drawing of a lamp, rather than the Greek word for ‘lamp’.

⁵ Λυχνιάζω is apparently a *hapax* (cf. O’Neil, GMPT, 292, n.1). The expected form is ἐλλυχνιάζω (LSJ, s.v.).

⁶ This name resembles the Egyptian *Wsr-wnn-nfr* (“Osiris the Perfect Being”), Osiris-Onnophris, but Greek transliterations are usually of the form Ὀσοροννοφρις, with an o between ρ and ν. This name may therefore be rather *Wsr-nfr* (“Osiris the Good”), although I am unable to find an Egyptian-language writing of this construction; cf. GEMF57/PGM IV 1079, 58/V 15, 352.

⁷ Σεεεφθυς (var. Ηεεεφθυς) is a transliteration of the Egyptian *ꜥs.t-Nb.t-hw.t*, Isis-Nephthys, a merged form of the two sisters of Osiris. See Quaegebeur 1991, 111–122; Love 2016, 34; SM II p.126–127; cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 101, 15/XII 235, 4/CXXII 29, Epiph. *Adv. Haeres.* 3.512.12.

⁸ Several translators (e.g. GMPT) understand “six and sixty” here, implying addition. This agrees with the sense given in the LSJ for ἐπί (1e), but as David et al. 1941 point out, it seems rather to indicate multiplication in mathematical contexts (cf. Netz 2004, 100–101). The length of the *schoinos* varies depending upon the author; if we accept Herodotus’ assertion (II 6) that a *schoinos* (associated with the Egyptian *itr.w*) was the equivalent of 60 stadia this gives an approximate figure of 10,500 m. The traditional figure for the length of Egypt seems to have been 106 *itr.w*, so that 360 would be far more than the length of Egypt. While it is also substantially less than ancient estimates of the circumference of the globe, of which the best known is that of Eratosthenes (252,000 stadia = 4,200 *schoinoi*), 360 “units of distance” may symbolically refer to the 360 degrees which would constitute the circumference of the cosmos, and the same is likely true of the 360 mountains which follow (cf. Priskin 2004, 57–71; Winkeln 2006; Diller 1949, 6–9).

⁹ Hopfner apud Preisendanz, 192, n. 1. 10 sees this as referring to a specific eight-letter name associated with the moon, Ἄκτιῶρις, but David et al. argue that this refers more abstractly to a sequence of eight letters which surpass the seven vowels (cf. GEMF 60/PGM XIII 746, 753).

¹⁰ As O’Neil, GMPT, 292, n. 5, notes, “seven gates” in Greek are most often associated with the city of Thebes in Boeotia. Dardaniel seems to be a formation from either Dardanos, the mythic founder of Troy, or his namesake Dardania, the region of Troy. The final -ēl may be patterned on Hebrew names with this ending, associated with angels; Δαδαναηλ (sic) is named as an angelic being in a later Greek amulet (Zellmann-Rohrer 2018b, 107–110). As discussed by Fauth 1993, 59–60, Dardanos was thought of as the founder of the pre-Hellenic mystery cults, and as a great sorcerer, while Dardania was an epithet of Hekate-Selene. There are also several examples of reduplicated words of this form which refer either to filth (βόρβορος) or the underworld (Τάρταρος; note the frequent neutralisation of the voiced/unvoiced δ/τ distinction in Egyptian Greek), which had seven gates in the Mesopotamian myth of Inanna-Ishtar; see Fauth 1993, 57–75.

¹¹ Fauth 1993, 75, suggests that this should be understood as Adonis rather than Adonai, linking the ritual to the descent of Aphrodite-Ishtar to the underworld (cf. n. 10). There is a question here whether the great god is equivalent to the name that follows. Normally after ὀρκίζω *ce* an accusative refers to the deity by whom the adjuration is made; see Kotansky 1995b 144–147, where he discusses the double accusative construction.

recto col. ii →

GEMF 34/PGM LXII 24–50

1	M ¹	Ἐλθέ μοι, ὁ τῶν θεῶν θεός, ὁ ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ πνεύματος φανὶς μό[νο]ς, ὁ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὁ τὸ σκότος τέμων, ὁ κύριος τῶν πνευμάτων, λωθ μουλωθ πνουτ' εἰ εἰωθ, χαίροις, κύριε λαμπουρη Ιααω ἰααα ταῦτα λέγε πολλάκις.	25
5		ἐὰν δὲ σοῦ διώκοντος βραδύνη τὸ φῶς, λέγε· ἄνυγε, οὐρανε, ἄνυγε, Ὀλυμπιε, ἄνυγε, ἄδη, ἄνυγε, ἄβυσσε. διασταλήτω τὸ σκότος κατ' ἐπιταγὴν θεοῦ ὑψίστου καὶ προελθέτω τὸ ἱερὸν φῶς ἐκ τοῦ ἀπίρου εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον· ἐπὰν πάλιν βραδύνη, λέγε ἐκφωνῶν οὕτως, πάλι καμβύων τὸν παῖδα, αβρα α' ὁ να βαβρουθι βιε βαραχθ, ὁ θεός, εἴελθε, κύριε, καὶ χρημάτικόν μοι, περὶ ὧν σε ἀξιῶ. καὶ ὁ θέλις, πυνθάνου.	30
10	χαίρε, ἱερὲ φῶς, χαίρε, ὀφθαλμῆ	καὶ ἀπόλυσις ἐ[ὑ]χαριστῶ ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἤλθατε κ[α]τ' ἐπιταγὴν θεοῦ· ἀξιῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς τηρῆσαί με ὑγιῆ, ἀθάμβητον, ἀνιδωλόπληκτον, αθαθε αθαθαχθ[α]ε Αδων[α]ῖ. ἀποκατάστητε εἰς τὰς ἀποϊερώσις ὑμῶν· ἐπὶ φιά[λ]ης, εἰς ἣν βαλ[ε]ῖς ἐλαίου χρηστοῦ κοτ' α' καὶ θήσις ἐπὶ πλίνθου, καὶ γλύψ[ει]ς τοὺς χαλακ[τῆρ]ας τούτους εἰς μάγνητα τὸν πνέοντα· οἱ δὲ χαλ[α]κτῆρες οὗτοι π[ρο]ιοῦνται· καὶ πήξις τὸν λίθον ἐξ ἀ[ρι]στερῶν τῆς φιάλης ἔξωθεν, καὶ συνπεριλαβὼν ταῖς δυεὶ χερσὶ δίω[κ]ε, ὡς ὑπεδείχθη σοι. βάλλε δὲ εἰς τὴν φιάλην, βύθιζε χόριον κυνὸς καλουμένη λευκ[ο]ῦ κυνὸς λευκοῦ γεγενημένου. πατήλιον χ	34s
15	κόσμου, χαίρε ἀν- γὴ ἔω ἐπὶ κόσμ[ο]ν	εἰς δὲ τὸ στήθος τοῦ παιδὸς Ἰ ^ϛ ϛ ^ϛ καρβαωθ· διὰ ψήφου μαθ[ε]ῖν, εἰ ζῆ ἢ ἔτελεύ[τ]ησεν, οἶον, ποιήσ[ον] αὐτὸν ψηφίσ[α]ι τὸ ὄ αὐτοῦ κ[α]τ' . . . πληράτω ταύτη[ν] . . . τοσ, προσθοῦ [.].[.]. ὄ ηθῶ χιβ, ὅ ἐστιν θεοῦ ὄνο[μ]α, οἶον Ζεύς, [τοῦ] δὲ μακροῦ ἀπ[ο]βαλέτω τνγ, ὅ ἐστιν Ἑρμῆς. ἐὰν οὖν εὔρεθῆ ζύγη ἢ ψήφος, ζῆ, εἰ δὲ μή, ἔτελεύτησεν.	35
20		εἰς δὲ τὸ στήθος τοῦ παιδὸς Ἰ ^ϛ ϛ ^ϛ καρβαωθ· διὰ ψήφου μαθ[ε]ῖν, εἰ ζῆ ἢ ἔτελεύ[τ]ησεν, οἶον, ποιήσ[ον] αὐτὸν ψηφίσ[α]ι τὸ ὄ αὐτοῦ κ[α]τ' . . . πληράτω ταύτη[ν] . . . τοσ, προσθοῦ [.].[.]. ὄ ηθῶ χιβ, ὅ ἐστιν θεοῦ ὄνο[μ]α, οἶον Ζεύς, [τοῦ] δὲ μακροῦ ἀπ[ο]βαλέτω τνγ, ὅ ἐστιν Ἑρμῆς. ἐὰν οὖν εὔρεθῆ ζύγη ἢ ψήφος, ζῆ, εἰ δὲ μή, ἔτελεύτησεν.	40
25		εἰς δὲ τὸ στήθος τοῦ παιδὸς Ἰ ^ϛ ϛ ^ϛ καρβαωθ· διὰ ψήφου μαθ[ε]ῖν, εἰ ζῆ ἢ ἔτελεύ[τ]ησεν, οἶον, ποιήσ[ον] αὐτὸν ψηφίσ[α]ι τὸ ὄ αὐτοῦ κ[α]τ' . . . πληράτω ταύτη[ν] . . . τοσ, προσθοῦ [.].[.]. ὄ ηθῶ χιβ, ὅ ἐστιν θεοῦ ὄνο[μ]α, οἶον Ζεύς, [τοῦ] δὲ μακροῦ ἀπ[ο]βαλέτω τνγ, ὅ ἐστιν Ἑρμῆς. ἐὰν οὖν εὔρεθῆ ζύγη ἢ ψήφος, ζῆ, εἰ δὲ μή, ἔτελεύτησεν.	45
		εἰς δὲ τὸ στήθος τοῦ παιδὸς Ἰ ^ϛ ϛ ^ϛ καρβαωθ· διὰ ψήφου μαθ[ε]ῖν, εἰ ζῆ ἢ ἔτελεύ[τ]ησεν, οἶον, ποιήσ[ον] αὐτὸν ψηφίσ[α]ι τὸ ὄ αὐτοῦ κ[α]τ' . . . πληράτω ταύτη[ν] . . . τοσ, προσθοῦ [.].[.]. ὄ ηθῶ χιβ, ὅ ἐστιν θεοῦ ὄνο[μ]α, οἶον Ζεύς, [τοῦ] δὲ μακροῦ ἀπ[ο]βαλέτω τνγ, ὅ ἐστιν Ἑρμῆς. ἐὰν οὖν εὔρεθῆ ζύγη ἢ ψήφος, ζῆ, εἰ δὲ μή, ἔτελεύτησεν.	50



col. ii 1 l. φανείς || 3 l. πνουτ' εἰ Pr || 4 ιααω ιαασιβ ed.pr. : ἰα . . δ. Pr : 1. ιααω ιααω β Dv || 5 τὸ φάσμα Hu Pr Dv || 6 l. ἄνοιγε οὐρανε : ἄνοιγε ἄνοιγε Pr | 1. Ὀλυμπιε | ἄδη Pr Dv || 8 l. ἀπίρου | ἄβυς [vacat] con Pap. || 9 οὕτω πάλι(ν) καταθύων Dv : 1. καμβύων Pr | 10 α' ὁ Pap. : α' ὁ να Hu Pr | βαραχε Hu Pr Dv || 11 l. θέλις || 12 ϛ Pap : . . Hu Dv : [] Pr || 13 l. ἀνιδωλόπληκτον || 14 l. ἀποϊερώσις || 15 (ταῦτα δίωκε) ἐπὶ Pr | κοτ(ύλην) | 1. θήσις || 16 l. γλύψεις || 17 l. χαρακτήρες || 18 l. πήξις || 19 δίω[κ]ε ke corr. | 1. ὑπεδείχθη || 20 l. καλουμένης | λευκ[ο]ῦ κυνὸς η corr. ex. ο | πατήλιον χρ(ῶ) : πατήλιον . . Hu : 1. πατήλιον χρηστόν Pr : ακραιον χόρ(ιου) Dv || 21 γρ(άφε) ζ(μύ)ρ(νη) || 22 ποιήσ[α]ι ἐπ'] Dv | ψηφίσ[α]ι τν το. τ. κ[α]τ[ε]κλήσ[α]τω Dv | το ὄ Pap. 1. τὸ transl. ὄνομα αὐτοῦ κ[α]τ' : τὸ Δ' τῆ φιάλη. πληράτω Hu : τόδ(ε) τῆ φιάλη. πληράτω Pr || 24 ταύτη[ν] ὕδ]ατος, προσθοῦ Hu : ταύτη[ν] ὕδ]ατος, προσθοῦ [βαλλομένη] Pr : .ατη [...] . τοσ[τα]α . . [.].[.].χε. ἐν τῆ ψηφῶ Dv | 1. fort. ὄνομα || 26 ζ(ε)ύγη ἐν τῆ ψηφ[ῶ] Hu Pr Dv | δὲ α ἐμ . ος Dv : . . εἰ θάνατος Hu : [ἐ]χει θάνατος Pr : 1. ἐτελεύτησεν ? || sub. 27 fragmenta figurarum

GEMF 34.24–50

“Come to me, god of the gods, who appeared alone from fire and spirit (25),¹² who has truth upon his head, who cuts through the darkness, lord of spirits, LŌTH MOULŌTH, PNOUT¹³ EI¹³ ESIŌTH. Be welcome, lord LAMPSOURĒ IAAŌ IAAAA!” Say this many times. If, as you recite, the light is slow to come, say, (30) “Open, heaven, open, Olympus, open, Hades, open, abyss! Let the darkness be parted according to the command of the highest god, and let the sacred light come forth from the infinite into the abyss!” If it is still slow, say, crying out as follows, covering the eyes¹⁴ of the child again: —“Hail, sacred light! Hail, eye of the cosmos! Hail, brightness of dawn upon the cosmos!—¹⁵ ABRA A O¹⁶ NA BABROUTHI BIE BARACHTH, god, come in, lord, and prophesy to me concerning that which I ask you!” And enquire of what you will. (35) Release: “I give thanks to you (pl.) for coming at the command of god. I ask you (pl.) to keep me well, free from fright, un-attacked by apparitions, ATHATHE ATHATHACHTHAE, Adonai. Return to your (pl.) consecrated places.” (Say it) over a bowl, into which you pour one *kotylos*¹⁷ of good olive oil and you place (it) on a brick. And inscribe these symbols on a breathing magnet.¹⁸ (40) And the symbols to be made are these.¹⁹ And fasten the stone to the left of the outside of the bowl, and holding it (i.e. the bowl) with two hands recite as has been described to you. And put into the bowl—immerse, use a dish—²⁰ the afterbirth of the dog (f.) known as “white,” born of a white dog (m.). On the chest of the child write in myrrh “KARBAŌTH.”

(45) Method of learning through calculation whether someone is living or has died,²¹ as follows, have him calculate the value of his name and (?) ... let this be completed ... let him add... 612, which is the name of a god, for example Zeus,²² and from this larger number 353 should be subtracted, that is, Hermes.²³ If you find that the number is even, he lives, if not he has died. (50) (*charaktēres*).

¹² Some translators (ed.pr., David) attach μόνος to the following rather than preceding clause, giving “who alone has truth upon his head.” Here it is understood as a reference to the creator god’s original solitary state.

¹³ Probably Egyptian *p: ntr*, Coptic (S) πνογρε (“the/O god”).

¹⁴ The child mentioned here is a sryer who would look into the bowl for the ritualist and act as the intermediary with the invoked god. In GEMF 16/PDM XIV it is frequently specified that the child’s eyes should be covered (*h̄tm*) during the recitation of the formula before being uncovered to see the god (31, 71–72, 154–155, 160, 290, 483, 505, 511, 859, 868, 878).

¹⁵ The first line of this invocation is written in the left margin.

¹⁶ It is unclear if α’ ο’ should be understood as numerals (‘once’, ‘seventy times’), as abbreviations, or as some combination (e.g. ‘alpha seventy times’). Numerals elsewhere are indicated by supralineation rather than a *keraiā*. Cf. l. 46 where ο’ may stand for ὄ(νομα). Betz suggests that α’ ο’ να may be an abbreviation for Αβρααξ Αδωναί.

¹⁷ The *kotylos*, or κοτύλη, is a liquid measure, approximately 270 ml (9 fl. oz.); see Bagnall 2009b, 188.

¹⁸ See Faraone 2021e.

¹⁹ The symbols are written at l. 50, at the bottom of the column.

²⁰ This text seems to have been added as an annotation. For the use of χ to write χρ(ῶ) compare the medical papyrus P.Princ. III 155 r 9 (2nd–3rd cent.) and P.Oxy. LXXIV 4977 l. 1 (late 2nd–3rd cent.). For the alternative possibility that this writes χρηστόν or χρήσιμον, ‘useful’, cf. n. to GEMF 38 A 9). I thank F. Maltomini for highlighting this parallel.

²¹ Following Preisendanz, several authors have understood this recipe as a procedure in which a die is thrown into a bowl, which is then filled with water, before the numbers of the deities are added to and subtracted from the total. This is rather an example of what Kalvesmaki 2006, 353–379, terms “psephic prognostication,” a form of divination through calculation. Ψῆφος here means ‘number’ or ‘calculation’, rather than ‘dice’, and ψηφίζω ‘to calculate (the isopsephistic value)’. David et al. 1941 62–3 have pointed out parallels in the texts published by Delatte 1927, 142.18–21 (Athens, BN Ms. 1506, 19th cent.), 151.23–28 (Athens, BN Ms. 1275, 19th cent.), 572.8–13 (Cod. Bononiensis Univers. 3632, 15th cent.), containing instructions for calculating if, for example, a sick person will recover. These include instructions to calculate (ψηφιστικὸν/λογαρίάζε) the name of the individual, the day on which they were born or fell sick, and so on. οἶος is used in a similar way to give examples of possible days in a method to calculate the victor in a fight in Cod. Matrit. BN 4616 (15th cent.; CCAG XI.2, p. 148, l. 25). If these deities were used every time the calculation would always yield the same result for a given name. Cf. GEMF 15/PGM XII 351–364, which calculates if someone will live or die.

²² This is the isopsephistic value of the name of Zeus, ζ (7) + ε (5) + υ (400) + c (200).

²³ This is the isopsephistic value of the name of Hermes, ε (5) + ρ (100) + μ (40) + η (8) + c (200).

verso col. i ↓

GEMF 34/PGM LXII 51–74

1	M ³	Λ β Ἀντωνί'ν κορύ) μεχειρ̄ ε̄ εἰς τὴν ζ̄ φ̄ ε̄ νυκτός ·	
5		Κρό' φ̄ σκορπίω Ζεὺ' δ̄ ὑδροχῶ Ἄρης κριῶ Ἄφρο ^δ ε̄ ερμη ^ε αἶγο ^κ	55
10		Λ β τοῦ ἀντοῦ μεχειρ̄ ιζ̄ εἰς τη φ̄ ια νυκτος ·	60
15		Κρό' σκορπίω Ζεὺς δ̄ [Ἐρ ^μ] ὑδροχῶ Ἄρης κριῶ Ἄφρο ^δ φ̄ Ἐρ ^μ αἰγοκέρω Cελήνη διδύμοις	65
20	Διδ ^μ	Κρόνος ζ[υ]γῶ Ζεὺς ε̄ αἶγο ^κ Ἄφροδίτη κρι[ι]ῶ δ̄ ταύρω Ἐρμη ^ε Ἄρης διδύμοις φ̄ λέγοντι	70
<p>Διογυσία Λ α Φι[λί]ππ[ο]υ ἐπειὶ η̄ φ̄ β̄ ἡμε^ρ · Κρό' Ἄρη[ε] Παρθ]' Ζεὺ Ἄφρο^δ τα[ύρω] Ἐρμη^ε δ̄ [ιδύμοις] φ̄ δ̄ καρκίνω [lost lines?]</p>			

col. i 1 (ἔτους) | Ἀντωνίν(ου) | κορύφ(ου) || 3 ὥρ(αε) | ζ̄ Dv Ne || 4 Κρό(νοε) | ὥρ(οεκόποε) || 5 Ζεὺ(ε) | (Ἡλιοε) | 1. ὑδροχῶ :
υδροχῶ Ne || 7 Ἄφροδ(ίτη) | (Cελήνη) || 8 (ἔτους) || 10 ὥρ(αε) || 11 Κρό(νοε) || 12 (Ἡλιοε) | Ἐρμη(ῆε) || 14 Ἄφροδ(ίτη) | ὥρ(οεκόποε)
| Ἐρμη(ῆε) || 16 Δίδυμ(οε) vel διδύμ(οιε) || 17 (Cελήνη) | (αἰγοκέρω) || 19 (Ἡλιοε) || 21 ὥρ(οεκόποε) || 22 (ἔτους) | ὥρ(αε) |
ἡμέρ(αε) || 23 παρθ(ένω) | Ζεὺ(ε) | Ἄφροδ(ίτη) || 24 ὥρ(οεκόποε) | (Ἡλιοε) || post. 24 [(Cελήνη) ζυγῶ]

GEMF 34.51–74

Year 2 of Antoninus the Catamite,²⁴ 6 to 7 Mecheir, 6th hour of the night.²⁵ Saturn, horoscope: Scorpio. (55) Jupiter, sun: Aquarius. Mars: Aries. Venus, moon, Mercury: Capricorn.

Year 2 of the same, 17 to 18 Mecheir, (60) 11th hour of the night.²⁶ Saturn: Scorpio. Jupiter, sun, [[Mercury]]: Aquarius. Mars: Aries. Venus, horoscope, Mercury: Capricorn. (65) Moon: Gemini.

Didymos (?):²⁷ Saturn: Libra. Jupiter, moon: Capricorn. Venus: Aries. Sun: Taurus. (70) Mercury, Mars: Gemini. Horoscope: Leo.

Dionysia: Year 1 of Philippus,²⁸ 8 Epiphi, 2nd hour of the day.²⁹ Saturn, Mars: [Virgo]. Jupiter, Venus: Taurus. Mercury: Gemini. Horoscope, sun: Cancer. [Moon: Libra]

²⁴ This is Elagabalus (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus), r. 218–222 CE. The word read here as κορυφός poses a problem; Hunt (1932, 63) proposes κορυφαῖος, ‘headman, chief’, which he describes as an Egyptian “priestly title,” or κορύβας, ‘corybant’, which he suggests may have been an otherwise unattested title given to Elagabalus. Neugebauer and van Hoesen 1987, 56 suggested some writing of (τοῦ) κυρίου or καίσαρος. Κυροῦ occurs as an alternative writing of κυρίου in several papyri (e.g. P.Giss. I 96, l. 10, 160 CE), as does κουρίου (e.g. SB XVIII 14028 l. 3, 122–130 CE). The solution, however, is most likely κορύφ(ου), a title applied to Elagabalus in SM II 85 l. 2, another horoscope of a similar date. Łukaszewicz 1992, 43–46, understands the meaning as ‘virgin-rapist’, but the editors of P.Oxy XLVI 3298 and Fournet 2009, 52–55, translate the word as ‘catamite’/‘homosexual passif’, following the LSJ’s (s.v. sense III) understanding of it as ‘one who copulates in the manner of a girl’ (ὁ ὡς κόρη οἰφόμενος, Sch.Theoc.4.62, v.l. κόροφός).

²⁵ This horoscope can be dated to February 1, 219 CE, around midnight (cf. Neugebauer and van Hoesen 1987 56). The full sidereal longitudes for each planet are as follows: Sun: Aquarius 14°03'; Moon: Capricorn 21°59'; Saturn: Scorpio 20°07'; Jupiter: Aquarius 20°04'; Mars: Aries: 6°11'; Venus: Capricorn: 8°49'; Mercury: Aquarius 1°38'.

²⁶ This horoscope can be dated to February 12, 219 CE, around 5 am (cf. Neugebauer and van Hoesen 1987 56–57). The full sidereal longitudes for each planet are as follows: Sun: Aquarius 25°13'; Moon: Gemini 29°55'; Saturn: Scorpio 20°30'; Jupiter: Aquarius 22°45'; Mars: Aries 13°48'; Venus: Capricorn 22°25'; Mercury: Capricorn 28°31'.

²⁷ This abbreviated marginal note can be understood either as the personal name Didymus, presumably the individual for whom the horoscope was cast, or else, with a different ending, as the word for ‘twins’, perhaps referring to the nativity of two individuals; the alternative of understanding it as another reference to Gemini, correcting the position of Saturn, does not seem possible from an astronomical perspective. This horoscope can be dated to May 12, 217 CE, about midday (cf. Neugebauer and van Hoesen 1987 53). The full sidereal longitudes for each planet are as follows: Sun: Taurus 22°06'; Moon: Capricorn 14°02'; Saturn: Libra 22°26'; Jupiter: Capricorn 3°48'; Mars: Gemini 0°44'; Venus: Aries 9°30'; Mercury: Gemini 2°00'.

²⁸ Philip the Arab (Marcus Julius Philippus), r. 244–249 CE.

²⁹ This horoscope, apparently cast for an individual named Dionysia, can be dated to July 2, 244 CE, about 8 am (cf. Neugebauer and van Hoesen 1987 57). The full sidereal longitudes for each planet are as follows: Sun: Cancer 10°15'; Moon: Libra 28°44'; Saturn: Virgo 23°16'; Jupiter: Aries 28°45'; Mars: Virgo 14°34'; Venus: Taurus 26°09'; Mercury: Gemini 23°04'.

verso col. ii ↓

GEMF 34/PGM LXII 75–105

1 M⁴

[[αριουα]

75

φνουγγφειουσουεωερμηθωωαρ.ιβαραρεουβεο[.]εααλαω

αριουαθωρμεγερτιουμια[ci.]

ριουαθωρμεγερτιουμιᾱι

5

ι

εν

80

οὔτως καρδιοιδῶς

βαρδητεισ

10

γαρις

βυξ[.?.]

ταφι.υ

μαγ . .

[. .]ρωωλ

15

.ο.ρεν

βαρναραξ

βρ..νωρει

βραιωχιω

ανι

20

σιςιω....

κλυγακ . .

σιβυι

κ.π.

ιθι

25

ἀνογγήτω ἡ φύσις καὶ ἡ μήτρα τῆς Δ, καὶ αἱμαξέσθω νυκτὸς

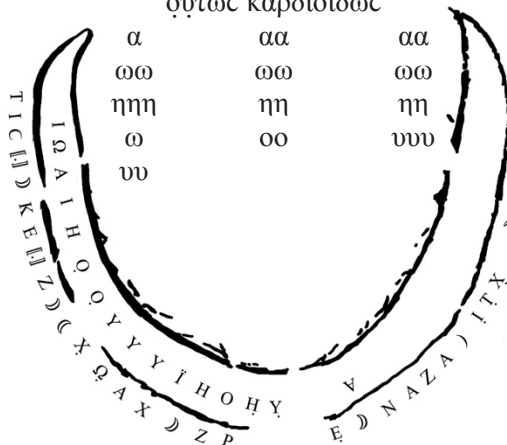
καὶ ἡμέρας. καὶ ταῦτα ἰ^ϛ λοχίω αἵματι καὶ προδί[ω]κε

30

τὰ . . . βᾶθει νυκτὸς . . . [. . .] αὐτῇ με πρώτη ἡδίκησε,

καὶ χῶσον παρὰ ῥοῦν ἢ παρὰ ἡ χα . . . ὄν ἐν πιττακι[δί]ω

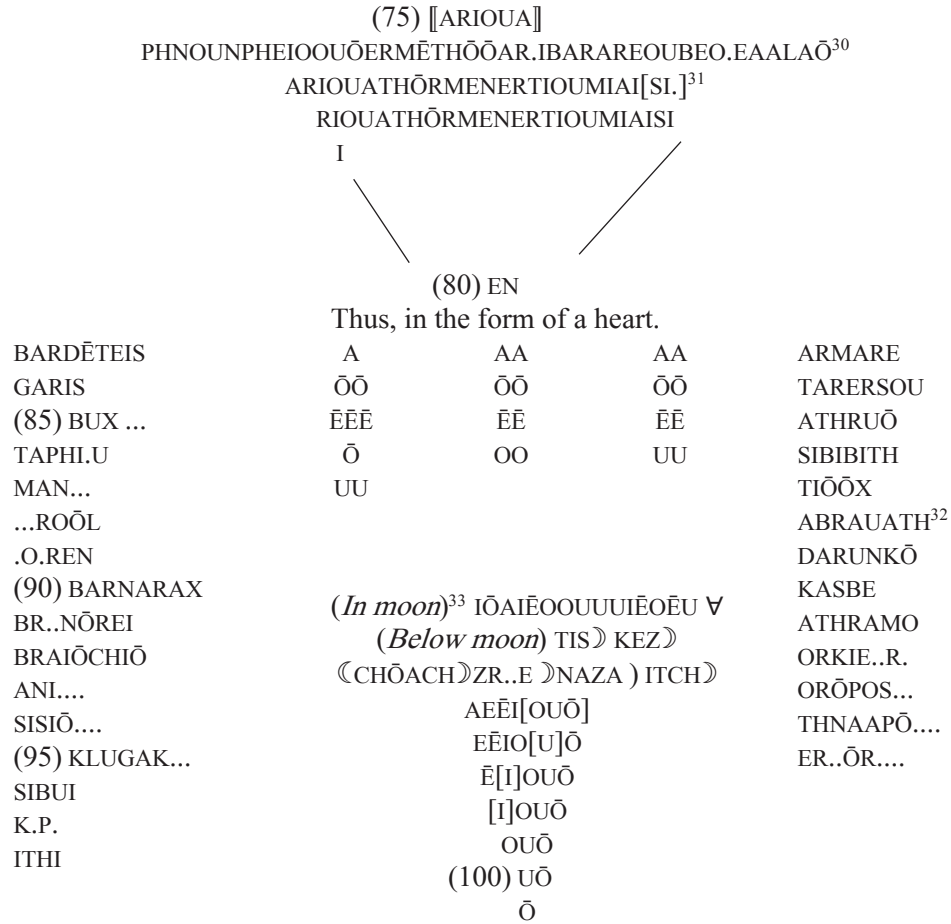
105



αρμαρε
ταρερσου
αθρυω
σιβιβιθ
85
τιωξ
αβραυαθ
δαρυγκω
κασβε
αθραμο
90
ορκιε . . ρ.
ορωπος . . .
θνααπω . . .
ερ . . ωρ . . .

αειη[ουω]
ειη[ουω]
η[ι]ουω
[ι]ουω
ουω
υω
ω

col. ii 2 φνουγγ Hu Pr : φνουτι Dv || 7 l. καρδιοειδῶς || 13 μαγα. Dv | αβρακηθ Dv || 16 in luna: τις vel τικ? || 14 [αφ]ρωωλ Pr, cf. GEMF 58 p. 11.7 = PGM V 365 αφρωωλ || 28 l. ἀνογγήτω | 1. δ(ε)ῖ(να) | αἱμαξέσθω Dv : αἱμαθεσθω Hu Pr : 1. αἱμασκέσθω || 29 l. ἡμέρας Pr | καὶ τὰ μην. Hu : καὶ τὰ κοινά Dv : καὶ τὰ κ.γ. ..() Ho | αρ . . . χρῶ αἵματι Hu : ἀρν[εῖω] χρῶ αἵματι : αἰσχυρῶ αἵματι Dv Ho | γρ(άφων) || 30 τα . . αθε. . νύκτος γε. . [. .] . ικειομ. πρώτη vel νύκτας Hu : τα[. .] αθθω νυκτὸς γενο[μένη]c Dv : τὰ [πα]ράθε[τα] νυκτὸς γε [ca 9] ιομ [. .] πρώτη ηδίκησε Pr | τα [. .] . . θε. . νύκτος ἀδ. . [. .] : 1. τὰ [π]ρόθετα νυκτὸς ἀδῆλου Ho || 31 παρὰ δυχα . . ὄν ἐν πιττακι[ω].[.]ω. Dv : παρὰ [.]ηχα.ον Dv Ho : 1. χᾶ[ραξ]ον ἐν πιττα[κιω] χαλκ[ῶ] Eι : 1. μηχανήν vel μήχανον Au : ῥοῦν ἢ ἴσχαμιον Sch



“Let the vagina and the womb of NN (f.) be opened, and let her be bloody night and day!” And write these with blood from childbirth,³⁴ and recite the... in the depth (?) of the night “...she first wronged me,” (105) and bury by a stream or by... on a small tablet.

³⁰ The first part of this name could be understood as the Egyptian *p; nwn p; 3* Coptic (S) πνωγν πνω (“the/O Nun (primordial waters), the/O great one”).

³¹ Aubert 1989, 428–429, suggests that this may contain the name of Hathor (Ἄθωρ), Isis (Ἴσι), and perhaps her titles ‘the (unique) one’ (μία) or ‘mother’ (μαῖα), both attested in the hymn to the goddess in P.Oxy. XI 1380 (ll. 6, 39, 103, 116). This name is apparently to be written as an inverted triangle (καρδία, ‘heart’), with one letter being removed from either side in each successive line; the scribe has only copied the initial and final lines in full, indicating the first ι of the third line, and marking the rest of the shape with two oblique lines. As it is transcribed here, the sequence is defective, since the first line has an uneven number of letters, and would not therefore end in εν.

³² Fauth 2014, 61, sees αβρααθ as a mutation of the Heb. or Ar. *arbat̄h Iaō* “Four Iaō”—the *tetragrammaton* preceded by the number of its letters.

³³ The image resembles that of GEMF 82/PGM CXXIII^f, although that example is too fragmentary and it may be rather an *ouroboros*. Here the symbol seems to represent the womb of the ritual’s victim; see Aubert 1989, 429–430.

³⁴ The suggestions “lamb’s blood” (ἀρν[εῖω] χρῶ αίματι) and “filthy blood” (αἰς χρῶ αίματι) do not fit the traces. The latter, understood as menstrual blood, is plausible, but is not otherwise attested. Λόγιος and its cognates are found in literary and documentary texts, and while the exact phrase λόγιον αίμα does not seem to be attested, several authors use the two words in close connection to discuss the flow of blood which accompanied childbirth (e.g. Arist. *HA* 573a l. 9). Cf. Aubert 1989, 430–435, in which menstrual blood may cause sterility or act as an abortifacient. The similarity of the blood at childbirth to menstrual blood would allow us to keep these as *comparanda*.

verso col. iii ↓

GEMF 34/PGM LXII 106–132

	κᾶτοχος	
	λα[βῶν] ουρογ[
	δ . . [.] . μωνι[
5	ςας βάλε εἰς [	110
	. . [.]ρ λόγον.[
	. εν φαρ.α [-?- λε-	
	γόμενος λόγ[οσ	
	ἐστὶν οὗτος [
10	γη Ποσιδῶν [	115
	ουμ[.]υφιυ κ[
	μῆ γαμητᾶ[ι	
	Ἰ ^ϛ εἰς ὄστρακ ^κ [
	.τη ιαση αρι[
15	μεθ' ὕδατος κ[αὶ	120
	. . ω σεαρθῶ[
	.νηλ ἦηπ[
	. ρ.νααρ[.]ω [
	[. .] φοῖςρω [
	[. .]αβωτ[.] . [
20	κύριοι θε[οί	125
	. . ὀρκίζω [
	[. .] . . . εου[
	[. .] . . δω.αγρ' . [
	.αβραφαρ[
25	ἐπίθυε ἐπι[	130
	. . αα . [
	ἐπι ο[

1–27 Hu et Pr non includunt || 2 l. σύρογ Dv || 3 δ .[.] μμων π[Dv : 1. ἄλδς ἀμμωνιακός vel ἀμμωνιακή vel ἀμμωνιακόν || 9 l. Ποσειδῶν || 10 . υμ.υφιτ[.]κ[Dv : vel 1. οὐ μῆ νύμφη ? || 12 γρ(άφε) | 1. ὄστρακ(ον) || 13 l. fort. ἀριστερός || 15 σε αρθω Dv || 16 .]. ηλ ἦη π[Dv || 17 φ[.] .ααρθῆ[Dv || 18 φοῖςρω Dv || 19 ..]αβωτ[.] . [Dv : 1. καλαβώτης || 21 ὀρκίζω [ύμας] fort. Dv

GEMF 34.106–132

Restraining Procedure: Take urine(?)³⁵... 4... ammoniac(?) ... cast into ... (110) ... formula ... formula to be spoken... is this... Poseidon³⁶ ... (115) ... (s)he shall not marry... write on an ostrakon³⁷... with water and (?) ... (120) ... gecko(?)³⁸ ... (125) lord gods... I adjure...EOU... DŌ AGR...ABRAPHAR...(130) burn (incense) upon... on...

K. Dosoo

³⁵ There does not seem to be enough space here for αἴλουρον (cf. GEMF 55/PGM III 1; 15.157/XII 108), even if the first diphthong were to have been reduced to an epsilon.

³⁶ Poseidon does not seem to be otherwise attested in the corpus of Greco-Egyptian magical papyri, although his name apparently appears on a gold amulet from second-century CE Athens (GMA 42, 6).

³⁷ The word ὄστρακον in Egyptian Greek normally refers to a potsherd or piece of limestone; with qualifiers such as “of the sea” (ἀπὸ θαλάσσης) it refers instead to a seashell. See Martín Hernández and Torallas Tovar 2014b.

³⁸ The aim of preventing a marriage (l. 116) fits the model of a restraining-procedure; cf. GEMF 58/PGM V 330: “in order that she, NN, not marry, him, NN.” On the other hand, the mention of the potsherd (l. 117) and the gecko (l. 124) may hint at another, related kind of curse, the separation-procedure as in GEMF 15.493–518/PDM XII 50–75 and 519–550/PDM XII 76–107/PGM XII 453–465 (inscribed potsherd with a drawing of Seth, buried “in the house, in which they are”; asks Seth-Typhon to separate the couple). For the gecko (καλ]αβῶτ[ης] in l. 124 see another separation-procedure (incorrectly labelled an *agōgē*) involving a gecko (GEMF 18.201–221/PGM LXI 39–59): “Gecko, gecko, (καλαβ[ῶτα, κα]λαβῶτα) just as Helios and all the [gods] hated you, in this way also let her, NN, hate her husband for all time and let her husband (hate) her!”

GEMF 35
(SM II 79, P.Oxy. LVI 3834)

Oxyrhynchus

III CE

ED.PR.: P.Oxy. LVI 3834 (Daniel 1989)

REPubL.: SM II 79

TRANSL.: ed.pr. (English); SM II 79 (English); Burnet 2003, 184 no. 118 (French); (ll. 1–11) Ficheux 2007, 230–231 (French)

COMM.: ed.pr.; SM II 79

LOC.: Oxford, Sackler Library, Papyrology Rooms

TM 64170

This papyrus (H. 21 × W. 21 cm), damaged at left, right and bottom, features two columns of unequal height, written on the recto along the fibers in a practiced cursive reminiscent of the chancery style of the third century (cf. especially the first two lines of col. ii). One can compare P.Oxy. XIX 2240 (211 CE) and P.Flor. I 47 (tav. viii; Cavallo, *Scrivere*, tav. cxxi; 217 CE). The back is blank.

The short first column has a blank space of ca 4 cm at the head, and at least 7.5 cm at the foot, whereas the second column has an upper margin of 1.5 cm, and is broken at the foot. The *intercolumnium* ranges in size from almost nothing to 2 cm, whereas 2.5–3.5 cm of unwritten papyrus survives to the left of col. i, and as much as 4.5 cm to the right of col. ii. A three-layer *kollesis* is visible 4–4.5 cm from the left, with an overlap of ca 2 cm, which is uphill in relation to the writing. All this might suggest an independent piece of papyrus rather than a fragment from a longer roll. There is a *paragraphos* after ll. 11 (not recorded in the ed.pr. and SM), 25 (forked) and 32. No accents, breathings or apostrophes occur. *Diaeresis* is used above initial ι (l. 12) and υ (l. 18). Δ (ll. 5, 9, 21, 25, 31) and Δνα (l. 8) stand for δεῖνα, but the full form appears at l. 17; ᾰ stands for ᾰλλο (l. 6); a raised horizontal for final ν is found at l. 7. A correction has been made supralinearly (l. 26), apparently by the writer of the text.

The preserved section consists of six recipes, each headed with a rubric, which sometimes is not graphically different from the body of the recipe (ll. 1, 12–13, 26), and sometimes appears in its own line: in ll. 6, 19 (in *ekthesis*), and 33 (in the mid-line). The first two recipes (ll. 1–5 and 6–11) promote conception; the third (12–18) induces a prophetic dream; the fourth (19–25) is an anger-restraining procedure; the fifth (26–32) is a victory-procedure over a legal adversary; the sixth (33–34) is against fever.

recto	col. i →	col. ii →	GEMF 35
		ὄνειρον ἰδεῖν ἀληθει- νόν. κοιμώμενος λέγε ἀγνά φαγών·	
1	ἐπὶ ἐκκρίματος, καλόν. συγγενόμενος λέγε· ἐκκέχυκα τὸ ἔμα τοῦ Ἀβραθιαου εἰς τὴν	15 νῆ Νειθ, ἰ Νειεθ εἰ ἐπιτυγχάνω τοῦ δεῖνα πράγματος, δεῖξον μοι ὕδωρ, εἰ δὲ μή, πῦρ· θυμοκάτοχον.	
5	φύσιν τῆς Δ. α	20 προσερχόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγε· μή μοι ὀργίζου, ὁ Δ, ἀλλὰ μεταστράφητι· ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐν οὐρανῷ, Αφφου	
10	[δ]ός σου τὴν ἡδονήν τῷ Δνα· μετέδωκά σοι τὴν ἐμὴν ἡδονήν, ἡ Δ, ἐν δὲ τῇ κοιλίᾳ σου ἔχευσα τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Βαβραῶθ.	25 ἀχ. [. . .] Ἀβρα[α]ξ· λήξον ὀργήν, ὁ Δ, εἰς ἐμέ, τὸν Δ. ἐπὶ ἀ[ν] ^α δίκου[ν] νεικητικ[όν]. ἀποβλέπων τὴν ἀκτ[ίνα τοῦ] θεοῦ λέγε· <u>τσιτσιρω</u> .[θιανοηρ Ἀβρασαξ, ἐ[ναντι-] ώθητε ἐν τῇ σήμ[ερον ἡμέ-] ρα τῷ Δ, ἐπὶ ἀντίδικ[ός ἐστι] τοῦ [θ]εοῦ. ἐπὶ πυρετοῦ. [ca 12]νθης . . .	

Omnia supplementa ex ed.pr. desumpta.

2 l. συγγενόμενος || 3 l. αἷμα || 5, 9, 21, 25 (bis), 31 δ(ε)ῖ(να) || 6 ἄλ(λο) || 7 ἡδονή(ν) || 8 δ(ε)ῖνα || 12–13 l. ἀληθινόν || 19–20 in ekthesi || 24 post Ἀβρα[α]ξ spat. unius litt. || 26 l. νεικητικόν || 31 l. ἐπεὶ

GEMF 35

Over (seminal) secretion; a good charm.¹ Having made love say: “I have poured out the blood of ABRATHIAOU² into the (5) *natura* of her, NN.”³ Another: “Give your pleasure to NN;⁴ I gave you my pleasure, you, NN.⁵ (10) In your womb I poured the blood of BABRAÖTH.”⁶ To see a true dream. Upon going to sleep say after you have eaten ritually pure food:⁷ (15) “Verily by NEITH, verily by NEIETH,⁸ if I shall attain the NN thing, show me water, if not, fire.”⁹ Anger-restraining procedure.¹⁰ (20) Go to him and say: “Do not be angry with me, you, NN, but have a change of heart. I am the god in heaven, APHPHOU¹¹ ACH ... ABRAS[A]X. Put an end to (25) (your) anger, you, NN, against me, NN.” Victory-procedure over a legal adversary.¹² Looking at the ray of the god¹³ say: “SISISRÖ ... THIANOËR ABRASAX,¹⁴ oppose¹⁵ (30) on the present day NN, because he is an adversary of the god.”¹⁶ In case of fever ...

F. Maltomini

¹ For a similar boast, see GEMF 33/SM II 82 B 5 κάλλιστον.

² Probably a variant of Αρβαθαω, “fourfold Yahweh,” on which see Fauth 1983, 64–103; GMA 2.4–5 n.

³ There is a close similarity with the gold *lamella* from Ballana in GMA 61, where, however, the male semen is referred to as water of various gods. Details in SM II 79.1–11 comm.

⁴ Paleographically it is difficult to decide between τῶ δ(ε)ῖνα and τῆ δ(ε)ῖνα, but the former seems as preferable in light of ll. 8–9 μετέδωκά σοι τὴν ἐμὴν ἡδονήν, ἢ δ(ε)ῖ(να) (differently Ficheux 2007, 231: “donne ton plaisir à Une telle”).

⁵ ἡ δεῖνα (l. 9) is vocative, like ὁ δεῖνα in ll. 21 and 25 (cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 323, 2180; 76/X 3; 68/XXXVI 156 and, possibly, GEMF 4/SM II 72, i 16–20, 23). The translation by Burnet 2003, 184 “je t’ai donné mon plaisir à Untel” is wrong.

⁶ PGM, vol. 3 (Index), p. 236 lists the similar Βαρβ[α]ωθ for GEMF 15.121/XII 72 (Cηβαρβαωθ in the text).

⁷ Other passages in divinatory charms that prescribe ritual purity are GEMF 30.195, 198/PGM II 148, 151; 57/IV 52–57, 73–74, 784, 3209; 74.415, 1004/VII 334, 846; 60/XIII 151; 61/XXIIb 27. See also P.Oxy. LXXXII 5304 ii 21 comm.

⁸ The Saite goddess Neith, mentioned twice, the first time preceded by the Greek particle νή, the second time by the synonymous Egyptian particle ἰ; cf. Crum, s.v. εἰε (c), p. 74 b (suggestion by H. J. Thissen, apud ed.pr.). Cf. GEMF 74.422/PGM VII 341 νηῖθι and XIXa 1 Νηῖθ, Νηῖθ. On the deity see Schlichting 1982.

⁹ Cf. GEMF 74.330–334, 335–339/PGM VII 250–254, 255–259; 61/XXIIb 27–31, 32–35. Artemidorus criticized such prognostic dream-charms: 2.2 (p. 246, 14–22 Pack). He discusses the significance of fire and water in dreams in 2.9–10 and 2.7 respectively.

¹⁰ On θυμοκάτοχα see GEMF 40/P.Oxy. LXXXII 5304, n. 14.

¹¹ Cf. Αφουθ (GEMF 8.49/PGM LVII 10), the 18th Egyptian decan (see the different forms of his name in Gundel 1936, 77–78.18).

¹² The juristic term ἀντίδικος (l. 26) is used in l. 31 in a more general sense (cf. PGM XXXIIa 1, LXVIII 1; also GEMF 42/P.Mich. inv. 3404 recto, n. 11).

¹³ The Sun. Cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 905–906 πρὸς τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτῖνας. For ἀκτῖνες (τοῦ) θεοῦ (= Helios), cf. A. Pers. 502–503; Hld. 2.1.1; Jul. Or. 8.12.22.

¹⁴ Possibly a variant of the cιcιcρω-*logos*, the standard form of which is cιcιcρω cιcι φερμου Χνουωρ Αβρασαζ (see Michel 2001, I 376; SM I 42.49–50 comm.; Mastrocinque 2011, 32–37). Papyrus’ θιανοηρ might be a deformation of Χνουωρ (or of Ἄρουηρ, cf. SM I 42.49).

¹⁵ For the verb ἐναντιόμην or cognates in magical texts, see SM II 79.29–30 comm; also SEG LXIII 1557.12–16.

¹⁶ A sort of διαβολή, cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 2340–2341 ὀργίθητι (...) τῶ δεῖνα, ἐχθρῶ τῶν ἐν οὐρανῶ θεῶν, and see Blanco Cesteros and Chronopoulou 2018, 284.

GEMF 36
(PGM LXXXVI, SM II 80)

Provenance unknown

III CE

ED.PR: Collart 1940, 32–33, no. 89 [Co]

REPubL.: SM II 80

TRANSL.: Kotansky, GMPT, 301 (English); SM II 80 (English)

COMM.: ed.pr.; SM II 80

LOC.: Paris, Institut de Papyrologie, Université de Paris-Sorbonne. Inv. 2176, P.Reinach II 89

TM 65846

The recto of this papyrus fragment (H. 10 × W. 4.5 cm) features the remains of a column, written along the fibers, broken at the left, right and bottom. The upper margin is preserved completely and measures 2.5 cm. The verso is blank. The text is copied in a round, upright, bilinear (but ι, ξ, ρ project below, and φ and ψ above and below), slowly written hand. It is of a professional type, but makes an impression of informality. The letters are made separately, and some of them (δ, η, ν, μ, φ, ω) are extended horizontally. To be noted are narrow and looped α (but angular at l. 4); deep rounded μ in one sequence; ξ halfway to cursive form; well rounded ο; υ in Y-shape. Tiny, certainly non casual, blobs appear at the foot of verticals (especially of ρ) and at the extremities of the arms of ω. The first editor assigned the papyrus to the fourth century, but the writing shows close similarities with literary hands of the early and middle 3rd century; cf. GLH, pl. 20 a-c. Hand and *mise en page* (conspicuous margin, generous internal spaces) suggest a book of good quality. There are no accents, breathings or apostrophes. *Iota* adscript is correctly written in the only case where it is required (l. 3). Δ stands for δεῖνα. One iotacistic mistake. The fragment contains two recipes separated by a long horizontal stroke and a deep interlinear space (2.5 cm). The first is concerned with the making of an amulet; the purpose of the second cannot be determined.¹

recto →

1 φ]ύλαξον τὸν Δ ὃν ἔτ[εκεν ἡ Δ
π]ερίαψον περὶ τὸν τρά[χηλον

ἀνα]τολῆτι Διδύμων []ριον ὄραc θ̄ γραφ[
5] . ω αἰγὸc θηλίαc εἰ . [] . ξξοντᾶ] . . .] δονο[] . ξου . [] . [

Omnia suppl. ed.pr.

1 δ(ε)ῖ(να) || 2 περὶ SM : π[ε]ρὶ Co || ἀνατολῆτι SM : ἀνατολῆ̄ι Co || 4 αῦ]ριον Co | fort. γράφ[ε || 5 l. θηλείαc || 7] . ξου . [SM :] ζου[Co

Protect him, NN, whom NN bore . . . attach (it) around the neck.² At the rising³ of Gemini . . . at (?) the 9th hour, write . . . (5) . . . of a female goat⁴ . . .

F. Maltomini

¹ Horomancy, hemeromancy according to Brashear 1995, 3477, 3505 (cf. also ed.pr., comm. on l. 4).

² See parallels in Brashear 1991, 55.

³ Probably to be supplemented ἐν τῇ ἀνα]τολῆτι (l. 3), as in GEMF 55/PGM III 122, 128; 60/XIII 402–403. Also possible is the synonymous ἐπι]τολῆτι (cf. 60/XIII 390).

⁴ On female goats and their properties, cf. *Cyran.* II 4 (pp. 120–122 K.). The mutilated word that follows (l. 5 εἰ . [] might be a form of εἰλέω.

GEMF 38
(PGM CXIXa–b, SM II 82)

Provenance unknown

III CE

ED.PR: Pintaudi 1979, 34–35, no. 57 [Pi]

REPUBL.: SM II 82

TRANSL.: Kotansky, GMPT, 315 (English); SM II 82 (English); (fr. A 4–5) Ficheux 2007, 227 (French)

COMM.: ed.pr.; SM II 82

LOC.: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Inv. PL II/52, P.Laur. III 57

TM 64047

These are two fragments of a papyrus roll (fr. A H. 8.3 × W. 8.5 cm; fr. B H. 2.7 × W. 9.3 cm), whose position in relationship to each other cannot be determined. The magical text is written along the fibers on the verso. Fr. A, broken away at right, top and bottom preserves the left side of a column; to the left a blank space of 2 cm. Fr. B is broken away on all sides. On the recto of fr. A, remains of seven lines in a different hand run along the fibers at right angles to the text on the verso; the right side of the recto corresponds with the top of the verso. A transcription of this text is given by Pintaudi 2014, 257–260, who dates it to the beginning of the third century. The recto of fr. B is blank.

The fluent cursive writing of the magical text, which is slightly inclined to the right and presents many ligatures, is carelessly executed but not by an inexpert scribe. Note: β is angular and asymmetrical, ε in two strokes, ρ small and markedly curved, c almost inverted. It can be dated to the first half of the 3rd century: the first editor rightly compares CPR I 32 (Seider I, 27, fig. 43; 218 CE), PSI X 1173 (Cavallo, *Scrivere*, no. 46, pl. XXXVIII; early 3rd cent., cf. *ibid.* p. 127), and (Pintaudi 2014, 257) P.Flor. I 47 (tav. VIII; Cavallo, *Scrivere*, no. 131, pl. CXXI; 217 CE).

αγω^γ is used for ἀγώγιμον or ἀγωγή (A 4). ✱ for χρηστόν or χρήσιμον (A 9, in marg.). καί is abbreviated κ. Some magical words are partially overlined (A 3). There are some orthographic errors.

Remains of five short prescriptions are preserved on fr. A and of four (? cf. below n. 4) on fr. B: A 1 probably a sleep-inducing procedure, 2–3 touch-procedure, 4–6 attraction-procedure, 7–9 subjugation-procedure, 10–11 probably a favor-procedure; B 1 undetermined, 2–3 medical (wounds), 4 undetermined (against fever?), 5 against fever.

As far as can be ascertained, the first line of every prescription was in *ekthesis* and it began with a heading. There is extra interlinear space between lines 1 and 2 (begin of a new prescription) on fr. A. If the supplement of fr. B 5 is right, the column of writing was broader than 11 cm.

verso →

GEMF 38

fr. A

1 ὕπνου τυχ[εῖ]ν· ἐξορκίζω [

παράψιμον. λαβὼν γα[

θεχθει ἰβεαλη[

ἀγώγ'. ἐπὶ ὄστρακι[

5 βολσακ' σαρ[

τὰς φρένας [

ὑποτακτικόν. [

ὑπόταξον [

✠ γράψον [

10 τ[.] . . [

ἐπαφροδι[σίαν

fr. B

1]α . . . [. . .] . [

]εδης τραύματα [] . . [

] κυνὸς λόγος. μίγχε δὲ κς . [

]ν. λαβὼν φύλλον ἐλέας ἐπίγρ[αψον

5 [πρὸς καθημερι]νὸν κς νυκτερινόν, κέλλιςτον. λαβὼν . [

Fr. A 1, 2, 4, 7, 10 in ecthesi || 1 ὕπνου τυχ[εῖ]ν SM : . . . του τύχ[η]ν Pi || 2 γά[λα suppl. Pi || 4 ἀγώγ(ιμον) vel ἀγωγ(ή) | post αγωῦ spat. unius litt. || 5 βολσακ' Pap || 9 χρ(ητόν) vel χρ(ήσιμον)

Fr. B 3] κυνὸς (l. κοινὸς) λόγος SM :] κενολόγος Pi || 4 ῥιγοπυρέτιο]ν suppl. Pi | l. ἐλαίας | ἐπίγρ[αψον vel ἐπίγρ[αφε || 5 l. κάλλιςτον

Fr. A ... For getting sleep. I adjure ... Touch-procedure.¹ Take milk (?) ... THECHTHEI IBEALĒ ... Attraction-procedure. On a potsherd(?) ... (5) BOLSAK SAR ... the wits ... Subjection-procedure.² ... subjéct ... (on the left margin: useful) write ... (10) ... loveliness³ ...

Fr. B ... wounds⁴ ... any formula at all.⁵ Mix and ... [Against fever with shivering(?)].⁶ Take an olive-leaf and write on it ... (5) Against diurnal and nocturnal fever, excellent.⁷ Take ...

F. Maltomini

¹ The παράψιμον (l. 2) is a magical procedure for seduction that acts by contact: cf. GEMF 74.1128–1135/PGM VII 973–980; 15.111/XII 62 (the reading of the papyrus must be retained, see Schmidt 1935, 1174, and PGM, vol. 3 (Index), 158); also 57/IV 2173–2174.

² ὑποτακτικόν (l. 7): cf. GEMF 74.477, 1083, 1096/PGM VII 396, 925, 940; 76/X 36; 40/P.Oxy. LXXXII 5304 ii 9. See Hopfner 1938, 128–148, to whose references one can add the magical gems CBd-447, 2371, 2425, 2426, 3551, 3930.

³ For the word ἐπαφροδισία (l. 11), its occurrence and history, see GMA, 356–360. It is typical of the favor-procedures; therefore the restoration τε[λετή], proposed by the ed.pr at the beginning of l. 10, is improbable.

⁴ Perhaps we have here (B 2) the title of the recipe, e.g. [πρὸς τὰ ἀπὸ π]έδης τραύματα. The first visible trace after this suggests λ, but the following remains seem hardly compatible with λα[βόν] (or λαβ[ί]ών).

⁵ κοινὸς λόγος (B 3) is equivalent to the frequent κοινόν, κοινά. Cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 2080 κοινολογία.

⁶ According to the restoration [πρὸς ῥιγοπυρέτιο]ν proposed by the ed.pr., who compared ll. 4–5 with GEMF 74.285 and 287/PGM VII 211 and 213.

⁷ For authoritative claims, cf. GEMF 9/SM II 74 n. 4. In particular cf. GEMF 35/SM II 79 i 1 καλόν; 74.466/VII 385 ποτήριον καλόν.

GEMF 39
(P.Oxy. LXXXII 5303)

Oxyrhynchus

III CE

ED.PR.: P.Oxy. LXXXII 5303 (Maltomini 2016, 48–51)

TRANSL.: ed.pr. (English)

COMM.: ed.pr.; (ll. 2, 4) Zellmann-Rohrer 2017; (l. 2) Martinez 2018, 338

LOC.: Oxford, Sackler Library, Papyrology Rooms

TM 702428

A fragment (H. 12.2 × W. 6 cm) of a papyrus roll, with the beginnings of 20 lines running along the fibers on the recto. The upper margin is preserved to a height of 0.9 cm and there is a blank space on the left of about 2.5 cm wide. The back is blank.

The text is written in an informal, medium-sized, upright hand with cursive elements (note κ, ξ, also π) and some ligatures. The writing is only roughly bilinear, with ρ and sometimes ι projecting below, and φ and ψ both above and below. Its general appearance is reminiscent of the chancery style of the 3rd century. Useful comparanda are PSI VI 727 (Cavallo, *Scrivere*, no. 35, pl. XXX; 2nd–3rd cent.), PSI II 127 (no. 36, pl. XXXI; 2nd–3rd cent.), and P.Gen. IV 166 (pl. XXIX; 267 CE).

The column contains the remains of four recipes, which are too scanty to allow much inference as to their content (for the second recipe, see below n. 2). The forked *paragraphos* is used to separate the procedures, but the last line has to the left an L-shaped sign, on which see GEMF 9 intro. There is an apostrophe (l. 4, but see below n. 4), and an example of unmarked elision (l. 9). The scribe has corrected the text at 5 (see n. 6).

The text follows the ed.pr.

recto →

1 αθρωοτο . . [
 πρὸς ἔντευξε[iv
 λίθου γλύψον [
 λον ὀρθὸν τὰ τ' [
 5 βაციον βα^ελι^ειον . [
 φασφεφλωρια[
 πράξις Τυφω[
 διως ἐνεγκεῖν [ἐ-]
 φ' ἡμέρας λ [
 10 αὐτοῦ λαβὼν [
 αὐτοῦ καὶ γράψ[α
 δὸς αὐτῷ φο[ρεῖν.
 ἐὰν θέλῃς σου[
 καὶ πλῆσον α . [
 15 τος π . [
 [
 εἰςτο [
 γλωσσαν κ [
 καὶ βαλλο[
 20 τοῦτο βαα[

Contuli

2 l. ἔντευξις || 2–3 prob. ἐπὶ | λίθου || 3–4 εἶδω]λον? κροκόδει]λον? || 4 τ' Pap. || 4–5 τα]]βάσιον? || 5 fort. ζ[κῆπτρον || 7–8 fort. ῥα]]δίως || 14–15 fort. ὕδα]]τος πο[ταμίου || 17 εἰς?

GEMF 39

ATHRŌOTO¹...

For sexual intercourse(?)² ... [On] a stone, engrave ... standing,³ and the⁴ ... tabasheer(?),⁵ (5) royal⁶ [sceptre(?)]⁷ ... PHASPHEPHLOŌRIA...

Rite. Typhon⁸ ... to bear lightly(?)⁹ ... for thirty days ... (10) of it. Take ... of it, write (i.e. on it) ... (and) give (it) to him to wear.¹⁰ If you want¹¹ ... and fill it¹² [with river water(?)]¹³ ... (15) tongue¹⁴ ... and being thrown (?)¹⁵ ... (20) this, [torment(?)]¹⁶ ...

F. Maltomini

¹ Possibly a magical word at the end of the charm, as we see at the end of the next one (l. 6). Cf. PGM XVI 10 αθρωα.

² This might be here the meaning of ἔντευξις (cf. LSJ s.v. 2.c; also s.v. ἐντυγχάνω II.2), a word which does not occur elsewhere in the magical papyri. However (as Martínez 2018, 338 and Zellmann-Rohrer 2017 rightly noticed), it could be synonymous of ἐντυχία, ‘prayer’, ‘petition’ or ‘encounter’ (see GEMF 21/P.Duke inv. 729.28 with n. 11). In the ed.pr. I also entertained the possibility of a scribal mistake (cursive π > ν) for ἐπίτευξις, ‘success’ (cf. GEMF 15.320/PGM XII 271, etc.), but this hypothesis is now probably unnecessary.

³ Referring to the engraved figure. Cf. GEMF 15.194–195/PGM XII 145–146 γράψων εἰς βύσσινον ῥάκος ... θεὸν Ἐ[ρ]μῆν ὀρ[θ]όν, Alex. Trall. *Therap.* 8.2 (ii 377.6 P.) εἰς λίθον Μηδικὸν γλύψων Ἡρακλέα ὀρθόν.

⁴ Zellmann-Rohrer 2017 suggests reading Τατ’ (l. 4), i.e. Thoth (“Thoth, erect”), with the apostrophe marking the end of a non-Greek word.

⁵ On this substance, see Halleux 1981, 231.

⁶ Maltomini 1990 collected some examples of βαλευς and βαλεια (written for βασιλεύς and βασιλεία), which are probably to be considered as abbreviations rather than errors; add P.Oxy. LXXVI 5072 ↓ 9 βαλεια. The present instance of βαλ- (l. 5) in a cognate form seems *prima facie* best interpreted as an error: however, the scribe may have changed what he originally wrote (which in any case had a false ending, with ι for ει) in order to clarify a form that he had just copied as it stood in his exemplar.

⁷ For βασιλειον κήπτρον (l. 5), cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 263; 58/V 448.

⁸ There are many possibilities of the sequence πρᾶξις Τυφω[(l. 7); among others: (a) (with full stop after πρᾶξις) Τυφω[v, vocative (as in GEMF 41/P.Oxy. LXXXII 5305, 49) at the beginning of a *logos*; (b) (again with full stop after πρᾶξις) Τυφω[voc and then, e.g., αἶμα (cf. GEMF 41.33 with n.), κράνιον (GEMF 75/PGM XIa) 1–2), μέλαν (15.146/XII 97), μιλάριον (57/IV 2220), μίλτον (15.147/XII 98; in all these cases Typhon means ‘ass’), ὄνομα (57/IV 244); (c) πρᾶξις τυφω[νιακή (vel sim., “magical operation concerning Typhon”).

⁹ ῥα]δίως ἐνεγκεῖν (ll. 7–8) would give an idiomatic nexus (cf. LSJ s.v. ῥάδιος B.I.1), but it is difficult to imagine the whole context.

¹⁰ For the nexus δὸς φορεῖν cf. GEMF 15.330/PGM XII 281; 66/XXIIa 15–16; 18.199/LXI 37 etc. (more in the ed.pr.).

¹¹ εἰάν θέλης (l. 13) is frequent in prescriptions at the beginning, see SM II 100.8 comm.

¹² Perhaps ἀϋ[τ-.

¹³ For πλήκρον ὕδατος (ll. 14–15), cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 3210; 34/LXII 46–47 (see app.cr.); GEMF 41/P.Oxy. LXXXII 5305, 66. For the restoration πο[ταμίου, cf. 57/IV 3250–3251; πη[γαίου (31/I 234–235, 246 etc.) does not fit the trace (apparently the base of a circle).

¹⁴ Possibly the tongue of an animal manipulated in the rite, as in GEMF 76/PGM X 38 and probably in 29/LXIII 10. In 57/IV 1745–1746, the practitioner has to put a stone under his own tongue.

¹⁵ In line 19, read perhaps βαλλο[μένην, with γλωσσαν.

¹⁶ Perhaps there is a form of βάκανος or βακανίζω in l. 20. Alternatively, a *vox magica*, closing the recipe (see above n. 1); cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 200 βακαναπαταου; 70/LVIII 26 βακανουμ, SM I 42.33 βακανα.

GEMF 40
(P.Oxy. LXXXII 5304)

Oxyrhynchus

III CE

ED.PR.: P.Oxy. LXXXII 5304 (Maltomini 2016, 51–63)

TRANSL.: ed.pr. (English)

COMM.: ed.pr.; (col. i 2) Zellmann-Rohrer 2017 [Ze]

LOC.: Oxford, Sackler Library, Papyrology Rooms

TM 702429

The recto of this fragment of a roll (H. 28.7 × W. 18.8 cm) features parts of two columns of a magical formulary, written along the fibers; the verso has been published as P.Oxy. LXXXII 5315. A *kollesis* is visible about 3.5 cm from the left-hand edge. Of the first column, only the ends of 18 lines remain; the first visible line stands at the level of l. 42. The second column is preserved to its full original height: its 38 lines occupy a space 27 cm high. The upper margin is preserved to a depth of 0.5 cm and the lower margin to a depth of 1.5 cm. The right-hand side of the column is lost, but to judge by some certain or at least very probable supplements (ll. 22, 28, 42 and 48), the original column width was about 16 cm. The layout looks irregular. No ink appears in the broad space above the visible line endings of col. i: were the lines in the upper part of the column shorter? Or did it contain magical words or drawings in some arrangement? Or did the scribe leave the space blank so that he could add more material later? The lines of col. i extend to the left-hand edge of col. ii with no intercolumnar space in between. It looks as if the scribe, possibly misled by the blank space on the left, started col. ii too far to the left; then, when he approached the level of l. 1, he was obliged to indent ll. 41–45 (and possibly also l. 40) on an alignment further to the right. There is another example of indentation in the upper part of the column: the beginnings of ll. 19–21 are lost, but ll. 22–26 at least are indented in relation to the usual left-hand margin.

The informal, medium-sized, upright, rounded hand, written with a thick pen, can be dated to the third century. It is generally bilinear, but ρ, ψ, and often υ project below, and φ always above and below. The letters, which have a flattened look, are usually made separately (α, ε, and c may ligature with ι). They include: looped α; rounded ε often with an extended cross-bar (cursive ε in l. 43 περι, 48 πεπλου); η usually with high horizontal; rounded μ in two movements; ξ halfway to cursive form; υ in one sequence with a high shallow curve alternating with υ made in two movements, this too with its cup carried well above the line and straight or sinuous tail; ψ like a simple cross; high ω tending to lose its central cusp and with the right-hand side often extending below the base. The right leg of λ is often raised to a (quasi)horizontal, especially when an ε or θ follows, with its cross-bar continuing at the same level; also the horizontal cap of c and the horizontals of ε, θ, π, τ, and ψ extended to touch the following letter sometimes create the impression of an upper line (e.g. l. 24 τουτοπο, 26 σεληνηπροστην). One can compare the third-century hand of P.Oxy. VII 1016 (GLH 20a, GMAW 84), and P.Köln II 101 (Harrauer no. 178, pl. 163) of 274 or 280 CE.

No accents, breathings, or apostrophes occur. *Diaeresis* is used on initial ι and υ and internally to separate vowels. Δ stands for δεῖνα. In two cases a short horizontal stroke, whose meaning is unclear, overlines parts of non-magical words (ll. 39, 41). Some corrections apparently by the original hand indicate that the text was revised after it had been written. For the supralinear letters in l. 23 and 24, see here below.

The surviving text consists of several recipes separated by long *paragraphoi* (the *paragraphos* between ll. 53 and 54 may have been added to indicate that the text immediately below it belongs to col. ii and not with the text immediately to the left). Wherever it is possible to check, each recipe is given a rubric consisting of a title written in mid-line: (1) ll. 1–18 procedure of uncertain nature (perhaps a δεσμόλυτον, “procedure to release from bonds,” see below n. 5); (2) ll. 19–26 erotic procedure; (3) ll. 27–36 subjection-procedure (ὑποτακτικόν); (4) ll. 37–45: anger-restraining procedure (θυμοκάτοχον); (5) ll. 46–52: aphrodisiac binding procedure (φιλτροκατάδεσμος); (6) ll. 53–56: attraction-procedure (ἀγωγή). In two cases (ll. 37 and 46), the initial letter of the title is repeated about 1.5 cm to the right of the title proper. The θ at l. 37 is written with a thinner pen, perhaps by a second hand; the φ at l. 46 has an upright curving to the left at the foot,

unlike the normal ϕ of the main hand, and it too may be due to a second hand. There is no such addition to the title at l. 27, nor apparently at l. 53, although the papyrus breaks off just over 2 cm to the right of the title there. The precise reason for these occasional additions is not clear. Perhaps someone read through the text in order to pick out some procedures according to their kind or in alphabetical order and to make a new collection of charms. In any case these annotations (it seems) were not part of the handbook as copied but were added at a later stage.

As is well-known, in magical handbooks, the erotic procedures that use the $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ -formula are generally imagined as deployed by men in pursuit of women. The section ll. 19–26, on the other hand, seems to assume that the client will be a woman aiming at a man: ll. 22 and 26 are unambiguous on this point. However, the situation is more complicated: over the η of $\eta\nu$ (23), \omicron was written (apparently by the same hand), and over the \omicron of $\tau\omicron\nu$ (24), η (in the same hand; for the supralinear α in 24, see below n. 2*). Two possible explanations can be entertained: (a) the scribe aimed to eliminate the irregularity by changing the feminine to masculine and vice versa (for this method of correction, i.e. correct text written above without the text below being deleted, see GMAW 16); (b) the scribe intended to give the two genders as alternatives ($\acute{\eta}\nu$ or $\acute{\omicron}\nu$, $\acute{\omicron}\nu$ or $\acute{\eta}\nu$): cf., for something similar, GEMF 57/PGM IV 2088–2091 with app. The scribe did not operate in a systematic way: $\tau\omicron\hat{\omicron}$ and $\omicron\hat{\omicron}$ at 22, $\acute{\eta}\nu$ at 23, and $\tau\omicron\hat{\omicron}$ at 26 remained unaffected. The *philtrokatesmos* at ll. 46–52 is in accordance with the standard pattern, cf. ll. 51–52 $\phi\iota\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\omega \mu\epsilon \acute{\eta} \delta(\epsilon)\acute{\iota}(\nu\alpha)$.

The text follows the ed.pr.

recto col. i →

GEMF 40.1–18

1] .οι Ἴσι βακύλια
] ὅτι ἐγώ ἴμι Ἵρρος
 (-)κε]κλειμένω ὑπο
] ος καὶ οἴξει μοι
 5] αὶ βοθηῆσαι
] καὶ Κρόνος
] ἰ μήτηρ
] . καὶ παρα
] μοι πε
 10] . ὅτι ἔχω σ .
] ιματα
] ημαι παρα
] ερον . υε
] . [. .] . κ[] ια γ̄
 15] καὶ λ αἰ γ̄
 στ]ρ βειλίω στ .
] ςιηχορσε[
] . ἰ [ικ . .] ο . . [

Contuli

1 l. βακύλια || 2 l. εἴμι | Ἵρρος disp. Ze : . . . ξος ed.pr. || 7 Ἴσι ? | μήτηρ, τ ex corr. || 10 σε vel σο[u] possis || 11]ιματα, c ex corr. || 13 fort. θύε || 14 prob. [κο]κκία || 16 spat. vacuum unius litt. inter ρ et β, l. τροβιλίω

col. i¹

“... [come(?)] to me(?),² Queen³ Isis ... because I am Horus⁴ ... locked up⁵ ... and you will open for me ... (5) to help ... and Kronos⁶ ... O mother [Isis(?)]... and beside ... (10) because I have your(?)⁷ ... sacrifice(?) ... three grains of ... (15) and ... three ... to (with?) a small pine cone⁸ ...”

¹ For the possible nature of the incantation, see below n. 5. We can distinguish a *logos* (1–12) and a *praxis* (13–16).

² Possibly l. 1 ἐλθέ] μοι, cf. the gold lamella in GMA 61.1 (a fertility and conception procedure) ἐλθέ πρὸς ἐμέ, Ἴσις.

³ βακύλια in reference to Isis: P.Oxy. XI 1380.36, 218 (Totti 1985, no. 20); Bernard 1969, 167.3 (Totti 1985, no. 41), 169.6 (Totti 1985, no. 43); GMA 61.18; SEG XLVIII 1306.2–3 with Mastrocinque 1998b, 112; (βακύλια) Isid. *Hy.* 1.1 (Totti 1985, no. 21).

⁴ The reading Ἵρρος by M. Zellmann-Rohrer has been confirmed on the original by Daniela Colomo.

⁵ The remains ((ἐγ?)κε]κλειμένω l. 3, οἴξει l. 4) suggest a δεσμόλυτον, the magical procedure that releases from bonds and opens the door of the prison where someone is locked up; cf. GEMF 15.209–227/PGM XII 160–178 (esp. 212/163 ἐγκλεισιν); 60/XIII 288–296; also 31/I 101; 58/V 488; 15.328/XII 279, and see Phillips 2009, 22. The mention at l. 6 of Kronos, who was put in chains by Zeus and then released, would also be at home here, perhaps introduced as a mythical *paradeigma* (“Kronos, too ...”). For Kronos in chains, see GEMF 57/PGM IV 3092–3093. If all this is correct, Isis would be invoked to help (l. 5 βοθηῆσαι), like Christ in the δεσμόλυτον in 60/XIII 289: βοήθησον. For other possibilities, see the ed.pr. 3–4 n. and 9 n.

⁶ For Kronos in magic, see Eitrem 1934; Kotansky 1980; Faraone 2010b; Mastrocinque 2011.

⁷ It would be tempting to restore γνωρ]ίματα at l. 11: the magician would say (10–11) that he possesses (i.e. he knows; cf. LSJ s.v. ἔχω A.I.9) the tokens, the symbols of the goddess.

⁸ For the use of pinecones in magic, see LiDonnici 2001, 79–83.

... ŌCHMHMEU ... (20) first-born^{1*}, whose ... SĒMEIA KONTEU KONTEU KO[NTEU]⁹ ... [bind, bind down(?)]¹⁰ the soul of him, NN, whom [she NN bore], until [he comes to me,] NN, whom she NN bore. Punish(?)¹¹ him, NN, [whom NN bore(?)]. I do this because I suffered wrongs(?)^{2*} in order that ... with (to?) him. (25) Lord Iaō ... IŌ IĒŌ AOIEOU IAŌ IAIAAI drive ... burn, kindle¹² the soul of him, NN, until he comes to her, NN. Subjection-procedure. Take a copper *lamella* and engrave with a bronze stylus [these] names, just as they stand, and stitch it either on a sandal^{3*} or on a [shoe(?)] (30) CHALABAR CHTHIOBIO CHASO ... SERPOTCHEI ... MOUCH ... Ē ĒAIOU IOA AŌ ŌI IA ... OU ... UO ... ĒĒ ... THELTHOUĒCH ALTIBILTICH THELKICHANŌCH ... ŌIŌĒAU ..., subject to me (35) [the NN] man,¹³ [whom NN bore(?)].” Anger-restraining procedure.¹⁴ Take a living chameleon and hang it ... smoke a root of (the plant) chameleon¹⁵ and (being) pure for [seven days(?)]^{4*} [say(?)]: (40) “... APHŌL MENTHŌ EERIZŌN ... THEĒ ... N ...” [Push(?)] through (its) mouth a stone, like a lentil in size, ... gold-coloured, very bright. And after consecrating it with the consecration that works for everything,¹⁶ [you will have] an unsurpassable anger-restraining procedure, because, if it is worn around the body, it works;¹⁷ but if some people or the opponents in a lawsuit¹⁸ speak ... (45) press the stone and they will certainly not speak. Aphrodisiac binding procedure.¹⁹ Take a pigeon’s egg^{5*} and write down on it these symbols and the names “of the hollow earth”(?)^{6*} and “...-mantled,” and with(?) myrrh ... the formula seven times, and having wrapped it up in a sheep’s skin (50) dip it (*charaktēres*) ĒI²⁰ CHNOUB^{7*} ... L ... CHĒIRA ... O CHNOUB ... let her, NN, love me for the entire time.” Attraction-procedure. Take an iron²¹ tablet and write(?) (55) ... with the blood of a pig^{8*} and [take it and put it in the furnace of the hypocaust(?)]²² and when it has been burned ...

⁹ The *Semea-logos*, on which see PGM, vol. 3 (Index), 242; Brashear 1995, 3433 n. 248, 3599 s.v. *Σημεα*, 3590 s.v. *Κοντεον*; Mastrocinque 1998a, 109 n. 4.

¹⁰ Possibly l. 22 δ[ήκον, δήκον, κατάδ]ηκον. For κατάδηκον τὴν ψυχὴν in an erotic procedure, cf. PGM XXXII 14–16 ἄξον καὶ κα[τάδης]ον ψυχῆ[ν καὶ καρδίαν *Καραπάδο*]c.

¹¹ According to the likely restoration ἐκδίκ[ηκον (l. 23). This verb, a technical term in ‘prayers for justice’, would be unparalleled in erotic charms, but suitable for a lover suffering unrequited love and crying out for vengeance (further details in the ed.pr.). ἐκδίω[ξον cannot be read.

¹² ἄν[α]ψον (l. 26). This verb does not occur elsewhere in love charms, but is used in a curse against a charioteer from Carthage (SEG XL 921.11–12): ἀνάψατε (l. ἀνάψατε) τὰ μέλη, τὰ νεῦρα etc.

¹³ For τὸν δεῖνα ἄνθρωπον instead of the usual τὸν δεῖνα, cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 897, 910.

¹⁴ For this sort of magical procedure, see Maltomini 2004, 152–153 (with further literature) and Faraone 2003b, 144. Cf. also GEMF 41/P.Oxy. LXXXII 5305, 29–31. Lines 37–45 have been discussed in Maltomini 2004 with reference to Libanius’ chameleon episode (*Or.* 1.243–250).

¹⁵ The use of the reptile and the homonymous plant together is prescribed, for similar purposes, also in *Cyran.* 2.43.9–11 (p. 183 K.). Because of their homonymy, animal and plant are in sympathy with each other, and so similar in function and magical power; cf. GEMF 68/PGM XXXVI 283–284 λαβὸν ὄν κορώνης καὶ κορωνοποδίου βοτάνης χυλόν.

¹⁶ For the consecration “valid for all purposes,” cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 1596; 74.1030/VII 872; 15.258/XII 209.

¹⁷ Literally ‘it is fitting’ or ‘appropriate’. At the end of l. 43, possibly πρὸς/εἰς πάντα] (see ed.pr. ad loc.).

¹⁸ οἱ δι’ ἐναντίας (l. 44) are the opponents in a lawsuit, see LSJ s.v. ἐναντίος I.2.c and cf. e.g. P.Cair.Isid. 66.19, P.Panop.Beatty 1.145, SB XVI 12692.29; in literature D. L. 1.84, etc. Cf. also GMA 58.33–34 n. For the frequent judiciary context of the θυμοκάτοχα, see Maltomini 2004, 150–153.

¹⁹ The technical word φίλτροκατάδεσμος (l. 46) occurs only in magical texts: GEMF 55/PGM III 163–164; 57/IV 296; 74.265/VII 191; 72/VIII 1; SM I 38.8.

²⁰ Possibly the Coptic interjection ηι ‘O’ (l. 50), see SM I 44.8 n. For other interpretations, see also Brashear 1995, 3586.

²¹ On the use of iron in magic, see Hopfner 1921–1924, §596; Bell, Nock and Thompson 1931, 270, n. on line 31; Betz, GMPT, 76 n. 267; further literature: Alfayé Villa 2010, 441, n. 22.

²² If we reconstruct ll. 55–56 as follows: καὶ λ[αβὸν βάλε εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ ὑποκαύ]χτου, cf. GEMF 30.95–96/PGM II 48–49; 74.550/VII 469.

GEMF 41
(P.Oxy. LXXXII 5305)

Oxyrhynchus

late III CE

ED.PR.: P.Oxy. LXXXII 5305 (Maltomini 2016, 64–76)

TRANSL.: ed.pr. (English)

COMM.: ed.pr.

LOC.: Oxford, Sackler Library, Papyrology Rooms

TM 702429

This papyrus is a fragment of a roll (H. 18.5 × W. 38.4 cm), featuring four columns of text, written on the recto along the fibers; the back is blank. Of the first column, only the right-hand side survives, and of the fourth, only the left-hand side; all are broken at the bottom. The column width is about 12 cm. There is a margin of about 1 cm above cols. ii and iv, but cols. i and iii extend up as far as the preserved upper edge: ii 1 and iv 1 are level with i 3 and iii 2. The *intercolumnium* is variable: cols. i–iii are very close together, but a space at least 1.4 cm wide is left between cols. iii and iv. Two *kolleseis* are visible, 2.7 cm and 18.6 cm from the left-hand edge.

Two hands may be distinguished. The first is responsible for cols. i and ii, and the second for cols. iii and iv. Minor differences within cols. i–ii in respect of letter formation, inclination, thickness of strokes, and line-spacing suggest that the text was not copied in a single session. Since the lower part is missing, we cannot determine whether the second hand took over at the bottom of col. ii or at the top of col. iii. Both hands, datable to the late 3rd century, are informal, medium-sized, and roughly bilinear, with sporadic ligatures, but they differ markedly in overall appearance and letter formation. For the first, cf. P.Oxy. VII 1015 (GMAW 50; late 3rd cent.); for the second, which is broader, leans slightly to the right, and is written with a finer pen and greyer ink, cf. P.Köln X 418 (pl. XXIII; Harrauer no. 186, pl. 171; 3rd–4th cent.). All the corrections are due to the original hands (at the beginning of l. 33 εματι was initially written; then ι was written on the ε and α just to its left, causing the line to project slightly. At l. 40 ὄτ'ι was added at the beginning; the scribe had underestimated the space required and was obliged to insert ι above the line).

There are no accents, breathings, or apostrophes. *Diaeresis* is used on initial ι and υ and to separate vowels. Δ stands for δεῖνα. ἔτεκεν is once reduced to ετεκ with raised κ (ll. 44–45). Magical words are sometimes partially overlined (ll. 46, 54, 59, 69). There are many orthographical errors.

At the end of ll. 15 through 17 there is a poorly preserved circular drawing of an uncertain nature.


The papyrus contains several recipes, each of which (at least where it can be checked) is headed with a rubric at the beginning of the first line. The end of a recipe is indicated by a *paragraphos* at ll. 55 and 64 but left unmarked at l. 31 (the horizontal stroke below l. 14 probably does not indicate the end of the recipe but rather the end of the vowels set in a wing-formation).

As for the contents: col. i (if a single procedure, but a new recipe could have begun in 25) possibly an amulet (cf. l. 24 περίαψον); ll. 29–31, θυμοκάτοχον; 32–52, ἀγώγιμον ἔμπυρον; 53–55, cup-procedure; 56–64, χαριτήσιον; 65–73, attraction-procedure; 74–92, φίλτρον.

The text follows the ed.pr.

recto col. i →

GEMF 41.1–28

1 M¹] . . . [. . .] . [. . .]
] λαβῶν . ο[
] φι ἕαρον δὲ
] εμμευων . ε
 5] ρ τῆς λήψεως
]
] ωνοηεα
] νοηεα
] οηεα
 10] ηεα
] ηεα
] [η]εα
] εα
] α
 15]
] 
]
] ι τοῦτο τὸ
] καὶ λαβ[ῶ]ν
 20] καθαρὸν καὶ μο-
] νον λαβῶν ἀγγίν
] ἐξ αὐτοῦ πτύχιον
] ὄνομα βελόνη ἀργυ-
] καὶ δήσας περιάσπον
 25] ὅ ἐστιν ἀργεμώνη
] εστε . πρόσεχε δὲ
] μιστις νόκος ὑπο
]

Contuli

3 fort. κῆφι vel κοῖφι || 18 fort. ὄνο[μα || 20 fort. χάρτην] || 20–21 μό|[λιβον vel sim. || 21 l. ἀγγεῖον

... having taken ... [*kufi*(?)].¹ Leave ... (5) ... of the attack(?)² ... ΟΥΟΙἘΕΑ ΥΟΙἘΕΑ ΟΙἘΕΑ (10) ΙἘΕΑ ΙἘΕΑ ἘΕΑ
 ΕΑ Α³ (15) ... (drawing) ... this [name(?)]⁴ ... SAUI. Take (20) ... clean and ... and take a vessel ... from it a
 tablet ... (inscribe?) a name with a [silver] needle ... and having bound (it) attach (it) around (25) ... which
 is poppy ... Pay heed⁵ ... illness ...

¹ On the blended incense *kufi*, see LiDonnici 2001, 78–79.

² If the charm is a phylactery (cf. l. 24 περιάσπον), λήψις (l. 5) might mean here ‘attack’, ‘seizure’ of fever or illness (LSJ s.v. II).

³ The seven vowels are given in reverse order in the shape of a wing, produced by leaving off a letter from the beginning of the series in each successive line (cf. GEMF 34/PGM LXII 96–102). The sequence ηεα is given twice (ll. 10, 11).

⁴ Another possibility might be πρῆ[γμα (l. 18). The traces are indistinct.

⁵ Cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 1174.

recto col. ii →

GEMF 41.29–52

1	θυμοκάτοχον· λαβὼν πιτάκιον ἐπεί[γραφε] ἐπ' αὐτῷ· κηϊ φερφερετ μετὰ διφυλο .[. .] . . . καὶ πειρήδησον περὶ τὸν ἀριστερὸν βραχείονα. ἀγ[ο]ῶμιον, ἔμπυρον ἐν βαλανίῳ· καὶ γράψον	30
5	αἵματι Τυφ[υ]ῶνος καὶ κόλλησον εἰς τὸν ξηρὸν θόλον τοῦ βαλανίου· ἐξ[ο]ρκίζω σε γαῖα καὶ εἶδατα τοῦ δαίμονος τοῖ ἐν σοὶ ὄντος καὶ τὴν τύχην τούτου τοῦ βαλανίου, ἵνα ὁσοὶ πυροῖς καὶ κέη καὶ φλογίζη	35
10	οὔτος καῦσον τὴν Δ, ὃν ἔτηκεν Δ, ἕως ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν Δ, ὃν ἔτηκεν Δ, ὅτ' ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ Ἰαω Καβαοθ	40
15	Οδοῦναι Παγουρη Ζαγουρη α . . . τρακα ατρακεως αταραξ κατοτραβαρα[τρακτραρατρα[. .] . . . τακ· ἄγι[α ὀ]νόματα, πυ[ροῦ-] ται οὔτως καὶ κ[αίε]τε αρδ'α τῆς Δ, ἣν ἔ- τε ^κ ἢ Δ, ἕως ἐ[λθ]ῃ πρὸς τὸν Δ, ὃν ἔτεκεν ἢ [Δ,] ἰω ἰω Ἰαω Ερβ[ηθ] ἰω ἰω Πακερβηθ υφ[Βολχοσηθ .[. .]νεβεσχιν Παταθναξ	45
20	Απομψ Ἰακ[ουβ]ια Cηθ, ὁ ἰσχυρὸς θεός, ὁ κρατερὸς Τυ[φῶν . . .] . . . ς ἄκουσον, ἰω[αβρα . ἠλι . [ca 10]αρσοιπ[[.]αγη[ca 17]ωπ .[. .] . γ . [.] [.]αιβ[	50

1 1. πιτάκιον ἐπίγραφε || 3 1. περιδήσον περί | 1. ἀριστερὸν βραχίονα || 4 1. ἔμπυρον | 1. βαλανείῳ || 5 αἵματι ex em- || 6 τουβαλ, υβ ex corr. || 6, 8 1. βαλανείου || 7 1. ὕδατα | δαίμονος ex δεμ- | 1. τοῦ || 9 1. ὡς cὺ πυροῖ, καίη | καί (alterum), κ ex c || 10 1. οὔτως | 1. ἣν ἔτεκεν || 10 (bis), 11 (bis), 16, 17 (ter) δ(ε)ἰ(να) || 11 1. ἔτεκεν || 12 καβαοθ, ο ex ω; 1. Καβαοθ || 13 1. Αδωναι || 15–16 1. πυροῦτε || 16 καί, κ ex β || 16–17 ἔτεκ(εν) || 21 an εἰςάκουσον ?

Anger-restraining procedure.⁶ Take a slip of papyrus⁷ and write (30) on it KĒI PHERPHERET with two-leaved(?) ... and tie it around your left arm. Attraction-procedure, burning-procedure⁸ in a bathhouse.⁹ ⟨...⟩¹⁰ and write with blood of Typhon¹¹ and glue it to the dry vaulted vapor-room of the bath: “I adjure you, earth¹² and (35) waters,¹³ by(?)¹⁴ the demon who dwells in you and (I adjure) the fortune¹⁵ of this bath so that, as¹⁶ you catch fire, burn and blaze, so burn her, NN, whom she NN bore, until she comes to me, NN, whom she NN bore, (40) because I adjure you by IAŌ, SABAOTH, ODONAI, PAGOURĒ, ZAGOURĒ¹⁷ A ... TRAKA ATRAKEŌS ATARAX KATOTRABARA ... TRAKTARATRA...TAK. Holy names,¹⁸ in this way inflame and burn ... the [heart(?)]¹⁹ of her, NN, whom (45) she NN bore, until she [comes] to him NN, whom she [NN] bore, IŌ²⁰ IŌ IAŌ ERBĒTH IŌ IŌ PAKERBĒTH UŌ ... BOLCHOSĒTH ... NEBESKIN PATATHNAX APOMPS IAKOUBIA SĒTH, the powerful²¹ god, the strong²² Typhon [Seth(?)],²³ listen, IŌ ... (50) ABRA.RĒLI ...

⁶ See GEMF 40/P.Oxy. LXXXII 5304, n. 14.

⁷ On πιττάκιον (l. 29) see BKT X 26.2 n.

⁸ The procedure named ἔμπυρον is a charm for attraction by means of fire, i.e. a variety of the ἀγωγή (or ἀγωγήμιον) in which the user makes burnt offerings and attempts to burn the victim by ‘sympathetic magic’, cf. P.Oxy. LVIII 4674.1; GEMF 74.375/PGM VII 295; 68/XXXVI 69, 102, 295; SM I 42 is also an ἔμπυρον, and probably also GEMF 40/P.Oxy. LXXXII 5304, 53–56.

⁹ Bathhouses were believed to be haunted and were often used for the performance of various kinds of magic. See especially Bonner 1932 and most recently Fabiano 2011 (with previous literature; add Gelzer 1999, 119 and Alfayé Villa 2016). Our text shows close similarities with the ἔμπυρον in GEMF 68/PGM XXXVI 69–133.

¹⁰ Something is dropped out (l. 32), at least ‘take’ with the object to write on, probably a sheet of (clean) papyrus, or in any case something combustible.

¹¹ The “blood of Typhon” (cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 3260; 74.809/VII 653; 16/XIV 26; 18/LXI 61) is the blood of an ass (cf. 68/XXXVI 72; 74.382/VII 301), the favorite animal of Seth-Typhon. The text to be written is the adjuration that begins in the next line.

¹² Or, better, “Earth,” who, as a chthonic divinity, plays an important role in *defixiones*, see Kagarow 1929, 60–61.

¹³ Also the waters (of the bath), being in contact with the chthonic world, were felt as a divine/demonic entity. Many *defixiones* come from places like wells, fountains, baths, springs, cisterns etc., see Jordan 1985, 206–210.

¹⁴ Presuming that ⟨κατὰ⟩ has dropped out (l. 35; *saute du même au même*, εἰδATA κATA); otherwise δαίμονος is to be taken as a possessive genitive.

¹⁵ Here (l. 36) τύχη means the Genius of the place; cf. GEMF 74.587/PGM VII 506, to be interpreted in the light of this passage.

¹⁶ ὡς ... οὕτως (ll. 37–38): for analogous *similia similibus* patterns, cf. GEMF 68/PGM XXXVI 80–82, 340–341, 57/IV 1540–1543; SEG XLVII 1291.8–10, 29–31, 33–34.

¹⁷ For this pair of magical words, see Faraone 2012, 19–20.

¹⁸ Direct invocation of ‘holy names’: GEMF 49/PGM XLIV 3; 74.469/VII 388; 15/XII 134; SM I 45.52–53; SEG XLVI 2246.37–40, XLVII 1291.29–31; DT 187.54–55; GMA 52.109–110, 58.11–12 with n.; SMA 95, 215 with D 317; Zellmann-Rohrer 2018b, 112, fr. 3.3.

¹⁹ τῆν καρδία(ν) (l. 44) is what we expect, but the reading is difficult.

²⁰ The Typhonic *logos*, on which see Martín Hernández and Torallas Tovar 2014a (with the additions indicated in the ed.pr. of the present papyrus), and Martín Hernández 2019.

²¹ ἰσχυρός (l. 48) of Seth-Typhon also in GEMF 15.423/PGM XII 374 and SEG XLVII 1291.29.

²² A typical epithet of Seth is κραταιός (cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 179; 55/III 87 and the *defixiones* from the Athenian agora SEG XXXV 213–222, 225–227). It probably reproduces the standing Egyptian epithet of Seth, *ꜥꜣḫt* ‘great in power’ (see Jordan 1985, 245).

²³ Cf. GEMF 16.687/PGM XIVc 20 Τ[υ]φῶν Cήθ and DT 163.48; also 81/CXXVIa → 12–13; inverted in GEMF 55/PGM III 87. If the supplement Cηθ] is correct, after the gap possibly εἰςάκουσον.

recto col. iii →

1 M ²	----- ἐπίλο[γος] {ἐπίλογος} εἰς ποτή[ριον·] Ἰαβαθ [.]χερεθ βιχ̄ θουραθ[] βιβ̄ βι . . . λέγε ζ̄ κ[] 55 χαριτήσιον· λ[α]βὼν χάρ[την καθα]ρὸν
5	ἐπίγραφε δὲ ζυμυνομέλανιν καὶ [φόρ]ι π[ερὶ] τὸν τράχηλον. εἰς δέ· λελα ε̄ ω̄ Καβαωθ Αβλαναθαναλβα [Α]βρ[α]καξ βεραc αρραγαξ καμ 60 [αααα]ααα uuuu ααααααα εεεεεε
10	οοοοοοο uuuuuu ωωωωωωω, δός μοι χάριτι πρὸς τὴν Δ, ἣν ἔτηκεν ἡ Δ, ἕως ἔλθη λ[.] η με ἢ τὸν Δ, ὃν ἔτηκεν ἡ Δ.[.] . . ν εἰς γυνεκάc λαβὼν 65 κι .[.] κενὸν πλήσον ὕδατος
15	καὶ ἐπὸν τὸν λόγον πρόcχε παρὰ τὸν cτροφέα τῆc θύραc· κράτι επε ^v φον λρς̄ . . . ον χαχαχαχαχα φορορφρω εχχαcεβεχ[. . . . κ]αὶ ποίησον τὴν Δ, 70 ἣν ἔτηκεν ἡ [Δ, . . .]ελ̄ .[.] λην ἐμέ
20	[τὸν Δ, ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ Δ. λέ]γε δέ· αρια] <p style="text-align: center;">] -----</p>

col. iv → GEMF 41.53–92

	φίλτρον επ̄ .[.ε βαλλομ[75 γράφε ^{te} δὲ κα[οοοοο uui ηηη ε[
5	πρὸς τὸ μοαι .[του Αμιω ^θ βθκ[εἰερατικὸν .ρ[80 πετρο[τάδε γ[
10	ειβι κατ[μενω[cὺ ἐκθέ[ωocov 85 οὔτωc τ[ἄξιc μο[ι
15	ὀρκίζω [τω φοβ̄ .[Αβραca[ξ 90 εεε ηηη[[. . . .].[-----

col. iii 3 λεγε, prius ε ex α || 5 επιγραφε, γ ex ρ | 1. ζυμυνομέλανι || 6 l. φόρει || 9 ααααααα, quintum α ex corr. || 10 uuuuuu, primum υ ex ο | doc ex και || 11 (bis), 12 (bis), 18, 19, 20 (bis) δ(ε)ῦ(να) || 11, 12, 19 l. ἔτεκεν || 13 l. γυναικάc || 14 fort. κιβ[άριον] | l. καινόν || 15 l. εἰπών || 16 fort. l. κράτει ψῆφον || 17 φορορφρω, primum ρ ex υ || 18 εχχαcεβεχ[., primum χ ex corr.

col. iv 1 fort. ἐπα[ινετόν || 3 l. γράφεται || 7 l. ἰερατικόν || 8 l. πετρο[|| 9 γ[ράφε ?

GEMF 41.53–92

Formula²⁴ (i.e. spoken) over a drinking cup:²⁵ IABATH . . . CHERETH BICH THOURATH ... (55) BIB BI ... Say it seven times ... Favor-procedure. Take clean papyrus and write on it with myrrh ink and wear it around your neck. They (i.e. the names to be written) are:²⁶ LELA ... SABAŌTH ABLANATHANALBA (60) [A]BR[A]SAX BERAS ARRAGAX SAM AAAAAAA IIIIII EEEEEEE OOOOOO UUUUUU ŌŌŌŌŌŌ, give me favor before her, NN, whom she NN bore, until she comes²⁷ ... me or before him, NN, whom she NN bore (65) ... towards women. Take a new [cup(?)] and fill it with water and, while saying the formula, pour (it out) near the socket of her door.²⁸ Clasp the number(?)²⁹ 996 ... [Formula(?)]: “CHACHACHACHACHA PHORORPHRŌ (70) ECHCHASEBECH ... and make her, NN, whom she [NN bore], ... me, [NN, whom she NN bore.” Say]: “ARIA ...”

A [praiseworthy(?)]³⁰ aphrodisiac³¹ ... (75) being thrown ... is written³² and³³ ... OOOO III ĒĒĒ E ... towards the ... AMIŌTH BTHK ... (80) hieratic ... feather(?) ... [write(?)] these things ... EIBI ... (85) you [deify]³⁴ ... in this way ... may you lead for me ... I adjure ... (90) ABRASA[X] ... EEE ĒĒĒ ...

F. Maltomini

²⁴ For ἐπίλογος (l. 53) ‘charm’, ‘incantation’, ‘magic spell’, cf. Lampe s.v. and s.v. ἐπιλέγω 2, LSJ s.v. ἐπιλέγω I.4.

²⁵ For magical formulae uttered over drinking-cups to enchant their content, cf. GEMF 74.466, 777–778, 799/PGM VII 385, 622–623, 643; 57/IV 3251–3253.

²⁶ For similar expressions, see e.g. GEMF 74.1017, 1079, 1083–1087/PGM VII 859, 921, 926–929; 21/P.Duke inv. 729, 30.

²⁷ The ἕως (ἄν) ἔλθῃ formula is typical in ἀγωγαί, but unusual in χαριτήρια.

²⁸ The door-socket plays a role in two other erotic charms, GEMF 60/PGM XIII 241 and 68/XXXVI 136.

²⁹ A very difficult point. Comparison with GEMF 57/PGM IV 937–938 κρατῶν ψῆφον γχξγ ἐπὶ μακθούς (cf. also 1047–1048, 1057–1058) suggests that κρατι (l. 68) is probably a miswriting for κράτει ‘hold’ and the strange ἐπεύφον (l. 68) possibly a corruption of ψῆφον. The mystic/magic value of the number 996 is not clear. What follows the numeral is probably to be read λόγον, for λόγος (cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 937–938). In sum, the original text of ll. 67–68 was perhaps κράτει ψῆφον ᾗρσ̄. λόγος· χαχαχαχα etc. ψῆφος refers to an object (a scrap of papyrus?) on which the number is written (cf. LSJ s.v. II.1.b).

³⁰ For the possible supplement ἐπαίνετόν (l. 74), cf. GEMF 18.163/PGM LXI 1.

³¹ φίλτρον (l. 74) as rubric of a procedure: GEMF 4/PGM CXXII 15; 28.3, 22, 36; 74.486, 540, 543, 817/VII 405, 459, 462, 661; 60/XIII 319; 18/LXI 1; P.Philammon p. 9.22.

³² The scribe first wrote the usual second-person singular imperative, irreproachable in itself. The addition (imperfectly executed, -τε for -ται) is probably due to a wish to reproduce exactly the model.

³³ If καί (l. 76). Perhaps κα[ίνω] καλάμω (cf. GEMF 68/PGM XXXVI 266–267)?

³⁴ Cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 2455–2458. For the synonymous ἀποθεώω, cf. 31/I 5, 6 (supplemented); 74.785/VII 629; LSJ s.v. 2. For deification by drowning, see Betz, GMPT, 3 n. 3.

GEMF 42
(P. Mich. 3404r)

Provenance unknown

III CE

ED.PR.: Cohn 2012

TRANS.: Cohn 2012 (English)

COMM.: Cohn 2012

LOC.: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Papyrology Collection, inv. 3404

TM 144114

This fragment of papyrus (H. 23.6 × W. 21 cm) is written on both the recto and verso, with the writing on the verso at 180 degrees from the writing on the recto. On the recto, considered here, the text consists of two columns separated by about 1.7 cm. The first column has an upper margin of 1.9 cm and a lower of 2.7 cm, and the second column has an upper margin of 1.2 cm and a lower of 2.8 cm. The upper and lower margins of both appear to be complete. Most of the first column is preserved, though the left margin is lost and after line 8 there is a tear running down through the remainder of the column that is in some lines as wide as 2.5 cm. The first column consists of 21 lines, with, on average, 25 letters remaining per line. Curiously, the scribe never once divides a word at the end of a line, and as a result some lines have somewhat more letters: in l. 12, for example, there are 31 letters because he needed to fit ἀνθρωπίνης, a ten-letter word, into the end of the line (and in the process, nearly encroaches into the second column). About eight letters seem to be missing in the lacuna on the left margin, aside from ll. 7, 8, and 9, in which slightly more of the papyrus has been preserved. As for the second column, most of it has been lost, and of what remains much has been stripped away. The second column probably continued the formula from the first column, though it may have also contained further recipes, separated by *paragraphoi*. Col. ii features a *paragraphos* right before the first line.

The hand may be dated to the third century CE, on the basis of a comparison to e.g. SPP XX 26 (224 CE). The letters are medium-sized, rounded, and inclined slightly to the right, and there is no punctuation. α, ε, and υ are frequently in ligatures with subsequent letters. There are a few phonetic lapses, such as -ε- or -ι- being written for -αι- and -ι- being written for -ει-. The text is written across the papyrus fibers.

Most of col. i is occupied by the invocation of the procedure, in which the speaker first greets a solar god, probably Helios or Harpocrates, and his retinue and then requests a series of abstract benefits, such as beauty, that are typical of favor-procedures. There is no mention of any ritual actions until the fragmentary second column, where we do find mention of a ring and an inscription. The *logos* has a tripartite division that is typical of both conventional and magical hymns: (a) invocation (l. 2); (b) argument (ll. 3–11); and (c) petition (ll. 12–20).

col. i ↓

GEMF 42.1–20

[πρὸς ἀνατολ]λ[ὰς] τῶ[ν] ἡλίου [λ]έγε·
 [χαιρέτω ὁ θε]εὸς [ἀνα]τέλλων, χερέτω ὁ τὸ φῶς
 [φέρων, χαι]ρέτω[κα]ν καὶ οἱ κυνανατέ[λλ]οντε[ς]
 [θεοὶ, χαιρέτ]ω καὶ ὁ [ἀ]γαθός σου ὄχρευτῆς, χαι[ρ]έτ[ω]
 5 [τὸ]ον τό σε βασιτάζ[ο]ν, χαιρέτωσαν δὲ
 [οἱ]ντες σε, χαιρέτω καὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν σου
 [.], χαιρέτωσαν [δ]ὲ καὶ αἱ ἀκτεῖ[ν]ές σου,
 [χαιρέτω] ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἀνατ[έλ]λις, χαιρέτωσαν αἱ πύλαι
 [.]π[ο]ρευή, χαιρέτω [ὁ τ]όπος ἐν ᾧ καταδύνει·
 10 [οὐ περὶ ἀργ]υρίου οὐδὲ [περὶ] χρυσίου ἔρωτῶ, ἀλλὰ
 [.]υτοῦ ψυχῆ[ς] ὁ θε]ός μὴ προσγίνο οἶνα
 [.]μαι μορφή[ν] βε]λτίον πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης
 [.]η[λ]ω καὶ [.]ω ἵνα πάντες, ὅσοι
 [.]ε τὸ πρόσω[πον]]ι[.] ἐπι]θυμῶν αὐτοῦ.
 15 [.] ἀπ]οδοῖς μοι [.]ω μηδὲ
 [.] ἰς]χυρότερο[ς]], μ[ή]τε ἀντιζέλω[ν]
 [.] μήτε εὐψ[υχό]τερο[ς], δὸς δέ μοι πάσαν
 [.] πρὸς ἀ]ντιδίκου[ς], ἀλλὰ οὐδέποτε μὴ δὸς
 [.], ὅτι ἐξορ[κίζω] σε [.] ἔν[θ]εον τὸν καὶ σε
 20 [.]α τὴν κτίς[ιν]]αντα αἰώνιον.
 λο[.]

ipse contuli

2 l. χαιρέτω || 8 l. ἀνατέλλει || 9 l. καταδύνει || 11 l. μοι | 1. προσγίνου | 1. ἵνα || 12 l. βελτίονα || 14 l. ἐπιθυμῶν || 15 l. ἀποδοῖς
 vel ἄποδος || 16 l. ἀντιζήλων || 18 l. οὐδέποτε || 21 in eisthesi

col. ii ↓

GEMF 42.21–43

1 Ἰαω [(.)] ηλθ Αδωνεαι [---
 [.] . cm εντ[.] . [---
 [.] ιν τ[η]ν ιςχυν [---
 [.] . [. . . .]υχ[(.)]οχ ευψυ[--- 25
 5 [.] cmημενο[---
 [.] κρίκον χ[---
 [.] τ[. . . .]οc επιγραψ[---
 [.] χικαι καε[---
 [.] . [. . . .]επακ[--- 30
 10 [.] . [---
 [.] . . . [---
 [.] . [---
 [.] . [. . . .]α[---
 [.] . [. . . .]μ[--- 35
 15 [.] ο[. . . .] . [---
 [.] λ[. . . .] . [---
 [.] ι [---
 [.] . [---
 [.] κ[. . . .] δ[--- 40
 20 [.] . . μ[---
 [.] κ ι [---
 [.] ηθ [---

GEMF 42.1–20

Say to [the risings] of the sun:¹ “[Let the god rejoice] as he rises; let [the one who bears] the light rejoice,² let [the gods] who rise with him also rejoice,³ let your good⁴ stallion⁵ also rejoice; let [the chariot(?)]⁶ which carries you rejoice, and let [those ... who] ... you rejoice; (5) let your good ... also rejoice; and let your rays also rejoice; let the place in which you rise rejoice; let the gates [through which(?)] you come rejoice;⁷ let the place in which you set rejoice. (10) I ask not about silver and not about gold,⁸ but concerning the soul of ...⁹ attend me, [O god], in order that I may ... beauty¹⁰ better than all mortal [beauty] ... and ... in order that all people, however many ... my face, may... to long for grant to me (15) ... that I may ... and not [anybody?] may be mightier, neither [more] ... than(?) his enemies nor more courageous, and grant to me all ... against my opponents,¹¹ but do not ever give [it to them?], since I adjure you by the god who both you [and] ... the creation¹² (20) ... the eternal one.¹³

GEMF 42.21–43

IAŌ ... ADŌNEAI ... the strength ... (25) UCH . OCH ... ring ... inscribe ...

M. Cohn

¹ The greetings *χαίρω* and *χαίρωσαν* are repeated eleven times. As Wachter 1998 notes, in hymns *χαίρω* functions not only as a greeting, but also as an appeal for the god to delight in the worshipper's address.

² Phosphorus, the morning star, who frequently appears in Helios' retinue as he rises, often preceding him; see, e.g., Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.20; [Hyg.] *Poet. Astr.* 2.42; Ov. *Met.* 2.114–8.

³ In GEMF 4.36 the magician as part of his address to the sun greets *οἱ σὺν σοὶ ἀναθέλλοντες θεοί*. Brashear 1979, 275–276 suspected that they were to be identified with the retinue of gods who protect Re on his sun barge during his nocturnal voyage through the underworld. Here, however, it may be more natural to identify these divinities with the planets and other heavenly bodies that accompany Helios on his voyage. See above commentaries to GEMF 4 and Zellmann-Rohrer 2020.

⁴ Here and in l. 6, elements of Helios' retinue are qualified by the adjective *ἀγαθός*, which appears elsewhere in connection with the sun and associates. See in particular the greeting to Helios in GEMF 68/PGM XXXVI 217: *ἀγαθῆ σου ὄρα, ἀγαθῆ σου ἡμέρα, ὁ Ἄγαθος Δαίμων τοῦ κόσμου*. For a brief discussion, see Nock 1926.

⁵ A rare word that refers to a stallion that presumably pulls the god's chariot; see next note.

⁶ Presumably the chariot or car itself, e.g. [τὸ σὺν ὄχει]ον.

⁷ Probably either [διὰ ὧν δια]π[ο]ρεύη or (less likely) [διὰ ὧν εἰς]π[ο]ρεύη. Naturally, constructions with the former are more common, but both are possible.

⁸ The formula in GEMF 4.37–38 is very close. Daniel and Maltomini compare this formula (“I ask not for x nor for y, but z”) to one found elsewhere, according to which the practitioner denies that he is asking for two difficult wishes and asserts that he is asking for a third, relatively easy one. They offer the following examples: GEMF 57/PGM IV 1505–1508; 18/LXI 13–14; and Kropp 1931, vol. II 6, 8–19. See also Zellmann-Rohrer 2020.

⁹ The parallel text in GEMF 4.38 has the placeholder *ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ δεῖνα*.

¹⁰ *μορφή* is less common in *charitēsía* than *κάλλος* or *χάρις*, but see the *charitēsía* in GEMF 55/PGM III 494–611 and 72/VIII 1–63.

¹¹ *ἀντίδικοι* could refer to legal adversaries (as in PGM LI) or more generally to one's enemies (as in GEMF 55/PGM III 6 and PGM XXXIIa.1). The request for success against one's enemies along with general wealth, favor, and charisma is common. For this tendency, see Faraone 1999, 105–110.

¹² *κτίζω* and related words are regularly used of the creative acts of God in the Septuagint (deviating from its typical sense ‘to found’), and it is regularly used with that meaning in GEMF. This usage may derive from Jewish influence; see Pachoumi 2017, 98–100, with earlier bibliography. That influence must be felt here, too, given the references to *Iaō* and *Adōnai* in l. 21.

¹³ In the lacuna the magician adjures Helios in the name of the highest god. Formulas addressing Helios frequently place Helios himself in that role, but compare GEMF 57/PGM IV 1038–1040, where Helios is exhorted in similar language. On Helios' place in the cosmology of the magical papyri, see Pachoumi 2017, 63–86.

GEMF 43
(PGM XXI)

Fayum (?)

III CE

ED.PR.: Abt 1910, 144–147 [A]

REPubL.: PGM XXI [Pr]; Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 135–154 [MeTo]

TRANSL.: PGM XXI (German); Grese, GMPT, 259 (English); Assmann 1984, 281 (ll. 4–9) (English); Kee 1986, 110–111 (English); Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 135–154 (German); Calvo Martínez and Sánchez Romero 1987, 325–326 (Spanish)

COMM.: Bonner 1936a, P.Mich. III 155.5n. (on l. 24)

LOC.: Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, P 9566 (former private collection of Rudolf Mosse)

TM 63773

This fragment (H. 30.4 × W. 15.2 cm) contains a single column and a few traces of a preceding one to the left of ll. 24–25. In the upper and middle part of the second column the beginnings and substantial portions of each line are still preserved, but the lower part is very fragmentary with only a few letters of each line. No *kollesis* is visible on the papyrus. The upper margin is preserved to 2.7 cm; the *intercolumnium* on the left side is about 2.5 cm. Original width and height of the column remain uncertain. The text is written on the verso; the recto contains the remains of a report of proceedings, published as BGU III 893 dated paleographically to the second–third cent CE. The writing space is about 0.4–0.5 cm, the interlinear space is about 0.3–0.4 cm. Occasionally, a small blank space is left between words (e.g. ll. 7, 9, 21). In l. 1 two letters (μo) are underlined, but the meaning of this is unclear. *Voces magicae*, sequences of vowel combinations and names of gods, demons *vel sim.* are usually separated by a slash (e.g. ll. 2, 13, 19). In addition, some lines are preceded by a slash (ll. 5, 19, 29, 34).

The script can be assigned to the third century CE. It is an upright capital script, taller than it is broad, with occasional pseudo-ligatures competently executed. It is basically bilinear, apart from ρ and sometimes ι, φ, κ, the last of which is particularly tall and slightly protrudes above the writing space. α is usually written with an oval loop, sometimes with a very narrow loop above. β is large, with lower belly bigger than the upper one, with a horizontal basis. ε is big and well-rounded; ο is smallish, c is smaller than ε. π has two forms: the standard capital with crossbar protruding on both sides; the cursive one with roundish top (l. 23). ρ has a smallish head. υ is V-shaped. The central elements of μ consist in a curve touching the baseline or lying very slightly above it; ω is broad and lies above the baseline. Initial letters are slightly enlarged in some lines (e.g. ll. 2, 6, 12, 14). This script can be compared with the hand of section C of P.Oxy. XLVII 3366, dated to 253–260 CE. There are traces above the η of ἀήρ (l. 6), which might be part of a *spiritus lenis* of the preceding α.

The text preserves a large part and the end of the invocation of an all-powerful god; cf. Assmann 1979 and Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 127–134. Close parallels can be found in GEMF 60/PGM XIII 765–799 and partially in 15.289–294, 301–305/XII 240–244, 252–257, both of which help reconstruct the lost right part of most lines at least with regard to the content, if not to the exact text. Caution is due, however, because the differences between the two parallel texts themselves suggest that this prayer circulated in several variations. Because the length of each line in this text remains uncertain, all reconstructions are *exempli gratia*, although they are certainly correct with regard to their content. The parallels imply that this prayer was probably part of a larger magical procedure.

The preserved text starts in mid-sentence. The upper margin suggests that the extant text continues from the previous column. The *editio princeps* (and PGM XXI) give a minimal reconstruction of the beginning of the prayer based on the text of GEMF 15.288–289/PGM XII 239–240, while the re-edition in Merkelbach and Totti 1990 gives a more extensive reconstruction according to 15.287–289/XII 238–240 and 60/XIII 761–764. The line numbers do not follow PGM, but the *editio princeps*, which represents the situation on the papyrus. Line numbers of PGM are given on the right side of the text in square brackets.

verso ↓

GEMF 43/PGM XXI

- 1 οὐ καὶ οἱ δαίμον[ε]σ ἀκούοντες τὸ ὄνομα πτοοῦνται, οὐ δὲ ἥλιος]
βαρβαριχ / βα[αλκαμιν / πτιδαιου / αρνεβουατ καὶ ἡ κελήνη]
ακενπεμφθ[ουθ / βαρβαρα / ιωνη / οσραρ / μεμψεχει]
ὀφθαλμοὶ εἰσιν [ἀκάματοι, λάμποντες ἐν ταῖς κόραις]
- 5 / τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὧν οὐρανὸς μὲν κεφαλὴ ἐστὶ
καὶ ἀὴρ σῶμα, [γῆ δὲ πόδες, τὸ δὲ περὶ σε ὕδωρ. σὺ εἶ Ἄγαθός]
Δαίμων, ὠκε[ανός, ὁ γεννῶν ἀγαθὰ καὶ τρέφων καὶ αὔξων]
τὴν οἰκουμέν[η]ν [.,.]ν . [.] . [.]
κόσμον. σοῦ δὲ τὸ ἀέναον [ν κωμαστήριον, ἐν ᾧ καθίδρυται] [10]
10 σου τὸ ὄνομα / τὸ ἐπταγράμ[μα]τον ca 16 πρὸς]
τὴν ἁρμονίαν / τῶν ἐπτὰ φ[θόγγων ἐχόντων φωνὰς πρὸς]
τὰ εἴκοσι ὀκτὼ / φῶτα τῆς c[ε]λήνης ca 10 / εἰσιουω / α-]
ησιουω / αεισιουω / αεισιουω / [αεισιουω / αεισιουω / αεισιουω /]
οὐ αἰ ἀγαθαὶ ἀπόρροιαὶ / τῶν ἀστέρων εἰς δαίμο-]
15 νες καὶ τύχαι καὶ μοῖραι, ἐξ ὧν δίδεται πλοῦτος, τύχη,
εὐγηρασία, ταφὴ ἀγαθή. σὺ δὲ, κύριε τῆς ζωῆς, βασιλεύων]
τῆς ἄνω καὶ τῆς κάτω χώρας [., οὐ ἡ δικαιοσύνη οὐκ ἀποκλείεται,]
οὐ αἰ Μοῦσαι ὑμνοῦσι τὸ ἔνδοξ[ον] ὄνομα, ὃν δορυφοροῦσιν οἱ ἡ']
/ φύλακες / Η / Ω / Χω / Χουχ [/ Νουν / Ναυι / Αμουν /] [20]
20 Αμουνιο / ὁ ἔχων τὴν ἄψευτ[ο]ν γ[αλήθειαν· οὐ κατιχύσονται]
μου πολλὰ κάρκες κεινούμεν[αι, οὐκ ἀντιτάξεται]
μοι πᾶν πνεῦμα, πᾶν συνάντημα, [πᾶν δαιμόνιον, πᾶν πονηρόν,]
τὸ δὲ ὄνομά σου ἔξω ἐν φυλακτῆρ[ι]ον ἐν καρδίᾳ τῆ ἐμῇ]
φιριμνουν / [.]αγοχ / κολβαῖ []
25 καναχακρω[.,.]αρχηγρ[.,.]
σε κοπω / ιε[.,.]οαι / []
νουσι ν[ου]σ[ι] / [c]ιεθω [c]ιεθω
βενου[. . .] / [. . .] . . . []
/ αυ[ca 10] . εο[]
30 υι[ca 10] αι / []
τ[ca 11] , οτ[]
[ca 11] . . . αν[]
μ[ca 11] θ[]
/ . [ca 11] . α[]

1 δαίμονες [ἀκούοντες πτοοῦνται A || 2 βαμονιχ βα[ρβαριχ] ββααλα αμιν αρνεβουατ καὶ ἡ κελήνη A : Βααλ βνιχ ββααλα [Ἄμην πτιδαιου Ἄρνεβουατ καὶ κελήνη Pr : Βαρβαριχ βα[αλκαμιν] πτιδαιου ἄρ-νεβ-ουατ καὶ ἡ κελήνη MeTo || 3 ακεμ[φ]εμφθ[ουθ] βαρβαριωνη οσ ραφ μεμψεχει A : ακεν[π]εμφ Θω[ουθ], βαρβαριωνη οσραρμεμψεχει Pr : ακεν[π]εμφ Θω[ουθ], βαρβαρ--- (sic) MeTo || 5 ἀνθρώπων edd. || 6 γῆ δὲ πόδες· σὺ εἶ Ἄγαθός A : γῆ δὲ πόδες· σὺ εἶ ὠκεανός, ὁ Ἄγαθός MeTo : γῆ δὲ πόδες, τὸ δὲ περὶ σε ὕδωρ, ὠκεανός. σὺ εἶ Ἄγαθός Pr || 7 δαίμων ὠκε[ανός] ὁ γεννῶν ἀγαθὰ καὶ τροφῶν A | δαίμων ὁ κύριος Pr MeTo || 8 οἰκουμέν[η]ν, κύριος ὁ τρέφων καὶ αὔξων τὸν A : οἰκουμένην [γῆν] σύμπασαν καὶ ἅπαντα τὸν Pr MeTo || 9 ἀέναον [κωμαστήριον] ἄνω καθίδρυται A | καθίδρυται vel ἀφίδρυται || 10 ἐπταγράμ[μα]τον edd. || 11 ἄρ[μ]ονί[α]ν A || 12 φῶτα [τῆς] κελήνης A || 13 ησιουω αεισιουω [A : ησιουω αει(η)σιουω αει(ι)σιουω Pr MeTo || 14 οὐ ἀγαθαὶ A : οὐ <αἰ> ἀγαθαὶ (sic) Pr MeTo || 16 εὐγερα[σί]α A | σὺ [δὲ] edd. || 17 [καὶ] A : καὶ Pr MeTo | χώρα[c] A || 18 ἔνδοξ[ον] ὄνομα δ A || 19 ηωχ χουχ νο[ν] ναυι αμουν αμουνι Abt : Η, Ω, Χω, Χουχ, [Νουν, Ναυι Pr || 20 Ἄμουν Io Pr : Ἄμουνθ MeTo comm. | ἄψευτ[ον] ἀλήθειαν edd. || 21 κεινού[μ]εν[αι] A || 22 συνάντημα, [οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν Ἄϊδου πονηρῶν MeTo || 23 ἐν φυλακτ[η]ρίω A : ἐν φυλακτ[η]ρίον Pr : ἐνφυλακτ[η]ριον I. ἐμφυλακτ[η]ριον MeTo || 24 φιριμνουν λιφχ κολβω[A : φιριμνουν [ἀ]νοχ κολβαῖ Pr MeTo || 25–28 om. A || 25 καναχακρω . . αρχην Pr MeTo || 26 σε κοπω κ . . οαι Pr MeTo || 27 νουσι ν[ου]σι [c]ιεθω Pr MeTo || 28 βενου[αι] Pr : βενου[MeTo || 28 post βενου–34 om. edd. || 30 ι[vel κ[|| 32], τ. vel]π[|| 34]πα[vel]σα[]

GEMF 43

... at whose name even the demons [are terrified, when they hear, for whom the sun] BARBARICH¹ / BA[ALSAMĒN² / PTIDAIUO / ARNEBOUAT³ and the moon] ASENPEMPHTHŌOUTH⁴ [/ BARBARA / IŌNĒ⁵ / OSRAR / MEMPSECHEI] are [tireless] eyes⁶ [shining in the pupils] (5) of mortals, [for whom heaven is the head], air is the body, [earth is the feet, the water around you. You are Agathos] Daimon, the oce[an, who produces good things, nurtures and increases] the inhabited (world) ... universe.⁷ Yours is the everlasting [processional way, in which is established] your (10) seven-lettered name⁸ ... [in] harmony with the seven [sounds, which have tones according to] the twenty-eight lights of the [moon ...]⁹ [EĒIOUŌ / A]ĒIOUŌ / AEIOUŌ / AEĒOUŌ / [AEĒIUŌ / AEĒIOŌ / AEĒIOU/]¹⁰ whose good emanations / from [the stars are] demons, (15) fortunes and fates, by whom [are given wealth, success,] a happy old age, a good burial.¹¹ You, [lord of life, ruling] the upper and lower lands, [whose justice is not shut off], whose glorious [name] the Muses praise, [whom the eight] guards [attend]/ Ē / Ō / CHŌ / CHOUC[/ NOUN / NAUNI / AMOUN /] (20) AMOUNIO¹² /, (the one) who possesses the infallible [truth]. The many moving bodies [will not overpower] me, nor [will] any spirit, visitation, [demon, or evil being oppose] me. I will have your name as a single phylactery¹³ [in my heart] ... PHIRIMNOUN¹⁴ / ... AGOCH¹⁵ / SOLBAI¹⁶ ... (25) SANACHASRŌ¹⁷ ... ARCHĒNR...SE KOPŌ / .IE..OAI ... NOUSI NOUSI / SIETHO [SIETHO]¹⁸ BENOU¹⁹ ...

D. Colomo and M. Gerhardt

¹ Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 143 think this means ‘blazing demon’ (*brbr-ih*), but cf. Love 2016, 26 n. 62 for a fuller discussion and Brashear 1995, 3582 for other names with the initial element βαρβαρ-.

² Probably a variation of βαλκάμης (‘lord of heaven’), an attribute of the god Horus-Harpokrates in GEMF 57/PGM IV 1019 and 1061. Cf. Cumont 1896 and Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 212.

³ This name means in Eg. “Horus, Lord of the Sound (Eye)” (*hr nb-wd:t*). Cf. Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 212.

⁴ GEMF 15.290/PGM XII 241 has αρεμφομεφρωθ without connection to Selene, who is not even mentioned; 60/XIII 767 has αρεμπεντρωουθ with connection to Selene. Both are variations of the same *vox magica*.

⁵ Reconstructed from GEMF 60/PGM XIII 768. Cf. also SM I 49, 8–9 βαρβαριωνηθ as an attribute of Adonis.

⁶ For Helios and Selene as the eyes of the great god, and the general context cf. Assmann 1979 and 1984, 281–282.

⁷ Neither parallel in GEMF 15/PGM XII 244 (with τὰ πάντα) or in 60/XIII 772–773 (with τὴν οἰκουμένην alone) make the κόσμος the recipient of the benefactions of Agathos Daimon. The reconstruction remains uncertain.

⁸ The parallel texts strongly suggest ἑπταγράμ[ματων]. In them ἑπταγράμματος is immediately followed by the phrase πρὸς τὴν ἁρμονίαν κτλ., which in our papyrus occurs at the end of this line (10) and the beginning of the next line.

⁹ An attribute or participle referring to the moon could have followed c[ελήνης, e.g. Αἰγυπτίας (GEMF 74.1027/PGM VII 869), πανσελήνου (57/IV 52), πληθούσης (30/VI 2), πληρωθείσης (57/IV 57) or *vores magicae*. The twenty-eight lights of the moon are the 28 phases of the moon on the 28 days of the lunar month.

¹⁰ These are repetitions of the seven vowels (cf. Dieleman 2005, 66–67), but the extant repetitions suggest that the sequence is unique, because each repetition is missing a single vowel, α from the first, ε from the second, and so on.

¹¹ The emphasis on a good burial and old age is typically Egyptian. See Sethe 1935, 120.

¹² This is the “Ogdoad” of Hermoupolis, *Hh-Hh.t, Kk-Kk.t, Nwn-Nwn.t, Imn-Imn.t*, personifications of aspects of the primeval world (infinity, darkness, primordial water, concealment). Cf. Sethe 1929, Roeder 1933, 526, Rashed 2017. Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 138 and 152, corrected the last name to Ἄμοῦνιθ, but the reading is certain and finds a close parallel in GEMF 60/PGM XIII 789 Αμαῦνι. The final o is either dittography for the article which follows or Eg. *ꜥ.t* ‘great’.

¹³ Cf. GEMF 60/PGM XIII 795. Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 138 and 153, suggest ενφυλακτ[ηριον] l. ἔμφυλακτ[ήριον] (unattested), and translate “Schutzmittel (Amulett)”. In any case, the articulation ἐν φυλακτήριον (Preisendanz) or the correction ἐν φυλακτηρίῳ (Bonner 1936) are possible despite the missing article and the following ἐν καρδίᾳ.

¹⁴ This is *pr̄i-m-nwn*, “I am he who came forth from Nun,” cf. Thissen 1991a, 299; Quack 2004, 499.

¹⁵ This sequence does not occur elsewhere. Pr and MeTo print [ǎ]voχ, the Egyptian personal pronoun of the first person well-attested in sequences of *vores magicae* (see SM II 42, 30). It is possible that the scribe wrote γ instead of v by mistake, possibly due to the influence of the alternative spelling avoy (GEMF 60/PGM XIII 583).

¹⁶ This name is also attested in GEMF 57/PGM IV 1668 and 69/XXXVIII 24 as the name of the sun in the 6th hour and on a magnetite gem, M&M 83: βαicolβαιχαφουρι. Cf. also Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 119 and 153.

¹⁷ This name either means ‘ram’ (Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 79 and 153), or ‘ewe’ as Eg. *sr.t* (Quack 2009, 30–31).

¹⁸ Parallels GEMF 31/PGM I 240; 30.170/II 123; 58/V 484–485. Cf. Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 63, 153–154, 214.

¹⁹ βενου probably Eg. *bnw*, ‘phoenix’; cf. GEMF 6.10, 30–31; 30.151/II 104; 15.279/XII 231; 60/XIII 881.

GEMF 44
(P.Oxy. LXVIII 4672)

Oxyrhynchus

III CE

ED.PR.: Colomo 2003

TRANS.: ed. pr. (English)

COMM.: ed. pr.; Serafini 2015, 256–258

LOC.: Oxford, Sackler Library, Papyrology Room

TM 101344

This papyrus sheet (H 10.6 x W 13.5 cm) is written along the fibers; the back is blank. On the right, a few letters before line-ends, there is a *kollesis*. The partially preserved upper margin is 1.4 cm and the preserved left margin is 1 cm. The line-ends run to the edge of the sheet. The sheet preserves only a formula (or perhaps the end of it), but the *praxis* is missing. Either the scribe copied the formula alone, as we sometimes find in single sheets, or this papyrus is part of a larger formulary and the *praxis* was written in the now lost preceding column. If the latter is true, it is curious that the column we have has survived in such a good state of preservation, as if it had been cut vertically in antiquity with part of the ‘original’ left-hand *intercolumnium*.

The text is written in a rather informal hand with sporadic ligatures, slightly slanting to the right, roughly bilinear, apart from the uprights of ι, ρ, τ and φ and the letter ξ, which tends to protrude above and below the baseline. Ornamentation is not particularly emphasized, although the lower extremities of the uprights often have a leftward hook, except for the η and π, which have a rightward hook. I am inclined to assign this script to the third century CE on the basis of similarities with precisely dated documents: P. Oxy. XLIII 3100 (225 CE), and P.Oxy. LXVII 3365 (241 CE or later). Cf. also P.Vat. Gr. 11, Favorinus, *De exilio* (GLH 18b–c), which has a *terminus post quem* of c. 215 CE (see Alessandri 2013, 240–241), and P. Oxy. XLVIII 3368, Menander, *Misoumenos*, written on the back of a third-century tax register. *Diaeresis* in l. 4 is visible over a lost υ. In ll. 1, 2, 10 and 11 there are short diagonal strokes high in the line used as word dividers (marked as ‘ in the text; note that in l. 1 the right-hand side of the υ of μου forms a single diagonal stroke with the divider); for parallels, see P.Oxy. LV 3812.5 (late 3rd cent.), P.Oxy. LVI 3827 (2nd cent.), 3842 (2nd cent.), 3843 (2nd cent.), P.Oxy. LX 4022 (2nd cent.), P.Mich. III 137 (Cavallo-Maehler, GB, 4b; first half of the 4th cent.), P.Oxy. LXVIII 4674.12 (4th/5th cent.) and PSI I 65 (second half of the 6th cent.). Here the dividers seem limited to the invocations of the goddess Hekate. After l. 15 there is the beginning of a forked *paragaphos* marking the end of the procedure.

The papyrus contains an erotic attraction-procedure that invokes Hekate to go at night and cause insomnia in the female victim until she consents. Similar insomnia-procedures include GEMF 57/PGM IV 2944–2966; 74.455–457/VII 374–376 or 15.425–435/XII 376–396.

recto →

GEMF 44

1 Νὺξ Ἑκάτη Ἑκάτη δέ μου ἄγγελος
 ἔστω καὶ πορευθεῖσα καὶ σταθῖσα
 πρὸς κεφαλῆς τῆς Δ ἧς ἔτεκεν
 ἢ Δ περιέλε αὐτῆς τὸν [ῥ]πνον
 5 ἕως ἐξαγαπηδήσασα ἔλθη πρὸς
 ἐμὲ τὸν Δ τῆς Δ φιλοῦσά με καὶ ἀ-
 γαπῶσά με καὶ ζητ[οῦς]ά μου τῆ
 συνουσίαν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆ[ς ζω]ῆς αὐ-
 τῆς χρόνον ατρακ[...]
 10 τρακα ἑτετρακῶν ἑτετρ[α]υ-
 λάκτ[α] ἄγρυπνεῖτ[ω]...
 φι[λοῦσά με] καὶ ἀγαπῶ[σά με τὸν Δ]
 τῆς [Δ] καὶ ζητ[οῦσά μου τὴν]
 συν[ουσία]ν ἐπ[ὶ τὸν τῆς ζωῆς]
 15 αὐ[τῆς πάντα χρόνον
 ἴ[-----]

2. 1. σταθεῖσα || 3 δ(ε)ῖ(voc) | 1. ἦν || 4 δ(ε)ῖ(να) | [ῥ]πνον Pap. || 6 δ(ε)ῖ(να) | δ(ε)ῖ(voc) || 7 τῆ(v) || 9 post χρόνον spatium ca 1 cm

Night, Hekate,¹ let Hekate be my messenger!² Go³ and stand before the head of her, NN, whom she, NN, bore and take sleep from her (5) until she leaps out⁴ and comes to me (m.), NN, whom she, NN, bore, loving me, cherishing me and seeking intercourse with me for the duration of her life. ATRAK[...]TATRAKA with four dog-faces, fourfold (10) barker,⁵ let her NN, whom she, NN, bore, be sleepless ... loving me and cherishing me (m.), NN, whom she, NN, bore, and seeking intercourse with me for (15) all the duration of her life.

D. Colomo

¹ Hekate is one of several deities associated with such erotic procedures, where she is assimilated to other goddesses, for example, Artemis, Selene or Persephone; here she is assimilated only to Night, but we are probably missing the beginning of the invocation, which may have included other goddesses. Night is, in fact, an uncommon figure; see, e.g. a single verse in a hexametrical hymn to Selene (GEMF 57/PGM IV 2858) which invokes “Night, Darkness, broad Chaos and Necessity.” For an insomnia-procedures, of course, Night would be a logical presence.

² The first seven words have a dactylic rhythm, not an uncommon feature in the invocations and so-called “hymns” found in other formularies; see Faraone 1999, 142–146. The metrical irregularities here are probably due to scribal errors; see Brashear, 1995, 3420–3422.

³ Here the syntax changes inexplicably from a third-person imperative to a second-person imperative.

⁴ Such erotic procedures often aim at forcing the female victim out of her home and into the arms of the male practitioner or client; see, more explicitly, GEMF 68/PGM XXXVI 70–71, a recipe that boasts the power to “make virgins leap forth” from their homes. The parallels (e.g. 68/XXXVI 359 and SM I 40.18 and 45.46) use a simpler form of the verb: ἐκπηδάω.

⁵ For Hekate’s association with dogs, see the ed.pr., Serafini 2015, 138–154, 244–245, 257, Carboni 2015, 232 (s.v. ‘cane/i’, ‘cagna’), Sofia 2018. τετραυλάκτα is a *hapax legomenon*, while τετρακῶν also occurs in a curse tablet from the circus at Antioch dated to the fifth-sixth cent. (ed. Hollmann 2003; l. 35; cf. l. 34 τητραβάμω l. τετραβάμων, ‘going on four feet’). Apart from this tablet, the two epithets that begin with “four” have parallels only in the hymn to Selene mentioned above in n. 1, GEMF 57/PGM IV 2817–2818, where Selene-Hekate is described as “four-faced, four-named, of the quadruple ways (i.e. at an intersection of two roads).” These epithets seem to be variants of the very common “triple” epithets of Hekate that appear a few verses later in the same hymn (2821–2823) “triple-headed,” “triple-faced,” “triple-necked” and “goddess of the triple-ways,” which seem to have evolved from worship of Hekate at the triple-crossroad, for which see Johnston 1991.

4. The Greek Formularies of the Late Empire (III–IV CE)

GEMF 45
(PGM XXa, SM II 88)

Oxyrhynchus III–IV CE
 ED.PR.: Lobel apud Maas 1942, 36–37 (lines 1–12 only)
 REPUBL.: SM II 88, Zellmann-Rohrer 2020, 47
 TRANS.: SM II 88 (English)
 COMM.: Merkelbach 1958, 86 [Me]; SM; Faraone 2000, 195–214; Zellmann-Rohrer 2020, 47–48
 LOC.: Oxford, Sackler Library, Papyrology Room, P.Oxy. inv. 72/65a TM 64483

The left edge of a single column, complete at top and bottom with margins, from a bookroll or large sheet. The text, which runs along the fibers, is in a proficient, small and upright hand with somewhat curved strokes, approaching the severe style, where letters are mainly detached, keeping their strokes without joining them in a single movement (cf. λ, ν, π) and with no true ligatures; cf. P. Berl. inv. 5513 (BKT VI pp. 13–17 no. II 1, Seider I 46), assigned to the third or fourth centuries CE and, especially, P.Oxy. VII 1016 (GMAW 84). On the back are the remains of the right edge of a column of an unpublished text in a different hand, which appears unrelated. *Diaeresis* is written twice (l. 18), and the monogram ϩ̅ is used twice for πρός (ll. 1 and 6);¹ there is one scribal correction (l. 8).

The remains of three recipes are preserved, separated by *paragraphoi*, the first two of which, marked also with *ekthesis*, are spoken formulas against a skin disease characterized by a red rash. They seem to be prose versions of a much earlier incantation for a similar skin disease preserved in a fragment of a papyrus anthology of short hexametrical incantations (GEMF 3/PGM XX = SH 900), which refers to the utterances as ‘incantations’ (ἐπαιδαί), rather than ‘formulas’ (λόγοι).

The text is that of SM II 88 unless noted.

¹ The same monogram is used in GEMF 74.271, 273, 277, 282, 285, 287/PGM VII 197, 199, 203, 208, 211, 213 at the beginning of brief iatromagical procedures.

recto →

GEMF 45/PGM XXa

Π̄ [ἐρ]υσίπελα[
 ἐπτὰ λύκων, ἐ[πτὰ παρ]-
 θένων ἄγριον [
 μεγάλων ὀστέων [
 5 ὦ Γῆ σὺ δὲ ταῦτα πάντ[α
 —
 Π̄ ἐρυθρὸν λόγος· ἐπτὰ [
 ἐπτὰ λεόντων ἐπτὰ [
 κοίμικαν αἰθέριον πῦρ [
 λέγε vac. [
 —
 10 . . οἱ ἐπικαλοῦμαι[
 . ω τοῦ Ἀβραάμ [ἐπικα]-
 [λ]οῦμαι δὲ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα
 [. .] ρουσι κόλλησον τὸ φ[
 [ca 5] . . . οἱ πρὸς τοῦ[
 15 [ca 5 δυνάμει καὶ ὑπ' αὐ[τ-
 [ca 6] καθαρὸς προς . [
 [ca 6] γ ἐπ' ὀνόματ[ι
 [ca 7] μνηΐσον ἴσφ [
 [ca 7] μων θέρμανο[ν

1, 6 πρ(ός) || 1 [ἐρ]υσίπελα[
 λέγε: vel [ἐπί]λεγε || 10 . . οἱ ἐπικαλοῦμαι[ι]: fort. [τὸν κύ]ριον, haud θεὸν : [δύ]ναμιν : [. .] γ SM || 11 fort. [ἐν τῷ κόλλ]πφ || 13 [. .]θοῦ SM || 13 e.g. φ[άρμακον] vel φ[ύλλον] || 14 . οἱ[SM || 15 ὑπ[α . [SM || 16 προσθ[SM || 17] γ . . . ὀνοματ[SM

For erysipelas [a formula?] “... seven wolves, seven ... maidens ... savage ...² great bones ... (5) O Earth,³ you ... all these ...”

For redness (of the skin?), a formula:⁴ “Seven ... seven lions, seven ... quelled (?) the airy fire”⁵ ...Say (it)... (10) “I invoke ... of Abraham⁶ ... I invoke also the name ... adhere the ...against (15) ... power and by itself(?)” ... pure ... in the name ... in equal parts ... heat up ...

M. Zellmann-Rohrer

² For the likely restorations, see GEMF 3.25–29/PGM XX 10–14.

³ The invocation is comparable to some Byzantine incantations calling upon the personified Earth to take away disease: Zellmann-Rohrer 2020, 49.

⁴ For the likely restorations of this and the following two lines see above.

⁵ The epithet is probably rooted in a popular belief that the rash was brought on by an ill wind, reflected also in Byzantine lore; see Zellmann-Rohrer 2020, 49.

⁶ Perhaps [the God] of Abraham, cf. e.g. the Byzantine incantation in *Hippiatrica Parisina* 62 (ed. Oder and Hoppe 1927; cf. Heim 1892, 488 no. 90; 523 no. 170; 536 no. 212), “I invoke too the God of Abraham” (ἐπικαλοῦμαι καὶ θεὸν Ἀβραάμ).

GEMF 46
(SM II 86, P.Oxy. LVI 3835)

Oxyrhynchus

III–IV CE

ED.PR: P.Oxy. LVI 3835 (Maltomini 1989a)

REPubL.: SM II 86; Zellmann-Rohrer 2016, 590 (ii 1–8), 610 (ii 9–16) [Ze]

TRANSL.: ed.pr. (English); SM II 86 (English)

COMM.: ed.pr.; SM II 86; Faraone 2015, 104–107

LOC.: Oxford, Sackler Library, Papyrology Rooms

TM 64337

Two fragments from a papyrus roll (Fr. A H. 14.8 × W. 17.2 cm; Fr. B H. 1.3 × W. 1.3 cm) feature magical recipes written on the verso across the fibers. Fr. A, broken to left and right and at the bottom, contains the remains of two columns. The upper margin measures 1.8 cm, the *intercolumnium* 1.3–1.9 cm. On the recto there are remains of three columns from an unpublished philosophical text. The position of the small fragment B, whose recto is blank, cannot be determined, but the physical condition of the papyrus makes it more likely that it belonged to the first column. The line-length cannot be determined either. The supplements suggested for ll. 11–18 seem to be the most economical way to produce continuous sense (a purely illustrative reconstruction of those lines can be found in SM II 86, p. 184).

The hand is a well performed upright cursive, comparable with informal examples of chancery style, such as P.Oxy. XXXI 2612 and 2558 (Cavallo 1965, 249, pls. 11–12). It can be dated to the third or earlier fourth century (at l. 12 the writing becomes more cursive and compressed, probably by the same copyist writing more quickly). There are no accents, breathings or apostrophes. *Diaeresis* is used on initial υ (ll. 9, 10, 23).

In the portion of text which survives the procedures are all concerned with the identification of a thief. At least five different procedures can be distinguished, separated by a slightly wider line-space (ll. 8–9, 18–19, 21–22, 26–27) and—in the one case in which it can be determined—by final *dicolon*, *paragraphos* and *ekthesis* of the new line (ll. 18–19). Of the procedures in the second column, two (19–21, 22–26) have no exact parallels in the Greek magical papyri, while the other two (11–18, 27–31) show some similarity with the famous procedure to catch a thief in GEMF 58/PGM V 70–95, which however envisages visual impairment, not the loss of the eye. It is impossible to determine whether ll. 9–10 preserve the beginning of the procedure in ll. 11–18 or of an earlier one. In the section now lost, instructions for drawing an eye in the shape of the *wedjat*-eye (see n. 13 below) were probably given. The desperate condition of the first column makes any specific comparison impossible, except with PGM V 77–78, 91–92 (see below n. 2).

For procedures to catch a thief in the Greek magical papyri, see GEMF 58/PGM V 172–212; 77/P.Berl. inv. 17202, ll. 23–30; (perhaps) 55/III 479–494. A Demotic example is GEMF 18/PDM LXI 81–97. For curses that force the thief to reveal himself and return the stolen property, see Faraone, Garnand and López-Ruiz 2005, 161–186, and Faraone 2011b, 25–44. For medieval and early modern periods, see SM II 86 ii 1–8 comm. and Zellmann-Rohrer 2016, 119–130, 590–619. For Jewish magic, see Bohak 2006, 1–19 and Bohak 2007, 287 with n. 170.

As for the procedure in ll. 22–26, it is probably related to the type of trial by ordeal, frequent in the medieval West and known by the name of *iudicium aquae ferventis (calidae, bullientis), examinatio aenei (caldariae)*, etc. (German *Kesselfang*): the accused had to put his hand in a vessel of boiling water (to recover a stone or a ring); if his hand came out unharmed, he was judged innocent, if it was scalded, guilty. Up to the publication of this papyrus, the earliest known evidence for this sort of *iudicium* was the *Pactus Legis Salicae* ch. 53, 56, from the beginning of the sixth century; cf. MGH Legum I, vol. IV.1, 200–302, 210–214 (further discussion in SM II 86 ii 12–16 comm.).

Fr. A (5) ... Lord¹ ... throw ... hand over the thief² ... hammer in water(?) ... (10) ... to a place³ and you will take the [hammer] and strike down onto the [eye],⁴ striking and saying: “I will poke out [your] eye, O thief!” and [add(?)]:(15) “Let the thief speak before [I poke out(?)] his eye.” Whenever the [thief speaks(?)], (the) release (is):⁵ wash [the eye]⁶ with oil and wine. Another:⁷ you will place onions on [the eye(?)],⁸ (20) saying: “O thief, let [the onion(?)] bite (you?).” If (the irritation?) does not subside,⁹ it is clearly him.¹⁰ ... basket you will place¹¹ ... a vessel of water and you will say: “I [wet your(?)] hand” and dip [his hand(?)] into [the vessel(?)]. (25) For [the water(?)] boils ... [whomever you find(?)] scalded(?),¹² it is clearly him. Take a nail and engrave a *wedjat-eye*¹³ ...
Fr. B ... hand over [the thief(?)]¹⁴ ...

F. Maltomini

¹ Possibly Hermes (cf. GEMF 58/PGM V 173, 188), or Helios (cf. 58/V189).

² Cf. GEMF 58/PGM V 77–78 παράδος τὸν κλέπτην τὸν ἄραντά τι, 91–92.

³ Probably the place where the eye was to be drawn, or the place where the suspected thieves were to be assembled.

⁴ The parallel text in GEMF 58/PGM V 92–93 reads “Just as I strike (κρούω) the *wedjat-eye* (οὐάτιον) with this hammer, let the eye (ὀφθαλμός) of the thief be struck (κρουέσθω)!”

⁵ Papyrus λύσις (l. 17) is supported by GEMF 74.252/PGM VII 178 λύσις ἐλαίω (though cf. Wellmann 1921, 29: “wohl λύσει”). For a similar concision, see n. 10 below. With λύσει “you will free (him)” we would have a more fluid sentence, but this would be the one iotacistic mistake in this text (cf. the correct -ει ending at ll. 12, 19, 22(?), 23). For ‘freeing’ by means of anointing, cf. Wellmann 1921, 29–30.

⁶ The object of κλύειν (l. 18) might be the eye of the thief, or (in this case, “wash off”) the eye drawn on a wall.

⁷ κητε (l. 19) is problematic as Greek (cf. the tentative interpretations in the previous editions), but entirely perspicuous as the Egyptian word whose Coptic form is κητε ‘another’ (fem.); see Crum, 92a, and cf. Demotic *k.t*, used throughout the Demotic magical papyri to introduce a procedure analogous to the previous, as ἄλλο in the Greek texts. For the feminine form, cf. Greek ἄλλη (scil. πράξις, or the like): GEMF 55/PGM III 489; 57/IV 88; 58/V 440. In GEMF 15.250, 319, 414/PGM XII 201, 270 and 365, the titles of the recipes are given in Demotic as well as Greek (I am indebted for this to K. Dosoo; cf. already Quack 2013b, 198).

⁸ I know of no other evidence for the use of onions in charms to catch a thief, but one can guess that onions were placed on an *wedjat-eye* (drawn or incised) in order to produce irritation in the eye of the thief.

⁹ The sense is not certain. Zellmann-Rohrer 2016, 610 reads χαλασ[θ]ῆ (l. 21) and interprets “if he does not relax” (for late thief detection-procedures implying constipation or dysuria, see *ibid.*, 127–128, 613; for χαλάω of relaxation of the bowels, cf. LSJ s.v. I 7).

¹⁰ δηλός (l. 21, also 26) is used absolutely with the meaning “there he is revealed,” “it is clearly him,” equivalent to αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ κλέψας of GEMF 58/PGM V 212. Here the style is more concise.

¹¹ The traces after the small internal lacuna at l. 22 (the ends of two parallel horizontals, the lower one projecting towards the right) seems hardly suitable to any letter in this hand.]ψάμμον,]ἄμμον,]γραμμον,]κάλαμιον,]θάλαμιον, or]πάλαμιον are all palaeographically unsatisfactory, and, in any case, of no direct relevance in the context. Whatever the answer, the content of l. 22 will be difficult to relate to the known forms of *Kesselfang* (see intro.).

¹² The papyrus has μεμολυμμένον (l. 26), from μολύνω, ‘to stain’, which does not seem relevant in the context. Was the intention μεμολυμένον ‘scalded’? For the confusion between forms of μολύνω and μολύω, cf. LSJ, s.v. μολύω.

¹³ οὐάτιον (l. 27) is a loan-word based on Egyptian *wd.t* ‘*wedjat-eye*’. Cf. GEMF 58/PGM V 75, 92; 15.279/XII 230, and see Griffith and Thompson 1904, 64, n. to col. viii 8; Jacoby 1913, 124; LSJ, s.v.; Torallas Tovar and Martín Hernández 2020, 295–296.

¹⁴ Cf. GEMF 58/PGM V 178, 210 παράδος φῶρ, ὃν ζητῶ.

GEMF 47
(P.Oxy. LVIII 3931)

Oxyrhynchus

III–IV CE

ED.PR.: P.Oxy. LVIII 3931 (Rea 1991)

REPUBL.: Phillips 2009, 69–70 [Ph]

TRANS.: ed.pr., Phillips 2009 (English); Jördens 2008, 432 (German)

COMM.: Keenan 1992, 213–216 [Ke]; Phillips 2009, 69–82

LOC.: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum

TM 30769

This papyrus fragment (H. 9.5 × W. 20 cm) contains two columns of text on the recto, and a drawing and two more lines of magical instructions on the verso. The recto features a left-hand margin of ca 7 cm, in which the fibers run vertically, but to the right of the *kollesis*, the text is written horizontally along the fibers. It looks like the beginning of a roll, with the *protokollon* to the left. The first editors suppose that this is a scrap piece of papyrus cut from a scroll, which had a short first column, allowing a wider surface of unused papyrus.

On the recto there are two columns of text written in a well-executed cursive hand, mostly bilinear with ρ and τ reaching below the line. There is some modular contrast (tiny omicrons vs. large square letters). The first editors dated the hand to the third or fourth centuries. We agree with this date, although the closest parallels date to the late third century, such as P.Oxy. LXI 4119 (270 CE) or SB VIII 9829 (273 CE). The hand on the verso looks clumsier, but the first editors do not exclude it was written by the same scribe, only slightly larger than the writing on the recto. The drawing on the verso is described as a series of “clumsy drawings of strange beasts, one of which seems to be mummified in bandages” (Rea and Bateson 1991, 44; see also Horak 1992, 247, with no. 206a). The scribe made corrections in l. 7. There is no *diaeresis*, and magical words are marked with a supralinear stroke.

The text on the recto begins with a rubric for an invisibility procedure that is apparently comprised of a single invocation in which three magical words are addressed with complimentary epithets (e.g. “all-ruling” and “ruler of the sea”) or located “upon the universe” or “upon the night.” This recipe is much like the invisibility procedures in GEMF 31/PGM I 222–231 and 247–262.

The supplements for col. ii are from the ed.pr.

recto col. i →

1 ἀμαυρωτικὸν ἄνθρω-
 πον ποιῆσαι· ἐπικαλοῦ-
 μαι τὸ διήκον πνεῦμα
 ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανόν, θεῶν
 5 πνευμάτων θεὸν παν-
 τοκράτορα ασσεσουῶ
 ἀμαύσον πάν^{τα} ὀφθαλμ[ὸ]ν
 ἀνθρώπου ἢ γυναικός,
 ἐπὶ πορεύομαι, ἄχρι οὐ ποι-
 10 ἦσω [ὄ]σα θέλω καὶ λέγω·
 χωρεῖθ ἄκουσόν μοι ἐπὶ
 τοῦ κόσμου, αλκμε θαλασ-
 ς[οκ]ρά[τ]ωρ, ὃ ἐπὶ τῆς νυκτός

col. ii →

1 [.....] ες.[
 γεσ[15
 [...] .ρ κου[
 [...] .φρ λεγ.[
 5 [...] εἰς ἔλεον χ[
 μετὰ κῆρ[ου κορκο-
 δίου καὶ μαλ[αχῶν τε- 20
 λειων ὀλίγων [χρίσον
 τὴν ὄψιν αερ [
 10 ατερβιακα [.] . [
αεεεενη [
 αὐτ [25
 [

Supplementa ex ed.pr. desumpta

2 ποιῆσαι· Pap. || 4 θεῶν : θεῶν Ke || 9 ἐπιπορεύομαι ed.pr. : 1. ἐπεὶ πορεύομαι Ph || 11 l. μου || 18 l. ἔλαιον

verso ↓

].... [..] λαβὸν φύλλον καλπάσσου [
 α.....ου ωι κατόρυζον παρα....[



28 l. καρπάσου

recto

To make a person invisible.¹ (Say) “I summon² the spirit that reaches from the earth to the sky,³ all-ruling god of the wind-(5)gods(?).⁴ ASSESOUŌ, dim the eyes of every man or woman, when I go forth, until I achieve as many things (10) as I wish and as I say.⁵ CHŌREITH, listen to me, (you) who are in charge of the universe, ALKME,⁶ ruler of the sea, (you) who are in charge of the night...⁷ ... ES (15) ... GES ... R KOU ... ŌR ... into oil ... with the dung of a (crocodile) (20) and a few [mature mallows] ... (rub on?) the face⁸ AERATERBIARKA ... SESENĒ ... (25) AUT

verso

.... (Take) a leaf of flax ... bury (it?) beside

C.A. Faraone and S. Torallas Tovar

¹ For similar rubrics, see GEMF 31/PGM I 247 (“a tested invisibility procedure [ἀμαύρωσις]”) and 60/XIII 234 (“an invisibility procedure” [ἀμαυρά]). Like Gyges’ famous ring, the goal of these procedures is to allow someone to do presumably illegal things without consequence; for full discussion of the genre and all of these recipes, see Phillips 2009.

² This seems to be an adaptation of an invocation of Helios that we find elsewhere, e.g. GEMF 57/PGM IV 1600, ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε ... and 1695, κοσμοκράτορα, τὸν ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν κόσμον, ἄλκιμε θαλασσοκράτωρ ...

³ See GEMF 57/PGM IV 1117 for a similar description of the god Aion.

⁴ The word πνευμάτων can also mean ‘spirit’ but given the cosmic descriptions of the other two gods (e.g. “ruler of the sea” and “in charge of the universe”), ‘wind-gods’ seems preferable. For a similar expression that also describe Aion, see GEMF 58/PGM V 466 ὁ κύριος τῶν πνευμάτων (“lord of the winds”).

⁵ Phillips has no punctuation after λέγω and thus translates “... and I say chōreith, listen to me...”

⁶ The ed.pr. ad loc. rightly suggests that the letters alkme marked with an overstrike as a divine name were originally the adjective ἄλκιμε, ‘mighty’ (as we see in the parallel quoted above in note 2), an adjective that was subsequently misunderstood, once it lost its medial *iota*.

⁷ This invocation is incomplete and a bit backwards: it begins by asking the first entity to blind the victim, and then asking the second to listen; one would have expected the reverse.

⁸ These instructions are most likely part of the invisibility recipe in col. i. For parallels see the two recipes in GEMF 31/PGM I 255–256 (“Rub just your face with the concoction”) and 224 (“smear your whole body with it”).

GEMF 48
(P.Mich. inv. 1560o)

Provenance unknown

III–IV CE

ED.PR.: Zellmann-Rohrer 2015, 183–187 no. II [Ze]

COMM.: Zellmann-Rohrer 2015

TRANSL.: Zellmann-Rohrer 2015

LOC.: Ann Arbor MI, University of Michigan

TM 397803

Fragment of an opisthographic sheet broken on all sides, with maximum dimensions of H. 8 cm x W. 9.5 cm. The recto bears the remains of two columns with *intercolumnium* and scant remains of at least two procedures, one definitely, the other probably for erotic purposes. There is further writing on the back, probably in the same hand (especially α and υ are formed in the same way), but very much obliterated. Two surviving phrases could suggest further handbook content: μὴ καρτερεῖν, perhaps of the torment of a female target of erotic magic, and τὸ ῥόδον, perhaps a flower used in a ritual offering.

The script is an irregular sub-literary hand, in which letters are for the most part separately formed. It may be assigned to the third or fourth century (see for parallels GMAW 43 and Seider I 51). The *paragraphos* is used, as is superlineation for a magical word (l. 7) and the abbreviation Ϝ for δ(ε)ῖ(να) (l. 18). There are some letter-like *charaktēres* on the recto. The provenance of the papyrus, which came to Michigan in 1924, is unknown.

recto col. i →

	[	]αι	
	[	]εινον	
	[	] . . ον	
	[	]ζεται	
5	[	] ϞϞϞ	
	[	]τε τα	
	[	] αρσιωθ	
	[	] ανεχω	
	[	]υτου εφω	
10	[	] σου χρίαν	
	[	το]ϛ μηνος	
	[	]σου	
	[]	

col. ii

1	με[]	
	ιου [	]	15
	αση[]	
	αση []	
5	ἢ Ϝ τὸν Ϝ []	
	τουτατ []	
	ματο[	]	20
	ιιι ααα[α]	
	τον ϞϞϞϞϞϞ ϕκ ϞϞ []	

GEMF 48

10	βαλομη σατραπερκμ[ηφ]	
	χυχ αβραωθ· άγρυπν[]	
	λύχνος οὖν ἡμέρας [	]	25
	[...] θεοι.[]	
	[ca 5]ν.[]	

4 post ι spatium unius lit. || 10 l. χρειάν || 18 δ(ε)ϊ(να)

verso ↓

1	[	]	ca 5 []	
	[	]	ca 5 αν . . []	
	[	]	ογιας . . . νη αρ . . [ca 5]δε . [	]	30
	[	]	ηδε υς . . . α α . . . []	
5	[	]	μη καρτερεϊν . . . []	
	[	]	βα . ε . . [ca 5] . πν . []	
	[	]	αιτα . τουμ[]	
	[	]	γη . . . . . [	]	35
	[	]	δ . πάντες δε οι α[]	
10	[	]	ω[.] αινο . . . []	
	[	]	α . α . αθθ[]	
	[	]	οc τὸ ῥόδον []	

recto

(5) ... (*charaktēres*)...ARSIŌTH ... (10) need ... of the month ... (15) ... AEĒ... AEĒI ... she, NN ... him, NN¹
 (20) ... IIII AAAAA ... (*charaktēres*)²... BAALOMĒ SATRAPERKMĒPH ... CHUCH ABRAŌTH. [Let her, NN, be
 (?)] sleepless (25) ... a lamp, during the day ... gods ...

verso

(30) ... not to endure ... (35) and all the ... the rose ...

M. Zellmann-Rohrer

¹ Surely some form of the verb ‘to love’ (φιλέω) stood in the lacuna, e.g. “let her, NN, love him, NN.”

² The third, fourth and fifth of these *charaktēres* are the same as those that appear at the end of l. 5.

GEMF 49
(PGM XLIV, P.Messeri 22)

Oxyrhynchus

III–IV CE

ED.PR.: Wessely 1893, 71 [We]

REPubL.: PGM XLIV (Nachträge: Eitrem, PGM, vol. 2, 268 [Ei]) [Pr]; P.Messeri (Maltomini 2020) [Ma]

TRANSL.: Kotansky, GMPT, 281 (English); Maltomini 2020 (Italian)

COMM.: Maltomini 2020

LOC.: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Papyrussammlung, P.Vindob. G 328

TM 64040

A fragment from a papyrus roll (H. 15.8 × W. 12.1 cm) broken at top, bottom and right. At the left there is a blank space of 0.5 cm. The writing runs along the fibers on the recto and the back is blank. The hand is rough and informal, leaning to the right, written with a medium-thick calamus. It tends to be bilinear (β and ρ break the alignment at the bottom, φ at the top and bottom) and it is free of ligatures. The scribe's carelessness is evident also in the marked and irregular inclination of the lines and in the strong inconsistency of the interlinear spaces. To be noted: α in one sequence, with rounded loop, often open at the top; β tall and narrow in two movements; η with an upward slanting cross-bar; κ with the vertical and the ascending oblique in one movement; rounded μ in a single movement; V-shaped υ with spread and curved arms. This writing can be assigned with good confidence to the third-fourth century CE. One can compare P.Merton I 29 (Montevecchi, 86), 3rd–4th cent., and P.Col. X 283 (Harrauer, no. 191, pl. 176), after 306 CE.

As is often the case with magical papyri, the arrangement of the text is a composite: the comprehensible Greek, preceded by sequences of *voces magicae*, begins at the end of l. 2 and is surrounded by autonomous blocks (the seven vowels stacked together to form a πλίνθος, the angel name in wing-formation, etc.) on the left and at the bottom, as well as by a drawing of an anthropomorphic figure on the right. It cannot be established whether the white space on the left was part of the *intercolumnium* or whether it separated these designs from other similar ones. There are no lectional signs. Δ stands for δεινα, □□ (or perhaps □□) for ὀνόματα, κοῖ for κοινόν or κοινά. An adscript *iota* at l. 4. For a high dot in l. 15 see comm. Magical words are sometimes partially overlined (l. 2). At l. 7 above προυου there is a horizontal stroke for which I have no explanation. There are several orthographic mistakes. The new readings clearly show that the text is a fragment of a formula that does not concern an amulet,¹ but an erotic ἀγωγή (ll. 2, 4–5, 6–7), probably of the sub-genre ἔμπτυρον (5–6). The most remarkable thing (unless an error has occurred during transmission, l. 5 τὸν per τὴν²) is that the recipe is intended for obtaining a homoerotic encounter: 4–5 ἀχρη[[c]] ἄν ἔλθῃ ἐλαυνόμενος ὁ δ(ε)ῖ(να) | πρὸς τὸν δ(ε)ῖ(να). If so, this would be the first case of a homoerotic ἀγωγή in a formulary.

The drawing represents the god or demon to whom the request is addressed. Head, neck, left shoulder and arm, and both legs have disappeared in the lacuna to the right. The body is frontal-faced, the head was probably in profile to the left, the nipples and the vertical stroke between them indicating the sternal line are visible. The pelvis is covered by a pleated skirt. The right arm holds a long shaft ending at the bottom with a triangular point and at the top with what has been interpreted as an *ankh*-symbol (Preisendanz; Horak 1992, 248 no. 216b) or a *was*-scepter (Katalog der Papyrussammlung der ÖNB).³

¹ Because of Eitrem's (erroneous) reading [ὁ]ταλγίας (l. 3) and καίόμενα (l. 6) this papyrus has been generally taken as an amulet against earache and/or fever: cf. e.g. PGM XLIV, intro.; de Haro Sanchez 2004, 57 no. 6046 (the unfounded tag "Christian" derives from erroneous readings by Preisendanz); Kotansky, GMPT, 281.

² For rare examples of ἀγωγή of a woman against a man, see P.Oxy. LXXXII 5304 ii 4 comm. For applied homosexual love charms (both male and female), see SM I 42 intro.

³ <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00002490>

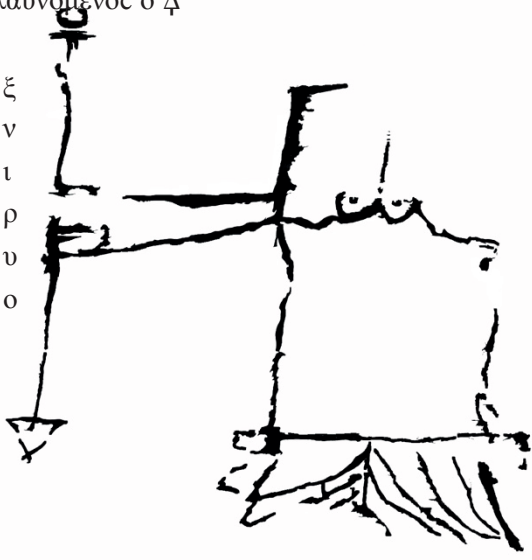
Preisendanz saw an α written to the left of the drawing and an ω to the right. Actually, they do not appear in the papyrus (unless it suffered further damage after his edition). The ed.pr. of Wessely is so summary and desultory that his readings are neglected here, except in the very rare cases where they are superior to those of Preisendanz.

The text follows Maltomini 2020.

recto →

GEMF 49/PGM XLIV

1 θωφωφα.μοϚ .ηαμου κρ[ρ^ο[
 αααααα ουαβεραϚβενυγι, ἄξατε τὸν Δ. c^ο
 εεεεεε τὰ ἅγια □□ ἕματι ἐγράφη. πυριζ[
 ηηηηηη μετε κοι/ ἄκρι[[c]] ἂν ἔλθῃ ἐλανόμενος ὁ Δ
 5 ιιιιιι πρὸς τὸν Δ καὶ οὐ παύσον-
 οοοοοοοο ται καιόμενα ταῦτα ἄχ- ξ
 υυυυυυυυ ρι ἔλθῃ ἅ Δ πυρούμενος. ν
 ωωωωωωωω ι
 υ Μιχαηλ ω ζ ρ
 10 ω ιχαηλ υ ζ υ
 εεεεεεεε χαηλ ο ζ ο
 π αηλ ι ζ
 ηλ η ζ
 λ ε ζ
 15 . . . αβ . . αθ· α ζ
 Β. αηαθα
 Χαθαηλ



2 ουαβεραϚβενυγι, ἄξατε τὸν δ(ε)ῖ(να) Ma : ουαβειο[.]c βαμηρμ λ | Pr || 2, 4, 5, 7 δ(ε)ῖ(να) || 3 τὰ ἅγια (ὀνόματα) Ma : . [ὠ]ταλγίας (suppl. Ei) ε Pr | ἕματι (l. αῖματι) ἐγράφη Ma : υ ματι ἀγραφης Pr | πυριζ[(πυρίζ[ετε) Ma : κυριδ[| Pr : c(φ)υριδ[Ei : πυριδ We || 4 μετε κοι(νά) ἄκρι[[c]] Ma : μετεκουϚης Pr : μετακούϚας Ei | ἂν ἔλθῃ Ma : ἀνέλθῃ Pr | ὁ δ(ε)ῖ(να) Ma : . [Pr || 5–6 πρὸς τὸν δ(ε)ῖ(να) καὶ οὐ παύσονται Ma : ποροτον δικαιον παη .]ται Pr || 7 ἔλθῃ ἅ (l. ἔλθῃ ὁ) δ(ε)ῖ(να) πυρούμενος Ma : αθιαλ πυρον μολος Pr || 13 η ζ Ma : .]ζ Pr || 15 α ζ Ma : .]ζ Pr || 15–17 . . . αβ . . αθ· | Β. αηαθα | Χαθαηλ Ma : Μιχαήλ | [ιχαηλ] | [χαηλ] | Xc αηλ Pr

GEMF 49

... THOPHOPHA .MOS .EAMOU KR ... OUABERASBENUNI,⁴ attract him, NN. O holy names,⁵ ... was (were?) written in blood. Burn(?)⁶ ... add(?) the usual, until he, NN, as he is driven, comes (5) to him, NN, and these things will not stop burning until⁷ he, NN, comes, inflamed.

(2–12 to the left) AAAAAAA EEEEEEE ĒĒĒĒĒĒ ĪĪĪĪĪ OOOOOOO UUUUUUU ŌŌŌŌŌŌŌ Ū Ō EEEEEEE P.

(9–14 in the middle) MICHAĒL ICHAĒL CHAĒL AĒL ĒL L. . . AB . . ATH B .AĒATHA CHATHAĒL.⁸

(9–15 to the right) Ō(x7) U(x7) O(x7) I(x7) Ē(x7) E(x7) A(x7).⁹

(2–1 and 11–6 around the drawing) SORO[ORMERIPHERGARBARMAPHRI]OURINX.¹⁰

F. Maltomini

⁴ Magical words. The ink is faded in many places and the transcription is uncertain. αμου (l. 1) can be the Coptic imperative ΔΜΟΥ “come,” see SM I 43.2 n.; ουαβ (l. 2) could correspond to the Coptic ΟΥΑ(Δ)Β ‘holy, pure’, cf. Crum 487b–488a, s.v. ΟΥΟΠ (suggestion by M. Zellmann-Rohrer); βεννυι (l. 2) recalls φνεβεννουι, Egypt. “the Lord of the abyss” (on which see Brashear 1995, 3601; Ritner, GMPT, 270 n. 2).

⁵ Probably refers to the magical words and names that precede in ll. 1–2. For direct invocation of “holy names,” cf. GEMF 41/P.Oxy. LXXXII 5305, n. 18.

⁶ The whole section from τὰ ἅγια (ὀνόματα) (l. 3) to μετε (l. 4) is problematic; for a detailed discussion, see Maltomini 2020, ad loc. κοι(νά) (l. 4) guarantees that it pertains to the *logos*.

⁷ The situation might be as follows: the (lost) *praxis* of this recipe said to write the *logos* and the drawing on a piece of papyrus, and to put this in a fire or in a hot bath: “these things” (ταῦτα l. 6, i.e. the papyrus and its contents) will keep burning until the request will be answered. For this type of threat (i.e. there is a negative situation and this will not cease until...), cf. GEMF 4/PGM CXXII 53–57 and the Egyptian magical texts indicated in SM II 72 ad loc.

⁸ The reading of ll. 15–17 is particularly difficult and the transcription given here is tentative. However, it is certain that the papyrus does not have here the name Μιχαηλ in a second wing-formation, as Preisendanz restored it. The high dot in l. 15 was probably added to separate the preceding word from the vowel column 9–15. For Χαθηλ l. 17 (if rightly read), cf. Καταηλ in CCAG VIII.2, 150.7.

⁹ The seven vowels (ll. 9–15), each followed by an overlined ζ, which in each case means “seven times,” i.e. shorthand for what is written out in the left column.

¹⁰ Apparently the coproop-*logos* ran all around the figure. Its end (the letters stacked at ll. 6–11, to be read from the bottom to the top: ουρινξ) is detached from the rest of the *logos*, which has mostly disappeared in the gap. It is possible that the sequence ουρινξ was perceived as a unit in itself: in GEMF 15.222/PGM XII 173 it is separated by blank space from the previous part of the *logos* (and see also GEMF 57/PGM IV 1568 βαφριο vac. υῖρυξ). This *logos* occurs in two ἀγωγαί (GEMF 57/PGM IV 1567–1568 and PGM XIXa 10), in a *desmoluton* (GEMF 15.221–222/PGM XII 172–173), in two *defixiones* (DT 252.24, 253.34 = Tremel 2004, 98, 99), and in numerous magical gems, especially uterine amulets (see Brashear 1995, 3599; Michel 2001, I 376).

GEMF 50
(PGM LXVII)

Oxyrhynchus

late III–early IV CE

ED.PR.: PGM LXVII

REPUBL.: Koenen 1971 [Ko]

TRANS.: O’Neil, GMPT, 296 (English)

COMM.: Koenen 1971; [Do] stands for Dosoo in personal communication

LOC.: Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JdE 60140

TM 63028

This papyrus sheet, extant in five different fragments labeled A–E,¹ was reconstructed and edited by Koenen 1971, whose edition we have followed and adjusted based on the available photographs. The sheet has lost the top and bottom margins, but the left- and right-hand margins are partially preserved. The current arrangement of the fragments below and most of the supplements follow the edition of PGM LXVII. The hand, written along the papyrus fibers, is an upright informal one, most letters are kept separate. Occasionally there is *diaeresis* on ι (ll. 9, 13). It can be dated to the end of the third century, based on the parallel Pap.Choix 22 (Hermoupolis, 293 CE). The sheet seems to preserve one recipe for some kind of curse that twice uses an exorcism formula (8 and 17–18) and invokes vowels and several magical names. Handbook features appear at the very end of the fragment: δῖνα (l. 21) and the equivalent symbol Δ (l. 22). Since most of the parallels are from erotic curse tablets (see nn. 10–12 below), it is likely that a lead tablet was mentioned in the lines lost at the beginning.

→

Fr. A	1	[.] [. δ]ε[ῑ] εἰπόντ[α τὸ]ν λόγον καὶ ψύχων καὶ ἐνψύχων· ἀγε[] αουμα [] εβ- θνοβαμα βαβουα[.]ευδαλαγ[αλα]δαλκουμι[. .]ουτιζται αααα ιιιι εουα βουβιθα [χα]γαχ κανμαχανα	Fr. B
	5	καὶ κεχνου βουζα [c]ανμαχα[να [c]αμμαχαρα cφραμβης εποκρ[]χθ κατεταβα καρκοπτω κοπ[τω] καρβαρ[.] αηαπτοκοπτοκαρβαρ[] [β]αρουταθαθ [χρε]νψενθαης βερβαλ [ι]ω παρπ[]ρπα . ἔξορ- [κί]ζω ce κατ[ὰ τοῦ ἀγί]ου ὀνό[ματος το]ῦ δαίμων[νος τ]οῦ ἡῖου ο[ου]	
	10	[ω]ωουc βαρβαρ[αθμ α]δωνα[ιου θεοῦ c]αβαω[θ, αβρααξ] [ψε...τα [φονοβουβ]σηλ, Ἐ[ρμου] χθονίου Θεουθ ἀρχε- [δαμᾶ] φωκενc[εψευ] ἀρεεκτα υουμιc[ονκαικται ηῖ] [ιαω] ηωηω κα[η]ωῖω ωῖωη ce[ceγγενβαρφαραγ-] [γης ερ]ηκικιφ[η αρ]αραχααρα ηφ[θικικηρε ια-] 15 [βεζεβ]υθ ἰα[ω]καμ φθηα[μ ερηκι-] [ciφθη], ἀραραχ[ααρα] ηφθικικηρ[ε] []ηῖ ἰαω[ηωηω]κα. τῶ ἐξ[ορκικμῶ τούτω ἐ-] [ξορκί]ζω [ce τὸν κα]ὶ διορκικ- [θέντα]μένων	Fr. D
Fr. C	20	[τῶν τεθνηκότων] ἐν θανά- [τῶ ἀώρῳ τὴν δεῖνα ἦν ἔτεκεν] ἡ δῖνα, [δεῖνα ὄν] ἔτεκεν ἡ Δ [] εἴρηκεν]ων	Fr. E

1 δεῖ γράφειν Ko vel ἀπέχειν Do || 2 l. ἀψύχων Pr || 6 κατ Ko || 8 ἐ(ξ)ορ- Ko || 10 θεοῦ suppl. Ko || 14 ερ]ηκικι(θ)φ[η Ko || 21 l. δεῖνα || 22 δ(ε)ῖ(να)

¹ The measurements provided by Preisendanz, are A 7 × 8 cm, B 7.3 × 6 cm, C 5 × 2.5 cm, D 5.4 × 4.3 cm, E 4.5 × 3.5 cm. We have not been able to check them against the original.

[It is necessary that] the one who speaks [the] formula ... for(?) both the dead and the living ...:² AGE ... AOUMA³...EBTHNOBAMA BABOUA[⁴]EUDALAN[ALA]DALKOUMI ... OUTIZTAI⁵ AAAA III EOUA BOUBITHA [CH]ANACH SANMACHANA (5) and KECHNOU BOUZA [S]ANMACHANA.⁶ [S]AMMACHARA SPHAMBĒS EPOKR...CHTH KATETABAI KARKOPTŌ KOP[TŌ]⁷ KARBAR ... AĒAPTOKOPTOKARABAR[... [B]AROUTATHATH [CHRE]NPSENTHAĒS⁸ BERBAL [I]Ō PARP[]RPA, I adjure you by [the holy name of the] *daimon* of⁹ ĒIOU O[OUŌ](10)ŌŌUS BARBAR[ATHM A]DŌNAIOU [of god] SABAŌTH ABRASAX¹⁰ ... PSE...TA[PHONOB OUB]OĒL of [Hermes Chthonios Thoth ARCHEDAMA]¹¹ PHŌKENSEPSEU AREEKTA UOU MIS[ONKTAI... ĒI IAŌ] ĒŌĒŌ KA[Ē] ŌIŌ ŌIŌĒ SE[SENGENBARPHARAGGĒS ER]ĒCHISIPH[ĒAR]ARACHARAĒPH[THISIKĒRE¹² IA(15)BEZEB]UTH IA[Ō ...] SAM PHTHĒSA[M ... ERĒKI]SIPHTHĒ ARARACH[ARARA] ĒPHTHIOIKĒRE [...]ĒI IAŌ [ĒŌĒŌ]KA. By [this adjuration] I adjure [you who ... and adjured ... (20) of the dead in [untimely] death ... her, NN, whom] she, NN, [bore ... him, NN, whom] she, NN, bore ...

C.A. Faraone and S. Torallas Tovar

² For the supplements to this line Koenen suggests δεῖ γράφειν, for which see GEMF 57/PGM IV 3199 ἐν ᾧ δεῖ γράφειν. Dosoo suggests instead δεῖ ἀπέχειν; cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 53–54, IV 735, 31/PGM I 55, where ἔμψυχος/ἔναιμον is used to refer to animal food, so something like “the one who speaks the formula must refrain from (in)animate and animate food.”

³ Cf. GEMF 74.626/PGM VII 545 ιαω αγεανουμα.

⁴ Cf. GEMF 15.135/PGM XII 86 βαβουθα

⁵ Koenen 1971, 203 understands Θ]ουτ ιζται for Θουτ ἕτται, based on parallels like GEMF 57/PGM IV 393.

⁶ Perhaps a string of symbols followed in the lacuna.

⁷ Koenen 1971, 203, has κὰτ ετα βαι, perhaps interpreted in connection with the word βαι, for ‘soul’. He provides parallels: GEMF 57/PGM IV 2696–2698; 55/III 699.

⁸ Cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 670, χρεψενθαης

⁹ Supplement by Koenen.

¹⁰ The supplements here are based on exorcism formulae inscribed on two lead tablets and the inscribed clay jug in which they were found: SM I 49.33–36 (ὀρκίζω σε, νεκυδαίμων ... κατ[ὰ τοῦ] βαρβαραθαμ ... Ἀδωναίου θεοῦ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀβρααξ) SM I 50.32–40 and 51.2–3 and 11–13.

¹¹ The supplements to this line and the next are based on φωκενσεψ-*Logos*, that appears, for example, on an Alexandrian curse tablet (DT 38 = SM II 54), e.g. line 2: ὀρκίζω σε κ[ατ]ὰ τοῦ δνόματος τῆς Γῆ[ς] ... καὶ Ἐρμῆ χθόνιε ἀρχεδαμα φωκενσεψευ καρερταθου μiconκαικτ. Other examples, all curse tablets, include SM I 47.2–3, 48 J 3, 49.9–10.

¹² This long word (which appears in full a second time below) is a palindrome, that appears in the first line of the curse tablet from Alexandria (see previous note) and many other places: see PGM, vol. 3 (Index), 279–280. On palindromes see Gordon 2002, 85–87.

GEMF 51
(P.Berl. inv. P 11734)

Unknown

late III–early IV CE

ED.PR.: Brashear 1990, 49–74 [Br]

COMM.: Brashear 1992, 27–32; mentions in PGM, vol. 2, 188 n. 1 and Preisendanz 1927b, 126 n. 1

[Me] stands for Merkelbach apud Brashear 1995

LOC.: Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, P. 11734

TM 63970

The remains of a papyrus roll consisting of eight originally separate fragments¹ were bought from Abd el-Megid in Luxor. The provenance is unknown. The fragments can be placed precisely in relation to each other, so that it is possible to establish the original height of the roll at 29 cm. There are two *kolleseis*: from left to right at 3.5 cm and at 16.8 cm. The text is written on the recto along the fibers. In the lower part between col. i and col. ii and also between the lines of these columns traces of several lines of a previous text are visible (esp. to the right of l. 20, where one can clearly read $\pi\rho\delta\varsigma$), which was written slightly diagonally on the papyrus. Thus, the papyrus might be a palimpsest. On the verso across the fibers of fr. b, f and g scanty remains of a different hand are visible. Altogether five columns are represented, of which the best preserved are cols. ii and iii; of col. i most of line-ends are preserved, while cols. iv and v are very fragmentary. The upper margin is preserved to 2.3 cm; the lower margin to 2.8 cm; the *intercolumnium* is about 1–1.2 cm. Each column was originally 6–6.2 cm wide and 24 cm high. A regular right-end of the columns is attempted; several letters feature prolonged elements: α with prolonged right-hand diagonal approaching horizontal (ll. 32, 63, 75, 76 and 117);² ϵ with prolonged central stroke (35, 44, 45, 49, 51, 60, and 105); c with prolonged top (14, 28, 33 (?), 38, 39, 42, 69, 70, 90, 120). The writing space on the recto is 0.2 cm with an interlinear space of 0.3–0.4 cm; on the verso the letter height is ca 0.6 cm.

The text is written in a smallish upright capital with cursive elements and occasional ligatures. The scribe is competent but not particularly accurate, so that his letters vary in size. Moreover, in some sequences the pen seems to be defective and the ink is blurred and smeared. The script is basically bilinear, with the following exceptions: the wedge of α , the upright of κ and the upright of ρ , protruding below line-level; the lower part of ξ (84 and 87); the upright of τ , occasionally protruding below line-level (17, 51); the upright of υ , protruding below line-level (52, 58, 107, 112, 129); the upright of ϕ and ψ , protruding below and above line-level; the χ in 40 and 97, whose descender and ascender protrude above and below line-level respectively; the χ in 93, 95, 111 and 114, whose ascender protrudes below line-level. A very distinctive feature of this script is the shape and the size of α : it is triangular and presents a characteristic nose protruding below line-level as a sort of very narrow loop, often reduced to a single stroke (its average height is 0.3 cm). At least two of the paleographical parallels mentioned below present an α of this shape and size, but in both texts such a letter is used at line-beginning (GMAW 85) or at word-beginning, while in our text it occurs even in the middle of a word. β tends to be cursive, i.e. in the shape of a sort of sack, sometimes open at the top, sometimes with a small leftwards hook at the left-hand upper extremity (50, 76, 110). δ tends to have curves rather than angles, i.e. it is rounded and sometimes consists of a circle with protruding oblique stroke on top representing its right-hand diagonal (26, 60, 67, 79, 110); in another occurrence it has the shape of an open oval attached to the right-hand diagonal (20); in other occurrences it shows the more standard shape (31, 47, first δ , 51, 107). η has a h-shape, usually with a rounded curve representing the central stroke and the right-hand upright element. In κ the (usually shorter) lower diagonal departs from the upper one (see 55, 82, 90, 101, 129). ξ has almost an epigraphic shape (87, 89, 118). μ is wide with central elements consisting of a deep curve; sometimes it seems to be written as a λ attached to a c , so that it has a

¹ Eight fragments (W. × H.): fr. a 3.5 × 7.2; fr. b 22.6 × 11.3; fr. c 9.4 × 18.5; fr. d 5.1 × 8.9; fr. e 5.0 × 7.2; fr. f 3.2 × 12.9; fr. g 2.4 × 3.4; fr. h 6.2 × 3.1 (blank, probably part of the lower margin).

² We include the line numbers of the *editio princeps* at the right of the text. In the case of cols. iii and iv, the ed.pr. does not take into consideration the large gaps after ll. 95 and 131.

sort of ‘Ptolemaic’ look (63, 106, 107). *v* is rather cursive: its diagonal consists of an almost horizontal stroke lying on the top of the letter and written in a single movement together with the right-hand upright, which protrudes above and shows a narrow loop. *c* usually shows a flat top. *o* is usually round or slightly elliptic. Occurrences of a cursive *π* with pseudo-ligature to the following *o* can be observed (see 38 and probably 24). The two oblique strokes of *υ* are often written as a single horizontal stroke, so that the letter can be easily confused with *τ* (see 52 *θυε*, 60 *δυομε*, 61 *νου*). *χ* is occasionally very big and protrudes below and/or above the line-level (see above). The right-hand lobe of *ω* is bigger than the left-hand one and slightly slants to the left (49, 93, 118). The script can be compared to BGU II 408, dated to 313 CE; P.Lond. III 949 (SB XX 14447), which can be assigned to the second half of the third century; P.Euphrate 13 (Syria Coele) dated to 244 CE; P.Dura 28, 243 CE. Cf. also P.Oxy. II 209 (Cavallo and Maehler, GB 1a), assigned to the early fourth cent. In sum we are inclined to assign the hand to the late third century/early fourth century.

Occasionally small blank spaces have been left between words (ll. 18, 20, 24, 37, 44, 77, 83, 89, 114, 116, 117, 127). There are neither breathings nor accents. *Iota mutum* is written: ll. 20 (?), 43, 66, 97, 99, 116 (?). It is not written in ll. 41, 57, 78. Elision is probably applied in l. 22, on the basis of the reconstruction. Iotacistic spelling occurs in ll. 74, 82, perhaps in l. 29. There are scribal errors in ll. 60, 67 and 81. In l. 49 after *ν* there is a high stop: either accidental or wrong (a pause is syntactically impossible before the following *δέ*). In l. 114 the sequence *μειλειε[* has been re-written, probably because the ink was faded. The first *ε* in *μειλειε[* (l. 114), in *μαεcci* (l. 116) and probably in *πρειψιc* (l. 101) have a short vertical stroke above which is perhaps a sign for deletion. The sequences *νω* (end of l. 25) and *αυτου* (l. 53) have been deleted with a horizontal stroke (the ink around is smeared and blurred). Abbreviations have not been used in this text. The abbreviations indicated by Brashear in the *editio princeps* (ll. 72, 84, 91, 104, 117) are not there.

Despite its fragmentary condition one can get a rough idea about the content of this roll. The double-stroke under l. 20 clearly shows a separation between two sections of the text. The shorter line in l. 27 might also indicate the end of a section, but the first column is too fragmentary to allow any further conclusions. Moreover, the shorter line in l. 56 together with the following ll. 57–58, which are written in visibly larger letters (writing space 0.3 cm, interlinear space 0.4 cm), indicate that one section ended here and another section is headed by a title. Slightly enlarged initial letters in *ekthesis* (ll. 59 and 74) also point to the beginning of new sections in this text. Col. iii is a line shorter, which suggests that the beginning of col. iv corresponds to a new section. After l. 95 there is an extra space evidently to mark the beginning of a new section.

If we combine these layout elements with the preserved content, the following structure becomes apparent. The extant text starts with the end of a section (1–20), albeit only the last letters of the lines survive, including a direct address (*ἀξιῶ cε*) to a deity or demon that is presumably part of a *λόγος*, whose nature remains uncertain. The next section (21–56) is a *χαριτήσιον* in which a frog and a bronze object are used. The third section (57–95) is another *χαριτήσιον* addressed to Hekate-Selene, which can be subdivided into a *πρᾶξις* (59–73), in which the tongue (of a frog?) seems to play a central role, and a long *λόγος* (74–95), which begins with a series of predications addressed to the goddess (e.g. “you who does/did X,” “you who are Y”) each followed by a different magical name. In ll. 97–107 feminine participles suggest a structure similar to ll. 57–95; then in ll. 111–112 the epithets Aktiophi, Ereschigal and Nebutosualeth, typical for Selene, occur. It is possible that the section from l. 97 onwards belongs to the same *λόγος* starting in l. 74. From l. 117 onwards an amulet for protection can be recognized. Columns iv and v are too fragmentary for any secure conclusions and the scanty remains of three lines on the verso very probably belonged to a different text.

recto col. i →

GEMF 51.1–42

1	ἀξιῶ ce]
	]μο		]πο ἐφ' ὦν
	]μα αθ		]νχρω
	]ραια		]ης πολυ
5	]ε ουη	25	]ειρα[[νω]]
	].		]cδι
].]
	]		]ναc
	]		]νωτειον
10	]	30	]ναι τοῦ
	]		]ροδειζιαν
	]		]αc κα πα
	]α		]c αὐτοῖc
	]εηc		]λαβων
15	]αι	35	]υτομε
	]...ειαλ-		]γ ἀνθρω
	]του		]ἐcτιν ἡ
	] ἐπὶ παγ		ἀ]νθρώποιc
	]πραγμα		] προσφιλήc
20	] δαίμονι	40	]αχον
	]=		]χαλκῶ
			]πλωc της

Supplementa ex ed.pr. desumpta

col. i 2–3 νεκροδά[μο][voc vel sim. Br || 4 fort.]εραία || 5–6 fort. ουη[[ρι || 6]... Br || 7]— Br || 16]...αλ- Br || 17]του .. Br || 18] ἐπὶ πα[ν] Br || 20]γ (e.g. κύ]γ,) δαίμονι vel]ι (e.g. τιν]ι, τῶ]ι, κα]ι) δαίμονι :]υδαμογ. Br || 21 χάριτι vel χαριτή[[cιον Br || 25] ειρανῶ vel ὕδα]τει ρανῶ Br || 25–26 ρανῶ[[ca Br || 29 fort. l. νότιον || 31 l. ἐπαφ]ροδιcίαν :]ροδο. ian Br || 31–33 ἐπαφ]ροδειζιαν | [πρὸc πάνταc ἀνδρ]αc καὶ πά[[ca c γυναῖκαc : ἐπαφ]ροδιcίαν | [πρὸc πάνταc ἀνθρώπο]υc καὶ πά[[ca c γυναῖκαc (?) Br || 34]αγων vel]ματων Br || 36]π vel]c ἀνθρω Br || 40 fort. βά]τραχον Br || 42 ἀ]πλωc Br

... I ask you³ ... (5)... (10) ... (15) ... for all(?) ... action(?)⁴ ... (20) for(?) the daimon ... favor-procedure(?) ... on which ... much (25) ... (30) ... loveliness [to all] men and all [women](?)⁵ ... to them(?) ... having taken ... (35) ...mortal(s) ... is the ... to mortals(?) ... beloved ... (40) ... a frog(?) ... with a bronze⁶ ... simply(?) ...

³ The verb ἀξιῶ with or without the object of the person is frequently used in the magical papyri to ask for protection or intervention of gods: LMPG, s.v.

⁴ Tentative supplement: (ἀπο)τέλεcόν μο]ι ἐπὶ πᾶν[τα τὸν τῆc ζωῆc χρόνον τὸ] πρᾶγμα | [τοῦτο κτλ., based on PGM XLIX 7 = LI 9 and GEMF 15.315–316/XII 266–267.

⁵ Cf. GEMF 15.119–120/PGM XII 70–71; 68/XXXVI 47–48, 225–227.

⁶ χαλκῶ could be the final part of a compound (e.g. GEMF 2, fr. a.4 νεκτοχαλκ[]) or a simple adjective qualifying a noun, e.g. a writing utensil, like a γραφεῖον (see GEMF 30/PGM II 152; 55/III 418; 57/IV 259, 3255; 74.291, 472, 479, 498, 540/VII 218, 391, 398, 417, 459(?), 755, 920, 926, 15.415/XII 366; 68/XXXVI 2, 38, 189, 323) or a container, e.g. ἄγγοc/ἄγγειον (57/IV 223; 74.399/VII 319) or ποτήριον (57/IV 3247; 58/V 64) or a needle (βελόνη, 57/IV 322; 74.523/VII 442; 68/XXXVI 237).

recto col. ii →

GEMF 51.43–62

1	[.] αἰπνεῖν τῆι γῆι λέγων [ἴνα] δηλώται οὕτως καὶ τῶνδε [.] αἰ προσηλώμεναι ὅποτε	45
5	ἔ[μπε]ποδιμένος εἴη καὶ ἐκεῖ η[.], δεηθη ^κ καταδεδεμένα γεν[.], ης ἐγὼ τοῦτον ἀπο- λύσω[ca 8]ν δέ σοι ὡς εὐχὴ γέ- νηται [. .] ἀπ[όλυσο]ν τὸν μὲν βάτρα- χον ἀπ[οβαλὼ]ν εἰς ὕδωρ. τοῖς δὲ	50
10	χονδρ[. .] ταῖς Χάρισιν θῦε [ca 11] . . [αυτου] ες [ca 11] ρονον καὶ πρ. [ca 11] ας καὶ ἐπφαροδ[ει]- [σία-]	55
15	[.] πρ]ᾶγμα τῆι α [.] χου χαρ[ιτήσιον πρὸ τῆς] Ἐελήνης ἀρ- ρης ἐς[πέραι τοῦ ἡ]δίου δυομέ- νου ἀλ[ca 10]	60
20	ταψων[ca 13] ρον	

col. ii 1 [.] πνεῖν Br || 2 οὕτως κ. δε, fort. οὕτως καεἶπον δέ Br || 3 προσηλώμεναι vel προδηλώμεναι : 1. προδηλούμεναι Br | ὅποτε : ὅτε Br || 4 [ἐμπε]ποδιμένος Br || 4–5 ἔκει|η[Br : fort. ἐκεῖ|νη[ι || 5] ετε καταδεδεμένα Br vel] . . ματα (sic!) καταδ. Br comm. || 6 . ε.[vel γε.[vel σε.[Br |], ης vel]χης vel]λης vel], ηρ Br || 7]ν-δε Pap. || 7–8 ὅτα]ν δέ σοι ὡς εὐχὴ γέ|νηται || 8 fort. [ἀπόλυσο]ν Br || 9–10 τοῖς δὲ | χόνδρ[ο]ς] ταῖς χάρισιν θῦε Br | θυε corr. ex θε. || 11 [αυτου] ες vel [αυτου] με vel [αυτου] σε Br || 12 τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον Br || 13 ἐς ἀφροδ[ι Br || 15–16 [ἄλλο θαυμαστὸν πρ]ᾶγμα τῆι Ἄ[[φροδίτη ἐπὶ βατρά]χου vel 1. πρ]αγματεία Br || 17–18 1. ἀρ(θεί)ρης vel ἄρσις 1. ἄρσεως Treu ap. Br || 18 ἐς[πέρα Br | 1. ἡ]λίου Br || 19 ἄλ[λης ἀντιγραφῆς vel ἄλ[λου ἀντιγράφου? : ἄλ[ειψον? vel ἄλ[ειφε? Br || 19–20 κα|ταψῶν : ταψῶς vel ταψῶν 1. καθάψων, θάψων Br

... breathe, while speaking to the earth, so that in this way it is clear and of them [the legs?]⁷ (45) being nailed, whenever it (a frog?, see below) is bound at the feet and in that manner(?), it was bound(?)⁸... (the legs?) having been bound down. I myself will release (this frog?) ... whenever it happens (50) for you according to your prayer ... [Release]⁹ the frog,¹⁰ by throwing it back into the water. And for the Charites¹¹ burn incense-grains¹² (55) ... and loveliness¹³ ... Procedure(?)¹⁴ ... Favor-procedure (to be performed?) (60) before the rising of the moon in the evening as the sun is setting ...

⁷ Perhaps we should restore [αἱ κνήμ]μαι, referring to the legs of an animal (probably a frog, see below) to be nailed and bound to perform a *praxis*. The reading προσηλώμεναι is preferred to the alternative reading suggested by Brashear προδηλώμεναι l. προδηλούμεναι, which requires the assumption of the interchange between ω and ου; see Gignac 1976–1981, I 208–211. On the papyrus there is a horizontal stroke which fits the flat top of a c; if one chooses the reading προδηλώμεναι, in the sense of ‘showing plainly’, ‘giving instructions beforehand’, this horizontal stroke would not fit the putative δ of προδηλώμεναι, and thus should be considered as accidental ink, while the rest of the traces could fit the left-end part of a δ, which in this script is sometimes rounded. Moreover, προσηλώμεναι, ‘being nailed/fixed’, seems to fit better the context in line with the participle ἐ[πεμ]ποδικμένoc. Note, however, that in magical texts the compound προσηλώω is not attested.

⁸ ἐδέηθη, an aorist, gnomic or indicating past time, in an independent sentence possibly starting in the preceding lacuna with καί (i.e. not part of the subordinate clause depending on ὅποτε of l. 45).

⁹ The supplement ἀπ[όλυco]ν can be supported by GEMF 68/PGM XXXVI 326 ἀπόλυcoν τὸν βάτραχον, a recipe in which the frog, an animal associated with fertility in Egyptian culture, is used in the preparation of a contraceptive: one has to capture a frog, to put in its mouth bitter-vetch seeds, so that it swallows them, and to release it alive in the place where it had been captured. There are several cases in which other animals are similarly used in a ritual and then are released alive, e.g. a bat (15.425–428/XII 376–379 and 57/IV 2943–2944) used to cause insomnia or a gecko (74.260–264/VII 186–190) used in the preparation of a *charitēsion* and victory charm: in the latter, the animal is deprived of the front foot and then released, but its front foot should be fixed to the garment of the person performing the procedure. See also Faraone 2018, 99–100, for recipes in Pliny and Aelian for producing eye-amulets with a green lizard, which is blinded and then released alive. This suggests that in our text a frog was first nailed (l. 45) and then bound (l. 48), possibly by immobilizing its legs (see l. 45), but then afterwards released.

¹⁰ For the frog as an effigy in curses, see Stylow 2012, 149–55 and the discussion in GEMF 21, fn. 6. In GEMF 76/PGM X 36–50, a frog tongue is placed in a sandal and trod upon; see also 58/V 202 (procedure against a thief), 68/XXXVI 232–255 (curse).

¹¹ Χάριτες are invoked in GEMF 57/PGM IV 2793 as attendants of Selene, and in 3230; they appear in 15/XII 63 (in the company of a supreme god) and on a curse tablet from Cyrene invoking the help of “Zeus and the two Charites,” for which see Gallavotti 1963, 450–55. The mention of “loveliness” three lines later, suggests that this recipe, like the next one, was designed to get charm and beauty.

¹² τοὺς δὲ χόνδρο[υ]c ταῖς χάριτιν θδε Br (comm.) We assume that Br considers τοῖς to be an error for τοὺς. It is clear that something in granular form is to be offered to the Charites, but the precise incense remains uncertain; other recipes call for frankincense (λιβάνου χόνδρος), as in GEMF 30.60 and 67/PGM II 13 and 20, where it is used with the wick of a lamp or as an incense for the practitioner’s mouth, or for myrrh, as in 74.721/VII 999 ζμύρνης χόν[δρ]ουc, where it is used in a recipe for ink.

¹³ The word ἐπαφοδικία occurs in a number of *charitēsia*, e.g., in GEMF 60/PGM XIII 803–804, 68/XXXVI 224–225, SM II 64.4, and GEMF 38/SM II 82A 11.

¹⁴ The size of the script and the spacing is larger in comparison with the preceding and following text, suggesting that we have a title or heading. Brashear’s reconstruction of the two lines as [ἄλλο θαυμαcτὸν πρ]άγμα τῆ Ἀ[φοδίκη] ἐπὶ βατρά]χου is very attractive, but slightly too long. One might compare GEMF 32/PGM XIXb 4 ἀγωγή ἐπὶ κύνoc, “Attraction-procedure over a dog”; 57/IV 1496 ἀγωγή ἐπὶ ζμύρνης ἐπιθυομένηc, “Attraction-procedure over myrrh which is offered.” Alternatively, διὰ βατρά]χου could also be supplied; cf. 74.808/VII 652 ἀγρυπνη[τι]κὸν διὰ νυκτερίδoc, “Insomnia-procedure by means of a bat.”

col. ii (cont.)→

GEMF 51.63–89

	τὴν τοῦ[ca 11] ἄμα	
	λέγων εκ[. . . τὴν γλῶσσαν	
	καὶ τοῦτ[ca 9]βαλε ὄ-	65
	θεν ἔλαβ[ε] ca 7]τοῦτωι	
25	γαο ἐστιν[ca 9]ιδος λεγό-	
	μενος ..[ca 10]γ αὐτὸν	
	δὲ ἀπο[. . .] ca 6]λώσασ	
	ταυ[ca 17] .c	70
	εκε[ca 16] .cθαι	
30	καὶ α[ca 7] σοι τα ε .	
	παντὶ ἀφρο[ca 12]	
	ἐπικαλοῦμαι c[ε τοῖς] θεοῖς ὀ-	
	νόμασι ὧ δέ[σποτι, ἡ α]ἴθρος ἀ-	75
	πὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆ[ς . . .]λαμβά-	
35	νουςα κομια, ἡ[. . .] κατὰ	
	τὴν τῶν ἐν τῷ [οὐρανῷ] ἀστέρων	
	πάντων δύναμ[iv ca 8] .φ[. .]	
	ἢ [τ]ὸν σπόρον παν[. .] ca 8]	80
	νεβουτουσουμηθ[ca 9]	
40	προσαποκρευνουσα α[. . .]	
	πληξμονὴ τῆς γῆς νουτηρ, ἡ [τὴν]	
	γεν. αν πάντων καταδείξα[ς]α	
	μοριουτε, ἡ τὰς Μοίρας ἐκ τῶν Μο[ι-]	85
	ρῶν διαπλάσασα [. .]μουθειρω,	
45	ἢ τὰ [. .]διὰ ἀγοης[.]α [ἐ]νιαύσια διεξ-	
	ἀγο[υσα,] σα .φ, ἢ τὰ μηπληιαναι[. .]	
	μη[. .] καταδείξασα μααραωρ	

col. ii 21 τοπ[vel του [Br || 22 ἔκ[τεμενε vel ἔκ[φώνει τὴν γλῶσσαν Br || 23 cf. col. ii 8–9 καὶ τοῦτ[ον ἐκεῖσε ἀπό]βαλε || 25 l. γάρ ἐστιν Br || 25–26 [ὁ τῆς Κύπρ]ιδος λεγόμενος λ[όγος Br || 30–31 τὰ ἐν | παντὶ ἀφρο[δικιακῷ 30 τα ε () vel τὰ ἔτ(ερα) Br || 31 l. πᾶν τῆ Ἀφρο[δίτη Br || 32 l. θεοῖς : ἀ]γίοις Br || 33 ὧ δέ[σποινα Br | α]ἴθρος vel ἄ]γθος Br || 33–34 ὧ δέ[σποινα ἢ τὸ αἴ]θρος | ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆ[ς ἡλίου] λαμβά[νουςα Me || 35 l. κομιδή[iv Br || 37] .φ Br || 38 ἢ [τ]ὸν σπόρον πάν[τ]α [τρέφουςα : ἢ τὸν σπόρον (τοῦ) Παν(ός) Br || 39 l. Νεβουτουσουαληθ Br || 39–40 *paragraphoi* Br || 40 προσαποκρευνουσα (l. προσαποκρίνουςα) : προσαποκρεῖνουςα Br | αὐ[τῷ ἔφη Br || 41 π[...] Br || 42 γένναν vel γενεάν : γε()εν Br | καταδείξαι[] Br || 43 μοιο.. εις Br || 44]μειθειρω vel]μουθειρω Br || 45 ης[]..... c o [ἐ]νιαυσια διεξ- Br || 46] .σα .φ, ἢ τὰ μηπληιαναι[. .] :]ετα ταμη... α .α Br || 47 μααρας . Br

GEMF 51.63–89

... at the same time as you are speaking, [cut(?)] out the tongue (i.e. of the frog?) (65) and throw it [back in the place] from which you took [it]¹⁵...for at this moment the so-called “formula of [Cypris?]” is being spoken...tongues¹⁶ (70) ... with every sexual act(?). “I invoke you¹⁷ by [your] divine (75) names,¹⁸ O [Mistress, you who are] the gleam from the rising of the [moon],¹⁹ ..., you, who took KOMIA,²⁰ you, who ... under the influence of all the stars in the [sky], ... PH ...²¹ you, who [nourish(?)] (80) every offspring ... NEBOUTOUSOUMĒTH,²² ... [you], who answer all questions with additions, A²³... you, who are the(?) abundance of the earth NOUTĒR,²⁴ [you], who have revealed²⁵ the generation²⁶ of all things (85) MOSIOUTE, you, who have completely fashioned the Moirai from the Moirai [...] MOUTHEIRŌ, You, who manage the annual ... [.]SA[.]F, you who have revealed the ... MAARAŌR

¹⁵ Cf. GEMF 74.262–263/PGM VII 188–189 ἔαρον αὐτὸν (i.e. a gecko) εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον | αὐτοῦ ἀπελθεῖν ζῶντα.

¹⁶ Perhaps καὶ πάσας τὰς γλώσσας | ταύ[τη] κατέχεις, “and in this way you restrain all the tongues,” in the sense of controlling and paralyze the speaking faculty of enemies; cf. GEMF 74.1092–1095/PGM VII 934–937 κάτεχε | τὴν ὄργην τοῦ δεῖνα καὶ πάντων τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὰς γλώσσας, ἵνα | μὴ δυνηθῶσιν λαλεῖν τῷ δεῖνα.

¹⁷ The *ekthesis* here separates the *logos* mentioned above from the rest of the instructions.

¹⁸ The supplement ἁ]γίοις ὀνόμασι by Brashear is palaeographically impossible, although widely attested, e.g. GEMF 74.846–847/PGM VII 690–691 ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε τοῖς ἁγίοις σου ὀνόμασι and 55/III 569, 624, IV 872, 875, etc. The *logos* that follows is a series of attributive phrases describing the deeds or powers of the goddess, each one followed by a magical name.

¹⁹ The title of this recipe (59–61) refers to “the rising of the moon in the evening.”

²⁰ In the translation the sequence κομια (l. 77) has been taken as a magical name, but since it is preceded by a participle it could be articulated as plural accusative κόμια (diminutive of κόμη): in this context it seems to refer to the ‘hair’ of the moon in the sense of the halo (cf. Brashear comm. ad loc.), so κυλ]λαμβάνουσα κόμια, “you, who take with you your shining hair,” implying the movement of the rising of the moon with a halo. Brashear also suggests κομιδή(v) (the scribe by mistake wrote α instead of δ): then the translation could be “you, who take return,” in the sense “you, who are rising.”

²¹ Here we expect another magical name, perhaps [ΑΚΤΙΟ]PH[I], which appears below.

²² This is probably Νεβουτουσουαληθ, cf. l. 112. This name occurs in magical texts in invocations to Hekate, Ershkigal, Aktiophi and/or Selene (e.g. GEMF 57/PGM IV 2481, 2747; 16/XIV 23; SM II 49.45), but also alone as in 8/LXXII 10.

²³ We expect here another magical name, possibly Α[ΚΤΙΟ]PHI; cf. n. 21.

²⁴ This name corresponds to the Egyptian *ntr* ‘god’ (Coptic ΝΟΥΤΕ), which in its different spellings is often used as a *vox magica*, e.g. GEMF 30.151/PGM II 104; 57/IV 828; 58/V 9; 74.397/VII 316; 15.200/XII 151 and 69/XXXVIII 16.

²⁵ Revelation is a common claim for powerful divinities: see GEMF 30.151/PGM II 106 ὁ καταδείξας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ζῶα (Apollo-Helios); 58/V 19–20 εἰ δὲ καταδείξας φῶς καὶ χίονα (Sarapis).

²⁶ Before the α there is a minimal trace; two synonyms—γένγαν and γενεάν—are equally possible and both appear in the handbooks, e.g. the former at GEMF 60/PGM XIII 390 and 399 and the latter at 45/XXa 21 and PGM XXIII 13.

recto col. iii →

GEMF 51.90–124

1	ἡ τὰς ἀκολουθούς νύκτας ταῖς ἡμέραις ποιήσασα εσαῶσιν, ἡ μερίσασα αθυράς τρις ἡμέρας χιωουχ, [ἡ] ἐπ[	90
5	σκούει[χ ο[ορ φ <i>7 lines missing</i>	95
	]. . . . φα[. . .]	96
15	] ὑπεροχῆι γενο[.]]. ἡ ἐλαττουμέν[η]] καρδιωῖ σκούει] καουθμενη	100
20	] ρειψις καὶ τρο-] δοται η τοῦς] ιας ἡ τίσασα]. . . λακτης ψυ[
	α. [ca 8] ἐνητινε- μ[ca 8] διμον σπερ-	105
25	μα[τ- ca 7] διασπεύρου- σα [ca 10] σκούου κυ[ca 7 ὄ]ρας ἡ' αρου βα[ca 8] δειρεῶ[. . .]	110
30	ωρ[ca 8] ἀχθιωφ β[ερε[σ]χ[ιγαλ νεβου] τοσουαληθ β βνασεφε[.] γουθιτοθω ρω μειλειε[. . .] χαρααναψ θωὸθ μαχα[. . .] βανοφο	115
35	ουν τα αι[. . .] ἀρηι αρδ[.] ι αρανθα β[. . .] μαεσσι ἀ- ξιῶ σε διαφύ[λαξόν] με ἀπὸ παν- [τὸς κακ]σὺ [πράγματος], δέσπο- [τι, καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς συνέ]χοντὸς	120
40	[με δαίμονος(?)] αττρι κ[παρογ[χοντι α[ἀπὸ δαιμόνων	125
45	καὶ τῶν ἀέρω[ν καὶ πυρὸς ἀπὸ τ[των θηρίων καὶ ἀπ[ὸ ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ τ[

col. iii 1 ἡ τὰς ἀκολουθούς Br || 2 ἐς ακο. () ἡ Br || 3 αθ. α Br | τρις vel τρ(ε)ῖς Br || 4 χιωουχ. [Br || 5 σκούει [vel σκούει[η vel σκούει[νή, cf. 17 || 6 χ. [Br || 14]. φα[. . .] Br || 16]β. η vel]θ. η || 17], αρασαι Br || 18]καουθμεν ἡ/ἡ vel καουθμενη |]γαιουθμενη Br || 19–20 fort.] ἐρέψεις καὶ τρώ[μος Br || 20 -δί]δοται vel -δέ]δοται ἡ τοῦς:]δοται μ. ους Br :]δου αρμουθ ? Br || 21]ιαση τίσασα Br || 22], ἐκαττις() fort. l. Ἐκαττις() Br || 23 α[Br || 24], διμον l.], δαίμων : νεκύδ]αμιον Br || 26 ἐπι]σκούου : ὄρο]σκούου Br || 27 κς[Br | fort. ἐπὶ τῆς ὄ]ρας : ὄ]ρας Br || 28], δειρεῶ[Br || 29 β Br || 30 Ερε[σ]χ[ιγαλ β ? Br comm. | Νεβου]τοσουαληθ β Br :]τοσου αληθ β Pap. || 31]γουθιτοθω Br || 31–32 τοθω[ρ]θω Br (Nachtrag) || 32], χαρ. αναψ Br || 33–34 l. βανοφονου Br || 34 ουν τχλι[Br |]αρηιαρ Br || 35 βα() [Br || 37 [δαίμονος] Br || 37–38 δέσπο[τα] Br || 39–40 καὶ πάσης] ἀστρι]κ[ῆς vel ἐγγ]αστρι]μυθος Br || 44 l. τῶν ἀερίω[ν δαιμόνων vel πνευμάτων || 45–46 ἀπὸ δηγμά]των θηρίων Br || 47 τρ[vel τρε[: π[ράγματος Br

GEMF 51.90–124

(90) You, who have made the nights follow the days, ESAŌPS, you, who have divided ATHURAS TRIS²⁷ days... CHIŌOUCH ... in the darkness... (95) with the rising... , which is waning,²⁸ ... in close proximity²⁹ dark- ... (100)... throwing down and trembling(?)³⁰ ... you, who have punished (105) ... [you, who] have scattered seeds ... 8 hours ... AROUBA... DEIREŌ ... ŌR ... (110) ACHTHIŌPH twice, ERESCH[IGAL, NEBOUTO]SOUALĒTH twice... BNASEPHE ... NOUTHITOTHŌRŌ MEILEIE[S ...] CHARAAUAPS (115) THŌUTH³¹ MACHA[S...] BANOPHOOUN TA AI... ARĒI ARD[.]IARANTHA twice ... MAESSI. I beg you, thoroughly [protect] me from every [evil thing], O Mistress, [and from every demon] oppressing [me]³² ... (125) from demons... and from the aerial [demons(?)]...and from fire, from...[the bites(?)] of beasts and from... [and] from every evil...

²⁷ This sequence could also be interpreted as a numeral referring to the following noun in the sense of “three days,” or alternatively as an adverb in the sense of three times a day (taking ἡμέρας as genitive singular with temporal meaning instead of accusative plural).

²⁸ The word ὑπεροχή refers to the “rising” of celestial bodies in the sky and ἐλαττουμένη to their “waning”; one might have expected more precise opposites.

²⁹ Reading ἐγ]καρδίῳι, a word used in astrology to indicate the close proximity of celestial bodies. See DGE s.v. I 3.

³⁰ The pair ἐρέμειε καὶ τρό[μος may refer to a reaction to the power of the goddess in the invocation; cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 2826–2827 δαίμονες ἦν φρίσσουσιν καὶ ἀθάνατοι τρομέουσιν, (“before whom demons quake in fear and gods immortal tremble”). Neither is attested in the magical papyri.

³¹ Probably the god Thoth.

³² For similar phrases see, e.g., PGM LXXI 8–10 φύλακζόν μοι | ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ πράγματος; or GEMF 57/PGM IV 1517–1519 διαφύλαζόν με ἀπὸ πονηροῦ παντὸς δαίμονος.

recto col. iv →

GEMF 51.130–140

upper margin

1	κα[.]τ[ι[.] τήν δὲ πρὸς τὸν δεξιῶνα [ca 8]αθεστατην περι ----- μ[κυπαυ[κων κ[5 δρυω[135 [π[.[-----	
---	--	--

1 κα.ξι Br | τὸν πάντα Br || 4 l. κυπαυ[? : κυπαν[Br || 6 δρυων [Br

col. iv

(130) ...her towards, him NN...

col. v →

1	.α...[ca 12 (ἐξ)ορκί-] ζῶ σε κατὰ [140	
---	---	--

col v

...I adjure (140) you by ...

verso ↓³³M²

1]αφ.ιξ -----	
---	-----------------	--

space of 14.7 cm

]	δαμα
]	δαμεια

1]α.ιβ. Br || 2]δαμα Br || 3 e.g.]ϕ̄ δαμεια :]νδαμεια Br || 2–3 e.g. πα]γδαμά[τετρα, cf. GEMF 57/PGM IV 2724 vel κωνῶ]γ δαμά[τετρα vel] δαμα|[κανδρα, δαμν]οδαμεία (l. δαμνοδαμία), cf. 57/IV 2848–2849 δαμνῶ, δαμνομέ|νεια· δαμασάνδρα· δαμνοδαμία, 74.852/VII 696 δαμάσανδρα

D. Colomo and M. Gerhardt

³³ The first line lies on the area corresponding to the beginning of the first two lines of col. iv of the recto; the other two lines lie on the area corresponding to ll. 113 to 118 of col. iii on fr. f and to ll. 132 to 138 of col. iv on fr. g on the recto.

GEMF 52
(PGM XXIVa)

Oxyrhynchus

III–IV CE

ED.PR.: P.Oxy. VI 886 (Grenfell and Hunt 1908)

REUBL.: Milligan 1910, 110–112 [Mi]; Laudien 1912, 29, no. 42 [La]; Hopfner 1921–1924, III 515 [Ho]; Schubart 1918, 172–173, 369; Jordan 2002b, 25–28 [Jo]

TRANSL.: ed.pr. (English); Milligan 1910, 110–112 (English); Festugière 1944–1954, I 287 (French); Donadoni 1955, 591 (Italian); Lindsay 1970, 42 (English); Grese, GMPT, 264 (English); Calvo Martínez and Sánchez Romero 1987, 332–333 (Spanish)

COMM: Dieleman 2005, 272–275

LOC.: Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JdE 47411

TM 64001

This papyrus fragment (ca H. 21.3 × W. 12.5 cm) presents unusually wide margins.¹ It cannot be established with confidence whether this was part of a roll: there is apparently no trace of writing to the left of the margin preserved. The verso is blank. The hand was dated to the third century by Grenfell and Hunt 1908, 200, and to the third-fourth century by Jordan 2002b, 25, who describes it as practiced and confident, with attention to conventions of book production: l. 1 in *ekthesis*, the marks // (double line *paragraphoi*) at the left and right of ll. 2 and 24, perhaps indicating beginning and end of the recipe. There is *ekthesis* also at ll. 15 and 24. The hand is an upright informal round capital with a few elements of cursivity: most of the letters stand separately with a few instances of ligature of $\alpha\nu$, $\alpha\tau$, $\alpha\iota$; it is mostly bilinear, with ϕ , ρ and occasionally ι reaching below the line. A parallel is P.Corn. inv. I 116 (302 CE), or GMAW 73 (dated paleographically to the third century). The sign for the sun (ϑ) is used, numerals are marked with a supralinear stroke in ll. 6, 15, and with a diagonal acute accent in ll. 19–20, where they are written out. Final v is marked with a supralinear stroke (l. 17), and one case of abbreviation is marked with a diagonal stroke (l. 16). The mark following the name of Osiris in l. 10 may indicate that it is a divine name, for which there are other examples in GEMF 1 and 11 (perhaps also GEMF 48).

The text, said to be a copy of a “sacred scroll found in the archives of Hermes,” comprises a single recipe for a form of cleromancy that involves the reduction, two by two, of twenty-nine palm leaves, each inscribed with the name of a god, until only one remains (Hopfner 1921–1924, III 513–517).

¹ We have not had access to the papyrus, so we cannot confirm the measurements, nor read beyond what the photograph in Jordan’s edition allows. The paleographical description is also based on this photograph.

recto →

GEMF 52/PGM XXIVa

1 μεγάλη ἱεὺς ἡ κυρία

// ἀντίγραφον ἱερᾶς βί-
βλου τῆς εὐρετίης ἐν
τοῖς τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ταμίοις·

5 ὁ δὲ τρόπος ἐστὶν τὰ περ[ιτ-]

τὰ γράμματα κθ
δι' ὧν ὁ Ἑρμῆς κὲ ἡ ἱεὺς

ζητοῦσα ἑαυτῆς τὸν ἀ-
δελφὸν κὲ ἄνδρα Ὁ-

10 ρειν' ἐπικαλοῦμε

τὸν θ κὲ τοὺς ἐν βυ-
θῷ θεοὺς πάντας, πε-

ρὶ ὧν θέλει κληδονι-
θῆναι λαβῶν φύνι-

15 κος ἄρκενος φύλλα κθ

ἐπίγρ/ ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν
φύλλων τὰ τῶν θεῶν

ὀνόματα κὲ ἐπευξά-
μενος ἔρε κατὰ δύο'

20 δύο'. τὸ δὲ ὑπολιπό[μ]ε-

νον ἔσχατον ἀναγνώ-
τι, κὲ εὐρήεις σου τὴν κλη-

δόνα, ἐν οἷς μέτεσται,

25 // καὶ χρηματικῆς τη-
λαυγῶς //

1 post l. 1 spat. unius lin. || 3 l. εὐρεθείης || 56 περ[ιτ-]τὰ Jo : τὰ περὶ τὰ γράμματα Sch || 7 l. καὶ || 8 ζητοῦσα (ἐξεῦρεν) Ho || 9 l. καὶ || 9–10 Ὁ[ρ]ειν (ἐξεῦρεν) Ho || 10 ρειν' Pap. | l. ἐπικαλοῦμαι : ἐπικαλοῦ μὲν ed.pr. Mi : (λέ(γε)-) ἐπικαλοῦμαι Jo : ἐπικαλούμενος La || 12 (ἥλιον) | l. καὶ || 13 l. θέλει || 14 ante λαβῶν spatium quattuor litterarum || 14–15 l. φοίνικος : κ M² || 16 ἐπίγρ(αφον) || 17 θεῶν || 18 l. καὶ || 19 l. αἶρε || 20–21 l. ὑπολείπομενον || 21–22 l. ἀναγνώθι || 22 l. καὶ | l. εὐρήεις || 23 l. μέτεσται || 24 l. χρηματικῆς

Great is Isis the Lady!² Copy of a sacred scroll found in the archives of Hermes.³ (5) The method is the odd number of letters, i.e. 29,⁴ through which Hermes (received signs?)⁵ and Isis, by searching, (found)⁶ her own brother and husband Osiris.⁷ (10) (Say:) “I invoke the sun and all the gods in the deep”—about whatever you wish to receive a sign.⁸ Take 29 leaves of a (15) male palm⁹ and write on each of the leaves (one of?) the names of the gods and, after you have said the prayer, pick them up two (20) by two.¹⁰ Read the last remaining leaf, and you will discover your omen in what is written on it, and you will receive an oracle (25) lucidly.

C.A. Faraone and S. Torallas Tovar

² This expression seems to imitate the form of an acclamation, although as Jordan 2002b points out, the article is misplaced. Because it is isolated by *ekthesis* and there is a space between it and the recipe itself, it seems to be the title to the procedure, one that, we are told (ll. 7–10), Isis herself is said to have used. For acclamations on amulets, see Faraone 2018, 182–185.

³ See Dieleman 2005, 272–275 on magical books found in temples and connected to Thoth-Hermes. See especially GEMF 4/PGM CXXII 1. For a reference to a ‘copy’ of a holy book, see GEMF 55/PGM III 424.

⁴ The numeral 29 seems to have been added later as an afterthought and below corresponds with the number of palm leaves inscribed with divine names. To make sense of the correspondence, Hopfner suggested that only the first initial of the god’s name was so inscribed. The number 29 suggests that this is the Coptic alphabet (Greek alphabet + some signs that were taken from Demotic to indicate Egyptian phonemes which did not exist in Greek).

⁵ Jordan 2002b, 27–28 suggests “performed divination” or “received omens” (ἐκληδονίκατο).

⁶ Probably a verb like ἐξεῦρεν is missing (restored by Hopfner; see app.cr.).

⁷ Despite the absence of the main verb(s), there is a clear reference here to Isis’ search (with Thoth-Hermes’ help?) for the body or body parts of Osiris, for which (this text suggests) she successfully used this oracular procedure. For Isis and Osiris in magic see Frankfurter 1995.

⁸ The verb usually refers to the reception of signs or omens by means of words randomly overheard; here it refers to mechanical divination by means of the palm leaves.

⁹ The κ seems to be a correction which appears in *ekthesis*. This is the only instance of inscribed palm leaves, although inscribed laurel leaves are common; see, e.g., GEMF 58/PGM V 369; 74.980/VII 822; 60/XIII 1044 and PGM LXXIV 2.

¹⁰ The repetition of the number to express distribution is perhaps a calque from Egyptian. Greek would usually have κατὰ δύο. However, Moulton 1863, 97, defends the Greekness of the construction.

GEMF 53
(PGM LXXIX)

Provenance unknown (Thebaid?)¹

late III–early IV CE

ED.PR.: Hopfner 1938 [Ho]

REPUBL.: PGM LXXIX [Pr]; P.Prag. I 4 (Maltomini 1988a) [Ma]

TRANS.: ed.pr.; PGM (German); P.Prag. (Italian); GMPT, 299 (English)

COMM.: ed.pr.; Maltomini 1988a; P.Prag.

LOC.: Prague, National Library, P.Wessely Prag. Gr. I 18

TM 64344

Complete papyrus sheet (H. 9.6 × W. 14.8 cm) of dark brown color. It shows eight vertical marks of folding at an equal distance of ca 2 cm and holes caused by worms. All margins are preserved, the top one is 1.2 cm, the bottom 2.3 cm, the left 2.3 to 2.7 cm, and the right 2 cm. There is a *kollesis* at 2 cm from the left edge, the right layer being on the top of the left. The text is written on the recto along the fibers in black ink, the verso is blank. The writing is faded at some places. The lines are positioned neatly in the middle of the sheet.

The papyrus is written in Greek and Coptic, in an informal but neatly traced upright hand which displays some ligatures and becomes more cursive towards the end. It was dated to the third or fourth century by the ed. pr. and to the fifth by Maltomini 1988a. The paleographical comparanda support the earlier date. The general impression, while less regular, recalls P.Herm. 4 (317–323 CE), whereas individual letter forms, such as the cursive α or the υ, appear in P.Cair.Isid. 64 (298 CE). These parallels point to the end of the third or the early fourth century. The hand alternates between a rather angular form of α, and a round one. π is either made in one movement or in three. ε is rounded, ω is small and the τ has a small curve to the left on the vertical stroke. The hand is similar to, although more formal than, that of the other copy, GEMF 54; the two hands are to all likelihood contemporary.

A *diplē obelismenē* fills the empty half of the last line. The superlinear stroke above γ (for number three) is also extended to the line end in a similar function. The words of the *voces magicae* in lines 2–3 are divided by strokes above the line, most curved but a few straight and oblique, which aid recitation of the formula. A similar stroke serves as an apostrophe, separating κατ from υποταγη in l. 5, and it also marks the end of the text. Words are occasionally divided by spaces, in the first lines or after κατατῦλατε in l. 4. There is a superlinear stroke above the ν of ν̄μητ, reflecting Coptic orthography. The scribe corrected himself in ll. 1 and 2 by writing the correct letter over the incorrect one. The symbol Δ is used for δεινα.

The papyrus preserves a *thymokatochon*, a formula recited thrice to restrain anger; it includes in Coptic powerful names frequently found in magical texts (Bainchōōch, Abrasax, Michael, Thoth).

The papyrus is clearly a formulary, as indicated by the presence of δεινα for both target and user, but the small size of the sheet and the eight folds might imply that it was used as an amulet. Similar cases of an amulet lacking personalisation can be observed, e.g. in SM I 30 and 32. But when folded, the piece still remains almost 10 cm wide, which is larger than most amulets. Moreover, the presence of an almost identical folded copy in GEMF 54 suggests that this papyrus was simply a formulary copied on a single sheet and folded perhaps to be kept in a more compact form or to be carried around and used as a prompt for performance. The similarity of the material features and orthographic variation, together with the few diverging points suggest that the two copies were made independently from the same exemplar, see introduction to GEMF 54.

¹ The Coptic form ΔΝΑΚ in l. 2, which was corrected into ΔΝΟΚ, is typical of the Fayumic and Achmimic dialects, as it has been pointed out by Pernigotti in P.Prag. I 4. However, the mistake of GEMF 54.1, where ΔΝΟΚ was corrected from ΟΝΟΚ, is typical of the Theban area (Kahle 1954, I 60). This might be a weak indication of provenance.

recto →

GEMF 53

- 1 θυμοκάτοχον λεγόμενον γ̄
 ΔΝΟΚ̄ ΠΕ ΒΑΪΝΧΩΧ / ΔΒΡΑΞΑΞ
 ΕΡΙΝΤ̄ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ̄ ΠΑΡΑΝ̄ ΝΜΗΤ̄ ΘΩΟΥΘ̄
 ΘΩΟΥΘ̄ κατατίλατε τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ τὸν
 5 θυμὸν τοῦ Δ̄ πρὸς ἐμὲ τῷ Δ̄ κ[α]τ' ὑπο-
 ταγὴ τοῦ μεγάλου θε[ε]οῦ Νεου-
 φνεῖωθ̄ >

1 χ corr. ex κ || 2 ΔΝΟΚ corr. ex ΔΝΑΚ || 3 ΕΡΙΝΤ Ma : ΕΙΛΑΜ Ηο Ρr || 4 l. κατατεύλατε || 5 δ(ε)ῖ(voc) | l. τὸν δ(ε)ῖ(να) | l. καθ' : κατ' Pap. || 5-6 l. ὑποταγὴν

Anger restraining procedure, to be said three times. It is I, BAINCHŌŌCH, ABRASAX is my name,² MICHAËL is my true name, THŌOUTH THŌOUTH.³ Restrain (pl.)⁴ the anger and the (5) wrath of NN towards me, NN, by obedience⁵ to the great god NEOUPHNEIŌTH.

Á. Mihálykó

² On the reading of ΕΡΙΝΤ, see Maltomini 1988a.

³ For the identification of Michael and Thoth with each other, see Maltomini 1988a.

⁴ The use of the plural imperative here suggests that the author or scribe thought that the preceding boasts in Coptic were a plurality of names that could be invoked to restrain the anger of the person target by the invocation.

⁵ On the translation of καθ' ὑποταγὴν, see Maltomini 1988a.

GEMF 54
(PGM LXXX)

Provenance unknown (Thebaid?)¹

late III–early IV CE

ED.PR.: Hopfner 1938 [Ho]

REPUBL.: PGM LXXX [Pr]; P.Prag. I 5 (Maltomini 1988a) [Ma]

TRANS.: ed.pr.; PGM (German); P.Prag. (Italian); GMPT, 299 (English)

COMM.: ed.pr.; Maltomini 1988a, P.Prag.

LOC.: Prague, National Library, P.Wessely Prag. Gr. I 21

TM 64345

Complete papyrus sheet (H. 8.5 × W. 20 cm) of medium brown color. It was folded three times vertically (at ca 4 cm, in the middle, and at ca 15 cm from the left margin) and three times horizontally (at ca 2.5, 4.5 and 6 cm from the top). The folds are faded but the papyrus suffered damage along these lines. The upper margin was ca 0.9 cm, the bottom ca 1.3, the left and right margin are lost. The papyrus is written against the fibers with a thick pen in black ink; there are several ink spills. The other side is blank.

The hand is different from GEMF 53, which preserves the same text. This papyrus is written in a more informal and coarser upright hand, which displays some ligatures. It was dated to the third or fourth century by the ed.pr. and to the end of the fifth by Maltomini 1988a, but the fact that it shares the general air and many of the letter shapes of GEMF 53 makes it more plausible to assign it to the same date: cf. especially α (last one in l. 4), rounded ε with long cross-bar, υ in one movement with a tiny loop at the base, small ω lifted up in the line, and the same kind of hook at the end of some verticals, such as those of γ and τ. Note also the similarities in the use of the lectional signs discussed below.

The papyrus presents oblique strokes to divide divine names in l. 2 and 3, the same sign is also used as an apostrophe between κατ and υποταγη in l. 4 and to mark the end of the text. Spaces divide words occasionally as well, as in l. 1 θυμοκάτοκον and λε[γόμε]νον or in l. 3 between κατατίλατε and τήν, but in l. 4 between προε and με and within υποτα γη the division is mistaken. The latter might have been caused by line division in the exemplar. The scribe corrected himself in l. 1 by writing the correct letter on top of the incorrect one above the line, and in l. 2 by using the right vertical of π for ε and writing an additional π above the line. The symbol Δ is used where the names are to be inserted.

The papyrus preserves the same *thymokatochon*, anger-restraining procedure, as GEMF 53, for commentary on the contents, see above. The copies are nearly identical and present similar material features (similar strokes and spaces applied for dividing words, identical apostrophe) and some of the same mistakes (κατατίλατε for κατατείλατε, πρὸς τῷ for πρὸς τὸν, κατ' υποταγη for καθ' ὑποταγήν). However, the scribe of GEMF 54 introduces additional orthographical variants, as θυμοκατοκον for θυμοκάτοχον and the phonetical rendering βενχωωωχ for βαινχωωχ. He corrects moreover ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΠΑΡΑΝ into ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΠΕ ΠΑΡΑΝ, which makes better sense in Coptic, but he misreads what was probably an original ΜΜΗΤ as ΚΜΗΤ, whereas the scribe of GEMF 53 puts the correct ΜΜΗΤ, reproducing even the Coptic superlinear stroke. These mistakes imply that the two copies were unlikely to have been taken from each other, more probably they are independent copies of the same exemplar, the line division of which is perhaps preserved in GEMF 54's incorrect division of προε με and υποτα γη. Whereas the presence of folds might imply that these copies were made to function as amulets, i.e., effective objects, it is more likely that they were rather individual copies of a procedure on a single sheet without any role in the ritual, see above.

¹ The ο/Δ interchange behind the Coptic form ΘΝΟΚ in l. 1, which was corrected into ΔΝΟΚ, is typical of the Theban area (Kahle 1954, I 60). This might be a weak indication of provenance.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Papyri

All papyri are cited according to the Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets (Founding Editors: John F. Oates and William H. Willis). Online at <https://papyri.info/docs/checklist#Papyri>

Dictionaries

These are cited referring only to the page number

- CDD = *Chicago Demotic Dictionary*. Edited by Janet H. Johnson. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2001. Online at: <https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/publications/demotic-dictionary-oriental-institute-university-chicago>
- Černý = Černý, Jaroslav. *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Chantraine = Chantraine, Pierre. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: Histoire des mots*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1968–1980.
- Crum = Crum, Walter Ewing. *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939.
- Erichsen = Erichsen, Wolija. *Demotisches Glossar*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1954.
- DGE = *Diccionario Griego Español*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Online at <http://dge.cchs.csic.es/index.en>

- LMPG = Muñoz Delgado, Luis. *Léxico de magia y religión en los papiros mágicos griegos*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001. Online at <http://dge.cchs.csic.es/lmpg/>
- LSJ = Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones, Roderick McKenzie, and Peter Glare. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- LSSup = Peter G. W. Glare. *Supplement*. In LSJ.
- Vycichl = Vycichl, Werner, *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Copte*, Leuven: Peeters, 1984.
- Wb = Erman, Adolf, and Hermann Grapow. *Das Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1931.

Paleography

Paleographical descriptions use special abbreviations of the basic manuals as follows:

- Cavallo 1965 = Cavallo, Guglielmo. "La scrittura del P. Berol. 11532: contributo allo studio dello stile di cancelleria nei papiri greci di età romana." *Aegyptus* 45:3/4 (1965): 216–249.
- Cavallo, *Scrittura* = Cavallo, Guglielmo. *La scrittura greca e latina dei papiri: una introduzione*. Studia erudita 8. Pisa: Serra, 2008.
- Cavallo, *Scrivere* = *Scrivere libri e documenti nel mondo antico*. Edited by Guglielmo Cavallo, Edoardo Crisci, Gabriella Messeri, Rosario Pintaudi. Papyrologica Florentina, vol. 30. Firenze: Gonnelli, 1998.
- Cavallo and Maehler 2008 = Cavallo, Guglielmo, and Herwig Maehler. *Hellenistic Bookhands*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008.
- Cavallo and Maehler GB = Cavallo, Guglielmo, and Herwig Maehler. *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300–800*. Bulletin Supplement 47. London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1987.
- Crisci = Crisci, Edoardo. *Scrivere greco fuori d'Egitto: ricerche sui manoscritti greco-orientali di origine non egiziana dal 4. secolo a.C. all' 8. d.C.* Papyrologica Florentina 27. Firenze: Gonnelli, 1996.
- GLH = Roberts, Colin Henderson. *Greek Literary Hands 350 B.C.–A.D. 400*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956.
- GMAW = Turner, Eric Gardner. *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*. 2nd ed. revised and enlarged by Peter J. Parsons. Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement 46. London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1987.
- Harrauer = Harrauer, Hermann. *Handbuch der griechischen Paläographie*. 2 vols. Bibliothek des Buchwesens, Band 20. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2010.
- Montevecchi = Montevecchi, Orsolina. *La Papirologia*. Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1988.
- Schubart, PGB = Schubart, Wilhelm. *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*. Tabulae in usum scholarum 2. Bonn: Marcus and Weber, 1911.
- Seider = Seider, Richard. *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri*. 2 vols. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1967–1970.

General abbreviations

- Catalogue BL* 1894 = British Museum. Department of Manuscripts. *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the years 1888–1893*. London: The Trustees, 1894.
- CBd = Campbell Bonner Magical Gems Database. Online at: <http://classics.mfab.hu/talismans/object/list>.
- CCAG = Cumont, Franz, and Franz Boll, eds. *Catalogus codicum astrologorum Graecorum*. 12 vols. Brussels: Lamertin, 1898–1953.
- DT = Audollent, Auguste. *Defixionum tabellae*. Paris: Fontemoing, 1904.
- DTA = Wünsch, Richard. *Defixionum Tabellae Atticae*, Appendix to *Inscriptiones Graecae* III. Berlin: Reimer, 1897.
- FGrH = Jacoby, Felix. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin: Weidmann 1923–1959.
- GMA = Kotansky, Roy David. *Greek Magical Amulets*, vol. 1. Papyrologica Coloniensia 22.1. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994.
- GMPT = Betz, Hans Dieter. *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, including the Demotic Spells*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986. 2nd ed., 1996.
- LIM = Mastrocinque, Attilio. *Les intailles magiques du département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2014.
- LGG = Leitz, Christian. *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*. 8 vols. Leuven: Peeters, 2002–2003.
- LfgrE = *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*. In Zusammenarbeit mit dem Thesaurus linguae Graecae und mit Unterstützung der Unesco und der Joachim-Jungius-Gesellschaft, Hamburg, vorbereitet und hrsg. von Bruno Snell. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1955–.
- M&M = Philipp, Hanna. *Mira et magica: Gemmen im Ägyptischen Museum der Staatlichen Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin-Charlottenburg*. Mainz: Zabern, 1986.
- MAD = Gelb, Ignace J. *Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952–1970.
- MGH = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Ed. Herbert Grundmann. München, 1969–.
- PGM = Preisendanz, Karl. *Papyri graecae magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1928–1931. Revised by Albert Henrichs. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973–1974.
- RE = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. 1894–1978.
- SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden: Brill, 1923–.
- SGD = Jordan, David R. “A Survey of Greek *Defixiones* not included in the Special Corpora.” *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 26 (1985): 151–197.
- SH = Lloyd-Jones, Hugh, and Peter Parsons. *Supplementum Hellenisticum*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1983–2005.
- SM = Daniel, Robert W., and Franco Maltomini. *Supplementum Magicum*. 2 vols. Papyrologica Coloniensia 16.1–2. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990–1992.
- SMA = Bonner, Campbell. *Studies in Magical Amulets, chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*. University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series 49. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1950.
- TLA = *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*. Berlin, 2014. Online at: <https://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html>